

LOST IN TRANSLATION:

Non-Linear Literary, Cultural, Temporal, Political, and Cosmological Transformations –

the Anglo-Japanese Productions of Minakata Kumagusu

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Naturalist, translator, *littérateur*, and political activist, Minakata Kumagusu, in his many endeavors, offers an intriguing series of parallelisms with patterns of non-linear development and network relationships found in the field of study that was his primary focus: botany, more specifically mycology. In contrast to models of cultural and political development imported from the West during the Meiji Restoration and extended during the Showa and Taisho eras, and the strong orientation toward centralized vertical hierarchy that in Japanese culture and governance of that period, Minakata offers an understanding in terms of dispersed non-linear networks. As botanist, folklorist, and environmental activist, Minakata refused engagement with academic and governmental institutions, conducting his life and work in the remote Kii Peninsula. In doing so, he engaged with a variety of significant horizontal networks: elite aristocratic networks, demotic press networks, ascent pan-Asian political networks, domestic folkloric and literary networks, and international intellectual networks. He argued forcefully against the monocultural tendencies of that period, providing an example of the ways in which understandings of ecological and physical cultures and the corollary social, intellectual, and spiritual cultures arising from that base validate cultural and political counter-narratives that might otherwise be seen as subversive and alien by centralized institutions and those beholden to those institutions.

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INTRODUCTION: The Question of Minakata Kumagusu

The life of Minakata Kumagusu is remarkable in many of its particulars, both biographical and intellectual. Indeed, his efforts in a broad array of fields—as a pioneer in the field of Japanese mycology, as a literary translator of several key works of medieval Japanese literature, as an early contributor to the British tradition of global comparative folklore studies, as a folklore collector and critical thinker who played a key role in the formation of an endogenous Japanese tradition of folklore studies known as *minzokugaku*, as a theoretician and activist who is rightly regarded as the Father of Japanese ecology, and as an epistemological thinker who successfully fused Esoteric Buddhist cosmology and Western empirical inquiry—are so considerable and varied that numerous scholars in a wide range of fields have, in recent years, touched on one or another aspect of his life and work. In an era when many of these emergent disciplines were first embarking on their own courses of historical development, he actively explored them all and left footprints that point to lines of inquiry which remain not only relevant, but as prescient as they were in his own time.

While a number of aspects of his work have been taken up and examined for discipline-specific purposes by contemporary scholars, it is also the case that nothing like a complete portrait of his body of work is available in English. The noted British folklorist Carmen Blacker, looking at his contributions to her field has called him “Japan’s Neglected Genius.” Historian and historiographer Gerald Figal has examined – at some length -- his role in the modernization of Japan and the development of a domestic tradition in the social sciences, particularly psychology. Bernard Faure, William

Sibley, Gregory Pflugfelder, and Alan Christy have all dealt with his work as a sexologist and pioneer of the Japanese branches of what are now called Gender Studies and Queer Studies and applied them to topics ranging from the treatment of sexuality within Buddhism to the study of rural development and modernization in Japan. John Driscoll, drawing on elements of that same body of work, along with some of Minakata's early contributions to the field of abnormal psychology, has opened a window into the sexual politics of Japanese Imperialism and the commodification of desire in the Japanese Empire during the first half of the twentieth-century. Julia Adeney-Thomas, Brij Tankha and Kato Sadomichi have all produced valuable works examining his contributions to the construction of "Nature" as a category of thought and study, the introduction of "ecology" to Japan, and early Japanese environmental activism, respectively. J.Y Wong has documented his pivotal role as the conduit through which Sun Yat-sen became aware of Pan-Asian thought, and the critical role their encounter played in Sun's ultimately successful efforts to win Japanese backing for his revolutionary struggle against the decrepit Qin Dynasty. The noted Buddhologist Abe Ryūichi, and Cynthia Bogel, a scholar specializing in Buddhist visual culture, have noted his contributions to modern study of *mikkyō*, an early Japanese synthesis of the traditions best known in the West as Tibetan or Tantric Buddhism.

Though each of these scholars has performed valuable labors within his or her discipline, the received image of Minakata and his thought remains little more than a quick sketch based on a series of factoids – his eidetic memory, reading knowledge of seventeen European languages, keen eyesight, fondness for drink, tendency toward belligerence, his many "articles" in *Notes & Queries* and *Nature*, his preparation of slime

molds in taffy boxes for the Emperor, his epilepsy, and so forth.

It is not my intention to duplicate the work of my predecessors. Rather, building on their work, along with an examination of Minakata's voluminous (but curiously-neglected) English-language publications, it is the aim of the present study to develop a more complete overview of the inter-relationships between these various fields of activity and the core notions that ran through his activities in all of these areas. It is my hope that, in this way, I am following the distinctive tendency identified by Figal, who wrote:

“What seems to motivate Minakata's intellectual activity are the gaps, rather than...the fullness of the sciences in their treatment of natural and human phenomena.”

Figal's characterization seems particularly resonant, for it was just such a gap, or series of gaps at irregular junctures, that set me on the trail of Minakata Kumagusu. The first was less a gap than a simple lack: the lack of a fixed roof over my head – and more particularly, a place to bathe with any regularity -- when I entered UC-Santa Cruz as a literature and creative writing major in January of 1985, intent on finishing an undergraduate degree I had begun some years earlier at Michigan State University, but failed to complete. The intervening years had been spent down the coast in Monterey and I was convinced that I could shape that tale of time, half a decade spent in the belly of the beast of New California cooking, into something that might compare favorably with Orwell's Down and Out in Paris and London. For the moment, a steady unemployment check took the place of Virginia Woolf's fifty pounds a year, but I did not yet have a room of my own, or a shower to go with it. What I did have was a car with reclining seats, a manual typewriter, the need for physical activity that strikes most people who've recently given up tobacco, and fully paid flat-fee tuition for one semester. It was then that

I realized two things: first, that the university's field house had showers and second, that if I was going to be visiting the field house several times a week, I might as well sign up for a physical education class. When I looked at the catalog, I saw that aikido met in the martial arts room on a schedule that worked out well with the rest of my classes. I had previously met one person who did aikido, the science fiction author Elizabeth Lynn, and she exhibited an utterly charming aspect of humane warmth, highlighted from time to time with glimmers of a deep reserve of menace. It was as if my course was set before I even set foot on the mat.

Once I did enter the martial arts room, what I found was as wholly unexpected as it was entrancing. More than just a martial art, this *aikido* seemed have depths I couldn't have imagined: rigorous physical practice with religious, philosophical, and cosmological underpinnings; an approach to conflict that seemed to move beyond zero-sum game theory toward a notion of win-win solutions; a new and unfamiliar body of literature and history which not only offered a unique point-of-entry to the literature and history of Japan, but was very much in the process of being developed by the aikido historian Stanley Pranin, and, and.... and it was cracking good fun. As I finished my undergraduate degree over the next eighteen months, from time to time I wondered at the fact that I was spending more time on martial arts than my other coursework, but I was doing well enough in strictly academic terms that I concluded I had reached a new balance of sorts.

As much fun as it was, there was also something quite baffling about the many respects in which this "universal art of peace and harmony" was so thoroughly, and at times, impenetrably, Japanese. When, two years after graduating from UC-Santa Cruz in 1986, I entered a two-year MFA program in Columbia University's School of the Arts, I

had a roof over my head and a place to take a shower, a writing project well underway, and again, a gap in my schedule and a flat-fee tuition rate. My fascination with aikido continued unabated, and the Department of East Asian Language was but one block east of Kent Hall. So I rounded out my schedule with coursework in Japanese language. What better way, I thought, to get to the cultural specifics than through studying the language? Besides, the post-war economic rise of Japan was at a high point and (or so I told myself) the Japanese were hiring foreign talent. Little did I know that the Japanese asset bubble would pop within a year of my graduation from Columbia. The bad news was that there was to be no work in Japan. The good news was that the Dean of Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism needed a ghostwriter and the position would allow me to continue studying Japanese at Columbia.

Years passed. My studies expanded to encompass Classical Chinese, Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, Japanese history, Eastern religion, and the like, all supplementing and informing my continued study of aikido – and I began to get inklings that more than one of my aikido teachers saw these cultural studies as distractions from my martial training, much as I had once gotten similar impressions from academicians who saw my martial studies as, if not precisely a distraction, simply not the thing. Over the same period, Stanley Pranin's program of research and publication had brought to the foreground a number of aspects of the relationships between the founder of aikido and his own teachers, Takeda Sokaku of Daito-ryu Aikijujutsu and Onisaburo Deguchi of the Shinto "New Religion" known as Omoto-kyo, as well as relationships with a number of key figures in the military establishment of Japan in the twenties and thirties, all of which were, if not elided, significantly obscured by the official biographical material of Ueshiba

available up to that point. It was in this context that I first encountered the name Minakata Kumagusu in Pranin's Encyclopedia of Aikido, along with an early version of this entry:

B. in Kii Province, present-day Wakayama Prefecture. Biologist, ethnologist, and folklorist. Lived in Europe and the United States for 15 years. Discovered many types of new fungi and mold and contributed numerous articles in scientific publications. Morihei Ueshiba assisted Minakata around 1909-10 in Tanabe in a protest movement against the shrine consolidation policy of the Meiji government that sought to reorganize and eliminate thousands of shrines throughout Japan.

Shortly thereafter, I encountered another reference to Minakata, a translated quotation from Ueshiba I have subsequently been consistently unable to locate a second time, in which (as I recall at this late date) Ueshiba referred to Minakata as “the most important man I ever met.” This was a stunning moment. More important than Takeda Sokaku, the martial arts instructor whose teaching formed the core of his own subsequent art of aikido? More important than Deguchi Onisaburo, the spiritual leader with whom he embarked on a mission to found a religious utopia in Mongolia in the twenties? More important than Admiral Takeshita Isamu, who was long his most important single patron in Tokyo? More important than Sasakawa Ryoichiro, the unrepentant right-wing financier and Class A war criminal who provided material support for Ueshiba's activities from the thirties well into the late Twentieth Century? While each of these figures is “important” in a way distinct from each of the others, that they were each, in some sense, important to Ueshiba was clearly true. In what way, I immediately wondered, was Minakata “the most important man (he had) ever met?”

My initial attempts to answer that question for my own benefit resulted in a number of additional intriguing and suggestive references, but Minakata himself remained elusive. There was precious little work on Minakata in English and most of

what I could find was poorly sourced material taken from second-, third-, and fourth-hand sources, usually sources with hagiographic agendas of their own. The one consistent reference I could find was to Minakata's English-language "articles" in *Nature* and *Notes & Queries*, but even those were mere references; breathless and awestruck recountings of the number of articles without anything substantive regarding the articles themselves. I set the matter aside as a project too large for my limited time, and there it rested uneasily until I began my doctoral coursework in what was then the Center for Global Change and Governance, now the Division of Global Affairs.

Developed as a center for the examination of the change in global power distribution resulting from emergent global networks of exchanging information, data, raw materials, human populations, and manufactured goods, one of the principal points of interest at CGCG was the way in which these flatter distribution networks displace and destabilize what we have come to think as more "traditional" hierarchical political and economic structures of governance. It was one of those emergent networks that played a critical role in making the present study possible, through the digitization of vast archives of scholarly material in domains separated by both geographic and disciplinary boundaries, making possible searches that could be carried out vastly more quickly and over a wider range of material than would otherwise be possible in several lifetimes. It was also in this connection that one of the core notions behind the present study crystallized in the homology between the internet as a manifestation of modern systems theory and the Indra-net as a historic lynchpin of Buddhist cosmology – and Minakata's own thought, which, as I hope to show, anticipated a great many advances in Western thought by his unique fusion of Buddhist logic and Western empirical method.

Following an initial biographical outline which will introduce Minakata's activities (as a resolutely independent scholar who refused all offers of institutional engagement) in the context of a period of rapid technological, social, intellectual, and political change, I will first examine his translation into English (with F.V. Dickins) of Kamo no Chōmei's classic work *Hōjōki*, a number of individual poems by Kamo no Chōmei, and the *Manyōshū*, all works which, it can safely be said, are the very foundation of Japanese literature. In distinction to the primarily literary translation examined in the first section, these articles are examples of Minakata's efforts as a cultural and temporal translator, parsing the both distinct and intertwined histories of social and scientific development in Europe and Asia. Third is a close look at his relationship with Dai Ajari Toki Hōryū and Minakata's efforts—as a New Buddhist who is not only explicitly not aligned with, but actively in opposition to the then-celebrated New Buddhist lay spokesman Inoue “Dr. Ghost” Enryō—to translate the cosmological vision of Shingon Mikkyō into an epistemological approach which fuses the projective constructed vision of *mikkyō* with the hard-headed empiricism of the Western scientific method; a translation which he hoped might redeem esotericism from its tendency to superstition and empiricism from its tendency to an unwarranted and ultimately wrong-headed positivism that mistakes simple change for inevitable progress. Fourth is a review of his activities as a Pan-Asianist in London and an environmental thinker and activist in Japan, in which these activities are considered as acts of political translation in which concepts become manifest in action. Fifth, I will address his efforts to translate the conceptual framework of Western folklore studies into a Japanese context, viewing those efforts through the lens of his most difficult relationship with Yanagita Kunio, another

Japanese scholar well-versed in the Western tradition (though slightly his junior) who is best known today as the father of *minzokugaku*, by virtue of his authorship of *Tono monogatari* (Legends of Tono) and a number of subsequent works that laid out the theoretical and methodological modes that characterize that field.

Minakata himself is a perplexing specimen who often confounded social norms and those around him. Tsurumi Kazuko, with more than a little justification, writes of Minakatian confrontation as a recurrent theme in both his personal life and his public undertakings. But it could also be said that Minakata did not so much oppose the main currents of his time so much as that he stood outside them. In stark contrast to the dominant tendencies in evidence during the Meiji and Taisho eras, periods when Japanese intellectuals, educators, industrialists and military men were rushing to transform Japan through the wholesale jettisoning of traditional practices and their systematic replacement with "superior" Western models of scholarship, governance, social organization and indoctrination, industrial economics, management and manufacture, along with the most technologically advanced forms of armaments and military available -- in the main drawing on British and Prussian models -- Minakata stubbornly followed the pole-star of his own determination to "harmonize and unify Japanese, Chinese, and Western learning and wisdom as they related to the cosmos, man, and earth."

[“彼の最終目標は、地球規模の視点で日本・中国・西洋の天・地・人の知識を統一した三才図絵を曼陀羅形式で作ることであった。” -- 小川 泰]¹

This formulation, written when Minakata was fourteen or fifteen years old, is in

¹ Kogawa, Tai (小川 泰). KATACHI & SYMMETRY (かたちとシンメトリー. 際協力と文化間協力をめざして), November 11, 1994.

stark contrast with the very new and very official program of discarding the "old ways" of the Tokugawa period, and the equally official and no-less self-aware program to construct a new Japanese national consciousness, captured in Yoshikawa Tadayasu's slogan *wakon yosai* (Japanese spirit, Western techniques). The slogan first appeared in Yoshikawa's *Kaika sakuron* (Questions and Themes on Progress), a work published in 1867 -- the same year Minakata was born -- just one year before the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the "restoration" of the Emperor Meiji. The phrase, which neatly encapsulates a simultaneous coincidence of both continuity and change, had its own historical antecedents.

Writing a thousand years earlier, the Heian era government official Sugawara no Michizane had promoted the notion of *wakon kansai* (Japanese spirit, Chinese scholarship), which sounds much the same as *wakon yosai* -- if left unexamined. Surface resemblance notwithstanding, the cultural moment in which Sugawara wrote, and the intention of his earlier formulation was not to mark a new era of cultural exchange and transformation, but to mark the end of such an era. Sugawara was in fact arguing for the end of Imperial missions to China, and the beginning of a new period in which the cultural borrowings from T'ang-era China were to be nativized in a comparatively closed Japan. Among those cultural imports was the global-cosmopolitan form of Buddhism brought to Japan a century earlier by the monk Kūkai. Subsequently known as Shingon Buddhism, Kūkai's esotericism was a branch of the larger family of Esoteric or Tantric Buddhism, the best-known form of which is its younger cousin, Tibetan Buddhism. Imported and established in Japan specifically for the protection of the state and the edification of the royal household, as in other nation-states along the entire length of the

both the land and sea routes known as the Silk Road, Esoteric Buddhism provided Japan with a new visual culture, a new conception of Kingship, and a sophisticated system of psychology and cosmology which was as fluid and adaptive in its ability to absorb as it was robust in its ability to rationalize and revalue local religious practices. The result was an exceedingly fine interweaving of Buddhist and native beliefs, practices, and ritual sites that would remain largely intact for a thousand years.

To be sure, Esoteric Buddhism was not the only such borrowing from China. Confucian learning had been a part of the education of government officials since the sixth century, and in this early period, the Imperial Household also had a bureau devoted to Taoist rites for the protection of the realm, particularly with regard to weather.² Linguistically, conceptually, and otherwise, through these religio-philosophical systems as well as the arts of calligraphy, painting, sculpture, the introduction of sericulture, tea cultivation, and a host of ceramic and metalworking technologies, Chinese (and Indian) influence on Japan was profound.

Of particularly immediate relevance in this connection is the disjunction between a Western rules-based, executive-judicial model of governance arising primarily from a linear, text-based discourse on the one hand, and an Eastern norm-based and executive-exemplary model which arises from a multi-valent image-based discourse rooted in the use of mandala as organizational, structural, and pedagogical devices. In the specific instance of Minakata's work, this distinction is given further nuance by the specifically

² Over time, however, various responsibilities of the Bureau of On' Myō' Dō passed to the Shingon and Shinto agencies associated with Imperial Household, and to the extent that Taoism survived, it was as part of the heterodox fabric of beliefs and practices known as Shūgendō, typically practiced by ascetics in the mountains of Japan. By the late Heian era, most Taoist practices were legally proscribed and practitioners who were found out were subject to labor or military corvée on the northern frontiers, where the struggle against the native Ebisu/Ainu people's continued apace for centuries.

Japanese development of a mandalic discourse in which the more rigid geometric organization of earlier Southern and East Asian mandala traditions is augmented by a move toward identification of the mandala with specific sites and their a-symmetrical geographies.

By the late eighteenth-century, notwithstanding the millennium-and-more of adaptation and nativization which Buddhism and Confucianism had undergone, a renewed call for the excavation and reclamation of an earlier and purer Japanese cultural identity found expression in the works of a number of Japanese scholars who have come to be known as *kokugakusha*, or "National Learning Scholars." Chief among these scholars are Motoori Norinaga and his protege, Atsutane Hirata. Motoori is best known for his retranslation of the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Things) from *manyōgana*³ and mixed Sino-Japanese vocabulary into what Motoori asserted was the pure native Japanese of the original. Along with the recovery of this pure text, Motoori and his successors also aimed to recover a pure form of Shinto, unpolluted by foreign influences. During the waning years of the Tokugawa Shogunate, as that system showed itself to be progressively less and less capable of meeting the daily needs of Japan's population, checking the actions of corrupt and venal local officials, or meeting the rising threat of foreign incursions on Japanese soil, the message of the *kokugakusha* had wide appeal, and Buddhism was increasingly vilified in elite circles as an un-Japanese foreign influence in need of extensive sanitation.

Thus it was that Minakata, whose mother and father were devout lay Buddhists

³ The system, which uses Chinese characters primarily for their sound value alone, takes its name from the *Manyōshū*, or "Collection of Myriad Leaves," which stands as the earliest extant collection of Japanese poetry and the earliest example, in extenso, of this form of orthography. As noted above, Minakata collaborated with F.V. Dickins on the first translation of a major portion of the *Manyōshū* into English.

associated with the Shingon sect, was born not only on the cusp of the Meiji Restoration, but also on the cusp of the Jingijimuka edicts of 1868. Aimed in part at fostering a new form of State Shinto which would support the spiritual and temporal claims of the “restored” Emperor, the edicts ripped asunder the fabric of syncretic Buddhist/Shinto practice in Japan, prohibiting Buddhist terminology and icons in the precincts of shrines identified as "Shinto," and defrocking Buddhist monks associated with the shrines. Just as Japan found itself confronted by a hostile outside world in which it needed to make a new way forward, Buddhism within Japan suddenly found itself similarly confronted and desperately in need of a new basis for the continuation of its institutions in an utterly transformed context.

Along with the slogan *wakon yōsai*, the other rallying cry of the era was *bunmei kaika*. Commonly translated as “civilization and enlightenment,” the range of meanings that attached to this second slogan was as wide as the number of those who uttered it and it carried the freight of westernization, civilization, imperial restoration, cultural enlightenment, foundational change, democratization, and simply, the inevitability of progress. In its contracted form, *bunka*, it could stand for culture itself while still carrying all the aforementioned readings and – more subtly – placing opposition to or resistance against any aspect of Japan’s transformation as “not-culture” or “barbaric.” After his return to Japan in 1900, Minakata refused to use the term, precisely because he felt that to do so was to allow oneself to be fully co-opted by its totalizing power and wholly implicated in all aspects of the project. Just as he rejected the common Western presumption that evolutionary change was equivalent to progress, and the associated views regarding cultural evolution (often referred to as “Social Darwinism”) propounded

by Herbert Spencer and others, he also rejected its Japanese doppelganger, insisting that what was being promoted as “civilization” (*kaika* -- 開化) was more properly regarded as simply “change” or “transformation” (*henka* -- 変化).

This is not to cast Minakata as a merely reactionary figure or a doctrinaire religious traditionalist. Nothing could be further from the case. His project was not to impose a Procrustean system on the world, but to “harmonize and unify” three systems of understanding – Japanese, Chinese, and Western --which had developed under differing physical, social, and historical circumstances, “as they relate to the cosmos, man, and earth.”

This three-part formulation of “cosmos, man, and earth” is telling. The key historical event in Minakata’s life was the Meiji Restoration, in which the Emperor was ostensibly “restored” to his position as the leading figure in Japanese society and governance, while the national economy, political structures, and educational institutions were being consciously remade on Western models in order to meet the challenge of Western power – particularly in light of the clear subjugation of China by those powers.

What can be seen in this very early formulation is a profound understanding of the deep relationship between language, symbol, the larger societal project then underway in Japan, and the personal task Minakata set for himself. One of the clearest and most venerable representations of what Minakata glosses as “cosmos, man, and earth” is the Chinese character for King, (王) a single vertical line with cross-strokes at the top, middle, and bottom. While held by some etymologists to represent an axe -- a symbol of power and authority -- another standard analysis of long standing parses the three horizontal strokes as representing heaven, humanity, and earth, and the vertical as

representing the person of the King, who unifies and harmonizes all three. Far from being a passing conceit, this tripartite division has long been an organizing principle of traditional arts in both China and Japan, including such forms now familiar in the west as sumi-e landscape painting, flower arrangement, architectural design, and is commonly used to provide a standard pedagogical sequence which is also shared not only by secular arts, but also by the three great East Asian religions of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism.

From this perspective, Minakata's antiquarian research – in both Eastern and Western libraries – his botanical fieldwork, his labors as a folklorist, his political thought and activity, and his dialogue with Shingon (in the person of Dai Acarya Toki Hōryū) all take on a similar cast: that of an open-ended engagement with and classification of the widest possible array of primary materials. Whereas the *kokugaku* scholars of his time, and the political figures who drew on their efforts, were consciously engaged in the prescriptive creation of a narrative, and employed the natural realm, the material culture constructed from that realm, and the intellectual and spiritual traditions arising from those cognates in service of that narrative, Minakata's two-fold approach was to examine these three linked fields of activity as broadly and deeply as possible so as to achieve a more accurate description prior to theorization, and rather than rush headlong into a predetermined program of enforced modernization and homogenization which would itself destroy many of the natural and cultural features he wished to examine, work for the preservation of heterogeneity in the realms of the biological substrate on which life depends, the human cultures adapted to local environmental conditions, and the more abstract understandings arising from their interplay.

In the course of his life and work, which were carried out free of institutional appointments or position of virtually all kinds, in contrast to the totalizing claims of centralization, militarism, modernism, and technological progress, Minakata successfully articulated what is less a counter-narrative or antithesis than an internally coherent and structurally sound alternative stance which fuses the skepticism of empirical method with a healthy respect for what is and the processes that have led to its existence; a stance that allows as much space for loose and tangled skeins of contingency and chance as it does for taut chains of causality. More than any single element or product of his work and thought, it is this larger pattern that I hope to bring into focus in the following chapters.

In addition to those chapters, I have included among the appendices complete transcriptions — from the original journals — of virtually all of Minakata's English-language publications I have been able to find. While most of these articles were subsequently republished in Volume 10 of the 1971 edition of *Minakata Kumagusu zenshu* (Complete Writings of Minakata Kumagus, hereafter MKZ), the versions presented in the current work are original transcriptions from original source materials no longer in copyright, and it is also my hope that their inclusion in the appendix to this study will result in their greater availability to other scholars. There may also be some small value in my identification of a very small number of articles which escaped the attention of the editors of MKZ. I commend Minakata's own articles to the attention of my readers much more than my own musings on them, and urge interested readers to skip directly to the Appendix.

That said, in order to contextualize Minakata's thought, it is necessary to understand something of his life. He was born in 1867, on the eve of the Meiji

Restoration, and passed out of this world in December of 1941, mere weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. His life spanned the most tumultuous period in Japanese and global history, and in his way, he played a key role at critical points in that history: waving a pistol in the streets of Havana at the dawn of the Cuban Revolution, transcribing long passages of ancient works in the Reading Room of the British Museum, listening at the Speakers' Corner of Hyde Park in Victorian London, botanizing in the remote mountain keep of Nachi, and later, mobilizing popular resistance to government destruction of shrines and sacred groves in and around his home-town of Tanabe, in the Kii Peninsula of Japan. All of these could be seen as merely liminal activities of one kind or another. Yet they were central, not only to his work itself, but to his method.

Thus, prior to the treatment of his acts of literary translation, cultural and temporal translation, conceptual translation, political translation, and epistemological translation, I will present a short biographical overview of his life.

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION: The Person of Minakata Kumagusu

Born in Wakayama City in Wakayama Prefecture in 1867, on the cusp of the Meiji Restoration, Minakata's place as a local culture hero is secure: his name is generally the second on the list of notable sons of the southeast Japan's Ki'i Peninsula, between that of Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) and Seishū Hanaoka.

The former is the legendary T'ang Era Tantric Master who introduced True-Word Buddhism (*Shingon Mikkyō*) to Japan from China, is generally credited with the creation of the Japanese syllabary known as *hiragana* and *katakana*, wrote what remains to this day Japan's definitive work on classical Chinese poetics, established the first free public schools and hospitals in Japan, and is believed by some followers to sit in eternal meditative repose on Mount Koya, in the remote natural spiritual sanctuary he established a millennium ago; the latter a doctor first trained in traditional Japanese and Chinese medicine, who is credited with the first surgical procedure carried out under anesthesia in Japan. In addition to sharing personal histories that include particularly unusual educational careers, each is remembered in Wakayama as much for their unremitting efforts on behalf of the common people, as for achievements which have fixed their places in Japanese intellectual and cultural history.

Heady company indeed, and like Kūkai and Seishū, even in his early years, Minakata was regarded as remarkable. According to one oft-told tale, as a child visiting

a literarily inclined neighbor's house, he memorized the entire *Wakan-sansai-zue* (a Japanese-Chinese illustrated encyclopedia comprising some 105 fascicles and originally published ca. 1702 CE), and upon returning home proceeded to transcribe it from memory. Like many tales of Minakata, this one has grown larger in the telling and re-telling and the suggestion that he memorized and transcribed the encyclopedia in one go is not supported by any firm evidence that I have been able to find. In fact, his reading and copying of the *Wakan-Sansai-zue*, along with the botanical *Honzo Komuku* and the Japanese literary classic *Taiheki* seems to have taken place over a period of five years, between the time he was 10 and 15 years of age.⁴ But it does seem that Minakata had an eidetic or near eidetic visual memory, one that he from time to time showed off as a sort of intellectual parlor trick in his London years, when he would read a page or two of a work, close the book, and immediately transcribe what he had just read verbatim.

The second of three boys born to Yahei and Sumi Minakata (aged 39 and 30 at the time of his birth, respectively), Kumagusu benefited from his father's economic status as well as the opening of educational opportunities to individuals who were not born into the traditional military or aristocratic elites who had historically had access to advanced education. Yahei was a self-made man; a dealer in hardware who had branched out into sake brewing, rice brokering, and money-lending. This made him a man of some importance, inasmuch as upward of thirty percent of government revenues during the Meiji era were derived from taxes on sake production.

In 1879, when young Kumagusu was 12, Yahei took the then-unusual step – at least unusual for a merchant -- of enrolling him in the newly opened Wakayama Middle School. In truth, his avid self-directed reading and transcription notwithstanding, even at

⁴ Minakata Kumagusu Museum Foundation; Roger Pulvers, "Japan's Wild Scientific Genius."

this early age Kumagusu was apparently disinclined to formal education and more likely to place his attention on a frog or some other small specimen he had brought to school in his lunchbox than the instructor's lessons. Yet his gifts remained sufficiently evident that in 1884 he was sent to Tokyo to enroll in the preparatory school for what would become Tokyo Daigaku (Tōdai), more commonly known as Tokyo Imperial University. The curriculum included Japanese, Classical Chinese, German, Latin, chemistry, mathematics, zoology and botany. Among his classmates were Natsume Soseki,⁵ who later achieved fame with his novel "I Am A Cat" and the celebrated haiku poet, Masaoka Shiki. As had been the case at middle school, aside from his devotion to zoology and botany, he showed little or no interest in pursuit of formal education within Japan, and was expelled in 1886 before entering Tōdai. In December of that same year, with his father's blessing and financial backing, he boarded the sea-vessel *City of Beijing*, bound for San Francisco with the supposed intention to study business at the Pacific Business College, enrolling there in January 1887.

Notably, like a number of other Meiji period figures of significance in science and literature, Kumagusu was relatively unaffected by the profound educational reforms which took place during his lifetime – most particularly the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education,⁶ which firmly established the neo-Confucian character of modern Japanese

⁵ Little is known about the relationship between Minakata and Natsume during their school days, but as will be discussed in Chapter One, both subsequently produced translations of Kamo no Chōmei's Hōjōki in collaboration with British nationals, and Minakata's translation, which followed Natsume's by several years, diverges so completely from that of his classmate that it is difficult not to see a measure of rivalry between the dutiful student Natsume and the fierce autodidact Minakata, whose translation and accompanying scholarly notes seems designed to obliterate all memory of Natsume's earlier work.

⁶ The 325 character rescript was immediately distributed to all schools in Japan and read in every classroom at the time of its promulgation. Students were required to memorize the complete text and thereafter, it assumed a position within Japanese classrooms and assemblies much like that of the Pledge of Allegiance in US schools. As both Alan Christy and John Driscoll point out, in numerous letters written following his return to Japan, Minakata argues forcefully against the *kokutai* concept and its inherent notion of a

education, strongly emphasized the filial obligations of subjects to the Emperor, and the explicitly positioned the Emperor as the head of what the Meiji political theorist Hozumi Yatsuka named the *kazoku kokka* (家族国家) or *family-nation*.⁷

Writing critically of those changes, Dr Eiichi Maruyama, himself a Tōdai graduate who specialized in science history, scientific philosophy, and physics before going on to become director of Hitachi Ltd.'s advanced research laboratory, places Minakata in the context of other scientific figures of his era, and bemoans the effect of the Imperial Rescript and the resultant emphasis on dutiful conformity as follows:

Quite a number of Japanese scientists achieved worldwide fame in the Meiji Period. For instance, Shibazaburo Kitazato developed the first serum therapy for tetanus under Dr. Robert Koch of Germany; Jōkichi Takamine discovered that adrenaline (or epinephrine), a hormone produced in the adrenal gland causes the body to respond to emergencies; Kikunae Ikeda discovered the seasoning effect of kelp extract and, having identified its main ingredient (sodium glutamate) commercialised it as *ajinomoto*; Hantaro Nagaoka proposed an atomic model based on the rings of Saturn; Kumagusu Minakata pioneered the study of slime moulds and plants in evergreen, broad-leaved tree forests; Kiyoshi Shiga identified the dysentery pathogen, *Bacillus Dysenteriae*, which was later called *Shigella Dysenteriae*, the name being based on his surname; Umetaro Suzuki discovered that the vitamin B1 (or thiamine) prevented beriberi; and Hideyo Noguchi

“[mystical unified Japanese] body politic,” setting against this concept his own notion of *hentai*, or “transformation body,” including in that concept long-standing – but newly illegal -- heterodox local social and sexual practices ranging from “public” nudity on beaches and in mixed gender bathhouses to *yobai* (literally, “night-creeping,” colloquially, “cruising for recreational sex.”).

⁷ “The constitutional law scholar Hozumi Yatsuka (1860-1912) argued that the Japanese state was not a human construct but a natural and immutable entity, a contention that comes close to political mysticism. He originated the “nation-state as family concept...and supported imperial sovereignty, thereby adding theoretical muscle to the [mystical kokugaku-derived] notion of *kokutai*, which, like the Emperor, would be come a key orthodox and ultra-orthodox renovationist concept. Nationalisms of Japan: managing and mystifying identity, Brian J. McVeigh, Rowman and Littlefield, 2004.

succeeded in culturing the syphilis pathogen, *Treponema* (formerly known as *Spirochaeta*) and was nominated for Nobel Prize (in physiology or medicine) several times.

Alas! No more scholars of renown in Japan until Hideki Yukawa was awarded with the Nobel Prize in physics in 1949.

It seems that, during the isolationism of the Edo Period, the intellectual potential of the Japanese became fully charged up, so that after the Restoration, many ambitious young men wanted to go abroad to boost their scientific capabilities. I myself think that the education system established in the Meiji Period was actually responsible for the subsequent reduction in vigour of Japanese scientists in the early part of the 20th century.

Kumagusu didn't last long in San Francisco and seems to have been even less diligent – if such a thing is possible -- about his business coursework than his previous academic studies. By August of 1887, at the age of 19, Minakata secured entry to what was then the Michigan School of Agriculture (now Michigan State University) in East Lansing and traveled east for the purpose of pursuing studies in botany. As is suggested by Dr. Maruyama, Kumagusu was not the only Japanese student in East Lansing.⁸ As Roger Pulvers puts it, he was in the company of a number of other Japanese students when they were “assaulted...by a group of his fellow American students. The American boys were suspended, and that incident seemed to be over; until, that is, the president of the university found Minakata plastered one night in the corridor of his dormitory.” Rather than expose his friends to further difficulties as a result of their drunken exploits, Minakata packed his bags the next morning and headed down the road to Ann Arbor, where he quickly fell in with another group of Japanese nationals then attending the University of Michigan.

If nothing else, it seems that Kumagusu had learned that his passion for learning

⁸ There were, in 1887, six Japanese students at the Michigan Agricultural School

was better exercised as an autodidact than in the classroom. With the assistance of his Japanese friends – among them, Okazaki Kunisuke, then the secretary to the Japanese ambassador to the US and later a significant political figure in Japan who was serving as Minister of Communication at the time of Kumagusu’s return to Japan in 1900 – he gained access to the University of Michigan library, where his reading included *Nature* and *Notes & Queries* (to which he subsequently contributed 50 and 323 entries respectively) George Patrick Marsh’s pioneering conservationist work Man and Nature: Or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action, and in October of 1889, a biography of Conrad Gesner, which aroused in him the resolve to become “Japan’s Gesner.” He also botanized extensively in the area around Ann Arbor, collecting specimens and making the acquaintance of others with similar interests. This led, in 1890, to a correspondence with the noted amateur botanist Colonel William Wirt Calkins, of Illinois.⁹ Calkins provided encouragement as well as intriguing information regarding the plethora of yet-unidentified species to be found in Florida and the Caribbean. Between Calkins’ advice and his own reading, botanizing, and specimen preparation practice, he quickly gained sufficient grounding in the factual and methodological aspects of botany to be adequately prepared for independent fieldwork. Carrying little but a plant press, a microscope, a few personal belongings, and a six-shooter, Minakata left Ann Arbor for what turned out to be a bit more than year of fieldwork in what were then the wilds of Florida (See Illustration 1) and the Caribbean, from May of 1891 through August of

⁹ Professionally, Calkin was a well-regarded lawyer who had served as an officer in the Civil War, published a Catalogue of Living Illinois Mollusca in 1872, and embarked on a study of mycology in 1885, just two or three years earlier than his epistolary contact with Minakata. He later concentrated on the study of lichen. He also published The history of the One hundred and fourth regiment of Illinois volunteer Infantry, War of the great rebellion, 1862-1865, a work which has become a standard reference among Civil War historians and re-enactors.

1892.

Minakata first fetched up in Jacksonville, Florida where he took lodging and employment with a Chinese grocer named Jiang Shengzong, helping with stocking the store and butchering meat by day, botanizing on his days off, and preparing specimens in the evenings. The arrangement lasted for some months when Minakata headed south, first to Key West, then to Havana, where a Japanese acrobat traveling with a circus convinced Minakata to come along as a secretary of sorts, primarily to write replies to love-letters the acrobats received from women in the audience. For three months, Minakata traveled with the circus, in the course of which time he witnessed in Havana early rumblings of what would subsequently become Jose Marti's Cuban revolution (and according to at least one of his letters fired shots of his own), observed racially based discrimination against blacks in Caracas, Venezuela, and saw, at first hand, the operations of commercial empire in that region. By January of the next year, he was back at Jiang's, where he would stay until Jiang closed up shop in August of 1892 (See Illustration II). The following month, he arrived in New York City, where on September 14, he boarded the *City of New York*, bound for Liverpool.

Intriguingly, Minakata seems to have arrived in Florida and the West Indies less than a year after the departure of Lafacadio Hearn, who had been traveling in the French West Indies from 1887 till 1889. Best known in modern times for his translations of Japanese ghost tales which served as the basis for the movie *Kwaidan*, Hearn was then building on his earlier success as a newspaper writer and literary figure at the New Orleans Picayune-Times, and making a national name for himself in the pages of *Harper's* and *The Atlantic Monthly* with his dispatches from the Indies, a fame which he subsequently parlayed into

a similar journey to Japan, where he eventually settled and took citizenship, establishing himself along the way as the foremost Western interpreter of Japanese customs and culture of his time. His works -- evocative accounts of his travels, inspired translations of Japanese folk legends, ghost stories, religious morality tales, and occasional impressionist pieces on daily life and customs -- stand to this day as the most successful and deeply felt literary depictions of a way of life that was rapidly disappearing even as Hearn captured it in his writing. Equally significantly in connection to Minakata, just as such Westerners as Morse and (somewhat later) Fenellosa reawakened native interest by preserving and championing traditional Japanese arts and crafts, it can be argued that Hearn's work in preserving, translating and championing Japanese folklore not only underlies much of the subsequent work done by Minakata and other figures of major significance such as Yanagita Kunio, but actually provided the template for what Yanagita would subsequently characterize as a distinctively native Japanese inductive approach to folklore. There is no evidence that Kumagusu and Hearn ever encountered one another, and the respective timelines of their lives strongly indicate that there is little or no chance they could have met face to face. Nonetheless, the extent of their mutual interests -- and the indication of, at a minimum, indirect mutual influence -- is quite clear.

In another, and similarly-intriguing near miss, Minakata's subsequent departure from London in 1900 immediately preceded the arrival of his old classmate, Natsume Soseki, whose own sojourn in England was, by all accounts, an entirely miserable period of two years marked by paranoia, agoraphobia, and poverty, in the midst of which he somehow still managed to cement his grasp on English literature to such an extent that he replaced Lafcadio Hearn (by this time, a naturalized Japanese citizen under the name

Koizumi Yakumo) as lecturer in English at the “First Higher School,” the school from which he had earlier graduated – and Minakata had formerly been expelled.

Minakata seems to have had a comparatively quick trip by sea, arriving in Liverpool and making his way to London before September was out. In London, he went immediately to the Yokohama Shokin Bank, where an old family friend, Nakai Yoshikisu, was branch manager. Waiting for him there was a letter from his brother, Tsunegusu, advising him of his father’s death. It also seems that Tsunegusu was not as adept a financial manager as Yahei had been, and the family business had suffered some setbacks which, among other things, made it impossible to send the intended regular remittances to Kumagusu. Well-known in London’s then-substantial Japanese expatriate community, Nakai appears to have introduced Minakata to a number of contacts in an effort to ease his difficult situation, among them an art-dealer known as Kataoka Prince. In both France and England, *Japonisme* was very much of the moment and Kataoka had an extensive clientele interested in purchasing high-quality ukiyo-e, a clientele which included both private buyers and the British Museum. Minakata became a frequent guest at Kataoka’s table, and Kataoka found Minakata’s translation skills very useful in providing prospective buyers with detailed information on the ukiyo-e –which often included extensive text within the overall composition in addition to the plethora of signatures and seals used by artists to authenticate their work.

Through a combination of cheap lodgings, irregular remittances from home, translations carried out for Kataoka (and by some indications, other, perhaps less savory dealings involving Japanese prints), Minakata managed to get by over the next year.

Then, in August of 1893, two momentous events occurred. Kataoka introduced Minakata to Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (See Illustration 3), then Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at the British Museum. In that same month, an inquiry from one M.A.B which appeared in the current edition of *Nature* sent Minakata into a frenzy of activity. In short order, he composed a reply titled “The Constellations in the Far East,” and sent it to *Nature* from his lodging at 15 Blithfield St, South Kensington – a district then best characterized as having a “depressed housing market” in which a great many once grand dwellings were being cut up into small cheap flats. The article, dated August 31 and published on October 5, created a sensation: it was immediately picked up and reprinted in the Times of London. A week later, *Nature* published a second, much shorter, submission from Minakata titled “Early Chinese Observations on Colour Adaptations,” the first of many entries in which Minakata mines Twang Shih-Chih’s ninth century miscellany, the *Yu-yang-tsah-tsu*, for indications of proto-scientific thought and observation in early East Asian history.

Overnight, Minakata had achieved a measure of intellectual celebrity in London, and it was in this moment —on October 30, to be precise — that he was introduced to the Shingon prelate Toki Hōryū at a dinner party held by his old friend Nakai. Toki Acarya had just attended the World Parliament of Religions held in conjunction with the Chicago Columbian Exhibition of that year as part of the Japanese Buddhist delegation sponsored by Inoue Enryō, and was in the course of his journey back to Japan.

The two seem to have hit it off, and beginning from the following night Kumagusu spent three consecutive nights at Hōryū’s lodgings. On the morning of November 1st the two went to the British Museum, where, with the guidance of Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897), head of the department of British and medieval antiquities within the ethnographical collections, they examined Buddhist statues and visited the reading room.

Kumagusu left Hōryū's lodgings on the morning of 3 November. Returning to his own lodgings at 15, Blithfield Street, Kensington West, he wrote a letter to Hōryū that was delivered the same day to him. Hōryū immediately wrote a response, which he sent to Kumagusu along with a Buddhist *kasāya* robe.¹⁰

This pair of relationships would have a deep and lasting influence on Minakata's life, both in London in the nineties, and in Japan after the turn of the century. For Franks' part, he seems to have offered Minakata introductions at the Museum, including one to Robert K. (later, Sir) Douglas, then Director of the Oriental Printed Books section. Douglas was sufficiently impressed by Minakata's erudition to offer him permanent employment as an associate curator, but Minakata declined a full-time position, preferring to work on a project-by-project basis and maintain his own independence. As for Toki, he and Minakata would maintain a lively correspondence, portions of which now stand as Minakata's most profound achievements, for the rest of his life. As I will argue in Chapter Five, there are also firm indications that Toki gave Minakata *abhiṣeka* (a formal rite of initiation) into Shingon *mikkyō*. As I will suggest, this relationship has profound implications for the way in which we situate the 1903 sketch which has come to be known as the Minakata Mandala.

From this auspicious beginning – in which he quite literally presented a detailed “harmonization” of the cosmologies of India, China, Japan, and Korea -- emerged his subsequent career as an active correspondent and contributor to the magazine *Nature*, with interests extending from the stars above to his primary fields of botany and mycology (and the earth from which they arise) to such very human arcana as the origin of modern system of fingerprinting. In an article published in December of 1894, Minakata (whose views were subsequently echoed by the Dutch scholar G. Shlegel)

¹⁰ (See Illustration 4, for an image of the robe donated subsequently by Minakata to the British Museum)

argued vociferously and effectively in favor of the Chinese origin of this system, against the position then proposed by fingerprint identification pioneer Sir William Herschel, who asserted that there was no meaningful relationship between the older Chinese system of palm-printing and the more modern method of identification on the basis of whorl analysis of impressions left by individual fingers. Like his earlier article on the Constellations in the Far East, Minakata's entry on "The Origin of the Finger-print Method" attracted wide attention that was both immediate and sustained.¹¹ For the balance of his time in London, Minakata was to publish between four and six entries per year in *Nature*.

In addition to his publications, Minakata was active as a curatorial assistant at the British Museum, principally in the cataloging of East Asian texts and artworks and the

¹¹ In the 1912 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, Berthold Laufer gives us some inkling of the reach of Minakata's argument and his command of both primary and secondary sources in Japanese and Chinese in the following passage:

In regard to the prevalence of the finger--print system in China during the T'ang period, K. Minakata has furnished a valuable piece of information. Churyo Katsurakawa, the Japanese antiquary (1754--1808), writes on the subject as follows:

According to the "Domestic Law" (*Korei*), to divorce the wife the husband must give her a document stating which of the seven reasons for divorce was assigned for the action. * * * All letters must be in the husband's handwriting, but in case he does not understand how to write he should sign with a finger print. An ancient commentary on this passage is: "In case a husband can not write, let him hire another man to write the document * * * and after the husband's name sign with his own index finger." Perhaps this is the first mention in Japanese literature of the finger--print method.

This "Domestic Law" forms a part of the "Laws of Taiho," enacted in 702 A. D. With some exceptions, the main point of these laws were borrowed from the Chinese "Laws of Yung--hui" (650--655 A. D.); so it appears, in the judgment of Minakata, that the Chinese of the seventh century had already acquired the finger--print method.

preparation of translations and summarization of such works attendant to their cataloging. He acquired a reader's ticket at the Museum, and was also given access to restricted portions of the collection, from which he made both transcriptions and sketches which appear in the first several of his London Notebooks. Minakata had a plethora of interests, extending from comparative culture and religion to linguistics (both applied and theoretical), the history of technology, comparative literature and intellectual history. According to Ryugo Matsui, who has carried out an extensive study of the fifty-two books of extracts Minakata transcribed in the Reading Room of the British Museum,

'collecting the source of comparative folklore studies was the primary purpose of these notes,' and so various travel records of ancient and contemporary times, as well as some volumes of natural history and anthropology, were transcribed for this purpose.'Kumagusu was keen to choose documents written by authors from various cultural backgrounds, such as Chinese, Muslims, Africans, as well as Europeans. He was also able to profit from his background as an East Asian to use classical Oriental literature to make comparisons with European records. In other words, Kumagusu was seeking to introduce multiple viewpoints to understand cultural phenomena in the world.'¹²

What is clear is that this broad range of study and pattern of intellectual activity arose directly out of his adolescent encounter with – and transcription of --the *Wakan-San-Sai-Zue* and other such encyclopedias and miscellanies, leading to his aforementioned determination to “harmonize and unify Japanese, Chinese, and Western learning and wisdom as they relate to the cosmos, man, and earth.”¹³

Through his work in the British Museum and his relationship with Robert Douglas, Minakata also made the acquaintance of a number of private individuals with interests in Japanese literature and art, among them, the Victorian novelist Arthur Morrison, whose realistic and gritty depictions of London's East End slums created a

¹² Ryugo Matsui, Workshop: Minakata Kumagusu and London, CSJR Newsletter, Autumn 2010, p. 15

¹³

[“彼の最終目標は、地球規模の視点で日本・中国・西洋の天・地・人の知識を統一した三才図絵を曼陀羅形式で作ることであった。”-- 小川 泰]

contemporary literary sensation of their own; and F.V. Dickins, then Registrar of the University of London.

Dickins, though largely forgotten today, was a key figure in British-Japanese intergovernmental relations from approximately 1867 forward, and in his time produced a number of translations of key Japanese texts. As early as 1880, he produced the first full-length study of the works of the Japanese print artist Hokusai, his translation of *Takekoto monogatari* (The Bamboo Cutter's Tale) appeared in 1884 and in collaboration with Minakata, he published the first complete translation of Kamo no Chōmei's Hōjōki, in 1905. At the time they met, Minakata "was living in London in somewhat straitened circumstances and F.V. Dickins was able to help financially."¹⁴ This professional collaboration, in the course of which Dickins seems to have worked assiduously for the establishment of a chair in Japanese Language and Literature at either Oxford or Cambridge and the appointment of Minakata to that position, would continue until 1909. The length of the relationship notwithstanding, it was clearly not a smooth relationship at all times. In a 1904 letter to Sir Ernest Satow which touched on the status of his translation of *Primitive and Medieval Japanese Texts* and his collaboration with Minakata, "Dickins noted...that 'I got him back to Japan with very great difficulty and am not anxious for him to reappear'."

Some of Minakata's personal habits, it seems, were as off-putting as his erudition was attractive. His room, located above a horse stable in South Kensington, was so crammed with books and specimens that it was impossible to keep clean. He could be heedless about the condition of his clothing. And though the range of materials available to him for botanical work outside the Museum was limited by his urban setting, he took

¹⁴ Kornicki, Introduction, The Collected Works of F.V. Dickins.

full advantage of what was there, most notably horse and dog excrement, which he kept in trays in his lodgings, using it as a growth medium for slime molds, a practice he would continue for the rest of his life. Additionally, by all accounts, Minakata was an enthusiastic drinker: the website for the Minakata Family Sake Brewery, Sekkai Ito, describes his years in London as a time when “he drank so much beer he practically bathed in it.” His walk home from the Museum in the evenings – a bit less than four miles -- was generally an extended ramble through pubs and bookstores on and around Oxford Street, a pass through Hyde Park and by the Speakers’ Corner, and thence across the river, through Bayswater to Kensington. On more than one occasion, walking home in a perhaps somewhat fortified condition he took – very likely justified --offense at a passing remark issued in his direction and a street scuffle resulted. The street is one thing, but the Museum is another, and a pair of similar incidents within its walls in 1897 and 1898 were to result in the end of this chapter in Minakata’s London years.

Although the pair of scuffles in the Museum are typically treated as simple evidence of Minakata’s truculent and confrontational nature, usually overlooked in connection with the 1897 and 1898 incidents is another pivotal event that occurred earlier, in March of that year: the meeting of Minakata Kumagusu and Sun Yat-sen in the office of Sir Robert Douglas at the British Museum. In subsequent years, writing to Yanagita Kunio and Uematsu Shigeru, Minakata said of this first meeting that upon Sun’s inquiry as to his life’s ambition, he replied ‘My wish is that we Asians will drive out [of Asia] all Westerners once and for all’.¹⁵ Although Minakata noted the surprise the remark induced in both Douglas and Sun, as Wong observes, “Sun Yatsen seems to have been quite taken with him, and subsequently spent a fair amount of time in his company.”

¹⁵ Wong, The Creation of a Heroic Image, p. 280-1.

Six weeks after his first meeting with Sun -- often in the company of a revolutionary Irish nationalist named R.J. Mulkern who was serving as Sun's bodyguard and likely had strong views of his own about British racialism -- Minakata recorded in his diary an account of a street incident that began with an offensive remark from a British woman and ended with four police hauling him into the station and holding him until 2 am. It seems more than merely possible that after a decade of living in the West, often in comparatively cheap lodgings where he encountered a wide range of immigrants and *others*, emboldened by his new associates -- revolutionaries who were engaged in direct action to change their circumstances and address their grievances -- Minakata had simply reached the end of his own willingness to silently accept the casual and often aggressive racism he had both observed being visited on others and had himself personally suffered.

Whatever the reason, in November of 1897, some four months after Sun's departure, Minakata punched a Museum official named Thomas in the nose over a perceived insult, and his Reader's Ticket was suspended for two months. In November of 1898, there was a similar occurrence. In this case, Minakata was shushing a woman who he felt had interrupted his reading with impertinent questions when a Museum employee began to remonstrate with him for his behavior, resulting in Minakata turning on him and "violently attacking an official in the middle of the Reading Room."¹⁶ The result was the permanent loss of Minakata Reader's Ticket. Minakata's friend, the popular novelist Arthur Morrison, wrote letters to the Lord-Mayor of London, the Prince of Wales, and the Archbishop of Canterbury pleading Minakata's case, and when those efforts were unsuccessful, Robert Douglas went to great lengths to retain Minakata's services and allow him access to the Museum archives, brokering an arrangement under which

¹⁶ Blacker, p. 143.

Minakata would be permitted to work in Douglas' personal office. Minakata refused to accept the strictures under which he would be permitted access.

Thereafter, Minakata seems to have secured per diem employment at the South Kensington Museum where he worked about six hours per day for a per diem rate of 21 shillings. The remittances from home had become scantier and more irregular, and his prospects were uncertain.¹⁷ By June of 1899, in addition to maintaining his frequency of submissions to *Nature*, he began to pepper *Notes & Queries* with almost weekly entries, among them increasingly more substantial and sustained works of scholarship, setting the stage for the September 1899 publication of his two part article titled "The Wandering Jew" wherein he points out the many correspondences of that European legend with the more venerable (and less tendentious) Buddhist myth of the Arhat Pindola, the article as a whole having grown out of a shorter 1895 entry in *Nature*. These works, and those which would follow in 1900, were the last flowering of his genius in London. (A more detailed discussion of these efforts, along with a number of works carried out following his return to Japan will be the subject of Chapters One and Two) The outbreak of the Second Boer War -- and the need to pay for it -- eliminated any possibility of government funding for Dickins' scheme. Although the plan seems to have had the support of a number of his former colleagues in the British diplomatic service, there would be no professorship of Japanese Language and Literature for Mr. Minakata. By October of 1900, he had booked passage back to Japan and boarded the Awa Maru with one cheap cotton suit and well over a ton of books and specimens collected between his 1887 landing in San Francisco and his departure from London. Before the journey was out, he found himself flat broke, without a penny in his pocket. He had to borrow five yen from the ship's Captain before

¹⁷ Blacker, p. 144.

they landed in Kobe.

His brother, Tsunegusu, was aghast to see Kumagusu return after more than a decade wearing a cheap suit so thin it looked like mosquito netting, no academic degree, and a small mountain of books and boxes of god-knows-what. He forbade him to enter the family home and shipped him off to lodge in a Buddhist temple in Nachikatsu'ura close to one of the family's sake breweries. Kumagusu seems to have been unfazed, and seized the opportunity presented him: aside from a lone visit to Wakayama City for a reunion with his old friend Sun Yat-sen, throughout 1901 and 1902 he spent his days roaming the hills, shore, and islands in the region around the falls at Nachi, which had been a mountain pilgrimage destination for well over a thousand years – one of the very few such sacred geographies that had always been open to women; he spent his evenings preparing the botanical and folkloric specimens he had collected in the day, corresponding with Toki Hōryū, and enjoying the product of the family brewery. It was almost as if the great Camphor Bear was hibernating in the mountains.

The next few years were marked by an explosion of scholarly activity. In 1903, his correspondence with Toki yielded the mature formulation of the Minakata Mandala and his four categories of the knowable which, I will argue in Chapter Five, is Minakata's own fusion of Western empirical methodology, Tantric Buddhist techniques of projective vision, and advanced philosophical Buddhism's understanding of the relationship between observer and observed phenomena.

That year and the next saw four or more submissions to *Nature*, closer to a dozen to *Notes & Queries*, and in 1905 came publication of his collaborative translation of *Hōjōki* (on which Chapter One is centered) in the Journal of the Royal Society of Asian

Studies in London, and republication in *The Critic* in Boston; in 1906 publication of another work on which he had collaborated, E.F. Strange's Hokusai, Old Man Mad About Painting, and in the same year, a suitable marriage, to Tamura Matsue, the daughter of a local Shrine priest who was also a noted Sinologist from a good samurai family that could trace its ancestry directly back to the legendary warrior Benkei. Also in 1906—and consequentially—came the Japanese Government issuance of the Shrine Consolidation Edicts, opposition to which would be the defining element of his life for the next five years and more.

All of Minakata's previously evidenced inclinations to vigorous intellectual dispute, the preservation and extension of Japanese literary and religious history, concern for the need to catalog biologically rich environments and direct action in the face of what he saw as injustice came together in his organization of local resistance to the National Shrine Consolidation Policy. Having discovered many of his finest specimens of slime-molds and ferns in the comparatively undisturbed woodlands that surrounded small local shrines, both Buddhist and Shinto, Minakata now moved from simply collecting, classifying, and cataloging previously unknown species to directing a diverse range of anti-government actions carried out by local residents, with the clear aim of preventing the development of these areas and preserving not just biologically, but also culturally rich environments. Notably, it was around this issue that Minakata and Yanagita Kunio first made common cause in what would prove to be an uneasy relationship of collaboration and rivalry that would last until Minakata's final letter to Yanagita in 1916.

While the resistance did not stop the Shrine Consolidation movement dead in its

tracks on a national level, they were quite successful in abating its worst excesses in the Wakayama and Kumano regions, and turning it back in 1912, resulting in the preservation of significant tracts of undisturbed broad-leaf evergreen forest surrounding local shrines, and subsequently, in 1920, the formal abolition of the edicts. This campaign, along with a more detailed review of his association with Sun Yat-sen, will be examined more closely in Chapter Four, which is devoted to Minakata's efforts to translate his understanding into pragmatic political action.

Following their early alliance on the issue of the Shrine Consolidation Edicts, Minakata and Yanagita Kunio, the latter of whom is widely regarded as the principal intellectual founder of Japanese ethnology and sociology, had extensive contact, at least by letter, and Yanagita solicited submissions from Minakata for the publication he had recently taken over, *Kenkyū Kōdō* (Researching Native Place).

The two men shared a significant interest in ghost tales and village life, and their extensive correspondence on this and other topics has been preserved for posterity. Indeed, as much or more than in his formal published writings, it was in his correspondence with such major figures in the development of a neo-Western Japanese intellectual tradition as Yanagita that Minakata made his influence felt. While a number of his correspondents and other well-meaning friends strongly urged Minakata to focus his attentions more assiduously to publication during his lifetime, he is reputed to have often asserted that his true intellectual legacy was to be found in his letters, sometimes as many as a dozen or two in a day.¹⁸ Minakata's relationship with Yanagita in this period,

¹⁸ Currently, a program of cataloging, transcription and editorial revision of Minakata's collected letters for an expanded and updated version of *Minakata Zenshu* (Complete Writings of Minakata), along with a catalog of the complete contents of his home and personal specimen collections is underway, a foundation

as well as his later (1931-1941) correspondence with the sexologist Iwata Junichi provides ample evidence of his role as a conceptual translator. In that role, he was as avid in the pursuit of his goal of rendering in a Japanese milieu the “Western” empirical, observational and descriptive (as distinct from prescriptive) modes that could provide a sound basis for Japanese science and social science as he was in his efforts to preserve distinctive Japanese cultural features that were, even then, being swept away by what he felt was the heedless adoption of a wide range of Western-culture-specific prescriptive approaches to language, sex, and the language of sex, all of which will be examined in Chapter Three.

Although his rate of production of articles in English suffered somewhat between 1909 and 1912, at the height of his involvement with Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement activities – among them writing a weekly column for the regional Socialist/New Buddhist newspaper, *Muro Shinpō* -- from 1913 forward, the flow of English-language work was unabated and continued to be so throughout the teens and twenties, with the sole exception of 1922, when his attention shifted toward his lasting legacy, and the establishment of the Minakata Biological Research Institute, on behalf of which he made a six-month visit to Tokyo for fund-raising purposes. Within the twenties, there is one year of a startling jump in his productivity, from March 1925 until March 1926, during which time he submitted 34 entries to Notes & Queries, all signed “Oso y Alcanforada.” This was the first of three years when “he closed his gate” in order to care for his son, Kumaya, who had a schizophrenic break on the day of his college entrance examination. The associated medical costs were extensive, spurring Minakata to collect

having been formed for this express purpose. This has resulted in a number of finds of major significance in the last five or six years, some of which will be detailed in relevant sections of this study.

all of his Japanese-language scientific publications and publish three volumes of his collected work in 1926; additionally, at the behest of the Imperial Household in the same year, he prepared a collection of 90 live specimens of 37 genera of slime molds on “culture medium.” The Emperor, himself an amateur biologist of some accomplishment, was appreciative, and three years later, arrangements were made for a ship-board lecture followed by a walking-tour of the nature preserve of Kashima Island – one of the sacred spaces saved by the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement -- with a frock-coated Minakata serving as tour guide for the Emperor and Empress. Just over thirty years later, visiting the region once again after many years, the Emperor wrote a haiku in remembrance of that tour which is claimed to be the only recorded Imperial poem that mentions a commoner by name.

Although the tour was the high point of Minakata’s career as a Japanese biologist, the period was not a bright one for a man of his political tendencies. Indeed, even the cautious and largely apolitical Yanagita resigned his post on the Editorial Board of the moderate democratic paper, *The Asahi Shimbun*, in response to a rising right-wing campaign of threats and intimidation that included death threats against the paper’s publisher. It was also around this time that Minakata became familiar with the detective magazine sexology of the previously mentioned Iwata Jun’ichi and initiated a correspondence with him that would last until the final year of Minakata’s life. Two months after Minakata’s last letter to Iwata in October, 1941, and just weeks after the Japanese Imperial Navy’s attack on Pearl Harbor, Minakata looked up from his bed at the age of 74 and said, in an auspicious echo of the *Hōjōki*: “I see purple flowers blooming on the ceiling.”

While Yanagita's efforts were, in many respects, an attempt not only to preserve local folklore, but to establish a Japanese school of socio/ethnology along Western social scientific lines, Minakata, in accordance with his early vision of harmonizing Japanese, Chinese, and Western learning in the study of heaven, man, and earth, developed an entirely different intellectual superstructure, which seems to have drawn in equal parts on the emerging Western science of ecology – a term which Minakata was using explicitly as early as 1905 -- and the religio-spatial medieval mind-science of Tantric Buddhism, specifically, the principle of the Mandala, a syncretic geometric ordering of subsidiary deities and lesser entities around a central figure, in this case, that of Vairocana (or Mahavairocana) Buddha, the Great Sun Deity of Shingon Buddhism. Key to this concept is the historically documentable phenomenon by which Tantric Buddhism, in its multi-century journey from Northern India to Japan, did not seek to kill or destroy the local deities which it encountered, but rather, to acknowledge the historical protective functions which they had served for local peoples, and incorporate them in an overarching schema. As I will show in subsequent chapters, it is precisely such openness to incorporation and reconfiguration, as distinct from amalgamation and subsumption, that characterizes not only the doctrines of the Shingon sect with which Minakata engaged, but his own work as a scholar. Indeed, this distinctive approach may be one of the most important examples provided by Minakata's life and work.

1

LITERARY TRANSLATION: Hōjōki, The Lays of Kamo no Chōmei, Manyōshū

As Edward Said noted in his work, *Orientalism*, most of what the West has historically known about the East was a body of information developed in the course of—and indelibly marked by—the implementation of larger economic, political, and religious agendas now subsumed by the word Imperialism. The scholars who first learned Asiatic languages and brought knowledge of the East to the West were businessmen, diplomats, and missionaries whose access to comparatively advanced material and organizational technology typically produced an impression of superiority, both in the eyes of locals on the periphery of these commercial and political empires and in their own self-estimation. The effect of this presumption on both the content and the cast of Western learning about the East was profound — and often far from salutary. Nonetheless, the attendant scholarly production was considerable and invaluable. Among the characteristics of this enterprise is a recurring effort to develop translations of materials which, in non-European cultures, served functions similar to those served by the Bible, the plays of Shakespeare and other literary works which had come to be viewed as canonical, and such works of strategy—both military and political—and philosophy that might be likened to the classic works of Greece and Rome. Thus, during Minakata’s life in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, we see a coterie of diplomat-scholars and

associates working in East Asia (among other places) compiling lexicons, collecting manuscripts, and producing translations from Chinese and Japanese.

F.V. Dickins (see illustration 5), with whom Minakata worked on the *Hōjōki*, was very much in this line, having entered Yokohama, Japan in 1863 while serving as a surgeon in the British Navy. He took an immediate interest in the country and its language, and later returned as a barrister associated with the diplomatic service. Dickins was a contemporary and friend of Ernest Mason Satow (later, Sir Satow). Satow himself was a pivotal figure—arguably *the* pivotal figure—in British activities in both Japan and China in the latter half of the nineteenth-century. In connection with to his formal diplomatic duties, he personally husbanded the careers of such figures as W.A. Aston, (translator of the *Nihongi*), Basil Hall Chamberlain (translator of the *Kojiki*), and a host of other lesser figures whose lights have dimmed with the passing of time. Today, Satow is best known as the author of A Guide to Diplomatic Practice -- the first systematic manual of its kind and still in print in revised editions. Many of the translations into European languages of this period were carried out with extensive, and often un-credited, assistance by bi-lingual native speakers living in their home countries. In a number of these respects, the production of the English-language translations of the *Hōjōki* and the *Manyōshū*, like those of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*, was part and parcel of the ongoing program of British expansion in East Asia. But there are critical differences in the provenance and uses of these various works: while the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* were of interest as primal documents of Japanese religion, social organization, and polity formation, the *Hōjōki* and *Manyōshū* were of interest in their role as fountainheads of Japanese literature. Moreover, the native speaker with whom Dickins worked—Minakata

Kumagusu—was hardly an anonymous and remote native informant. At the time of their meeting, Minakata was an independent scholar living in London who had already attracted significant attention in elite intellectual circles as a result of his first article in *Nature*, a tour-de-force of astronomical and historiographical knowledge titled “The Constellations of the East.”

In addition to these differences of location and standing, Minakata was attitudinally different than most of his peers: when only a teenager, he had stated his determination to *harmonize Japanese, Chinese, and Western learning*. This is a far cry from the approach of those Japanese who sought *superior* Western knowledge, even those who did so within the framework expressed by the contemporary slogan *wakon yosai* (Japanese spirit, Western learning). These facts, along with the ferocity of Minakata’s will, insured that the encounter between Dickins and Minakata would go rather differently than might have been expected, were one to judge by other such relationships between English translators and “native assistants.” Through an examination of these translations, with reference to a slightly earlier translation published by J.M. Dixon on the basis of an effort by his student Soseki Natsume, and a more recent fully collaborative translation by David Jenkins and Moriguchi Yasuhiko, I will look at a range of issues related to *literary translation* and the uniqueness of Minakata’s approach to cultural exchange in this medium.

While Minakata played a part in the translation of a number of key Japanese texts into English, the single most significant Japanese to English literary translation with which he was associated is that of Kamo no Chōmei’s *Hōjōki*. Owing to its central

position in Japanese literature, its comparatively short length, and the apparent clarity of its style, the *Hōjōki* has also been one of the most translated major works of Japanese literature over the last century. This confluence of conditions provides almost ideal circumstances for an examination of Minakata's work as a translator. The initial portion of this chapter will look at Minakata's role in what was, historically speaking, the second published – and the first authoritative -- translation of *Hōjōki*, as well as that of his collaborator and sometimes antagonist, Frederick Victor Dickins, a pioneering Japanologist who was a slightly older contemporary and familiar figure to such notables as Sir Ernest Satow, Basil Hall Chamberlain, W.H. Aston, and John Gubbins, all of whom carried out their studies of Japanese and Chinese in connection with their duties as officers of the British Foreign Service in the latter portion of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century, an era now regarded as the First Era of Carbon-Based Industrial Globalization.

Of the many extant translations of the *Hōjōki*, this portion of the study will concentrate on three: an incomplete translation carried out by Natsume Soseki and J.M. Dixon and published in TASJ in 1893, the subsequent translation published by Minakata Kumagusu and F.V. Dickins in 1905, and a more recent translation published in 1996 by Moriguchi Yasuhiko and David Jenkins, with illustrations by Michael Hoffman. Each of these translations takes a distinct literary approach to the text, differences which reveal strikingly different purposes and intended readerships. The inclusion of the Moriguchi/Jenkins translation offers, in addition to the opportunity to distinguish between choices of somewhat poetic diction in the Minakata/Dickins translation and the thoroughgoing radical poetization and compression carried out by Moriguchi & Jenkins,

a chance to treat in passing questions of temporal translation which will be revisited more thoroughly and independently in a subsequent chapter treating a number of Minakata's more significant entries in the magazines *Nature* and *Notes & Queries*.

In addition to the literary differences between the three translations, they also provide examples of distinctly different approaches to the way in which collaborative translation is carried out and subsequently credited. Additionally, it must be noted that Minakata's collaborator on the *Hōjōki* translation, Frederick Victor Dickins, also includes several explicit acknowledgements of contributions by Minakata in the footnotes to his translations of *Taketori*¹, and the *Manyōshū*² as they appeared in the 1906 edition of his *Primitive and Mediæval Japanese Texts*, and attention will also be given to those texts. While those acknowledgements hint at a greater degree of involvement that they actually credit, in the case of the *Hōjōki*, the documentary record is both clearer and more explicit. To say that Minakata was “closely involved” scarcely goes far enough: not only was he listed first on the translators' byline when the work first appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1905 as well as the final number of the American arts and literature monthly *The Critic*³, but he was the subject of the work's first footnote, in which Dickins wrote:

My friend Mr. Minakata is the most erudite Japanese I have met with—equally learned in the science and literature of the East and of the West. He has frequently contributed to *Nature* and *Notes and Queries* (sic). He now lives near the town of Wakayama in Kishiu. In the second volume of the *Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, by Mr. S. Lane-Poole and myself (p. 160), will be found an interesting account by Lady Parkes of her husband's visit to the last Daimyo of Wakayama in March, 1870. The narrative ends with the sentence “It was like being in fairyland.” The translation has

¹ Circa 909 C.E.

² Compiled by Imperial order circa 759 C.E.

³ The Critic was thereafter folded into a successor publication, Putnam's Monthly. “The new PUTNAM'S like the old CRITIC, is to be artistic and literary, but the scope will be widened, and the larger compass of material will permit the treatment of a greater variety of subjects.”

been entirely remade by myself upon the basis of that of Mr. Minakata. The notes, save where otherwise indicated, are his, somewhat remodeled by myself.

There are, as well, secondary indications of Minakata's extensive involvement (as well as that of other native speakers of Japanese whose services Dickins employed prior to his encounter with Minakata⁴) with other translations credited to Dickins. In his Editor's Introduction to The Collected Works of F.V. Dickins,⁵ Peter F. Kornicki provides several highly relevant points of information regarding the relationship between Dickins and Minakata:

In the 1890s Dickins had come into contact with the famous folklorist Minakata Kumagusu (1867–1941), who was living in London in somewhat straitened circumstances and whom Dickins was able to help financially. In 1898 Dickins responded angrily to Minakata's comments on his *Taketori* translation (1888 edition).

....

As Minakata noted later, however, his name was omitted entirely from the book edition published by Gowans and Gray in 1907. He states also that he edited and worked on all of Dickins's [sic] publications on Japan during these years, but the precise nature of his contributions is unknown. It is clear, however, that he gave Dickins considerable help with his work on the *Man'yōshū* which was included in his *Primitive and Mediaeval Japanese Texts*: Dickins wrote to Satow about its progress in 1904 adding that he was 'waiting for some studies from Japan now being made for me by a very remarkable man ... a bonze⁶ named Minakata

⁴ "In 1879 he [Dickins] completely revised his earlier translation of *Chushingura*, having recourse to a different text from that used for the previous edition but noting that his revisions had been made 'without the advantage of the usual native assistance in its preparation': it seems clear from this that Dickins, like other European scholars grappling with Japanese texts in the nineteenth century, made use of scholarly assistance furnished by Japanese whose contributions were only acknowledged in passing." Peter Kornicki, Introduction, *Collected Works of F.V. Dickins*, Ganesha Publishing, 2001.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Some have looked askance at Dickins' use of the word *bonze* in this passage, citing it as one glaring example of the types of errors with which his work – and that of other pioneering Japanologists – is said to be riddled. In this instance, such criticism is likely reflexive and overstated, though in a broader context, not entirely lacking in basis. Having spent considerable time in Japan, it is unlikely that Dickins misunderstood or misused the word *bonze*, or "monk" in his characterization of Minakata. While Minakata was not, in fact, a full ordinant in the Shingon Buddhist sect in which he had been raised, his level of engagement with historic Buddhist texts and the philosophy contained therein was considerably higher than that of many who had undertaken ordination, whether in Shingon-shū or other, arguably less rigorous sects. Given the heavily Buddhist cast of the *Hōjōki* and the admixture of both Shingon and Amidist practices described by Chōmei therein, as well as Minakata's personal epistolary relationship with Toki

Kumagusu – certainly a man of extraordinary erudition’. Yet Dickins noted in the same letter that ‘I got him back to Japan with very great difficulty and am not anxious for him to reappear’.⁷

Additionally, given Minakata’s earlier work at the Kensington Museum of Art and his known – though poorly documented -- engagement with London’s burgeoning trade in *ukiyo-e* (lit. Floating World, figuratively, Japanese block prints) in the 1890s⁸ and

Horyu, whose position as Dai Acarya for the Shingon Sect would have been seen by Dickins as roughly equivalent to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover, it is not unknown for lay Shingon practitioners to have taken the Juzenkai, or ten pure precepts. Then and now, in other lines of Buddhism such as the Soto School of Zen Buddhism, this would amount to ordination, which has long been detached from the full Pratimoksha, or Monastic Discipline associated with ordination in most of the Buddhist world. This is a matter of some significance, to which I will return in Chapter Three, which addresses Minakata’s cosmological and epistemological translations and looks at his relationship with Toki Hōryū.

⁷ Kornicki writes an intriguing concluding entry following his bibliography for the Editor’s Note included above: “In addition to the items mentioned in the notes there is a study in Japanese of Dickins’s translations of Japanese literature by Kawamura Hatsue: F. V. Dikkinzu: nihon bungaku eiyaku no senkusha (Shichigatsudō, 1997). Of his letters, those to Satow are in the PRO, some to Karl Pearson are among the Pearson Manuscripts at University College, London, and some of his correspondence with Minakata Kumagusu is said to be at the Minakata Kumagusu Kinenkan at Shirahama in Wakayama prefecture.” In subsequent correspondence, Professor Kornicki advised me that was in the process of transcribing much of this material, including all of the correspondence between Dickins and Minakata held at the Minakata Kinenkan, and agreed to share it with me during the Summer of 2010, prior to what was then intended as a Spring 2011 publication date for a Japanese-English dual-language book he was preparing with a Japanese colleague. In October 2010 he advised me that he was not at liberty to provide me with the promised material before publication. Regrettably, the earthquake, tsunami, and subsequent meltdown of the reactors at the Fukushima Dai Ichi put the publication schedule on hold and while the book is still listed, it is not yet in print and does not have a firm publication date.

⁸ This is an area that is ripe for further study by art historians. Victorian England’s public reticence regarding matters of the flesh and sexuality in particular, as well as its private fascination with same is well-known. In Chamberlain’s translation of the Kojiki, he went out of his way to follow the common practice in which translations of Greek and Latin texts – on which he and his fellow Japanologists had cut their teeth, so to speak, in secondary school and at University -- containing passages thought to be too frank about such matters for the eyes of proper ladies or children were left in the original Greek or Latin; Chamberlain went so far as to translate the offending portions of the Kojiki into Latin: simultaneously shielding the innocent while providing access to educated gentlemen who might satisfy their curiosity without inordinate risk to the social order. It was similarly commonplace for museums to have restricted-entry rooms in which portions of the collection too saucy for the general public might be perused by gentlemen. Within the broad field of *ukiyo-e*, there exists a subset known as *shunga*, some examples of which were provided at the time of a wedding as instruction manuals for new brides and some of which were explicitly intended to serve the same purposes as commercial pornography in our own time. One of the features of *shunga* is a depiction of Japanese male genitalia so oversized as to be almost comical, and an associated suggestion of unusual capacity and attendant desire on the part of Japanese women. In his diaries and letters, Minakata complains of being accosted in the streets and even worse, interrupted while engaged in studies in the Reading Room of the British Museum by what he regarded as ignorant, rude, and impertinent questions regarding the size and shape of the genitalia of Japanese women. Minakata’s response to such inquiries could be quite direct and forceful, and according to some accounts, such an incident was among those that led up to his expulsion from the Reading Room, and his subsequent

the emerging English-language literature on Japanese block prints (in some cases literature essentially sponsored by ukiyo-e dealers to raise awareness of, interest in, and sales prices for their lines of merchandise), it seems probable that -- in addition to the straightforward literary translation that comprises the primary topic of this chapter -- Minakata also assisted Dickins, contemporaneously, with materials used in Dickins' 1906 study of the Hokusai Manga.⁹

Dickins himself was one of the pioneering British Japanologists of the late nineteenth century, and like a host of his contemporaries working in a wide range of languages, he aimed directly at the translation of works of antiquity, much after the manner of the exercises in Greek and Latin translation common in the elite British secondary schooling system in which he had been educated. While other works he translated --such as *Taketori* and the *Manyōshū*, to which we will turn in due course -- are of greater antiquity, none hold so central a place in both Japanese literary history and, to this day, the popular imagination of Japan as the *Hōjōki*, which opens with these words:

*Yuku kawa no nagare wa taezushite shikamo moto moto no miizu arazu yodomi ni
ukabu utakata wa katsu kie katsu musubite hisashiku todoaritaru tamesh nashi
yononaka ni aru hito to sumika to mata kaku no gotoshi*

Even without understanding the meaning of the words, one can catch a bit of the sense from the sound alone. But were that all that was necessary, we would have no need

departure from the British Museum. In brief, it may well be that Minakata the scholar was troubled by what may be seen as an inevitable result of sales activity, even if undertaken under the direst economic need, in which he and other participants in the commercial art world of the day were engaged.

⁹ Inasmuch as Minakata is also credited in E.F. Strange's 1906 book *Hokusai, Old Man Mad About Painting*, we can be certain that Minakata was working with materials that would have also been of direct interest to Dickins while his book, published in the same year, was in preparation. The question, with regard to Dickins, is whether his actions in 1906 were more in keeping with his actions in 1905, when he *did* credit Minakata as co-translator of *Hōjōki* in JRAS, or 1907, when Minakata's credit was struck from the book edition published by Gowans & Gray.

for translation. In the distinct approaches taken, and the choices made by these three pairs of translators we can see clear indications in each case of both the core argument that pair of translators has chosen to make, and the way they have chosen to make it. The Dixon/Soseki translation emphasizes a Wordsworthian naturalism and reaches for a sort of Avalonian purity of both subject matter and language, in the latter respect, explicitly rejecting Greek, Latin, and Hebrew as a source of either individual words or rhetorical models. By contrast, the Dickins/Minakata translation adapts Biblical, Shakespearean, and Burnsian precedents in a way that would, to an educated reader of the day, not only mark *Hōjōki* as a key work of high literature, but as a key work of a literature that is cosmopolitan and global, in distinction to Dixon's more particular presentation. Where Dixon, although himself a minister, seems to be pining for a pre-Christian England, Minakata (who was quite familiar with the emotionally similar but much more politically real efforts of many of his own countryman to excavate and re-instantiate a pre-Buddhist Japan, untainted by a foreign continental religion), is quite comfortable with deeply Buddhist character of *Kamo-no-Chōmei*'s text, and foregrounds it accordingly. Moriguchi and Jenkins choose a different tack entirely. Their goal is not to convey the position of the work in the canon – the sheer number of translations carried out prior to theirs had long since achieved that goal – but to recover the crisp imagery and felt urgency of the text. But before we turn to the various renderings of the text, some understanding of the position of the text and its author – in the context of Japanese literary, martial, and religious history – is critical.

As the introduction to the immediate, poetic and wistful 1996 rendering of the text by Yasuhiko Moriguchi and David Jenkins puts it:

This is the prelude to *Hojoki* (sic), the great work of literary witness of medieval Japan by the recluse Kamo-no-Chomei (sic) (1155-1216). These lines are, together with the portentous tolling of the gion bell at the start of the contemporaneous *Heike Monogatari*, the most familiar opening lines in Japanese literature.

The *Hōjōki* is read, in part or in whole, by virtually every Japanese schoolchild, and has served for centuries as a model not only of clear and straightforward literary style, but also as a marker for a signal moment in Japanese thought, a moment in which an essentially Buddhist conception of human existence had, after close to a millennium of inroads of this Indo-Sinitic tradition into Japanese culture, become Japanese.¹⁰ While the advance and integration of Buddhist practices and associated understandings was sometimes halting and shallow, in other instances more sustained and profound, by the time of the *Hōjōki*'s composition in the twelfth century, Buddhist practice and sensibility had made its way into the warp and woof of the Japanese national character, both demotic and elite.

The author, Kamo no Chōmei was a scion of the Kamo Clan, which takes as its familiar an eight-toed crow, in token of that creature's guidance of the Emperor Jimmu in his legendarily successful conquest of the Yamato plain. Traditionally believed to have occurred in the 7th century b.c.e., more modern historians have placed the date in the early common era. We can safely say that "since time immemorial" the Kamo clan has served as protectors of the Kamogami and Kamoshimo Shrines in Kyoto, dedicated to a demi-god born of a thunder-god and a woman, a demi-god charged with the task of

¹⁰ While scholars continue to disagree about the precise time and place when Buddhism entered Japan, progressive discoveries push the date ever further back. The official introduction of Buddhism to Japan is dated to the sixth century, and is associated with a formal mission to Japan sent from Paekche (now part of Korea), which included monks, nuns, texts, statuary, and other ritual objects. More recent scholarship has focused on the extent to which this official mission served to consolidate, organize, and provide a rationale for a range of icons, practices, and beliefs which had entered Japan both directly from the continent and from early island trade via South Pacific sea routes.

mediating the fearsome activities of the thunder-god for the benefit of the Imperial Household and the unity of the realm. This was no small matter in an Imperial City built of highly flammable wood and thatch.

The original Kamo were horsemen and hunters, perhaps of Mongolian lineage,¹¹ who intermarried with the native peoples of the plain and the hills around Kyoto, pacifying the region and solidifying tribal support for the nascent Imperium not only through force of arms, but also more congenial forms of intercourse, establishing alliances with the native hunting and gathering peoples of the plain and mountains surrounding Kyoto, who greatly admired their bravery, their horses, their bold displays of equestrian skills and their prowess as scouts and envoys. Even today, major public rites based on this history and its close association with the Imperial Household – a Crow-Hopping¹² Festival for young boys growing into manhood, and a horse race – are held in the precincts of the Kamo Shrines, which also serve as prestigious national training centers for new graduates of the National Shinto College.

The father of Kamo-no-Chōmei, Kamo-no-Nagatsugu, himself served as *negi* (Warden) of the Kamogami and Kamoshimo Jinja¹³, and Chōmei was marked for ascension to this post from the first.

From an early age his chief passions were music and poetry, and since succession to a position in one of the Kamo shrines appeared to be preordained, he felt able to indulge them. However, his family relations were complex, and the

¹¹ John K. Nelson, Enduring Identities: The Guise of Shinto in Contemporary Japan, University of Hawaii Press, 2000.

¹² Crow-hopping, or *karasu-tobi/karasu-dobi*, is also a unique and characteristic technique of the *Katori Shinto Ryu*, one of Japan's oldest living martial traditions, associated, as the name indicates, with the *Katori Jinja* (Katori Shrine). Properly performed, the technique is a lightning-fast displacement of the body, simultaneously, in both the horizontal and vertical planes, producing both a resounding psychological shock to an opponent and a devastating change in the interval of engagement, or *ma-ai*, a uniquely Japanese formulation which fuses the twin concepts of the physical and the temporal interval between two combatants.

¹³ Nelson, *ibid.*

conduct of both secular and religious affairs of the day plagued by intrigue and corruption. Additionally, the young Chomei (sic), as a precociously successful poet, cannot be said to have been the model of modesty and discretion.¹⁴

Kamo-no-Chōmei was talented and a favorite of the Emperor Go-toba-in, who was himself the only Emperor between Jimmu¹⁵ and Hirohito¹⁶ to serve his people not only as the symbolic Living Divinity around whom the Japanese polity is organized, but also to wield genuine temporal and military authority. Relationship with the Emperor notwithstanding, a series of missteps amid family intrigues combined on two separate occasions to block his ascension along the pathway of positions leading to the post of *negi*. By the time a third post was arranged by the Emperor, Kamo-no-Chōmei had turned his eyes away from the Kamo Shrines and toward the hills beyond the Imperial City of Kyoto.¹⁷ In 1204, he was ordained a Buddhist monk, taking the *butsuimyō* (buddhist-name) of Ren-in.¹⁸ He was far from the only man of his class and his time to take such steps.¹⁹ The long era of aristocratic rule from Kyoto was on the wane and the first of a series of *bakufu* (military governments), this one based in Kamakura, was waxing ascendant. With it, the flow of history in Japan was transformed. The slow-turning eddy

¹⁴Moriguchi & Jenkins,

¹⁵ The foundation of Jimmu's reign is "traditionally" regarded as 660 B.C.E. but can not be firmly pinpointed.

¹⁶ Born in 1901, Hirohito ruled from 1926 until his death in 1989. David Bergamini's vast and controversial work *The Imperial Conspiracy*, asserts that far from the image of a disengaged aristocrat manipulated and betrayed by his generals and ministers portrayed by SCAP after the war, Hirohito (along with other members of the royal family) was actively involved in the planning and execution of most of Japan's foreign adventures from an early age, well before his ascension to the Chrysanthemum Throne.

¹⁷ Kamo no Chōmei, tr. Yasuhiko Moriguchi & David Jenkins, *Introduction, Hojoki: Visions of A Torn World*, Stone Bridge Press, 1996.

¹⁸ Minakata, *The Life of Kamono Chōmei*

¹⁹ Indeed, by the thirteenth century, it was a comparatively common practice for landholders to "donate" properties to monasteries as mode of tax avoidance, as was the aristocratic practice of "retiring behind the curtain," which is to say using the public announcement of one's retirement to the cloister as a means of extricating oneself from the round of formal social obligations associated with one's position, while continuing to be engaged, or perhaps even increasing one's engagement, in temporal affairs from a position that provides a less transparent (thus, "the curtain") and more effective platform from which to wield real power.

of the Heian Era, when Japan's cultural energies were concentrated on the development and practice of a whole series of new forms of art, poetry, and ritual practice, and a broad aesthetic that ran through all of these pursuits based on T'ang Dynasty era Chinese models, gave way to the raging flood of Kamakura Period, when Japan's first shogunate vied for territory and political power, both in the capital and on the battlefield. During this period, there were many who took refuge in the Three Jewels of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha, some motivated by a sincere desire to turn away from the intrigue and violence of the palaces of the aristocracy and the tents of military, others more cynically motivated by a desire to carry out these same activities in a more discreet monastic setting.

Rarer than those who took orders, but still common enough, were those who sought the seclusion of the wild, or, after the long-established manner of Chinese civil servants who felt that their advice was not heeded by their rulers, retired to the mountains, departing the court in visible acts of conscience. The precedent, in fact, is quite distinctively un-Japanese — the Chinese relationship with the mountains is comparatively unmarked by the horror which mountain wilds seem long to have held for the Japanese.²⁰ And this horror is not simply an ancient artifact, as we will see in chapter three when we review the relationship between Minakata and Yanagita Kunio, which seems to have begun with a letter from Yanagita to Minakata requesting information about such giants and long-nosed demons in the mountains of Wakayama where Minakata had been doing botanical fieldwork. In *Kamo-no-Chōmei*, we have a writer who had been traumatized by Imperial relocation and the vicissitudes of Court politics and personally diminished by the loss of the family fortune, had suffered through the

²⁰ Gerald Figal, *Civilization and Monster: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan*, p. 102-3.

ravages of Fire, Wind, Famine, Earthquake and their aftermath, and wrote of it so vividly that:

Words fly through the air like the cinders the writer is describing, in a flurry of staccato, “journalistic” in its best sense. This man was *there*, and eight centuries later, he is still out of breath.²¹

The Minakata/Dickins translation of Hōjōki was published in 1905 under the title “A Japanese Thoreau of the Twelfth Century.” This characterization is quite at odds with the central conceit of J.M. Dixon’s 1892 presentation, a translation prepared some years beforehand by Dixon on the basis of a rendering by one of his English literature students – also a former classmate of Minakata at the nascent Imperial University’s Preparatory School -- now known to the world as the Japanese novelist, Natsume Soseki.²² Titled “A Description of My Hut,” and preceded by an introductory essay titled *Chōmei and Wordsworth: A Literary Parallel*, the Dixon/Natsume translation was read to the Asian Society of Japan in February 1892 and subsequently published in the *Transactions of the Asian Society of Japan* later that year.

²¹ Moriguchi & Jenkins, *ibid.*

²² To be fair, Dixon did include the following on the first page: “NOTE.—For the original draft of this translation, as well as for much valuable assistance in the explanation of details in the translation and in the introduction, I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to Mr. K. Natsume, a student of English Literature in the Imperial University.” Even so, as is the case with Dickins, one is left with the nagging sense that the “valuable assistance” referred to amounts to the greater share of the labor required by the project, notwithstanding the expression of gratitude. Similarly, while one cannot be certain whether it was Dickins himself, or Gowans and Gray that struck Minakata’s name from the second bound edition of Hōjōki, the simple fact that Dickins permitted the 1907 Gowans & Gray edition of Hōjōki to go to print leaves the ineluctable sense that while this may have been a departure from his prior behavior in degree, it was a true expression of his underlying character. Coupled with the tenor of his correspondence with Sir Ernest Satow in the period after 1904, in which he expresses increasing skepticism regarding the value of Japanese literature and art, regret for his initial attraction to Japan and all things Japanese, clear statements of the comparative inferiority of the Japanese people in comparison with peoples once ruled by Rome, and an ever-increasing devotion to lofty expressions of the most saccharine Christianity imaginable, one must conclude that he was, in the end, a creature of the basest bigotries of the Victorian Age.

It is a certainty that both Dickins and Minakata were well aware of the earlier translation.²³ In addition to his primary position as the Assistant Registrar of the University of London²⁴ (and after 1896, as Registrar), Dickins was at the peak of his activity as a Japanologist during the eighteen-nineties. He was engaged in his own work as a translator, was sufficiently eminent in the field to serve during this period as the reviewer of books on Japan for the *Athenaeum*, and was not only quite current with developments in the area, he was, along with his old friend, Ernest Satow, a founding member of the Asiatic Society of Japan, in the house publication of which the Natsume/Dixon translation appeared. The contextual evidence leaves no real doubt that he, along with Minakata, whose appetites as a voracious and wide-ranging reader are both awesome and terrifying in their scope, was most certainly well aware of the earlier translation. The markedly different styles, levels of precision of translation, use of scholarly apparatus, and both the form and content of the essays accompanying the two different works illustrate quite clearly the difference between the somewhat casual and overtly Romantic literary approach of the Natsume/Dixon presentation and the aspiration to the highest standards of contemporary global scholarship and almost scientific rigor that characterizes the Minakata/Dickins translation. The differing approaches carry vastly different significances. Dixon's translation and accompanying essay -- which nods

²³ The earlier translation is referenced in a closing parenthetical, which acknowledges a prior partial translation of the closing notes in Aston's "History of Japanese Literature," and references "Another version—my mind very imperfect—has been published, [which] I find, in the *Trans. Of the As. Soc. Of Japan of 1892*," a clear, if slightly indirect, reference to the Natsume/Dixon rendering.

²⁴ Dickins' career in academia was preceded by careers in both medicine – his first voyage to Japan was made in the capacity of ship's doctor, and his later career as a barrister in both England and Japan was also consequential, one notable case in 1872 involving a shipload of indentured Chinese servants, the enforceability of their contracts by the Peruvian shipowner, and the efforts of the Japanese authorities to break those contracts. Although Dickins lost the case, the arguments he presented caught the popular imagination in Japan and led to the a government ban, at least for a time, on human trafficking, effectively closing the Yoshiwara, or pleasure quarter in Tokyo, whose establishments operated on the basis of the precisely the same sort of personal service contracts with the women they employed, for at least a year.

approvingly toward and attempts to render the text in a sort of Wordsworthian language that moves beyond the Latinate and Hebraic influences of the Christian Bible -- seems to resonate primarily with the sorts of matters that were of concern to Japanese *kokugaku* (national learning) scholars, among which were the excavation of a purer Japanese language. Dickins, a professional diplomat who was deeply engaged in the project of building an Anglo-Japanese alliance of sorts, and Minakata, who was eager to present his native land as a civilization no less venerable, subtle, majestic, or artful than anything found in the West, chose a poetic language that carries echoes of temporal empire and cosmic transcendence while expressing the essence of English modernity – the language of the King James Bible.

Their choice of title, along with this clear divergence of approaches to the text and the historical record strongly, suggests that they intended their own translation not only as a work in its own right, but as a necessary corrective to the deficiencies of the earlier translation, deficiencies that, no matter how great its value in bringing Kamo no Chōmei's *Hōjōki* to the attention of a wider English-speaking audience, were fundamental, egregious, and profoundly wrong-headed. It is no mere oversight or mistake that none of the copious notes attached to the Minakata/Dickins translation mention, even in passing, or provide, *infra*, the merest explicit acknowledgement of the earlier translation.

Whereas Dixon precedes his translation with a somewhat wooly essay that attempts to draw parallels – many of them more than a bit strained – between Kamo-no-Chōmei's use of language and its conceptual underpinnings with that found in the poetry of William Wordsworth, Minakata & Dixon provide no prefatory material, giving the

impression that they will let the work speak for itself, albeit with numerous footnotes along the way. Only after the reader has had a chance to experience the translation and come to a judgment of sorts does the essay arrive, and what an essay it is!

In seven closely argued pages credited wholly to Minakata we find a crisp biography of Kamo no Chōmei with relevant details regarding the Kamo Shrine, a summary of appointments sought and appointments received, a concise guide to other mediæval Japanese writers of significance, a brief but remarkably dense history of the Imperial Household and the historical mode of Fujiwara manipulation of Imperial descent, the rise of the Minamoto, the war between the Minamoto and the Taira, the subsequent rise of the Kamakura Shogunate, a pell-mell demolition of common misconceptions regarding the supposed Japanese virtue of loyalty in the mediæval period,²⁵ and translations of eight additional poems by Kamo no Chōmei that, with the exception of several willful archaicisms that grate at this historical remove, are rendered with great skill and sensitivity. Of a piece with similar usages in the body of the *Hōjōki*, even those archaicisms (wardeth, fain, e'en, ne'er),²⁶ the first drawing on the diction of the King James Bible²⁷ and the rest on a certain Burnsian specificity of time and place,

²⁵ “Indeed, the much vaunted *chiugi* [忠義] of mediaeval Japan is largely a myth. It was prized as a rare virtue. We have seen that nephews beheaded uncles, sons fathers, brothers banished brothers, and nobles rebelled against emperors, sent them into exile, deposed them, and with the help of mercenary bands kept the land in a continuous welter of civil war. The foundation of the Kamakura Shogunate did not end this unhappy condition of the State, which endured, indeed, with occasional intervals of peace, until Iyeyasu affirmed his supremacy by the second storming of the castle at Ozaka.”

²⁶ See Appendix II for the complete text of the Dickins/Minakata translation of *Hōjōki*.

²⁷ In combination with the world-weary tone of the *Hōjōki*, this use of language creates a particular resonance with the second through fifth lines of that translation's rendering of the Book of Ecclesiastes that would have been unmistakable to any reader of the time, and perhaps irresistible to Dickins, who was well in the grasp of a rising Christian religiosity by that phase of his life, as can be seen in his correspondence with Sir Ernest Satow.

Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, vanity of vanities; all [is] vanity.

What profit hath a man of all his labour which he taketh under the sun?

[One] generation passeth away, and [another] generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever.

The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose.

are well-thought out moves intended to create in an English reader at the turn of the twentieth century a sense of simultaneous literary centrality, historical distance, and cultural venerability not unlike that which a Japanese reader of the same period might experience in reading these poems. It is not only a bravura performance, it is a sterling example of what Tsurumi Kazuko characterizes as Minakata's preferred mode of "combination by confrontation."

Were one to take each of these three translations as a thing in itself, the choice of Moriguchi and Jenkins to precede their translation with an essay might be regarded as an echo of the approach first taken by Dixon, but there are notable differences between this package and those of its precursors. In his inaugural effort, Dixon was introducing an unknown work from an unknown literary culture, and his introductory essay served to justify the effort by drawing a connection between Kamo-no-Chōmei and Wm. Wordsworth. Moriguchi and Jenkins' task is very different. They are working in a context created by the legion of other efforts to bring Chōmei's work to contemporary readers over the course of the twentieth century. Their audience is attuned (if only unconsciously) to the innovations of the French Symbolist poets, to newer forms of English-language poetry rooted in Ezra Pound's gift of Ernest Fenellosa's essay on *The Chinese Character as a Medium for Written Poetry*, to the concrete yet suggestive imagery of William Carlos Williams and his descendants, and most importantly, arising out of these developments and the rise of visual media, the rapid-fire story-telling conventions of film, television, and now, the internet.

Moriguchi and Jenkins use their introductory essay to provide, first, a historical context for the Hōjōki that is wholly resonant with the bloody world history of the

twentieth century and the mounting cascade of natural disasters associated with human despoliation of the natural realm that today, even more than in 1996, is an ever-present reality, beyond what William Burroughs called “the Naked Lunch, served on the end of the newspaper spoon,” beyond a Cinemascope Technicolor extravaganza viewed in the comparatively social surroundings of a theater stretched before the silver screen, not merely a nagging feeling left at the back of the consciousness by an occasional encounter, but an insistent and nearly unavoidable flood of high-definition plasma screen images available wherever there’s a wi-fi connection. Arising from their re-creation of this sense of almost journalistic immediacy is a justification for their approach to the text, markedly less literal than either the Natsume/Dixon or Minakata/Dickins renderings, an argument that only a radical and poetic reworking of the text can give it the immediate and stunning impact today that earlier forms of translation have worked in earlier times. This not only prepares the reader for what is to follow, but serves effectively to sidebar otherwise legitimate questions about the literal accuracy of a number of their choices as translators.

With this foreground to our consideration of the three texts, we turn to directly examine the ways in which our three pairs of translators have rendered the opening lines.

The water incessantly changes as the stream glides calmly on, the spray that hangs over a cataract appears for a moment only to vanish away. Such is the fate of mankind on this earth, and of the houses in which they dwell.

--Natsume/Dixon

Of the flowing river the flood ever changeth, on the still pool the foam gathering, vanishing, stayeth not. Such too is the lot of men and of the dwelling of men in this world of ours.”

--Minakata/Dickins

The flowing river
 Never stops
 And yet the water
 Never stays the same.

Foam floats
 Upon the pools
 Scattering, reforming,
 Never lingering long.

So it is with man
 And all his dwelling places
 Here on earth.

Natsume and Dixon give us smooth lines, a prose reflection of the romantic naturalism, the “impressions of Nature recollected in tranquility,” of Dixon’s Wordsworthian imaginings. This is less the poetry of Wordsworth than, perhaps, a minor essay by an imitator. There is nothing of the rhythm of the original, the order of the words – and the associated impressions – is undone completely without regard for grammatical necessity or even readability, and there are interpolations (spray for foam, hangs for floats, cataracts for pools) that are, to be blunt, worse than utterly wrong. The inherent Buddhist sense of *ukiyo*, the floating world, a world of contingency and change that sinks with the water upon which it exists, the sense of which Chōmei artfully and implicitly invokes, is rendered so as to rise above, and one almost expects a double rainbow to appear.

In contrast, Minakata and Dickins punctuate the first sentence in English so as to produce a series of pauses like those created by the tonality and order of the original. Not precisely the same, for English is not precisely the same, but still rendering fermata and caesura that provide a sonorous echo. “Changeth” and “stayeth,” although unquestionably archaic, serve to reinforce both the antiquity and literary authority of the original, echoing both the received majesty of the King James Bible and indelibly marking for their readers the place of the *Hōjōki* in Japanese literature and culture as no less central than that of the

King James edition in the English-speaking world. The inversion of order in the last sentence – which we see closely followed in the Moriguchi/Jenkins translation – is a matter of grammatical necessity, and throughout, the choice of English equivalent words is accurate as to meaning and rhythmically astute, providing in balances of one, two, or three syllables not a reproduction, but an effectively translated sense of what the original Japanese does in two, three, four, or five. For Moriguchi and Jenkins, the game is a very different one. They aim to produce a poetry that is, in its compression and immediacy, as distinct from the translations that have come before theirs as Chōmei’s prose was from either the almost acrostic character of the literary Chinese, or the strictly regular irregularity of the Japanese poetry for which he was so highly regarded in his time.

From this point, for a time, each of these three translations pursues the strategy and tactics underlying the initial movement. The superior fidelity of the Minakata/Dickins translation becomes sharply apparent in short order, in the rendering of (人も多かれど、いにしへ見し人は、二三十人が中に、わづかにひとりふたりなり), wherein Natsume and Dixon give us “one of ten,” Moriguchi and Jenkins “of all the many...only two or three,” and Minakata and Dickins “out of...twenty or thirty...two or three.”

And so it goes, through the account of the transitory nature of the grand homes and their occupants, a comparison with the evaporation of dew, the fading of flowers, the uncertainty of the order in which they will do so and then, the surety that whatever the order, the ends of both are inevitable, after which passage Chōmei begins his account of the calamities and conflagrations he saw in less than a decade, between 1177 and 1185.

At this point, we arrive at a major lacuna in the Natsume/Dixon translation. Following the accounts of the catastrophic fire of 1177 and the similarly destructive

whirlwind of 1180, one finds substituted for some of the most tragic and affective portions of the work this comparatively bland description:

(Here follows an account of the removal of the capital to Settsu in 1180, of the famine year, 1181, followed by pestilence, and of the earthquake in the second year of Genreki 1185 [sic])

Such are the woes that meet us on earth, so fleeting is life, so unstable are the habitations of men. Still greater is the discomfort we undergo through the constraints of social bonds.

When the elided portions of the original fill the gap between that of the whirlwind and Kamo-no-Chōmei's observation regarding the unsatisfactory nature of our social existence –the differing modes of operation and stylistic characteristics of the Minakata/Dickins translation and the Moriguchi/Jenkins translation notwithstanding, both are complete in this regard -- the effect created is entirely different from that in the Natsume/Dixon translation. In their differing ways, both of the later translations carry, quite fully, the sense of the original, in which catastrophe is piled on catastrophe, each worse than the last, each more sharply etched in the readers' minds by the pen of Kamo-no-Chōmei, not only in the picture of the simple physical horrors of the catastrophes themselves, but of the limits of human empathy, even of simple humanity itself in the face of implacable dislocation, disorientation, starvation, disease, death, disaster, and the degradations of the flesh, the spirit, and the imagination attendant to them. The picture is so horrific, the circumstances depicted so dire that one wants to ask Chōmei how it is that he survived such horrors, but one dare not, for fear that the answer to that unasked question cannot but be more horrific than the nightmare he brings alive. To ask the author to expose his shame in such a way, to speak the unspeakable truth would be unforgivable. In the latter translations, it is from this cold hard stone of the author's own shame that we

are led to step onto the ground of the First Noble Truth of Buddhist teaching: the truth of *dhukka*, or the unsatisfactoriness of all existence, including social existence. Without saying so explicitly, Chōmei not only anticipates Jean-Paul Sartre's oft repeated formulation that "hell is other people" but also the sly twist of Gilda Radner's Saturday Night Live character, Rosanne Rosanadana: "It's like my daddy always told me: Rosanne Rosanadana, if it's not one thing, it's another." But for Chōmei, it's not funny.

I have not been able to ascertain whether Natsume prepared a base translation of the entire work, which Dixon excerpted for his own purposes, or if Dixon instructed Natsume to pass over the portion of the original addressing these calamities. In either case, the responsibility for the lack must rest with Dixon. This is more than a bit problematic in light of the central thesis of his accompanying essay:

It was Wordsworth's mission in English poetry to remove this foreign element of nature interpretation and with a mind wholly receptive to study nature at first-hand and record the impressions which his mind received....When, therefore, we find a Japanese literary character of the 12th century retiring to the hills and seeking to find communion with the mountains, the streams, with animate and inanimate life, we at once think of contrasting him with our high-priest of nature. This is why I have linked together Chōmei and the bard of Rydal Mount. Both were recluses; both were devout admirers of nature, and receptive in their attitude toward her.

In conjunction with his Procrustean synopsis of the passages mentioned above, Dixon has performed an act rather like removing the bulk of the plague from Daniel Defoe's fictional work, "Journal of a Plague Year," and pronouncing it a classic novel of travel and adventure. That he also misconstrues core elements of Buddhist derivation of any number of elements of the *Hōjōki*, from the very beginning to the closing lines of the work, is no less apparent. To be sure, neither the Minakata/Dickins translation nor its accompanying notes foregrounds or make explicit these implicitly didactic doctrinal elements of the tale, nor does that of Moriguchi and Jenkins. But both

explicitly touch on any number of Buddhist elements found in the work, and in the case of the Minakata/Dickins translation, the implicit elements are retained as such, thus, the superior fidelity of their translation to the original goes well beyond the markedly-closer-to-literal translation and rendering of sonority found in it. It is one thing to fail to explicitly to register what an author has presented implicitly. It is yet another to recognize it and respectfully leave it as an implication so that the inherent structure has the continued opportunity to work in its own way, below the surface of conscious understanding or explicit statement. Indeed, in the context of Japanese expression, there is a special term for the ability to say without saying or to hear without being told explicitly: *haragei*, a compound of *hara* or “belly,”²⁸ and *gei* or “art.”²⁹ One might argue that the successful translation of this sort of non-language, implicit language, or, as is sometimes the case with more subtle forms of *haragei*, the ability to explicitly say one thing while implicitly communicating something quite different, perhaps even opposite in meaning, to the skilled listener or reader is the highest and most profound achievement possible in the art of translation.

Indeed, it is my view that in this turn from the sequential accounts of disasters and all their attendant woes to the more existential woes of mundane existence, Kamo-no-Chōmei has done just that with regard to his *conceptual translation* of the Indo-Sinitic understanding of Buddhism’s First Noble Truth into a wholly native Japanese cultural context. Quite unlike the violent misreading and mistranslation we encounter in the Natsume/Dixon translation, the Minakata/Dickins translation excels not least insofar as it

²⁸ as in the somewhat gauche and direct term *hara-kiri*, literally, “belly-cutting,” the preferred and more polite term being *seppuku*

²⁹ as in the terms *geisha*, a term commonly misunderstood to mean “prostitute” but actually signifying women who provide professional and non-sexual companionship of an artistic nature. *bugei*

renders the contour of this turn without making it explicit. Thankfully, the Minakata/Dickins model has had a much stronger and lasting influence on subsequent translations than the Natsume/Dixon version it immediately superceded.

The implicitly didacticism of Kamo-no-Chōmei's original also carries the balance of the Four Noble Truths, the second of which is that this suffering is caused by grasping, the third of which is that there is a way to end suffering, and fourth of which is that the way to end suffering is detailed in the Buddhist teaching of the Eight Spokes of the Wheel.³⁰ Also implicit in Kamo-no-Chōmei's tale is an identification of his departure from the capital to the mountain with his realization of how his grasping after things – houses, social life, and official position -- has made him suffer, and his search for this way to end suffering. But one cannot say that the Hōjōki is merely, or exclusively a Buddhist or Buddhistic work; the more idyllic segment of the work devoted to his life in the mountains above the city has an equally strong tie to Taoist thought after the manner of Chuang Tzu, with which Kamo-no-Chōmei was also familiar. The carefree lack of regard for social convention and duty celebrated in this section stands in direct opposition to the values insisted upon by the officially approved Chu Hsi Rationalist School of Confucian Teaching. Indeed, even within Kamo-no-Chōmei's time, this made open expression of Taoist views sufficiently dangerous that it might lead to service in a labor corvee in the most northerly and wildest parts of Japan, under very harsh conditions. What Kamo-no-Chōmei is up to here is dangerously subversive and almost entirely *sub rosa*.

³⁰ The eight spokes are divided in three groups, the first being that of Prajñā (Wisdom), comprised of 1) Right View, & 2) Right Intention; the second being that of Śīla (Ethical Conduct), comprised of 3) Right Speech, 4) Right Action & 5) Right Livelihood; and the third that of Samādhi (Concentration), comprised of 6) Right Effort, 7) Right Mindfulness, & 8) Right Concentration.

This pattern, in which fidelity to the original text is twinned with an openness to implication, a multivalence of sorts which permits multiple understandings – mundane, literary, didactic, canonical, and even heterodox -- is found again in the passages of the Minakata/Dickins translation where Kamo-no-Chōmei references core Buddhist concepts such as “the Three Worlds,” “the One Mind,” and “the Three Ways.” While on the one hand, one can assert that Minakata and Dickins have disproved the hoary axiom that “translations are like mistresses, if they are beautiful, they are untrue, and if they are true, they are not beautiful,” on the other, it’s hardly a fair comparison, insofar as the Natsume/Dixon translation is, in many instances, neither true *nor* beautiful. In key moments, both the Natsume/Dixon translation itself and the attendant notes not only misconstrue these points, but do so in a fashion that replaces the multiple alternative readings allowed by both the original text and the Minakata/Dickins translation with an insistence on a single meaning, a meaning which is, in a word, wrong.

That said, much of the body of the work from this point forward is undoubtedly, as Dixon would have it, evocative of natural beauty, and to a greater or lesser extent, even the worst of these three translations conveys that quality. But the truest measure of the original is not revealed until its final moments, in which Kamo-no-Chōmei sees through the idyllic natural beauty he has so artfully conveyed and finds himself grappling with a further realization that is at once utterly intimate and utterly impersonal: he sees that in leaving the city for the comparative seclusion of the mountain, rather than entering onto the Path and practicing the Way, he has attached himself quite firmly to a very specific, very constructed, ultimately empty and entirely groundless notion of non-

³² In particular, where the original text addresses the relationship between “the three worlds” and “the one mind,” and “the three realms of darkness” and impending death, the rendering in the Natsume/Dixon translation is nothing short of tortured.

attachment. This is not the realization of a “devout admirer of nature.” This is something else entirely, something vastly more profound, with depths and heights that dwarf the debasement that Dixon has visited upon the unified vision of Chōmei’s Hōjōki, riding the grand fragment of nature writing that precedes this conclusion as if that fragment alone were nothing more than his own Wordsworthian hobbyhorse.

It is no small thing that the Minakata/Dickins translation not only directly confronts the falseness of the Natsume/Dixon translation, but in doing so, it obliterates it. It is complete. It is more accurate. It is more completely and usefully annotated. Where Dixon essentially falsifies the original text in order to support his thesis regarding the parallel between Wordsworth and Chōmei, Minakata supports the conceit of the title under which he and Dickins published their translation – A Twelfth Century Japanese Thoreau -- in ways both explicit and implicit. And given the brutal critiques which both contemporary and later translators – Minakata included -- have leveled at more than one of Dickins’ own earlier translations, translations carried out with less skilled “native assistance,” it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that credit for the excellences of the Minakata/Dickins translation of Hōjōki lies primarily with Minakata, on the basis of whose translation Dickins “entirely remade” it.

To return to these specific qualities: Explicitly, Kamo-no-Chōmei, like Thoreau, seeks solitude. Implicitly, the text reveals that just as Thoreau was, in truth, close by town, so too, Kamo-no-Chōmei was a mere two or three hour walk from the Imperial Quarters of Kyoto. Implicitly, to the literate reader of 1906, Thoreau’s jailing for opposition to military taxation was well-known. Equally implicitly, by positioning his account of Japan’s bloody Middle Ages in the Notes following the main text and registering Kamo-no-Chōmei’s disgust with the corrupt and violent world in which he lived, Minakata further heightens the comparison with Thoreau. The relatively straightforward biographical parallelism between Kamo-no-Chōmei and Thoreau which is implicit in Minakata’s presentation stands at a significant remove from the somewhat convoluted notional parallelism between the poetic practices of Kamo-no-Chōmei and Wordsworth which is explicit in Dixon’s presentation. One may be

forgiven for coming to the conclusion that, whatever Dickins' intentions, Minakata began with his own agenda – one of what Tsurumi has styled “Minakatian confrontation” – and carried it out with a vengeance. His translation is not merely a literary confrontation with Dixon's profound errors. There is a more personal agenda at work here: the Minakata/Dickins translation allows him to confront and overcome Natsume Soseki, his “more accomplished” classmate from Preparatory School of the Imperial University. At the time Minakata was at work on the translation, his old classmate had successfully concluded his domestic studies and was being groomed for a role as the Professor of English Literature at Tōdai – the Imperial University – and was in London to studying literature. Minakata, on the other hand, had left London penniless and without a degree. He had no title, no apparent domestic prospects, and he was isolated in the remoteness of Wakayama – and in this last respect, the individual confrontation between the prodigal Minakata Kumagusu and the dutiful Natsume Soseki also takes on the character of a confrontation between Minakata's core notions regarding the utterly essential need for localization, the privileging of local understanding and the distribution of knowledge and power in localized networks and the Natsume's engagement with centralizing hierarchichal structure of the University itself and of the Foucauldian role it had assumed as both source and destination of legitimacy. And make no mistake, this power to legitimize applied not only to the academic disciplines and knowledge then developing in Japanese academia, but also to persons who, having done their turn at Tōdai, were expected to assume powerful positions in centralized government agencies in Tokyo, a self-reinforcing series that would, as Minakata foresaw, impoverish and enslave the countryside. His production of a superior work of translation of Japan's most popular and

abiding work of non-fiction, a translation carried out in mountains like those to which Kamo-no-Chōmei retreated, was his reply to Japan's rapid bureaucratic centralization and those who were comfortably embedded in it.

To be sure, Dickins had his own very different agenda during this period. The 1905 publication of *Hōjōki* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ireland and England* was the opening salvo in Dickins' final barrage of publications. In the following year, he published Primitive and Mediæval Japanese Texts in book form under his own name, and then in 1907, with Minakata far away in Japan, *Hōjōki* was published in book form by Gowans & Gray, and credited solely to Dickins. In short, this was Dickins' swan song, and he took a great many steps to insure that the spotlight stayed firmly fixed on him while his collaborator was consigned to the shadows.

PMJT was a considerable text, including not only a translation of the larger part of Japan's oldest extant collection of poetry --the Manyōshū (or in the romanization of the period Manyōshū) -- several poems extracted from the *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi*, the *Kokinshū*, *Hiyakunin Isshū*, and the *Hokku*³³ respectively; *Taketori*; *Ki no Tsuruyuki's* Preface to the *Kokinshū*, and the *Nō* Play *Takasago*, along with Introductions to the Manyōshū, the *Taketori*, and the *Takasago*, an Index of Proper Names and a glossary of the *makura kotoba*³⁴ found in the Manyōshū, each of which remains a useful contribution on which much subsequent scholarship has drawn. The net effect, at least for the English-speaking audience, was to produce the impression that the 1905 publication of *Hōjōki*, however delightful, was merely an appetizer before the main course.

³³ *The Record of Ancient Things, The Chronicle of Japan, The Collected Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times, One Hundred Persons-One Poem Each, and the Starting Verse.*

³⁴ As Amy Vladeck Heinrich notes in her 1997 work, Currents in Japanese Culture: Translations and Transformations, Minakata was collected *makura kotoba* (or pillow words) as late as 1922; this is a section of PMJT on which he undoubtedly labored extensively.

Dickins' PMJT includes both a Preface and a 108³⁵ page Introduction to the *Manyōshū*, and in the former we see a paragraph which offers a striking perspective on many of the issues raised above with regard to the translation of *Hōjōki*.

I have tried to avoid what I believe to be the chief blemishes incident to translation from an Oriental tongue – paraphrase and the replacement of eastern by western modes of thought and diction. This was easier in that Japan, in conformity with her geographical position, is less, in fact, oriental in the usual sense of the expression, than China, as China herself is than the middle and nearer East.³⁶

Not only does this short paragraph speak directly to the differences previously noted between the Natsume/Dixon translation and the Minakata/Dickins translation of *Hōjōki*, it also provides an interesting response-before-the-fact to a number of misdirected critiques of nineteenth and early twentieth century western scholars working on East Asian subjects which arose, in no small part, from Edward Said's groundbreaking and epochal work, Orientalism. While the history which Said addressed in his masterful work was primarily the history of what Dickins in the quotation above identifies as "the middle and nearer East," and while it is also true that the studies of "the middle and nearer East" preceded those of the far East,³⁷ it is also the case that common Western, or at least American, usage of the word "oriental" in the late Twentieth Century was more likely to be in connection with the things, people, and places of East Asia – the Pacific theater of the World War II – than of "the middle and nearer East." In response to a direct question on the subject in 1996, posed by his then-colleague Dr. Ryūichi Abe at my request, Professor Said averred that though he continued to believe that Orientalism was

³⁵ 108 is recurring number in Buddhist thought and ritual practice, referring to the number of defects that bind us to this world, the number of virtues required to cleanse those defects, the number of major beads on a *juzu* (Skt. Mala, Eng. Rosary) used to count repetitions of mantra, prayers, and similar ritual practices, &etc.

³⁶ Dickins, Preface to PMTJ, p. vi.

³⁷ This can be seen in the name of the oldest post-secondary institution devoted to these matters, original the School of Oriental Studies, now the School of Oriental and Asian Studies, or SOAS.

not without some broader relevance, upon reflection and review of his earlier work, he had to acknowledge that, for the most part, his work addressed the history of Western scholarship in specific relation to “the middle and nearer East” and was of limited applicability with regard to Western scholarship on South and East Asia.³⁸ Regrettably, Professor Said did not, to the best of my knowledge, ever make any such acknowledgement in print; even so, one must give Dickins his due for his long-headedness, and one must be forgiven for posthumously giving Said the Dickins.

It is typical to close a Preface with acknowledgements and Dickins does just that, in an order of precedence and manner of reference that is not unrewarding when attended to closely.

I desire here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the writings of Dr. Aston, C.M.G., Professor B.H. Chamberlain, Dr. Karl Florenz, and Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G; to my friend, Mr. Minakata Kumagusu; to the contributors to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan; to the works of Captain Brinkley, R.A., especially to his great Japanese-English lexicon; to the similar work of Mr. Lemaréchal; to that excellent native dictionary the Kotoba no Izumi (Fount of Language); to the Jimmei-jisho (Japanese Dictionary of National Biography), and—above all—to the Manyoshu Kogi.

Dickins had been to Japan, begun his study of the language and commenced his work as a translator before either Aston or Chamberlain, and Satow had not preceded him by much. In addition to their other achievements – in the case of Aston, a distinguished career with the British Consular Service in Japan and Korea from 1862 until 1889 and a number of major secondary works on Japanese culture and religion, and in the case of Chamberlain, his service as Professor of Japanese Language and Philology at Tokyo University from 1886 until 1911 -- they were the translators of the *Nihongi* (1896) and the *Kojiki* (1906), respectively. These two works are the earliest extant historical

³⁸ Author’s discussion with Prof. Ryuichi Abe in 1994-5 at Columbia University. Professor Abe is now on the faculty of Harvard University.

documents of Japan, as the Manyōshū, although compiled just over a century later in 759 C.E., is the oldest extant collection of Japanese poetry

As noted above, Sir Ernest Satow, in the course of his own distinguished career with the British Consular Service, which culminated in terms as Minister Plenipotentiary in both Japan and China, award of the Knighthood noted by acronym GCMG above, and appointment to the Privy Council upon his retirement to England, had husbanded both the careers and the literary pursuits of the entire pioneering generation of British Japanologists, written extensively on Japan itself, and in 1917 published A Guide to Diplomatic Practice, “a standard work of reference for young diplomats[which] was frequently revised and updated, the last edition appearing as late as 1957.” Dr. Karl Florenz “reached Japan in 1889 and taught German language and literature at the Imperial University for more than twenty-five years,”³⁹ publishing Geschichte der japanischen Literatur in 1904. In short, all of those worthies whose names appear before the first semi-colon in the paragraph stood in the first rank of western Japanese scholars and translators of the time, all of them were Dickins’ juniors, all of them had already finalized and published a major translation of a key work of Japanese antiquity, and the publication of PMJT may be seen as Dickins’ bid to insure that his contemporaneous efforts were recognized, and recognized as on the same level as theirs. Moreover, earlier in the Preface, in a display of formal modesty common to such works, Dickins goes to some length to minimize and elide the contributions made by Minakata, saying “nor have I been able to profit by the assistance of native *wagakusha* (scholars), whose erudition, especially in Old Japanese, is beyond the opportunity but not the envy of the foreign scholar.”

³⁹ Kornicki, op. cit.

It is difficult to imagine how Minakata must have reacted upon reading the Preface. Whatever pleasure he might have taken at being placed close by such august company was accompanied by the multiple wounds of seeing his own extensive scholarly work in *Nature* and *Notes & Queries* (to be treated more directly in the second chapter), his contribution to the earlier publication of *Hōjōki*, his own qualifications as a *wagakusha* and, indeed, his “extensive studies”⁴⁰ that went into the work at hand both explicitly dismissed and then, to add insult to injury, summarily elided in the phrase “my friend.” Indeed, what Minakata must have felt when he received his copy is unimaginable. While Dickins’ desire to cement his own reputation is understandable, the explicit and implicit mendacities of his Preface are ultimately difficult to regard as anything other than unconscionable acts of theft.

The second of the two relevant quotations from Dickins is extracted from the Introduction:

The *Kojiki*, the *Nihongi*, and the *Manyōshū*, all composed in the eighth century of our era, are the three classics of primitive Japan, and with the story of *Taketori* have served as models for all her later literature not Buddhist or Confucianist.⁴¹ They are the earliest extant documents in the language, the only literary sources from which any knowledge of the founders and formation of the Japanese state, and of the modes of life and thought of archaic Japan can be drawn, and the main, if not the sole, founts of the myth and tradition of unsinicized *Hinomoto* that have come down to the present day. Of the above works the first two have been translated in their entirety by English scholars, and now a version of the major and more important portion of the third⁴² is offered by a compatriot.

⁴⁰ Letter of F.V. Dickins to Sir Ernest Satow.

⁴¹ This distinction serves to explain, at least in part, Dickins’ decision not to include his joint translation of *Hōjōki* in the PMJT, given the clear Buddhist and Taoist influences under which that work was composed.

⁴² Elsewhere, Dickins says that he has chosen not to translate the shorter lays of the MYS on grounds that they are minor works which would be “tiresome” to the reader. The more likely alternative is that Dickins had found that the project itself had become rather “tiresome” to the translator, and thus, rather than offering the *Manyōshū* in its entirety (and *Taketori*, which is also incomplete in PMJT) Dickins has opted to present what he here characterizes as “the major and more important portion of the third.”

As noted above, Chamberlain and Aston were considerably younger contemporaries who had come to the study of Japanese language and literature rather later than Dickins. Their engagement with Japanese language was, by degree if not order, more directly primary and professional than that of Dickins, for whom, at least by the time of this publication, it had become avocational and secondary, however serious and sustained. As Ian Ruxton, editor of Satow's personal letters to Aston and Dickins puts it in the capsule biography of Aston appended to that publication:⁴³

“According to Dr. Haga, professor of literature in Tokio Univeristy, Aston's literary exertions, combined with those of Satow and Chamberlain, generated that thorough understanding of the Japanese by the English which culminated in the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902.

Dickins had been eclipsed by his juniors, and the publication of PMJT at this time presented him with an opportunity to let his brilliance shine alongside theirs, just as the *Manyōshū* stood with the *Nihongi* (published in 1896) and the *Kojiki* (also published in 1906). In the 67th year of his life, he could not know how long he would have before (to paraphrase Kamo no Chōmei) “his sun dipped below the hill.”

Five pages into his “Introduction to the Manyoshu”, Dickins makes a statement which, coming from one who has spent a major portion of his life in pursuit of an understanding of Japanese language and literature, is jaw-dropping:

In sober truth, the lays cannot be said to form an addition to the world's poetry. But they are a contribution, and a most interesting one, to its verse. Their imagery is deficient, owing largely to the impersonal character of the Japanese language, reflected in the want of personification in Japanese imagery, partly to the insensibility of the Japanese mind (either original or through arrest of development by Chinese influences) to most of the beauty of nature, to all of the beauty of the human form, and to nearly all of the charm of human emotion. The Far East is essentially lacking in humanism.

⁴³ Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W.G. Aston and F.V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918, Lulu Press, February 5, 2008.

This observation is of a piece with sentiments expressed in his private letters to Satow. Not only does he make clear that, like most other Englishmen of his time, he has an unalloyed sense of the superiority of Western literature, he goes so far as to bemoan the misfortune of his initial attraction to all things Japanese.⁴⁴ By 1905, Dickins' weariness with the project was vividly on display to his friends and associates. Two pages on, he advises his readers not to expect a complete translation of the *Manyōshū*, though the reason given is not age, or weariness, or haste to publish. As Dickins presents it, it is a question of consideration for his readers.

The long lays (chōka) of the Manyōshū, with their envoys (hanka), represent something less than two-thirds of the total contents of the Anthology. The remaining third consists of tanka, each of five lines and thirty-one syllables only. These are of minor literary value. Judging from their structure, I am inclined to consider many of those that are without *dai* (arguments), as additions made after Yakamochi's day. Be this as it may, their interest lies in the light, though 'tis scanty, they throw upon the Manyō afe. To have included them in the present work would have greatly increased its bulk, and tried the reader's patience.

Were he to have, on the basis of the presence or absence of *dai* (arguments)⁴⁵, made a series of choices, he could have easily presented the discrepancy between the edition on which he based his translation and the final book as a restoration of sorts, a scholar's removal of editorial encrustations. Yet, this is not the course he takes. Later in PMJT, we find a similar lack in the body of the *Taketori*⁴⁶, but in this instance, the

⁴⁴ "I now know that my falling in love with things Japanese in the early '60s was a terrible misfortune for me – there is nothing in Japanese literature to compensate one for the energy and time lost in its mere decipherment. I shall do nothing more in *re japonica* ... properly speaking, Japan has no history, it has merely annals. Nor is there any literature qua such worth the trouble of working it out. ... I have plunged into the Greek drama with enthusiasm. It is hard to go back to anything Far Eastern after the *Frogs*, *Agamemnon*, *the Bacchae* or *Antigone*" cited by Kornicki, op. cit, Note 28: PRO: PRO 30/33/11/4, Dickins to Satow, 30 August 1905; PRO 30/33/11/4, Dickins to Satow, 9 October 1904

⁴⁵ In this context, the term "argument" does not mean a dispute of any kind, but a notation indicated authorship, time, place, and occasion. As he notes, these are generally believed to have been added by Yakamochi at the time of the compilation.

⁴⁶ Literally, the title signifies a "bamboo taker," but figuratively, as Dickins' English title has it, the meaning is broader, and indicates one who both gathers and works in bamboo.

looming absence goes unremarked in his introduction. Rather, in the course of this tale of a beautiful and tiny girl-child found within a joint of a stalk of bamboos by a wicker-worker, a girl who quickly grows to full size and – in the first half of the tale -- attracts a series of five suitors who are set to, and fail at, a series of difficult tasks, at just the moment when the reader reaches the ultimate task of the five, Dickins moves immediately from translation to summary, advising the reader:

The story of this Quest is but poor fooling, nor does it illustrate any trait of early Japanese life. Its motive, however, belongs to the folklore of the world, Western as well as Eastern, and a brief summary may therefore be given.

Thereupon follows the brief summary of the suitor's failure to acquire, in Dickins' words "a cowry shell (*koyasugai*) brought by a swallow (*tsubakurane*)—probably the *Hirundo gutturalis*." His best efforts notwithstanding, the Chiunagon Marotada is said to have acquired nothing more than a ball of dung and a broken limb, and a notation that he alone of the five suitors "excited any emotion in her moonland bosom—and sent him a stanza of which, with its answer, paraphrases are subjoined from the pen of Mr. Minakata:--"

Though by my eyes long time unseen
Memory preserves thee, fresh and green
As pine-tree shadowing Suminoye's shore
Why have not yet the waves
Brought from ocean caves
The shell which I desire than rubies more?

The Chinagon's reply was thus conceived:--

Thy words of light
As jewels bright
Welcome as were the longed-for shell
Oh, might that shell a vessel prove
To lift me up to heights of love,
From the sea of grief wherein I dwell!

And more than death itself he dreaded men's knowledge of his discomfiture.

Whereby, concludes the story of the Quest, it may be known how the world first came to use phrase '*kahi ari*', 'he has got his shell'.

Appended thereunto is a note, quite distinctively Minakatian in style, a dense web of references and suppositions from both Eastern and Western folklore and natural sciences. The note as a whole comprises a page and a half. At the head of the concluding paragraph of the note, which I quote in its entirety, Dickins includes bracketed remarks:

[I owe this note to the kindness of Mr. Minakata, who has prepared an exhaustive account of the swallow-stone and the shell myth, which I trust may be published.] The Japanese name for the swallow is *tsubame* (also *tsubakura*, *tsubakurame*), etymologically connected, no doubt, with *tsubasa*, wing, itself related to *tobe*, fly (comp. *toki*, time, and *tsuki*, moon). The swallow is not mentioned in the *Manyōshū*, nor is the bird, I think, a subject of Japanese poetry. *Kahi-ari* may be rendered 'well done!'

