

MONSTROUS PROJECTIONS AND PARADISAL VISIONS:  
JAPANESE CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF THE SOUTH SEAS (NAN'YŌ) AS A  
SUPERNATURAL SPACE FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

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## ABSTRACT

From Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* to the giant monster movie *Mothra*, the South Seas has served as conceptual space filled with supernatural potential in Western and Japanese discourse. This dissertation will examine Japanese discourse that appropriated the South Seas (*Nan'yō*) in that capacity with relation to historical developments and Japanese identity formation from ancient times to the present. Not only does this vast space have a long tradition associated with fantastic beings, but it also resembles traditional Japanese ghosts and other fantastic phenomena in composition and character. Drawing from methodologies and concepts integrated in the field of ghost studies (*yōkaigaku*), this study will survey continuities and shifts in ways Japanese came to comprehend the space as a physical and conceptual entity. Through this investigation, issues concerning the formation of a worldview, the "Othering" of Pacific peoples, and the development of Japanese modernity will be revealed, offering insight into the transformation of modes of thought and cultural production vis-à-vis direct and vicarious engagement with the oceans and Islanders south of Japan in real and imaginary contexts.

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Continuity and Change after the Storm**

A little more than two years had passed since my last visit to Japan in the summer of 2012. Prior to this trip we lived in the Kansai region in a section of Uji City in Kyoto known as Ogura where I commuted to Katsurazaka to do dissertation research at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken). Although Japan was a second home and a place of considerable familiarity, I did not expect to encounter the degree of change that took place on account of the “storm.” As broadcast all over the world, the cataclysmic tsunami and subsequent accident at the Fukushima No. 1 nuclear plant of the previous year unleashed immeasurable trauma and destruction. Yet out of all the devastation, the catastrophe served as an engine for remarkable social, political, and economic transformation readily apparent upon arrival. New post-tsunami realities resulted in a national redoubling of efforts to save energy; they also created avenues for lay people and policy makers alike to engage in new and old discussions concerning safety, conservation, environmental degradation, and other potentially harmful consequences associated with Japan’s reliance on nuclear power and the threat of future natural disasters.

The main purpose of this short trip was to present a paper at an academic conference entitled, “Transoceania 2012,” at the University of Tokyo. My presentation examined how Japanese conceptualized the South Seas or *Nan’yō* (南洋) as a supernatural space from ancient times to the contemporary period. This conference was of great significance and marked a fundamental shift in academic circles in our understanding of Japan’s relationship with Oceania as it aimed at “initiating new conversations around the themes of memory, identity, and representation.”<sup>1</sup> Such conversations were geared to peel away a long existing but entirely constructed disconnect that separated these geographical spaces since the end of World War Two. Prior to that global conflict Japan and Oceania were integrated regions, most notably so in the early twentieth century. As a result of post-World War One settlements by the League of Nations, the former German-controlled central Pacific islands north of the equator (with the exception of U.S.-

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<sup>1</sup> Transoceania 2012 website, accessed January 15, 2013, <https://sites.google.com/site/transoceania2012/>

controlled Guam) fell under Japanese rule and came to be known as *Nan'yō Guntō* (南洋群島).

The disconnect emerged out of global reconfigurations when the United States and its allies realized the importance of maintaining political and economic influence in Asia and Oceania to contain communism. To that end Western nations under the leadership of the United States created a pool of highly trained and knowledgeable experts on the Asia-Pacific Rim, investing heavily in the development of Area Studies programs. By way of curriculum development and formation of new academic traditions, Area Studies helped further the larger ideological and economic goals of the Western bloc, namely to advance capitalism and promote liberal democratic systems of government in the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>2</sup>

An off-shoot of Area Studies relative to East Asia was the formation of a body of scholarship that hinged on an intellectual framework known as modernization theory. This theory proposed that history followed a linear trajectory and defined progress in terms of a society's ability to successfully absorb and integrate democratic political structures with a capitalist economy.<sup>3</sup> While this problematic theory had application in other Area Studies programs related to constituting levels of progress and modernity, the regions generally functioned independently as separate entities with little crossover. In the case of Japanese Studies, modernization theory played a dominant role in shaping twentieth-century historiography; so much so that the field became rigid, inflexible, and slow to adapt innovative methodological approaches.<sup>4</sup> As noted by historian of modern Korea, Andre Schmid, the English-language scholarship tended to compartmentalize Japan's colonial projects and overseas expansionist experiences independently from domestic developments, ignoring processes associated with colonial modernity, i.e., the reciprocal interplay of a network of exchanges between populations in the periphery and

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<sup>2</sup> Miyoshi Masao and H.D. Harootunian, eds., *Learning Places: The Afterlives of Area Studies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002). Miyoshi and Harootunian observed that in light of historical developments in the modern era wherein Japan adopted a Euro-American imperialist agenda, Japan fell within the parameters of what defined "the West." Therefore, to distinguish Japan from the "Western powers" immediately following WWII, I referred to those powers as the putative West.

<sup>3</sup> For a comprehensive overview of the development of modernization theory and its effects on Japanese Studies, see Sebastian Conrad, "'The Colonial Ties are Liquidated': Modernization Theory, Post-war Japan and the Global Cold War," *Past and Present*, no. 216 (August 2012), 181-214.

<sup>4</sup> William M. Tsutsui, ed., *A Companion to Japanese History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing) 2009, 1-10.

the metropole.<sup>5</sup> As a result, colonial projects were treated as a set of unilateral actions determined by the colonizer and imposed upon the colonized. This one-way orientation led to a canon of nation-centered discourse that fell short of fully acknowledging or addressing the critical impact colonial peripheries had upon the metropole in shaping and defining a modern Japanese identity and the modern history of Japan.<sup>6</sup>

Pacific Studies has been similarly affected by the post-World War Two geopolitical realignments and specifically the decolonization and re-colonization processes of the island groups throughout Oceania. Islanders of the Pacific territories formerly under Japanese control became wards of the newly created United Nations, which in turn, delegated the oversight of the region to the United States. This transfer of power gave veritable *carte blanche* to the U.S. to “develop” the islands as it saw fit. More often than not, the policies that the United States employed vis-à-vis the islands—policies touching on a variety of economic and cultural issues—were geared towards prioritizing American military and geopolitical concerns over the needs and desires of local populations.<sup>7</sup> With the handover and subsequent creation of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), the U.S. shut off Micronesia to the rest of the world until the late 1960s when the administering authorities lifted the heavily restrictive ban on international travel.

One significant consequence of this policy within the decades of U.S.-imposed “isolationism” was the creation of a new conceptual and political divide between Japan and Micronesia. In short order, the U.S. took considerable steps to erase physical, social, and cultural reminders of the Japanese colonial period. It included the razing of remaining colonial architecture and implementation of an aggressive repatriation program of civilian survivors and military personnel to the Japanese home islands and Korea. The hurried flurry of activity resulted in the sudden severing of family and other personal ties

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<sup>5</sup> Andre Schmid, “Colonialism and the ‘Korea Problem’ in the Historiography of Modern Japan: A Review Article,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59, no. 4 (November 2000): 956-976. See also Gi-Wook Shin, and Michael Robinson, eds., *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Asia Center, 1999).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. See also Sandra Wilson, “Bridging the Gaps: New Views of Japanese Colonialism, 1931-1945,” *Japanese Studies*, Vol.25, December 2005, 287-299; Leo Ching, “‘Give Me Japan and Nothing Else!’: Postcoloniality, Identity, and the Traces of Colonialism,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 99:4, Fall 2000, 763-788.

<sup>7</sup> David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory 1944-1982* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).



that had developed for nearly half a century between those identified as Japanese and Korean expatriates and those who remained in the islands. Thus, Japan and Micronesia became separated not only discursively as a consequence of the flourishing Area Studies programs but also at personal, cultural, economic, political, and historical levels.

Meanwhile Pacific Studies grew to absorb methodologies that incorporated Islander-centered analytical approaches in the field, reflecting the post- World War Two reality of decolonization and formation of independent states. The developments profoundly challenged ways in which Pacific pasts had been understood in the academic arena and forced rethinking among scholars to recognize indigenous methods of knowledge production, such as oral traditions and navigational techniques, as invaluable tools to conceptualize and comprehend history and identity. At present, Pacific Studies is one of the exciting fields of Area Studies where scholars employ postcolonial theory, discourse analysis, anthropological methodologies, and other innovative approaches including art forms, such as painting, music, poetry, film, and photography.<sup>8</sup> Apart from inquiries into the impact of colonialism on local communities and indigenous peoples, Pacific Studies today pays close attention to the interactive reciprocal role colonial projects played to inform, affirm, and shape identities among populations in the metropole.<sup>9</sup>

“Transoecania 2012” served as a timely venue to showcase the applicability of such theoretical frameworks and alternative insights to conceptualize Japan and Oceania. In keeping with the spirit of the conference, my paper explored the treatment of a wide range of strange and fantastic creatures from demons of traditional folklore to postwar-era movie monsters such as *Gojira* (ゴジラ) and *Mosura* (モスラ) in numerous forms of cultural production related to South Seas discourse.<sup>10</sup> My paper drew heavily on methodological frameworks tied to heterology employed in Japanese Folklore and Ghost

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<sup>8</sup> Robert Borofsky, ed., *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000; K.R. Howe, Robert C. Kiste, and Brij V. Lal, eds., *Tides of History: The Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Keith Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011). One notable exception to this general historiographical trend in East Asian studies is Tani E. Barlow, ed., *Formations of Colonial Modernity in East Asia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

<sup>10</sup> The more familiar English spellings of these movie monsters are Godzilla and Mothra.

