

Hirao Rosen: Late-Tokugawa Folklorist from Tsugaru Domain

Kojima Yasunori

“Man is bound as long as he remains ignorant of the nature of the hidden pathways culture provides for him.”
(Edward Hall, *The Silent Language*)¹

Introduction

This article seeks to introduce the scholarship and thought of Hirao Rosen in order to shed light on the spread of Hirata *kokugaku* (nativism) in the Tsugaru region, and thereby contribute to our understanding of the development of the Hirata *kokugaku* tradition.

Hirao Rosen (1808–1880, Figure 1) is remembered in local histories as a representative artist from Tsugaru who was active in late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods. He produced numerous works, focusing on seasonal flowers and plants, birds and beasts, and insects, as well as scenic spots around Tsugaru, including Mt. Iwaki, the spiritual homeland for people in Tsugaru (Figures 2–3). Interspersed with these works are a



Figure 1



Figure 3

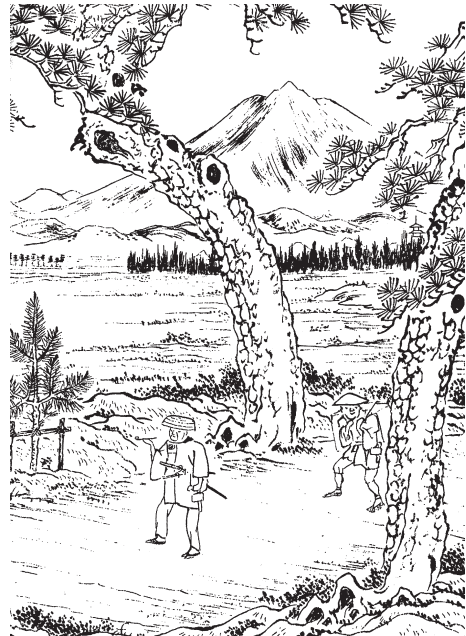


Figure 2

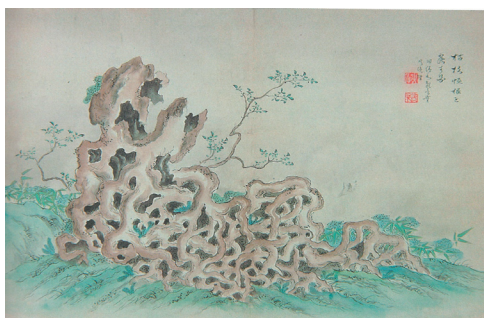


Figure 4



Figure 5

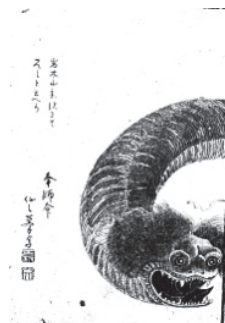


Figure 6



Figure 7

wide variety of the bizarre: monsters, odd creations and strange rocks (Figures 4–7). As I will examine later, this fascination with the grotesque reveals much concerning Rosen’s view of nature and religion. His refined works of art brilliantly display the vibrancy of living objects; nature is portrayed by his skilful brush as if permeated with a deep, living mystery.

Rosen the artist, was also Rosen the *kokugakusha* (nativist scholar) and ethnographer. His works in this area require further historical examination and confirmation. He was indeed a skilled writer. Currently, most of his writings are stored in the archives of the Hirosaki City Library.²⁾ His scholarly achievements, as displayed in these writings, are, needless to say, the fruit of steady and continuous effort, but underlying the development of his scholarship and thought is the decisive influence of Hirata *kokugaku*. Several people from Tsugaru enrolled in the Hirata school even after Atsutane’s death in 1843, registering themselves as students of his adopted son and later son-in-law, Hirata Kanetane. Beginning with Tsuruya Ariyo, Imamura Mitane, Iwama Shitatori, Mitani Ōtari, Masuda Kōtarō, Ueta Heikichi, Takeda Seijirō, Sasaki Awaji, Ono Wakasa, Sasaki Kensaku, and others joined this group, forming a regional intellectual community. I shall call this group the Tsugaru *kokugaku* society or the Hirosaki *kokugaku* circle. Rosen was a central member.

It is wellknown that Yanagita Kunio and Orikuchi Shinobu, two folklore scholars active in the early twentieth century, termed their own approach to ethnography a sort of “new *kokugaku*.” They saw themselves as successors to Norinaga and Atsutane, charged with developing this tradition in modern Japan. Orikuchi focused on Atsutane’s concern for the other world, as depicted in the his *Kokon yōmikō* (Thoughts on

Supernatural Beings of Past and Present), *Senkyō ibun* (Strange Tidings from the Land of Immortals), and *Katsugorō saisei kibun* (Recorded Account of Katsugorō's Rebirth). He attempted to identify Atsutane as the father of ethnography in Japan.

Norinaga, in a line from *Tama katsuma* (Jewelled Comb Basket), revealed his approach to scholarship: "Not only words, but in all matters, refined traditions of long ago remain plentiful in the remote countryside. From funerals to weddings, there are old and interesting things to be found especially in the countryside. I wish to visit, hear about, and record such things all throughout the country, even to the seacoast and villages hidden in the mountains."³⁾ His assertion precedes Yanagita Kunio's emphasis on the importance of culture in peripheral areas (*Bunka shūkenron* 文化周圈論). Yanagita maintained that in the process of culture spreading from the center to the periphery, traditional culture will remain intact on the periphery more than in the center.

My attempt will be to re-evaluate *kokugaku's* significance within Japanese intellectual history by isolating elements in *kokugaku* thought that preceded the ethnographic studies of Yanagita and Orikuchi; and which indeed preceded the introduction of the "discipline" of folklore studies from the West. Research to date has either concentrated on a deep analysis of the *kokugaku* approach to literature and phonology, or on an analysis of the intersection of late-Tokugawa political thought and political history, centering on the development of Japanese nationalism, including an inquiry into concepts such as *Sonnō jōi* (Revere the emperor, expel the barbarian) and *kokutai* (national polity). Here, I wish to examine *kokugaku* as a precursor to ethnography, or in other words, to search for a lineage that developed into contemporary Japanese ethnography.

1. Major Trends in Postwar Studies of Hirata *Kokugaku*

Before WWII, Atsutane was exalted by an imperialist view of history based on ultra-nationalism. In response to this, the reaction against Atsutane became severe in the postwar period, with many arguments denouncing his scholarship and thought. For example, Watsuji Tetsuro states the following:

Atsutane, with his fanatical and passionate power gathered many disciples, and spread a faith which believed that Japan was the foundation of all nations, and that the deity of Japanese myth was the prime deity of the universe. In Atsutane's nature and action, even within his thought, there was something extremely intense that led us to consider him a deviant. And yet, being a deviant was actually conducive to the spreading of fanaticism.⁴⁾

Moreover, Maruyama Masao concluded that the significance of *kokugaku* with Japanese intellectual history was completed in Norinaga, and that the Hirata school was "a violation of Norinaga scholasticism."⁵⁾ In Maruyama's eyes, Atsutane violated the precise and positivistic philology championed in Norinaga's nativism; he appeared as an agitator who loudly proclaimed Japanese nationalistic ideology. Discussions dismissing the importance of Atsutane did not end with Watsuji and Maruyama. Other postwar thinkers condemned his thought. For example, as Hotta Yoshie recalled in

Uminari no soko kara (From Beneath The Roaring Sea), “When I see the name of the *kokugakusha* named Hirata Atsutane, even now I feel unpleasant. I end up with a somewhat eerie feeling. That is because, needless to say, I am reminded of those threatening wartime articles based on that outrageous journalism.”⁶⁾ Indeed, before and during the war, discussions on Atsutane reflected the times and spoke of him with passion. The image of Atsutane as a fanatical, ideologue of ultra-nationalism left a bad impression in the mind of postwar intellectuals, rendering him an unapproachable figure.

Despite this situation, however, with the passage of time, research has been carried out in a calm and in scholarly fashion to recapture Atsutane’s thought and the post-Atsutane *kokugaku* movement from a perspective different from that of prewar times. Broadly speaking, this trend can be divided into three categories.

First, is the research focusing on so-called “grassroots *kokugaku*” (*sōmō no kokugaku*). Ito Tasaburō, for example, a scholar who before and after the war had been critical of ultra-nationalistic research on *kokugaku*, early on attempted to reveal the actual conditions of *kokugaku* that had spread to the remote countryside and had been incorporated into the everyday life of the villagers.⁷⁾

A second trend aims to follow various developments of *kokugaku* thought from the perspective of political thought, and to analyze those concepts in order to explain how they functioned in society. Approaching *kokugaku* thought from this perspective does not mean to treat it from above, like prewar ideas of revering the emperor, but rather to focus on the realm of immediate, everyday life—the morals of hard work or family life⁸⁾—or analyze the *kokugakusha* branch of poetic studies,⁹⁾ which appears at first glance to have no ties with politics, and thereby objectively extract from *kokugaku* the logic which supports politics from below.