This is most curious. Beyond the specific acknowledgement of Minakata's verse translation, the fact that a rhyming scheme is used in that translation, the inclusion of Minakata's entire note, and the apparently friendly expression of trust that it may be published, we must recall the previous account of Dickins' anger at Minakata's criticism of Dickins' earlier 1888 translation of *Taketori*, and contemporary accounts of the irascibility of both Dickins and Minakata. The exclusion of the *tanka* in the MYS is out of character for Dickins, who is elsewhere quite thorough. It seems to mark something of a break with his efforts to reach a high standard of scholarship in keeping with that of Satow, Chamberlain, and Aston, whom he preceded and with whom he clearly wishes to be associated. Similarly, his failure to include the fifth quest tale in *Taketori Monogatari*,

a work which he first published almost two decades previously, is nothing short of bizarre.

The penultimate line in Minakata's note is, in fact, a direct confrontation of Dickins' project, which takes as its explicit goal the revelation of an unpolluted Altaic-Ural Japanese language and culture that preceded the degradation visited upon it by Chinese influences. By pointing out the absence of the swallow from the MYS and its broader absence from Japanese poetry, Minakata is telling Dickins that he has it entirely wrong with regard to the inclusion of *Taketori Monogatari* in this collection, and perhaps even that it would have been better to drop the *Taketori* and include the tanka that Dickins summarily jettisoned on the grounds provided above.

Even more curious is the fact that Dickins included this element and clearly marked it as Minakata's contribution. The two were playing a most interesting game and Dickins' countermove is to take a piece of Minakata's process material – material different in kind from the finished products of their prior collaborations -- and foreground it, so as to make clear the impossibility of Minakata having taken a role that should be more amply acknowledged than that of “my friend, Mr. Minakata.” Minakata, for his part, had long complained of the low rate offered for his translation and research services in light of the great effort he went to and the long periods he was required to set aside his botanical and mycological studies in order to do a thorough job on the literary work. In at least one case after returning to Japan, following solicitation by a Western publisher for such a project, he set a dear price, sufficient by his lights to warrant the dedication of his effort.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Matsui Ryugo & Nakanishi Sumi, “On the Drafts of Minakata's Letter to Gowans Publishing Company,” http://www.aikis.or.jp/~kumagusu/articles/matsui_k4_letters.htm.

Dickins, on the other hand, had become accustomed to a rate that was set when Minakata was in particularly straitened circumstances in London; but Minakata was no longer in London, or so desperately in need. One cannot help but wonder if the absence in PMJT of the tanka and the fifth quest tale from *Takekoto*, covered by Dickins' glaring stitch-up job, is the result of a dispute along these lines, with the key difference that it occurred not in the context of a prospective project, such as the 1909 Bakin translation proposal that went south when the publisher saw Minakata's price, but rather, at the most troublesome time imaginable: close to the long-awaited conclusion of his magnum opus, the capstone of his career, the work Dickins intended to stand alongside Chamberlain's *Kojiki* and Aston's *Nihongi*. Having long felt ill-used, undercompensated, given insufficient credit for his contributions, weary of the irascibility of Dickins (for whose ill-temper and lack of sociability Satow apologizes to multiple correspondents on multiple occasions in his letters), and in truth, himself inclined toward confrontational gestures, Minakata may well have taken the occasion to press Dickins for more.

As Kornicki tells us of Minakata in his Introduction to the Collected Works of F.V. Dickins, "He states also that he edited and worked on all of Dickins's publications on Japan during these years, but the precise nature of his contributions is unknown."⁴⁸

As a man of his time accustomed to the purchase of quite expert "native assistance" on a "work-for-hire" basis that enabled him to retain both the pride of place and any and all intellectual property rights associated with authorship, as well as an

⁴⁸ With the exception of his letters to Satow, Dickins had his wife burn all of his manuscripts and correspondence. Dickins was aware of Minakata's chagrin regarding the 1907 edition of *Hojōki*, and also a lawyer by profession. Beyond mere questions of pride of authorship, there were hanging questions regarding royalty payments. In this light, Dickins request to have his papers burned – with the sole exception of his letters to Satow, is a most suspicious act.

Englishman not only quite comfortable with the unequal treaties,⁴⁹ but violently opposed to any modification of them, it is unlikely that Dickins was capable of seeing himself as a thief. From his perspective, he was performing an intellectual service to both his fellow English speakers, and the Japanese people, whose intellectual and literary achievements he was making available to the English-speaking world, at no small cost of effort on his part.

From Minakata's very differently informed perspective – and even from our very imperfectly informed perspective – it is unquestionably the case that in 1907, Dickins allowed Gowans & Gray to publish an edition of the *Hōjōki* that failed to credit Minakata. It is unquestionably the case that he did everything in his power to insure that all documentation of their collaboration on PMJT would be destroyed upon his death. In combination with the lacunae of the tanka, the odd stitchwork of the *Taketori Monogatari*, and the shabby and uncharacteristic rationale Dickins presents for each, it is enough to suggest, if not prove, that what we have at hand here is a profound injustice in the historical record, and there is a strong possibility that, as was the case with the first published version of the *Hōjōki*, some or all of the translations appearing in PMJT should also be jointly credited to Minakata Kumagusu.⁵⁰ That the question arises is a testament to inescapable breadth, depth, and literary quality of the rest of Minakata's body of work in English, a dizzying phantasmagoria of natural science, folklore, history of global travel and exchange, and a host of other topics ranging from the quotidian to the deeply weird

⁴⁹ Ian Ruxton, ed. Sir Ernest Satow's Private Letters to W.G. Aston and F.V. Dickins: The Correspondence of a Pioneer Japanologist from 1870 to 1918, Lulu.com 2008.

⁵⁰ As noted in a prior footnote, there is a slim chance that the originals of his letters to Minakata exist in an archive in Wakayama, and there is a similarly slim chance that the originals of Minakata's English-language manuscripts, as distinct from the Japanese-language translations which have understandably preoccupied his Japanese literary editors and the Minakata society, may exist in Wakayama. Thus, there is a slim possibility that these speculations could be confirmed or dismissed.

in which Minakata sets against one another elements drawn from East and West, North and South, present and past, performing acts of *temporal and cultural translation* the implications of which still resonate. Selected excerpts from this body of work, which originally appeared in the pages of *Nature* and *Notes & Queries* will be the portals through which we embark to commence our next exploration.

2

CULTURAL & TEMPORAL TRANSLATION: The Constellations of the Far East, The Mandrake, The Tale of the Wandering Jew, Whittington's Cat, & Gerbert's Escape

The materials to be addressed in this chapter are drawn from Minakata's English-language publications; the first two articles examined are among his contributions to *Nature*, an interdisciplinary scientific publication initially founded in order to foster untrammled discussion of Darwin's theory of natural selection. Minakata had been an avid reader of *Nature* since his time in Michigan some years earlier. "The Constellations of the Far East" displays his extensive reading in Chinese miscellanies both medieval and ancient, as well as his familiarity with Buddhist sutras in their Chinese rescensions. It also evidences an adroit comparative approach to questions raised regarding the degree and types of mutual influence between Chinese and Indian civilization of antiquity and a subtle understanding of the possibility of similar, but independent, endogenous cultural developments of equivalent groupings arising without mutual influence. "The Mandrake" takes a similar approach in the subject area of *materia medica*, one of his long-standing interests as a botanist. The three remaining articles are taken from his folkloric entries in *Notes & Queries* and each argues convincingly for what would have been at the time, a most heterodox view: the cultural precedence of the East and its historical role as an influence on the West. In these three articles, he presents the following arguments a) the European libel of "The Wandering Jew" is in fact a Western perversion of the Buddhist legend of the Arhat Pindola, b) that the beloved British tale of Dick Whittington's Cat is

in fact the descendant of an Indian original in which the totem animal of the story is a rat and not a cat, and c) that the medieval alchemical tale of Gerbert's Escape is in fact based on a Chinese original. In the two entries from *Nature* the game relates to science and the history of science, in the latter three folklore, but in each of these instances he is depicting—for the benefit of an elite and influential readership—the comparative antiquity and arguable superiority of advanced learning and cultural formation in Asia, at least in some particulars. The historical context of these arguments is, of course, not only Japan's effort to extract itself from the unequal Ansei treaties imposed on it by the Western powers in 1858 and avoid the fate of China by a program of rapid modernization and conscious self-presentation as a technological modern society with long-standing claims to scientific and cultural achievement, but a broader form of intellectual pan-Asian thought in its most liberal manifestation.

As such, this second section of the study will examine a very different sort of translation than that of literary texts. Although his own (often un-noted or un-acknowledged) *literary translation* is embedded in many of Minakata's English-language articles, here the game is much more a matter of *temporal and cultural translation*. Beyond the familiarity with classic literary texts in evidence in his work with Dickins, in these articles, Minakata drew on his deep reading knowledge of a wide range of Chinese and Japanese antiquarian texts. In these areas, his interests went far beyond the basic Confucian texts and commentaries which had long been part of the standard education in Chinese classics officially encouraged in Japan, or the Buddhist sutras, which had been originally translated into Chinese from Sanskrit and other Indic languages. In fact, beyond secular and religious classics, his early reading also included Chinese popular

romances, legal codes, compilations of *materia medica* and related botanical lore, and a number of works of the kind called ‘encyclopedic miscellanies,’ included the aforementioned *Wakan Sanzai Dzue*. Much of his reading at the British Museum was devoted to similar works in Western tongues, as well as contemporaneous accounts of historic journeys of discovery, and it was from his comparative analysis of source materials such as these that the articles to be examined in this chapter sprang.

In keeping with his stated goal of “harmonizing eastern and western learning,” Minakata generally endeavored to avoid atavism or inapposite juxtapositions of modern Western beliefs, understandings, and modes of operation with those of the ancient East, and vice versa. He undertook careful examinations of shared understandings, folk tales and practices, and related patterns of intellectual and material development, with the purpose of sorting out questions of precedence of discovery, mutuality of influence from antiquity forward, or mutually endogenous and independent development of common features, and he did so without playing favorites. Whether Eastern or Western, ancient or modern, eminent or common, pretense, nonsense and those engaging in them were irresistible targets for Minakata, so much so that Tsurumi Kazuko has identified “Minakatian confrontation” as one of his most identifiable and – in every sense of the word – critical modes of engagement.

With his first article for *Nature*, “The Constellations of the Far East,” written less than one year after his arrival in London in the fall of 1892, Minakata made a meteoric appearance in London’s glittering intellectual and scientific firmament. According to Tsurumi, he wrote the article in the space of a weekend with the sole assistance of his landlady’s English-dictionary, one volume of an incomplete two-volume set covering

only the letters A through Q¹. The detail regarding the dictionary is an unnecessary gloss, even if entirely true: by this point, Minakata had lived in a wholly Anglophone world for seven years – with the exception of his brief sojourn in the West Indies, Venezuela, Cuba, and Panama – and as the range of citations found in the *Nature* and *Notes & Queries* entries make clear, Minakata’s gift for the acquisition of languages other than Japanese was formidable, to say the least (although he did lament his inability to grasp Dutch²). In addition to the Japanese of his day, he had a reading knowledge of medieval Japanese, classical and modern Chinese, Latin, medieval *and* modern French and Italian, Spanish, and English, among others. Moreover, his written English was better than that of most native speakers, then or now.

It is clear from the internal evidence that Minakata was writing in response to an anonymous query which appeared in the August 17 edition of *Nature*, and his own article’s post date is noted as August 31, making the period of composition no more than two weeks, and in that period – whether two days or two weeks – Minakata produced an article that prefigured most, if not all, of the themes that would run through the fifty-one entries he would publish in *Nature* and the 323³ which would appear in *Notes & Queries*.

The mode of Minakatian confrontation is in evidence at the outset; immediately after a brief moment of literary self-effacement (“With regard to the questions asked by

¹ Tsurumi Kazuko, *Minakata Kumagusu: chikyû shikô no hikakugaku*, Kôdansha, 1978, p. 131.

² In a postscript to his article on the mandrake root, which appeared in *Nature* on August 13, 1896, Minakata notes: “In writing the present letter, I have not consulted the late Prof. Veth’s exhaustive account of the mandrake-stories referred to in NATURE (vol. li. p. 573.) To my great regret it is written in Dutch, a language which is beyond the reach of my understanding.”

³ While virtually every writer on Minakata, from his biographer Tsurumi Kazuko forward, provides this pair of numbers, which correspond to the entries in the MKZ and refer to “articles,” or “monographs,” I prefer to use the term “entries,” particularly as regards the publications in *Notes & Queries*, some of which, in keeping with the name of the publication, are no more than single-line queries on such topics as “The Invention of the Gimbal” or “The Invention of the Plant Press.” Others are brief replies to queries submitted by other subscribers. In addition, my review of the original indexes and volumes of *Nature* and *Notes & Queries* reveals several entries which seem to have been missed by the editors who compiled MKZ.

“M.A.B.” about the grouping of stars into constellations, I venture to answer the last two, which the limited knowledge of an Oriental may partly meet, hoping thereby to interest some of your readers.”), Minakata makes a direct assault on the beliefs of his own countrymen regarding the antiquity and uniqueness of Japanese culture:

“The Coreans and the Anamese are said to be still adhering to the Chinese system, and till lately the Japanese were doing so. It is strange to find the latter, replete with so peculiar mythology, on which the national claim for high ancestry rests, possessing very few vernacular constellations.”

Although Japanese writers are, even when writing in English, renowned for their tendency to allusion, indirect statement, and studied opacity, Minakata is atypical from the outset. A mere twenty-five years stood between the moment in which Minakata wrote and the 1868 collapse of the Shogunate and the Meiji “restoration” of the Emperor — itself an institution and a tradition so often constructed and reconstructed as to furnish multiple case studies perfect for an Hobsbawmian historical analysis — and Minakata is, in essence, opening his public career with frontal attack on the “claim for high ancestry” of the Imperial Household, Japan’s most cherished – and in its national program of modernization and reformation, most central – institution. As would become clear in his later life, Minakata himself revered the Emperor no less than many of his countryman — but his dedication to the institution of the Imperial Household did not trump his insistence on objective fact.

And that is only the bravura opening statement of what proves to be a thoroughgoing tour-de-force. Minakata proceeds from that point to give us a first example of the sort of archaeo-sociology that runs through many of these entries, showing how the organization of the Chinese astronomical system preserves valuable information

regarding the organization of early Chinese imperial institutions. Following his enumeration of six methods of organization (Number, Magnitude, Form, Relation of Positions, Directions of the Compass, and Colour) and fifteen “objects and attributes resorted to for modelling the stars and constellations (Heavenly Bodies, Meteorological phenomena, Topographical Divisions, Civil Divisions, Animals, Agricultural Products, Parts of Body,⁴ Human Actions, Family Relations, Occupations, Buildings and Departments, Implements and Furniture, Titles and Officials, Heroes, Philosophical and Theological Notions)” he notes:

As far as I could expound, the system implies certain peculiarities. First, it preserves some abstract notions, thus pointing the way towards investigations on the early Chinese speculations. Secondly, portions of the system severally harmonise with the conditions of the Chinese social system that existed for many centuries before the Han dynasty (*circa* 200 B.C.), when it seems certain the nomenclature was well-nigh finished. In the third place, I may mention that after careful revisions of the whole list, I have found but two that have had any reference to the sea....and....there occur no names of marine beings....This fact probably justifies a historical theory that locates the cradle of Chinese civilization on a land distant from the seas.

This particular subject — the origins of Chinese civilization — is one to which Minakata returns on many occasions throughout these entries⁵, as is the topic to which his attention immediately turns at this juncture: the relations between Indic and Chinese civilizations. In short order, he presents a robust argument against the numerical correspondences between the Indic and Chinese schemes being taken as evidence of mutual influence, and makes a number of additional major points, including the certainty

⁴ One cannot help but wonder if part of the stir caused by his article at the time was his bald conjunction of the words “tongue” and “penis” under this heading.

⁵ See his pair of articles in *Nature* in November, 1894, “On Chinese Beliefs about Caves,” and “Chinese Beliefs about the North.”

that the Indic system of constellations is pre-Buddhist⁶, the assertion that the 9th Century Chinese miscellanist Twan Chin-shi stands as China's own Pliny, the evidence of both culturally independent (“probably due to the pronounced readiness to be grouped afforded by the stars of not very different brightness and relatively situated in a manner which at once suggests a definite outline”) and historically linked identification of common constellations, and a parting shot at the broad stream of racialist thought that was not only common among Western imperial elites of the age, but also very much a part of the “scientific discourse” of the emergent fields of sociology and anthropology.⁷

⁶ This point, in conjunction with his argument that all evidence of contact and cultural exchange between Chinese and Indian civilizations seems to place such contact firmly in the Buddhist era, serves as the basis for his case favoring independent development of the cultures' respective celestial schemes.

⁷ One example of such racialist thinking with direct relevance to the study at hand can be found in a contemporaneous letter from Herbert Spencer to Kaneko Kentaro which appear in Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer, ed. David Duncan, Methuen & Co, London, 1908. Dated August 26, 1892, the relevant missive is the third of three such letters written that month on the subject of implementation of the new Japanese constitution, which had been written by Kaneko and Ito Hirobumi “under the influence of a “careful study” of Spencer's writings” and adopted in 1889. This third letter opens with Spencer explicitly approving the translation of this correspondence and its submission to then-prime-minister Ito. Among his many recommendations, which he himself characterizes as “conservative” Spencer offers the following advice:

To your remaining question, respecting the inter-marriage of foreigners and Japanese, which you say is “now very much agitated among our scholars and politicians,” and which you say is “one of the most difficult problems,” my reply is that, as rationally answered, there is no difficulty at all. It should be positively forbidden. It is not at root a question of social philosophy. It is at root a question of biology. There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the inter-marriages of human races and by the inter-breeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree *the result is invariably a bad one* in the long run. I have myself been in the habit of looking at the evidence bearing on this matter for many years past, and my conviction is based upon numerous facts derived from numerous sources. This conviction I have within the last half hour verified, for I happen to be staying in the country with a gentleman who is well-known as an authority on horses, cattle and sheep, and knows much respecting their inter-breeding; and he has just, on inquiry, fully confirmed my belief that when, say of different varieties of sheep, there is an inter-breeding of *those which are widely unlike*, the result, especially in the second generation, is a bad one – there arises an incalculable mixture of traits, and what may be called a chaotic constitution. And the same thing happens among human beings – the Eurasians in India, and the half-breeds in America, show this. The physiological basis of this experience appears to be that any one variety of creature in course of so many generations acquires a certain constitutional adaptation to its particular form of life, and every other variety similarly acquires its own special adaptation. The consequence is that, if you mix the constitutions of two widely divergent varieties which have severally become adapted to widely divergent modes of life, you get a constitution which is adapted to the mode of life of neither – a constitution which will not work properly, because it is not fitted for any set of conditions whatever. By all means, therefore, peremptorily interdict marriages of Japanese with foreigners.”

The letters of Satow, Aston, Hearn and others provide ample evidence that much of Spencer's thought was regarded quite favorably and was the topic of great discussion among the Westerners resident in Japan in

On the other hand, as to the merit of its use for ascertaining the race-affinity my opinion must be somewhat negative, for, while instances are not wanting of such remarkable analogies among such heterogenous nations as the Chinese and Indians, the subject is decidedly one of those social acquirements of highly transmissible nature, its present features being more the result of the national intercourse than that of the race-affinity.

The article was not only noticed within the community of gentleman scholars who read *Nature*; it was also picked up by *The London Times*,⁸ and Minakata was, for the moment at least, a celebrity of sorts. His old associate Kataoka Prince, at whose table he often dined, showed him off at a number of dinners, and the publication seems to have led to, among other things, a direct relationship between Minakata and Kataoka's long-time British Museum contact, Augustus Wollaston Franks. Within a month of his submission of this first article, Minakata submitted a second entry to *Nature*, this one titled "Early Chinese Observations on Colour Adaptations," which opens as follows: "It seems of interest to record that the Chinese, neglectful of the sciences as they are nowadays, nevertheless suggested the Darwinian interpretation of animal colours as early as the ninth century A.D." In one short sentence, he establishes the presence of advanced scientific thought in China a millennium earlier, backhands his Chinese contemporaries for their neglect of the sciences, and not only implicitly challenges Herbert Spencer's recasting of Darwinian evolution theory into what is now commonly called "social Darwinism" (though it would be more accurate to label it "Spencerism"), but implicitly challenges the positivist notion that change, adaptation, and progress are equivalent and interchangeable notions. Again, we see here the mode of Minakatian confrontation in

the late nineteenth century, and this enthusiasm was conveyed to the elite circles of Japanese society and governance with which they engaged. In this light, Satow's own domestic partnership with a Japanese woman who bore him two children may be seen as a sort of "exception that proves the rule."

⁸ Tsurumi, op. cit.

full display, for although he doesn't mention Spencer by name, his target would have been quite clear to a contemporary reader.

Though Spencer's reputation and stature have eroded greatly over the last century, in the 1890s, he was a towering figure at the end of a long and distinguished career (1820-1903),⁹ a public intellectual who had made significant and lasting contributions to psychology, sociology, education, philosophy, and political economy, and a charter member of the X Club,¹⁰ a group of scientific eminences which had been instrumental in the initial establishment of *Nature* as a venue for open discussion of the issues raised by Darwin's Origin of the Species, and whose members had contributed to its pages often. Placing this critique in an article intended for the pages of the publication most closely associated with Spencer, as Minakata did, was a bold and provocative statement of the

⁹ Author of the foundational 1874 three volume text, "The Principles of Sociology" as well as works in ethics, psychology, political theory, philosophy, Spencer's reputation and stature – which have long suffered from his association with comparatively crude forms of Social Darwinism – have recently undergone something of a rehabilitation as a result of Mark Francis' 2007 work, Herbert Spencer and the invention of modern life, published by Cornell University Press. Francis argues vigorously (if not entirely convincingly) that the application of the phrase which was coined by Spencer and subsequently used by Darwin, "survival of the fittest," to economic and social phenomena by *non-scientists* would have been roundly condemned by Spencer on grounds of insufficient understanding and rigor on the part of such individuals. But more importantly, Francis concurs with other writers on Spencer regarding his larger belief in the trajectory of evolution toward some sort of perfection, and this is the point of maximum conflict between his views and those of Minakata. While wholly willing to import the methods of empirical observation and deductive reasoning from Western positivism, Minakata rejected the teleological notion of necessary progress toward some apex of biological existence with which it was often intertwined. Along the way, Minakata took numerous opportunities to tweak Spencer in print, both in English and in Japanese. In one instance, he did so by first pointing out that Spencer's assertion that "if ghosts have coats, coats must have ghosts," had been anticipated by the first century Chinese philosopher Wang Chung, then pointing out the illogicality in Wang Chung's contention that while clothes could not have ghosts because clothes had no spirit, spirits, which are distinct from flesh, blood and bone, might have visible bodies. Although he openly mocks Wang Chung, he implicitly mocks Spencer for being merely clever, but lacking the resolve to follow the logic of his argument to its inevitable conclusion. The tactic of criticizing a historical example of a current error is one Minakata uses with some frequency, and this subtext alone could serve as the basis for an entire line of fruitful inquiry into Minakata's writings, forming as it does the "ura" or "reverse" in relation to the "omote" or "visible face" of temporal translation examined in the present work.

¹⁰ Other members of the X club were George Busk, Edward Frankland, Thomas Archer Hirst, Joseph Dalton Hooker, T.H. Huxley, John Lubbock, William Spottiswoode, and John Tyndall. For a more thorough overview of the group and its activities, see, The X Club: Science, Religion, and Social Change in Victorian England, Ruth Barton, University of Pennsylvania, 1976.

breadth and depth of his own intention as a thinker. But there are other implications as well, some of which are more political in nature.

Spencer's theories – or derivations from them – gained immediate purchase not only in England, but also America, Germany, and Japan, the latter of which was then struggling to modernize with sufficient rapidity to fend off the military and economic threat posed by England, America, and other Western powers. Writing on Spencer's reception in America, Richard Hofstadter says:

Spencer's philosophy was admirably suited to the American scene. It was scientific in derivation and comprehensive in scope. It had a reassuring theory of progress based upon biology and physics. It was large enough to be all things to all men, broad enough to satisfy agnostics like Robert Ingersoll and Theists like Fiske and Beecher. It offered a comprehensive world-view, uniting under one generalization everything from protozoa to politics. Satisfying the desire of "advanced thinkers" for a world-system to replace the shattered Mosaic cosmogony, it soon gave Spencer a public influence that transcended Darwin's. Moreover, it was not a technical creed for professionals. Presented in language that tyros in philosophy could understand, it made Spencer the metaphysician of the homemade intellectual, and the prophet of the crackerbarrel agnostic.¹¹

What Hofstadter says of the "fitness" of Spencer's theories with regard to the ecology of American thought is no less true of their integration into Japanese thought of the same period. Indeed, to the extent that Japan, under the slogan *wakon yosai* (Japanese spirit, Western technique), was then consciously engaged in the task of remaking itself as a "fit and able" modern nation, Spencer's theories fell on fertile ground there as well. Many were those among the new elite who adopted his strongly positivist views, and few of them were scientific men. The result was that they uncritically took on an admixture of Darwinian and Lamarckian evolutionary theory, and the indelible socio-biological cast that ran through Spencer's entire body of work. This cast was a key feature of his views on governance, views which were not only taken up strongly by a number of key figures active in Japanese government modernization and centralization in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but lacking any caveats of the sort Mark Francis, author of Herber Spencer

¹¹ Social Darwinism in American Thought, Richard Hofstadter, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944.

and the Invention of Modern Life, believes Spencer would have offered. As a result, in admixture with analogies drawn from the disciplines of medicine, public health, and immunology, the socio-biological trope formed a central lexicon of the discourse of Japanese modernization. Whether deployed sincerely or cynically, the fundamental mis/understandings inherent in this discourse were targets of much of Minakata's writing in Japanese, as was the vampiric centralization project they supported. In contrast to the dominant term of this discourse, *kokutai*,¹² Minakata argued in favor of the alternative *hentai*,¹³ emphasizing not the molecular subsumption of individuals and communities in one standardized body-politic, but the observation and celebration of difference and transformation. Thus, an attack on Spencer and his theories was not simply a battle of wits between the younger Minakata and his elder rival: it was effectively an attack on the entire centralization project then underway in Japan and its basic terms of operation.

Two other features common to many of Minakata's entries make their first appearance in this second article, published just one week after the first – recursive corrections and extensions of prior entries appended to subsequent articles, and extensive translation from Asiatic languages into English which have clearly been carried out by Minakata himself, but in no way marked as such. In this instance, the former is implicit, appearing in the form of a more complete and careful citation¹⁴ before Minakata's

¹² ”国体” -generally translated as “national polity,” but literally “nation-body”

¹³ 変態 -- though the term is now generally associated with deviant commercial eroticism, its literal meaning is “transformation-attitude.” Minakata's dispute with Yanagita Kunio over the latter's refusal to acknowledge traditional sexual practices in the emergent field of minzokugaku is relevant in this connection and will be examined later in Chapter 3.

¹⁴ Whereas the first article made reference to “Twan Chin-shī,” the second cites “Twan Ching-Shih, in his Yú-yáng-tá-tsú (Maútsin's edition, book xvii. P. 7 Kyōto, 1697)”

translation, which forms well over two-thirds of the entry in toto. In other cases -- some corrections, some extensions -- he is more explicit.¹⁵

Over the course of the next two years and eleven further contributions to *Nature*, Minakata proffers two entries extending the socio-archaeology of his debut¹⁶, two asserting precedence of conceptualization and deployment of new technologies in Eastern cultures¹⁷, and five addressing historical treatments of particular topics in natural science in the East.¹⁸ The fifth, on “The Mandrake” is a response to a “Prof. Beth’s exhaustive account of the mandrake (referred to in *NATURE* or April 11, p. 573)” published in April of 1895 and followed by two other entries on the same topic, the second in August of 1896 and the last in March of 1898.

Whereas Minakata’s first article took a comparative view of several Asian cosmologies – primarily those of India and China – his series of articles on mandrake-

¹⁵ In April of the following year, Minakata appended the following postscript to his article “Some Oriental Beliefs about Bees and Wasps”: “P.S.--In my letter on the "Constellations of the Far East" (*NATURE*, vol. xlvii. p. 542), I gave from Twan Ching-Shih "Miscellanies" portions of the list of the objects of Indian fancy as to the resemblances of the constellations. Last March, my reverend friend, Atcharya Dharmanaga, then in Paris kindly sent me an extract from Roshin Sennin's Lecture on the Constellations recorded in Mahâsannipâta Sutra. After comparison, I find that both quite agree except for a few variations, so that that Chinese author of "Miscellanies" seems to me to have extracted his list from the above-mentioned Indian authority. K.M.” The timing of this note is also of interest – it seems likely that Minakata was introduced to Dharmanaga by Toki Horyu, with whom he toured the British Museum in the company of Augustus Wollaston Franks in October of 1893, shortly after the publication of these articles. Elsewhere, Minakata refers to Acharya Toki as “my master in mantrism.” While Figal, in particular, has emphasized the heterodox nature of Minakata’s Buddhist thought, and downplayed his association with any particular established sect of Buddhism, the use of this particular phrase is a clear indication that Minakata had received at least an initial abhishekha, or initiation, from Toki and had a primary master-disciple relationship with him. Inasmuch as Toki subsequently became the Dai-Acharya of Mount Koya, in essence the Primate of the remote ritual center of Shingon Buddhism, a school associated closely with the Royal Family, this relationship certainly gave Minakata access to monastic libraries, ritual and social networks, sacred precincts and trained and erudite informants such as Atcharya Dharmanaga. It is difficult to underestimate the role this access played in his subsequent work as a scholar, as a botanist and mycologist doing field work in the sacred mountains of Wakayama, and as a political activist in the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement, although it has gone generally unnoticed. These particulars and their implications will be discussed more extensively and in greater detail in Chapter 3, which addresses Minakata’s Epistemological and Cosmological Translations.

¹⁶ See note 5, above.

¹⁷ “The Antiquity of the ‘Finger-Print’ Method”, “The Invention of the Net”

¹⁸ “The Earliest Mention of Dictyphora”, “An Intelligence of the Frog”, “Chinese Theories on the Origins of Amber”, “Hesper and Phosphor”, “The Mandrake” .

root look at the relationship between Eastern and Western lore on that topic. The first is a comparatively short entry in which, true to form, he provides a brief introduction locating his source material, to which is appended a short translation, in this case from the 17th century Chinese work titled *Wuh-tsah-tsu*. The points of correspondence between Western and Eastern lore he identifies in this first entry are 1) the human shape of the roots 2) the presence of *ignes fatui* around the root to be harvested, 3) the appellation of the root, “surnamed ‘Ye-hu’ (i.e. Night Cry) on account of its demoniacal nature, and 4) the distinction between its medicinal white form and its deadly red form.

His second entry on the mandrake reduces the four above and adduces an additional eight “points of analogy” between Eastern and Western lore on the topic:

- 3) association with sites of human death
- 4) association between the appearance of *ignies fatui* and the impending power of speech in the root.
- 5) association between hand-carving of the root and fortune-telling
- 6) association between mandrake and insanity and delirium
- 7) its use to cure demonic possession in both Chinese and Jewish traditions¹⁹
- 8) its use as philter, or love potion, in both Chinese and Jewish traditions.
- 9) its use to cure sterility in both Chinese and Jewish traditions.
- 10) its use as a purgative and in the reduction of tumours and glandular swelling.

He brings his analysis to a near-conclusion with the following observation:

So far may the many analogies between the mandrake and the Phtolacca-stories appear to militate against the probability of independent growths, if not origins, of the folk-lore connected with the two plants.

Further, it may be worth of notice that, while the ancient Europeans possessed a hazy knowledge of the anthropomorphic Ginseng, the Chinese of the middle ages had an equally

¹⁹ By which association he clearly defines the Jewish tradition as a Western tradition, a point of some significance in relation to his articles on ‘The Wandering Jew’ which are addressed later in this section.

circuitous acquaintance with the mandrake. (thence follows a translation from a thirteenth century Chinese text by Chau Mih and this final conclusion based on that text)

The readers of the above passage scarcely need my annotations that the story is obviously composed of what Josephus and Dioscorides²⁰ record, and also that the name "Yah-puh-li" is nothing but "Ybruh," the Arabic word for the mandrake.

The third entry in the sequence is of less interest, except to the extent that it continues his pattern of recursive auto-correction, in this instance reducing his list of plants that assume human form presented in a note to the second entry by several items owing to their tendency to assume human form only in diseased states rather than their natural condition.

Between the first and second entries on the Mandrake came a submission on a very different topic, one which was, a singular departure which would go unrepeated within pages of *Nature*. In terms of his life's work, however, it was the first of many publications – four on this precise topic-- in the field of comparative folklore treating matters not of science or botany or pharmacology, but straightforward questions of culture. While it would easy to see the choice of subject as a fateful misstep that mars his entire body of work, I will suggest that what he is attempting is nuanced and, in intention, redemptive -- both with regard to the origin and the original thrust of the tale in question. Inasmuch as the first appearance of this subject it is a brief entry, I reproduce it here in full:

The Story of the "Wandering Jew."

²⁰ Titus Flavius Josephus, aka Joseph ben Matityahu, first century Romano-Jewish historian & Pedanius Dioscorides, author of a first-century C.E. five volume work on material medica which remained in use until the early Sixteenth Century. While it is unclear whether Minakata read Josephus in English or restored Greek, his ability to read Latin is documented and it seems a fair bet that he read both Josephus and Dioscorides in that language.

So far as my scanty reading goes, I have never met with a book on the subject of the "Wandering Jew" making mention of an Indian tale in this connection, and I therefore deem it more or less useful to call attention of the folk-lorists to the following Buddhist narrative, for which I have to thank Mr. Seisaku Murayama, an assiduous Pali scholar in Japan, who was kind enough to make a journey in my behalf with the sole intention of personal examination of the Chinese text. The passage occurs in "Tsa-o-han-King" (Samyuktagama sutra, translated by Gunabradha, circa A.D. 435-443), printed in Fuh-chau, 1609, tom xxiii. fol. 30, and may be translated thus:--[This is a portion of an answer of Pin-tau-lu (= Pindola Bharadvaga ?) to the question of King As'oka.]"And further, when the Buddha was staying in the kingdom of S'ravasti with the five hundred arhats, the daughter of the Sresthin Anathapindada happened to live in the kingdom of Fu-lau-na-poh-to-na (= Pundara-varddhana ?), and invited thither the Buddha and the monks. All other monks then, went gliding through the air; but I, exerting my supernatural energy, held up a huge mount and there went. Then the Buddha accused me with these words: 'Wherefore do you play such a miracle; for which offense I now punish you with eternal existence in this world, incapable of the reach to nirvana, thus to guard my doctrine against its destruction.'" KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

15 Blithfield Street, Kensington, W., November 22

[NO 1361, VOL. 53, p 78]

Noting in his phrase, "my scanty reading," an ironic echo of "the limited knowledge of an Oriental," with which he prefaced his first publication, the question of just what that reading might have been comes immediately to mind, as does the fact that earlier in that same year, on January 5, Alfred Dreyfus was falsely convicted of treason and sentenced to life imprisonment on Devil's Island. What ensued was a deeply divisive national scandal within France itself, and widespread international condemnation of not only French, but more broadly, European anti-Semitism. Among those who covered the original trial were a young reporter named Theodor Herzl, who was so galvanized by the events he witnessed that within the next year he wrote and published the book *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State), and shortly thereafter founded the World Zionist Organization.

Minakata does not catalog his “scanty reading,” either historical or contemporary, nor does he gloss in any fashion the story he references, taking his readers’ basic familiarity with both the tale in question and the context for granted, as well he might have. Additionally, he might well have taken for granted their knowledge that the address from which he posted his entry was in a district of London then known for, among other things, its considerable population of immigrants, among them many Jews. In short, for the readers of 1895, there were clear markers of Minakata’s likely sympathies and sources that, while more obscure today, are still amenable to excavation.

Those markers may have been all too clear, and notwithstanding the antiquity of the Indian tale adduced by Minakata, the contemporary political sensitivities touched on by the subject too heightened for further examination. Although Minakata would continue to contribute to *Nature* until late 1898, this was the last entry Minakata wrote for the publication which might be considered “folkloric.” There was one anthropological entry on the subject of “The Marriage of the Dead” after this, but otherwise, the remainder of Minakata’s subsequent entries are on matters of natural science and technology.²¹ He would not return to this subject in print for almost four years, when he published two more extensive treatments of the subject in *Notes & Queries*, a publication which was, by comparison to *Nature*, more clearly oriented toward matters of philological, folkloric, and antiquarian interest.

Beyond his observation of the widespread currency of the tale at the time he wrote, three likely roughly contemporary textual sources of which he might have availed

²¹ For a complete listing of the articles, see appendix one, which contains a detailed chronology of Minakata’s life and publications in the context of relevant events.

himself immediately present themselves, and quickly point onward to bibliographic resources which Minakata very likely pursued. The first of these is Eugène Sue's 10-volume French pot-boiler novel, The Wandering Jew, initially published in serialization in 1844-5 and subsequently sold in a number of successively reprinted multi-volume editions. The second is Paul Feval's La Fille du Juif Errant, (including a series of widely reproduced illustrations created by the renowned illustrator, Gustave Dore in 1856, for one example of which see Illustration 6 in the Appendices), and third is Sabine Baring-Gould's much reprinted 1867 work Curious Myths of the Middle Ages. While Minakata may have encountered the former work, it is not of primary concern here.²² Baring-Gould's work, however, is not only precisely the sort of miscellany to which Minakata had long been favorably disposed, it is clear that he was familiar with the work, inasmuch as he refers to it in his June 12, 1926 entry in *Notes & Queries* titled "'Man in the Moon': 'Rabbit in the Moon.'" Although that particular entry post-dates the entries on "The Wandering Jew," it provides a strong piece of circumstantial evidence that either a copy of Baring-Gould's work in Minakata's personal library or excerpts from that work preserved in Minakata's London notebooks very likely served as Minakata's initial guide to the

²² In Sue's novel, the eponymous figure and his sister Herodiade act as protectors of a large and globally dispersed family of persecuted Huegenots. Rather than being condemned to walk the earth until the day of the Messiah's resurrection, their fate is tied to that of the Rennepont family, who are the descendants of Herodiade, the unmarried, childless sister of the Wandering Jew. The dispersed Renneponts are heirs to a fortune of which they know nothing entrusted to a Jewish banker who faithfully holds it and its compounding interest secure against the depredations of scheming Jesuits. Although long-protected by the Wandering Jew and Herodiade, (which benefit must be weighed against the negative that the appearance of Herodiade and her brother also heralds a cholera outbreak where they might be), all of the Renneponts eventually die, leaving the Wandering Jew and Herodiade finally and happily free to themselves slough off this mortal coil. Like Sue's previous melodrama, *Les Mystères de Paris*, *Le Juif Errant* began life as a sensational newspaper serialization intended to stoke the rising anti-Jesuit fervor of the day, at which task it seems to have succeeded. While the work seems to have incorporated a number of aspects of the medieval legend and employs multiple tropes that are clearly anti-semitic, it seems to have done so in a most curious fashion with an overt intention quite different than its use of some stereotypes might initially suggest. In the language of daytime talk tv, it's a confused hot mess.

literature on this subject.²³ Although critical of some factual assertions regarding the legend, and clearly identifying it as a medieval myth not wholly derived from scripture, Baring-Gould's work is also unmistakably a work of self-assured Christian hagiography deeply imbued with anti-Semitic bias. To the extent that it questions or thoroughly debunks some of the more preposterous assertions associated with the legend, it does so precisely to reify its core conceits.²⁴ However, Baring-Gould's entry under this heading in his 1867 work Curious Myths of the Middle Ages does conclude with a brief, but useful, guide to bibliographic resources and Minakata, voracious reader that he was, almost certainly availed himself of them.²⁵

For all of that, it is not necessary that Minakata was familiar with any of these particular works. He was aware of the story, aware of its popular currency, aware of its principal features, and just as important, keenly aware from personal experience of American and British attitudes towards those who had the misfortune to be born outside the compass of Anglo-Saxon Christian culture. At the time of this entry, Minakata himself had been wandering for nine arduous years, his circumstances were far from secure, and his skill at language acquisition mirrored the legendary ability of Ahasver to speak with anyone in any tongue. Quite aside from providing the

²³ See Appendix for Baring-Gould's complete entry.

²⁴ "It has been suggested by some that the Jew Ahasverus is an impersonation of that race which wanders, Cain-like, over the earth with the brand of a brother's blood upon it, and one which is not to pass away till all be fulfilled, not to be reconciled to its angered God, till the times of the Gentiles are accomplished. And yet, probable as this supposition may seem at first sight, it is not to be harmonized with some of the leading features of the story. The shoemaker becomes a penitent, and earnest Christian, whilst the Jewish nation has still the veil upon its heart; the wretched wanderer eschews money, and the avarice of the Israelite is proverbial."

²⁵ "the bibliographer may at little trouble and expense satisfy himself, by perusing the lists given by Grässe in his essay on the myth, and those to be found in "Notice historique et bibliographique sur les Juifs-errants: par G. B." (Gustave Brunet), Paris, Técheiner, 1845; also in the article by M. Mangin, in "Causeries et Meditations historiques et littéraires," Paris, Duprat, 1843; and, lastly, in the essay by Jacob le Bibliophile (M. Lacroix) in his "Curiosités de l'Histoire des Croyances populaires," Paris, Delahays, 1859. Of the romances of Eugene Sue and Dr. Croly, founded upon the legend, the less said the better."

opportunity for a literary/folkloric repetition of his arguments in favor of Asian precedence in the invention of the net, the understanding that the morning and evening stars, Hesper and Phospor, are not two celestial bodies, but one, the conceptualization – if not wholesale application – of the finger-print method, and so forth, it offered the chance for another sort of Minakatian confrontation, a confrontation in which he implicitly suggests that not only was the tale borrowed from the Buddhist legend of Pindola, but that it was transformed in the borrowing, made into what might be called a *henka* (変化) or “transformation” in Japanese, a word which carries many meanings beyond transformation, including that of “ghost” and an underlying connotation of “strangeness,” or “fushigi,” (不思議) a category which would assume great importance as a central field of inquiry in the emergent Japanese social sciences – and which today is a central field of inquiry for Western scholars applying Foucauldian and Lacanian analysis to Japan’s national transformation over the past century and a half.²⁶

And there are unremarked elements of strangeness and absent context in the slim excerpt from the sutra which Minakata translates in this query. Although Pindola is punished for the act of magically manifesting a mountain beneath himself for the purpose of transport, as noted earlier, the act of flying seems no less magical to the western reader – certainly not an attainment we expect of our religious figures.

Minakata *chooses* not to advise the reader, even in passing, that numerous Buddhist sutras not only maintain that the ability to fly is one of the signs of an accomplished

²⁶ Among them, Harry D. Hartoonian, and a number of younger scholars associated with him, including Alan Christy, Mark Driscoll, and Gerald Figal, all of whom have produced relevant works cited in subsequent chapters of this work dealing with Minakata’s political and social scientific activity following his return to Japan. Also relevant in this connection are works addressing the social construction of sex and gender by Bernard Faure (*The Red Thread*) and Gregory Pflugfelder (*Cartographies of Desire*)

Buddhist arhat, but that ancient codes of monastic discipline also contain guidance regarding the payment of tolls on roads over which one has passed.²⁷ Why such an omission? Precisely because his attention is focused on the straightforward provision of a sutric translation in suitably Biblical language that will demonstrate a simple parallel: just as “The shoemaker becomes a penitent, and earnest Christian,” Pindola is a penitent defender of the Buddha’s truth. Whatever the *omote* reading of this entry might be, the *ura* is this: the focus on the curse misses the greater point of the blessing, and the use of the penitent as a signifier for an accursed people is a Western perversion of an older Eastern tale, in which Pindola not only accepts his fate, but becomes the exemplar for the type of a *bodhisattva*, or enlightened one who pledges to remain in cyclic existence until the ultimate release of all sentient beings from its illusional presentation.²⁸

There does not seem to have been a reply to Minakata’s article titled “The Wandering Jew,” and over the next four years, his contributions to *Nature* continue at a rate of about four per year. As noted above, with the exception of an 1897 entry on Sino-Mongolian marriage customs titled “The Marriage of the Dead”, the published entries hew closely to the concerns of natural science, albeit with some use of folkloric sources treating those concerns from a historical perspective.²⁹ Then, something

²⁷ Nonetheless, each of these subjects later figure in entries Minakata published in *Notes & Queries*.

²⁸ *Omote/ura* are a matched set of terms in Japanese, the former signifying the visible face or side of something, the latter signifying the obverse face or side. In common usage, they are used to designate distinct aspects or understandings, in which the *ura* is – at a minimum – distinguished from the *omote* in some respect, and – at a maximum – literally as well as figuratively “opposed” to it.

²⁹ There are two exceptions. “Marriage of the Dead” addresses the Mongolian origins of this practice, which was observed in China by Ser. Marco Polo. This may be neatly classified with his debut article and the pair on Chinese beliefs about the north and caves, the group as a whole examining the historical development of the Chinese Empire. “On Augury from Combat of Shellfish” is the second, and truth be told it may be grouped more easily with the articles on various aspects of comparative anthropology subsequently published in *N&Q*.

curious occurs. In December of 1898, some time following his expulsion from the Reading Room of the British Museum after the last in a series of “several violent outbursts...in response to perceived persecution,”³⁰ Minakata posts an exceedingly brief query to *Nature*:

³⁰ Julia Adeney Thomas, Reconfiguring Modernity: concepts of nature in Japanese political ideology, p. 191.

The Invention of the Gimbal.

Will you or some of your readers kindly inform me, when and by whom the construction of the gimbal was contrived for the first time?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.³¹

Within six months, in June 1899, an almost identical entry appears in *Notes &*

Queries with an immediate editorial response following:

THE INVENTION OF THE GIMBAL.--Will you or some of your readers kindly let me know when and by whom the construction of the gimbal was contrived for the first time?

K. MINAKATA

[Gimbals are mentioned so early as 1577. See 'H.E.D.'³²]³³

For the balance of 1899, it is as if a sluice gate has been changed, and the flow of Minakata's production is not only redirected entirely to *Notes & Queries*, but turns away from subjects in the natural sciences, and increasingly toward topics of literature, philology, and folklore.³⁴ After having taken some months and seven

³¹ *Nature*, NO. 1520, VOL. 59, pp. 150.

³² The "omote" reference is clearly to the Oxford Historical English Dictionary. I believe there to be an "ura" shadow reference by omission as well. Most other references to the H.E.D. I have found in *N&Q* continue "Halliwell has it....," but in this instance no such citation is conjoined. There is a certain perverse and sly quality of near-Minakatian confrontation on the part of the editor of *N&Q* in the absence: In 1845 the namesake of the H.E.D, James Owen Halliwell, had been banned from the Public Reading Room of the British Museum when a number of manuscripts disappeared under suspicious circumstances. Minakata, of course, had been placed under a similar prohibition in 1898 following successive altercations with a museum official named Thompson and a patron in the Reading Room, and was by this time working at the South Kensington Museum, in increasingly straitened circumstances. There is also the small matter of the prints which Minakata at one point "borrowed" from Prince Kataoka, which may be connected to the reference.

³³ *N&Q*, 9th S. III, June 3, '99, p. 427.

³⁴ "A Witty Boy," presents Minakata's translations (both literal and figurative) of a venerable Chinese tale paralleling a medieval Italian jest published in *Notes & Queries* some weeks beforehand. In this instance it is clear that he is providing an instance not of precedence or influence but discrete endogenous developments with homologous outcomes. "Chinese Medicine" is devoted not to Chinese medicine, but to issues of bibliography and literary translation into English and French of a classic (if methodologically

comparatively short entries to introduce himself directly to the readership of *Notes & Queries*, Minakata returns to the subject of Buddhist precedent for the European tales of the Wandering Jew with a clutch of translations of variant versions of the Legend of Pindola, and the editors of *Notes & Queries* give his article – for this surely is an article and not merely an entry – pride of place at the head of the NOTES section of the August 12, 1899 edition.

More than three years have now elapsed since I made an attempt to call the attention of the public to a close relation which appears to exist between a Buddhist legend of ancient India and modern stories of the Wandering Jew in Europe (*Nature*, vol. liii. p. 78, 1895). As further researches on the subject, which I was continuing till lately with the assistance of Mr. Seisaku Murayama, a distinguished Japanese student of Pali, have brought to my possession many more materials, hitherto but seldom noticed by most folk-lorists, I trust the Editor of 'N. & Q.' will spare me its valuable space for giving its readers a general account of what I have collected concerning the matter.³⁵

The introduction is striking in its initial – again, implicit, not explicit – assertion of the failure of his previous effort, his forthright acknowledgement of the assistance of a Japanese Pali scholar (presumably with privileged access to “materials hitherto but seldom noticed”), his high regard for *Notes & Queries* and its readership, and the implication that, beyond what he is presenting at this moment lies a vast corpus of material on which his claims rest (“valuable space for giving its readers a general account”). What immediately follows are a series of elegant translations from two sutras, a Buddhist compendium in Chinese, and the *Wakan Sansai Dzue* (a popular pictorial encyclopedia of Sino-Japanese learning which Minakata had himself copied

suspect) work detailing ancient Chinese modes of forensic investigation. “Beaver and Python” compares Western and Eastern folklore regarding self-mutilation by animals as a defense against human hunters. “Reference Wanted,” is both an occasion for Minakata to present his own English-language translation of a poem composed in classical Chinese and a second example of discrete developments with similar results, and “Swim-Shell,” is both a query regarding a type of shell used for augury in German folk practice and an advertisement for his previous article in *Nature* on several related Asian traditions.

³⁵ *Notes & Queries*, August 12, 1899

in its entirety as a teenager), along with personal observations on the iconography of Pindola in Japan, its spatial deployment,³⁶ and its function as a source of healing. To this he adds (in Italian) an extract on a similar usage of an icon of St. Thomas in India taken from Ludovico Verthema's Itinerario de Ludouico de Varthema Bolognese.³⁷

Drawing on these materials, Minakata restricts his own overt contribution primarily to the presentation of nine particulars in which the two legends are homologous, as follows:

1. Both....somehow offend the founders of their religions.
2. are therefore doomed to undying life.
3. are subsequently devout guardians of their masters' doctrines.
4. are shabby in dress.
5. are workers of miracles.
6. attend receptions to which they are..... invited, and sometimes disappear suddenly
7. They heal diseases.
8. Many adventurers seem to have formerly existed who, under cover of their names, committed gross impostures upon credulous folks
9. There is some, though by no means important, resemblance between the Indian saint's mountain-carrying (the word mountains might have existed instead of "mountain" in the now lost Sanskrit original of the text, Chinese words usually

³⁶ As will be discussed in the next chapter, which takes as its subject Minakata's bi-directional translation of empirical method into Buddhist practice and Buddhist cosmology and epistemology into a framework to be used in such empirical investigations, spatial deployment of icons has a close relationship with both modes of seeing and modes of sacralizing mundane space

³⁷ Ludovico Varthema was the first Christian European to successfully enter Mecca as a pilgrim and was described by Sir Richard Francis Burton as follows: "*For correctness of observation and readiness of wit Varthema stands in the foremost rank of the old Oriental travellers. In Arabia and in the Indian archipelago east of Java he is (for Europe and Christendom) a real discoverer. Even where passing over ground traversed by earlier European explorers, his keen intelligence frequently adds valuable original notes on peoples, manners, customs, laws, religions, products, trade, methods of war.*" Varthema's work was first published in 1510, preceding Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi* by four decades. Ramusio, an Italian diplomat, was himself something of a polymath. Although he himself did not travel extensively, in his professional capacity, he had access to many accounts of voyages to far-off lands in a range of languages, a number of which he translated into Italian. Volume I of Ramusio's compilation of these accounts, *Nativationi et Viaggi* was published in 1550 and was the first work of its kind. Along with subsequent publications by Richard Hakluyt and a host of others, the works of Varthema and Ramusio work form one of the key textual substrates mined by Minakata in his subsequent examinations of cultural exchange, technology transfers, and folkloric transmissions in the first great age of globalization.

distinguishing no number of named things) and A. di Francisco di Andrea's description of the Wandering Jew carrying two children upon his shoulders.

To these nine common features, a tenth may be added:³⁸ the universal relation that both Pindola and the Wandering Jew have with translation – and by extension – not merely translators, but *this very translator*. The use of *kujikiri* as a rite (see note below) is specifically intended to “cut away” accumulated impurities, subdue counterforces, remove obstacles and purify the practitioner and the realm in which the practitioner is embedded. It does not go too far to say that there is every indication that Minakata was, in this first article in which he returns to the parallels between the tales of Pindola and the Wandering Jew, implicitly attempting to free the latter from the foul accretions of post-Constantinian anti-Semitism and restore it to a more

³⁸ The criticality of the number nine and the implication of a tenth (unstated) term in lists of nine such as this is a feature of both orthodox Buddhist tantric thought and heterodox Sino-Japanese tantric practice such as the Shugendo of the Wakayama region in which Minakata was raised and lived his later life on his return to Japan. One widely distributed folk practice in this mode is a rite of self-protection known as *kujikiri* (九字切), literally, nine-character-cutting. As a tantric practice, it instantiates the three mysteries of body, speech and mind, which is to say, in part, that performance of the rite involves gesture or action (“cutting” a grid with nine successive hand movements), vocalization (in this particular practice the syllables RIN, KYO, TOH, SHA, KAI, JIN, RETSU, ZAI, ZEN are chanted in the course of the cutting) and visualization (which is generally reserved for oral transmission from teacher to adept and not made publicly available) Minakata was well aware of the practice, which he specifically references in his final article in *Nature*, *Baskets Used in Repelling Demons*. (Perhaps coincidentally, but likely not, that article was published on May 27, 1909.) One concrete example of the premise -- the implicit existence of an additional unremarked term which completes a grouping of nine and serves as the *ura* to the *omote* of the nine -- is the epithet given to female ninja: *kunoichi* (九之一), literally, the one of nine. As we can see in this example, the disguised or hidden “tenth term” is the transformative element vitally necessary to go beyond simple accretion to re/production. Not only is it not a leap to assert that Minakata had a tenth term in mind, to deny that he did is almost literally *inconceivable*, in every sense of the word. By the time this article was written, Minakata had not only been in correspondence with Shingon Acharya Toki Horyu for a number of years, but had been provided with comparatively advanced commentarial texts and, as I argue in Chapter 5, had been for some years an advanced lay initiate into Shingon. These elements, in combination with his early childhood experience (the author can testify from personal knowledge that it is possible, to this day, to see Shugendosha practitioners perform the *Kujikiri* rite in the course of shrine pilgrimages, and it is certain that Minakata would have been familiar with the practice from childhood) gave him both an intellectual superstructure and a demotic – if somewhat magical -- understanding that informed the catalog of similarities cited. A fuller discussion of the ends to which Minakata might have been performing such a rite is discussed below.

For a fuller explanation of *kujikiri* practice, see Phillips' [Shinto Norito](#)

original state of purity. But there is more going on here than that alone. As I have asserted above, there is a multi-valent and mutual identification of the translator Minakata with both Pindola and the Wandering Jew, the latter of whom is also, like Minakata, buffeted by casual Victorian racism.³⁹

It is also worth noting that at this juncture Minakata's personal circumstances, which had never been terribly secure, were increasingly problematic. He had been waiting for some time for F.V. Dickins⁴⁰ and other patrons to finalize arrangements for the establishment of a chair in Japanese language and literature at Oxford or Cambridge, a position which was intended for him, but the outbreak of Boer War threatened the funding arrangements; thus, echoing item 6 in his list, the invitation had not come and he could not thus make his intended appearance.

In the excerpts he presents, Minakata gives us a slightly Puckish Pindola: his original offenses were not personal, not hateful, or violent – they were, at worst, over-exuberant and insufficiently discreet. This contrasts sharply with the initial transgressions ascribed to Aheneusis. Minakata does not rehearse or recapitulate the all-too-familiar grotesque of the Wandering Jew, but fixes the readers' attention squarely on Pindola, who -- he both implicitly and explicitly asserts-- is the original whose image has been grotesqued. However, in these articles, unlike his earlier entry

³⁹ The indignities which seem to have vexed Minakata during this period were several, among them being called "Chinese" (although perhaps a less salutary term was used), being subject to blunt and rudely stated questions about the genitalia of Asians, and so forth, both in the streets and the Reading Room of the British Museum. His indignation was sufficiently violent to have landed him in a police station on one evening, and in two successive incidents in the Reading Room, to have resulted in the suspension of his Reader's Ticket in 1897, and its cancellation in 1898.

⁴⁰ Though not remarked in my admittedly quick précis of the article's contents, the specifics of one of the variants, one of which recounts Pindola's offense at having been, not the manufacture or transport of a mountain, but his use of Buddhist magic to levitate for the purpose of acquiring a wooden bowl placed atop a pole as a public challenge, also provide Minakata with an opportunity to cite Dickins' translation of *Taketori* (The Old Bamboo Cutter).

in *Nature*, Minakata does provide a comparatively robust bibliography, and the careful reader will note that with the exception of Grasse, there are no commonalities between Sabine Baring-Gould's citations and those which Minakata provides here. This is easily explicable. It would have been impossible for Baring-Gould to include them, except by the most extraordinary sort of literary precognition, as his popular compendium of hagiographic weirdness titled Curious Myths of Middle Ages predates virtually all of the studies Minakata references, most notably that of Moncure Daniel Conway.⁴¹

⁴¹ Minakata's citation of Conway's study of the Wandering Jew is of particular interest for two reasons. First, Conway begins his book with a thorough and critical assemblage of the variant texts from the 13th century forward on which the popular myth rests. Second, and more importantly, both the thrust of the book itself and the clear evidence of Conway's life's work run utterly counter to any knee-jerk post-Holocaust notions we might have regarding the purposes – intended or unintended – of such examinations during this period. Conway was not only an avid American abolitionist, he was a *southern* abolitionist whose views and acts exposed him to no small risk. His family home is now land-marked because of its history as a stop on the Underground Railroad, and in 1863, Conway personally led his father's slaves on a journey of escape from Washington D.C. to Ohio. Raised Methodist, and working for a period as a Methodist circuit rider, over the course of his life he moved further and further from mainline Christianity. Following his year in a reverend's saddle he went north to Boston and studied at Harvard Divinity School, where he encountered and was deeply affected by the Transcendentalism of Ralph Waldo Emerson, eventually becoming a Unitarian minister. His wife was an early suffragist and was a forceful and public proponent of progressive social reform who dared, on a visit to Conway's home, to publicly kiss one of the family's slaves, an act which finalized the growing breach between Conway and his father. Ultimately, aside from periodic visits, he found himself unable to return to the South – or for that matter, the United States -- after the war, so disgusted was he with what he saw as the perversion of the noble social struggle to liberate African-American slaves into the mere economic conquest of the South by the North. He and his wife settled in London, where he lived until his death in 1907, and served as pastor of the nominally Unitarian South Place Chapel – which became, under his leadership, increasingly aligned with Free Thought and visibly opposed, in the final years of his leadership, to American imperial designs on Cuba and the Phillipines. The institution exists to this day, now under the rubric of the South Place Ethical Society, and is thought to be the oldest surviving Free Thought institution in the world. In short, by citing Conway, who was a renowned and revered figure in radical political circles both in London and in Paris, Minakata cued his English readers quite specifically to their shared belief in the necessity for independence of human reason over received bigotries and the associated progressive social values both Minakata and Conway espoused, each in his own way. Moreover, the implicit contrast between the un-named Baring-Gould, best known today as the composer of the Christian hymn “Onward Christian Soldiers,” but at one point in his life the most productive and widely published author in the English-speaking world, and the explicitly cited Moncure Conway could not have been starker. The definitive source on Conway remains his own 1904 work, The Autobiography of Moncure D. Conway, published by Cassell & Company Ltd, in London, Paris, New York, and Melbourne.

As if in anticipation of objections readers might raise, following his list of particulars in which the Eastern and Western legends concur, Minakata offers a briefer list of points on which they differ with a final observation that the differences between the Legend of Pindola and the Legend of the Wandering Jew are minor and

even among the European stories of the Wandering Jew, there is a gap between the quiet and retiring Cartaphilus and the ever agitated vagabond Ahasuerus.“

With the sole exception of Schoebel.....who finds in the story of the Wandering Jew only a symbolism of perpetual atmospheric movements, I have never met with any reference to an Indian story in this connexion; which will justify my forwarding this lengthy note to 'N & Q.'

Here the tale loops back on itself – Minakata’s act of gathering, translating, and displaying, alike in its internal pattern to his acts of collection, mounting, and displaying of plant materials in his work as a botanist and mycologist – and an entirely hidden developmental cycle is revealed along with, if not a new point of origin, a new nexus of mutuality and interconnection which is made legible: India, specifically, the India in which the early Mahayana sutras were set down in Pali, and the passage of the tale through successive transformations and translations (both textual and iconic) over a millennium and a half of Sino-Japanese Buddhist culture is given a modern and scientific translation into Victorian English on the cusp of a new century. In addition to giving his readers a glimpse of India as a primordial center of what we might style a “global discourse” and a network of connections through which that discourse was transmitted, both of which preceded by more than a millennium the global British Empire of the Victorian Era, Minakata is also implicitly challenging the socio-biological notion of perpetually assured growth and dominance on grounds of superior evolutionary fitness that was then current in the English-

speaking world -- and continues to this day to provide a part of the rationale for American, if not British empire.

Minakata returns to this topic twice more, but the last two articles are – I think by design -- rather thinner tea, each very narrowly focused on the specific act of wandering, and both presenting short Chinese tales of men who were buried alive, exhumed some years later, and thereafter peripatetic, though not immortal. The sole parallel in each of these entries is so slim and the variations from all versions of the two legends treated in this longer article are vast that the only imaginable reason for their presentation is to reinforce the certainty of his conclusion regarding the relationship between Pindola and (the more benign) Cartaphilus, as well as to reinforce the reader's certainty regarding the singularity of Minakata's own achievement as the (literary, temporal, and cultural) translator whose alchemy succeeded in recovering from the base metal of a still-extant European slander the pure ore of the ancient East from which it was derived.

Minakata was to subsequently produce two additional major pieces along similar lines. The the first, on the tale of Whittington's Cat, was published in *Notes & Queries* over a number of months in 1911-12, and the second, on the tale of Gerbert's Escape,⁴² was published in 1924. In both instances, the presentation follows Minakata's habitual presentation: a short précis of the discussion at hand with an eye

⁴² Gerbert would later take the name Sylvester, upon his appointment as Pope in 999. Plucked from the Benedictine Monastery at Cluny in 967, he was taken to cathedral school of Vic in Catalonia, where he had extensive access to the largest European libraries, and most advanced Moorish mathematics, astronomy, and science of the day. He is credited with any number of achievements, from mastery of Arabic numerals and advanced calculations, construction and mastery of the abacus, the design and fabrication of the first water-pressure powered pipe organ in Europe, the construction of an automata human head capable of prophecy when posed questions with a yes/no reply, and a host of other technological accomplishments so far beyond those of his contemporaries that he was widely rumored to have sold his soul to the devil for his attainments.

to the earliest documented versions of the story extant in the West, a translation (or translations) of earlier tales found in the Chinese canon – Sinitic translations of Buddhist Mahayana sutra in the former instance, and native Taoist literature in the latter – a convincing delineation of the many similarities between the tales, and a clear statement of the precedence of the Asian version. In the case of Whittington’s Cat, Minakata not only documented an earlier analogue in the Indian tale of the Rat-Merchant, but provided a convincing argument explaining the transformation of the Rat into a Cat in the migration of the tale from East to West, owing to the differing cultural attitudes toward the two animals. As Carmen Blacker puts it:

Kumagusu reasoned that the Hindus, Buddhists and Zoroastrians detest cats and are fond of rats, which are a symbol of wealth and prosperity, whereas the Muslims are fond of cats, therefore the story must have originated in India, and the rat was transformed into a cat during its passage through the Muslim world.⁴³

There is, of course, a vast difference between the respective resonances of Whittington’s Cat and the Tale of the Wandering Jew. In his examination of the former, rather than excavating an earlier positive meaning of a story that had become little more than a religio-cultural canard, and implicitly documenting its perversion within European discourse, Minakata is documenting a more benign process of transformation which led to the successful nativization and cultural embrace of a story that had come to embody Western mercantile ideals. So it would seem, at first glance, that the rebuke implicit to his study of the Wandering Jew is here absent -- but this would be a mistaken conclusion. However benign the transformation, in excavating the process through which it occurred, Minakata is still, inescapably,

⁴³ Blacker, TASJ, 1997, “Minakata Kumagusu: His Eight Years in England,” p. 148.

confronting the notion of “Western Values” that lay at the heart of the discourse around those ideals with evidence that undercuts its core conceits. It was his way. And as we will see in the next chapter, when we turn to his efforts to produce a bi-directional translation of Western frameworks of empiricism, causality, and deductive reasoning, along with their role in the creation or discovery of “new” knowledge, in direct relationship with Eastern frameworks of constructed and projective vision, classical Buddhist scholastic epistemology of the Mādhyamika, Cittamatra, & Hua-yen schools, he was to be no less confrontational in his approach to the efforts of other Japanese scholars to fuse eastern and western approaches in other ways which he variously dismisses as superstitious, mechanical, lacking in originality, or otherwise unworthy of consideration.

3

COSMOLOGICAL & EPISTEMOLOGICAL TRANSLATION: Encounter & Correspondence with Toki Hōryū: *Fushigi & Yariate*

Although Minakata's family had a long-time association with a Shingon temple in Wakayama City, his 1893 encounter with future Dai Ajari¹ Toki Hōryū—who stopped in London on a return journey from his appearance at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago earlier that year—was of transformative significance in ways that no author writing in English has recognized. Through an examination of the meaning of a number of signs in the record, including statements found in the letters of F.V. Dickins to Sir Ernest Satow, Minakata's articles in *Notes & Queries*, and a new trove of previously unknown letters between Minakata and Toki which give clear indications that Minakata was formally initiated in Shingon practices; excerpts of the correspondence between Minakata and Toki and prior examinations of this correspondence by Gerald Figal, Tsurumi Kazuko, and Okuyama; along with secondary material from Cynthia Bogel's recent work *With a Single Glance*, and Taikō Yamasaki's *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, this chapter will place Minakata's 1893 and 1903 three- and four-part divisions of the knowable and unknowable as well as the so-called "Minakata Mandala" in the context of a millennium old system of both ways of seeing and ways of visualizing, and highlight the fusion of Western empiricism and T'ang Dynasty Tantric Buddhism thought and culture that unites all of Minakata's thought and practice.

In the process, Minakata's approach will be contrasted with those of his older

¹大阿闍梨(梵) – Literally, great ordant; in practice, High Priest. Following his return to Japan, Tōki Ajari would go on to become the administrative head of the Shingon retreat complex at Mount Kōya – and by extension, the entire main-line of the Shingon sect.

neo-Buddhist predecessor, Inoue Enryō, founder of the hyper-rationalist subdivision of Japanese psychology (*shinrigaku*) known as monsterology (*yokaigaku*). Inoue's *yokaigaku* had, as both method and purpose, an approach which aimed to debunk all claims of supernatural occurrences or their observation, in virtually every incidence replacing the study of the occurrences themselves with the study of the (abnormal) psychological processes and formations which might give rise to such observations. Beyond the comparison between Minakata and Inoue, we will also look at his relationship with (to a lesser extent in this chapter, and more extensively in Chapter 5) his younger associate and antagonist, Yanagita Kunio, who went on to found the Japanese “discipline” of *minzokugaku*, a collection of practices distinct from psychology, ethnology or folklore studies. In contrast to Inoue's earlier *yokaigaku*, Yanagita's *minzokugaku* not only attempted to preserve the realm of the fantastic as a collection of tropes found in local folklore, but also attempted to establish itself as a distinctively Japanese school. In order to maintain the disciplinary independence of his nascent system of investigative and interpretive practices, Yanagita structured the practice of *minzokugaku* outside formal academic institutions, and defined it as operating on the basis of an inductive and culturally particular model. His apparent hope was that in doing so, he might create a discipline that would both stand as a bulwark against what he viewed as “premature” studies of Japanese folklore carried out on a more thoroughly comparative basis² and limn the contours of a particular and unique Japanese consciousness which had accreted over time in what Tsurumi Kazuko has called a “sedimentary” or “icecicle” model of consciousness.³

² Gerald Figal, op. cit. 130-152.

³ Tsurumi Kazuko, op. cit.

Minakata, in keeping with his early vision of harmonizing Japanese, Chinese, and Western learning in the study of heaven, man, and earth, developed an entirely different intellectual superstructure than that of either Inoue or Yanagita. Minakata's overall approach may be seen as a middle-way between the mechanistic rationality of Inoue and the folkloric mysticism of Yanagita, carefully bounding both while excluding neither, in the context of an intellectual superstructure which seems to have drawn in equal parts on long-established Western modes of empirical observation, a fundamentally interdisciplinary and comparative methodological approach, the newly emergent Western science of ecology (a term which Minakata adopted from Ernst Haeckel⁴ and was using

⁴ Minakata's initial connection with the work of Ernst Haeckel seems to have been their mutual interest in myxomycetes, or slime molds, but he was also an early adopter of Haeckel's proposal that "ecology" (or "oekologie") and chlolology, which propose to examine biota not in isolation but as part of larger biological and geographical networks involving many species of varying degrees of complexity. Although a biologist of great accomplishment in his own right, particularly in relation to his work identifying and classifying radiolarians, sponges, and jellyfish, Haeckel is best known today as a proponent of Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection. Indeed, as Robert John Richards shows in his 2008 biography of Haeckel, *The Tragic Sense of Life*, more copies of Haeckel's first book presenting Darwin's theory, *Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte* (Natural History of Creation) were sold in the first decade of its publication than of Darwin's own work on the subject were sold in the first fifty years of its existence. Richards also makes a convincing case that the belief in the generally progressive or teleological character of human and human cultural evolution was not merely an extension of Darwin's theories by such contemporary figures as Spencer and Haeckel, but a feature of Darwin's own views. Haeckel's own multi-level view of heterogeneity within unity at the level of the individual led him to propose that this pattern also obtains at the micro-level of individual cells as well as the macro-level, at which we may observe racial, ethnic, and cultural groupings which also behave as individuals and are thus also subject to natural selection. Retrospectively, notwithstanding documentation of the official rejection of the Haeckelian theory by National Socialist party organs, and the evidence of his own illustrations, which placed Jews and Berbers at the highest level of human development, a number of authors have essentially charged Haeckel with responsibility for Nazi eugenics, anti-Semitic race theory, and by extension, the Holocaust. Richards' position is that, like Darwin, Spencer, and other evolutionists of the period, what Haeckel is guilty of is nothing more or less than being an educated white European man of the 19th century, whose tendency toward progressive thought did not equally inform all of his beliefs. Minakata himself, member of a "lower race" whose enthusiasm for Darwin's theoretical breakthroughs was tempered by his years of personal familiarity with European condescension and racism in many forms, was capable of enthusiasm for the core principles of Darwin's work without adoption of the more benighted forms of Social Darwinism that arose in its wake. Notwithstanding his many differences with the broader Japanese modernization project and its many slogans, among them the aforementioned *wakon yosai* (eastern values, western learning), Minakata's critique of socio-biology and Social Darwinist thought in Spencer's work, and in their use as rationales for portions of the Shōwa development programs and other government initiatives apply no less to his adoption of Haeckel's innovations. Additionally, it must be noted that Haeckel himself wrote quite explicitly against the use of provisional scientific theory such as his own as a program for a political or legislative program of any sort. Of course, from a sectarian perspective, one might observe that in the Hua-yen Buddhist metaphor

explicitly in his Japanese-language correspondence as early as 1905) and the religious-spatial medieval mind-science of Tantric Buddhism. More specifically, Minakata drew from Buddhist thought — more particularly the Buddhist thought found in Japan’s Shingon mikkyō⁵ tradition — the principles of causality and coincidence; a conceptual construct which supposes an inter-relationship between thought, word, and deed as categories of knowing and being; and the ordering pattern of the *mandala* as a visual and spatial expression of these principles, a cognitive framework and guide to ritual and mundane praxis, particularly as regards the construction of the visual practices of seeing, envisioning, and projective envisioning.⁶

Typically a two or three dimensional geometric ordering of subsidiary deities and lesser entities around a central figure, the whole of which is used as a support for ritual practices and a means of training the practitioner in specific modes of visual perception and projection that go far beyond “simple” seeing, in the case of Shingon mikkyō, the two principal mandala of the system (the *Kongokai* and *Taizokai* or “Diamond Assembly” and “Womb Assembly,” respectively) adhere closely to this pattern, with the image of Mahavairocana Buddha (the Great Sun Deity) at their centers. Discernible

of Indra’s net, a cosmic device which has at every knot in its lines a jewel in which every other jewel in the net is wholly reflected, much in the manner of a hologram, Minakata had an arguably more powerful conceptual tool for contemplation of this larger relation between “the one and the many” which necessarily lies at the heart of any multi-level evolutionary conception than any of his European contemporaries.

⁵ Introduced to Japan in 806 by Kūkai, Shingon *mikkyō* is form of Tantric Buddhism that is both similar to and older than the now better-known (if yet misunderstood) strains of Buddhist Tantrism commonly referred to as Tibetan Buddhism. In distinction to earlier forms of Buddhism, which suggest the necessity of passing through numerous lives in order for a believer to achieve a state of existence like that of a Buddha, most tantric sects emphasize the possibility of attaining Buddha-hood in a single lifetime. In the Shingon formulation, this feature carries the rubric *sokushin jōbutsu*, or “(in this) very body achieving Buddha-hood.” Elaborate ritual, meditative, and visualization practices are deployed by the practitioner engaged in this process; less commonly understood is that such practices are generally intended to be not only efficacious in achieving Buddha-hood, but also as tools that give benefits in mundane pursuits (there being no ultimate difference between mundane and sacred pursuits when the two are correctly understood).

⁶ The most extensive scholarly investigation of these practices as they are found in and propagated by means of the teachings of Shingon Mikkyō which I have found is Cynthia J. Bogel’s 2009 opus, *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyō Vision*, University of Washington Press, 2009.

through careful examination of the assembled subsidiary deities in these mandala is striking visual evidence of a historical phenomenon which stands in stark contrast to the sort of “necessary deicide” that lay at the heart of Yanagita’s later theories of Japanese cultural formation: unlike many religio-political systems, Tantric Buddhism, in its multi-century journey from Northern India to Japan, did not typically seek to kill or destroy the local deities which it encountered, but rather, to acknowledge the protective functions which they had historically provided for local peoples, and incorporate them in a broader and more universal overarching schema.

While it goes much too far to assert that Shingon *mikkyō* alone among tantric traditions includes, within its system of projective vision and envisioning practices, instances of the explicit treatment of physical geographies as mandala in themselves, it is certainly the case that this pattern was explicit from the outset in the foundation and naming of the sect’s ritual center and its siting on Mount Kōya⁷. Moreover, Mount Kōya’s location within the network of the Kumano Pilgrimage trails⁸ places it in direct physical and historical connection to the many shrines of the Kii Peninsula which Minakata and others labored to save between 1908 and 1920 in the course of what has come to be known as the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement, (to be discussed in Chapter 4, which addresses Minakata’s efforts to translate his cosmological and epistemological vision into practical political action).

On the one hand, many elements of *mikkyō* have become so deeply embedded in

⁷ “Kūkai wrote in 817 that he would have his two disciples, Taihan (778-837) and Jichie, travel to Mount Kōya and erect two grass huts in advance of his own journey there in the autumn. From the start, the monastery and its environs were likened to a mandala: Kūkai named the mountains surrounding the “Vajra Peak” temple Kongōbuji, after the eight petals of the lotus.” Yamasaki Taikō, *Shingon*, Shambhala Press, 1988.

⁸ Named a UNESCO world treasure in 2004, the Kumano Kōdō is significant both as a consequence of its connection to the unification of Yamato by the semi-mythical Emperor Jimmu, and insofar as it is virtually the only mountain pilgrimage area in Japan which has historically been open to women as well as men.

Japanese culture that one needn't grow up, as Minakata did, in a family associated with a Shingon temple to have more than passing familiarity with basic *mikkyō* tropes.⁹ This notion of landscape as mandala is one of these general tropes, and there is an entire school of paintings dating from the 12th century forward devoted to the “Shinto” shrine at Kasuga, all of which represent the Kasuga Shrine and the old capital of Nara as a sacred land, and all of which are called “*mandala*.”¹⁰ This type of broad cultural distribution (and nativization) of basic themes of Buddhist esotericism notwithstanding, it is also the case that the inner teachings of tantric systems, particularly Shingon *mikkyō*, have historically been rather closely held, and access to many of these inner teachings is available only through *abhiseka* or “initiation” by an individual authorized to do so.¹¹ In contrast to the stance taken by earlier scholars such as Gerald Figal, who is equivocal about the question of whether some of the arguments made by Minakata in his letters to Toki are reflective of what he terms “denominational preference,”¹² it is my explicit position that multiple data points not only support an assertion of Minakata’s initiation into Shingon *mikkyō* by Toki, but also support the assertion that this initiation was critical to the development of Minakata’s cosmological and epistemological theory in the period 1893-1903.

While the range of teachings any individual Acarya may be authorized to transmit varies, depending on the capacities, education, age, associations, and level of initiations

⁹ For extensive and in-depth treatment of the modes by and extent to which basic tropes and broader patterns of organization and transmission those tropes found in Shingon *mikkyō* have become embedded in Japanese cultural practices, see *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* by Professor Ryuichi Abe and *Allegories of Desire: The Esoteric Literary Commentaries of Medieval Japan*, by Professor Susan Klein.

¹⁰ Bogel, *ibid*.

¹¹ Such an individual would be called a “Guru” in India, a “Lama” in Tibet, and in Japan, an “Acarya” or “Ajari.”

¹² Figal, *ibid*.

received by the individual, it is safe to assume that an Acarya such as Toki – who subsequently went on to become Dai (or Great) Acarya Toki, and later served as the Administrative Chief of Mount Kōya¹³, a position roughly equivalent to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury – had wide latitude with regard to who he might initiate and into which teachings he might initiate them. Moreover, though the evidence vexingly slender with regard to *which* initiations may have been involved, it is unequivocal in its indication that at the time of their meeting in London, Toki gave Minakata a number of initiations, among them, a preliminary ordination, or novitiate. Three of these pieces of evidence have been in the public record for over a century. The fourth and fifth have only recently come to light and has not to my knowledge been previously connected with the first two.

The first of these pieces of evidence is one that has historically been discounted by Western scholars: F.V. Dickins' description of Minakata as “a bonze” in a 1904 letter to Sir Ernest Satow.¹⁴ Some have looked askance at Dickins' use of the word *bonze* in this passage, citing it as one glaring example of the types of errors with which his work –

¹³ The title “Dai Acarya” should not be confused with the administrative function in which Toki served; although it may be a qualification for the position, one is not the same as the other.

¹⁴ “Dickins wrote to Satow about its [PMJT] progress in 1904 adding that he was ‘waiting for some studies from Japan now being made for me by a very remarkable man ... a bonze named Minakata Kumagusu – certainly a man of extraordinary erudition’. Yet Dickins noted in the same letter that ‘I got him back to Japan with very great difficulty and am not anxious for him to reappear.’ Peter J. Kornicki, introduction to the Complete Works of Frederick Victor Dickins, Ganesha Publishing. A complete compilation of Dickins' letters to Minakata, in English with Japanese translation, was scheduled for publication in May of this year, but release of the work has been compromised by the disaster at Fukushima; notwithstanding earlier written assurances that the present author might have access to a preliminary copy of the work, Professor Kornicki has subsequently advised me that he is not in a position to make a pre-publication copy available, and no publication date is currently fixed – a rescheduled July 2011 date has come and gone without release of the work. In the absence of a firm release date, it is my hope to soon travel to the Minakata Kumagusu Kinenkan, in Wakayama, Japan, where the originals of a significant portion of this correspondence appear to reside.

and that of other pioneering Japanologists – is said to be riddled.¹⁵ In this specific instance, such criticism is likely reflexive and overstated, though in a broader context, not entirely lacking in basis. Having not only spent considerable time in Japan, but also having formally studied Zen at a Buddhist temple early in his residence there,¹⁶ it is unlikely that Dickins misunderstood or misused the word *bonze*, or “monk” in his characterization of Minakata.¹⁷

Certainly, Minakata’s level of engagement with historic Buddhist texts and the philosophy contained therein was considerably higher than that of many who had

¹⁵ Cf. the noted Hokusai scholar Henry Smith on Dickins’ pioneering study of Hokusai and the need for contemporary scholars to exhibit a bit more humility regarding their accomplishments relative to those of Dickins and his peers.

¹⁶ In another letter to Satow written in 1909 he recalled a small monastery at the end of Bluff in Yokohama and some of the acquaintances he had had in those days: “The old priest there in the sixties was a great chum of mine and many many delightful hours I spent with him. . . . I also knew a man named Utanosuke, a subordinate civil servant of the Mito clan, very intimately and through him a small circle of men, all enthusiastic ‘seers’. It is probably Dickins’s acquaintance with this priest that the scholar Minakata Kumagusu was referring to when he claimed that Dickins had been an apprentice at a Zen temple in Kanagawa.” Kornicki, *ibid.*

¹⁷ That said, it must be noted that there are genuine differences in the requirements for ordination among various Buddhist sects in Japan. Some of these difference have long historical provenance and date to the establishment of Saicho’s Tendai Ordination Platform on Mt. Hiei, initiated in 807 and formally given Imperial sanction in 824. Wishing to disentangle the affairs of his school from the clerical authorities in Nara, but frustrated in his efforts to do so by their long-standing and complete legal authority over the interpretation and enforcement of the Pratimoksha (a monastic code including between 227 and 250 specific regulations, depending on the particular monastic lineage, by which ordinants were obliged to abide, the provisions of which date to the time of the historical Buddha), Saicho sought and gained Imperial approval to drop the Pratimoksha as a formal requirement for ordination in his sect, substituting a simpler vow to achieve the mind of enlightenment which he felt was broader in both depth and application than more extensive and orthodox monastic code of discipline. While individual monks within the traditions that subsequently grew out of Saicho’s Tendai (among them, the lines now known as Rinzai and Soto Zen) sometimes did observe the full set of vows, not all did. In this respect, while any Buddhist from a land in which the full monastic discipline was still in place would unequivocally state that Minakata – like most Japanese ordinants, including those regarded within Japan as “priests” -- was not a monk, there was no particular aspect of Minakata’s behavior that would have disqualified him, from Dickins’ perspective, from classification as a “bonze.” Even among sects that had maintained transmission of the Pratimoksha vows, such as Shingon, government edicts in the Meiji and Taisho had effectively broken many of the chains of transmission of the monastic discipline, and the existence of “priests” whose lives were heterodox mixtures of monastic and lay behaviors was, by this time in Japan, quite commonplace.

Moreover, it is not unknown for lay Shingon practitioners to have taken the Juzenkai, or ten pure precepts. While the status of such individuals within the bounds of Shingon is clearly that of laity, then and now, this would amount to ordination in other lines of Buddhism which, as noted above, have long been detached from the full Pratimoksha, or Monastic Discipline associated with ordination in most of the Buddhist world.

undertaken ordination, whether in Shingon-shū or other, arguably less rigorous sects. Moreover, given the heavily Buddhist cast of the Hōjōki – one of the works which Minakata translated in collaboration with F.V. Dickins, and discussed earlier in Chapter 1-- and the admixture of both Shingon and Amidist¹⁸ practices described therein by Kamo no Chōmei, in the course of the Dickins/Minakata collaboration, Minakata's personal epistolary relationship with Toki Hōryū, Toki's position as a senior cleric in the Shingon Sect, and by extension, the implications of that relationship all would have come to Dickins' attention. Moreover, though some might think that Minakata's legendary fondness for drink was not at all monkish, Dickins would have known, from his time in Japan, that the existence of monks with such proclivities was not only not unusual, it was hardly remarkable, except perhaps as the source of centuries-old jests.

But the argument does not rest on Dickins' letter to Satow alone. The second and third pieces of evidence for this assertion can be found in Minakata's own (now largely forgotten) articles in *Notes & Queries*.¹⁹ In April of 1894, six months after his encounter with Toki, year, Minakata appended the following postscript to his article "Some Oriental Beliefs about Bees and Wasps":

“P.S.--In my letter on the "Constellations of the Far East" (NATURE, vol xlvii. p. 542), I gave from Twan Ching-Shih "Miscellanies" portions of the list of the objects of Indian fancy as to the resemblances of the constellations. Last March, my reverend friend, Atcharya Dharmanaga, then in Paris kindly sent me an extract from Roshin Sennin's Lecture on the Constellations recorded in Mahāsannipāta Sutra. After comparison, I find that both quite agree except for a few variations, so that that Chinese author of "Miscellanies" seems to me to have

¹⁸ Practices associated with the Pure Land sect of Japanese Buddhism, which takes as its principle Buddhist deity Amida Buddha, the Buddha of the Pure Land, also know as the Western Paradise, particularly then *nenbutsu*, or recitation of the name of the Amida Buddha as a form of repetitive mantra practice.

¹⁹ Curiously, while there are numerous Japanese studies of these articles, aside from a charming and evocative pair of overviews presented in talks on Minakata prepared by Carmen Blacker and subsequently published in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (1983) and Folklore (1997), none of the scholars writing on his work in English seem to have any familiarity or interest in the substance of these articles beyond the ritual citation of their number.

extracted his list from the above-mentioned Indian authority. K.M.”

It is as much the timing of this note as its content which is of interest – it seems likely that Minakata was “introduced” to Dharmanaga by Toki, who had gone directly to Paris upon departing from London in November of the previous year, subsequently staying in Paris for some months for the purpose of assisting with a translation of a ritual manual from Japanese into French. While the contact with Dharmanaga does not firmly establish the fact or level of initiation received by Minakata, it may go some distance to documenting the immediate access to Shingon ordinants which Minakata received immediately after his encounter with Toki Acarya. More critically, in a footnote to an article on the same subject appearing in June of 1898 and titled “Notes on the Bugonia Superstition: The Occurrence of *Eristalis Tenax* in India,”²⁰ Minakata writes the following:

About four years ago, when I followed to the British Museum *my master in Mantraism, Mr. Horyu Toki*, that Yogacharya informed the late Sir (then Mr.) Augustus Franks of the remarkable coincidences that exist between the characters of the Brahmanic "Kamadeva" (the Hindu Eros) and of the the Mantranist's "Aizen Myowo" (the bright king who soaks mankind with love). One conspicuous figure of the latter is his crown of a lion's head (See "Butsuzo Dzui," n.e., 1886, tome ii. fol. 20, a) whence it is very probable that some vestiges of the Leontogenes occur in the "Aizen-kyo," a Buddhist sutra devoted to this Vadjra, but inaccessible to me in this country. (emphasis added)

The use of the particular phrase “my master in Mantraism” is a clear indication that Minakata had received at least an initial *abhishekha*, or initiation, from Toki and had a primary master-disciple relationship with him. Absent such a relationship, a Japanese

²⁰ The connection drawn by Minakata between the iconography of Aizen Myō-ō, Mithraic beliefs, and the western folk tradition of oxen borne bees also shows his early awareness of the global and syncretic nature of Shingon as, at least in part, a rationalization and ordered reevaluation of heterodox cultural derivations, and at least one instance in which its iconographic tradition appears to draw on Western precedents, most likely from Bactrian India.

writer as careful as Minakata would have referred to “the noted master” or “the Shingon master,” not to “my master,” a formulation which is a clear assertion of a student-teacher relationship in traditional Japanese culture.

The fourth, and arguably most critical new piece of evidence is found a recent article originally written by Okuyama Naoji in Japanese (and translated into English by Thomas Eijo Dreitlin), on the subject of a trove of letters found in a trunk at Kosan-ji in 2004. The newly discovered letters from Minakata to Toki include the first²¹ and last²² letters of that correspondence. In this article, which appeared in the Autumn 2010 edition of the SOAS Bulletin of the Center for the Study of Japanese Religion, Okuyama notes that at the time of their meeting, Minakata favored the theories of Brahmanic Vedanta then being popularized in the West, and also provides the information that Annie Besant, a leading member of the Theosophical Society which was then promulgating Brahmanic Vedanta in London, was one of the individuals with whom Toki had met while in London.²³

MINAKATA Kumagusu 南方熊楠 (1867-1941) first met the Shingon Buddhist monk DOGI Hōryū 土宜法 龍 (1854-1923) on the evening of 30 October 1893 at a party held at the home of NAKAI Yoshikusu 中井芳楠 (1853-1903), the manager of the London branch office of the Yokohama Specie Bank located at Streatam Hill in London.

The two seem to have hit it off, and beginning from the following night Kumagusu spent three consecutive nights at Hōryū's lodgings.²⁴ On the morning of November 1st the two went to the British Museum, where, with the guidance of Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897), head of

²¹ November 3, 1893

²² October 10, 1922

²³ Notwithstanding Toki's interest in Theosophy, and even allowing for the possibility of Minakata's initial encounter with Vedanta resulting from activities of the Theosophical Society, I have found no evidence of his own engagement with Theosophy – or indeed, his interest in magical practices outside the context of studying them as items of folklore. To the contrary, much of the content of his letters to Toki is specifically arguing against Shingon attempting to maintain relevance through a renewed emphasis on magical practices, favoring as he did an effort to engage modern scientific thinking and document deep correlations between emerging Western scientific theory and long-standing Buddhist philosophy, particularly of the Hua-yen/Kegon/Flower-Garland and Cittamatra/Mind-Only schools.

²⁴ Interestingly, three nights is the longest period a fully observant ordained monk is permitted to share lodgings with a layperson within the Buddhist tradition.

the department of British and medieval antiquities within the ethnographical collections, they examined Buddhist statues and visited the reading room.

Kumagusu left Hōryū's lodgings on the morning of 3 November. Returning to his own lodgings at 15, Blithfield Street, Kensington West, he wrote a letter to Hōryū that was delivered the same day to him. Hōryū immediately wrote a response, *which he sent to Kumagusu along with a Buddhist kasāya robe.*(emphasis added)²⁵

Citing a 2009 paper (in Japanese) by Kanda Hideaki, Okuyama goes on to note that:

[In the letters] Hōryū explained to him the Vajradhātu and Garbhodbhava mandalas of esoteric Buddhism, and after Hōryū returned to Japan Kumagusu received from him a gift of a classical work on the subject titled *Ryōbu mandara shishō* 兩部曼荼羅私抄 [Personal remarks on the two mandalas] written by the monk Innyū 印融 (1435–1519), which he eagerly devoured and which provided him with intellectual stimulation [Kanda 2009].

Three is not only the maximum number of nights one who observes the full set of Pratimoksha vows may spend in the same lodging-room with a layperson. Three days is also the minimal amount of time that would be required to complete the basic instruction and ritual performance of the ceremony of taking refuge and the Jūzenkai, or Ten Good Precepts, initiation into basic Shingon meditation and visualization practice, and possibly even being given a Buddhist name and undergoing the rite of Tokudō, or preliminary ordination as a novice. That there was such an ordination would seem to be indicated by the gift of the robe of a type reserved for ordinants, the epistolary instruction in the two principal mandala (noted above by their Sanskrit, rather than Sino-Japanese

²⁵ The fifth piece of evidence may be seen in Illustration 4, the *kasāya* which Minakata later donated to the British Museum. Also notable is the dark patterned fabric of the *kasāya*, of a type which is typically reserved for advanced, not novice practitioners. For examples of types of *kasāya* worn by comparatively junior and senior ordinants, respectively, see Illustration 7 and 8. Whatever this might indicate in formal terms, in less formal terms it may represent a recognition by Toki that Minakata had achieved a high level of attainment of some kind from his perspective as a Shingon initiate and prelate. Alternately, one Shingon priest has suggested to me – quite unequivocally -- that “The kasaya that came into Minakata's possession is far too ornate to be used for a tokudo, and it, together with all the other ritual items, I suspect were transferred to Minakata either as a compassionate gift to help with his financial circumstances, and/or to be donated to so that Esoteric Buddhist objects were properly represented in the BM collection... Since Minakata held Toki, the gifts of Shingon philosophy and Japanese culture in such high esteem, it seems more likely that they collaborated to get these items into the BM collection one way or another, and if Minakata's work and life was supported through this by way of the process of the day (selling the items to the museum) all the better...perhaps.”

designations), and the subsequent gift of the commentary text by Innyū, all of which fall within the category of matters referred to above as “closely held” and “reserved to initiates.”²⁶ Although Okuyama does not address the question of initiation and ordination (which typically involves the taking of a “dharma-name” or *butsumyō*), it is interesting to note that he does point out a number of instances in the correspondence wherein Minakata refers to himself as Konzoku Nyorai 金粟如来, Konzokuō Nyorai 金粟王如来, or Yuima 維摩, the former two being identified in the Sino-Japanese Buddhist traditions as prior incarnations of the legendary lay Buddhist Vimalakirti, who is the subject of the popular Vimalakirti Sutra.²⁷ Although there is, as yet, insufficient evidence for certainty on this point, there is a strong suggestive case that Toki may have given the learned layman Minakata the name Konzoku (Diamond Millet).

As I have suggested, Toki was not merely a religious figure – he was a political figure of sufficient national significance to represent Shingon as part of the Japanese delegation to the World Parliament of religions, and subsequently became the Dai-Acarya of Mount Kōya -- in essence the Primate of the remote ritual center of Shingon Buddhism – and given the long-standing and close association of Shingon with the Imperial Household, this relationship certainly gave Minakata some added degree of social standing both in London and on his return home. In addition, it provided him with access

²⁶ The same Shingon cleric noted above found the transfer of these texts a more convincing support for the assertion of initiation, stating that “What really matters is the content of the correspondence and the evidence in Minakata’s work, i.e. the embodiment, not the rituals per se. Toki needed to initiate Minakata to give him access to materials according to the rules.”

²⁷ Vimalakirti was a virtuous layman whose accomplishment is depicted (in the sutra which bears his name) as so much greater than that of any fully ordained monk that there is manifested in his ten foot square room an inconceivably large assembly of gods, buddhas, and bodhisattvas who have gathered to benefit from his instruction. See Robert A.F. Thurman, *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakirti*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976. Vimalakirti’s room is, of course, the physical and spiritual model for Kamo-no-Chōmei’s Hōjōki, which Minakata translated into English in collaboration with F.V. Dickins. For the full text of the Dickins/Minakata translation of Hōjōki, see Appendix II.

to monastic libraries and entrée to trained and erudite informants such as the Atcharya Dharmanaga mentioned above -- and other expatriate Shingon Priests -- even when he was still in London. After his return to Japan, this association would have been enormously helpful in gaining access to ritual and social networks, sacred precincts and surrounding mountain districts of the Kii Peninsula, all of which were held somewhat jealously by mountain ascetics with Shingon affiliations, and it would have also given him an additional a measure of elite standing in broader Japan society. It is difficult to underestimate the role this relationship, and the access which went with it, played in his subsequent work as a scholar, as a botanist and mycologist doing field work in the sacred mountains of Wakayama, and as a political activist in the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement. The fact that these aspects of the relationship between Minakata and Toki seem to have gone generally unnoticed suggests that key elements of Minakata's mandala theory and his associated epistemic and cosmological thinking have been similarly overlooked or misconstrued.

With this in mind, it is essential to take a closer look first at the structure & contents of the initiations which Minakata is likely to have received and then at their implications with regard to the systems of epistemology and cosmology presented in his epistolary relationship with Toki Hōryū. In the 1988 English language compilation of texts translated from earlier works by Yamasaki Taikō titled Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, three distinct ritual formats and five distinct levels of initiations are identified. The first format requires the extensive ritual apparatus of a Shingon temple, "using the full array of ritual implements before a special mandala altar." It is possible, but unlikely -- barring a very large trunk of ritual items in Toki's quarters -- that this would have been

the format of any initiation received by Minakata.²⁸ It is somewhat more likely – but uncertain for reasons set forth in the note below -- that Toki’s initiation of Minakata would have fallen into the second or third categories, the former requiring “a minimum of offerings and implements when material circumstances did not allow the first type,” and the latter “initiation based on mind... (which) uses no form or ritual, and is considered the highest kind of initiation.” Of the five levels of initiation, the first is “looking at the mandala from a distance; Minakata would have fulfilled the requirements of this most preliminary initiation by way of his childhood familiarity with the practices seen in the temple with which his parents were affiliated. The second — *kechien kanjō*, or “bond-establishing initiation” — is used to select an initiate’s tutelary deity from the pantheon found in the two mandala — and the third, sometimes called the *gakuhō kanjō* or “way of study initiation,” is a preliminary permission to study and practice the teachings. In distinction to the fourth — *denpō kanjō* or ‘initiation into the transmission of the law,’ a rite typically preceded by approximately 100 days of study and ritual training in a highly controlled setting — and fifth levels of initiation, which are reserved to full ordinants, the first three initiations are open to members of the laity.

It is clear that Minakata never underwent the full 100+ day *shidō kegyō*, or “four-fold preparatory training” that precedes the fourth initiation when conveyed on Mount Kōya. However, a cleric of Toki’s standing, when faced with contingent circumstances like those under which he met Minakata, may well have had a flexibility that is less

²⁸ I say possible, because there was something of a controversy regarding Tōki’s performance of a Goma, or fire ritual, at a public museum during his time in Paris. The Goma also requires extensive ritual apparatus, and it is unclear as to whether the items needed were waiting for Tōki in Paris or, if as may have been the case with a cleric of his eminence, he was travelling with a full complement of the necessary items and materials. The controversy was of a typically French sort, related to the strict division between the secular and religious realms, and the performance of such a rite in a public museum was felt by many secularists to be less a matter of cultural exchange and more an affront to the secular aspect of the public realm

common in an age when the other side of the world is a comparatively short trip by jet plane away. In light of the gifts of the robe and the commentary, along with the epistolary instruction in the two principal mandala of the Shingon system, all of which were items reserved for ordinants, it is a virtual certainty that this ordination was carried in some form in London and the traditional blessing of the occasion by multiple monks – particularly the specific rite of the censuring of the robe, which Toki could have, but did not give Minakata before leaving London, but sent from Paris — occurred during Toki's stay in Paris, where it was a rather simpler matter for him to assemble the necessary quorum of three ordained monks for those portions of the rites.

With regard to the content of the initiations, the fundamental vows and most aspects of the ritual practice associated with these first three levels and the intermediate or threshold rite of tokudō prior to the fourth need not concern us. What is of direct relevance to the study at hand are the visualization techniques which serve as the central element of the ritual practices to which he would have been introduced, specifically those of 1) image manifestation, 2) transformation, 3) expansion-contraction, 4) interpenetration, and 5) circulation. Also of relevance in this connection is Minakata's eidetic or near-eidetic memory, by means of which he could reputedly look at a full page or more of text and transcribe it verbatim without a second look, or recall precisely after many years the details of a biological specimen which he had previously observed, skills which indicate a native talent for both image retention and manifestation that would be invaluable to one engaging in ritual practice of this kind.

In the case of Shingon practice, the image to be manifested is typically that of a deity, or in the most basic of such meditations, a simple lunar disk, sited at the heart of

the practitioner. In more advanced *transformation* practice, the disk (or sphere) may contain a Sanskrit syllable which serves as a particular deity's sign. The sign is then mentally transformed into an object (a lotus, a bell, a sword, etc.) which serves as that deity's symbol. The symbol is then mentally transformed into a three-dimensional anthropomorphic image of the deity. As the description suggests, *expansion-contraction* practice involves the projective envisioning of one or more of these manifested images at scales extending from that of microscopic images located within the body of the practitioner to that of macroscopic images which expanded to fill the entire cognizable universe. The practices of *interpenetration-circulation* involves the relocation of the entire image from within the practitioner's body to a position outside the body, and then by use of the previous techniques and other expedients, the construction and cognition of a visual interplay between the practitioner's own body, the visualized image, and the cosmos containing both.²⁹ In actual ritual practice, these visual exercises are interwoven with a series of vocalizations and gestural performances, all of which, taken together, are regarded as indicators and instantiators of the "three secrets" (*san-mitsu*) of mind, speech, and body, all of which are regarded as mutually constituting and fluid in the same way as the distinct elements of the transformation visualization are regarded as such. While such visualization practices provide a mental image of the deity invoked, based on an image drawn or sculpted by human hands, as Bogel points out, the specific term "visualization" is generally applied by Buddhist scholars only to tantric meditative practices, notwithstanding the presence of visual content in meditative practice outside the strictly tantric traditions. In discussing the practices of these other traditions, Buddhist scholars

²⁹ A more detailed and orthodox doctrinal treatment of these practices can be found in Yamasaki, pp. 152-159.

typically use words such as “‘meditation,’ ‘contemplation,’ ‘recollection,’ ‘discernment,’ and a host of other terms.”³⁰

Yet the choice of terms can elide as much as it reveals. In fact, the commentarial tradition for tantric meditations frequently uses the same terms which are typically used to describe non-tantric meditations in addition to terms which point more specifically to eidetic visualization. Moreover, Bogel reminds us, the practitioner is enjoined to “‘meditate with wisdom to perceive correctly,’ wisdom mean[ing] the clarity of empty, mindful interpretation. The construction of the Buddha’s image is through a bodily and mental process that cannot be likened to ‘visualizing,’ but instead is like *the process of sculpting or painting*,”³¹ which is to say that it is an inherently performative full-body practice which, of necessity, always takes place in a particular time and a particular place with particular characteristics. When we consider this mode of practice in combination with Minakata’s scientific practice of specimen collection and comparative analysis, his fascination with the phantasmagoria of transformation found in slime molds, and his pursuit of the deep inter-relationships that are the basic subject of the field of ecology, what emerges is a common series of qualities and tendencies toward repetition and reexamination, openness to radical fluidity of form, and pursuit of continuities across apparently discontinuous and heterogenous fields of study. In short, from the time of his meeting with Toki forward, in both his ritual and his scholarly practice, Minakata may be seen to be after something fundamentally different than a fixed mechanistic structure, or an accurate visual “representation” of a fixed reality: he is attempting to read not only a text in which all of the sense fields are ‘letters,’ but a series of inter-related texts in which

³⁰ Cynthia J. Bogel, *With A Single Glance: Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyō Vision*, University of Washington Press, Seattle & London, 2009, p. 203

³¹ Bogel, *ibid.* p. 205.

the selection, handling, and reading of the multiple texts is a performative and reconstitutive act which generates an intertext and thus, an understanding of the intertext as context.

As Cynthia Bogel quotes Wolfgang Iser:

“The English term ‘representation’ causes problems because it is so loaded. It entails or at least suggests a given which the act of representation duplicates in one way or another. Representation and mimesis have therefore become interchangeable notions in literary criticism, thus conceal the performative qualities through which the act of representation brings about something that hitherto did not exist as a given object. For this reason I am tempted to replace the English term ‘representation’ with the German *Darstellung*, which is more neutral and does not necessarily drag all the mimetic connotations in its wake.”³²

As distinct from daily life and public engagement as the above may initially seem, nothing could be further from the truth. At least within these tantric traditions, there is no dualistic structure of sacred and profane. There is simply no question of a pure realm of meditation and truth as set against an impure realm of physical reality in which we live and act.

Mikkyo (sic) does not distinguish wisdom and skillfull (sic) means in terms of pure and impure, higher and lower, relative and absolute. Indeed, as the Three Phrases say, ‘skillful means are the ultimate.’ Skillful means are wisdom itself, embodied in concrete, phenomenal activity because it cannot remain aloof from the realities of life.³³

It is my argument that, in the generation of his categories of *fushigi*, or wonders, as categories of knowledge, Minakata was laying out his understanding of the meta-structure of the “intertext” that constitutes reality, or more to the point, the meta-structure of our capacity to engage that vastness, which is to say in a word: “mind.” In so doing,

³² Bogel, *ibid.* p 203.

³³ Yamasaki, *ibid.* p. 145.

he provides a valuable guide to both the strengths and weaknesses of scientific — or any other kind — of inquiry into matter, biology, and the psychological and sociological realities arising from these. It is an examination of the successive versions of this meta-structure which he proposed to Toki which will form the second half of this chapter.

O-O-O

In his 1999 work Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan³⁴, which directly addresses the rising Meiji and Taisho era interest in ghost tales, monsters, and a broad category of “strange occurrences” or “mysteries” that fall into the category known in Japanese as *fushigi*, Gerald Figal presents a rich and nuanced overview of several critical portions of the correspondence between Toki and Minakata, and carefully unpacks the conceptual frameworks that Minakata proposed, first in 1893 and in a more developed form in 1903, for the classification of these, and indeed all, phenomena.³⁵ Whatever its gross homology with Yanagita’s subsequently enunciated

³⁴ Figal takes as his subject the field of *fushigigaku* or *yokaigaku*, which may be translated as “weird studies” and “monsterology” respectively. Figal’s work, along with such other contributions as Michael Dylan Foster’s Pandemonium and Parade, documents the extent to which popular interest in a wide range of paranormal phenomena and creatures skyrocketed during the rapid modernization of Meiji period through the Taisho and Showa eras, as did elite interest among literati, particularly practitioners of the new social sciences of sociology and psychology. Along with his close readings of Yanagita and Minakata, Figal offers an invaluable comparison with their work in this field with that of Inoue Enryō, who was known in his time as “Dr. Ghost,” and “Professor Monster.” Inoue’s activity was not, however, limited to monsterology. In addition to his efforts to classify and debunk these tales of the weird, Inoue, who had studied philosophy with Ernest Fenellosa at Todai, was a devout Buddhist of the most modern kind, intent on establishing Buddhism as a rational system ideal for a scientific era. He played a leading part in national Buddhist activities during the late 19th century, actively promulgating his rationalist Buddhism, and playing a key role in assembling and underwriting the Japanese delegation to the World Parliament of Religions in 1893.

³⁵ One major lack in Figal’s discussion of the correspondence between Tōki Horyu and Minakata is that, far from being a strictly religious figure, as one might conclude from Figal’s focus on his interest in occult phenomena and his title, Tōki had played an important and, frankly political role in the 1893 Parliament of World Religions, held in 1893 in conjunction with the Columbian Exhibition in Chicago. The Japanese delegation, which included both Christians and Buddhists, as well as one Shinto priest, took as its charge the presentation of Buddhism as an evolutionary competitor to Christianity, without which Christianity could not possibly reach its apex of positive development, and the New Buddhist Inoue Enryō had played a key role in the organization and underwriting of the expenses of the delegation and its publications. The group also had as a key portion of its agenda presenting the claims of Asians in general and Japanese in

tripartite division of *seikatsu gaikei*, *genko geijutsu* or *seikatsu kaisetsu*, and *seikatsu ishiki* (the first two being the more accessible realms of the externally visible products of life, or material culture; the art of language or the explanation of life, or oral and literary culture, and the third reserved for the less accessible realm of the consciousness of life, or mental/spiritual culture),³⁶ it is my position that the successive three and four-part schemes developed by Minakata, and presented to Toki in a series of letters between 1893 and 1903, not only offer a route to a much more rigorous and nuanced analysis than anything subsequently attempted or achieved by Yanagita, but that it is as likely that Yanagita's own scheme is based on Minakata's model as the later Malinowski model sometimes cited as a possible precedent.³⁷

Figal examines in turn -- and comparatively -- what he characterizes as the “scientific” approaches taken by Inoue Enryō and Minakata Kumagusu – the former of which he identifies as a “mechanical, almost hydraulic” theory of psychology, and the latter as something notable and *fushigi* in its own right, the folkloric *minzokugaku* of Yanagita Kunio, and then, the literary efforts of Kyōka Izumi, which deploy the literature of the fantastic as a tactic to allow an otherwise impermissible social and political critique, much in the manner of a great many works of American science fiction and

particular to racial equality with the white races of Europe, all of this occurring within the context of then-current Japanese efforts to renegotiate treaties with European nations which granted them unequal trade concessions and de facto immunity from Japanese legal obligations. (for an overview and details of these issues, including the content of the Japanese delegations speeches as delivered, see Snodgrass, *ibid.*, for the complete text of the proceedings including the speeches of the Japanese delegation as transcribed, see [The World Congress of Religions](#), ed. J.W. Hanson, D.D., International Publishing Co., Chicago & Philadelphia, 1894) Inasmuch as Kūkai cemented the relationship between the Shingon Sect and the Imperial Household a millennium earlier on the basis of Shingon's role as protector of the nation and its ruler, this political role was in keeping with the earliest history of and rationale for the school, per Ryuichi Abe, [The Weaving of Mantra](#), Columbia University Press, 1999.

³⁶ Inoue Masamichi, after Yanagita's [Minkan denshoron](#) (1934) in [Okinawa and the U.S. Military: identity making in the Age of Globalization](#), pp. 73-74, Columbia University Press, 2007.

³⁷ The relationship between Yanagita and Minakata and their respective approaches will be addressed more fully in Chapter 5, which takes as its subject Minakata's conceptual translations in the context of the development of Japanese social sciences

fantasy published in the latter half of the twentieth century. Most relevant to our immediate concerns is Figal's overview of three particular letters written to Toki³⁸, the first from London in 1893 and the latter two dated 1903, after Minakata's return to Japan. Taken in tandem sequence, the letters from these two periods evidence a clear line of development in Minakata's thinking over that period.

That the scheme presented by Minakata in his 1893 letter echoes Inoue in some respects should come as no great surprise. As his articles in *Nature* and *Notes & Queries* make clear in subsequent years, Minakata often favored a confrontational pattern of taking the argument of an antagonist, pushing it to the limit, demolishing the original, and substituting a richer version of his own devising. Inoue was big game for someone of Minakata's bent: something of a celebrity in his own right, widely known as "Dr. Ghost" for his relentless debunking of purported paranormal phenomena, a debunking which had in its own time the same sort of widespread popular cultural currency as the similar activities of the magician James "The Incredible" Randi, over the last thirty years of our time. As previously noted, Inoue had also served as one of the chief organizers of Japanese delegation to the World Conference of Religions – from which Toki was returning at the time he met Minakata in London -- and had played a major role in fundraising activities for the group. He was widely regarded as a leading light in the extended lay Buddhist community then designated as "Shin-Bukkyō" or "New Buddhist," a loose association of forward-thinking Japanese Buddhists who were affirmatively working to present Buddhism as a modern belief system fully compatible

³⁸ There is, of course, the matter of the third letter written by Minakata to Toki that has attracted much attention, containing as it does, the diagram which has come to be known as the "Minakata Mandala." This will be addressed in a fifth chapter devoted almost entirely to the topic of that Mandala and its implications.

with Western science.³⁹ Additionally, notwithstanding their different views, Minakata and Inoue shared an (apparent) interest in examining strange phenomena from a scientific perspective. Even if one allows for the slender possibility that Minakata was not already aware of Inoue's work, it is a near-certainty that in the course of their discussions, Toki would have made the younger Minakata aware of the elder Inoue's work along these lines. Unfortunately, we do not have access to recordings of the conversations that passed between Minakata and Toki in London, and significant gaps in their letters remain. Ultimately the question of how Minakata became familiar with Inoue's views and came to reject them is of less interest than Minakata's own scheme, and the fact that he was familiar with Inoue's views and did reject them.

In the first letter, Minakata presents an epistemological scheme that divides all phenomena into the categories of *mono*, *koto*, and *kokoro*;⁴⁰

[*mono*]: “designat[ing] objective things apart from human mind, and *kokoro* designat[ing] human consciousness. Also in the same pattern as Inoue, Minakata, no doubt recycling the Confucian philosophical term, calls the reason or principle that encompasses and governs mind and matter *ri*, but the *ri* of matter and the *ri* of mind are not necessarily one and the same for him (as, Figal implies, they were for Inoue). He further parts company with Inoue by added a third term to the dyad *mono/kokoro*: *koto* (thing), which he defines as the intersection of *mono* and *kokoro*....He further explains that ‘that which mind activates and gives rise to when working on matter is called *koto*’ (9:18) and that the field of *koto* ranges ‘from the taking of a tissue in hand and blowing one’s nose to the founding of religions to benefit people.’⁴¹

³⁹ It is also the case that Inoue was as comfortable with Western “just war” doctrines as he was with mechanistic Western scientism; he was one of the foremost New Buddhist apologists for Japanese imperialism in Korea, Taiwan, and China, going so far as to assert Japanese military action in the period ranging from the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 to the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-6 was not aggression, but an expression of compassion and gratitude to the Buddha. As can be seen from his later association with the socialist-buddhist newspaper, the *Muro Shinpo* during the anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement, both socially and religiously, Minakata was already oriented toward a more decentralized and even socialist vision than Inoue, and though Figal leaves the matter untouched, some measure of Minakata's hostility to Inoue almost certainly arose from their difference in this area.

⁴⁰ For the associated diagram, see Illustration 10.

⁴¹ Figal, p. 54.

Although Figal does not make the point, I argue that the dyad *mono/koto* is so fundamental in the Japanese language that this formal innovation —key to Minakata’s advance beyond Inoue’s dyad of *mono* and *kokoro* — is precisely the sort of thing that would have such immediate and compelling resonance as to make almost any native speaker smack himself in the forehead and mutter: *So da na?*⁴² While in English, both of these two terms are rendered by the word “thing,”⁴³ in Japanese, the use of the two terms provides a clear distinction between physical objects on the one hand and patterns of activity which may be seen to have a clear unity of some sort on the other. And it is in precisely this sensitivity to language and the power of naming that we may find one of the key elements of Minakata’s multiple acts of translation. Thus, for Minakata, this designation of *koto* as that which arises from the interaction of matter (*mono*) with mind (*kokoro*) not only has implications regarding the categories of strangeness or wonder (*fushigi*) and supernatural beings (*yokai*) under examination in modernizing Japan, but broader implications for all processes observed in the world. Nonetheless, Hōryū’s response to Minakata’s 1893 formulation was not positive, “flatly reject[ing it] as being traditional Buddhist or Indian epistemology and without originality.”⁴⁴

Minakata’s subsequent reformulation of his 1893 triad into the tetrad which appears ten years on in the body of “a later and very long letter to Toki dated 18 September 1903...this time in the context of the mysteries and wonders of the world” has

⁴² Roughly, “That’s how it is, isn’t it?” More colloquially: “No duh!”

⁴³ The former in the sense of “That physical object over there,” the latter in the sense of “that action which occurs.”

⁴⁴ Okuyama in CSJR, Fall 2010, p.22

been identified by Matsui as a direct, if delayed, response to Hōryū's critique⁴⁵. In contrast to his original presentation, which examines the more and less effable things under examination, the 1903 presentation offers four categories of mysteries, a shift which turns our attention from that which is presumed to be existent and under examination to those categories through which we come to some knowledge about that which seems to exist. Where the earlier triad emphasized two things and the product of their interaction (*mono*, *kokoro*, and the resultant category of *koto*) the tetrad of the 1903 letter emphasizes four categories of *fushigi*, or mystery: "the genres of *monofushigi* (mysteries of matter), *kokorofushigi* (mysteries of mind), *kotofushigi* (mysteries of cultural things), and *rifushigi*⁴⁶ (mysteries of principle). This last category is rooted in Confucian precedent in which there is but one form of *ri* or "principle" which governs all things: but Minakata breaks with Confucian monism on this point and distinguishes clearly between the *ri* of *mono*, *koto* and *kokoro*,⁴⁷ asserting that each of these categories contains its own qualitatively distinct *ri* which is connected to but not precisely identical with either the category with which it is associated or the transcendent *rifushigi*."

For all of the care and nuance that Figal brings to his analysis, there is something here, outside the remit of Figal's particular project, which goes unremarked. While Figal does go so far as to note Minakata's equation of the Cosmic Buddha Dainichi Nyorai with the "great mystery" (*Daifushigi*), the source of all being, and he contrasts it with the

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 22

⁴⁶ Figal, op. cit. p. 55.

⁴⁷ To complicate matters further, at least vis a vis Western intellectual precedents, *kokoro* means not only "mind" but "heart" and more abstractly, "essence." The historical usage of *kokoro* is that of embodied mind, drawing among other things on the Buddhist notion of dependent arising. The mind/body cleavage which Descartes introduced to the West is, in standard Japanese, literally inconceivable.

elder Inoue's equation of *daifushigi* with the Buddhist concept of *shin'nyo* (True Reality), he equivocates on the reason for Minakata's choice:

This particular choice of a Shingon image might have been more out of deference to Toki Hōryū's sectarian affiliation than out of Minakata's own denominational preference.⁴⁸

Based on my earlier citations of Dickins' characterization of Minakata as a bonze, Minakata's published characterization of Toki as "my master in mantraism," and the additional facts about the relationship which came to light with the 2004 discovery of previously unknown letters, including Hōryū's reply to Minakata's first letter, "which he sent to Kumagusu along with a Buddhist *kaṣāya* robe"⁴⁹ — perhaps the very robe Minakata donated to the British Museum — I believe that we can now move beyond Figal's careful and scholarly equivocation on this point and firmly assert on the basis of this evidence that, notwithstanding the, at times, shockingly informal and quite sharp tone of their correspondence,⁵⁰ not only did a formal relationship of preceptor and disciple exist between the two men, but that Minakata saw, arising from the confluence of his Western scientific training and his Shingon Buddhist studies, both in doctrine and in practice, his own long envisioned "harmonization of Eastern and Western learning."

That harmonization may be seen to a significant extent in the correspondence -- somewhat slippery to be certain, but a correspondence nonetheless -- of these four categories of *fushigi* to Kūkai's four-mandala teaching, which occupies a central place in Shingon thought. The four mandala consist of the *Mahamandala*, which extends through all the universe, the *Dharmamandala*, which constitutes the range of Mahavairocana

⁴⁸ Figal, p. 55.

⁴⁹ Okuyama, op. cit.

⁵⁰ Okuyama, op. cit.

Buddha's communication, the *Samayamandala*, constituted of the intention of Mahavairocana Buddha, and the *Karmamandala*,⁵¹ comprised of the actions of the Mahavairocana Buddha.⁵² I call this a *slippery* correspondence both because of the way in which, in orthodox Shingon thought, all four are believed to be mutually existent and coterminus, interpenetrating one another wholly at all times and in all places. Moreover, while the correspondences of 1) *rifushigi* (the mystery of principles) to the *Maha* (or great) *mandala* (the Mandala which runs through all, represented in Shingon practice by two dimensional graphic depictions of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Dharmapalas and related figures, depictions which serve as the basis for the practitioners' three-dimensional visualizations) 2) *kotofushigi* (the mystery of that which mind activates in conjunction with matter) to the *Karma* (or action) *mandala* (represented in ritual practice by a three-dimensional array of statuary each individual unit of which is in mid-activity of some more or less visible sort, activities which serve as the basis for the formation of hand-signs [*mudra*] and other gestures by ritual practitioners) seems straightforward enough at first glance, the correspondence of 3) *monofushigi* (the mystery of things) to the *Samaya* (or pledge) *mandala*, (which is represented in ritual practice as a two-dimensional graphic depiction of attributes such as jewels, swords, flowers, and so forth, but more broadly constructed as the realm of signs), and that of 4) *kokorofushigi* (the mystery of mind) to the *Dharma* (or natural law) *mandala* (which is represented in ritual practice by graphic depiction of Sanskrit seed syllables and instantiated by the practitioners' three-dimensional projective visualizations) is reversible, to the extent that the Four Mandala also have the traditional associations of the extension (*Mahamandala*),

⁵¹ The specific significance of each of these designations is discussed in due course.

⁵² Bogel, op. cit., p. 206.

intention (*Samayamandala*), communication (*Dharmamandala*), and action (*Karmamandala*) of the cosmic Mahavairocana Buddha, the associations might be recategorized as *rifushigi*, *kokorofushigi*, *monofushigi*, and *kotofushigi*, respectively. Indeed, the longer one examines the associations, categorizations, and their interplay in even basic ritual practices, the more slippery and, indeed, *hentai* it becomes. This, however, is not a defect of the presentation: it is homologous with fundamental modes of *fluid aspect transformation* encoded in the Shingon teachings, and as such, while perhaps seeming at first glance heterodox – there it is again – to a learned prelate such as Toki Horyū, it is, I think, intended by Minakata not to offend or challenge Shingon Orthodoxy, but to indicate to Toki the ways in which a modern scientific approach to the world and our knowledge of it is not only compatible with Shingon, but reflective of the same truths encoded in Shingon’s teaching. In this sense, his effort may be taken as an attempt to translate the cosmopolitan Asian epistemology of esoteric Buddhism into a Western empirical framework, and vice versa, with an attendant appeal to the more specifically Japanese and localized notion of *fushigi*. It was unmistakably Minakata’s view that emphasis on this structural commonality between emergent scientifically based categories of knowledge and Shingon’s own ritual venerable practice-based categories of knowledge, rather than the sort of emphasis on occult practices which Toki seems to have favored,⁵³ offered Shingon its best opportunity for renewed relevance in an age of modernization.⁵⁴ Inasmuch as one of Toki’s objectives in London had been to meet with

⁵³ Figal, op. cit., p. 64.

⁵⁴ It is also notable that this approach is one that another Primate within the Vajrayana tradition, the current Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, has strongly emphasized through his sponsorship of and participation in conferences fostering dialogue between Tibetan Buddhist clerics and lay practitioners on the one hand, and scientists, particularly in the areas of physics and neurology. Within the last year, he has also accepted a Visiting Professorship at Emory University, and sponsored the enrollment of Tibetan Buddhist monastics in a program of modern scientific education at Emory, to supplement their monastic training based on the

Annie Besant, whose Theosophy movement had as a significant element of its penumbra, if not its core, practices of a this sort, there was a particular urgency to Minakata's argument on this subject.

Beyond this comparatively straightforward appeal to Toki with regard to the compatibility of science and Buddhist epistemology and cosmology, there is an affirmative effort in this construct to address some more temporally and geographically local questions which were very much of the moment in the changing social structure of Japan in 1903. As Figal points out, the addition of the category of *kotofushigi* creates a distinct space in which to address mysteries of collective human culture as distinct from those of individual human psychology – an area in which Inoue had temporal, if not intellectual precedence. Moreover, in this formulation, all interactions between discrete elements in the categories of *monofushigi* and *kokorofushigi* are treated as part of this third category of *kotofushigi*.⁵⁵ This scheme wholly elides – by provision of the alternative term *kotofushigi* -- any discussion of “culture” by its politically and intellectually troublesome appellation *bunka*, which carried as it did the weight of the Meiji Era pro-modernization slogan *bunmei kaika*, generally rendered in English as

study and debate of Buddhist *shastra*, *tantra*, and *sutra*. The Japanese delegation to the World Parliament of Religions to construct an entirely new category – Eastern Buddhism-- distinct from the arguably endogenous historical sectarian Buddhist constructions of the Hinayana and the Mahayana, and the clearly exogenous Western classifications of Northern Buddhism, Southern Buddhism, and Lamaism. Although Shingon (and to a lesser extent Tendai Buddhism) are earlier transmission of the teachings of the Vajrayana (or Diamond Vehicle), which had its fullest flowering in Tibet, and share innumerable texts, practices, and theoretical understandings with it, the delegation took particular pains to distinguish Japanese Buddhism from what was then styled Lamaism and regarded by Western scholars as a form of Buddhism so degenerate and debased that it amounted to a wholesale heresy.

⁵⁵ Indeed, Minakata expresses his fundamental misgivings about the discipline of psychology as based in our lack of understanding of the relationship between ‘mind’ considered in the abstract and “mind” considered as an emergent phenomenon arising from the physical body and subject to conditioning and constraints as a result.

“enlightenment and civilization.”⁵⁶ Referring, as I have previously noted, to an Imperially-sanctioned modernization project still underway in the Taisho and Showa eras, the phrase has its own political baggage and penumbra, many aspects of which Minakata was actively engaged in resisting.

With regard to *mono*, the actions of cause and effect, both in the Western Scientific and in the Eastern Karmic senses may be easily observed. However, Minakata notes, when humans enter the equation, the presence of *koto* and *kokoro* creates a realm of cause and effect which is always somewhat unknown and somewhat unknowable. How is one to navigate this realm? This is the twist: Minakata proposes a trio of modes of agency he names as “*tact*,”⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ *yariate*, and *magureate*. As Figal points out in this

⁵⁶ “Mr. [Alfred Russell] Wallace, who at the same time as Darwin proposed to the Academy the theory of natural selection, nowadays trumpets “civilization, civilization! [kaika kaika], but insofar as this is the gradual accumulation of things that predecessors have accomplished it amounts to nothing special at all; it’s merely that with the passage of generations good fortune results. It seems to me that civilization from the standpoint of mind differs greatly from civilization from the standpoint of matter. It waxes and wanes, waxes and wanes, but it’s hard to declare by any means that present things are better than those of the past. Rather, one can say that the past is better than the present. . . .It’s difficult for me to accept Herbert Spencer and others who, declaring for all things “evolution, evolution!” [shinka shinka], would say that religion too is in a more advanced stage now than in the past. (MKZS 9:110-11, tr. G. Figal, *ibid.* p. 69) This resolute refusal to identify simple change with progress distinguishes Minakata not only from British positivists such as Spencer, but also from German thinkers from whom he drew key concepts such as Ernst Haeckel, whose debt to the Romantic Idealist and Neo-Idealist traditions that go back to Goethe is discussed at great length in Robert John Richards, *The Tragic Sense of Life: Ernest Haeckel and the Struggle over Evolutionary Thought*, University of Chicago Press, 2008.

⁵⁷ Figal, *ibid.*, pp. 60-65.

⁵⁸ Intriguingly, “tact” was one of the key terms used by the late Terry Dobson. Dobson was the only American live-in student of Minakata’s one-time protégé, Ueshiba Morihei, and he arguably created – or creatively translated if you will -- the conceptual framework of aikido as an “art of non-resistance” into language consonant with the general thrust of the emergent counter-culture of transformation and self-actualization which erupted in the early seventies. His first book (now sold under the title *Aikido in Daily Life: Giving in to Get Your Way*) introduced the now popular notion of “win-win” outcomes to American popular culture, and was originally published under the title *Giving in to Get Your Way: the Attack-tics System for Winning Your Everday Battles*. While the pun is thought in America to be a low form of humor, the Japanese view is that the pun is expressive of deeper truth, and the present author can testify from personal observation that the presence of the homonym “tact” at the heart of the word “tactics” was a point strongly emphasized by Dobson when he taught. Numerous discussions with individuals close to Terry have not pointed to any source beyond the general observation that it was something that came back with him from Japan. Inasmuch as Ueshiba called Minakata, “the most important man I have known,” and was closely associated with him (at least aspirationally, for outside his son’s biography, there is little evidence of any relationship between Ueshiba and Minakata extant at this point) in his own relative youth,

discussion, Minakata specifically uses the English word “*tact*” rather than one of a number of close equivalents in Japanese. The two Japanese terms introduced are both often translated into English as “chance hit/s,” but there are significant differences which are lost in that translation. While both share the word *atari* or “strike,” and Figal glosses both as a sort of “chance hit,” the senses of *yari* and *magure* are quite different, the former suggesting a specific intention to do or proceed in a particular way, while the latter is associated with a cluster of meanings including “confusion,” “separation,” and “intoxication.” Put more baldly, the former suggests an experimental method of observant trial and error, while the latter suggests the sort of practice of observant attention to random or chance hits found in the music of John Cage or Brian Eno.

Curiously, while Figal subsequently draws on the work of Michel de Certeau to illuminate the commonality between both Freud and Yanagita (the latter of whom we will look at more carefully in Chapter 5) in their suspension between and negotiation of the vastly different demands of literary and scientific discourses,⁵⁹ he does not bring into play Certeau’s discussion of the Freudian and Kantian precedents⁶⁰ for this notion of “*tact*,”⁶¹ nor does he specifically reference Certeau’s discussions of *bricolage* or *errant trajectories*, as tactics used in order to repurpose, investigate, or dynamically re-order at a

it may well be that this term used in Minakata’s own way has returned to the English-speaking world through transmission from Minakata to Ueshiba to Dobson to, among others, the current writer.

⁵⁹ Figal, *ibid.* p. 134, 141-142.

⁶⁰ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, tr. Steven Rendall, University of California Press, 1984, pp. 72-76.

⁶¹ Minakata’s active interest in abnormal psychology does not reach the stage of publication for a decade or more after this letter, and the date of his encounter with Freud’s works is not clear. However, there is an intriguing possibility that Minakata may have encountered a Kantian or neo-Kantian notion of “*tact*” through his engagement with the work of the German biologist and ecologist Ernst Haeckel and the writings of Haeckel’s predecessor and mentor, Alexander von Humboldt, the latter of whom Minakata cites in a number of his articles in both *Nature* and *Notes & Queries*.

higher level a terrain or locus of materials which one, quite specifically, does not possess, but which one must, nonetheless, negotiate, if not inhabit in a Bordieuvian sense.⁶²

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Minakata's purposive -- yet curiously indeterminate -- formulation of these three modes of operation (*tact*, *variate*, and *magureate*) is not merely an act of appropriation, nor is it simply another manifestation of his own habitually fluid cast of thought: it is of a piece with certain fundamental Shingon doctrines found in the *Sokushinjobutsu-Gi*, written by Kūkai, which contains one key section of verse in which the universe is presented in terms of simultaneously existent but distinct schemes of organization in one, three, four, five, and six parts.⁶³ As Kūkai's accompanying commentary makes clear, what the stanza is attempting to get at is a precise understanding of the nature of interpenetration, mutuality, and interdependence of phenomena, which the devotee is expected to not merely grasp at an intellectual level, but to instantiate and manifest in disciplined ritual practice.

The level of erudition and linguistic skill necessary to fully penetrate the textual tradition of Shingon is formidable, requiring facility with Sanskrit, Classical Chinese, and

⁶² Certeau, *ibid.*, p. xviii.

⁶³ The Six Elements are interfused and are in a state of eternal harmony;
The Four Mandalas are inseparably related to one another;
When the grace of the Three Mysteries is retained, [our inborn three mysteries will] quickly be manifested.
Infinitely interrelated like the meshes of Indra's net are those which we call existences.