Studies while also integrating analytical approaches utilized in Pacific Studies.<sup>11</sup> The aim was to demonstrate that these monsters not only operated as a discursive “Other,” but that the seas south of Japan similarly functioned like a monster as both an imagined and tangible site where visions of “the Self,” the nation, modernity, and post-modernity could be projected and take form. As with the larger goal of “Transoceania 2012,” this dissertation aims to bridge the discursive disconnect between Japanese and Pacific Studies by initiating new discussions that emphasize connectedness between Japan and Oceania through incorporating theoretical approaches utilized in both fields.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, this dissertation serves to highlight the significance of Japan’s relationship to Oceania in creating Japanese identities over time. These identities have shifted in orientation away from the Asian continent from ancient times through the early modern period toward a “modern” consciousness that predominantly aligned with Western modes of thought and imperialist systems vis-à-vis the South Seas.

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Themes discussed in my conference presentation coincided with conversations on the ground. Even though a year had passed since the tsunami hit the coast of northeastern Honshu, there was no doubt that the storm continued to affect the everyday. Moreover, people everywhere were readily cognizant that a history lesson was lodged in all of this. From the earliest reporting, cultural commentators and other journalists made references to earlier domestic and geopolitical debates of the 1950s regarding the threat of global nuclear proliferation and radioactive contamination and exposure. The palpable fear felt by everyone concerning the consumption of irradiated food products grown in the north and regions beyond invariably reminded folks of the *No. 5 Lucky Dragon* incident of March 1954, when contaminated tuna entered the food supply after fishermen exposed to hydrogen-bomb fallout in the Marshall Islands returned to Japan unaware of the violence

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<sup>11</sup> Japanese Folklore Studies is an academic discipline in Japan known as *minzokugaku* (民俗学), while Ghost Studies is a sub-field within *minzokugaku* called *yōkaigaku* (妖怪学).

<sup>12</sup> The conference was also affiliated with an ongoing consortium of scholars, students, artists and other professionals who are interested in maintaining dialogues that highlight exchanges and emphasize connectedness between Japan and Oceania. This consortium named Project 35 can be accessed by contacting the following website: [http://coralproject35.com/Project35/Project35-Creative\\_Collaborations\\_Throughout\\_Oceania.html](http://coralproject35.com/Project35/Project35-Creative_Collaborations_Throughout_Oceania.html)

inflicted upon them.<sup>13</sup> Of course the fallout from that American-engineered hydrogen bomb test—code-named *Bravo*—detonated on islands of the Bikini Atoll not only exposed the crew of the fishing vessel, but also hundreds of unsuspecting Marshallese of the nearby Rongelap and Rongerik Atolls. In addition, the tests made the islands of Bikini Atoll uninhabitable and dispossessed the Bikinians of their homeland.<sup>14</sup> Notwithstanding, this tragic episode in postwar American, Japanese, and Micronesian histories also functioned as the premise for the original motion picture *Gojira* released in late fall of that year, wherein ramifications associated with the introduction of weapons of limitless destructive capability, memories of the war, and American hegemony found allegorical expression in the gigantic beast.<sup>15</sup> Regarding the nuclear debacle in Tōhoku, one foreign correspondent wrote a piece in *The New York Times* that drew parallels between televised images of helicopters dumping tanks of water to cool the overheated reactors at the radioactive site and special effects scenes utilizing miniaturized sets in postwar monster movies that served similar purposes.<sup>16</sup> More importantly he elaborated on the efficacy amongst filmmakers in both Japan and the United States in the 1950s and 1960s—the heyday of the *kaijū eiga* (怪獣映画) or giant monster movie genre—to encapsulate feelings of insecurity brought on by the atomic age and articulate the natural impulse among human beings to make sense of unprecedented realities through the appropriation of monsters. In this case, the journalist juxtaposed the sense of powerlessness felt by the Japanese public in the wake of the Fukushima accident to the existential dilemma of total global annihilation made possible by nuclear weapon proliferation beginning in the late 1940s.

Behemoths capable of unleashing tremendous destructive power like *Gojira* have served as allegorical signifiers explaining the unexplainable throughout Japanese history. Folklore had long ascribed the cause of earthquakes and subsequent tsunamis to the whims of a giant catfish whose occasional escapes from the subterranean to the surface

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<sup>13</sup> Mark Schreiber, “The Lucky Dragon’s Lethal Catch,” *The Japan Times*, March 18, 2012, accessed February 1, 2013: [http://www.japantimes.co.jp/life/2012/03/18/life/lucky-dragons-lethal-catch/#.UShAZ\\_JL3D4](http://www.japantimes.co.jp/life/2012/03/18/life/lucky-dragons-lethal-catch/#.UShAZ_JL3D4)

<sup>14</sup> Stewart Firth, *Nuclear Playground* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987).

<sup>15</sup> Igarashi Yoshikuni, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> Peter Wynn Kirby, “Japan’s Long Nuclear Disaster Film,” *New York Times*, March 14, 2011, accessed April 15, 2011: <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/03/14/japans-long-nuclear-disaster-film/>



Figure 1. Late Edo-period broadsheet depicting ōnamazu assisting local residents with disaster relief following the Great Ansei Earthquake of 1855 (public domain)

resulted in the beast slapping its tail causing mass destruction. This monster known as *ōnamazu* (大鯰), shared numerous characteristics with its twentieth-century counterpart *Gojira* in several ways. In addition to their primordial power to inflict damage on human populations, the monsters developed diametric personalities that also allowed them to demonstrate acts of altruism.<sup>17</sup> Fans of the *Gojira* series are well aware that over time the monster transformed from an agent of terror and destruction in the original 1954 version to a defender of the Japanese nation and the world at large in films such as *Gojira tai hedora* (ゴジラ対ヘドラ) (1971) and *Kaijū sōshingeki* (怪獣総進撃) (1968) respectively.<sup>18</sup> In the case of *ōnamazu*, an early modern form of print media circulated images of the creature throughout Edo (present-day Tokyo) after the Great Ansei Earthquake of 1855. These *kawaraban* (瓦版) (“broadsheets”) appealed to the literate urban populations serving as a vehicle for social commentaries and criticisms by the masses oftentimes targeted at the shogunal government. A series detailing the after-effects of the earthquake included broadsheets that depicted the giant catfish assisting with the recovery by saving local residents trapped under the rubble (See Figure 1). The evocation of modern monsters such as *Gojira* to express the futility of government actions to respond to the 3-11 disaster in Tōhoku finds continuity with nineteenth-century modes of cultural production such as the broadsheets wherein *ōnamazu* became a signifier providing social critique at a time when the ability of the shogunate to maintain rule fell under harsh scrutiny.<sup>19</sup>

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Sweltering temperatures and high humidity associated with Tokyo summers had not changed since leaving Japan in 2010. While an air-conditioned network of underground malls and trains offered temporary relief to the elements, thermostats of the buildings at Tokyo University’s Komaba Campus where the conference was held

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<sup>17</sup> The term diametric personality refers to a set of binary characteristics possessed by a subject that can result in opposite outcomes. In this case, we are referring to a monster that can be destructive or altruistic depending upon the situation and temperament of the creature. Monsters of Japanese folklore generally possess diametric personalities that enable them to act in unpredictable ways.

<sup>18</sup> U.S. titles and release dates for the films are *Godzilla vs. the Smog Monster* (1972) and *Destroy All Monsters* (1969).

<sup>19</sup> Gregory Smits, “Shaking up Japan: Edo Society and the 1855 Catfish Picture Prints,” *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 4 (Summer 2005): 1045-1078.

provided a quick reminder that public buildings were keeping to new regulations regarding energy conservation and power consumption.<sup>20</sup> Pegged at a cozy 28 degrees Celsius (85 degrees Fahrenheit), the event got off to a warm start beginning in the afternoon. A keynote address and round of presentations highlighting the objectives of the conference kicked off the first day of proceedings. Immediately afterwards the attendees were not only treated to food and refreshments in the adjoining reception room but an art exhibit arranged by Greg Dvorak and his students that challenged historical stereotypes and problematic tropes imbedded within twentieth-century Japanese discourse on the South Seas. These works of creative expression affirmed the mission of the conference, shifted paradigms, and set an effective tone to facilitate new dialogues and stimulate fresh insights for the participants.