A third trend is the attempt to re-evaluate Atsutane studies from the perspective of ethnography. Such a perspective already existed in Orikuchi Shinobu’s prewar evaluation of Atsutane. In a lecture entitled, “The Tradition of Hirata *Kokugaku*,” given at Kokugakuin University in 1942, Orikuchi noted: “Master Atsutane’s value is solidified in the Meiji 20s (1887–97). Please consider this to be unacceptable. Master Atsutane is someone whose value must still rise considerably.” Orikuchi questioned views that credited Hirata *kokugaku* as the driving force behind the *Sonnō jōi* movement and the *Ōsei fukko* (Restoration of imperial rule) movement. Among Atsutane’s writings, Orikuchi focused on *Kokon yōmikō*, which attempted to clarify the true character of Tengu, *Senkyō ibun*, which aimed at confirming the conditions of the *sennin* realm from young boy Torakichi who had been spirited away (*kami kakushi*), and *Katsugorō saiseiki* a verbatim account from a child who claimed to know his own past life. In other words, these are works whose main subjects are monsters (*yōkai*), ghosts (*yūrei*), land of immortals (*senkyō*), vagrant spirits (*mononoke*) of another realm (*ikai*) or spiritual realm (*yūkai*). Orikuchi focused on Atsutane’s interests, which can be called odd, in the fearful other realm or spiritual realm. As Orikuchi writes:

Among our forerunners, there were unmistakably people who scorned the Master’s (Atsutane’s) attitudes. Even if they did not scorn him, there were, unmistakably, people who ignored him. However, unless one considers Master Atsutane’s

life by expanding that area more, the whole is not understood. Otherwise, I believe we will not understand Master Atsutane's *kokugaku*.¹⁰⁾

Now why did Orikuchi value this side of Atsutane? It is because in here Orikuchi perceived a connection with his own approach to ethnography that sought insight into the realm of people's hearts by studying how popular religious beliefs were woven into folklore, manners, and customs. Hirata studies is a precursor to the Japanese ethnography established by Yanagita Kunio: this is where Orikuchi tried to seek out the real value of Atsutane's scholarship. Those conducting ethnography as "new *kokugaku*" were conscious of *kokugaku's* place within their own scholarly lineage. It was Sagara Toru and Koyasu Nobukuni who developed Orikuchi's discussions on Atsutane, made clear the close relationship between Atsutane's view of the other world and his interest in folk customs, and problematized Atsutane's "inclining interest towards folk customs" as an intellectual issue.¹¹⁾

Yanagita's individual abilities were instrumental in the establishment of ethnography in the Meiji period. The presence of *kokugaku's* scholarly tradition as a base for this emergence cannot be overlooked.¹²⁾ The expansion of methods throughout society and ideas nurtured within the soil of *kokugaku* supported the establishment of ethnography in the Meiji period.

Even so, previously, the connection between Yanagita's and Orikuchi's ethnography and Hirata *kokugaku* was distant, and there was, undeniably, a gap between the two in past research. In order to substantiate *kokugaku's* development into ethnography, it will be necessary to discover examples illustrating this relationship. In this sense, Rosen's work can be focused on as one that fills the void existing between Hirata *kokugaku* and Yanagita's and Orikuchi's ethnography within research to date. By locating Rosen in between Atsutane and Yanagita, I propose to illustrate the possibility that *kokugaku* developed, not just into narrow-minded nationalism, but into another paradigm as ethnography.

2. Rosen's Life Story

In 1792 (Kansei 4), a Russian envoy led by Adam Laxman arrived at Nemuro on the pretext of returning Daikokuya Kōdayū and two other castaways who had spent several years in Russia. At the same time he sought to establish commercial relations and entry into ports at Edo. Through this incident, the *bakufu* ordered the *daimyō* to strengthen naval defence. The central government became especially conscious of the security of Ezo, and in 1799 (Kansei 11) control over the eastern part of Ezo was transferred from the Matsumae domain to the direct control of the *bakufu*, thereby augmenting security of the north. Furthermore, in the eighth month of 1804 (Bunka 1), the *bakufu* ordered Nanbu and Tsugaru domains to take charge of the security of eastern Ezo. Japan's northern fringe, Tsugaru, became intimately incorporated into the historical developments within Japan as a whole. Against this historical backdrop, on the tenth month of 1808 (Bunka 5), Rosen (also named Kosai, with the common name Hatsusaburō) was born as the first son to Tojirō who engaged in fishing in Konyamachi in the castle town of Hirosaki.¹³⁾

Since he was young, Rosen was completely absorbed in drawing pictures, and did

not partake in other childlike pastimes. He was the kind of child that if given paper and a brush, would happily spend the entire day consumed in painting. For this reason, his parents worried their son might fall into depression, and deprived him of brush and ink. It is said that when this happened, the boy used burnt pieces of wood as charcoal for drawing, and once finished, he had a carpenter carve out the completed image using a plane. He would then redraw the picture. This happened repeatedly. One autumn, when Rosen was eight, he climbed Mt. Iwaki, and upon returning home, he drew flawlessly the scenery of notable stops along the route to the summit in proper order, to the astonishment of many. His light and gentle brushstrokes were like those of an adult, and so he earned the nicknames “child artist” (*gadō* 画童) and “child prodigy” (*kidō* 奇童).

At the age of eighteen, Rosen enrolled as a student of Utsumi Soha,¹⁴ an authority in the Tsugaru *haiku* circle, and began studying *haiku*. Soha also studied Chinese classics, the ancient way, and Buddhist studies, and was called “the source” that delivered “studies of the ancient way” (*kodōgaku*) to Tsugaru (*Mitani kubutsu hikki*). Under his tutelage, Rosen met his lifelong study companion, Tsuruya Ariyo.¹⁵ As I will later discuss, it was Ariyo who led Rosen to Hirata Atsutane’s school. They were of the same age, and hit it off remarkably. One day, the two friends spoke, that withering away in a rural place was no desire for young men, and so they stirred up their ambitions and secretly embarked for Edo. A combination of an impulse to delve seriously into the world of scholarship, a yearning for the center of culture, and a desire to fly off to a wide and unknown world—such youthful enthusiasm—spurred the two to take action. However, when they took lodging at Owani village, they encountered an acquaintance, who became suspicious and quickly notified both families. As a result, the two young men were immediately forced to return home. Afterwards, they attempted to set off again, trying continually to fulfill their dreams, but to no avail. Rosen spent some gloomy days before finally falling ill. Ultimately, it was drawing pictures that consoled him when his dreams of visiting Edo were crushed. While continuing to work at the family business, Rosen learned the deep secrets of coloring in Yamato-style paintings from the master painter of the Kano school, Imamura Keijū, and he even mastered the methods of Edo painter, Sō Shiho.

At 23, Rosen married Tome, daughter of the Masuda family. From around this time, his finances became strained and Rosen was forced to concentrate his efforts solely on the family business. For seven years, he quit painting and his studies. At 30, he requested permission from his father to transfer headship of the house to his younger brother, Saburōji, and to live independently to pursue painting. Permission was granted, and he lived quietly in the same town popularly known as Maechō. This decision was made based on the realization that Rosen did not have the personality necessary for the family business to prosper. Making a living on painting and writing was extremely difficult, and for some years he lived in poverty, but Rosen persevered and at around age 34 or 35, he established his name as an artist and even managed to live a stable life.

In the third month of 1854 (Ansei 1), the Japan-U.S. Treaty of Amity was signed, and ports in both Shimoda and Hakodate were opened. From around this time, foreign ships began to appear in the Tsugaru Strait. Rosen had heard reports that eight

black ships from four countries, America, England, France, and Germany approached the Hakodate port, and that their several hundred crewmen visited Hakodate city, mixing with the locals. Aroused by a great interest in the lifestyle and customs of these foreigners, Rosen in the sixth month of 1855 (Ansei 2) decided to sail across the Tsugaru Strait to Hakodate. Rosen was 48 at the time. He spent 20 days traveling from Matsumae to Hakodate, and he recorded what he saw in *Hakodate kikō* (Hakodate Travel Records) and *Yōi meiwa* (Accounts of Foreign Barbarians). The former captures the mountains, villages, geography, and local lifestyle between Matsumae and Hakodate. It contains skilful sketches and is bound together impeccably, while the latter records what was seen and heard in Hakodate.