There is the One who is naturally equipped with all-embracing wisdom.
More numerous than particles of sand are those who have the King of Mind and the consciousnesses;
Each of them is endowed with the Fivefold Wisdom, with infinite wisdom
All beings can truly attain enlightenment because of the force of mirrorlike wisdom.
--Kūkai, *Sokushin Jōbutsugi*, tr. Yoshito S. Hakeda, Kūkai, Major Works: Translated, with an account of his life and a study of his thought. Columbia University Press, New York, 1972, pp 225-234.

both medieval and more modern forms of Japanese. Even to scratch the surface requires a passing familiarity with technical vocabulary in these various tongues. When one adds to these difficulties the necessity of ritual practice and mentorship by a qualified acarya – these latter two having long been carefully restricted to Shingon ordinants – the historic under-appreciation of the linkages I identify between Shingon theory and praxis and Minakata’s formulations is less surprising, in both Japanese *and* Western thought. But though not surprising, it is unfortunate.

This multivalent understanding, which Kūkai explicated (or, as some scholars have argued, constructed) in a series of essays upon his return to Japan first presents itself in terms of a stipulated Ten Stages of Mind, which begin with a state of ignorant desire and proceed through stages which can be identified with the doctrines of Confucianism, Taoism & Hinduism, Hinayana Buddhism, Mahayana Buddhism and thence schools of the Yogācāra, Mādhyamika, T’ien T’ai, and Hua-yen schools of Buddhist thought that underlie his own Shingon synthesis – which, quite naturally, he places at the apex of his ten-level structure. The key metaphors and methods of the final five – particularly the four- and eight-fold negations of Nagarjuna’s Madhyamika, a pair of dialectical tools which so thoroughly reduce any affirmative proposition to rubble (or in more classical Buddhist parlance, demonstrate the *emptiness* of such propositions) that it was long considered a cardinal sin to share its method or its core doctrine of *emptiness* with “the unripened -- are striking in their potential to serve as a corrective to the tendency we in the West have come to call “reification,”⁶⁴ or, following Foucault, the totalizing imperative of discipline and disciplines.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ From the Yogācāra, the question of whether the flag moves or the wind moves, answered by the statement that “mind moves.” From the Madhyamika, Nagarjuna’s eight-fold negation, by which all

Against the pattern of Western inquiry in which thinkers have long sought to derive universal principles that might then serve as analytical guides to future deductive analysis of phenomena, and the tendency to privilege past derivations, Shingon theory and practice takes even appropriately derived “universal truths” as contingent on specific conditions, with regard to both observer and the observed. Moreover, as a non-dual Monism (see note 64, below), it allows for the co-existence and interpenetration of apparently contradictory “truths.” Further, (and one must note the dangers inherent in this doctrine) like the broader stream of the Mahayana out of which it arise, Shingon also includes the notion of “skillful means” (Skt: *upaya*, SJ: *hoben*) or the deployment of partial truths as appropriate to the capacity of the listener.⁶⁶

To be sure, within the hard sciences, there is a strong orientation toward the concepts of provisional theory, best explanation to date, and special cases which may

affirmative claims are demolished. From the T’ien-T’ai, the non-dual nature of being-not being, expressed in the metaphor of the Golden Lion, which purports to show the way in which neither the substance used to make such a lion nor the form of the lion in which the substance is found may be isolated without reference to other. From the Hua-yen, the metaphor of Indra’s net, each knot of which is illuminated with all other such knots, which it simultaneously reflects and refracts. For a fuller discussion of most of these points, see, Hakeda’s discussion of the Ten Stages of Mind in Kūkai, *ibid.* 66-76. While the negations of Nagarjuna are treated as a core element of a very precise form of dialectic and debate in Tibetan monastic education, and there is a vast and often abstruse literature on the subject, most fortunately, there is also an accessible and poetic contemporary translation of the work on which this entire literature rests: Nagarjuna, *Verses from the Center*, tr. Stephen J. Batchelor, Riverhead Books, 2000.

⁶⁵ “On the whole, therefore, one can speak of the formation of a disciplinary society in this movement that stretches from the enclosed disciplines, a sort of social ‘quarantine,’ to an indefinitely generalizable mechanism of ‘panopticism.’ Not because the disciplinary modality of power has replaced all the others; but because it has infiltrated the others, sometimes undermining them, but serving as an intermediary between them, linking them together, extending them, and, above all, making it possible to bring the effects of power to the most minute and distant elements. It assures an infinitesimal distribution of the power relations. . . .”

⁶⁶ The most common example used to explain this theory is that of the father, who upon discovering that the family house is on fire, hurriedly wakes his children to tell them that there is a heap of toys and gifts in the yard. When they run out of the burning house (itself a metaphor for the inevitable passions that accompany embodied existence) and rail against him for having lied to them, he points back to the house, now fully ablaze and asks if they would have run so quickly – or would they have been paralyzed with fear?--had he told them the house was on fire. The selection and emphasis of materials chosen by the Japanese delegation to the World Parliament of Religions was regarded at the time as just such a “skillful means” to the extent that the presentation gave a picture of a unified Japanese Buddhism quite at odds with the fierce sectarian reality back home.

stand outside the reach of broad theoretical principles, yet be explicable in another more or less rigorous way that offers explanatory power and repeatability in experimentation that, still, does not seem compatible with the best and highest theoretical principles available. The continual push and pull between the accumulation of data through observation and experiment on the one hand and theorization on the other, which is characteristic of the primary dialectic of science, tends to moderate tendencies toward reification over time. Minakata's primary field – biology -- may be looser in some respects than other areas of scientific inquiry but remains vastly more rigorous in its relationship to observable phenomena and objects than either philosophy, which was Inoue Enryō's field of study, or juridical agricultural administration, the subject Yanagita Kunio – whose relationship with Minakata and role in the formation of the discipline known as *minzokugaku* will be examined in Chapter Five -- studied at Tokyo Imperial University.

Whatever their level of engagement with the comparatively new disciplines of social science at the turn of the twentieth century, and their subsequent eminence as pioneers of Japanese social sciences dealing with individual (in the case of Inoue) and collective (in the case of Yanagita) human behaviors, unlike Minakata, Inoue and Yanagita were not possessed of the advantage of a deeply scientific education or orientation, or years of practice in the art of specimen collection and classification. In Minakata's formulation of *kotofushigi* and *kokorofushigi* as categories of knowledge, he explicitly points to the limits of our ability to achieve complete understanding in such areas from the outset, particularly as regards rigorous quantitative understanding. It is also worth pointing out that, by framing his structure of the knowable in terms of

mysteries, rather than in terms of certainties, Minakata provides a corrective to what he saw as the excessive certainties of positivism – the linked notions that not only is the universe entirely knowable, but that the accumulation of human knowledge regarding the universe is always a positive, additive process that produces not merely change, but progress, as well as the related, if less materialist, notion that natural change and evolution is also, in itself, necessarily progressive in keeping with some abstract teleological path toward perfection

Though Minakata was, by profession, a scientist who took observable reality as his starting point, his division of knowledge sharply delineates the limits of rational analysis and the dangers of totalistic rationalization as applied to individual and collective human behavior. Rather than arguing, as did Inoue, for the elimination of non-rational elements precisely because of their lack of susceptibility to rational explanation— be they traditional folk-practices and understandings, localized norms of communal self-regulation, or the like—Minakata, in fact, privileges these matters as subjects for documentation and preservation,. Subsequently, as we will see in chapter five, he would reject the inductive model favored by Yanagita, a model which seeks to find and -- further -- foster a sort of broad Japanese national character rooted in a collective unconscious that is as much a mythic repository as it is a documentable history.

A very different approach to Minakata's oeuvre can be found in the writings of the sociologist Tsurumi Kazuko. A one-time student of Marion Levy, Tsurumi's own writings were at the forefront of the Minakata boom, which benefitted greatly from her own celebrity as co-founder of *Shiso no kagaku* (Science of Thought) in 1946, and thereafter as an engaged intellectual active in environmental, social, and gender issues.

Part of a group of intellectuals who had been expatriates studying in the West during hostilities between the United States and Japan, Tsurumi was strongly influenced by Dewey and Pierce, and with her associates, inclined to privilege science and scientific modes of thinking over the ideological model of intellectuals and intellectual activity forming a service adjunct to the needs of the Imperial State. Indeed, a number of members of her circle, including her own brother, were unabashed Marxists, who achieved a level of institutional stature immediately following the war that would have been impossible just a few years beforehand. But Tsurumi's own inclination toward localized application of globally transmitted concepts, and her own devotion to native folkways and cultural practices mirrored that of Minakata in some respects, and it is those aspects of Minakata's work which she tended to emphasize. Indeed, she was as renowned as a champion of traditional garb and deeply knowledgeable practitioner of and instructor in Japanese classical dance as a scholar or an activist – and through her promotion of these traditional activities, she gained an enormous amount of press attention which was key in bringing her more radical notions to the attention of culturally conservative newspaper and magazine readers, and television viewers.

Thus, given her own professional orientation, it's not surprising that she positions Minakata's work not in relation to Buddhology, cosmology, or epistemology, but rather, in relation to Talcott Parsons' dichotomy of endogenous and exogenous development,⁶⁷ with explicit reference to the work of Minakata's old classmate and rival, the novelist Natsume Soseki. Tsurumi begins with the premise that disasters such as mercury-poisonings at Minamata which came to public attention in the 1970s are directly related

⁶⁷ Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils, Neil J. Smelser; Toward a General Theory of Action: Theoretical Foundations for the Social Sciences. Harvard University Press, 1951, 1953, pp. 228-232.

to the exclusion of “the natural” in Japanese modernization theory (and practice), and she presents her own four part structure of endogenous development (basic unit, models, key persons, and underlying motivational structure system) which takes the sub-national region as the basic unit of development (in distinction to Parsons and Levy, who tended to focus on the nation, rather than the sub-national region). Most critically, Tsurumi is less fixed on the issue of models than on an approach that looks not to elites, but to non-elites as key players. In a striking departure from most neo-Weberian scholarship and development theory, Tsurumi posits animism as a motivational structure for endogenous understanding and development, rather than the top-down extension of the values of self-effacement, sacrifice and obedience associated with the broad group of behaviors categorized under the rubric *bushido* and drawn down from the elite (if formally disbanded, but no less existent for that) *buke* (military households) to the mass non-elite classes.⁶⁸ In short, Tsurumi’s acceptance and utilization of animism echoes the acceptance and utilization of local deities found in both *mikkyō* proper and Minakata’s more secularly oriented appeals to do the same found in his Eight Statements (which will be reviewed in Chapter Four).

In her analysis of Minakata’s own thought, Tsurumi cites a number of diagrams, the first showing (see Illustration 10) the epistemology of “*koto* (event or matter)” at center, which can exist with the intersection of “*kokoro* (mind)” on the left and “*mono*(thing)” on the right. While I concur with Tsurumi’s analysis in a number of particulars, as is the case with Figal, she does not seem to address the historic accommodation between academic/esoteric Buddhist cosmology and native animism

⁶⁸ Tsurumi Kazuko, “Minakata Mandala: A Paradigm Change for the Future,” A Common Path for the Future, Final Report, UNESCO/UNU, SC-96/WS-14. pp. 113-124.

which underlies Minakata's own formulation.

To one familiar with Kūkai's, self-described "esoteric" writings on the ten-levels of teaching which he held to culminate in the teaching of the Mantrayana, or True-Word-Vehicle, Minakata's structure is equally clearly a descendent of the "Mind-Only" (*cittamatra* skt.) and "Garland" (*hua-yen* ch. or *kegon* jpn) schools of Buddhist epistemology, as filtered through the Dual/Non-Dual System of Four Mandalas and Six Elements apparently developed by Kūkai as an overarching syncretic system intended to extend and harmonize these earlier Buddhist scholastic philosophies. What is critical about this with reference to the present study, which takes as its controlling metaphor the linguistic notion of translation, is precisely the way in which the theory of *mantra* and of the *Mantrayana* (or "mantra vehicle", as a complement to the categories of *Hinayana* and *Mahayana Buddhism*, i.e. "narrow vehicle" and "great vehicle" Buddhism associated respectively with the arhat and bodhisattva ideals) put forward by Kūkai emphasizes language, specifically, the utterance of the Mahavairocana Buddha as the warp and woof of the cosmos. In this view, language is not merely "about" what is: it IS what is. Moreover, the theory of language and phenomenology proposed by Kūkai – and with which Minakata seems to have been intimately familiar – anticipates any number of philosophical and linguistic arguments pressed by a wide range of noted Western thinkers in the twentieth century.

Whereas the diagram on the left of Illustration 11 provides a schematic representation of Minakata's notion of one type of mutual influence between two lines of cause (labeled with the Chinese character for the same at the top of the image), the diagram on the right provides a similar representation of his Minakata's notion of

necessary (*hitsuzen*) events in the world, a recasting of Kūkai’s concept of “interpenetration” through which mechanism two lines of causality operating on different levels of physical reality can seem to pass through one another with no apparent interaction or deflection taking place, as with the gamma rays that pass through all manner of objects, our very bodies included, with no apparent effect on either the body through which it has passed or the trajectory of the gamma ray itself. There is no question of making a choice as to which of the two diagrams represents things as they are is: positing a unitary choice of that kind is to present a false choice. The question that must first be answered, in every case, is that of the relative independence and interdependence of the causal chains being examined, whether the field of study is that of the physical sciences, strictly defined, all of which would fall under the previously discussed rubric *monofushigi*, the realm of psychology, which would fall under the rubric *kokorofushigi* (regarding which, as we have already noted, Minakata expressed doubts because of our lack of knowledge regarding the relationship between the physical body and the mind which seems to depend upon body), or the area in the middle of the Venn diagram in Figure 10 which represents the zone of interaction between these two, the zone which may be seen as the productive locus of not only physical culture, but social culture and organization, all matters which would be largely addressed by social sciences.

As with Count Korzybski’s oft-cited maxim that “the map is not the territory,” it can not be overemphasized that Minakata’s concept of *hitsuzen* (or “the necessary”) which if not directly implying changelessness, does imply a level of independence between causal processes of differing orders that renders them incapable of mutual

influence, while it does not exclude the notion of the “coincident” in which contact between two elements of the same order results in the change of both. And as with Kūkai’s notion of the interplay between the Four Mandala and Six Elements, Minakata sees in the area of maximum interplay between the “necessary” and the “coincident” the “*suiten*” or “gathering point” around which phenomena ranging from the geological through the biological, ontological, and sociological carry out their self-organizing activity spontaneously. (Marked by the katakana “イ” at the center of Figure 5, below). For Minakata, this *suiten* was the mountains and shores of the Kii peninsula, and by siting himself there, far from the apparent center of Tokyo, he placed his own mind, trained in the modes of observation and deduction found in Western empirical science, and in the modes of contemplation, observation, projective vision found in the ancient mind-science of esoteric Buddhist theory and practice at a spot where the confluence of the ancient and the modern, the foreign and the native, the eastern and the western, the past and the present, and the effects of their interaction could be seen rippling through the landscape, the lives of the people who occupied it, and their relations with Japan’s Imperial center and the world beyond.

In the absence of the exceedingly lengthy digression that would be necessary to fully unpack Kūkai’s own theory, the above may initially present as utterly esoteric and ungrounded. The former may even be true. But the latter is clearly far from the case, and as we will see in the following chapters, concrete expressions of this formulation can be found in Minakata’s early opposition to shrine consolidation (which we will address in chapter four) -- the first modern conservation movement which explicitly invoked both

the basic concepts of ecology, and in at least two instances, the word itself -- and his subsequent disputes with Yanagita regarding the direction of *minzokogaku* (which will be addressed in chapter five). Most immediately important with reference to the Buddhist background of his thought is the core mikkyō premise of non-dual monism, which extends throughout his life and work, and may be simply and clearly demarcated from more familiar European monisms by its utter lack of a teleological imperative. Just as his organizing principles of necessity and coincidence are not at all mutually exclusive, but rather mutually intertwined generative forces, his subsequent and near simultaneous invocations of modern Western ecology and what Tsurumi pegs as a more primitive Eastern animism are similarly related.

The drawing shown in Illustration 12 was a hastily drawn sketch in the midst of an onrush of thoughts, and it looks at first glance to more than one observer like nothing so much as “a spilled bowl of noodles.” But in 1978 this schematic was given the grand name of *Minakata Mandala* by the Buddhist scholar Dr. Nakamura Hajime⁶⁹, who recognized – along with Tsurumi Kazuko—that it aimed at nothing less than mapping the entirety of the universe and the extent of human knowledge about the universe. By 1903, Minakata and Toki Hōryū had maintained their correspondence for a decade, and Minakata had been back in Japan for over two years, applying his years of study in the Americas and London to the flora, fauna, and folklore of his native Wakayama, and at the same time, further developing his critique of dominant Western forms of positivism which Tsurumi styles “the theory of necessity, based upon Newtonian mechanics.”⁷⁰ As Tsurumi herself notes, cracks were already beginning to appear in that edifice, evidenced

⁶⁹ Tsurumi, “Minakata-Mandala: A Paradigm Change for the Future,” *Tokyo Symposium – Science and Culture: A Common Path for the Future*. SC-96/WS-14, UNESCO/UNU, September, 1995.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

by the statistical mechanics model developed by Maxwell and Boltzman to describe the movements of gas particles not on the basis of the essential certainty of causality, but in terms of probability of distribution, and although she does not say so, there is a high probability that Minakata was familiar with their work from his broad reading in the scientific literature of the day.

That said, it is also true that Minakata, although a scientist and a linguist, was not a mathematician, but rather, a biologist with a deep interest in the relationship between the biological basis of human existence and the “higher” cognitive and social aspects of human existence. It was in this area that his subsequent critique and its translation into both political and intellectual activity would take its shape. As a biologist and Japanese scientist in a Western milieu, he had become quite familiar with the Darwinian theory of natural selection and its application (or as he saw it, mis-application) within the nascent social and political sciences, particularly as regards assertions that Western civilizations were not only materially richer than those of the East, but in some sense more evolutionarily advanced, an argument that was not only deployed to justify Western colonial activities in East Asia and other parts of the globe but, as he found upon his return to Japan in 1900, had been imported into Japan wholesale, and was being used domestically to justify a similar relationship between the national capital of Tokyo and the provinces of Japan, a relationship he compared on at least one occasion to that between Great Britain and South Africa.

As a biologist and folklorist, Minakata’s habitual approach was descriptive and deductive rather than prescriptive and inductive, and the rapid ecological and cultural changes he found underway in Japan were, he felt, not only destroying the very materials

he had set out to study; they were doing so, not haphazardly or as a simple unforeseen side-effect, but rather, by design. Minakata was not operating under the illusion that this was an entirely new process, and in his own writings traced its roots in Japan to the centralization of the Tokugawa Shogunate in Edo. Already well underway at the time of his departure for America in 1887, by the time of his return to Japan in 1900, mechanization, industrialization, and the emergent Meiji policy had accelerated the process enormously, as Japan embarked on a headlong rush to achieve technological and military parity with the Western world.

The leading slogan of the Meiji Era was *bunmei kaika* (civilization and enlightenment), and although closely followed by *wakon yosai* (Japanese spirit, Western technology), however nuanced the interpretation of these slogans may have been in the mind of one or another citizen, in practice the former represented industrialization and urbanization on a Western model, and the Japanese spirit most government officials had in mind was one of diligent obedience to the Emperor and his agents, a notion that stood in direct opposition to the dangerous notions of individual freedoms, collective bargaining, the right of the governed to grant or withhold consent, and a host of related constructs with which Minakata – and other Japanese expatriates of the time – had become quite familiar during travels overseas.

By the time he wrote the 1903 letter to Toki which included the “Minakata Mandala”, Minakata had already begun to directly confront these changes in a variety of ways, among them, by documenting, as he also travelled about cataloging the rapidly vanishing biota of the Kii peninsula, a vast range of local customs of antique provenance which were no less derived from the primal kami of Japan than was the institution of the

Imperial Household. In his correspondence with Toki and the formulation of what has come to be called his *mandala*, he turned from addressing these effects to confrontation of the cause behind those effects: a fundamentally mistaken apprehension of the relationship between things, acts, thoughts, and the binding principles that connect them, individually and severally.

In conjunction with his tetrad of *monofushigi*, *kotofushigi*, *kokorofushigi*, and *rifushigi* (the “wonders” or “wondrous matters” of physical things, actions, thoughts and feelings, and inherent principles) Minakata’s *mandala* is intended to provide a sketch of the orders of human knowledge and its limits, a guide to the most fertile nodes at which investigators might seek further knowledge, and an argument in favor of the wider dissemination of the mode of seeing that lies at the heart of Shingon practice. As both Figal and Tsurumi note, Minakata identifies the lower and upper two lines at the top of his sketch (ㄨ & ㄣ, respectively) with the limit of that which is accessible to human reason, and the vast realm of the Cosmic Solar Buddha, Dainichi Nyorai in which the realm of the accessible is embedded. What neither Figal nor Tsurumi addresses with any degree of substance is the significance of Minakata’s admonition “you must see this in three dimensions.” In order to understand what he might have meant, it is essential to reflect back on the role Shingon non-material projective vision plays in the context of the physical world, and the role of that meditative practice in instantiating the “non-rational wisdom” of Dainichi Nyorai, which Minakata identifies with “tact,” “*yariate*,” and “*megureate*.”

It is, on the one hand, understandable as a matter of scholarly caution, that they both chose to deal almost exclusively with the text as it presents itself. But I would,

again, argue that there is an essential context that both have missed – the master-disciple relationship between the two men – and within that context are shared understandings that are no less present for their absence from the text of the letter itself. First, what he does not say in the letter to Toki, for it would have been not only utterly unnecessary, but worse, patronizing the very individual who had instructed him in the method, is that this mode of converting a two-dimensional representation into a fully cognized three-dimensional projected vision lies at the heart of the Shingon practices imported to Japan by Kūkai a millennium earlier.⁷¹ Toki, who was senior prelate at the sect’s ritual center on Mount Kōya, would have had years of sustained engagement with these practices – practices in which he had initiated Minakata. Second, by dealing with the sequence of labeled points as Minakata discusses them in turn, both Figal and Tsurumi overlook the plain fact that the points are labeled in a specific sequence – in this case, the order of the i-ro-ha syllabary.⁷² While the fullest implications of that order remain to be unpacked in a subsequent study, for our purposes at this juncture, it is more than sufficient to note that that sequence as presented in the image, when “viewed in three dimensions” maps a spiral which issues outward from the *suiten* marked by “イ,” a spiral which is, like the image at the heart of every Shingon meditation, ever-expanding and ever-contracting, from the inner-most heart of the practitioner to the limits of the cosmos and back. How Minakata translated that merely visual expansion and contraction into a series of thoughts, words, deeds and other manifest “skillful means” which effected direct political

⁷¹ Bogel. *op cit.* For a specific – and endogenously orthodox rather than intellectually heterodox in the manner of Bogel -- description of the most basic form of this practice, see Yamasaki.

⁷² However, inasmuch as a sufficiently detailed copy of the page has only recently been made publicly available by the City of Tanabe, the failure of previous scholars to note the i-ro-ha ordering may be a simple result of the fact that their access was limited to what the Minakata Kumagusu Archives describe as “photocopy reproductions of an insufficient quality.”

action -- action that changed the course of Chinese history and by extension, that of not only East Asia, but the world, and preserved critical wilderness and historic pilgrimage routes that reach back to the prehistory of Japan within the narrower reaches of Wakayama -- will be the subject of chapter four.

4

POLITICAL TRANSLATION: Minakata, Sun Yat-Sen, and Pan-Asianism; The Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement and Practical Ecology

The two most notable – and significant -- examples of Minakata’s political activism are his brief involvement with Sun Yat-sen in London in 1897 and his more profound engagement in the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Campaign of 1906-1912. The significance of these two passages is not, however, as a pair of isolated incidents in a life otherwise defined by bookish pursuits. Citing earlier work by Takeuchi Yoshinobu and Ryugo Matsui, Brij Tankha notes Minakata’s early interest in the *jiyumenken undo* (people’s rights movement) and *gekka jiken* or “violent incidents” associated with it in the mid 1880s, prior to his departure for America, and Tankha asserts that in addition to a number of Minakata’s friends from that period going on to become openly socialist, Minakata himself worked on the Japanese-language liberal-leaning US newspaper *Dainihon* during his time in the Americas.¹

During this same period, starting during his time in East Lansing and Ann Arbor, Minakata began to spend extensive periods of time in more protacted and serious botanical collecting expeditions. It seems that the beginning of his serious fieldwork was roughly contemporaneous with – and a reaction to -- his introduction to the writings of the medieval Swiss botanist Conrad Gesner and George Perkins Marsh’ pioneering work on anthropogenic environmental change, Man and Nature. Although it is not clear how

¹ Brij Tankha, “Minakata Kumagusu: Fighting Shrine Consolidation in Meiji Japan,” *China Report*, 2000, 36:555, p. 570.

the two men met, while in Ann Arbor, Minakata also began a correspondence with Col. W.H. Calkins in 1890, a retired Civil War officer and attorney resident in Chicago, who was also an avid botanist with a particular interest in lichens. It was Calkins' encouragement that set Minakata off for the wilds of Florida in 1891 with newly purchased supplies that included insect nets, a plant press, two microscopes and a pistol. After three months in Jacksonville, during which time he worked and lived with a Chinese grocer named Jiang Shengzong,² and spent his evenings and weekends botanizing, he headed yet further south, spending a month in Key West, before heading on to Havana, where the pistol was put into service. According to an undated letter from Minakata to his friend Kitahaba Takesaburō, quoted by Tsurumi Kazuko and translated by Alan Christy:

Two nights ago there was street fighting throughout the city between blacks and whites, and US troops were mustered. Last night three whites were injured and guns were fired five times. The battles are taking place about a mile from where I am. There are about a thousand blacks, three hundred whites, 100 militia and 500 troops. I plan to go to the battlefield tonight to observe. I am right in the middle of preparing my gun.³

Although Tsurumi does present this excerpt from a letter, she disputes the 1943 account of an earlier Minakata biographer, Nakayama Tarō, who asserted that Kumagusu did more than just observe:

Hot-blooded young man that he was, Minakata was sympathetic to the patriotic sentiments of the revolutionaries, so he took an empty gun and joined them. He made a name for himself fighting with them here and there, but his time with them ended when he was shot by the enemy in the upper left chest and had to be treated in a field hospital.⁴

² Minakata's remittances from home had become irregular by this point, and taking a job in a Chinese grocery was more than a gesture, it was essential to his survival. He would have similar difficulties throughout his time in London.

³ Christy, Alan. *Ethnographies of the Self: Japanese Native Ethnology 1910-1945*, 39-40; Tsurumi, op. cit. p. 127.

⁴ Nakayama Tarō, *Gakkai ijin: Minakata Kumagusu, Toyama-bō*, 1943, p. 29; tr. Alan Christy, *ibid.* p. 39.

Whichever of his biographers is correct regarding the extent of his participation in the Havana race riots, his interest in them, and the side with which he chose to align himself are both quite clear. The circus tour to which he had attached himself went on from Havana to further stops in Caracas, Venezuela, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, and Jamaica; as had been the case in the US proper, Minakata was not at all impressed by American presence in the Caribbean, and he subsequently singled out the American people from those among whom he had travelled as being “particularly brutish and crude.”⁵

In January of 1892, Minakata returned to Jacksonville, rejoining his former employer and friend Jiang until summer’s end, when Jiang closed up his business. Minakata travelled north to New York to board the steamship “City of New York” on September 14, 1892, bound for Liverpool. In what would become a familiar and recurring pattern, on his arrival in London he took overnight lodgings in a boarding house in Euston run by a Jewish couple,⁶ proceeding from there to find more permanent quarters in Kensington, where housing could be had for comparatively little money, so long as one was not concerned with a lack of public transportation or the proximity of immigrants and Jews – and Minakata was not, except to the extent that the prospect of walking through a culturally and ethnically variegated sea of humanity on his daily walk to the British Museum seems to have been less a bug than a feature. By the time of Sun Yat-Sen’s arrival in London in 1896, Minakata had lived there for four years, and had accumulated his own experiences of the way in which a shabbily dressed immigrant might be regarded, spoken to, or talked about by native Londoners: the result was a burning sense of indignation that only needed the right trigger to set it off.

⁵ Christy, , 1910-1945, *ibid.* 40.

⁶ Roger Pulvers, “Japan’s Wild Genius of Slime Mold Fame and More,” *Japan Times*, January 13, 2008.

There is also a sense in which, in abstract terms at least, it didn't have to be this way: Minakata *had* been offered a salaried full-time position at the British Museum – perhaps as early as 1893 -- by Sir Robert K. Douglas, but he had refused, preferring to work project-by-project on the larger program of cataloging the museum's collection of Chinese and Japanese manuscripts and books, translating the titles and text insets of the museum's collection of Japanese prints, paying his meager room and board from the meager funds he received from home and spending his income from translation – supplemented with proceeds from Japanese print sales in which he seems to have been involved, both through his association with Prince Kataoka⁷ and at least one French dealer in ukiyo-e whose identity I have yet to determine – largely on books and alcohol.⁸

On a daily basis, Minakata's peregrinations in London crossed numerous boundaries of class, education, ethnicity, occupation, and political affiliation, and there is clearly an extent to which both his subsequent intentions and methods were informed by the experiences of the eight years he spent living in what was then the center of the largest empire in the world. He had virtually untrammelled access to the best museum and library in the world. His evening stroll home from the British Museum to Kensington took him through Hyde Park, where he often stopped at the Speakers' Corner, provided

⁷ Referred to as "Prince Kataoka" in most English-language sources, Kato Shozo was not in fact a prince, but rather, "the son of a karo (minister) of a daimyo in Bush (now Saitama prefecture)," who lived in London for all but four years of the period between his arrival in 1886 until his death in 1930. He was a prominent member of both the broader Japanese community, and the subset of that community which dealt in Japanese art and antiquities. He frequently employed Minakata to translate ukiyo-e and serve as a go-between in dealings with the British Museum regarding the Museum's acquisition and de-acquisition of Japanese prints, and Minakata was a frequent dinner-guest in his home, dining there eleven times in December 1895. The relationship seems to have been strained at one point, when "Minakata reportedly borrowed several ukiyoe from Kato and sold them, with Minakata's explanatory notes, to buyers." See Ian Hill Nish, *Britain & Japan: Biographical Portraits*, Japan Society Publications, Curzon Press Ltd., 1977. Volume 2, p. 261. and Keiko Itoh, *The Japanese Community in Pre-War Britain: From Integration to Disintegration*, Curzon Press, 2001, p. 77.

⁸ Carmen Blacker, "Minakata Kumagusu: A Neglected Japanese Genius," *Folklore*, Vol. 94, No. 2, 1983, p. 142.

him with a first-hand experience of the most radical public Western political rhetoric of the day. In the neighborhoods where he resided, he experienced the London of culturally marginalized working class immigrants. In his private translation activities he worked with leading figures in the London and Paris art worlds, and in his work at the Museum he numbered among his associates and benefactors retired British diplomats with acute and well-honed political instincts. It was in the office of one of those benefactors, his mentor at the British Museum, the previously mentioned Robert K. Douglas (later, Sir Robert), that Minakata first met Sun Yat-sen and began a friendship that would have major consequences in East Asian history.

Well before that fateful encounter in London, Sun's anti-Manchu activities within China had attracted the official notice of the Chinese government, which engaged agents to trail him throughout the course of his three-month overland journey from San Francisco to New York. Sun departed from New York by sea for London on September 23, arriving in Liverpool on September 30, and then London on October 1, 1896.⁹ On notification of his arrival in England, the Chinese Legation immediately commenced efforts to extradite him, only to be rebuffed by the British Foreign Office on the grounds that no bilateral extradition treaty between the two nations was in effect "and that extradition arrangements with Hong Kong would not apply in this case".¹⁰

On October 11, Sun was lured into the Chinese Legation and held for five days while arrangements were being made to quietly ship him back to China for execution.

Fortunately for Sun, he was successful in getting a note passed out of the Legation

⁹ J.Y. Wong, The Origins of An Heroic Image: Sun Yat-sen in London, 1896-1897, Oxford University Press, 1986.

¹⁰ Lyon Sharman, Sun Yat-sen: His Life and Its Meaning, pp. 44-45.

premises addressed to his former teacher of medicine, a Scot named Dr. John Cantlie with whom Sun had studied in Hong Kong. Upon learning of Sun's circumstances, Cantlie was quickly able to attract sufficient attention in the press to Sun's plight that he effectively made it impossible for the Chinese Legation to carry out its planned "extraordinary rendition" and Sun's release was secured.¹¹

Up to this point, Sun had been but one of a veritable legion of Chinese activists engaged in anti-Manchu activities, but the circumstances of his apparent kidnapping, confinement, and attempt trans-shipment by the Chinese authorities made for sensational newspaper stories, and as a result, Sun became not only a celebrity in his own right, but a walking signifier for a cause célèbre in the process. The public significance of the incident was sufficient that Professor Herbert Giles, best known today for authoring the 1892 *Henry Giles Chinese-English Dictionary* and finalizing the earlier work of Thomas Wade to produce what is now known as the Wade-Giles system of romanized Chinese transcription¹², immediately requested that Sun submit a brief entry for inclusion in his forthcoming *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*.¹³

Another result of this new-found notoriety was that Sun gained a significant level of entrée to the semi-formal network of former British officials who had served in

¹¹ There is in fact, significant dispute among scholars regarding this incident, and it has been argued that Sun was not, in fact, kidnapped, but walked into the Chinese legation of his own volition with the intention of "expounding his revolutionary views," for the express purpose of creating an incident. There is some indication (see Sharman) that Sun may have visited the Legation under an assumed name the day before being taken into custody at the Chinese Legation. The present author is inclined to discount the claim that Sun's intentionally allowed himself to be kidnapped, but notes that all sides concur with the view that the furor in the British and international press over the refusal of the Legation officials to allow him to leave, along with several books and pamphlets on the subject, went quite some ways toward distinguishing Sun from the many other revolutionary Chinese figures engaged in opposition to the fading Manchu Dynasty.

¹² Although largely displaced by the Pinyin system developed in the PRC and approved in 1958, the Wade-Giles system continues to have some currency in Taiwan, and remains key to studying early 20th Century Western Sinological works.

¹³ Published in 1897, Giles' CBD was awarded the Prix St. Julien Prize by the French Academy that same year.

various diplomatic capacities in East Asia, one of whom, the previously mentioned Mr. Robert K. Douglas, was then serving as “the keeper in the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS at the British Museum”¹⁴ as well as Professor of Chinese at King’s College, London. Minakata and Sun first met in Douglas’ office on March 16, 1897, and sparks flew from the outset:

“In his diary, Minakata merely said that he met Sun Yatsen for the first time in Douglas office...in a letter to a friend, he went into more detail...He said that Sun Yatsen asked him what his life’s ambition was. He answered, ‘My wish is that we Asians will drive out [of Asia] all Westerners once and for all’. Referring to the same occasion, he told another friend that he had said this in the presence of both Douglas and Sun Yatsen, when Douglas introduced Sun Yatsen to him. Both Douglas and Sun Yatsen were said to have been taken by surprise.¹⁵

Wong, who is so pointedly critical of Minakata’s outburst as to call it “quite rude,” goes on to note: “But Sun Yatsen (sic) seems to have been quite taken with him, and subsequently spent a fair amount of time in his company.” Had Minakata previously taken a salaried position at the British Museum on any of the occasions when it was offered, he would not have had the liberty to roam London’s parks, museums, restaurants, and docks with Sun, the precise circumstances under which their friendship did, in fact, grow and ripen. Indeed, more than simply friendship, the relationship with Minakata in London provided Sun with the very tool-kit of Pan-Asian rhetoric and thought which he subsequently successfully deployed to convince Japanese industrialists and political figures to give his revolution the financial and material backing it needed for success.

¹⁴ Ibid. Wong, p.280.

¹⁵ Ibid, Wong, quoting Kasai, quoting, Minakata’s own letters to Yanagita and Uematsu, tr. By Mr. T. Kobayashi for J.Y Wong.

While many of the questions Wong addresses in his study of Sun's rise to prominence have been debated for over a century by students of Chinese history, Wong is the first scholar to review the direct evidence found in Minakata's own diaries and correspondence, and in doing so he has unearthed a heretofore untold tale of Sun Yat-sen's political formation, and Minakata's role in the ultimate success of Sun's effort to secure financial and military backing in Japan. The table of their meetings below is a reproduction of Wong's Table 6, and all entries were extracted from Wong's review of Minakata's London Diaries.

Date	Time	Comments
Tue., 16 Mar.		Met in Douglas' office.
Thur., 18 Mar.		Sat in British Museum (BM) talking.
Fri., 19 Mar.	18.00-22.00	Left BM with Sun. To Maria Restaurant, to Hyde Park, bus to Sun's home till 22.00.
Sat., 20 Mar.		Spoke to Sun in BM.
Fri., 26 Mar.	Evening	With Sun to Vienna Restaurant, then to Saisho's, then BM.
Sat., 27 Mar.	Evening-22.00	With Sun to Shora Restaurant, then to Sun's.
Tues., 30 Mar.	Afternoon	With Sun to Douglas' office.
Mon., 5 Apr.	Till 21.00	With Sun to Shora Restaurant, then to Sun's.
Wed., 7 Apr.	Afternoon	Spoke with Sun at BM.
Thur., 8 Apr.	Evening	To Sun's, Sun not at home Spoke to Sun in BM.
Sat., 10 Apr.		Spoke to Sun in BM.

Tue., 13 Apr.	c. 12.00-16.30	With Mulkern to visit Sun, all 3 to Tilbury to see Tsuda.
Mon., 19 Apr. Tue., 20 Apr.	Evening--22.00	With Sun to Vienna Restaurant, then to Sun's. Sun in BM.
Sat., 8 May		Asked Mr. Read to show Sun alum tea.
Mon., 24 May Wed., 26 May	Evening Afternoon	Dined with Sun, then to see various people, none at home. Spoke to Sun in BM.
Wed. 16 Jun.	Afternoon- 24.00	With Sun visited Kamada, then to Minakata's, then to Restaurant, then to Hyde Park.
Fri., 18 Jun.		Waited for Sun, who did not come.
Sat., 19 Jun.	pm.--evening	Sun came, to Kew, to Tajima's in West Kensington till 21.00, to High St. by bus, then dinner.
Sun., 20 Jun.	pm.--evening	Sun came, to Museum of Natural History; dinner at Maria Restaurant.
Fri., 25 Jun.		Sun came, arranged meeting day after tomorrow.
Sat., 26 Jun.		Sun and Tajima see Naval Review.
Sun., 27 Jun.	c. 16.00-24.00	Sun came. After 19.00 to Tajima's. After 22.00 to Maria Restaurant. After 23.00 to Hyde Park.
Mon., 28 Jun.		Letter to Kamada re Sun.

	After 17.00	Saw Sun at Museum.
Tue., 29 Jun.	After 16.00	Saw Sun at BM, gave him letter.
Wed., 30 Jun.	c. 11.00	Visited Sun by cab, handed him letter... At. 11.00 parted in front of Sun's residence.

Wong observes that Minakata's diaries are silent on the subject of precisely what they talked about in their many meetings. Even so, given what we do know about their first encounter, it is certain that Sun was not put off in the least by Minakata's vociferous opposition to Western inroads in the East. Wong goes on to argue that "it may be assumed that the central theme of their conversations was Pan-Asianism," further quoting one of Minakata's letters in which he says "the unfortunate Sun Yatsen (sic) could count on merely Mr. Mulkern, who was a member of the 'Restoration Party' in Ireland, and myself, as his only two friends in London."¹⁶

In assessing the likely content and tenor of their discussion, in addition to Minakata's explicit anti-Western Pan-Asianism, several other factors need to be taken into account. One of the dinners Sun attended at the house of his old mentor John Cantlie had as its guest of honor "a Mr. Weay, recently returned from South Africa [who] told his listeners of the wars waged by Sir Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company to annex the rich territories of local sovereigns, of the fall of Bulawayo in 1893, and of Dr. Leander Starr Jameson's raid on the Transvaal in 1895."¹⁷ A decade

¹⁶ Though Wong suspects Minakata of "exaggeration" because of his failure to mention Sun's relationship with Dr. and Mrs. Cantlie, whose assistance to Sun was critical in his release, my sense is that the age difference between Cantlie and Sun, and their past association as teacher and pupil during Sun's medical studies was regarded by Minakata as a relationship of an entirely different order than what he was calling "friendship."

¹⁷ Marie-Claire Bergere, tr. Janet Lloyd, *Sun Yat-sen*, Stanford University Press, 1998. p. 65.

or so later, both Sun and Minakata would refer back to the British relationship with South Africa in the course of their respective struggles – in Sun’s case, that of developing a new Chinese national identity, and in Minakata’s case, that of preserving the regional identity of the Ki’i Peninsula, then under threat due to government Shrine Consolidation edicts.¹⁸ As for Mr. Mulkern, although the precise identity of the “Restoration Party” to which he is said to have belonged is not entirely clear, in the context of British-Irish colonial relations of the time, the anti-imperialist and Irish Nationalist character of his views may be safely assumed. Moreover, given his profession as a man-at-arms, his specific role as Sun’s de facto bodyguard in London, and his subsequent professional engagement in Sun’s revolutionary activities in China, one is hard-pressed to imagine that the three men did not engage in what might be styled a “globally comparative revolutionary nationalist discourse.” This reading is also supported by Wong’s brief three part catalog of Sun’s associations in London,¹⁹ in which also he registers in passing Sun’s engagement with Russian dissidents including the Russian revolutionary writer Feliks Volkhovsky.²⁰ Of course,

¹⁸ Brij Tankha, “Fighting Shrine Unification in Meiji Japan,” *China Report*, 2000, 36:555, p. 569.

¹⁹ Wong’s three categories consist of 1) British Establishment Figures 2) Russian exiles and 3) “The third category consisted of a lone Japanese Pan-Asianist temporarily resident in London, Minakata Kumagusu.” In this, as in so many other areas, like his beloved slime molds, Minakata, whatever his momentary and superficial aspect might suggest, is *sui generis*.

²⁰ Volkhovsky, who spent a considerable period of time incarcerated in St. Petersburg Prison and was then transported to Siberia, where he resided for some (7) years prior to his escape to the West, was no stranger to the efforts of reactionary regimes to abuse extradition treaties. In a March 1, 1893 article appearing in the NY Times, Volkhovsky is quoted as follows: “You must remember,” continued Mr. Volkhovsky, “that according to the Russian Penal Code any political secret society which aims to change the existing form of government is liable to be treated exactly as if its members were plotting against the Czar or other members of the Imperial Family.....Americans ought to realize that if their government sanctions this treaty, it is taking a step toward turning over for torture or death men who, according to the American standard, are perfectly good and law-abiding citizens.” As can be seen by continuing efforts to extradite Wikileaks principal Julian Assange from London to Sweden on charges of sexual misconduct, and attendant fears that this might lead inexorably toward his being taken into custody by the United States government and then relocated to a “black site” beyond the reach of US law, concerns such as those of Sun with regard to the Manchu authorities, or Volkhovsky with regard to Russian Imperial Authorities have an immediate currency and relevance today.

exiled individuals in foreign capitals have long grouped together and talked of revolution. This in itself is unremarkable. What is remarkable is that however speculative their talk may have been in London, each of these individuals subsequently acted on the talk with a measure of success: Sun and Mulkern in China in 1911, and Minakata in Japan at the same time.

Though Wong is quite cautious in his discussion of prior scholars' competing claims over the question of whether Sun was kidnapped or "walked into the Legation of his own free will," he is ultimately unequivocal in his assessment of the significance – in both personal and political terms -- of the relationship between Minakata and Sun:

On 30 June 1897, Minakata Kumagusu also wrote that he took a cab to see Sun Yatsen at his lodgings²¹, and found that R.J. Mulkern was already there. At 11 a.m., Mulkern left, while Minakata accompanied Sun Yatsen to St. Pancras Station to see him off. Then Minakata went to see R.K. Douglas in the British Museum with a farewell message from Sun Yatsen. Thus Sun Yatsen left by the same route whereby he had arrived, via St Pancras Station and Liverpool, from the land of glory to the land of hope.

He was well prepared for his new adventures. The available evidence does not suggest that he had been inclined toward Pan-Asianism²² until he met Minakata

²¹ 8 Gray's Inn Place, Holborn.

²² The topic of Japanese Pan-Asianism is a complex and heterodox field of contention in and of itself. Less a unified viewpoint or political stance than a hotly contested discourse reciprocally employed and shaped by a dizzying array of actors who could variously be categorized as right, left, imperialist, authoritarian, liberal, globalist, nativist, and so forth, Pan-Asianism served as a common language of Japanese anti-Westernism from the late 19th Century well into the present. The basic premise of most Pan-Asianism, however, was simple: as the only Asian nation to escape overt colonization by the Western powers (setting aside for the moment the question of the Unequal Treaties to which many Japanese objected vociferously) and to retain an unbroken lineage within its own Imperial Family, as well as the first East Asian country to successfully import and nativize Western medicine, science, and technology, Japan was uniquely positioned to lead its neighbors, all of whom were regarded as subject to the iron yoke of Western colonialism and imperialism, to liberation and the dawn of a new unified Asian civilization. Minakata's subsequent orientation toward ecological localism, his disengagement from formal academic institutional structures, and his broader view of the fundamental philosophical problem of "the one and the many," a view rooted in Shingon Buddhist non-dual monism, seems to place him at some distance from the subsequent operating principles and practices of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, as outlined by Mark Driscoll in his powerful and disturbing study, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque*, which documents the extent to which Japanese expansion in East Asia was, from a very early date, financed by an unholy trinity of exploitation of coolie labor, rationalization of the sex trade, and the displacement of previously existing networks of opium sales by Japanese trade in pharmaceutical grade morphine.

Kumagusu. Whether or not he was enthused with what was to him a new way of thinking is an open question. Given the long hours he had spent with Minakata, he probably was. What is significant, in the context of the present study, is that he said the right things when he was subsequently sought out by another ardent Japanese Pan-Asianist, Miyazaki Torazo, who then introduced him to very influential politicians in Tokyo. For the next ten years or so, Japan was to be the land of his hope.

Minakata's diary and other pertinent writing were not available to Professor Schiffrin when he wrote his book on Sun Yatsen, published in 1968. *Consequently, his interpretation of Sun Yatsen's impressive answers to Miyazaki's questions was that Sun Yatsen was 'endowed with radar-like sensitivity in adjusting to his targets. This interpretation can no longer stand, in view of Sun Yat-sen's close association with the fervent Pan-Asianist, Minakata, before he met Miyazaki.'*²³ (emphasis added)

The friendship between Sun Yat-sen and Minakata continued for some time after Sun's departure from London. In 1901, following Minakata's return to Japan, Sun visited him – with some difficulties as a result of a Japanese police detail that kept Sun under continuous surveillance – at Minakata's home in Wakayama, leaving behind as a token of his esteem his iconographic Panama hat. “He later sent Minakata a reference letter addressed to Inukai Tsuyoshi,”²⁴ who had been Sun's “guardian” in

²³ Wong, pp. 292-3.

²⁴ Inukai, who was a founder of the comparatively liberal Rikken Kokuminto, which opposed control of the government by factions from the militant Choshu and Satsuma fiefs, in 1882 was himself fluent in English, and had translated the American economist Henry C. Carey's 1858 work, “*Principles of Sociology*” into Japanese. At the time of the reunion between Sun and Minakata, Inukai was Minister of Education, and the reference letter could have been an invaluable had Minakata chosen to seek a position at Tōdai or elsewhere in the national university system. Inukai was then serving in the government of Okuma Shigenobu, who was so fond of the Minakata family's sake that he made a point of visiting the brewery on numerous pilgrimages to the Kumano region and is credited with creating a calligraphy slogan that became the inspiration for the renaming of the Brewery from the Minakata Brewery to Sekai Itto (World Unification) Brewery. Okuma, like the Minakata family, was of common birth. In addition to his political activities, he also founded Waseda University, which along with Todai and Keio Universities, serves as the Japanese equivalent to Yale, Harvard and Columbia. In appreciation of the relationship, his gift of the name, and his achievements, one of the brewery's *sake kura*, or “sake warehouse” was named after him. Given the pre-existing relationship between the Minakata family and Okuma, not only was there a more direct route into official educational institutions had Minakata wished to take it, a choice to use the letter to the subordinate Inukai from the foreigner Sun -- rather than calling on the connection with Okuma -- might have caused offense or been otherwise problematic. Minakata's family connection with Okuma presents another tantalizing mystery: it is known that he wrote home about his friendship with Sun. It seems clear that Miyazaki Torazo was working on Inukai's behalf when he sought out Sun. It possible that Inukai was directed to seek out Sun by Okuma, who might have received an informal report about Sun from

Japan and in later years rose to the position of prime minister. The letter, never used, is kept in the Minakata residence and the hat is on display in the Minakata Kumagusu Museum. Their friendship survived for a while; Sun sent specimens of lichen from Hawaii and Minakata wrote back, but ultimately they drifted apart and never met

Tsunegusu, Kumagusu's older brother. But a darker, and more likely possibility, is that Inukai was working at the direction of his mentor Toyama Mitsuru, who had already been responsible for one assassination attempt on Okuma by this time. Inukai himself went on to serve as Prime Minister in 1931, and his assassination in the May 15 Incident of 1932, orchestrated by civilian right-wing puppet-masters Uchida Ryohei and his old mentor Toyama Mitsuru among others, effectively marked the beginning of the end, if not the end itself, of liberal democracy in interwar Japan. The incident not only cemented military control of the government, but served to legitimate contemporaneous Japanese military incursions in Manchuria orchestrated by senior members of the Imperial household. A fascinating – though problematic from a scholarly point of view because of the work's reliance on uncredited diaries and interviews -- guide to this period is David Bergamini's controversial work, *The Imperial Conspiracy*. Bergamini assembles a seemingly compelling case that, far from the popular portrait of the Emperor Hirohito as a disengaged and passive victim of Japanese militarism, the Emperor, along with a number of Princes working with the assistance of civilians such as Okawa Shumei, Uchida Ryohei and Toyama Mitsuru, actively orchestrated a dizzying -- and at times entirely rococo -- series of incidents, plots and false-flag operations in both Japan and China that served the interests of the most militant right-wing factions in Japanese political life. The individual who first pointed me to Bergamini's book lived and worked in Japan for over a decade and has claimed some limited professional contacts with several of the fish in that particular sea. At the time of his suggestion, he asserted that it not only provides a thorough look at the Japan's right wing, it catalogs every feather of that wing. More rigorous scholars insistent on more substantial sourcing than that provided by Bergamini have taken a range of very different views, from the merely circumspect to outright dismissal of the work as riddled with unfounded paranoia and conspiratorial theorization. Interestingly, Minakata's one-time protégé and associate in the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Campaign, Ueshiba Morihei, although cast in the post-war era as Kaiso, or "Founder" of the modern martial art of Aikido, often styled "The Art of Peace", was closely associated with Toyama, Uchida and Okawa. In the Thirties, he not only permitted his *Kobukan Dōjō* to be used as a meeting place for Toyama's hard-right *Kokuryūkai*, or Black Dragon Society, (also known as the "Amur River Association," the group provided Sun, and later Chiang Kai-Shek with considerable assistance, financial and otherwise), but actively served as an instructor at a number of elite military schools, among them, the infamous Kenpeitai's Nakano Spy School. In this respect, Minakata's failure to use Sun's letter of introduction to Inukai takes on an intriguing penumbra of prescience, as regards both the future direction of Japan's national institutions and his own personal safety, which would hardly have been enhanced by assumption of a high profile position in a national institution, given his own personal tendencies toward confrontation and his heterodoxy, insistence on local autonomy and heterodoxy in the face of the emergent nationalist *Kokutai* policy, based as it was on the crude anthropomorphism of a national *kokutai* or "national-body" in which the Emperor and the Imperial Household were to serve as the brain and nervous system of that body, and all others to fulfill one or another appointed role as a subsidiary components, organs, and limbs thereof. As discussed in the chapter treating the relationship between Minakata and Yanagita, this *kokutai* theory, though based in significant part on the earlier *kokugaku* or "national learning" school of thought which dates back to the 18th Century efforts of Motōri Norinaga to recover a pure, native form of Japanese, uncorrupted by Chinese loan-words and grammatical features, in the emerging field of ecology, it owed its primary debt to contemporary German and Italian constructions of a relationship between Nature and the State. Notwithstanding Minakata's own acknowledgement of his intellectual debt to the 19th Century German naturalist, Ernst Haeckel, whose coinage of the word "ecology" marks a pivotal turn in intellectual history, here, as in virtually every other area, Minakata's appropriation of the concept incorporated his resolutely descriptivist and preservationist approach (rather than a programmatic or juridically prescriptivist "progressive" approach) and took a distinctive turn that stands in clear opposition to subsequent Continental variants.

again. After Sun's death, Minakata expressed his sorrow in the reminiscence and wrote: 'Friendship changes like seasons.'" As with his prominence in English-language publications, his apparently close and warm relationship with an eminent foreign ally such as Sun Yat-sen may have served to give Minakata a level of external validation and an aura of importance that far surpassed the similar benefits of a mere foreign degree or a domestic academic post. Moreover, as with his determination to remain in the countryside, and the significant tax revenue the Minakata Brewery provided for the government, his foreign associations seem to have provided him with an additional measure of cultural and political capital and cover which may have also served to protect him from retaliation for the actions he and his associates took in the subsequent Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement, as well as those aspects of his writing that might have drawn unwanted scrutiny.

Following his arrival in Kobe in October of 1900, and his re-union with Sun in Wakayama City in February of the next year, still somewhat estranged from his family, Minakata repaired to the mountains and set up base in the teeming wilderness of Mount Nachi, far from the political intrigues and bruising factional conflicts in which his old friend Sun had become embroiled. While it would yet be some years before Minakata turned his attention to political issues and direct action to advance a cause, as we will see, there are sound reasons to believe that Minakata may have gleaned as much – if only the confidence to act -- from his conversations with Sun and Mulkern as Sun seems to have taken with regard to Pan-Asianism. In this respect, Minakata's appeals to Toki (discussed in the previous chapter on cosmological translation) bear not only on the epistemic issues, but also directly on

the ecological concerns that lay at the core of his subsequent opposition to the program of Shrine Consolidation. Although Minakata appears to have been eager to demonstrate to Tōki -- who by all accounts seems to have favored a different approach toward maintaining the relevance of Shingon, looking to Shingon's past as a body of magical practices with great popular appeal²⁵ and its deployment in a manner similar to the approach taken by the Theosophists in the west – the compatibility of science and Shingon, in the course of his time in the mountains, if not beforehand, the pragmatic benefits of such an approach began to come into focus.

The Shingon ritual center on Mount Kōya was part of a network of pilgrimage trails through the mountainous broad-leafed forests of the Kishu peninsula of Wakayama, connecting it with Kumano Nachi Taisha, the “Shinto” shrine close by the waterfall of Nachi, Kumano Hongu Taisha, and Kumano Hayatama Taisha. Koya, along with these three major shrines (*sanzan*) functions as a major node in an array of smaller shrines, all of which were surrounded by sacred groves in which he did much of his fieldwork. The whole of this network, called the Kumano Kodo, was registered in 2004 as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Seen in the light of his subsequent Anti-Shrine Consolidation activities, insuring the continued relevance of Shingon by developing correspondences between its orthodox teachings and modern scientific thinking was not merely an act of intellectual adventure, but can ultimately be seen as the underpinning for Minakata's subsequent efforts to protect the broad-leaf forests that surrounded the many shrines of the region. Insuring the vitality of the Shingon tradition whose remote ritual

²⁵ Figal, op. cit. p. 64.

establishment not only lay at the center of a comparatively vast and comparatively untouched wilderness, but whose long and intimate association with the Imperial Household based on its ritual function of *Chingo Kokka*, or, “defense of the nation,” provided those mountains and forests with an institutional base and association, along with a venerable grounding in national history which many small local shrines lacked. To use an ecological metaphor, Mount Koya and the other major shrines served a cultural function similar to that of “keystone mega-fauna,” and it was critical that they not be preserved merely as museum pieces harking back a millennium, but that they continue to fulfill their very real functions of protection of Japan’s primeval forests and the evolutionary history, processes, and products they held, along with the individual humans and collective human cultural processes and products dependent on them. In Buddhist terms, Mount Koya could be regarded as an *Oyadama*, or “Parent-Jewel,” the term used to describe the larger beads on a *juzu* (Buddhist rosary). But what Minakata was primarily concerned with in his anti-Shrine Consolidation activities were smaller shrines, most of which fell outside the categories of *kansha*, or “government shrines” associated with the imperial household or the national government, *minsha*, or “civic shrines” associated with the prefecture, district, town or village in which they were located, and *bekakusha* which were associated with national heroes or war dead. The primary objects of Minakata’s concern were the *mukakusha*, or “unranked shrines,” and more particularly, the pristine groves that surrounded them.

As Brij Tankha points out, “the process of unifying Shinto shrines can be traced to pre-Meiji roots in the ‘one village, one shrine’ (*isson issha*) policies of the Mito *han*

in the late Tokugawa, but in the Meiji period the first important step was taken in 1871 when the Daijō-kan (太政官 - the Japanese Ministry of State for a millennium) categorized Shinto shrines into five groups, with the Imperial Shrine at Ise at the top of the category.” Notwithstanding the fact that precursors of the Shrine Consolidation acts of 1906 can be found in similar edicts that had been issued in the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods, these earlier moves toward a national hierarchy of shrines seem to have been primarily an ordering activity in which the national government extended its reach through the award of one or another special status to some shrines, while leaving the rest alone. Further legislation in 1908, building on the 1906 regulations issued by the Home Ministry “gave governors the right to open shrine land to cultivation.”²⁶ The potential economic rewards for some were considerable, and Tankha describes the governors of Wakayama in the period of 1903-1909 as “assiduous in implementing these policies.” Minakata was not the first to raise his voice against these consolidations—Mōri Kiyomasa, a Buddhist monk also known by the “dharma name” of Saian who served as editor of the local newspaper, the *Muro Shinpo*, and Narukawa Tecchu, a Shinto priest from nearby Mie prefecture had voiced their opposition in 1907 and 1908, respectively²⁷--but Minakata was arguably the most forceful. And in retrospect, it must be acknowledged that he was not only the most vigorous and effective opponent of the consolidations in his time, but that the wholistic and multi-tiered critique around which he framed his activities anticipated many similar developments in the West, and as a result, has grown in importance since then. No less important is the way in which he identified

²⁶ Tankha, *ibid.* p. 565.

²⁷ Kato Sadamichi, “The Three Ecologies in Minakata Kumagusu’s Environmental Movement,” *Organization & Environment*, Vol 12, No. 1, March 1999, p. 86.

and activated multiple networks, all operating at differing levels and scales within Japanese society, and brought the activities of those distinct networks to bear on a common issue.

The uniquely independent position from which Minakata operated was very likely key to his effectiveness. Wakayama, in particular Shingu, was home to much of Japan's earliest workers' rights activity, and as noted earlier, a number of Minakata's friends from his early years followed their youthful enthusiasm for popular rights into formal alignment as socialists, at least until the banning of the Socialist Party in 1901. By 1907, nascent labor movements in the timber industry resulted in the formation of the first union in Shingu, which was soon followed by organization of coal transport ship workers, flannel mill workers, and other occupational groups.²⁸

From September of 1909 forward,²⁹ Minakata worked indefatigably to preserve as many of the shrines of Wakayama (and their accompanying precincts) intact as he could, using the press, local public governmental meetings, traditional employment and trade groups, private gatherings with socially diverse attendees, elite academic networks, elite government service networks, guerilla tactics to delay and compromise the initial shrine enumeration and survey processes, and para-military organization that presented a credible threat of violence. Minakata wrote weekly entries in the Buddhist cleric Mori Saian's local progressive-leftist-new-Buddhist newspaper, *Muro Shinpo*, spoke at public meetings of relevant local government

²⁸ Tankha, *ibid.* p. 562.

²⁹ Tankha, *ibid.* p. 566.

bodies whether they wished to hear him or not (and was jailed on at least one occasion on August 21, 1910 for creating a disturbance by throwing a “specimen box”),³⁰ worked with the charismatic Russo-Japanese war veteran and martial artist Ueshiba Morihei to train locals in military tactics,³¹ engaged in a voluminous correspondence with elite academicians and government officials in the national capital of Tokyo, and participated in the successful campaign of Mori Saian to be elected to the city council in April 1910.

In the month following Mori’s election, Kōtoku Shusui, along with a hundred plus other individuals, mostly socialists and anarchists, were arrested on charges of *lese majeste* and implicated in a plot to assassinate the Emperor. Kōtoku himself was a

³⁰ Minakata had been attempting to see a municipal official for some period of time, but the bureaucrat was ducking him. On this particular occasion, Minakata arrived early in the day and began to drink around lunchtime. By the time he forced his way into the meeting which the official was attending that evening, Minakata was quite drunk. Even so, given Minakata’s life-long practice of cultivating slime molds on fecal material, it seems likely that what was most objectionable about his outburst was not his intoxication, the violence of his manner, the box he threw, or the specimen it contained, but rather, the growth medium for the specimen. For his offense he was jailed for 18 days, during which time he discovered a new myxomycete in his cell. He was subsequently acquitted of all charges. (see Kato Sadamichi, “The Three Ecologies in Minakata Kumagusu’s Environmental Movement,” *Organization & Environment*, 1999, 12:85, p. 95.

³¹ “In 1909 the troubled Morihei [Ueshiba] came under the beneficial influence of Kumagusu...the eccentric scholar teamed up with the energetic Morihei to spearhead what was likely modern Japan’s first environmental protest movement...In the end Minakata and Morihei’s protest movement proved effective and Tanabe lost very few shrines. Morihei later remarked: “Minakata was a great man, and he taught me the importance of standing up for the rights of ordinary people and their land.” (John Stevens, the Shambhala Guide to Aikido) Based on other contemporaneous and subsequent accounts, we know that Morihei was also involved in local resistance to tax policies that were causing grievous damage to local fisherman, a group that was also quite distressed by the March 1910 merger of the shrine of their tutelary deity on Kashima Island with the Daisekisha, and plans to sell off the island’s forests which were both approved and then stopped in 1911 with the designation of Kashima as a protected area. (Tankha, 567) Minakata’s Eight Statements specifically reference social conflicts caused by the consolidation of the fishermen’s shrine with shrines particular to the townspeople and hill people. The designation of Kashima as a protected area seems to have been a major turning point in the Anti-Shrine Consolidation movement and the regulations were finally formally discarded by the House of Peers as “useless” in 1920. In 1929, Minakata had the rare privilege of giving the Emperor Hirohito, himself a devoted biologist, a guided botanical tour of Kashima – it was the only time in his life he wore a frock coat. In 1962, on a return visit to the region, Hirohito wrote, *ame nikefuru kashima o mite wakayama no kuni no umishi Minakata kumagusu o omoufu* (Through the rain (i) see dim, distant Kashima, Wakayama-born Minakata Kumagusu comes to mind.). This is purportedly the only poem ever written by a Japanese emperor that refers to a commoner by name. Translated by the present author.

journalist and early Japanese socialist who had produced – along with his colleague Sakai Toshihiko -- the first translation of Marx' Communist Manifesto into Japanese. His published opposition to the Russo-Japanese War led to a five-month stint in jail in 1905, at the conclusion of which he pronounced himself converted to anarchism. Immediately thereafter, Kōtoku travelled to the United States where he would be free to criticize the Emperor without immediate sanction, making connections with the nascent International Workers of the World, better known as Wobblies.³² Aside from government concerns regarding the general history of labor unrest in Wakayama, there was a more particular connection between the purported assassination plot and the anti-Shrine Consolidation movement: Minakata's associate, the editor Mori Saian, was an acquaintance of Dr. Oishi Sennosuke. Oishi, who served as Kōtoku's personal physician, was one of six local individuals who were implicated in the plot and sentenced to death in 1911. Mori himself was questioned and released,³³ but it is probable that he (and by extension, Minakata) was under observation in 1910 and 1911. Nonetheless, the official scrutiny does not seem to have affected them, except to the extent that it increased their determination to continue their efforts, and Minakata reached out to a number of acquaintances, colleagues, and associates at the regional and national level.

Two of those letters, in particular, proved quite influential. The first of the two was sent to Matsumura Ninzo³⁴ in August of 1911, and Matsumura seems to have immediately shared the letter with a number of colleagues, including Yanagita Kunio.

³² F.G. Notehelfer, *Kōtoku Shūsui: Portrait of a Japanese Radical*, Cambridge University Press, 1971.

³³ Tankha, *ibid.* p. 566.

³⁴ Ninzō, the product of a samurai family, had studied in Germany in the late 1880s, and was an accomplished botanist and linguist, serving as both Professor of Botany and Director of the Botanical Gardens at Todai at the time of Minakata's letter.

The second, a 37-page missive dated February 9, 1912 and subsequently published under the title “Opinions Concerning the Amalgamation of Shrines: Addressed to Shirai Mitsutaro,”³⁵ contains an enumerated series of arguments that have come to be known as “Minakata’s Eight Statements.”³⁶ It is also clear that his stage, whatever misgivings Minakata might have had about the request sent to him on March 19, 1911 by Yanagita for information on mountain giants – and as we will see in Chapter Five, those misgivings were considerable -- with regard to the issue of Shrine Consolidation, Yanagita and Minakata were resolute allies in unified opposition to the legislation. In fact, Yanagita published the first letter under the title *Minakata ni sho*—at his own expense—widening its distribution both within and beyond academic and governmental circles in Tokyo. The combination of tactics was effective. In late 1911, the impending development of Kashima Island was cancelled. Implementation of the Shrine Consolidation Edicts had reached its high water mark, and thereafter, the tide of destruction began to recede.

Following a powerful and heartfelt speech given in the Japanese Diet by Nakamura Keijiro in February 1912, a speech based in large part on Minakata’s *Ikensho*, the letter was subsequently published in a three-part serialization in the April, May, and June 1912 issues of *Nihon oyobi nihonjin*, under the title “A Remonstrance against the Unification of Shrines (*Jinja gappei hantai ikensho*).

What can be seen in portions of the Eight Statements translated and presented by Kato is a brutal and detailed catalog of 1) Official deception regarding the nature and

³⁵ Shirai was, at this time, Professor of Plant Pathology at Todai, and like Minakata, he was a specialist in mycology.

³⁶ Kato, *ibid.*, 87-94.

degree of local engagement with shrines, 2) Violent social disorder arising from shrine amalgamation, 3) The inapplicability of mere econometrics to accurately gauge local engagement with shrines and the both odious and counterproductive nature of the levies required for support of shrines under the new regulations. 4) The nonsensical nature of the government claim that Shinto “is not a religion,” the anti-Constitutional violations of guaranteed religious freedom arising from that claim, and the error of eliding the direct teaching activity of natural surroundings as a source of religious feeling and understanding.³⁷ 5) The loss of a “sense of place” resulting from the amalgamation of shrines and the concomitant elimination of traditional festivals associated with disestablished shrines which were to be subsumed in the process. 6) An assertion of both *direct* and *exemplary* public value and public benefits in both daily life and times of crisis associated with the existence of shrines and unspoiled shrine grounds, including the negative ecological consequences³⁸ he has directly observed in the wake of their destruction 7) The destruction of a pre-literary historical record associated with not only physical place, but also folklore, and the embodied history of human festival and performance associated with that place as a consequence of shrine amalgamation.³⁹ 8) The classification of natural landscapes as

³⁷ This fourth of Minakata’s Eight Statements is a key point with regard to his views of the consonance of Shingon and scientific thought, both of which (at least in Minakata’s formulation) treat natural phenomena as a direct source of knowledge and wisdom, a source which can be observed and, indeed, “read” in a way that is directly analogous to the process of reading any text.

³⁸ As Kato notes, Minakata does not use the word Ecology in the catalog which has come to be known as his Eight Statements. Kato identifies one letter to the governor of Wakayama dated 19 November, 1911 in which he does use the word: “Grasses and trees (life in general) are quite closely interrelated in the shrine forests, in places where humans have not entered with an ax for over a thousand years, unlike such forests that have been specifically planted and harvested for lumber. Recently this interrelationship has become the object of special research in a new study called ECOLOGY (Kumagusu, 1971-1975, p. 526). Tankha also identifies one additional letter to Yanagita in which the word is used.

³⁹ Clearly, among the Eight, the Seventh Statement is the most critical point of agreement for the literary folklorist Yanagita and the scientific folklorist Minakata.

mandala in their own right, and the role of shrine precincts as repositories of unique and rare indigenous species which, individually and collectively provide: “A landscape which can lead people to....a grand education, surpassing more formal education by a long way.”

Although Kato, following Bateson, identifies in these eight statements a series of analogues to “the three ecologies” (of biology, society, and mind), I feel it is safe to assert that not only did Minakata prefigure Bateson’s three-part hierarchy of (to rephrase slightly) bio-physical culture, material and social culture, and mental culture, he surpassed it in several key respects. Most immediately and obviously, we can see in the Eight Statements the way in which Minakata has translated the epistemic and cosmological framework laid out in his 1903 letter to Toki into a series of ecological, cultural, and political propositions and successfully deployed in a fundamentally political struggle. Further, if we re-map the terms as follows *monofushigi* (mystery of things →ecology of biology) *kotofushigi* (mystery of processes→ecology of culture) *kokorofushigi* (mystery of mind→ecology of mind), we have remaining Minakata’s fourth term, *rifushigi* (mystery of principle→ecology of principle). The fourth term operates both within and across these fields of analysis, all of which are clearly, in Minakata’s view and in the view of the larger Mahayana Shingon tradition from which he has drawn the underlying structure, *mutually conditioning*. This mutual conditioning is not a simple linear or vertically ascendant materialist hierarchy of a biological material basis, a field of human physical activity and physical objects produced from that basis, and a field of mental activity conditioned by both the biological-material and the active-material. It is, it seems, a much more continually

re-iterative process that proceeds, by means both visible and invisible, direct and indirect, and--of major significance for both the most abstract epistemologist as well as the most pragmatic students of collective human behavior, polity and governance-- in realms that are more (*monofushigi* and *kotofushigi*) and less (*kokorofushigi* and *rifushigi*) susceptible to quantitative measurement and analysis.

Moreover, the abstract classification provides a guide to both that which Minakata was attempting to preserve and the multivalent strategy and tactics used by Minakata to do so. In his campaign to save the shrines themselves and the flora and fauna surrounding them (*mono*), the cultural patterns which arise from them and in which they are embedded (*koto*), the individual and collective thought processes that arise from and inform this matrix (*kokoro*), again and again Minakata makes an a series of appeals which are simultaneously simple and complex, felt and thought.

By emphasizing the perfidy of government officials in his first statement, he taps a universal and timeless sentiment that has no particular factional home. By emphasizing the social disruption caused by consolidation in his second statement, he appeals to both traditionalist and localist cultural sensibilities. By emphasizing the inadequacy of econometrics in his third statement, he is both appealing to “traditional Japanese values” and critiquing the ravages of unchecked state capitalism while just as clearly distancing himself from Marxism. By mocking the government’s claim that Shinto is not religion, in his fourth statement he calls into question the nature of the National Shinto project while staying well within the comfort zone of both sectarian Shinto and Buddhist practitioners who continued to wish for their own traditions to maintain some degree of autonomy from government control. By emphasizing the

tradition of shrine festivals, Minakata's fifth statement moves to a new level in which he invokes not just culture, but the warm feelings associated with collective acts of singing, dancing, eating, and drinking that comprise the main activity of such festival – and also the awareness of the significant extent to which a community's economic base and the well-being of its merchants is tied directly to such festivals in what we would now recognize as “festival tourism.”⁴⁰ By emphasizing the direct and exemplary public benefits of shrines, and the ecological consequences of their destruction, Minakata's sixth statement appeals not only to the simple sense memory of an afternoon in the park, but also to the Japanese sense of shame and competition with the West (which does spend money on parks), and in an interesting turn, the (implicitly asserted as more Japanese) awareness of co-operative trans-species relationships in which we are nested. By highlighting the role of shrines with regard to history and folklore, his seventh statement is appealing both to local demotic sensibilities and desires for autonomy and to the preservationist imperatives of elite *kokugaku* scholars such as Yanagita and others involved in the folklore movement of the time. In his eighth and final statement, which emphasizes the classification of landscape as a *mandala* of rare and precious living things, he closes by grounding his appeal not in ideology per se, but in a vision of the distinctively Japanese character of these living things, even when seen through the prism of the mandala principle, which

⁴⁰ The Beastie Boys song “Fight for your right to party” comes to mind. Although a jocular reference, like many such jests, there is an element of truth in it. In a wide-ranging discussion with a long time British labor activist regarding mass protest actions and the tactics used by law enforcement agencies faced with such situations, when the subject of mounted police came up, I made a reference to old-school Japanese polearm techniques designed to be used against mounted warriors – his face lit up and he said: “I’ve seen that! Do you know when? When Parliament passed anti-rave legislation, the kids in the parks were disassembling benches and railings and doing just that. I’ve never seen anything like it before or since.”

however fully Buddhist its origins, had become thoroughly indigenized in the syncretic Buddhist-Shinto Shugendō practices of the Wakayama region.

That he was able to translate his epistemological and cosmological vision of 1903 into this series of appeals, and numerous actions that paralleled these appeals, all of which successfully activated a great many individuals who would under normal circumstances not work together or perhaps even work at cross-purposes is no small achievement. It must be acknowledged that success is a relative thing, and to say that Minakata was successful is to say that the damage done by the Shrine Consolidation Acts in Wakayama was less than it might have been without his efforts. Less, but still extreme: of 3721 shrines in the district at the outset of the consolidation campaign, only 600 remained in November of 1911.⁴¹ The Oya Shrine at Hidaka, which Minakata's family had tended for centuries, was not among the survivors.

His personal loss notwithstanding, Minakata had succeeded in saving Kashima Island, along with a number of shrines in and around Tanabe which would have otherwise been destroyed. That he did so by articulating a rationale which sidestepped the materialism of Marx, while drawing, in equal parts, on Japanese nativism, syncretic Buddhist-Shinto religious sentiment, cutting-edge Western science, and the aspirations of the Japanese people to "Western standards," is not only a notable intellectual achievement, it may have been precisely the ticket he needed to purchase his continued freedom in an increasingly un-free Japan.

⁴¹ Kato, *ibid.* p. 86.

5

CONCEPTUAL TRANSLATION: Minakata, Yanagita, Iwata and the Formation of Japanese Social Sciences

The intellectual problems faced by Minakata upon his return to Japan were strikingly different than the Western tendency toward social Darwinism (which I have dubbed “Spencerism”), a corresponding sense of Western cultural manifest destiny, and the attendant all-too-easy anti-Asian prejudice he had—at least in part--attempted to address by his submissions to *Nature* and *Notes & Queries*. Upon his return to Japan after an absence of over a decade, he saw first-hand the profound dislocation that industrialization, modernization, and urbanization had brought about his home of Wakayama Prefecture. Educationally and intellectually, he encountered a landscape that had been transformed no less in the period since his departure for the United States in December of 1886. In his absence, two generations of Japanese students educated by imported Western specialists had begun to wholly supplant their former instructors and mentors.

While the push for rapid adoption of Western technological and other applied scientific advances continued apace, in other, less clearly instrumental disciplines, the process was considerably spottier, particularly in the area of social sciences.¹ These disciplines were still arguably in their early phases of development in the west and the claims of their European proponents did not have the immediately clear applicability of

¹ While there is a valid perspective from which political science is one of the social sciences, during the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa eras, many of the areas of investigation and instrumentalist approaches which would currently fall under the rubric “social science” were then treated as legal-juridical matters and found their institutional home in faculties of law, rather than within departments of social science.

railroads, coal-fired steamers, telegraphs, the electric light, cannon, and the like: after all, the emblematic Japanese slogan of the day was *wakon yosai* (Japanese spirit, Western technology), not *wakon yoshisei* (Japanese spirit, Western ideas)

Yet Minakata had made his reputation in London, at least in part in part (and after his return to Japan, maintained it almost entirely), through publication in *Notes & Queries* of the results of comparative folklore studies carried out in the Reading Room of the British Museum. By the time of his return to Japan, he had published a combined total of over fifty articles in *Nature* and *Notes & Queries* and gleaned some 52 notebooks of transcriptions to which he would continue to refer for the rest of his career -- but he had not earned a formal degree of any kind.

When Minakata stepped off the boat in Kobe in 1900, his brother Tsunegusu was so mortified by the sight of this degreeless, penniless prodigal, who returned with nothing but a suit of clothes so thin they were said to resemble mosquito netting and close to a ton of books, notebooks, specimens and the like, that he had refused Kumagusu entry to the family home, choosing rather to arrange for his lodging in a Buddhist temple close-by the family sake brewery in Katsu'ura Nachi,

As we have seen, from that base -- close by the sea below and the temple complex and sacred waterfall of Mount Nachi above -- for three years Minakata roamed the mountainsides ringing the shore and the islands scattered alongside it, collecting botanical specimens -- often in the sacred groves surrounding remote holy places along the Kumano Kodō -- and along the way, collecting local folklore as well. During this same period, he continued to contribute to *Nature* and *Notes & Queries*, resumed the correspondence with Toki Hōryū in which he developed the broader epistemological and

cosmological vision which was discussed in Chapter 3, and gained first-hand knowledge of the effects of development and modernization on the landscape and people of the Kii peninsula, experiences which deeply informed his activities in the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement, which were discussed in Chapter 4.

His article, “The Mountain God Loves Stonefish,” published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo* in February 1911,² and his letter to Matsumura Ninzō³ in the same month brought his activities as a folklorist and a preservationist to the attention of Yanagita Kunio, a former Ministry of Agriculture official who had himself achieved a measure of fame with his 1910 collection of folktales from the village of Tono, *Tono monogatari*. Yanagita soon contacted Minakata by letter, seeking information on legendary mountain creatures, or *sanka*, in the Kii Peninsula. There were other things that bound them: both were preservationists who were attempting, in whatever way they could, to stem the over-rapid development of the countryside, and they were, for a time, allies in the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement. In fact, Yanagita arranged – at his own expense -- for the printing and distribution of Minakata’s letter to Ninzō in opposition to the Shrine Consolidation Acts, through which mechanism the letter was widely distributed in academic circles in Tokyo.⁴

But notwithstanding Yanagita’s support on the issue of Shrine Consolidation, it soon became clear to Minakata that while the empiricists of the West, whose collective use of deductive reasoning had led to tremendous scientific and technological advances over the previous century, were prone to fall into what he saw as the unwarranted assurance of positivism, asserting that all change was progress; Japanese descendants of

² *Jinruigaku Zasshi*, (人類学雑誌 -- じんるいがくざっし)

³ Tankha, *ibid.* 567.

⁴ Tankha, *ibid.*

the Kokugaku (National Learning) scholars such as Yanagita were no less prone to distinctive flaws of their own, in particular, tendencies toward chauvinism and superstition. For his part, not unlike many traditionalists in Europe, although not a religious man himself, Yanagita rejected evolution theory outright. More broadly, he was strongly critical of deductive reasoning and the comparative method when applied to human cultures, arguing that while comparative folklore studies might someday have value, for the moment, what was needed (at least in Japan) was an inductive method that could only be carried out by natives of the culture in which the folk-lore had historically developed.⁵

In examining their respective views, the models from which they drew—including both the English Aryanistic folklore studies of George Laurence Gomme and the literary example of Lafcadio Hearn—their relationship, and correspondence this chapter will examine Minakata’s engagement with Yanagita as part of his efforts to effect a *conceptual translation* of Western empiricism to the emerging social science of *minzokugaku*, and will also examine his subsequent correspondence with Iwata Jun’ichi as part of his effort to prevent the wholesale replacement of distinctively Japanese terminology and concepts of gender and same-sex relations with neologisms based on then-emergent Western sexology, much of which was striking sex-negative and inclined to harsh institutional and legal approaches to “deviant” sexuality.

⁵ This emphasis on the reservation of judgment until the point of assemblage of an unequivocally complete data set is reminiscent of the counter-argument faced by Ernst Haeckel when he took up the task of promoting and extending Darwinian evolutionary theory in Germany in the latter half of the nineteenth century, as is the insistence on an inductive method which excludes the possibility of theoretical developments arising from an incomplete data set reviewed deductively. See Robert John Richards, *The Tragic Sense of Life: Ernst Haeckel and the Struggle of Evolutionary Thought*, University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Where the previous chapters — addressing literary, temporal, and cultural translation as manifested in the work of Minakata Kumagusu—dealt primarily with his efforts to re/present Asian literature, history, religion and culture to an upper-class English-speaking audience, this chapter looks first at his efforts to deploy and represent what he seems to have seen as the best elements of the Western scientific tradition in a Japanese context: empirical observation, encyclopedic collection and classification, deductive reasoning, and a profound skepticism. In his formal publications in both Japanese and English, this mode of conceptual translation — by which I mean not the mere translation of simple facts, but the translation of larger inherent structures by which knowledge is accumulated and ordered — is more implicit than explicit.

One of the most notable traces of this effort at conceptual translation is the extent to which, over time, his English language publications not only increasingly draw on the *sutra*, *tantra* and *shastra* of the Buddhist textual tradition,⁶ (some of the reasons for which were adduced in Chapter Three) but also address demotic syncretic religious practices of precisely the kind that the religious reforms of the Meiji and Taisho eras — including the Shrine Consolidation Edicts—were intended to eliminate. Minakata mines these texts not only for literary, cultural, and historical anecdotes, but as we saw in Chapter 3, also for larger conceptual structures that are strikingly different than the robust progress-oriented positivism of his age, whether the progressive Deism associated with Darwin and a number of British writers, the teleological certainties of the early

⁶ These three categories of Buddhist texts are most clearly delineated in the Tibetan tradition, but it will serve to note that within the Buddhist tradition *sutra* (literally, thread, or “warp”) are regarded as the teachings of the historical Buddha, *tantra* (also literally thread, in this case “weft” to the “warp” of *sutra*) are generally regarded as direct revelations from various cosmic Buddhas, and *shastra* are commentaries on these two foregoing. Beginning in 1909, Minakata undertook the transcription of the complete Daizōkyō, or Sino-Japanese Tripitaka, a project which took three years. His transcription is said to reside at or have been drawn from Hōrin-ji in Kyōtō.

proponents of Intelligent Design theory, or the neo-Kantian natural-philosophic materialist monism of Haeckel.⁷ In an additional display of his empirical approach,⁸ Minakata introduces personal anecdotes regarding folk practices and beliefs found not only in his native Wakayama prefecture, but observed in his earlier period of travel in the United States and the Caribbean.⁹

This is of a piece with the role he was playing within Japan's nascent social science community. Beyond his articles in English, by 1910, Minakata was a prolific contributor of ethnological and anthropological materials to a number of publications in Japan, one of which¹⁰ proved to be the birthplace of the emergent field of *minzokugaku*, or "people's studies." Minakata was, from the outset, a fierce critic of the shape that discipline was beginning to take under the de facto leadership of Yanagita Kunio, who, as noted above, not only favored an inductive approach, but also privileged oral history as a source of information regarding the past over other forms of evidence¹¹ — literary, archaeological, artistic, or historical—and explicitly meant to develop *minzokugaku* as a

⁷ "Minakata aimed his critique at both the ideological application of Darwin's theory of natural selection to human civilization, which was used to bolster claims of Western culture and intellectual superiority, and at the ideological deployment of Western science in Japan, which was used to disarm the folk by discrediting their forms of knowledge. Politics, Minakata rightly notes, had distorted Darwin's original notion of evolution as transmutation. But change – even that which can be called progressive – Minakata insists, is much more haphazard than Western thinkers think: 'For this reason, the world, with the progress and decline of its civilizations being utterly dream-like, retrogresses while you think it's progressing and progresses while you think it's retrogressing.' ...Disliking the idea of a one-way process, whether it be progression (*shinka*) or retrogression (*taika*), Minakata insists that a more proper translation for evolution would be simply *henka* (change or transmutation....Evolution in this sense, Minakata implies, can then be talked about in a human science so long as one maintains a certain tension (and humility) when trying to explain lines of cause and effect in the human world." Figal, *ibid.* pp. 69-70.

⁸ While there are close relationships between empiricism and positivism, particularly in the core conceit that the empirical approach of direct observation brings us ever closer to the facts of a knowable and ordered world, Minakata rejected the strictly positivist notion of inevitable progress, whether that be the "progress" of species evolution, of cultural evolution, or of the "development" of knowledge, arguing in his letters that a distinction must be drawn between "change" and "progress." See Note 4, above.

⁹ See, for examples, the following articles in *Notes & Queries*: "Japanese Monkeys" 1903, "Turtle and Thunder," 1914; "The Ladybird," 1926

¹⁰ Kodo Kenkyū, "Researching Native Place," edited by Yanagita.

¹¹ Indeed, the publication Yanagita founded in 1935, following his resignation from the *Asahi Shimbun*, had as its title *Minkandensho*, literally "Folk Transmission Writings" but more loosely, "Oral Tradition."

native Japanese practice distinct from the more official academic disciplines of ethnology, anthropology, or western comparative folklore studies, precisely to insure that his practice would be unrestricted by their internal norms, practices, or institutional structures.

WHO WAS YANAGITA KUNIO?

During the earliest phase of their association, Yanagita, who had worked for some years as a Ministry of Agriculture official, was editor of *Kenkyū Kōdō*,¹² in which Minakata published extensively from 1911 until 1916.¹³ As noted above, Yanagita had achieved some measure of renown with the publication of his first major work, *Tono monogatari*, or “Legends of Tono”¹⁴, in 1910. At the time Yanagita became editor, *Kenkyū Kōdō* was dedicated to “local studies” and *minzokugaku* as a distinct discipline did not yet exist; however, one of the earliest disputes between Minakata and Yanagita centered on Yanagita’s change in the direction of *Kenkyū Kōdō*, increasingly favoring contributions of folklore of a more literary sort than the kind of broadly evidentiary and

¹² Translated by Mark Driscoll as “Researching Native Place”

¹³ The letter that provoked the final breach is actually dated midnight, December 23, 1916. As was the case with first letter to Yanagita five years earlier, the subject under discussion was Yanagita’s quest for evidence that would prove the existence of giants living in the mountains. Following his initial – quite sharp – reply, Minakata had moderated his criticisms of Yanagita, largely owing to the fact that as editor of *Kenkyū Kōdō*, Yanagita gave Minakata an outlet for many of his own articles. But the relationship was always a difficult one, given Yanagita’s simultaneous credulity and gentility and Minakata’s relentless empiricism, sharp wit, and unwillingness to suffer foolishness gladly. Clearly, by the time of the 1916 letter, one senses that Minakata had had quite enough: indeed, in the context of his well-known predilection for consumption of large quantities of alcohol, the fact that their initial scholarly exchange at Yanagita’s house several years beforehand had to be rescheduled because Minakata was, in a word, wasted, and the fact that at their second meeting – this time at Minakata’s house – he was, although communicative, laid out with his eyes closed, mumbling with his head poking out of the sleeve of his quilted kimono, and in the phrase of Roger Pulvers, “as pissed as one of his beloved newts,” the time of the letter suggests that Minakata was, on that evening, intemperate in more ways than one.

¹⁴ Although Yanagita asserted that his presentation of the tales provided by his “native informant” was a true transcription in which he had “changed not a single word,” Figal has also documented the successive revisions of the manuscript which undercut the claim, and asserts Yeats’ *The Celtic Twilight* as Yanagita’s actual literary model.

deductive approach taken by Minakata in his published articles.¹⁵ At the time of the final break between Minakata and Yanagita, Yanagita was still some years away from his explicitly theoretical works laying out the methods and objectives of his new social science of *minzokugaku*, a comparatively late effort to rationalize his early practice, which would culminate in his 1934 work, *Minkan Denshōron*.¹⁶

Even so, the direction Yanagita was taking seems to have been evident to Minakata from the outset of their correspondence, and it displeased him greatly. Sometimes translated as “folklore studies” or “ethnology,” Yanagita’s *minzokugaku* started from premises placing it in counterpoint, if not outright opposition, to anthropology and history, at least as practiced at that time. The initial points of distinction between *minzokugaku* and anthropology are several, and some arise from little more than coincidence¹⁷. Briefly, in contrast to European academic norms of that time, in which anthropology was the exogenous practice of European scholars —i.e. scholars from

¹⁵ There is some irony in this. Without disputing Figal’s claim of Yanagita’s debt to Yeats, it is fair to say that *Tales of Tono* was arguably modeled at least in part, on the work of the popular Western writer Lafcadio Hearn, who taught at Tōdai, married a Japanese woman and ultimately took Japanese citizenship under the name Koizumi Yakumo. Then, as now, Hearn was alternately praised as the only Western writer to understand the spirit of Old Japan and vilified as a romantic chauvinist whose work was essentially regressive and anti-rational. Before travelling to Japan, Hearn had written in much the same mode about New Orleans and the Caribbean, creating lasting images of both, and in the case of New Orleans, arguably creating a public perception of that city which continues to have resonance to this day, as well as providing a model for a style of exotic travel writing that would have currency well into the second half of the twentieth century. Compelling literature though Hearn’s work may be, unlike Yanagita, he never asserted a scientific or scholarly claim for his work beyond its literary character.

¹⁶ 民間伝書論

¹⁷ Yanagita did not, in fact, work out an explicit theoretical structure for his *minzokugaku* until some years after his 1916 break with Minakata. Takami Kuwayama ascribes much of the structure Yanagita subsequently enunciated in *Minkan Denshōron* to a chance 1925 encounter with Franz Boas in a used bookshop in Berlin, in the course of which Boas “told him that in German the terms ‘folkloristics’ and ‘ethnology’ roughly corresponded to *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde*, respectively “...the former defined as “‘research from the inside, conducted in a small number of advanced countries in order for them to know about themselves,’ and ethnology, as ‘research from the outside, conducted to teach the people of advanced and civilized countries about the various ethnic groups in the world.’ Because of his conviction that only natives can fully appreciate their culture, Yanagita regarded folkloristics as superior to ethnology, remarking, ‘Foreigners’ observations, however carefully made, are no equal to the compatriots’ insights into their culture. Folklorists have demonstrated this to ethnologists.’” *Native Anthropology: the Japanese Challenge to Western Academic Hegemony*, Trans Pacific Press, 2004, pp. 69-70.

materially advanced cultures — taking as their objects of investigation less materially advanced, often pre-literate cultures, while folklore studies was an endogenous discipline of Europeans studying the scant remnants of earlier European local cultures, the rapid modernization of Japan during the Meiji restoration created (or so the argument runs) a unique divide in Japanese material culture. On one side of the divide lay modern urban Japan, on the other, a still-living remnant of the medieval agricultural society from which modern Japan arose. In short, material conditions in Japan worked to minimize the validity of this virtually unconscious European distinction between anthropology as an exogenous activity and folklore studies as an endogenous activity, as a result of which the boundaries between the two disciplines within Japan were rather more fluid and contentious.

The conditions under which Japan was undergoing modernization also played a major role in the direction taken by these disciplines, both in their methodologies and their instrumental use as tools for the protection of the nation. Well into the first decade of the twentieth century, Japan, like China and other Asian nations, remained subject to a number of “unequal treaties” with various European nations. One might say that the treaties were not only negotiated at the point of a gun, but a vastly superior gun: at the time of European incursions early in the second half of the nineteenth century, Japan’s firearms had not advanced beyond the phase of the matchlock muskets imported from Portugal three centuries beforehand. Admiral Perry and representatives of the Western powers had arrived with cannon mounted on steamships and Gatling guns on mobile steel frames. The power imbalance informed the ensuing arrangements, not only providing European traders with significant advantages in the conduct of their businesses, and

extra-territoriality clauses effectively insulating them from all forms of local justice, no matter how grave the offense, but also led to circumstances in which long-standing native customs — for example, naked bathing in “public” — were proscribed by Japanese civil authorities in deference to European sensibilities.

The indignity felt by the Japanese notwithstanding — and some of the attendant indignities were deeply grave — the precipitous collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the rapid transformation of the Meiji Restoration were sufficient to give Japan a sense of agency and national self-determination that was rare elsewhere in Asia. Leading figures within Japan saw that the only route available to prevent ever-greater Western domination and colonialism was rapid technological development.¹⁸ Moreover, notwithstanding the frequent invocation of the *wakon yosai* slogan, when it suited factional, economic, or other instrumental interests of the industrial, military, and bureaucratic centralization projects then underway, much of the ideological baggage of the Western representatives was adopted and repurposed wholesale, if for no other reason, as a way of informing Japan’s public diplomacy and self-representation *vis a vis* the West in such a way as to validate Japan’s eagerly sought the leading role in regional and global affairs. The widely shared Japanese Pan-Asianist perspective was that this was a role that its status as an “unconquered” Asian monarchy with modern industrial, military, educational and emergent democratic institutions organized on the same lines as those in the west would certainly merit. After all, they had heard many times that the

¹⁸ “...Manjiro accompanied the Japanese delegation to meet with Perry at Yokohama and sign the Treaty of Amity, accepting the Americans’ demands. By that time Prime Minister Abe had outlined a strategy. The Japanese would risk a temporary opening to the West in order to learn everything they had to learn, about weaponry and other technological innovations, to catch up with the Western powers. Once they had achieved these goals, they could reevaluate their relations with the West. To celebrate the agreement, the Japanese staged a sumo match, and the Americans countered with a minstrel show.” Christopher Benfey, *The Great Wave: Gilded Age Misfits, Japanese Eccentrics, and the Opening of Old Japan*, Random House, 2003.

technological, intellectual, and even spiritual development of the West was ample justification for the treaty concessions Japan, as a poor, ignorant, and backward land, was obliged to offer the West.

In this respect, while the modernization effort began with mines, trains, and modern military equipment, it also included the development of several generations of Japanese intellectuals – among them Minakata and Yanagita -- who were schooled not only in the traditional Confucian teachings of the “rationalist” Chu Hsi school (a prerequisite for any form of government service for over a thousand years beforehand), but also given a modern university education and taught, in many cases, by one or more of the small army of Western scholars imported at the outset of the project.¹⁹

The legal changes which were necessary to bring this transformation about were vast. The Tokugawa Shogunate, having shown that it was wholly inadequate to the task of protecting the nation from this external threat, was abolished in 1868 and the Emperor was “restored.” The *daimyo* or “Great Names” who had ruled the provinces on behalf of the Tokugawa were stripped of their hereditary fiefs and pensioned off as quasi-royals, while their retainers, known to us as *samurai*, but more commonly referred to as *buke*, or “military households,” were stripped of their stipends, their right to wear swords, and forced to cut their hair in a more “modern” fashion. Education, which had heretofore been almost exclusively the province of the military households and the aristocracy,

¹⁹ Among these scholars can be numbered Edward Morse, Ernest Fenellosa, Lafcadio Hearn, Gubbins & B.H. Chamberlain, J.M. Dixon, Antonin Raymond, Percival Lowell, and others whose stay in Japan was shorter but still influential, among them, Henry Adams, John LaFarge and a host of other names now obscured by time. But as Lafcadio Hearn wrote of the earliest of these: “Perhaps Japan will remember her foreign teachers more kindly in the twentieth century [than in the nineteenth]. But she will never feel toward the Occident, as she felt toward China before the Meiji era, the reverential respect due by ancient custom to a beloved instructor; for the wisdom of China was voluntarily sought, while that of the West was thrust upon her by violence.” In light of the way this “reverential respect” was subsequently expressed during the Japanese Occupation of China, one may be forgiven at this late date for not being overconcerned at an absence of such respect, and indeed, being grateful for the absence of its expression.

along with a comparatively small group of families who had previously given up one of those two formally defined caste positions in order to pursue Dutch learning and medicine, was first opened to the public, and then mandated.

Simultaneously, laws were passed imposing heretofore unheard of strictures on religious establishments, forcibly separating “foreign” Buddhist and “native” Shinto elements of what had previously been a syncretic intertwining of heterodox elements into distinct religious establishments. Included in these changes were also included strict limitations on the corporate rights of these establishments. New laws restricted ownership of temples to individuals, who in turn were not permitted to leave such properties to non-family members at the time of their demise. In short, head priests who were ordained Buddhist monastics in compliance with the celibacy requirements of the Vinaya were faced with a stark choice: they could break their vows, marry, and produce heirs, thus insuring the survival of their temples, or they could keep their vows and insure that their temples died with them.

While this had a minimal effect on a number of schools of Japanese Buddhism arising from the Tendai School, which – as previously noted – had long since dropped observance of the full Vinaya in favor of its own shorter (but, in some respects, broader) Mahayana Bodhisattva Precepts, the consequence for the Shingon School -- which had maintained full transmission of the Vinaya in letter if not in fact -- was more than a bit wrenching. Nonetheless, the modernization of Japan’s material culture, intellectual culture, and spiritual culture was effectively the Order of the Beloved Emperor, and his children – the Japanese people – assiduously set themselves to the task.

This process was not easy, or pain-free. The social and economic dislocation attendant to long-standing patterns of land ownership and usage, along with the resultant agricultural crises, were tremendous, and sent a stream of impoverished rural villagers and farmers to the cities in search of work. Yanagita, who personally witnessed when he was himself a child the abandoned corpses of other, younger children whose mothers had committed infanticide rather than leave their offspring to pain and misery of a slow suffering death by starvation, was neither blind to such consequences nor insensitive to the suffering which the peasants underwent while he, a member of a former samurai — yet still upper-class — family and never at serious risk of hunger, had a vastly better existence. In fact, some Yanagita scholars who have taken a broadly favorable view have ascribed his early choice of a career in the Ministry of Agriculture & Commerce to his deep and sincere desire to ease the suffering of the *heimin*, and his subsequent resignation from the Ministry of Agriculture in 1909 as a direct response to the failure of the ministry to adopt most of his recommendations regarding rural agricultural reform.²⁰

Yanagita, though slightly younger than Minakata, was nonetheless part of that first series of Japanese students to receive a Western-style university education. Commencing with studies at the Tōdai Preparatory School — the same institution from which Minakata had been expelled some years beforehand -- including chemistry,

²⁰ This issue is a particularly heated point of contention among Yanagita scholars. Yoshikuni Igarashi has pointed out that much of Yanagita's work in the Ministry of Agriculture had to do with colonial administration and regulation of agriculture in Japanese-occupied Korea, and go so far as to ascribe his turn, at least in part, in the mid-twenties from a focus on the *sanka* or mountain people as the remnant of Japan's primitive indigenous inhabitants to a concentration on the South Pacific origins of rice cultivation to a willful effort to "divert attention from Japan's colonial violence" and "a desire to conceal his own involvement as a bureaucrat in Japan's colonial enterprise in Korea." Yoshikuni's full argument is rather more nuanced and can be found in her chapter in: [In Godzilla's Footsteps: Japanese Pop Culture Icons on the Global Stage](#), pp. 84-86. Inoue and Murai take a similarly critical stance., with additional emphasis on Yanagita's comparatively elite official positions and his extensive travel through the colonial territories of the growing Japanese empire well into the late twenties.

mathematics, European languages and literature, Yanagita concluded his studies with the equivalent of an advanced degree in agricultural administration from the Department of Political Science within Tokyo Imperial University's Faculty of Law. During the course of his education, he was associated with literary circles of note,²¹ and part of a group that introduced the works of Henrik Ibsen to Japan.²² He distinguished himself sufficiently in his studies and in cultural pursuits that he was married at the age of 25 to a daughter of a sitting Justice of the Japanese Supreme Court and adopted into the family, at which point he took the surname Yanagita.

Yanagita was familiar with Western literature — and Western writing about Japan — to a greater extent than all but a few of his countryman, and correspondingly, he was keenly aware of the many ways in which his own country was misunderstood and misrepresented by Westerners.

It is inconceivable that this awareness did not contribute to his view that a Japanese alternative to Europe's exogenous anthropological tradition was essential, and one of the core ideas of his *minzokugaku* was his powerful sense that true understanding of a culture – even academic understanding – could only be achieved by a native of that culture.²³ The apparent difference between this viewpoint and the travel-and-observe model dominating western anthropology at the time is obvious. No less obvious is the distinction between history conceived as a discipline based on the study of historical texts recording the deeds of the aristocracy and military leaders, and Yanagita's preference, an

²¹ Among his associates were “Kunikida Doppo, Shimazaki Tōson, Tayama Katai, [and] Izumi Kyōka.” Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan*, p. 76.

²² Samuel L. Leiter, *Rising from the Flames: The Rebirth of Theater in Occupied Japan, 1945-1952*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2009, p. 323.

²³ Mori Koichi, “Yanagita Kunio: An Interpretive Study,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 7 2-1, June-September, 1980

approach that has some superficial similarities to what Howard Zinn and others in the United States would later style “people’s history.” Less apparent is that Yanagita’s own work merely swaps out the bracketed term in the “travel-[to-another-country]-and-observe model” so as to produce the “travel-[from-urban-Tokyo-to-the-rural-provinces] model of romantic travel literature.”²⁴

Thus, while at first glance, some of these aspects of Yanagita’s work seem to consonant with, and perhaps even fit squarely into a framework that has informed much Western historical scholarship over the last forty years, and indeed, it has been argued by some Japanese scholars that these apparent similarities had much to do with a resurgence in interest in his work among those seeking sources for articulation of a counter-cultural vision in Japan in the seventies,²⁵ in this instance, first appearances are deceptive. The framework of “people’s history” in the west is closely associated with a vigorous critique of capitalism and the limitations of democracy in capitalist nations. In addition, the use such Western scholarship makes of documentary evidence of “people’s life” ranging from official materials such as census information to personal diaries and the like cuts against the grain of his consistent privileging of the oral tradition (a privilege he insisted on even as he himself converted it into a written tradition!).

In pragmatic terms, in light of the historical fact of the immediate ban placed by the Japanese government on the Social Democratic Party at the time of its formation in 1901 — the year Yanagita entered government service — it comes as no great surprise

²⁴ Which is to say that there is more than a bit of irony in the parallel with Yanagita’s own endogenous use of the same model, going so far as to enshrine the “arrival scene” of the *minzokugakusha* as a necessary element of the “discipline” in its literary practice and reporting methodology.

²⁵ Adam Bronson, “Japanese Folklore Studies and History: Pre-War and Post-War Inflections,” *Folklore Forum*, 2/23/2008, <http://folkloreforum.net/2008/02/23/japanese-folklore-studies-and-history-pre-war-and-post-war-inflections/>.

that this sort of critique, methodology, and the commonly associated Marxist or neo-Marxist theoretical apparatus are entirely absent from Yanagita's work. On the one hand, it is a virtual certainty that had they been present, his work would have been cut short. On the other hand, there is little or no earlier evidence of Yanagita's interest in or sympathy for socialism. Nor does it seem to evidence an overtly reactionary or reflexively conservative position on his part. Unlike western proponents of such a conservative and literary approach to folklore studies (and indeed, unlike those members of Japan's right-wing who were devoted to the modern construct of National State Shinto, as distinct from the local folk Shinto practices that were a critical part of the material Yanagita took as his field of study), Yanagita does not seem to have been motivated by a desire to legitimize a pre-existing set of social relationships between peasantry and urban elites.

As noted above, Yanagita's personal biography makes it quite clear that, both in his work as a bureaucrat in the Ministry of Agriculture and in his more scholarly work, he seems to have been motivated by a very real empathy for those he would later refer to in his works as *jōmin*²⁶, a term he himself coined as an alternative to historical and legal term *heimin*²⁷. Yanagita's coinage and use of the new term, unfreighted by the weight of either the authoritarian Tokugawa or the politically more dangerous Marxist uses of the term *heimin*, is thought by some scholars to have been not merely a conceptual shift for intellectual purposes, but a necessary tactic to avoid unwanted scrutiny by the increasingly authoritarian and militaristic government of Japan. Whatever Yanagita's

²⁶常民 While he initially deployed the term *jōmin* as an alternative to the politically charged *heimin*, and used the two almost interchangeably, over time he broadened the new category so as to render it entirely neutral with regard to economic class, treating even the Emperor as an exemplar of the *jōmin* ideal.

²⁷ 平民.

intent, one may be forgiven for observing that the tactic was so successful that, whatever his motivation, the construct he was engaged in developing was quite useful to rightists with very different motivations than his, and this too was one of the early points of disagreement between Minakata and Yanagita.

While it might be the case that Yanagita was simply more comfortable with a literary and inductive approach, it also must be noted that he was also quite critical of the “scientific” method of deductive reasoning from first principles, of Western political theory of both the right and the left- - both of which lines of critique extend to implicate the dialectical materialism at the core of classic Marxist theorizing. Not only was Yanagita (like Minakata) critical of Social Darwinism, he was also critical of the theory of evolution – or for that matter, any theory whatsoever —itself, and this too was a sore point in the relationship between the two men.

And again, though it must be acknowledged that Yanagita did hold out a hope, at least in theory, for arrival at a subsequent stage when more global comparative folklore studies might be carried to good advantage, he forcefully argued at the time that the matter was not yet ripe. Prior to the longed for comparative study leading to elucidation of universal patterns, Yanagita felt that a lengthy period of folklore collection and arrangement by native scholars proceeding by means that he described as an empirical and inductive method was the only sound basis for such an ultimate project,²⁸ and he was quite clear that this process was much closer to its beginning than its end.²⁹ In all of these

²⁸ The lines of this disagreement between Minakata and Yanagita bear striking similarities to the disagreements between Ernst Haeckel and his antagonists, and indeed between contemporary proponents of evolution theory and those who insist that the theory must be rejected because of gaps in the evidence for the theory, notwithstanding the consensus that the theory fits all available facts and offers an affirmative guide to be used in filling in those gaps.

²⁹ "Even if foreigners flock together to make scientific observations [of our country], the results will be no more than those of >> the five blind men and the elephant <<. It is truly significant that our fellow

respects, Yanagita's views were consonant with Japan's national drive toward self-representation as both a corrective to past and continuing Western misrepresentations as well as the national assertion of the right of self-representation, itself the natural prerogative of any advanced civilization.

Whether one argues in favor of the "concealment" hypothesis, the "necessary inductive predicate" thesis, or some less intentional but no less thorough underlying cause, the mode of discourse chosen by Yanagita effectively minimized any possibility that he might be viewed as a dangerous radical. As expeditious as this choice may have been in assuring Yanagita's self-preservation during the period between the Russo-Japanese War (1905-6) and the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (1931) the results have proved less salutary for *minzokugazku* over the longer run. By (over)privileging both the interpretation of folkloric materials by the native scholar on the one hand and the oral folk tradition over written history from the outset³⁰, Yanagita created a discipline which, one might argue, now appears as atavistic as the materials with which it engaged; more akin to the kind of loose discourse found in the tradition of the literary essay than what we now think of as either history or social science, and irrevocably tainted by the authoritarian and brutally imperialist agenda it served.

Yanagita's tendency toward atavism, his willingness to treat mythological nonsense as fact, and his lack of rigor are not without precedent. From an early age,

countryman, who are familiar with the world's scholarship, are setting out to study our own culture [...] We must study ourselves. Not only should we attempt to know ourselves better, we must also lead Western folklorists who have gone astray [because of the mistakes made in missionary reports on the non-Western world and also Social Darwinism] This is Japan's noble mission." (Yanagita, 1988a:171, quoted in Kuwayama 2004:72-73, Olschleger, Theories and Methods in Japanese Studies, Current State and Future Developments, papers in honor of Joseph Kreiner, 2008)

³⁰ Tsurumi Kazuko has described Yanagita's view of the relationship between myth, history, and the present as the "Ice Theory," in which myth and history exist wholly in the present as accretions in folk culture, accretions which have their own solidity and resultant bounding and shaping capacities on human culture.

Yanagita had been strongly influenced by the *kokugaku*³¹, or national learning, of Motoori Norinaga,³² Hirata Atsutane and other Shinto and literary scholars of the late 17th and early 18th Century, and their works were rife with similar flaws. While his emphasis on folklore as opposed to historical texts and people's culture as opposed to elite culture can be cast as a progressive impulse by implicit reference to subsequent Western scholars such as the late Howard Zinn -- whose political views are unmistakable -- the argument is, in truth, something of a stretch. The simpler explanation is that Yanagita was indelibly dyed by his early exposure to the texts of Motoori and Hirata. His views on the uniqueness of Japan and the Japanese people, his eagerness to see literal historical fact in mythological tales, his failure to see the danger of the notion of Japan as a *kokutai*³³, or "national body politic," his willingness to entertain e/a/rrant nonsense such as his belief in the *sanka* or "mountain people" in the service of that chauvinism,³⁴ and the tendency toward romanticization of xenophobia and authoritarianism are all of a piece with elements found in Motoori and Hirata.³⁵

³¹ 国学

³² Motoori stands very much at the head of the line of the kokugaku school. His most notable accomplishment was the "restoration" of the *Kōjiki*, Japan's oldest extant history, to "pure and original Japanese" from the mixed Sino-Japanese readings which had historically been given to the Chinese characters in which it was first set down. From that beginning in the eighteenth century flowed most, if not all, of the intellectual support for the elimination of all non-Japanese elements from the national life and culture, not merely Western elements, but those of Chinese, Indian, and Buddhist origin as well.

³³ 国体

³⁴ This notion, indeed, is at the heart of the disagreement between Yanagita and Minakata, and their respective reactions to the work of George Laurence Gomme, which will be addressed shortly.

³⁵ In the Introduction to his powerful and disturbing 2010 work, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and the Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895-1945*, Mark Driscoll makes this point in an uncommonly crisp and brutal fashion, writing "Marginalizing the canonical Yanagita and *the paranoid cultural particularism for which he has served as privileged synechdoche*, I follow Minakata's itinerant cosmopolitan along with Japanese post-colonial scholarship by Yonetani Masafumi... (emphasis mine)

This is not to say that he swallowed these notions as wholly as some.³⁶ His role in the foundation of Japan's Ibsen society is one that the more thoroughgoing xenophobes of the right would never have considered, much less undertaken. Moreover, Yanagita was certainly critical of ideologues on the far-right who took these and other related propositions as articles of faith from which all else should be derived.³⁷ And he was no less critical of those on the left, typically Marxists or socialists strongly influenced by Marx, who took on equally fixed universal principles – what he viewed as the “dogma” of evolution, the inappropriate primacy of deductive reasoning, or argument from first principles as distinct from the empirical/inductive mode he professed to prefer, the positivism of Spencer, and implicitly, the claims of Hegelian dialectic -- but his critique in both directions was gentle and carefully coded. As Mori Koichi wrote in the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* in 1980:

Unlike some Japanese Marxists and religious people who chose the way of open resistance, Yanagita concealed himself during the militaristic storm. While waiting for it to pass, he prepared to give people clues that would enable them to choose for themselves, on the basis of a self-understanding arrived at through reflection on their own traditions, the course they would follow when the storm passed.

However, this “concealment” seems, if not curiously double, then curious to the extent that he hid himself in plain sight. Yanagita seems for some years to have taken a series of increasingly elite positions with progressively more restricted public profiles. It is unquestionably the case that in 1908 Yanagita resigned his post with the Ministry of Agriculture, and became secretary to the Imperial Household Agency, charged with re-

³⁶ One example of Yanagita's customary and carefully calibration of his remarks is his criticism of Hirata “for treating only the classics as important and neglecting the real faith of the Japanese people.” Mori, *op. cit.*

³⁷ Mori quotes Yanagita on Mussolini's fascism as follows: “Without a shadow of a doubt, there is nothing we can learn from Italy....Those who love their nation should not be so narrow-minded.”

organizing the Cabinet Library.³⁸ Following a subsequent term as Chief Secretary of the House of Peers between 1914 and 1919 and a tour of Europe as a Japanese representative to the Mandate Committee of the League of Nations, he took employment for the next decade on the Editorial Board at the Asahi Shimbun. In contemporary discourse, the Asahi Shimbun would be regarded as a moderately liberal-centrist paper, and it certainly did not go out of its way to antagonize the authorities. But in the interwar period, there was at least a perception on the far right that the Asahi was entirely too liberal, and by the 1930s -- shortly after Yanagita's retirement from journalism -- that perception had generated not only death threats against the publisher of the paper, but at least one assassination attempt that was very nearly successful. In 1933, the publisher of the Asahi Shimbun engaged the services of Ueshiba Morihei³⁹ as an instructor to a small group of employees intended to serve as his bodyguards as well as a number of other staff members. While one can fault Yanagita for many things, taking seriously the possibility of negative consequences for excessively critical or insufficiently patriotic writings is not

³⁸ Ronald Morse, whose 1975 translation of Yanagita's Tales of Tono is widely regarded as the best extant in English, believes that it was in the course of his duties here that Yanagita encountered 16th and 17th century accounts of Tono which he used in drafting his work, following his trip to the mountain village of Tono in 1909.

³⁹ Now known primarily as the founder of the *gendai*, or modern, martial art of aikido, a name often translated as "the way of harmony," during the period in question, Ueshiba was teaching at the Army and Naval Universities, the elite Rikugun Toyama Gakko, which trained officers and non-commissioned officers destined for service on the periphery of the Empire, the Rikugun Nakano Gakko (usually referred to in English as the Nakano Spy School), specializing in espionage and unconventional warfare, and giving personal instruction to a number of members of the Royal Household, including the now notorious Prince Chichibu. In essence, the danger of being insufficiently rightist was sufficiently grave that the publisher of the Asahi felt the need to secure the sort of executive protection services that might be provided by such contemporary firms as Xe (formerly Blackwater), The Steele Foundation, or Strategos International. While one can fault Yanagita for many things, taking seriously the possibility of negative consequences for excessively critical or insufficiently patriotic writings is not one of them. The threat was real. Interestingly, according to Morihei's son, the late Ueshiba Kisshomaru, Morihei and Minakata had an early association immediately after Ueshiba's return from military service in the Russo-Japanese War. He asserts that during the period of the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement, his father was the principal organizer of peasant resistance, going so far as to actively train locals in the use of bamboo spears, while Minakata was writing newspaper editorials, circulating petitions, marshalling political support and directing actions on the ground, all of these actions intended to prevent the destruction of local shrines in Wakayama

one of them. The threat *was* real. But the ascription to Yanagita of some sort of willful doubleness by which he harbored secret political views which he concealed in accordance with the fashion of the day seems forced.

There is ample evidence that Yanagita was, at his core, simply not an ideologically oriented man. What seems closest to the truth is that, to paraphrase Mori, Yanagita was primarily concerned with human happiness. Ideology, politics, religion were all elements that he was prepared to ignore, on the grounds that such beliefs, even if delusional, gave individuals a sense of happiness and security.⁴⁰

Mori's "concealment" hypothesis with regard to political theory notwithstanding, there is another then-current stream of Western theory from which Yanagita unquestionably drew inspiration. For all of his emphasis on the development of a native practice of *minzokugaku*, a number of his core conceits are indistinguishable from notions then current in the West, most notably in the work of George Laurence Gomme, a folklorist whose own work was influential in British circles during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and a co-founder of the (British) Folklore Society. Both Minakata and Yanagita were quite familiar with his work and even had his books in their personal libraries. That said, the two men had very different responses to the thrust of Gomme's work.

Yanagita seems to have been strongly influenced by Gomme, in particular, by Gomme's theory that all folklore was atavistic remnant evidence of prior cultures whose progressive development was stopped dead in its tracks at the point of its contact with a superior successor cultural grouping, as well as Gomme's darker and more explicitly

⁴⁰ Mori writes of Yanagita's distress over the suffering and insecurity he may have caused by convincing his sister to abandon her new faith of Christianity sometime prior to her death, leaving her without a source of comfort in her latter days. Thereafter, he refrained from such arguments as a matter of principle.

racialist notions of underdeveloped – in terms of physical and social culture -- remnant populations of ethnically distinct peoples in which these folkloric traces and practices of the past remained extant, if ill-understood even by those who carried them on.

GOMME, YANAGITA, MINAKATA, AND THE *SANKA*

Although one could cite Minakata's leading role in the Anti-Shrine Consolidation movement (previously discussed in Chapter 4) as like that of those who Mori refers to as the "religious people who chose the way of open resistance," it was actually not some sort of strictly political or religious concealment on Yanagita's part that aroused Minakata's overt wrath. To be sure, like Yanagita, Minakata seems to have chosen to use the language of tradition, of local historical precedent, of native culture, both contemporary and antique. But unlike Yanagita, Minakata had a strong orientation toward the textual tradition, both canonical and demotic, and his style of presentation and citation in his published works was simultaneously clinical and erudite, rather than romantic and lyrical. In a time and a place when the simple use of the wrong style of language, mode of argument, or even an inappropriate reference to a work or works that, if not proscribed overtly, might be identified by the authorities as foreign, radical, or anti-government could easily lead to loss of position, ostracization, beating by right wing goon squads, imprisonment, or assassination, both Yanagita and Minakata found their separate ways to a language which was itself so venerable that its use insulated them

from these dangers: the language of what has been called by some scholars “The Black Box of the Emperor System.”⁴¹

This similarity should not blind us to a more fundamental and essential distinction: the simple fact is that Minakata was implicitly arguing quite vigorously against not only the emergent Japanese military-industrial-urbanization project, but against the animating notions at the heart of that project, while Yanagita was producing ethnographic romances that ultimately served the purposes of national ideological formation quite effectively. While both were well-read in Western literature, and both used similar languages and addressed similar Japanese folkloric materials, they used them in very different ways, to very different ends, and it is these differences that are worthy of our attention. A summary catalog of these differences would include a) markedly different notions of time; b) different attitudes toward the facticity of mythology and folklore; c) vastly different sensibilities about sexuality and public discussion of sexuality in scholarly discourse; d) more nuanced, but no less critical differences on the appropriate use of inductive reasoning and empirical study; e) utterly distinct views about universalizing knowledge and culture; f) different uses and modes of uses of the Western materials and models of inquiry with which they were familiar, and consequently, the divergent trajectories of their resultant inquiries.⁴²

This last item is perhaps the most instructive point. It can be argued that, more than any single modern scholar, Yanagita’s later work is responsible for the

⁴¹ Irokawa Daikichi, *The Emperor System as a Spiritual Structure*, tr. Marius B. Jansen, Princeton University Press, 1988, p. 245

⁴² f) For a very different characterization of the dispute as Minakata’s criticism of Yanagita’s editorship of *Kyōdō Kenkyū* and his turn away from more empirical studies and data collection regarding rural life toward the literary approach in evidence in his first major publication, *Legends of Tono*, see Takayanagi Shun’ichi, “In Search of Yanagita Kunio: A Review Article on the *Legends of Tono* by Kunio Yanagita.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 31, no. 2. Summer 1976, pp 165-78.

popularization of a strain of nativist thought subsumed under the label *nihonjinron*,⁴³ which – to vastly oversimplify -- holds that Japanese culture is universally based on the communal necessities of rice cultivation, a position Yanagita repeatedly put forth from 1925 on, well after — in a belated, but defacto concession to Minakata’s position on the mater — he had released his fevered grip on the Gomme-ian conceit of the “mountain people” as both remnant populations of “the original Japanese” and quasi-mythological giants. In contrast to the post-Enlightenment Western orientation toward the individual, this cultural reading not only emphasizes the obligations of the individual within the context of the group, but also identifies the development of this group-consciousness as fundamental to the productive basis of all Japanese culture. Among the deeper implications of this way of thinking is the characterization of Western-style individuality and concern with the needs, wants, and rights of the individual to self-determination as profoundly un-Japanese. In Yanagita’s final work, “The Ocean Road,” in which he attempts to trace the introduction of rice cultivation in the Yayoi period to an Okinawan source, this pattern is treated as more than a simple aspect or feature of Japanese culture. It *is* the culture – the agri-culture.⁴⁴

But even as Yanagita was collecting and recasting evidence and folklore from the Yayoi period forward, the period when the *heimin* were closely tied to the land that they worked and those with whom they worked was disappearing, except as a romantic fiction

⁴³ Bronson, *ibid.*

⁴⁴ Yanagita’s skepticism about Mussolini notwithstanding, one of the elements Minakata seems to have identified very early on was the consonance between the line of German evolutionary thought in which the selection processes which operate at the level of individuals are thought to also operate at micro and macro levels, and the deployment of *kokutai* ideology in Japan, a top-down construct in which each subject of the emperor is supposed to perform a specialized function as directed, much as the cells and organs of the body follow the direction of the brain and nervous system. Minakata was also well-read enough in Indic literature to understand quite clearly how this “modern” construction was little more than an updated version of the Vedic creation myth that underlay the brutalities of the *varna*, or caste, system in India.

not unlike the valorization of agriculture and nature found in the Italian fascism of Benito Mussolini. Modernization and change had weakened those ties, as hundreds of thousands of *heimin* moved from the country to the cities and became, in Yanagita's formulation, *jōmin*⁴⁵, where an entirely different range of conditions and relationships formed the basis of their lives. For all of his caution about inappropriate universalization across national and cultural boundaries, Yanagita, while not entirely blind to the very real heterogeneity of Japanese micro-cultures, played a critical role in the decimation of this heterogeneity by his romantic construction of an endogenously universal Japanese identity and his lifelong pursuit of what Takayanagi calls "an ur-Japan",

Minakata's perspective, arising from his own fieldwork in the mountainous Kii Peninsula of Wakayama Prefecture, was quite different. Although both Yanagita and Minakata shared a view of tangible culture, linguistic arts, and mental phenomena as key categories of study⁴⁶, as discussed in the third chapter, in which I examined Minakata's

⁴⁵ In contemporary American English, *jōmin* might well be translated "just folks," a phrase that intentionally erases notions of class in much the same way that the "folksy" personae of Ronald Reagan and George Bush had greater public resonance than the reasoned arguments of their opponents that both were "engaging in class war, and their class is winning."

⁴⁶ Mori Koichi, "Yanagita Kunio: An Interpretive Study," Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 7 2-1, June-September, 1980. What Mori does not note is that Yanagita's enunciation of this triad in print post-dates his association with Minakata by almost two decades. Kuwakami Takami (Olschleger, 2008) notes a possible debt to "Malinowski's three-stage model of anthropological research, as presented in his 1922 work, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, consisting of 1) tribal organization 2) actual behavior in daily life and 3) the native mind." That Yanagita was familiar with Malinowski's work is a near-certainty, but the specifics of his triadic scheme seem to me much closer to the triad of *mono*, *koto*, and *kokoro* found in Minakata's letters to Toki Horyu. Complicating matters further, Minakata's formal publications rarely, if ever, explicitly address questions of this kind. For all of the breadth of knowledge on display, it is striking that Minakata's published articles deal fairly narrowly with whatever the matter at hand might be – or perhaps, rather than "fairly narrowly" one should say, "rigorously and empirically". It is only in what remains of his correspondence that we have evidence of the theoretical parameters of Minakata's thought; a curiosity that, until the comparatively recent appearance of works by Tsurumi, Blacker, Fugal, Sibley and Driscoll, all of which bring together examples of his published work and his private correspondence, contributed greatly to his comparative obscurity and lack of recognition, both within Japan and elsewhere. From a Minakatian perspective, the apparent similarity between these sorts of triadic schemes proposed by different individuals in different cultural milieu is less a matter of hidden lineal development and direct influence and more a matter of a natural tendency toward independent endogenous development along similar lines.

correspondence with Toki Hōryū on this topic and the related work of Inoue Enryō, Minakata's view was considerably broader, much better articulated, and, in its way, much more scientific. Far from seeing Japan – and the Japanese -- as a monolithic entity with its tangible culture rooted in the rice paddies of the valleys, Minakata's vision – as a biologist and botanist specializing in myxomycetes -- was one of heterogenous development based on particular and highly localized characteristics of climate, topography, and biota.⁴⁷ The differences between the two men were not merely professional, educational, or geographical, nor were these observations of Minakata a simple matter of professional focus.

The cultural backgrounds of the two men could not have been more distinct. Yanagita was born into a hereditary military household of significant social standing, while Minakata was the son of a commoner who had made good in trade: wealthy, yes, but in the context of the pre-Meiji Japan, a member of the lowest of the four social classes, a mere merchant. The differences of experience the two would have had while growing up were enormous. Even after the Meiji restoration had formally abolished the hereditary military households as a distinct social class, as Lafcadio Hearn's short sketch titled "A Conservative" accurately indicates, the upbringing of a male child among such families remained severe, and inculcated an astonishing degree of forbearance and impassivity from an early age. Minakata, on the other hand, was not only a commoner – he was a second son, and a child of astonishing talents. The combination meant that,

⁴⁷ "Whereas Inoue's idea of culture was synonymous with a notion of cultivation and education centered around an ideology of *bunmei kaika*, Minakata's theory of human culture had more in common with the cultures of slime molds that had fascinated him: both were sites of ceaseless phantasmagoric change—not unilinear progress—that spurred the unfixing and mixing of sharply cut taxonomic boundaries and consequently necessitated rethinking notions of causality and tactics of understanding in the human sciences." Figal: 53.

lacking the responsibilities of the eldest son, possessed of unusual gifts, and child of one of the richest families in a small town located in what was – from the perspective of Tokyo, a cultural backwater -- he was allowed to give his eccentricities free reign as a child. He then spent his early adult life as a self-directed foreign scholar on faraway shores, truly a stranger in a strange land, while Yanagita was making his way in the literary and governmental circles of Tokyo's Imperial University and Court, still rich with formal and informal protocols that had to be negotiated with caution and propriety.

Moreover, one of the most remunerative forms of trade in which Minakata's father (and later, his brother) were involved was that of sake brewing and distribution, which was of critical importance not only to the social economy of their immediate region, but to the political economy of the nation: in some years in the late 19th century, as much as fifty percent of all Japanese government revenues were derived from the taxation of sake production, and although that proportion declined in the early 20th century, it was still a considerable plurality of the national tax base. As a consequence, Minakata would have had intimate knowledge, even as a child, of the realities of the rice business, ranging from the organization of collective labor for its arduous cultivation processes, agricultural credit in the form of both cash and seed grain, wholesale grain markets, grain polishing, the arduous collective processes necessary to sake production, and its subsequent distribution, both within the rice-growing communities of the lowlands and between that community and the fishing communities of the shore below and the hunting and gathering communities of the hills above. In short, in combination with his unique intelligence, these circumstances gave Minakata considerable capital: intellectual, political, and social.

Thus, while the noble-born Yanagita was a man of some privilege, there is a sense in which his position in official circles made him a small fish in a large and dangerous pond, while the common-born Minakata was a scion of a family that not only fueled virtually every celebratory event for miles, but also contributed a considerable sum to the government's coffers on a regular basis, making his position in the remote precincts of Wakayama prefecture that of a very large bear who could – and did -- roam the hills as he pleased. And like such a bear, with the exception of a brief period in the twenties when he went to Tokyo to raise funds for the establishment of the Minakata Biological Research Institute, he did not expose himself to the dangers of the capital city with its intrigues, schemes, plots, and dangers.

In fact, as early as 1893, well before his return from England, he explicitly expressed his firm determination to reside in country, but to protect it in his own way, writing to Toki: “not only are there libraries and museums only in Tokyo and none in the provinces; centralizing power in the center threatens things in the provinces. Seeing that this takes place even in the customs and learning that fertilizes the city and blights everything in the countryside, I greatly lament it.”

While Yanagita, during the period of their association, had a fixation on mountain people that verged on monomania,⁴⁸ for Minakata, as we have already seen in his *Eight Statements*, it was a simple matter of observation to realize that hill people and valley people had markedly different tangible cultures, linguistic arts, and mental phenomena

⁴⁸ “Murai argues that Yanagita’s conception of the mountain people was essentially based on his knowledge of the indigenous inhabitants of Taiwan and Korea [where he had served as a colonial administrator]...in this context then, the study of the defeat and assimilation of the indigenous inhabitants by the ‘invading’ peoples served as the production of a historical precedent for Japan’s contemporary policy of colonization and assimilation.. At the same time...Yanagita’s emphasis on the mountain people can also be seen to mark a general concern for outsiders to Japanese society, those who inhabit its marginal spaces. This concern would largely dissipate in his later work.”

arising from the fundamentally different biological realities in which they were enmeshed.⁴⁹ In Yanagita's work, which shared with Minakata's work, on some level, the basic impulse to mitigate thoughtless adoption of Western practices, Minakata saw an indigenized stalking horse for the national centralization project then underway. Where Minakata saw ecological reality as the basis for distinct cultural development, Yanagita saw the *sanka*, or mountain people, as remnants of the original inhabitants of Japan, and in his first letter to Minakata, he specifically inquires about any information Minakata might be able to provide about "Mountain giants," beings found in folklore who Yanagita takes to be the descendants of that distinct ethnic group of Japanese primitives. Moreover, this particular conceit is drawn directly from a work referenced in George Laurence Gomme's⁵⁰ work Ethnology in Folklore, where he writes:

"The traditions of the Celtic Aryans are much the same. A hostile race of giants, having their sense of smell for human flesh particularly sharp, ate their captives and reveled in their blood. The "Fee-fo-fum" of Cornwall is "Fiaw-fiaw-foaghrich" in Argyll, and these sounds, says Mr. Campbell, may possibly be corruptions of the languages of real big burly savages now magnified into giants."

Strikingly, although Yanagita gives credence to the notion of mountain giants, and entreated Minakata for information about them, when Minakata subsequently submitted an article to *Kenkyū kōdō* setting forth evidence of cannibalism in early Japanese culture – a characteristic of giants in Western folklore, as we see in the excerpt

⁴⁹ This is not to say that Minakata explicitly marked these gross categories or in any way reified or essentialized them in his work, as did Yanagita. In his specific remarks about the social complications and conflict that arose through arbitrary consolidation of local shrines devoted to distinct deities and serving distinct vocational groups found in his *Eight Statements Against Shrine Consolidation*, Minakata works such distinctions down to a much finer level of granularity than Yanagita's cruder formulation. He also refrains from assigning divine origins or agency, treating them as simple observable differences and reflective of natural and endogenous human cultural heterogeneity.