Among the displays was a photographic series detailing the “new” adventures of the Shōwa-era children’s comic hero *Bōken Dankichi* (冒険ダン吉) (Adventure Dankichi). This serialized strip appeared in the periodical *Shōnen kurabu* (少年倶楽部) (Boys’ Club) from 1933-1939. Widely popular at the time, *Bōken Dankichi* provided younger generations a strong sense of nationalism and inculcated an affinity for colonialist projects abroad to its readers. The comic detailed the exploits of a Japanese boy Dankichi (ダン吉) and his mouse sidekick Karikō (カリ功) on an imaginary South Seas island. Drawing on motifs of native folklore ascribing supernatural potential to the seas such as *Urashima Tarō* (浦島太郎),<sup>21</sup> Dankichi encountered an assortment of beasts as geographically and temporally far removed from Oceania and the present day as lions and dinosaurs.<sup>22</sup> He also faced fierce but naïve natives who were easily persuaded to quickly crown the outsider the new monarch.

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<sup>20</sup> Marianne Lavelle, “One Year after Fukushima, Japan Faces Shortages of Energy, Trust,” *National Geographic Daily News*, March 8, 2012, accessed February 24, 2013: <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/energy/2012/03/120309-japan-fukushima-anniversary-energy-shortage/>

<sup>21</sup> In this classic tale, the fisherman Urashima Tarō came to the aid of a turtle being bullied by a group of local children. As a gesture of appreciation the turtle escorted the protagonist to the mythical undersea palace of the Dragon King where the fisherman fell in love with the Sea Princess. Following his adventure at the undersea kingdom, Urashima Tarō returned home only to discover that he no longer recognized anyone in the village. The three days he spent at the ocean floor turned out to be three-hundred years.

<sup>22</sup> *Dankichi*’s first run in with a wild animal was with a lion in the first strip. His encounter with a dinosaur occurred much later in the series. See Keizō Shimada, *Bōken dankichi manga zenshū* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1967), 7, 258-265.

The illustrations and accompanied text describing these adventures reflected broad racist attitudes and mirrored constructed hierarchies that affirmed Japanese superiority over Micronesian populations during the highpoint of colonial rule in the central Pacific territories. Like most of the animals depicted in the comic, Islanders did not resemble any actual peoples living in the region. Rendered in Sambo-like caricature and fitted with grass skirts, illustrator Keizō Shimada drew all of them exactly alike. He also emphasized a gap in levels of perceived advancement by fashioning the foreign protagonist with a wristwatch. Dankichi responded to total uniformity in appearance by painting numbers on every able-bodied torso in order to tell the villagers apart. Once numbered, Islanders remained nameless composites of a problematic stereotype of Western origins for the remainder of the comic's six-year run.

As pointed out by John Russell, such rendering of South Seas Islanders utilizing iconography associated with nineteenth and twentieth-century American minstrel shows contributed to the development of the "Black Other" in modern Japanese mass culture.<sup>23</sup> Russell related *Bōken Dankichi* to other examples beginning as early as 1858 when Commodore Matthew Perry entertained dignitaries of the shogunate with a black-faced minstrel act aboard his flagship *Powhatan*.<sup>24</sup> He also observed that the appropriation of Western-based racist imagery of Black people mediated modern Japanese identity formation in a process known as reflexivity:

Japanese literary and visual representations of blacks rely heavily on imaginary Western conventions. Such representations function to familiarize Japanese with the black Other, to preserve its alienness by ascribing to it certain standardized traits which mark it as Other, but which also serve the reflexive function of allowing Japanese to mediate on their racial and cultural identity in the face of challenges by Western modernity, cultural authority, and power.<sup>25</sup>

Thus Russell's study focused on the development of this discourse as a factor which both shaped Japanese attitudes towards Black people and perceptions of "the Self." Hiroshi Wagatsuma similarly discussed how fusing stereotypical imagery of African and South Seas Islanders in *Bōken Dankichi* informed Japanese notions of Black people in the early twenty century:

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<sup>23</sup> John Russell, "Race and Reflexivity: The Black Other in Contemporary Japanese Mass Culture," *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Feb., 1991), 3-25.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

This fantasy cartoon blended ideas about South Pacific islanders and primitive tribes in Africa. Originally cannibalistic and warlike, these people could become loyal though somewhat simpleminded subjects when tamed and educated. It is worth noting that this was the kind of image of “black people” to which most Japanese children of the prewar were exposed.<sup>26</sup>

While Russell and Wagatsuma acknowledged the profound impact such iconography had in developing attitudes towards Black people in the modern era, neither addressed whether the application of these problematic tropes and stereotypes to South Seas settings affected conceptualizing the South Seas and the peoples living there by Japanese.

Shimada’s racially charged depictions of Black people as South Seas Islanders shared a common genealogy to early modern representations of the “Other.” Beginning in the eighteenth century, stereotypes and tropes associated with the South Seas and South Seas Islanders emerged alongside the development of a larger and more generalized discourse that subsumed all foreigners into a singular category. In “The Making of *Tōjin*: Construction of the Other in Early Modern Japan,” Keiko Suzuki examined the construction by non-elite Edo-period populations of a discursive “Other” defined as *tōjin* (唐人).<sup>27</sup> Originally used to convey a person from Tang-period China (618-907), the term evolved into a signifier that “formed a general category of foreigner that included both Westerners and non-Westerners.”<sup>28</sup> She also explained that *tōjin* were generally conceived of and rendered as “nonsensical, superhuman, or subhuman beings.”<sup>29</sup>

According to Suzuki, the amalgamation of traits carrying both negative and fantastic connotations to create a homogenized composite of a one-size-fits-all category of “foreigner” functioned to meet the observers’ impulse to define themselves. Like Russell, Suzuki maintained that “reflexivity” played a critical role in the widespread utilization of *tōjin*. A fundamental element in this regard involved the distancing away from a Sino-centric orientation in Japanese identity formation. In addition she pointed out that *tōjin* did not have to provide an accurate depiction of the subject being rendered

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<sup>26</sup> Wagatsuma Hiroshi, “The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan,” *Daedalus*, Vol. 96, No. 2, (Spring, 1967), 432.

<sup>27</sup> Suzuki Keiko, “The Making of *Tōjin*: Construction of the Other in Early Modern Japan,” *Asian Folklore Studies*, Volume 66, 2007, 99.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*



because what ultimately mattered was its effect in creating an understanding of what it meant to be Japanese:

In this sense it did not matter whether *tōjin* representations conveyed the truth about foreigners. Rather, the primary concern of the commoners was whether *tōjin* were sufficiently marginalized—in other words, whether the representations revealed what the Other was supposed to be. In this way, they could deal with *the* Other rather than *all* Others that included the Chinese as the superpower of their traditional world...In short, popular imagery of *tōjin* demonstrates extensive and complex characterization of the Other, which served as a valuable, unique way for the nonelite to organize and categorize the Japanese Self vis-à-vis foreigners.<sup>30</sup>

Shimada's propensity to inject wild animals of African origins and prehistoric beasts such as dinosaurs speaks to Suzuki's point in a modern context. The unrelated and oftentimes fantastic imagery integrated into landscapes and storylines similarly informed identity construction on multiple levels as well as highlighted continuity with discursive "Othering" of the early modern period. Such lack of concern in providing an accurate picture of the South Seas reinforced the priority placed on creating a conceptual space where Japanese notions of "the Self" within the larger world could take shape. As both Russell and Suzuki discussed, this process required the appropriation of a marginalized "Other." In this case Shimada drew on well-established racist imagery and language that can be directly traced to Edo-period *tōjin* discourse. For example, Black sailors who performed acrobatic feats upon the masts of foreign sailing ships were commonly called *tōjin*. However, as discourse on the foreign grew, language developed to account for difference. This process involved the introduction of the racial epithet *kuronbō* (黒ん坊) (the Japanese equivalent of the "N-word") to classify Black people that included the aforementioned sailors as early as 1713.<sup>31</sup> In *Bōken Dankichi*, Shimada used the slur to describe Islanders from the very first strip.<sup>32</sup> In addition to *kuronbō*, Dankichi frequently referred to Islanders as *bankō* (蛮功).<sup>33</sup> This word meaning "little savage" carried the *kanji*-character (功) found in both *kuronbō* and in the name of Dankichi's rodent pal Karikō. In the case of Karikō, the suffix added a sense of cuteness and childlike familiarity. However, as Russell pointed out, *kō/bō* (功) can also have a marginalizing and

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<sup>30</sup>Suzuki, 2007, 99.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 93.

<sup>32</sup>Shimada, 1967, 9.

<sup>33</sup>Like the slur *kuronbō*, Shimada introduced *bankō* in the very first strip. Ibid.

infantilizing effect when used in contexts that implicated a discursive “Other.” Thus in words like *kuronbō* and *bankō* the attached suffix functioned to demean and belittle Black people (as well as South Seas Islanders) by accentuating childishness.<sup>34</sup>

The 2012 rendition of *Bōken Dankichi* at the conference stood in sharp contrast to the original (See Figures 2-6). The creators, Greg Dvorak and Kenji Ono, used the medium of photography to present a contemporary spin on the 1930s icon. Shot in comic-strip form, Dankichi encountered real Islanders in real locales in real contexts. While the local Palauan residents were not identified by name, they represented individual agents capable of responding to Dankichi’s presumptuous presence on their own terms. The encounter began with an unannounced entrance by the protagonist into the apartment of a local homeowner. Standing at the door, Dankichi is seen holding his stomach in expectation of an immediate meal. This initial misstep led to an accentuated apology. The strip concluded with a seemingly self-satisfied Dankichi exiting the apartment, leaving the befuddled couple the task to make sense of this odd interaction.