In *Yōi meiwa*, Rosen sketched in minute detail and with skilful observation many subjects including the appearance of foreigners he saw in Hakodate, recording aspects of their life in great detail: hairstyles, clothing, hats, swords, shoes, umbrellas, handkerchiefs, articles such as buttons, pipes, bottles, short swords, telescopes, pumps, musical and other instruments, greetings and dining practices, images of sailors eating and drinking while walking, differences in dress in high officials and their junior officers, men accompanied by women, the manners of bathing, laundry, wash-line clothes, and games, the manners of medical treatment, graves and manners of funerals, and letters and languages (Figures 8–25). Such artistic portrayals seem, even to this day, to convey to us Rosen’s fresh astonishment and excitement toward the foreign, including material objects, words, and customs. Of course, contained in these portrayals is a particular prejudice to perceive foreign manners and customs as barbaric, compared to those of Japan’s, and such attitudes are expressed frankly. The shock was great especially after learning about the practices of the gruesome slaughter of cows and pigs and how they were consumed, and these were described in vivid detail with great emotion. He exclaims, “This is the work of the barbarians that they are, and I cannot think it would be tolerable to people of the imperial country,” and con-



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14

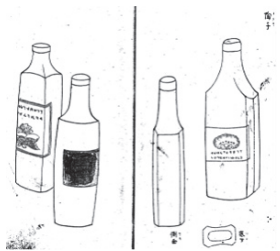


Figure 15

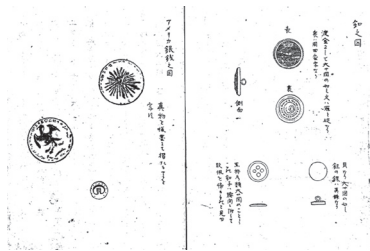


Figure 16

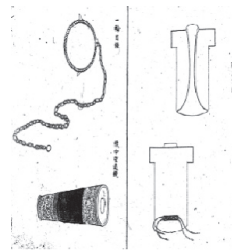


Figure 17

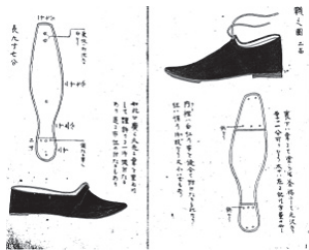


Figure 18

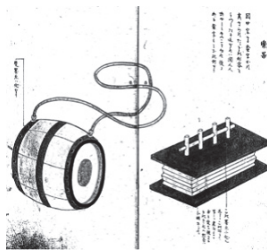


Figure 19



Figure 20

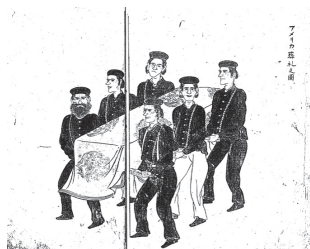


Figure 21



Figure 22

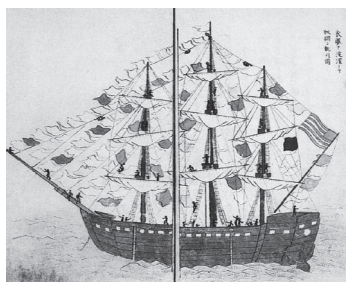


Figure 23

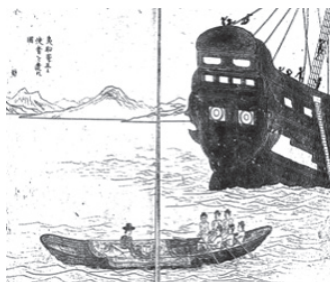


Figure 24

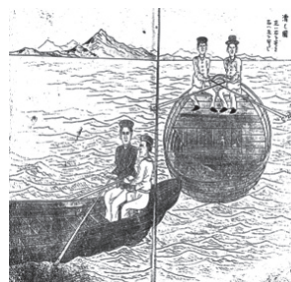


Figure 25

tinues, “their actions lack the heart of compassion and are extremely cruel.” It is not hard to imagine how, through this contact with foreign cultures, Rosen’s awareness for the “imperial country” would arise. However, rather than focusing on this here, I prefer instead to consider Rosen’s strong show of interest towards the new objects of a foreign culture, daily life culture, and customs, and his academic stance of attempting to capture his observations faithfully by seeing these things with his own eyes, and where unable to do so, resort to gathering information through word of mouth. I focus on this point, because it can be considered the rise of a methodology that we can



Figure 26



Figure 27

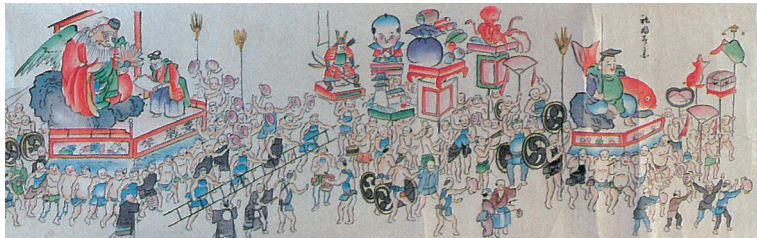


Figure 28



Figure 29

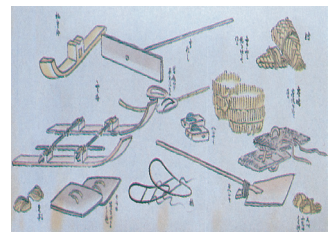


Figure 30

call the beginnings of an ethnographic approach, even if Rosen himself conducted it without much awareness.

Rosen's vigorous interests in foreign culture, manners, and customs do not end in curiosity. Rosen's observation of culture and customs, which regulate the very foundation of people's everyday lives, is recognized here and it surpasses simple curiosity. Rosen produced paintings that gently depict scenes of daily life exclusive to snowy regions; scenes of playing in snow, snow-clearing, and snow-carving, as well as those of festivals like the Neputa, and pilgrimages up Mt. Iwaki (Figures 26–30). This attention to manners and customs is also seen in *Yōi meiuwa*.

Rosen's attention is directed outside Japan, as well as inward to his native land, as before and after his visit to Hakodate, he traveled within the Tsugaru region. Further, he drew images of the beautiful nature of his native land, beginning with Mt. Iwaki, displaying his true abilities as an artist, while also actively collecting and recording legends, strange stories, and tales of the supernatural. He compiled these in *Gappo kidan* (Tales of Gappo) in three volumes (1855, age 48), and *Tani no hibiki* (Echoes from the Valley) in five volumes (1860, age 53). These works can be seen as seminal ethnographic documents. Yanagita knew of Rosen and other Edo period scholars of local folk culture. It is well known, for example, that Yanagita held *Soto ga hama* by Sugae Masumi (1754–1829) in high regard. Rosen, of course, had Hirata Atsutane's *Kokon*

yōmikō in mind when he composed his ethnographic works. It can be said that *Tani no hibiki* is a work representing one destination point which Hirata *kokugaku* arrived at as it developed into ethnography. Atsutane believed in, without doubt, the actual existence of spirits (*kishin* 鬼神) and divine spirits (*shinrei* 神靈), and Rosen inherited these beliefs and ideas, and attempted to prove the existence of these divine spirits through popular legends.

In the ninth month of 1864 (Ganji 1), Rosen at age 57, officially registered with Kanetane to become a disciple of the late Atsutane, on the recommendation of Ariyo,¹⁶ who had enrolled earlier. In Hirosaki in 1857 (Ansei 4), Tsuruya Ariyo (age 50 at time of enrolment) was the first from this area to have his name entered in the Ibukinoya student registry, and through him in the fifth month of the same year, Iwama Shitatarī (岩間滴, 47),¹⁷ Mitani Ōtari (三谷大足, 33),¹⁸ Fujioka Kōtarō (藤岡幸太郎, 27), Ueda Heikichi (植田平吉, 25), and Imamura Mitane (今村真種, 37)¹⁹ enrolled together.²⁰ After that, though slightly delayed, in the 11th month of 1862 (Bunkyū 2), Takeda Seijirō (竹田清次郎, 34), a little later, in the sixth month of 1864 (Ganji 1), Sasaki Awaji (笹木淡路, priest of Kanagimura Hachiman Shrine, 51), in the seventh month that year, Sasaki Kensaku (笹木健作, 23), in the eighth month Ono Wakasa (小野若狭, priest of Hirosaki Hachiman Shrine, 32),²¹ and in the ninth month that year, Rosen came to enrol as a student. Furthermore, in the sixth month of 1866 (Keiō 2), Kanehira Kiryō (兼平亀綾, 56),²² and in November the following year, 1867 (Keiō 3), Shimozawa Yasumi (下沢保躬, 27)²³ again on Ariyo's recommendation, entered his name on the pledge of enrolment.

These members were close-knit and shared a mutual interest as they enrolled in the Hirata school. There exist several letters addressed to the members by Kanetane,²⁴ and they reveal some interesting facts.²⁵ They reveal the cultural activities of Kanetane, who published Atsutane's works, copied his master's writings and mass produced them, then distributed them by way of mail order, and endeavored, ultimately, to proliferate *kokugaku* thought throughout the country. On the other hand, these letters also illustrate how members of the Tsugaru *kokugaku* circle used the mail order system to purchase books, and proactively obtain and absorb information and knowledge from the center in Edo. It is within this intellectual backdrop that Rosen's main work, *Yūfu shinron* was written. *Yūfu shinron* confirms and strengthens Atsutane's views on the spiritual realm, and cites a plethora of new and old Japanese and Chinese sources in order to prove the workings of the divine spirits (*shinrei* 神靈), spirits (*kishin* 鬼神), and heart spirits (*shinrei* 心靈), and the existence of the spiritual realm (*yūmeikai* 幽冥界).

Through the "Great call for restoring the ancient monarchy," political authority was "returned" from the *bakufu* to the imperial court, and this was supposed to usher in a new "dawn." Those people devoted to Hirata *kokugaku* were dreaming of the advent of an ideal divine age. However, that dream would be crushed in futility. For a short period following the 1868 Restoration, the policy of unification of religion and politics (*saisei itchi*) was issued, and the Hirata faction displayed their authority, but before long the Meiji government pushed forward their policies of "Westernization" (*ōka*) and "civilization and enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika*), and as a result, the spirit of restoring ancient things came to be viewed as old and bigoted, and the authority wielded by *kokugakusha* and Shintoists alike quickly diminished. A check of the yearly enrolment

figures for the Hirata school, through the Ibukinoya student directory (*Ibukinoya mon-jinchō*), reveals that total annual enrolment nationwide peaked in the year Meiji 1 (1868) with as many as 988 for that year alone, but afterward figures declined gradually, dropping to as low as eight in Meiji 5 (1872), as if the events until then had never occurred.²⁶⁾

In his novel, *Before the Dawn*, Shimazaki Tōson depicts Kureta Masaka, a Hirata school *kokugakusha* and senior to protagonist Aoyama Hanzō, speaking about the rapid changing of the times:

With the forces leading up to Meiji 3 (1870), it was said that those who didn't know the theories of Motoori and Hirata were not human. That's referring to everyone. Master Atsutane's writings were spread quite widely. By the way, speaking of this result, everybody passed over the *Kojikiden* and *Koshiden* before they even grasped the true intentions of their authors. How can you say that yesterday's news is old! Even in times of rapid change like today, this is just terrible!²⁷⁾

We can say this passage conveys well the thought of the times. While the people devoted to Hirata *kokugaku* contributed much to the movement of this new age, once that new age had finally arrived, ironically they were left behind.