⁵⁰ The immediate parallel between early 20th century Japanese colonial activities in Taiwan, where Yanagita served for a time as a colonial administrator, and 19th century British colonial activities in Ireland is as painfully obvious as is his deployment of Gomme's theory of remnant pockets of primitives in assimilated populations and the degraded traces of their prior primitive culture in folklore, to illustrate which Gomme himself often uses examples of primitive remnant populations in occupied Ireland.

from Gomme above (an excerpt with which both Minakata and Yanagita were familiar) -- Yanagita rejected the submission on grounds of obscenity, as had *Nature* when Minakata submitted an earlier draft of the work in English to that publication.⁵¹ Whereas Minakata seems to have been prepared to follow such evidence as he found wherever it might lead, whether that designation was thoroughly normative or apparently transgressive, Yanagita was willing to suppress the factual if uncomfortable, yet avidly pursue the fanciful far beyond any factual underpinnings it might have once had. As Driscoll has it, both the particular issue of erotophobia and the larger issue of the political implications of Yanagita's editorial censorship divided the two men.

It was precisely around these questions of obscenity, transgression, and the pathologization and increased policing of sexual practices that Yanagita and Minakata had their sharpest differences. One of the ways this disagreement played out was his anger at Yanagita's policy of rejecting erotica for [inclusion in] *Researching Native Place* (*Kenkyu Kodo*). Several scholars have noted Yanagita's statement assuming his 'responsibility as editor not to publish obscenity.' (Matsui, 1993, 351) Minakata fumed to his friends such as Mutu Go: What kind of system of the Japanese folk would insist on censoring such crucial aspects of everyday life? (1951-52, vol. 12, 410-29) He linked Yanagita's erotophobia to the way local authorities, following the lead of metropolitan elites, wanted to discipline older erotic practices in the countryside. As Alan Christy points out, Minakata complained that in a neighboring village, the authorities issued regulations outlawing the old custom of "hooking up" (*yobai*)⁵², or recreational sex: "Tokyoites might chuckle when they hear of this, but still today there's hardly a village in Japan where cruising doesn't happen every night." (quoted in Christy, 2010, 318-319) Minakata connected Yanagita's erotophobia with this kind of infiltration of the repressive "family-state"

⁵¹ Michael Kinski points out that Minakata did subsequently publish a 1917 article in the magazine *Fūzoku* on the subject of miira, or dried human flesh, sold as *material medica*. Portions of the material appearing in that article also appear in his December 1912 entry in *Notes & Queries* under the title "Medicinal Mummies." It is to be hoped that the original English draft of the *Nature* article may be found at the Minakata Kumagusu Archive in Tanabe, Japan.

⁵² The word Driscoll glosses as "hooking up" or "recreational sex," *yōbai*, literally means "night-creeping." It most commonly refers to the practice of teenage boys going out masked at dusk, singly or in groups, to see if their girlfriends have left their sliding doors ajar to allow them to slip in. The practice is a construct which allows all parties concerned – the girl, the boy, the parents of both, and everyone else in the village – to pretend that no activity that might trigger other social obligations or violate social boundaries is occurring and if the activity is, nonetheless "discovered" the mask allows all to pretend that the identity of the mystery lover who slipped in the door that was left open --with the tacit assent of the parents—is not known. Minakata alludes to other similar practices of "institutionalized transgression" in his articles "Stealing Not a Crime," and "Japanese Monkeys," both of which refer to holidays on which such normally transgressive behaviors as stealing the wife of another are not only permitted, but encouraged. In this, as in a number of other instances, Driscoll's eagerness to translate words and concepts into contemporary vernacular for effect muddies as much as it makes clear, and leads him to conflate heterogenous pre-modern Japanese sexual practices with more contemporary and "modern" practices that amount to the commodification of desire and the neural colonization of the desiring subject attendant to those practices.

(*kazoku kokka*)⁵³ ideology into peripheral areas. He understood Yanagita's project as translating into modern terms the older discourse of essential Japaneseness, what he referred to as *kokutai* (国体). Minakata implicitly opposed *kokutai*,⁵⁴ with the standard biological concept of *hentai* (変体) or "mutating organic matter." His most important scientific work involved tracing the hybrid genealogies of slime molds and other forms of *hentai*. In the early twentieth century, he began using the *hentai* homonym (変態)⁵⁵ to speak about a similar process in humans (Nakazawa, 1993). For Minakata, this transcoding of mutable plant and bacteria *hentai* onto the human species underscored their transformative, structure producing activity.⁵⁶

In contrast to Yanagita's romantic vision of well-behaved and sexually restrained Japanese embedded in a series of orderly traditional relationships of the people with their rice paddies, one another, and their emperor, a vision he seems to have hoped would arouse sympathy for the plight of the *jōmin*, Minakata's emphasis on the need to accurately catalog existing practices with specificity, historicity, and an openness to the recognition of heterogeneity -- as we have seen in his Eight Statements -- provided him with a rigorous and sound empirical basis not only for his activities as a biologist and a folklorist, but also as a political activist engaged in arguing for the retention of the natural rights of the people, rights which he claims precede not only the sovereignty of the Japanese government of his time, but indeed, the sovereignty of the Emperor himself; moreover, the artfulness with which he (re)constructed the primordial precedents he

⁵³ Where the notion of *kokutai* invokes the metaphor of the "national body" in which the emperor serves as the brain, the popular parallel term *kazoku kokka* posits Japan as a single family in which the Emperor serves as father to all of his subjects. Carried with that is the venerable Confucian view of filial piety—often narrowly constructed as simple obedience—as one of the principal virtues associated with the five relationships; while in its original formulation, Confucius' system of five relationship emphasized the reciprocal obligations of both parties, by the time of his system's transmission to Japan through the conduit of the Chu Hsi Rationalist School, the obligations had been reconfigured so as to fall, at least in practice, almost wholly on the side of the inferior party, whether the obligation of the ruled to the ruler, the son to the father, the wife to the husband, the younger sibling to the older, or the friend to the friend. That only the last of these five seems to involve some measure of equality goes some distance to explaining why Minakata, who was never an obedient sort, invoked Confucian precedent in his letters to Iwata on the subject of *nanshokudo*. Of the recognized relationships, this alone offered the possibility of mutuality without domination.

⁵⁴ In addition to my literal reading as "national body," *kokutai* is sometimes rendered as "Japanese essence"

⁵⁵ The earlier caution regarding NSFW Google results arising from searches on either the romanized form of the word or either of the two variant readings in Chinese characters remains operative.

⁵⁶ Driscoll. *Ibid.* p. 8.

sought also served to make his assertions palatable to more socially conservative readers, as well as insulate him from the risks of a charge of *lese majeste*.

By 1916, when Yanagita asked Minakata – again – for information regarding the *sanka*, referencing reports of giants not only in the mountains of the Kishu, but also several examples from European folklore in which these giants were reported to have called out “Ho, Ho, Ho”,⁵⁷ Minakata sent a reply that marked the end of their correspondence. For quite some time, Minakata had moderated his inclination to directly confront Yanagita on the subject, probably owing to gratitude for his assistance in critical phases of the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement, and the fact that as editor of *Kenkyu kodō*, Yanagita continued to give Minakata an outlet for many of his own articles. But the relationship was always a difficult one, given Yanagita’s simultaneous credulity and gentility and Minakata’s relentless empiricism, sharp wit, and unwillingness to suffer foolishness gladly. Clearly, by the time of his reply, dated midnight, December 23, 1916, one senses that Minakata had had quite enough⁵⁸:

However, after five years of their marriage of convenience it became clear to him that Yanagita would yield no ground on his anti-scientific creationist take, and so Minakata took to ridiculing him....At his wit's end with Yanagita, he attempts one last

⁵⁷ The importance Yanagita placed on this matter of the *sanka* in the period of this correspondence cannot be under-estimated. (Insert from note 20, p. 137, Vlastos, regarding Yanagita’s assertion of a *sanka* “validation by smoke” of the enthronement of Hirohito in 1915.) As noted in the body of the text above, Yanagita later abandoned his focus on the mountain people, turning to an examination of the sea-road taken by rice culture from Okinawa to Japan. Contemporary scholarship regarding the Kamo clan, Mongolian origins, horsemanship, consolidation of Kyoto plain, and intermarriage with surrounding mountain peoples presents a complex and heterogeneous picture all too nuanced for the sort of monolithic ethnogenetic origin tale Yanagita so devoutly wished to construct.

⁵⁸ Indeed, in the context of his well-known predilection for consumption of large quantities of alcohol, and the lack of regard for Yanagita seemingly in evidence in their first two face-to-face encounters --their initial scholarly exchange at Yanagita’s house several years beforehand had to be rescheduled because Minakata was, in a word, wasted, and at their second meeting, for which Yanagita had made a not-inconsiderable journey to Minakata’s home in Wakayama, Minakata was, although communicative, laid out with his eyes closed, mumbling with his head poking out of the sleeve of his quilted kimono, “as pissed as one of his beloved newts” -- the time of the letter suggests that Minakata was, on that evening, intemperate in more ways than one.

dismissal of the absurd giant and goblin theory of a pure Japanese ethnogenesis, and with it, Japan centered nativism....Minakata recalls a specimen collecting outing with a colleague in the summer of 1908. Half-naked, the two botanists found themselves screeching out as they hurtled down a steep mountain slope waving their mosquito nets, unable to stop themselves from hurtling due to their momentum. Here's Minakata telling the story: "There was a group of twenty or so village wives, tending the fields at the bottom of the mountain. They shrieked out, 'Strange entities have come down from the heavens!' and they took off. Only when we reached the bottom did we realize why they were terrified: they thought we were superhuman demons. (Minakata Zenshu, 1951-52, vol. 11, 290-91) In his parting slap down to Yanagita he declares, 'I am your mountain giant and goblin!'" (Driscoll, xxvi)

Driscoll uses this anecdote to explain his own choice to “break from a model of scholarship still evident...in East Asian studies that emphasizes a more or less homogenous Japanese cultural nationalism severed from the rest of Asia....I follow Minakata’s cultural cosmopolitan (etc).” This then is the paradox of Minakata: he is a rigorous empiricist to the extent that, by “empiricism,” what is meant is exhaustive collection, experimentation, and observation, followed by deduction, but he resolutely rejects the claims of “progress” and “development” usually attendant to the method. He is a multilingual cosmopolitan who embraces cultural products of India and China in the East, and the scientific advances of the west, but who devotes his adult life to the study of complexity in a comparatively small bio-region and labors to preserve the unique features of that region and its culture in the face of the totalizing industrial, cultural, and legal modernization it was undergoing. There is an extent to which the many writers who have touched on Minakata’s work have each concentrated only on that facet of his work which arouses their sympathies, while honoring its larger contours only in the breach. Certainly this is the case with Driscoll, and I would argue, Pflugfelder, Sibley, Adeney, and Faure, though Blacker and Tsurumi, it must be acknowledged, take a much less partial view.

In any case, less than a year after his break with Yanagita, having lost his home, so to speak, at *Kenkyū kōdō*, Minakata found a new, and much more congenial intellectual home in the Nakamura Kokyō's new Japanese Psychiatric Association (*Seishin Igakukai*), taking part in its activities and publishing in its house organ, *Abnormal Psychology (Hentai Shinri)*, the first issue of which appeared in October, 1917.⁵⁹ Unlike the dominant mode of abnormal psychological and sexological profiling and essentialization most popular in Japanese medical and scientific circles at that time, drawn as it was primarily from the Krafft-Ebing school, the mode of operation found in *Abnormal Psychology* (like that found in what some regard as a younger-sister or successor publication, *Modern Sexuality*) was not only not judgmental and juridically oriented, it was open to approaches that bordered on – and sometimes became—celebration and active propagandization⁶⁰ of what Driscoll characterizes as

“the modern neuropolitical expressions of fetishism, sadism, masochism, voyeurism, necrophilia, and hysteria were introduced and normalized as predictable effects of commodity capitalism...the signifier *hentai* was not deployed as a stigmatizing depiction of individual subjects. People were not profiled and policed as perverse, and erotic aspects were not linked to essentialized identities...rather, they were considered effects of a modern condition...and the subjectivized conditions that would be personified by 1930 as *moga* and *mobo*⁶¹ were analyzed in a non-stigmatizing fashion.⁶²

Curiously, Driscoll identifies the work of Mori Ogai as the initial Japanese locus of the importation of Western-derived psychology and sexology into official Japanese discourse. Ogai, though now best known as a novelist and the author of what is considered the first “I-novel,” was sent by the Japanese army to Germany to be trained as

⁵⁹ Driscoll, p. 156

⁶⁰ This celebratory aspect is found most markedly in “Modern Sexuality” and the editors were widely and harshly criticized for an editorial policy that at times seemed to border on proselytization on behalf of various fetish communities. The publication ran from 1922-1925, at which point it ceased publication after numerous difficulties with government censors, and while Minakata seems to have been a fan, he does not appear to have been a contributor. Driscoll, p. 15.

⁶¹ “Modern girl” and “modern boy”

⁶² Driscoll, p. 149

a physician and specialist in hygiene, and in his subsequent military career he was one of many “colonial doctors” charged with maintaining the hygiene and health of Japanese troops. In this capacity he was one of the early proponents of the establishment of supervised and hygienic “comfort stations” staffed by local women under close medical supervision and located close by remote Japanese garrisons in Manchuria and Taiwan, set up as an officially sanctioned alternative to local brothels.

Notwithstanding the subsequent – and exceedingly dark aspects -- of this legacy, which Driscoll chronicles and analyzes in disturbing detail, Driscoll credits Mori, along with Minakata, not only as a seminal founder of Japanese sexology, but as one of the few early sexologists in Japan who successfully resisted Western erotophobia in his work.⁶³ From our contemporary perspective, one other salient and basic difference between Ogai and Minakata is quite clear: as a medical officer in the Japanese army, Ogai contributed greatly to the essentially exploitive state-capitalist capture of the colonial sex trade, and provided a modern medical and hygienic rationale for that capture which was extended to great profit. Minakata, by his self-imposed exile in Wakayama, not only did not participate in the colonization project beyond his early relationship with Sun Yat-sen, but effectively ended that relationship by inaction when he saw where in Japanese political circles Sun had found his backing. Moreover, in his writings, Minakata was not arguing

⁶³ Driscoll’s enthusiasm on this point notwithstanding, it must also be acknowledged that Ogai’s refusal to accept evidence that beri-beri was not an infectious disease, but rather, a condition caused by vitamin B1 deficiency, stands as a permanent blot on his record as a physician. During his service in the Russo-Japanese War, orders issued by Ogai led directly to tens of thousands of tragic and unnecessary excess deaths in the Japanese Army, by some estimates as many as 27,000 of the 74,000 dead in that conflict. That Driscoll somehow gets this story backwards is more than a bit problematic, as is his work as a whole, which is marked by an almost schizophrenic and simultaneous celebration of sexual variance and its commercial manifestations, and abhorrence of late capitalist modes of inducing and exploiting such variances, which he treats in a post-Foucauldian way as forms of neuro-physical discipline and control exerted over individuals by late capitalist institutions and markets.

in favor of a modern commercialization of sexuality, but against government attempts to stigmatize and police traditional sexual practices in rural Japan, just as he argued against government attempts to stigmatize, police, and eradicate local religious and political customs that did not align with the objective of State Shinto to subsume all forms of local culture within the *kokutai/kazoku kokka* framework. This stance was at the core of his earlier anti-Shrine Consolidation Campaign, and laid out quite explicitly and compellingly in his Eight Statements, the thirty-two page document that stands not only as that Campaign's core rationale, but as the basis for the subsequent assertion that Minakata's efforts in that area prefigure and are broadly homologous with Bateson's Three Ecologies.⁶⁴

A similar pattern of what we might call “descriptivist preservationism” may be seen in his correspondence with Iwata Jun'ichi, the pioneering Japanese sexologist who carried out a study of historical precursors of modern homosexuality in Japanese culture from 1920 to 1945, publishing many articles in such popular – even sensational -- publications as *Hanzai koron* (Crime Review) and *Tantei shosetsu* (Detective Story) before his major work *Honcho nanshoku ko* (Study of Nanshoku in our realm) was serialized in *Hanzai kagaku* (Crime Science) in 1930. Minakata, whose interest in criminal science was reflected in a number of his early articles for *Nature* and *Notes & Queries* on such topics as the Antiquity of the Fingerprint Method, the use of corpses of the murdered to identify murderers, and a number of similar themes, seems to have retained an interest in such matters throughout his life and was a regular reader of *Hanzai kagaku*, where he encountered Iwata's work, soon after which he initiated a typically

⁶⁴ the ecology of biology, the ecology of society, and the ecology of mind.

argumentative correspondence with Iwata, in which he good-naturedly took Iwata to task for adopting and translating western words to describe various categories of sexual desire and practice, rather than using native terms with their own provenance and cultural history.

Before unpacking these native categories, positioning the correspondence between Minakata and Iwata in the context of Minakata's own professional career is essential, not only to review the personal frustrations that preceded this frank outpouring, but also to take another look at Minakata's professional endeavors as a scientist who was deeply engaged in the professional discourses surrounding the emergence of both Yanagita's *minzokugaku* as a response to western ethnology and folklores studies and psychology as new medical basis for juridical discipline. This last was not an abstract consideration for Minakata, whose first child suffered a schizophrenic break in 1925 on the occasion of his University Entrance Examinations – an event referred to very circumspectly in most writing about Minakata, which merely notes that in 1925 Minakata withdrew from public life in order to deal with the illness of his son, Kumaya. The attendant medical expenses were considerable, to such an extent that Minakata was induced to turn his attention away from his correspondence for a time, and produce three volumes of compilations of his Japanese language writings – principally in his primary areas of biology and mycology -- which were produced and sold in 1926 to defray the costs of his son's treatment. Minakata was also quite prolific in his contributions to *Notes & Queries* during this period, although those articles are often overlooked because they are signed “Oso y alcanforada,” the Spanish rendering of his personal name “Kumagusu” or “Camphor-Bear.” Most significantly, during this period of family

tragedy, steps leading to what would be Minakata's greatest triumph as a Japanese biologist were undertaken, when intermediaries requested that he prepare for the Emperor some biological specimens. In November of 1926, Minakata presented the intermediary with a collection of 90 live specimens drawn from 37 genera of myxomycetes on growth media – including horse dung -- neatly ranked in a succession of taffy boxes for the Emperor's private laboratory. The Emperor was sufficiently pleased by the specimens that, almost immediately, preparations commenced for Minakata to give the Emperor and his wife a personal lecture and walking of Kashima Island, now a protected preserve as a result of Minakata's Anti-Shrine Consolidation activities. By the time he initiated his correspondence with Iwata, Minakata the eccentric of the mountains was known throughout the land as Minakata, the biologist honored by the Emperor himself.

This was the Minakata whose epistolary discussions with Iwata make clear the importance he placed on male-male friendship. Although the relationship between platonic friendship, deep affection, and homosexual activity is outside the primary scope of Wong's pioneering study of the influence of Minakata on Sun Yat-sen and my earlier discussion, it is, I think, of direct relevance to both his earlier relationship with Sun and his later broad resistance to the importation and adoption of the then-emergent Western medico-scientific sexological discourse of the Krafft-Ebing school, which addressed most forms of sexual activity outside the context of heterosexual monogamy in terms of deviance and abnormality requiring control and correction.

Indeed, in his erudite, discursive, and frank letters to the sexologist Iwata between 1931 and 1937, among his many reflections on the inappropriateness of using newly-coined Japanese words as cognates for newly-imported Western terms used to classify

various kinds of homophilia in preference to native terms with long-established usages and understandings,⁶⁵ he writes touchingly of the deep bond he felt in his youth for two brothers of a family in his home town, and recounts the way in which this experience both opened him, for the first time in his life, to “tender feelings,”⁶⁶ and continued to resonate in memory through his many years of self-imposed exile in the Americas and then London. This experience was, he tells Iwata, so transformative that, for the first time, he became capable of looking at a woman “without wishing to hit her”.⁶⁷ However, this confession can not be taken as evidence of actual sexual activity with any other male than himself, Sun included— Minakata explicitly tells Iwata that he was a virgin until his marriage at age 40.⁶⁸ And interestingly, the second eruption of these “tender feelings” which I have been able to find seems to have occurred on the occasion of the birth of his first child, to whom Minakata was continuing to attend in his illness during this period, and ultimately, until the end of his life.

In his first letter, Minakata remonstrates against Iwata’s use of the new coinage *doseiai* (同性愛), an ungendered term which can be taken to mean the love of one individual of the same gender for another, without regard to whether the two individuals are male or female, Minakata prefers the older coinages *nanshoku* and *nanshokudo*

⁶⁵ Sibley, Pflugfelder, Driscoll, Faure

⁶⁶ Sibley, Partings at Dawn, also quoted by Pflugfelder, Driscoll and Faure

⁶⁷ As the aforementioned “scuffle” in the streets of London, along with one of the incidents that led to his permanent removal from the Reading Room at the British Museum suggest, while this experience may have made a departure from this early quite clear misogynistic cast of character *possible*, it does not seem to have made it continuous.

⁶⁸ Iwata, tr. by Sibley. While the explicit statement might put to rest any sense that his relationship with Sun – or his boyhood friends – was one characterized by sexual acts, Minakata’s capacity for ribald humor regarding attractive young boys was noted by a number of friends and associates with whom he exchanged letters, and is a key feature of his dispute with Yanagita, who complained that Minakata would often introduce a smutty remark just as he was coming to the point of a matter.

(男色道) and advocates for them vigorously. As Pflugfelder glosses the Sibley translation of the correspondence:

According to Minakata, Japanese of Iwata's generation had lost sight of the spiritual and ethical dimensions of *nanshoku*...mistakenly regarding the love of "beautiful boys" in earlier times as simply a matter of "getting ass" (*kotei o nerote*; literally, "aiming for the rear garden"). What they failed to understand, he maintained, was that *nanshoku* contained both "pure" (*jō*) and "impure" (*fujō*) elements, as had also been the case among the ancient Greeks described by the Victorian intellectual John Addington Symonds, an original edition of whose 1883 work Minakata proudly owned. In Japan, Minakata wrote, *nanshoku* in its "pure" form had represented the epitome of the Confucian virtue of friendship (*yudō*), or what he call the "masculine way" (*nandō*).⁶⁹

But what is curious about this correspondence is the way in which, even as Minakata is arguing for the use of native terms and the preservation of native understandings, he draws a distinction between *nanshoku* as generally "impure" on the one hand and *nandō* (or, in a more Japanese reading: *otokomichi*) on the other as generally pure, and also acknowledges the admixture of pure (spiritual) and impure (carnal) love in the realm of *nanshoku*. Heterodox to the last, Minakata's *otokomichi* is his own neologism, an East Asian coinage from two Chinese characters read with a Japanese pronunciation!

In the same year that Minakata commenced his correspondence with Iwata, his old antagonist Yanagita resigned from the editorial board of the *Asahi Shimbun*, which was coming under increased pressure from right-wing groups working at the behest of Toyama Mitsuru and Uchida Ryōhei. At the same time, with the exception of a 1931 entry titled "Japan in 1627" and a 1933 entry title "A Jackdaw Tradition," Minakata's contributions to foreign publications had essentially come to an end. In 1932, Inukai Tsuyoshi, the guardian to whom Sun Yat-sen had addressed the letter of introduction he

⁶⁹男道

wrote for his friend Minakata, then serving as Prime Minister of Japan, was assassinated in a military coup that is widely viewed as marking the last gasp of republican democracy in prewar Japan, and in 1933, the publisher of the Asahi Shimbun engaged the services of Minakata's old protégé, Ueshiba Morihei, for the purpose of training senior newspaper staff members to protect him against assassination. It is not, in these circumstances, surprising that Minakata chose to reserve his controversial remarks almost exclusively to his private correspondence, while professionally devoting himself in his waning years more strictly to biology and his beloved molds, laboring tirelessly to produce what would be his magnum opus, the Illustrated Book of Bionomic of Japanese Fungi (日本産菌類の彩色生態図譜).

Published in 1937, the completed work contained 15,000 illustrations of 4,500 species, many of them hand-colored and so beautiful as to suggest that, in addition to the rest of his accomplishments, Minakata was to the fungi of Japan as Audobon was to the birds of America.

In that same year, when his long-time correspondent Iwata Jun'ichi informed Minakata of his intention to found a journal devoted to the history of Japanese homosexuality under the name *Azunai kenkyū*, Minakata warned Iwata against the choice of name. Having once been used in the *Nihongi* – the second most ancient Imperial chronicle of Japanese history – to describe a “divinely punished transgression,” Minakata feared that the use of the term in the title of Iwata's proposed publication “might be interpreted as seditious (*fuon*).”⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Pflugfelder, *ibid.* p. 327

The great opening of the Meiji era into which Minakata was born had come full circle. The country was not, strictly speaking, physically closed in the way of the Tokugawa era, but in other, no less critical ways, the Black Box of the Emperor System had closed over the islands of Japan and its far-flung imperial possessions. Frank speech in public arenas was no longer safe. The correspondence between the aging Minakata and Iwata would continue until Minakata's final illness took him in its grip in November of 1941. On the clear morning of December 7, Pearl Harbor awoke to the bombs and bullets of the Japanese Imperial forces, Twenty two days later, Minakata opened his eyes for a moment and said the auspicious words "I can see purple flowers on the ceiling,"⁷¹ and passed out of this life.

In the aftermath of the war, Minakata seems to have been largely forgotten for a time. The academic fashion of the day – at least until the time of the Kokan Steel Strike, which coincided with the rising tension of the Cold War between the United States on one hand and the Soviet Union & China – was resolutely leftist. Those academics who had strongly supported the war found themselves marginalized, and scholars with a frankly Marxist orientation found themselves in demand, as Japan struggled to craft a satisfactory explanatory narrative for the just-past decades of imperial expansion and then utter defeat. A number of such scholars, among them Tsurumi Kazuko and her brother, had actually spent the war in exile, studying in the United States. But this was not to be Minakata's time: his life and work simply could not yield the sort of neat and tidy narrative that was in demand at that time.

⁷¹ The vision of purple flowers on the ceiling, or purple clouds in the sky, is held in Buddhism to be a sign of a favorable rebirth in the Western Paradise.

With a turn in US policy, the rehabilitation of a great many former supporters of the war, and a renewed push for economic development, Yanagita's work, particularly his later theories regarding the relationship between rice cultivation and the distinctive Japanese virtues of cooperation and willingness to subsume oneself in a larger enterprise for collective benefit, attracted renewed and popular interest, which rose steadily from the mid fifties forward until the Yanagita-boom of the seventies. For some, particularly those on the right, Yanagita served as a socially acceptable marker for a politically unacceptable desire to return to a more tightly ordered society that was assured of its own greatness. For others, particularly those who identified with what is called, for lack of a better phrase, the counter-culture of that time, Yanagita and his work represented an amateur ideal and presented an idyllic vision of rural Japan, both of which were attractive to those who wished for an alternative to an increasingly technocratic urban existence. Interest in Minakata's work, by contrast, seemed for some time to trail behind that of Yanagita. But there was one critical difference: while Yanagita had placed his discipline outside the boundaries of institutional academic anthropology and ethnography in order to pursue an essentially literary approach which could not withstand peer review in those emergent disciplines, Minakata placed himself and his work outside the institutional structure of academia so as to be free to pursue his practice of *yariate*—an open experimental approach to both biological and cultural phenomena which is, ultimately nothing more or less than what we call “trial and error” or “the experimental process—even when it led to conclusions that were inadmissible within an institutional context because of political considerations. By the time of the publication of Tsurumi's biography of Minakata in 1978 conditions were ripe for a reappraisal of Yanagita's older

antagonist. Since that time, interest in Minakata's work, both in Japan and elsewhere, has steadily grown.

While Yanagita's "discipline" of *minzokugaku* has been entirely superceded and marginalized by changes in the fundamental methods and understandings of cultural anthropology, Minakata's works are finally beginning to yield their treasures to disciplines and scholars who are only now arriving in the fields he began to describe almost a century and a half ago. It is as if his work were one of the slime molds he so loved to study, long dormant, but now moving in response to some unpredictable but perfectly appropriate combination of conditions. It is as if the spores have been released, and it is to be expected that in the coming years, we will see a spate of translations of Minakata's Japanese language work into English and other European languages, sparking new growths, strange forms, and fresh insights into the webs of causality and chance within which we exist.

Conclusions: All Dharmas Are Empty

The period of Minakata's life – 1867-1941 – was a time of unparalleled change in the history of Japan, its relationship with the rest of the world, and indeed, global relations considered as a whole. Minakata's own characteristics – both his gifts and his flaws – make him *sui generis*. His prodigious memory, capacity for hyper-focus, facility with languages, acute eyesight, fierce temper, periodic grand mal seizures, disinclination to accept the strictures of any curriculum, and generally untamable spirit were evident even in his early adolescence. In conjunction with these traits, he had the great fortune to be born to a family of means that was, yet, of common stock and unbound by the venerable and rigid codes of conduct that governed those of more elite lineage. How could one assemble this collection of characteristics – one hesitates to call them *virtues* -- in a conscious program of self-creation or skills acquisition?

And then there is the matter of the region with which he is associated. The Kii Peninsula of Japan, now Wakayama Prefecture, has its own singular identity, one which has been guarded for time immemorial by its remoteness, the inaccessibility insured by its rugged mountains and deep valleys, and its role as a principal spiritual center of Japan – home not only to the Imperially sanctioned Shingon preserve on Mount Kôya, but also to the Kumano Sanzan and the Kumano Kodô which connects them. If nothing else, were it not for the efforts of Minakata and those who worked with him in the Anti-Shrine Consolidation movement, it is very likely that there would not have been enough left of the Kumano Kodô to justify its designation as a UNESCO world heritage site in 2004.

Largely eliding his principal activity as a botanist and a mycologist, this study has examined his English-language works – and the way in which they flowed back into his subsequent activity upon his return to Japan in 1900 – through the conceit of *translation*. In the case of his collaboration with Frederick V. Dickins as co-translator of the Kamo no Chômei's 12th century masterpiece miniature, the Hôjôki, the project was clearly a Literary Translation in the most literal sense of the word.

Although I point out that of the 50 English-language entries he contributed to *Nature* and 323 (or more, depending on how and what one counts) he had published to *Notes & Queries* a significant number are, in fact, queries and not articles at all, nonetheless, the achievement was a significant one. That lily needs no gilding. His considerable facility with the English language is as astonishing today as it must have been in Victorian London. But more importantly, in these articles, through his examinations of the history of science, the proto-scientific basis for some folk beliefs, the global exchange of knowledge concerning *materia medica*, and the circuitous and sometimes surprising routes of transmission taken by many folktales thought to be native to or distinctive features of this or that region or locality, he provides a comprehensible translation of history and culture which demonstrates ways in which cultural development is not linear or unidirectional, that east and west have met many times in the past, and that much of what his readers might initially think to be primitive was quite culturally sophisticated, and vice versa. Accordingly, I have looked at these articles in terms of the conceit of Cultural and Temporal Translation.

As for his relationship with Toki Hōryū, in all of its aspects – personal, sectarian, and intellectual – I have treated this encounter of Minakata's orientation toward, if not

wholly positivist, nonetheless unquestionably empiricist and yes, emphatically scientific, approach to observable phenomena, and Toki's orientation toward a form of contemplation, constructed vision, and ritual instantiation that merges the unseen with the seen and sacralizes both as a question of Cosmological and Epistemological Translation, and suggested that there is yet utility in the Buddhist metaphor of Indra's Web as an alternative to considering or classifying cultures in terms of a hierarchical ladder. Further, I suggest that Minakata's own understanding of Shingon Buddhism as the easternmost manifestation of what was perhaps the earliest global cosmopolitan religio-philosophical tradition was a critical insight that is yet underappreciated, even within the confines of Buddhological studies.

From there, I turned to the role he played --from the first moment of his meeting with Sun Yat-sen in Robert K. Douglas office at the British Museum during the period of Sun's residency in London -- as the individual who first exposed Sun to Japanese Pan-Asian thought, providing Sun with precisely the understanding of Japanese Pan-Asianism he would subsequently, and successfully, deploy to obtain financial and military support for his revolution when he arrived in Japan and was sought out by Miyazaki Torazô (most likely, at the behest of the Kokuryûkai founder Uchida Ryôhei). Examined in the same section of this study were Minakata's own activities -- as editorialist in the local newspaper, author of appeals to elite academic and governmental officials at the regional and academic level, orchestrator of less formal community anti-shrine consolidation activities, and along the way, as ecological theoretician whose Eight Statements articulated a conceptually and pragmatically sound argument against the government development program. The rubric under which both his relationship with Sun and his

involvement with the Anti-Shrine Consolidation Campaign was subsumed was that of Political Translation.

Finally, considered as examples of Conceptual Translation were his relationships with Yanagita Kunio, the so-called “father of *minzokugaku*,” a division of Japanese folklore studies distinct from ethnology, anthropology, or comparative folklore studies, and the pioneering Japanese sexologist and queer historian Iwata Jun’ichi. In the former instance, we observed his insistence on both empirical rigor on a Western model and evidentiary reach beyond the limits of oral tradition, along with an unflinching willingness to include matters considered smutty, profane, or taboo within the remit of any social science worthy of the name; against Yanagita’s genteel, polite and romantic, almost fictive approach to folklore studies. Conversely, in the latter case, on display was his insistence that long-standing native terminology to describe the varieties of male-male friendship, romance, and sexuality not simply be displaced and elided by neologisms crafted on the basis of terminology drawn from the emergent Western disciplines of psychology and sexology then being imported.

In this concern with nomenclature which appears with such intensity in his late correspondence with Iwata, we can see the continuing vitality of Minakata’s adolescent resolve to “harmonize and unify Japanese, Chinese, and Western learning and wisdom as they relate(d) to the cosmos, man, and earth.”

[“彼の最終目標は、地球規模の視点で日本・中国・西洋の天・地・人の知識を統一した三才図絵を曼陀羅形式で作ることであった。” -- 小川 泰]¹ While each of the individual areas of translation (along with the specific subset of Minakata’s

¹ Kogawa, Tai (小川 泰). KATACHI & SYMMETRY (かたちとシンメトリー. 際協力と文化間協力をめざして), November 11, 1994.

work materials I have identified with that mode of translation) I have reviewed is relevant to one or more key aspects of global affairs – Literary Translation considered as a mode of self-presentation and the effective projection of “soft power;” Cultural and Temporal Translation considered not only as an effective projection of “soft power” but also as a field of inquiry in its own right with the strong potential to undermine received “wisdom,” particularly when misconstrued facts and consequently atavistic and chauvinistic aspects of such “wisdom” mis-state and mis-shape our understanding of our own regional, national, continental, and global cultural histories; Cosmological and Epistemological Translation considered not only as a means of laying bare core organizational schemes for knowledge about the world and the way in which such schemes differ from culture to culture, but also as a means of documenting the way in which key developments in cosmopolitan Buddhist thought of the first millennium prefigure a number of modern developments in Western philosophy; Political Translation considered as a model for ways in which political ends may be served by ostensibly non-political modes of inquiry, representation, and social network activation; and finally, Conceptual Translation considered as a means of both adapting transplanted intellectual imports and borrowings while marking and maintaining cultural boundaries which those imports and borrowings might otherwise erase.

Within the Buddhist paradigm which I have asserted was shared by Toki and Minakata, there are two additional tropes which I must, at last, introduce. The first is that of “skillful means” (Skt. *upaya*) and the second is that of “emptiness” or “voidness” (Skt: *sunyata*); the former being an expedient, a provisional construct, or perhaps, to recur to Bourdieu, bricolage; the latter is the notion that all entities and constructs are compound,

contingent, and ultimately lacking any detectable self-nature or permanence. Strikingly, one of the more entertaining – and still contested – questions of Buddhist epistemology is whether this doctrine of emptiness applies to itself, a question I am surely not prepared to address in this study, or for that matter, in this lifetime. What I can, however, confidently assert is that these notions of “skillful means” and “emptiness” have been applied to Western imports into Japan for hundreds of years. The Meiji formulation *wakon yosai*, or “Eastern soul, Western technique,” quite neatly and succinctly lays out this way of thinking that, as the Heart Sutra states “form is no other than emptiness, emptiness no other than form.” In such a view, it is only natural to think that these Western forms have, by their very nature, an emptiness which might easily be filled by an Eastern soul – and that, moreover, that “Eastern soul” is itself compound, contingent, and in this way, no less constructed than any other apparent “form.” That such a view may be irresolvable with any notion of Platonic perfection, fixed natural law, or a divine basis for human rights (which notions, in varying degrees and proportions, underpin much Western thinking in the relevant disciplines) has profound implications for intergovernmental and commercial negotiations between East and West, and the relative precision or stability of intergovernmental and commercial agreements resulting from such negotiations.

In reviewing these disparate areas of Literary, Cultural and Temporal, Cosmological and Epistemological, Political, and Conceptual Translation which can be identified in Minakata’s career, largely eliding his principal focus on those strange and primitive protozoans known as myxomycetes, which some biologists now suspect may be the most common form of life on earth, and undergird all other biota in ways that have still been scarcely imagined, I have also sidestepped the true strangeness of the many

non-linear and multi-phase transformations found in the life cycle of slime molds, transformations in which they shift shape, degree and mode of motility, and categories of singular and plural existence. Rather, I have favored what I hope are the comparatively simple five categories of Literary Translation, Cultural and Temporal Translation, Cosmological and Epistemological Translation, Political Translation, and Conceptual Translation. But even these categories are nothing more than modes of post-mortem analysis; an analysis carried out on the literary equivalents of thinly carved slices of animal and vegetable tissues, laid out on slides, bathed in particular combinations of chemicals that tend to reveal particular sorts of structural features. Perhaps they are useful modes, but they are most certainly neither the things themselves, nor even modes so fundamental as Minakata's four epistemological categories of *monofushigi*, *kokorofushigi*, *kotofushigi*, and *rifushigi*: the wonders of things, minds, actions, and principles. They are just means of getting from here to there, and in light of the material, rather arbitrary means.

The Hôjôki, a literary translation published by a retired British diplomat and an ardent Pan-Asianist who expressed his fervent desire entirely to drive Westerners from the East, might as easily be presented as an act of Cultural and Temporal Translation. Indeed, in pointing out the closeness of the diction to the King James Bible and the poetry of Burns, and the opening sentiment to the Book of Ecclesiastes, I suggested as much, but did not foreground it as a matter of classification. Considered as a literary publication for an elite British audience at the time of the Anglo-Japanese alliance and the Russo-Japanese War, it might as easily be classified as a Political Translation act of high diplomacy through the deployment of soft power.

In much the same way, virtually every article in *Nature* and *Notes & Queries* contains embedded in itself a Literary Translation. Each evocation of Cultural and Temporal precedence of the East in any matter, no matter how minor, implicitly forwards a Political Translation of the need to rebalance unequal Eastern and Western treaty relationships, and a Conceptual Translation of the deficiencies of the Social Darwinist construct of a ladder of cultures and cultural achievement.

Notwithstanding the fact that his production of Japanese language publications outstripped that in English following his return to Japan, his peers often argued with him, advising him that he should write fewer letters — and it is true that he wrote a great many letters — and more articles, in order to insure his legacy. Minakata insisted that the letters too would be part of his legacy. Indeed, in making this claim, he specifically cited Leibniz —co-creator of the calculus, himself a polymath, and however unhappily situated in Jena by Imperial Command, the progenitor of a line of monism that runs through Goethe, Schiller, and Humboldt to Haeckel, from whom Minakata adopted the “oekologie” -- as his model in this regard. Even if Minakata rejected the progressivist or teleological character of some strains of that monism, still he accepted the epistolary method of Leibniz and by his very exchange of letters with Toki was ever and always engaged in a series of reinstantiating performative acts of Literary, Cultural & Historical, and Conceptual Translation.

When, in the course of his struggle to save the small shrines of Tanabe and the natural repositories of flora and fauna of the surrounding region, he continued this epistolary mode with letters written to socially elite associates he had met years before in the small communities of cosmopolitan Japanese he encountered during his time as an

expatriate in America and London, or engaged with them in the course of large social affairs associated with group pilgrimages to the Kumano shrines and consumption of sake from the Minakata breweries, wrote to colleagues such as Ninzo and Matsuoka on the Biology Faculty at Tôdai, crafted his editorials in the local paper, or deployed (as purported by Ueshiba Kisshomaru) Ueshiba Morihei as his “general,” his actions prefigured perfectly the four-fold scheme of globalization driving factors proposed by Peter Berger almost a century later: the tetrad of Davos Culture, Faculty Club Culture, Popular Culture, & Popular Movement Culture. Moreover, in those letters and those actions, he specifically cites, invokes, and recreates the literary, historical, economic, political, ecological, and conceptual value of the shrines. Again, each of these categories, at least in Minakata’s mode of operation, inheres in the others. There is no slicing any one of them out, there is only a method through which one or the other can be highlighted for the eye of the viewer.

Finally, in his dispute with Yanagita, against the inductive and strictly oral essence of folk-lore stressed by Yanagita (though edited, recrafted, positioned in terms of a fact-finding expedition of a *minzokugakusha*’s, and set down in print, at last by Yanagita or one of his informants), Minakata specifically cites empirical method as a pursuit based on historical evidence -- evidence not only drawn from literature reduced to two dimension on the printed page, but also extracted from a landscape seen as both a landscape and as a text to be read. A landscape read and inhabited as a four-dimensional repository which is not merely a treasure chest of historical artifacts, but continuing acts carried out by living beings, acts made existent by minds interacting with matter —and he cautions that the loss of the land will erase the acts and leave them inaccessible to

study. The loss of the biota on the land will do the same. And the loss of the people on the land will do the same. He presents then, a clear warning not only against “authority” but against all ‘progressive’ projects that are totalizing in their effects, for no matter how great the promised benefits, there is not only a certainty that much will be lost, but there is a certainty that the loss will be irretrievable.

What then is the use of the exercise, and what the value of these five categories? I would suggest this —if only for a moment, recognizing that the finger pointing at the moon is not the moon itself— whether viewed as a man of literature, a cultural historian, a cosmologist, a political activist, or a trafficker in social science conceptualization, if viewed through these five categories, Minakata’s example suggest that we would do well to strive for grace, precision, and fluidity in our expression; to join our attention to the past with a thirst for the present, to exhibit both boldness and rigor in our thinking, to inform all of these with a willingness to engage where we live and work, and to maintain a reasonable tolerance and humility regarding the range of human behaviors and our efforts to constrain it or censor the way in which it is represented...and leave a record.

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APPENDIX I

Chronology of the Life of Minakata Kumagusu

Source of Info	Year	Month	Day	Event/Title	Location
	806			Return of Kukai to Japan	Kyoto
Hojoki-MK	1155			Birth of Kamo-no-Chomei	Kyoto
	1177			Great Fire	Kyoto
	1180			Great Whirlwind	Kyoto
	1185			Great Earthquake	Kyoto
Hojoki-MK	1204			Ordination of Kamo-no-Chomei, takes Dharma Name Ren-in	
Hojoki-MK	1216			Death of Kamo-no-Chomei	Kyoto
Wiki	1850	6	27.	Birth of Lafcadio Hearn	Lefkada, Greece
	1862			Wm. Aston arrives in East Asia as member of British Consular Service	
Kornicki	1863			F.V. Dickins arrives in Japan	Yokohama
MKMF	1867	4	15.	Birth of Minakata Kumagusu	Wakayama City
	1868	4		Jingijimuka orders defrocking of monks performing Buddhist rites at Shinto shrines, elimination of Buddhist icons from Shinto shrines and elimination of use of Buddhist terminology at Shinto shrines. Defrocked Buddhist clergy subsequently ordered to return to their shrines as Shinto Kannushi.	Tokyo
	1868			Fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate, "Restoration" of the Emperor Meiji	Tokyo
Wiki	1869	11	4.	First Edition of "Nature" published, by Alexander McMillan	London
Trussel	1869			Emigration to US of Lafcadio	Cincinnati

				Hearn	OH
MKMF	1873			Entered Ono Elementary School	Wakayama City
Wiki	1874			Publication of Herbert Spencer's "The Principles of Sociology"	
Wiki	1875	7	31.	Birth of Matsuoka Kunio (later adopted into Yanagita family)	Fukusaki, Hyogo Prefecture
	1876			First national educational plan issued, wearing of swords in public banned, stipends for former Daimyo cancelled and indemnified with government bonds.	Tokyo
Trussel	1877			Lafcadio Hearn migrates from Cincinnati to New Orleans after difficulties resulting from Ohio's anti-miscegenation laws.	
MKMF	1877			MK Begin life-long practice of transcribing books, starting with the Wakan Sansai Dzue	Wakayama City
CWFVD	1879			Dickins revises earlier trans of Chushingura "w/o native assistance"	London
MKMF	1879			MK enters Entered Wakayama Middle School	Wakayama City
	1882			Publication of Dickins' first translation of Taketori	
MKMF	1884			MK sent to Tokyo, enters predecessor to Daiichi Kotogakko, a primary prep school for the Imperial University (Todai) at which students studied Japanese, Classic Chinese, German, Latin, mathematics, physics, chemistry, zoology and botany.	Tokyo
MKMF	1886	12		MK departs for US on "City of Beijing"	Yokohama
MKMF	1886			MK expelled from Todai Prep for failure to attend class	Tokyo
	1886			Basil Hall Chamberlain appointed Professor of Japanese Language and Philology at Todai	Tokyo
MKMF	1887	1		MK enters Pacific Business College	San Francisco
MKMF	1887	8		MK transfers to Michigan State School of Agriculture (now Michigan State University)	East Lansing, MI
Trussel	1887			Lafcadio Hearn moves to Martinique on assignment from Harper's Magazine	

	1887			Dickins' first translation of Taketori published	
				Facing expulsion after having been found dead-drunk and naked in hallway by University's President, moves to Ann Arbor that day, does not enroll at U-Michigan. Begins collecting specimens in earnest, reading "Nature," "Notes & Queries," and other publications in the University of Michigan library, makes acquaintance of a number of Japanese students, including Okazaki Kunisuke, secretary to Japanese ambassador to US and future Japanese politician, Minister of Communication (1900), and Minister of Agriculture (1925).	Ann Arbor, MI
MKMF	1888		11		
	1888			Yanagita sent to live with his older brothers and study at Daiichi Kotogakko, a primary prep school for Todai at which students studied Japanese, Classic Chinese, German, Latin, mathematics, physics, chemistry, zoology and botany.	
MKMF	1889		10	Reads Biography of Conrad von Gesner, resolves to become Japan's Gesner	
	1889			Retirement of Wm. Aston from BCS	England
	1889			Karl Florenz arrives in Japan and begins to teach German language and literature at Todai.	Tokyo
	1890		10	30.	Imperial Rescript on Education, written by Inoue Kowashi and Motoda Nagazene published. The rescript was an uneasy compromise between modernizers and Confucian traditionalists, but both factions agreed on the centrality of the Emperor as both a feature and goal of education, a notion which assumed the status of an article of religious faith, through its posting and daily recitation in all schoolrooms.
	1890		spring		Hearn, ostensibly on assignment from Harper's, emigrates to Japan.

	1890	summer		Moves to Matsue in western Japan, employed at Shimane Secondary School, takes Japanese citizenship and name Koizumi Yakumo. Position secured for Hearn by B.H. Chamberlain	
MKMF	1890			Makes contact with Wm. Calkins, amateur lichen-collector	Ann Arbor, MI
	1890			Publication of "Two Years in the French West Indies" and "Youma, The Story of a West-Indian Slave"	New York
Pulvers	1891	5.	2.	Arrives in Florida in search of botanical specimens, works in grocery of Jiang	Jacksonville
MKMF	1891	7		Moves again	Key West
MKMF	1891	9		Moves again	Havana, Cuba
	1891	10		Participates/observes early street riots before Cuban revolution	Havana, Cuba
MKMF	1891	10		Joins circus at instigation of Japanese circus rider, travels to Port-au-Prince, Caracas & Valencia, continues collecting specimens.	
MKMF	1892	1		Return to Florida	Jacksonville
JRAS	1892	2		Dixon presents first English translation of Hojoki to Royal Asiatic Society of Japan	Tokyo
MKMF	1892	8.		Jiang closes Jacksonville grocery, MK moves again	NYC
	1892	8		Spencer's Three Letters to Kaneko Kentaro on Japanese Constitution drafted with approval for translation and submission to Prime Minister Ito Hirobumi	London/Tokyo
MKMF/Pulvers	1892	9	14.	MK boards vessel "City of New York" for UK	
MKMF	1892	9		Arrives in UK	Liverpool
MKMF	1892	9		Arrives in London, learns of father's death by letter given him Yoshikisu Nakai, Yokohama Shokin Bank branch manager	
	1892			Publication of "Ethnology in Folklore" by George Lawrence Gomme	London
TASJ	1893	4.	10.	Dixon translation published in TASJ, on the basis of work by Natsume Soseki	London

MKMF	1893	8		Introduced to Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks by Kataoka Prince (Japanese art dealer, with whom Minakata dined regularly and for whom MK translated embedded texts in ukiyo-e prints)	
	1893	9	####	World's Parliament of Religions held in conjunction with "White City" Columbian Exhibition, Japanese Buddhist delegation includes Toki Horyu	Chicago
Nature	1893	10	5.	The Constellations of the Far East	15 Blithfield St, Kensington
Nature	1893	10	12.	Early Chinese Observations on Colour Adaptations	15 Blithfield St, Kensington
MKMF	1893	10.	30.	Meets Toki Horyu at home of Nakai Yoshikusu. stays with Toki overnight, receives kesa from "my master in mantrism."	London
MKMF	1893	10.		Publication of First Article, Reprint in Times of London	
	1893	11.	1.	Tours British Museum in company of Toki Horyu and Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks	London
	1893	11.	3.	MK returns to his own lodgings at 15 Blithfield St, writes letter to Toki	London
	1893	11.	4.	Toki sends reply with gift of kasaya, departs for Paris	London
Figal	1893	12.	21.	Letter from MK to Toki Horyu lays out tripartite division of the knowable into mono/koto/kokoro	London/Paris
	1893			Yanigita enters Todai to study law and agricultural administration, publishes a significant quantity of well-regarded poetry, co-founds the Ibsen Society of Japan, reads Anatole France in both English and French, reads widely in western literature.	
	1894	2.	9.	MK identifies himself as "Konzoku Nyorai" a past incarnation of the legendary Buddhist layman Vimilakirti depicted in the sutra of the same name, whose room also served as the model for Kamo-no-Chomei's ten-foot-square hut which provides the name for his Hojoki, subsequently translated by MK and FV Dickins.	

	1894	3.		Toki departs Paris for Japan via Mediterranean and India.	
Nature	1894	5	10.	Some Oriental Beliefs about Bees and Wasps	No Address Given
Nature	1894	5	17.	The Earliest Mention of Dictyophora	No Address Given
Nature	1894	5	24.	An Intelligence of the Frog	No Address Given
Nature	1894	11	8.	On Chinese Beliefs about the North	15 Blithfield St., Kensington, W.
Nature	1894	11	15.	Chinese Beliefs about Caves	15 Blithfield St., Kensington, W.
Nature	1894	12	27.	The Antiquity of the "Finger-Print" Method	15 Blithfield St., Kensington, W.
	1894			Publication of Lafcadio Hearn's "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan"	Boston/New York, London, Leipzig, Tokyo
MKMF	1894			Meets F.V. Dickins	
	1895	1	5.	Military degradation of Albert Dreyfus	Paris
Nature	1895	1	17.	"Finger-Print" Method	No Address Given
Nature	1895	1	24.	Chinese Theories of the Origin of Amber	
Nature	1895	2	28.	Hesper and Phosphor	No Address Given
	1895	4.	17.	Treaty of Shimonoseki, Japanese Occupation of Taiwan,	
Nature	1895	4	25.	The Mandrake	No Address Given
Nature	1895	6	27.	The Invention of the Net	No Address

					Given
Nature	1895	11	28.	The Story of the "Wandering Jew"	15 Blithfield St., Kensington, W.
	1895			Publication of Lafcadio Hearn's "Gombo Zhèbes, Little Dictionary of Creole Proverbs in Six Dialects" and "La Cuisine Créole"	New York
Trussel	1895			Publication of Lafcadio Hearn's "Out of the East: Reveries and Studies in New Japan"	Boston/New York, London, Leipzig, Tokyo
Nature	1896	2	6.	The Antiquity of the Finger-Print Method	No Address Given
Nature	1896	3	25.	Remarkable Sounds	No Address Given
Nature	1896	4	30.	Remarkable Sounds	No Address Given
Nature	1896	5	28.	Remarkable Sounds	No Address Given
Nature	1896	8	13.	The Mandrake	15 Blithfield St., Kensington, W.
Wong	1896	10.	11.	Sun Yat-sen held at Chinese Consulate	London
Wong	1896	12.		Professor Henry Giles solicits submission from Sun Yat-sen for inclusion in forthcoming Chinese Biographical Dictionary	
Wiki	1896			With assistance by B.H. Chamberlain, Hearn takes position as Lecturer in English Literature at Todai, where he continues until 1903, at which time he moves to Waseda	Tokyo
Trussel	1896			Publication of Lafcadio Hearn's "Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life"	Boston, London, Berlin
Nature	1896			Remarkable Sounds	
Wiki	1896			Publication of first English translation of 'Nihongi' by W.A. Aston	London
Nature	1897	1	27.	Marriage of the Dead	No Address Given
MKMF	1897	3.	16.	First meeting with Sun Yat-sen in office of Robert K. Douglas at British Museum	London
Nature	1897	5	13.	On Augury from Combat of Shell-fish	No Address Given
Wong	1897	6.	30.	Sun Yat-sen leaves England for	

				Japan	
Nature	1897	9.	9.	The Centipede-Whale	15 Blithfield St., Kensington, W.
Nature	1897	10	21.	Acquired Immunity from Insect Stings	No Address Given
Trussel	1897			Publication of "Gleanings in the Buddha-Fields: Studies of Hand and Soul in the Far East" and "The Boy Who Drew Cats"	Boston/New York, Tokyo
	1898	1	13.	Publication of Emile Zola's "J'Accuse"	Paris
Catalogue of Japanese printed books & manuscripts in the library of the British Museum	1898	1.		"For advice and assistance in the compilation of this, the largest and fullest Catalogue of Japanese Books ever printed in Europe, I owe a great debt of gratitude to Sir Ernest Satow, K.C.M.G., to Mr. Aston, to Mr. Chinsei Narahara, and to Kumagusu Minakata." -- Robert Kennaway Douglas, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS.	London
Nature	1898	3	3.	The Mandrake	No Address Given
Nature	1898	3	10.	Oat Smut as Artist's Pigment	No Address Given
Nature	1898	6	2.	Notes on the Bugonia-Superstitions.--The Occurrence of Eristalis Tenax in India	7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.
Nature	1898	10	13.	The Centipede-Whale	
Nature	1898	12	15.	The Invention of the Gimbal	7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.
	1898			Publication of "Exotics and Retrospectives" and "Japanese Fairy Tales"	Boston/New York
MKMF	1898			Loses Readers Ticket at British Museum	London
Nature	1899	2	6.	Plague in China	7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.
Nature	1899	4	20.	The Natural Prey of the Lion	7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.
Notes and Queries	1899	6.	3.	A Witty Boy	7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.

Notes and Queries	1899	6.	3.	The Invention of the Gimbal	7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.
Nature	1899	6	15.	Walrus	7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.
Notes and Queries	1899	6.	24.	Walrus	No address given
Notes and Queries	1899	7.	1.	Chinese Medicine	No address given
Notes and Queries	1899	7.	8.	Beaver and Python	No address given
Notes and Queries	1899	7.	15.	Reference Wanted	No address given
Notes and Queries	1899	7.	22.	"Swim-Shell"	No address given
Notes and Queries	1899	08	12.	The Wandering Jew	
Notes and Queries	1899	08	26.	The Wandering Jew	7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.
	1899	9	20.	Release of Albert Dreyfus and remission of sentence	Paris
Notes and Queries	1899	9.	30.	Maize	7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.
Trussel	1899			Publication of "In Ghostly Japan" and "The Goblin Spider"	Boston and Tokyo, respectively
Nature	1900	2	22.	Indian Corn	1 Crescent Place, South Kensington, S.W.
Notes and Queries	1900	2.	24.	Flying Cups	1 Crescent Places, South Kensington, S.W.
Nature	1900	3	22.	Crab Ravages in China	1 Crescent Place, South Kensington, S.W.
Nature	1900	3	29.	Indian Corn	1 Crescent Place, South Kensington, S.W.
Nature	1900	4	12.	Illogicality concerning Ghosts	No address given

Notes and Queries	1900	4.	28.	The Wandering Jew	No address
Notes and Queries	1900	8.	18.	Pictures Composed of Handwriting	1 Crescent Places, South Kensington, S.W.
Notes and Queries	1900	9.	1.	Footprints of the Gods	1 Crescent Places, South Kensington, S.W.
Notes and Queries	1900	9.	22.	Footprints of the Gods	1 Crescent Places, South Kensington, S.W.
Notes and Queries	1900	10.	27.	Footprints of the Gods	1 Crescent Places, South Kensington, S.W.
MKMF	1900	10		Return to Japan on Awa Maru	Kobe
Nature	1900	September	6.	Artificial Deformation of Heads, and some Customs connected with Polyandry	1 Crescent Place, South Kensington, S.W.
Trussel	1900			Publication of Lafcadio Hearn's "Shadowings" and "Japanese Lyrics"	Boston
MKMF	1900			"Urged by George Murray to complete a catalog of Japanese plants"	London
MKMF	1901	2		Sun-Yat Sen visits MIK, gifts his Panama hat and soon after writes a letter of introduction to Inukai Tsuyoshi then Minister of Education. Letter never used.	Wakayama City
	1901	5		Japanese Social Democratic Party (Shnkai Minshutoo) formed; banned by government within two days.	
MKMF	1901	10		MK moves to Katsu'ura, lives at branch of Minakata Sake Distillery with brother Tsunegusu, begins specimen collections	Nachi
Mori	1901			Yanagita enters government service in the Ministry of Agriculture, working on agricultural planning	
	1901			Publication of Lafcadio Hearn's "A Japanese Miscellany"	Boston, London

	1902	1	30.	Anglo-Japanese Alliance Signed	London
Nature	1902	7	17.	Note on Specimen Submitted to Nature	Wakayama-shi
	1902			Publication of Lafcadio Hearn's "Kotto: Being Japanese Curios, with Sundry Cobwebs", "The Old Woman Who Lost Her Dumpling", and "Chin Chin Kobakama"	New York and London, Tokyo, Tokyo
Nature	1903	4	23.	Distribution of Pithophora	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Nature	1903	4	30.	The Discovery Of Japan	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	5.	9.	Footprints of the Gods	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	5.	30.	Japanese Monkeys	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	6.	13.	Owl	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	6.	20.	Single Tooth	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	6.	20.	Magic Ring	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	6.	27.	Folk-Lore or Botany	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	6.	27.	Japanese Monkeys	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Nature	1903	7	30.	Distribution of Calostoma	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1903	7.		Minakata Mandala' first sketched in letter to Toki Horyu	Nachi/Koyasan
Notes and Queries	1903	8.	8.	Legend of the Serpent's Feet	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	8.	8.	Story of the Ungrateful Son	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	8.	29.	Anthropoid Ape	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	8.	29.	Pictures Composed of Handwriting	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
	1903	8.		Minakata Mandala	Nachi/Koyasan

Notes and Queries-MKZ	1903	9.	19.	Japanese Monkeys	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	10.	10.	Palo de Cobra	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	11.	14.	Reference Wanted	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1903	12.	12.	Trinity Sunday Folklore	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
	1903			Publication of Lafcadio Hearn's "Kwaidan: Stories and Studies of Strange Things"	Boston/New York, London, Leipzig
Pulvers	1903			Article "The Traces of Cannibalism in Ancient Japan" rejected by "Nature"	
Notes and Queries	1904	1.	9.	"A Flea in the Ear"	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	1.	23.	"Red Rag To A Bull"	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	1.	23.	Vicissitudes of Language	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	1.	30.	Hobgoblins' Claws	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	2.	20.	Water of Jealousy	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	2.	27.	Chinese Ghosts	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	3.	5.	Breaking Glass at Jewish Weddings	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	3.	12.	Ghosts' Markets	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	3.	12.	Mangosteen Markings	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	4.	23.	Japanese Monkeys	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	6.	18.	A Japanese Master of Lies	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Satow's Letters	1904	7	22.	Satow writes FVD re Manyoshu Trans.	

Notes and Queries	1904	7.	23.	Footprints of the Gods	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Nature	1904	8	25.	The Earliest Mention of Hydrodictyon	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	9.	17.	Eel Folk-Lore	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Trussel	1904	9	26.	Lafcadio Hearn dies of heart-attack. CF Michael Shapiro "In the Land of the Broken-Hearted"	
MKMF	1904	10		Leaves Nachi, walks to Tanabe collecting specimens along the way	Kumano Road
Notes and Queries	1904	12.	24.	Stealing No Crime	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	12.	24.	Wooing Staff	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1904	12.	24.	The Envied Favorite	Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan
Trussel	1904			Publication of Lafcadio Hearn's "Japan: an Interpretation" (posthumous)	New York, London
MKMF	1904			Outbreak of Russo-Japanese War	
	1905	1	2.	Fall of Port Arthur in Russo-Japanese War	
MKMF	1905	Fall		Donates 46 slime mold specimens to British Museum, Lister publishes accompanying notes in Journal of Botany vol. 49 as "The Second Report of Japanese Fungi."	
PMJT	1905			Dickins publishes "Primitive and Mediaeval Japanese Texts," acknowledgement of translation assistance by Minakata.	
	1905			Publication of "The Romance of the Milky Way and other studies and stories"	
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society	1905			Publication of "Hojoki" translation in JAS	
	1905			Publication of Florenz' "Geschichte der japanisch Literatur"	
The Critic	1906	4.		"Letters of a Poet to a Musician: Lafcadio Hearn to Henry E. Kreibbel"	

MKMF	1906	7		Marries Matsue Tamura	Tanabe
The Critic	1906	9		Republication of Hojoki in US	
FE	1906			E.F. Strange publishes "Hokusai, the Old Man Mad About Painting," acknowledgement of translation assistance by Minakata	London
	1906			Shrine Consolidation Regulations Promulgated	
AJ	1906			Return of Ueshiba Morihei from service in Russo-Japanese War	Tanabe
Notes and Queries	1907	3.	2.	Mohammedamism in Japan	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1907	3.	9.	Lunar Halo and Rain	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1907	3.	16.	Single Tooth	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1907	4.	6.	Sindbad the Sailor: Monkeys and Cocoa-Nuts	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1907	7.	13.	Arrow-Breaking: Its Moral Lessons	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1907	7.	13.	"Life-Star" Folk-Lore	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1907	7.	13.	"Bat Bearaway"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1907	7		Birth of Kumaya	Tanabe
Notes and Queries	1907	8.	17.	"Maru"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1907	9.	7.	Moon and Crabs	No place named
Notes and Queries	1907	9.	14.	Red Rag and Antelope	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1907	10.	5.	Goats Blood and Diamonds	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1907	11.	9.	"Maru"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Nature	1907	12	26.	Early Chinese Descriptions of the Leaf-Insects	Tanabe, Kii
Hojoki	1907			Republication of Hojoki in Book Form by Gowans & Gray, Minakata uncredited	London
MKMF	1907			Beginning of campaign against shrine consolidation regulations	Wakayama
Notes and Queries	1908	1.	11.	Lithuanian Folk-Lore: Legless Spirits	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1908	3.	7.	Seaweek Needing Rain	No place named
Notes and Queries	1908	10.	10.	Bees and Lucky Days	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
	1908	10.	14.	Boshin Rescript	
Notes and	1908	10.	31.	Tiger Folk-Lore and Pope	Tanabe, Kii,

Queries					Japan
Nature	1908	11	5.	Polypus Vinegar--Sea Blubber Arrack	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1908	11.	7.	Guernsey Lily	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1908	11.	21.	The Disobedient Son	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1908	11.	21.	Crows "Crying Against the Rain"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Nature	1908	11	26.	An Alga growing on a Fish	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1908	12.	5.	Born with Teeth	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1908	12.	5.	Dead Animals Exposed on Trees and Walls	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1909	2.	20.	Snakes Drinking Milk	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1909	2.	27.	Diabolo: Its Origin	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1909	5.	1.	Names Terrible to Children	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1909	5.	22.	Dead Animals Exposed on Trees and Walls	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Nature	1909	5	27.	Baskets Used in Repelling Demons	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1909	5.	29.	Flying Machines of the Far East	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1909	6.	19.	The Storm Ship	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1909	7.	31.	Sneezing Superstition	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1909	9.	4.	Virgin Mary's Nut	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
	1909	9.		First weekly editorial by MK regarding Anti-Shrine Consolidation Movement in Muro Shinpo	
Notes and Queries	1909	10.	2.	Chinese Proverb in Burton's Anatomy	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1909	11.	6.	Flying Machines of the Far East	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1909	11.	6.	The Living Dead	No place named
	1909			MK begins transcription of Tripitaka	Tanabe
Notes and Queries	1910	1.	1.	Fly Painted on a Shield: Japanese Variant	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1910	1.	1.	St. Gratian's Nut	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1910	4.	16.	Child Telling Its Own Fate	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Nature-MKZ	1910	6.	23.	Colours of Plasmodia of Some Mycetozoa	Tanabe, Kii
Nature-MKZ	1910	7.	14.	A Singular Mammal called	Tanabe, Kii

				"Orocoma"	
Tankha	1910	7.	25-27	Publication of articles on Minakata in the Osaka Mainichi Shimbun	Osaka, Japan
MKMF/Pulvers	1910	8	11.	Arrested for hurling specimens at gov't officials during meeting on Shrine Regulations	Tanabe Junior High School (now High School)
Notes and Queries	1910	8.	20.	The Neglected Old Father: Chinese Parallel	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
	1910	8	22.	Formal Annexation of Korea by Japan	Korea
Notes and Queries	1910	12.	24.	Marriage Relationships	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
wiki	1910			Publication of Yanagita Kunio's "Tono Monogatari"	Tokyo
	1910			Ueshiba leaves Tanabe to examine prospects for settlement in Hokkaido	
MKMF	1911	2		Publication of "The Mountain God Loves Stonefish" in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo	Tokyo
Driscoll	1911	3	19.	Yanagita writes to MK in search of Wakayama lore regarding tengu, yamabito, & giants for publication in Kenkyu Kodo (Researching Native Place).	Tokyo
	1911	4			
Notes and Queries	1911	5.	20.	Corpse Bleeding in Presence of the Murderer	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1911	6.	3.	The Blindfolded Man: Japanese Variants	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1911	6.	3.	Marriage Relationships	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1911	8.	12.	Horses' Ghosts	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1911	8.	19.	Twins and Second Sight	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
	1911	8.		MK dispatches letter to Matsumura Ninzo, Professor of Botany and Director of the Botanical Gardens at Todai, now known as "Ikensho." Yanagita republishes letter at his own expense and circulates it widely in Tokyo circles of academia and governance.	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1911	10.		Birth of Fumie	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Kato	1911	11.	19.	MK uses word "ecology" in letter to newly appointed Governor of	Tanabe, Kii, Japan

				Wakayama	
Notes and Queries	1911	12.	9.	Spider Stories	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1911	12.	23.	Whittington and His Cat: Eastern Variants	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
	1911			Designation of Kashima-jima as a protected area. End of efforts to harvest island's timber.	Tokyo
Tankha	1911			MK letters to Yanagita and Governor Kawamura Takeji in which word "ecology" is used.	
Notes and Queries	1912	1.	6.	The Blindfolded Man: Japanese Variants	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Kato, MKZ. V.7, pp.529-565	1912	2		MK sends 37-page letter to Shirai Mitsutaru, Mycologist and Professor of Plant Pathology at Todai containing what have come to be known as "Minakata's Eight Statements" (against Shrine Consolidation)	Tanabe/Tokyo
Notes and Queries	1912	4.	20.	Whittington and His Cat	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Aikido Journal	1912	4.		Ueshiba heads group moving to Hokkaido for the purpose of settlement, no apparent further contact with MK	
Notes and Queries	1912	6.	8.	Pausanas	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1912	6.	29.	Diseases from Plants	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1912	9.	12.	Whittington and His Cat	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1912	9.	28.	Snake Poison	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1912	10.	12.	Legends of Flying	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Nature--MKZ	1912	10.	24.	Colours of Plasmodia of some Mycetozoa	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1912	11.	30.	Human Souls Interchanged	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1912	12.	23.	Earth-Eating	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
TTankha	1912	April, May, June		"Ikensho" serialized in Nihon oyobi Nihonjin under the title "A Remonstrance against the Unification of Shrines" (Jinja gappei hantai ikensho)	Tanabe/Tokyo
Notes and Queries	1913	1.	25.	Botany	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	2.	1.	Earth-Eating	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and	1913	4.	19.	Earth-Eating	Tanabe, Kii,

Queries					Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	5.	3.	"Scolopendra Cetacea"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	6.	14.	Extraordinary Fountains in Ireland, Brittany and Sicily	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	6.	21.	Double Flowers in Japan	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	6.	28.	Onions Planted with Roses	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	8.	2.	Extracting Snakes from Holes	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	8.	9.	"Scolopendra Cetacea"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	8.	23.	"Agonda" and "Akoda"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	9.	6.	A Slip in "the Encyclopaedia Britannica"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	9.	27.	Crab, The Pretended Astrologer	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	10.	4.	Botanical Press and Entomological	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	10.	11.	Cathedral Bell Stolen	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	11.	22.	Divination by Twitching	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1913	12.	6.	Mica	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Pulvers	1913	12.	30.	Yanagita travels to Wakayama to meet Minakata, "who was known for his raucous drinking binges [and] was as pissed as one of the newts he so loved to study."	
Nature--MKZ	1914	1	15	Trepanning among Ancient Peoples	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	1.	17.	Dido's Purchase of Land	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	4.	4.	Turtle and Thunder	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	4.	25.	Chinese Proverb in Burton's Anatomy	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	4.	25.	Weather Prognostications	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	4.	25.	Turtle and Thunder	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	5.	2.	Dido's Purchase of Land	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	5.	30.	Octopus, Venus's Ear, and Whelk	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	6.	6.	Feast of Shells	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	6.	13.	Dido's Purchase of Land	No place named
Notes and Queries	1914	6.	27.	Weather Prognostications	Tanabe, Kii, Japan

Notes and Queries	1914	7.	25.	Octopus, Venus's Ear, and Whelk	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1914	7		Announcement of USDA Office of Crop Physiology and Breeding intention to bring MK to US	
Notes and Queries	1914	11.	21.	Modern Advocate of Druidism	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	11.	21.	The Original of 'Aladdin'	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	11.	28.	The Purchasing of Dreams	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	11.	28.	Dido's Purchase of Land	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	12.	12.	Tooth-Blackening	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1914	12.	12.	Medicinal Mummies	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1914			Publication of first episode of Junishiko: A Study of the Twelve Animals of the Chinese Zodiac (The Folklore and Myth of Tiger)	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1915	5.	15.	Dreams and Literature	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1915	5		Dr. Walter T. Swingle comes to Tanabe to personally announce appointment, MK declines appointment.	
Notes and Queries	1915	6.	5.	Medicinal Mummies	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1915	7.	31.	Hair Used in Magic	No place named
Notes and Queries	1915	7.	31.	"Sympathies" and "Antipathies" of Plants	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1915	8.	7.	Theological Disputations by Means of Signs	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1915	8.	7.	Dido's Purchase of Land	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1915	8.	14.	Easter Hare	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
SPL	1915	8	17.	Death of F.V. Dickins and destruction of his papers as ordered in his will	
Notes and Queries	1915	9.	18.	Phosphorescent Birds	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1915	9.	25.	"Dragon's Lamp"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1915	10.	2.	"Poilu"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1915	11.	6.	The Virtues of Onions	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1915	11.	13.	Theological Disputations by Means of Signs	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and	1915	12.	4.	Methods of Waking a Sleeper	Tanabe, Kii,

Queries					Japan
Notes and Queries	1915	12.	11.	Employment of Wild Beasts in Warfare	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
	1915	12.		Formal Enthronement of Emperor Taisho after 1912 accession to throne on death of Emperor Meiji	
MKMF	1915			Outbreak of WW I	
Notes and Queries	1916	3.	16.	Folk-Lore: The Dangers of Crossing	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	3.	25.	The Figure of Buddha in the Eye and Neck	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	3.	25.	Cat Folk-Lore	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	4.	1.	Phosphorescent Spiders	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	4.	8.	Horse Washed with Rice	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	4.	15.	Employment of Wild Animals in Warfare	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	4.	22.	Cuckoo in Folk-Lore	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	4.	22.	The Dragon-Fly	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	4.	29.	Tigers' Whiskers	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1916	4		Purchase of residence, Brother Tsunegusu is owner of record	
Notes and Queries	1916	5.	20.	Stories of Swarming and Ascension of Fishes	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	11.	4.	Folk-Lore: Red Hair	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	11.	18.	House and Garden Superstitions	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1916	12.	2.	Employment of Wild Beasts in Warfare	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Driscoll	1916	12	23.	Final letter from MK to Yanagita	Tanabe/Tokyo
	1916			Discovery of new genus of slime mold <i>Minakatella longifila</i> Lister from a persimmon tree in his new backyard, discovery confirmed and genus named by Gulielma Lister, President of British Mycological Society	
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1917	3.	31.	The Sight of Savages	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1917	7.		Fire putting out Fire	Tanabe, Kii, Japan

				Publication of the first issue of "Hentai Shinri" (Abnormal Psychology), the house publication of the Japanese Psychiatric Association (Seishin Igakukai), in whose activities and publications Minakata was quite active.	
Driscoll	1917	10.			
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1917	11.		Cutting Off the Hair as A Preservative Against Headache	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Kornicki	1917			Publication of Sir Ernest Satow's "A Guide to Diplomatic Practice"	London
MKMF	1917			Preparation and submission of the 7.7 foot single sheet roll resume, with assistance of Yoshio Yabuki	
Notes and Queries	1918	4.		Submarines: Ironclads	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1918	12.		Medical Men Assassinated	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1919	1.		Boys Born in May	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1919	3.		Kimono	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1919	5.		The Ant-Bear and the Tortoise	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1919	5.		Submarines	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	1.		Grain-Seeds Lent by Churches	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	2.		Birds Poisoning Captive Young	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	6.	5.	Bats: Hair	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	6.	12.	Monkey's Wine	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	6.	19.	Magpie in Augury	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	6.	19.	Double Flowers in Japan	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	6.	26.	Folk-Lore: The Dangers of Crossing	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	8.	14.	Wild Boar in Heraldry	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1920	8		Visits Koya-san by invitation, reunion with Toki Horyu, collects fungi on Koyasan	Koya-san
Notes and Queries	1920	9.	11.	"Wine Bibber"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	9.	11.	Monkey's Wine	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	10.	2.	"Scolopendra Cetacea"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and	1920	10.	2.	Peacocks' Feathers	Tanabe, Kii,

Queries					Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	10.	16.	Amber	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	11.	20.	B.C. for "Before Christ."	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	11.	27.	The Ice-Worm	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1920	12.	4.	Fair Maids of Foscott	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1920	12.	11.	Peacocks' Feathers	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1920			Abolition of Shrine Regulations	Tokyo
Mori	1920			Yanagita resigns from government service, assumes position on editorial board of Asahi Shimbun	
Notes and Queries	1921	1.	1.	Folk-Lore of the Elder	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	1.	8.	Peacocks' Feathers	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	3.	5.	A Proverb About Eating Cherries	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	4.	16.	Raining in the Sunshine	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	5.	14.	Crucifixion of Dogs	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	5.	14.	Corsican War-Dogs: Island of Fowls	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	5.	21.	The Centipede	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	5.	28.	Old Man's Perversity	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	6.	4.	Wolf	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	8.	13.	War Portents	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	8.	27.	"Burnt His Boats"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	8.	27.	Rice	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1921	9.	1.	Great Kanto Earthquake	
Notes and Queries	1921	9.	3.	Double Flowers in Japan	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	10.	8.	Latin Proverb: "We're in the Same Boat"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1921	11.	19.	Gleaning by the Poor	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1921	11.	26.	Hero and Leander: A Japanese Variant	No place named
MKMF	1921			Completes prospectus of Minakata Biological Institute, travels to Tokyo for fundraising	
Notes and Queries	1921			Peacocks' Feathers	Tanabe, Kii, Japan

MKMF	1922	3		Travel to Tokyo for fundraising, stayed 6 months	
Notes and Queries	1922	4.	22.	The Bear, The Horse and the Aubergine	No place named
	1922	10.	10.	Last known letter from MK to Toki Horyu	Tanabe/Koyasan
Notes and Queries	1922	12.	23.	An Asiatic Orpheus	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1922	12	30.	An Asiatic Orpheus	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1922			Rift with brother as a result of unfulfilled pledge of 20,000 yen toward Minakata Biological Research Institute	
Notes and Queries	1923	2.	17.	Children Carried Off By Eagles	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	7.	21.	The Eagle Stone	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	7.	28.	A Parable of Eternity	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	7.	28.	The Eagle Stone	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	8.	4.	The Eagle Stone	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	8.	11.	The Eagle Stone	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	8.	18.	The Eagle Stone	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1923	8.	25.	The Eagle Stone	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	10.	20.	"Barrenwort"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	10.	27.	A Parable of Eternity	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	12.	8.	Rope of Sand	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	12.	8.	Children Carried Off By Eagles	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1923	12.	29.	Stigmata	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	1.	12.	Plant-Symbolism in Japan	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	2.	23.	Drums of Human Skin	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	3.	29.	Bell and Serpent Poem	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1924	4.	5.	Bell and Serpent Poem	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	4.	12.	"Silent as a Fish"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	4.	19.	The Judges of Sodom	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	4.	26.	Brereton, Cheshire: Saint-Maurice, Burgundy	Tanabe, Kii, Japan

Notes and Queries	1924	5.	10.	Rope of Sand	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	5.	24.	Artificial Eyes	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	5.	24.	Ganesa: Elephant and Mouse	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1924	5.	31.	Martuccio's Device in Archery	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	6.	7.	The Peasant's Clever Daughter'	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	6.	28.	The Legend of Gerbert's Escape	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	6.	28.	Forced and Counterfeit Tears	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	7.	5.	The Cranes of Ibycus	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	7.	12.	The Story of the Split-Mouthed Schoolmaster	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	7.	26.	The Cock as Discoverer of the Drowned	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	8.	2.	Lizard with Two Tails	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	8.	23.	Ganesa: Elephant and Mouse	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	9.	6.	Stories of Giant Crabs	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	9.	13.	Stories of Giant Crabs	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	10.	4.	Animal Folk	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	11.	22.	Legal Trials of Animals	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	12.	13.	The Horse: and the Buffalo	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1924	12.	27.	Drums of Human Skin	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	3.	14.	"Wiser To-day than Yesterday"	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	3.	21.	The Habit of Re-reading	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
MKMF	1925	3		Illness of Kumaya -- Apparent onset of schizophrenia at time of taking university entrance exam in Kochi	
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	4.	5.	The Sex of Birds	No location given, but MK caring for son in

					Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	5.	9.	The Art of Whistling	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	5.	9.	Wheels	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	5.	30.	Japanese Folk-lore: The Dragon King	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	6.	6.	Pomegranate	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	6.	13.	The Wren and the Eagle	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	6.	13.	Mummy-hunters	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	6.	20.	Dreaming of a Balance	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	6	20.	The Charming of Warts	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	6.	20.	The Headless Horse	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	6.	20.	Mysterious Figures	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe

Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	6.	27.	Letters at the Candle	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	7.	18.	Jo. Faber: Fishing with Cormorants	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	7.	18.	Ganesa: Elephant and Mounse	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	7.	25.	Divination by Fingernails	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	8.	29.	The Island of Iabadii	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	9.	5.	Honour among Thieves	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	9.	12.	'A Dream within a Dream'	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	9.	12.	Charming of Warts	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	9.	19.	Mysterious Figures: A Shadow Toy of the Caribbean Sea	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	10.	17.	Dragon-fly	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	11.	7.	Birds causing Fire	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe

Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	11.	7.	Poisonous Honey	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	11.	14.	Fishing with Cormorants	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	11.	21.	The Mistletoe in Heraldry	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	11.	23.	Predestination to Death	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	11.	28.	Bee Folk-lore	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	12.	5.	Sea-Calf's Hair	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries--MKZ	1925	12.	26.	Letters at the Candle	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1926	1.	23.	Slot Machines	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1926	3.	6.	Japanese Mallet-Headed Sword	No location given, but MK caring for son in Tanabe
Notes and Queries	1926	6.	12.	"Man in the Moon" : "Rabbit in the Moon"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1926	6.	12.	Plutarch on Protective Coloring	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1926	6.	19.	The Wren and the Eagle	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1926	6.	26.	Dragon-fly	Tanabe, Kii, Japan

Notes and Queries-MKZ	1926	7.	3.	The Bat	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1926	7.	17.	Coco-nut Myth	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1926	8.	14.	Plutarch on Protective Coloring	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1926	8.	21.	The Ladybird	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1926	10.	9.	Folk-lore: Plants That Thrive Best When Stolen	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
MKMF	1926	11		MK prepares 90 specimens of 37 genera of Japanese slime molds for Emperor -- live cultures on horse droppings, presented to Emperor by Shiro Koaze	Tokyo
MKMF	1926			Publishes three books in Japanese compiling research papers previously published in journals to offset medical expenses	Tokyo
Notes and Queries	1927	2.	19.	Spiders and Spiders' Webs as Medicine	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1927	2.	19.	Popular Fallacies: Bibliography	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1927	4.	23.	"Remedy Worse Than The Disease"	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1927	5.	28.	The Hart and the Serpent	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries-MKZ	1927	11.	5.	Hair Suddenly Turned White	
Notes and Queries	1928	2.	25.	The Blind Men and the Elephant	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1928	3.	24.	Finger-Metal	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1928	3.	24.	Japanese Heraldry	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1928	5.	5.	A Jewish Tradition	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1928	5.	12.	Folk-lore: The Tigress Crossing A River With Her Whelps	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1928	5.	12.	Mysterious Figures	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1928	7.	21.	The Fox and the Ice	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1928	7.	21.	Urchin-Fish as Shop-Sign	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1928	8.	4.	Folk-lore: The Tigress Crossing A River With Her Whelps	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1928	11.	3.	Rain-Making	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1928	11.	3.	Folklore of Snow	Tanabe, Kii, Japan

MKMF	1929	3		Hattori visits and requests that MK prepare lecture for visit of Emperor	
Notes and Queries	1929	4.	6.	Observations on Phosphorescence	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1929	4.	27.	Filtering Stone	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1929	4.	27.	Folk-lore of Silver	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1929	5.	11.	Swallowing the Moon	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Pulvers	1929	6.	1.	"Oh breeze from the inlet/do you realize the branches you are blowing through/this is a forest praised by the Emperor!"	
MKMF	1929	6	1.	MK takes Hirohito to Kashima-jima, lectures for 25 minutes, and gives Emperor 110 specimens "in empty taffy boxes."	
Notes and Queries	1929	6.	22.	Mermaids -- Seacows (Dugong)	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1929	9.	7.	Horses and Wolves	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1929	10.	19.	Japanese Borrowing of European Words	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1929	10.	19.	Medicine for Habitual Theft	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1930	3.	29.	Cows as Guides	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1930	5.	17.	Disarmed Spiny Plants	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1930	5.	24.	Extraordinary Memory	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1930	5.	31.	Folk-lore of Bells: The Bell of Aragon	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1930	5.	31.	A Countryman and a Theatre	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1930	6.	14.	A Prize for the Laziest	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1930	8.	9.	Cattle in Hades	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Notes and Queries	1930	12.	13.	Paulownia, The Dutch Princess	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Mori	1930			Yanagita resigns position on editorial board of Asahi Shimbun amidst increasingly open right-wing hostility to moderate pro-democratic editorial policy of paper.	

MKZ V.9	1931	8.	5.	MK initiates correspondence with sexologist Iwata Jun'ichi regarding homosexuality and scholarly treatment of homosexuality in Japan. MKZ contains 170 letters from MK to IJ over the next decade, the last less than two months before MK's death.	Tanabe/Tokyo
Notes and Queries	1931	9.	5.	Japan in 1627	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Mori	1931			Publication of Kyoodo Seikatsu no kenkyuu hoo [A Method of Studying Local Life], introduction of term "joomin" to avoid both socialist and militarist overtones of "heimin"	
Wiki	1932	5.	15.	Assassination of Inukai Tsuyoshi sponsored by Okawa Shumei & Toyama Mitsuru, effective end of Democracy in Japan	
Notes and Queries	1933	1.	7.	A Jackdaw Tradition	Tanabe, Kii, Japan
Aikido Journal	1933			Publisher of Asahi Shimbun secures the services of Ueshiba Morihei for executive protection and executive training of staff members.	
	1937			Publication of 日本産菌類の彩色生態図譜 (Illustrated Book of Bionomics of Japanese Fungi)	
MKZ V. 9	1941	10.	26.	Final letter from MK to Iwata	
	1941	12	7.	Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor	
MKMF	1941	12	29.	"I can see purple flowers blooming on the ceiling."	
Mori	1945			Writing of Yanagita Kunio's "Senzo no hanashi" [Speaking of our Ancestors]	
	1952			Publication of Sato Haruo's Kindai Shinsanten	Tokyo
	1960			Death of Minakata Kumaya	
MKMF	1962	5		Emperor writes poem commemorating MK -- first known mention of a commoner in an Imperial poem.	
Wiki	1962	8	8.	Death of Yanagita Kunio	
MKMF	1963			Erection of monument with poem by Hirohito	

Notes and Queries	1963			Lunar Halo and Rain	
MKMF	1965			Minakata Museum Opened	Shirahama-cho
	1967			Publication of Kasai Kiyoshi's "Minakata Kumagusu"	Tokyo
	1978			Name "Minakata Mandala" for drawing now known as such coined by the Buddhist Scholar Nakamura Hajime	
	1981			Publication of: Tsurumi Kazuko's "Minakata Kumagusu: chikyu iko no hikaku-gaku"	Tokyo
	1995			Presentation of Tsurumi Kazuko's "Minakata-Mandala A Paradigm Change for the Future" at UNESCO Symposium "Science and Culture: A Common Path for the Future"	Tokyo
	1999			Publication of Kato Sadomichi's "The Three Ecologies in Minakata's Environmental Movement"	
	1999			Publication of Gerald Figal's "Civilization and Monsters"	Delaware
MKMF	2000			Death of daughter, Fumie	
	2004		7.	Designation of Kumano Kodo as a World Heritage Site	
	2007			Publication of Minakata Kumagusu Kinrui zufu (colored illustrations of fungus)	

APPENDIX II

VIII.

A JAPANESE THOREAU OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

BY MINAKATA KUMAGUSU¹ AND F. VICTOR DICKINS.NOTES FROM A JO-SQUARE HUT.²

CHAPTER I.

OF the flowing river the flood ever changeth, on the still pool the foam gathering, vanishing, stayeth not. Such too is the lot of men and of the dwellings of men in this world of ours. Within City-Royal, paved as it were with precious stones, the mansions and houses of high and low, rivalling in length of beam and height of tiled roof, seem builded to last for ever, yet if you search few indeed are those that can boast of their antiquity. One year a house is burnt down, the next it is rebuilt, a lordly mansion falls into ruin, and a mere cottage replaces it. The fate of the occupants is like that of their abodes. Where they lived folk are still numerous, but out of any twenty or thirty you may have known scarce two or three survive. Death in the morning, birth in the evening. Such is man's life---a fleck of foam on the surface of the pool. Man is born and dieth ; whence cometh he, whither goeth he ? For whose sake do we endure, whence do we draw pleasure? Dweller and dwelling are rivals in impermanence, both are fleeting as the dewdrop that hangs on the petals of the morning-glory. If the dew vanish the flower may stay, but only to wither under the day's sun; the petal may fade while the dew delayeth, but only to perish ere evening.

CHAPTER II.

Now since first I had conscious knowledge of the world about me have some forty Springs and Summers gone by, and of many strange events have I had experience.

¹ My friend Mr. Minakata is the most erudite Japanese I have met with – equally learned in the science and literature of the East and of the West. He has frequently contributed to *Nature* and *Notes and Queries*. He now lives near the town of Wakayama in Kishiu. In the second volume of the *Life of Sir Harry Parks*, by Mr. S. Lane-Poole and myself (p. 160), will be found an interesting account of her husbands visit to the last Daimyō of Wakayama in March, 1870. The narrative ends with the sentence “It was like being in fairyland.” The translation has been entirely remade by myself upon the basis of that of Mr. Minakata. The notes, save where otherwise indicated, are his, somewhat remodeled by myself.

² A 10 feet square hut; the name is explained later on.

On the 28th day of the 4th month of 3 Angen [May 28th, 1177], while a violent storm was raging about the hour of the dog [7-8 p.m.], a fire broke out in the dragon [south-east] quarter of the city and extended to the dog and hog [north-west] quarter as far as the Shuzaku³ Gate, the Daigoku⁴ Hall, the Daigaku ryō,⁵ and the Mimbushō⁶ -- in the course of that one night the whole was reduced to ashes. Folk say the fire began in a cottage used as a temporary hospital situated in the lane known as Higuchi-tomi. Favoured by the wind the conflagration spread fanwise. Distant houses were smothered in the smoke, the nearer spaces were enveloped in coils of flame. The air was filled with clouds of dust, which reflected the blaze, so that the whole neighbourhood was steeped in a glow of fire amid which tongues of flame darted over the adjoining streets. Amid such horrors who could retain a steady mind? Some, choked by the smoke, fell to the ground ; others in their bewilderment ran straight into the flames trying to save their property, and were burnt to death ; great stores of wealth were utterly destroyed---in very truth the loss was incalculable. Sixteen mansions of *kugyo* were consumed, and innumerable smaller houses. A full third of the city was destroyed. Thousands of persons perished, horses and cattle beyond count. How foolish are all the purposes of men---they build their houses, spending their treasure and wasting their energies, in a city exposed to such perils!

CHAPTER III.

Again, on the 29th of the hare [4th] month of 4 Jijō [May 25th, 1180] a hurricane devastated the city from the Nakamikado Kyōgoku⁷ quarter as far as Rokujō⁸. Not a single house was left standing within the circuit of several wards. Some were levelled with the ground, some were left with beams and uprights alone standing, the cross-pieces of the gateways were blown off in some cases and carried three or four *chō* [one *chō* = 360 yards] away, fences were blown down, and neighbouring compounds thus thrown into one. Needless to say, the contents of houses were scattered in all directions, while the shingles filled the air like leaves in Winter, and clouds of dust like smoke obscured the sky and blinded one's eyes. The roar of the wind was fearful, one could not hear a word spoken, the storm seemed a true hell-blast. Not only were houses destroyed, but the numbers of those who were injured or maimed in their attempts to save their dwellings was incalculable. The wind finally veered towards the goat and ape quarter [south-west] and did much harm in that region. It was a whirlwind, but what a one! An extraordinary hurricane! People doubted not it portended some evil of like dimensions.

³ Gate of the Red Sparrow—in the middle of the south face of the Palace at Kyoto.

⁴ Or Hachishō In, Hall of the Eight Boards of Government.

⁵ The University of Chinese Learning, etc.

⁶ One of the Eight Boards—answering nearly to the Home Office.

⁷ In the northern part of the capital.

⁸ In the southern part of the capital

CHAPTER IV.

Again, in the same year in the waterless [6th] month a change of capital was suddenly made, against all expectation. Kyoto had already been the capital for some centuries since its choice by the Mikado Saga [A.D. 810-823].⁹

As there was no sufficient reason for this removal the people were discontented beyond words. Their complaints, however, were of no avail, and the Mikado and his Court betook themselves to Naniwa in Settsu. Who, then, if he regarded the ways of the world, would care to remain in the deserted city? But those who hankered after place and rank and courted great men's favour strove their utmost to forestall their fellows in removing, if only by a single day. Others whose home was lost, whose hopes were frustrated, and whom the world neglected, remained sorrowfully behind. The mansions of those who had vied with each other in the height of their roofs [i.e. in wealth and show] fell into ruin, houses were demolished, and the parts floated down the Yodo to the new city, gardens were turned visibly into mere fields. Even men's dispositions changed, only horses and harness were thought of, and there were none to use ox-drawn carriages. Lands in the south and west rose in demand, and property in the north and eastern provinces fell in value.

CHAPTER V.

At this juncture I had occasion to visit the new capital, and found it too confined for the due laying out of streets and avenues. To the north lay the slopes of a chain of hills, on the south it was washed by the sea. The roar of the waves sounded everlastingly in one's ears, the briny gales blew everlastingly in one's face, the Palace right among the hills reminded one of the Round Timber Palace,¹ though it was not without design and elegance.

Daily were dwellings taken to pieces and sent down the river to be rebuilt in the new City-Royal, yet many were the open spaces and few the completed mansions, and while the old capital was desolate the new town was unfinished, and men seemed to themselves to be drifting with the clouds. The old inhabitants were unhappy because their property was lost, and the newcomers had to live amid the unpleasant bustle of construction. As one scanned the ways one saw carriagefolk on horseback and vestments of state and elegance replaced by common tunics. The grace of manners of the former capital all at once vanished, and country fashions reigned. Such were clear signs of public disturbance; every day grew the agitation, and the minds of folk became unsettled. Nor was this confusion without cause, and when the Winter came the people could not be restrained from returning to Kyoto. But what became of the houses that had been pulled down and removed? We know not, but this we know, that the old state of the city was not

⁹ Kyoto was really founded by Kwammu in 784, but the next Mikado, Heizei, resided for three years at the former capital, Nara (hence he is often known as the Nara Mikado), so that the founding of Kyoto is ascribed to his successor Saga. The removal was decreed at the instance of the famous Taira no Kiyomori.

restored. According to dim tradition, in the wise days of old the sovrans¹⁰ ruled compassionately, their palaces had but thatched roofs, nor were the eaves adjusted to them (no verandahs-a luxury?). When no smoke was seen ascending from the hearths the taxes were remitted. One knows only too well how ill these modern days compare with the days of yore.

CHAPTER VI.

Once more---it would be in Yōwa [A.D. 1181], but so long ago is it one cannot be sure---for two whole years a famine raged in the land, a very miserable time. Either there were droughts in Spring and Summer, or floods and storms in Autumn and Winter. So the evil went on, and of the five grains¹¹ no crops were reaped. To till the land in Spring was vain, in Summer to plant was foolishness, in Autumn there was no reaping, in Winter nothing to store. So that many people in the different provinces deserted the land and crossed the frontiers [of their proper districts?], or fled from their homes to pick up a living among the wild hills. Many prayers of various kinds were offered up, and unusual rites were practised but without avail. The town, of course, depends upon the country, but nothing came from the country, and so it was that the city lost, so to speak, its countenance.¹² While folk begged for aid they offered their goods recklessly for sale, but caught never a purchaser. Gold was held cheap and grain dear. Beggars whined in misery by the roadsides dinning one's ears with their cries, and so in misery came to an end the first of those two years.

CHAPTER VII.

The following year it was hoped matters would mend, but instead a plague was added to the famine, and more and more vain the prayers offered up appeared to be. It seemed as if the whole population would starve to death like the fish in the proverbial pool [none of which survive on its drying up]. At last even men who wore hats and whose feet were covered and who were well dressed began to go around begging from house to house. Such poor wretches would often fall to the ground from weakness as one looked at them

¹⁰ The Empress Seimei died in A.D. 661 at Asakura in Tosa, where she was at the head of an army assembled to assist the Koreans against China. Her son Tenji lived in the same place, mourning for her, and ordered his Palace to be constructed of Kuroki (timber with the bark on), which later mikados imitated on ascending the throne as a symbol of frugality and humility (a Chinese, not a pure Japanese idea). He made (or caused some court poet to make) the following verse on the occasion:--

*Asakura ya
ki no marudono ni
ware woreba
nanori wo shitsutsu
yuku ha taga ko zo! (Mannyōshū).*

[In a rude palace, at Asakura, of round unbarked timber, dwell I, and as men pass shouting their names, I ask whose sons they be.] The meaning of this quintain is not apparent.

¹¹ Rice, wheat, *awa* (*Setaria*, Italian millet), *kibi* (*Sorghum*, *Panicum miliaceum*), and *hiya* (*P. frumentaceum*)

¹² Misso tsukuru.

wondering how they could stand on their feet. The number of those who perished of hunger is incalculable, they lay dead under walls and by roadsides, and as there were none to carry away the bodies the air was filled with the stink of their corruption, and sorry indeed were the sights that met one's eyes. Of course, the banks of the river¹³ were impassable for horses and vehicles [because they were crowded with corpses]. Even the poor woodcutters lost their vigour, and faggots became scarce, so that men in their helplessness destroyed their own dwellings and took the wood to market, but the value of a man's load was not enough to buy a single day's food. A strange thing was that among these faggots were to be seen pieces of wood painted with red lead or showing patches of gold and silver foil. On inquiry it was discovered that destitute wretches had plundered the temples of images of Buddha and broken sacred vessels and ornaments for mere firewood. That one should be born into such a world of dross and evil as to witness so sinful a deed, which I, alas, did!

CHAPTER IX.

Pitiful scenes there were. There was a sort of rivalry in death among those men or women who could not bear to be separated. What food one of such a pair procured by begging would be reserved to keep the other alive, while the first one was content to die. Both sexes displayed this tender self-sacrifice. With parents and children it was almost the rule for the parent to die first. And there were cases in which infants were found lying by the corpses of their dead parents and trying to suck the mother's breast.

CHAPTER X.

In the great temple of Ninwa [Benevolence and Peace] was a chief priest of the Jison [Compassion and Respect] temple named Ōkurakyō Ryūgyō, who, moved by commiseration for the countless numbers who died, made arrangements, with the help of other saintly men, to write on the foreheads of the dead the holy character *a* [Sanskrit ॐ] as a seal to Buddha. He kept count of the bodies marked during the fourth and fifth months and found in the portion of the capital bound by Ichijō on the north and Kujō on the south, Kyōgoku on the east and Sujaku on the west, altogether about 42,300 corpses. To these must be added many others in different quarters of the city and in the suburbs to give a correct idea of the vast numbers of deaths that took place at this time. Lastly, must be counted in the numbers of those who perished in the provinces. Not very long before, under the Mikado Sutoku, in the period Chōshō [A.D. 1132-4], a like catastrophe occurred, but the details are unknown to me--what I saw with my own eyes was strange and terrible enough.

¹³ The dry parts of the bed of the river are meant--foreshores, a sort of no man's land. The river, of course, is the Kamogawa.

Again, in 2 Genryaku [A.D. 1185¹⁴] a great earthquake occurred. It was not an ordinary one. Hills were shattered and dammed up the rivers, the sea toppled over and flooded the shore-lands, the earth gaped and water roared up through the rents, cliffs were cleft and the fragments rolled down into the valleys, boats sculled along the beach were tossed upon the bore, horses on the roads lost the ground beneath their hoofs ; all round the capital, it is hardly necessary to add, in various places not a single building was left entire ; house or temple, tower or chapel,¹⁵ some were rent and cracked, others were thrown down; the dust rose into the air like volumes of smoke. The roar of the quaking earth mingled with the crash of falling buildings was like thunder. To remain within doors was to run the risk of being crushed; to rush out of doors was to be swallowed up in some gaping fissure, unless you had wings to fly up into the air, or could ride on the clouds like a dragon. In the midst of all these horrors one felt that of all dreadful things an earthquake is the most dreadful. Amid all this ruin I will mention a piteous case. The son of a samurai, six or seven years of age only, had built himself a little play-hut under a shed against a wall, in which he was amusing himself, when suddenly the wall collapsed and buried him flat and shapeless under its ruins, his eyes protruding an inch from their orbits. It was sad beyond words to see his parents embracing his dead body and hear their unrestrained cries of distress. Piteous indeed it was to see even a samurai, stricken down with grief for his son thus miserably perished, forgetting his dignity in the extremity of his grief.

Such violent shocks did not last long, but the aftershocks continued and twenty or thirty times a day were repeated with a force that under ordinary circumstances would have been felt as most alarming. This went on for some weeks, the shocks diminishing in frequency from four or five to two or three in a day, or even one only, with intervals of quiet days, but for three months the disturbance continued. The other three of the four great calamities, flood, fire, and storm, leave the great earth almost unchanged ---not so earthquakes.

Long ago in the period Saikō [A.D. 854-6] it is said there was a great earthquake which did vast damage, and amongst other calamities threw down the august head of the great Buddha of the temple of Tōdai. But that earthquake was far from being as disastrous as the one described, and people accordingly for some time talked of nothing but the misery of this world and the foulness and frivolity of the human heart. Days and months, however, summed up and years passed, and after a time no one so much as spoke a word about the great earthquake of Genryaku.

CHAPTER XI.

What is so hateful in this life of ours is its vanity and triviality, both with regard to ourselves and our dwellings, as we have just seen. According to our position so are our troubles, countless in any case. A low man under high protection may have his moments of delight, but not an abiding happiness. For he must restrain his tears when in distress, his natural emotions must be kept down, he is always uneasy as to promotion or disgrace, standing or sitting [constantly] subject to alarms, he is like a sparrow that finds itself

¹⁴ Bramsen gives Genryaku one year only: 1 Bunji is probably intended, the nengo were sometimes changed in the course of the year.

¹⁵ Tomb-chapels or mortuary shrines.

close to a hawk's nest. If a poor man lives next door to a rich one he is oppressed with shame at his shabby appearance, and tempted to flatter and cringe before his neighbour. He is never quite at ease; as he looks upon his wife and children and servants he envies his wealthy neighbour of whose contempt for him he gets wind. Should he live in a crowded quarter he can scarcely escape if a fire break out ; is his house situate in a remote district, it is hard to get at and the ways are infested by thieves. The great man grows avaricious, the solitary man is disliked by the world. Wealth, too, brings cares from which the poor man is free. To depend on the protection of another man is to be his slave, to protect other folk is to be the slave of your own emotions. To follow the world is a hardship to oneself, to disregard it is to be counted a madman. Where or how shall we find peace even for a moment, and afford our heart refreshment even for a single second?¹⁶

CHAPTER XII.

For many years I lived in the house of my paternal grandmother. When that relation was interrupted [death of grandmother] my health suffered, and I could no longer remain there. Just over 30, I built myself a house to suit my own ideas, one-tenth of the size of my former home. It contained one room, in fact it was hardly a house at all. It had a kind of wall, but a gate I could not afford. The uprights were bamboos, the construction was like a shed for vehicles. When the snow fell or the wind blew it was scarcely safe. It was close to the river-bed, in the way of floods and handy for thieves.¹⁷ There I passed my time reflecting on this world of nothingness. Thirty years and more thus slipped by, during which I surveyed the vicissitudes of my wretched life in relation to events around me. Attaining my 50th Spring, I left my house and turned my back on the world. As I had never wife or child there was nothing to hinder me. I was no official, I had no emoluments ; what interest had I in the world? And so I lay idly five more Springs and Autumns amid the clouds of Mount Ohara.

When the 60th year of my life, now vanishing as a dewdrop, approached, anew I made me an abode, a sort of last leaf as it were, just as a traveller might run himself up a shelter for a single night, or a decrepit silkworm weave its last cocoon. This compared with the dwelling I had in my middle period was less than one-hundredth of its size as I wax in years my lodging wanes in space. It is not an ordinary sort of hut I live in. It measures only 10 feet square, and is under 7 feet in height. As I had no fancy for any particular place I did not fasten it to the ground. I prepared a foundation, and on it raised a framework which I roofed over with thatch, cramping the parts with crooks so that I might remove it easily if ever the whim took me to dislike the locality. The labour of removing, how slight it would be!--a couple of carts would suffice to carry the whole of the materials, and the expense of their hire would be that of the whole building.

CHAPTER XIII.

Now since I hid me in the recesses of Mount Hino the manner of my abode is this. To the south juts out a movable sun-screen [a sort of pent-roof ?] with a matting of split

¹⁶ The characters seem to mean "while a pearl (or gem) tinkles" (as part of a beadlace or chain).

¹⁷ Lit. 'white-wave [fellows],' from a place so named in ancient China much haunted by robbers. So we might say 'Hounslow Heath fellows.'

bamboos, bound together parallel-wise. Westwards a small shrine with a Buddhist shelf and a picture of Amida so placed. that the space between the eyebrows shines- in the rays of the setting sun. Before the curtain-doors of the shrine are fixed the figures of Fugen and Fudō.¹⁸ Above the paper-paned sliding doors of the north side runs- a small shelf, on which stand three or four black leather boxes containing collections of Japanese poetry, books on music, and such works as the *Wōjōyō shū* [book on Buddhist Paradise]. Besides these is a *sō* [sort of koto or flat harp with thirteen strings] on one side and a *biwa* (lute) on the other side-what are known as bent harp and jointed lute. Along the east side are spread large bundles of bracken fern, which with bundles of straw make me a coucho. There is a window opening in the east wall with a writing-desk. Near the head of the couch is a brazier to burn faggots in. North of the hut is a small garden surrounded by a low hedge of wattled branches. Here I grow some medicinal herbs. Such is the fashion of my temporary cabin.

CHAPTER XIV.

To describe the situation I must tell you that to the south is a bamboo pipe and a reservoir made of piled up stones. A copse stands close by the eaves, so that firewood is not far to fetch. The name of the place is Toyama. All traces of man are hidden by the coils of *masaki* [*Euonymus Japonica*,... Thbg., var. *radicans*]. The valley is thickly wooded, but open to the west, so that the place is not unfitted for philosophic meditation. In the Spring I can gaze upon the festoons of the wistaria, fine to see as purple clouds. When the west wind grows fragrant with its scent the note of the hototogisu is heard as if to guide me towards the Shide¹⁹ hill; in Autumn the shrill song of the cicada fills my ears, sounding like a regret for his cast-offt moult or may be a complaint of this mortal world,²⁰ in Winter I watch the snow-drifts pile and vanish, and am led to reflect upon the ever waxing and waning volume of the world's sinfulness.

When I get tired of reciting prayers or of reading the scriptures I can rest at will; no one is by to prevent me, no friend to reproach me. I have made no vow of silence, but my lonely life stops my lips' play. I do not need to trouble myself about the strict observance of the commandments, for living as I do in complete solitude how should I be tempted to break them? When I bend my steps towards the white waves of the stream I watch the morning boats cleaving the flood in their passage to and fro across the river, and recall to mind the beautiful verse of the acolyte Mansei;²¹ at eventide, when I hear the rustle of the laurel leaves²² under the breeze, my fancy carries my thoughts to the

¹⁸ This description of the interior is not very clear. I have done my best with it.

¹⁹ A hill in Hades crossed by souls on their way to Paradise or Hell. The *hototogisu* is the *Cuculus poliocephalus*.

²⁰ A pun on *utsusomi*, which means 'mortal,' and also an insect's empty moult.

²¹ Or Mansami, the religious name of Kasa no Ason Maro, a poet of the eighth century. -M.K.

The allusion is to some verses of his---

Asaborake
Kogi-yuku fune no
Shiranami,

“the white waves left in the track of the boat sculled forth at daybreak.”

²² *Katsura*---*Cercidiphyllum japonicum*.

waters of Jinyō,²³ and I touch my lute in the manner of Gentotoku.²⁴ When my spirits are exuberant and my imagination active, I liken the music the wind makes among the pine groves to the melody known as the Winds of Autumn, or the murmur of running waters to the air of the Flowing Fount. I have no skill in the arts of song or music, but I do not strive to please other men's ears, 'tis but to nourish my own mind that in my solitude I play and sing.

At the bottom of my hill stands another cabin, made of wattled bush-work. There the hill-ward dwells. He has a son, a youth who sometimes comes to see me, and we ramble about together. He is 16 and I am 60, yet we enjoy each other's company despite the difference in years. Sometimes we gather *tsubana*²⁵ shoots, or the berries of the *iwanashi*,²⁶ the bud-like bulbs of the yam,²⁷ or the leaves -of the *seri*.²⁸ Sometimes we roam among the tanks for the paddy-fields that lie around the foot of the hill to pick up fallen rice-tufts to make *hogumi*²⁹ of. On sunshiny days we climb the peak of my hill, and I gaze upon the distant skies that loom over my old home, over Kowada's hill, Fushimi's town, over Toba and Hatsukashi. No owner claims any rights here, so I am in full possession of my pleasure.

When the fancy takes me to look further afield I need not undergo the labour of walking. I follow the line of hill-tops, cross Sumiyama and Kasatori, and pray at Iwana's³⁰ shrine or bow before that of Ishima, or force my way amid the jungles of Awazu, not forgetting to do honour to the monuments of the old sage Semimaru³¹ - without moving

²³ A place in China mentioned in a poem by the celebrated Hakurakuten on a girl famed for her skill on the lute.

²⁴ Minamoto no Tsunenobu, the founder of the Katsura school of lutists.---M.K.

²⁵ *Imperata arundinacea*, Cyr., var. *Koenigii*, Hack., a sort of grass, the young shoots of which are edible.--M.K.

²⁶ Lit. 'rock-pear'----*Epigea asiatica*, Max.---M.K.

²⁷ *Dioscorea japonica*. ---M.K.

²⁸ *Enanthe stolonifera*, D.C., Max.---M.K.

²⁹ A kind of course matting.

³⁰ Here is a shring of Kannon

³¹ A celebrated recluse and minstrel, totally blind, who flourished in the tenth century. A courtier named Hakuga no Sammi invited him to leave his retreat and live in the capital. Semimaru sent a quintain by way of answer---

*Yo no naka wa
toto no kakuutomo
sugushiten
miya no waraya mo
hateshi nakereba.*

“In this world of ours, palace or straw-roofed hut, what matters it--wherever we dwell will there be yet something unattained.” Now the blind poet was the only man who knew the secret modes of the Ryusen (Flowing Fount manner) and the Takuboku (Woodpecker manner), and the nobleman for three years spent every night, fair or foul, in the neighbourhood of the hut in the hope of hearing these. One full-moon night in the eighth month he was there, and the blind minstrel, thinking himself alone, sang the following verses:-

*Ausaka no
seki no arashi no
hageshiki ni
shiite zo itaru
yo wo sugosu tote.*

a step. Or I cross Tanokami's stream and seek out the- tomb of Sarumaru; on the way home, according to the year's time, we gather cherry sprays in full blossom, or ruddy-leaved autumn maple, or collect fern fronds, or pick up fallen nuts; and some of these treasures I humbly present to Amida, and some I keep for presents.

On tranquil nights I gaze upon the moon's orb shining- in through my window, and think of the great figures of the men of old, or am moved to tears that drench my sleeves by the mournful cries of the monkeys in the neighbouring thickets. I note the fireflies in the jungle, and seem to see the flares of far-off Makijima,³² while the patter of rain at daybreak reminds me of the rattle of a storm amid the leaves. of the woods. The *horohoro* of the *yamadori*³³ makes me wonder whether 'tis my father or my mother that crieth,. and the tameneBB of the deer that roam under the peak tells me how far removed I am from the world of men.

On cold nights I often stir up the ashes of my brazier to renew the embers, the comfort of an old man just waking from a nap. My wild hill is no dreadful place, but the melancholy hootings of the owls give it one of the characteristics of hilly tracts, whereof the aspects are so various, giving rise to many reflexions in the minds of learned and thoughtful men.

CHAPTER XV.

When I first came to this place I did not intend to stay long, but now I have dwelt here these five years. My cabin has weathered with the course of time, the eaves are loaded with dead leaves, the ground it stands on is green with moss. From time to time news of what takes place in City-Royal reaches me in my solitude, and I hear continually of the deaths of persons of importance ; of smaller men who disappear the roll is endless. I hear, too, of houses burnt down in numbers, but my humble cabin remains a safe shelter for me. 'Tis cramped, indeed, but it has a bed for me to sleep on at night, and a mat to sit on during the day, so I have no reason to be discontented. The hermit-crab is satisfied with a narrow shell for its home, which shows that it knows its own nature; the osprey dwells on high crags because it fears man. So is it with me. A man who knows himself and also the world he lives in has nothing to ask for, no society to long for; he aims only at a quiet life, and makes his happiness in freedom from annoyance. But those who live in the

“Notwithstanding the gales that roar down the pass of Ausaka I still do pass here the days of this present life of mine (i.e. the middle of the three existences---past, present, and future).”

On hearing the chant Hakuga began to weep. The singer meanwhile soliloquized, “How I should love to converse with anyone who should visit me on so fair a night as this!” Then Hakuga went in and told his story, whereupon the old man was delight and instructed him in all the lore of the lute. ---M.K.

³² Of the fishing-boats by the island of Maki.

³³ The copper pheasant. The Buddhist saint Gyogi, () has a verse upon this---

*Yamadori no
horohoro to naku
koe kikeba
chichi ka to so omou
haha ka to so omou*

“When the copper pheasant uttereth its cry ‘horohoro,’ I listen and wonder whether ‘tis my father who crieth or whether ‘tis my mother who crieth.”---M.K. [The allusion is, of course, to the doctrine of transmigration.]

world, what do they do? They build mansions, but not for their own pleasure ; 'tis for their wives and families, for their relatives and friends, for their masters or teachers, or to store their property, or to house cattle and horses. Now I have built my cabin for myself, not for any other man. And why have I done so? As the world now goes I find no congenial minds in it, not even a servant to trust to. What profit, then, were a larger house to me? whom should I invite to it? whom could I take into it to serve me? One usually seeks the friendship of rich men, and thinks most of public personages; men of good hearts and honest souls are not sought after. More wisely, I make friends of lutes and :flutes. One who serves another is apt to be always thinking of rewards and punishments, he hankers after favours, and is not content with mere good treatment and kindness and the peace that ensueth. To me, then, it seems better to be one's own master and one's own servant. If there is something to be done I prefer to use my own body to do it. This may be bothersome, but easier than to see that other folk do it for you. If I have to walk, I walk; it means some toil, but less than that of looking after horses or carriages. In one body I possess two servants: my hands do what I want, and my feet bear me where I would go--both serve me jus as I desire them. Again, my mind knows exactly what the body has to endure, so it lets it rest when tired, and does not task it save when fresh and vigorous. And when it does use the body it does not abuse it, nor would the mind be put out by the body being sometimes in a dull mood. And besides, plenty of exercise and plenty of work are good for the body; too much idleness is bad for the body. In addition, to impose a burden upon another man, to constrain his will, is a sinful thing--we have no right to take possession of another's powers.

CHAPTER XVI.

About my clothing and food I have something to say. Wistaria cloth and hempen fabrics are enough to hide my nakedness, sprouts of Imperata grass and nuts picked up on the hills suffice to sustain my body. As I don't live in the world I need not care about my appearance; in the absence of luxuries even coarse fare is sweet. I do not address these observations to wealthy folk, I merely compare my former way of life with my present one. Since I got quit of society and forsook the world I know nothing of envy or fear. I commit my life to the care of Heaven, without regret and without anxiety. I liken my body to a cloud in the sky; I neither put my trust in it nor despise it. All the joy of my existence is concentrated around the pillow which giveth me nightly rest, all the hope of my days I find in the beauties of nature that ever please my eyes.

CHAPTER XVII.

Now the three realms of existence---past, present, and future---depend on the soul only. If the soul is ill at ease of what profit are cattle and horses and the seven treasures? Palaces and mansions and stately towers give no pleasure. On the other hand, in this solitary cabin I know the fullest joy. When I chance to go to City-Royal I may feel some shame on account of my beggarly appearance, yet when I come back to my hut I feel nothing but pity for the men who squirm amid the dusts of the common world. If

anyone doubt me, I beg him to consider how birds and fishes do pass their lives. Do fish ever tire of the simple- water they dwell in? As we are not fish we cannot say. Do not the birds always long for their woods and copses? Again, as we are not birds we cannot tell. So it is with those who choose the life of a recluse-only those who do choose it can know its joys.

To resume. My life is now like the declining moon approaching the edge of the hill which is to hide it. Ere long I must face the three realms of darkness. What deeds in the past shall I have to plead for there? What the Buddha has taught to men is this--- Thou shalt not cleave- to any of the things of this world. So 'tis a sin even to grow fond of this straw-thatched cabin, and to find happiness in this life of peace is a hindrance to salvation. Why, then should I let the days be filled with the vanity of exultation in an empty joy?

In the peace of daybreak I once meditated upon this doctrine, and this is the question I asked myself---" You have fled from the world to live the life of a recluse amid the wild woods and hills, thus to bring peace to your soul and walk in the way of the Buddha. You have the appearance of a saint, but your soul is full of turbidities. Your cabin is a slur on the memory of the habitation of Jōmyō Koji;³⁴ in virtue you are below even Shuri Handoku.³⁵ Is your degradation the result of your poverty and mean condition, your inheritance from a previous existence, or have your trains of thought destroyed your mind?" What answer could my soul give? None. I could but move my tongue as it were mechanically, and twice or thrice repeat involuntarily the Buddha's holy name. I could do no more.

³⁴ Koji, 居士, parishioner, the 'bourgeois' of Hindoo society (Eitel). Jōmyō is Vimalakirti, a fabulous person (?), said to have lived contemporaneously with the Buddha in the city of Viyari. He excused himself from attendance on the Buddha on the ground of sickness. Many holy men are sent to inquire into the case, but Jōmyō eludes them all. At last Mandjuśrī appears and engages the pretended sick man in a subtle discourse. Upon this Jōmyō performs a miracle---in his one room he manages to find seats for all the 3,000 saints and 600 disciples of the Buddha. In addition, at the request of some of those present, he divides in half the remote universe of Mudo (*akchōbya*, 'motionless'- --containing denizens represented by a number consisting of unity followed by seventeen ciphers), and brings them, too, into the room, with the Buddha himself preaching to them. In the fourth century a Chinese traveller in India saw this very room, and found it measured 10 feet square (hōjō). Chōmei borrowed the name for his own hut; but it is not the hut, after all, that makes the saint.-M. K.

³⁵ Shuri Handoku was the most foolish of all the disciples of Buddha. He forgot not only his family name, but even his own personal name. Popular rumour credited him with carrying a tablet hung round his neck with his name thereon. After his death a kind of ginger (*Zingiber myoga*, Rosc.) grew on his grave, which makes those who eat it forget everything. This story is based upon the name (名) the characters of which mean 'name-bearing,' i.e. carrying away the name. *Suri* or *shuri*; it may be mentioned, means 'small'; *handoku*, 'path.'

Some additional remarks by the Rev. B. Takafuji, a well-known doctor of the Avatanisaka system:--"The mother of Handoku was the wife of a wealthy man, with one of whose slaves she eloped, and in the course of time gave birth to two sons. Her parents left all their wealth to the boys, after which the elder one became a disciple of the Buddha and attained the rank of arhat, transferring his share of the inheritance to the younger one, Handoku. The latter refused the gift, and desired to be instructed in the law, but as he was found unable to remember a single clause of the sūtra he was set to study he was expelled. On this he wept and was pitied by the Buddha, who gave him instruction on the doctrine of Nirvana, whereupon he became also an arhat."

Written on the last day of the yayoi month of 2 Kenryaku [May 1st, 1185] by the Sōmon Ren-in in his cabin on Toyama.

Alas! the moonlight
 Behind the hill is hidden
 In gloom and darkness.
 Oh, would her radiance ever
 My longing eyes rejoiced!

[In Dr. Aston's "History of Japanese Literature" a translation of part of these "Notes" will be found. Another version-to my mind very imperfect-has been published, I find, in the Trans. of the As. Soc. of Japan of 1892.]

THE LIFE OF KAMONO CHŌMEI.³⁶

In youth he was known as Kiku Dayu [Master Chrysanth], also as Minami Dayu (the south [quarter] Master). For generations his family had furnished wardens to the shrine of Kamo in Yamashiro. In the period Ōhō he was promoted to the junior lower fifth rank. In the next reign [of Takakura] he asked for but was refused the Kamo wardenship. Annoyed at this failure he shaved his head, and took the religious name of Ren-in. In the reign of the second Toba, when the Chamber of Poesy was instituted, he was offered a seat, which he accepted, but after a short time resigned. At a later period he went to visit the Shogun Sanetomo at Kamakura, but nothing came of the visit and he returned to Kyoto, whence he betook himself to retirement among the neighbouring hills. There he dwelt contentedly enough and attained the age of 63. He was a good musician, a student of Buddhism, and a follower of the philosophy of Ch'wangtzu. He wrote the Hōjōki, the charm of which is still as much felt and admired as it was hundreds of years ago.

NOTES ON CHŌMEI BY MINAKATA KUMAGUSU.

The god of Kamo is said to have been the offspring of a thunder-god and a woman. When Kyoto was founded the shrine became an important one.

On renouncing the world in consequence of his failure to obtain the wardenship of the shrine he sent the following verse to a certain recluse:-

*Isuku gori
 hito wa irikemu
 Makusu hara
 Akikase fukishi
 michi yori zo koshi.*

³⁶ Not Kamo Chōmei; the *no* is as necessary as any *von* or *de*. Nor must Chōmei be read *japonica*---Nagakira.

"From wherever he may have made his way [to the real realm-the way of Buddha, a religious life], he hath come, 'tis certain, by a path o'erblown by autumn winds across the waste o'ergrown with *kuzu* [*Pueraria*]." The point of this verse is this. The leaves of the bush are easily ruffled by the wind so as to show their *ura mi* [under surfaces]. Now *urami* means weariness [with the world], and thus the object of Chōmei's message to the recluse was to explain his own desire to lead a hermit life. *Akikaze*, autumnal winds, again involves the meaning of satiety or disgust [*aki*]---he is blown hillward by a blast of disgust with the world.

The portable hut described in the "Notes" reminds one of the story related in Ramusio's "Viaggi e Navigazioni" of a noble Armenian who behaved in just the same way as Chōmei and constructed for himself a similar hut.

On the Emperor requesting him to resume his membership of the Chamber of Poesy, Chomei sent the following stanza :-

*Shisumi niki
imasara Waka no
uranami ni
yosebaya yoran
ama no sute-fune.*³⁷

“ 'Tis sunk to the bottom the fisher's deserted bark one would fain bring again to the wave-beaten strand of Waka." Here the main quibble is on Waka=*waka* [Japanese verse], and the meaning is that the writer lost in seclusion cannot enter [*yose*] the Chamber of Poetry.

Chōmei was well acquainted with Chinese literature. The last sentence of the *Hojoki* is an imitation of one in the *Monzen* [Elegant Extracts] of Prince Shomei, [A.D. 501-531]: "As the water passeth by that maketh the river, so pass by the men whose lives make the age [reign]."³⁸ 1

Of all the works of Japanese recluses perhaps the *Tsurezuregusa* by Yoshida Kenko [A.D. 1283-1350] is the best known.³⁹ The *Hōjōki*, however, is thought by many critics to be superior to these "Fugitive Notes."

A little earlier than Chōmei flourished the renowned Saigyō Hōshi, whose image is so common an object in Japanese curio shops. He was a samurai of rank who resigned his order and, despising the pomps and vanities of the world, spent his life in pilgrimages to places consecrated by saintly tradition or associated with historic personages or celebrated for the beauty of their scenery on which he has left descriptive or eulogistic stanzas. The explanation of the multitude of recluse-writers in the twelfth century is to be

³⁷ Of the stanzas in this essay, gathered from various sources and very characteristic of old Japan, the text seems worth presenting in English italics.

³⁸ So in a well-known hymn with

" Time, like an ever rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away."

³⁹ There exists a translation into English by the Rev. W. Eby, and an excellent account will be found in Dr. Aston's "History of Japanese Literature."

found in the great political, social, and domestic changes that then took place---the long peace that began with the settlement of the capital at Kyoto in 784 having ended in the civil disorders inaugurated by the rivalries of the Minamoto [Gen] and Taira [Hei] houses. Of this revolution, for such it was, as important as that of the seventh century which flooded the country with the civilization of China and that which is being accomplished under our own eyes, I venture to add a brief account from the writings of the most famous of the Tokugawa statesmen, Arai Hakusekii.⁴⁰

The ancient emperors took as their principal consorts princesses of their own families---just as was the custom in Egypt and Peru---down to the reign of the Emperor Shomu [A.D. 724-794], who married a daughter of the Fujihara house, Akeko, better known as the Empress Kwōmyō [Her Shining Majesty]. She was the Catherine of Japan, dissolute and unprincipled, but showed great favour to Buddhism, by whose followers her memory is still revered. Many stories are told anything but creditable to her, and an ancestor of mine, Fujihara no Sanekata [a poet of the tenth century], is said to have suffered death because he failed to render her an impossible homage.

From that time the mikados continued to take their consorts from the Fujihara family [this, of course, from the beginning was the work of the Fujiwara clan, not the mere choice of the Mikado ; his freedom in this respect, so far as he had any, was employed in the selection of his concubines. The earliest (?) of the Fujiwara was .a Naidaijiu, he flourished in the middle of the seventh century, was Crown Prince and a younger brother of the Mikado Tenchi or Tenji. Nihongi, *sub ann.* A.D. 669]. On the death of the Mikado Montoku [A.D. 851-9] Fujiwara no Yoshifusa got himself appointed Sesshō [摂政] or Regent, the heir-apparent being a minor, afterwards the Mikado Seiwa [A.D. 860-876]. The next Mikado, Yozei, was a madman and consequently deposed by Fujiwara no Mototsune, younger brother of Yoshigusa, who raised the Mikado Kwōkō to the throne [A.D. 885-7], whose son and successor, Uda [A.D. 888-897], made Mototsune Kwambaku or Prime Minister.

From that time the mikados were the puppets of the Kwambaku of the Fujiwara clan. But history is continually repeating itself. The Fujiwara clan was an extensive one, containing many principal and sub-families, who lost no time in quarrelling over the Kwambakuship and the honours and emoluments of the Court. Fighting men were hired nominally as guards to the Mikado, really to defend the interests of the Fujiwara. Thus for some three centuries the Fujiwara were virtually rulers of the state. Revolts were frequent, but on the whole were successfully dealt with. Towards the close of the eleventh century an outbreak occurred in the north-western province of Dewa which was put down with great difficulty by Minamoto no Yoshiie, who, considering himself insufficiently rewarded by the Fujiwara, is said to have prophesied that his own descendants would in time supplant them. This, in fact, was so, for the Shogunate was established in the person of Minamoto no Yoritomo. In A.D. 1156 the so-called War of Hogen [A.D. 1156-9] began in the capital. Fifteen years earlier the Mikado Sutoku had been compelled to abdicate. Sutoku---or Shutoku---had desired that his younger son should succeed Kon-e [A.D. 1142-55], but Shirakawa II was made Mikado instead. The Fujiwara clan at the same time found themselves in the same predicament as the Imperial

⁴⁰ See Dr. Knox's fine translation of his most interesting and characteristic autobiography in vol. xxx, Tr. As. Soc. Japan.

family were in, for the retired Kwambaku Tadasane was opposed to the actual Minister Tadamichi, his elder son, and wished to replace him by his younger son Yoronaga, who allied himself with the Mikado Shutoku and hired a number of fighting men to support his cause. Among these were the old Minamoto no Tameyoshi with his numerous sons, except the eldest Yoshitomo, who took the part of the new Mikado [Shirakawa II]. A member of the powerful Taira clan, the famous Taira no Kyomori, also joined the new Mikado's party, while his uncle Tadamasu opposed him. A battle took place at night just after the funeral of the father of the rival Mikado-Toba [A.D. 1108-23]. Many of the Court nobles who opposed the Shirakawa party were beheaded---the first instance of capital punishment being inflicted upon the nobles since the year 810. Shirakawa also sent his rival [and brother] into exile. Kyomori beheaded his uncle Tadamasu, and Yoshitomo beheaded his own father, Tameyoshi. Yoronaga, the cause of all this bloodshed, was killed in the fight. He was Sadaijin, left great minister, at the time of his death.

Some three years later, in the twelfth month of the year 1159, began the so-called War of Heiji [A.D. 1159-60] between the Minamoto [Gen] and Taira [Hei] factions, originating in the jealousy of Yoshitomo and Kiyomori. The Gen were defeated, and a month later Yoshitomo himself was slain. The victorious Kiyomori spared the son of Yoshitomo---the famous Yoritomo---but sent him into exile. The power of the Fujiwara was completely broken, and Kyomori caused himself to be made Prime Minister under a new title, Daijōdaijin [], and divided half the realm among his kinsmen and followers. More than once he put the ex-Mikado himself---Shirakawa---in prison, and finally caused the Mikado Takakura [A.D. 1169-80] to abdicate in favour of his son by Kiyomori's daughter. Crowds of nobles were banished or beheaded, and the whole land seethed with resentment. A rebellion broke out in Idzumi under the leadership of Yoritomo, during which Kiyomori died. The Taira party were utterly defeated in the great sea-fight of Dan-no-ura. [near Shimonoseki], and almost exterminated by the ferocious policy of the victor. Yoritomo, who was a statesman, saw the unwisdom of the system followed by the Fujiwara and Kiyomori of allowing the provincial nobles to depend upon the Court rather than upon themselves, and inaugurated the Kamakura Shogunate [A.D. 1185], under which the local governors were converted into *ke-nin* [retainers] of his own family. In 1221 the ex-Mikado Toba II got together an army and tried to overthrow the Kamakura power. He was unsuccessful, and was banished to the island of Oki, where he died. This Toba II [commonly known as Go Toba no In, the retired Emperor Toba II] was the only Mikado, from the seventh century at least, to the restoration of 1867-8, who showed any independence. He was an able soldier, and equally versed in the arts of making sword-blades and poetry. It was he who made the author of the *Hōjōki* a member of the Chamber of Poesy.