If reflexivity played a role in this encounter, one might ask how and whose identity was being mediated? Even though Dankichi ultimately recognized and willingly apologized for his presumptuous behavior, his self-satisfied grin at the end suggests that he did not fully comprehend the situation beyond a superficial level. This was confirmed by the perplexed expression on the faces of those whose home Dankichi barged into. Perhaps Dankichi is incapable of understanding real people in real contexts and that only an exaggerated composite of a racist stereotype is the kind of individual he can relate to in a South Seas setting? Or maybe Dankichi is locked in a time warp of sorts and is



Figures 2-6. “Dankichi Returns” © Copyright Greg Dvorak and Kenji Ono 2012

<sup>34</sup> Russell also commented that the suffix *chan* had the same effect and was similarly added to words such as *kurochan* (“nigger”) and in the names of consumer goods like the popular children’s doll of the 1960s, “Dakko-chan.” Russell (1991), 8-9.

unaware that realities have changed? My interpretation is that Dvorak and Ono are suggesting that, despite the acknowledgement of certain realities due to historical change, a fundamental disconnect remains with regard to Japanese conceptualizations of the South Seas and South Seas peoples. And while South Seas Islanders have and always will be real people living in real contexts, Japanese conceptualizations of them and their environs remain largely regulated by a culturally constructed composite of the South Seas that began as early as ancient times but took on substantial significance during the early modern and modern periods. Reconfiguring Dankichi in a contemporary setting served to disrupt the traditional paradigm and nudged the observer to reevaluate Japanese conceptualizations of the South Seas in unfiltered contexts and acknowledge the various lenses by which conventional conceptualizations have been mediated. In the case of “Dankichi 2012” reflexivity prevented the protagonist from relating to the real, which is perhaps what Dvorak and Ono are saying about Japanese today when dealing with Oceania and the people living there. This dissertation will draw on this powerfully effective imagery and argue that the South Seas has functioned as a discursive supernatural playground geared to shape and affirm notions of “the Self” that continues to marginalize the region and Islander populations in the present day.

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As that hot weekend in July drew to a close, the conference ended with a sense of accomplishment and enthusiasm over conceptualizing the relationship between Japan and Oceania in innovative contexts. Tokyo University indeed was an appropriate locale for this type of conference to take place. From the end of the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries, this prestigious university had been the premier research institution in the study of Oceania (among many other fields), where visions and discourses of the South Seas and Japan’s place in Asia and Oceania took form and found expression. Nitobe Inazō (1862-1933) and Yanaihara Tadao (1893-1961), two of the leading theoreticians on colonialism, taught at Tokyo Imperial University or its feeder school while drawing up policy and position papers directly related to Japanese overseas

expansion into Oceania and evaluated colonial projects in Micronesia.<sup>35</sup> Both held the chair for the Department of Colonial Studies during their respective academic careers. Prior to receiving that post, Nitobe served as headmaster at the renowned First Higher School (*Dai-ichi kōtō gakkō*) (第一高等学校) which prepared Japan's privileged male class to attend Tokyo Imperial University. While not situated on the grounds of the Komaba campus in Nitobe's lifetime, the First Higher School relocated to the site in 1935—the same period Nitobe's former pupil Yanaihara headed the Colonial Studies program at the university.

From the school's founding in 1886 through Nitobe's tenure as headmaster, *Dai-ichi kōtō gakkō* provided generations of impressionable young men a space where idealized visions of “the Self” and the nation could emerge and bear fruit.<sup>36</sup> A consistent strain facilitating this pedagogical agenda involved integrating Western literature that featured castaway heroes like *Robinson Crusoe*. Similar stories included in the curriculum like Robert Louis Stevenson's *Island Night's Entertainment*, highlighted romantic and oftentimes magical encounters in the South Seas.<sup>37</sup> In addition to augmenting the project of building a “modern” student body by boosting English-language acquisition and competency, these works profoundly influenced the elite youth, who came to envision the greater world overseas through the imaginative projection of “the Self” onto “exotic” island landscapes. This formative process resulted in the adoption of tropes that aligned with a constructed hierarchy privileging the modern individual by juxtaposing notions of “the civilized and advanced” against “the primitive and savage.”

But this social engineering experiment at the school in creating a “modern” subjectivity among the student body was not limited to literature solely of Western origins. Nitobe penned in 1907 a treatise that drew on traditional folklore, arguing that

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<sup>35</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Japan's Mandate in the South Seas* (Tokyo: Japan Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1933).

<sup>36</sup> In addition to educators associated with Tokyo Imperial University and the First Higher School, other leaders in the burgeoning industry of higher education, such as the founder of Doshisha University, Nijjima Jō, drew on similar motifs and Robinson Crusoe iconography to craft a modern identity. Conrad, 205. See also, Hirakawa Sukehiro, “Japan's Turn to the West,” in Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, ed., *Modern Japanese Thought* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1998), 76-79.

<sup>37</sup> Robert Thomas Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

the age-old fable *Momotarō* (桃太郎) (“Peach Boy”) aptly served the nation as a suitable allegory to justify territorial expansion into the South Seas.<sup>38</sup> He also observed that roles ascribed to the various characters reflected contemporary conditions wherein Japan occupied an elevated status within Asia and Oceania. As Robert Tierney has shown in *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame*, Nitobe interpreted the tale as a metaphor explicating a Japanese manifest destiny that continued to extend ever southward over time.<sup>39</sup> Accordingly, Nitobe explained that the ogres who Momotarō ultimately conquered and whose treasure this hero plundered represented the local inhabitants of southern islands and their respective natural resources. Drawing on notions of social Darwinism popular at the time, he claimed that Japan shared certain geographical similarities to England and urged that his nation follow the British example and continue expanding the parameters of the empire to maintain influence in Asia and Oceania in order to survive as a society.<sup>40</sup>

Each paradigm, i.e., the Western-based South Seas fantasy and native traditions as represented in Nitobe’s *Momotarō*, demonstrated the appropriation of an imaginary-yet-real space to create and project notions of the individual and nation state. Similar to Edo-period constructions of *tōjin* that facilitated the formation of a Japanese identity free of Sino-centric orientations, modern South Seas discourse produced multiple visions of a modern “Self” that concomitantly aligned with and differed from Western frameworks. Accordingly, modern South Seas discourse could facilitate the creation of a predominantly Western-orientated identity, a “distinctly Japanese one,” or one that fell somewhere in between. Reflexivity sustained its critical role in this process through the continued utilization of a South Seas “Other.” Equally significant, however, was the ability of this new paradigm to simultaneously claim a historical and cultural affinity to those peoples being marginalized. As a result, Euro-American nations suffered condemnation for imperialist projects in the eastern hemisphere while Japan rebranded their own overseas colonialist agenda in paternalistic terms. This adaptation to the early modern model permitted a category of cultural production to take shape that Sudō Naoto

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<sup>38</sup> Nitobe Inazō, “Momotarō no mukashibanashi,” *Nitobe Inazō zenshū*. Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1969).

<sup>39</sup> Tierney, 2010, 124.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

identified as “*Nan ’yō Orientalism.*”<sup>41</sup> Sudō’s examination of cultural production on the South Seas, ranging from Meiji-period adventure stories to postwar monster movies and postmodern novels, highlighted the creation of counter-narratives justifying Japanese hegemony over subjugated populations via the acceptance of a projected social hierarchy framed on a set of constructed norms, juxtaposing the advanced against the so-called primitive.<sup>42</sup> In the case of *Bōken Dankichi*, Sudō observed the cartoon ingrained the notion that, in contrast to the Western imperialist cadre of nations set on exploiting the defenseless peoples of the world, Japan represented a protective force embarked on a noble civilizing mission to bring their “backwards” Asian and Pacific brethren into the modern era.<sup>43</sup>

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The employment of tropes positioning peoples in ranked categories of development according to determined levels of cultural and technological advancement was not exclusive to the Edo period or the Age of Imperialism. This type of discursive strategy enjoyed a long history in shaping worldviews from ancient times. The Chinese dynastic capital was the center of the universe and understood as the geopolitical and cultural focal point of human civilization during much of Japan’s early history. The Japanese archipelago fell outside the boundaries marking the civilized world, as it occupied the nether regions of the vast limitless oceanic space. The Japanese islands eventually became incorporated into the Sino-centric geographical and cultural order as a result of consistent contacts with the Asian mainland from roughly the seventh century onwards. However, the seas east of China and directly south of Japan remained largely unknown and retained an aura of otherworldliness well into the nineteenth century when Japan broke away from the Sino-centric world order and repositioned itself from the

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<sup>41</sup> Sudō Naoto, *Nan ’yō Orientalism: Japanese Representations of the Pacific* (Amherst, New York: Cambria Press, 2010).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. For a comprehensive but concise overview on modernity and its processes that included a discussion on the formation of alternative modernities, see Matthew Lauzon, “Modernity,” in Jerry Bentley, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of World History* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011), 72-84.