Their indignation was shared by Rosen. The trend of civilization and enlightenment also arrived, without fail, in the northern region of Tsugaru. In a letter dated the 21st of the 10th month (presumed 1871 (Meiji 4)), addressed to a friend from Tsugaru, Shimozawa Yasumi who was living in Tokyo and serving as an informant between the two locales, Rosen states, "imperial studies has declined considerably, and it is now all Western studies. This is truly lamentable," mourning the reality of the decline in "imperial studies," in contrast to the rise of Western studies, as he focuses on the goings-on at the center in Tokyo. Even in a letter dated the sixth month of 1872 (Meiji 5), he could not help but grieve, stating, "the academic traditions of this country have rushed toward Westernization, and few are those who do not see ancient studies and discussions on the spiritual as false and futile, and I cannot endure this deplorable situation." Here, "discussions on the spiritual" refer to the particular debates on the spiritual realm of Atsutane studies, such discussions within the context of the knowledge of enlightenment, were fated to be eliminated as falsehood and deception.

Rosen's *Yūfu shinron* received a certain level of high evaluation by people of the Hirata faction comprising a majority in the education bureau, which led to talks of its publication, and Rosen was even urged to visit the capital in Tokyo. However, already feeling the effects of old age, Rosen lacked the energy to relocate to the capital to become an official, and so refused the offer to publish *Yūfu shinron*. Times had changed drastically, and Rosen had to accept that his work had become "something irrelevant." The following words emit a deeply painful moan that his entire life spent on scholarship and his efforts expended until then were all for nought:

Indeed, not only this but for many years I have studied and written already 20 books, and yet scholarship has changed drastically and all has become futile and

useless, it has become meaningless and fractured.

Despite this, Rosen did not reject scholarship. In his twilight years he wrote manuals entitled, *Shogaku sanron* (Three treatises on early studies), *Dōmō kyōkunka* (Poetry for children's education), *Sekkyō sai'yō* (Lecture materials), and opened an academy at home where he taught until the end of his life. He died at 73.

As we have seen above, while Rosen lived in this tumultuous period of the late Edo and early Meiji years, he did not live the kind of turbulent life lived by those men of will (*shishi*) who fought for the imperialist cause. Rather, he lived a calm life. He was not a man of action, but a scholar who studied to the end. When many followers of Hirata *kokugaku* offered themselves up towards political causes, Rosen remained in academia, working to confirm Master Atsutane's theories on the soul. Now, let us next look at the world of Rosen's thought.

3. Thought Revealed in *Yūfu shinron*

As is clear from the title, *Yūfu shinron* discusses the hidden realm (*kakuriyo* 幽世) or spiritual realm (*yūmeikai*). We can say this text is devoted to Atsutane's views of the spiritual realm and spirits (*kishin*), and attempted to substantiate these theories through citing numerous Japanese and Chinese sources. Volumes one to four are devoted to "Heavenly deities" (*tenjin* 天神, volumes three and four are lost), volumes four and five are on "thunder" (*kaminari* 雷), volume seven is on "earthly deities" (*chigi* 地祇), and volume eight is on "human demons" (*jinki* 人鬼).

In the volume on "Heavenly Deities," Rosen asserts that "heaven" (J. *ten*, Ch. *tian*) refers to "Ameno minaka nushi no kami (天御中主神), Musubi no kami (皇産靈神)," that "Kōten (皇天), Jōtei (上帝), Tēn" (Ch. *Huang Tian*, *Shang Di*, *Tian*) all refer to "Amatsu kami" (天津神 heavenly deities), and that "Ameno minaka nushi no kami, Musubi no kami" are responsible for "creating heaven and earth, giving birth to the solar deity and lunar deity, causing the four seasons to change, and giving life to all creation" and he emphasizes their powers of creation and authority. Also, he argues that from *Ruan Ji* ("Wu Gui Lun" (doctrine of no spirits)) of Jin and *Fan Zhen* ("Shen Mie Lun" (doctrine of the soul's mortality)) of Lian to the Song Confucianists, belief in spirits (*kishin*) faded, but that spirits do truly exist, and he also asserts their spiritual power. In addition, he argues that what the world calls "spiritual dreams, right dreams, strange dreams" (*reimu* 靈夢, *seimu* 正夢, *kimu* 奇夢) are "the workings of the deities" (*kandachii no shiwaza* 神達の所為).

In the section on "earthly deities," he repeatedly states that in the mountains and rivers there dwell mountain deities and river deities that control them. That is why mountains and rivers are to be worshiped, but in such a case, "One is not to worship the force (Ch. *qi*, J. *ki*) of the mountain and river, one is to always worship its lordly deity," and Rosen severely criticized the Song Confucianists who considered "the flowing of single force of the mountain and river as spirit."

In the section on "thunder," he also criticizes the Song Confucian explanation that the phenomenon of thunder is the coming in contact of the two forces Yin and Yang, but rather asserts that thunder deities exist, and that the occurrence of thunder is "the deities' rage," and he illustrates through *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and stories from Tsuga-

ru that thunder is something to be feared and respected.

In the volume devoted to “human demons,” Rosen rejects the theories of the Cheng (Yi (1033–1107), Hao (1032–1085)) brothers and Zhu Xi (1130–1200) that stipulates that after death, a person’s soul (Ch. *hun po*, J. *konpaku*) returns to the original vital force of heaven and earth, and eventually disintegrates. Rosen argues that all people “are born by receiving the very wondrous and mysterious divine spirit” of “Musubi no kami,” and after death, “the divine spirit of the soul dwells for long in the spiritual realm, and serves the deities according to their words (commands).” He read widely Japanese and Chinese literature and tales of local Tsugaru, and referenced numerous stories of people reviving from death, stories of soul-calling (*shōkon* 招魂), and ghost stories, in order to try to prove the existence of heart spirits (*shinrei*) after death. In order to understand how Rosen thought about the human soul, allow me to summarize the main points in the section on “human demons.”

- 1) According to Confucian theory, people take shape after receiving the force of the five elements. Once taking shape, the soul is born within, and once they die, the soul returns to the original “force” of heaven and earth. However, this is a grave mistake.
- 2) All people are born through receiving the spirit of the Musubi no kami.
- 3) The “soul” (*konpaku*) and “spirit” (*kishin*) refer to the “heart spirit” (*shinrei*) after death.
- 4) The “heart spirit” performs various mysterious works, and latches onto people and things.
- 5) After death, a person’s soul (*reikon*) resides for long in the spiritual realm and serves God according to his word, and it does not return to the “force” of heaven and earth.
- 6) Confucius also refers to a person’s death as “ki” (Ch. *gui*), but he does not stipulate that a person’s soul (*konpaku*) returns to the force of heaven and earth.
- 7) If after death a soul (*reikon*) returns to the force of heaven and earth, a wise person or an evil person, once dead, indiscriminately becomes energy (*seiki* 精氣), and if so, the practice of sincere intention and right mind and the practice of self-control and conforming to propriety also become futile.
- 8) “The soul wandering and causing change” (Ch. *you hun wei bian*, J. *yūkon ihen* 遊魂為變), mentioned in the *Book of Changes*, means that once a person dies they become a spirit (*kishin*), and it does not mean that the force of the soul disintegrates.
- 9) When observing intellectuals’ debates about life and death, most claim that after death a soul becomes force, and they determine that this force eventually disappears, without discussing the mysterious nature of the heart spirit. This is because the arguments of the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi have shaped their preconceptions.
- 10) It is foolish to misunderstand one’s being unaffected by a spirit (*kishin*) as healthy, and to conclude that mysterious matters are non-existent in the world.

Rosen had a firm belief that this world was full of deities, spirits, divine spirits, heart spirits—such mystical and spiritual entities. This conviction originates from Atsutane's view of spirits. Atsutane directly rejected Confucian arguments on spirits. He maintains that the Confucianists' arguments on spirits are broad in their interpretations, but that if their theories were refined furthered, their opinions would be reduced to the level of Zhu Xi, that spirits are simply the natural phenomena that control the extending and contracting movements of the dual forces of Yin and Yang. From this conception of spirits based on such a theory, the fearful dimension originally associated with this word "spirit" (*kishin*) becomes diluted and it is also deprived of its mystical, religious nature. This is explained as a strategy for the removal of magic, religion, and mysticism from the spirit debate.