Such was the history of the twelfth century, in the latter half of which and beyond the author of the *Hōjōki* lived. One can easily understand his desire to withdraw himself from such scenes of confusion and bloodshed as were almost daily enacted in his time. It was out of no feeling of loyalty that men like Chōmei, Saigyō, or Yoshida Kenko retired from the world : it was mainly out of disgust at the turbulence of the age, and disappointment under the loss of office, rank, and emoluments with the changing fortunes of the factions that strove for mastery. Indeed, the much vaunted *chiugi* [忠義] of mediæval Japan is largely a myth. It was prized as a rare virtue. We have seen that

nephews beheaded uncles, sons fathers, brothers banished brothers, and nobles rebelled against the emperors, sent them into exile, deposed them, and with the help of mercenary bands kept the land in a continuous welter of civil war. The foundation of the Kamakura Shogunate did not end this unhappy condition of the State, which endured, indeed, with occasional intervals of peace, until Iyeyasu affirmed his supremacy by the second storming of the castle at Ozaka.

Saigyō, who, unlike Ohōmei, was a family father, lets the truth escape from him in the following stanza :---

*Shiba no iho ni
mi wo ba kokoro no
sasoi-kite
kokoro wa mi ni mo
sowanu narikeri.*

To the wattle hut
my soul hath
enticed my body;
alas! My body
there beareth not my soul.

Of the details of Chōmei's life not much is known; it was probably uneventful after his retirement. The following stanzas will give some idea of his poetic power and cast of thought. They are taken from a book called *Kamo no Chōmei shū*, which has his signature appended with the date 1 Shōgen (A.D. 1207).

MOON AND SEA.

*Kuma mo naki
kagami to miyete
sumu tsuki wo
momotabi migaku
okitsu shiranami.*

The orb undimmed
that shineth like a mirror,¹
the clear moon!
the white waves of ocean
do burnish it innumerosly.

THE MURMUR OF THE CICADAS AT THE DEPARTURE OF AUTUMN

*Aki shitsu
mushi no koe koso
yowani nare
tomaranu mono to
tare ka oshieshi*

Of Autumn loving
cicadas now the murmur
more feeble growth;
this empty world how fleeting
who taught these [tiny] creatures?

¹ Of polished white metal. The restless waves are even polishing the reflected image of the moon.

THE EARLIEST SOFT RAINS OF WINTER

*Oto suru mo
sabishiki mono to
maki no ita ni
omoi shiraseru
hatsu shiguro kana.*

Those pattering drops!
like the sound of fulling board²
they wake in me
a sense of solitude----
those first Winter showers.

WINTER MOONSHINE ON SHRINE AND TEMPLE

*Itawari wo
wakite togamuru
shime no uchi ni
hiru to na mie so
fuya no yo no tsuki.*

Through sacred fringe
from holy shrine that wardeth
every falsehood,
dare not, O moon of Winter,
to counterfeit day's glory.

THE WEARINESS OF LIFE

*Sumi wabinu
iza sawa koyemu
Shide no yama
sate dani oya no
ato wo fumubeku.*

Fatigued with living,
my spirit would fain cross
the hill of Shide³;
e'en thus I should
my father's footsteps follow.

The above was probably composed upon the failure to obtain his father's post of warden of the Kamo shrine. A friend, one Sukemitsu, sent him the following sensible quintain in reply:---

*Sumi wabite
isogi na koe so
Shide no yama
kono yo ni oya no
ato wo koso fume*

Scorn not to live,
nor haste to climb the hill
of fatal Shide;
but in this world of men
thy father's footsteps follow.

A CLOUD OF BLOSSOMS IN A PICTURE OF THE PURE LAND
(JŌDO = PARADISE)

*Taezu chiru
hana no arikeri
furusato no
ume mo sakura mo*

Ah! Yonder blossoms
fill the happy scene forever;
alas! My village
the spray of plum and cherry

² The sound of beating cloth on a board to make it supple—a frequent motive in old Japanese poetry.

³ The hill in Hades all souls must cross.

ushi ya hito toki.

but seeth to see them wither.

OBLIVION OF THE GLORY OF THE WEST⁴: THE BEAUTY OF
MOONRISE.

*Asa yuu ni
nishi wo somukaji
to omoedomo
tsuki matsu hodo wa
o koso mukawane*

In either twilight
upon the west my back
ne'er would I turn;
yet when the moon is rising
I cannot westwards look!

So delightedly does he contemplate the rising moon that he forgets he is turning his back on the quarter where Paradise lies.

⁴ Paradise is in the west, the moon rises in the east.

APPENDIX III

OCTOBER 5, 1893

NATURE

543

The Constellations of the Far East

WITH regard to the questions asked by "M.A.B." about the grouping of stars into constellations (NATURE, August 17), I venture to answer the last two, which the limited knowledge of an Oriental may partly meet, hoping thereby to interest some of your readers.

I do not consider that each race necessarily relies on its own plan in the fabrication of constellations. The Coreans and Anamese are said to be still adhering to the Chinese system, and till lately the Japanese were doing so. It is strange to find the latter, replete with so peculiar mythology, on which the national claim for high ancestry rests, possessing very few vernacular constellations.

Undoubtedly the Chinese system is of peculiar aspect. A name is give to a "Seat," which is sometimes a single star, but in general a group of stars, varying in number from two to twenty or thirty; and in one group, the Imperial Bodyguards, they amount to forty-five. Occasionally the same stars are at once named collectively and individually; thus, the first seven stars of Ursa Major are grouped into Peh-tau or the North Ladel, of which the scoop consists of Shu α , Siuen β , Ki γ , and Kiuen δ , and the handle of Yuh-hang ϵ , Kai-yang ζ , and Yau-Kwang η . With Polaris as the centre, the heavens are divided into twenty-eight "Inns" of unequal breadths, each division being denominated after its typical constellation, besides enclosing numerous Seats subordinate to the latter.

The fundamental idea of the plan is enigmatically expressed thus: "Sing (the star) is Tsing (the spirit)." Its solution continues: "Its body grows on the earth and its spirit is perfected in the heavens." Consequently, various worldly facts and acts that have occupied the Chinese attention, not excepting some now quite forgotten, remind us of their past existence by means of the stellar and constellar names fashioned after them from fancied resemblances or analogies.

How closely this association of heavenly and worldly phenomena was made, a few examples will suffice to show. The Bow-and-Arrow, though apparently separate, formed but one group, because an archer could perform well without an assistant, but, on account of the supposed impossibility of one's pounding, without an attendant to the mortar, the Mortar was distinct from the Pestle. Imitating the civil institutions of old times, Polaris, entitled the Emperor of Emperors, and his Empress, Imperial Heir, &c., constitute "Ché-wi Palace," with thirty-two subservient Seats, mostly named after officials. Besides, the four "Imperial Thrones" are established, one of which is surrounded with seventeen dependents, chiefly with the names of court-buildings in "Tai-wi Palace," while the other, amidst the "Celestial Emporium" has its seventeen subjects, named after provinces, market buildings, and measures.

For contriving the applications of the plan, the following methods seem to have been observed:

- (1) Number, e.g. the Five Princes, Four Councillors.
- (2) Magnitude, e.g. the Squire Captain, set apart from the Squires
- (3) Form, e.g. the Canopy, Celestial Coin, Ascending Serpent.

- (4) Relation of positions, e.g. the Deep Water, Celestial Hook, and Celestial Pier, entirely and partly in, and along the Celestial River (the milky-way).
- (5) Direction of the Compass, e.g. the south Gate, North Pole.
- (6) Colour, e.g. Excrementum.

The objects and attributes resorted to for modelling the stars and constellations may be classified as follows:--

- (1) Heavenly Bodies, e.g. the sun, moon, milky-way.
- (2) Meteorological phenomena, e.g. thunder and lightning.
- (3) Topographical Divisions, e.g. the field, tumuli, park, pond.
- (4) Civil Divisions, e.g. Tsin (a province), Chang-sha (a shire).
- (5) Animals, e.g. the dog, wolf, fowl, fish, snapping turtle.
- (6) Agricultural Products, e.g. bran, hay, gourd, cereals.
- (7) Parts of Body, e.g. the tongue, penis.
- (8) Human Actions, e.g. the cry, weep, slander, punishment.
- (9) Family Relations, e.g. the son, grandson, adult, old man.
- (10) Occupations, e.g. the farmer, weaving woman.
- (11) Buildings and Departments, e.g. the castle, granary, kitchen.
- (12) Implements, Furniture &c, e.g. the lock, drum, bell, bed, ship.
- (13) Titles and Officials, e.g. the feudatory, ministers, generals.
- (14) Heroes, e.g. Fu-yeh, Tsau-fu.
- (15) Philosophical and Theological Notions, e.g. positiveness, virtue, prodigy, fates, fortune, wrong, &c.

As far as I could expound, the system implies certain peculiarities. First, it preserves some abstract notions, thus pointing the way towards investigation on the early Chinese speculations. Secondly, portions of the system severally harmonise with the conditions of the Chinese social system that existed for many centuries before the dawn of the Han dynasty (circa 200 B.C.), when it seems certain that the nomenclature was well-nigh finished. In the third place, I may mention that after careful revisions of the whole list containing more than three hundred names of the Seats, I have found but two that have had any reference to the sea, viz., "South Sea" and "East Sea," the rather vague notions of old usage indicating some uncivilised territories; and with this only exception there occur no names of marine beings such as Cetus, Delphinus, and Cancer. This fact probably justifies a historical theory that locates the cradle of Chinese civilisation on a land distant from the seas.

I do not know precisely what system is current among the Indians of the present day; but assuredly at least once they made use of their own plans, and mapped out the heavens into the twenty-eight divisions, each division with its typical constellations and their subordinates, as is often alluded to in the Buddhist writings of the North. The equality of number of the divisions in the Chinese and Indian systems is striking; but evidence favours the belief in their sporadic growths and analogous development. The Chinese records of the typical constellations date farther back than the epoch of their intercourse with the Indians; in fact, the Indian constellations, as is obvious from their mythic apotheoses and the articles of sacrifice, including such abomination to the Buddhist as blood and bird's-flesh, are essentially of Brahmanical type, and thus proclaim

their priority in existence to the Buddhist mission to China, which marks the era of the mutual acquaintance of the two nations.

When we see in the old Chinese works on Indian names, those of the Indian typical constellations, such as Rivata, Kamphilla, &c, not literally interpreted, but merely identified with those of the Chinese, such as Shi, Fang, &c, every two divisions of corresponding order seem to have had extent almost coinciding in the two systems.

Twan Chin-Shi (circa 800 A.D.), a Chinese Pliny, in his "Miscellanies" has left us an extract from Indian records, registering the objects with which the Indians used to associate the forms of some typical constellations of their own. Of the Chinese typical constellations, the original resemblances or analogies can still be traced, through their names and characters, with the help of the descriptive remarks in cases of difficulty. Replying upon these authorities, I will now proceed to compare the cited objects of alleged resemblances or analogies, in order to see whether and how the fancies of the two nations converge into or diverge from one another, in the establishment of one most conspicuous, and thence typical constellation, out of the stars scattered over a division almost identical in the two systems.

Chinese Names.	Remarks	Objects of Indian fancy (sic)
1. Niu (Taurus).	The bull with horns.	The head of a bull.
2. Wi (the Tail).		The tail of a scorpion.
3. Liu (the Willow).	Curved, with a tip bent, like the willow (twig). In Chinese astrology, this is the patron of the snakes.	The serpent.
4. Wei (the Stomach).	The legs of a vessel for cooking.	Same.
5. Su (the Horn of Scops).		The head of deer (with antlers).
6. Ki (the Winnowing fan).		The horns of cattle.
7. Tsing (the Well).		A footprint.
8. Kwei (the unsettled).	Its character, combined with that for "foot," forms one for "kneeling," and its original heiroglyphic represents "one kneeling": hence it is probably of analogous plan with Hercules (kneeling).	The dimple of woman.
9. Kwei (the Ghost)	The coffin (with corpse).	The Saint's Breast
10. Pih (the Handle-net).		A hat.

11. Sing (the Star)	The hook.	The river-bank.
12. Fang (the Screen).		Beads of head-dress.

It appears from the above comparisons that sometimes quite analogous or even identical plans might sporadically grow among distinct nations, probably due to the pronounced readiness to be grouped afforded by the stars of not very different brightness and relatively situated in a manner which at once suggests a definite outline.

In conclusion, I should be inclined to state that the peculiarity in cases where it exists, can no doubt be of great value to students of sociology, as it may help to some extent towards the attainment of various important discoveries. For instance, a Chinese constellation, Nü, Or the Woman, is described as very much simulating Ki, or the Winnowing Fan; and this might be closely connected with the frequent occurrence in Chinese works of a figurative phrase, "to serve the fan and broom" in the sense of "getting married." On the other hand, as to the merit of its use for ascertaining the race-affinity my opinion must be somewhat negative, for while instances are not wanting of such remarkable analogies among such heterogeneous nations as the Chinese and Indians, the subject is decidedly one of those social acquirements of highly transmissible nature, its present features being more the result of the national intercourse than that of the race-affinity.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

15 Blithfield Street, Kensington, August 31

[NO. 1249, VOL. 48]

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OCTOBER 12, 1893

NATURE

567

Early Chinese Observations on Colour Adaptations.

IT seems of interest to record that the Chinese, neglectful of the sciences as they are nowadays, nevertheless suggested the Darwinian interpretation of animal colours as early as the ninth century A.D.

Twang Ching-Shih, in his *Yú-yáng-táh-tsú* (Maútsin's edition, book xvii. p. 7 Kyōto, 1697) describes a trap-door spider as follows:--"Whenever rain has fallen, the ground facing my book-room has plenty of the 'tien-táng' (that is the 'tumbling-defender'). Its nest, commonly so-called, is as deep as an earthworm's hole, and the network is finished in it. The earthy lid of the nest is quite even with the ground, and of the size of elm-samara. The animal turning upside down, guards the lid, and thus watching for the appearance of flies and caterpillars, it readily turns up the lid and catches them. As soon as it retreats, the lid is closed again. The lid is coloured like the ground."

Apparently from this and other facts the observer has attained a revelation of the truth, which he expresses thus:--"In general, birds and mammals necessarily conceal forms and shadows by their assimilation with various objects. Consequently, a snake's colour is similar to that of the ground; the hare in the Imperata-grass is unavoidably overlooked, and the hawk's hue agrees with that of the trees."

Twan Ching-shih was a man of great erudition, and versed in poetry; he died in the period of Hwi-Cháng (841-846 A.D.), leaving us the work cited above, consisting of thirty books. It is highly commended by Sie Tsái-Kang, a distinguished encyclopaedist of the seventeenth century A.D., as one of the two "Crowns of all Miscellanies."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

15 Blithfield-street, Kensington, September 26.

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MAY 10, 1894

NATURE

30

Some Oriental Beliefs about Bees and Wasps.

SINCE Baron Osten Sacken's letter appeared in NATURE (vol. xlix. p. 198), I have been taking an occasional survey in my small library of Oriental literature, to inform him of passages referring to the Bugonia-superstition. So far as I could find, the people of the far East seem not to have possessed any belief about oxen-born bees; however, *a propos* of this matter, I have come across several legends relating to some Hymenoptera, which I may group as follows:--

(1) *Fossores Story*.--Of all the insect stories of the far East, this may claim very high antiquity; it was first celebrated, more than two thousand years ago, by a verse in the Confucianist "Book of Poems," and is, to this date, preserved by a well-known metonymy "Ming-ling" (that is, the caterpillar), meaning the Foster-Child. This story, according to Yáng Hiung, a Chinese philosopher (53 B.C.-18 A.D.), was that "the Fossores, having no females, capture infant caterpillars from mul berry-trees, and address them a spell 'Mimic me, mimic, me,' whereby they are turned into the young Fossores." Indeed, the Japanese name of the Fossores is Jiga (that is, "Mimic me"). Against this Teóu Hung-King, a Tauist sage (452-536 A.D.), has argued that these insects have had offsprings of their own, but used to deposit the eggs on bodies of other insects to provide them with food in future.

(2) *One-legged Wasp*.--In Li Shi-Chin's work, cited above, we read:--"This production of Ling-nán, resembling wasp, small and black, has one leg united with the root of a tree; it can move but cannot escape." Also a One-legged Ant is mentioned. I would suggest that these insects were infested by the forms of Cordyceps, as is instanced in the stories of La Guêpe Vegétale.

(3) *Fungus-born Wasp*.--Twan Ching-Shih's "Miscellanies," book xvii., contains the following note:--"A poisonous and noctilucous Fungus of Ling-nán is, after rain, metamorphosed into a large black wasp with serrate mandibles more than three-tenths of an inch long. At night it tries to enter the ears and nostrils of a man, and hurts him in his heart."

(4) *Production of Amber from Bees*.--In the same work, book xi., is the following quotation from the "Record of Southern Savages":--"the Bees-with-Broken-Waists exist in the sands of Ning-chau, and come out when banks fall down; the natives make amber by applying fire to them." Obviously this erroneous inference was drawn from the presence in amber of some hymenopterous remains.

(5) *Diptera mistaken for Hymenoptera*.--Sie Tsái-Kang, in his "Miscellanies of Five Phenomena" (Japanese edition, 1661, book ix., p.43), narrates thus:--"In Chang-sha I saw honey-bees all without stings, so that, when trifled with upon the palms, they were quite harmless; having no difference from flies, that was strange!" No doubt he has seen some *Eristalis*, as is indicated by Baron Osten Sacken.

(6) *Horse-hair Wasp*.--Tazan Kan, a Japanese literatus (1748-1827) writes on this subject in his "Rambling Notes" (Tokio, 1890, p.22):--"About 1817 a half-rotten trunk of *Celtis sinensis* gave birth to wasps, whose tails they could not withdraw from the tree, thus causing many to die. Having their tails cut with scissors the survivors gladly departed. One winter a man bought a heap of fuel comprising a half-rotten oak abounding with the similar wasps, several of which were strung on a horse-hair in the same manner as a rosary, there being altogether several dozens of such hairs. The author's informant took home a hair passing through three or four wasps, and folded it in paper; afterwards the hair became divided, and the insects bit through the paper: the informant's suggestion was--'probably these wasps had been transformed from horse-hair tangled round the rotten wood.'" Several times I have seen in Japan this so-called "Babi-bō" (the Horse-hair Wasp), still an object of popular amazement; it is nothing but an ichnerimon-fly, *Bracon penetrator*, whose ovipositor of unusual length has been the principal cause of such a superstition.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

15, Blithfield Street, Kensington, W., April 30.

P.S.--In my letter on the "Constellations of the Far East" (NATURE, vol. xlvi. p. 542), I gave from Twan Ching-Shih's "Miscellanies" portions of the list of the objects of Indian fancy as to the resemblances of the constellations. Last March, my reverend friend, Atchârya Dharmanâga, then in Paris, kindly sent me an extract from Roshin Sennin's Lecture on the Constellations recorded in Mahâsannipâta Sutra. After comparison, I find that both quite agree except for a few variations, so that that Chinese author of "Miscellanies" seems to me to have extracted his list from the above-mentioned Indian authority. K.M.

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MAY 17, 1894

NATURE

54

The Earliest Mention of Dictyophora.

TWAN CHING-SHIH'S "Miscellanies," compiled in the ninth century A.D. (Japanese edition, 1697, book xix. p. 7) has the following note:--"In the 10th year of the period (Tá-Tùng (544 A.D.) a fungus grew in Yen-hiáng Gardens owned by the Emperor Kién-Wan. It was eight inches long with a black head resembling the fruit (that is, the Torus) of *Euryale ferox*; stem hollowed through inside like the root of *Nelumbium speciosum*; skin all white except below the root, where it was slightly red. Portion like the fruit of Euryale had below a joint like that of the bamboos, and was removable; from the 7joint a sheet was developed, simulating a network, five or six inches in circumference, surrounding the stem in the manner of a bell, but distant and separate from it. The netork was fine and lovely, and also removable from the stem. It is allied to Weí-hí-chì (the Auspicious Fungus of Graveness and Pleasure) of the Taoist writings." This description seems to have been passed over by readers as a mere fiction, but I find that it agrees very well with the figure of a Dictyophora, and may probably be the earliest mention of it. A Japanese botanist, Kōzen Sakamoto, has figured the two forms of Dictyophora in his "Monograph of Fungi" (1834, vol ii. p. 15), but has not referred to the above-cited description.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

May 4.

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MAY 24, 1894

NATURE

79

An Intelligence of the Frog.

DR. ROMANES, in his "Animal Intelligence," p. 254, says that "frogs seem to have definite ideas of locality." This matter appears to have been noticed of old by the Japanese and Chinese, inasmuch as we credit Ryōan Terashima's explanation of the names given to the frog by the two nations. In his "Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Three Systems of Japan and China," completed in 1713 (new edition, Tokio, 1884, book liv. p. 553) he remarks:--"When frogs are 'removed far' (Chinese, *hia*), they always 'long' (Chinese, *má*) after the original locality; hence the Chinese name 'Hia-má.' For the similar reason the Japanese call them 'Kaeru' (meaning 'return')." Shisei Tagawa (1707-76), one of the most erudite lexicographers of Japan, holds to the same opinion in his "Dust from a Sawyer's Workshop." (Tokio, 1891, p. 8).

May 12.

KUMAGUSU

MINAKATA.

[NO. 1282, VOL. 50]

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NOVEMBER 8, 1894

NATURE

32

On Chinese Beliefs about the North.

FROM a review in NATURE for the 27th ult. (p. 522) I have been led to conclude that the "Theory of the Northern Origin of the Chinese" enjoys the confidence of scientific men. Should this conclusion really be correct, the theory will give strong support to the view which occurred to me while reading the review.

By Sze-má Kwang, a Chinese Prime Minister of great classic knowledge (died 1086) the Rite of "Fuh" (i.e. bringing back) anciently observed before changing the clothes of deceased parents, is detailed as follows:--"Take a clean suit of clothes prepared for the corpse up to the ridge of the roof; *then towards the north call three times 'Pray, return'*; then fold up and bring down the suit to clothe the corpse; *to detain the soul* thus brought back, fasten the suit with silk (silken band); before the burial offer to it viands and utensils with as much reverence as is due to the parents alive" (1). In this ritual I notice three primitive beliefs unitedly preserved: firstly that the soul of the deceased could return if called, the belief current among the Hos, the Bank's Islanders, and the Fijians of modern times (2); secondly, that one could detain the soul from departing by fastening a garment while addressing to the deceased, as is meant by an old Japanese usage on occasion of meeting the *passing soul*, i.e. *ignis fatuus* (3). In the third place, as is the case with the Kookies (4), this ritual indicates the primitive Chinese belief in the *existence of their other world in the north*.

The Early Chinese system of cosmogony, which is now fragmentally but uniformly preserved in the books of two antagonistic religions, viz. Confucianism and Taôism, has its God of the North named "Hiuen-Ming," *i.e.* "Entering Other World" (5).

Cháng Hwá, a Prime Minister of encyclopaedic erudition (killed 300 A.D.), mentions in his work a Taôist belief in the other world as extensive as 200,000 *lis* square, situated underground in the north (6). Another Taôist Eschatology, written in the 9th century A.D., relates that "the Emperor Yen-teh, who was created the 'Grand Imperial Master of the North,' governs all spiritual beings" (7). Most probably connected with these beliefs is a folk-tale of the "'South Dipper,' the life registrar, and the 'North Dipper,' the death-registrar" (8), from which is derived a popular romance of Chau Yen's bribery to the latter star-god in order to have his destined longevity increased from nineteen years to ninety-nine. (9).

The Yogatcharya mystics of China define the north as "the point wherat all works are doomed to finish," and hence "the point of entering Nirvâna" (10). A dispute about whether Chinese Buddhism in this case is entirely free from the taint of Celestial gloss, I am not qualified to decide.

Now let us return to Confucian literature. Confucius's own opinion regarding the other world appears of quite agnostic character, as is implied in his answer to Tze-lu (who inquired about the state after death)--"If you die, you will know; even then it will not be too late to know" (12). But it is in those ancient sages' tenets, which the great master preserved in his doctrine, the early Chinese belief in the northern spirit-land had been so predominant, though tacitly implied, as to have caused an all-reaching *association of the North with everything related to Death*. So, early they styled the rooms containing ancestral tablets the "North Temples" (13), and by the name "North Hill" the graveyard has always been understood.

According to the "Tang-kung" (a portion of the *Book of Rites*) Confucius was buried in the northern part of the capital of Lu, and "the burial in the northern sides of town was the persistent custom of the three 'classic dynasties,' *i.e.* Hia, Ying, and Chau" (14). Forcibly this statement reminds us of the Damaras, who place the corpse with the face towards the north, to remind them whence they originally came; and also of the Yucas, who, expecting to go to the east whence they came, turned the face of the orpse to the east; while the aboriginal Peruvians did not follow the same usage (15). In fact, we find in Chinese records certain abnormal examples, which indicated the stocks distinct from original Chinese; thus, two corpses of different sexes discovered from the mound of Prince Tsükü, a Hiung-nú by descent, are said to have had their heads turned eastwards (16).

Mr. Herbert Spencer, after reasoning from materials extensively collected, remarks: "Immigrant races have for their other-worlds the abodes of their fathers, to which they journey after death" (17); and unless they are an exception to the general rule, the Chinese, whose old customs and tradition have been shown to tend so much toward evincing their early beliefs in the northern spirit-land, *must have originally entered their present domain from the North*.

Also, in early Chinese speculations the north had been fixed on as the store and source of the originating principle "Yin" (or *Negativity*) and it has ever since been associated with everything of "negative" characters--*e.g.* reposing, obscuring, destroying, &c. Thus, in the symbolism of "Wu-háng" (the *Five Elements*), water and winter are

posted at the north (18) of the nine divisions of the heavens the northern and the northwest are named respectively "Dark Heaven" and "Dusky Heaven" (19); of the five mountains worshiped by emperors the northernmost one is called "Eternal Mountain" (*Han Shan*) because all beings are doomed to eternal repose in the north (20); and referring to the then admitted axiom--"the north is the realm of slaughters and assaults"--Confucius once reproved Tze-lu for playing on a stringed instrument in the "northern tones" (21).

As there should be nothing other than Death that might combine in itself all conceivable characters of Negativity, it would seem quite reasonable to trace the origin of these associations of North and Negativity of Chinese speculation into the old custom of burying in grounds lying towards the north, which custom in its turn is easily traced to the early Chinese entrance from the north.

Bibliography.--(1) Kúmazawa, "Sôσαι Benron," Tokio 1890, p.4 (2) Spencer, "Principles of Sociology," 3rd edition, vol i (sic) 83. (3) Terashima, "Wakan Sansai-dzue," 1713, tom lvii. sub. "Hitotama." (4) Spencer (sic) 112 (5) Pan Kú, Peh-hú-tùng," 79 A.D. tom. ii chap 1. (6) Póh-wuh-chi, tom i. chap ii. (7) Twan Ching-shih, "Yú-yáng Tsáh-tsú" tom ii. (8) Sie Tsái-kang, "Wu-tsáh-tsú," circa 1610, tom i. (9) "Yen-I-Sán-kwóh-chi," Kin's edition 1644, tom xxix (sic) pp. 4-5. (11) In-yû, "Mandara Shishô," 1491, tom. i. (12) "Confucian Analects," chap. xi.; Encyclopaedia Britannica," 9th edition, vol. vi. p. 205. (13) "Siun-tze," circa 255 B.C. xxviii. (14) "Peh-hú-tùng," tom. iv. chap. 1. (15) Spencer (sic) 112. (16) Li Shih, "Süh Póh-wuh-chi." 13th cent. A.D. tom viii. (17) Spencer (sic) 115. (18) "Peh-hú-tùng," tom ii. chap. i. (19) "Lü-shi Chùn-tsúi," circa 279 (sic) B.C. tom xii. chap i. (20) "Fung-süh-tùng," tom x. chap. 1. (21) Liu Hiáng, "Shwoh-yuen," 1st cent. B.C. tom xix.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

15 Blithfield Street, Kensington, W., October 16

[NO. 1306, VOL. 51]

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NOVEMBER 15, 1894

NATURE

57

Chinese Beliefs about Caves.

MR. HERBERT SPENCER, in his "Principles of Sociology" (3rd edition, New York, vol. i. p. 207) relates the beliefs in the creation of mankind under the round or in caverns, current among the Todas in Asia, the Basutos in Africa, and at least one-half of the American tribes. A similar belief I have lately found in a Chinese record. In Li Shih's *Süh Póh-wuh-chi* (written in the 13th cent. A.D., Japanese edition, 1683, tom ii. p.3.) a quotation from the *Ning-kwóh-lun* runs as follows:--"Primitively there was no Liáu-Kiên in Shuh (now Sze Chuen); this tribe emanated from red clay in a cave of Teh-yáng mountain, whence bits of the soil had begun to roll out, each roll enlarging them, so that at last thereby was created a couple, who gave birth to many."

In another paragraph Mr. Spencer remarks:--"Stationary descendants of troglodytes think that they return into a subterranean other-world whence they emerged (ibid. p 213). According to this, I would suggest that the same belief, entertained by some aborigines in China, has revived belief among the Taôists, who used to call their paradise the "Cave-Heaven (Tung-Tiên)--e.f. Twan Ching-Shih describes the "Cave-Heaven" 10,000 *lis* in circumference and 2600 *lis* in height (his "Miscellanies," Japanese edition, 1697, tom ii. p.1) and Li Shih enumerates thirty-six caves in the empire, all entitled "Heavens" (*ibid.* tom i. p. 8).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

15 Blithfield Street, Kensington, W., November 2

[NO. 1307, VOL. 51]

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DECEMBER 27, 1894

NATURE

199

The Antiquity of the "Finger-Print" Method.

SIR WILLIAM HERSCHEL, in his letter to NATURE (Nov. 22, p. 77) expresses his unbelief in the statement in the *Nineteenth Century* (No. 211, p. 365) which ascribes to the Chinese the original invention of the "finger-print" method of personal identification. while I do not know upon what Mr. Spearman has founded this statement, I have collected from a few sources some facts which seem to justify the claim made on behalf of the Chinese.

Although at present I have no record to refer to, it is a fact that every Japanese, old enough to have outlived the *ancien regime* that passed away in 1869, well remembers the current usage of "stamping with the thumb" (*Bo-in*) on legal papers, popularly called "nail-stamp" (*Tsume-in*) on account of the common use of a thumb with the edge of its nail in ink; whereas on papers of solemn contract, accompanied by written oath, the "blood-stamp" (Keppan) or stamp of the ring-finger in blood drawn therefrom, was demanded.¹

Chûryô Katsurakawa, the Japanese antiquary (1754-1808) writes on the subject as follows: "According to the 'Domestic Law' (*Korei*), to divorce the wife the husband must give her a document stating which of the Seven Reasons² was assigned for the action. . . .All [letters] must be in the husband's handwriting, but in case he does not understand how to write, he should sign with a fingerprint. An ancient commentary on this passage is: 'In case a husband cannot write, let him hire another man to write the document . . . and after the husband's name sign with his own index finger.' Perhaps this is the first mention [in Japanese literature] of the 'finger-print' method." (1) This "Domestic Law" forms a part of the "Laws of Taiho" enacted in 702 A.D.; with some exceptions, the main

¹ The "thumb-stamp" was equally regarded with the formal engraved seal (*Jitsu-in*), but the "blood-stamp" had nothing to do for identification. For the formula of the latter mode of stamp, vide Ota, "Ichiwa Ichigen" new edition, Tokyo, 1882, vol. xii. p. 39.

² The Seven Reasons for divorcing the wife are: (1) filial disobedience; (2) barrenness; (3) licentiousness; (4) jealousy; (5) leprosy; (6) loquacity; (7) larceny.

points of these "Laws" were borrowed and transplanted from the Chinese "Laws of Yung-Hwui" (*circa* 650-55 A.D.) (2); so it appears that the Chinese of the 7th century A.D. had already acquired the 'finger-print' method.

After the above quoted passage, Katsurakawa continues thus: "That the Chinese apply on divorce-papers the stamps of the end of the thumb and four fingers, which they call 'Shau-mú-ying' (*i.e.* hand-pattern stamp) is mentioned in 'Shwui-bü-chuèn,' &c." (3). This "Shwui-bü-chuèn" is one of the most popular novels enjoyed by the modern Chinese--so popular that I have met with many Chinese labourers possessing it in the West Indies; its heroes flourished about 1160, and its author lived in the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. (4). As is usual with many other examples, this novel gives us more accurate descriptions of minor institutional features that co-existed with either the heroes, or the author, or both (5). After making careful search in this novel, I can now affirm that the Chinese in the twelfth or thirteenth century used the finger-prints, not only in divorce, but also in criminal cases. Thus the chapter narrating Lin Chung's divorce of his wife has this passage: "Then Lin Chung, after his amanuensis had copied what he dictated, marked his signature, and stamped his 'hand-pattern'" (6). And in another place, giving details of Wu Sung's capture of the two women, the murderers of his brother, we read: "He called forth the two women; compelled them both to ink and stamp their fingers; then called forth the neighbors; made them write down the names and stamp [with fingers]" (7).

It has been lately suggested by my friend, Mr. Teitarô Nakamura, that possibly the "finger-stamp" was merely a simplified form of the "hand-stamp," which latter method had once been so current in Japan that it gave to the documents the common names "Tegata" (*i.e.* hand-pattern) and "Oshite" (*i.e.* impressed hand)³(8). This view applies equally well to the use of the Chinese, for they still use the name "hand-pattern" for the finger-print (see above). That this "hand-stamp" was in use in an ancient kingdom of Southern India, there is a proof in the Chinese records (9).

When we recognize that the hand-marks were early in use for identification by the three distinct nations, the Japanese, Chinese, and Indians, and when we consider that even the teeth-marks were so commonly used for authentication in India that the heir-apparent to Asôka Râdja did not hesitate in plucking out his own eyes on recognizing the king's teeth-mark that accompanied the false epistle (10), it would seem quite true that among those ancient nations who were, with few exceptions, ignorant of the use of "written signature" method, it was but a natural process that the methods were invented to apply to identification some more or less unchanging members of human body.

Further, that the Chinese have paid attention to the finger furrows, is well attested by the classified illustrations given of them in the household "Tá-tsáh-tsú"--the "Great Miscellany" of magic and divination--with the end of foretelling the predestined and hence unchanging fortunes (11); and as the art of chiromancy is alluded to in a political essay written in the third century B.C. (12), we have reason to suppose that the Chinese in such early times had already conceived--if not perceived--the "for ever unchanging" furrows on the finger-tips.

³ It must not be presumed as a fact that after the "finger-stamp" was introduced, it soon supplanted the "hand-stamp"; for even in the seventeenth century the latter was sometimes used, as is instanced in the writing of Katô-Kiyomasa (1562-1611) preserved in a monastery near Tokyo. Cf Kitamura, "Kiyû shôran," new edition, 1882, vol iv. p. 16.

Bibliography--(1) Keirin Manroku," 1800, new edition, 1891, p. 17. (2) Y. Hagino, "Nihon Rekishi Hyôrin," 1893, vol. vi. pp2, 24. (3) Same as (1). (4) Takizawa, "Gendô Hôgen," 1818, vol ii. chap. xli. (5) Cf. Davis, "China," vol ii. p. 102; Bazin, "Théâtre Chinois," Introduction, p. li. (6) Shi-nái-ngán(?), "Shwui-hü-chuèn," Kin's edition, Canton, 1883, tom. xii. p.4. (7) *Ibid.*, tom. xxx. p.18. (8) Cf. Terashima, "Wakan Sansai-dzue," 1713 tom. xv. art. "Tegata." (9) Twan Ching-shih, "Yú-yáng Tsáh-tsu," ninth century A.D. tom. xiv. (10) Hiuen-tsang, "Sí-yú-kí," sub. "Takchas'ila"; Hirata, "Indo-zôshi, MSS. vol xxi. pp. 10-11, 26. (11) Terashima, *op. cit.* tom. vii. art. "Ninsomi." (12) "Kan-fei-tze," tom. xvii. sub. "Kwei-shi."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

15 Blithfield Street, Kensington, W., December 18

[NO. 1313, VOL. 51]

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JANUARY 17, 1895

NATURE

274

"Finger-Print" Method.

IN my letter on the subject (*NATURE*, December 27, 1894, p. 199), I have introduced my assertion of the old Japanese usage of the "thumb-stamps" on legal papers, with a qualifying clause--"although at present I have no record to refer to." Continuing in my search, I have come across a passage which gives confirmation to the statement. It is in the *Fûzoku Gwahô*, No. 50, p. 6, Tokyo, February 10, 1893, where the details of the bastinado inflicted on criminals during the *ancien regime* are given, and reads as follows:--"When the criminals guilt was ascertained, and the signed with '*thumb-stamps*' on papers in the Court, they were sent to prison with the magistrates words, 'Sentence shall follow,' which they used to understand as the signal of the approach of the day of punishment."

December 31, 1894

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

[NO. 1316, VOL. 51]

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JANUARY 24, 1895

NATURE

294

Chinese Theories of the Origin of Amber.

IN my letter on "Some Oriental Beliefs about Bees and Wasps" (*NATURE*, vol 1. p. 30, May 10, 1894) I have traced the origin of the Chinese belief in the production of amber from bees into the presence in amber of hymenopterous remains. Apparently developed from this belief, there is another misconception recorded by Cháng Hwá (killed 300 A.D.) whose passage on the subject reads as follows: "In '*Shinsien-chuèn*,' it

is said, the resins of the pine and arbor-vitae, after remaining underground for one thousand years, are turned into *Pachynma cocos* (Fuh-ling),⁴ which is turned into amber.' Notwithstanding this statement, the Mount Tai produces Pachyma, but no amber; whereas Yung-chang . . . produces amber, but no Pachyma. Another theory is that amber is made by burning the honey-combs. Which is true of these two theories is not yet decided."⁵

Of all Chinese theories propounded to account for the origin of amber, the most veracious one is given in Li Shi-Chin's work,⁶ thus: "Amber originates in the resin of pines; when the pines, with their branches and knots luxuriantly growing were heated by the sun, the resin came out of the wood; it coagulated after days and sunk underground, and after undergoing subterraneous changes, left behind the lustrous substance [which is amber]. In this condition still it has in it the tenacity of resin, so that when it is rubbed and warmed between the palms, it can pick up particles of dust. Those insects in its enclosure had cohered with it before its sinking underground."

Besides the resin of pines, the exudation from the "Fung," (*Liquidambar Maximowiczii*) is asserted by Kán Páu-Shin (lived in the tenth century A.D.) to be a nascent form of amber;⁷ the opinion well coinciding with the Western idea that has given to styrax the name "Liquidambar."⁸

In "Shi-shwoh" (written in the fifth century A.D.) amber is said to be formed from the subterraneous metamorphosis of the gum of peach trees,⁹ which reminds us of the simile, "Like gum from the cherry," used by Pliny in his exposition of the resinous origin of amber.¹⁰

Some other theories are full of absurdity. One of them holds that the dragon's blood buried underground turns to amber, and the demon's to agate.¹¹ Also, the etymological origin of "Hú-pèh," the Chinese name for amber is involved in myth. In ancient times this word was written in two letters, together signifying "Tiger's Soul," which is explained in this way: "At night the tiger applies its one eye for illumination and another for vision. when it is shot with arrow the light of the eye, which is the tiger's sould, sinks underground, and turns into a white stone. . . . Amber resembles this stone, hence the name."¹²

According to "Hwái-nán-tze" (written in the second century B.C.), "the dodder is the outgrowth of amber."¹³ Almost inexplicable as this story may appear, I have found certain clues to its elucidation. Káu Yú (lived in the second century A.D.) gives "Nü-ló (i.e. *Usnea Longissima*)¹⁴ as a synonym of "Tú-sze" (i.e. the Dodder).¹⁵ From this it is evident that the early Chinese have confounded *Usnea* with dodder--the confusion caused

⁴ Identified thus in Dr. K. Itô's "Nihon Sambatsu-shi," Part vii

⁵ "Póh-wuh-chi," tom. iv., sub. "Yóa-wuh."

⁶ "Pan-tsau Káng-muh," 1578, art. "Hú-pèh."

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Loudon, "Encyclopaedia of Plants," 1880, p. 798.

⁹ Twan Ching-shih, "Yú-yáng Tsáh-tsu," tom. xi.

¹⁰ Natural History," English translation, Bohn's edition, vol. vi., p. 402.

¹¹ Twan Ching-shih, loc. cit.

¹² "Pan-tsau Káng-muh," loc. cit. and art. "Hú."

¹³ Twan Ching-shih, ubi supr.

¹⁴ Identified thus in Dr. M Miyoshi's article in the Shokubutsugaku Zasshi, no. 34. p. 435, Tokyo, Dec. 10, 1889.

¹⁵ "Lü-shi Chùn-tsiú," Japanese edition, N.D., tom. ix. p. 9, Káu Yú's note.

by the superficial resemblance and similar habitats of the two plants.¹⁶ Now there is a Chinese belief recorded about 240 B.C. that *Pachyma cocos* is the root of dodder,¹⁷ which has doubtless grown out of the common occurrence upon and under the pines of the *Usnea* and *Pachyma*. And as this *Pachyma* had been held as an intermediary phase through which resins were to pass into amber (see above), it would seem the story which affirms the dodder to be the outgrowth of amber, was not inconsistent with the understanding of the early Chinese theorizers. KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

January 11

[No. 1317, Vol. 51]

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FEBRUARY 28, 1895

NATURE

417

Hesper and Phosphor.

In his "History of the Inductive Sciences" (vol. i. p. 149, London, 1847) Whewell says:--"Pythagoras is said to have maintained that the evening and morning stars are the same body, which certainly must have been one of the earliest discoveries on this subject; and indeed, we can hardly conceive men noticing the stars for a year or two without coming to this conclusion." (*cf.* "the Planet Venus," by W.J.L., in NATURE, vol. xlix. p. 413). Now, what Whewell deemed so hardly conceivable appears to have actually happened in old China. Wang Chung, the philosopher (*circa* 27-97 A.D.), in his work, renowned for its total repudiation of then current errors, writes as follows:--"in the 'Book of Poems' it is said, *Ki-ming* (Phosphor) exists in the east, and *Chang-kang* (Hesper) in the west." In fact, however, they are but the phases of Jupiter and Venus, which, appearing now in the east, now in the west, received such distinct names from the ignorant bards" ("Lun-hang," Miura's edition, Kyoto, 1748, tom. xvii. pp. 12-13). Two facts are manifested in this passage. First, it shows that, celebrated for their astronomical achievements in very archaic ages, as they are, the fact that the evening and morning stars are the same body, was not known to the Chinese of the eighth century B.C., when the poem entitled "Ta-tung" was composed, comprising the above-quoted line. Secondly, it shows that, even after the identity was established of the evening and morning stars, some Chinese, so well learned as Wang Chung, were ignorant of their own error: affirming that Jupiter as well as Venus appears now as Phosphor, now as Hesper, they have admitted the existence of two distinct Phosphori and two distinct Hesperii, and of a Phosphor essentially different from a Hesper. It is probably that some later scholars have tried to evade this intricacy by arbitrarily apportioning the two phases between the two planets; thus, Minamoto-no-shita-zan, the Japanese poet and glossarist (909-983 A.D.), referring to a Chinese work "Kien-ming-yuen," which is perhaps lost now, identifies Jupiter (in Chinese: Sui-sing) with Phosphor (in Japanese: Aka-boshi), and Venus (in Chinese: Tai-

¹⁶ Chang Hwa appears to have well distinguished the two plants. He says, "Usnea lives upon the dodder, and the dodder upon trees." "P'oh-wuh-chi," loc. cit.

¹⁷ "Lü-shi Chiün-tsiú, loc. cit. text.

peh) with Hesper (in Japanese: Yûtsutsu) ("Wamyô Ruijusho," Nawa's edition, Kyoto, 1667, tom. i. p. 1).

February 22.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

[NO. 1322, VOL. 51]

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APRIL 25, 1895

NATURE

603

The Mandrake.

With regard to Prof. Veth's exhaustive account of the mandrake (referred to in *NATURE* of April 11, p. 573), it may be useful to students of folklore to call their attention to the occurrence in the Chinese literature of a similar superstition, wherein *Phytolacca acinosa* (Shang-luh) takes the place of *Mandragora officinarum*. Sie Tsai-Kag's "Wu-tseh-tsu," written about 1610 (Japanese edition, 1661, tome x. p. 41), contains the following passage:--"The Shang-luh grows on the ground beneath which dead man lies; hence its root is mostly shaped like a man.¹⁸ . . . In a calm night when nobody is about, the collector, offering the owl's flesh roasted with oil, propitiates the spirit of the plant until *ignes fatui* crowd about the latter; then the root is dug out, brought home and prepared with magic paper for a week; thus it is made capable of speech. This plant is surnamed 'Ye-hu' (*i.e.* Night Cry) on account of its demoniacal nature.¹⁹ There are two varieties of it: the white one is used for medicine; the red one commands evil spirits, and kills men when it is internally taken by error."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

April 16

[NO. 1330, VOL. 51]

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JUNE 27, 1895

NATURE

603

The Invention of the Net.

In your number of February 28 (p. 417), Mr. R.I. Pocock suggests that the observation of a spider's web may have given rise to the art of netting. It is of interest to note that the following citation is found in a Chinese cyclopaedia: "Yuen-kien Lui-han"

¹⁸ Here the author says: "It is popularly called 'Chang-liu Kan' (=Witch-tree-root)." The name shows that the root was used in witchcraft, similarly with that of the mandragora (*cf.* Hone, "The Year-Book," sub. "December 28").

¹⁹ Another explanation suggested for this name is that, as long as the fruit of the *Phytolacca* remains unripe, the cuckoo continues to cry every night (Sie Tsai-Kang, *ubi supr.*). However, seeing the belief in the shrieks of the *Mandragora* was once current among the Europeans ("Encyclopaedia Britannica," 9th ed. vol. xv. p. 476) it would be more just to derive the Chinese name "Night Cry" from an analogous origin.

(1701, tom. cccclix. *art.* "Chi-chu," 2):--"In 'Pau-puh-tsze' it is said, 'Tai-hau [or Pâo-hsî] made a spider his master and knitted nets.

In the "Yih-King," the oldest authority that ascribes to Pâo-hsî the invention of the net, no mention is made in this connection of spider (see Legge's translation, in the "Sacred Books of the East," vol. xvi. p. 383); but the above-quoted passage of "Pau-puh-tse" is tantamount to prove such a view, as suggested by Mr. Pocock, to have already occurred among the Chinese in the fourth century A.D., when the book was written by a Taôist recluse named Koh Hung.

June 17

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

[NO. 1339, VOL. 52, p. 197]

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NOVEMBER 28, 1895

NATURE

78

The Story of the "Wandering Jew."

So far as my scanty reading goes, I have never met with a book on the subject of the "Wandering Jew" making mention of an Indian tale in this connection, and I therefore deem it more or less useful to call attention of the folk-lorists to the following Buddhist narrative, for which I have to thank Mr. Seisaku Murayama, an assiduous Pâli scholar in Japan, who was kind enough to make a journey in my behalf with the sole intention of personal examination of the Chinese text. The passage occurs in "Tсах-ö-han-King" (Samyuktâgama sutra, translated by Gunabradha, *circa* A.D. 435-443), printed in Fuh-chau, 1609, tom xxiii. fol. 30, and may be translated thus:--[This is a portion of an answer of Pin-tau-lu (= Pindola Bharadvâga ?) to the question of King As'ôka.]"And further, when the Buddha was staying in the kingdom of S'râvasti with the five hundred arhats, the daughter of the Sresthin Anâthapindada happened to live in the kingdom of Fu-lau-na-poh-to-na (= Pundara-varddhana ?), and invited thither the Buddha and the monks. All other monks then, went gliding through the air; but I, exerting my supernatural energy, held up a huge mount and there went. Then the Buddha accused me with these words: 'Wherefore do you play such a miracle; for which offense I now punish you with eternal existence in this world, incapable of the reach to Nirvâna, thus to guard my doctrine against its destruction.'"

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

15 Blithfield Street, Kensington, W., November 22

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FEBRUARY 6, 1896

NATURE

317

Remarkable Sounds.

In Major Head's "Forest Scenes" (London, 1829, p. 205), I have found the passage already quoted by Mr. C. Tomlinson (p. 78, *ante*), subjoined with this phrase: "It being, in real fact and without metaphor, the voice of winds imprisoned in the bosom of the deep." In a similar manner, Olaus Magnus describes the similar sounds thus: "Mais es lacs Septentrionaus geles, on oit sous la glace une tempête aussi horrible, à raison des vens enfermés sous la glace, qu'on fait d'un tonnerre provenant de la grâde épaisseur des nuës." ("Histoire des pays Septentrionaus," Paris, 1561, fol. 21, b).

Sebastian Münster, in his article on Iceland, says:--"Car la glace divisee par loppins et brisee en plusieurs parties tourne à l'entour de ceste isle l'espace de huyt moys, et se froisse de si grande impetuosité contre le rivage, qu'elle rend un son horrible et espountable, et semble advis que ce soit le genissement on brayement d'une voix humaine. Cela fait que les plus idiotz croyet que les ames des hommes sont la tormentees de froid." ("La Cosmographie universelle," Basle, 1552, p. 1051.) Against this error Arngrimus Ionas writes, but at the same time he admits that "this ice at sometimes by shuffling together maketh monstrous soundings and crackings, and againe at sometimes with the beating of the water sendeth forth an hoarse kind of murmuring." (Hakluyt, "Principal Navigation," 1599, vol. i. p. 563.)

If it be taken into consideration that so often in the volcanic craters and thermal springs²⁰ man found the types of the perpetual Abode of Fire, a suggestion would seem quite reasonable that eh so-called "Cold Hells" of the Buddhists²¹ and the Tauists²² had been the outcome more or less of such dreary, icy sounds.²³ KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

January 31

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FEBRUARY 6, 1896

NATURE

317

The Antiquity of the Finger-Print Method.

In my letter on this subject that appeared in NATURE (vol. li. p. 199, December 27, 1894), I have suggested that the ancient Japanese usage on divorce-papers of the finger-marks was probably adopted from the Chinese "Laws of Yung-Hwui" (circa 650-55 A.D.) issued under the reign of the third emperor of the Tang. As these "Laws,"

²⁰ Cf Hardy, "Manual of Buddhism," second edition, p. 27. I remember a note in NATURE about the Indian confusion of thermal springs with the hell, but at the present moment cannot refer to the number and page.

²¹ See See Twan Ching-Shih, Yu-yang Tsah-tsu, "Japanese edition, tom. ii. fol. 3, b

²² Beal, "A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese," 1871, p. 36.

²³ Indeed, according to Münster, the Icelanders of old believed that their hells were in both the Hecla and the ice.

however, are nowadays lost,²⁴ I had but little hope to investigate further the matter. However, elsewhere a passage has lately been found, giving confirmation to my view that the Chinese usage of the finger-prints for identification was current in the time of the same dynasty of Tang.

In the Arabian "Relation des Voyages" (translated by Renaud, Paris, 1845, pp. 42-43), the merchant Sulaiman, who made several voyages to China and India in the middle of the ninth century A.D. (the time in which the above-mentioned dynasty in China was going to decline), tells us as follows: "Les Chinois respectent la justice dans leurs transactions et dans les actes judiciaires. Si un homme prête une somme d'argent à quelqu'un, il écrit un billet à ce sujet; l'emprunteur, à son tour, écrit un billet, qu'il *marque avec deux de ses doigts réunis, le doigt du milieu et l'index.*"²⁵ On met ensemble les deux billets. On les plie l'un avec l'autre, on écrit quelques caractères sur l'endroit qui les sépare, en suite, on les déplie et on remet au prêteur le billet par lequel l'emprunteur reconnaissait sa dette. Si, plus tard, l'emprunteur nie sa dette, on lui dit: 'Apport le billet du prêteur.' Si l'emprunteur prétend n'avoir point de billet, qu'il nie avoir écrit un billet accompagné de sa signature et de sa *marque*, et que son billet ait péri, on dit à l'emprunteur qui nie la dette: 'Déclare par écrit que cette dette ne te concerne pas; mais, si, de son côté, le créancier vient à prouver ce que tu nies, tu recevras vingt coups de bâton sur le dos, et payeras une amende de vingt mille (fakkoudj) de pièces de cuivres.'"

February 3

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

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MARCH 5, 1896

NATURE

414

Remarkable Sounds.

A PECULIAR sound, apparently similar to the "soughing of the wind" (see p. 78, ante), is briefly described by Liu Wan-Ping, a Chinese Commodore, in his journal of voyage made in 1595 from Cheh-Kiang to Shan-Tung, in order to defend the latter province from the attack by the Japanese fleet. (See Tsai-Kang's "Wa-tsah-tsu," Japanese edition, tom. iv, fol. 46, 1.) The passage is as follows: "Same night we anchored near Fuh-shan-tsu [in Shan-Tung]. This mountain, as if inhabited by a deity, utters a voice sounding mournfully, although on it neither herb nor tree exists, and neither hollow nor cavern therein." KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

²⁴ K. Konakamura in "Nipon Rikish Hyôrin," Tokyo, 1893, vol. vi. p. 24.

²⁵ In a translation by E. Renaudot (Paris, 1718, p. 33), and thence in Pinkerton's "Collection," London, 1811, vol. vii p.192, this sentence is rendered thus: "When any person commences a suit against another, he sets down his claim in writing, and the defendant writes down his defense, which he signs, and *holds between his fingers.*" Here, no mention is made of finger-marks, instead of it a meaningless clause is given. Renaudot says Renaudot committed errors in his version ("Introduction," p. ii.) and the present case is apparently one.

February 8.

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APRIL 30, 1896

NATURE

605

Remarkable Sounds.

The following passage in a Chinese itinerary of Central Asia--Chun Yuen's "Si-yih-kien-wan-luh," 1777 (British Museum, No. 15271, b. 14) tom. vii. fol. 13, b.--appears to describe the icy sounds similar to what Major Head observed in North America (see p. 78, ante):--

"Mul-süh-urh-tan-fan (=Muzart), that is Ice Mountain²⁶, is situated between Ili and Ushi. . . . In case that one happens to be travelling here close to sunset, he should choose a rock of moderate thickness and lay down on it.²⁷ In solitary night then, he would hear the sounds, now like those of gongs and bells, and now like those of strings and pipes, which disturb ears through the night; these are produced by multifarious noises coming from the cracking ice." KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

April 9.

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MAY 28 30, 1896

NATURE

605

Remarkable Sounds.

In a Japanese work, "Hokuetsu Kidan," by Tachibana no Mochiyo (published *circa* 1800, tom ii. fol. 5, *seqq*), I have found some remarkable sounds described. Among the details given therein of the "Seven Marvels of the Province of Echigo," we read: "The fifth marvel, the Dônari [literally *Body Sounds*, or *Temple Sounds*], is a noise certain to be heard in the autumnal days, just before a fine weather turns to stormy, it being sounded as if the thunder falls from the cloud, or the snow slides down a mountain. Where it originates is quite uncertain, as there are in the counties several mountains assigned therefor. The sounds are heard of the same intensity in variously distant places." Further, the author recites a folk-tale current in his time among the villagers of Kurotori,

²⁶ In Prejevalsky's "From Kulja, across the Tian-shan to Lob-nor," London, 1879, foot-note, p. 177, the word Muzart, or Mussart, is stated to mean "Snowy."

²⁷ The old Chinese pilgrim, Hwen-tsang, who followed this same route, observed that the travelers passing thereby must sleep on the ice (Schuyler "Turkestan," London, 1876, vol. i. p. 391).

in Co. Kambara, which attributes these sounds to the head and body of a hero, Kurotori Hyôe [killed in 1062?]; separately interred under a Shintoist temple in this village, they ever strive to unite once more. "The marvel, it is said, is now seldom met with; still it occurs frequently within two or three miles of the village, proceeding doubtless from the precinct of the temple. And the fact is more wonderful that the inhabitants of Kurotori themselves never hear the sounds unless they go out of the village." Concluding the narrative, the author, from his personal observation, argues the action of the tide-waves upon the earth to be the real cause of these curious sounds.

May 18
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KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

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AUGUST 13, 1896

NATURE

343

The Mandrake.

In an anonymous work in Chinese "Tiau-sieh-lui-pien" (1), nine plants are named as frequently to assume the human or animal figures, viz. the cypress, Nan-tree²⁸, turnip, mustard, citron, *Pachyma cocos*, *Lycium chinense*, *Phytolacca acinosa*, and *Panax ginseng*.²⁹

Of these nine, doubtless the Ginseng is the plant most celebrated for its medicinal virtues imaginarily connected with its anthropomorphous root (2); but as far as the multiplicity is in question of the legends talked of analogous to the mandrake-stories, certainly the Shang-luh (*Phytolacca acinosa*) is the most notorious one.

Under the heading at the beginning of this letter, I wrote to NATURE (vol. li. p. 608, April 25, 1895) a note on the analogies between the mandrake- and the Shang-luh-lore, pointing out the two instances, viz.:

- (1) The roots of the two plants are said to have human shape.
- (2) Both plants are said to have the power of shrieking.

Continuing in the research from that point, I have found further the additional points of analogy, that are as follows:--

(3) The Shang-luh is said to grow upon the ground beneath which dead man lies; and the mandrake is recorded to thrive under the gallows.

(4) When the shang-luh is about to acquire the power of speech, *ignes fatui*, it is said, crowd around it (4). About the mandrake Richard Folkard remarks: "In an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century the mandrake is said to shine in the night like a candle. The Arabs call it the Devil's Candle because of this nocturnal shining appearance . . ." (5)

²⁸Some Japanese botanists (e.g. Matsumura, "Nippon Shokubutsu Meii," Tokyo, 1884, p. 64) identify the Chinese "Nan" with the Euphorbiaceous plant *Daphniphyllum macropodium*; whether the identity is a sound one, I do not know.

²⁹Most plants her enlisted, seem to have the alleged figures in their subterraneous members; only the citron might produce the fruits of such a configuration. As to the named trees, the cypress of Kien-ling was anciently valued for its wood, the veins of which represented naturally angels, clouds, men and animals ("Ye-kien-lui-han," *op. cit.*, tom. cccciii. art. "Peh," 1); whereas the alleged human figure of the "Nan" was apparently formed by its stem and branches (*cf.* H. Ramsdell, "Through Siberia," 1882, vol. 1. p. 158).

(5) Chang Urh-Ki, a Chinese literatus of the seventeenth century, writes: "A sorcerer carves the root of Shang-luh into a human effigy, which he makes through is spells capable of telling the fortunes" (6). This forcibly brings to mind the old European belief in the diminutive prophetic images made out of mandrake-root³⁰(7).

(6) The mandrake had a reputation that it makes men insane and the reason prisoner (8) ; correspondingly the red variety of Shang-luh³¹{4(2)} is described by Su Kung (c. 656) to be so poisonous as to cause men to see the demons (i.e. to make men delirious)(9).

(7) In "Pan-tsau-king," the oldest Chinese authority on materia medica, attributed to the mythical emperor, Shin-Nung, the Shang-luh is mentioned to kill the demoniacal beings; and later, Teau Hung-King (452-536) speaks of its influence on the "Malignant Worms," which it drives out of the possessed (10), this efficiency being no doubt the principal reason for the Taoist usage of the white *Phytolacca* under the pseudonym of "luh-fu" (or "Dried Venison")(11). Still later it is reputed by Ta-ming (c. 968) to purge the "poison of the *Ku*"³²(12). Quite conformable to these is the ancient Jewish belief in the exorcising power the herb Baaras (or the mandrake) was renowned to possess (13).

(8) A recipe quoted by Chang Urh-ki from a "Book of Divine Physic" (14) seems to imply the old Chinese usage of the Shang-luh as philtre as much as the mandrake was highly esteemed therefor (15).

(9) "From the remotest antiquity the mandrake was reputed in the East to possess the property of removing sterility; hence Rachel's desire to obtain the plant that Reuben

³⁰ From their traditions, the Chinese appear to have had about the Fung (*Liquidambar Maximowiczii*) two points of analogy to the mandrake-lore. First, Jin Fang's "Shuh-i-ki" (written sixth century, A.D. ed. Wang, tom. ii. fol. 10. *b*) contains the following passage: "In Nan-Chung there is the "Liquidamber-Elf" (*Fung-sze-kwei*) which is the old tree of the named species, transformed to man in its shape. Second, other authorities say a tumour develops upon the old *Liquidambar*; after a thunderstorm it elongates to three or five feet in length. Now the sorcerer carves this tumour to a human effigy to play black art thereby in a similar manner to the practice with the Shang-luh. However, in case a proper formula is not observed while gathering it, the tumour flies away and never serves the purpose (*cf.* Ki ngan, "Nan-fang-tsau-muh-chwang," fourth century, A.D., Brit. Mus. copy, 15255, *a*. 5, tom ii. fol 1, *a*; Wu i-Siun, *op. cit.* tom xxxv. fol 2 *a*; Sie Tsai-Kang, *op. cit.*, tom. x fol. 4) Whether related to the latter belief or not, I remember some old men in Japan ever extolling the merits of images of Daikoku, the god of riches, artificially formed out of tumours on *Gingko biloba*.

³¹ That is, the variety with its calyx coloured pale rufous. Kan-Pau-shing, a herbalist of the tenth century, observed of the Shang-luh: "the red flower accompanies the red root and the white flower the white root" (*See*, Iinuma, "Somoku Dzusetu," new ed., 1874, vol vii. fol. 89, *b*; Li Shi-Chin, *loc. cit.*)

³²"The district of Kiang-nan is much infested by the *K'u*. On the fifth day of the fifth moon, the future keeper of the *K'u* puts together in a vessel a hundred different sorts of animals, varying in size from serpent to louse, which are left therein to mutually devour till but one remains the strongest. This he keeps and feeds in his house as the *K'u*. Whomsoever the keeper wishes to destroy the *K'u* infests in the viscera; consequently the man dies, his treasures passing over to the *K'u*-keeper's house," &c. ("Sui-shu," written seventh century A.D., quoted in Tsiau Hwang, "Tsiau-shi-pih-shing," Brit. Mus. copy, 15316, *a*, fasc. ii. tom. v. fol. 24, *a*; Ching Tsiau, *op. cit.*, tom. xxxiii. fol 11, *b*; *cf.* Morrison, "Dictionary of the Chinese Language," London and Macao, 1823, vol iii. part i. p. 288.) Among the stories pertaining to the *K'u* several incidents occur parallel to those about the mandrake (*cf.* Folkard *loc. cit.*; Li Shi-chin, sub. "Kint-san"; Kitamura, *Kiyû Shôran*, new ed. Tokyo, 1882, tom viii. fol. 22). Just as are the cases with the mandrake and the Shang-luh, a herb called Lang-tang (*Scopolia* sp ?) it reputed to make men insane, yet withal to cure demoniacal possession (*cf.* Wu ki-Siun, *op. cit.*, om. xxiv. fol 77, *b*; Josephus, *loc. cit.*).

had found. . . "(16). Now we read in a Chinese herbal that the black, ripe fruit of the Shang-luh is highly valued by rustic women, for it favours their fertility (17).

(10) Of the medicinal properties these plants are known to possess, some are common to both. Matthioli, referring to Galen, speaks as a cooling stuff of the mandrake (18). Li shi-Chin assigning the same character to the Shang-luh (19). Both herbs were famed for their purgative functions, and both were applied to indolent and scrofulous tumours, and to swellings of the glands (20).

So far the may analogies between the mandrake and the *Phytolacca*-stories appear to militate against the probability of the independent growths, if not origins, of the folklores connected with the two plants.

Further, it may be worthy of notice that, while the ancient Europeans possessed a hazy knowledge of the anthropomorphous Ginseng (21), the Chinese of Middle ages had an equally circuitous acquaintance with the mandrake. The fact is well evinced in the following passage of Chau Mih (1232-1308)(22): "Several thousand miles west of the Region of Moslem,³³ the land produces one substance extremely poisonous, which is shaped like man as our Ginseng is. It is called 'Yah-puh-lü' and grows under the ground several *chang* deep [1 *chang* = 10 Chinese feet]. Should a man bruise its skin, its poison would adhere to and kill him. The only method of gathering it is this: dig around the said substance a hollow deep enough for a man's management therein; and with one end of a thong tie up the substance lightly, and with the other end bind round a big dog's let. Now flog the dog; he will, striving to avoid the danger, pluck the substance from the ground, but he will die instantly. The stuff thus procured is buried under other ground, whence it is taken out a year after; then it is dried and prepared with another medicine. When man takes internally a bit of this mixed with wine, it makes him soon fall down unconscious even of cuts and chops; still there is a certain drug which, if used within three days, can recover the man. It is very likely that the celebrated Hwa To [a surgeon who flourished in the third century, A.D.] barely resorted to this drug when, as is traditionally said, he cut open his patients bellies to cleanse viscera (sic) without harm. Presently we learn our Imperial Hospital possesses two pieces of this drug."

The readers of the above passage scarcely need my annotations that the story is obviously composed of what Josephus and Dioscorides record (23), and also that the name "Yah-ph-lü" is nothing but "Ybruh," the Arabic word for the mandrake.³⁴(24).

References.--(1) In "Hai-shan-sien-kwan-tsung-shu," tom. xlvi. (published 1847), pt. i., fol. 76. *b*; the Imperial Cyclopaedia, "Yuen-kien-lui-han," 1701, *passim*. (2) "Encyclopaedia Britannica," 9th ed., vol. x. p. 604. (3) Cf. Folkard, "Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics," 1884, p. 427; also my letter in NATURE, *op. cit*. (4) Sie Tsai-Kang, "Wu-tsah-tsu," c. 1610, Jap. ed., tom. x., fol. 41, *b*, quoted in my letter, *ubi supra*. (5) Folkard,

³³ In another work by the same author, "Kwei-sin-tsah-shih," quoted by Li-Shi-Chin, *op. cit.* sub "Yah-puh-lu," this herb is said to grown in the "Region of Moslem, north of the Desert," and there it is indicated that the degraded officers of an extreme ignominy used this drug [to feign self-murder]. The Imperial "Yuen-kien-lui-han," *op. cit.* tom. cccxi, gives a proverb: "Eat the herb by name Yah-puh-lü; you die, still you are not dead."

³⁴ Fang I-Chi, the most erudite Chinese of Christian faith, referring to a work of the thirteenth (?) century, "Fang-yu-shing-loh," gives the habitat of the narcotic "Yay-puh-lu-yoh in the country of Medina ("Tung-ya," 1643, tom xli, fol. 8, *b*). Conventionally the latter name might be interpreted as the "Drug named Yah-puh-lu," but I am rather inclined to trace it to the name "Yabrochak" used in Palestine for the mandrake (Pickering, *loc. cit.*).

l.c. (6) "Hau-ngan-hien-hwa," Brit. Mus. copy. 15316, *a*, tom. i., fol. 4, *b* (7) Same as (5) and (8). (8) Encyc. Brit.", vol. xv. p. 476. (9) and (10) Li Shi-Chin, "Pan-tsau-kang-muh," art. "Shang-luh." (11) Ching Tsiau, "Tung-chi," Brit. Mus. copy, 15281, *a-d*, tom. lxx., fol. 28, *a*. (12) same as (9). (13) Josephus, "Jewish War," trans. Traill, 1851, book vii. p. 230. (14) Same as (6). (15) and (16) Folkard, *op. cit.* (17) Wu Ki-Siun, "Shih-woh-ming-shih-tu-kau," completed c. 1848, ed. Ono, Tokyo, 1884, tom. xxiv., fol. 16. (18) "I Discorsi, &c.," Venetia, 1568, p. 1136. (19) Same as (9). (20) Cf. W. Rhind, "History of the Vegetable Kingdom," 1874, p. 552; same as (8) and (9). (21) e.g. Cruden, "A Complete Concordance to the Old and New Testament," 20th ed., p. 436. (22) "Chi-ya-tsang-tsah-chau," Brit. Mus. copy, 15316, *a*, tom. i. fol. 41-42. (23) Josephus, *L. c.*; Mart mathee, "Lex six Livres de Pedacion Dioscoride," Lyon, 1559, l. iv., ch. lxx. p. 274. (24) Pickering, "Chronological History of Plants," Boston, 1879, p. 247.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

15 Blithfield Street, Kensington, W., July 16

P.S.--In writing the present letter, I have not consulted the late Prof. Veth's exhaustive account of the mandrake-stories referred to in NATURE (vol. li. p. 573.) To my great regret it is written in Dutch, a language which is beyond the reach of my understanding.

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JANUARY 7, 1897

NATURE

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Marriage of the Dead

MARCO POLO narrates of the Tartar tribes thus:-- "They have another notable custom, which is this. If any man has a daughter who dies before marriage, and another man has had a son also die before marriage, the parents of the two arrange a grand wedding between the dead lad and lass. And marry them they do, making a regular contract! And when the contract papers are made out they put them in the fire in order that the parties in the other world may know the fact and so look on each other as man and wife. And the parents thenceforward consider themselves sib to each other just as if their children had lived and married. Whatever may be agreed on between the parties as dowry, those who have to pay it cause to be painted on pieces of paper, and then put these in the fire, saying that in that way the dead person will get all the real articles in the other world." (Yule, "Book of Ser Marco Polo," 2nd ed., vol. i. pp. 259-260). On this narration of Polo, the late Colonel Yule, quoting the authors of later date, remarks that "this is a Chinese custom, though no doubt we may trust Marco for its being a Tartar one also" (p. 260).

As it is not well known whether or not there is a record of this strange custom earlier than the beginning of the dynasty of Yuen, I was in doubt whether it was

originally common to the Chinese and Tartars until I lately came across the following passage in "Tsoh-mung-lu" (Brit. mus. copy, 15297, a 1, fol. 11-12), which would seem to decide the questions--"In the North there is this custom. When a youth and a girl of marriageable ages die before marriage, their families appoint a match-maker to negotiate their nuptials, whom they call 'Kwei-meï' (i.e. Match-maker of Ghosts'). Either family hands over to another a paper noticing all pre-requisites concerning the affair; and by names of the parents of the intended couple asks a man to pray and divine; and if the presage tells that the union is a lucky one, clothes and ornaments are made for the deceased pair. Now the match-maker goes to the burying ground of the bridegroom and, offering wine and fruits, requests the pair to marry. There two seats are prepared on adjoining positions, either of which having behind it a small banner more than a foot long. Before the ceremony is consecrated by libation, the two banners remain hanging perpendicularly and still; but when the libation is sprinkled and the deceased couple are requested to marry, the banners commence to gradually approach till they touch one another, which shows that they are both glad of the wedlock. However, when one of the dislikes another, it would happen that the banner representing the unwilling party does not move to approach the other banner. In case the couple should die too young to understand the matter, a dead man is appointed as a tutor to the male defunct, and some effigies are made to serve as the instructress and maids of the female defunct.³⁵ The dead tutor thus nominated is informed of his appointment by a paper offered to him, on which are inscribed his name and age. After the consummation of the marriage, the new consorts appear in dreams to their respective parents-in-law. Should this custom be discarded, the unhappy defuncts might do mischief to their negligent relatives. . . . On every occasion of these nuptials both families give some presents to the match-maker ('Kwei-meï'), whose sole business is annually to inspect the newly-deceased couples around his village, and to arrange their weddings to earn his livelihood."

This passage is very interesting, for, besides giving us a faithful account of the particulars, which nowadays we fail to find elsewhere, it bears testimony to the Tartar, and not Chinese, origin of this practice. The author, Kng Yu-chi, describes himself to have visited his old home in Northern China shortly after its subjugation by the kin Tartars in 1126 A.D.; so there is no doubt that among many institutional novelties then introduced to China by the northern invaders, Marriage of the Dead was so striking that the author did not hesitate to describe it for the first time.

According to a Persian writer, after whom Pétis de Lacroix writes, this custom was adopted by Jenghiz Kan as a means to preserve amity amongst his subjects, it forming the subject of Article XIX. of his Yasa promulgated in 1205 A.D. The same writer adds:--"this custom is still in use amongst the Tartars at this day, but superstition has added more circumstances to it: they throw the contract of marriage into the fire after having drawn some figures on it to represent the persons pretended to be so marry'd, and some forms of beasts; and are persuaded that all this is carried by the smoke to their children, who thereupon marry in the other world." (Pétis de Lacroix, "History of Genghizcan the Great," trans. P. Aubin, London, 1722, p. 86). As the Chinese author does not speak of the burning of papers in this connection, whereas the Persian writer speaks definitely of

³⁵ The last clause in the original text is doubtful in reading. Perhaps it will be more correct to render it: "And the family of the intended bride provides her with various sorts of utensils and apparel needful to her nurse and maid-servants in the other world."

its having been added later, it seems that the marriage of the dead had been originally a Tartar custom, with which the well-known Chinese paper-burning was amalgamated subsequently between the reigns of Genghiz and his grandson Kublai--under the latter Marco witnessed the customs already mingled, still, perhaps, mainly prevailing amongst the Tartar descendants.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

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MAY 13, 1897

NATURE

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On Augury from Combat of Shellfish.

In his "Jôzankidan Shûi" (published about 1767, tome i. fol. 3, *a*) Yuasa Shimbei, a Japanese literatus (1708-81), writes on this subject thus:--"Noma Samanoshin narrated that the destiny of a belligerent could well be foretold by means of the 'Tanishi.'³⁶ If two groups consisting each of three of this shellfish be placed in opposite corners of a tray, the three animals representing the future conquerors would advance, while the others, which are doomed to defeat, would withdraw. This method was approved by repeated experiments during the siege of Osaka³⁷ [1615]. Every time the experiment was carried on, it never failed for the three "Tanishi," respectively designated Hideyori, the lord of the castle, and his two generals, Ono and Kimura, to be driven in corners by other three which were representing the leaders of the besieging army, Prince Iyeyasu, Ii, and Todô. Thence it is confirmed that there is no better method of foretelling the decision of a war [here Noma's narrative ends]. The same method is given in detail in 'Wu-pei-chi' [by Mau Yuen-i, completed 1621], which is to be consulted for its particulars." Unfortunately all four copies in the British Museum of the Chinese work, here referred to, are wanting vol. clxxxvi., wherein further details of the method are said to be found.

Besides, two older Chinese works, both of which I have never seen, viz. Fung Ching's "Pan-yu-ki"³⁸ (written *circa* 990-94) and Luh Wei's "Kwei-che-chi"³⁹ (twelfth century) are said to describe this method of augury to have been of old used in the region of Ling-Nan (which comprised the present provinces of Kwang-Tung and Kwang-Si).

In connection with Yuasa's statement above quoted, the following notice, by Etienne Aymonier, of a Cambodian mode of divination is equally interesting:--"Si un armée étrangère fait invasion dans le royaume, beaucoup d'habitants prennent deux

³⁶ "Tannigi are the common black Land Snails gather'd for Food in muddy Rice Fields. . . ." (Kaempfer, "History of Japan," 1727, vol. i. p. 141). It belongs to the genus *Viviparus*, and is *V. japonica*, if I remember correctly

³⁷ For this event see, *e.g.* Caron's "Account of Japan," in Pinkerton, "Voyages and Travels," 1811, vol. vii. p. 616; "Diary of Richard Cocks," 1883, *passim*.

³⁸ Referred to in Li-Ye, "King-chai-ku-kin-tau" (written c. 1234, Brit. Mus. copy, 15316, *d*, tome iv. fol. 27, *a*).

³⁹ Quoted in the Grand Imperial Cyclopaedia. "Ku-kin-tu-shu-tseih-ching," sec. xix. tome clxii, sub "Lo-pu-ki-shi," fol. 3, *a*.

Khchau,⁴⁰ placent au fond d'une bassin, d'un récipient, un peu de sable pour faire une petite arène et assez d'eau pour recouvrir les deux coquilles. Ils allument des bougies et des baguettes odoriférantes, invoquent les divinités protectrices du royaume, les preint d'inquer l'issue de la guerre au moyen de cette petite naumachie. Les *Khchau* représentent les belligérants luttent jusqu'à ce que l'un des deux soit culbute"⁴¹ ("Notes sur les Coutumes et Croyances superstitieuses de Cambodgiens," in *Cochinchine Française; Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 16. p. 142, Saigon, 1882.)

So far the practice of augury from combat of shell-fish appears to be a peculiarity of the peoples in the Far East. Is there any instance of the same method described in other parts of the world?⁴²

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

May 3.

[NO. 1437, VOL. 56, pp. 30-1]

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SEPTEMBER 9, 1897

NATURE

30

The Centipede-Whale.

I am very much desirous of being informed by you, or some of your readers, what animal is meant by "Scolopendra Cetacea," which, according to Johnston, has only been described by Aelian: "Scolopendrae vim et natura, . . . quoddam etiam maxillatum [sic] cetos marinum eam esse audivi, quam de mari tempestuosam [sic] in litus expulsam nemo foret tam audax, quin aspicere excerneret [sic]. Il vero qui res maritimas percipiant, eas inquirunt toto citespectari [sic] eminentes è mari: et narium pilos magna excelsitate apparere, et ejus caudam similiter atque locustae latam perspicere: reliquum etiam corpus aliquando in superficie aequoris spectari, idque conferri posse cum triremi instae magnitudinis, atque permultis pedibus utrinque ordine sitis, tanquam ex scalmis appensis, natare, Addunt harum rerum periti ac fide digni, ipsos etiam fluctus ea natante leviter

⁴⁰ J. Moure in his "Vocabulaire Français-Cambodgien, &c.," Paris 1878, simply explains the word "khchau" as "coquille." From parallel-instances it is highly probable that this is, too, a species of the Paludinidae.

⁴¹ This notice reminds me of an old Japanese tradition, which is this. "When the battle of Dannoura was about to be fought (1185) [for which battle see Adams, "History of Japan," 1874, vol. i. p. 36], Kumano-no-Bettô Tanso, a warlike priest who was wavering in question which of the two antagonist clans to support--Minamoto or Taira--doubting the accuracy of an oracle given by his patron-god to induce him to serve under the White Banner [i.e. the Minamoto clan], caused seven white cocks to combat with seven red ones before the shrine of the same deity. And the result was that the red ones [which represented the Red Banner of the Taira Clan] were all defeated by white ones, which impelled him to make up his mind to serve the Minamoto-clan ("Heike Monogatari," tome xi.).

⁴² Of allied modes of divination about the decision of a war, I may instance the New Zealander's practice with sticks, and a Gothic king's experiment with swine (see Lubbock, "Origin of Civilisation," 5th ed., p. 245; and Mary Howitt's Appendix to Ennemoser's "History of Magic," ed. Bohm, vol. ii. p. 458).

subsonare." ("De Natura animalium," lib xii. cap. 23.) In Gesner's "Historia Animalium," lib. iv., Francfort, 1604, p. 838, a figure is given of this animal said to have been seen in India.

That the Japanese of old had some notion of such an animal is well shown in Kaibara's "Yamato Honzô" (1708, tom. xiii. f. 41, b.), where it is said: "*The Mukade-Kujira* [=Centipede-Whale] is as large as a whale, and has five fins on the back and a two-cleft tail. its legs number twelve, six being on each side; its flesh is coloured red and very venomous, man being killed when he eats it."

Here I may add that Olaus Magnus's "Cetus Barbatus," which is assimilated with the "Scolopendra Cetacea" in the book of Gesner (*ut supr.*, and figured on p. 207) appears to be but an exaggerated portrait of some huge Cephalopod; and also that I was lately told by Captain Miura, of the Fuji, of his having experienced a serious illness in consequence of eating flesh of a gigantic cuttlefish in the Pacific Ocean.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

15 Blithfield Street, Kensington, W., August 30.

[NO. 1454, VOL. 56]

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OCTOBER 21, 1897

NATURE

30

Acquired Immunity from Insect Stings.

In connection with this subject (see NATURE, vol lv. p. 533, *ot alibi*) it may be interesting to quote the following passage from "An Account of a Journey to Leetakoo," performed by a Dutchman, named Truter, in 1801 (appended to Sir John Barrow's "Voyage to Cochin China" (London, 1806), wherein the passage occurs on p. 382): "It was remarked that . . .the sting of a scorpion, which to Europeans and colonists is always attended with dangerous consequences . . . has no ill effect on this people [the Bosjesmans], which they endeavoured to bo explain by saying that while children being accustomed to be stung by these insects, the poison in time ceases to have any effect on them, as the small-pox-virus loses its action on a person who has had the disease."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

October 11.

[NO. 1460, VOL. 56]

-0-

MARCH 3, 1898

NATURE

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The Mandrake.

In a foot-note to my letter under this heading (NATURE, vol. liv. p. 343. August 13, 1896), I quoted from a Chinese work the names of the nine plants reputed to assume frequently the human or animal figures; and I remarked thereon that most of the alleged figures in these plants were recognised in the subterraneous members. Lately, however, I have found this remark not quite correct, inasmuch as it concerns some of them, viz. mustard and turnip: the alleged figures in these two appear to have suggested themselves to the Chinese imagination by the deformities in their floral parts caused by some parasitic infestations. This is evident from the following passage that comes in "Mung-ki-pih-tan," written by Chin Kwoh (1031-94 A.D.): "When such vegetables as the turnips and mustard are injured by draught, their inflorescences mostly form the blossoms resembling the lotus-flower, or like the dragon and serpent. These are of common occurrence, and anything but wonderful. Once in the period of Hi-ning (1068-77 A.D.), when Mr. Li-Kih-chi was the governor of Jun-chau, all blossoms of the vegetables in his garden happened to have the form of the lotus-flower, each having one Buddha sitting in it. They were innumerable, and looked as if engraved, and well preserved the figures after desiccation. Some one used to ascribe this ominous event to the great zeal with which all members of Mr. Li's family devoted themselves to the worship of the Buddha."

February 21.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

[NO. 1479, VOL 57]

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MARCH 10, 1898

NATURE

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Oat Smut as an Artist's Pigment.

With regard to Prof. Marshall Ward's note under this heading (p. 389, *ante*) I may add that, according to Mr. K. Miyabe, the olive-brown spores of *Ustilago esculenta* ("Makomo-zumi" in Japanese), besides its application to the painting of the ladies' eyebrows in Japan, are mixed up with oil and smeared on the scalp and hairs by older women who have the hairs thin or grey. "At present," the author adds, "the spores are largely used in the lacquer industry to produce rusty-coloured wares by mixing them with lac" (*The Botanical Magazine*, Tokyo, vol. ix. p. 197, May 1895).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

February 25.

[NO 1480, VOL. 57]

-0-

Notes on the Bugonia-Superstitions. The Occurrence of *Eristalis Tenax* in India.

In consequence of a notice published by Baron C.R. Osten-Sacken in *NATURE* (vol xlix., p. 198, December 28, 1893), requesting the public for information about the folk-lore of the Oxen-born bees, I made to him several communications, most of which were incorporated in his subsequent works: namely "On the Oxen-born Bees of the Ancients" (Heidelberg, 1894), and "Additional Notes in Explanation of the Bugonia-Lore," &c., (ibid., 1895).⁴³ Continuing since in the researches, I have collected the following notes, which I trust you will allow me a space to publish, inasmuch as the latter work (p. 4) contains the author's indication that he shall thereby conclude his publications on this subject:--

(1) The Occurrence of the Bees in a Skull.--Besides the two instances of this incident quoted in "O.B." (pp. 64, 3) from Herodotus and from Patterson, we find another case in Purchas's "Pilgrimes." 1624, Part III., l. iii. p. 627, where Geo. Berkeley, the English merchant (c. 1605), narrates from his personal observations that Livonia was then so much devastated by the Russians that, her woods were "strowed with bones of the dead carcasses, and himselfe did once in one of those woods, eate Honey out of a man's skull wherein a swarm of bees were, and bred as it hanged on a Tree."

(2) *Chinese Lores in Relation to the Bugonia*.--Mr. G.B. Buckton, in his "*Natural History of Eristalis tenax*," 1895, p. 79, gathering from "O.B.," includes Japan and China among the countries that "have been all more or less affected by this strange idea." Should a reader infer from this passage that the Japanese and the Chinese ever dreamt of the breeding of honey-bees from bovine carcasses, gross must be his blunder. He can find in "O.B. a reproduction of my clear statements of the absence from these nations of this belief (p. 20), and of the early Japanese discrimination between bees and drone-flies (p. 33).

However, the exposition of Mr. Buckton could excellently apply to the case of the Chinese, provided the term "Bugonia-superstition" be used in such an extensive sense as to cover all allied beliefs derivable from the confusions of bees and drone-flies. As the result of m research for three years past, I can now enumerate altogether three instances of such beliefs from Chinese source: firstly, a notice of a literatus in the begining of the seventeenth century, who apparently mistook some *Eristalis* for honey-bees (see *NATURE*, vol. l. p. 30, May 10, 1894); secondly, an inveterate fallacy current among the renowned naturalists in China, that the bees use human urine for manufacturing honey⁴⁴ ("O.B.," p. 19; "A.N.," pp. 17, 19-20); and thirdly, a passage which I have lately found in "Koo-kin-tu-shu-tseih-ching" (Peking, 1726, Sec. IV., tom. lxxviii, "Ki-i-pu-wei kau," i.

⁴³ For brevity's sake I shall use in this article the abbreviations "O.B." and "A.N.," respectively for these works.

⁴⁴ So, Li Shi-Chin, one of the greatest naturalists China has ever produced, praises the Bees in a similar tone to Samson's riddle by saying: "Out of the fetor came forth deity; and out of the decay came forth mystery" ("Pan-tsau-Kang-muh," 1578, *sub.*, "Mih-fang")

fol. 2, b.), and reads thus:--"Should a hen's egg turn into bees or wasps, it would portend the town where it happens to become totally evacuated in subsequent time."

Here I may add that, although the Chinese were singularly free from the barren speculations on the artificial breeding or honey-bees from dead oxen, yet they did not escape the invasion of another enterprising illusion, which might have rivalled the Bugonia-craze in its absurdity. It is described by Chang Hwa (232-300 A.D.) in his "Poh-wuh-chi" (tom. iv.f.7, a, Jap. ed., 1683):--"Tear the Turtle (*Trionyx*) into pieces about as large as stones used in the game of Ki (a sort of chess); mix them well with the juice of the Chih-hien (the red variety of *Amaranthus mangostanus*), and bury them underground in a thick envelope made of Imperata-grass; thus, after ten days, you will find each piece of flesh changed into a turtle." Another book, named "Pi-ya-Kwang-yau," is said to related: "If a carapace of the turtle be wrapped with the Amaranth and placed on damp ground, it turns into another turtle: now there are men who use to divide into pieces the turtle's flesh, and by adding to them the Amaranth-juice, change them after ten days to turtles as minute as young silk-worms, which they throw in ponds under the name of "Seedling-Turtles (*Chung Pieh*)" ("Yuen-kien-lui-han," 1701, tom. cdxli., art. "Pieh").⁴⁵ These preposterous schemes of multiplying by gemmiparone process one of the dainties dearest to the Celestial's palate, were doubtless an outcome of erroneous observations, whereby those credulous folks mistook for newly hatched turtles some insects of a turtle-like configuration with the habit of thronging about the putrid animal substances.⁴⁶

(3) *Japanese Lore concerning Eristalis tenax.*--"In regard to the composition of honey and the confusion of the honey-bee with *E. tenax* [*cf.* (2) *supra.*], the Japanese nation was far in advance of its neighbours." ("A.N.," p. 19). Only single instance somewhat analogous to the old western stories of the Wasp and Hornet generated from dead horses, I have recited in NATURE, *ubi supra*, from a Japanese work. This is the belief in the "Horse-Hair Wasp," so-called from the popular notion of an ichneumon-fly whose ovipositors resemble horse-hairs, that it is a metamorphosis of the latter;⁴⁷ while, as Baron Osten-Sacken aptly expounds, the alleged Horse-born Wasp and Horse-born

⁴⁵ Perhaps "Hwin-nan-wan-pih-shuh," attributed to Liu Ngan (c. 179-122 B.C.) is the oldest work extant which mentions this sympathetic power on the turtle of the "Hien," which name comprises, besides all species of *Amaranthus*, the Purslane (*Portulaca oleracea*). Some authors who take for "Hien" the latter plant singly, tries to explain a passage in the "Book of Changes," where occurs the "Hien" with the *Phytolacca* (for the latter see my letter in NATURE, vol. liv. p. 343, August 13, 1896) as the types of diabolical plants, by conceiving as devilish the remarkable resistance to desiccation of the Purslane as well as its alleged influence on dead turtles (Chang Urh-Ki, "Hau-ngan-hien-hwa," tome i; Wu-Ki-Shun, "Shih-woh-ming-shih-tu-kau," ed. Ono, tome iii. fol. 19, b). It is a curious contingency that the word "Amaranth" is derived from Greek words--*a*, privative, and *μαραινω*, to wither (Loudon, "Encyclopaedia of Plants," 1880, p. 787). Also there is a Chinese belief in a visceral disease called "parasitic turtle" (*Pieh-hia*), said to originate in eating turtle-flesh with the Hien ("Yuen-kien-lui-han," *l.c.*; Chang Urh-Ki, *ut supra*) which error has probably arisen from their confusion of some parasitic flat worms with turtles.

⁴⁶ *Cf.* Pliny, H.N., xi:20: "Sicut asinorum scarabaeos mutante natura ex alis quaedam in alia." In Chinese glossaries there are names of many beetles founded on the resemblance to the turtle. Certain aquatic Heteroptera (*e.g.* *Belostoma indica*) that are perhaps the origin of the "Seedling-Turtle" story, are called in Japanese "Tagame," or "turtle in rice-field" (Terashima, "Wakan Sansai-dzue, 1713, tome liii.).

⁴⁷ For the assimilation of the ichneumon flies with the wasps, *cf.* Pliny, xi. 24: "Vespae quae ichneumone vocantur." "Ma-fang" (literally, horse-wasp) occurs in Chinese, here, however, the epithet "horse" signifies "large" (*cf.* Kaibara, *op. cit.* tome ix. fol. 10, b).

Hornet are both the issues of the ancients confusion of *Helophilus* and *Gastrophilus*, with the hymenoptera in question ("O.B.," pp. 53-55).

"The occurrence of *E. tenax* of Japan is of very long standing. . . the people did not confound it with the bee" (O.B., p. 33, note; cf. "A.N.," pp. 20-22). This Japanese immunity from the taint of such a widespread superstition, appears to be mainly due to their early ignorance of the bee-keeping.⁴⁸ Although Japan is not destitute of the indigenous bees (cf. Kaibara, "Yamato hongô," 1708, tom. xiv. fol. 13), the comparative paucity in the old Japanese literature of the allusions to honey and bees, and a definite register in the national history of a failure in introducing them from Corea in 643 A.D. ("Nihongi," lib. xxiv), together with the striking absence from the Japanese language of any native name of honey,⁴⁹ are sufficient to preclude any ideas of the original familiarity of the Japanese with apiary.

This primitive ignorance of the honey-keeping certainly gave great impulse to the early establishment by the Japanese of the demarcation between the bee and the drone-fly; which latter dipteron they have properly grouped with its allies, such as *Tabanus*, *Helophilus*, and *Gastrophilus*, under the general onomatopoe "Abu," which corresponds with "Mang," the Chinese appellation after their humming sounds--from the former, no doubt, descends the modern Japanese name of *E. tenax*, "Bun-bun" (cf. "O.B.," p. 20).

That the Japanese were early acquainted with the rat-tailed larva of *E. tenax*, is evinced in a cyclopaedia compiled in 1713, wherein the imago and the larvae of the fly are figured and described distinctly ("A.D.," p. 20). In an old vernacular leechcraft, the so-called "Long-tailed Dung-Worm" (*Onago-Kusomushi*), the larva of the fly, was prescribed as an invaluable cure for rickets (*Kan*) (Terashima, as quoted in foot-note 4). Baron Osten-Sacken already gave from my communication to him a popular rhyme said to be efficacious in keeping this larvae away from out-houses ("A.D.," p. 21). In some provincial versions of the rhyme, the larva is called "Kamisake-mushi" or "Kamisake-joro" (*i.e.* Worm-or-Strumpet who avoids the [Shintoist] Gods).⁵⁰ "Eibian," a Japanese antiquary, understands this cursing poem to have been composed by a zealous Shintoist, who might have directed it against the Buddha Sâkyamuni, whom it represents by the loathsome larva, and whose birth took place on the day named in it (Yamazaki, "Seiji hyakudan," 1841, chapter xli). This remark points at the remote antiquity of the Japanese acquaintance with the *ver à queue de rat*; for according to it, the verses must have sprung in an epoch when the native and Indian creeds were yet contending greatly in Japan.

⁴⁸ Even in the sixteenth century the domestication of the bees must have been unknown, at least in some western provinces: for the fact is particularly called attention to in the narration of a Japanese ambassador sent to Rome by a prince in Kyushu: "Non hanno in quei paesi Api, ne in conseguenza il nobilissim frutto del mele . . ." ("Breve Ragguaglio dell'Isola del Giappone, Roma, 1582, Brit. Mus. 10,055, a. 1, fol.2, a). {6-5} Only word ever used in Japan for honey is "Mitsu" (or "Michi" in its obsolete form), bore a modification of Chinese "Mih," and that for the honey-bee is "Mitsu-bachi," composed of the heterogeneous words "Wamyô Shô," written in the tenth century, tomes svi. and xix.).

⁴⁹ Only word ever used in Japan for honey is "Mitsu" (or "Michi" in its obsolete form), bore a modification of Chinese "Mih," and that for the honey-bee is "Mitsu-bachi," composed of the heterogeneous words "Wamyô Shô," written in the tenth century, tomes xvi. And xix.).

⁵⁰ So a rustic version runs: "Since long ago auspicious is the eighth of the fourth moon; on this day punishment of worms that hate god is their doom.

(4) *The Mithraic Association of the Bees with the Lion and the Oxen.*--Dr. Ernest Krause, in his article, "Die mythologische Periode den Entwicklungsgeschichte," in "Kosmos," Jahr. IVI, B. viii. p. 350, Leipzig, 1880, ascribes the triple association of these creatures to the amalgamation of the Christian legend with the classic stories.

Nevertheless, the fact that these *trio* were long in existence in Persia, before the introduction of Christianity into classic regions, is evident from the ancient cultus of Mithras, in which one who was initiated into the mystic grade of Lion had to "wash his hands with honey collected by bees who are oxen-begotten" (Thomas Taylor, "Select Works of Porphyry," 1823, p. 181) added to which, on an ancient cylinder of recent discovery, those persons presiding on the Leontic rites, are said to be represented in the tunics and stoles covered with the design of honey-comb (F. Lajard, "Recherches sur les Cultes publics et let Mysteres de Mithra," 1867, 2e Section, p. 240, *seqq.*).

(5) *Astronomical and Elemental Explanation of the Bugonia Myth.*--In his "A.N.," pp. 12-13, Baron Osten-Sacken names the three methods of treatments of this myth by the commentators on the classic passages that concern it. To these three, I may add as the fourth the following explanation by A. de Gubernatis, who endeavours to treat the myth astronomically: According to Porphyrios, the moon (Sêlenê) was also called a bee (Melissa). Sêlenê was represented drawn by two white horses or two cows; the horn of these cows seems to correspond to the sting of the bee. The souls of the dead were supposed to come down from the moon upon the earth in the forms of bees. Porphyrios adds that as the moon is the culminating point of the constellation of the bull, it is believed that bees are born in the bull's carcass. Dionysos (the moon), after having been torn to pieces in the form of a bull, was born again, according to those who were initiated into the Dionysian mysteries, in the form of a bee; hence the name of Bougenês, given to Dionysos (moon). . . Sometimes, instead of the lunar bull, we find the solar lion" ("Zoological Mythology," vol. ii. p. 217, London, 1872). the fifth method, as it might be, seeks in the Bugonia an "elemental" myth, as we find it in F. Lajard's work, quoted above. According to this authority, the Ox and the lion appear to have symbolised in the creed of ancient Persians what the Chinese have designated respectively with the terms of "Yin," ("negativeness") and "Yang" ("positiveness") (*cf.* my letter in NATURE, vol li. p. 32, November 8 1894); and the Mithras association of the Leontic grade with honey (compare last paragraph) is solvable by the reason that honey contains an essence extremely combustible (extremely "positive" in Chinese philosophy), which is wax (p. 242). It is highly probable that the association of the bees with the oxen existed in the sun cultus of Mithras (*cf.* Taylor, *l.c.*), as we can adduce it from the Persian cosmogony, which states that, the First Bull, the first of all beings created by Armuzd, having been slain by the jealous Ahriman, his soul, the Ized Goschorum, issued from his left shoulder, and after collecting the sperm of the terrestrial bull, carried it to moon, where it became the germ of all creatures (see Lajard, p. 49; *cf.* the Dionysian story in (4) *supra*).

(6) *Bugonia-Superstitions in India.*--Once I communicated to Baron Osten-Sacken my suggestion of the possibility of finding some traces of these superstitions from an Indian source; but it met his negative remark in "A.N.," *sub fin*, chiefly grounded on the alleged lack till that time of any report firm enough for the inclusion of *E. tenax*, among the Indian fauna. In a work of N. Muller, however, we have lately found described an old silver vase made in India, which has engraved thereon Kamadeva (the Love) in the

act of producing Totma (the Force). It represents the infant god riding on his quiver,⁵¹ from which a lion is issuing forth, while the quiver rests on the back of a bee, and as is well known, a chain of bees forms the string to the god's bow. Another mythical picture of Totma described by the same author is a lion producing out of his mouth a swarm of bees and a cow ("Glauben, Wissen, und Kunst der alten Hindus," Manzig, 1822, B.I., S. 553, *seqq.*; with Tab. I., fig. 11 and 12). From these figures we are perhaps right in believing that the Hindus were not totally unaffected with the Bugonia-myth; and if it be so, how anciently the myth existed in India? This is the question which I should solicit assistance from any of your readers to elucidate.⁵²

(7) *The Occurrence of Eristalis tenax in India.*--To supplement the last paragraph, it will be interesting to introduce here the following letter from Mr. E.E. Austen, of the British Museum (Natural History), which I owe to his kindness:--

"November 16, 1897.

"*Eristalis tenax*, L. has never been recorded (at any rate, under its own name) from India. However, in a collection of Diptera from India belonging to the Bombay Natural History Society, and at present in my hands for determination, are four specimens which, in my opinion, undoubtedly belong to this species. I have not time just now to make minute examination, but so far as I can see these specimens agree perfectly with the normal European form. If there are any differences, I do not think that they can possibly be of *specific value*. Of the four specimens in question one is unlabelled; the other three are labelled respectively--'N.W.P. (North-West Province), 'Himalayas,' and 'Musourie.' I may add that the Bombay natural history Society's collection also contains the five specimens (not labelled with precise localities) of *E. pertinax*, L.--a species which closely resembles *E. tenax*, and has identical habits. In England, at any rate, it is often the more abundant of the two.

(Signed) "E.E. AUSTEN."

In a Buddhist cyclopaedia in Chinese (Tau-ngan's "Fah-yuen-chu-lin," completed 668 A.D., ed. 1827, tom. xxviii. fol. 12-13), there is a quotation from an Avadâna Sutra, giving account of how Ananda found in a pond near Râdjagriha, which receives all sewerage of that city, a huge worm several tens of feet long, and without limbs, amusing itself among refuses, rolling, raising, and lowering. the question as for the cause of so unpleasant an animal, the buddha answers by tracing it to a long past aeon, when an avaricious abbot cursed good monks with very unwholesome words, which effected the malefactor's transmigration to such a disgusting life. Here, the worm in ordures is described too briefly, but its figures, except the exaggerated size, forcibly put one in mind of a similar account of the "Long-tailed Dung-Worm" by a Japanese author (see "A.N.,"

⁵¹ In this connection it is significant that "the Italian 'carcasso' means quiver, because it is kept together with rings or ribs, which resemble the ribs of a human carcass" (Webster's Dictionary).

⁵² {8-2} About four years ago, when I followed to the British Museum my master in Mantraism, Mr. Hôryû Toki, that Yogacharya informed the late Sir (then Mr.) Augustus Franks of the remarkable coincidences that exist between the characters of the Brahmanic "Kamadeva" (the Hindu Eros) and of the Mantranist's "Aizen Myowo" (the bright king who soaks mankind with love). One conspicuous figure of the latter is his crown of a lion's head (See "Butsuzô Dzui," n.e., 1886, tome ii. fol. 20, *a*) whence it is very probable that some vestiges of the Leontogenes occur in the "Aizen-kyô," a Buddhist sutra devoted to this Vadjra, but inaccessible to me in this country.

p. 21); which leads to the view that the Indians took early notice of the rat-tailed larva of some *Eristalis*.

(8) *Stingless Bees besides Eristalis tenax*.--From the instances I shall give presently it will be evident that the readers must take precaution against the hasty identifications with the *Eristalis* of all so-called "stingless bees." thus, Prof. A. Merx, of Jena, suggests the possible identity with *E. tenax* of certain stingless bees in Abyssinia, which J. Ludolf records in his "Historia Æthiopica," 1681, lib. 1, chap. 13 ("O.B.," p. 67). But it is too evident from the following words that the identity is not true:--"De hoc accipiunt Habessini Mel agreste. . . . Quia verò aculeo carent, la tenebrâ se tuentur; sub terrâ enim favos condunt, angustissimo introitu, quem viso homin quinque vel sex implent capitual sua solo aequalia ponentes, tam solerier, ut acutisimos oculos fallant." Two manners of the "stingless bees" in the Western Hemisphere are respectively described by Fernandez d'Oviedo (1478-1557) and H. Schmirdel (c. 1534-54): both agree in building their nests inside of trees, where they make white excellent honey (Ramusio, "Navigazioni e Viagi," Venetia, 1606, fol. 51, A; Purchas, "Pilgrimes," Part III., . vii., chap. 4). One who reads Astley's "Collection" (1745, vol. ii. p 355) might naturally be struck with the thought that there *E. tenax* is meant by a "Drone-Bee" that "frequents the villages [in the wester coast of south Guinea]. . . but yields no honey"; on examination, however, of the original of this passage, we confirm other insect is meant thereby, as the statement has this qualification:--[They] hurt nobody unless provoked, and then their sting cause great and dangerous inflammations" (J. Barbot's "Description of Guinea," in Churchill's "Collection," 1732, vol. i. p. 116).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.

P.S.--It may not be amiss to note here that the Spanish Benedictine, Benito Feyjoo, in his "Théatro Critico Universal" (Madrid, 1734, tom iv. p. 198), devotes a chapter to the Bugonia, where he refers to Sperling's failure to find any bees from dead oxen while serious pestilence was prevailing among cattle in Wurtemberg (see "O.B.," p. 61). He continues: "Doctor Don Joseph Ortiz Barroso, the learned physician in the city of Utrera, experienced the same failure on two several occasions of similar epidemic that visited the territory of Sevilla. the latter observations conflict with the solution which F. Sachs seeked to apply to the case of Sperling's failure, by attributing it to the too cold climate of Würtemberg for the bees; for the same failures were experienced in Andalusia, which is a quite warm country; while such coldest countries in the north as Russia, Podolia, &c., have great abundance of the bees, causing very cheap sale of honey and wax in those arts."

K.M.

[NO. 1492, VOL. 58]

The Centipede-Whale.

THE "Scolopendrous Millipede," which forms the subject for the epigrams of Theodoridas and Antipater, and to which Mr. W.F. Sinclair kindly called my attention (NATURE, vol. lvi. p. 470), seems to mean a being quite different from the "Centipede Whale" which Ælian and Kaibara describe (see my letter, *ibid.*, p. 445); for the former apparently points to a huge skeleton of some marine animal, while the latter is an erroneous but vivid portrait of an animal actively swimming with numerous fins.

Major R. G. Macgregor, in his translation of the Greek Anthology (1864, p. 265), remarks upon the "Scolopendrous Milliped" that the "word *millipede* must be understood rather in reference to the extreme length of the monster than to the number of its feet." However, it would appear more likely that, in this similitude of the animal remains to the Myriapod, the numerous articulations of the vertebral column as well as its length played a principal part, should we take for comparison the following description of an analogous case from a Chinese work (Li Shih, "Süh-poh-wuh-chi," written thirteenth century, Jap. ed., 1683, tom. x. fol. 6, *b.*):--"Li Mien, a high officer (ninth century), during his stay in Pien-Chau, came in possession of one joint of a monstrous bone, capable of the use as ink-stone (Yen). A foreign tradesman who brought it from the South Sea stated it to be the vertebra of a centipede." Seeing that its use here alluded to is nowadays often repeated we do not hesitate to conclude that this "vertebra of a centipede" was nothing other than the vertebra of a whale. A long series of the cetacean vertebrae, especially when it is separate from the skull, yet remaining adhered with the fragments of the ribs, would, to the imagination of those crude folks, naturally furnish a ready sketch of a gigantic, marine centipede.

The "Centipede-Whale" of Ælian's and Kaibara's descriptions are very probably certain species of sharks with the habit of swimming one following another. The reason is that while the fantastic figure of a six-legged sea-serpent, that was cast up on the Orkney in 1808 and subsequently proved to be the shark *Selache maxima* (Memoirs of the Wernerian Nat. Hist. Soc., Edin., vol. i., Plate XI, 1811) forcibly reminds us of the "Centipede-Whale," pictured in Gesner's "Historia Animalium" (see my letter, *l.c.*) and in a Japanese work (Hirazumi, "Morokoshi Kimmôdzui," 1719, tom. xiv. fol. 6, *a.*), Tanigawa Shisei, the Japanese glossarist (1707-1776), mentions in his "Wakun-no-Shiori" (ed. 1887, 3rd ser., tom. xvi. fol. 8, *a.*) the "Centipede-Shark" (Mukadesame), which is doubtless identical with the "Centipede-Whale." That the manner of the natatory movements of some sharks--to which are attributable the words of Ælian, "idque conferri posse cum triremi instae magnitudinis, atque per multis pedibus utrinque ordine sitis, tanquam ex scalmis appensis, natare"--should suggest to the mind the active representation of a terrestrial centipede, is well evinced by the Japanese word *Mukadebune* (i.e. Centipede-Boat), signifying a slender boat with many oars in pairs that have to be moved like the legs of a running centipede (mentioned in Yuasa, "Jôzan Kidan," 1739, tom. xv. fol. 12, *a.*).

An older description of such a fabulous creature in the Far East, occurs in the Chinese "History of the Sui Dynasty" (written seventh century, A.D.) and reads thus: "Chin-Lah (Cambodia) produces a fish named *Fu-Hu*, which resembles Mud-Eel

(*Monopterus javanensis*, Lacépède, according to Mollendorff), but with the bill shaped like the parrot's, and has eight legs."

When we set apart the more or less allied stories of the Dragon (Chinese, *Lung*, and Japanese, *Tatsu*), which very probably originates in the phenomena of waterspout and whirlpool,⁵³ we hardly know from the Far Eastern sources anything like the Sea-Serpent stories so much in circulation in the West. In the Far East, indeed, the Sea-Serpent seems to have totally given place to the Sea-Centipede, both having the identical, diverse origins--the back-bone of a whale, the sharks, and some Cephalopods (cf. "Encyc. Brit.," ninth ed., vol. xxi. pp. 608-610, and my letter, *l.c.*). Thus, in China, there prevails a long-established belief in the existence of huge centipedes in the South Sea, very valuable for their flesh and skin, the former tasting like prawn and much superior to beef, and the latter being useful for making drums.⁵⁴

Turning to Japan, we read in the "Konjaku Monogatari" (written by Minamoto-no-Takakuni in the eleventh century, ed. Izawa, tom. xv. fol. 2-7), a narrative of the seven anglers, who killed a centipede about 10 feet long, that came from amidst a wide sea to combat with a huge serpent, the master of an island. This story of the "Sea-Centipede" is perhaps a prototype of the later but far more popularised legend of Tawara Toda's slaughter of a monstrous myriapod, which, the tradition says, used to molest a dragon in Lake Biwa.⁵⁵

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

7 Effie Road, Walham Green, September 17.

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⁵³ For similar misconceptions current among the Arabs, vide "Encyc. Brit," *l.c.* p. 610.

⁵⁴ The first description of such a gigantic centipede occurs in a poem by Koh Hung (circa. 254-334 A.D.). In the year 745 a centipede was found drowned by sea-tide on a coast of Kwang-Chau, and a man was fortunate enough to secure 120 kin weight of edible flesh by opening its "claws" ("Yuen-kien-lui-han," 1701, tom. cdxlix. fol. 11, *a.*). Here, the said "claw" would seem no other than the shark's fin, which in recent times has become the article of commercial importance with the Chinese. Even in the Imperial Geography ("Ta-Tsing-i-tung-chi," tom. cccliv., fol. 19, *b.*), compiled so lately as the eighteenth century, a similar centipede is described as native to Anam, which Tanigawa (*l.c.*) happily identifies with his "Centipede-Shark."

⁵⁵ The latter story is first recorded in "Taiheiki" (written fourteenth century, lib. xv. ch 3), although its hero flourished in the tenth century (for its brief account see Mr. E. Gilbertson's article in the *Trans. and Proc. Jap. Soc.*, London, 1808, vol. iv., part ii., p. 125). Kyokutei Bakin, in his "Shichiya-no-Kura" (1810, ch. v.), gives an exhaustive account of this tradition, but does not refer to the "Sea-Centipede" story quoted above.

DECEMBER 15, 1898

NATURE

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The Invention of the Gimbal.

Will you or some of your readers kindly inform me, when and by whom the construction of the gimbal was contrived for the first time?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.

[NO. 1520, VOL. 59]

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FEBRUARY 16, 1899

NATURE

370

Plague in China.

In the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" (ninth edition, vol. xix. p.168), Dr. J. F. Payne writes: "It is remarkable that of late years reports have come of the occurrence of Oriental plague in China. It has been observed in the province of Yunnan since 1871 . . . it appears to be endemic, though there are rumours of its having been brought from Burma, and become more noticeable after the suppression of rebellion in that province [1872]." However, the following passage I have lately found in Hung Liang-Kih's "Peh, Kiang-Shi-Hwa" (British Museum copy, 15316, *a*, tom. iv., fol. 4, *b*) bears witness to the much earlier occurrence of the pest in Yunnan, inasmuch as the author, who was born in 1736, and died in 1809, speaks of his contemporary dead thereby:--"Shi Tau-Nan, the son of shi Fan, now the Governor of Wang-Kiang, was notorious for his [poetic] gift, and was only thirty-six years old when he died. . . . Then, in Cháu-Chau [in Yunnan] it happened that in the daytime strange rats appeared in the houses, and lying down on the ground, perished with blood-spitting. There was not a man who escaped the instantaneous death after being infected with the miasma. Tau-Nan composed thereon a poem, entitled "Death of Rats," the masterpiece of his; and a few days after, he himself died from this '*queer rat epidemic*.'"

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W., February 11.

[NO. 1529, VOL. 59]

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APRIL 20, 1899

NATURE

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The Natural Prey of the Lion.

JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, in his "Travels in India" (translated by V. Ball, 1889, vol. ii. p. 397), mentions a case similar to what Mr. Crawshay describes under this heading in your last number (p. 558). "At a distance of two or three leagues from the fort [at the Cape], the Dutch found a dead lion which had four porcupine's quills in its body which had penetrated the flesh three-fourths of their length. It was accordingly concluded that the porcupine had killed the lion. The skin is still kept with the spines sticking in the foot." Thereon it is noted by the English translator that "numerous cases are recorded of tigers having died in India from this cause, and also of occasionally having been found when shot to have porcupine's quills sticking in them." The old Chinese motto, *the hedgehog defeats the tiger*, and the serpent stops the leopard" (in Li Ngan, "Hwui-nan-tsze," second century B.C.), is probably founded on observations allied to these.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W., April 15.

[NO. 1538, VOL. 59]

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JUNE 15, 1899

NATURE

150

Walrus.

FERDINANDO VERBESTI (1630-1688), in his work in Chinese, "Kwan-yu-wai-ki" (Brit. Mus. copy, 15, 297, a, 6, fol. 10, a), *sub.* "Marine Animals," relates thus: "the *Loh-sze-ma* is about 40 feet long, with short legs, and staying at the bottom of sea comes to the surface very seldom. Its skin is so hard that even swords are unable to pierce it. it has on its forehead horns resembling hooks, with which it hangs itself on a rock, thus sleeping a whole day without slightest awaking." With all deference to Prof. G. Schlegel, who takes the animal here described for the Narwhal (*Toung Pao*, October 1894, p. 370), I will bolden myself for truth's sake to stae that the walrus is meant herein, *Loh-sze-ma* being only a Chinese rendering of *Rosmar*, the Norwegian name of the walrus. The main parts of this description agree well with the description given by Olaus Nagnus ("Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus," Rome, 1555, p. 757), but not exactly--*e.g.*, the latter author indicates the size of the animal by the words, "maximos ac grandis pisces elephantis magnitudine"; while the former gives it more precisely, though much more exaggerated.⁵⁶ Can you or any of your readers oblige me by telling from what source Verbesti derived his description?

⁵⁶ Gesner says: "Alium esse puto qui *Rusvaal* nominator, quinquaginta passuum longitudine. . ." ("Historia Animalum," lib. IV., *sub.* "De Rosmaro").

Magnus speaks of the sleeping of the walrus hanging itself on rock with its tusks to be often so sound as to expose its life to danger. Similar story is told in Japan of the sun-fish (*Ortha-goriscus mola*), which is said to be floating asleep while its flesh and entrail are being removed (Kaibara, "Yamato Honzô," 1708, book xiii., fol. 43 b).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

7 Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W. June 5.

[NO. 1546, VOL. 60, p. 160]

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FEBRUARY 22, 1900

NATURE

392

Indian Corn.

IN the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," vol. xv. p. 309, it is stated that no mention was ever made of maize by Eastern travellers in Africa or Asia prior to the 16th century A.D. Slight doubts about this statement have occurred to my mind lately, while I was reading the Hakluyt Society's "India in the Fifteenth Century." There, in the English translation by the late Count Wielhorsky of the "Travels" of Athanacius Nikitin, the Russian, whose Eastern travels took place about 1470-1474, when the work was written by himself, we read concerning the Indians: "They live on *Indian corn*, carrots with oil, and different herbs" (p. 17). Has this mention of the cereal any weight to countenance the theories which seek to assert that maize was known in the East before the discovery of the Western Continent? Or, does what is meant or translated by the word *Indian corn* here differ materially from *Zea Mays*?

Apropos of these queries, I may mention that A. deCandolle is in error in his post-dating the introduction of maize into Japan on the sole ground that Kaempfer (who was there during 1690-92) does not mention it.⁵⁷ According to a native work (Kikuoka, "Kindai Sejidan," 1733, liv. 2, § 4), maize was introduced into the islands about the beginning of the period of Tenshō (1573-91). After Sweet Sorghum (*Sorghum saccharatum*), of earlier introduction with the name *Morokoshi-Kibi* (*i.e.* Chinese-Millet), maize was called *Tō-Morokoshi* (*i.e.* Chinese Chinese Millet) in the eastern provinces, where, of course, its propagation followed that in the western parts. In the dialect of the latter, where the people were more directly concerned with its introduction, maize was named *Namban-Kibi*, or Millet of the Nambans (Spaniards and Portugese), who were entirely excluded from the empire since 1639, which thus would stand as latest possible date of the introduction.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

1 Crescent Place, South Kensington, S.W.

[NO. 1582, VOL. 61]

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⁵⁷ "Origin of Cultivated Plants," p. 392.

Crab Ravages in China.

In the "Kwoh-Wu," or "Good Words from the States," attributed to Tso Kiu-ing (6th century B.C.), a king of Yueh (now the province of Cheh-Kiang) is said to have been advised by his counsellor to postpone his warlike preparation with "good words," in which the officer adverts to the "Rice-Crab (*Tau-Hiai*) that spared for man not a seed [of rice] in late years." A Japanese naturalist, Aoki Kon-yō, quoting a Chinese work, "Ping-Kiang Ki-Sze," speaks of a crab-devastation which took place in the Wu District (now Kiang-Su) in 1297 A.D., "when all plains were full of crabs, wasting all crops of rice." ("Kon-yō Manro Ku," written 1763, ed. 1891, p. 164.)

Twan Ching-Shih (died 863 A.D.) briefly speaks of this crab, thus: "In the eighth moon of the year, the crab has in its belly an ear, really that of rice, about an inch long, which it carries eastwards as a present to the 'God of the Sea'⁵⁸; before the carriage is accomplished, the crab is not edible" ("Yu-Yang Tseh-tsu," Jap. reprint, 1697, bk. xvii. fol.4, *a*). Contemporaneously, Luh kwei-Mung (died c. 881 A.D.), in his "Notes on the Crabs" (*ap.* "Yuen-Kien-lui-han," 1701, bk. 444, fol. 18) narrates:--"These crabs live in holes, which they dig in bogs, until the season that intervenes the autumn and winter, when they emanate from their homes. The people of Kiang-Tung say, when rice is ripening, the crabs take each one ear in order to pay court to their chief. Every morning and every evening they all run towards the river, when men fish them by setting weirs across the affluents. yet six or seven out of ten crabs would pass over the dams, and in the river they grow larger; whence they proceed to the sea in the same manner as their previous marc, also being persecuted as before, which, however, they escape with more skill than in former occasions." Later, in the dynasty of Sung (961-1279 A.D.) appeared a "Monograph of Crabs," by a certain Fu Kwang, who relates in it:--"In the crevices on rocks along mountain streams occurs a small crab, red and hard, and so named *Shih-hiai* (Stone Crab). When still young, in mid-summer, owing to absence of any edible cereals, it feeds on the root of reed, whence its name *Lu-kan-hiai* (Reed-root Crab), and is meagre in size and taste. About the eighth month it grows larger after moulting, and, when rice or millet is mature, every one crab bellied with one spike of the cereal runs to the river, when it is termed *Loh-Hiai* (Merry Crab), and is very fat and best to eat. Thus it goes to the sea where it presents the spike to its chief" (*ibid.* fol. 19, *a*). These are very good examples of the celebrated celestial whims, which once expressed, no literatus doubts; for, to me, it is too clear that the tribute which these so-called "grain crabs" are said to pay to their king is nothing but their spawn, which they carry under the abdomen to lay down in the sea.

I do not know whether the rice-carrying crab is the same with what devastates the plantations, as is supposed by Aoki (*l.c.*) although very probably so. And I shall be very much obliged if, through your medium, some one will answer my questions: (1) What species of crabs is the cause of such stories? and (2) Is such a crab-ravage reported in

⁵⁸ The Japanese who worship the deity of Kotohira (the patron-god of mariners) taboo the eating of crabs.

modern times from China? From De Rochefort's "Historie . . . des Iles Antilles," Rotterdam, 1665, p. 255, I gather the renowned Violet land-Crabs of the West Indies to make some damage to tobacco farms, but not to grain as is so vastly attributed to the Chinese crabs; while F. Legnat, about the end of the 17th century, described a land-crab of Rodriguez, whose destructive power during its emigrating period appears to equal that of its Chinese kin (see his "Voyages," ed. 1891, p. 92).

Yu Pau (4th century A.D.) writes in his "Sau-shin-ki":—"In the year 283 A.D. all crabs in the District of Hwui-Ki were turned into rats, whose group covered the rice-farms and made an extensive devastation. When yet immature, these rats had hair and flesh but no bones, and unable to pass over the ridges in the farms, but became vigorous after a few days." This erroneous exposition, to account for the origin of rats or field-mice, would seem partly to originate in some similarity of the fur of rats with that of the so-called Hair-Crab (see Stebbing, "Crustacea," Pl. III.), but more in the people's familiarity with the land-ravaging crabs⁵⁹ in ancient times.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

1 Crescent Place, South Kensington, S.W.

[NO. 1586, VOL. 61]

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MARCH 29, 1900

NATURE

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Indian Corn.

I HAVE just found in Nakamura's "Kimmô Dzui," first edition, 1666, Book xvi. Fol. 7*b*, a Japanese wood-cut of Indian corn, with its Japanese and Chinese names as I gave in my previous letter [p. 392, *ante*]. This figure proves that, though Kaempfer does not mention the plant in his "History of Japan," 1727, yet, through his seeing to it, he must have recognized as a fact the introduction of maize to Japan before the time of his sojourn it it; for most illustrations of the biological objects in his noted "History" (vol. i. tab. ix.-xv.) are actually found to have been reproduced from the above-mentioned, once very popular, Japanese cyclopaedia (Books xii.—xv.).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

1 Crescent Place, South Kensington, S.W. March 9.

[NO. 1587, VOL. 61]

⁵⁹ The "Hair-Crab" of Japan is caught in the same way as the Chinese mode of fishing the rice-carrying crab. The Japanese well know its descent down the river in autumn, and have well noticed it never to reascend afterwards as some fish do (Kaibara, "Yamato Honzô," 1708, bk. xiv. fol. 48), but never possessed a belief in a crab carrying grain to the sea. only one case that slightly approaches that of the latter, I find in "Hokusô Sadan," where it is narrated that near the end of the last century the river Yodo, near Kyôto, was one day so swarmed with small crabs that every handful of water was full of these creatures.

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APRIL 12, 1900

NATURE

564

Illogicality concerning Ghosts.

MR. HERBERT SPENCER, exposing the various inconsistencies that occur so frequently in the ghost-stories of the savage races, says:--"How illogicalities so extreme are possible, we shall the more easily see on recalling certain of our own illogicalities. Instance . . . that familiar absurdity fallen into by believers in ghosts, who, admitting that ghosts are seen clothed, admit, by implication that coats have ghosts--an implication they had not perceived." ("The Principles of Sociology," 3rd edition, vol. i. p. 104). It seems interesting to note that the same opinion was expressed about nineteen centuries ago by the Chinese philosopher Wang Chung (*circa*, 27-97 A.D.), whose skeptic remarks on the traditions of all manners, handed down to his time in the Middle Kingdom, form a celebrated work named "Lun Han" or "Balance of Discussions." In its twentieth book (fol. 14-15 in Miura's edition, Kyoto, 1748), he says:--"Since the beginning of the world, so vast has been the number of the deceased, that it enormously exceeds that of the whole present population. Therefore, should every one become a ghost after death, man is bound now to meet a ghost at each step on the road, and should he see ghosts in his dying moments, he ought to find not one or two singly, but several millions of them collectively filling the space. When a man dies by a weapon, his blood, the essence of his life, turns to what is termed *ignus-fatuus*, which has no resemblance to him, but gathering itself into an amorphous mass, looks like the light of fire. It is the ghost of blood, and presents an aspect quite different from a live man's blood, and as the essence of life has been separated from the man's body, it cannot resume his shape in life. If all ghosts be seen in the form of dead corpses, you have reason to suspect the dead to become the ghost. . . . And, equally, a disordered fellow might be true in seeing a ghost of his live friend visiting him. But how could he see a dead man in his shape of lifetime? As warm ashes, even after the fire has gone out, can be made to produce it again, we may with some reason suggest the possibility of a dead man appearing in the same form as alive. When we know well, however, that a fire once extinguished can never burn anew, it is evident that a dead man can never become a ghost. And now, what is the ghost? All say it is the soul of a deceased. *Then, even if it could be seen by man, it ought to appear stark naked and fully disrobed: for the clothes have no soul to cover the dead man's soul; while the latter has no material body to put on a material raiment.* Soul is an outcome of blood and breath, which, though dependent on body during man's life, are the things distinct from it; hence it might be still well to suppose soul able to survive body as a ghost. But the clothes consist of nothing but threads, cotton, hemp and silk, which have all no intercommunion of blood and breath imparted by the wearer's body; nor do they possess any blood and breath of their own; so that even when they keep their for entirely, they are as soulless as a human corpse; and how could they resume their former shape after their total decomposition? Thus, saying that a ghost appears clad necessitates the admission of

its possession of body; which view itself militates against the definition of the ghost, because, according to this statement, the said ghost is a composite of the ghosts of body and clothes, which is essentially different from the soul of a deceased individual."

It is curious to observe that Wang Chung himself is quite illogical in esteeming it just to suppose a ghost able to appear only divested: for, according to his own proposition, the soul exists only in blood and breath; while the body, though very closely connected with them during life, is, after death, as severed from them as the ever lifeless and soulless clothes; so that, should it be necessary for a ghost to appear divested, it would be equally so to appear disembodied at the same time.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

April 2.

[NO. 1589, VOL. 61]

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SEPTEMBER 6, 1900

NATURE

437

Artificial Deformations of Heads, and some Customs connected with Polyandry.

With reference to your note on M. Charles de Ujfalvy's recent article in *l'Anthropologie* (p. 323, *ante*), I may be allowed to call your attention to the ancient Korean practice of artificially deforming their heads, which was apparently similar to the method adopted by the Huns as well as the Huna kings of India. Thus, the Chinese "History of the Later Han Dynasty," written in the fifth century, *sub.* "Eastern Barbarians," says: "The people of Ma-Kan (in the south-western part of the Korean peninsula) wish their heads flat; so the head of every child just born they compress with stone to deform it."

The special horned head-dresses worn by the polyandric women of the White Huns put in mind the old Japanese usages, described by Fujioka and Hirade in their "History of Japanese customs and Manners," Tokio, 1897, vol. i. p. 169: "In the festival of the god of tsukuma, every woman had to go in procession after the holy sedan-chair, with a number of pans on her head proportionate to her immoralities. In the temple of Usaka, while the priest was praying in a feast-day, every woman was scourged on similar principles."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

1 Crescent Place, South Kensington, August 11

[NO. 1610, VOL. 62]

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JULY 17, 1902

NATURE

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MR. KUMAGUSU MINAKATA sends us from Japan two specimens, mounted as microscopic slides, of a fresh-water algae which he collected in a pond at Wakayama Shi, Japan. He desired to obtain an opinion as to the species, which he believed to be *Pithophora Oedogonia*, Wittrock, var. *vaucherioides*, Wolfe, of which he possessed a quantity of specimens personally collected near Jacksonville, Florida, between 1891-92, well agreeing in detail with those submitted. He also remarked:--"Since the publication of Wittrock's elaborate monograph of the Pithophoraceae, 1877, has any species, besides *P. Kewensis*, been ever reported from any other part of the Old World?" Prof. Howes, to whom we submitted the specimens, says in reply:--"I have no doubt that the Japanese identification is correct. Mr. Rendle, with a former pupil of mine, Mr. W. West, jun., has described as new for Britain a variety of the genus from a canal in Manchester, where it was assuredly introduced (see *Journal of Botany*, vol. xxxvii., 1899, p. 289). I take his word as final. Mr. Minakata may be referred to the above-cited paper for the answer to his second question. *P. Kewensis* must also have been introduced, as it has never been found again."

[NO. 1707, VOL. 66]

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JULY 17, 1902

NATURE

296

Missing -- page 296 -- re: Pithophora

[NO. 1707, VOL. 61, p. 296]

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APRIL 23, 1903

NATURE

586

Distribution of Pithophora

In October last, I found an old-established paddy-field near Tanabe, the bottom of which, to the extent of several tens of feet every way, was luxuriantly grown with the *Pithophora Oedogonia*, Wittrock, var. *Vaucherioides*, Wolfe, with resting spores yet incompletely formed. The locality is some sixty miles south of Wakayama Shi, where I had gathered the same with full spores, October, 1901 (see NATURE, vol. lxvi, pp. 279, 296). the occurrences of the alga in such distant places seem to prove that it is indigenous to Japan. The Floridan specimens I collected in 1891-92 were with spores mature in the months of June and July.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan, March 10.

[NO. 1747, VOL. 67]

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APRIL 30, 1903

NATURE

610

The Discovery of Japan.

From a review in NATURE of November 13, 1902 (vol. lxvii. p. 28) I gather Herr Hans Haas, like many other writers on Japan, considers Ser Marco Polo the first who brought any news of Japan to the west. In this connection, it will be interesting to note that in his "Six Voyages," Paris, 1676, Tavernier tries to identify a local name of the classic geographers, *Jabadi*, if I remember correctly, with the ancient vernacular designation of the empire, Yamato, or rather with its Chinese rendering, *Yamadai* or *Jabatai*.

Whether this identity be true or not, it is almost certain that Japan was well known to the mediaeval Arabs much prior to Marco Polo. In a French translation of the "Voyages of Two Arabs in the Ninth Century," an island near China is mentioned the inhabitants of which used to send a tribute to the latter, in the firm belief that it would make their own country peaceful. This island seems to point to Japan, the story being apparently a version of the legend, recorded in Wang Chung's "Lun Hang," first century A.D. that under Ching-Wang of the Chau dynasty (c. 1100 b.c.) China enjoyed such an extraordinary peace that it caused even the winds and waves in the neighbouring States to be perfectly calm, on which account the people of Laos gave him thanks by their envoys, who reached the capital after several years' journey, and the Japanese made him presents of the Salty Herb (now supposed to mean the *Angelica Kiusiana*, Maximowicz). The "Second Annals of Japan" mentions several Arabs, including women, passing into or becoming settled in Japan during the eighth and ninth centuries. this is no wonder, for, in those ages, China under the grand dynasty of Tang was so prosperous and powerful that nearly all Asiatic peoples of significance vied in asking her favours, and they saw each other very frequently in that empire; besides, doubtless there were many Japanese who

passed through China into the lands then called her territories or tributaries; thus, Twan Ching-Shih, in his "Miscellany," written ninth century A.D., speaks of his meeting with a Japanese priest, who came back from his travels in India, where he witnessed the figures of the famous Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsiang, revered in the Buddhist churches. Indeed, the "Second Annals" relates how, in the year 753 A.D., the Japanese ambassador was successful in a dispute with the Arabian about the first seat of honour on occasion of a state banquet on the New Year's Day. Add to these, in the "Hokuhen Zuihitsu," written eighteenth century, it is argued that in the Middle Ages there were mutual acquaintances between the Japanese and the Persians.