<sup>43</sup> For a particularly evocative strip illustrating this sentiment, see Shimada (1967), pgs. 242-257. In this adventure, Dankichi and his loyal subjects chase away an American naval party who planted a U.S. flag on the island.

periphery to the center.<sup>44</sup> This revision continued to utilize the basic structures of the Chinese model delineating levels of civilization and advancement by a series of expanding concentric circles that moved geographically further from the starting point, but it marked a radical break from established traditions that had privileged Chinese culture and history as the fountain of civilization.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to *tōjin*, the old model was contested and discredited with respect to Japanese visions of the South Seas. Japanese early modern cultural production on the South Seas in fantastic castaway tales and satirical fiction underscored this distancing away from a continental orientation and shift in identity formation. In addition, like *kawaraban*, these literary genres provided opportunities to critique aspects of the Edo social order. Writers sent fictitious protagonists on imaginary maritime voyages into mysterious oceanic locales to experience fanciful adventures and encounter strange beings. These tales allegorically exposed the perceived cracks inherent in society of the day. Both the South Seas of the Edo period and its modern counterpart *Nan'yō* served as real-yet-imaginary spaces whose boundaries and supernatural potentiality remained a consistent element that provided conceptual room for identity formations to develop and discourses that challenged established norms to take hold.

The Western literary tradition that ascribed a supernatural potentiality to the South Seas can be traced to 1723 with the satirical fiction, *Gulliver's Travels*.<sup>46</sup> Like the Japanese paradigm, Jonathan Swift's distant and supernatural South Seas acted as a site where inconsistencies and contradictions lodged in European history and contemporary society could be exposed. Swift equally capitalized on the unknown by charting Lilliput slightly north and due west of Tasmania, concomitantly positioning the fictional island in a real-yet-imagined space. Indeed, Europeans remained optimistic that a southern landmass of equal size to landmasses in the northern hemisphere existed at the time of *Gulliver's Travels*' publication. Not until fifty years later did the *Terra Australis Incognita* dispute come closer to resolution when Captain James Cook navigated the

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<sup>44</sup> Yonemoto Marcia, *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

<sup>45</sup> Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan: Time Space Nation* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998).

<sup>46</sup> Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2001).

eastern coastline of the Australian continent and parts of Antarctica in the 1770s.<sup>47</sup> Thus, Swift and his Japanese counterparts of the early modern period nimbly demonstrated the efficacy of projecting otherworldliness onto the indefinite to provide commentary on specific issues and conditions in their own societies for centuries; they also imaginatively infused various supernatural beings as native inhabitants of South Seas locales respectively.

Over time, in addition to being perceived and projected as otherworldly spaces, Western and Japanese discursive traditions established stereotypes of Pacific peoples that drew on constructed paradigms which occasionally coalesced from the nineteenth century onwards. As discussed by Russell and evidenced by the integration of Western literary genres into Meiji-period higher education curriculums, conceptions of what constituted a modern subjectivity were heavily informed by embracing Western modes of thought and developing orientations towards “Others” that made sharp distinctions between so-called advanced and primitive societies.<sup>48</sup> Both the putative West and Japan justified imperialist expansion across Oceania by emphasizing difference and assigning the peoples of the South Seas to the latter category—scientific fields of inquiry such as anthropology playing a significant role in that process.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, such distinctions greatly facilitated the creation of a unified national and modern identity in Japan vis-à-vis the South Seas. “*Nan’yō* Orientalism” not only provided space for a divergent modernity that contested Western imperialism to emerge, it offered cover for colonialist projects and the acquisition of overseas territory by the nation.<sup>50</sup>

Forces associated with modernity also contributed to the convergence of Western and Japanese South Seas discourse. Advancements in communication, transportation, manufacturing, and media technologies that included the growth of the motion picture industry profoundly altered the speed and means by which information and forms of

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<sup>47</sup> Terra Australis Incognita was a notion that began in ancient Greece and held sway through the early modern era in Europe. This idea assumed the existence of a southern landmass of equal size to the landmasses of the northern hemisphere as a matter of nature maintaining geological equilibrium. See William Eisler, *The Furthest Shore: Images of Terra Australis from the Middle Ages to Captain Cook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>48</sup> Russell (1991).

<sup>49</sup> Jan Van Bremen and Shimizu Akitoshi eds., *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania* (New York: Curzon, 1999).

<sup>50</sup> Sudō, 2010, 3-5.



cultural production travelled. In addition, such innovations—particularly techniques in filmmaking—stimulated the senses and offered the masses opportunities to experience the otherworldly in unprecedented ways. Leisure became a critical component of the modern condition which involved the consumption of goods and participation in numerous forms of popular entertainment as deceptively mundane as window-shopping and cinema-going. By the early twentieth century, citizens throughout industrialized nations synchronically engaged in a conformance of activities which deeply affected subjectivity, a process called coeval modernity.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, accelerated global access to material and non-material culture that lacked any substantial lag in exchange time created a sense of shared experience among “modern” peoples.

Literature, film, music, consumer goods, and tourism served as venues to experience and develop attitudes towards the South Seas among members of modern societies. In keeping with tradition, twentieth-century filmmakers projected the South Seas in fantastic contexts that affirmed racially charged stereotypes of Pacific populations. The worldwide release of the 1933 blockbuster *King Kong* made a significant impact in this regard. The film also played a critical role in the establishment of the giant monster movie genre or *kaijū eiga* in Japan from the 1950s that continued to portray the South Seas as an otherworldly space inhabited by backward natives and supernatural creatures. In addition to maintaining constructed hierarchies, *kaijū eiga* and other mediums reflected new geopolitical realities that continued to contest Western hegemony and domestic issues resulting from such changes. Postwar monster movies not only provided an outlet to vicariously revisit Japan’s former Pacific colonies that now fell under the authority of the United States, but they also offered a space to “reflexively” explore Japan’s role in the politically and economically realigned postwar post-U.S.-occupied internal landscape. Accordingly, “*Nan ’yō Orientalism*” remained an effective discursive strategy during this pivotal episode in modern Japanese history, when identities operated in a heightened state of flux and pressures to impose a subjectivity that aligned with American economic and foreign-policy objectives ruled the day.

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<sup>51</sup> Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

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The terms “South Seas” and “*Nanyō*” have been liberally applied to identify and explain numerous structures and functions relative to the Pacific Ocean and Pacific Islands by the putative West and Japan respectively.<sup>52</sup> Having served as otherworldly locales from the early modern period and converging at particular moments in the modern era, these constructs neatly correspond to one another conceptually. However, they are inherently highly problematic and porous designations, given their exceedingly wide solicitation to delineate and describe the vast and diverse seas, landscapes, and peoples of Oceania into precise geographical and cultural categories and entities. Such delineations have had implications regarding their alignment with disciplines of knowledge production and formal institutions tied to exercising power, such as mapmaking and the establishment of educational systems in colonial and imperialist projects.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, mechanisms of naming and defining “the Other”—whether that “Other” was a particular space identified on a map or society described in a policy report on children attending colonial schools—similarly had powerful effects in shaping subjectivities of colonized populations and creating a unified national identity among individuals living in the metropole vis-à-vis that foreign locale or people being named or observed.<sup>54</sup> Such outcomes contributed to forming an aggregate conceptual composite of *Nan’yō* demonstrated in the photographic series documenting Bōken Dankichi’s “triumphant” 2012 return wherein artistic tongue-in-cheek imagery challenged audiences to acknowledge embedded projected expectations reflective of a discursive tradition that never incorporated or considered indigenous cultures, histories, and intellectual frameworks operating within Islander communities on their own terms. The contemporary encounter between Dankichi and twenty-first-century Palauans exposed the dissonance between realities on the ground and a set of assumptive fixed notions

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<sup>52</sup> Mark Peattie, *Nan’yō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), xvii.