Atsutane inversed this argument of the Confucianists, and instead asserted that spirits were not a product of natural phenomenon, but that the very entity controlling natural phenomena were the spirits. He argues that the spirits first existed, and that the products of these spirits' workings were the dual forces of Yin and Yang. In response to the interpretation that forced spirits to forfeit their religious nature, and the reduction of spirits to a single aspect of natural phenomena, Atsutane reaffirmed the religious authority of the spirits as the existential entities that cause natural phenomena.

Rosen adopts Atsutane's view and states the following. Even in China, "First in the Xia and Shang, then Zhou period," "speaking first of heaven and earth, mountains and rivers, mausoleums, and deities of the five offerings, a host of divine spirits" were "worshipped." However, times changed and "people all became cunning," and they came to take lightly matters of the spirits, and by the Song dynasty, they came to discuss spirits through "the principle of creation by Yin and Yang," and that bad tendency was transmitted to the "imperial country," and as a result, matters of the "deities" came to be understood through "principle." How lamentable this is! He states that "spirits are real objects, and not the dead objects of vain theories, that are the products of good creation by the dual forces as propounded by Song Confucianists," and so they must be revered.

Ogyū Sorai rejected faith in "spirits," which had been presented as a sense of reverence for "heaven" as an ultimate entity, as well as rejecting the wisdom of manners and customs solely as a pursuit of Neo-Confucian intellectual "principle." In the end, Sorai worried that this would lead to the destruction of all Confucian traditional culture and so he made "heaven" and "spirits" objects of religious reverence.²⁸⁾ However, even though Sorai stressed the need to revere "heaven" and "spirits" at an academic level, when we question how much Sorai himself sincerely believed in the existence of "spirits," never mind "heaven," he has not expressed his true feelings, and therefore leaves room for speculation.

Not only with Sorai, but arguments of Confucianist thinkers in general²⁹⁾ are often intentionally vague concerning the existence of spirits (for example, Jinsai did not question whether or not spirits existed). There was a sense that they had to act "as if" they really existed. When a thorough investigation is conducted on the theory of Song Confucianist discussions of the creation of all things by the joining and parting movement of the dual forces Yin and Yang, it becomes difficult to accept the existence of spirits. This is because spirits, or ancestral spirits are simply "force," and "force" even-

tually disintegrates.³⁰⁾ Thereby, even the worship of ancestral spirits, which is so deeply rooted in customs and rites of society becomes, inevitably, rejected.

In other words, the Confucianists' debates about spirits would result in one of the following conclusions:

1. Deny the existence of spirits, and thoroughly argue of no spirits (Fan Zhen, Nan Xiao Wen, Yamagata Bantō).
2. Maintain an interpretation of spirits as naturalized, and avoid any larger questions (Zhu Xi).
3. Cease making decisions and do not question if spirits exist or not. (Itō Jinsai)
4. Avoid discussion on the existence of spirits, and support the systematization of spirit worship for the sake of sages ruling over the minds of the people. (Ogyū Sorai)

To say nothing of fully supporting the argument of the non-existence of spirits as in 1, any one of numbers 2 through 4 could not avoid discussing spirits "as if" they really existed, or "like they were present." The existing contradiction between the argument on spirits at the level of Confucian intellectuals and the level of popular customs, including belief in ancestral spirits and ancestral worship, is the great unresolved problem contained in the Confucianists' discussion on spirits.

Rosen is very sharp on this point. In the "Ba Yi" chapter of the *Analects*, there is a passage, "to worship deities is to act as if deities were present," demonstrating Confucius' manner of worshipping deities. If interpreted literally, it means that Confucius worshipped as if the deities truly were present there. However, how this passage is read and interpreted differs greatly depending on whether the interpreter truly believes in the existence of deities or not. If they believe, even if the deity is not visible to the eye, the passage is interpreted as Confucius reverently worshipping deities with a sincere heart as if they appeared before his eyes. However, if one takes an unbelieving stance on the existence of deities, even if they thought deities in fact did not exist, they would interpret Confucius' actions as pretending to worship deities as if they were present. Rosen explains that in the perspective of Song Confucianists, who understand spirits through the movement of the dual forces of Yin and Yang, ultimately, "they argue as if to say, even though divine spirits are really non-existent, understand them as if they were present and follow them," and he criticizes this as deception. Rosen states it is very unlikely that Confucius, a man of deep faith, would argue it was good to worship deities as mere fabrication. Establishing that there is a passage in the *Book of Changes* which says, "the sage imparts teaching with the way of the deities," Rosen also states that to argue that spirits are objects that sagely men created as a "tool to teach the people reverence" is a debate (he likely has Sorai's argument in mind) that has avoided the essential issues. To Rosen, the deities were not fabricated entities, but were believed in as truly existent beings. For Rosen, this realm was not to be grasped through thin, inorganic concepts such as "principle," but was sensed intuitively as something more vibrantly spiritual and full of mysticism which transcends reason.

According to Rosen, all things in the world do not escape "the wondrous acts of the

heavenly deities and earthly deities,” and “even ones offspring being high or low class, rich or poor, living long or short, or being wise or foolish are works which this divine spirit performs.” Rosen saw the workings of “divine spirits” and “spirits” that transcend human intellect, in the mysterious phenomena that occurred around him. Therefore, he found numerous strange examples from voluminous Japanese and Chinese classical texts, as testimonies of the existence of divine spirits and spirits, and also searched out folk tales from the Tsugaru region, collected various monster (*yōkai*) tales, strange tales (*kidan*), good omens (*kizui*), and strange objects, and recorded them. His records resulted in *Tani no hibiki* (Echoes from the Valley) and *Gappo kidan* (Strange tales from Gappo). Such writings, like Miyaoi Yasuo’s *Kidan zasshi* (A Collection of Strange Tales),³¹ resemble the world of Yanagita’s *Tōno monogatari* (Tales from Tōno), published in 1910, and is a work that brilliantly shows the development of *kokugaku* into ethnography, and it can be said that when examined from the perspective of intellectual history, it had a dimension that laid the groundwork for Yanagita’s ethnography. In *Tani no hibiki*, Rosen states “how can one say there is nothing between heaven and earth, that is expansively wondrous and strange,”³² and surely he must have been reminded of Motoori Norinaga’s following words which criticized the attitude of using common reason (*jōri*) in explaining the divine age:

The most mysterious thing is now all creation in heaven and earth. Within heaven and earth, there is not even a single thing that is not mysterious. However, to not think of this as mysterious is because these are the things that we see always.³³

Let me introduce two or three stories that Rosen collected. The following story is recorded in *Tani no hibiki*.

Story of a Dreaming Soul Killing his Wife (Tani no hibiki, Vol. 2)

During the Tenpō years, a man named Mitsunashi, while stationed for official duty in Aomori, became intimate with a certain woman. However, he could not marry her as he already had a wife, and before long, his duty ended and so he returned to Hiro-saki. Unable to suppress his feelings of affection, he kept in contact with the woman through correspondence, and the following year when he went to Aomori for duty they further deepened their relationship, though the woman resented that her lover had a wife and constantly complained about it. One day, the woman told the mistress of the inn, “While taking a nap, I had a dream that I went to the Mitsunashi home, and I saw the wife sewing neatly and invitingly, and I felt so envious that I began choking her throat. Then her mother and children stood up, making a fuss, and that is when I woke up.”³⁴

However, near dawn the next day, a messenger came to the office and reported that the man’s wife had died an unnatural death. Mitsunashi was greatly shocked and when he returned home and asked about the situation, his mother told him, “yesterday after noon, something appearing like a person’s soul, though from where it came I do not know. It flew into the house and I could see it enter the room where she had been sewing. Then immediately, I heard a screaming sound, “Aaah” from the room.

Startled, I ran to the room, and then saw that your wife's throat was mercilessly ripped and she was dead from suffocation. I immediately tended to her with medicine, but her vital area had been damaged badly and so it was useless and she died." His mother asked fearfully and with teary eyes, if someone's resentment had caused this, and Mitsuhashi had an idea in his mind, but thought it was inappropriate to say anything, so he cordially buried his wife alone and calmly. It was said that after that, Mitsuhashi avoided that woman and never met her again. They say at times, Mitsuhashi's mother told this story, and before long the story of that woman's dream came secretly to be known.

Next, I will introduce two stories from *Yūfu shinron*, volume eight, "human demons."

Story of the Soul's Detachment

During the Bunka years (1804–1818), in Hirosaki Konyamachi there lived a man named Takashima Jinemon who specialized in making sweets. In the new year, members of the household were using candy starch to make various things, when one "soul" (*tama*) flew out of the house, fluttering and glistening and flying out from the garden window. Everyone was stunned, and the children became afraid and fled. According to Jinemon's wife, "That object came out of my bosom, so it must be my soul. What comes to mind then is that in a dream that morning, a person exactly like me came and said, 'work in this life is painful and so I am going to the land of the eternal.' I saw this and I woke up." That wife said, "It is detestable!" and her appearance was sad, but more than that, she became ill, and passed away in the fourth month of that year. This story is about an incident that Jinemon's live-in maid witnessed personally.