When we see in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (in part) the Spaniards and Portuguese flourishing in Japanese ports, under the native appellation *Namban*, or South Barbarians, it is very striking to find in a memoir evidently written in the fifteenth century, entitled "The Successions of Governors of a County in Wakasa" (in Hanawa's "Collection," ed. 1894, p. 375) the following passage:--

"June 22, 1408. A vessel of the Nambans arrived (in the province of Wakasa). Their emperor's name is Arekishinkei, and the envoy's Mongwan-hon-a. His Majesty's presents to the Japanese emperor were a living black elephant, a mountain-horse (sic), two pairs respectively of pea-fowl and parrots, and various other articles. The ship was wrecked by a storm, and stranded on November 18, but after being reconstructed, started for China on October 1, 1409."

This took place just 135 years before the advent of the Portuguese deserters Herr Haas describes as the first Europeans reaching Japan; and if so, what were these "Nambans" of the years 1407-8, the first instance, so far as I know, of the name in the Japanese records of this sort?

In the same review, the writer, talking about Xavier's labours, says:--

"What would be interesting and instructive to know would be what the Japanese, especially the Buddhists and Confucianist scholars, thought of his doctrines. No hint has come down to us--perhaps they took no thought of a strange religion that seemed of no importance."

As he expressed it at the same time, Xavier's stay was too short to qualify him to make his dogmatic teaching in its utmost expression; but one must not conclude thereby that in the same century Japan was totally destitute of the native scholars of repute taking interest in the subject of Christianity. Thus we read in a eulogy on master Seigwa (1561-1619), the greatest of all Confucianists of that age, that he was thoroughly learned not only in all Japanese and Chinese literatures, but moreover, "as well in the books of the Buddhists in India as in the doctrines of Jesus Christ of the South Barbarians" (Oota, "Ichiwa Ichigen," ed. 1885, tom. xix. fol. 19, *b*).

As the native documents and treatises of any concern to Christianity were well-nigh annihilated under the most rigorous inquisitions, which were mainly incurred by the so-called South Barbarians intermeddling with the political affairs of the country, and which that religion continued to undergo during the two centuries of the Tokugawa Shôgunacy, practically no hint has come down to us of what the native scholars thought about it before the persecution began. From what are left dispersed in their works, however, we may be fair in judging that most of the intelligent Japanese, then and directly after, desisted in the tenets and rituals of Roman Catholicism nothing but an especial form of Buddhism. To the Europeans, Nobunaga's dictum on its toleration is

well known--"while there exist so many sects already, why do we not let this sect stand?" Kumazawa Ryôkai (1619-91) the renowned Confucianist reformer in politics, calls the creed simply Southern Buddhism, i.e. Buddhism of the South Barbarians. later, Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), after repeatedly giving ear to the Roman missionary, J.B. Sidoti, is said to have remarked upon the subject: "His doctrine is as absurd as Buddhism, they differing from one another only in the points of their terminology" (Amenomori's "Adversaria," ed. 1892, vol. x. p. 86). Parallel to these, I remember I have read in a letter of Xavier's contained in Ramusio's "Viaggi e Naviationi" a passage implying his recognition of some Christian essence in the Buddhist dogmas then current in Japan.

As I recollect there was in a back number of NATURE a certain though very brief reference to a Life of J.B. Sidoti, it will be *apropos* of this letter to give a few facts relating to him, which, I think, are not so well known now among Christians as they ought to be. Arai Hakuseki, mentioned above, was a man of singular parts, extensive erudite, notorious in poetry even in China, very active in politics of the court at Yedo, and nowadays nobody denies him the honour of the first introducer of the western science into the Land of the Rising Sun. This innovation, however, was simply the result of his official interviews with that devoted but unfortunate missionary in 1709 A.D. Sidoti professes to have made himself adept in the Japanese language at Rome, but after all his acquirements appear to have been too limited to make him speak freely in it. So Hakuseki made every effort in his brain to secure from him accurate information on subjects of the regions then perfectly unknown to the Japanese, through a Dutchman's interpretation, observing on the difficulties of the task at the outset, "Still is it reasonable to suppose that all this stranger's words are nothing but a shrike's shrieks?" the results of these conversations were the two works "Choice Reviews of a Foreigner's Tales" and "A Memoir on the Western Ocean," which formed the principal cause of the eighth Shogun's edict to tolerate the reading of the European books pertaining to science and arts, the *sine qua non* of their wholesale importation in these present days. That all the conduct of Sidoti greatly affected Japanese minds, in spite of their hatred of his creed, is borne out by a letter he wrote in prison, whereby he petitioned the authority to chain him tightly in cold winter nights, in order to let the miserable watchmen about him enjoy their sleep at ease (see Oota, *op. cit.*). Immediately after Hakuseki's remark on his religion quoted above, this passage follows:--"But his personality was so uncommon that it makes me ever unable to forget him!" And it will be greatly gratifying and edifying to the modern Christians to reflect upon how powerful the unparalleled morality of this single, forlorn missionary was after his death, in effecting the reopening of the doors, which his nominal brethren, the very worthy "South Barbarians" had caused the Japanese to shut against themselves. In fact, Yuasa's "Miscellany from a Literary Society" tells us, "Hakuseki used to say all Sidoti's deportments convinced him in the belief that even the Five Virtues⁶⁰ of our Sage were no more than what that missionary daily carried himself with"; an unexampled encomium uttered on a Christian by the followers of the great Chinese philosopher!

⁶⁰ Mildness, Faithfulness, Self-Respect, Respect to Others, and Complaisance. When asked about Confucius's character, Tsze-Kung, the most eloquent of all his disciples, enumerated these as its five components. In the eighteenth century there was a Confucianist master in Japan who opined it wise to substitute in the temples the five letters signifying them written on scrolls for the images of the philosopher. See the "Analects of Confucius: and the "Kwagetsu Shinshi."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan, March 10

[NO. 1748, VOL. 67]

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JULY 30, 1903

NATURE

296

Distribution of Calostoma.

In December, 1891, I found in a pit near Port Katsura, a few miles off this place, a species of *Calostoma* in abundance, and this year I see the same fungus now and then occurring here. I send you some specimens of it herewith, in the hope that some mycologist of your acquaintance may determine it in my behalf. Of all the species given in Mr. Masee's monograph of the genus in the *Annals of Botany*, vol. ii. 1888, it seems most near *C. Ravenelii*, Mass.

If my memory deceives me not, Mr. Masee, in the same paper, divided the genus *Calostoma* into two groups, the so-called eastern group, growing in Asia and the adjacent islands, with globose spores, and the western group, the habitats of which are America and Australia, with elliptical spores. Now the Japanese species in question has its spores oblong-elliptical, which fact would seem to necessitate such a naming of the groups as eastern and western to be modified more or less.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan, June 5

The specimens of fungi from Japan belong to *Calostoma Ravenelii*, Mass., agreeing in every essential point with the type of that species preserved in the herbarium at Kew.

In the monograph referred to in the letter accompanying the specimens, the form of the spores was not made a basis of classification, but the fact was simply pointed out that eastern species possessed globose spores, whereas in all known western species the spores were elliptical.

The fact of a North American species occurring in Japan, while very interesting, will not cause surprise to botanists, considering the intimate relationship between the phanerogamic flora of the two countries.

GEO. MASSEE.

[NO. 1761, VOL. 68]

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AUGUST 25, 1904

NATURE

396

The Earliest Mention of Hydrodictyon.

TWAN CHING-SHIH (ob. 863), in his "Yû-yang-tсах-tsu," Japanese edition, 1697, tom. xix., fol. 12, *a*, writes:--

"The *Shwui-mung-tsia*, (literally, Water-net-alga) grew in Kun-ming-chi [an artificial lake formed by the order] of the Emperor Wu-ti of the Han dynasty [reigned 140-87 B.C.]. Its branches, spreading sidewise, now come out of water slantly. It was eight to nine feet long and so closely resembling the meshes of a net that the ducks could not come out of it when got therein. Hence the name."

This is likely to be an exaggerated Chinese account of the now well known water-net (*Hydrodictyon ultriculatum*, Roth.). In this part, when a paddy-field has its water drained off, we meet frequently this alga, "spreading side-wise, now coming out of the remaining water slantly," although such a gigantic dimension as "eight to nine feet" is totally out of the question. Perhaps this is the earliest record of the alga.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Mount Nach, Kii, Japan.

[NO. 1817, VOL. 70]

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DECEMBER 26, 1907

NATURE

173

Early Chinese Description of the Leaf-Insects.

"YUEN-KIEN-LUI-HAN," a Chinese encyclopaedia completed in 1703, tom. cdxlvi., fol. 9, *b*, has the following quotation from the "Tau-hwang-tсах-luh," written c. ninth century:

"In Nan-hai a peculiar manner of bees (or wasps) live on the *kan-lan* tree (*Canarium pimela* or *C. album*). They look as if this tree's leaves were grown with hands and legs, wherewith to grasp branches and so deftly address themselves thereto that they are quite indistinguishable from the foliage. Therefore, to collect them the southern people used to fell the tree first and await the withering and falling of its leaves; and only then they are enabled to discern and gather the insects, which they employ as philter."

Nan-hai, literally "Southern Sea," was anciently the appellation of a province, the present Kwang-tung, but sometimes it was applied to the Indian Archipelago (Bretschneider, "Botanicon Sinicum," part iii., p. 579).

But for specifying them as bees or wasps, this Chinese account of the mimetic articulate would appear fairly to tally with that of the leaf-insects (*Phyllium*). Probably it is a very early, if not the earliest, description of these Orthoptera.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan, November 14

[NO. 1991, VOL. 77]

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NOVEMBER 5, 1908

NATURE

8

Polypus Vinegar--Sea-blubber Arrack.

(1) ALTHOUGH I am afraid it is now much too late to reply to Mrs. Hoskyns-Abrahall's inquiry anent the so-called *Polype vinaigre* (NATURE, August 9, 1906, vol. lxxiv., p. 351) to which hitherto no answer has appeared in your columns, I may be allowed to quote the following passage as a probably important clue to its scientific elucidation:--

"Among the greatest curiosities of the Yellow Sea there is a wonderful polypus, only recently discovered. This curious zoophyte is known on the coast of Newchwang by the name of *Chang-yu*, and possesses the property of turning into vinegar the fresh water in which it is placed. This fact was noticed for the first time in Huc's travels in China and Thibet, but our savants at home were rather skeptical on this point, and refused to believe in its existence till it was lately sent to Paris by another missionary, Mr. Pernys, and the specimens, one alive and one dead, being put in tank at the aquarium of the Société d'Acclimatation, they both turned into vinegar the fresh water in which they were placed" (A. Fauvil, "The Province of Shantung," in the *China Review*, vol. ii., No. 6, 1875, pp. 366-7).

So far as my limited reading goes, not a single Chinese work mentions or describes this remarkable creature. but I may hazard a remark this remarkable creature. But I may hazard a remark that peradventure by *polype* Huc really meant a cephalopod, for the "Pen-tsaou" applies the name Chung-yü (not yu) to the octopus, which formed a member of the classic authors' Polypi, as is manifest in Pliny's "Natural History," bk. ix., ch. 48 (see also the "Encyc. Brit.," ninth edition, vol. xix., p. 428).

(2) In "A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight letters, being Nine Years' Travels, begun 1672 and finished 1681," by Dr. John Fryer, F.R.S., published London, 1698, pp. 68-9, the writer, recounting the causes of the bad health of the inhabitants of Bombaim, an island situated sixty leagues south of Surat, and the same distance north of Goa, says, "Among the worst of these, Fool Rack (Brandy made of *Blubber* or *Carvil*, by the Portugals, because it swims always in a blubber, as if there were nothing in it; but touch it, and it stings like nettles; the latter, because sailing on the Waves it bears up like a Portugal *Carvil*; it is, being taken, a Gelly, and distilled causes that take it to be Fools), and Foul Women may be reckoned.

It is well known that certain species of jelly-fishes are eaten with gusto by the Japanese and the Chinese, but we have never heard, except the above instance, of any acaleph capable of yielding a spiritous liquor. will any of your readers kindly tell whether it is fiction or truth?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabe, Kii, Japan, August 6

[NO. 2036, VOL. 79]

NOVEMBER 26, 1908

NATURE

99

An Alga growing on Fish.

In NATURE of April 18, 1907, vol. lxxv., p. 599, it is noticed that Mr. A.D. Hardy found a chlorophyte, *Myxonema tenne*, ordinarily an inhabitant of rapid streams, also growing luxuriantly on some goldfish in a small pond, thus obtaining water friction necessary to its own well-being.

To some of your readers it might prove of interest to record a similar occurrence in Japan. On October 11, 1902, while I was rambling about the Asso marsh, not far from this town, my eye was accidentally caught by a small fry of *medaka* (lit., eyes-jutting, *Haplochilus latipes*, Schleg.) a fish proverbial for its diminutiveness. In a shallow bog-pond, only some 2-4 feet across, they looked very unhealthy, and were swimming in an unsteady, fidgety manner, infested with what appeared to be Saprolegnia, but greenish in hue. On a closer examination, every one of them turned out to have under or beside its abdomen a horny protuberance giving rise to delicate tufts of an alga up to 1 cm. long. This discovery I made mention of in a letter sent some time after to Prof. G.S. West, then at Cirencester. This plantlet, I have no doubt belongs to the genus *Myxonema*, but the imperfection of my microscope, as well as the want of reference books, prevents me from ascertaining what species it really is.

By the accompanying parcel I am sending you five medaka-fish with the algal growth *in situ* and two slides with the latter; also one slide with a large, broadly shuttle-shaped and much constricted desmid found singly suspended among the *Myxonema*, in the hope that some phycologist will kindly identify them for me.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan, September 20.

The alga attached to the medaka fish is *Myxonema tenue*, Rabenh. The desmid is a species of *Euastrum*, too imperfect to determine specifically. A few fragments of a diatom belonging to the genus *Gomphonema* are also present.

GEO. MASSEE

[NO. 2039, VOL. 79]

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MAY 27, 1909

NATURE

369

Baskets used in Repelling Demons.

UNTIL about the end of the Japanese *ancien régime*, *i.e.* 1867, it was an invariable annual usage with the people of Yedo (now Tokyo), on the eighth of the second moon, to erect high before every house a bamboo pole with a basket on its top (Kawakita, "Morisada Mankô," ed. 1908, vol. ii., p. 251). however, from Tanehiko's "Yôshabako" (Yedo, 1841, bk. i., ch. ix.), it appears that about the seventeenth century a basket or a sieve was displayed on a tall pole or above the main doorway, not only on this so-called

Work-start Day (*Koto-hajime*), but also on the eighth of the twelfth moon, or Work-finish Day--both these appellations primarily of agricultural concern, indicating to us a bygone age, when the New Year holidays of the Japanese husbandmen, with their preliminaries and after-games, covered some thirty days besides the whole first moon.

Citing many an old authority, and, among others, a stranger's statement, that in his native island nobody would stir out of doors on certain dark nights without carrying a basket to ward off the roving spirits, Tanehiko clearly shows the usage we are describing to have originally been meant for repelling demons. He argues, also, that this Work-start Day usage in Yedo had been first introduced--though with a manifest deviation as to the day of its performance--from certain provinces, whence the founders of its governing families had mostly sprung, and where, even so late as in Tanehiko's time, the inhabitants customarily displayed baskets, neither on the Work-start nor on the Work-finish, but only on the *Setsubun*, or Last Winter Day. Indeed, the Last Winter Day seems to have proved the fittest occasion for repelling or expelling malevolent souls, for, in its evening, apparently from time out of memory, it has been a universal custom in Japan to eject demons with baked beans forcibly thrown just before shutting all the doors and windows, and to stick upon the door-case a branch of the tree *Osmanthus aquifolium* and a half-roasted sardine, the strongly spined leaves of the former, with the unpleasant odour of the latter, sufficing to put to flight the spirits that try to intrude into any human dwellings.⁶¹

Whether or not Tanehiko's view is correct in tracing the Work-start Day usage of the past Yedo folks into an earlier provincial practice on the Last Winter Day, it is very significant in this connection that a Jesuit missionary of the seventeenth century observed every native of Tonquin to plant before his house a pole topped with a basket on the Final Night of the year, in order to scare away the intrusive demons. He relates it thus:--

"Gionti all'ultimo giorno dell'anno nel farsi sera, ciascuno dinanzi sua casa vi pianta 'un albero secco, o una longa pertica, nell cui cima, in vece di bandiera legano una cesterella, con attorno appesovi carte dorate, a modo di oro stridente, persuasi, che come ne'seminati, e negli horti si mettono i spauracchi, per tenerne lontani gli uccelli, così quella cesta con uell'oro insu la pertica vaglia a fugare i Demonij, e non farli accostare alle loro case: che se in quell'ultima sera dell'anno, non ritrovassero quel riparo dinanzi l'uscio, senz'altro entrerebbero loro in casa a fargli sfortunati tutto l'ano. E se avviene, che alcuno tralasci di far quest cerimonia, e non curi di esporre la detta insegna, ne è mostrato a dito, e i dice: Ecco la casa del Demonio" (Filippo de Marini, "Historia et Relatione del Tunchino e del Giappone," Roma, 1665, p. 133).

I fully know that I am exposing my great ignorance in asking the following questions upon the subject. Are there any other people than the Japanese and the Tonquinese who used, or still use, baskets in frightening the demons? How has the origin of the custom been scientifically described? Also I have a note, taken from Waitz, "Anthropologie der natrvölker," i., s. 347, Leipzig, 1872, to the effect that some

⁶¹ This Last Winter Eve rite of the Japanese reminds us of the Australians annually driving from their midst the accumulated ghosts of the last year's dead; of the modern Bohemians at Pentecost, and the Tyrolese on Walpurgisnacht, hunting the witches, invisible and imaginary, out of house and stall (Tylor, "Primitive Culture," New York, 1888, vol. ii. p. 199); and of the archaic Chinese ceremony of *Na*, which was to force the demons away from the imperial palace on the Final Night of the lunar year (*Chü-ye*) and which, since its adoption into the Japanese court ritual, 706 A.D., has become gradually confused in vulgar minds with the native observance of the last Winter Eve, in spite of the but very rare coincidence of these two nights (Yashiro, "Kokon Yôran Kô," ed. 1905, vol. i. p. 931). Cf. the Tonquinese custom given in the text

Polynesians often apply, to mark a tabooed place, a basket-work moulded into shark or lizard. Why has basket work been particularly chosen for this purpose?

The reason Tanehiko (*loc. cit.*) adduces to account for the Japanese use of baskets in repelling demons is that the basket originally employed in the rite had some of its openings shaped in star pentagon--the figure formerly held as specifically efficacious in averting evil influences, and termed Seimei's signature, after the greatest sooth-sayer Japan has ever produced (921-1005 A.D.). Someone opines that the star pentagon terrifies demons extremely, because it much resembles the eye of Fang-Shang, the principal demon-hunter in the Chinese ceremony of *Na* (see footnote), whom the "Ritual of the Chau dynasty" (written *c.* 1100 B.C.) prescribes for this occasion to wear red trousers and black coat, a headdress of bearskin, and a mask with four golden eyes. Yet another opinion has been advanced which states that some wicker-works, e.g. the sieves, are so fabricated as forcibly to put the spirits in mind of the Taoist, and thence Buddhist, emblem named *Kuji* (lit. Nine Letters), formed lattice-like by intercrossing five vertical and four horizontal lines, and said to represent the nine Chinese characters, that make up a charm most powerful against all manner of demons. In this exposition I see the order of cause and effect quite inverted, it being obvious that the very *raison d'être* of the symbol *Kuji* is the assumed efficacy of the wicker- or lattice-work in keeping all within it in complete safety and well-being. This will be well understood should one inspect an old-fashioned Shinto shrine with its front strongly defended by a lattice, or should he peruse this subjoined passage:--

"The generality of the huts used as dwelling-ouses [in Kordofan] are furnished with a flat-roofed shed of some twelve feet square immediately in front of them, which, in the dry season, forms the usual sitting-room. . . . It has a spacious doorway in front, through which light is admitted in sufficient abundance to dispense with windows, and is never closed when any of the family are at home. When they are absent, a piece of wicker-work, placed against it and sustained in its position by a piece of wood, serves to keep out dogs, fowls, and cattle; and being a sufficient indication that the inmates are absent, no one will approach it. Locks are dispensed with, and, as housebreaking is unknown, they are not required" (John Petherick, "Egypt, the Soudan and Central Africa," Edinburgh and London, 1861, pp. 213-4.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan, April 4.

[NO. 2065, VOL. 80]

APPENDIX IV

NOTES & QUERIES ENTRIES 1899-1916

A WITTY BOY.--In Novella lxii. of Francesco Sacchetti (c. 1335-1410) a Messer Valore, after being astonished by a boy about fourteen years old, whose smart words defeat him repeatedly, remarks to his company that there is no boy of precocious with who does not become a fool in later life. "You," replied the boy, "must have been a person of great wisdom in your boyhood." Poggio (A.D. 1380-1459) gives a similar story in his 'Facetiæ.' which tells of a cardinal and a child who delivered a harangue in presence of the Pope. It will be interesting to note that in the invention of such stories the Chinese preceded the Europeans. Liu I-King (A.D. 403-444), in his 'Shih-Shwoh' (Japanese reprint, 1779, tom. xii. fol. 18 a), speaks thus:--

"Kun Wan-Kii (killed A.D. 208), when only ten years of age, went to Lo-Yang (then the capital) with his father. There Li Yuen-Li (killed A.D. 169) had a great fame in learning, and only his relations or savants were allowed to see him. The boy called on him, spoke to his porter, 'I am Mr. Li's relative,' and was given a seat in his presence. The master asked him, 'What relation do you have to myself?' to which the boy's prompt answer was, 'My ancestor Confucius [whose family name was Kun] was a familiar disciple of yours, Lao-Tsze [whose family name was Li] (Confucius put many questions to Lao-Tsze, about 517 B.C. according to the 'Encyc. Brit.,' vol. xiv. p. 295), so that we both belong to families mutually known since long past generations.' None was there in the meeting who did not call the boy a wonder. An officer named Chin Wei came in later, and, being told the news, remarked thereon: "Cleverness in a man's infancy does not guarantee his wisdom in an adult age.' The boy answered then: "So I must judge you in your infancy to have been particularly clever.""

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

7, Effie Road, Walham Green, S.W.

[9TH S. III June 3, '99, p. 426]

THE INVENTION OF THE GIMBAL.--Will you or some of your readers kindly let me know when and by whom the construction of the gimbal was contrived for the first time?

K. MINAKATA

[Gimbals are mentioned so early as 1577. See 'H.E.D.']

[9th S. III, June 3, '99, p. 427]

WALRUS.--Ferdinando Verbesti (1630-88) in his work in Chinese, 'Kwan-yu-wai-ki' (British Museum copy, 15,297 a. 6, fol. 10 a), under the heading 'Marine Animals' says:--

"An animal named loh-sze-ma is about forty feet long, with short legs, and, staying at the bottom of the sea, comes to the surface very seldom. Its skin is so hard that

even a sword cannot pierce it. It has on its forehead horns resembling hooks, with which it hangs itself on a rock, thus sleeping a whole day without the slightest awaking."

Here doubtless the walrus is meant, *loh-sze-ma* being simply a Chinese rendering of *rosmar*, the Norwegian word for the walrus. The principal parts of this description agree with what Olaus Magnus gives ('*Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*,' Roma, 1555, p. 757) but not exactly, *e.g.*, the latter author only speaks of the animals as "maximos ac grandes pisces elephantis magnitudine," whereas the former gives its size more precisely, though in more exaggerated dimensions.* Can somebody oblige me by telling me from what source Verbesti derived his description?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

*Gesner says: "Alium esse puto qui *rusvaal* nominatur, quinquaginta passum longitudine."--'*Historia Animalium*,' lib. iv., 'De Rosmaro.'

[9th S. III. JUNE 24, '99, p. 487]

CHINESE MEDICINE

The Chinese procedure for determination of doubtful forensic cases, concerning which MR. FOWKE makes an inquiry, is contained in an empiric work styled 'Si-yuen-luh,' or 'Records to Clarify Innocence,' "very celebrated in China, and which should be in the hands of all magistrates." An excellent though brief account of this work is given in Huc's 'Chinese Empire' (Eng. trans., 1855, vol. i p. 278 *sqq.*), with only this error, that the title of the book is mistranslated by the Abbe as 'To Wash the Pit.' So far as I know, there are two perfect copies of the work in the British Museum; and its translation into French I gather to exist from Dechambre's '*Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*,' *passim*.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

[9th S. IV. JULY 1, '99, pp.10-11]

BEAVER AND PYTHON.--In Brand's '*Observations on Popular Antiquities*,' ed. 1842, vol. iii. p. 89, a passage is quoted from Eugenius Philalethes, which says that when the beaver is in danger of being taken he bites off his stones, for which he is hunted; but "when he is hunted, having formerly bitten off his stones, he standeth upright and showeth the hunters that he hath none for them, and therefore his death cannot profit them, by means whereof they are averted and seek for another."

An analogous story, current in China, reads thus:--

"*Jen-Shie* (or Python) is only fond of flowering herbs and women. In the mountains [of Southern China] there grows a vine called *Jen-Shie-Tang* (Python-Vine), which the hunter, clad in a red and flowerful garment, handles when he goes to find the snake. When it looks on the vine, its gaze and body are fixed and never move. Then the hunter puts on its head the female's garment, and ties the animal with the vine. Its gall is distributed throughout the body, and can only be gathered by beating; so, if a man beats one part of its body for a while, and then opens the part with a sharp knife, the gall will

fall down in a mass. If the python do not die after the loss of its gall, it is usually released. When it happens afterwards that the snake meets another hunting party it soon extends its old wound to show the absence of its treasure [the gall in question is said to be efficacious in saving the life of a man under tortures]."--Sie Chung-Che, 'Su-Tsah-Tsu,' written c. 1610, Japanese ed. 1661, book ix. fol. 47 *b*.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

[9THS.IV.July 8, '99, p. 25]

A celebrated stanza, of a meaning quite similar to what GNOMON quotes in your columns, occurs in the Chinese 'Book of Poems' ('Shi-King'), all the pieces in which were composed before 585 B.C. ('Encyc. Brit.," vol. vi. p. 263). I do not at present possess any translations of the stanzas into European languages, of which there are several, but can give its original meaning with my translation:

Fei-i-chi wei mei
 [Not gift's being beautiful],
 Mei jin-chi i
 [Beautiful person's present]

That is, "I esteem this present so highly, not because it by itself is beautiful, but because its giver is so beautiful."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

[9TH S. IV. JULY, 15, '99. p. 55]

"SWIM-SHELL."--In Adolph Erman's 'Reise um die Erde,' zweiter Band, s. 14, 1838, the author, naming some methods of divination common to Russia and Germany, speaks of young girls' endeavour to foretell their fate in marriage by means of some shells (*scharki poplui waschki* or *Schwimm-Schalen*), which, when placed in a vessel full of water, predict by the directions in which they move towards each other. Can you or any of your readers inform me what is this "swim-shell," and how the method is practiced in detail? For an account of similar methods with shell-fish, used by the Japanese, Chinese, and Cambodians, see my letter to *Nature*, 13 may, 1897, p. 30. In all these cases, however, the destinies of parties in war are sought for by the divination.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

[9TH S. IV. JULY 22, '99. P. 68]

NOTES.

THE WANDERING JEW

More than three years have now elapsed since I made an attempt to call the attention of the public to a close relation which appears to exist between a Buddhist legend of ancient India and modern stories of the Wandering Jew in Europe (*Nature*, vol. liii. p. 78, 1895). As further researches on the subject, which I was continuing till lately with the assistance of Mr. Seisaku Murayama, a distinguished Japanese student of Pâli, have brought to my possession many more materials, hitherto but seldom noticed by most folk-lorists, I trust the Editor of 'N. & Q.' will spare me its valuable space for giving its readers a general account of what I have collected concerning the matter.

It will be opportune to my purpose to quote here a passage, which I gave in much abbreviated form in *Nature* (*ut supra*), out of the 'Samyuktâgama Sûtra' (Chinese translation by Gunabhadra, c. 435-443 A.D., Fu-Chau Press, 1609, tom. xxiii.). The passage commences with details relating how King As'oka, the Constantine of the Buddhist Church (c. 250 B.C.), after many monstrously wicked acts, was converted by a supernatural monk whom the tortures of his artificial hell were ineffectual to purify, and how he then invited to his palace a group of the Buddhist brothers, altogether numbering three hundred thousand, conducted by Upagupta, the fourth patriarch. Finding none of them venture to occupy the chief seat, the king asked them the reason thereof, and was answered by one named Yas'as that it was reserved with all respect for Pindola, the only survivor of all who had seen the Buddha personally, who would arrive at the palace with his followers immediately. "Then," the narrative continues,

"the arhat* Pindola came into the meeting followed by other arhats, who were numberless, and he sat on the chief of all the seats. Pure white was his hair, so overgrown were his eyebrows that he was obliged to lift them up to see the king, and his feature proved him a splendid Pratiêkabuddha."+ In the course of the conversation which he carried on with the king he said:--

"And, further, when the Buddha was staying in the kingdom of S'ravasti with the five hundred arhats, a daughter of the merchant prince++ Anathapiṇḍada happened to live in the kingdom of Pundara-varḍdhana, and invited thither the Buddha and his disciples. All other monks, then, went gliding through the air, but I, exerting my supernatural energy, held up a huge mount and there went. Then the Buddha accused me with these words: 'Wherefore do you play such a miracle? For which offence I now punish you with eternal existence in this world, incapable of reaching Nirvana, thus to guard my doctrine against its destruction.'"

Asked by the king about the place he resided in, he answered:--

"I am now living on the Mount Ghandamara in the North, accompanied by six thousand arhats."

A Chinese Buddhist cyclopaedia, "Fah-yuen-Chu-lin," compiled by Tau-Shi in 668 A.D. (Brit. Mus. copy, 15101, d 4, lib. xlii. fol 1-2), has this version of the tradition:--

"Once upon a time there was [in the city of Radjagriha] a merchant prince named Diyôtichka. One day he caused a costly bowl to be made of agalloch, and put it in a

wallet suspended on the top of a tall column of ivory, declaring that the treasure would be given to any one, whether Brahman or Buddhist, who could take it without a ladder and a pole. Many went there for trial, but all failed in it. When the news reached Pindola, he said to Maudgalyâyana [whose miraculous power was inferior to none but that of the Buddha himself]: 'You are the mightiest of all the disciples of our master, why do you not go and try? Seeing that the latter would not follow his persuasion from fear of the Buddha's commandments, the former retired to his own room, whence, after entering in Dhyâna (fixed abstraction), he took the vessel with his miraculous hands. According to a version given in the 'Dharmagupta Vinaya,' Pindola on that occasion sat on a gigantic rock, and suddenly jumping up in the air snatched the vessel. When he came back with the trophy the Buddha censured him with these words: 'How is it possible that you, the follower of Buddhism, only to gain an improper bowl of wood,* performed a miracle in presence of those men not initiated into our doctrine? Therefore I forbid you to live in this southern world of Djambu+ for ever.' So Pindola, following the command of the Buddha, went westward to the world of Ghôdhanya, where he for some time promulgated Buddhism. Subsequently all Buddhist disciples in this world became earnestly desirous of seeing Pindola again, and entreated the Buddha to allow him to return, which petition was at last heard by the master, who, however, forbade his access to Nirvâna, ordering him, instead of his exile to the other world, to assist all the Buddhist disciples in future ages, Pindola himself making a vow that he would be present wherever he might be invited for the doctrine's sake."

Another account, more detailed, of this Buddhist saint forms a sutra entitled in Chinese 'Tsing-Pin-Tau-Lu-King' (i.e. 'Sûtra on the Invitation of Pindola'), translated into that language by Hwui-Kien (A.D. 457). It reads thus:--

"Lay-devotees in India, including kings and merchant princes, on occasion of their entertainments given to the Buddhist monks, never neglect to invite Pindola Bharadvâdja. Pindola is his cognomen, and Bharadvâdja his family name. As he unwisely exhibited his miraculous power before the merchant prince Diyôtichka, the Buddha would not allow him to attain Nirvâna, and ordered him to guard the doctrine for future devotees. To obtain his presence at an entertainment, the inviter should burn incense in a calm place, and, turning his face towards the Mount Moli in India, should utter the following words with the utmost zeal: 'The venerable Pindola Bharadvâdja, you have been ordered by our Buddha to assist all his followers in coming ages. Pray accept this invitation of mine.' After a new house is completed, Pindola is ordinarily invited. Also, when one is going to ask the monks to bathe, it is good for one to invite Pindola in the following manner. Before the dawn of the day of invitation, prepare all well, perfumed water, ashy water, toothpicks, and powder of pulse [for washing]; make the water an agreeable warmth; leaving the door open, utter the words of invitation, and then shut the door, just as if somebody had entered the bath-room; invite all the monks after Pindola is invited. Whether they be invited to dinner or to bathe, all monks must attend the party with a pure mind, free from doubts and darkness, earnestly praying for salvation, and only thus can Pindola be invited. There was lately a merchant prince who prepared a magnificent feast and faithfully invited Pindola to it. Under the carpets in the dining-room he caused flowers to be scattered in order to see whether Pindola came or not. When all the monks had finished eating and all the carpets were removed, flowers were found all withered and yellowish, to the great disappointment of the inviter. After

consulting several prelates, he invited Pindola to another costly feast, and found the flowers withered again. Trial was made for the third time, and failed as before. For the fourth time he invited to a feast more than a hundred monks, whom he questioned repeatedly for the reason why Pindola would not come. An old man, dressed shabbily, who was sitting among the elders, spoke to him thus: 'All those three invitations I accepted, and came to your gate. But, on account of my age and ragged clothes, the first time I came here you let your servant strike my head with a stick, which caused this ulcer on the right corner of my forehead. The second time when I came, the same action was repeated, which caused this ulcer at the middle of my forehead. And on the left corner of my forehead another ulcer was produced by your servant's stroke for the third occasion. What use, then, to regret my absence from those parties, you having yourself all three times hindered me from entering? No sooner were these words uttered than the old man, whom at the instant the host recognized to be Pindola himself, disappeared. Since that time all who give a party to the Buddhist monks never refuse entrance to anybody, however dirty he may appear. Every time when Pindola has come to the dining-room, the scattered flowers will remain fresh and flourishing beneath the seat which Pindola has taken. When a new house or a new apartment is completed, as well as when a bed-chamber is newly finished, Pindola is invited. In the last case, for example, the host should pour perfumed water on the ground, should burn perfumed oil in a lamp, and should put new sheets on a new bedstead, placing over the sheets a pad of old, soft cotton, covered over with a white silken sheet. Then he should pray for his coming as the formula dictates, and he should close the door of his own room, wherein he should remain quietly, never trying to peep in the room where Pindola will come presently, should he be invited with proper faith and reverence. His presence in a bed-chamber is to be known afterwards from a depression upon the sheets, and his presence in a bath-room from traces of its use. When he is invited to a dinner, he appears in a form quite undistinguishable from other monks around, whether he sits in an upper, middle, or lower rank; only after his departure the flowers which remain unimpaired under a seat furnish a proof of his presence thereon."

Terashima Ryoan, a Japanese cyclopaedist, in his 'Wakan Sansi Dzue,' 1713, lib. lxxxi., *sub* "Jikidô," quoting some Chinese authorities, speaks of Pindola as having been in his youth a courtier to Udayana, king of Kaus'âmbî. Tau-Ngan (died 385 A.D.) a prodigious translator of Buddhist sutras, used to vow to the effect that an omen would appear to him should all the translations he had finished not really be quite correct. One evening, in a dream, he saw an old Indian monk with whitehair and overgrown eyebrows, who thus spoke to him:--

"All your works are correct. Henceforward, however, I shall come to render you help; and so you will provide me with food occasionally."

This monk the translator dreamed of was, in fact, Pindola. Thence it came to be a usage in every monastery to offer him food in its dining-room. Formerly it was a custom to place vessels with food before a vacant seat reserved for the saint. Later, in the period of Tai-Chi of the Sung dynasty (the period of Kai-Tai§ 1201-4 A.D.) his picture came in for the same use in some cathedrals.

Whether a seat was reserved for him or he was pictured, Pindola Bharadvâdja appears to have been revered early by the Japanese Buddhists. Thus allusion is made to a bowl dedicated to him and made of stone in the 'Taketori Monogatari,' or 'Story of the

Old Bamboo Hearer,' the oldest of all written Ural-Altaiic fictions now extant (see Mr. F.V. Dickins's translation, 1888, p. 8). His miraculous power, too, seems to have been once very popularly known among the Japanese, so that in the 'Sagikarasu Kassen Monogatari' ('The Story of a War among Herons and Crows'), a romance of the fifteenth century, the owl, expatiating on his own ability, says:--

"So my miraculous sight, that enables me to catch a mouse in total darkness, vies with that of Aniruddha;* while my skill in displaying supernatural phenomena is comparable only to Pindola's."--Edited by Hakubun Kwan, 1891, p. 32.

So far as I used to witness in Japan, his statue is always coloured wholly red, and represented as sitting on a rock, with one hand praying, and the other holding a jewel. His shrine always stands outside the main temple, where all other saints' statues are placed. Common people, and especially sick children, resort there to be healed; they stroke the seat of illness with the hands after touching with them the corresponding part of the statue of the saint, withal promising him some *ex voto*. Doubtless this saint is meant by Miss Bird, who speaks of the same practice in Japan.+ This will be better understood should we remind ourselves of similar usages current among some Christians. For instance, Ludovico Verthema (whose travels in the east took place during 1501-7), in his description of Coromandel, narrates thus:--

"Anchora mi dissero d'uno grandissimo miracolo che i loro maggiori gli havean detto. Come gia 50 anni, Li Mori hebbero questione con li christiani, e di una parte e l'altra ne furono feriti, ma un christiano fra gli altri fu molto ferito, in un braccio, ed egli andò all sepoltura di San Thomaso, e con quel braccio ferito tocco la sepoltura del detto santo, e subito fu liberto, e che da quel tempo, in qua il Re di Narsinga sempre ha voluto bene alli christiani."--Ramusio, 'Navigationi e Viaggi,' ed. 1588, vol. i. p. 163 d.

From these particulars of Pindola Bhardvadja, and from many versions of the story of the Wandering Jew, I conclude that there exist between these legends the following points of resemblance or agreement:--

1. Both Pindola and the Wandering Jew somehow offend the founders of their religions.
2. They are therefore doomed to undying life.
3. They are subsequently devout guardians of their masters' doctrines.
4. They are shabby in dress.
5. They are workers of miracles.
6. They attend unfailingly any receptions to which they are reverently invited, and sometimes disappear suddenly (see the Abbé Crampon, 'Le Juif-Errant,' in the 'Memoires de l'Academie des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Arts d'Amiens,' tom. xl., 1893, pp. 198, 210)
7. They heal diseases (ibid., pp. 201, 207):
8. Many adventurers seem to have formerly existed who, under cover of their names, committed gross impostures upon credulous folks (cf., the 'Sûtra on the Invitation of Pindola,' above quoted, *passim*; and 'Encyc. Brit.' vol. xiii. p. 673).
9. There is some, though by no means important, resemblance between the Indian saint's mountain-carrying (the word *mountains* might have existed instead of "mountain" in the now lost Sanskrit original of the text, Chinese words usually distinguishing no

number of named things) and A. di Francisco di Andrea's description of the Wandering Jew carrying two children upon his shoulders (*apud* Crampon, *op. cit.*, p. 196).

Of course there is, as might have been anticipated, no lack of points of difference between the legends. For instance, although Pindola is reputed to be present wherever he is invited with proper devotion, yet no mention is ever made of his incessant wandering, from which act his duplicate in the West takes his epithet. At the same time, however, we shall do well to recollect that, even among the European stories of the Wandering Jew, there is a gap between the quiet and retiring Cartaphilus (see Chambers, 'Book of Days,' vol. i. p. 534) and the ever agitated vagabond Ahasuerus (Crampon, *op. cit.*, p. 204); and also that, according to Mr. Moncure D. Conway, the idea of wandering did not enter into the legend until a later period than 1228 ('Encyc. Brit., *l.c.*).

With the sole exception of Schoebel (*ap. Crampon, op. cit.*, p. 226), who finds in the story of the Wandering Jew only a symbolism of perpetual atmospheric movements, I have never met with any reference to an Indian story in this connexion; which will justify my forwarding this lengthy note to 'N & Q.'

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* Advanced disciple of the Buddha.

+ Buddhist sage who is retiring from society, and has no inclination to help others to salvation.

++S'rêchthî.

* With the sole exception of one sect called "Shen," which is more Jainist than Buddhist in its ritual, all Buddhists despise the use of wooden bowls, which the Brahmans use in receiving alms instead of the iron bowls used by the Buddhists.

+ Buddhists consider our universe to comprise four such worlds.

*A disciple of Gautama, who was inferior to none but his master in insight.

+ Quoted in Sir Monier Williams's 'Buddhism,' 1889, p. 492.

[9TH S. IV. Aug. 12, '99, pp. 121-124]

THE WANDERING JEW. (See *ante*, p. 121)--After I had finished my last note on this subject I came across the following passage in the 'Poh-wuh-chi,' by Chang Hwa, 232-300 A.D. (Kyôto reprint, 1683, lib. vii., fol. 4 b), which testifies that the Chinese had possessed a story which, in one aspect at least -- viz., in attributing the incessant wandering to the hero -- much more resembles the European legends of the Wandering Jew than the Indian versions of Pindola's life, which were all translated into Chinese after the death of Chang Hwa: --

"In the last years of the dynasty of Han [220 A.D.], Pan Yu-Ming's grave was opened and one of the slaves who had been interred with his master's corpse was found still alive. Yu-Ming was a son-in-law of Hoh Kwang [a celebrated regent to the Emperor Siuen-Ti, and died 68 A.D.]. Most of the accounts of the rise and fall of the Hoh family which this slave narrated agree in the main with what is recorded in the 'Han Shu' ['History of the Han Dynasty,' written in the first century A.D.]. This slave is always

wandering and running among our people, and never stays in one place. Whereabouts he is now is not known. Some believe that he is wandering still, which I deem credible, though I have never been able to see him."

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[9th S. IV. AUG. 26, '99]

MAIZE (9TH s. IV. 107).--

"Maize, or Indian corn, is not figured on Egyptian monuments, nor was any mention made of it by Eastern travellers in Africa or Asia prior to the sixteenth century."-'Encyc. Brit.,' vol. xv. p. 309. However, besides Dr. Faber and Mr. Gosse, whom MR. PEACOCK mentions as having misconceived maize as native to the East, there are several men of learning who fell into the same error, for a geeral account and refutation of which see A. de Candolle, 'Origin of Cultivbated Plants,' p. 388 *seqq.* It is very likely that all these authors confused sorghum wit maize (ibid., p. 388). The possibility of such a confusion is upheld by the Chinese, who call maize *yuh-shuh-shu* (jewel-sweet-sorghum), and by the Japanese, who call it *tô-morokoshi* (Chinese or foreign-sweet-sorghum), because of its resemblance to sweet sorghum (Wu Ki-Shun, 'Chi-woh-ming-shih-tu-kau,' Japanese edition, tom. ii. fol 21; Kikuoka, 'Honchô Sejidan,' 1733, tom. ii. § 4). What in this connexion evokes my keenest interest is that in the 'Travels of Athanasius Nikitin' (who died before 1475, when America was not yet discovered), translated by the late Count Wielhorsky, p. 17 (ed. Hakluyt Society, No. 22) it is said that the Indians "live on Indian corn, carrots with oil, and different herbs." I hope some of your readers to whom the original text of this record is accessible will kindly give me information as to the word there standing for the name "Indian corn."

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[9th S. IV. SEPT 30, 99, p. 276]

FLYING CUPS:--In Col. Henry Yule's 'Book of Ser Marco Polo,' first edition, vol. i. p. 266, we read:--

"There is another marvel performed by those Bacsî [Buddhist priests]. . . . For when the great Kaan is at his capital and in his great palace, seated at his table, which stands on a platform some eight cubits above the groud, his cups are set before him in the middle of the hall pavement, at a distance of some ten paces from his table, and filled with wine or other good spiced liquor such as they use. Now, when the Lord desires to drink, these enchanters, by the power of their enchantments, cause the cups to move from their place without being touched by anybody, and to present themselves to the Emperor! This every one present may witness, and there are ofttimes fore than ten thousand persons thus present. 'Tis a truth and no lie! and so will tell you the sage of your own country who understand necromancy, for they also can perform it."

In a note on this paragraph, Yule refers to Simon Magus and Cesare Maltisio as having displayed a similar magic. Ignorant as we are as to what kind of contrivance was applied to it, it yet appears to me that in China in old days such a show was not infrequent among Buddhist priests, as the following passage in a Japanese work testifies:--

"Once upon a time a priest named.....Jakushô went to China, where the Emperor happened to hold a mass in a temple splendidly adorned, and entertained a host of Buddhist monks. The Emperor announced to his guest that on that occasion every priest invited should be allowed no attendant, and he ought to receive food by flying his own bowl. This order was issued, in fact, to examine the ability of the Japanese priest, and accordingly all Chinese prelates in their respective turns caused their bowls to fly and received food. Now the turn came to Jakushô to do his duty, and he, who was sitting on the last seat in the meeting, began to hold up his bowl and to walk into the spot where food was being given. He was, however, interrupted by all lookers-on, who were unanimous in urging him to fly his bowl. Jakushô replied thus: 'To cause one's bowl to fly is an art which needs special training I never underwent. Although Japan saw a few persons who were acquainted with this art, yet they did not perform it in public. How then can I cause my bowl to fly?' But, seeing that the Emperor would not cease to exact from him the performance of such a duty, Jakushô turned his face towards his country and silently prayed with utmost devotion to the Buddhas and deities guarding it for their help to protect it from ignominy through his failure in the performance. The suddenly his bowl began to turn like a spun top, went through the air swifter than all the other priests', and receiving his portion returned to him. This miracle, so unexpected by the Chinese, impelled the Emperor and all who were there to adore him as an unparalleled saint." -- Minamoto no Takakuni, 'Uji Shûi,' written in the eleventh century, chap. clxix.

This Jakushô was a famous man of literature; after becoming a priest--which is said to have been caused by his observation of nine changes that the corpse of his beloved wife passed through in succession--he made a pilgrimage to Mount Tsing-Ling (1022) and died in China (1034). Another version of the above-quoted story, given by Oe-no-Masafusa (1041-1111), whose great-grandfather was a cousin of the priest, has these clauses:--

"Through his prayers and meditations Jakushô's bowl flew inside the temple three times round, and returned to him with food in it. All the Chinese lookers-on, moved to tears thereby, said to one another that the people of Japan were very ignorant to let such a saint pass over to another country."--'Zoku Honchô Wôjôden,' ed. Hanawa, Tôkyô reprint, 1898, p. 431.

Also, 'Uji Shûi' narrates (chap. clxx.) how two hermits on the river Kiyotaki used to fetch water with jugs they caused to fly;--and the 'Genkô Shakusho,' written by Kokwan, 1320, sub 'Taichô,' gives an account of a certain "lying-down ascetic" (*Fushi Gyôja*) on Mount Hakuzan, who used to send his bowl flying upon the sea surface to ask for a pittance from every boat passing by. Making every allowance for exaggeration in these stories, we may conclude with safety that the magic art of flying cups (or bowls) was known to the Japanese priests too.

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[9TH S. V. FEB. 24, 1900, pp. 145-6]

THE WANDERING JEW.--The following story of a wandering man after his resuscitation is of a similar stamp to what I quoted last under this heading (9th S. iv. 166), and originally occurs in Yang Hiuen-Chi's 'Record of the Cathedrals in Lo-Yang,' written in the sixth century A.D. As Tu Lung-Wei's collection of ancient Chinese works, entitled 'Han-Wei-Tsung-shu' (1502), comprising the record in question, is represented in the British Museum only by an odd part unavailing for the present purpose,* I reconstruct the passage from the two works (to wit, Twan Ching-Shih's 'Yû-Yang-Tsah-Tsu,' ninth century A.D., Japanese reprint, 1697, lib. xiii. fol. 6 a, and the 'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1701, clxxviii. 19 and cccxxi. 5) where it is variedly quoted with different omissions:--

"In the time of the dynasty of Yuen-Wei [sixth century A.D.] it happened that a monk named Datta, while opening old graves to gather earthen wares, found a man buried, but alive, and brought him to the presence of the Dowager-Empress (named Hu-Tai-hau), then staying in Hwa-Lin Palace with the Emperor Ming-Ti (whose accession took place in 516 A.D.). the empress, considering the matter very extraordinary, ordered a courtier, Chu Kih, to question the man about his name, how long he had been lying dead, and what he used to eat and drink during the time. His answer was, 'I am named Tsui Han, with a cognomen Tsze-Hung, and am native of Ngan-Ping, in Poh-Ling.....I died in my fifteenth year, and am now twenty-seven years of age. For these twelve years I was lying down underground in the condition of a drunken man, and took no food. Sometimes, however, I went out wandering, but then, as if in a dream, I could not discern what food and drink I took even when I did so.' Subsequently the empress dispatched a secretary, Chang Tsiuen, to the man's asserted home, and found his parents there. He was sent back home, where, see his mother handling a branch of a peach-tree, he entreated her to throw it away instantly.+ At length he renounced the world, and coming to Lo-Yang, then the capital of the empire, stayed in Bodhi Church, where he was endowed by the King of Jü-Nan with a suit of yellow ecclesiastical costume. One day, in the Pau-Lo quarter of that city, abounding with undertakers, he saw a man from his village purchasing a coffin, and said, 'Make the coffin of cypress wood, but never line it with mulberry wood; for, while I was staying so long underground, I once saw a troop of demon-soldiers about to carry away a (dead) man. One of them tried to excuse the man on the ground that his coffin was of cypress wood, but the captain declared him inexcusable, because, though the coffin was of cypress, it was lined with mulberry wood.' In consequence of this narration cypress wood was very much raised in its price throughout the capital. He was ever in fear of the sun, on which he could never look, as well as of water, fire, and weapons of all descriptions. his habit was to run on the roads, only stopping when much fatigued. he could not walk slowly, all his contemporaries opining him a ghost."

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*MS. 16,338, Plut. ccxviii. F.

+From very early times the Chinese esteemed the peach-tree as holy and to have the power of suppressing all spiritual beings (Yuen-kien-lui-han,' cccxcix. 10, *seqq.*). In Japanese mythology the peach is made instrumental for driving away eight thunder-gods

when the first father of the nation, Izanagi-no-Mikoto, was pursued by them in his flight from the nether world ('Nihongi,' book i.).

[9TH S. V. April 28, 1900, pp. 333-4]

PICTURES COMPOSED OF HANDWRITING (9th S. v. 127, 255, 367).--Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri's 'Travels through Europe' (in Churchill's 'Collection of Voyages and Travels,' 1752, vol. vi. p. 580) has this passage:

"Among the greatest rarities [which he saw in the Armoury of Venice] is a crystal fountain, and St. Mark's head drawn with a pen, in which the strokes are not plain lines, but contain the whole gospel of our Saviour's passion, almost invisible to the eye, so that it cannot be read without a very convex magnifying glass."

In Japan of old it was frequently considered a work of piety for a penitent to draw himself, or by a hired artist, the figure of a Buddhist saint, to whom he was particularly devoted, with the lines composed of all the letters in a chapter of a sacred book. In 1880 I saw one at Wakayama which was the figure of Samanta Bhadra made up of the Chinese characters of the Saddharma Pundarika Sûtra.

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[9TH S. VI. AUG 18, 1900. p. 131]

FOOTPRINTS OF GODS, &c.
(See 9th S. iv. 306, 463.)

In North America, at the edge of the Great Pipestone Quarry, footsteps of the Great Spirit are marked in the rock, in the form of the track of a great bird (Tylor, 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind,' 1870, p. 118). At the ancient Mexican festival of all the gods, the footsteps of Tezcatlipoca were expected to appear in the flour strewn to receive this sign of their coming ('Encyc. Brit.,' xvi. 211). Piedrahita mentions the existence in Columbia of a rock stamped with the foot-outline of Chimizapagua, who is credited as the founder of wise laws and the art of spinning and weaving among the Chibchas ('Historia de las Conquista de Granada,' Amberes, 1688, part i. p. 3). Southey speaks of St. Thomas's footsteps left on the shores of Bahia, Brazil (Tylor, *op. cit.*, p. 117), others of the same saint being also reported from Peru to have been worshipped before the arrival of the Spaniards (F.N. del Techo, in Churchill's 'Voyages and Travels,' 1752, vol. vi. p. 43).

Among the prehistoric monuments in Mané-er-Hroég, France, there is a pair of human footmarks sculptured; and similar figures of feet, either naked or with sandals, abound in the rock-sculptures of the Bronze Age in Sweden (Emile Cartailhac, 'France Préhistorique,' 1889, p. 237 *seqq.*). One ascribed to Hercules was carved in rock on the Danube (C.H. Smith, 'The Natural History of the Human Species,' 1852, p. 35, note); those of Christ in the churches of St. Denis and of St. Laurent, Rome, also in the chapel of Pas de Dieu, France; of the miraculous bitch which guided the army of Clovis in the

battle of Vouillé on the bank of the Vienne (Collin de Plancy, 'Dictionnaire Critique des Reliques et des Images Miraculeuses,' 1821-2, ii. 76, iii. 4); of the knees of St. Ursicinis at Rome left on a stone whereupon he was beheaded (P. Skippon in Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 688); of St. Theocrita in the island of Paros, Greece (J.T. Bent, 'Cyclades,' 1885, p. 378); of the Polish St. Hyacinth (thirteenth century) still visible on the stream of the Garistèn (P. de Ribadeneira, 'Flow Sanctorum,' Barcelona, 1643, *sub* August 16).* In the neighbourhood of the Mark there are footsteps of a peasant in the rock on which he stood and swore to another peasant to the effect that it would become soft as butter should the ground he claimed as his own not be really so; also those of a horse, foretelling thereby the success of his master in a combat (A. Kuhn, 'Märckische Sagen und Märchen,' 1843, 25, 40).

In Egypt there were, before the time of Herodotus, some foot-impressions dedicated to Osiris (Smith, *l.c.*). In his "Lake Ngami" C.J. Andersson speaks of a rock in which the tracks of all native animals are seen (Tylor, *op. cit.*, p. 118). Modimo, a god of the Bechuanas, dwells in a cave, whence all manner of beasts issued, and which has in the rocks by it their footsteps well preserved (Ratzel, 'History of Mankind,' Butler's trans., vol. ii. p. 354).

As regards the alleged marks of the Ascension on Mount Olivet, it is said that the right-side one was carried away by the Turks into a mosque, what now remains there being the impression of the left foot of Christ (Collin de Plancy *op. cit.*, ii. 76).

With respect to the famous "Buddha's Footmarks" in Ceylon--which is to the Brahmans that of Siva, to the Moslems that of Adma, to the Gnostics that of Ieû, and to some Christians that of St. Thomas, whilst others see in it that of the Eunuch of Candace (Tylor, *op. cit.*, p. 117)--I shall add that the Chinese of the fifteenth century held a belief in its being a 'relic of Panku, their first father, and the recognized the Buddha's in the minor hollow near the shore. It was full of water, shallow, but constantly filling, with which the devotees used to wash their face and eyes ('Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1701, tom. cccxxiv. fols. 24-24; *cf.* Monier Williams, 'Buddhism,' 1889, p. 511). There is a sculpture of a footprint on a gate pillar of the ancient Sanchi Stupa, ascribed to the early part of the first century A.D. and others at Amarâvatî, supposed to date from the second or third century A.D. (*ib.*, p. 510). Hiuen-Tsiang, in his 'Si-yu-ki' (seventh century, Brit. Mus. copy, 15271 b. 2, tom. ii fol. 13 b), mentions a footprint in Nâgarahâra, which the Buddha left for the benefit of a converted dragon; those of a horse ridden by an arhat in Tukhâra (tom. iii. fol. 19 b) and those of the Buddha which were stamped, for the last time in his life, on a rock, and which King S'as'anka, being irritated by his repeated failures to efface, caused to be thrown into the Ganges (tom viii. fol. 5 a). In the old kingdom of Kos'ala there existed a footprint of the Buddha appearing in different sizes on different occasions, and that of the lion on which the god Indra descended to the spot (Yuen-kien-lui-han,' cccxvi. fol. 7 b). For those of the Jainist saints worshipped in India, see Monier-Williams, p. 509. At Malepur, Odoardo Barbosa (died c. 1521) saw the last footmark of St. Thomas (Ramusio, 'Navigationi e Viaggi,' Venetia, 1588, tom. i. fol. 315 c).

In Burmah A. Bastian saw the Buddha's footmark on stone at the village of Henzadah ('Die Völker des östlichen Asien,' 1866, vol. ii. p. 20). Mount Phrabat in Siam possesses the same impression on its western side, and on its summit it exhibits the tracks of elephants and tigers which, it is said, formed his *cortège* when the Buddha passed over

the mountain (Mouhot, 'Travels in Indo-Chine,' 1873, tom. i. p. 280). According to Garnier, the instances of stones with the Buddha's footsteps are innumerable in Laos (Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine,' 1873, tom. i. p. 280).*

Among the Pacific group of Islands Turner records in Samoa the footprints of Tiitii, said to have been impressed on a rock on which he stood in the act of pushing the heavens up from the earth (Tylor, *ubi supra*). Near Taupa, new Zealand, and in Hawaii those of some executed chiefs are visible on rocks (Ratzel, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 326).

A Japanese tradition explains the meaning of the classic name of the empire, Yamato, by tracing it to the contraction of Yama-ato, or Mountain Tracks, saying that just after the earth was separated from the heavens the former was so muddy that the people were obliged to walk only on mountains, and there their footmarks were copious (Minamoto no Chikafusa, 'Shinkwô Seitôki, 1339, ed. Omiya, p. 2). On the part of the native archaeologists, their recently invigorated explorations seem to have disclosed no special objects than can indicate their primitive forefathers having paid any respect to the footmarks. (See, e.g., Yagi, 'Nihon Kôkogaku,' 1898.) But the notions still lingering among vulgar minds about the naturally formed or deformed appearance of rocks and stones might be taken as betraying their ancestors' thoughts and imaginations. Thus several localities in the empire have rocks with large hollows popularly called footmarks of Daita Botchi, the giant (Kitamura, 'Kiyû Shôran,' ed. 1882, tom. iv. fol. 16 b); in the province of Kôdzue there is the so-called footstep of Yuriwaka impressed on the rock in his act of penetrating the Myogi mountain with his arrow (Terashima, 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713, tom. lxvi.); in Mikawa a rock remains whereupon the last steps are visible of the fabulous damsel Jôruri, the eponymous personage of all the Japanese dramas (*Fûzoku Gwahô*, No. ii, p. 21, 1895). Of the historical personages named as occasioning such strange hollows, the warlike priest Benkei (*ob.* 1189) is the most notorious, the asserted footmarks of him occurring on the rock at Shishitobi, Omi, on a wall of Wakayama Castle, Kii, and in many other places. The impressions of another warrior, Kagekiyo (*ob.* 1196) are seen near the Kiyomidzu Temple, Kyôto (*Fuzoku Gwaho*, No. 32, p. 25); of the horse of Kadjiwara, the notorious slanderer (*ob.* 1201) in Suruga (Asai, 'Tôkaidô Meishoki,' 1648, tom. iii.); also of the horse of Tokimune, the celebrated avenger of his father's murder, marked on a stone bridge on the Hakone Mountain, and reputed to prove fatal to one who touches it, but to save from beriberi those who adore it with the offering of joss-sticks (Takizawa, 'Saritsu Udan,' 1803, om. i. ch. ii.). Kinouchi's 'Unkonshi' (1772-1801) enumerates several localities where stones are produced shaped like the hoof of a horse, some being used as inkstands by the curious. Allied to this are the gravels from the upper stream of the Isudzu, fancifully named God's-Foot Stone (Shitomi, 'Ise Sangi Meisho Dzue,' 1797, tom. iii. *sub fin.*).

I have frequently heard the Japanese talk of the lightning god leaving the marks of his claws on trees or poles whereby he has reascended to the clouds after his fall, the wood thus characterized being valued much for its curing toothache when made into toothpicks (cf. Yoyen, 'Zenkwôji Meisho Dzue,' 1848, tom. v. fol. 39 b). The "Bloody Ceilings," confusedly marked, as it were, with impressions in blood of the hands and feet of warriors dying in battle, are shown in the cities of Kyoto and Sakai, as well as in the town of Yamada. Shitomi (*l.c.*, fol. 6 b) observes that they are but a natural product, the grain and vein, peculiarly coloured, of the wood used in the work giving the occasion to

such a grumous appellation (cf. my letter on the mandrake in *Nature*, vol. liv. p. 343, 13 August, 1896).

Such is a list of the natural objects and formations which very probably drew much curiosity, or even semi-religious awe, from the Japanese, from the early times of their national nascency, on account of a singular resemblance that they bear to feet and foot-impressions of man and animals. Notwithstanding, however, the great majority of their footprint stones, definitely with religious import, appear to have been created since the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth century A.D. An antiquary asserts that Japan possesses altogether seven (authentic) footprints of the Buddha (Ota, 'Ichiwa Ichigen,' ed. 1884, tom. xii. fol. 27 b), of which one in the cathedral, Yakushiji, is most noted (Aoki, 'Kon-yô manroku,' 1763, reprint 1891, p. 76). Besides this, the province of Yamato has one attributed to Amitabha Buddha on Hibari Hill and another of the Buddhist magician Yen-no-Gyôja on a cliff near the top of Mount Omine (Mr. K. Takahashi's communication, *in litt.*). The so-called footprint of Prince Umayado (573-621), the Constantine of Japan, is visible on a staff now preserved in the Imperial Museum, Tokyo, a wonderful story being told of its shade indicating by its changes the rise and fall of the Buddhist doctrine (my 'Kwayo Zuihitsu,' 1885, vol. ii. fol. 2 a); a track of his stallion is pointed out on a rock in the so-called Horse-Dale in Kawachi (Terashima, *op. cit.*, tom. lxxv.); another of the emperor Godaigo's horse on Mount Kasagi (Takahashi, *ut supra*); a footstep of Amitabha Buddha at Tokyo (*Fûzoku Gwahô*, No. 153, p. 6, 1808); another of a mysterious child begotten by the deity of Omiwa to a country girl, on a board, and said to be always warm (Terashima, *op. cit.*, tom. lxxiii.); on a rock on Hiye Hill a track of the lion which, a tradition says, once brought there Mandjus'ri on its back (Haburi, 'Hiye no Yashiro Shintô Himitsuki,' 1582, reprint 1898, p. 641). In this holy place it was prescribed, every time the Temple of Mandjus'ri was rebuilt, to put into the foundation a bit of earth scraped off the ground beneath the footprints of the lion on whose back he had descended on Wu-Tai Hill, China ('Jie Daisojô no Den,' 1031, reprint, 1898, p. 570).

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(To be continued.)

[9TH S. VI. SEPT. 1, 1900. pp. 163-5]

*In Western Java some mysterious vestiges are said to be seen on the summit of a mountain; these are ascribed to certain great progenitors of the native tribes (J. Rigg, in the 'Journal of the Indian Archipelago,' vol. iv. p. 120, 1850).

- There is a Japanese story parallel to this, which narrates that the handwriting of Nichiren, the founder of a Buddhist sect, is visible to this day on waves of the Strait of sado (Inoue, 'Yokwai Gaku Kogi,' 1896, ii. 355).

FOOTPRINTS OF GODS, &c.
(continued from p. 165.)

Apart from the semi-religious feeling, which, as I have stated previously, had been more or less insinuating itself in the primeval simplicity of the Japanese, there is no clear evidence of the native Shintoists every having attached any religious meaning to the foot-impressions. After the period of Tempyô (720-748), however, the conventional priestcraft of the Buddhists, greatly helped by the all-embracing principles of Taoist theology, exerted its utmost efforts to find for every Japanese god the corresponding Indian divinity, just as the ancient Romans adapted so many Greek characteristics to their own gods ('Hirota no Yashiro Yengi,' 1543, reprint 1898, p. 620; G.T. Bettany, 'The World's Religions,' 1890, pp. 336, 426). The Shintoists, deeply affected with this process of amalgamation accomplished by their once very antagonistic party, commenced then to follow it tacitly in entitling all their own gods the "Suishaku" (literally, "Remaining Footprints") of the foreign Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Devas, and sains, the so-called "Hondji" (literally, "Originating Ground"); and so the phrase for the assumed settling of any Shintoist god was "to leave his footmark" (Fudjioka and Hirade, 'Nihonshakwai Shi,' 1898, vol. i. p. 152; Ise, 'Waka Sanjinkô,' 1784, par. 3; cf. Chamberlain, 'Things Japanese,' 1898, pp. 360-1). Thus the Shintoist god Wakasahiko is said to have left his impressions on a white rock in the year 715; Takenouchi no Sukune, a premier of extraordinary longevity, attaining to more than three hundred and sixty years, is reported to have lost his way in 367 A.D., only a pair of his shoes being marked at Inaba ('Engishiki Shimmeichô Dzuchû,' 153, reprint 1898, pp. 821-4); the steps of the horse of the god Hachiman exist on Yawata Hill, near Kyôto (Yemi).

At Ping-Yang, Korea, in a rock near a grotto, is shown a footstep of the horse said to have come forth therefrom and to have served King Tun-Ming (the founder of the kingdom of Kau-Li in 38 B.C.) in his ascension ('Yuen-kien-lui-han,' cdxxxiii. fol. 4 a).

That the Chinese of very early ages paid especial attention to the footsteps of man and animals several archaic traditions illustrate; for example, both Fuh-Hi, the mythical emperor to whom is credited the discovery of iron, and Ki, the ancestry of the Chau dynasty, were begotten by their mothers treading in gigantic vestiges of unknown persons (*ib.*, xlvi. 10 b; Sze-Na Tsiuen, 'Shiki,' first century B.C. Pank-ki IV.; Wang Chung, 'Lun-Hang,' first century A.D., tom. iii. ch. vi.). Chwang-Kih invented the art of writing after observation of birds' tracks (Kau Yu, note on the 'Lu-Lan,' second century A.D., tom. vii. ch. ii.), whereas the Karens in Burma hold that the steps of chickens rendered in their sacred roll wholly unreadable (J. Low in the 'Journals of the Indian Archipelago,' vol. iv. p. 415, 1850). A legend similar to that of the Samoan god already quoted supplied the subject of a celebrated poem by Chang Hang (78-129 A.D.). The story runs that primitively the mountains Hwa-Shan and Shau-Yang were united into one, compelling the might stream of the Hwang-Ho to move on in curves along its side. In order to deliver the neighbouring inhabitants from the inundations thus frequently caused, Ku-Ling, the god of that river, split the mountain in twain, and his handprints are visible to this day on the top of Hwa-Shan, his footprints at the bottom of Shau-Yang ('Yuen-kien-lui-han,' tom. xxvii. foll. 33-4).

There are at Han-Yang footsteps of the King Chang Kang, which he is said to have stamped in a rock by his trampling on receipt of unexpected news of his enemy's approach in 206 B.C. ('Ku-kin-tu-shu-tseih-ching,' 1723, sec vi. tom. dxi. fol. 5 b). From the imperial cyclopaedia so repeatedly quoted above, the "Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1701, I may enumerate the following examples of remarkable foot-impressions, most of which

are of the Tauist savour; the marks of a recluse's hands and feet on and below the Tuh-Shan (tom. xxvi. fol. 47 a); those of clogs of the warrior Ma-Tang, near the estuary of I-Ning; one of the "dragon-horse" in Yun-Nan, said to give rain if prayed for (*ibid.*, 41 a); of a hermit and a dragon on the Lun-Shan (*ibid.*, 7 b); of the two birds at Yung-Kang, both traditionally said to have been found fighting and to have been turned into golden ingots on capture (32 b); of a hermit with his deer in the notorious villa of Li, a minister who flourished in the ninth century (fol. 39 a); of the shoes worn by the first emperor of the Tang dynasty, marvellously penetrating through two rocks (xlvi. 12 b); of a golden bull which ran upon a hill near lake Tung-Ting in the third century A.D. (xxxvi. 15 b); of a horse and tiger, as well as of a gigantic crane at Shun-Ngan (cccxxviii. 7 a); of the white deer on whose back Koh-Hung ascended to the heavens (*ibid.*, 18 b); of an angling saint near Chung-Hing (xxxiv. 11 a); of the horse which was ridden by the classic poet Kiu-Yuen when he went to a stream to be drowned (cccxx. 10 a); of the shoes of a king at I-Chang; of a scribe who drew the eight signs for divination on a rock near Shun-Hing (xxvi. 50 b); of a hermit and of a dragon at Ih-Chan (cccxxxvi. 6 a); of a donkey belonging to the magician Chang-Ko on a bridge in Chau-Chau (cccxxxv. 7 b); of the dragon in a stalactite cavern on Lin-In Mountain (xxxvi. 9 1); 'of a remarkably muscular and swift-paced bull presented to the emperor from Syria in 112 B.C. at the thence so-called Pier of Flowery Bull (cdxxxv, 25 b); of a dog on Dog Mountain in Lo-Chan (cccxxxv. 11 a); of the six Tauist saints, and dogs and fowls, who accompanied the King of Hwi-Nan in his ascension in 122 B.C. on Pah-Kung Mountain (xxiv. 8 a); of a horse eponymous of the "Path of the Celestial Horse" near Tsing-Chang (ccclii. 25 b) And the followi are those of clearly Buddhist origin: the impression of the pedal dorsæ of a pious daughter of Kublai Khan in Tan-yu Monastery (*ibid.*, cccliii. fol. 7 a); four vestiges of the horse belonging to the priest Chi Tau-Lin at nan-Fung (cccxxiii. 19 a); of an arhat on Shih-Pau Mountain, Yunnan (cccxxxix. 30 b); the marks of Avalokitesvara's knee-joints at Shih-Tsiuen (xxv. 25 a); a pair of Kásyapa Buddha's footprints in Yueh-Chau (Genkai, 'Tôdaikwashô Tôseiden,' 779, reprint 1898, p. 544); those of the guardian gods of the four corners of the world at Kiang-Ning (*ib.*, p. 549).

In the temple of Po-ta-la at Lhassa prints of the hand and foot of Tsongkapa are seen in butter and never effaced (Man and Shing, 'Wei-Tsian-tu-shih,' 1793, tom. iv. fol. 24 b). In Khotan a Pratyêkabuddha's steps existed in a rock ('Tang-shu,' tenth century, sub 'Yu-Tien'). In Ferghana a rock was formerly pointed out with tracks of the celestial horse on it ('Yuen-kien=lui-han,' cdxxxiii. fol. 3i b).

So far as my scanty reading goes, I have not met a single instance in the Far East of such usage of foot outlines as a pilgrims records as is prevalent in the European states, nevertheless such a practice is very likely to continue to be witness in certain parts thereof. An allied custom prevails with the Cambodjans, who, from very early times, have kept as a memorial the impression on silk of a hand or foot of a relative or a tutor who gave them first lessons in reading and writing J. Moura, 'Le Royaume du Cambodge,' 1882, vol. i. p. 197); and there is a record of the Japanese hero of Kamada (seventeenth century) whose alleged thumbprint was visible on a pillar in Asakusa Temple, Yedo, in the eighteenth century (Kyôden, 'Kinsei Kisekikô,' 1804, vol. v. ch. x.).

Of all the external attributes of man and animals, only the shadow, the reflection, and partly the voice, can equal the footsteps in the constancy of their presence with his bodily existence, nor was the footprint considered by the primitive folks as a less

mysterious accompaniment of the animate body than those physical manifestations (cf. Herbert Spencer, 'The Principles of Sociology,' third edition, vol. i. p. 114 *et seq.*). Such a crude notion of uncultured races naturally induced them to admit that not only man and animals, but also spiritual beings, could produce their footsteps, provided that the material constituting the ground they trod was somewhat finer than ordinary earth. Besides many examples of such a superstition given in Tylor's 'Primitive Culture,' 1871, vol. ii. p. 179 *et seq.*, I may quote the following: In Japan the fox, under whatever appearance he happens to try to charm a man, is bound to leave the footsteps characteristic of the beast (Masafusa, 'Kobiki,' eleventh century); the "osaki," or small fox with his tail cleft at the end, which plays in some provinces the part of the European mandrake in accumulating treasures for its greedy master, is said never to fail to be detected by its footsteps if fine ashes be strewn to defeat the (Mr. K. Takahashi's communication, *in litt.*); in the year 929 the imperial palace was found one morning full of the demon's tracks as big as an ox's, and coloured blue and red (Narisuye, 'Kokon Chomonshû,' 1254, ch. xxvi.); those of Avalokites'vara were left one night on ashes in a cathedral at Chang-Ngan, China (Twang Ching-Shih, 'Yu-Yang-tshah-tsu, ninth century, second series, tom. vi. fol. 4 a Jap. edition); and of the dragon visible on a beach in Kwei-chau every time after he paired with a mare purposely brought to raise a dragon-steed race ('Yen-kien-lui-han,' xxvi. 20 b). Father C. Borri saw in Cochin China three footmarks of the devil, each more than two palms long, on a pavement ('Relatione della Nuova Missione.....al Regno della Cochin-china,' Roma, 1631, p. 216). In Fiji of aforetime the prints of his hand and foot in the ashes of the hearth signified the entrance into the house of the leprosy god Sakuka (B.G. Corney in Folk-Lore, March, 1896, p. 22). In India devil's steps, more than three or four paces asunder, were described from Sikkim (Jordanus, 'The Wonders of the East,' Yule's translation, 1863, p. 37, note); but in the Buddhist legend of Nâgârdjuna's conversion spiritual beings are said to leave no mark, whereas the man, however adept in the magic of making himself invisible, leaves it necessarily (Tau-Shih, 'Fah-yuen-chu-lin,' 668, British Museum copy, 15,101, d. 4, tom. liii, fol. 4 a).* All this notion culminated in the cosmographic myths of several nations associating the heavenly bodies with the footprints, such as the Mexican day, "Track of the Sun" and the Indian "Three Footprints of Vishnu," a zodiacal sign ('Encyclopædia Britannica,' xxiv. 794); some Buddhist constellation was assimilated to footsteps (Twang Ching-Shih, *op. cit.*, tom. ii. fol. 8 a); the shooting star, called by the Japanese "night-crawling star," in allusion to a train that appears to remain in its track (Shitagau, 'Wamyô Ruijushô,' tenth century, tom. i. article 13); and according to the Buddhist description of the universe, Yugamdhara, one of the seven concentric mountains surrounding Mount Mêru, derives its title from a pair of vestiges on its top (Vasubandhu, 'Abhidharma Kôcha Sâstra,' about the Christian era, book xi.).

Man in his natural and pristine state of existence used to pay far more attention than he does in his civilized condition to the footmarks of all his fellow-creatures, necessitated by so great a portion of his wellbeing depending upon his skill in their discernment (Waitz, 'Anthropologie der Naturvölker,' 1861, pp. 72, 98, 222; Younghusband, 'The Heart of a Continent,' 1896, p. 79; and Galton, 'Finger-Prints,' 1892, p. 23). Hence many stories of very singular utilization of such skill; for example, it was a usage in Japan to observe the fox's tracks on Lake Suwa before people should begin and cease to walk on the ice covering it in the winter (Terashima, *op. cit.*, tom. lxxviii; *cf.*

Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.,' lib. viii. cap. 42). The Chinese magicians acquired their art of enchantment by a symbolical walk on observation of the storks tracks on sand, the secret power of upsetting stones so as to capture serpents being attributed to this bird (Li Shih, 'Süh-Poh-wuh-chi,' thirteenth century, Kyôto edition, 1693, tom. i fol. 10 b); and a Buddhist sutra contains an anecdote of a *savant* who right remarked on the steps left by an elephant that it was a female gravid with a calf of the same sex (Tau-shi, *op. cit.*, tom. xlv. fol. 16); whilst the chinese hold a full confidence in the art of discovering excellent steeds through their tracks ('Yuen-kien-lui-han,' tom. cdxxxiii. fol. 19 a). That this sort of observation gave certain assistance to the aesthetic progress of mankind is evinced by the highly reputed Japanese artist Hokusai, who has executed a picture of the autumnal maple leaves floating on the stream by causing a fowl, whose feet he dipped in red colour, to tread on paper brushed up in blue (Sekiba, 'Ukiyoe Hennenshi,' 1891, tom. ii. fol. 29 b); the corresponding similes familiarly seen in the Japanese and chinese poesies being the comparison of the plum flowers and bamboo leaves respectively to a dog's steps and a fowl's.

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[9TH S. VI. SEPT. 22, 1900, pp. 223-6]

*Compare J. Moura, *op. cit.*, tom. i. p. 314, where it is mentioned that the demon has no shadow under the sun; the same belief is current in China about the Tauist saints, as well as the child procreated by the man of extreme age (Ying Chan, 'Fung-süh-tung, second century A.D., *apud* Terashima, *op. cit.*, tom. viii.).

FOOTPRINTS OF GODS, &c.

(concluded from p. 226)

AMONG many nations the human foot serves as the standard for lineal measurement, and it was generally the custom with the Chinese to guess at the height of a person from the size of his foot-prints. The 'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' *passim*, records instances of giants' vestiges measured for this purpose, and (tom. ccclxxv. fol. 23) mention is made of a shoe fourteen inches long said to have been worn by Confucius, whose stature is estimated at ten feet (Li Shih, *op. cit.*, tom. iii. fol. 23 a).

To a people whose arts are too undeveloped to form an entire image of man and animals, or whose circumstances do not allow them to have it completed, the hand or footmark of the intended subject would serve as the best substitute. R.B. Smyth details the Australians' practice of painting hand-outlines on the rock ('The Aborigines of Victoria,' 1878, vol. ii. p. 309); and King As'oka caused his residence to be erected near a rock with the last foot-impression of the Buddha on it, to adore daily just as if the great master was still present there (Hiuen-Tsang, *op. cit.*, tom. viii. fol. 5 a). Other circumstances, moreover, might add a force to the usage of such prints as memorials or for adoration; for example, the fact that the sculptured foot of a statue is often the only remnant when it has undergone destruction (see Sven Hedin, 'Through Asia,' 1898, p. 796), whilst even a deserted pedestal of a ruined statue is worshiped sometimes (Tavernier, 'Les Six Voyages,' Paris, 1676, tom. i. p. 172).

The foot is often supposed to share the powers characteristic of its owner. Hindu mythology has it that Brahma's foot gave birth to the ancestors of the Sudra caste ('Matanga Sûtra,' Chinese trans. third century A.D.); in their poetry a golden as'oka-tree delays to blossom unless a beautiful woman touches it with her foot (Tawney's 'Mâlavikâgûmitra,' quoted by G.M. Godden in *Folk-Lore*, vol. vi. p. 227, 1895); when trampled on the sirisa-tree is said to grow fast (Twan Chin-shi, *op. cit.*, tom. iii. fol. 4 a); when Mahâkâsyapa arrived too late to meet the Buddha at the time of entering Nirvana, his extreme sorrow was dispersed by the latter's feet displayed out of the golden bier ('Yuen-kien-lui-han,' ccxvii. 7 a); Ma Ki-Pan, the Chinese potentate (eleventh century, had his foot more than a foot long, which troubled with headache for a day any one who ventured to touch it (*ib.* cclxi. 21). It is easy to comprehend such characteristic powers being transmitted from this foot to the print. So the miraculous procreations of Fuh-Hi, the discoverer of iron and divination, and of ki, the first regulator of Chinese agriculture, are attributed to gigantic footsteps of unknown origin, trodden on by their mother-princesses (*ib.*, xlvi. 10 b; Sze-ma Tsiuen, 'Shiki,' first century B.C., Pan-ki, iv.; Wang Chung, 'Lun-Hang,' first century A.D., tom. iii. fol. 25, ed. Moura). A sandal a Japanese nobleman had worn is said never ceased to torment with inflammation the foot of the filcher who put it on, until he begged the owner's pardon for the misdeed (Shibukawa, 'Shinro Memmei,' 1704, *sub* 19 March). From the dread of such an event doubtless arose the custom of holding the footsteps of eminent personages sacred; for instance, in Tahiti the ground on which the king or queen trod became taboo ('Encyc. Brit.," xxiii. 16); Japan has many spots, whereon men of public merit or great power trod, carefully avoided by the common people in their walk (see, *e.g.* Yuasa, 'Bunkwai Zakki Furoku,' ed. 1891, p. 5); in China, after the coronation of Tsien Lia (died 1032), a pedestal for the Buddha's statue was formed of the stone on which he used to tread in his infancy ('Yuen-kien-lui-han,' xxvi. 26); and even Maitreya himself, the expected Messiah of the Buddhists, with a retinue of saints and gods, is said to come on fixed days down to the land of Ho-kia-tiau to rever the sacred prints of the last four Buddhas existing there on a blue rock (*ib.*, cccxvi, 6 a).

Arising out of the general conception that both foot and footstep of man partake of his characteristic power, there are many practices founded on the sympathy which is supposed to unite them. In Melanesia the mother and the sons-in-law, or the brothers and sisters, take care to avoid treading on each others steps, and do not walk on the shore until the waves have washed them away (Ratzel, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 277). In Japan the servant, tired of a long sitting guest of his master, would resort to burning moxa on the under surface of his sandal to cause him suddenly to hurry home (Kiseki, 'Minchô Taiheiki,' 1717, to. ii. ch. i.; Kiyû, 'Kanemochi Katagi,' 1770, tom. v. ch. ii.); Grimm speaks of a German custom of shrivelling up an enemy by hanging up and letting dry a piece of turf on which he trod; and according to Leland, a popular cure for the gout in Italy is to spit thrice on the footprint of the person to be cured, and at the same time to repeat a spell (J.E. Crombie in *Folk-Lore*, vol. vi. p. 273, 1895).

But setting aside all these semi-religious ideas, which, taken together, serve to explain the reason why foot-outlines came to serve as records of a pilgrimage or visit, something more must be said of the origin of the essentially religious ideas attached to the holy footprints which so many people worship.

The foot is the lowest part of the human body, therefore throughout all ages the act of bowing to the other's foot or its impression is acknowledged as a most full expression of the utmost humiliation of one who thus betakes himself to a superior for help. So one Chinese addresses another as "Tshu-hia," meaning "You under whose foot I remain" (Kiu Hai-shan, 'Ku-sze-tsing-wu-kau,' ed. Arakawa, 1682, tom. ii. fol. 23 b); and there is a very popular adage in Cina; "In ordinary days even the offering of a joss-stick is neglected; on occasion of an emergency even the Buddha's footstep we place on our head." For the same reason the Siamese use a phrase "To reach his golden feet" for admittance to the royal presence (Crawford, 'Journal of an Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China,' 1828, p. 373); and an Indian story tells us how Vishnu, the very god who, with three steps, took possession of the world (Cox, 'Mythology of the Aryan nations,' 1870, vol. ii. p. 104), was declared by Bhṛigu to be the only deity entitled to the worship of gods and men in consequence of his having esteemed the latter's kick as an honour (L.R. Vaidya, 'the Standard Sanskrit-English Dictionary,' Bombay, 1889, p. 877).

That some peoples from very early times paid particular attention to the ever unchanging and individually distinct furrows on the foot as well as the hand is well attested by the ancient Chinese custom of using their prints for personal identification (cf. my letter in *Nature*, vol. li. pp. 199-200, 1894; Schmeltz in the *Internat. Archiv für Ethnographie*, vol. viii. p. 170, 1895), and by the old Cambodjan usage of keeping them as a memorial of an individual (quoted above from Moura). Naturally such a practice caused many peculiar configurations to be formed by those furrow lines. Thus the Chinese emperor Yu (c. 2205 B.C.) and the Taoist philosopher Lao-Tsze (fifth century B.C.) are said to have been born with esoteric characters on their soles ('Yuen-kien-lui-han,' xlvi, 22 b; cccviii. 6 a) Besides Lao-tsze is said to have had there the auspicious figure of a turtle, which is also attributed to the Emperor Kau-Shuen (reigned 73-49 B.C.) and Li Ku, an eminent Confucianist philosopher (second century A.D.). The Buddha himself is said to have ascribed the netted lines on his hand and foot to his never having hurt any member of other families in his former existences (Tau-shi, *op. cit.*, tom. ix. fol. 17, *seqq.*). The thirty-fourth of his eighty secondary marks is that his soles possess each one hundred and eight auspicious figures, the principal, one of these being generally the *tchakra*, "wheel" (Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 513). All these figures altogether symbolize that everything in this universe is subject to the Buddha (Bastian, *l.c.*). The veneration paid to such a footprint appears to have been very old in India; for the Jainists, the ancient rivals of the Buddhists, have preserved to this day the worship of their saints' footmarks, coloured either white or black and with small gilded circles; whilst the Vishnava daily marks his forehead with the symbol of Vishnu's foot, and worship the steps of the god with the marks similar to those of the Buddha (Monier-Williams, pp. 508, 514). The *tchakra*, the most conspicuous of all the marks, as represented by the modern *tchakar*, a quoit-like missile of steel make (Tavernier, 'Travels in India,' Ball's trans., 1889, vol. i. p. 82; Ratzel, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 374-5), was originally conceived as a symbol of destruction, and it is still recognized as a weapon to be hurled at a demon-foe from the hands of Vishnu or of Krishna, and of so many deities of Neo-Buddhism (Monier-Williams, p. 522; Balfour, 'the Cyclopædia of India,' 1885, vol. i. p. 640; Tosa, 'Butsuzô Dzui,' new. ed., 1886, *passim*). Afterwards it was turned into a wheel, either of gold or silver, of copper or iron, according to the virtue of a conqueror-king, on whose investiture it was supposed to fall from heaven and to go rolling before him wherever he

went (Vasubandh, *op. cit.*, book iii. ch. i.; Eitel, 'Handbook of Chinese Buddhism,' 1888, pp. 171-2). And lastly, this emperor originally of the warlike conquerors became that of the far mightier conquerors in faith, the Buddhas. From these vicissitudes of symbolism which this principal of all auspicious marks on the Buddha's footstep underwent, it is all the more probable that, when we learn the Siamese king is endowed with the epithet "the soles of whose feet resemble those of the Buddha" (Gardner, 'The Faiths of the World,' p. 869)--when we learn that the Cambodjans call their monarch, who claims his descent from Vishnu, "the great king with divine feet," and esteem as its inborn regalia the mark of *tchakra* on each hand and foot of a child (Moura, *op. cit.*, tom. i. p. 222; tom. ii. p. 18)--these are but the survivals of the ancient Brahmanist custom in India of perceiving in the *tchakra* the especial sign of the worldly conqueror, in the heterogenous soil of Buddhism, where it still prevails under the assumption that the foot of a sovereign regularly has a mark resembling the principal one among the Buddha's many-shaped signs of mightiness.

Another religious idea attached to the footprint takes its rise from the significance of precedence or guidance which it readily suggests to our mind, as is apparent from many Chinese expressions; for instance, "fragrant footmark" for the pattern of morals; and "virtuous footstep that proved auspicious" used to congratulate a man having a good, enviable child (Kiu hai-shan, *op. cit.*, tom. i. fol. 12 a; tom. ii. fol. 25 b; cf. Monier-Williams, p. 507). So Mohammedans believe that, in the final judgment of mankind, all the innocent, treading in the footsteps of their prophet, will pass over the perilous bridge of the abyss and enter the gates of paradise (Gibbon, 'The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' ch. i. par. 1); and in ancient Ireland it formed a part of the inaugural ceremony of a new chief to stand on the footprints of the founder of his house engraved on a stone while he was receiving an oath to preserve all the old customs of the country inviolable (J.J. Bryan in Folk-Lore, vol. vii. p. 82, 1896).

To conclude, I will say that the regard paid to foot-outlines as records of a pilgrimage or visit took its origin in times quite immemorial, when the footsteps were thought of as mysterious accompaniments of the material existence of men and animals, as their shadows and reflections, which notion, associated with the likeness to the steps man had found in various natural objects and formations, eventually culminated in the fancy that even spiritual beings actually had their tracks. The footprint far surpassed the shadow and reflection in the facility with which its copy could be produced and kept, and the careful observations of foot-outlines variously formed constituted an essential basis of the wellbeing of men or of society: thus a usage came into existence of preserving in some way or other their duplicates as a memorial. As it was deemed so mysterious a counterpart of the human being, naturally the foot-impression was conceived to have its producer's powers imparted to it, and consequently to be capable of acting with him in sympathetic communications. This imagination, assisted by the multitudinous ideas growing out of the examination of the lines and marks on the sole, and by the symbolistic meanings which a footprint readily suggests to the mind in relation to the acts of governing, possessing, and preceding others, finally promoted the so-called "sacred footprint" to be an object of worship among those people who seek thereby to be protected and guided in the righteous path.

One thing remains in need of special mention here. Without any connexion with the religious and allied movements, there are not lacking some instances of artificial footprints fashioned for absolute usefulness. Thus in Japan, on the precipitous coast path

of Umaoroshi, a long series of tracks are engraved in the rocks, without treading on which no man can pass the route in safety (Fûzoko Gwahô, No. 45, p. 23, 1892).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

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[9TH S. VI. OCT. 27, 1900, p. 322-4]

FOOTPRINTS OF GODS, &c. ((th S. vi. 163, 223, 322, 391; vii. 233).--To my previous articles under this heading I may be allowed the following additions:--

1. The 'Eigwa Monogatari,' a Japanese historical narrative, written in the eleventh century, book xxii. p. 3, ed. 1891, Tokio, has this passage:--

"In the reign of King Asoka, once, when he asked, 'Who saw the Buddha in his life?' he was informed by a minister of the younger sister of King Hashinoku as the very person. She was called in, and answered to the king's query that she actually saw the Buddha, who was without parallel in his appearance, and that even after his ascension his footprints were shining for a week."

2. The 'Nomori-no-Kagami,' fourteenth century, in Hanawa's 'Collection,' reprint 1902, vol. xvii. p. 482, mentions a pair of clogs said to have been worn by Shôkû Shônin, a Japanese Buddhist saint of the eleventh century, kept as his relic in a celebrated church on account of their "having received the feet that carried him into the paradise."

3. In Twan ching-Shih's 'Yûyang Tsah-tsu,' ninth century, the author speaks of his meeting with a Japanese priest who had returned from his journey in India. According to him, in the Buddhist churches in India it was then a current usage to pay reverence to the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang, to represent whom only the shoes he brought from China were painted on clouds in variegated colours; for these articles were then the objects of great curiosity to the Indians.

4. Plutarch says in his life of Pyrrhus:--

"It was believed that he cured the swelling spleen by sacrificing a white cock, and with the right foot gently pressing the part affected, the patients lying upon their backs for that purpose.....It is also said that the great toe of that foot had a divine virtue in it; for, after his death, when the rest of his body was consumed, that toe was found entire and untouched by the flames."--Trans. Langhorne §4.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

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[9TH S. XI. MAY 9, 1903. p. 375]

Replies.

JAPANESE MONKEYS.

(9TH s. XI. 9, 76.)

As I have had for some years past certain queries to propound in your columns in this connexion, I deem it wise to forward this reply together with them at once, leaving to some other days the publication *in extenso* of my treatise on the subject, for which purpose I have already accumulated ample materials at home. In preparing the present

communication I have solely made use of my memory and a few memoranda that lay beside myself in these mountains, where there is no book and reference, and where I have been botanizing now for more than a year.

The three monkeys in question belong to the cults of Seimen Kongô or Blue-faced Vajra, which was introduced to Japan from China in the seventh century. This Mantranist deity, of a terrible appearance, with three eyes and many arms, is always represented with the two minor gods and three monkeys. The characteristic postures of the last--covering with their hands the eyes, the ears, and the mouth respectively--are intended to impress their master's commandments on the lookers-on. These commandments are contained in a well-known folk-poem, which would read in prose thus: "Shun your sight, shun your hearing, and shun your talk; then you are safe from all the evils." Of this poem there occur in the very happily executed original the three words *Mizaru*, *Kikazaru*, and *Iwazaru*, respectively with these double literal senses: See-Ape and Seing-not, Hear-Ape and Hearing-not, and Speak-Ape and Speaking-not. A reputed travesty of it runs: "Tis far better to think not than put together all the three monkeys, that avoid to see, to hear, and to speak." here in the text are two additional plays upon words, viz., *Omowazaru*, meaning both Think-Ape and Thinking-not, and *Mashira*, standing either for the noun ape in Japanized Sanskrit, or for the adjective *better* in Japanese. Indeed, owing to the peculiarity of their etymology and syntax, as well as the innumerable traditions, Japanese, Chinese, and Indian in their origins, the poems, nay even the prose of the Japanese abound with puns of this description, which, they hold, confer elegance and grace, whilst not unfrequently the prejudiced foreign scholars reject them as detestable. To make a free use of David Hume's simile, Who could be made enough to affirm that the Rhine is right and the Rhone wrong, simply because they differ from one another in their course and development? Certainly those who scorn the Japanese poems accompanied with seasonable puns would not be so fastidious towards the classic literatures, to which they are from their infancy accustomed to listen with wholesale admiration, but of which, notwithstanding, many pieces are as hard as the Japanese ones to render into any modern European language on exactly the same account. A Chinese adage warns us that "man is in the habit of esteeming his ears and disdain his eyes too much." But my well-timed injunctions to those scholars will be: "Shun not your sight, shun not your hearing, and you are safe from all errors; but far better it is for you not to shun to think." In the meanwhile do not know which way shall I enjoin them, "Shun not your speaking" or "Speak not." Thus far my apology for the so-called detestable intricacy of the puns in the Japanese poesy, a sympathy with which is the *sine qua non* of the full understanding of the present subject.

Kitamura Shinsetsu, a Japanese antiquary of the eighteenth century, in his 'Kiyu Shoran,' states that, as he finds no allusion to the monkeys in the sùtras devoted to the Blue-faced Vajra, he considers them to have been fabricated in the ninth century by some Buddhists of Mount Hie, where was built then a famous cathedral, whose guardian god, Sannô, is attributed with monkeys as his special favorites.

Now, Mantranism is a grand system of mystic Buddhism, covering the widest portion of the so-called Doctrines of Great Vehicle, and is in its essence the same with the Tibetan Lamaism. During the eighth and ninth centuries it was very influential in China, whence it was brought to Japan by the illustrious Combadoxus, to whose invention the nation is said to owe the current alphabet. The Mantra system divides all

spiritual beings of merit into four grades. highest of all stand the Buddhas, then the Bodhisattvas, then the Vajdras, the Devas being the lowest. Of these four, the former two are intrinsically Buddhist, whereas the latter two were adopted from Brahmanism, and allowed the places in the Pantheon simply in order to show the men of other creeds that even the highest objects of their worship were far inferior to the Buddhist's own, and only worthy of serving the latter in guarding their doctrines. So the late Sir M. Monier-Williams is perfectly right in tracing the Buddhist Vadjra into the Brahmanist Siva-- which view, by the way, is corroborated by the Japanese usage of making an ex-voto to the Blue-faced Vadjra of a chaplet of little triangular cushions, red in hue, as well as miniature monkeys made of cloth pieces and cotton, the same being done among the Hindu worshippers of Siva (see Takaya, 'Yôshobako,' early in the nineteenth century, and *North Indian Notes and Queries*). As there are so many forms of Siva, so numerous are the varieties of Vadjra, one of which being the Blue-faced deity we are upon. In the winter of 1893, one day in the British Museum, I happened to converse about this matter with the late Sir (then Mr.) A. Wollaston Franks, who suggested to me that possibly the three simian attendants on the Vadjra were derivable from the Hindu cultus of Hanuman, the Monkey King. Subsequently, in the 'Lectures on Buddhism,' by Monier-Williams, 1889, I came across a passage relating that a certain university in England keeps in its museum a statue of Vadjra, with the monkeys of the above description. But he does not specify where it was made; if it prove a production of any other country than Japan, it will give a strong support to our opinion that these monkeys are not a Japanese invention at all, as is asserted by Kitamura above cited. After ascertaining the whereabouts of the statue in the 'Lectures,' can any of your readers inform me by what people it was made, and from what locality it was brought to England?

I shall add here that the image of the Buddha Vaichajayaguru (i.e. Doctor of Medicine) in Japan and China has a monkey god among its twelve attendants, whose functions are separately assigned to the twelve hours of the day: viz., rat, ox, tiger, rabbit, dragon, serpent, horse, sheep, ape, cock, dog, and hog. Also in Dr. Sven Hedin's 'Through Asia,' 1898, mention is made of a fragmentary statuette of a monkey-god he dug up from some Buddhist ruins amidst a desert of Central Asia. During my studies and services in the Victoria and Albert Museum I often passed, in its Indian section, by a photograph exhibited to the public of the stone statues of two apes that exist in some part of India. They were apparently of different sexes, the one squat and the other half-erect with its hands put on the shoulders of the first, which struck me as quite different from the single figure of Hanuman familiar to our eyes, and put me forcibly in mind of the Japanese figures in question. Can somebody tell me what they represent, and what legends are attached to them?*

Whatever origin his attendant monkeys might claim, the Blue-faced Vadjra continues to this day to be worshipped by some Japanese, and among them by the villagers among whom I am now sojourning. They join in a company of say, five families, and on the days sacred to him make feast by subscription in one of their houses, his image being carried round and enshrined among them in their turns. His popular title is Kôshin, or Elder Metal and Monkey, originally the name of a day in the Chinese calendar, occurring once in every cycle of sixty days, so that there are six such days of solemnity in every ordinary lunar year. In the beginning people used to be watching the who night, keeping themselves in a strict taboo, in the belief that then the deity would

descend from the heavens and inspect their conduct; but later on it seems that the feast gave a great occasion to their mirth, wherewith, as they say, to scare away the evil spirits from coming to try to force the way in their houses. The 'Eigwa Monogatari,' eleventh century, ed. 1891, Tokyo, book ii. pp. 16-17, gives an account of the sudden death of the mother of the sixty-seventh emperor, near the end of the tenth century, that took place in a merrymaking party on that night. Nowadays such customs have ceased, at least in this part of the country. From these it would seem that those injunctions symbolized by the three monkeys' attitudes were originally of purport to enforce the rigorous inhibitions which the worshippers of the Vadjra were bound to observe on those nights. For this purpose, indeed, the monkey is an opportune animal, for a Buddhist parable allegorizes that the monkey, typifying the conscience, is only able to restrain the ever-flirting horse, or the will--the Japanese, Chinese, and Annamese believing that the presence of a monkey in a stable makes the horses very healthy and docile. Besides, a superstition widely prevails in Japan that one who was begotten on the night of Kôshin, irrespective of the imposed taboo, is sure to grow up "long-handed," which means "thievish," the characteristic of the monkeys.

In days of yore it was very common to see a stone slab, with figures in relief of the Blue-faced Vadjra and his attendants, stand on a little mound on the roadside, practically serving the end of a milestone, for he is held as the protector of wayfarers. Therefore it is vulgarly maintained that, should one earnestly pray to the stone slab, he is sure to find out a runaway, a thief, or stolen articles. It is certainly curious to read in the mythology of Japan that the god who had guided the imperial ancestor on occasion of his descent on Mount Takachiho, and thence became the Shintoist "God of the Cross-Road," is termed Sarutahiko, or Man of the Monkey's Field, from which it appears very likely that in the present culture of the Kôshin both native and Indian elements are preserved in amalgamation, taking advantage of such a happy coincidence.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

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[9TH S. XI. MAY 30, 1903, pp. 430-2]

- In a Chinese itinerary of the fifteenth century, 'Hai-wai-hien-wan-luh,' the Japanese are said to have paid an unusual respect to a monkey-king and a monkey-queen, then in life.

Queries.

We must request correspondents desiring information on family matters of only private interest to affix their names and addresses to their queries, in order that the answers may be addressed to them direct.

OWL.--Plutarch in his 'Life of Nicias' writes:--

"Yet as the same historian [Timaeus] relates that as soon as Gylippus showed himself, the Sicilians gathered around him, as birds do about an owl, and were ready to follow him wherever he please."

Is there among the European literatures any other allusion to this behaviour of birds towards the owl? I do not find it in Pliny, nor in the late Dr. Romanes's scientific exposition of the 'Animal Intelligence.' To turn to Japanese literature, in a romance entitled 'Narrative of a War between the Herons and the Crows,' composed in the fifteenth century, the owl is made to express his animadversion to a messenger coming from the crows' camp asking for his succour, and censures them for crowding round and deriding him with the clapping of hands during the daytime, when he can see nothing. In some parts of the country a method of bird-catching called "owl-net" is in usage. A horned owl is posted near a stretched net, near which, in a short time, a crowd of small birds draw, as if they take pleasure in mocking him, and are caught thereby. I suppose some of your readers are quite familiar with a Japanese caricature of the owl on a cross-tree with a paper bag on his head, which originated in this scene of the "owl-netting."

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[9TH S. XI. JUNE 13, 1903, pp. 466 (heading) & 467]

SINGLE TOOTH.--In the 'Annals of Japan,' written in the eighth century, there is an emperor whose name, Midzuhawake, or Prince with Auspicious Tooth, is said to have been given him from his having the so-called teeth in a single piece. When I was yet an infant, I once heard my old master narrate that a knight in this province of Kii, called Hagui Oniemon (Strong-Bites Demon), had a set of teeth of such a conformation that he was able to bite off an iron pan. And in the 'Life of Pyrrhus' Plutarch says that, "instead of teeth in his upper jaw, he had one continued bone, marked with small lines resembling the divisions of a row of teeth." I am very desirous of knowing whether such monstrosity really happens to exist, and, if possible, the scientific explanation of this sort of anomalous growth.

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[9TH S. XI. JUNE, 20, 1903, p. 488]

Replies

MAGIC RING (9TH S. xi. 109, 211).--A golden head-ring of such miraculous power plays an important part in the 'Si-yû-ki.' written in the fifteenth century, and one of the four great romances of China. It narrates how the illustrious Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang (600-604 A.D., for whose life see 'Encyc. Brit.,' ninth ed.) accomplished his travel to India. In this long journey he meets with numberless demons and marauders, who repeatedly attempt to capture or kill him, but is every time saved from the danger through the cautions and efforts of his faithful attendants, a monkey, a hog, and a water-sprite. The monkey, Sun Wu-Kung, the ablest and bravest of all the three, is at first very fractious and ungovernable. One day, while he is deserting his master on a slight disagreement, Avalôkitês'vara brings the headgear and instructs Hiuen-Tsiang how to apply it to his correction. When the monkey, admonished by a dragon for his misconduct, returns and finds beside his master a golden head-ring of unparalleled beauty, he asks for and is given it. But no sooner did he put it on his head than it stuck thereto so closely that it was as if a natural growth from it. Thenceforward, whenever he happened to disobey his master, the latter had but to murmur a few magic words, which would instantly tighten the ring so insupportably as never to fail to correct him. By this means the warlike monkey turned a most loyal and useful servant, and accompanied his master, in defiance of innumerable enemies and toils, to Mount Gudhrakûta, where the animal is said to have been created a living saint by the Buddha. Sie Chung-Chi in his 'Wu-tsah-tsu' (1610) expatiates on this allegory as the most edifying of all Chinese fictions, for it shows us how a simple magic ring, or a commandment, if properly applied, could turn a most turbulent monkey, or the mind, into what should be entitled to the saintship.

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[9TH S. XI. JUNE 20, 1903, pp. 490-1]

JAPANESE MONKEYS (9th S. xi. 9, 76, 430).--In my article, *ante*, p. 431, *North Indian Notes and Queries* should be *Panjab Notes and Queries*; and in the foot-note on the same page, for "In a Chinese itinerary of the fifteenth century, 'Hai-wai-hien-wan-luh,'" read "in Hwang Sing-Tsang's 'Si-yang-chau-kung-tien-luh,' 1520

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

[9TH S. XI. JUNE 27, 1903, p. 517]

FOLK-LORE OR BOTANY (9th S. xi. 148).--In this part it is a popular belief that *Lycoris vadiata*, Herbert, grows out of the human corpse; and, in fact, it abounds in burying-grounds, and is called "dead man's flower" (*Shibitobana*). Regardless of its beautiful red colour, people never use it in the art of flower arrangement. This inauspicious plant of Amaryllidaceae receives from the Chinese another unhappy name, "Pu-i-tsan," or "undutiful herb," because its leaves and flowers never accompany each other.

Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), in his 'Tôga,' Brit. Mus. Or. MSS. 39, relates a folk-story that the so - called woman's flower (*Ominaeshi*), or *Patrinia scabiosæfolia*, Lin., one of the seven autumnal flowers celebrated in the Japanese anthology, took its rise from the grave of a young woman who had died of love-sickness.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[9TH S. XI. JUNE 27, 1903, pp. 514-5]

STORY OF AN UNGRATEFUL SON (9th S. xi. 226).--Perhaps the following Chinese version, apparently very old, of this story may be new to MR. A.

COLLINGWOOD LEE and many other readers:--

"This story occurs in the 'Pi-Shi.' Yuen Kuh's grandfather becoming very old, his parents much hated and wished to expose him. At the age of fifteen he remonstrated against them in vain, and at last was forced to achieve this evil deed. So he constructed a sedan, put his grandfather on it, and after deserting him in a wild, he brought back the empty sedan. On being asked by his father why he did not throw it away on the spot, he replied, 'In a time to come, when you will be old enough to deserve abandonment. I fear circumstances may incapacitate me from making a new sedan, so I brought it back for use on that occasion.' The father, being greatly moved by these words, brought back and well looked after the old man."--'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1703, tom. cclxxii. fol. 13 b.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[9TH S. XII. AUG. 8, 1903. p. 116]

LEGEND OF THE SERPENT'S FEET (9th S. x. 481; xi. 70).--In Japan it is popularly held that on the occasion of the Buddha's entering Nirvana beside the Bhadraka, all animals came to the place to lament over the event, but the earthworm neglected to attend the assembly, on which account it was punished with the enduring loss of its feet.

It is an old usage in many Buddhist churches to exhibit on the 15th of the second moon images of various animals that assembled to lament the day of Nirvana. From the group the cat as well as the earthworm are excluded; the former is said to have laughed at the Buddha's temporal end.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Mount Nachi, Ki, Japan

[9th S. XII. AUG. 8, 1903, p. 113]

ANTHROPOID APE.--In the article 'Ourang-Outang' in Li Shi-Chin's 'Pan-tsan-kang-muh,' 1578, it is said:--

"The ourang-outang can speak and foretell events, and is fond of wine. Country people who intend to catch it place on the roadside wine and a pair of sandals. The animal on finding them upbraids them by calling their forefathers names; but after a while it comes back, and, drinking with them, puts on the sandals and is caught."

In the American "Humboldt Library" edition of Huxley's 'Man's Place in Nature' there is figured an anthropoid ape apparently striving to get rid of a boot put on its foot

whilst another is running away from a man surprising them. This illustration seems to have originally accompanied a story similar to what the Chinese materia medica gives, but in this edition it is not explained. Will any of your readers kindly tell me what is the story and whence did Huxley reproduce the illustration?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan

[9th S. XII. AUG. 29, 1903, p. 169-70]

PICTURES COMPOSED OF HANDWRITING (9th S. v. 127, 255, 367; vi. 131, 215).--To my previous reply (9th S. vi. 131) I may add the following:--

"Menage mentions he saw whole sentences which were not perceptible to the eye without the microscope; pictures and portraits which appeared at first to be lines and scratches thrown down at random; one formed the face of the Dauphiness with the most correct resemblance.....There is a drawing of the head of Charles I. in the library of St. John's College at Oxford wholly composed of minute written characters which, at a small distance, resemble the lines of an engraving. The lines of the head, and the ruff are said to contain the book of Psalms, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. In the British Museum we find a drawing representing the portrait of Queen Anne, not much above the size of the hand. On this drawing appear a number of lines and scratches, which the librarian assures the marvelling spectator includes the entire contents of a thin folio, which on this occasion is carried in the hand."--D'Israeli, 'Curiosities of Literature' ninth edit., revised (London, Edward Moxon, 1834), vol. ii. pp. 37, 38.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[9TH S. XII. AUG. 29, 1903, p. 172]

"PALO DE COBRA."--Several lists of merchandise which the Dutch imported to Japan during the eighteenth century give what the natives called after them "habute kobura," and highly esteemed as antidote to snake poison. Now this name is applied to some native species of the knot-grass (*Polygonum*) as well as a bignoniaceous tree (*Catalpa kaempferi*), perhaps from the similarity of their medicinal value, suppositional or real. The original "habute kobura" is doubtless the *palo de cobra* described by Linscot ('Histoire de la Navigation,' Amsterdam, 1638, p. 125) as efficacious as an alexipharmic, and instinctively resorted to by the snake-eating mongoose. Can any one kindly give me the scientific name of the plant, and tell me whether it is still valued as such in any part of the world?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[9TH S. XII. Oct. 10, 1903, p. 288]

REFERENCES WANTED (9th X. x. 387; xi. 138).--The following quotation in Terashima's 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1721 (reprint Tokyo, 1884, vol. i. pp. 725-6), from a chinese encyclopaedia, the 'San-chai-tu-hwui,' compiled about a century earlier, is perhaps a version of some classic tradition:--

"Sha-mih-cha is a country no stranger could reach. But once in ancient times a sage named Tsu-koh-ni went there and invented letters for its people. It lies in the western extremity of the world, and there the sun sets. Every day at sundown a tremendous noise is heard like thundering, to intercept which the king uses to collect a thousand men on the wall in order to confuse it with their tumultuous music played upon the horns, gongs, and drums. Otherwise children are surely to perish terror-smitten."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[9th S. XII. NOV. 14, 1903, p. 391]

"A FLEA IN THE EAR." (9th S. xii. 67, 138, 196).--The following story, though not quite relevant to the query, may interest some of your readers:--

"The snapping-bug is able to enter the human ear and cause troubles. A man who had his ear entered and lived in by an insect thought himself about to die, and lived in all sorts of extravagance, wasting whatever belonged to his family. After several years his fortunes were totally ruined, when the insect came out, putting a stop to the disorder, and being found to be this beetle."--'Yuen-kien-lui-han.' 1703, tom. cdxlviii. fol. 4b.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan

[10th S. I. JAN. 9, 1904, p. 34]

VICISSITUDES OF LANGUAGE (9TH s. x. 446; xi. 314, 356).--The following notes from the Far East may be added as corroborating MR. H. LAWRENCE FORD'S reply at the second reference.

A striking instance of the languages of the conquered people becoming the study of their conquerors is furnished by the Chinese. As often as China had been conquered by her neighbours, so many times has she supplanted or decomposed their languages; thus, since the establishment of the present Manchurian Government (1636), the Manchurians have been so assiduous in receiving the culture of the Celestials that at present their own language is becoming almost extirpated.

A few years after Kublai Khan's unparalleled failure in his attempts upon the Japanese in 1281, the latter first appeared as buccaneers on the Chinese coast. From that time down to the seventeenth century the Japanese played largely in the Eastern world the part of the Normans. Their depredations formed a constant source of consternation among the Chinese, Coreans, Indo-Chinese, and the peoples of Indonesia, several principalities having been subdued by them. Still, at present but a few words, if any, and those limited to nouns only, linger in these nations' languages as the fossil fragments that mark faintly the former power once possessed by the ever-invading Japanese, whereas the Japanese descendants in Indo-China and the Philippines have entirely lost their language.

Lately the Chinese are being extensively taught by the Japanese in the various lessons of modern civilization, in acquiring which the latter were sagacious enough to precede their old masters; and the Chinese ought to acknowledge as an historical fact, as long as their memory shall last, the great assistance the Japanese are now rendering them.

But it is very doubtful whether the Japanese language will much circulate and fix itself among the Chinese, as some enthusiasts hope. In fact, all the words necessary to these instructions are to be in Chinese, either original or Japanized; and in the latter case, owing to the identity of the writings, the Celestials, of course, would discover nothing Japanese, but solely their own vulgarism--the tedious agglutinant syntax, the comparatively scanty diction, as well as the simple insular traditions of the Japanese, being of no actual service or tempting charm to the Chinese, whose convenient monosyllabic, very copious etymology, and variegated and comprehensive historical legends, are being more studied and availed of than ever by literary people in the Japan of today.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[10th S. I. JAN. 23, 1904, p. 74]

"RED RAG TO A BULL" (9th S. xii. 309).--People in this part believe that the red flag fascinates, they do not say enrages, the *kamoshika*, the only antelope indigenous to Japan. Hunters carry it with them, and spread it before the animal, so as to fix its attention and steps that it may be shot.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan

[10th S. I. JAN. 23, 1904, p. 77]

HOBGOBLIN'S CLAWS (9th S. xii. 189, 333).--Kinouchi Shigeakira's 'Unkonshi,' written in the eighteenth century, describes and figures what is called by the Japanese "Tengu-no-Tsume," or Tengu's claw, which is the fossilized tooth of extinct sharks. It is reputed to have the power of repulsing evil spirits and curing demoniacal possession. The Tengu is a wood-goblin of Japanese popular mythology, and is represented now with prominent nose, now with bird's bill, as well as bird's wings, strongly recalling the classical Harpy.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[10th S. I. JAN. 30, 1904, p. 93]

WATER OF JEALOUSY.--Will any of your correspondents kindly tell me if there is any story recorded in the West resembling the following?--

"During the period of Ta-Chi [Tai-Chi? 265-74 A.D.], Liu Peh-Yuh had his wife from Twan family.....characteristically jealous. One day he happened to recite before her the celebrated poem on the Goddess of Lo river, and to remark thereon, 'I should be satisfied could I possess such a beauty as my wife.' To this she retorted, 'Why do you praise the river-goddess so high in contradistinction to myself? It will be very easy for me to turn to such by my death.' The same night she drowned herself in the water now called Tu-fu-tsin (Jealous Woman's Ford). A week after she appeared in her husband's dream and spoke to him, 'I am now turned to a water-goddess, with whom you were so earnest in your wish to associate yourself,' which made him ever after avoid fording that water. And after her drowning, every woman of any personal excellence has to neglect her dress

and appearance in order to pass the ford in safety; otherwise storms and waves would disturb it. But in case a woman is really ugly, she could ford it without causing the fury's jealousy; so even every ugly one now endeavours to make a special display of her personal negligence to avoid being laughed at by the bystanders. Thence the local maxim, 'If you seek a beautiful woman in marriage, you should stand by the ford; at the same instant any woman comes and stands near it, her beauty or ugliness pronounces its own sentence truly.'"--Twan Ching-Shih, 'Yû-yang-tsay-tsu,' ninth century, Japanese edition, 1697, tom. xiv. fol. 8.

Terashima's 'Wakan Sansai Ibzue,'(sic) 1713, tom. lvii., quoting two Chinese works, says:

"In Ping-Chau exists the so-called Spring of the Jealous Woman, from which cloud and rain issue whenever any gaily dressed woman approaches it. Similarly to this, a Spring of Scolding is in the northern side of church in Ngan-Fang-Kiun. Should a man utter clamours beside it, its water would rise up to heights varying proportionally to the degrees of his loudness.....[Turning to Japan] there stands close to the hot spring at Arima what people call 'The Second Wife's Spring,' which, when upbraided with abusive words, suddenly becomes effervescent as if in a violent passion; whence the name [because its fury resembles that of the first wife occasioned by her jealousy of the second wife]. Further, the province Suruga has the so-called Old Woman's Pond. Legend speaks of a woman particularly peevish and jealous ending her life in it, 8 August, 1593. Should one loudly exclaim to it, 'You are an ugly hag,' the water would suddenly rise with bubbles--the louder the cry, the stronger the agitation; which is popularly ascribed to the self-drowned woman's jealousy." KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[10th S. I. FEB. 20, 1904, p. 147]

CHINESE GHOSTS (9th S. xii. 305).-MR. PLATT says that he has learnt from his Chinese friend of those people's belief in their ghosts never appearing outside Chinese territory, at the same time their settlements in other countries being understood as their own territories. That, however, some Chinese of old believed in their ghosts being able to appear in quite foreign lands would see to be implied in the words of a servant of a certain Kwoh family. When he was compelled to change his master, he offered a sword, to be beheaded therewith, saying, "I would rather be a ghost amongst barbarians than obey an ignorant vulgar master" (Sie Chung-Chi, 'Wu-tsay-tsu,' 1610, Japanese edition, 1661, tom. viii. fol. 28b). Nevertheless, the following passage (*ibid.*, tom xv. fol. 29a) points to their general view that under ordinary circumstances spiritual or quasi-spiritual beings have certain regions under their influence:--

"The districts lying north of the river Yang-tsze abound with enchanting foxes, but those to its south with elves and dryads.....While a mandarin of the Ma family, whose son was my class-mate, was supervising Cheh-Chuh, a province, he became enchanted by a fox. Finding all means of exorcism useless, and his health daily impairing, he renounced his office and went home. The spirit accompanied him so far as the river Hwui, but did not pass it to its northern side."

The 'Annals of Japan,' completed 720 A.D., records General Tamichi, who had been killed in a battle with the Ainos, 367 A.D., to have appeared as a huge serpent and

made havoc among the savages who tried to disturb his grave. So the ancient Japanese appear to have admitted their ghosts to be able to appear singly among very heterogeneous peoples. But that they held them to be influential only in limited portions of space we find in the 'Kôdan Shô,' written in the twelfth century (in Hanawa's 'Collection,' ed. 1902, Tokyo, tom. cdlxxvi. p. 579). It is narrated there how the Japanese savant Kibi Daijin (693-775 A.D.) outwitted all the artful Chinese who tried to kill him from their jealousy of his wide learning, through the timely advice and help of the ghost of Abe no Nakamaro, whom this story holds to have been starved to death precedingly by the jealous Chinese.

"Those Chinese, who were greatly ashamed of their own intellectual inferiority to Kibi, held a secret council, and resolved to imprison and starve him on a high story where most prisoners could not live long.....At midnight it began to storm and rain, and a ghost approached Kibi's room. Magically hiding himself from the ghost's sight, Kibi asked the spirit, 'What are you who come near me, the minister sent by the august emperor of Japan?' The ghost replied, 'I am Japanese minister too, and shall be exceedingly glad to talk with you.'.....As soon as he was let in the ghost said, 'I was a minister sent to China, and have been anxious but unable to learn if my descendants of the Abe clan are still flourishing in Japan. Every time I appear in this room to obtain news of Japan there is nobody but dies frightened.'.....Then Kibi narrated to him seven or eight names of his descendants, together with their ranks, offices and present conditions. The spirit was very pleased, and offered to tell Kibi all the secrets of China in return."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[10th S. I. FEB. 27, 1904, pp. 176-7]

BREAKING GLASS AT JEWISH WEDDINGS (9th S. xii. 46, 115, 214, 337, 435).--I may be permitted to state, under this heading, that in this province of Kii and the adjoining Idzumi people sometimes break a suribachi at their weddings, just after the bride and bridegroom have retired to their chamber from the hall where the banquet is held after that breaking. This suribachi is an earthenware of daily use, in which an indispensable food substance called *miso*, prepared from beans, is softened with a peculiarly shaped pestle (*suri kogi*).* Its breaking in the ceremony is accompanied with loud outbursts of joy, "Broken, broken?" (*wareta, wareta!*) "in segno di averle levata la verginita."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

*This pestle is often vulgarly adduced with phallic meaning in Japan; cf. "le bâton qui s'agite dans la baratte produit le beurre" under 'Baton' in A. de Gubernatis's 'Mythologie des Plantes,' 1878, tom. i. p. 48.

[10 S. I. MARCH 5, 1904. p. 195]

GHOSTS' MARKETS.--The so-called Ghosts' Market (Kwai-Shi) recorded in the following extract would seem to point to the ancient practice of the silent trade (see 9th S. xii. 280) in various parts of China:--

"The 'Record of Annual Seasons' (written in the fifth century?) mentions a ghosts' market taking place at the western gate of Mu-Pan Avenue, where in winter nights there used to be heard a ghost's cries proffering dried faggots for sale. This is an instance of a ghost making a sale. The 'Miscellany from Pan-Yu' (about the thirteenth century?) speaks of the frequent occurrence of ghosts' markets on the coast of that district, where the parties meet at midnight and disperse at cock-crowing, and where many objects of curiosity were procurable by men. Also the god of Shi-Tuh Temple formerly did business with mankind. Should one throw a deed in a pond close to it, the amount desired to be borrowed would be floated up instantly. Not only money, but horses, cattle, and everything else were apt to be lent or borrowed in this way. Further, at the sepulchre of the reputed general Lien Pa (fl. third century B.C.) in Tiau-Cha the same thing occurred. these are instances of reciprocal trading carried on between man and ghost. And the Emperor Chi-Hwang of the Tsin dynasty (reigned 221-210 B.C.) instituted an underground market, in which living men were forbidden to impose on the dead; this is an instance of man selling to ghost."--Sie Chung-Chi, 'Wu-tshah-tsu,' 1610, Japanese edition, 1661, tom. iii. fol. 46-7.

Owing to the scarcity of books now about me, I am hindered from giving any details of this underground market for the present. If I remember aright, I read in the *Fûzoko Gwahô*, about 1893, that there still survives somewhere in the province of Hizen, Japan, a usage of wayfarers putting coins in, and taking fruits out of, a basket exposed on the roadside, seemingly ownerless. About ten minutes' walk from my present residence there exists the grave of a false saint where such a practice is daily followed in buying joss-sticks.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[10th S. I. MARCH 12, 1904, p. 207]

MANGOSTEEN MARKINGS (9TH s. XII. 330, 417).--It will be *a propos* of this subject to state that the Japanese date plum (*Diospyros kaki*, L.) is marked outside with rather inconspicuous longitudinal depressions, apparently corresponding to the divisions of its inside in the nascent stage, but not always agreeing in number with its kernels. Therefore people in this part amuse themselves when it is in season by guessing how many kernels a particular kaki fruit contains, and often it is made a substitute for dice.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[10th S. I. March 12, 1904, p. 212]

JAPANESE MONKEYS (9TH S. XI. 9, 76, 430, 517; XII. 237).--Kitamura's 'Kiyû Shôran,' ed. Tokyo, 1882, tom. vii. fol. 18 b, quoting the "Mottomo-no-Sôshi," written in the seventeenth century, says:--

"At Awataguchi, Kyôto, exists the so-called 'Temple of the Three Monkeys,' in which stand the 'Non-Speaking' Monkey, covering the mouth with his paws, and the attendant 'Non-Seeing' and 'Non-Hearing' Monkeys. These statues were carved by Dengyô Daishi [who first introduced to Japan the Tendai sect of Buddhism, 767-822 A.D.], and a tradition attached to that of the 'Non-Speaking' Monkey is that if any one

engaged in a lawsuit should temporarily keep it in his house he would infallibly succeed in his case."

It is almost needless to observe that this superstition originated in the Blue-Faced-Vadja's inculcation of the safety of the non-speaking party (see 9th S. xi. 430).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan

[10th S. I. April 23, 1904, p. 334]

A JAPANESE MASTER OF LIES.--Kyokutei Bakin (1767-1848), the greatest Japanese romancist of modern times, in his 'Kiryo Manroku,' 1812 (ed. 1885, tom. ii. fol. 33), records the following story, which he heard during his sojourn in Kyoto some years before his writing:--

"A courtier named Saito Fumitsugu, still alive, is very skillful in telling laughable lies. In the evening of the 'Bon' festival last seventh moon there took place a very extraordinary event in Takatsuki. A man, from his despondency in love, inflicted bodily harm upon about seventy persons. When the news spread in Kyôtô there were different opinions as to its veracity. Then Fumitsugu, calling on a friend, reported that the day previous he went himself to his relative in that place, and was assured that three men were actually wounded. As it was thought seventy individuals were too many for a single man to wound in one evening, everybody pronounced him to have told the truth for the first time in his life. Next day, however, a man really came from that town and confirmed seventy as the genuine number. All were so convulsed with laughter as to be almost stunned.

"At the beginning of a year, Fumitsugu called his friends round him and said, 'It is a custom for poets and musicians to celebrate at this time the feast of the first production of their arts, so I will celebrate my lies on the eleventh day, whereto you are all invited at noon.' Thus speaking in earnest, he went home. All his friends, extremely curious what manner of lies he would utter then, called on him as was appointed. To their great surprise, his wife appeared at the gate and said, 'My husband has been out since morning.' After being astounded with this New Year's lie, they went back home roaring with laughter."

Evidently the same romancist adapted this story in an episode in his reputed 'Kochô Monogatari,' 1810, a Japanese 'Gulliver's Travels.' There, in the narrative of the Land of Lies, the hero Musôbyôe has been promised by Yajiro, the great master of lies, that he shall hear the first example of his mendacity on New Year's Day--when he calls on him, but is told by his wife he is absent. Thinking that conscience has suddenly made the liar ashamed of his own habit and fly from his presence, he determines to go home; but after taking a few steps round the corner of the house, he discovers through the window the liar quietly enjoying a pipe of tobacco. Much irritated with the meanness of the liar's conduct, he rushes into the room and censures him for his cowardly way of putting off his guest. Perfectly contrary to his expectation, the liar, in composure, gives him this reply:--

"I invited you to come and hear my first lie to-day. And whatever dexterous falsehood I could tell at our meeting, would it not have been anything but a lie to have

kept my promise, had I seen you according to our compact? Now you were about going home, firmly believing as a truth what I caused my wife artfully to tell you, when you happened to discover that was another lie. So, you see, I have just displayed my unique art in doubly deceiving you on one occasion."

Perhaps some correspondents can inform me of other instances of such adroit mendacity.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. I. JUNE 18, 1904, pp. 485-6]

FOOTPRINTS OF THE GODS. (See 9th S. vi. 163, 223, 322, 391; vii. 233; xi. 375.)--I should like to add to my previous articles the following fragments:--

Twan Ching-Shih (d. 863 A.D.) says in his 'Yû-yang-tsah-tsu,' Japanese edition, 1697, tom. i. fol. 9 a: --

"In modern times it is a marriage custom.....for the bridegroom's parents to come out of a side gate and enter through the main gate just after the bride has entered it, saying that they ought thus to tread on her footprints."

To judge from similar cases I have quoted previously, this seems to imply that the relatives are more closely connected by uniting their footsteps.

The same work, tom. xix. fol. 6 a, states:--

"If a man wishes the egg-plant to fruit abundantly, he should wait till it begins to blossom, and then cover a footpath with its leaves, scattering ashes over them to receive men's steps."

This indicates the Chinese belief that a man's foot possesses a mysterious ability to impart his generative power to the plants.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[10th S. II. July 23, 1904, p. 65]

Twan Ching-Shih (ob. 863 A. D.), in his 'yu-yang-tsah-tsu,' Japanese edition, 1697, second series tom. ii. fol. 5b, says:--

"In Hing-Chau there is the so-called 'Thunder Hollow,' regularly half full of water. Every time thunder is heard, its water rises and flows out with fish in it, so that the people wait for such occasions and then capture numberless fish by means of sticks planted and nets spread about this hollow. Even when no thunder is heard, they can successfully fish by crowding and drumming close to it; but their capture in this manner amounts to only half as much as what they could catch when it thunders."

The Japanese encyclopaedia, Terashima's 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713, mentions a fish named "hatahata," which swarms in the north-east sea of Japan only in thunderous weather.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan

[10th S. II. SEPT. 17, 1904, p. 231]

THE ENVIED FAVOURITE.--In Clonston's 'Popular Tales and Fictions,' 1887, vol. ii. p. 456, the following resume of the first incident of this well-known story is given:--

"The story, we have seen, was known in the twelfth century, or three hundred years before the Turkish romance of the 'Forty Vizirs' was composed; yet it is curious to find that in the Ottoman version, as in the 'Contes Devots,' the 'Gesta,' and the 'Novelle Antiche,' the envious man pretends to the king that his favourite says he has foul breath: in the second Indian version from Vernieux the envious guru tells the king that the fakir turns his face away in order that his majesty should not discover from his breath that he is a drunkard."

That the earlier Chinese were familiar with such a story is evident from the following passage in the 'Kan-pi-tsze,' written in the third century B.C.--several copies of which I have, but not here, so I now reproduce it from the quotation in the 'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1703, tom. cclx. fol. 83b:--

"[Some years before 306 B.C.] the King of Wei presented a beautiful woman to the King of Tsu, who liked her exceedingly. Then his principal mistress, Ching-Chu, said to her: 'the king likes you very much, but only your nose he dislikes to see; so, if you will cover your nose every time you see him, you will never lose his favour.' She acted according to the advice, which caused the king to ask Ching-Chu, 'What makes this new favourite of mine cover her nose in my presence?' The reply was, 'It seems she hates your majesty's breath,' whereupon the enraged sovereign ordered her nose to be severed."

The 'San-pu-ku-shi,' written about the third century A.D., quoted in the same encyclopaedia, *l.c.* fol. 84*a* attributes the cause of the Emperor Wu-ti killing his heir-apparent in the year 91 B.C. to the latter's adopting a wicked courtiers advice and covering his own nose with paper before the emperor, then suffering from disease.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Mount Nachi, Kii, Japan.

[10th S. II. DEC. 24, 1904, pp. 505-6]

STEALING NO CRIME. -- Boccaccio's 'Decameron,' Day x. Nov. iv., makes Messer Gentil Carisendi say to his friend:--

"Io mi ricordo avere alcuna volta inteso, in Persia essere, secondo il mio giudicio, una piacevole usanza: la quale e, che quando alcuno vuole sommamente onorare il suo amico, egli lo'nvita a casa sua, e quivi gli mostra quella cosa, o moglie o amica o figliuola o checche si sia, laquale egli a piu cara; affermando che se egli potesse, cosi come questo gli mostra, molto pi volentieri gli mosteria il cuor suo."