<sup>53</sup> Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994). For a discussion on the use of mapmaking as a system of knowledge exercising power in Japanese colonial contexts with regard to Micronesia, see Ti Ngo, “Mapping Economic Development: The South Seas Government and Sugar Production in Japan’s South Pacific Mandate, 1914-1941,” *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review*, E-Journal, no. 2 (March 2012) (<http://cross-currents.berkeley.edu/e-journal/issue-2>).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*; Edward Said, *Orientalism, 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2007).



signifiers including the Japanese word for the Pacific Ocean, *Taiheiyō* (太平洋), blended together in germane literature with frequent regularity.<sup>57</sup> For example, Matsumura Akira used the English term “Micronesia” in a 1918 anthropological report, *Contributions to the Ethnography of Micronesia*. He also provided insight into Japanese conceptualizations of the space in relation to the word “*Nan’yō*” by qualifying “Micronesia” in English as “the South Seas Islands.”<sup>58</sup> During the 1930s, ethnologists such as Matsuoka Shizuo and other specialists adopted Micronesia into Japanese as the borrowed word ミクロネシア (pronounced: *mee-ku-ro-nay-shi-a*). Also, while much of South East Asia had been included within *Nan’yō* designations, terms such as *Nanpō* (南方) and *Tōnan Ajia* (東南アジア) described that regional category from the early modern period and the early twentieth century respectively. In fact, Shimizu Hajime, who traced the usage of *Tōnan Ajia* (literally “East South Asia”) to geography textbooks published in 1919, observed that it was “not a translation from a foreign language but an original Japanese term.”<sup>59</sup> Given the numerous designations and variety in application, it is perhaps not surprising to anticipate *Nan’yō*’s gradual linguistic extinction. Indeed, *Nan’yō* has now lost much of its ability to convey meaning as generations of Japanese people today no longer use it in conversation or are aware that it was part of the vernacular decades ago.<sup>60</sup> However as “Dankichi 2012,” reminds us, the disappearance of *Nan’yō* from the spoken language did not result in the erasure of the aggregate conceptual composite bound within the word.

Along with sharing similarities as geographical markers, continuities in colonial pasts and presents further connected Micronesia and *Nan’yō*: Japan having ruled the region during most of the first half of the twentieth century. Immediately following the Pacific War, the United States oversaw the political and economic development of

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<sup>57</sup> Matsui Masato, Minako I. Song, and Kurokawa Tomoyoshi, *Nan’yō (South Seas): An Annotated Bibliography* (Tokyo: Honpo Shoseki Press, 1982).

<sup>58</sup> Matsumura Akira, *Contributions to the Ethnography of Micronesia* (Tokyo: Imperial University of Tokyo, 1918), 3. Available online at: <http://archive.org/stream/contributionstoe00mats#page/n0/mode/2up>, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Shimizu Hajime, “Nanshin-ron: Its Turning Point in World War I,” *The Developing Economies* 1987, 390.

<sup>60</sup> Greg Dvorak, “Atolls of Amnesia: Touring Japan’s Pacific Past in the Marshall Islands,” *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 2, no. 1, (Fall 2011).

Micronesia as an UN-sanctioned Trust Territory (TTPI) well into the latter half of the twentieth century. Not until 1993 when Palau became a Freely Associated State did all of the former Trust Territories settle their respective political statuses and gain independence. In addition to the United States and Japan, countries such as Spain, Great Britain, Australia, and Germany also played a hand in naming and defining the region in relation to their respective colonial endeavors as early as the seventeenth century. Accordingly, utilization of the region as a site where imperialist rivalries played out likewise contributed to fluctuating geographical terminology, spatial boundaries, and political borders over time.<sup>61</sup>

“Micronesia” also resembles the South Seas (*Nan ’yō*) as it too transformed into an aggregate conceptual composite that accommodated the individual agendas of foreign powers in control of the region. Like the Dankichi photographs displayed at Transoecania 2012, Pacific historian David Hanlon called into question the meaning of “Micronesia” by exploring its relation to larger geopolitical disputes manifest in imperialist countries’ national interests that included achieving strategic military objectives.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, he suggested that this artificially imposed designation beginning in the nineteenth century by French explorer and cartographer Dumont d’Urville (1790-1842), provided opportunities for foreign observers and outside stakeholders to interpret the region in self-serving ways: “For the most part, Micronesia has existed only in the minds of people from the outside who have sought to create an administrative entity for purposes of control and rule.”<sup>63</sup> Hanlon linked this propensity by outsiders to use “Micronesia” as a discursive field to meet individual agendas to outcomes treating the region as a “nonentity.” He revisited this conversation twenty years later and discussed Micronesia’s current position within the greater discipline of Pacific Studies and maintained that the region became largely defined by absences via comparisons to Polynesia and Melanesia. Foreign “experts” came to define “Micronesia” based on the nonexistence of certain traditions and signifiers readily associated with the other geographical regions occupying Oceania. Conversely, Hanlon observed that efforts among specialists to designate the diverse island groups of

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<sup>61</sup> David Hanlon, “The ‘Sea of Little Lands’: Examining Micronesia’s Place in ‘Our Sea of Islands,’” *The Contemporary Pacific* 21, no. 1 (2009): 100.

<sup>62</sup> David Hanlon, “Micronesia: Writing and Rewriting the Histories of a Nonentity,” *Pacific Studies* 12, no. 2 (March 1989): 3.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

“Micronesia” into a unified whole based on perceived cultural affinities and shared practices lacked complete persuasiveness.<sup>64</sup> Calling for the “destabilization” or “deconstruction” of the term “Micronesia,” he suggested that scholars acknowledge how the region became determined via absences and recognize the implications involved in creating a nonentity. Moreover, Hanlon proposed that the field continue to incorporate local perspectives and histories as well as integrate more indigenous systems of understanding in scholarship going forward.<sup>65</sup>

Drawing from Hanlon’s work and writing on modern film representations appropriating Micronesia as a setting or conceptual space, David Kupferman posited that Micronesia operated as a “cinematic nonentity.” In this context Kupferman argued that Micronesia still served the purposes of outsiders with Hollywood providing a projected totalized vision. Like processes associated with “reflexivity,” he explained that this vision subsumed past and present realities and detached the region from the actual peoples, islands, and histories occupying the space:

It (Micronesia) exists for Owen Wilson and for all the characters in *Welcome Home Roscoe Jenkins* as the ignorant punch line to an uninformed joke; and it exists for Hollywood, I argue, as a space that is displaced even from itself. Micronesia as a region, and its individual components as singular islands, is a pan-Pacific everywhere, while at the same time it exists nowhere. It is a cinematic utopia; it is a cinematic nonentity.<sup>66</sup>

Kupferman also discussed briefly how the original *Gojira* (1954) and the American version, *Godzilla, King of the Monsters!* (1956) similarly functioned as examples of cinematic expressions displacing Micronesia. He pointed out that while the storyline of the Japanese production was loosely premised on an actual historical event, i.e., the irradiation of crew members of the *No. 5 Lucky Dragon* fishing vessel, filmmakers of the American version erased that detail for their audiences and thus avoided dealing with “the ethical issue of US responsibility in nuclear testing altogether.”<sup>67</sup> This difference in editing speaks to larger issues regarding a complex and contested relationship between the two countries following the Pacific War and U.S.-led Allied occupation of Japan

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<sup>64</sup> Hanlon (2009): 97.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 103.

<sup>66</sup> David W. Kupferman, “On Location at a Nonentity: Reading Hollywood’s ‘Micronesia,’” *The Contemporary Pacific* 23, no. 1, (2011): 142.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 143.

(1945-1952). The connections between American nuclear bomb testing in Micronesia and their effects on Japanese civilians are recognized in the Japanese original and removed from the U.S. release. What is missing in both motion pictures is any mention of Micronesia as a real place inhabited by real people who not only suffered the tragic consequences of radiation exposure but also endured the horrors of a war fought on their islands between these foreign powers.

Kupferman further related Hanlon's study by underscoring the effect of entangling an amalgamation of characteristics, cultural signifiers, and stereotypes problematically based on but best associated with Melanesia and Polynesia onto the visual imagery and narratives that rendered so-called Micronesian peoples and landscapes in cinema. Providing an in-depth analysis of three films, *His Majesty O'Keefe* (1953), *Nate and Hayes* (1983), and *Windtalkers* (2003), he observed that these manipulations by filmmakers had social impacts that informed audiences about the past and American involvement in Micronesia:

By displacing not just Islanders but the very islands themselves, Hollywood inverts a tradition of Micronesia-as-absence that was initiated at least as far back as 1832 by Dumont d'Urville: Micronesia was originally carved out of what Polynesia and Melanesia were not, while Hollywood has similarly upended Micronesia by representing the region as mediated through Polynesia and Melanesian actors, languages, set designs, and locations. In the social imaginary, moreover, Micronesia-as-absence has largely erased the islands and people from their role in US history.<sup>68</sup>

By creating an imagined and constructed alternate on-screen incarnation, Hollywood has virtually erased Micronesia and Micronesian peoples from reality and subsequently removed agency from Micronesian populations as makers of their own histories. Moreover, Hollywood has ultimately facilitated foreign rule over the region by easing acceptance amongst the masses in the metropole to approving a hegemonic relationship between the U.S. and Micronesia through the unwitting consumption and absorption of artificially imposed iconography lodged within such cinematic portrayals.<sup>69</sup>

The establishment of *Nan 'yō* as a term loosely describing a geographical space since the late nineteenth century had similar outcomes to its counterpart "Micronesia" in

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 162.