After introducing this story, Rosen makes the following comment:

"In the stories of commoners, even when the soul of a person nearing death becomes detached from the body two years prior to dying, one must not deceive them."³⁵⁾

Story about Encountering a Dead Person's Spirit

In Dote town of Hirosaki, Tsugaru, lived a sake distiller called Matsuya Chūemon. In the summer of Bunka 3 (1806), this man became ill for two or three days and died on the first day of the sixth month. His friend, a man named Yoshiya Chōemon visited the temple and was on his way home, when he encountered Chūemon wearing a hemp *kamishimo* outfit with a light *katabira* shoulder strap, walking calmly together with his employee Manjirō, who had been in his care. The two were close, long-time friends, and they spoke for a while before parting. Chōemon continued walking for some time, when in front of the *torii* gate of the Sumiyoshi Shrine, he met Kasuke, a member of Chūemon's household. Kasuke said to him, "My lord Chūemon became ill three or four days ago, and just died a moment ago. I first informed your household, and I was just about to notify the family temple." Chōemon became very suspicious, and scorned Kasuke, saying, "I just met Chūemon in formal attire outside Shin-

teramachi, and he was walking with Manjirō. There is a limit when it comes to pranks!” Kasuke did not remonstrate, but proceeded to speak in detail about Chūemon’s symptoms and treatments. Chōemon was suspicious and wanted to confirm this for himself and so he visited Matsuya. Chūemon’s wife and children were in tears and spoke about the cause of Chūemon’s death. Chōemon rushed to his bed, and was stunned to see his friend’s corpse. He told them about how he had just met Chūemon, then invited Manjirō out, but Manjirō insisted that he had been tending to the ill Chūemon since morning, and that he had not once stepped outside. This is a story Rosen heard from Iwama Shitatarī, that the current master of Matsuya tells from time to time.

After recording this story, Rosen adds his opinion in the following way:

If you examine this story, to say nothing of his clothing, even though he saw with his own eyes a proper, living person (*utsutsubito*), Manjirō, accompanying the dead spirit of his master, this Manjirō denied such a thing and thought he had been indoors all along. And so, the workings of the heart spirit in the spiritual realm (*yūmei*) should not be discussed and spoken of using the wisdom of living people, as such stories are suspect and illogical.³⁶⁾

In this way, Rosen believed that the “works performed by the heart’s spirit in the spiritual realm” immeasurable by human intellect, are greatly affecting reality. A person’s soul is not eliminated, and in the “spiritual realm” it controls what happens behind all events in this world. Needless to say, this line of thought is informed by Atsutane’s view on the spiritual realm.

In *Tama no mihashira* (The August Pillar of the Soul), Atsutane criticizes Norinaga’s theories as erroneous, and he develops his own argument on the spiritual realm. Based on writings from the *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters), Norinaga asserted that all people when they died went to the *yomi* world. This is a filthy, abominable, and hideous place, and when one dies, good and bad people all end up going there. He taught there was no such thing as good people “being born in a good place.” This is indeed a comment which practices some restraint like that of a good scholar, to limit his statements only to that which can be said based on the writings of the *Kojiki*. However, for Atsutane who sought reassurance for the soul after death, he could not accept that both good and bad people were destined for the hideous *yomi* world. Atsutane clearly distinguishes between the *yomi* world and the spiritual realm that souls go to after death. Further, he asserts that the spiritual realm is in fact not in the other world, but in this current one. According to Atsutane, the world of the dead overlaps with the world of the living, and there is no spatial separation as in that world and this world. Therefore, the soul after death will always remain in this beautiful land. Even in the spiritual realm, there is “the way of clothing, food, and shelter” and it does not differ from this current world. However, the boundaries differ from the world of the living, and they are invisible to the eyes of the living. Nonetheless, Atsutane explains that from the spiritual realm, the situation in our world is clearly visible. It is synonymous to the light area (*arawaniyo*/visible realm) being visible to the dark area (*kakuriyo*

hidden realm) but the dark area being invisible to the light area. He states, “How foolish it is to think something does not exist, because it is invisible.”³⁷⁾

At the very least, we can take two messages from Atsutane’s argument on the spiritual realm. One is the creation of an enjoyable and bright image after death, and second is the sense of people living together with the dead.

Speaking first of the former, the world of the afterlife that Atsutane depicts does not differ considerably from this life, and life there is like an extension of this current one. Not only that, those that performed just acts in this world, but whose lives were ended in misfortune, would be compensated through the judgement of “*Ökuninushi no mikoto*.” Atsutane states that when he himself dies, he would join his wife who died that year, then immediately go to meet his master Norinaga, and “receive the teachings on poetry” he had neglected while he was living. Then he would “in the spring see and enjoy the flowers planted by the Old Man (Norinaga) together with him, and in the summer see the blue mountains, in the autumn see the yellow leaves and moon, in winter see the snow, and so calmly I also wish to dwell here forever.”³⁸⁾ While undoubtedly, these ideas were a product of Atsutane’s own desires, this view of the other world where one could, after death, be reunited with loved ones from this life—ancestors, parents, children—was surely more personal and concrete than the image of a Buddhist paradise, and was a convincing notion for people inhabiting village societies and those who had migrated to Edo from the countryside. Unmistakably, death is a sad event of parting farewell to the living. However, if one could be reunited with loved ones left behind in this world, and could watch over and protect ones children and grandchildren and impart to them blessings, the afterlife could become an “enjoyable” place. Rosen’s lifelong friend, Tsuruya Ariyo wrote *Kenyū rakuron* (顯幽樂論 Treatise on Joys of the Visible and Hidden) still in manuscript form, and in the opening, he wrote, “The visible world, and the hidden world too, are enjoyable. My imperial deities’ way is indeed the true way.”

Regarding the second point, about living together with the dead, even though one cannot see the hidden world from the visible world, because the visible world is clearly seen from the hidden, the livings are always being watched by the eyes of the dead. In other words, from here, the gaze of the dead—which includes a sense of being watched over gently, and a sense of being severely monitored—comes upon the living, so that they would constantly be conscious of it, and this would create a greater urgency for people to live uprightly all aspects of their personal life (family business, social class restrictions, spousal ways, children’s education, observing rules of the village or town). The meaning of daily life in this world would not be complete by itself, but because it would be visible to the other world, it would gain meaning through this connection. The current world is the “temporary world” and the “hidden world” after death, the “original world” (*mototsuyo*) or the primary world, so that in the current world one is tested to determine the reward of blessings and punishment of misfortune to be received in the “original world.”

Rosen faithfully inherited Atsutane’s above discussions on the spiritual realm, agreeing that spirits and divine spirits are invisible to the eye, but “words and speech are exchanged, and their works do not differ from those of the current world,” and because they cause blessings and punishment in this world, he urges people to serve

them with all sincerity and reverence “as if they were present.” And regarding ceremonies and rituals surrounding soul-calling or spirit pacification, these are simply systematizations of the sad feelings of surviving families, and there are some who say “souls exist through deities, but are not given [to humans],” but this is just meaningless exaggeration. Rosen points out the world’s Confucianists interpret “serving spirits and worshipping ancestors” in this way, and he states how regrettable it is that “ritual is considered just superficial decoration,” and cautions the loss of the original significance of ceremonies.

Rosen has no doubt about the reality of “spirits” and “divine spirits.” To say nothing of the “imperial country” (*mikuni*), the fact that there were “ancient texts” that discussed “spirits” and “divine spirits” even in China (*morokoshi*), proved to him without a doubt that their existence was real. “The deities’ wondrous works” truly exist. Rosen reasons, that that is why since the Xia, Shang, and Zhou times, people “worshipped” “the many divine spirits, beginning with the deities of heaven and earth, mountains and rivers, mausoleum, and five offerings.” If one looks at the ancient texts, it is clear that humans have worshipped deities since ancient times, and even now they are being worshipped. The very existence of these ceremonies is proof that worshipped deities exist: otherwise, what meaning would there be in worship ceremonies? Obviously, such logic does not adequately serve as evidence of the existence of deities. However, the act of proving the deities’ existence from the very beginning surpassed human reason and understanding, and so it is meaningless to discuss such matters. What should be problematized here is not how Rosen tried to prove the deities’ existence, but how he himself held conviction that the world was full of deities, divine spirits, spirits, and souls, and how he also paid attention to the psychological fact of people not doubting the spiritual existence of these entities.

On this point, I am reminded of the interesting words of the religious studies scholar, Hori Ichirō, son-in-law of Yanagita Kunio, who spoke about Yanagita’s faith:

Yanagita really believed in the existence of the soul and spiritual powers. I said to him, “I don’t believe in the existence of deities or souls. However, it is a fact that there are many people who believe them, and I respect this as an important fact.” In response to the author’s (Hori) words, Yanagita showed a somewhat bitter smile and said, “But you say that you offer your dad who passed away, cigarettes every morning. So what aspect of the dead person are you giving cigarettes to?” He touched upon a very sensitive area for me. I avoided the issue, saying, “I liked my father, and since I was a child, grandmother and mother made me do it. So it’s sort of a custom.” “No, that is proof you acknowledge the existence of the soul. Japanese people’s views toward the soul are not like the reason of European religious scholars.”³⁹⁾

Both Yanagita and Rosen, even if not consciously, reach into the depths of people’s hearts, and pay close attention to the reality of popular faith toward divine spirits, spirits, and souls that continue to live therein.