Did such a custom ever actually exist in Persia?

Apparently somewhat allied to this is what we read in Kitamura's 'Kiyû Shôran,' c. 1800 (reprint Tokyo, 1882, tom. viii. fol. 41), relating to the saturnalian usages that were current in the Far East in past ages:--

"[Before the sixteenth century in Japan] people used, on the sixteenth of the seventh moon, to practise the so-called unexpected entrance (*Tsutoiri*) which was to enter halls and apartments quite unceremoniously in order to behold whatever they were desirous of seeing on ordinary days, such as wares of rarity, the daughters, daughters-in-law, wives, mistresses, &c.....In the Tartar empire of Kin (ended 1234) laws were

extremely severe against larceny. But on the sixteenth of the first moon stealing was sanctioned to pass as joking; and no punishment followed the then stealing of even wives, daughters, treasures, money, carriages, and horses. Therefore everybody had to watch strictly on that day, but to let any thief go off with laughter. Finding no special treasure to steal, the intruder would not disdain to carry off such trifles as a wallet, a pick, or what not. Even ladies would enter other households without veiling, to instigate the handmaids and concubines to steal drinking vessels whilst their master was receiving guests in the front room. Afterwards, when the proper owner recognized the stolen objects, or the stealer himself exhibited them, the former would redeem them with the present of tea, and a collation, or a jug [of wine], or cakes. Further, instances were not scarce of lovers carrying off girls with whom they had previously arranged to do so. Should the girl wish to remain in the carrier's house, she was allowed to do as she chose.....During the Mongol dynasty of Yuen (1280-1367) for the first threee days of the year theft was publicly allowed, and the thieves were let go with laughter, even the stealers of wives and daughters remaining unpunished." KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

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[10th S. II. DEC. 24, 1904, p. 509]

MOHAMMEDAMISM IN JAPAN.--In 'The Encyclopædia Britannica,' art. 'Sunnites and Shi'ites' (vol xxii. p. 659), Japan is included among the countries over which the religion of Mohammed is more or less spread. Also in Major-General Forlong's 'Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions,' 1897, p. 469, we find Japan with China and the adjacent islands stated to contain thirty millions of Mohammedans. I desire to be informed of any authoritative report or observation upon which these statements are reasonably founded. KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. VII. MARCH 2, 1907. p. 167]

LUNAR HALO AND RAIN (10 S. vi. 265, 338, 412).--A Japanese encyclopaedia, 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' by Terashima, completed 1713, reprint 1906. p. 30, has the following passage:--

"A lunar halo without a star visible in it is a sign of rain. But should a star be visible in it no rain will fall. in a Chinese work, 'Wan-pan-tsüan-tsu,' we read: "A solar halo foreshows rain; a lunar halo foreshows wind; note the point whence the ring commences to disappear, and know from what direction the wind will blow.""

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. VII. MARCH 9, 1907. p. 193]

SINGLE TOOTH. (See 9 S. xi. 488; xii. 71.)--Besides the instances of this monstrosity I gave at the first reference, there is one in a passage of Herodotus (ix. 83, trans. Cary), which only recently came to my notice. It states that after the Persians'

overthrow at Plataea, among human abnormalities noticed with the dead bodies were bared of flesh, "there was also discovered a jaw, and the upper jaw had teeth growing in a piece, all in one bone, both the front teeth and the grinders."

It is to be noted that in the case of Pyrrhus, too, if we follow Plutarch, to the upper jaw was restricted the growth of his single tooth.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. VII. March 16, 1907. pp. 205-6]

SINDBAD THE SAILOR: MONKEYS AND COCOA-NUTS (10 s. VI. 209, 256, 312).--G. Ferdinando d'Oviedo's 'Sommario della natural e general historia dell' Indie occidentale' in Ramusio, 'Navigationi e Viaggi' (Venetia, 1606), tom. iii. fol. 47f., has this passage:--

"Accade, che se si tiran pietre alli detti gatti [manmoni], e che quelle restino sopra qualche tronco d'arbori; li gatti subito vanno a lanciarle contra li huomini, in questo modo, un gatto died una sassata ad un Francesco di villa castino, rilievo del Governator Pedrarias d'avillas, che gli caro di bocca 4 o 5 denti. Il qual Francesco io lo conosco, e lo viddi avanti, che 'l gatto gli desse la sassata con gli suoi denti, e dapoli molte fiato lo viddi ancora senza essi, perche gli perse, come e detto."

In my childhood I often heard old folks in this part say that if one picked up stones from the ground and threw them at a monkey on the mountain, the monkey would do the same to the man; but if the stones were taken out of a pocket and thrown, the animal would pluck hairs off his own body and strive to hurl them against the man. That the Chinese of the fifteenth century or thereabouts entertained a similar belief is manifested in their popular romance 'Si-yü-ki,' wherein the monkey-hero Sun Wu-Kung (see 9 S. xi. 490) is made repeatedly to dismay his numberless foes--not only men and demons, but also gods--by letting fly his own hairs, each single hair being instantly turned by magic into a fighting duplicate of himself.

Still more marvellous, perhaps, is what Sie Chung-Chi relates in sober faith in his 'Wu-tsay-tsu' (written 1610, Japanese ed., 1661, tom. ix., fol. 15). The story is briefly that Mount Shi-Chu in Fu-Tsing swarmed with monkeys, which Geeral Tseh Ki-Kwang (sixteenth century) captured and trained well in using fire-arms, and through their super-simian feats defeated and annihilated a band of predatory Japanese.

Further, the following account in Twan Ching-Shih's 'Yu-yang-tsay-tsu' (written in the ninth century, Japanese ed., 1697, tom. iv. fol. 3b) would seem to imply an older Chinese belief in the capability of monkeys to throw missiles:--

"The country of Po-ni-lan.....has in its west a very precipitous, craggy mountain, on which abound gigantic monkeys, addicted to devastating field crops. Every year there are two to three hundred thousand of them; so after the arrival of spring the people collect armed soldiers and join in battle with the monkeys, of which they slaughter several tens of thousands annually, yet without extirpating them."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. VII. APRIL 6, 1907, pp. 271-2]

"BAT BEARAWAY' (10 S. vii. 168, 258).--I remember having read in Herbert Spencer's 'Principles of Sociology,' vol. i., a paragraph devoted to the superstition that associates bats with human souls.

According to a Chinese work, 'Sin-i-pi-king,' after a bat is a hundred years old, it is in the habit of inhaling man's vital essence in order to obtain longevity; and when it attains its tercentenary, it is thereby enabled to assume human shape and to fly about for amusement in the various heavens, that is, the Taoist paradise.

Another Chinese work, 'Yu-ming-luh," by Liu I-King, of the fifth century A.D., gives an instance of a diabolical bat carrying away human hair. The story runs:--

"About the beginning of the Tsung dynasty (421 A.D.), it happened in the province of Hui-nan that nightly an unknown being came to cut off many persons' hair. Chu Tan, the governor, saying he knew how to discover it, daubed walls with bird-lime in good quantity. That evening a bat, as big as a cock, was thus caught. Killing the animal, he put a stop to the mischief, and, after searching, found the locks of several hundred men, which it had accumulated under rafters."--'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1703.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. VIII. JULY 6, 1907. p. 15]

ARROW-BREAKING: ITS MORAL LESSONS.

BUCKLE'S 'History of Civilization in England,' 2nd ed., vol. ii. ch. iii., cites Lindsay of Pitscottie's 'Chronicles of Scotland' to this effect:--

"And when, in consequence of the murder [of the Earl of Douglas], the Douglasses and their friends rose in open rebellion, Kennedy gave to the king a crafty and insidious counsel, highly characteristic of his profession. Taking up a bundle of arrows, he showed James that when they were together, they were not to be broken; but that if separated, they were easily destroyed. Hence he inferred that the aristocracy should be overthrown by disuniting the nobles, and ruining them one by one."

Opposite to this practical example of the motto "Divide et impera," the Japanese moral works record the following tale in illustration of another maxim, "Unity is strength":--

"Môri Motonari (1502-71 A.D.), on his death-bed collected round him his sons, ordered as many arrows to be brought, and spake thus: 'When bound together, these shafts are hard to break, but separately they are easily broken: so, you brothers, unify your mind in order to ensure prosperity by dint of your complete harmony.' Takakage, his third son, remarked thereon: 'Verily strife takes root in avarice; if we only endeavour to shun avarice and to respect duty, what can induce us to quarrel?' Much pleased with this wise saying, and commending it to be followed by all his progeny, Motonari died."-- Yuasa, 'Jôzan Kidan,' 1739, tom. xvi. chap. ii.

In the Waseda Bungaku, Tokyo, April, 1907, p. 174, Mr. Nakao traces this Japanese story to one of Æsop's fables, which narrates how a father gave a lesson to his ever-contending seven sons, by exhibiting the facility with which seven sticks were broken separately.

Ossuki Bankei in his 'Kinko Shidan,' 1855, tom. i. fol. 8, quotes a Chinese passage in this connexion, and ascribes the close resemblance of the Japanese and the Mongol traditions to a mere coincidence. The passage runs:--

"The records of the West Tsin Dynasty [385-431 A.D.], by Tsui Hung, relates: Tu-ye-kune O-chai, when about to die, gathering together his sons and brothers, ordered them to fetch each one an arrow. After this was done, he asked Mu-yen, one of his brothers, to break the arrow he had brought. After which he desired him to break nineteen other arrows in one bundle. Observing his bootless effort, O-Chai told them: 'Thus you know that a single thing is easy to break, whereas associated many are difficult to crush; only your unison both in mind and in flesh can secure the lasting solidity of this state.' After these words, he expired."

Haiton's 'Oriental History,' originally written in 1307 (French translation in Pierre Bergeron's 'Voyages faits principalement en Asie dans les XII., XIII., XIV., et XV. Siecles,' The Hague, 1735, cols. 31, 32), contains another variant making Genghis Khan its hero, and reading thus:--

"C'est pourquoi Changius fit venir en sa presence ses douze fils, et les avertit de vivre en bonne intelligence, et leur apporta cet exemple: il ordonna a chacun de ses fils d'apporter une fleche; et lorsqu'il les eut assemblees ensemble, il ordonna a l'aîné de les rompre ainsi toute douze, ce qu'il tacha de faire, inutilement: ensuite il proposa la meme chose au second; puis au troisieme, et ainsi aux autres, sans qu'aucun en peut venir a bout. Apres quoi il fit separer les flesches d'une apres l'autre, et ordonna au plus jeune de ses fils de rompre les fleches l'une apres l'autre, ce au'il fut fort facilement. Alors Changius, se tournant du cote de ses fils, leur dit: pourquoi, mes enfants, n'avez-vous pu rompre les fleches que je vous ai presentees? Ils repondirent, Seigneur, parce qu'il y en avoit plusieurs ensemble: et pourquoi votre plus jeune frere les a-t-il bien rompues? Seigneur, dirent-ils, parce qu'il les a rompues l'une apres l'autre. He bien, reprit Changius, il en sera de meme de vous autres: tant que vous serez de bon accord, votre empire subsistera toujours: mais si vous etes divises, vos domaines seront bientot reduits a rien."

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[10 S. VIII. JULY 13, 1907. p. 25]

"LIFE-STAR" FOLK-LORE (10 S. vii. 129, 196, 257).--For three days preceding the death of Thomas Aquinas a brilliant star was visible above his abbey, but it disappeared at his passing away (Collin de Plancy, 'Dictionnaire critique des Reliques et des Images miraculeuses,' 1822, tom. iii. p. 160).

How deeply ingrained in the Chinese mind is the habit of associating the fall of a meteor with the loss of a great personage, is attested by the frequent usage of the expression "The general's star has fallen to the ground," with reference to a general's death. On this subject the erudite Sie Chung-Chi discourses:--

"High functionaries of eminence, ancient and modern, have their fates coinciding with those of the stars in the heavens [for which belief see my letter on 'The Constellations of the Far East' in *Nature*, 5 Oct. 1893, pp. 541-43]. Thus such distinguished worthies as Chu-Ko Liang (died A.D. 234), Tsu Ti (d. 321), Ma sui (8th Cent.), and Wu Yuen-Hang (assassinated c. 815) had each of them his death foretold by a falling star. But in spite of

the numberless stars that have fallen since the world began, they seem to decrease not a jot. Do you suppose, then, that they come again to life and thrive as mankind does? The stars in the heavens, methinks, correspond in nature to the stones in the earth; the stones in the mountains and seas can never be exhausted; however industrious people take them away; as the stones persist in reappearing after their seeming extirpation, so the stars will continue to be."--'Wu-tsah-tsu,' 1610 Japanese edition, 1661, tom. i. fol. 22a.

As regards the Tan-we (see the second reference), we are told in Hazlitt, 'Faiths and Folk-lore,' 1905, vol. ii. p. 580, as follows:

"This appeareth, says Mr. Davis, to our seeming, in the lower region of the air, straight and long, not much unlike a glaive, moves or shoots directly and level (as who shall say I'll hit), but far more slowly than falling stars. It lighteneth all the air and ground where it passeth, lasteth three or four miles or more, for aught is known, because no man seeth the rising or beginning of it; and when it falls to the ground, it sparkleth and lighteth all about. These commonly announce the death of decease of freeholders by falling on their lands.....The 'Cambrian Register,' 1796, p. 431, observes: 'It is a very commonly-received opinion that within the diocese of St. David's a short space before a death, a light is seen proceeding from the house, and sometimes.....from the very bed where the sick person lies, and pursues its way to the church where he or she is to be interred, precisely in the same track in which the funeral is afterwards to follow. This light is called Canwill Corpt, or the Corpse Candle."

From H.F. Feilberg's letter in *Folk-lore*, vol. vi. 1895, p. 293, the same superstition appears to prevail in Denmark, where it is held, "If a corpse candle be small, but red and bright, it is that of a child; the candle of a grown-up man or woman is larger, but paler; that of an aged person is blue." This account varies somewhat from that which MR. HOLDEN MACMICHAEL gives.

The following quotation will suffice to show that the Japanese have had a superstition about this form of the ignis fatuus:--

"*Hitotama* (literally, man-soul) is a light with an orbicular, flat head and a long tail, giving it a resemblance to a ladle. It is bluish-white with a slightly reddish tinge. It moves slowly thirty to forty feet above the ground, and vacillates irregularly. When it falls, it breaks, loses light, and looks like a gluten-cake boiled to excess. Where it has fallen, a host of small black beetles is found, in the shape of small chafers or whirl-wigs, but their exact nature is unknown. Sometimes there is a person conscious at the time of the exit of his own 'soul,' and talking about something which he has just felt going out of one of his ears. Such a one will die a few days--or more than ten days--after the event. It must not be presumed, however, that every dying man's 'soul' has necessarily to appear out of his body."--Terashima, 'Wakan San sai Dzue,' 1713, reprint 1906, p. 633.

In another Japanese work, 'Shukai sho,' 1591, tome i. chap. xix., any one who may happen to behold a *hitotama* unexpectedly, is instructed to fasten at once the lower corner of his or her garment, uttering at the same time a folk-verse meaning "A soul have I seen now, though knowing not whose it is; yet I assure you I've stayed it, tied in my garment." Cf. my letter 'On Chinese Beliefs about the North' in *Nature*, 8 Nov., 1894, p. 32.

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[10 S. VIII. July 13, 1907., p. 34-5]

REPLIES

"MARU."

(10 s. vii. 268, 318.)

At the risk of repeating in places what Prof. Chamberlain has already said in his 'Things Japanese'--a work at present inaccessible here--I have prepared this reply from my memoranda culled from various indigenous sources.

Positively unlearned must be he who believes that *maru* has the sense of "going," "moving onwards," acts which are properly expressed humbly by the word *mairu*.

The word *maru* is given in Ootsuki's dictionary 'Genkai,' 150th ed., 1905, as a later form of *maro*, said to be a combination of *ma*, "faith," and *ro*, an expletive, therefore signifying "faithful one," a suffix suitable to personal names. "Some scholars hold," it adds, "that *maro* originally meant 'round,' 'without angle,' whence in allusion to the speakers being without wisdom, its employment as a humility name of the first person [singular, masculine]."

Saito Hikomaro's 'Katahisashi,' 1853 (ed. in the 'Hyakka Setsurin,' 1891, vol. ii. pp. 143, 146), contains a brief chapter upon this subject, of which I give the following translation, the inserted numerals referring to my comments subjoined:--

"At its inception *maro* was a humility name applied to the speaker himself (1).....For the sake of humility, too, many men had their individual names suffixed with *maro* or [its variant] *maru* (2). Subsequently it became a term of endearment; so, in the 'Manyoshû' (an ancient anthology, for whose date see Mr. F.V. Dickins, 'Primitive and Medieval Japanese Texts,' Oxford, 1906, translation, p. xli], the sickle, *Kama*, is called *Kamamaru*, and the 'Wamyoshô' [a native glossary of the tenth century] gives the denominations *inagomaro* and *inetsukikomaro* [a 'darling born from rice' and a "little darling that pounds rice"] respectively to the locust [*Oxya verox*, Fob.] and a species of grasshopper (3). And especially the swords of uncommon quality, on which the Japanese used to rely, and still relies, as the dearest guards of his own life, were each by itself called "Kogarasumaru [Little-Crow-maru], Onimaru [Demon-maru], Tomokirimaru [Companion-cutting-maru], &c. (4). After this, a transition ensued in the use of the word from endearment to esteem, *maru* becoming a general suffix to male infants' names (5). Still later, the common people began to refrain from applying it to their infants, it being monopolized by the sons of nobles as well as for the *chigos* in the Buddhist monasteries (6). Thus it is manifest from the history of the word that large vessels were termed *maru* because they were looked upon with an intense feeling of endearment for the unique service they would render in passing over the deep and wide expanse of the ever-unsettling waves (7). In this case likewise *maru*, at first a term of endearment, became later one of high esteem (8), and hence its inapplicability to any boat of small dimensions (9).....

(1) The reader is warned that all the changes the use of *maro* or *maru* underwent were never actually in so precisely lineal an order as the text would have them. Moreover, once developed, none of the varied applications has ever come to a complete close. For instance, the 'Ookagami,' written c. 1124-41 (ed. hakubunkwan, 1892, p. 180), mentions a crown prince in the last decade of the tenth century who styled himself *maro*

before his consort, but it shows that prior to this, a grandee, Fujiwara no Sanesuke, had already his infantile name Taikakumaru (p. 70).

(2) *Maro* as a suffix to personal names apparently came into vogue in the seventh century: the two persons first made the "Left" and "Right" Ministers, 665 A.D., both had their names ending with *maro* ('Annals of Japan,' 720, lib. xxv.). The eighth century witnessed its employment pervading all the people, regardless of caste or rank (see Kume, 'Narachôshi,' 1907, *passim*; cf. Dickins, *op. cit.*, p. 324, note). After the ninth century, however, the change of fashion brought about its general desuetude, its place, though to a much less extent, being taken by *maru*, e.g. Semimaru (a renowned blind bard who flourished early in the tenth century, and for whom see 'A Japanese Thoreau of the Twelfth Century,' by Minakata Kumagusu and F.V. Dickins, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, April, 1905, p. 250, note 7), and Kodômaru, Chôbukumaru, Tasuimaru (the three notorious brigands, about 1000 A.D.).

(3) The unexcised text of the 'Konjaku Monogatari' (eleventh century) has *sarumaru* for *saru*, or ape. A particular breed of game fowl introduced in recent times from abroad receives the appellation *tômaru*, or foreign *maru*, and the sushi, or rice and vinegar preparation, eaten with roast eel caught in the river Udji, is celebrated as Udjimaru.

(4) Besides the objects, both animate and inanimate, which MR. PLATT says Prof. Chamberlain has enumerated as sometimes to be individualized with *maru*, I find many draught oxen and several gamecocks thus called ('Shungiu Ekotoba' in Hanawa's 'Collection,' reprint 1894, vol. sviii. pp. 919-943; Tachibana no Narisue, 'Kokon Chomonshû,' 1254, sec. xxx.). But contrariwise, out of the 232 famous horses recorded in Dohi's 'Honchô Saibashu,' 1761, only two have such names, *viz.*, Fushimaru (tenth century) and Shishimaru (twelfth century).

(5) Many adults, without going through the ceremony of initiation, retained the *maru*. They mostly followed their masters to the field as pages, and were not seldom distinguished no less for prowess than for personal beauty.

(6) Chigos, or infants, originated in the Buddhist system of keeping in the cloisters the young novices with unshaven heads, who steadily became the sincere attendants on their instructors. Thence, down to the commencement of the present *régime*, they acted as inveterate corrupters of clerical morals. See Xavier, 'Lettres,' traduites par M. Leon Pages, Paris, 1855, l. vi. p. 151; Caron, 'Account of Japan,' in Pinkerson, 'Voyages and Travels,' 1811, vol. vii. pp. 630-631; G. Candidius, 'Some Curious Remarks upon the Potent Empire of Japan,' in Churchill, 'Voyages and Travels,' 1752, vol. i. p. 485. Cf. Henri Estienne, 'Apologie pour Herodote,' ed. Ristelhuber, Paris, 1879, tom. ii. p. 29, where it is said:--

"On fait aussi plusieurs contes de Cordeliers et de Jacobins surpris en menant avec eux leurs putanes habillées en novices; et de faiets c'a este une subtile invention de se faire permettre de mener des novices, pour sous ce titre avoir toujours ou un bardache, on une garse";

and Voltaire, 'Dictionnaire Philosophique,' ed. Touquet, 1822, tom. i. p. 281, with the remark:--

"Les moins charges d'élever la jeunesse ont été toujours un peu adonnées à la pederastie. C'est la suite nécessaire du célibat auquel ces pauvres gens sont condamnés."

Now we have a curious anthology, 'Zoku monyo Wakashu, dated 1304, preserved in Hanawa's 'Collection,' wherein not a single poem occurs either composed by or addressed to the fair sex, its place being throughout occupied by the *chigos*, whose verses, together with those of the prelates and priests, make up the whole contents. And I find in it the names altogether of forty-nine boys, suffixed with *maru* without a single exception, which indicates amply how the spread of the honorific word went *pari passu* with that of the *vice italien*.

(7) The primitive Japanese deemed navigation an affair of very serious moment. The Chinese 'History of the After Han Dynasty' says:--

"When the Japanese go on a voyage, they choose a man whom they tabu in their interest. he must abstain from combing and washing as well as from eating flesh and going near women [compare the Polynesian usage of tabuing ships to women, Waitz, 'Anthropologie der Naturvölker,' Leipzig, 1872, Bd. VII. x. 348]. In the event of the voyage resulting in happiness and gain he is rewarded with treasure; but in case they meet with sickness or damage he is slain by the infuriated companions, for he must have infringed the tabu."

According to the 'Annals of Japan,' lib. vii. *sub* 110 A.D., when Prince Yamatodake had his passage to Kadzusa suddenly endangered by a hurricane, one of his concubines drowned herself to appease the wrath of the sea-god. The 'Second Annals,' 797, lib. xxiv. records under October, 763, that a sea-captain was then put in gaol, because in the recent voyage back from Liau-tung under his conduct, he had caused four persons--two women and a babe, all of foreign extraction, and an eccentric religious--to be thrown overboard, suspecting them to have been the main cause of a terrible meteoric perturbation. it mentions also that in February, 717, the Japanese envoy, before journeying to China, ceremoniously propitiated the native deities (lib. vii.); and that in April, 751, the emperor sent offerings specifically to the Ise Temple and other Shinto sanctuaries, with prayers for the safe arrival of the embassy shortly to be dispatched to China (lib. xviii.). In March, 758, two ships for conveying envoys to China--one named Harima after a province, and the other hayatori, or Swift Bird--were raised to the junior rank of the lower fifth order, as if they were gods or men (*id.*, lib. xx.); in August, 763, the Sado (also called after a province), a government transport, was awarded the same honour and a brocaded cap, and *ex voto* promised on the occasion of her meeting a tempest on the homeward route from Corea (lib. xxiv.). For many other examples of the heartfelt hardships and excessive dread of navigation in those ages, see Dickins, *op. cit.* p. 219, &c; Kume, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Ikeda, 'Heianchôshi,' 1907, pp. 133-35, 268.

(8) The Nipponmaru, constructed by the order of Hideyoshi, 1591, is said to be the first instance of a ship named *maru* (haga and shimoda, 'Nihon katei hyakka jii,' 1906, p. 1197). This statement, taken together with the preceding paragraph, would impel us to infer the application of the suffix to vessels that had never experienced such vicissitudes as Saito speaks of: in short, from the outset of this usage, it was a term both endearing and honorific.

(9) During the years 1658-60 fashion made the *samurais* style their galleys for summer excursions on the river Sumida Kawaichimaru ("Unique in the River"), Oozekimaru ("Great Champion"), &c. About twenty years later they were forbidden,

chiefly because they frequently furnished an asylum to outlaws (Saito, 'Bukô Nempyô,' 1849, tom. i., fol. 17a, &c.).

In closing this lengthy reply I would ask the reader not to conclude from the above notes that the Japanese never viewed vessels as of the feminine gender. That, in fact, they sometimes associated female character with ships is attested by their *glossarium eroticum*, which comprises such nouns as hikifune ("Drawing-Boat"), Shinzô ("New Vessel"), &c., applied to certain varieties of fair Corinthians (see Fûrai, 'Rokuroku Bushû, 18th cent., sub 'Life of Ochiyo').

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[10 S. VIII. AUG. 17, 1907., pp. 131-3]

MOON & CRABS.--'The voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval,' ed. Gray and Bell, Hakluyt Society, 1888, vol. ii. p. 11, says:--

"The Crabs and Crevishes are verie good and marvellous great [in India], that it is a wonder to tell, and that which is more wonderful, when the moone is in the full here with us it is a common saying that then Crabbes and Crevishes are at the best, but there it is cleane contrarie, for with the full moone they are emptie and out of season, and with a new moone good and full."

I do not know what opinion is held by Europeans of to-day concerning the matter; but the Japanese even now entertain the same view as the Indians here mentioned, saying that crabs become much emaciated as the full moon approaches, because they are then excessively frightened by their own shadows, and so avoid going out of holes to take food. Contrariwise, the Chinese, at least in old times, believed that "clams, crabs, pearl shells, and turtles, are fat or lean according to the corresponding phases of the moon" (Liu Ngan, 'Hwui-nan-tsze' 2nd cent. B.C., sec. iv).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

[10 S. VIII. SEPT. 7, 1907., P. 186]

RED RAG AND ANTELOPE.--In Przhevalsky's 'Mongolia, the Tangut Country, and the Solitudes of Northern Tibet,' translated by E.D. Morgan, 1876, vol. i. p. 141, we read this about the argali:--

"The Mongols told me that if they placed some conspicuous object, such as a piece of clothing, to attract their attention, they would remain motionless while the hunter stalked them without difficulty. I myself successfully tried the experiment by suspending a red shirt on top of a ramrod which I stuck into the ground, and in this way arrest the attention of a frightened herd for more than a quarter of an hour."

This gives strong confirmation to the veracity of the Japanese mountaineers, who have observed the red rag to have the power of fascinating and stopping the native antelope. See 10 S. i. 77.

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Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. VIII. SEPT. 14, 1907. p. 205]

GOAT'S BLOOD AND DIAMONDS.--According to Henri Estienne, "Apologie pour Hérodote," ed. Ristelhuber, Paris, 1872, tom. ii. p. 244, where Erasmus is cited, Robertus Liciensis (1425-75), in one of his sermons, upon the success of which he wagered a banquet, said: "Le fer se fond par le feu, le diamant est surmonté par le sang de bouc." What are the source the explanation of the latter clause?

In Gubernatis, 'Zoological Mythology,' 1872, vol. i. p. 422, the blood of the he-goat is stated to have been termed *manus Dei*, and reputed efficacious in medicine; but no mention is made of such a wondrous property as that with which the above-named Franciscan has credited it.

Whether or not it has really any reference to this Occidental belief, the old Chinese regarded the horns of the native antelope (*Antelope caudata*, A.M. Edw.) as the only material with which to crush successfully diamonds as well as the tapirs bones--the latter being also renowned as an extremely hard substance, and said to have been sometimes cunningly produced in the place of the Buddha's canine tooth (Li Shi-chin, 'Pan-tsau-kang-muh,' completed 1578, *sub* 'Ling-yang').

Also, a history of the Maharajahs of Chutia Nagpur is said to describe a method of testing diamonds for flaws by affixing them to the horns of fighting rams (V. Ball, 'Jungle Life in India,' 1880, p. 525).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabe, Kii, Japan

[10 S. VIII. OCT. 5, 1907, p. 270-1]

"MARU" (10 S. vii. 268, 318; viii. 131).--In my reply, *ante*, p. 1333, (8), I cited Haga and Shimoda's 'Japanese Household Encyclopædia,' 1906, to the effect that Hideyoshi's Nipponmaru, constructed in 1591, is said to be the first instance of ship named *maru*. This statement is quite erroneous, as mention is made in Mastura's 'Bukô Zakki,' written in the seventeenth century, ed. 894, tom. i. fol. 37a, of a sea-fight between

Ieyasu's Kiyosumaru and Kuki's Nipponmaru in 1584, and of the latter being reviewed by Nobunaga, November 1578. But in truth, the practice of suffixing *maru* to the names of vessels was already prevalent in the fifteenth century, as is manifest in the 'Record of a Voyage to China in the Year 1468' ('Boshi Niimin Ki'), ed. 1894, ff. 20 and 32, which gives the nine names of Japanese vessels then in the service of the Government for conveying the so-called tribute to the Chinese sovereign, every one of them with the termination *maru*.

Also, *ante*, p. 132, col. 2, 1, 20, for "Pinkerson" read Pinkerton; and on p. 133, col. 1. ll7 and 8 from foot, "that" should follow "infer," and not "vessels."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan

[10 S. VIII. NOV. 9, 1907. p. 376]

LITHUANIAN FOLK-LORE: LEGLESS SPIRITS (10 S. viii. 168, 277).--MR. PLATT will find that Japanese pictures of ghosts invariably make them legless. In Hazlitt's 'Faiths and Folk-lore,' 1905, there is a frontispiece which represents evil spirits in a quasi-Japanese style, but one of them has legs and feet wholly displayed. Everyone here in this town, on looking thereat, never fails to declare it as astonishing a rarity as a white raven or a filly's horn, so deeply inwrought in their mind is the notion of spectres appearing constantly without feet.

According to a Chinese encyclopædia of Buddhist matters, Tua-Shih's "Fah-yuen-chu-lin," A.D. 668, tom. liii., in the Indian legend of Nâgârdjuna's conversion all spiritual beings are said to leave no footprints, whereas a man, however adept in the magic of making himself invisible, leaves them necessarily. Whether borrowed from this or sprung from their own originality, it is very probable that the Japanese once entertained the selfsame superstition, which resulted in their now well-nigh ineradicable belief that all ghosts lack lower limbs. Cf. 9 X. vi. 225, col. 1.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabe, Kii, Japan

[10 S. IX. JAN. 11, 1908., pp. 34-35]

SEAWEED NEEDING RAIN (10 S. viii. 388).--In this connexion I may be allowed to mention that in Terashima's 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713, tom. xcvi., a brief description is given of the so-called snow sloakan (*Yukinori*), a purplish seaweed, edible, but difficult to preserve till the summer, concerning which it was an old Japanese belief that "the wintry snows are instantly turned to these algae as the fall upon the littoral stones."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

[10 S. IX. MARCH 7, 1908. p. 194]

BEES AND LUCKY DAYS.--From the following passage in Wang-Shi-Chin's 'Chi-pei-yau-tan,' completed in 1691 (Brit. Mus. 1533 l.e. 3, lib. iii. fol. 3b), it is manifest that some Chinese of old entertained a belief in bees living in direct contact with the gods (cf. Mr. Gomme's work quoted at 10 S. ix 433, col. 2):--

"The inhabitants of certain mountains south of Yan-yüe are all in a lifelong ignorance of the calendar, but in its stead they observe punctually every morning and evening the hives which every family keeps. Whatever day the bees happen to swarm, is deemed unfailingly lucky, and business of all kinds is favourably transacted on it. Should some business chance to be unfinished in the day, it is put off till another occasion of bees swarming. On such a day also are celebrated ordinarily the ceremonies of marriage and of beginning buildings. Thus, swarm in whose house the bees may, the neighbours and servants go round the place with the news; indeed the people never attempt to conceal the fact. Once upon a time a trading stranger came and sojourned in the locality for a year, and during this time he attentively recorded the days when bees swarmed, altogether numbering one hundred and odd. On his return home, he examined the calendar, and was astonished on finding those days without exception marked *dies albi*, whereas all other days on which the bees did not swarm were either unlucky or void of import. So wonderful is the mystic instinct of these animals, which enables them to communicate freely with the Creator."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. X. OCT. 10, 1908, pp. 285-6]

TIGER FOLK-LORE AND POPE (10 S. x. 88, 135).--A superstition allied to that of the Sumatrans anent the tiger-king seems to obtain in Annam. There the people believe in the existence of a gigantic tiger, the lord of mountain forests, gentle of character, white in colour, and never tasting human flesh. He inhabits an enchanted mountain, whither all his tigrine subject bring tributes in various animals' fles (M. Landes, 'Notes sur les Mœurs et les Superstitions des Annamites,' "Cochinchine Française: Excursions et Reconnaissances," No. 8. p. 355, Saigon, 1881).

Akin to this is an old opinion in China that a white tiger is to be found only in the reign of a very benignant sovereign who abhors killing: hence the sycophantic reports from various provinces of such an animal (altogether twenty-seven) just in time to popularize the Emperor Wanti's usurpation, A.D. 220 ('yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1703, lib. cdxxix., fol. 13).

Much as in Sumatra, it is held in some parts of India and Annam that the soul of a man killed by a tiger accompanies the latter, guides it on its nightly prowls for prey, and decoys the unfortunate victim towards the animal by false representations, the cunning and wariness of old man-eaters being ascribed to this spiritual guidance (M.J. Walhouse, 'Ghostly Lights,' in *Folklore*, December, 1894, p. 296; Landes, l.c., p. 356). According to the Chinese 'Imperial Dictionary of Kang-hi,' 1716, whenever a tiger kills a man, his spirit does not go away, but stays with and serves the carnivore. It is called *chang-kui* (staggering ghost), about which an author states:

"Scarcely a man meets a tiger but his garments come off as if spontaneously, and put themselves separately upon the ground. Thus the tiger can make sure of the complete nudity of the man, and only then will it set about devouring him. But in fact all the manœuvres are the work of a staggering ghost. So abjectly servile to a quadruped is it, it ought to be pronounced the silliest of all the spirits."

The 'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' l.c., fol. 26, contains another Chinese story running thus:

"Chin Tsiu, a resident of Tsing-yuen, was leading a retired life in his villa. One night, while he was sitting by, and looking through, a window that faced an extensive wild tract, he happened to hear some unusual noise. Turning round, he discovered a woman riding a tiger.....up to the west side of the building, wherein a maid was lying asleep. Now the woman was seen to thrust a slender bamboo cane through a fissure of the wall into the servant's body. At this same moment the latter cried out that her stomach ached; and on her attempting to go out, she was siezed by the tiger, from whose grip she was only rescued by the prompt succour rendered by her master, who had been witnessing the inexplicable events from the beginning. It was reported by the villagers that the locality from time immemorial had been haunted by this evil-doer, who went under the name of Ghostly Tiger (Kui-hu)."

The same Chinese encyclopædia abounds in instances of tigers turning themselves into men, and vice versa, much in conformity with the European account of werewolves.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. X. OCT. 31, 1908. p. 358]

GUERNSEY LILY.--In Southey's Common-place (sic) Book,' ed. Warter (London, Reeves & Turner, 1876, Third Series, p. 628), Quayle's 'Survey of Jersey, Guernsey,' &c., is cited to this effect:--

"Guernsey lilies believed to have been cast up on the beach from the wreck of a Dutch Indiaman bringing them from Japan. they are not cultivated elsewhere, it is said, but boxes of the roots are annually sent to England."

The same work, Fourth Series, p. 4e2, has this passage:--

"The Guernsey lily (*Amaryllis sarniensis*), a native of Japan, became naturalized in Guernsey by the shipwreck of a vessel returning from Japan. Some bulbs, being cast on shore, took root in the sand, and Mr. Hatton, the governor, observing the beauty of the flower, propagated it."

In what year did the shipwreck take place? Does the plant still flourish in the island? Does it grow wild, or is it only domesticated?

Herbert termed this herb *Lycoris radiati* (Matsumura, 'Index Plantarum Japonicum,' vol. ii. part i. p. 221, Tokio, 1905), under which name I gave an account of its Japanese and Chinese folk-lore at 9 S. xi. 514.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. X. NOV. 7, 1908. p. 368]

THE DISOBEDIENT SON.--Twan Ching Shih's 'Yu-yang-tsay-tsu,' written in the ninth century, Second Series, tom. iv., has this passage:--

"There stands in the Kun-ming Lake an artificial mound popularly called Kun-tsze. Tradition has it that, in a remote past, an inhabitant thereabout had a son with this name, who always behaved contrary to his parent's behest; should he be ordered to proceed east, he would move only westward; should he be commanded to fetch water, he would bring fire invariably. So on his death-bed, entirely dissembling his earnest desire to be buried in a cemetery on a hill, the father entreated the son not to fail to inter his corpse amidst the water. When the old man was dead, the son said, weeping, 'This time I will not neglect my father's will': and causing this mound to be raised in the lake, he buried the deceased in it."

Apparently traceable to this Chinese legend is a portion of the following Japanese story, current in the province of Noto:--

"Primarily the owl was a very refractory scamp, who went to a hill whenever his mother would have him go to a rill, and vice versa. Therefore in her last moments, she concealed her real intention, and asked him to bury her body at the riverside, a request he fulfilled with pangs of remorse after the mother's death. [Here, perhaps, the original story relates that the son was eventually turned into an owl in consequence of his former disaffection towards his mother.] Thenceforward the owl screeches every time before rain, thus expressing his intense concern lest a flood should ensue and carry away his mother's corpse."--Osaka Mainichi Shimbun, 23 July, 1908.

Now it behooves me to note that another portion of this Japanese tale has evidently been derived from an ancient Chinese belief that the owl is so abnormally impious a bird as not to scruple to eat its own mother, its only parallel being found in the "king," a tigrish nondescript of very doubtful existence, which is reputed to feed on its own father.

Do any such stories of a disobedient son occur in the literature and folk-lore of the West or of the Near East?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[See "Crows crying against the rain," *post*, p. 415.]

[10 S. X. NOV. 21, 1908, pp. 408-9]

BORN WITH TEETH (10 S. v. 8, 78, 115).--According to the 'Benkei Monogatari,' written in the fifteenth century or thereabout (in Hirade's 'Muromachi Jidai Shôsetsu Shû,' Tokyo, 1908, p. 243), Benkei was born, after a uterogestation for three years and three months, "with hair growing down to the shoulders. . . and with teeth, front and molar, fully developed." This description accords with that of King Richard III, at the last reference above.

This Benkei, so popular a subject of the romances and arts of the Japanese, was a religious man celebrated for loyalty as well as military skill, and is said to have perished in 1189, fixedly standing and facing enemies, who sent a shower of arrows upon him.

Tanabe is held to be his birthplace, and my wife has the honour of having a brother-in-law a lineal descendant of Benkei's father.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. X. DEC. 5, 1908. pp. 453-4]

DEAD ANIMALS EXPOSED ON TREES AND WALLS (10 s. x. 149).--From very early days the Chinese seem to have followed this practice with the owl. Their name for it, *Kiau*, is represented with an ideograph composed of the two letters expressing bird and tree. Hū Shin's 'Shwoh-wan' (about 100 A.D.) explains this as follows:--

"Anciently it was a midsummer usage to catch and quarter owls and hang their heads upon trees. Hence now we term the act of hanging a human head *kiau-shau*, i.e., making an owl of the head. This punishment was inflicted on the bird in consequence of its reputation for an extravagant filial impiety."

According to the 'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1703, tom. cdxxvii. fol. 31 a,

"during the Han dynasty (B.C. 202-A.D. 219) a part of the Court ceremonies at the season of the summer solstice was to prepare broth from the flesh of owls and to serve it out to all the officers. This is said to have been intended to extirpate these birds. The day is one on which Nature begins to nurture all life on the earth, whereas the owl habitually murders its own mother; so the summer solstice is made an occasion of destroying it."

At times in this part the bodies of moles are gibbeted in farm-yards, but not necessarily on the branches of a willow, as MR. E. PEACOCK has witnessed near the Trent--simply to warn off any living mole that may approach the place. A similar motive probably originated the custom in Northern China, under the sway of the Liau Tartars (tenth to twelfth century A.D.), of burning moles on New year's Day, in order, as the historians say, to avert influences of bad omen (Dr. O.F. von Möllendorfff, 'The Vertebrata of the Province of Chihli,' *Journal of the North China Branch of the Roy. As. Soc.*, New Series, xi. 54, Shanghai, 1877).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. X. DEC 5, 1908, pp. 457-8]

See 'Robinson Crusoe':--

"I saw my little crop surrounded by fowls.....Coming up to the hedge, I fired again, and killed three of them. This was what I wished for; so I took them up, and served them as we serve notorious thieves in England, viz., hanged them in chains as a terror to the others."--P. 102, "World's Famous Books" edition.

ROCKINGHAM.

Boston, U.S.

SNAKES DRINKING MILK (10 S. x. 26, 316, 335, 377, 4180.--In his 'Primitive Culture,' 3rd (sic) ed., chap. xv., Dr. Tylor says:--

"To this day Europe has not forgotten in nursery tales or more serious belief the snake that comes with its golden crown and drinks milk out of the child's porringer; the house-snake, tame and kindly, but seldom seen, that cares for the cows and the children. . . ."

And he refers to Hanusch for the snake that was kept and fed with milk in the temple of the old Slavonic god Potimpos.

In Africa the Baris give milk and meat to the snakes, calling them their grandmothers (Ratzel, 'History of Mankind,' trans. Butler, vol. ii. p. 357, 1899). From a similar motive possible, the old Chinese Buddhists offered cream to Liu, a constellation shaped as, and governed by, a serpent (Twan Ching-Shih, 'Yü-yang-tsah-tsu,' 9th cent. AD., rom. iii.). Southey's 'Commonplace Book' (Reeves & Turner, 1876, Fourth Series, pp. 425-6) contains a story of a snake which regularly visited a little boy to share his breakfast of bread and milk.

The folk-lore of snakes and milk is regarded as traceable to ancestor worship by Dr. Frazer, who writes:--

"Where serpents are thus viewed as ancestors come to life [as by the Zulus and other Kafir tribes, &c.], the people treat them with great respect, and then feed them with milk, perhaps because milk is the food of human babes and the reptiles are treated as human beings in embryo, who can be born again from women.....Perhaps the libations of milk which the Greeks poured upon graves were intended to be drunk by serpents."--'Adonis, Attis, Osiris,' 1907, pp. 74-5.

Notwithstanding this reasonable exposition, there is no lack of assertors that snakes drink milk. For example, Ermete Pierotti, 'Customs and Traditions of Palestine,' 1864, pp. 47-8, has this passage:--

"I once occupied a house at Jerusalem in the Via Dolorosa. . . .the outer walls and inner court of which were overgrown with hyssop. . . .It harboured a number of serpents. . . .I abandoned my hostile intentions, and ordered them to be supplied with milk every day. They showed their gratitude for this by visiting my bedroom, where I used to find them coiled up in a corner. These 'faithful friends' are rarely wanting in the old Arab houses at Jerusalem, where their presence is regarded as a good omen by the inhabitants. The most surprising thing is that neither the women nor the babies fear them. . . .Mothers are not unfrequently awakened in the night by the reptiles, which have fastened on their breasts, and are sucking their milk. . . .Serpents are also in the habit of entering the folds and grottoes in which flocks are penned, and, during the night, quietly sucking the milk from the teats of the ewes or she-goats, without awaking them; which is as good a proof of their cunning as any that we could find."

It is noteworthy that the Albanians hold milk to act inimically upon serpents that drink it with overmuch greed. The story runs thus:--

"A shepherd once found a snake asleep, coiled round a large heap of gold pieces; and knowing how to set to work under the circumstances, placed a pail of milk by its side, and waited in a hiding-place until it should wake. It came to pass as he expected. The snake too to the milk with avidity, and drank its fill. On this it returned to the heap of gold, in order to go to sleep again, but the thirst with which snakes are attacked after drinking milk prevented it from doing so. It became restless, and moved irresolutely

round and round the heap, till the burning within forced it to go in quest of water. The water, however, was far off, and before it had returned, the wary shepherd had carried off the whole heap of gold into a place of safety."--Hahn, 'Albanische Studien,' quoted in Tozer's 'Researches in the Highlands of Turkey,' 1869, vol. i. p. 205.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. XI. FEB. 20, 1909. pp. 157-8]

DIABOLO: ITS ORIGIN (10 S. ix. 47).--The *Tôyô Gakugei Zasshi*, Tokio, June, 1908, p. 265 has this note:--

"'Diabolo,' starting as a fashion in England and France one or two years ago, has now become very widely current in this country. Not a few persons fancy it is an entire novelty; but in fact, China and Korea had the sport from much earlier days, it having been before this practised in Europe and America too. In Japan it was already known and in great vogue in the period of Koan (A.D. 1278-87). . . Its vernacular name is 'Ryûgo.' to which people apply the Chinese ideographs 'Lin' and 'Ku,' jointly meaning 'rolling spool.' Thus 'diabolo' must never be accepted as an article of modern invention."

In his 'Kottôshû,' written about 1800, Iwase Samuru, the Japanese novelist and antiquary, cites numerous old native authors whose writings bear witness to the existence of this game contemporary with themselves.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. XI. FEB. 27, 1909. p. 174]

NAMES TERRIBLE TO CHILDREN (10 s. X. 509; XI. 53, 218).--The subjoined names--two Chinese and one English--may be added to the list.

Chao Liao (d. 227 A.D.)--At the battle of ho-fei (218 A.D.) this famous general of Wei so severely routed the Wu army that thenceforth, in the district of Kiang-tun, children would stop crying whenever they happened to hear one utter "Liao-lai, Liao-lai," that is to say "Liao comes, Liao comes." See the 'Wei-chi,kin-chu,' written in or before the fifth century.

Ma Hu (fl. fourth cen. A.D.)--This barbarian chief was notorious for his wickedness, even his name sufficing for centuries to stop the cries of children (Lo Shi, 'Tai-ping-kwang-ki,' tenth cent., quoted in the Japanese work 'Kûge Jikkô Shû, under date 10 Feb., 1369).

Lord Talbot.--Thomas Rundall's 'Memorials of the Empire of Japan,' Hakluyt Society, 1850, in a chapter devoted to Capt. Saris's arrival at Firando and his entertainment, 1613, relates that the Japanese then had a song called 'The English Black Ship,'

"shewing how the English doe take the Spanish ships, which they (singing) doe act likewise in gesture with their Cattans [*Katanas*=swords] by their sides, with which song

and acting they terrify and scare their children, as the French sometimes do theirs with the name of the Lord Talbot."--Pp. 53-4.

On account of the Chinese throughout the Ming period (1368-1627) suffering excessively from Japanese pirates, the name of the latter people was used by the former in abusing one another or to quiet children ('Ku-kin-tu-shu-tseih-ching,' 1723, sec. viii. lib. xxxviii. fol. 24a). This statement naturally brings to mind the natives about Quito in the sixteenth century, who were so indignant concerning the rapacious Spanish intruders whom they called *Viracochie*, or "Froth of the Sea," that

"when little children can scarcely say a word, their fathers, shewing one of us to them, will say: 'There goes a *Viracochie*.'"--Benzoni, 'History of the New World,' Hakluyt Society, 1857, p. 253.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. XI. MAY 1, 1909. Pp. 356-7]

DEAD ANIMALS EXPOSED ON TREES AND WALLS (10 S. x. 149, 457).--It was a New Year's day usage with the ancient Chinese to gibbet a cock's head on the eastern gate of a house in order to avert evil spirits, for which purpose white cocks were in particular demand (Li Shi-chin, 'Pan-tsau-kang-muh,' 1478, art. 'Ki'). Also they customarily hanged dogs on gates, to defend their dwellings from miasmal influences, as they said, on every recurrence of the annual festival called Fuh (lit. Suppression, occurring some days after the summer solstice), a practice said to have arisen in the year 676 B.C. (Sze-Ma Tsien, 'Shi-ki,' written c. 99 B.C., tom. v.).

Apropos of these, I may mention that the Arabians of yore were in the habit of hanging the corpse of any lion that had been guilty of homicide, as an example to its fellows (A. Lacassagne, 'De la Criminalité chez les Animaux,' *Revue Scientifique*, 14 Janvier, 1882, p. 35).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. XI. MAY 22, 1909. Pp. 413-4]

FLYING MACHINES OF THE FAR EAST.--If some readers of 'N. & Q.' are collecting materials for the history of aviation, I hold it meet to supply them with the two following stories--one Chinese, and exemplarily fabulous, another Japanese, and somewhat believable:--

"The country of Ki-kwan lies north of that of Yih-pi (lit. One Arm) [which is said to exist north of the Western Sea, and whose people are said to be born with one eye, one nostril, one hand, one foot, and one half body, so as to be totally incapable of walking unless joined in pairs]. Its people can fabricate a flying carriage and travel therein a wonderful distance. Thus, by its use under a west wind, some of the people arrived in Yü-chau in the reign of the Emperor Tang [which commenced in 1766 B.C.]. Tang damaged

it, (and consequently they could not go off). But ten years after, at the rising of an east wind, they departed homewards in the [repaired] carriage."--Wan Ki's 'San-tsai-tui-hui,' 1607, ap. Terashima, 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713, tom. xiv.

According to the 'Shan-hai-king,' traditionally ascribed to the Emperor Yu (c. 2200 B.C.), the people of Ki-kwan were all hermaphrodites, with three eyes and but one arm, and used to ride on mottled horses. As Ki-kwan literally means Strange Arm, such a marvellous tale would seem an invention to account for the appellation.

The 'Fude-no-Susabi,' by Kan Saza (1748-1827) has a story of a Japanese inventor of flying machines, which runs thus:--

"A pastor, residing in the city of Okayama, Bizen, named Kôkichi, caught a pigeon, weighed its body, measured its wings, and ascertained their proportions. After carefully comparing the result thus obtained with the weight of his own body, he succeeded in producing a pair of wings, and, putting them in continuous motion by a machine worked on his breast, he was enabled to fly. He could not start the flight direct from the ground, so he used to fly from the roof. It happened one evening, while he was thus propelling himself over the suburbs, that his eye was caught by a party carousing in a field. Curious to know if these were any of his acquaintances, he made an effort to approach the spot; but as he was letting himself down, the wind decreased so much that unexpectedly he fell down, putting the amazed folks to hurried flight. Viands and liquors were left in abundance, and Kôkichi filled himself with them. But then, as it was impossible for him to ascend into the air, he struck the wings and carried them home. Some time after the fact was publicly known. Kôkichi was summoned before the municipal court: he was found guilty of having performed a feat which no ordinary man was entitled to assay, though it was clearly proved that he did it merely for fun; his dipterous aviator was forfeited, and he was banished from the place. This event was treated by his contemporaries as a matter for laughter; yet I record it here because of its strangeness. It took place some time before 1789."--Pp. 98-9 in the Tokyo edition of 1890.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. XI. MAY 29, 1909. Pp. 425-6]

THE STORM SHIP.--Washington Irving, in his 'Bracebridge Hall' (London, George Bell & Sons, 1878, p. 288 *seqq.*), makes Heer Antony relate the old legend of a navicular phantom known by all the voyagers of the Hudson by the name of the Storm Ship. Sometimes one could get quite close to her, so as to be capable of well discerning the dresses of her crew, but then, in a twinkling, she would be far off, always sailing against the wind. Her appearance was always just after, or before, or in the midst of unruly weather.

Fomerly, the seafaring folks of Japan held in great dread the so-called ship ghosts (Funa-yûrei)--the unredeemed souls of those who had lost their lives in maritime disasters. Very envious of the living, and exasperated with never-ending despair, these evil-minded spirits are supposed to be ever ready to make full display of their crafty artifices, wherewith to augment their malcontent troop by fatally misleading and drowning any unfortunate seaman who might fall in with them. Thus, for example, in the

dark, tempestuous night they are said to make a show of several tens of vessels all under sail; and should a real vessel follow their course, her calamitous ruin would be the immediate effect. This ship-like apparition, it is popularly said, is so deceptively mimetic, even in details, that, notwithstanding the distance and darkness, one could distinctly perceive the lines and patterns on the clothes of its ghostly inmates; the only point of distinction being that, whereas the ordinary vessels progress leeward, the diabolic ones invariably sail against the wind. Such is the account of the Japanese ship ghosts I could gather from the mouth of many old sailors as well as Yamazaki's 'Seiji Hyakudan,' written early in the last century, ed. 1891, p. 98.

Does the American tradition of the storm ship still linger on the banks of the Hudson River? And, with the exception of the Japanese one, are there any stories of such description recorded in the Old World?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. XI. JUNE 19, 1909. Pp.488-9]

SNEEZING SUPERSTITION (10 S. xi. 7, 117, 173).--In this part there prevails an old saying which tells us: "One sneeze betokens someone praising you; two sneezes signify somebody spiting you; three sneezes mean you are being loved by someone unknown; but four sneezes point out that you have just caught a deadly cold." Compare with this the following:--

"In Horman's 'Vulgaria,' 1519, we read: 'Two or three nesese be holsom; one is a shrewd token.' Howell records a proverb: 'He has sneezed thrice; turn him out of the hospital.'"--Hazlitt, 'Faiths and Folk-lore,' 1905, vol. ii. p. 554.

In his 'Kiyû Shôran,' written c. 1800, ed. Tokyo, 1882, tom. viii. fol. 11, Kitamura Shinsetsu argues that both the Japanese and the Chinese primordially regarded sneezing as a sign that some one is affectionately calling the sneezer to mind; but the people of India found in it an evil prognostic even as early as in the Buddha's lifetime. That later the Chinese viewed sneezing as sometimes auspicious, sometimes ominous is to be gathered from the 'Bibliography of the Han Dynasty' (the dynasty continued from 202 B.C. to 7 A.D.) wherein mention is made of the sixteen 'Books of Fortune-telling from Sneezing, Tingling in the ear, &c.,' all now lost. The 'Ti-king-king-wuh-lio,' 1635, says that one is sure to have a disease should he happen to sneeze in bed very early on New Year's morning, and instantly to spring out of bed is the only preventative.

Further, quoting a poem from an anthology compiled in 905 A.D., Kitamura proves that the Japanese about that period used to put off starting on a journey when one happened to hear even a neighbour sneeze. This reminds us of the Tongans, who hold a sneeze on the setting out of an expedition a most evil presage (Mariner, ap. Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' 3rd American ed., vol. i. p. 99); and of the various indigenous tribes of Formosa, who stop a while, or alter their direction, or even desist from the enterprise, whenever sneezing occurs on their march in hunting, &c., (Y. Ino, 'Sneezing Superstitions of the Formosan Aborigines,' *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo*, No. 270, p. 465, Sept., 1908). According to Sei Shônagon (fl. c. 1000 A.D.), a

Court lady celebrated for her wit, the Japanese of her time believed sneezing early on New Year's morning to be an unfailing indication of longevity, which is diametrically opposed to the Chinese opinion mentioned above. In the fourteenth and subsequent centuries it became an established custom with the Japanese nurse to utter "Kusame" every time the child she was suckling sneezed, calling this act "to harmonize the noses"--the word "Kusame" being apparently a contraction of a charm, "Kusoku mammei!" ("Rest in peace for a myriad generations!") Also, every child of high birth had its protecting sword adorned with the so-called "nose-cord," a blue cord, about thirteen inches long, in which a knot had to be quietly tied by the attendant on every occasion of its sneezing--evidently to avoid disturbing the little one by the noises of "harmonizing the noses." Even nowadays Japan does not entirely lack old-fashioned folks who, after every sternutation, pronounce the formula "Toku Manzai!" ("Live a myriad years!")

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabe, Kii, Japan

[10 S. XII. JULY 31, 1909. Pp. 97-8]

VIRGIN MARY'S NUT.--W.C. Hazlitt in 'Faiths and Folk-lore,' 1905, vol. i. p. 217, says:--

"The same author [Martin], speaking in the last century of the Isle of Harris, says: 'There is a variety of nuts, called molluska beans, some of which are used as amulets against witchcraft or an evil eye, particularly the white one; and upon this account they are worn about children's necks, and if any evil is intended to them, they say the nut changes into a black colour.....Malcolm Campbell, steward of Harris, told me that some weeks before my arrival there, all his cows gave blood instead of milk for several days together; one of the neighbours told his wife that this must be witchcraft, and it would be easy to remove it, if she would but take the white nut, called the Virgin Mary's nut, and lay it in the pail into which she was to milk the cows. This advice she presently followed, and having milked one cow into the pail with the nut in it, the milk was all blood, and the nut changed its colour into dark brown. She used the nut again, and all the cows gave pure good milk, which they ascribe to the virtue of the nut.'....."

Can any reader of 'N. & Q.' tell me the scientific name of the plant that yields this Virgin Mary's nut?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. XII. SEPT. 4, 1909. Pp. 187-8]

CHINESE PROVERB IN BURTON'S 'ANATOMY' (10 S. xi. 168). --In Haiton's 'Histoire Orientale, ou des Tartares,' originally composed in 1307, we read:--

"Les hommes de ce pais [China] son très vifs et très penetrans, et pleines de finess. C'est pourquoi ils meprisent dans tous les arts et dans toutes les sciences les autres nations, se disant les seuls capables, qui aient deux yeux: que les Latins ne voient que

d'un seul oeil, et que toutes les aures sont aveugles....."--Chap i. col. 1 in Pierre Bergeron's 'Voyages,' a la Haye, 1735.

In Josafa Barbaro's 'Travels to Tana and Persia during Sixteen Years from 1436' (in Ramusio, 'Navigazioni e Viaggi,' Venetia, 1588, vol. i. fol. 103c) the saying is ascribed to the Celestials thus: "We Chinese have two eyes, you Franks one eye, but the Tartars none."

As far as my limited reading goes, not a single native authority I have met owns the thought to be indigenous. However, that some Chinese of the seventeenth century were familiar with this sort of comparison is manifest in Su Chang-Chi's 'Remonstrances against Christianity,' 1639. In the third book of this polemical collection we find the following passage written by the Rationalist Su Kua-Fu:--

"When in the period of Wan-Li (1573-1620), the Christian missionaries entered our empire, our wise men rightly foresaw what evil their preachings would bring about, protested against their works with much ardour, and eventually drove them beyond our frontiers. And now why do they come in again? They do so because at the present time our people are neglecting the question completely, never suspect their odious intentions, and have most of them forgotten all those denunciatory writings of those wise men. This state of things makes the barbarians say to one another in triumph: 'Our Western region is endowed with four eyes; the Japanese have three eyes (for they have successfully eradicated Christianity from among themselves by twice massacring the missionaries), the Chinese two eyes (as they tolerate them with perfect indifference), and the Philippine Islanders no eye (because they have forfeited their land and independence by conversion).'"--Quotation in Takata's 'Shôoku Hikki,' completed c. 1845, tom. lxxxv. p. 390. ed. 1907.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. XII. OCT. 2, 1909. Pp. 277-8]

THE LIVING DEAD. (See 9 S. xi. 427, 497; xii. 14, 97.)--On 19 Aug., 1807, whilst a great festival was being celebrated in honour of the god Hachiman at Fukagawa, Yedo, the famous Eitai Bridge was partly broken down by the excessive weight of the people who thronged on it to see the procession. In this catastrophe, a contemporary states, 440 persons perished, 340 were restored to life, and 745 rescued. Among other queer incidents, he tells one thus:--

"A man [who fell in the disaster, but escaped with life], after reaching the further side of the river, was wandering raving, with his body covered with mud. A friend recognized him, and asked, 'Why do you behave so madly?' 'I am,' he answered, 'now dead by drowning; is this a street in the spiritual world?'"--Oota, 'Yume-no-Ukihashi,' p. 404, ed. 1907.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

[10 S. XII. NOV. 6, 1909. p. 366]

FLYING MACHINES OF THE FAR EAST (10 S. xi. 425).--Allow me to add the following translation from the Chinese of the ninth century to my note on this subject:--

"Lu Pan was a native of Tun Hwang in Su Chau, but nobody can ascertain when he lived. His inventive power nearly equalled that of the Creator. While daily engaging himself in erecting a pagoda in Liang Chau, he constructed a wooden kite, which could be set in motion whenever three wedges were thrust into it. With this contrivance he nightly visited his wife at home, and eventually she was great with young. Closely inquired of as to the cause, she disclosed the secret to her husband's parents. Some time after the father, who was watching for the opportunity, captured the kit. He got on it and stuck in more than ten wedges, which made the machine fly over so long a distance as to Wu-Hwui. There the inhabitants killed him in the belief that he was really a demon. Pan constructed another wooden kite, travelled theron to the place, and secured the corpse of his father. full of rancour against the Wu people for the murder, he set up a wooden image of a magician with a lifted hand directed south-eastwards, which was immediately followed by three years' drought all over Wu. The people by divination discovered the actual worker of the calamity; they made him presents of several thousands of valuables, earnestly begging his forgiveness. So Pan cut off the hand of the statue, and instantly all the district was drenched with rain. This idol was still in existence at the beginning of the present dynasty [of Tang, i.e. 618 A.D.], and the people used to pray to it for rain.

"Much earlier, during the time of the Six Contending Kingdoms [fourth century B.C.], Kung Yu-Pan was reputed the inventor of a wooden kite whereby he is said to have looked down on the Fortifications of Sung." Twan Ching-Shih, 'Yu-yang-tsay-tsu,' Japanese edition, 1697, second series, tom. iv. fol. 6.

The eleventh book of the 'Kan-pi-tsze,' written in the third century B.C. attributes a similar exploit to Mo-tsze the philosopher (c. 400 B.C.).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[10 S. XII. NOV. 6, 1909. p. 374]

NOTES AND QUERIES (1910-1916)

ST. GRATIAN'S NUT.--'The Book of the Great Caan, set forth by the Archbishop of Saltania, *circa* 1330,' in Yule's 'Cathay and the Way Thither,' Hakluyt society, 1866, vol. i. p. 244, says:--

"And other trees there be [in the empire of Boussaye, a name which is supposed to point to the Ilkhan of Persia, Abusaid Bahadur, 1317-35] which bear a manner of Fliberts, or nuts of St. Gratian; and when this fruit is ripe the folk of the country gather it and open it, and find inside grains like wheat, of which they make bread adn macaroni and other food which they are very glad to eat."

What is this nut of St. Gratian?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. I. JAN. 1, 1910. p. 10]

CHILD TELLING ITS OWN FATE.--J. Theodore Bent in his 'Cyclades; or, Life among the Insular Greeks,' 1885, p. 186, speaks as follows:--

"At Sikinos this ceremony takes place on the child's first birthday, when all the relatives are gathered together. A tray is brought out and on it are put various objects--a pen, money, tools, an egg, &c.--and whichever the infant first touches with its hands is held to be the indication of the *Μοῖρα*, or Fate, as to the most suitable career to be chose for it. . . . The demarch told me that his son had touched a pen; consequently he had been sent to the university at Athens, and had there made considerable progress, but the meaning of the egg is not quite so clear, and the egg is the horror of all parents, for if the child touches it he will be a good-for-nothing--a mere duck's egg, so to speak, in Society."

That the Japanese and the Chinese formerly celebrated the same custom Terashima's 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713 reprint 1906, p. 47, shows. In China the first birthday, and in Japan the third, was adopted for it. The illustrious viceroy Tsao Pin (d. 999 A.D.), when just one ear old, is said to have indicated on the occasion his future success both in military and civil offices, by taking a spear and buckler with his right hand, and a tablet and chalice with his left.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. I. APR. 16, 1910, Pp. 305-6]

THE NEGLECTED OLD FATHER: CHINESE PARALLEL.--A Gaelic story is quoted as follows from J.F. Campbell in Mr. Gomme's 'Folk-lore as an Historical Science,' London, n.d., pp. 67-8:--

"There was a man at some time or other who was well off, and had many children. When the family grew up the man gave a well-stocked farm to each of his children. When the man was old his wife died, and he divided all that he had amongst his children, and lived with them, turn about, in their houses. The sons got tired of him and ungrateful, and tried to get rid of him when he came to stay with them. At last an old friend found him sitting tearful by the wayside and, learning the cause of his distress, took him home; there he gave him a bowl of gold and a lesson which the old man learned and acted. When all the ungrateful sons and daughters had gone to a preaching, the old man went to a green knoll where his grandchildren were at play, and, pretending to hide, he turned up a flat hearthstone in an old stance [=standing place], and went out of sight. He spread out his gold on a big stone in the sunlight, and he muttered, 'Ye are mouldy, ye are hoary, ye will be better for the sun.' The grandchildren came sneaking over the knoll, and when they had seen and heard all that they were intended to see and hear, they came running up with 'Grandfather, what have you got there?' 'That which concerns you not; touch it not,' said the grandfather, and he swept his gold into a bag and took it home to his old friend. The grandchildren told what they had seen, and henceforth the children strove who should be kindest to the old grandfather. Still acting on the counsel of his sagacious

old chum, he got a stout little black chest made, and carried it always with him. When any one questioned him as to its contents his answer was, 'That will be known when the chest is opened.' When he died he was buried with great honour and ceremony, and the chest was opened by the expectant heirs. In it were found broken potsherds and bits of slate, and a long-handled white wooden mallet with this legend on its head:--

Here is the fair mall
To give a knock on the skull
To the man who keeps no gear for himself,
But gives all to his bairn."

Whether or not it has one and the same origin with this Scottish tale, a Chinese anecdote of similar stamp is related, with all his characteristic eagerness, by Sze-ma Tsien, the greatest historian China has ever produced. It occurs in the 'Life of Lu Kia' in his 'Shi-ki,' written *c.* B.C. 97. It tells us how in the year 196 B.C. the Emperor Hau-tsu sent Lu Kia, the great literate and diplomat, to Tchao To, the self-made monarch of Nang-yue, in order to subdue him without the use of arms (for the latter's life see Garnier, 'Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine,' Paris, 1873, tom. i. p. 469). The eloquent Lu Kia completely brought over Tchao To, so that the latter presented the former on his farewell with a bag containing valuables worth a thousand pieces of gold, to which he added another thousand for viaticum.

After the Emperor Hiao-hui succeeded his father Hau-tsu (B.C. 194), the Dowager-Empress Lu was hankering to make kings of her own kindred, quite contrary to the will of her deceased husband. Well knowing his incompetence to stop this, Lu Kia pretended to be unwell, and retired to Hao-chi, there to live by keeping excellent farms.

"As he had five sons," the narrative continues, "he took out of the bag the valuables Tchao-To had given him, and sold them for one thousand pieces of gold. These he divided amongst his sons, telling each to thrive with the fund of two hundred pieces. Lu Kia procured for himself a comfortable carriage drawn by four horses, ten attendants, all skilful in music and dancing, and a sword which cost him one hundred gold pieces. Then he spoke to his sons thus: 'Now I covenant with you that whenever I come to any one of you, you shall supply me, my attendants, and my horses, with enough of food and drink, and I will go off after enjoying them for ten consecutive days. Should I happen to die in the house of any one of you, my sword, my carriage with horses, and my attendants, will all fall into his possession. But I will not visit any one of you more than twice or thrice a year, because to call on you more frequently would make you entertain me with less will, whilst a prolonged stay in one and the same house would inevitably be followed by your getting tired of me.'.....He died after enjoying longevity."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. II. AUG. 20, 1910, Pp. 145-6]

MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIPS. -- Japanese writing afford the following instances allied to the cases mentioned by MR. SNOWDEN WARD at 10 S. xii, 315 as alleged in certain villages in England to-day:--

"Minamoto no Yoshitsune, the famous commander, in his secret passage through Yoshino [A.D. 1185], found two boys playing together and calling each other 'uncle.' Instantly he comprehended their relationships, but his servant [for whom see 10 S. x. 453] was only able to understand them after a night's cogitation. Suppose a man and his wife have a son and a daughter, and suppose he begets a son by his daughter, and his wife bears another son by her legitimate son: then each of those illegitimate sons is the other's uncle."--'Chiritsuka Monogatari,' written in 1552, tom. vi. p. 109, ed. 1901.

Saikwaku's 'Honcho Ooinhiji,' published 1689, tom. i chap iii., narrates how two persons engaged in a lawsuit called one another "uncle," and how the judge stopped the dispute by threatening to publish their pedigrees unless they settled the affair privately. The truth was that an old man had a son by an incestuous union with his granddaughter, and this son and his mother's brother were the parties in question--so they called one another "uncle."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. II. DEC. 24, 1910. p. 506]

CORPSE BLEEDING IN PRESENCE OF THE MURDERER (11 S. ii. 328, 390, 498; iii. 35, 92).--One of the popular beliefs most widely current and very deeply rooted among the Japanese is that after death and before burial blood issues from the nostrils of a man when his body is approached by some of his relatives whom he particularly loved in his life. Many are the examples of this preserved in every aged person's memory, but, curiously enough, it is very scantily mentioned in Japanese literature.

A few days ago I met an old friend otherwise very trustworthy, and we had a conversation on this subject. He proved a staunch adherent of this belief, adducing in proof of it the fact that some thirty years since he witnessed the headless corpse of a fisherman stranded on the shore, from whose neck blood began to flow when it was approached by the man's only aunt, who had been especially kind to him all his life.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. III. May 20, 1911. p. 398]

THE BLINDFOLDED MAN: JAPANESE VARIANTS

W. A. CLOUSTON in his 'Popular Tales and Fictions,' 1887, vol. ii. pp. 160-62, quotes from Baillie Fraser's 'Narrative of a Journey into Khorassan' the following analogue of the Adventure of the Poor Mason related in Washington Irving's 'Tales of the Alhambra':-

"There is a tradition that the founder of this college [Paen Pah], having gone to India [from Persia]...was forced to solicit charity in the public streets. One day he was accosted by an old Hindu, who told him that, if he would submit to be blindfolded and led to his house, he would have work and good pay. The poor man consented to the terms; and after a very circuitous course, his eyes being uncovered, he found himself in a place surrounded by lofty walls, where he was ordered to dig a large hole, in which the Hindu buried a great quantity of gold....This operation occupied several days, during

which time he bethought himself of an expedient by which he might discover whither he had been conveyed. A cat came into the place, which he caught and killed; and stuffing the skin with gold, he took an opportunity to throw it over what he believed to be the boundary wall of the premises. He listened to the sound, and judged that it fell upon clay, or some moist substance. When his work was done, he received a present of a few rupis, was again blindfolded, and led to the place whence he had been brought. He immediately began to search for his cat, which....he found lying in a dirty pond beside a high wall, which he recognized for the enclosure of the Hindu's dwelling. The gold he thus obtained enabled him at the old man's death....to purchase the house from his heir, and he thus became possessed of the wealth which the Hindu had buried. With this he returned to Persia, and with a portion of it he built this college."

Parallel to this Persian tale, we have a Japanese one told of Itakura Shigemune, the wisest judge Japan has ever produced (1586-1656 A.D.). It runs thus:--

"During his residence in Kyoto as Chief Justice, it happened one day that a professional surgeon of good reputation brought him private information of a strange affair that had recently occurred to himself. 'About twenty days ago,' said he, 'several stalwart fellows came and earnestly asked me immediately to visit their master, who was, they said, very ill of a boil. I complied with their request, and followed them with my medicines and apparatus, and found a palanquin awaiting me. No sooner had I entered it than the door was tightly closed, and thus I was carried some three Japanese miles in a mysterious roundabout way. On arrival at our destination, they took me out of the palanquin and conducted me before what appeared to be a chief of bandits, who was groaning with grievous wounds. His men forced me to remain in the house for twenty and odd days, not allowing me any glimpse of the outside. When his wounds healed through my treatment, he thanked me and gave me a present of five gold pieces; and placing me in the palanquin again, he caused me to be brought back mazily to the same place as before.'

"When the surgeon ended he was asked by Shigemune whether he had not noticed anything particular in that place during his stay of more than a score days. He answered that only a certain bird's note had attracted his attention, and subsequently he had overheard somebody saying 'This is the bird called Buppôsô in imitation of its characteristic voice; it lives in only two mountains, Nikkô and Kôya, in the whole empire. Scarcely had Shigemune got this answer before he reminded himself of an old poem by Shunzei [a wise poet of the twelfth century A.D.] indicating Mount Matsuo as the only locality near Kyoto inhabited by this bird. So he sent a police force there and succeeded in capturing and punishing all those culprits.'--'Ooka Tadasuke Roku,' written in the eighteenth century (?), quoted in Nishizawa, 'Denki Sakusho,' c. 1840-52, ed. 1906, Series I. tom. i. p. 10.

Santo Kyoden, a renowned Japanese romancer, in his 'Udonge Monogatari,' 1804, chap. x., has a variant of this tale, wherein he makes a brigand chief to be entirely cured of hemeralopia through the advice of a quack, whom his subjects had brought blindfolded to his den. Thankful for this, the company entertains the quack with drink one evening, promising to send him home as soon as the wine is finished. While drinking, however, he listens to a singular bird's cry, declares it to be the Buppôsô, and plumes himself upon his knowledge of what mountain he is now on -- this bird having its abode limited to very few mountains in all the Japanese provinces. The brigand chief, drawing the quack near

himself under pretence of giving hi a present, suddenly strikes off his head in order to prevent him from divulging the whereabouts of the marauders. For an illustrated description of the bird Buppôsô see Kayahara, 'Bôsô Manroku,' 1829, chap. iii.

Saikwaku's 'Honchô Ooinhiji,' 1689, tom. iv. chap. ix., contains also a narrative similar to the story of Itakura quoted above, but in it the judge is made to elicit the hiding-place of a band of murderers, not from the bird's cry, but from the music and the bustle of a crowd that the surgeon reports to have heard near their dwelling on two different occasions.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. III. June 3, 1911, Pp. 424-5]

MARRIAGE RELATIONSHIPS (11 S. ii. 506).--A variant of the Japanese story given by me at the above reference occurs in Sakuden's 'Seisuishô,' completed in 1628 A.D., tom. vi. chap. v. par. iv., and reads thus:--

"Minamoto no Yoshitsune, the famous commander, when travelling to the eastern provinces [1185 A.D.], happened to put up in a house with his retainer Benkei [for whom see 10 S. x. 453]. The latter asked the hostess how many children she had, and was answered, 'I have six, and my husband six, so we have nine children altogether.' Benkei could not comprehend her meaning after a night's cogitation, and the next day he engaged himself so profoundly in continuous thought of it that found himself seven miles behind his master when he succeeded in solving the puzzle. Forsooth, her meaning had been this: the husband has three children by his former wife, and three others by this wife; and this wife has three children by her former husband, and three others by her present husband; hence they have nine children conjointly."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[1 S. III. June 3, 1911. p. 433]

HORSES' GHOSTS.--Various stories are told in Japan of horses possessing a supernatural capacity of producing phantasms after their death. Thus, according to Mr. S. Kasai, there prevail to this day several traditions of the Headless Horse in the province of Awa. The following is one of them:--

"Once upon a time, when an extreme dearth was ravaging all the county of Mima, some villagers of Mitani formed themselves into a band and broke into a Buddhist church called Ootakiji on the very last night of the year. Just as they were preparing to depart with their booty, a horse in the stable began to utter loud cries repeatedly. For fear it might alarm the people in the neighborhood, they cut off its head and retreated to their own village. Every year thereafter, at midnight of December 31st, a spectral horse, perfectly headless, makes its appearance in the church and proceeds to Mitani, following exactly the same route which the burglars took in their retreat. Until about ten years ago, the people, and especially children, residing along this road, used to be terror-stricken by the jingling of the horse's bit on this occasion. Further, in consequence of this ghostly visit, should the descendants of those burglars prepare in their houses rice-cakes for the

New Year festival, they would invariably turn bloody. To avoid this prodigy even nowadays, they get them ready in other families and carry them home on New Year's Day."--*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo*, June, 1911, p. 175.

In Sôzan's 'Chomon Kishû, 1849, tom. ii. chap. viii., an account is given of a pack-horse in the province of Mino, which, since its untimely death caused by the ruthless treatment of its owner, unfailingly utters its characteristic neighs from underground whenever any other horse approaches the spot whereon it fell.

Do such stories of horses' ghosts exist elsewhere? At 20 S. i. 417 MR. E. YARDLEY writes:--

"Washington Irving mentions the Belludo, a supernatural horse of Spain, that gallops by night. But that is a ghost."

In which of his numerous writings does this occur?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IV. AUG. 12, 1911. p. 127]

TWINS AND SECOND SIGHT 911 s. III. 469; IV. 54). The late Frederic W. H. Myers in his 'Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death,' 1903, vol. i. p. 272, speaks of a butler named James Carroll, who has had

"another psychical experience, not visual--a feeling of extreme exhaustion and sadness, coupled with the idea of his twin-brother, on the first day of his distant twin-brother's fatal illness; and again just before the receipt of a telegram summoning him to the death-bed. It is an interesting observation based by Gurney on his analysis of relationships in telepathic cases that the link of *twins*hip seems markedly to facilitate this kind of communication. [Foot-note.] Cf. the case of Mrs. Storie....and the cases given by Mr. F. Galton, 'Enquiries into Human Faculty,' pp. 226-231, of consentaneous thought and action on the part of twins, which he attributes to a specially close similarity of constitution."

Whether or not fully convinced of the existence of such a close similarity of constitution between twins, Japanese parents, at least in this part, take scrupulous care to feed and dress twins with exactly the same articles--a slight disparity in the colours of shoestrings being believed to prove inimical or even fatal to the inferior party.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IV. AUG 19, 1911. p. 156]

SPIDER STORIES (11 S. iv. 26, 76, 115, 137).--John Barrow's 'A Voyage to Chochinchina,' 1806, p. 200, has this passage:--

"A venomous spider is very common in the thickets of Java. the diameter of the body is nearly 2 inches; and the length of the fore-legs or claws near 4 inches, covered

with hair, the colour black, and the mouth red. The webs spun by this animal gave us considerable trouble, as we traversed the woods about Anjerie point....[Here the author states that the webs are able to capture birds.] A grave gentleman in London observed to me one day how much he was surprised to find so marvellous an account of the strength of spider-webs inserted in so valuable a book as the Authentic Account of the Embassy to China. On being told that I could inform him of something not less marvellous respecting the spiders who made them, which was that the nails of their fore-claws were so large and strong, that it was a common practice in Batavia to have them mounted on gold or silver handles and to use them as tooth-picks, I have little doubt he was ready to exclaim with Gray:--

The man who with undaunted toils
Sails unknown seas to unknown soils,
What various wonders feast his sight,
What stranger wonders does he write!"

The Chinese encyclopaedia 'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1703, tom. cdxlix., abounds with marvellous spider stories, some of which may be rendered thus:--

"A spider that lives in certain islands is as large as a wheel, 12 feet across, variegated with five several colours, and haunts deep wide valleys. It puts forth webs in narrow defiles, their thickness vying with that of a strong rope; scarcely a tiger, a leopard, an elk or a deer touches the net, but it gets in so complete a tangle as to be unable to escape; thus it perishes and rots, whereupon the spider eats it. For the seaman who would wander over the place to gather firewood it is therefore necessary to go a hundred of them together, each handling a flambeau with which to burn out the webs. Some one opines that man could walk the sea without drowning if he put on shoes made of the spider's skin.

"During the period of Yuen-ho, a man named Su Tan went several tens of miles over Mount Tsioh-shan, and beheld afar amongst the crags a large white brilliant orbicular light 10 feet in diameter. Thinking it was a sacred spot, he approached it. But no sooner had he touched the light than he uttered a long shriek and was instantly enveloped with webs so densely as to look like a cocoon. At the same time there ran towards him a black spider as huge as a basin. His servant cut open the webs with a sharp sword, but found his master already dead with his brain abstracted.

"Fei Min, passing across a mountain, met a spider which began to surround him with its webs. He shot an arrow, which killed it. Its shape was like a wheel. He brought home several feet square of its webs, and used to apply an inch square of them to the sword-cuts of his servants to stop the bleeding, which it did instantaneously.

"Once upon a time a Taoist temple near Mount Tai had its old belvedere blown down by a storm. It was found full of human bones, amidst which an aged spider squatted; it was as big as a tea-kettle of 5 litres capacity, and measured several feet round when its legs were extended. As previously many children of residents in the vicinity had mysteriously disappeared, it was now concluded they had been netted and devoured by this monster. So they burnt it, and its stench was quite perceptible at the distance of ten miles and over."

The Japanese warrior Minamoto no Yorimitsu (d. 1021) is reputed to have annihilated a dangerous spider that measured 7 ft. in length (Oowada, 'Yôkyoku Tsukai,' 1906, tom. i. p. 151).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IV. DEC. 9, 1911. Pp. 477-8]

WHITTINGTON AND HIS CAT: EASTERN VARIANTS.

This well-known British household tale has been treated with its sundry variants --Italian, Breton, Norwegian, Russian, and Persian--in W.A. Clouston's 'Popular Tales and Fictions,' 1887, vol. ii. pp. 65-78. The account concludes with this remark:--

"With regard to the Russian version, Mr. Ralston thinks there can be little doubt as to its origin, 'such a feature as the incense-burning pointing directly to a Buddhist source'; and he is probably right in this conjecture, notwithstanding the circumstantial and unembellished narrative of the Persian historian [Abdulláh, the son of Falulláh, in whose 'Events of Ages and Fates of Cities' it is given], to which, however, he makes no reference. The original Buddhist story--or a variant of it--may well have reached Russia via China. Yet nothing at all like our story has hitherto been found in Indian fiction, so far as I am aware, which is strange, since we have seen that it has been so long domiciled in Persia as to become one of the historical traditions of that country. But if the facts be not as the Persian historian relates them [namely, that the monarchy of Kays was primarily established upon the wealth which a cat of a poor old widow at Siráf had put in her possession through its invaluable service to an Indian sovereign in freeing him from mice].....whence came the story into Persia? From India unquestionably; and we may trust that the Buddhist original will yet be discovered."

Has this expectation of Clouston been fulfilled? That such has not been the case I gather from 'The Encyclopædia Britannica,' 1910, vol. xxviii. p. 615, where the derivation of this tale is summarized briefly thus:--

"Attempts have been made to explain the story as possibly referring to 'cats' which were employed in the North Sea trade, or to the French *achat* (purchase). But Thomas Keightley ['Tales and Popular Fictions,' 1834] traced the cat story in Persian, Danish, and Italian folk-lore at least as far back as the thirteenth century."

For my part, recently making a general rummage among the several Chinese translations of the Buddhist Canon, I have come across an Indian story which was evidently contemporary with the Buddha, and was recorded, at the latest, within a few centuries of his death, and bears a striking appearance of having been the main source which gave rise to all the versions that exist in Europe and Persia. As the narration is too lengthy for insertion, I translate it, with some omissions, as follows:--

"In times of yore there dwelt an opulent man in a village. Not very long after marriage his wife bore him a son, when he resolved to make a voyage for acquiring immense riches. Fearing that to leave her with abundance might cause her ruin by a luxurious life, he gave his wife a very limited sum, secretly entrusting most of his money

to a fellow-trader on condition that he should relieve her in all emergencies. Thus he went on the ocean, was shipwrecked, and was heard of no more. Thenceforth his trustee became absolutely heedless of the contract; his wife and son lived in poverty, succoured now and again by her relatives. When the son had grown up, he inquired of his mother what had been his forefathers' business. 'Trade,' she replied. He asked her to get funds sufficient for him to start in trade. The mother answered, "I have now nothing left, after having so hardly reared you up with the frequent help of our relatives. But," continued she, 'So-and-so, a trader in this village, was formerly a bosom friend of your father; so you may obtain certain aid if you only call upon him for it.' The son followed the advice and went to see him.

"When the lad came close to the trader's dwelling, it happened that the master was violently rebuking a numskull who had three times lost the money which the former had lent him. Now out of the house there came a maidservant carrying sweepings with a dead rat in them. Glancing his eye thereon, the master asked the much-confounded debtor this offhand question: 'Know you not that a clever fellow could make himself rich even with this dead rat as the only means to set himself up?' Overhearing this, the lad thought it contained a great truth. He followed the maidservant to a distance, saw her throw the rat in a pit, picked it up, and kept it by him. Thence he went to a city, where he found a cat chained by the neck to a pillar, and apparently very hungry. He showed the rat to the cat which began to spring towards it. Now the keeper of the cat appeared, and after a brief bargaining with the lad bartered two handfuls of pease for the dead rat, with which to feed his pet animal. The lad baked the pease upon a heated tile. After eating but a small portion, he put the remnants in his sleeves, and carried them with a potful of cool water into an outlying part of the city where woodcutters used to halt on their way home. After waiting there till the evening, he saw them return from their work, and accosted them, saying, 'Brothers, it was very hot to-day; rest yourselves here for a while.' He entertained them with his pease and cool water, and was given by every one of them a faggot with thanks. He made them into a bundle, took them into the market, and sold them for cowries. With all the money-shells he thus earned he bought a quantity of pease, baked them, and took them with water as before to the woodcutters' halting-place. By daily pursuing the same course he became at length possessed of a not inconsiderable fortune. One day he told them, 'Do not weary yourselves any more by going each of you to the market for vending firewood: it will be far better for you to put up all your wood in my hut and let me transact the sales for you all.' Their consent was unanimous; ever after they used every day to bring in firewood and receive the price from him. Another time, it incessantly rained for a whole week, which immensely raised the value of fuel, so that his gain was very extraordinary.

"Now the lad considered it unwise to remain in such a paltry occupation as that of a fuel-seller, so he turned himself into a dealer in miscellaneous wares, then into a perfumer, then into a money-broker, every change of his business being immediately attended with rapid multiplication of his fortune. As the last-named business of his prospered so greatly as to overshadow the fame of all other money-brokers, the latter used to give vent to their anger by calling him the Rat-Money-Broker, holding in derision his riches, which had risen from a single rat's carcass. Further, full of raging envy, they met together and deliberated upon how to overturn the establishment of this marvellous parvenu. The decision they came to was that they should somehow urge the lad to go for

great profits on the ocean, where he might meet an untimely death, as was the fate of his father. So they assembled within earshot of his office, when one of them broke forth loudly into this speech: 'Know you not this worldwide principle, *The more the generation proceeds, the more degradation obtains?* Thus, even in a single man's life, the gradual abasement of his status compels him to alter his means of travelling, from elephant to horse, from horse to sedan, from sedan to shank's mare. And it is a good example you are now witnessing in this Rat-Money-Broker, who is ever toiling in such a trivial vocation as the exchange of coins and cowries, whereas all his fathers were renowned for their success in oceanic trade.' The Rat-Money-Broker, after hearkening to this speech, went home and questioned his mother: 'Is it true that my ancestors were very rich because of bringing home a great many rarities from the ocean?' She replied, 'Yes, it is true,' for she rightly suspected from his words that somebody had already disclosed it to her son.

"The mother's answering in this way instantly stirred up in his mind such a fervent desire to seek for treasures over the ocean that he would thenceforth never desist from entreating her permission to do so. Finally, her assent was given, though very reluctantly. He prepared a large vessel, gathered skilful sailors and well-natured companions, and departed from the harbour under propitious gales, which, after a comparatively short time, made the vessel reach the Jewellery Land (Ratnadvipa). Then he formed a vast collection of valuables and returned home with it. Such successful voyages in safety he made seven times altogether, whereby he became peerlessly rich. Then his mother advised him to get married, but he answered, 'Well, I will get married when I shall have paid all my debt.' While she was wondering who was really his creditor, he produced a silver platter, piled it up with gold dust, and adorned it with four images of a rat wrought in the four precious substances [*i.e.* gold, silver, crystal, and sapphire]. This set of ornaments he carried himself into the house of his father's trustee, just when the latter was rehearsing to his own friends the wondrous rumour, "Know you not that this Rat-Money-Broker is endowed with a great virtue which enables him to turn at pleasure any tiles or stones into gold or jewellery?" As soon as he was led in by a doorkeeper, he presented the master those sumptuous articles, and declared he had thus cleared himself from his debt--specifying the four artificial rats as equal to the original principal, and the silver platter with gold dust as an equivalent for the interest. With boundless amazement the master observed, 'I have no recollection of my having lent you money on any occasion whatsoever.' then the Rat-Money-Broker told him all his personal history. Upon learning who was his father, the master said to him, 'Now I know you are the son of my late intimate friend. And why should I accept such a repayment from you. Contrariwise, I ought to restore to you all that your dead father had entrusted me with for your benefit.' Then he attired his eldest daughter superbly, and wedded her to the Rat-Money-Broker."-Fol. 1-6 in the 32nd tome of the Japanese 'Oobaku' reprint in the seventeenth century of the 'Kan-pan-shwoh Yih-tsi-yû-pu Pi-na-ya,' or a Chinese translation of the 'Mûla-sarvâsti-vâdâ-nikâya-nidâna,' by I-Tsing (A.D. 635-713) the distinguished Buddhist priest, whose travel and study in India occupied the years between 671 and 695.

This Indian story, which we may safely take as the Buddhist original which Clouston sought for in vain, differs from the European and Persian variants in this particular, that it is a rat therein which originates the immense fortune of the Rat-Money-Broker, whereas a cat is made the producer of the great wealth of Whittington or the old widow of Kays. To explain the cause of this remarkable difference, I shall proceed to

examine how, in ancient times, the rat or mouse and the cat were regarded by the peoples of distinct faiths in Asia, where doubtless these stories were first formed.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabe, Kii, Japan

(To be continued.)

[11 S. IV. DEC. 23, 1911. Pp. 503-5]

THE BLINDFOLDED MAN: JAPANESE VARIANTS. (See 11 S. ii. 424.)-- Only recently I have come across a passage in Hiuen-tsang's 'Si-yih-ki,' A.D. 646, tom. x., which seems to prove these Japanese stories to have originated in an Indian tradition. After narrating how enormous a quantity of gold King Sakvaha had expended for the completion of the grand rocky monastery on Black Peak in Central India, the Chinese itinerary says:--

"Then there arose a dispute among the cenobites resident in it, who applied for a decision to the sovereign. The anchorets deemed the cenobites to be the cause of the coming desolation of the monastery, and expelled all the cenobites from it. Thus it has become inhabited by the anchorets only, who made its entrance quite undiscernable. And to this day they continue to live there entirely secluded from the world. Only now and then they invite good physicians to cure their diseases; but even then they invariably blindfold them on every ingress and egress, in order to prevent them from revealing the secret."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. V. JAN. 5, 1912. Pp. 6-7]

WHITTINGON AND HIS CAT (11 S. iv. 50, 522; v. 75, 274).--The 'Luh-tu-tsih-king,' a collection of Buddhist birth stories rendered into Chinese by the Indian missionary Kang-tsang-hwui (d. A.D. 280) has the following tale--a much-simplified variant of the life of the Rat-Money-Broker, given by me at 11 S. iv. 504, from another Buddhist work translated some four centuries later:--

"In years remotely gone by, there lived a matchless millionaire, to whom all people used to betake themselves for relief, as he was universally known for his unbounded liberality. Now a son of his friend came to lose all his money through dissoluteness. Full of pity, the millionaire gave the youth one thousand pieces of gold as a means to reassume his position in society. But the youth persisted in his misconduct and extravagance; five times his benefactor gave him the same sum, and as many times he lost it. When the youth came in for help for the sixth time, the millionaire pointed at a rat's carcass that lay on a dunghill beyond the gate, and remarked that a sagacious man could put himself in the way of prosperity even with that dead rat as his only funds. It happened that there was a beggar outside who overheard his words and was strongly persuaded it was so. He picked up the rat, roasted it with a good seasoning, and sold it for twopence. With this trifling money he began to deal in vegetables, and became opulent

eventually. One day at his leisurely ease, he bethought himself of the origination of his own wealth and comfort in the millionaire's wise saying, and deemed it fit to tender him a ceremonious thanksgiving. So he caused a silver stand to be made, put on it a rat wrought in gold, whose inside was stuffed with numerous jewels, and adorned the set with chaplets of sumptuous gems. He took them, together with a legion of dainties, to the millionaire's house, and presented them as a token of his endless gratitude. The recipient was exceedingly glad, wedded him to his daughter, a very model of human sagaciousness."--Tom. iii. fol. 13-14 of the Japanese Oobaku reprint, issued in the seventeenth century.

Now that, at p. 75, H.I.B. has kindly called my attention to Herodotus for an Egyptian tradition closely similar to the Chinese story of aid given by rats, that bit through the bow-strings of an invading enemy, I shall note that such an incident is recorded in the Japanese 'Adzuma Kagami,' or the 'Annals of the Kamakura government,' finished about 1266. Under 23 Aug., 1180, therein, we read:--

"Last evening the united bands of Matano and Tachibana, with the intention of assaulting the Minamoto clan of the province of kai, stationed themselves at the northern foot of Mount Fuji. During the night rats entered their camp and bit off all the strings of more than a hundred bows of Matano's soldiers, which made them unable to fight, when the enemy attacked and routed them completely."

This simple, matter-of-fact registry precludes every idea of the disaster being associated with a supernatural intervention.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. V. APRIL 20, 1912. Pp. 313-4]

PAUSANIAS.--Who is the author of "The Description of Greece by Pausanias, translated from the Greek--with notes, in which much of the mythology of the Greeks is unfolded from a theory which has been for many ages unknown, illustrated with maps and views. A new edition, with considerable augmentations. In three volumes. London, Richard Priestley, High Holborn. MDCCCXXIV."?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. V. JUNE 8, 1912. p. 448]

WHITTINGTON AND HIS CAT (11 S. IV. 503, 522; V. 75, 274, 313, 452).-- Another variant of the Rat-Money-broker story -- for which see 11 S. iv. 504 and v. 313-- is given in E.B. Cowell's 'The Jātaka,' 1905, vol. i., No. 4, under the heading 'Cullaka-Setthi-Jātaka' ("A young man picks up a dead mouse, which he sells, and works up this capital till he becomes rich"). To it is appended this note:--

"The whole Jātaka, in an abbreviated form, forms the story of the Mouse Merchant at pages 33, 34, of the first volume of Tawney's translations of the 'Kathā Sarit Sāgara.' See also 'Kalilah and Dimnah,' chap. xviii."

The late Moncure D. Conway, in his 'Pilgrimage to the Wise Men of the East,' 1906, p. 111, speaks thus:--

"The familiar London folk-tale of Whittington and his Cat, which I once traced through many parts of the world, originated in a Buddhist parable whose moral was the base ingratitude of man to the animals that befriended him. The cat, having ingeniously made the fortune of a poor peasant, is cast aside to perish in wretchedness. This lesson against ingratitude faintly reappears in the early versions of 'Puss in Boots,' but has entirely disappeared in the story of Whittington, in which the cat is supplanted by the Providence which watches over the speculations of the pious and loyal British merchant."

Acquainted with many an Indian tale anent man's ingratitude to his animal benefactors as I am, I have never met such a Buddhist parable of the benevolent cat as is mentioned by Conway without naming authority. Can any of your readers inform me where the story is recorded?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VI. SEPT. 21, 1912. p. 236]

SNAKE POISON (11 S. v. 388, 455; vi. 75).--*Trionocephalus Bromhoffi* is a very poisonous snake, called *habi* or *mamushi* in Japan, and *fuh-shie* in China. According to Dr. O.F. von Möllendorff, it inhabits Formosa and Mongolia as well (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, xi. 104; Shanghai, 1877*). In Li Shi-Chin's 'Pan-tsau-kang-muh,' or 'System of Materia Medica,' which was completed in A.D. 1578, and is the greatest work of the kind China has ever produced, we read:--

"The flesh of the *fuh-shie* is sweet, warm, and poisonous. Put one live *fuh-shie* in one tau [about ten litres] of purest wine and seal it up. Bury the preparation under ground which horses frequent to urinate. Disinter it just after one year, when you will find the snake entirely dissolved in the liquor, now decreased to only one-tenth of the original quantity. This solution is the best medicine for leprosy. As the disease is the effect of the principal venom of heaven and earth, so the snake is the outgrowth of the same; hence the latter cures the former unfailingly, as the proverb says: 'Poisonous drugs are the most efficacious in healing virulent maladies.'"

So far as I know, the Japanese of the vulgar sort occasionally use the *mamushi* as a tonic for both man and beasts, but never apply it to cure leprosy. Ono Ranzan, the greatest naturalist of eighteenth-century Japan, in his *Honzô Keimô*, tom. xxxix., says:--

"The people of the province Chikuzen value most highly as a medicine for anthrax a particular *mamushi* which they call *mifushigare* [literally, three nodes' death]. Its venom is so excessive that should you put on the reptile a green bamboo stem, the latter would instantly be withered and discoloured up to the third node from the point whereat it touched the former. Japanese leechcraft makes much use of the *mamushi*; it is carbonized after the removal of its head, tail, and entrails, and then used as a styptic."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VI. SEPT. 28, 1912. Pp. 254-5]

REPLIES.

LEGENDS OF FLYING.

(11 s. V. 409)

My ignorance of the details of the legend of Eleazar ben Judah's flying journey precludes me from identifying any story of the Far East as bearing a close resemblance to it. Indeed, legions of such wondrous achievements are recorded in the Buddhist and Taoist writings. Thus Buddhists hold movement without stepping on the ground as one of the five or six superhuman endowments of the Brahmanist or Buddhist saints ('Ta-ming-san-tsang-fah-su,' fifteenth century, tom. xxi.). In the fifteenth book of the 'Eottavikâgama' the Buddha is represented as particularizing two of his disciples for their respective fondness for levitation and aviation. From the 'Supplements to the Parinirvâna-sûtra, tom. ii., it may be rightly inferred that formerly there existed not a few Indian skeptics as to the great supernatural faculty of Mahâkâsyapa, the most distinguished disciple of the Buddha, and thence his successor, for, tradition says, he made his arrival too late at the dying scene of his master because of his having hurried thereto only on foot, instead of resorting to his own power of flight. The great philosopher Nâgardjuna opines every Buddha to be able to go through the air in several distinct ways, viz., by alternating steps, by standing still, by sitting composedly, by posing himself horizontally, by walking upon innumerable lotus flowers which he would cause to pervade the atmosphere, or by locating himself in a flying palace. Of all the miracles wrought by the Buddha, the one which proved most efficacious in bringing in converts appears to have been the display of his preternatural flight (Sang-Min, &c., 'King-liuh-i-siang, sixth century, tom xxvii.); and the showing of the eighteen miraculous feats during levitation and the subsequent act of flying away formed the only means of the Pratyêkabuddhas (Self-constituted Saints) to evidence their own holiness ('Pih-chi-fyh-yin-yuen-lun,' *passim*). The seventeenth book of the 'Vibhâchâ Vinaya' narrates how Kâlôdâyin, the recently ordained arhat, used daily to carry through the air the victuals provided for the Buddha by his father, King Suddhâdana, and how the Buddha converted many of his unbelieving relatives through his exhibition of the eighteen marvels whilst floating himself in the air. In truth, the Buddha must have passed a large part of his daytime either in floating or in flying, for his feet, we are assured, had the peculiarity to rest four fingers'-breadth above the ground and yet to leave their stamps clearly upon the soil ('Mahâvibhâchâ-s'astra,' tom. clxxx.). Once, when a wealthy damsel invited him with his numerous disciples to the kingdom of Pundara-varddhana, they went, it is said, gliding through the air after assuming the forms of various creatures, such as lions and white elephants (Sang-Min, &c., *op. cit.*, tom. xxix.; cf. my note on 'The Wandering Jew' at 9 S. iv. 121). Some centuries after the Buddha's death there arose a great schism among his followers at Pâtaliputra; the king strongly supported the case of the heretic Mahâdêva; it brought about all the orthodox sages passing over to Kashmir through the atmosphere (Mahâvibhâchâ-s'astra,' tom. xcix.). According to the 'Vibhâchâ Vinaya,' not only the first missionaries King Asôka sent to Ceylon in the third century B.C., but also the branch of the sacred Bo-tree they brought thither subsequently, were capable of floating in the air. So firmly believed in of yore was any accomplished

Buddhist's power of flight that the 'Sarvâsti-vâda-vinaya-vibhâchâ, tom. ii., gives this regulation:--

"Should a mendicant travel over several countries by his superhuman flight, he ought to pay certain tolls at both the places of start and finish."

Of numerous Buddhist saints of the Japanese Empire, the one most noted for his miraculous aviation is very probably Yen no Gyôja. This eminent recluse inhabited the Katsuraki Mountains for thirty and odd years, and used to fly into whatever place he willed to see. In A.D. 699 one of his whilom pupils accused him of black art. When summoned to the imperial court, he flew away through the air, but he no sooner learned that his mother had been captured in lieu of himself than he made a voluntary surrender of his person. Consequently he was transported into Ooshima, which island he habitually quitted every night in order to ascend Mount Fuji by running, bird-like, across the intervening sea. After two years he was pardoned, when, using a single mat as a vessel, and handling a bowl wherein he put his mother, he passed over the sea into China, never to return to his native country (Terashima, 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713, tom. lxxiii.).

Another Japanese recluse, Kume no Senin, whose age is not exactly known, is proverbially famous for his lack of morality. He was an accomplished mystic, dwelling in a montanic monastery. One day, whilst he was flying over a river, his eye was so violently caught by the unusual whiteness of the legs of a young, lovely washerwoman that instantly he lost all his miraculous gift and fell down before her quite topsy-turvy. Subsequently he was married to her, but persisted in adding the title "Ex-Saint" to his sign-manual. Takizawa Toku in his 'Gendô Hôgen,' 1818, chap. xxxi., has tried to trace this tale to two Buddhist legends recorded by a Chinese explorer in India, the very illustrious Hiuen-Chwang. (See his itinerary, tom. ii. and v., translated in Stanislas Julien's 'Mémoires sur les Contrées occidentales,' Paris, 1857-8.) I may add here that several Indian stories of the Brahmanic saints losing their miraculous powers before extraordinarily fascinating feminine beauty are given in numbers of Buddhist works--*e.g.*, Sang-Min, &c., *op. cit.*, tom. xxxix., and Nâgardjuna's 'Commentary on the Mahâpradgnâ-paramitâ-sutra,' tom. xvii.

Every one familiar with the Chinese well knows how deep-rooted is their belief in supernatural flight forming one of the indispensable virtues of Taoist saints, with the sole exception of those of the lowest order. One example, therefore, will suffice for the present purpose. Under the Emperor Hia-Ming, who reigned from A.D. 58 till 75, Wang Kiau was made the governor of the district of Sheh. Despite its considerable distance from the court, he frequently visited it without any apparent use of vehicle or horse. To solve the mystery, the emperor instructed an officer secretly to watch his coming, which resulted in the discovery that every time just before his arrival a pair of ducks were seen coming on the wing from the south-east. Finally they were netted, and found to be nothing but his official shoes, whence it was elicited that he used to travel the distance through the air, making his body invisible and his shoes appear as flying birds ('Yuen-kien-lui-an,' 1703, tom. cccxviii., quoting Ying Chau, 'Fung-suh-tung,' second century A.D.).

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VI. OCT. 12. 1912. Pp. 291-3]

HUMAN SOULS INTERCHANGED.--The following legend, formerly told about Chôgenji, an old Buddhist temple in the Japanese province of Ise, is given in Terashima's encyclopædia 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713, tom. lxxi.:--

"Once in olden time it happened that two men mutually quite unknown -- one a native of this locality and the other a passing traveller from the remote province Hiuga--betook themselves into this building to shelter from the burning noonday sun. In the pleasantly cool verandah they were soon seized with such a sound sleep that they did not stir until the evening, when a man came in and awakened them all of a sudden, which gave them both an extraordinary shock, making each one's soul mistake its own route and so enter the other's body. On his return home, each one's family would not receive him, because, though there appeared no change in his figure and face, his mind and voice proved him an utter alien. Eventually they hit upon the cause of this confusion. Again both resorted to and slept in this temple, whereby their souls were successfully restored to their proper bodies."

The sentence in italics testifies to the old Japanese having held a strange belief that sometimes the human body could act of its own accord, and quite independently of -- nay, even against--the cerebral command, in order to attain its predetermined goal.

The 'Kii Zoku Fûdoki,' c. 1830, tom. lxxxv., contains an allied story, which runs thus:--

"A villager of Nodake named Yashichirô was about seventy years of age during the period Gembum (1736-40). One day he swooned away in a fit of sickness. When he was resuscitated by calling, he became possessed of an entirely different speech and mien, without any cognizance of his wife and sons, and only able to talk the sawyer's cant [which contains many a provincialism of Oomi and is incomprehensible to all other folks]. Shortly before, a sawyer died in the mountains of this vicinity; his personal name was the same as the septuagenarian's we are speaking of; hence it was generally opined that the sawyer's soul, not yet disintegrated after death, was thus unintentionally brought back into the body of the homonymous old man. This aberrant reviver is said to have died the consummate death ten and odd years after the amazing event."

I am much desirous of learning whether there is any such instance in European records.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VI. NOV. 30, 1912. p. 430]

EARTH-EATING (11 S. vi. 290, 351, 397).--Terashima's 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713, tom. xiv., quotes a Chinese cyclopædia, 'San-tsai-tu-hwui,' 1607, to this effect:--

"The land of Wu-ki [literally, No Viscera] lies in the North Sea' its inhabitants have no viscera, eat earth, and live in the pits. When any one of them dies, he is buried; his heart, his knee, and his liver never rot, each turning into a man after remaining underground respectively for one hundred, one hundred and twenty, and eighty years."

The same Japanese work, tom. lxi. gives the following quotation from the Chinese 'System of Materia Medica,' 1578, concerning what appear to have been some edible earths:--

"Mineral Flour (Shih-mien) comes not out at all times; some people say its appearance is auspicious, but others opine it to be found only in years of famine. According to the Chinese historical writings, A.D. 744 saw a vinous spring make its start and some stones turned into flour; stones became flour in the year 809; a 'mineral fat' resembling flour presented itself in 1012; stones produced flour, 1061 and 1080. All these were eaten by poor folks."

The Imperial Chinese Encyclopædia, 'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1703, tom. xxiv., contains the following accounts:--

"In the second month, 740, the people of three circuits in Hwui-chau used to eat a certain earth, which, they said, tasted far superior to all other earths. Some time previously the poor women of Wu-teh were deliberating together how to outlive the then devastating famine, when an aged passer-by advised them to eat the earth beside a ditch close at hand. Scarcely had he vanished on a sudden, when they found it very savoury to the taste. Mixed well with flour and made into cakes, the earth proved a really excellent food. After this news people crowded there from near and distant villages, and the edible earth was soon exhausted.

"Mount Loh-yung in the province of Yun-nan produces an earth which is of good flavour, and can be eaten when made into cakes and baked. The women of the barbaric Pu tribe are particularly fond of it.

"A fissure in a dale in the Wu-tang Mountains has its soil coloured fresh yellow and esculent."

Bennett and Murray, in their 'Handbook of Cryptogamic Botany,' 1889, p. 424, state:--

"In some countries, such as China, Japan, Siberia, Lapland, &c., they [the fossilized siliceous shells of diatoms] form, cemented together by salts of lime, the edible earths which are mixed with meal to make a kind of flour."

It is a well-known fact that some Japanese Ainus used, on occasions of scarcity, to feed upon a paste composed of such a diatomaceous earth and the starch which they extracted from the roots of a *Fumaria*.

"The Indians [of Guatemala] have a habit of consuming a yellowish edible earth containing sulphur; on pilgrimage they obtain images moulded of this earth at the shrines they visit, and eat the images as a prophylactic against disease."--'Encyc. Brit.' (11th ed.), xii. 662.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VI. DEC. 28, 1912. p. 514]

BOTANY (11 S. vi. 368, 416, 476).--The old Chinese herbals abound with information as to "sympathies" and "antipathies" believed by the people to be possessed by plants. thus, Twan Ching-Shih's 'Yü-yang-tseh-tsu,' written in the ninth century A.D., has this passage:--

"The natural growth of the onion upon a mountain indicates the existence of silver thereunder; that of the *Alium Bakeri* makes known the occurrence of gold beneath it; the ginger grows on mountains containing copper and tin; and the mountains productive of

jewels and precious stones have all the trees growing thereon with their branches turned downwards."

The author states that should cattle happen to tread on the sprouts of the gourd, the latter, when grown up, will give fruits all invariably bitter. To illustrate that the melon has a very strong "antipathy" to the odour of musk, he recites the following story:--

"About A.D. 827, a governor named Ching Chu went to his prefecture with one hundred and odd palfreys carrying his concubines. Their attirement emitted such an exuberant musky scent as to overcome the olfactories at the distance of several li. It proved very fatal to the melons that had been growing alongside of their route, and not a single fruit was produced that year."

For the same authors account of the "sympathy" between the egg-plant and human footsteps see 10 S. ii. 65.

In Li Shi-Chin's 'Pan-tsau-kang-muh,' 1578, mention is made of a popular belief that the sesame flourishes if planted by husband and wife conjointly. The leguminous tree *Gleditschia sinensis* is very thorny and difficult to climb. Encircle its hoops during one night and all its fruit will drop. When it produces no fruit, the people bore a hole in the trunk, fill it with three or five pounds of cast iron, and cover it with mud; then it will produce fruit. In case the Chinese olive (*Canarium album*) is too high to ascend, insert wood pegs or a little salt in its bark; during one night all its fruit will fall down without injuring the tree. To prick the stem of *Pæonia outan* with a needle made of cuttle-bone is reputed to cause its certain death. The smoke of straw and of Japan varnish is said to be inimical to the growth respectively of gourds and melons. The bamboos are particularly fond of the cat's carcase, but are killed with a decoction of a brown seaweed, *Ecklonia bicyclis*. A shell of a tortoise buried under the mulberry makes it luxuriant. The grape vine instantly perishes if it be punctured with a peg of liquorice root.

Sie Chung-Chi, in his 'Wu-tsah-tsu,' written about 1610, says that the *Cycas revoluta* is extremely fond of iron, and therefore iron nails are drive in its stem to restore its declining health, a usage followed by the Japanese to this day. According to the same authority, the *lan* (some orchid of the genus *Cymbidium*) fully thrives when cared for by woman, but loses its fragrance if planted by man. Similarly, Hindu poetry has it that a golden *a'soka* tree delays to blossom unless a beautiful woman touches it (Tawney's 'Mâlavikâgni-mitra,' quoted by Godden in *Folk-Lore*, vol. vi. p. 227, 1895).

The Chinese deem the flowers and kernels of *Wistaria sinensis* to have a property which renders them very useful as a preservative and restorative of wine, whereas the Japanese opine it to flourish when wine is poured into its root, in their art of floral decoration wine being the only means of preventing its flowers from withering promptly (Terashima, 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713, tom. xcvi.). Quite opposite to this, the honey-tree (*Hovenia dulcis*) is considered by both the Japanese and the Chinese to have a great "antipathy" towards wine. Its fleshy peduncles are said to counteract the immediate and afte effects of wine; the presence of a pillar of its wood will much weaken wine in every part of the building; and wine will turn into water if a fragment of the wood be thrown in it (id., tom lxxxix.). Some old folks in this part still cling to a belief that the *sansho* tree (*Xathoxylum piperitum*) would wither away should one chance to sing whilst gathering for condiment its fruits or young leaves, but it would much thrive should the gatherer happen to weep in the act. Also they hold this tree, as well as the *Colocasia inica*, an araceous plant with edible, succulent leaf-stalks, to have an extraordinary "sympathy"

with money! They will, it is said, never grow in the new owner's ground if their seeds and tubers be given to another gratis. Kaibara Tokushin, the Japanese naturalist, in his 'Yamato Honzō,' 1708, observes "antipathy" to exist between the white and red flowered varieties of the Pythagorean bean when they are planted together in one pond, the former infallibly becoming extinct.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VII. JAN. 25, 1913, Pp. 72-3]

EARTH-EATING (11 S. vi. 290, 351, 397, 514).--The 'Sung-hau-sang-chuen,' by Tsan-ning and others, completed in A.D. 988, gives the following story in its twentieth book:--

"Ti-tsang, the Buddhist ascetic (705-803), was born in Korea.....whence he came into China and lived on Mount Kiu-tsze.....There his followers increased, but provisions were scanty. He discovered under a rocky stratum an earth bluish-white in colour and with finely farinaceous appearance. At his instance all his communion used to eat it."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VII. FEB. 1, 1913. p. 98]

EARTH-EATING (11 s. vi. 290, 251, 351, 397, 514; vii. 98, 155).--Humboldt's 'Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinocial Regions of America,' ch. xxiv. ("Bohn's Library" edition, vol. ii. pp. 495-504), has this passage:--

"While the waters of the Orinoco and its tributary streams are low, the Ottomacs subsist on fish and turtles. . . .When the rivers swell, fishing almost entirely ceases. . . .During the period of these inundations, which last two or three months, the Ottomacs swallow a prodigious quantity of earth."

Further details are given of this edible earth, as well as accounts of earth-eaters in various quarters of the world.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VII. APRIL 19, 1913. p. 318]

"SCOLOPENDRA CETACEA."--This animal is described as follows in John Johnston's 'Historia Naturalis de Piscibus et Cetus,' 1767, lib. v. p. 221:--

"Ælianus solus.....Exerunt aliquando totum e mari caput. narium pilos magna excelstatis apparere, caudam perinde atque locustae latam conspici, reliquum corpus aliquando in superficie aequoris spectari, et cum triremi jusae magnitudinis conferri posse: Permultis pedibus, utrinque ordine sitis, tanquam ex scalmis appensis natate. Addunt inquit harum rerum perita ac fide digni, ipsos etiam fluctus es natante leviter

sbsonare. Pro hac Cetacea Scolopendra, hane, quam exprimi curavimus, Aldrovandus exhibet. Coda ad colorem caeruleum vergebat; ad latera tamen et in ventre nonnihil fufescebat."

The same book, tab. xlv., gives its figure, which differs from the one reproduced from Rondeletius in Gesner's 'Historia Animalium,' Frakfurt, 1604, p. 838.

Sir Thomas Browne's 'An Account of Fishes, &c., found in Norfolk and on the Coast' relates briefly thus:--

"I have also observed a *Scolopendra cetacea* of about ten [inches] long, answering the figure in Rondeletius, which the mariners told me was taken in the seas" (his 'Works' in "Bohn's Antiquarian library," vol. iii. p. 325).

Webster's 'International Dictionary,' s.v. 'Scolopendra,' says: "2. A sea fish. [R.] *Spenser*."

What animal or animals were actually meant by these names? I am desirous of being acquainted with their modern scientific appellations.

Kaibara's 'Materia Medica of Japan,' 1708, describes a venomous marine creature termed *Mukade-kujira* (literally, centipede-whale), which accords more or less with Ælian's account quoted above (see my letter on 'The Centipede-Whale' in *Nature*, vol. lvi., 1897). Nowadays there lives nobody in this part who has ever heard of even the name of such a fish.

In his edition of Ælian, 1784, vol. ii. p. 432, Johan Gottlob Schneider ventred to associate the Scolopendra Cetacea with the Scolopendrous Millipede case on rocks out of the seas, which occurs in the epigrams of Theodorides and Antipater (see macgregor's 'Greek Anthology,' 1864, p. 232). But this latter name would seem really to point to a cetaceous skeleton, its enormous length and numerous ribs having been fancifully assimilated with a myriapod. KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VII. MAY 3, 1913. Pp. 347-8]

EXTRAORDINARY FOUNTAINS IN IRELAND, BRITTANY, AND SICILY (11 S. vii. 129, 236).--analogous to the wonder-working fountain in Armorican Britain, there is in this province of Kii a rocky Rain-making Pool by the river Hiki. It was formerly believed to be governed by a huge supernatural toad. Every time when an extreme drought prevailed, the distressed people used to throw into the pool an ox's head. To wash away the uncleanness thus caused, the batrachian deity would instantly bring down heavy showers of rain. More or less similarly, some Orinoco Indians are said to have been accustomed to keep a toad in a vessel and pray to it for fine or rainy weather, flogging it in case their prayers proved ineffectual (J. Collin de Plancey, 'Dictionnaire Infernal,' Bruxelles, 1845, p. 147).

Giraldus Cambrensis's account of "a most wonderful fountain in Sicily," quoted by MR. CEREDIG DAVIES at the first reference, paralleled by the Japanese and Chinese stories of "Water of Jealousy" (10 S. i. 147), to my query on which there has appeared no reply.

The subjoined Japanese tradition somewhat resembles the Irish legends of the fountains having overflowed and become lakes owing to breach of rule:--

"In the district of Akita, province of Dewa, there is the celebrated lake Hachirôgata [lit. Hachirô's Lagoon], about whose origin villagers tell the following tale. Anciently there stood a mountain where the lake now exists. One day three men visited it to hew wood. Hachirô, one of them, went down alone into a fen and caught three fish. He made a fire and roasted them, with the intention of partaking of them with the other two men. But the fish emitted so seductive an odour that it made him unable to desist from devouring them all without awaiting his friends. Now he began to be excessively thirsty; he lay down in the fen and endeavoured to drink all its water, when his two companions came and found his figure much altered. Hachirô told them what had happened to him, and urged them promptly to run homeward. No sooner had he finished his words than he was completely metamorphosed into a huge serpent 160 feet long, which crushed out all cliffs and dales, and turned the mountain into this lake, seventy [Japanese] miles long and from twenty to thirty miles broad."--Tobe, 'Oou Eikei Gunki,' 1608, tom. v.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VII. JUNE 14, 1913. p. 475]

REPLIES.

DOUBLE FLOWERS IN JAPAN.

(11 S. vii. 188.)

In 'The Encyclopaedia Britannica,' 11th ed., vol. v. art. 'Camellia,' we read:--

"Most of the numerous cultivated forms are horticultural products of *C. japonica*, a native of China and Japan, which was introduced in Europe by Lord Petre in 1739. The wild plant has red flowers, recalling those of the wild rose, but most of the cultivated forms are double. In the variety *anemonaeflora* nearly all the stamens have become transformed into small petaloid structures which give the flower the appearance of a double anemone."

To some hasty readers this passage might sound as if affirming all double strains of *Camellia japonica* to be the issues of its European cultivation after 1739. But the truth stands quite otherwise. Li Shi-Chin's 'System of Materia Medica,' 1578, testifies to the then existence of certain double forms in China. The 'Annals of Japan,' 720, tom. xxix., records that in the year 684 a provincial presented to the Court a white-bloomed *C. japonica*, which proves the Japanese to have paid so early an attention to this plant's variations. Since 1615, its competitive shows became in great vogue, culminating in a catalogue published in 1694, giving altogether more than two hundred, mostly double, forms (Kitamura, 'Kiyû Shôran,' 1830, tom. xii.). This number, however, seems now to have dwindled into but one hundred and odd (Miyoshi, 'Lectures on Botany,' Tokio, 1906, vol. ii. p. 725). Dr. Miyoshi (*ut supra*, pp. 716-32) designates as the Japanese flowers most wonderfully prolific of garden forms the native cherry (*sakura*, or *Prunus pseudo-cerasus*), the so-called plum (*P. Mume*), the *Camellia japonica*, the

chrysanthemum, the tree peony, the azaleas (several natural varieties of *Rhododendron indicum*, *R. ledifolium*, &c.), the morning glory (*Parhbitis hederacea*), and the *Iris Kaempferi*, each of these having given rise to a large or small number of double races. Moreover, Japan produces many native and introduced flowering plants with double or semi-double horticultural forms. Merely for exemplification's sake, I give below a random list of them compiled from a few books and living specimens at hand:--

Sagitta sagiifolia; *Narcissus Tazetta*, var. *chinensis*; *N. jonquilla*; *Hemerocallis flava*; *Portulaca grandiflora*; *Dianthus caryophyllus*; *D. barbatus*; *D. chinensis*; *matthiola incana*; *Papaver Rhoas*; *P. somniferum*; *Nelumbo nucifera*' *Nuphar japonicum*; *Paeonia albiflora*; *Clematis florida*; *C. patens*; *Adonis ramosa*; *Ranunculus japonicus*; *Pirus spectabilis*; *Prunus japonica*; *P. persica*; *Spiroea prunifolia*; *Kerria japonica*; *Rosa rugosa*; *R. indica*; *R. microphylla*; *R. loveigata*; *R. Banksice*; *Rubus rosifolius*, var. *coronarius*; *Impatiens balsamina*; *Althoea rosea*; *Hibiscus syriacus*; *H. mutabilis*; *Camellia Sasanqua*; *C. reticulata*; *Punica granatum*; *jasminum Sambac*; *Petunia violacea*; *Nerium odorum*; *Serissa foetida*; *Gardenia florida*; *Primula cortusoides*; *Platycodon grandiflorus*; *Helianthus annus*; *Dahlia variabilis*; *Senecio campestris*; *Inula britannica*; *Calendula arvensis*; *Callistephus chinensis*; *Bellis perennis*.

To elucidate the old aphorism, "The Creator makes nothing very perfect," the observant Chinese sages have frequently adduced double blossoms never ripening into any good fruits (Kaibara, 'Materia Medica of Japan,' 1708, Introduction); and proverbially well known in Japan is a poem of Prince Kaneakira (d. 987) commiserating the total absence of fruits from the double races of *Kerria japonica*. These moralizations set apart, I cannot recall even a single instance of the Japanese or Chinese ever having disliked to grow double flowers. Since early days, however, there has been a good deal of difference of Japanese opinion as to whether single or double flowers are aesthetically superior. As a matter of course, this debate would never meet with any satisfactory decision,

Sua cique quum sit animi cogitatio
Colorque proprius,

and because all those opinions, so varied and mutually opposed in details as they are, agree in acknowledging the essential truth that all attractive flowers, both single and double, have each its own points of beauty, able to make its full display only if felicitously associated with corresponding environments, circumstances, occasions, attendants, visitors, and what not. That such controversies never proved a bar to the great majority of the Japanese approving of double flowers is evident from their long-used metaphors of Chinese derivation, "the floral king" and "the floral premier," respectively applied to *Pœnia Moutan* (tree peony) and *P. albiflora*. It is evident, too, from the national employment of the *Chrysanthemum sinense* for decorating on 3 November, the birthday of their never forgettable last emperor. And for the same purpose on 31 August--the present emperor's birthday--not a few savants are now advocating dahlias as the most timely flowers. These plants are all of foreign origin, each comprising at present a remarkable number of double kinds.

The following extract from Mujû's 'Shaseki Shû,' written between 1279 and 1283, tom. vi., well illustrates how inordinate an esteem was sometimes set by the mediaeval Japanese upon certain double flowers, which have become nowadays very common:--

"Yamada no Shigetada, a provincial baron of Owari, was killed in 1221 because of having espoused the Imperial case in the civil war of that year [for which war see 'The Encyc. Brit.,' vol. xv. p. 259]. He was a renowned archer, brave and talented, but graceful and benign, always sympathizing with the poor and distressed. Once it happened that a cenobite resident in his domain possessed a semi-double azalea. Despite his very ardent desire thereof, Shigetada continued to refrain from uttering it, quite conscious of how dear-loved was it by the cenobite. Some time after the latter committed a serious offence, whereupon the former, seizing the opportunity, instructed a judge to impose on him a choice between two alternative penalties, *viz.*, the mulct of silken fabrics totally measuring seven hiki and four jô [=434 ft. 6 in.], and the forfeiture of the plant in question. Deeming that azalea his only lifelong consolation, the religious preferred to give up so exorbitant a quantity of silk. It was only by dint of the judge's forcible persuasion, dwelling on the possibility of his refusal to alienate the azalea leading to aggravate his case, that he reluctantly dug and delivered it to the baron. As it was then a usage in such judicature to entitle the judge to half the value of the whole forfeit, he demanded of Shigetada a branch of the shrub for cutting. Notwithstanding the baron's strong wish to substitute silk for it, the judge compelled him to part with it. So equally replete with aesthetic concern were those three men, to any one of whom there is hardly a parallel in these days. The azalea, the subject of the above account, still exists in the place of their past residence.

"The classically famed 'Semi-Double Cherry of the Old Capital Nara' flourishes to this day in the precincts of Kôbukuji. The Empress Jôtô Mon-in (987-1073) had intelligence of its superlative beauty, and ordered the bishop of that cathedral to present it to her. Accordingly the tree was dug up, and near being carted into Kyoto, when a clergyman under his rule happened to come upon it. On learning what was being done with it, he vehemently oppugned the removal of so celebrated a tree. He threatened to call together his communion with the blowing of a trumpet shell, thus to take back the tree and expel the bishop, and declared his readiness to suffer whatever heavy punishment might befit him as their ringleader. When this was reported to the empress, her praise was high of the zealot's boldness. She directed the tree to be immediately restored to its original site and made her own only nominally. Farther, she donated to the cathedral the manor of Yono in the province of Iga, renaming it 'The manor for Fencing the Bloom,' and decreed that from its annual proceeds should be defrayed all the necessary costs for maintaining a fence around the semi-double cherry and for setting watchmen thereto for one week of its full bloom. Thenceforward the manor has ever remained the cathedral's dependency. All in all, this deed of the empress was characteristically graceful!"

The last query of PEREGRINUS, as for any popular Japanese flowers corresponding to double races of daffodils or hawthorns, is practically impossible for me to answer, as there is no infallible test for such a comparison. Both these flowers are now grown, though uncommonly, in Japan, whose people appear mostly to care much for neither.

When Bates showed an elephant's picture to some Mundurucus, they are said to have settled it as a large kind of tapir ('The Naturalist on the River Amazonis,' 1863, chap. ix.). Seeing that Cuvier has made them both members of the order Pachydermata, there is much reason in the red men's opinion, and equally reasonable it would seem to say that of all English flowers the hawthorn most resembles the Japanese cherry in its

general aspect, although these rosaceous trees mutually differ much in some corresponding parts. This thought occurred to me when I visited Prof. (afterwards Sir) Robert K. Dulwich one fine warm day in May, 1897. There, near his dwelling, stood a cottage amidst a thicket of hawthorn, which, Mrs. Douglas told me, was somehow connected with Charles Dickens's 'Pickwick Papers.' The magnificence of its flower-laden boughs, the picturesque fluttering of its falling petals, the sunshine that attending its blooming in full, together with its growth in such monumental ground, put me forcibly in mind of the spring scenery of cherry groves in my far-away home, whence I had been out over ten years already.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VII, JUNE 21, 1913. Pp. 490-1]

BOTANY (11 S. vi. 368, 416, 476; viii. 72, 231).--At the penultimate reference I have unwittingly omitted to mention that some folks hereabout believe in the *Yamajiso* (*Mosla japonica*), an herb of the Labiatae, infallibly growing upon grounds over coal measures.

ONIONS PLANTED WITH ROSES (11 S. vi. 509; vii. 232, 357).--Some thirty years ago the people of this province of Kii, which is most noted for its orange culture, were officially instructed to plant onions under each orange tree to protect it from the attack of black moulds. At present I cannot say whether this method was originally of Japanese invention.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VII. JUNE 28, 1913. p. 516]

EXTRACTING SNAKES FROM HOLES.--According to Leo Africanus, 'Descrittione dell' Africa,' in Ramusio, 'Navigationi et Viaggi,' Venetia, 1588, vol. i. fol. 94 C, a large lizard named Dubb lives in the deserts, and is roasted and eaten by the Arabs. when the reptile hides itself in a hole, with its tail remaining outside, no force whatsoever can draw it out, but the hunters succeed in capturing it by much widening the hold with certain implements. Similarly, there is a Japanese belief that no athlete, however muscular, is capable of extracting from a hole a snake by its tail:--

"But you can easily draw it out if only tobacco-juice be applied thereto, or if you pull it with your right hand whilst gripping your left ear with the other hand."--

Terashima, 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713, tom. xlv.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VIII. AUG. 2, 1913. p. 85]

"SCOLOPENDRA CETACEA" (11 S. vii. 347, 410, 517).--I am extremely beholden to DR. RITCHIE for his suggestion that the *Scolopendra cetacea* of the ancients is well identifiable with some Nereid worm. Indeed, a certain species of nereidians, some 6 ft. long, and inhabiting coral reefs near this town, goes under the name *Umi-mukade* (lit. sea-centipede). Apparently it is not very rare, and is frequently taken together with the corals destined to the manufacture of quicklime; but as it soon decays then, I could never meet one in its natural state. Doubtless in such huge Nereid worms originated the old Japanese narratives of monstrous centipedes that attacked dragons in a sea or lake (see my letters on 'The Centipede-Whale' in *Nature*, 1897-8), as well as the Chinese record of a ponderous centipede stranded on the seashore of Kwang-chau in A.D. 745, which is said to have given from its legs only altogether 120 kin (=149 lb.) of edible flesh. Compare with this an account of the palolo, a marine Nereid esteemed a great delicacy in Samoa, in George Brown's 'Melanesians and Polynesians,' 1910, p. 135.

From Bostock and Riley's 'The Natural History of Pliny' (note 30, at p. 452, vol. ii., in "Bohn's classical Library") I see Cuvier had already hit on the identity of the marine scolopendra with the Nereid worms, though from points somewhat different from DR. RITCHIE's. There we read:--

"The animal, Cuvier says, which is here mentioned as the scolopendra, is in reality of the class of worms that have red blood, or annelids, such, for instance, as the Nereides of larger size. These, having on the sides tentacles which bear a strong resemblance to feet, and sharp jaws, might, he says, be very easily taken for scolopendrae. They have also a fleshy trunk, often very voluminous, and so flexible that it can be extended or withdrawn, according to the necessities of the animal. it is this trunk, Cuvier thinks, that gave occasion to the story that it could disgorge its entrails, and then swallow them again.