<sup>69</sup> For a comprehensive overview of U.S.-Micronesia relations with regard to the employment of discursive strategies, see Hanlon, 1998.

terms of being treated as a nonentity. This dissertation will integrate Hanlon's and Kupferman's analytical framework of Micronesia as a nonentity into contexts applicable to *Nan'yō* discourse in order to "destabilize" the overall concept and reveal historical continuities and changes related to Japanese conceptualizations of "the Self" and "the Other." The seas south of the Japanese archipelago had long been conceptualized as otherworldly in nature and inhabited by fantastic beings embodied with limitless supernatural potential. Cultural producers rendering *Nan'yō* in numerous mediums including film drew on both native and foreign constructions of the South Seas from ancient times to the present. As demonstrated by *Bōken Dankichi*, mechanisms associated with reflexivity continued to play a critical role in the development of *Nan'yō* discourse. Similar to its nebulous undefined predecessor, *Nan'yō* served as a space that facilitated the cultivation of Japanese identities via the marginalization of a discursive "Other." Likewise, *Nan'yō* maintained an ambiguous state of "being" and "non-being," possessing corporeal and amorphous qualities expressed in tangible and intangible forms. This mysterious set of conditions and numinous elements ascribed to what transformed into *Nan'yō* resemble and function like a particular category of hard-to-define entities that appear and reappear whilst maintaining both a physical and ethereal presence, namely ghosts and monsters.

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The Japanese word *yōkai* (妖怪) refers to strange natural phenomena and that category of weird and fantastic creatures we call ghosts and monsters. Sharing all of the spaces humans inhabit, *yōkai* function as an integral element of the Japanese social milieu in a multitude of meaningful ways by appearing in a variety of forms of cultural production dating back to the eighth century. Their ubiquitous presence in the everyday and in innumerable kinds of material culture and native traditions have allowed *yōkai* to serve as reliable vectors to gauge continuity and change in Japanese culture and history, particularly with regard to the conceptualization of a Japanese sense of "the Self" and "the Other." Throughout the ages *yōkai*-related discourse has provided researchers a treasure trove of material to analyze and explore. Included within this rich tradition is an academic discipline devoted to their study. It began in the Meiji period (1868—1912)



with Inoue Enryō (1858-1919) who coined the term *yōkaigaku* (妖怪学) (Ghost Studies) to define this field. Ironically, *yōkaigaku* under Enryō began as a platform to eradicate beliefs in strange creatures and weird phenomena. It provided scientific explanations to disprove their existence and subsequently demote their status to archaic symbols or simple superstition incongruent with modernity. Soon after Enryō, contemporaries such as Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962) and Izumi Kyōka (1873-1939) also investigated the role *yōkai* played in Japanese society and reevaluated their meaning, each employing different methodological approaches and coming to different conclusions.

Gerald Figal observed in his study on *yōkai* and their relationship to shaping modernity in Japan during the Meiji period, that of the three prominent intellectuals above, he identified Yanagita's legacy the greatest with regard to Folklore and Ghost Studies.<sup>70</sup> Yanagita is indeed considered the father of Folklore Studies in Japan, a discipline called *minzokugaku* (民俗学) (also translated as Ethnological Studies). Throughout his career, Yanagita rejected foreign modes of academic thought from the West and the dominant bureaucratic culture of the state at home. Instead of embracing conventionally accepted expectations of a professional scholar, he traversed the countryside collecting ghost stories and other fantastic tales as a means to identify and preserve an "authentic" Japanese identity whilst the physical and social landscape underwent swift and drastic modernization. As the undisputed founder of *minzokugaku*, Yanagita's body of work made an indelible albeit marginalized imprint on the discipline, so much so that the field has occupied an outlying position within Japanese academic circles. However, as Adam Bronson discussed in a historiographical overview of *minzokugaku*, such marginalization placed the field in opposition to more formal disciplines of inquiry such as history and anthropology. It conversely attracted intellectuals who were critical of an overreaching modern monolithic state and the two major interpretive frameworks which dominated Japanese scholarship in the postwar, namely Marxism and modernization theory:

The fact that the central figure in the discipline, Yanagita Kunio, had renounced his bureaucratic position in the Ministry of Agriculture could only bolster claims that folklorists represented resistance to the center, although it may have more

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<sup>70</sup> Gerald Figal, *Civilization and Monsters: Spirits of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 6.

closely resembled the conservative agrarian movement (農本主義) than the socialist movement. That being said, the marginalized status of *minzokugaku* gained new importance for intellectuals disillusioned with master narratives of modernization and Marxism in the sixties.<sup>71</sup>

Komatsu Kazuhiko was one such academic who gravitated to *minzokugaku* as a graduate student during the late sixties and early seventies. He is recognized as one of the premier specialists of Ghost Studies in Japan today. Like so many of his generation, Komatsu participated in the student protest movement. He nostalgically recounts violent clashes with authorities that challenged American involvement in Japan's domestic politics and the war in Vietnam. As a scholar, Komatsu has highlighted the role of *yōkai* as allegorical symbols representing outlying and marginalized populations such as *hisabetsu buraku* (被差別部落) (whose former status as outcastes has been documented since Japan's early history to the modern period).<sup>72</sup> In like fashion, contemporary scholars and researchers of Ghost Studies appreciate the utility of observing discourse on weird phenomena and the diverse pantheon of traditional ghosts and monsters to interpret cultural and historical continuities and changes in Japanese society.

Support from the government for research on *yōkai* has contributed to what has recently been described as the “*yōkai* boom.” The Ministry of Education through the Center for International Research for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken) has funded interdisciplinary opportunities for scholars to gather, share, and publish materials on various aspects of Japanese ghost culture as they relate to history, society, and culture at large. These activities are organized under the framework of a collaborative research team that conducts seminars throughout the year. The team is assigned a general topic or theme, which its members explore and present on over a three-year period. Many of the presentations ultimately become published academic articles that appear in edited volumes.<sup>73</sup> As a means to develop the study of *yōkai* abroad, the focus of the third and final segment of the collaborative project involves looking at ways to study *yōkai* beyond strictly Japanese studies-centered contexts. In addition to these activities, the center has

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<sup>71</sup> Adam Bronson, “Japanese Folklore Studies and History: Pre-War and Post-War Inflections,” *Folklore Forum* #8:1 (2008), 16.

<sup>72</sup> Komatsu Kazuhiko, *Ijinron—minzoku shakai no shinsei* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 1985).

<sup>73</sup> Komatsu Kazuhiko, ed., *Nihon yōkaigaku taizen* (Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 2003); *Yōkai bunka no dentō to sōzoku: emaki sōshi kara manga ranobe made* (Tokyo: Serika Shobō, 2010).

also set up an online *yōkai* database that has proven to be a very popular resource for academics and the general public.<sup>74</sup> The mass media as well as industries and agencies in the public and private sectors have similarly capitalized on this recent surge of interest in *yōkai*. Several local governments and travel companies eagerly promote and market tour packages that highlight destinations associated with ghosts, monsters, and weird phenomena.

In addition to Figal's study, other Western scholars have integrated Ghost Studies and the role of the supernatural into larger contexts to comprehend Japan's past as they relate to long-term intellectual trends and modern literature. Notable works include Michael Dylan Foster's *Pandemonium and Parade: Japanese Monsters and the Culture of Yōkai* (2009) and Susan Napier's *The Fantastic in Modern Japanese Literature: The Subversion of Modernity* (1996).<sup>75</sup> Foster's study resembled Figal's monograph in approach but he took a broader historical look at *yōkai* culture in connection with identity formation. He examined the fluid categorization, expression, and definition of *yōkai* that corresponded to epistemological shifts, which aligned with theoretical frameworks explored in Michel Foucault's *The Order of Things*.<sup>76</sup> For Napier, the fantastic as expressed in modern literature served as a vehicle that not only disrupted notions of "Westernization" but more significantly the Japanese modern paradigm writ large:

What the fantastic is subverting in modern Japanese literature, then, is not so much "Westernization" as modernity itself, a modernity in which Japan has participated at least as fully and wholeheartedly as any Western country. To study the fantastic in modern Japanese literature is, therefore, to find a kind of mirror image of modern Japanese history, the reverse side of the myths of constant progress, economic miracle, and social harmony; stereotypes which have dominated the thinking not only of those outside of Japan but among the Japanese themselves.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> The first text-based website can be accessed at: [www.nichibun.ac.jp/YoukaiDB2/](http://www.nichibun.ac.jp/YoukaiDB2/). Established in 2002, this website has already received over 1,000,000 hits. A database of *yōkai* images can be accessed at: [www.nichibun.ac.jp/YoukaiGazouMenu/](http://www.nichibun.ac.jp/YoukaiGazouMenu/). While relatively new (2010), this website has already received 80,000 hits.

<sup>75</sup> Michael Dylan Foster, *Pandemonium and Parade: Japanese Monsters and the Culture of Yōkai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Susan J. Napier, *The Fantastic in Modern Japanese Literature: The Subversion of Japanese Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

<sup>76</sup> Foster, 2009; Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2002).

<sup>77</sup> Napier, 12.