Figure 31



Figure 32

Conclusion

At the Kōbōji Temple in Kizukurichō, Aomori prefecture, are enshrined photographs of young soldiers who died young in the Pacific War, leaving behind their desires in this world and remaining unmarried. Along beside these photographs, bride dolls have been offered. I was overwhelmed by the large number of photographs in glass cases alongside these bride dolls (Figures 31–32). While gazing at them, I sensed the heartrending desires of the surviving families who wished, that even though their loved ones met misfortune in this life, that at least in the world after death they could marry and live a happy life, experiencing married life in the spiritual realm. The thought was so poignant. To say that the world after death and souls do not exist, and those memorials to the dead are simply methods of self-comfort for the living would be cruel and unfeeling: there certainly exists an intense and invisible exchange between the dead and living which cannot be resolved with such a conclusion. There is such rich, religious soil that has been preserved in the Tōhoku region. We can say that Atsutane, born in Akita, and Rosen too, conducted their thinking, deeply rooted in the religious climate of local customs, and absorbed the basic, intuitive sense still living within the faith of these local customs, and expressed this in scholarship and intellectual thought.

Notes

- 1) Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language*, (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, 1969), 111.
- 2) I list here Rosen's works. The following are housed at the Hirosaki City Library: *Kōsai shōshi*, 150 volumes; *Kōsai nihitsu*, 12 volumes; *Fude no susabi*, 1st to 3rd collections (5 volumes each); *Yūfu shinron*, 8 volumes; *Reibutsu shi*, 2 volumes; *Kyobutsu shi*, 6 volumes; *Ibutsu zue*, 5 volumes; *Butsu shūshi*, 3 volumes; *Seishokushi*, 3 volumes; *Tani no hibiki*, 10 volumes; *Gappo kidan*, 2 volumes; *Yōi meiwā*, 2 volumes; *Hakodate kikō*, 1 volume; *Gappo sansuikan*, 3 volumes; *Kakunteiyō*, 1 volume; *Sekkyō Saiyō*, 1 volume; *Dōmō kyōkunka/Shogaku sanron*, 1 volume; *Kōhon sōkō*, 4 volumes; *Meiji nikki*, 5 volumes; *Taihei shinwa*, 6 volumes; *Sekishi*; *Zasshi*; *Kyōsoku*; *Shinrei*, 1 volume; *Kyōsoku*; *Hyakushu kōhon*; *Ame no ukihashi*; *Gosyaku*; *Sōkō*, 2 volumes; *Ama no mo*; *Gachō*; *Kōkozu*. The following are housed at the National Diet Library: *Tama no yukue*, 7 volumes; *Shinron sōkō*, 13 volumes.
- 3) *Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1968), 235.
- 4) Watsuji Tetsurō, *Nihon rinri shisōshi*, vol. 2, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1952), 678–679.
- 5) Maruyama Masao, *Nihon seiji shisōshi kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1952), 181.
- 6) *Hotta Yōshie zenshū*, vol. 7, (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1975), 241.
- 7) *Sōmō no kokugaku*, first edition, (Tokyo: Hata shoten, 1945), Reprint, Meicho shuppan, 1982.
- 8) Matsumoto Sannosuke, *Kokugaku seiji shisō no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1957).
- 9) Watanabe Hiroshi, "Michi' to 'miyabi'," in *Kokka gakkai zasshi*, vol. 87, editions 9–12; vol. 88, editions 3–6, 1974–1975.

- 10) *Orikuchi Shinobu zenshū*, vol. 20, (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1967).
- 11) Sagara Toru, “Nihon shisōshi ni okeru Hirata Atsutane,” and Koyasu Nobukuni, “Hirata Atsutane no sekai,” in *Hirata Atsutane*, Nihon no meicho, vol. 24, (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1972). In recent years, Kamata Tōji has written from the perspective of folk religion. *Seinaru basho no kioku: Nihon to iū shintai*, (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1996). Among research that deals with Atsutane from the perspective of ethnography, the following several works attempt to explain Hirata Atsutane, not from the perspective of folk religion within village communities, but rather from the perspective of Edo popular society and Edo urban space and folk customs in the Bunka bunsei (1804–1830) era: Asukai Masamichi, “Shikō no yōshiki: sekaizō e no kokoromi,” in Hayashiya Tatsusaburō, ed., *Kasei bunka no kenkyū*, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1976); Numata Satoshi, “Kishin, kiai, yūmei,” in *Nihon kinseishi ronsō*, vol. 2, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1984); Sakurai Susumu, *Edo no muishiki*, (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1991).
- 12) The following works, in my view, emphasize *kokugaku*’s significance with Yanagita ethnography as its precursor. Uchino Gorō, *Shin kokugakuron no tenkai: Yanagita Orikuchi minzokugaku no yukue*, (Tokyo: Sōrinsha, 1983); Uchino, “Nihon minzokugaku ni okeru kokugaku to shin kokugaku,” in *Nihon minzoku kenkyū taikai*, vol. 10, *Kokugaku to minzokugaku*, (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1990); Sakurai Tokutarō, “Yanagita Kunio no sosentan,” in *Kindai nihon shisō taikai*, vol. 14, *Yanagita Kunio shu*, Kaisetsu, (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1975); Ōkubo Tadashi, “Yanagita Kunio ni okeru kokugaku no dento,” in *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, July 1975; Murai Osamu, “Norinaga Atsutane to Yanagita Kunio: Kokugaku to shin kokugaku no shisō,” in *Senden hyōron*, vol. 751, 1975; Asada Masanao, “Kinsei koki kokugaku to minzoku shinko: Hirata Atsutane no yūmei no ichi,” in *Nihon gaku*, vol. 12, November 1988; Nozaki Morihide, “Motoori Norinaga to Yanagita Kunio,” in *Iwanami kōza Toyo shisō*, vol. 15, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1989); “Kokugakusha no minzokugaku kindai,” in *Nihon minzoku kenkyū taikai*, vol. 10, *kokugaku to minzokugaku*, (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1990); Kawamura Minato, “‘Kakuriyo’ to ‘kakurezato,’” in *Kotodama to takai*, (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1990). Although it did not directly discuss Yanagita ethnography’s relationship to *kokugaku*, Minami Keiji’s *Kinsei kokugaku to sono shūhen* (Tokyo: Miyai shoten, 1992) discussed kokugakusha’s interest in ethnography, and their topography and editing practices based on this.
- 13) I have based this biography of Rosen’s life on the following texts: *Rosen shi* (Hirosaki City Library), ed. by Nakamura Ryōnoshin; *Hirao Rosen ō* (Same library), ed. by Aomori ken bunkazai hogo kyōkai, Tsugaru han kyū kidenrui; Moriyama Taitarō, “Hirao Rosen,” ed. by Hirosaki shiritsu toshokan, *Kanematsu Sekkyo, Hirao Rosen, Akita Ujaku Kyōdo no senjin wo kataru* (7).
- 14) Utsumi Soha (1761–1837), second son of Nakaya Magoshichirō of Iitsume mura (Goshogawara shi). He became an adopted son-in-law to sake distiller, Utsumi Yoshieimon, and managed a business dealing with old cotton materials and served as head of Oyakata machi and Daiku machi. He became a student of Ishiguro Soseki and studied Shōfū haiku poetry. He traveled throughout the country meeting famous poets, and endeavored to spread the haiku community of poets in Tsugaru (*Tsugaru han kyūkiden, Aomori ken hyakka jiten*).
- 15) Tsuruya Ariyo (1808–1871), real name is Takeda Takayoshi. From a young age, served the wealthy household of Ika Hachitarō, and every night he went to Utsumi Soha’s house to learn haiku, calligraphy, and Chinese classics. After Soha’s death, he learned under Mitsuya Kubutsu. Ariyo took an interest in imperial studies, and in 1857 enrolled in Hirata Kanetane’s school. Together with friends he made a large investment in purchasing Chinese classics, and he made an effort to promote kokugaku. His writings include *Iso no shiratama*, 45 volumes; *Kabunshū*, 10 volumes; *Kōsogū shokōben*, 1 volume; *Ken’yū rakuron*, 1 volume; *Iwakisan shinreiki*, 1 volume; *Yahiro hoko*, 1 volume; *Kodo itoguchi*, 1 volume; *Tsuruya bunshū*, 2 volumes; *Shogaku kaitei*, 2 volumes.
- 16) Ariyo enrolled in the second month of Ansei 4 (1857). This is recorded in the student registry of *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū*, Supplementary volume, 55.
- 17) Iwama Shitatarī (1811–1891), common name is Ichitarō. Born in Kadokemura (Hirosaki shi). Served sake distiller Matsuya in Dotemachi. Had a desire to study and persevered to study literature, later studied Chinese classics under Momokawa Gakuan, and learned haiku and *kokugaku* from Tsuruya Ariyo. Took the poet name, Iwanenoya. Composed comic *tanka*, also took the names Shōzunomi, Shōzuan, and Shōryū. Became a Shinto priest late in life (*Aomori ken jinmei jiten*).
- 18) Mitani Ōtari (1826–1877), eldest child of Mitani Kubutsu. Broker, had success managing a sake dis-