By the way, I may note here that every Japanese living near the sea is quite familiar with the peculiarity of the native trepang (*Stichopus japonicus*) to vomit forth its intestines and perish soon after being taken out of salt water. Also it was formerly believed in this part that the toad forced to swallow tobacco-juice would vomit all its guts, carry them in its mouth to the nearest water, wash them thoroughly, and then gulp them down, so as to make them reoccupy their normal places in its body.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VIII. AUG. 9, 1913. Pp. 116-7]

"AGONDA" AND "AKODA."--Ratzel's 'The History of Mankind,' trans. Butler, vol. iii. p. 114, 1898, mentions among the vegetable foods of the West African negroes a kind of gourd called *agonda*, the seeds of which are powdered and boiled for eating. Can any contributor to 'N. & Q.' kindly say of what language and meaning this word is; in what writing it occurs for the first time; how the plant scientifically is named and described; what is the form of its ripe fruit; where it originally grew, and where it is cultivated at present?

A diary of the Ashikaga Shogun's household during the years 1516-20 mentions *akoda*, which was, according to later authorities, a sort of pumpkin, globose and orange-

red, and eaten raw. The dates of the diary prove the *akoda* to have existed in Japan some twenty years before the opening of her people's intercourse with the Europeans (1542-3) whereas the common pumpkins and water-melons are said to have been introduced during the seventeenth century (Dr. T. Ito's *Proceedings* of the Natural History Society, Tokio, 1888, p. 40, and Terashima's 'Encyclopædia,' 1713, tom. c.). I much doubt the name *akoda* being a native word, and should be glad to be told if in any other tongue this or an allied name is applied to some cucurbitaceous plant with esculent fruits.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VIII. AUG. 23, 1913. p. 147]

A SLIP IN 'THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA.'--'The Encyclopædia Britannica,' 11th ed., vol. xv., art. 'Japan,' contains at p. 159 a paragraph specialized with the heading 'Lakes and Waterfalls,' which, notwithstanding, gives us no information at all as regards the waterfalls that abound in Japan--nay, even the word "waterfall" is entirely absent from the eighteen component lines save in the heading.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VIII. SEPT. 6, 1913. p. 187]

CRAB, THE PRETENDED ASTROLOGER.

THOMAS F. CRANE gives the following sotry in his 'Italian Popular Tales,' London, 1885, pp. 314-16:--

"[A poor peasant by the name of Crab presented himself to a king as an adept astrologer, and succeeded, through his cunning devices, in recovering for him a valuable ring that had been stolen by his faithless servants.] The King, amazed, presented the astrologer with a large purse of money and invited him to a banquet. Among the other dishes there was brought to the table a plate of crabs. Crabs must then have been very rare, because only the King and a few others knew their name. Turning to the peasant, the King said: 'You, who are an astrologer, must be able to tell me the name of these things which are in this dish.' The poor astrologer was very much puzzled, and, as if speaking to himself, but in such a way that the others heard him, he muttered: 'Ah! Crab, Crab, what a plight you are in!' All who did not know that his name was Crab rose and proclaimed him the greatest astrologer in the world."

Parallel to, if not the original of, the above tale is a Buddhist one, which I have but recently come across on fols. 22-3 in the second tome of the Japanese 'Oobaku' reprint, in the seventeenth century, of the anonymous Chinese translation of the 'Samyutâvadâ-na-sûtra' (Chin. 'Thah-pi-yu-king') apparently executed during A.D. 67-220. It runs as follows:--

"In times of yore, there stood a monastery with more than one hundred monks living and studying in it. Not far distant there resided a lay devotee (*upasaka*) who used to receive into his house every day a different member of the community, and ask him

various doctrinal questions after giving him food, so that his invitation in this manner was never heartily accepted by some monks of shallow learning. Now the community comprised an absolutely ignorant old man, who had become a monk not very long before his turn came for the first time to be entertained by the devotee. Quite disinclined thereto, the former went with so many halts towards the latter's abode that he did not arrive there in due time, whereon the latter observed in error: 'This venerable one must be a great sage who steps so slowly on account of his minute attention to the code of personal bearings.' Exceedingly glad of his acquaintance, the devotee first offered a fine repast to the aged dunce, and then requested him to take a high seat whence to proceed to preach. He took the seat, but of course could utter nothing fit to the occasion. Indeed, so much confused was he that inadvertently he broke forth into an audible soliloquy, 'Ignorant man, how pitifully molested thou art because of thy ignorance!' This inartificial speech was understood by the devotee to import the profound truth that all beings that remain ignorant of the twelve causes of existence are endlessly perturbed by the recurrent births and deaths, which make them ever molested and unhappy. Meditating upon this for a little while, the devotee became on a sudden an elementary saint (*srotâ-panna*). His rejoicing knew no bounds; he went into his depository for a very valuable white woollen stuff, intending to present it to the old monk in token of his inexpressible thanks. In the meantime, however, the monk had run away back to his monastery, and no trace of him was visible in or about the dwelling of the devotee when the latter returned to it with the stuff. Accordingly, the devotee concluded the monk had flown away through his miraculous power, and went after him to the monastery, where the latter secreted himself in his closed cell, fully ashamed of his incapacity for preaching. But his master, who was possessed of all six supernatural talents, well discerned that the lay devotee had freshly attained the elementary saintship through revolving what the aged dunce had delivered unwittingly. So he summoned the old monk, commanded him to accept the present, and explained to him why he was entitled to it. With the utmost pleasure the monk listened to his master, and thereupon he became himself an elementary saint too."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VIII. SEPT. 27, 1913, Pp. 243-4]

BOTANICAL PRESS AND ENTOMOLOGICAL PINS.--When, and by whom, were these appliances invented for drying specimens to preserve them?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VIII. OCT. 4, 1913. p. 270]

REPLIES.

CATHEDRAL BELL STOLEN

(11 S. viii. 27.)

AN old Japanese instance of a group of rogues making away with a ponderous temple bell through their cunning occurs in the 'Konjaku Monogatari,' written in the eleventh century, tom. xxix. ch. xvii. The story is to this effect:--

"Once, in years gone by, there came in the temple Koyadera, province Settsu, a mendicant apparently eighty years of age. He begged the provost's indulgence to allow him some days' rest therein because of his excessive fatigue, occasioned by the long journey which he said he was making from a western province to the capital. The provost fully compassionated the senile traveller, yet he hesitated to comply with his request, inasmuch as he could not easily put himself in mind of a place fit to lodge him. Then, regarding the belfry as quite secure against the inclemencies of weather, the old man asked leave to occupy a mat in its basement until the day of his recovery. This entreaty was granted him at once, on condition that he should render the temple the service of ringing the bell during his stay there--at the same time the provost granting as many days' vacation to the official bell-ringer. Two nights thence went on eventless, the old man striking the bell at regular hours; but at about 10 o'clock in the following morning the official bell-ringer went to the belfry and found the octogenarian prostrate and dead. The news soon spread to all members of the community, and effected endless murmurs at the provost's imprudence in having caused the temple to incur such a trouble--they bade the diocesan folks to carry away the corpse, but no one would dare perform it, for the then approaching local Shinto festival made it a serious breach of the preparatory taboo even slightly to touch so unclean an object. Thus the corpse remained unmoved until about two in the afternoon, when a convent belonging to the temple was entered by two warriors, who inquired of the clergymen in it whether there was seen an octogenary mendicant wandering in the vicinity. Upon being answered that actually such a one was staying in the belfry till but a few hours ago, when he was found suddenly lifeless, they avowed it very probable that he was their own father, who had recently lost his mind and strayed out of home after becoming somehow displeased with his wealthy family. They were conducted by the provost into the belfry, identified their dead parent, and bemoaned the loss quite out of their heads, which induced the provost too to wail. Then they went off, in order, as they said, to make funeral preparations, whereupon the provost returned to the convent and told over all the heart-rending sight he had just witnessed in the belfry, which in its turn moved some of the kindhearted listeners to tears. At about 8 o'clock in the night, some forty or fifty men came night the belfry; many of them were under arms, and their noise was extraordinary, making all residents in the precincts not stir out of closed doors. Only through the tumults and dins the former made, the latter could know them to have carried the corpse into a distant pine forest, struck gongs and changed the Buddha's name [nembutsu] throughout the night, then cremated it there and withdrawn just before the dawn. For thirty days thereafter nobody went near the belfry, deeming it unclean for that duration in accordance with the then current taboo regulation. As soon as the term of the taboo had expired, the official bell-ringer went to sweep through it, and

discovered to his excessive dismay that the huge bell had entirely gone. This report put the whole chapter in great commotion; some of its members with many diocesan folks went to explore the pine forest for it. There they found some fragments of the bell scattered among cinders of pine wood, which naturally led them to conclude that the marauders had carried away the bell after fracturing it with the help of an intense fire produced over it with the pines hewn down upon the spot. Indeed, those three scoundrels had played each his own part so adroitly--the oldest one feigning death for so many hours, and the other two acting as his devotedly mourning sons--that so many persons were sympathetically impelled to weep for their pretended loss. Thus the temple Koyadera lost its bell, and thence for ever stands without any. Moral: Better doubt all others than believe them indiscreetly."

The following narrative is given in Kikuoka Beizan's 'Shokoku Rijindan,' written in the eighteenth century, tom. v. pt. x.--

"One day in olden times there arrived at the convent Chôfukuji, province Tôtômi, a yamabushi who professed to be utterly needy, and craved the principal's contribution towards his pilgrimage to Mount Oomine. The latter sarcastically replied that there was at his disposal no kane+ save the huge bell in the belfry just fronting them, and he would fain contribute it to his purse only if he could take it away single-handed. The yamabushi was much pleased with the proposal. He pushed the bell but once with his stick, and instantly it fell down on the ground. He handled it without an ado, ran away with it as swiftly as a flying bird, and was soon entirely lost sight of. Some time after, the bell was found suspended upon a pine at the top of a very inaccessible steep on Mount Oomine, where it is to be seen in situ to this day, the locality having received after it the name 'Kaneake' [Bell-hanging]."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

* The Yamabushis are the members of the mystic order named Shugendô, whose practice it is unceasingly to travel from one sacred mountain to another, there to observe their occult rites. Cf. J. Collin de Plancy, 'Dictionnaire infernal,' Bruxelles, 1845, p. 263, art. 'Jamambuxes.'

+ This Japanese word has the two meanings "money" and "bell."

[11 S. VIII. OCT. 11, 1913. Pp. 290-1]

DIVINATION BY TWITCHING (11 s. VIII. 187, 237, 273).--That the Japanese of the eleventh century held a superstition allied to what Y.T. attributes to the Ulster folk of the present day is borne out by the 'Toshiyori Kudenshû,' wherein it is said that the itchy eyebrow--and especially the left one--foretells the arrival of a rare guest or a beloved.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VIII. NOV. 22, 1913. p. 417]

MICA (11 S. viii. 232).--Mica was held by the ancient Chinese to furnish a priceless catholicon and *elixir vitae* when prepared with various other ingredients--cinnamon, onions, salt, nitre, alum, honey, the autumnal dews, &c.,--by soaking, boiling,

steaming, &c. Its *raison d'être* is given by the celebrated Tauist writer Koh Hung (c. A.D. 254-334) as follows:--

"Mica differs from all other substances in never decaying after being buried for a very long time, and never being consumed by a blazing fire. Hence one who uses to take it internally is sure to prolong his life indefinitely, and to be neither wet with water, nor burnt with fire, nor hurt with pricks on which he may perchance tread."

According to Kau Tsung-Shih's 'Pan-tsau-yen-i,' finished about A.D. 1115, his contemporaries took mica internally very seldom, restricting its medicinal use to cutaneous applications. Seven years before this Tang Shin-Wei completed his 'Ching-lui-pan-tasu,' wherein he quotes an older work for the preparation of a remarkable panacean pill from mica, using as other ingredients quicksilver and two particular herbs now difficult to identify. For its details see Li Shin-Chin's 'Pan-tsau-kang-muh,' 1578, tom. viii., art. 'Yun-mu.'

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. VIII. DEC. 6, 1913. p. 453]

QUERIES.

We must request correspondents desiring information on family matters of only private interest to affix their names and addresses to their queries, in order that answers may be sent to them direct.

DIDO'S PURCHASE OF LAND.

WHERE can I find collected the Western variants and analogues, if any such there are, of the story of Dido's crafty purchase of land?

At present I know only three tales of this kind recorded in India, China, and Japan. But in each of these the hero is made to have saved himself from the trouble of cutting up the hide of a bull into the thinnest of possible strips, with which to surround a great extent of country, by resorting at once to a display of his supernatural power. They run as follows:--

"When Madhyântika, the third Buddhist patriarch, subdued a gigantic drag, then the proprietor of the country of Kashmir, he asked for the surrender of a spot just big enough for his own seat. This being granted by the dragon, he miraculously enlarged his own body into such a dimension that the whole region was sat on by him cross-legged. Intensely amazed with the sight, the dragon questioned him for why he required so vast an extent of land. 'For my companions' sake,' was his reply. 'How many companions do you intend to bring in this country?' 'Five hundred *arhats* [saints],' answered he. The dragon now implored to be allowed to re-obtain the realm whensoever that number of arhats should happen to diminish by one. Then Madhyântika put himself into an ecstatic trance, and foreknew such a diminution never to occur as long as Buddhism would flourish in this country. So he acceded to the dragon's entreaty, and subsequently he introduced into Kashmir numberless people, who settled themselves in the villages, towns, and cities they had established therein. Some time after Madhyântika went with

his men through the atmosphere to Gandha-mâdana [lit. "Incense Mountain," for the site of which see Balfour, 'The Encyclopædia of India, 1885, vol. i. p. 1138], in order to bring thence the turmeric seeds for propagation in Kashmir. But the guardian dragon of that mountain opposed him wrathfully, and questioned him for what duration he would have the plant cultivated in Kashmir. He replied, 'As long as Buddhism could continue there to prevail.' 'How many years?' 'One thousand years.' So the dragon gave him the seeds, after transporting which to Kashmir Madhyântika entered Nirvana."--The third tome of 'The Life of King Asoka,' translated into Chinese under the title 'O-yuh-wang-chuen,' by An Fah-kin, a Parthian religious, about A.D. 300. Beal's 'Buddhist Records of the Western World,' 1906, vol. i. pp. 149-50, gives another version of the story that was current in the seventh-century India.

"It was in A.D. 677 that Hwui-nang, the sixth patriarch of the Shen sect of Chinese Buddhism, fixed his residence in the woody district of Tsau-ki. Perceiving the church there standing then to be too narrow for the assembly of his followers, he earnestly wished for its extension. He called on Chin A-sien, the landowner of its environs, and requested his gift of a ground only big enough for his seat. Chin asked him how big it was. The patriarch produced a small mat on which he used to sit, and was at once granted what he needed. Thereupon he displayed a miracle by expanding the mat so enormously that instantly all the district of Tsau-ki was covered with it, its four sides being guarded by the Four Guardian Gods of the World [viz. Dhritarâchtra, Virûdhaka, Virûpakcha, and Dhanada]. Forcibly persuaded by this miracle, Chin made no hesitation in donating all his land to Hwui-nang."--Fah-hai, &c., 'Luh-tsu-ta-sze-yuen-ki-wai-ki,' written in the seventh century.

"The climate of Mount Wu-tai is cold for the most part of a year, but in the fifth, sixth and seventh moons all the hills and vales that compose this mountainous tract of 500 square li are pervaded with rare, sweet-scented flowers, it looking as if covered with an unbroken sheet of gorgeous damask, whereas the *tsze-kiu* [*Allium ledebourianum?*] grows abundantly on its five peaks. According to a legend, the Emperor Hau-wan of the Yuen-Wei dynasty [who reigned for about two decenniums closing the fifth century A.D.] was once staying here for diversion, when the Bodhisattva Mandjusri, presenting a priestly appearance, requested his grant of a spot just big enough for his sitting-mat. No sooner was this answered favourably than he spread his mat, which covered all this tract of 500 square li. Exceedingly wonderstruck thereby, the Emperor determined not to stay here any longer. So he forsook the mountain after scattering over it the seeds of *tsze-kiu* [which is much abhorred by all buddhist disciplinarians]. Instantly however, Mandjusri brought the seeds of *ling-ling-hiang* [the sweet basil, *Ocimum basilicum*, according to Bretschneider's 'Botanicon Sinicum,' Shanghai, 1803, pt. ii. p. 230]. Scattering them over the *tsze-kiu*, he successfully counteracted its bad smell. And hitherto so abundantly grown with the *tsze-kiu* as Mount Wu-tai is, yet we never detect there the least scent of it, whereas the *ling-ling-hiang* luxuriates in every part thereof, permeating the air with its pleasant aroma."--The third tome of Jigaku Daishi's 'Journal of Studies and Pilgrimages in China during 838-847 A.D.'

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IX. JAN. 17, 1914. Pp. 47-8]

TURTLES AND THUNDER.--It is popularly believed in Japan that the native mud turtle, *Trionyx japonica*, should it happen to bite a man, will never relax its jaws until thunder is heard.

Dr. A. W. Howitt's 'The Native Tribes of South-East Australia,' 1904, p. 769, has this passage:--

"The man [of the Wotjobaluk tribe], until about forty, is under certain restrictions. . . . [He] will be killed by lightning if he eats the fresh-water turtle, for that reptile is connected with the thunder. . . . As to the turtle, it may be mentioned here that the Wotjobaluk think they can smell something after lightning which reminds them of the smell of the turtle."

Are there any other instances of the turtle being associated with thunder and lightning among various peoples of the world?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IX. April 4, 1914. p. 268]

CHINESE PROVERB IN BURTON'S 'ANATOMY.' (See 10 S. xi. 168; xii. 277; 11 S. viii. 189.)--From Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo's 'Narrative of Embassy to the Court of Timour, 1403-6,' trans markham, 18459, p. 171, it appears that about the beginning of the fifteenth century there was current in Samarcand the proverb "The Chinese have two eyes, the Franks one eye, but the Moors no eye."

Whether or not the originals of such a proverb, similar comparisons frequently occur in the Buddhist works of earlier dates, of which the following are but two examples:

"This world has three kinds of men, viz., eyeless, one-eyed, and two-eyed. The eyeless man never attends to the Law; the one-eyed man does not fix his mind upon the Law, howbeit that he frequently attends thereto; but the two-eyed man carefully hearkens unto the Law and demeans himself according to it."--The Chinese translation of the 'Mahâparinirvâna-sûtra,' by Dharmarakcha, A.D. 416-23, tom. xxv.

"Every seeker in philosophical meditation should have the two particular eyes: one, the ordinary eye, with which to read letters; another, the intellectual eye, with which to discriminate errors."--Chi-kioh-shen-sze, 'Tsong-king-luh,' c. A.D. 960, tom. xli.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IX. APRIL 25, 1914. p. 326]

WEATHER PROGNOSTICATIONS.--According to Fan Ching-ta's 'Kwui-hai-yii-hang-chi,' written late in the twelfth century, the Lians, who then inhabited some parts of Southern China, used upon New Year's Day to draw prognostications of the months for the whole year. They put water into a series of twelve earthen cups, respectively

named after the months, and stayed for the finishing of their headman's prayers. They went jointly to inspect them, and inferred therefrom the reigning weather of each month--e.g., should the first cup be water and the second cup empty, the first month was understood to be rainy and the second month dry. In Japan it was formerly a custom with the Shinto priests of Atsuta to place a sealed pot of water somewhere under the ground-floor of the temple every twelfth day of the first month. On the seventh of the next first month its contents were measured, their quantity being taken as an unerring indicator of abundance or paucity of the coming crops (*Zeitschrift für Japanische Volks- und Landeskunde*, Tokyo, 10 Oct., 1913, p. 479). Also the ancient Japanese held the belief that the character of any year's harvest could be infallibly foretold from the thickness of ice examined on New Year's Day (Prince Ichijô, 'Kuji Kongen,' 1422, chap. vi.).

In the northern city of Sendai there was a practice on the fourteenth night of every first month to leave in ashes twelve lighted coals in a series corresponding with the order of the twelve months, for the purpose of divining the predominant weather of each month of the year. They were looked into the following morning, when the coals representing the dry months would be still living, whereas those denoting the rainy months would be perfectly cool (Ikku, jun., 'Oou Ichiran Dôchû Hizakurige,' ser. iv. pt iii., 1849). Some old people in this town (Tanabe) speak of their parents having used beans for the same purpose on the first night of every year. A dozen of them were put in one or two lines upon ashes, these being made to adjoin one or two rows of burning coals. Observing them in the following morning, the experimenter would predict some months to be rainy, others to be dry, and others to be half rainy and half dry, according to their representative beans having become charred black, cinerated whitish, or partly black and partly whitish.

Will some one kindly tell me whether these modes of prognosticating dry or wet weather for each month have been recorded from any countries other than Japan and China?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IX. APRIL 25, 1914, Pp. 327-8]

TURTLE AND THUNDER (11 S. ix. 268).--It is commonly believed both by the negroes and by some white people in Virginia that the turtle never relinquishes its hold on anything it has set its teeth into, except it happens to thunder at the time. I have heard this also of the tortoise, though I never knew one to bite any one. Thunder is believed to affect snakes, and I have heard old huntsmen declare that a snake is unable to inject its poison during a thunderstorm. There is no doubt that all such animals are peculiarly affected by the electrical state of the atmosphere at such times.

FREDERICK T. HIBGAME.

Unthank Road, Norwich.

After sending you this query, I have come across the following passage, which proves some peoples besides the Japanese and Australians to have also associated thunder with certain chelonians:--

"I may remark here that the German name for the tortoise is Schild-kröte (toad with shields): that the Korybantés produced their noisy music, and accompanied their

Pyrrhic dances with kettledrums and the sound of arms; and that the Kuretes, in order to conceal from Kronos the birth of Zeus, struck their shields with their lances. It is interesting to observe that in Sanskrit also kacchâs is the name given to the little shields of the tortoise or kacchapas; that kacchapî is the term applied to the noise of the thundering Sarasvatî, or the thunder; that kûrmas (another designation of the tortoise) isalso an epithet applied to the *flatus ventris*, which is compared to a clap of thunder (cf. the roots *kar, kur, gar, gur*). In the chapter on the ass we saw this *flatus* compared to the noise of a trumpet or a kettledrum; here we have the thunderbolts that strike upon the shields, the spots of the celestial tortoise, of the rainy moon, upon the clouds, attracted by or formed from the moon's spots, that is, which produce the thunder. According to Hellenic myth, the tortoise obtained from Zeus himself--that is, from the pluvial god, from the god of the clouds, the god in connection with the shield-clouds which concealed his birth, and, we may add, from the god tortoise--the power of concealing itself under shields, and of carrying its house along with it."--Angelo de Gubernatis, 'Zoological Mythology,' 1872, vol. ii. pp. 306-7.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IX. APRIL 25, 1914, Pp. 335-6]

DIDO'S PURCHASE OF LAND (11 S. ix. 47).--The three analogues of this tradition given in my query are of Indian and Chinese growth, although one of them appears to have been preserved only in an old itinerary in China of a Japanese priest. But I am now able to add to the list the following Japanese legend that attaches to the church Dôunji in the northern province of Rikuzen:--

"Anciently there lived in this locality a strange couple, man and wife, with rosy faces and beautiful figures. They ever looked like blooming youth, but their talks evinced their personal acquaintance with the events that had occurred five or six centuries ago--in fact, senility could never affect them. It happened during the period of Keiun (A.D. 704-7) that a Buddhist priest named Jôe came to stay in their house, when he discovered the holiness of the place because of its being surround by ninety-nine peaks and as many valleys. Therefore he became desirous of finding a sanctuary in it. Finding both his host and hostess loth to grant him a necessary area, he craved there indulgence to let him as much land as his wand could shade if planted in their presence. This proposal being accepted and put into execution, the wand instantly covered with its shade all the tract belonging to them. So they were obliged to give it over to him, and retired to a mountain twenty [Japanese] miles away, where, it is said, they are occasionally seen even nowadays."--Kume, 'Banji Banzaburô,' *Zeitschrift für Japanische Volks- und Landeskunde*, Tokyo, 5 Marz, 1914, S. 22.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabae, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IX. May 2, 1914. Pp. 353-4]

OCTOPUS, VENUS'S EAR, AND WHELK (11 S. ix. 128, 173, 216, 276).--I think I remember coming across some pages in Gesner's 'Historia Animalium,' lib. iv., describing the medicinal uses of these objects; but as I read the book eighteen years ago, I can by no means be positive about it.

The Chinese opine the octopus to be a tonic (Li Shi-Chin, 'Pan-tsau-kang-muh,' 1578, tom. xliv.). It is popularly believed to fatten and strengthen the cat when she is daily fed therewith, and to kill man should he eat it with the Japanese plum (*Prunus mume*). According to Ono Ranzan's 'Honzô Keimô,' written in the eighteenth century, it is cooked and eaten in the province of Ise to arrest the phlegmatic discharge from the chest; and the shrub *Deutzia scabra* and Windsor beans are potent antidotes against the octopus of a bad quality. A singularly small species with boiled-rice like grains in its body, and hence called Iidako (i.e., boiled - rice octopus, *Octopus membranaceus* of Suay), is sometimes eaten alive by vulgarians, who still pin their faith to its invigorating their constitution when consumed thus.

Li Shi-Chin's work cited above, in its forty-sixth tome, amply shows how highly the Chinese esteem the Venus's ear shell as a cure for various diseases of the eye, its powder being either locally applied or taken internally; it is also reputed a remedy for certain fevers and gonorrhœa. Its flesh is said to be as efficacious as its shell.

The whelk (*Buccinum undatum*), common on the coasts both of Europe and North America, also occurs on the northern shores of Japan (Iwakawa, 'Preliminary Catalogue of Marine Shells in the Collection of the . . . Tôkyô Imperial Household Museum,' 1900, part i. p. 23). Numerous are the univalves allied to it that have received particular attention from the Japanese and Chinese druggists, yet I have never heard of any instance of the whelk having been used medicinally by them.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IX. MAY 30, 1914. p. 434]

FEAST OF SHELLS (11 S. ix. 108, 175).--Will MR. PEET or any other reader kindly say in what sort of shells the ancient Gaels drank when they feasted together?

Formerly the Chinese made it a fashion to drink out of the shells of the pearly nautilus and *Tridacna gigas*. The latter is said by the celebrated savant Yang Chin (1488-1559) to possess a singular characteristic of never spilling, should it be made into a cup and so overfilled with wine as to exceed its brim by a tenth of an inch (Li Shi-Chin, 'Pan-tsau-kang-muh,' 1578, tom. xlvi.). The Japanese sometimes drink from the Venus's-ear shell (*haliotis gigantea*), which they deem an emblem of longevity and good fortune. From the 'Makura no Sôshi,' written in the eleventh century, we understand the then Japanese noblemen--nay, even ladies--occasionally to have drunk from the shell of *Turbo marmoratus*, a usage which has not entirely ceased yet. And the 'Soga Monogatari,' apparently composed about A.D. 1300, speaks of the twelfth-century warriors sometimes using *Triton tritonis* for a drinking-vessel, although this shell was not admitted into the Imperial Court.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IX. JUNE 6, 1914. Pp. 455-6]

DIDO'S PURCHASE OF LAND (11 S. ix. 47, 353).--According to L. R. Vaidya's 'The Standard Sanskrit-English Dictionary,' Bombay, 1889, p. 875, Bali, a mighty demon, conquered the gods, who prayed to Vishnu for succour:--

"The latter was then born on the earth as Vamana [a Brahman dwarf], and prayed to Bali to give him as much earth as he could step over in three steps. This request being granted, Vishnu assumed a mighty form, and covered the earth by the first step, and the heavens by the second. No room being left for the third, Vamana planted his foot on Bali's head and sent him down to Patala [hell]."

In the *Minzoku*, No. 4, p. 83, April, 1914, Mr. Y. Ino states the story of Dido's artful purchase of land to have been turned into the following traditions of the Far East during the sixteenth century or later:--

"After the first arrival of the Spaniards in Luzon, they were trafficking with the islanders for some time. One day they made a present of gold to the native king, and asked a boon of as much ground as might be covered with the hide of a bull. As soon as this was granted, they cut it up into strips and surrounded a wide tract therewith. In truth the King much disapproved their deed, but he parted with the land because of his fear lest his reputation might be impaired had he broken his promise. So the Spaniards fortified it, and succeeded in subduing the whole island nine years after, *i.e.* A.D. 1572."--Arai, 'Sairan Igen,' written in the eighteenth century.

"When the Dutch were stranded on the coast of Formosa they applied to the Japanese then there flourishing for land necessary for their temporary residence. Seeing their entreaty bootless, they proffered them what amount of gold they would want, and requested as much land as could be covered with a bull's hide. This being accorded them, they cut up the hide into very thin strips, surrounded with them a tract about one mile in circumference, and erected a fortification on it."--Ching Yih-Tsu, 'Ching Ching-Kung Chuen' (Life of Coxinga').

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IX. JUNE 13, 1914. p. 474]

WEATHER PROGNOSTICATIONS (11 S. ix. 327).--Before writing you this query, I was inconsiderate enough not to have looked through J. Collin de Plancy's 'Dictionnaire Infernal,' Bruxelles, 1845, which contains the following passage:--

"Dans plusieurs provinces du Nord, on fait, le jour de Noël, une cérémonie qui ne doit pas manquer d'apprendre au juste combien on aura de peine à vivre dans le courant de l'année. Les paysans surtout pratiquent cette divination. On se rassemble auprès d'un grand feu, on fait rougir une plaque de fer ronde, et lorsqu'elle est brûlante, on y place douze grains de ble sur douze points marqués à la craie, auxquels on a donné les noms des douze mois de l'année. Chaque grain qui brûle annonce disette et cherté dans le mois qu'il désigne; et si tous les grains disparaissent, c'est le signe assuré d'une année de misère. Triste divination!"--P. 228.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. IX, JUNE 27, 1914. p. 513]

OCTOPUS, VENUS'S EAR, AND WHELK (11 S. ix. 128, 173, 216, 276, 434).--
The following instruction is given in the sixty-second tome (which was written in A.D. 1825) of Count Matsura's 'Kôshi Yawa':--

"To heal a burn or scald. Put lukewarm water in a Venus's-ear shell, and repeatedly rub the inside of the latter with a piece of flint. Then the water would turn white, as if rice was washed in it. Apply this to the afflicted part, and see that it is instantaneously cured."

This recipe appears to be endemically a Japanese one, no Chinese work on medicine mentioning it so far as I know. KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. X. JULY 25, 1914. p. 72]

MODERN ADVOCATE OF DRUIDISM.--I remember I once read of a modern writer in Great Britain or Ireland who had brought himself into public odium on account of having advocated the religion of ancient Druids; but now I have entirely forgotten his name as well as the title of the book containing his account. I should be glad of any information about them. KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. X. NOV. 21, 1914. p. 408]

THE ORIGINAL OF 'ALADDIN' (11 S. x. 186).-- Doubtless many readers should be enraptured with COL. HUBERT FOSTER'S note under this heading that he has 'discovered the track of a story wandering across Asian between 200 and 1000 A.D., and getting 'improved' on the way.'" But advancing further in its perusal, any reader whose acquaintance with Chinese history enables him to certify that the Ming dyansty continued from A.D. 1368 till 1681* should be somewhat at a loss to comprehend what manner of reasoning has induced COL. FOSTER to conceive the Chinese tale of a certain Wang and his mother and uncle, which, it appears, began to grown only so lately as during the Ming dynasty (1368-1681), to have already passed from China to Western Asian between the much earlier years 200 and 1000. Unless additional evidence is produced by him that there had existed in China a prototype of this tale between the years 200 and 1000, COL. FOSTER'S 'discovery'" will remain an inextricable myth for ever.

Also it is much to be regretted that COL. FOSTER in his note specifies neither the title nor date of the Chinese book whence Dr. Geil is said to have translated this tale, nor does he explain why he has chosen the years between 200 and 1000 A.D. as the duration

of its supposed travel across Asia. As my occasional writings to 'N. & Q.' illustrate, China certainly possesses many a model of the tales and proverbs now thriving in Europe and Western Asia; but we must never forget that there are therein a multitude of them which bear enough of native physiognomy, but prove on investigation to be the copies, modifications, or metamorphoses of foreign originals. Taking these into consideration, one might be justified in suspecting whether the Chinese story of the Want family is not really an imitation of 'Aladdin.'

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*See, e.g., 'Encyc. Brit.,' 11th ed., vol. v. pp. 197-8, where, however, the final year of the dynasty is not clearly given, apparently because it was not destroyed at once, but dwindled down after much lingering.'

NOTES.

THE PURCHASING OF DREAMS.

Some old-fashioned Japanese still hold that dreams can be "bought" or "sold," that is, one's fortune foreshadowed in his dream is capable of being transferred to another person should the latter only adequately requite the former before it comes true. nay, people formerly believed such transfer of a future luck could be artfully executed without any recompense or notice to its original dreamer. These superstitions are well illustrated in Mr. G. Ishibashi's 'Dream,' Tokyo, 1907, pp. 171-3, with the following tales given in substance:--

"In years gone by there was in the province of Bizen a sub-provincial governor's son, by name Hiki no Makihito [authentically, Kibi no Makibi, A.D. 692-775]. Once he had a dream, visited a female oneirocritic, and had it interpreted by her, when the first son of the lord-governor came to see her, and after detailing what he had recently dreamed asked her opinion thereof. She pronounced his dream as exceedingly favourable, and an indication of his becoming a great minister of state. Therefore she warned him never to make it known to others, which made him go home extremely delighted. Now Makihito, issuing out of the room, wherein he had been eavesdropping to this conversation, pressed her with this request: 'Assist me to seize this lordling's dream, since it is commonly said dreams can be seized by application of a certain formula.' As his earnest entreaty moved her completely, she instructed him to call on her anew, and then recount to her the noble youth's dream, carefully imitating all his miens and words. This mimesis he performed with a consummate skill, which was fully responded to by the woman's punctilious repetition of her verdict. Many years after, the emperor made Makihito a great minister of state, in which office he did so vastly contribute to the education and refinement of the nation that his renown abides ever ineffaceable in Japanese history, whereas the scion of the local grandee, whose auspicious dream he had seized so cunningly, dreamed away all his lifelong days without meeting any promotion whatsoever."--'Uji Shûi Monogatari,' written about the eleventh century, tom. xiii.

"The whiles Masako [one of the most energetic female politicians of Japan, A.D. 1157-1225] was yet dwelling with Tokimasa her father, one day she was addressed by her younger sister thus: 'last night I dreamed that I ascended Mount Fuji, and behold there was not a bit of cloud or mist about it, while its foot abounded with beautiful cherry and peach blooms. Will you tell me what this presages?' At once Masako understood the dream to be a very propitious one, but, feigning her disapproval of it, she succeeded in persuading her sister to exchange it for her best attire. The dream so strategically purchased she esteemed as sacred as her joss; she used to pray to it with the offering of lights and wine. At that time it happened that Yoritomo [the founder of military feudalism, A.D. 1147-99] was staying in Tokimasa's estates. He was intending to court his second daughter, whose personal charms he had heard to beggar all descriptions. But just when he was about sending her his letter of love-making, it suddenly came to his mind that so extraordinary a beauty was more than his match, whence he began to think of her elder sister as his fittest companion. Consequently he wooed and espoused Masako, who thus became eventually the most influential woman of all military families of her time."--'Kohon Soga Monogatari,' written c. A.D. 1300.

According to a local tradition recorded by Mr. Nakayama in *Zeitschrift für Japanische Volks- und landeskunde*, vol. ii. p. 432, Tokyo, 1914, this second daughter of Tokimasa was Tokiko by name. She parted with her priceless dream for a mirror of her elder sisters, quite ignorant of what disastrous change of destiny should ensue therefrom. Indeed, she was married to a powerful local ruler, but, falsely accused of conjugal infidelity, she was killed by her husband in an excessively cruel manner.

On p. 477 of the same volume Mr. Yamamaki has given a Korean story resembling the above, which reads thus:--

"In the eighth century there dwelt at the base on Mount Wu-kwan a hermit named Pau Yuh with his wife, and a stranger predicted them to have a Chinese emperor as their son-in-law. Years after they begat two daughters in succession, Shin-i, the younger one, being particularly beautiful and sagacious. Shortly after her reaching the age of puberty, her elder sister told her of a strange dream she had the night before: that she had climbed Mount Wu-kwan to its summit, whence she discovered the whole world flooded by a swirling stream. Shin-i proffered her damask petticoat to buy that dream with. This bargain being struck, she requested her sister to relate her dream once more. No sooner was the recital finished than she manipulated thrice as if she put it in her bosom, when she felt, as it were, something mysterious entering her own body. It happened in A.D. 753 that the Chinese emperor Sah-tung [reigned 756-62], then the heir apparent to the throne, travelled incognito in Korea, and put up in Pau Yuh's cottage. When Pau Yuh's daughters were descried by the future emperor, their loveliness much pleased him, so that he asked their father to bring either of them for mending his garment. Now the hermit's apprehension that his disguised guest was a very noble Celestial put him in mind of what had been prophesied before his daughters' births. He directed his first daughter to present herself, but she had scarcely crossed the door-sill when she bled at the nose, which obliged him to send Shin-i in her stead. Living with the guest for one month, she conceived, when he departed to his own land, after divulging his own birth and handing her his bow and arrows, which he charged her to give to their forthcoming child, should it prove to be a male. In the due month, she brought forth a splendid son, who became, when grown up, the founder of a new kingdom."

Such stories of purchasing a dream are very likely to occur in the historical, biographical, or folk-lore writings of several other peoples. Practically, however, I have never met even a single instance from beyond Japan and Korea, and shall be greatly beholden for any information.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. X. NOV. 28, 1914. Pp. 421-2]

TOOTH - BLACKENING.--In Haxthausen's 'Studien über die Innern Zustände, das Volksleben und insbesondere die Ländlichen Einrichtungen,' Hannover, 1847, S. 76, it is said that the Great Russian women "paint their cheeks very red, and formerly they often dyed their teeth black"! Can any of your readers tell me what preparation was used in their tooth-blackening?

Likewise, the Japanese women of old times used to paint their cheeks and blacken their teeth. The former usage died out during the eighteenth century, whereas the latter practice is still met with occasionally in the country parts.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. X. DEC. 12, 1914. p. 467]

MEDICINAL MUMMIES (11 S. ix. 67, 70, 115, 157, 195, 315; x. 176, 234).--Baron C.A. de Bode's 'Travels in Luristan and Arabistan,' London, 1845, vol. i. p. 301, has this passage:--

"near the straits of Tengi-Tekó, from whence the Kurdistan river issues into the plain above the ruins of Arrajan, and not far from the village of Peshker, is a fissure high up in the mountains, out of which runs a black substance resembling pitch, which is gathered by the natives, and is much esteemed in Persia for its healing qualities, especially for bruises and fractures. It is called *Mumia*, and sometimes *Mumia-i-Nai*, from the name of the village, *Nai-deh*, which lies at the foot of these mountains. The fissure was doubtless originally produced by a volcano now extinct. At the time Shiraz was visited by an earthquake (25 or 30 years ago). . . .the rent of the hill from whence the *mumia* oozed out sparingly was widened, and since that time it runs out more abundantly, but the quality is said to be deteriorated."

In a note on p. 324 we read:--

"May not this *mumia* be the gum mentioned by Discorides (iii. 99), which was obtained from Persia, of singularly healing qualities, and hence named Sarcocolla?

"The author of these pages has himself experienced the efficacy of the Persian *mumia* on applying it to a bruised side occasioned by a fall down some rocky cliffs. A piece of the hard black substance of which it consists is mixed with melted sheep's fat, and while hot the bruised part of the body is well rubbed with it.

"According to Sir William Ouseley, the only genuine *Mum-i-ay* is produced in the Darabjird district, its name signifying 'the wax of a village called Ayi.' And according to Comte Ferrières Sauvebœuf, the *mummiayi* was usually among the choicest presents made by the Persian sovereigns to their neighbouring allies. Thus, Ali Murad Khan sent about one ounce of this mummy contained in a golden box to the Empress of Russia (see his 'Memoires Historiques, Politiques, et Géographiques des Voyages,' tom. iii, p. 33, Paris, 1790)."

The following account occurs in Robert Shaw's 'Visits to High Tartary, Yârkand and Kâshghar,' London, 1871, p. 352:--

"Kashghar, April 4 [1869]. Sarda's friend reports that in the time of the Chinese they used to extract 'moomiai' from the heads of slaves! 'Moomiai' is a mysterious drug, which, according to Oriental superstition, is an infallible cure for every wound and disease. All conquerors (even the English) are accused of sacrificing prisoners to obtain it. Sarda's friend says that he heard the following story apropos of 'moomiai' from an escaped slave, who made his way from Yarkand back to his home in Gilgit some years ago. This slave and twenty more had been put into a garden to eat their fill of grapes for twenty days. He had seen the roasting pans over which the victims are suspended head downwards, while their skulls are gashed with razors to let the 'moomiai' drop out into the red-hot pans! He and others contrived to make their escape. It is supposed the others were converted into 'moomiai'!"

In China the Egyptian mummy is called "Muh-nai-i." It is first described in Teou Kiu-Ching's 'Cheh-Kang-luh,' finished in A.D. 1366, as follows:--

"In the country of Tien-Fang there is sometimes a septuagenarian or octogenarian who eagerly wishes to devote his own body into the benefit of others. Such old man shuns all sorts of food and drink except honey, which not only he does eat, but also washes himself with. After some months' practice thus he excretes nothing but honey. When he dies, people put his body in a stone coffin filled with honey, engrave it with the date, and bury it. A century after, it is opened, and the corpse is found to have turned into a melligenous drug, which, when internally taken in a small quantity, instantaneously heals fractures and contusions. It is not abundant procurable even in that country, its other name being 'Honey-man' (*Mih-jin*)."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. X. DEC. 12, 1914. p. 476]

DREAMS AND LITERATURE (11 S. x. 447, 512; xi. 32, 326).--In Frank Seafeld's 'The Literature and Curiosities of Dreams,' London, 1885, vol. ii. p. 229, eleven lines in verse, declared to have been composed by Thomas Cromwell, Ph.D., F.S.A. in his sleep after taking an anodyne on account of a painful illness on the night of 9 Jan., 1857, are given from his 'The Soul and the Future Life: Appendix VIII.: On Literary and Other Composition in Dreams.' Whether the verse is of any literary value I am not qualified to say.

At the second reference MR. M.H. DODDS speaks of his nurse having used to warn him, that had he wanted a dream to come true, he should never tell it to any one. Similar opinion appears to have obtained among the olden Japanese, who believed in one's

infallibly missing a good luck, or even in his incurring an irreparable subversion of fate, in case he makes his dream known to anybody unversed in oneirocriticism. This is evident from the following quotations:--

"Once upon a time there lived in the province of Sado a certain Tomo no Yoshio, who was a servant of a sub-provincial governor. One night he dreamed he was standing with his feet set on the Western and Eastern Cathedrals of the city of Nara. Upon his telling of it to his wife after awakening, she observed that such a stride was enough to tear him in two. Quite amazed with her words, and deeply regretting his imprudence to have related the dream to such a simple woman, Yoshio went out to the governor's house. This governor, who was very learned in physiognomy, had never generously treated his servant before. But this time he received Yoshio with exceptional cordiality, and pressed him to sit on a cushion and face to face with himself as if they were of equal rank. This made Yoshio mindful of what his wife had just uttered, and he much wondered if his master was not intending to rend him after a display of so much kindness. Then the governor spoke to him: 'Your dream has been a very auspicious one, but you have told it to a wrong person; so now you are doomed to die in penalty, though you will become a powerful grandee for some duration.' Some time after Yoshio went to the capital, and subsequently was preferred to the high office of Dainagon; but ultimately he was found guilty of a grave offence, and deprived of his rank and office, he was deported to a remote province [A.D. 806], where he perished quite miserably, thus attesting the accuracy of the sub-provincial governor's prophecy."--Uji Shûi Monogatari,' written about the eleventh century, ch. iv.

"Fujiwara no Morosuke (A.D. 909-60) was doubtless an extraordinary man; of all his wishes for posterity there was none that had not been fulfilled sooner or later. Still it is a thousand pities that he acted faultily in but one transaction. Once in his youthhood he dreamed he was standing holding in his arms the Imperial Courts, with his face towards the north, and his feet upon the Western and Eastern Grand Palaces. After awakening he recounted it to a wiseacre lady who happened then to be in his presence, whereon she made this remark: 'Such a stride as that must have made you ache severely!' This ill-sorted utterance caused the happy issue of his dream to stray, so that, so powerful and so prosperous as all his descendants proved to be, he himself could not attain the regentship--the highest of all the offices of imperial investment.....Tradition says that the real import of any favourable dream can be totally altered through its malinterpretation. Guard yourself, therefore, against telling your dream to any unwise person."--'Ookagami,' written in the twelfth century, art. 'Udaijin Morasuke.'

Not only the Japanese of yore thus believed bringing in the wrong exposition of a good dream bringing in a bad sequel to the dreamer, but equally they believed in the meliorating interpretation of a bad dream giving issue to his felicity. As an illustration of this I shall subjoin here my abridgment from an undated register entitled 'Chôgen Monogatari':--

"It happened one night in the spring of A.D. 1575 that Chôsokame Motochika [a warlike lord of Tosa, who afterwards made himself almost the sole master of all the four provinces of Shikoku] had an unpleasant dream that he shot an arrow and saw it was fractured and the bowstring ruptured. Next morning he summoned a Shinto priest, by name Sakon, and asked him to interpret it. Scarcely had he finished his relation thereof,

when Sakon gave him this answer: 'Your dream is extremely propitious: your bowstring was ruptured because of the unsurpassed strength of your bow; your arrow was fractured because of the measureless force of your shoot; hence, should you start a war this year, no enemy could withstand your insuperable army.' Following this advice, Motochika invaded the neighbouring provinces, and succeeded in aggrandizing his domain."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. XI. MAY 15, 1915. Pp. 385-6]

MEDICINAL MUMMIES (11 S. ix. 67, 70, 115, 157, 195, 316; x. 176, 234, 476; xi. 35).--Allow me to add the following quotations to my reply at the last reference:--

"Momiai, Pers.....This name is applied in Persia and Central Asia to several forms of asphalte, mital pitch, je's pitch, maltha.....The Persian momiai is deemed a certain specific in fractured bones. It is a solid, hard, heavy, black, glistening mass, without any particular odour. In all eastern bazars may be found, under the name of Persian mumiai, compound resembling the genuine in appearance. According to Dr. Seligman, Mum in Persia signifies wax; Isi or Ayu is the name of the village in the vicinity of which te spring of water containing mumiai or mumiajin is found."--Balfour, 'The Cyclopædia of India,' 1885, vol. ii. p. 971.

"Baghanwalla.* Sungi+ *Momiai* is the local name of coal in this district, and is used extensively by the hakims as a medicine, administered internally along with milk in all bruises, wounds, or external injuries, and it is said with wonderful effect."--Andrew Fleming, 'Trip to Paid Dadud Khan and the Salt Range,' *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xviii. p. 674, 1849.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. XI. JUNE 5, 1915. p. 438]

HAIR USED IN MAGIC.--In his 'Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft' (Letter IV.) Sir Walter Scott writes as follows about Dr. John Fian, the schoolmaster at Trenant, who was executed with others for an attempt to kill by magic King James VI of Scotland:

"This man was made the hero of the whole tale of necromancy, in an account of it published at London, and entitled 'News from Scotland,' which has been lately reprinted by the Roxburghe Club. It is remarkable that the Scottish witchcrafts were not thought sufficiently horrible by the editor of this tract, without adding to them the story of a philtre being applied to a cow's hair instead of that of the young woman for whom it was designed, and telling how the animal came lowing after the sorcerer to his schoolroom door, like a second Pasiphae, the original of which charm occurs in the story of Apuleius.

Much alike to this, a Japanese description of a warlock's discomfiture is briefly given in Ishida's 'Ehon Tasogaregusa,' Kyoto, 1793. Nagata, a *samurai* resident in Yedo, had to wife a woman both wise and virtuous. It fell out one day that a strange *yamabushi*+ was permitted to lodge in their house for a single night. Absorbedly fascinated by her exquisite beauty, he invented a pretext and privately asked of the hostess one of her hairs. But she rightly suspected his foul intention, fetched a hair from the stable, and handed it to him as her own. After the nightfall, totally unapprised of this imposition, the *yamabushi* secretly manœuvred his black art over that hair, when the mare from whose tail the hostess had twitched it broke open the stable door, and rushed into his apartment quite of unawares. And let him fly in this or that direction as he would, she did pursue him with so frenzied gallops that he missed his footing and fell down in a deep well. After investigations he was found to be a notorious malefactor who had dishonoured a great number of women by working enchantments with their hairs.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

[11 S. XII. JULY 31, 1915. Pp. 84-5]

"SYMPATHIES" AND "ANTIPATHIES" OF PLANTS. (See 'Botany,' 11 S. vii. 72, 231, 516).--Recently I came across a Chinese passage telling that the coriander would much thrive if its planter vituperates at others during the act, but now I am unable to recollect the title of the book which contains it.

In this part, the *hitomoji*--a small form of the cibol, much used as a condiment--is held to have a strong "sympathy" with money, though in a different mood from *Xanthoxylum piperitum* and *Colocasia indica* (for which two plants see 11 S. vii. 73). Whenever a portion of its cluster is stolen or given away gratis, all the rest, it is said, will fade away irretrievably. Also some folks here maintain that the plantain (*Plantago maor*), as well as the broomwort (*Kochia acoparia*), would never grow anew should its owner happen to revile its exuberance as a nuisance.

In Ratzel's 'History of Mankind,' trans. Butler, 1897, vol. ii. p. 508, the Manganja villages in Eastern Africa are said to be "fenced with pillar-like euphorbias, a plant under which no grass will grow, and which will not burn....."

I should like to know the scientific name of this plant, together with the reason why no plant will grow under it.

In J.A.S. Collin de Plancy's 'Dictionnaire critique des Reliques et des Images miraculeuses,' 1821, tom. i. p. 102, we read as following about St. Bruno of Chartreux:--

"On raconte encore aujourd'hui qu'en son monaste're de Calbre, à la place ou il reposait ses membres fatigués par la contemplation, il ne croit point d'herbe, dans tout l'espace qu'occupait son corps, quoiqu'il y ait tout à l'entour une belle verdure."

Here, doubtless, the weeds keep from growing on the hallowed spot not from "antipathy," but from "sympathy" which they entertain towards the saint.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. XII. JULY 31, 1915. Pp. 88-9]

EASTER HARE (11 S. xi. 320, 407).--At 10 S. v. 292, MR. J. HOLDEN MACMICHAEL wrote:--

"The circumstance of Easter Day being always the first Sunday after the first full moon which happens on or next after 21 March, and of the hare being associated with both Easter and the moon, renders it probably that the hare, so far as Northern mythology is concerned, became identified with the Easter moon through the Druidica worship of Eostre."

In Cox's 'An Introduction to Folk-lore,' 1895, p. 102, we read:--

"Now the name of this Christian festival is derived from Eostre, an Anglo-Saxon goddess, whose worship was celebrated at this season. The hare may have been sacred to Eostre; at any rate it 'probably played a very important part at the Spring Festival of the prehistoric inhabitants of this island.' The hare may have been worshipped as a tribal totem for god."

There are several peoples--e.g., Chinese, Mongols, Indians, Mexicans, Namaquas, &c.--who have associated the hare with the moon ('Yuen-kien-hui-han,' 1703, tom. iii. "Gubernatis, 'Zoological Mythology,' 1872, vol. ii. p. 79; Baring-Gould, 'Curious Myths of the Middle Ages,' 1884, pl. 203; Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 250; Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' 2nd ed., vol. i. p. 355). But my scanty acquaintance with the mythology of the Northern peoples disqualifies me from saying whether they were ever associated in it, as was conjectured by MR. MACMICHAEL.

On the other hand, Dr. Budge's 'The Gods of the Egyptians,' 1904, vol. i. p. 427, has this passage:--

"At Dendra a hare-headed god is seen wrapped in mummy swathings, with his hands in such a position that they suggest his identification with Osiris, and an attempt has been made (see Renouf in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. ix. pp. 281-294) to show in connexion with this representation that the hare-headed god was called Un: that this name appears in the compound name 'Un-nefer,' the well-known title of Osiris; that the hare-god Un was only another form of Osiris; and that the name Un was applied to Osiris because he 'sprang up' like the hare, which, as the rising sun, is said to be the 'springer.'

As it is only too well known that the Easter Day customs include several survivals of the primitive sun-worship (Cox, *op. cit.*, p. 138), is it not more likely that a similar idea to that of the ancient Egyptians led the Anglo-Saxons to associate the hare with their goddess of light and spring. Eostre, because of their being both the "springers" ?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. XII. AUG. 14, 1915. Pp. 124-5]

NOTES.

PHOSPHORESCENT BIRDS.

TERASHIMA'S 'Wakan Sansai Dzue,' 1713, tom. xlv., has this passage concerning the so-called *Ubumedori* (literally, childbearing woman's bird):--

"Tradition says that a woman who dies after parturition turns into this bird, which is certainly an invented story....It abounds in the coasts of the western provinces of Japan....The people of Kiushu say it uses to make its sudden appearance in dark drizzling nights, its station being unfailingly accompanied by a phosphoric light. To a distant onlooker it seems to resemble the gull in shape, but bigger, its voice, too, being similar to it. This bird can turn itself of its own will to a woman holding a baby. Thus transformed, she asks a man who happens to meet her unexpectedly to carry the infant on his back. Should he run away terror-smitten, he would get fever and ague that might sometimes prove fatal. But if he boldly yields to her request and carries it on his back, he would incur no harm, and when he should approach an habitation, he would feel his burden excessively lightened, and find on examination it has entirely vanished.

In the 'Konjaku Monogatari,' written in the eleventh century, tom. xxvii. ch. xliii., it is narrated how a celebrated warrior, Taira no Suetake (fl. c. 1000 A.D.), voluntarily went for a wager to meet a *Ubume* or childbearing woman, who requested him to carry her baby across a river, and how, after doing her the service, he discovered his burden was really nothing but a few leaves of a tree, which she had made look and cry quite childlike. The narrative concludes with the remark:--

"Some say this *Ubume* is produced by a cunning fox in order to play upon a weak-hearted man, whereas others hold a malicious woman dead in childbed turns to it."

Terashima's work, l.c., gives the following Chinese story from Li Shi-Chin's 'Pantsau-kang-muh,' 1578:--

"Ku-hwoh-niau.--This is a species of demon, capable of doing away with a human soul, and abounds in King-chau. Clad in feathers, it is a bird, but on their removal it becomes a woman. Indeed, it is a metamorphosis of a woman who has died in labour, whence it has two paps on its breast and is very fond of carrying off an infant, whom to adopt and nurse as its own. It will do well for every family with an infant never to put its clothing out of the house in the night. Otherwise this bird, during its nocturnal flight, will drop its blood and mark the clothing, simultaneously making the infant peculiarly nervous and timorous, which disease is called Wu-ku-hien (innocent nervousness). Of this bird all are female, there being not a single male one. It nightly flies and hurts mankind during the seventh and eighth moons of the year."

With regard to this belief about dangerous clothing, J. Theodore Bent in his 'The Cyclades,' 1885, p. 181, says:--

"For many days to come mother and babe are strictly forbidden to wear clothes which have been exposed to the stars unless they have been fumigated by a censer. There is something practical in this rule, for in damp Sikinos everything that is exposed to the night air becomes impregnated with moisture."

In Ratzel's 'History of Mankind,' trans. Butler, 1896, vol. i. p. 474, the Javanese cobolds, male and female, respectively named Gaderuoa and Veves, are said to torment men by throwing stones and staining their garments with red saliva after chewing the areca nut. Writing in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo*, no. 278, p. 306, 1909, I have attempted to attribute such superstitions to the unexpected growths by night of some micro-fungi upon damp clothing.

The Japanese and the Chinese are by no means the only peoples who have every believed in the metamorphosis of a woman dead in Childbed into a malicious being. According to Landes, the Annamites hold a woman, who has lost five infants successively and dies in her sixth confinement, to become the spirit Me-con-runh, which causes miscarriage by thrusting itself in a gravid woman's room. It appears as a woman clad in white, posting herself upon a lonely tree and dandling her departed infants ('Cochin-chine Francaise: Excurision et Reconnaissances,' vol. i. p. 448, Saigon, 1880). The people in Panjab believe in a woman who dies in her labour becoming a *Churel*, whose habitat is in ruined forts and burying-grounds. She has a face like a woman, but very hideous; breasts pendent and carried over the shoulders; heels turned to the front. She wears black clothes, has long black tusks, and eats children (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, Allahabad, vol. i note 334). In T.F. Beeker's 'The Mythology of the Dyaks,' in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, vol. iii. pp. 106, 113, Singapore, 1847, two evil-doing demons are described. One named Kamiak flies like a bird, and directs his malignity chiefly towards pregnant women, shutting up the foetus in the womb so as to make it never able to see the light. Another group of demons named Kloã resemble the Amazons, but differ from them in their long breast being placed in the midst, not on the left side of the bust. they quietly lie in wait till the moment of the deliver of a child, when they quickly come forth to grasp the little crier by his neck and turn him into a monster birth. Though not stated by the writer, it is highly probably that these demons of the Dyaks were originally conceived as transformations of the women who had died in the act of travail.

From the quotations given above it will be evident that originally the Japanese *Ubume* was simply a female spirit using to hoax men with her illusory baby. But later on its stories were somewhat amalgamated with those of the Chinese Ku-hwoh-niau, and it underwent a change from a ghost into a bird. Even nowadays some Japanese in Higo credit the story of a woman dead in labour becoming a spirit called Yasukarô, which makes its appearance in dark rainy nights, incessantly crying "Yasukarô, yasukarô ("Will be easy, will be easy"), which shows what excessive anxiety she had had about her childbearing before it proved fatal.

The idea that the bird emits phosphorescence would seem to have been endemic to the Japanese, inasmuch as no Chinese authority has mentioned it.

The Japanese adversaria 'Baison Saihitsu,' commonly ascribed to Hayashi Dôshun (1583-1863), tells us:--

"Some one told me that he stealthily peered on the so-called *Ubume*, that utters babyish cries in the night, and discovered it was nothing but the 'blue heron' (*Aosagi*, the common heron of England, *Arda cinerea*, L.)."

Kaibara's 'Yamato Honzô,' 1708, and Kitamura's 'Kiyû Shôran,' 1830, state the "blue heron" to emit phosphoric light in the night. But in Terashima's work quoted above, tom. xli., no mention is made of this phenomenon about the same bird, whereas the following words occur *sub art* 'Goisagi' (the night-heron, *Nycticorax griseus*, L.):--

"When it flies in the night, it sheds as much light as fire, and the light is strongest in the moonlit nights, when it happens that one meets a big night-heron standing near a shady bank and resembling a man staying erect, and mistakes it for a ghost."

If this statement be correct, the nocturnal light of this bird, said to be brightest by moonlight, must have its cause more in reflection than in phosphorescence. According to Kikuoka, 'Shokoku Rijindan,' written in the eighteenth century, tom. iii., the so-called "Old Woman's Fire" used to frequent in rainy nights the villages about Hiraoka in Kawachi. It was popularly believed to be the transformation of an old avaricious woman who had used nightly to steal the oil from the lamps of the Shinto temple of Hiraoka. Some time ago, a man was surprised by its fall just before him; he fell down on the ground and cautiously looked on it, when it was discovered to be a cock-like bird uttering sounds by clattering its bills; it immediately flew away, and became a round fire to the distant sight. It is said to have been really a night-heron. Because that the bird, according to the story, made noise by clattering its beaks, it would appear more correct to attribute the "fire" to a stork.

Some European peoples, too, were formerly the participants in such a belief, and some of them may continue in it even nowadays, as the subjoined quotations attest:--

"In the Hercynian Forest, in Germany, we hear of a singular kind of bird, the feathers of which shine at night like fire."--Pliny's 'Natural History,' trans. Bostock and Riley, "Bohn's Library," vol. ii. p. 528.

"In Italy two kinds of these lights [the *ignes fatui*] are said to have been discovered, one in the mountains, the other in the plains. They are called by the common people *cularsi*, because they look upon them as birds, the belly and other parts of which are resplendent like the pyraustae of fireflies."--W.C. Hazlitt, 'Faiths and Folk-lore,' 1905, vol. ii. p. 638.

"Greek sailors personify them [the Fires of St. Elmo] still as birds of evil omen, which settle on the mast, just as Ulysses did on his travels."--J. Theodore Bent, 'The Cyclades,' 1885, p. 48.

Are there any other instances of the belief in some birds capable of giving off phosphoric light?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. XII. SEPT. 18, 1915. Pp. 213-5]

"DRAGON'S LAMP."--Japan abounds with sacred places--Shintoist and Buddhist--formerly reputed for the appearances of the so-called "Dragon's Lamp" (Ryûtô). This is a mysterious light that comes out of a pond, lake, or sea, alights on a certain tree, mostly on a certain night. It was held that the light was dedicated by a dragon dwelling in the water to a god whose shrine stood near the trees. For example, the famous Ryûtô of the temple of Avalôkitês'vara on Nagusa Hill, province of Kii, made its annual ascent from the sea to a pine tree in the precincts every ninth night of the seventh moon. At the midnight of the sixteenth of every month, a Ryûtô came from the north-east offing to the so-called "Dragon's Lamp Pine," near the shrine of Mandjus'ri at Kiredo, province of Tango; whereas on the same tree another light, named "Celestial Lamp" (Tentô) made its descent from the heavens every sixteenth night of the first, fifth, and ninth months (see Mr. Oshiba's and my articles on 'Dragon's Lamp' in the June and September numbers of the Kyôto Kenkyû, Tokyo, 1915.

Is there any instance of such phenomena recorded from beyond Japan?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. XII. SEPT. 25, 1915. p. 249]

THE VIRTUES OF ONIONS (11 S. xii. 101, 149, 167, 209, 243, 286).--In Benjamin Taylor's 'Storyology,' 1900, p. 467, seq., we read:--

"Among the Greeks both onions and garlic were held in high regard, both as articles of food and medicaments. Theophrastus wrote a book on onions, as did also Palladius. . . .The Romans thought not only that the onion gave strength to the human frame, but that it would also improve the pugnacious quality of their gamecocks. . . .

"It was the practice in some places to hang up or burn an onion as a safeguard against witchcraft, and the theory of this was that the devil respected it because it was an ancient object of worship. This seems a survival of the Egyptian story; but Mr. Hilderic Fried says that the Arabs, Chinese, and many other peoples, to this day employ onions, leeks, or garlic for preventing witchcraft. . . .Bacon gravely tells of a man who lived for several days on the smell of onions and garlic alone. . . .

"The belief that the eating of onions will acclimatize a traveller seems not uncommon in Eastern countries."

Two examples of this are given from Burne's 'Travels into Bokhara' and Morier's 'Travels in Persia.' After quoting from 'The Family Dictionary,' popular in his grandfather's time, a certain remedy for the plague composed of treacle and onion and lemon-juice, Taylor proceeds to say:--

"Old Celsus. . . .regarded several of the onion tribe as valuable in cases of ague, and Pliny had the same belief. In our own time the onion is held to be an excellent anti-scorbutic, and is thought to be more useful on shipboard than lime-juice in preventing scurvy.

"In fact, in all skin diseases, and in many inflammatory disorders, preparations of the onion have a real value. The juice is also useful in stopping bleeding, although one may hesitate to believe, as was popularly supposed, that a drop of it will cure earache, and that persistent application will remove deafness [a Japanese medical work entitled 'Kwokeiseikiuho' expresses the same opinion as this popular European one]. There still exists, however, a belief that onion-juice is the best hair restorer in the market, in spite of its disagreeable smell.

"It would take too long to mention all the virtues that have been claimed, with more or less reason, for all the members of the *Allium* genus, but it is a curious fact that the onion, which relieves dyspepsia and aids the digestion of some, is a certain cause of indigestion in others. Is it not said that Napoleon, who was a martyr to indigestion, lost the Battle of Leipsic through having partaken of a too hurried meal of beefsteak and onions?It is open to grave doubt whether the author of 'The Family Dictionary' was right in saying that 'they that will eat onions daily will enjoy better health than otherwise.'"

From John Petherick's 'Egypt, the Soudan, and Central Africa,' 1861, p. 335, we learn that the people of Kordofan in his day resorted to the singular method as following in cases of smallpox:--

"As soon as the disease is pronounced, a bed of ashes is prepared on the ground, upon which the patient is laid in a state of nudity, and from which he is not removed until either carried to the grave, or until, by a marvel, he recovers. The only remedy applied is the juice of raw onions to the eyes when they become attacked; and so obstinate are they in their belief of the efficacy of ashes, with which the unfortunate patient becomes encrusted, that in many instances I have been unable to dissuade them from the cruelty they were ignorantly committing."

Turning to China, we read in the eighteenth-century encyclopædia 'Yuen-kien-hui-han,' tom. cccxcviii., that the onion helps the digestion of cereal foods; that it is called Harmonizing Herb because it harmonizes well with all manners of food; and that the ancient philosopher Chwang-tsze opined that, should one drink wine mixed with onions in the springtime, it would make all his five organs--heart, lungs, liver, spleen, and kidneys--open and unobstructed. In Li-Shi-Chin's 'System of Materia Medica,' 1578, it is said the onion stems have a solid outside and hollow inside, and hence sympathetically they are good for the lungs.

As a specimen of the Japanese leechcraft still surviving among the rustics in this part, I shall give the following from my diary of 6 April, 1914:--

"This evening I was called on by Sakamoto, the septuagenary eel-monger, who told me this method of toothache cure; 'Place an extremely heated piece of flat stone or tile in a watery basin, care being taken to leave its upper surface dry above the water-surface. Drop upon it some quantity of onion seeds and rape oil, cover it with an inverted funnel, and insert its pipe's end into the patient's ear on the same side as the afflicted tooth. As the strong-scented smoke enters the ear, you will witness a cloud of minute worms issue therefrom and fall in the basin through the funnel. These are really worms, not onion seeds as you might suppose, for all of them sink in the water instead of floating over it, as they should were they the seeds. Thus all the evildoers are expelled from the patient's body, and he is instantly freed of all his torments. I have tried this last but one February, and am fully convinced of its effectualness.'"

By "onion" of Japan and China in this communication the Welsh onion or cibol has to be understood. Apparently following Alphonso de Candolle, 'Origin of Cultivated Plants,' the writer of the article 'Onion' in 'The Encyclopaedia Britannica,' eleventh edition, says that the onion (*Allium cepa*) is commonly cultivated in Japan and China, and the cibol (*A. fistulosum*) was unknown to the ancients. That actually this is not the case is evident from Bretschneider's 'Botanicon Sinicum' (*Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, vol. xxv. p. 169, Shanghai, 1893*), and his view we can endorse with full confidence. In fact, both the Japanese and the Chinese have cultivated the cibol from time immemorial, whereas the onion, though introduced to Northern China and Japan quite modernly, is not cultivated or used so commonly as the cibol.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

THEOLOGICAL DISPUTATIONS BY MEANS OF SIGNS (11 S. xii. 96, 167).-

-Another Japanese version of this tale, that has come to my knowledge quite recently, makes the very learned bishop silently show a circle formed by joining his thumbs and forefingers as soon as he saw the rice-cake-seller, the counterfeit principal of a church. The latter, instantly understanding this as a sign asking the price of one of his round cakes, extended all of his fingers without uttering "tenpence," whereupon the former kowtowed once to him. Then the bishop put forth his three digits, which the rice-cake-seller took for the request to reduce the price from ten to three pence. So he outstretched the inner surface of one of his lower eyelids--a vulgar manner of showing contemptuous refusal, whereupon the bishop appeared much wonderstruck, kowtowed nine times, and went off. Thenceforth, whatever place he visited, the bishop was never sparing in his laudation of that false principal as the wisest man he had ever met. Once, when somebody questioned him about the covert sense of those signs they had employed in their dumb interview, the bishop made the following explanations of them, which differed completely from what the rice-cake-seller had comprehended or intended on that occasion:--

"At first I showed him a circle, representing my query as to the principal trait of the Buddha Vairochana (Great Sun), and he at once extended all his ten fingers, thus answering that the Great Sun perpetually illuminated all the ten worlds. And secondly, I questioned him concerning the whereabouts of the Buddha Amitabha and his two associate Bodhisattvas by putting forth my three fingers. Immediately widening one of his eyes, he clearly demonstrated, without speaking, every one's eye to contain a miniature of the triad in its pupil!"*

In consequence of my public inquiry into a probable source of these stories, Mr. Shinsei Suzuki wrote as follows in the Japan and the Japanese, Tokyo, 1 Aug., 1915, p. 143:--

"The subjoined tale was told me by a learned Brahman during my studies in Benares in the year 1901. As I did not make a note of it then, it is a thousand pities that many of its details do not now remain intact in my memory.

"In days yore there was a great king who had a daughter of supreme eloquence and wit. Now she made it widely proclaimed that she would wed any man whatsoever, could he prove himself to excel her in these faculties. This brought in many learned aspirants to her hand, both old and young, who tried their utmost in the debates with her, but were all of them mercilessly routed and turned off crestfallen. Then they gathered themselves, took counsel as to the best way of revenging their indelible infamy, and resolved on somehow to cause the princess to espouse the greatest fool in this world. Shortly after they found on a tree a youth, who posted himself on the top of its limb and proceeded to cut its base; they concluded he was the one they were just in need of, for certainly he must be the peerless idiot who does not apprehend his fall to death necessarily accompanying the finish of his work. So they brought him down, persuaded him to try to marry the princess, and instructed him never to open mouth in her presence. They took him to the royal palace, and introduced him to her as the greatest sage. As he kept himself entirely mute according to their advice, she first showed him one of her fingers, which was responded by his putting forth one finger and then two fingers. Indeed, by the display of one finger the princess questioned him whether this universe

and the all-pervading Brahma was one and same; and the meaning of the simpleton's signs was that, should she put out one of his eyes with her finger, he would put out two of her eyes with his two fingers, whereas she took them as signifying to say, 'They are essentially one and same, but are two several entities in manifestation.' Then scarcely had she produced her three fingers when he displayed his five digits (their meanings I have now entirely forgotten). Thus the princess, fully approving him to be the greatest sage, took the fool as her husband, but at the beginning of their union, when the bridegroom broke forth into speeches she discovered him the superlative blockhead, and furiously drove him out of the palace. Then, his mind fulfilled with remorse and sorrow, the fool declared to the princess, 'Hereafter I shall make myself the really greatest sage in this world, and wed you as your very apposite husband.' From that time onward he applied himself to studies with unexampled perseverance, and succeeded with divine assistance in making himself the greatest poet and philosopher of his time. If you wish to know who this quondam greatest fool was, I may tell you with great pleasure that he was none other than Kalidasa of everlastingly worldwide renown."

I shall be extremely beholden to my informants for records containing or referring to this very interesting Hindu legend.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. XII. NOV. 13, 1915. p. 387]

QUERIES

METHODS OF WAKING A SLEEPER.--In Cox's 'An Introduction to Folk-Lore,' 1895, it is said:--

"Many persons have a superstitious objection to waking a sleeper suddenly; savages are forbidden to do so, lest the soul just then might be wandering, and not have time to return to the body, and then the sleeper would be a dead man."

For examples of this primitive belief see Tylor's 'Primitive Culture,' 2nd ed., chap. xi; Frazer, 'The Golden Bough,' 1890, vol. i. p. 127; 'Hints to Travellers,' Royal Geographic Society, London, 1889, p. 389. It appears to have long survived among much advanced peoples in their especial methods of rousing a sleeping nobleman. Thus, from the 'Sôgo Oozoshi,' written in the sixteenth century, it appears that the Japanese had then a particular mode of arousing the Shogun, by imitating at a distance three times the cock's crow and then the sparrow's prattles continuedly till he awoke.

I-Tsing's Chinese translation of the 'Mula-sarvâsti-vâda-nikâya-vinaya-samyuktavastu,' tom. xxxvii., tells us that, in his escape from his evil-hearted stepfather to the old home of his real father, Prince Bahvanapana was sleeping under a tree, tormented with hunger and thirst, when the officers of the country, who looked for a virtuous man fit to succeed the just deceased king, discovered him to be the very one wanted. So they waked him by touching, and were asked why they did so. They replied, "In order to proclaim him king." He asked again, "Is such a manner to rouse a sleeping king?" They asked him the, "How then ought we to do so properly?" The prince answered, "Play a fine music so as to let him be gradually awakened."* They concluded thence that he was of a very noble birth, and, finding on inquiry that he was the true

nephew of the 1st king, they rejoicingly conducted him into the capital and proclaimed him as king there.

Are there such peculiar modes of waking a noble sleeper recorded from any other countries than Japan and India?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. XII. DEC. 4, 1915. p. 440]

REPLIES.

EMPLOYMENT OF WILD BEATS IN WARFARE.

(11 s. XII. 140, 186, 209.)

According to the Chinese 'History of the Later Han Dynasty,' written in the fifth century A.D., when Liu Hiuen levied war against Wang Mang, the usurper (23 A.D.), the latter sent his two generals, Wang Yih and Wang Tsin, to put down the rebellion. They created a captain, one Ku Wu-Pu, a remarkable giant ten feet of stature and stronger than three horses combined, and made him drive before their army tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses, and elephants, in order to aggrandize the display of its force. Notwithstanding, it was ruinously defeated by Liu Siu, subsequently the founder of the Later Han Dynasty, who surprised it under cover of a very tremendous thunderstorm, putting into tremulous flight all the tigers and leopards.

The following account, already cited at 10 S. vii. 272, from Sie chung-Chi's 'Wu-tsah-tsu,' written in 1610, I will produce now *in extenso*:--

"Mount Shi-Chu in Fu-Tsing abounds with monkeys, which form many groups by hundreds or thousands. While General Tseh Ki-Kwang stationed his troops there against the Japanese buccannereers, the used to espy and mimic the soldiers shooting. He caused several hundreds of them to be caught, bred well, and trained in the use of firearms. At the marauders' arrival, he laid an ambush in a hilly dale, and commanded his simian warriors to fire on their camp. Scarcely had they been terror-stricken by their earthquaking volley, than the hidden soldiers appeared and slew them all. In olden times Chin Yiu repulsed the enemy by driving towards them elephants tied with burning fagots to their tails; Tien Tan raised a siege by rushing among the besiegers more than a thousand oxen covered with red silk, painted dragon-like, and with naked swords and burning bundles of reeds fastened to their horns and tails; Kiang Yu reduced to ashes all the hostile camps by flying thereto one hundred and odd cocks attached with flaming materials; and now General Tseh well made use of his fiery monkeys--thus illustrating how men of wisdom often take in a lesson from one another."

From the 'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1703, tom. ccxiii., we learn the ancient Chinese to have employed in warfare wild boars, antelopes, stags, swallows, sparrows, and pheasants, with ignited or inflammable substances attached to their necks or legs. Perhaps a similar fact gave rise to the Mahomedan legend of an attempted incursion to Mecca of an unbelieving Arabian army, discomfited by the god-sent swallows that dropped burning

hot stones upon its war-elephants and annihilated them (Chardin, 'Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient,' ed. Langlès, Paris, 1811, tom. viii. p. 486).

According to the Japanese 'Taiheiki,' written about 1400, tom. xii. it happened in 1336 that the monkeys held sacred to Mount Hie gave a false alarm by the untimely tolls of a bell, which caused the Imperial army there beleaguered to fall on the enemy and overthrow them. Another Japanese work, 'Konjaku Monogatari,' written in the eleventh century, tom. xxix., gives a story of an old travelling merchant who had used at home to entertain bees with wine, and was saved by the danger when he met on a mountain a large band of bandits by their timely advent and mortal sting. Also the 'Jikkun Shô,' finished in 1252, relates how a certain Yogo no Taifu was beaten in a battle, hid himself in a grotto, there rescued a wild bee from a spider's web, and regained his castle with the help of a huge swarm of bees, which with their sting disqualified his foes for fight. It narrates, too, that Prince Munesuke (twelfth century) domesticated innumerable bees, which followed flying or alighted on his carriage at his command, and some of which he could call forth by their individual names to sting whomsoever he wished to chastise. From the Chinese translation by I-Tsing of the 'Mâla-sarvâsti-vâda-nikâya-nidâna,' tom. iv., we learn the ancient Indians to have used bees in their defence of forts or their encounter with corsairs. On such occasions they threw among the enemy the earthen vessels enclosing a multitude of bees so violently, that they clashed and forced the maddened insects severely to sting the foes.

According to Chin Yoh's 'History of the Sun Dynasty,' written in 492 A.D., when the Chinese army invaded the kingdom of Champa (for whose geographical position see 'The Encyclopædia Britannica,' 11th ed., vol. v. p. 84) in 436 A.D., it was at first repulsed by the latter people using war-elephants. Then a Chinese by name Tsung Kioh made the image of lions, frightened and dispersed the elephants therewith, and gained a complete victory (see J. Moura, 'Le Royaume du Cambodge,' Paris, 1883, tom. i. p. 469). but with the inventive Celestials this was really no marvellous a novelty, for from the 'Tso-Shi-chuen,' written in the fifth century B.C., it had to be known that at the battle of Ching-puh (630 B.C.), sui-Chin of Tsin covered his horses with tiger-skin and made all the enemy's horses run away terror-stricken.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[11 S. XII. DEC. 11, 1915, Pp. 463-4]

FOLK-LORE: THE DANGERS OF CROSSING (11 S. xii. 4610.--In this part many folks say that rats are unable to cross a room in man's presence, and run only along the bases and corners of walls.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. I. MAR. 18, 1916, 238]

THE FIGURE OF BUDDHA IN THE EYE AND NECK.--In my second communication on 'Theological Disputation by Means of Signs' (11 S. xii. 387), I have mentioned the old Japanese belief in every human eye containing a miniature of the Buddha Amitabha's triad. Such a fancy would appear not to have been restricted to the old Japanese from the following citation:--

"When the Macusis of Guiana 'point out that the small human figure has disappeared from the pupil of a dead man's eye, they say that his spirit (or emmawarri) has gone' (Sir Everard im Thurn, 'Among the Indians of Guiana,' London, 1883, p. 343)."--Burne, 'The Handbook of Folk-Lore,' 1913, p. 76.

According to the Japanese historical narrative 'Gempei Seisui Ki,' apparently written in the thirteenth century, tom. xlv. ch. iv., Taira no Shigehira (killed in 1185), an effeminate general far more reputed for his amatory than military exploits, excused his indecision to kill himself on his defeat, which brought about his very disgraceful captivity, on the ground of the then prevalent idea that every one's breast had in it the Buddha Amitabha's triad. Even nowadays there lingers among vulgar sort of men, a belief in everybody's Adam's apple being the Buddha's image, which they seem to conceive to recede after his death, for, when his corpse has been cremated, his relatives pick out of its ashes the second vertebra of the neck, which somewhat resembles the Buddha sitting in meditation, and which they preserve as the dead man's relic.

Seven years ago a Hampshire gentleman sent me a query if I could throw any light upon an alleged Japanese custom mentioned as following in the then just published 'The Siege of Port Arthur,' by Ashmead-Bartlett:--

"[After the capture of 203-Metre Hill.] As soon as a man was identified, he was carried down the mountain and then laid out to await cremation, the surgeon cutting out each man's Adam's apple in order that it might be sent to the relations in Japan."

In my immediate reply I absolutely denied the existence, both past and present, of such a usage, and suggested that the author's misinterpretation of the above-quoted practice with the second cervical vertebra, as well as the lore of the Adam's apple, was the origin of the error on the author's part. And three years since, the same gentleman wrote me again, saying he had recently found the custom to have been current among the Santhals of Bengal in India, the Adam's apple of a dead man being severed and taken to the sacred River Damuda. If this be so, I much desire to be informed of its details and *raison d'être* by any of your readers.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. I. MAR. 25, 1916, p. 246]

CAT FOLK-LORE

(11 S. xii. 183, 244, 286, 330, 369, 389, 428, 48; 12 S. i. 15.)

PROBABLY MR. QUARRELL will find his question (11 S. xii. 369) solved in G.J. Romanes's 'Animal Intelligence,' 1881, wherein, if my memory deceives me not, the author has essayed to ascribe to her excessive maternal affection the cat's devoting her little ones sometimes when they happen to be too frequently handled by on-lookers.

Out of MR. ACKERMAN'S five queries I can answer the following four:--

1. In this part it is a common belief that as soon as a young cat is taken in its new master's dwelling, it would invariably disappear thence and return to its native house. The best way of preventing this is to convey it in a sack via a bridge after turning round with it three times thereon, which is said to throw its sense of direction into irrecoverable confusion.

3. The Japanese say nothing about the cat's eating flies, whereas some of them opine they would be much invigorated by eating ants, which sometimes crowd upon their food.

4. In 'The Encyclopædia Britannica,' 11th ed., vol. v. p. 489, we are told:--

"In one direction the tabby shows a tendency to melanism....while in the other direction there is an equally marked tendency to albinism.....A third colour-phase, the 'erythristic' or red, is represented by the sandy cat, the female of which takes the form of the 'tortoise-shell,' characterized, curiously enough, by the colour being a blend of black, white, and sandy...."

Thus far the European tortoiseshell cats would seem all to be females. But in Japan the males of this colour are said to exist, though exceedingly seldom. Formerly, traditions say, all wealthy sea-captains vied with one another to procure one, even from one to three thousand *ryōs* of gold being offered for it. So exorbitant a price did it fetch because its ascent of its own accord to the main mast's top was believed to portend a stormy weather unerringly. The great novelist Saikwaku, in his 'Shin Kashōki,' 1688, tom. iii. ch. iii., tells how a lord of Echigo incurred a serious expenditure and general clamour by adopting an idle boon companion's counsel and compelling his subjects to search for a tortoiseshell tom throughout the region:--

"It proved bootless, all people were exceedingly distress, and consequently the search was stopped, its original projector being prohibited from approaching the lord. Thus everybody was convincing himself that there existed no male tortoiseshell cat, when suddenly a man found one and presented it to the lord."

5. If I remember aright, Charles Darwin, in his 'Origin of Species' or 'Descent of Man,' adduced as a very inexplicable example of the contingent associations of animal traits the fact of all white cats with blue eyes being deaf. Whether recorded by others or not, during my eight years' stay in England (1892-1900) I repeatedly observed another such association in a peculiar breed of cat, which was not rare in London, but does not occur in Japan. It was dull grey, closely spotted with rather indistinct dark livid marks, had its chin somewhat protruded and its lower teeth grown a little before the upper, and uttered a very characteristic murmur whenever called from its slumber. I am desirous of being told what English name is applied to this breed.

That the Japanese since olden times considered the cat as a very peculiar animal is borne out in the following passages:--

"The cat differs from all other mammals in these nine points. First, it cleanses its face when it feels contentedly. Secondly, it purrs to express gladness. Thirdly, it sharpens its claws when full of valour. Fourthly, its female nurses the kittens of any other females with a perfectly good will. Fifthly, its pupils change their shapes according to the hours of the day. Sixthly, its nose is always cool at the tip. Seventhly, it rejoices when one

strokes its throat. Eighthly, it perishes in a place quite out of human sight, as if it wills not to let man see its dying look, which is unusually ugly. Ninthly, it is very passionately fond of the *Matatabi*--not only does it eat it, but also it rubs its body with the roots, stems and leaves of the plant, well knowing it is its superlative panacea."--Kaibara, 'Yamato honzo,' 1708, tom. xvi.

The *matatabi* (*Actinidia polygama*) is a climbing shrub of the order *Ternstroemiaceae*, which also comprises the tea-plant and *Camellia japonica*. As its pentapetalous flowers bear a certain resemblance to those of the celebrated Japanese plum (*Prunus Mume*), its blooming branches, intentionally deprived of the leaves, are often used in the art of flower arrangement and called summer Mume. Its fruit resembles the jujube, but with acrid taste, and is salted and eaten by mountaineers. Besides, the plant produces a sort of gall flattish in form, and tasting more acrid than the fruit. It is dried and sold by druggists under the name of *Matatabi*. The cat is so fond of it that a widespread proverb compares one's dottingness to the cat and *Matatabi*. When it is given the gall, it behaves as if suddenly possessed--caressing and rolling it about before its tasting, and drivelling and ejaculating during its eating. All its distempers, no matter how serious, are cured thereby. Moreover, the burning of *matatabi* is held to be the surest means of recalling a stray cat. It appears from the following quotation that a similar plant occurs in Ceylon:--

"In connexion with cats, a Singhalese gentleman has described to me a plant in Ceylon, called *Cuppa-may-niya* by the natives; by which, he says, cats are so enchanted, that they play with it as they would a captured mouse; throwing it into the air, watching it till it falls, and crouching to see if it will move. it would be worth inquiring into the truth of this; and the explanation of the attraction."--Tenent, 'Sketches of the Natural History of Ceylon,' 1861, p. 32, note.

I shall close this reply by noting that here we have an old usage of feasting a cat that has attained the bodily weight of one kwan (=8*281 lb.). Some folks still cling to the superstition that cats, when grown very old, acquire a demoniac power and do various mischiefs. Hence one uses to tell it how long he would like to keep it when he gets a cat in his house; when the term draws near its expiration, it is said to disappear of its own accord.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. I. MAR. 25, 1916, Pp. 251-2]

PHOSPHORESCENT SPIDERS.--In Japan and China some spiders are believed to emit phosphorescence, as is to be seen in the following quotations:--

"Some years ago it was rumoured there nightly appeared an *ignis fatuus* in Takayasu-gôri, prov. of Kawachi, when five or six men, taking the cool of the evening in an open field, happened to see a light coming from a hill, alighting on a stubble, and recurring like a blowing fire. One of them, a youth, went nigh, drew his sword, and split it in twain; it fell on the ground, still continuing to glow. Under a torchlight they found it was a large spider, shaped as if a checkerboard was made into a sphere, with transverse stripes as yellow as gold-foil, whence issued the light not dissimilar to that of the fire-fly. a priest of Kawachi told me: 'Most of the *ignis fatuus* are caused by spiders; what I

personally observed was flying from a hill down into a field.' And the mountaineers of Yoshino say: 'Every time we catch a flying fire in these mountains, we invariably see it is nothing else than a spider of a ball's size, such occurrences being by no means rare.'"-- 'Kien-Ippitsu,' written in the eighteenth century, pp. 301-2, in the 'Zoku Enseki Jisshu,' vol. iii, Tokyo, 1908.

Terashima's 'Wakan Sansai Dque,' 1713, tom. lii., speaks of the Japanese *Jorôgumo* (*Nephila clavata*) in these words:--

"It is variegated with yellow, black, green, and red colours, its beauty in appearance only adding to its uncanniness because of its being very poisonous. It is longer than the common spider, and has a slender waist and pointed abdomen, all its legs being long and black. Its thread is as sticky as birdlime, and yellowish of hue, which it weaves into webs suspended among the branches and under the eaves. As its body is brittle it readily crushes, and dies emitting blood when caught and beaten--this being the only spider wit red blood. As it moves, it sometimes emits phosphorescence from the two spots by the pointed end of its abdomen, though it is never so continually glowing as tat of the fire-fly. But the old one can give out a much larger light, sometimes met in the dark drizzly night. It is as large as a small bowl, round and bluish, and moving so slowly as to be unable to go a long distance or higher than the eaves. The phosphoric light of the night-heron [for which see 11 S. xii. 214] differs from this in the variability of its velocity and altitude."

And according to the Chinese encyclopædia 'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1703, tom. ccccxlix.:--

"During the period of Yuen-ho (806-20), one Su Tan went several tens of *lis* over Mount Fung-tsioh, and beheld afar amongst the crags a large white light, which was brilliant and round, and ten feet in diameter. Thinking it was a sacred spot, he approached it, but no sooner had he touched the light than he uttered a long shriek, and was instantly enveloped with webs so densely as to look like a cocoon. At the same time there ran towards him a black spider as huge as a basin. His servant cut open the webs with a sharp sword, but found him already dead with collapsed brain."

Are there any instances of such phosphorescent spiders recorded from beyond Japan and China?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. I. APRIL 1, 1916, p. 267]

HORSE WASHED WITH RICE.--This story is told about several warriors in different parts of Japan. For example, in the sixteenth century, during the investment of the Lord Ise's Ookôchi Castle by Oda Nobunaga with fifty thousand troops, the latter ascertained from captives the castle to be always short of water. But from an elevation he often descried the besieged profusely applying water to washing their horses, and, moreover, he nightly observed the inner gate of the castle to be kept open, its inmates freely passing it from the inner ward to the outer, and vice versa. Thence he inferred that they had a reservoir of plenteous water and a complete agreement subsisted in their minds; so he concluded a peace with the lord and raised the siege. Afterwards it

transpired that, following the advice of the lord's counsellor Midzutani, they had used to pour rice over their horses to represent them as if being washed with water, and, instructed by another conseller, Toyanoo, they had intentionally kept open the inner gate, and used to pass it to and fro with lighted lanterns in thir hands)Matsura, 'Bukô Zakki,' written in the seventeenth century, ed. Kondo, Tokyo, 1894, tom. i.).

According to Tomita's 'Hida Gofudo Ki,' 1873, tom. xi., there was in Hida the so-called White Rice Castle, which name, the legend says, took its origin in its occupant, Ushimaru Settsunokami (c. 1334-5), having made his foes withdraw by distantly showing them the washing of his horses with rice. And Nagabayashi's 'Hosatsu Gunki,' 1749, tom. vii., attributes the same exploit to the ten masterless soldiers who well defended against the Satsuma army the so-called Crane's Castle in the province Bungo in 1587.

It is very likely that some peoples other than the Japanese have tales of this pattern; but hitherto I have met but one somewhat allied story from China:--

"Tan Tsu-Tsi (killed in 436) at the head of several brigades invaded Wei. When they became short of provisions, he cased his soldiers to measure sands throughout the night, telling quantities very loudly, and then to retreat after scattering over them a little rice. At dawn the enemy observed thereon his army had still abundance of grain and refrained from pursuing it."--Chin Yoh, 'Sung-shu,' written in the fifth century, sub his 'Life."

Can any reader kindly inform me of any other instance?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. I. April 8, 1916. p. 289]

EMPLOYMENT OF WILD ANIMALS IN WARFARE.

(11 s. XII. 140,186, 209, 463; 12 s. I. 74, 94.)

In haiton's 'Histoire orientale ou des Tartares' --which was originally composed in 1307 according to Michaud, 'Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne,' Paris, 1857, tom. xviii. p. 612, and retranslated into French in Bergeron's 'Voyages faits principalement en Asie dans les XII., XIII., XIV., et XV. Siècles,' a la haye, 1735, col. 71--we read thus:--

"Les peuples de Hotchtay pourroient bien entrer par le chemin nomme Lederbent, dans le pais de Carbanda, pendant six mois l'annee seulement, a savoir pendant l'hiver; mais Carbanda fait faire de certains fosses et retranchements dans un endroit nomme Ciba: on il tient, surtout pendant l'hiver, un bon nombre de combatans, pour les garder, et en defendre l'entree aux Ennemis. Les peuples de hotchtay out plusieurs fois tente de passer secretement par ce chemin; mais toujours inutilement. Car dan une certaine plaine, nommee Monza, il y a en hiver de certains oiseaux grands comme des phaisans, qui ont un fort beau plumage, et sont nommes Seyserach. Quan il vient quelques etranger dan cette plaine, d'abord, il s'en volent, et passent dessus les retranchemens.....ce qui sert d'avertissement aux troupes preposes, pour garder ces retranchemens, que l'Enemi approche, et les fait tenir sur leurs gardes."

It is needless to cite in this connexion the geese that warned the Romans of the ambushade of the Gauls. Equally familiar to the Japanese is the following story, which I here translate somewhat abridged from Tachibana no Narisne's 'Kokon Chomon Shû,' finished in 1254, part xii.:--

"The illustrious commander Minamoto no Yoshiie (1042-1008), after his triumph over Abe no Sadatan, with whom he had waged a war for twelve consecutive years, visited Prince Udji and recounted to him his own exploits. The very renowned savant Ooe no Masafusa (1041-1111), after listening to his narrative, soliloquized that he was a very sagacious soldier, yet ignorant of the art of the general. One of Yoshiie's servants happened to overhear this, and reported it to him on his exit. Contrarily to the servant's expectation, he took the remark perfectly well, solicited Masafusa to become his instructor, and assiduously applied himself to the study of strategy. Years after, when he was attacking the fortress of Kanazawa, one day he happened to see a flying group of wild geese lower near a paddy-field's surface, but turned away in confusion all of a sudden. This sight at once put him in mind of a theorem Masafusa had taught him: 'Over the site of an ambushade, wild geese would fly in disorder.' He ordered his army to surround the place, and surprised thee hundred enemies to rout, which brought about his victory. Later on, he used to speak thankfully, 'I should have certainly been lost, had I not received the lesson from Masafusa.'"

"Il arriva un certain jour, que Changius [Genghis], se trouvant avec un tres petit nombre des siens, alla au devant de ses Ennemis, qui etoient superieurs de beaucoup.....Les Tartares voiant leur Emereur couche parmi les morts, n'eurent plus d'esperance, et prirent la fuite.....Changis se releva et se mit a courr, et se cach dans quelques buissons, pour chapper a une morte certaine. Les ennemis etant revenus de leur pour-suite dans leur camp, et cherchant ceux qui etoient caches, et depouillans les morts; il arriva, qu'un certain ciseau, nomme par plusieurs Bubo, vint se reposer sur le buisson, ou etoit cache le grand Cham. Ceux voians cet oiseau perche sure ce buisson jugenernt qu'il

n'y avoit personne, et le laisserent; conjecturant que s'il y avoit eu la quel-qu'un, cet oiseau ne s'y seroit pas repose.....et cet oiseau, qui apres Dieu avoit ete cause de la delivrance de leur Empereur, a ete depuis en si grande veneration parmi eux, que neux, qui peuvent avoir de la plume de cet loiseau, s'est un fort heureux; et la portent avec beaucomp de reverence sur leur tete."

In his 'The Province of Shantung,' in *The China Review*, vol. iii. No. 6, p. 368, 1875, A. Fauvel says:--

"The magpies are much protected by the Tartars. One day, says the legend, the miraculous son of the goddess Fegula, the founder of the Manchu dynasty, was fighting against the Chinese, and being defeated and his army destroyed, he sat down on the battlefield waiting for death. His mother sent a magpie, which perched on his head. The enemy took him for the trunk of an old tree, and so he was saved. In recognition of this service the Manchurian dynasty protects the magpies by severe laws."

Perhaps this is merely a variant of the legend of Genghis, it being highly probable that Haiton's Bubo is nothing other than the magpie. An older miracle of this sort is related by Washington Irving thus:--

"[Mahomet's flight to Medina.] They [the prophet and Abu Beker] left Mecca while it was yet dark, making their way on foot by the light of the stars, and the day dawned as they found themselves at the foot of Mount Thor. Scarce were they within the cave, when they heard the sound of pursuit.....And here the Moslem writers relate a miracle, dear to the minds of the all true believers. By the time, say they, that the Koreishites reached the mouth of the cavern an acacia tree had sprung up before it, in the spreading branches of which a pigeon had made its nest and laid its eggs, and over the whole a spider had woven its web. When the Koreishites beheld these signs of undisturbed quiet, they concluded that no one could recently have entered the cavern; so they turned away, and pursued their search in another direction."--'Life of Mahomet,' chap. xiii.

According to Chang Hwai's 'Kün-kwoh-chi,' written during the Tang dynasty (618-906), quoted in the 'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' 1703, tom. cccclix., the ancient Chinese had the "Godly Spider's Shrine" erected beside the "Well of Jeopardy" at Yung-Yang, where, a tradition says, Han-Tsu (247-195 B.C.) the first one of the han emperors, had been preserved by a spider's web covering the mouth of the well he had been hiding in. Still more in agreement with Mahomet's legend, a Japanese story is told of Minamoto no Yoritomo (1147-99), the founder of the military government, who is said to have been rescued by a spider setting its web over the hollow in a tree, his temporary concealment after his loss of a battle, as well as by two pigeons issuing thence when a bow was thrust in it by a scrutinous searcher ('Gempei Seisui Ki,' apparently written in the thirteenth century, tom. xxi. chap. i.).

On the other hand, instances are not wanting of the near presence of a bird having ruined an army. Thus the Japanese fortress of Kōnodai is said to have fallen in the first moon, 1564, because of a stork wading a rivulet behind it, having thereby disclosed its fordableness to the foes (Bakin, 'Satomi Hakken Den,' 1814-41, tom. li.). Formerly, when the Orang Sabimba were much prospering in the island of Battam, they were so repeatedly ravaged by pirates that they gave themselves to despair, abandoned their ancient habits, and became a totally uncultivated people, ever wandering in the forest.

"To prevent any longing to return to the comforts of civilization from again exposing them to plunder, slavery, or death, the whole tribe made a vow that they should never again form ladangs [clearings or plantations in the forest], live a settled life, or even eat the domestic fowl, the crowing of the cock having sometimes betrayed their dwellings to the pirates."--J.R. Logan, 'the Orang Binua of Johore,' in *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, vol. i. p. 296, Singapore, 1847.

Not much remote from my residence there stands Mount Shôgun, which, legends say, was fortified by the warrior Hinata Gentoku in the fourteenth century, several places and objects being pointed out in his remembrance to this day. Until about ten years ago, the inhabitants thereabout customarily abstained from keeping the barndoor fowl, saying that they were much hated by the warrior's spirit; but it would seem far more reasonable to attribute this usage to their ancestors' aversion to their dwellings being betrayed by the crowing cock. Indeed, even in recent years, I have myself detected many a very out-of-the-way residence in these mountains by seeking after whence the cock's crows proceeded. Yet another tradition has it that even nowadays the ravens cannot breed near the former estate of Gentoku, because, while he was defending the fortress against Masahige's army, one day he mistook an approaching multitude of ravens with the feathers glittering in the sun for the overpressing assailants brandishing swords. Instantly he concluded himself entirely hopeless, and ended his life with his own hands.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. I. APRIL 15, 1916. Pp. 311-2]

THE DRAGON-FLY.--Can any reader kindly inform me how and when this English word came into existence? Am I right in presuming it to have originated in a fancied resemblance, both in shape and character, of this insect and the dragon?

That some Chinese of old had somewhat of such an assimilation is palpable from this passage:--

"Once upon a time a huge dragon moulted its skin on a bank of the Lake Tai-hu. From the interstices of its scales and scutes some peculiar insects issued, which within a while turned to red dragon-flies capable of causing their captors to suffer from intermittent fever. Thence people nowadays call a red dragon-fly Lung-kang (Dragon Scute) or Lung-sun (Dragon's Grandson), and avoid to injure it."--An anonymous 'Mau-shin-tsay-chau,' written about the fourteenth century.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. I. APRIL 22, 1916. p. 328]

CUCKOO IN FOLK-LORE 911 S. xii. 182, 230, 250, 287, 350).--Formerly the Japanese believed that to hear the first song of the cuckoo while in an outhouse was calamitous whereas it was lucky when heard in a plantation *Colocasia antiquorum*:

therefore every noble family made it a usage to keep in the outhouse this vegetable, planted in a pot (Onos, 'Kazan Zôdan,' 1741, tom. iv.). The cuckoo in question is *Cuculus polycephalus*, not the British species, *C. canorus*, which latter also occurs in Japan, but has no significant folk-lore attached to it.

In Abbott's 'Macedonian Folk-Lore,' 1903, pp. 290-91, we are told:--

"There lived once two brothers, who were very jealous of each other and were constantly quarrelling. They had a mother who was wont to say to them: 'Do no wrangle, my boys, do not wrangle and quarrel, or Heaven will be wroth against you and you shall be parted.'"

"But the youths would not listen to their parent's wise counsels, and at last Heaven waxed wroth and carried off one of them. Then the other wept bitterly, and in his grief and remorse prayed to God to give him wings, that he might fly in quest of his brother. God in His mercy heard the prayer and transformed the penitent youth into a *gyon*.

"The peasants interpret the bird's mournful note *gyon! gyon!* as Anton! Anton! or Gion! Gion! (Albanian form of John--the departed brother's name--and maintain that it lets fall three drops of blood from its beak every time it calls. Whether the alleged bleeding is a reminiscence of Philomela's tongue cut off by Tereus, it is impossible to say with certainty.

"Bernhard Schmidt compares the name of the bird (ὁ γκιώύ or γκιώύης) with the Albanian form (γιοσυέ or γιου), and refers to Hahn's 'Tales' for an Albanian parallel, in which the *gyon* and the cuckoo are described as brother and sister."

Of the same pattern are the subjoined Japanese folk-tales:--

"This story has been handed down among the inhabitants of Nanao, prov. Noto. The cuckoo was transformed from a blind man who had killed his younger brother. The latter used daily to dig a yam-root and give the former its best part to eat. One day the blind man, who was naturally very suspicious, thus thought within himself, 'Surely what my brother himself eats must be peerlessly delicious, even the refuse that he gives me daily being so palatable.' So he killed him, ripped his stomach, but found only real wastes therein. He went mad from excessive remorse, and was turned into a cuckoo. Henceforth at the beginning of every summer, when the yam sets about to sprout, it calls its dead brother very dolefully: 'Ototo koishi, imo hotte kuwaso. Ototo koishi, hotte nite kwaso,' which means, 'Come, brother, I shall dig and feed you with yam-roots. Come, brother, I shall dig and boil for you yam-roots.'--Fuji Gyôja, 'Hokuroku Zakkyô,' xvii. in the *Oosaka Mainichi Shimbun*, July 23, 1908.

"In the district of Iwade this tale is popularly told. Of two brothers, the younger made it his custom to provide the elder daily with the choice middles of yam-roots, contenting himself with their savourless ends. The elder, notwithstanding, was incessant in plying him with the allegation that he reserved for himself the nicer parts. This made the younger unremittingly weep, and eventually turned him into a cuckoo. Even after the metamorphosis, the bird would not abate its endeavour to clarify itself by its cries, 'Gan ku, gan ku' ('I eat the ends only, I eat the ends only'). But, to prove its innocence completely, it has daily to utter such cries altogether forty thousand and eight times. Should its single cry be mocked during the process, all its preceding cries would lose their power; then the bird must recommence its racking cries, which force it to

expectorate blood. Hence he is considered a very sinful man who imitates the cuckoo's cry. Its occasional utterances, 'Gih, giah' [cf. "Gyon! Gyon! of the Macedonian folk-lore quoted above], are said to be caused by its retching, manifesting its readiness to show what poor food it has taken to any sceptic."--Takagi, 'Nihon Densetsu Shu,' 1913, p. 260.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. I. APRIL 22, 1916, p. 338]

TIGERS' WHISKERS (11 S. xii. 481; 12 S. i. 37, 118, 234).--In the article 'Tiger' in Balfour's 'The Cyclopaedia of India,' 1885, vol. ii. p. 878 naming for references only four authorities (Brown's 'Cochin-China,' Jerdon, Blyth, Rice), we read thus:--

"The whiskers are supposed to constitute a deadly poison, and are carefully burned off the instant the animal is killed; but in some parts of the south of India they are supposed to endow their possessor with unlimited power over the opposite sex."

"Aussitôt qu'un tigre a été tue on s'empresse de lui brûler tous les poils de la moustache. L'on a peur que quelque malintentionné ne prenne ces poils pour en composer des poisons. Ces poisons sont de deux sortes, le plus simple et le moins redoutable est la cendre même des poils: elle fait tousser, mais ne paraît pas mortelle. Quand on veut obtenir un poison mortel, on insère un de ces poils dans une pousse de bambou. Le poil se transforme en une espèce de chenille velue dont on prend, suivant les uns les poils, suivant les autres les excréments, que l'on brûle et que l'on fait oïre à son ennemi."--Landes, 'Notes sur les Mœurs et les Superstitions des Annamites,' in 'Cochinchine Française, Excursions et Reconnaissances,' vol. i. No. 8, p. 356, Saigon, 1881.

"Ching Sze-Yuen, a Taoist sage, made it his custom to go on a tiger's back. On being asked by his friend Ku Yin how to cure his toothache, Ching instructed him to warm a tiger's whiskers and insert them in the hollow of the afflicting tooth, giving him some whiskers just plucked from his tiger. Thus it became known that the tiger's whiskers make up a very excellent odontalgic."--Twan Ching-Shih, 'Yü-yang-tsah-tsu,' written in the ninth century, tom. xvi.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. I. APRIL 29, 1916. p. 355]

STORIES OF THE SWARMING AND ASCENSION OF FISHES

In Henri Cordier's 'Les Voyages en Asie en XIVe siècle du bienheureux frère Odoric de Pordenone,' Paris, 1891, . 188, we meet this text:--

"En ce pays [le royaume de Campe] treuve on grande merveille; car toutes manieres de poisson que on treuve en la mer vient en ce pays si que on ne voit riens en cette mer fors que poissons. Et vient chascune espèce de poisson par lui, et emeure trois jours droit à rive, et puis s'en va cette maniere de poisson. Puis vient une autre génération et fait ce meismes, et *sic de aliis* jusques à tant que tous y sont venus une fois ou en l'an

tant seulement. Et quant on demande à ceulx du pays dont ce vient et que ce monte, ilz disent que ces poissons viennent faire révérence au roy de ce pays."

From the following quotations it will be manifest that congenial beliefs were held by the olden Japanese and Chinese:--

"Tema, an islet a little distance off the coast of the province Idzumo, has an old shrine of the god Sukunabikona no Mikoto. [Every last night of the year innumerable cuttlefish swarm thereabout, which fishermen busy themselves in netting. It is their opinion that every cuttlefish that has already done obeisance to the god is marked with black dots on its back, but every one caught on its way to the shrine has no such dots. The Chinese say that annually late in the spring a multitude of carps, some black and some yellow, arrive from the sea and several rivers at Lun-mun (lit., Dragon's Gate), to compete with one another to ascend the very high cataract. Those which have accomplished the feat are turned into dragons, but the unsuccessful ones retreat each with a mark set on its forehead. It should seem quite inexplicable that the Japanese cuttlefish are marked only after their visit to the shrine, whereas the Chinese carps are marked when they have proved unable to ascend the waterfall."--Kurozawa, 'Kwaikitsu Dan,' 1653.

"In the eighth moon every year, crabs become possessed in their abdomen of a spike--a genuine rice spike about an inch long, which they carry eastwards as their presents to the sea-god. Before the delivery of the presents they should never be eaten."--Twan ching-Shi, 'Yû-yang-tsah-tsu,' written in the ninth century, tom. xvii.

"The Chinese work 'Han-shi' gives this account: 'Late in every autumn, when the rice ripens, crabs come out of their holes, each seizing a spike of rice, and go to render homage to their chief. Uninterruptedly for many days and nights, they run towards the river Yang-tsze, bubbling and foaming in their mouths, and grow somewhat bigger on their entrance to it. Thence they set forward towards the sea, becoming of still greater size upon entering it. Somebody says they carry rice to the sea-god, and, should you open their belly in the eighth moon, you could find in it a rice spike about an inch in length.'"--Aoki, 'Kon-yô Manroku,' written in the eighteenth century, in the 'Hyakka Setsurin,' vol. iv. p. 163, Tokyo, 1891.

In Lin Hung's 'Shan-kia-tsing-kung,' written in the Sung dynasty (961-1279), quoted in the 'Yuen-kien-lui-ha,' 1703, tome ccccliv., crabs are thus lauded:--

"Very insignificant in the scale of creation as they are apparently, they seem to have instinctively the sense of respect because of their doing duty to their chief with the offering of the rice spike kept in their belly."

There is no doubt that these errors arose from the Chinese confusion of the crabs' eggs with the rice spikes. For the details of similar multitudes of land crabs annually carrying on their periodic seaward march, and their especial palatableness after their entrance to the sea, v. De Rochefort, 'Histoire naturelle et Moral des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique,' Rotterdam, 1665, pp. 255-7.

To the above-quoted text of Odoric, Cordier gives this note:--

"Panthier fait ('Marco Polo,' p. 577, note) la remarque. . . 'Cette histoire des poissons, racontée si naïvement. . . explicquerait peut-être l'origine du nom de *Cyamba* ou *Ciampa* donné à ce pays, cet dans la langue télingana, de la côte du Coromandel, le poisson se nomme *Champa*.' M. Abel des Michels écrit ('Luc Van tiên,' p. 66, note): 'Dans la province de Thái Nguyên (Tong-king) est un golfe où se trouve un grand rocher,

au pied duquel un jeu de la nature a formé trois degrés assez hauts, et disposés comme les marches d'un escalier. D'après une croyance populaire, l'on verrait tous les ans, à des époques déterminées, plusieurs espèces de poissons s'y réunir et lutter à qui bondira par dessus. Ceux qui seraient assez heurés pour arriver jusqu'au degré de plus élevé seraient, après y avoir séjourné un certain temps sans prendre aucune nourriture, transformés en animaux terrestres. A ces époques fixes, connues des habitants, un grand nombre d'entre eux s'y rendraient pour ramasser les poissons qui, ne pouvant franchir les trois degrés, se brisent la tête contre le rocher.' Il s'agit d'ailleurs dans tout ceci d'un fait naturel transformé en légende, de la monte de certains poissons pour faire leur frai. Peut-être ce poisson est-il l'alose, le *sam lai*, si recherché dans l'Extreme Orient, qui pénètre dans les fleuves en mai et retourne à la mer en septembre. . ."--Pp. 194-5.

This Tongkingese belief is evidently a duplicate of the above-mentioned Chinese opinion, which runs as follows in its original records:--

"Chang Hwa's 'Poh-wuh-chi,' written in the third century A.D., states that annually near the end of the spring the crowds of carps as well as 'yellow-fish'* come to the bottom of the cataract of Dragon's Gate and vie with one another to ascend it. After all, no more than seventy-one fishes are able to effect the ascension. On the safe arrival of each of them at the head of the falls, it would suddenly become rainy and stormy, and a spontaneous fire would burn out its tail to turn it into a dragon. Another book, 'Sin-shi-san-tsin-ki,' written in the fifth century, relates that, out of the assemblage of large carps beneath Dragon's Gate, only a few are metamorphosed to dragons after ascending it, whereas the majority of several thousands that has been unable to do so remains as fish, each marked on its front and stripped of the branchial arches."--'Yuen-kien-lui-han,' tom. cccxxxvii.

"It is commonly said a carp could turn itself into a dragon, which should appear not necessarily true. Indeed, this fish is endowed with a mystic nature enabling it to leap an unusual distance both in rivers and in lakes. Now the fall of Dragon's Gate is so high and precipitous as to be utterly insurmountable to all manners of fishes; yet a carp can ascend it, whence the popular belief in its dragonish metamorphosis. Hū Shin [at the close of the first century] said: 'Every third moon of the year, the *wei*-fish [a sturgeon] ascends the river, and is turned into the dragon, should it succeed to pass over the torrent of Dragon's Gate.' But he did not mention the carp in this connexion. In the 'T'ang-yun.' published in 750, we are told, 'Mount Fung, otherwise named Mount Lun-mun (Dragon's Gate), stands in Fung-chau. A huge fish, after ascending it, is transformed into a dragon, but in case it is incompetent to the task it repeatedly strikes its forehead against the rocks, and gives out much blood, making all the water red.' It does not specify the carp neither. Hence we should understand the popular opinion to be groundless."--Sie Chung-Chi, 'Wu-tsah,tsu,' c. 1610, tom. ix.

Notwithstanding this learned refutation, the Chinese idea of the carp's transformation was early introduced to Japan, where, having given birth to many a legend and folk-lore, it remains to this day much swaying the mind and usage of the people. So they deem the carp as a symbol of promotion. On the fifth day of the fifth moon, festivity is observed in honour of male children; every family possessed of any such plants about its house a flag figured with a huge carp ascending a waterfall, a happy expression of the parental hope that the child should grow a distinguished man. Down to the period of Genroku (1688-1703), there existed the so-called Dragon's Pond on a hilltop in the

province Oomi. Tradition says that several times a carp leaped out of it, clambered to the summit of a rock south-east thereof, struck it repeatedly with its tail until the latter was torn asunder, and then, becoming a flying dragon, it ascended to heaven (Sôgawa, 'Oomi Yochi Shiryaku,' finished in 1734, tom. lxxix.). And, though now apparently devoid of any attaching legends, the standing of a dragon-god's shrine in the so-called Carp's Fen near the Temple of Kasuga at Oohara, prov. Yamashiro, points to a similar association having given rise to it (Byakue, 'Sanshû Meiseki Shi,' 1702, tom. x.). For the account and explanation of the allied Chinese, Japanese, and Indian belief in the metamorphoses of snakes into dragons, see my article on 'The Origin and Development of the Dragon in *The Taiyô*, vol. xxii. No. 1, p. 178, Tokyo, January, 1916.

However, the carp is not the only Japanese animal held to be capable of ascending to heaven. Thus, we read as following in Kikuoka's 'Shokoku Rijindan,' written in the eighteenth century, tom. ii.:-

"In the sea of Neyaura, which is situate on the boundary line of the two provinces Echigo and Dewa, there is to be seen a tall, round, gigantic rock more than 600 feet in diameter. It is called *Neya no Hokotate* (Erect Spear of Neya). Popular tradition says, should any hermit-crab cling up to its top, it would be thereby enabled to ascend to heaven. But of course the goal is so unattainable that all that try it fall down from the midway as is evident from a vast heap of their empty shells as numberless as the grains of sand."

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. I. MAY 20, 1916, Pp. 404-5]

FOLK-LORE: RED HAIR (12S, ii. 128, 196, 239).—Hereabout a deep-rooted popular belief is that red haired people are the issue of lepers.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA

Tanage, Kii, Japan

[12S. II. NOV. 4, 1916, p. 379]

HOUSE AND GARDEN SUPERSTITIONS (12 S. ii. 89, 138, 159, 214).--5. It is generally believed in this part--and my repeated experiments tend to its confirmation--that the cuttings of the sweet-potato stems, if planted upside down, will unerringly bear copious flowers and *en revanche* poor roots.

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. II. NOV. 18, 1916. p. 419]

EMPLOYMENT OF WILD BEASTS IN WARFARE (11 s. XII. 140 186, 209, 463; 12 s. I. 74, 94, 311).--

"The *Hottentots* have a sort of Oxen called *Bakkeleyers*, or *Fighting Oxen* (from *Bakkeley*, War), which they use in their Wars, as the Asiatic Nations use elephants, to break and trample down the Enemy. These Oxen are of great Service to them in Managing their Herds, and defending them both against the Attacks of the *Bushi's*, or Robbers, and Wild Beasts. On a Sign given, they will fetch in Stragglers, and bring the Herds within Compass. Every Kraal has at least half a Dozen of them. They know all the Inhabitants of their own Village, to whom they pay the same Respect as the Dog, and will never hurt them; but if a Stranger appear without the company of a *Hottentot* belonging to the Village, the *Bakkeleyer* presently makes at him, unless whistled off, or frightened by firing a Gun. They train them by tying a young Oxen and an old *Bakkeleyer* together by the Horns, using also Blows to make them tractable. What these animals perform is amazing, and does Honour to the *Hottentot* Genius."--Astley, 'A New General Collection of Voyages and Travels,' vol. iii. p. 362, 1746.

Do such fighting oxen still flourish? Are the *Hottentots* the only people who have ever raised so remarkable a bovine strain?

KUMAGUSU MINAKATA.

Tanabe, Kii, Japan.

[12 S. II. DEC. 2, 1916. Pp. 454-5]

APPENDIX V

GLOSSARY

Romanization	Kanji	Hiragana	Translation
bekkakusha	別格社	べっかくしゃ	special status shrine
buke	武家	ぶけ	martial households
bunmei kaika	文明開化	ぶんめいかいか	enlightenment (&) progress
chingo kokka			defense of the nation
chuugi	忠義	ちゅうぎ	loyalty, fidelity
dai ajari	大阿闍梨(梵)	だいがじゃりや	great acarya lit. "great name" fig. regional
daimyo	大名	だいまょう	warlord
doseiai	同性愛	どせいあい	same sex love
en	縁	えん	affinity/fate
fushigi	不思議	ふしぎ	incomprehensible/weird
fushiginomon			
o	不思議之者	ふしぎのもの	strange things
gendai	現代	げんだい	modern (post-Meiji)
heimin	平民	へいみん	peasants
henka	変化	へんか	variation
hentai	変体-変態	へんたい	transformation body
inka	因-果	いんか	cause (and) effect
isson issha	一村一社	いっそにっしゃ	one-village, one shrine
jinruigaku	人類	じんるいがく	psychology
jomin	常民	じょうみん	everyday people
kansha	館社	かんしゃ	private shrine
kazoku kokka	家族国家	かぞくこっか	extended family nation
kokorofushigi	心不思議	こころふしぎ	mystery of "heart/mind" things
kokugaku	国学	こくがく	national learning
kokutai	国体	こくたい	national body
kotofushigi	事不思議	ことふしぎ	mystery of "cultural" things
kujikiri	九字切	くじきり	9-figure cut(ting)
kunoichi	九之一	くのいち	one of nine
minsha	民社	みんしゃ	people's shrine (i.e. local shrine)
minzokugaku	民族学	みんぞくがく	ethnology
minzokugaku	民俗学	みんぞくがく	folk studies
monogatari	物語	ものがたり	novel
nanshokudo	男色道	なんしょくどう	(the) way (of) male passion
omote	表	おもて	front side

otokomich	男道	おとこみ	male way
rifushigi	理不思議	りふしぎ	mystery of reason
samurai	侍	さむらい	those who serve
sanka	山窩	さんか	mountain nomads
shinka	新化	新化	new/progressive change
taika	退化	たいか	returning/regressive change
ura	裏	うら	back side
wakon yosai	和魂洋才	わこんよおさい	Japanese soul, Western technology
Yamabushi	山伏	やまぶし	mountain sleepers (mountain ascetics)
Yariate	遣(り)当(て)	やりあて	doing and hitting
Yokai	妖怪	よおかい	supernatural being, monster

APPENDIX VI -- ILLUSTRATIONS



Illustration 1—Minakata Kumagusu, Jacksonville, Florida, circa 1891.



Illustration 2 – Minakata Kumagusu and Jiang Zhengjong, Jacksonville, Florida, circa 1892.



Illustration 3 –Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks, 1826-1897, Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum



Illustration 4 -- Buddhist *kasāya* robe given to Minakata by Toki Hōryū in 1893, donated to British Museum by Minakata along with approximately one dozen other ritual items between 1894 and 1896.

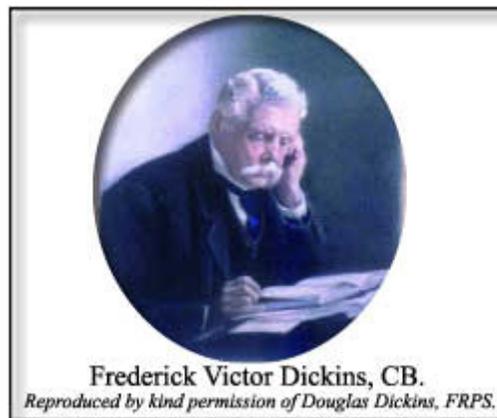


Illustration 5 – Frederick Victor Dickins



Illustration 6—The Wandering Jew, by Gustave Doré



Illustration 7 – Shingon monks in procession on Mount Koya wearing typical monastic robes.



Illustration 8 -- Senior ordinants in procession at Mount Koya



JAPANESE GROUP.

Illustration 9 --Japanese Delegation to the 1893 Chicago Parliament of World Religions, held in conjunction with the 1893 Columbian Exposition [The Buddhist contingent was a strong group of six speakers--four scholarly priests in the order they appear in the photograph Toki Horyu, Yatsubuchi Banyu, Shaku Soen and Ashitsu Shitsuzen--and two politically active Buddhist laymen, Hirai Kinzo and Noguchi Zenshiro (on the right).] -- Judith Snodgrass, Presenting Japanese Buddhism to the West: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and the Columbian exposition, UNC Press Books, 2003, p. 176.]

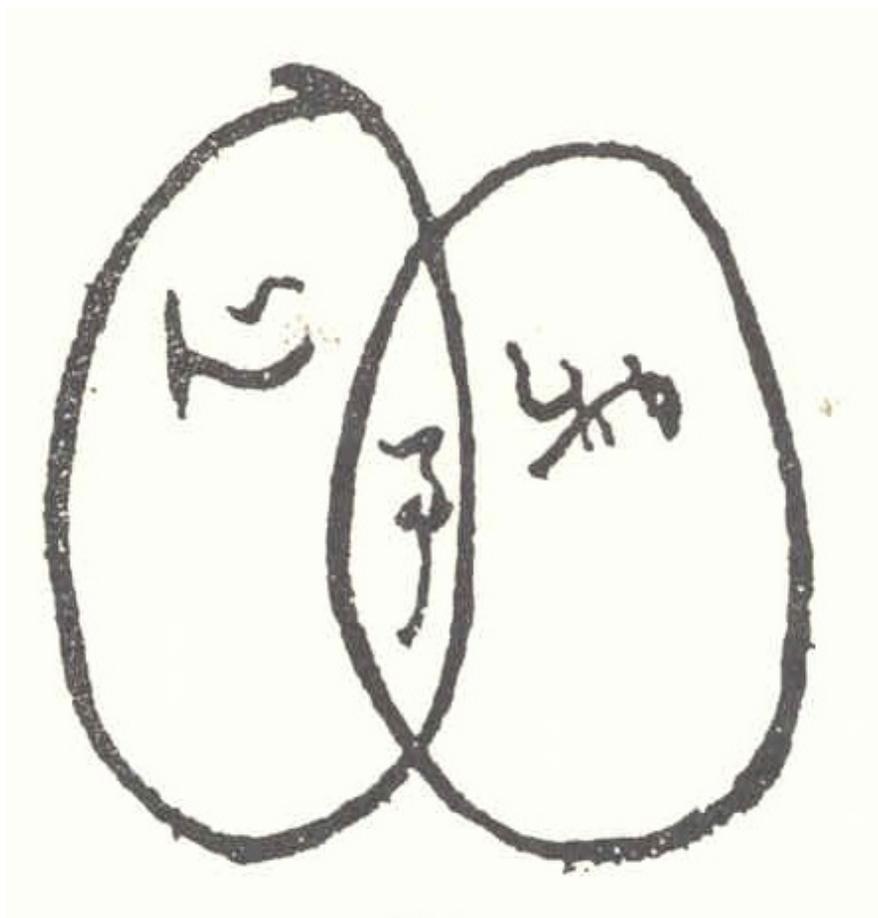


Illustration 10 —A Venn Diagram included in the 1893 letter from Minakata to Toki showing the field of *kokoro* or “mind” at left, that of *mono* or “things” at right, and the overlap between the two fields, which Minakata dubbed (at this point) *koto*, the meaning of which is discussed below.

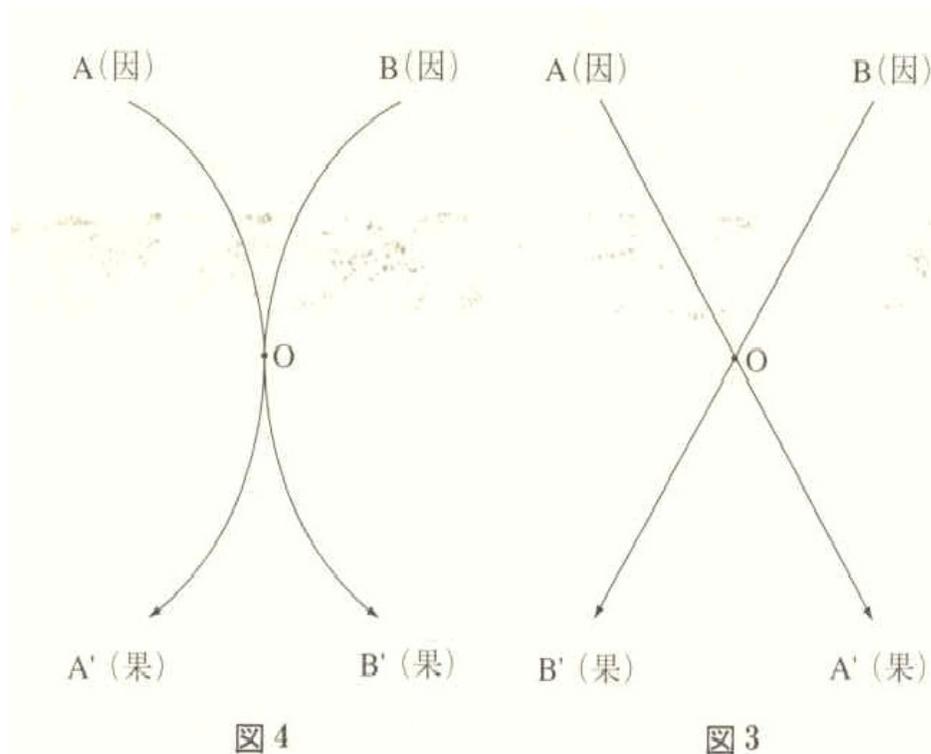


Illustration 11 —The upper elements represent *in* or “cause” and the lower elements represent *ka/ga* or “effects.” Together, as *inga/inka* the two characters signify, within both Buddhist and Asian scientific discourses “cause and effect.” The two charts, taken by Tsurumi from originals by Minakata, represent the interaction between distinct chains of cause-and-effect, that on the left and labeled “4” representing two chains of cause-and-effect which are altered in course as a result of their interaction, that on the right and labeled “3” representing two independent chains of cause-and-effect which remain unaltered as a result of their interactions.¹

¹ Tsurumi Kazuko, *Minakata-Mandara Ron* (Essays on Minakata-Mandala), Yasaka Shobo, 1992.

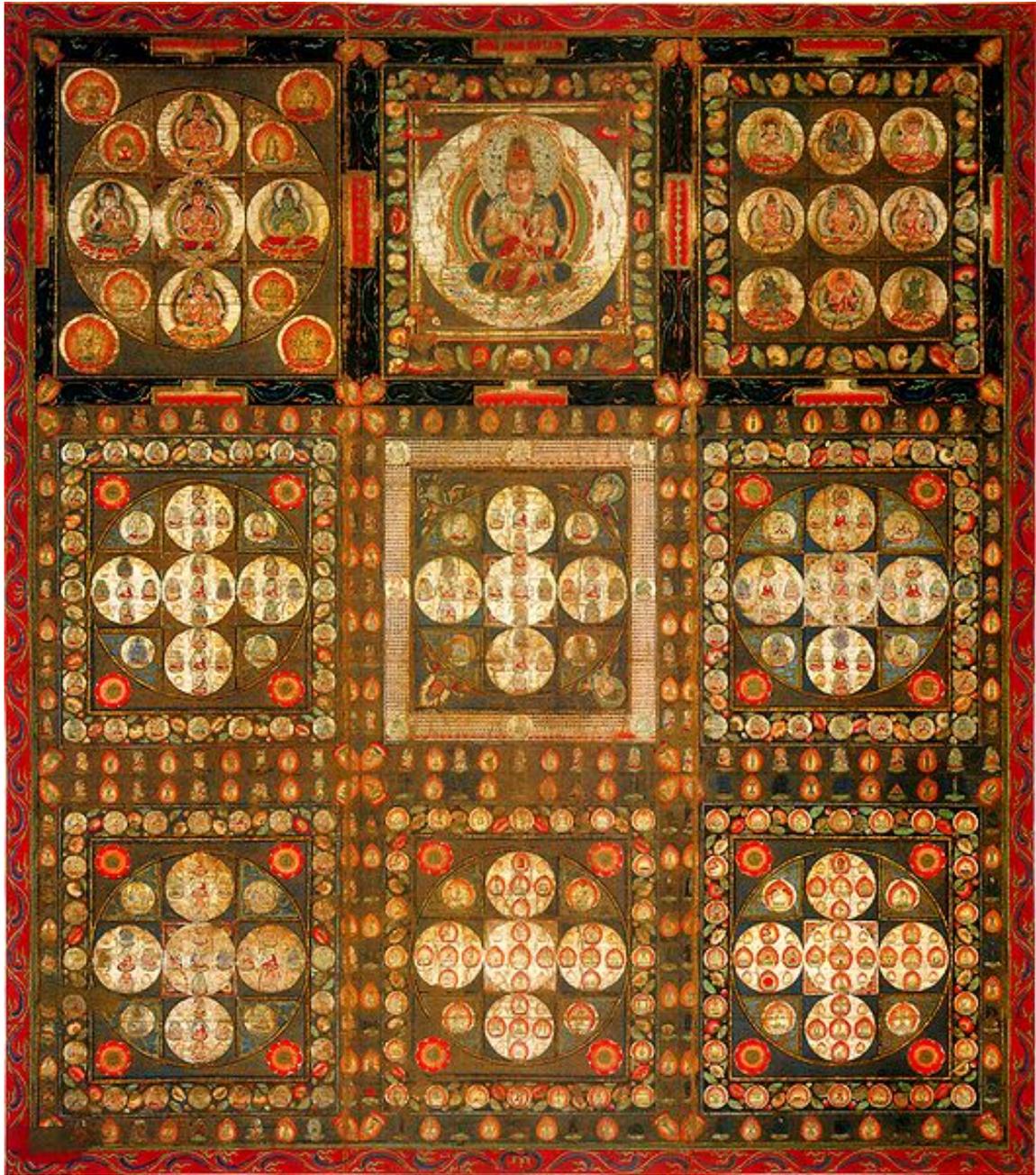


Illustration 13 — Kongokai Mandala



Illustration 14— Taizokai Mandala

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