- tiller. Friends with Tsuruya, pursued studies on the ancient way, and acquired talent in composing *waka* and haiku poetry.
- 19) Imamura Mitane (1824–1884), Tsugaru domain samurai. Common name is Yōtarō. Poet, named Momoya. Began composing poems around 1858. Has a collection of poems called *Momonomi* (*Aomoriken jinmei jiten*).
 - 20) *Shinshū Hirata Atsutane zenshū*, Supplementary volume, 56.
 - 21) Ono Iwane (1833–1889), eldest son of Wakasa no kami Masatake, tenth priest of Tsugaru Sōchinjyuhu hachiman Shrine in Negimachi, Hirosaki shi. First succeeded eleventh Wakasa no kami, Masafusa. At age 17, went to the capital Kyoto to receive training, completed full mastery of Shinto ceremonies of the various families beginning with Tachibana, and received a license of Shinto law from the Yoshida family, was ordained a priest and returned to Tsugaru. In the turbulent years of late-Tokugawa to early-Meiji, Iwane carried out duties as the general director of Shinto priesthood. During the Boshin war, he led 30 horsemen from the priesthood and trained them. In addition to being a priest, he organized and edited the old documents of shrines and temples from the Genroku (1688–1704) to Meiji years, and compiled *Hirosaki Hachimangū monjo* (*Aomoriken jinmei daijiten*).
 - 22) Kanehira Kiryō (1811–1878), artist from Hirosaki. Named Kikuko. Daughter of Komatsuya (Kanehira) of Wattoku machi of Hirosaki. First went to Sendai, later to Edo and married a merchant near Fukagawa, but he died so she returned to Hirosaki with Neriya Tobei (Kudō Hakuryū) also a native of Hirosaki. Tobei died, and Kiryō married a Hirosaki town doctor, Kanehira Kiyoshi. She learned to paint from Matsumoto Kyokko of Sendai, and mastered ink turtles, and so took on the name Kiryō (The Chinese character “Ki” meaning turtle). In 1872, at age 60, surprised many when she climbed Mt. Iwaki which had been prohibited to women. The first woman to climb Mt. Iwaki (*Aomoriken jinmei daijiten*).
 - 23) Shimozawa Yasumi (1838–1896), Tsugaru domain samurai, *kokugakusha*, historian. Common name Hatsusaburō. Also named Kan’un. Naturally enjoyed scholarship, learned the way of poetry from Osari Nakaakira. In 1869, he served as official agent at the Kyoto branch office, where he was appointed as a scribe, he became a steward to the Konoe family, and this enabled him the opportunity to interact with scholars and poets there. In 1871, he returned home and surveyed the shrines and temples all throughout Tsugaru, and he eventually became priest of Mt. Iwaki Shrine. In 1873, he requested to the head of the Imperial Household that the New Year’s Poetry Party held at the Imperial Court accept *waka* from the common people in order to promote the way of composition and sending *waka*, and this request was realized the following year. By order of a previous feudal lord, he edited *Tsugaru kyūkiruishū* and *Tsugaru kyūkidenrui*, and he wrote many works including *Tsugaru kokon igyōki*. Late in life, he showed interest in ancient studies and ethnography, and he introduced Tsugaru folk customs and traditions at an academic conference in the urban center (*Aomoriken jinmei daijiten*). *Kan’un Shimozawa Yasumi sensei wo aogu Goikō to kankei shokan* (Hirosaki shi shuppanbutsu shinkōjosei tosho edited by Tazawa Tadashi) is a detailed work on Shimozawa.
 - 24) Stored in Aomori kenritsu kyōdōkan. “Yagibashike shozō shishiryō.” Numata Satoshi has provided an introduction and analysis of some of these materials (I shall refer to them hereafter as “Kanetane’s letters”). “Tsuruya Ariyo ate Hirata Kanetane shokan yontsu wo megutte” (*Hirosaki daigaku kokushi kenkyū*, hundredth memorial issue, March 1996).
 - 25) Kanetane sent large numbers of letters to students in the countryside, relaying to them information from the central school, thereby proliferating Atsutane’s teachings, as well as collecting various information sent from rural areas. Miyaji Masato points out in his article, “Bakumatsu Hirata kokugaku to seiji jōhō” that “aside from the information network of the *bakufu* and domanial authorities, the political information sent directly and indirectly to Kanetane from the Hirata school’s students was the most superior, in quality and quantity, of that period. In ed. by Tanaka Akira, *Nihon no kinsei juhachi: kindai kokka e no shikō*, (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1994), 234.
 - 26) According to “Ibukinoya monjin nenjibetsu kunibetsu bunpu ichiranhyō,” supplementary to Miki Shōtarō, “*Ibukinoya monjincho shōkō*,” *Kōgakukan daigaku kiyō*, vol. 13, January 1975.
 - 27) *Yoake mae*, pt. 2, vol. 2, Iwanami bunko, 61. Needless to say, *Yoake mae*’s protagonist is not a fictional character, but is based on Shimazaki Masaki (also named Hakudo), Toson’s father, who served as a village head in Magome. Itō Tasaburō, “Aoyama Hanzō den hoi” in *Sōmō no kokugaku*, augmented

- edition, (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1982) discusses this character's real-life model, Masaki.
- 28) “The Confucianists of later ages valued knowledge, and made efforts to investigate principle, and the way of the ancient kings and Confucius was broken. The evil of investigating principle is to reduce heaven and spirits all to being less than revered, thereby individuals becoming arrogant and standing independently between heaven and earth” in *Bendō*, Nihon shisō taikai, vol. 36, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1973). I also discuss Sorai's understanding of “heaven” in my book. “Sorai ni okeru ‘ten’ to ‘saku’ in *Soraigaku to han Sorai*, augmented edition, (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1994).
 - 29) Koyasu Nobukuni, *Kishinron: Juke chishikijin no disukuru*, (Tokyo: Fukutake shoten, 1992) offers some valuable insight on the Confucian debate on spirits.
 - 30) Though I speak of spirits (*kishin*) in a word, this term is comprised specifically of “ki” (or “oni”) and “shin” (or “kami”). “While people are living, their souls (Ch. *hun po*, J. *konpaku*) are mixing with each other. When they die, they separate and wander about. “Kon” (Ch. *hun*) is Yang so disperses upward, and “paku” (Ch. *po*) is Ying so it disperses downward” (*Zhu Xi Yu Lei*, vol. 8). Therefore, when a person dies, their “kon” and “paku” separate, and because their “kon” is Yang, it ascends to heaven and becomes a “shin” (or *kami*), and as “paku” is Ying, it descends to the earth and becomes a “ki” (or *oni*). “‘ki’ is the ‘paku’ of a dead person that returns to its origin far away, and ‘shin’ is the soul (*reikon*) which returns to a living person.” See Miura Kunio, “Sushi kishinron no rinkaku” in Minamoto Ryōen, ed., *Kami kannen no hikaku bunkaronteki kenkyū*, Kōdansha, 1981), 470. In this way, “ki,” “shin,” “kon,” “paku,” to be exact, should be divided, but there is no question that they are composed of “force.”
 - 31) Yanagita quickly introduced Miyaoi Yasuo's *Kidan Zasshi*, and drew ideas from “Kishū yagiyama no sato yamagamisai no koto” (vol. 5), to produce the article, “Yamakami to okoze” (In *Teihon Yanagita Kunio zenshū*, vol. 4). Yanagita likely had not collected much information on Rosen, but he does mention Rosen's name and references him in an essay titled, “Kappa to mizuchi” (*Teihon Yanagita Kunio zenshū*, supplementary vol., no. 3).
 - 32) Hirao Rosen, *Tani no hibiki*, Aomori kenritsu toshokan, ed., Aomori kenritsu toshokan kyōdo sōsho 1, (Aomori: Aomori kenritsu toshokan, 1969), 4.
 - 33) *Shun'an zuihitsu, Motoori Norinaga zenshū*, vol. 13, Chikuma shobō, 598.
 - 34) *Ibid.*, 48.
 - 35) *Yūfu shinron*, vol. 8, “jinki,” folio 46, back.
 - 36) *Ibid.*, folio 35, front.
 - 37) *Tama no mihashira*, Iwanami bunko, 167.
 - 38) *Ibid.*, 186.
 - 39) Hori Ichiro, “Yanagita Kunio to shūkyō shigaku,” 1st ed., *Kikan Yanagita Kunio kenkyū*, Inaugural ed., Feb. 1973, later in *Yanagita Kunio kenkyū shiryō shūsei*, vol. 13, 322–333.

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Reproduced from a portrait of Hirao Rosen, Aomori Kenshi Hensan Kinsei bukai ed., *Aomori Kenshi Shiryō-hen Kinsei Gakugei Kankei*, (Aomori: Aomori ken, 2004), frontispiece.
- Figure 2: Reproduced from *Gappo sansuikan*, Hirosaki City Library.
- Figures 3–4: Reproduced from *Anmon sansuikan*, Cultural Museum of Aomori.
- Figures 5–7: Reproduced from *Ibutsu zue*, Cultural Museum of Aomori.
- Figures 8–25: Reproduced from *Yōi meiwō*, Cultural Museum of Aomori.
- Figure 26: Reproduced from *Iwakisan sankei zu*, Hirosaki shiritsu hakuibutsu kan.
- Figures 27–30: Reproduced from *Tsugaru fūzoku emaki*, Shinpen Hirosaki Shishi Henshū Inkaei ed., *Shinpen Hirosaki Shishi, Shiryōhen 3*, (Aomori: Hirosaki shi kikakubu kikakuka, 2000), frontispiece.
- Figures 31–32: Photographs of young soldiers who died young in the Pacific War, and bride dolls. Kōbōji Temple in Kizukurichō, Aomori prefecture.