Figal agreed with Napier's claim regarding the ability of the fantastic to "subvert" the modern paradigm, but he added that their appropriation also legitimized the modern project in Japan at the same time. He observed that the capacity to occupy and function at both ends of a sliding scale complicated previous categorizations that were traditionally employed in assessing Folklore and Ghost Studies and he suggested that the fantastic played a fundamentally integral role in the establishment of Japanese modernity in total:

I see the fantastic as an object of interest and mode of thought that manifests itself across literary, scientific, educational, medical, religious, and even legal discourses in a particular historical conjuncture. As such in my view, it becomes not so much a "mirror image of modern Japanese history" as part of mainstream Japanese modernity itself, even as it might work to subvert modernity from the margins or support it from the center.<sup>78</sup>

Fantastic creatures inhabiting *Nan'yō* and the strange phenomena the space generated in modern discourse similarly served to both subvert and legitimize the modern paradigm. In addition, and as Figal pointed out with regard to *yōkai*, *Nan'yō* discourse in supernatural contexts likewise functioned as "part of Japanese modernity itself."<sup>79</sup> Thus, drawing from the aforementioned monographs, this dissertation will incorporate *yōkai* discourse and analytical frameworks employed within Ghost Studies. The ultimate goal is to locate and trace continuity and change concerning Japanese conceptualizations of the seas south of the home islands from ancient times to the contemporary era. To that end, this dissertation will explore various mediums and systems of knowledge utilized to know and explain the region that came to be understood and defined as *Nanyō*.

For example, like Foster's study that surveyed identity formation via the fluid categorization of *yōkai* corresponding to long-term epistemological shifts, consistency in orientation towards the seas south of Japan as a supernatural space similarly offers avenues to locate changes in modes of thought. Two major reasons account for the application of analytical frameworks that integrate Ghost Studies as the foundation of this dissertation. First, *Nan'yō* shares functions and numerous characteristics ascribed to *yōkai*, and second, a significant number of *yōkai* are specific to the seas and have contributed to establishing a general sense of fear and awe attributed to the oceans. The seas south of Japan and east of the Asian continent have traditionally been conceptualized as a vast

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<sup>78</sup> Figal, 11-12.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

supernatural void. But like the giant *ōnamazu* and its modern counterpart *Gojira*, *Nan'yō*—(and the monsters from which it came)—transformed into an entity that could become enjoyed and ultimately consumed globally. The original fear factor has thus been lost. This dissertation draws parallels between the South Seas and *yōkai* so that it can probe into how conceptualizations of *Nan'yō* found expression over time as both a real and imagined space and how it functioned in *yōkai*-like ways. To lay the necessary historical foundation, this dissertation will also provide a concise overview of the world of traditional ghosts and monsters and extrapolate their role in Japanese history related to heterology as well as apply that dynamic to the representation of Pacific peoples rendered in *Nan'yō* discourse. Furthermore, *Nan'yō* discourse will shed light on notions associated with geographical orientation, the formation of early modern, modern, and postmodern identities, and issues related to imperialist expansionism, colonialism, and modernity during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>80</sup>

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This chapter introduced *Nan'yō* as part of a discursive tradition that projected certain qualities, attitudes, and expectations on the South Seas. They included a distinctive otherworldliness that contributed to identity formation in Japan. *Nan'yō* has nonetheless remained a fluid geographical and conceptual category, as evidenced by fluctuating boundaries and eventual disappearance from the Japanese lexicon in the twenty-first century. Notwithstanding its eventual disappearance from the Japanese common parlance and collective consciousness, *Nan'yō* remains relevant as a nonentity and aggregate conceptual composite that provides a totalized but malleable image of the peoples and cultures of the region, which continues to inform and shape a modern Japanese identity. Indeed, just like *yōkai* in Japanese folklore, the ability to undergo transformation in the concrete and in the abstract makes *Nan'yō* an effective tool to identify epistemological shifts and interpret the past in relation to the present and other historical periods.

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<sup>80</sup> Leo Ching makes a similar argument—minus the *yōkai*— in a discussion on postwar representations of Japanese heroic figures that appeared in television shows set in South East Asia. See Leo Ching, “Empire’s Afterlife: The ‘South’ of Japan and ‘Asian’ Heroes in Popular Culture,” *The Global South* 5, no. 1, (Spring 2011): 85-100.

Chapter 2 drops the reader in contemporary Japan to introduce the profound role *yōkai* play in everyday life, underscore fundamental qualities ascribed to these fantastic beings, and highlight their ubiquitous presence in the Japanese cultural landscape. Contextualization of ethnographic depictions of *yōkai* operating in contemporary Japan will include discussions on issues and debates surrounding *yōkai* and *yōkai* discourse at large. The chapter concludes with an examination of traditional ghosts and monsters of the seas based on bestiaries by Toriyama Sekien (1712-1788) during the Tokugawa period.

Chapter 3 provides more contexts to Sekien's catalogues by tracing and connecting discourse on oceanic *yōkai* to the establishment of a worldview based on Japan's relationship with China and the Asian continent. Entry into the Chinese orbit of civilized societies heavily informed Japanese notions of the foreign and shaped sensibilities towards the seas south of Japan from ancient times. During the early modern period, an amalgamation of discursive tropes coalesced when appropriation of *Nan'yō* found expression in a number of literary genres. This further blurred lines between the real and imagined, resulting in the gradual detachment of Japan from its historical and cultural reference point, China. Chinese subjects rendered with negative qualities within fantastic tales set in *Nan'yō* ultimately positioned Japanese protagonists at the top of a constructed hierarchy. This reconfiguration marked a significant shift in geographical orientation and the arrival of a worldview that situated Japan as the focal point and new standard bearer of civilized peoples in Asia and Oceania. In addition, ancient to Tokugawa-period producers of *Nan'yō* discourse attached negative stereotypes in actual and fictional accounts of Pacific populations in literature, artistic display, entertainment, and material culture.

Chapter 4 follows Japan's emergence into the modern era when *Nan'yō* materialized into a distinct conceptual space tied to nation building. This process entailed creating systems of knowledge on the South Seas commensurate with what it meant to be a world player on par with Western countries. Calls for southern expansion flanked by government's move to implement imperialist projects in the South Seas bolstered national prestige and validated perceptions of Japan's position as a bona fide modern state. As with the Tokugawa period, various discursive mediums overlapped and

coalesced to create a coherent picture of *Nan'yō* peoples that continued to marginalize such populations and affirmed constructed hierarchies. Many of these messages found expression in travelogues that documented voyages. These travelogues functioned as both an early version of Japanese anthropology and a political platform echoing calls to expand national interests to the south—a policy known as *nanshin* (南進) (advancement to the south). Other germane *Nan'yō* discourse included the utilization of *yōkai*-laden folklore in position papers and in early science fiction. As technological advancements developed into more sophisticated tools of imperialism, *Nan'yō* emerged as a conceptual space where writers, most notably Oshikawa Shunrō (1876-1914), integrated supra-natural elements such as futuristic weaponry into storylines. The chapter ends with a discussion of astute Meiji-period cultural observer and novelist Natsume Sōseki (1867-1916), who suggested that depictions of *Nan'yō* appearing in embellished travelogues provided conceptual refuge and vicarious escape from the alienation and humdrum existence brought to bear by the modern condition in the metropole.<sup>81</sup>

Chapter 5 explores epistemological shifts heavily informed by historical changes that compelled Japan to experiment on the formation of tangible relations with *Nan'yō*. Several *nanshin* advocates viewed direct engagement with the region as an opportunity to tap into a romanticized and idealized primordial state. Increased contact resulting from formal rule involved establishing an infrastructure in the South Seas colonies that included integrating *yōkai*-laden folklore in textbooks as a means for students to absorb Japanese cultural norms and assimilate into the imperial milieu as dutiful subjects. Meanwhile, advancements in transportation, communication, and media technologies allowed populations in Japan to experience the otherworldly in new ways and offered additional vehicles to engage and consume *Nan'yō* at home. This included venues to promote colonial endeavors abroad like the Taishō Exhibition of 1914, which featured *Nan'yō* peoples in an exaggerated carnival-like attraction. Innovators in the film industry rendered the fantastic in compelling new visual forms and novelists such as Satō Haruo (1892-1964) and Shiga Naoya (1883-1971) found efficacy in incorporating strange phenomena in their works to convey alienation and ennui affecting the modern individual.

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<sup>81</sup> Natsume Sōseki, *To the Spring Equinox and Beyond* (Higan sugi made), trans. Kingo Ochiai and Sanford Goldstein (Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing Company, 2005).

By the 1930s *Nan'yō* supernatural discourse took on added significance as relations with Western nations deteriorated and Japan set on a course to create an autonomous economic bloc in the Eastern hemisphere. Serialized comics such as *Bōken Dankichi* provided a generation of children imaginative fodder that marginalized Pacific peoples and reflected the heightened geopolitical rhetoric of the day.<sup>82</sup> From the early 1940s this paradigm grew to include Southeast Asia, where reenlisting the venerable *Momotarō* fable reinforced constructed hierarchies commensurate with the state's drive to establish the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Chapter 6 examines another epistemological shift in relation to Japanese conceptualizations of *Nan'yō* as a supernatural space with the introduction of supernatural giant monsters emerging from its oceans and Islands in postwar *kaijū eiga* and other mediums. Like *Nanyō*, these otherworldly entities functioned as multipurpose metaphors emblematic of a counter-hegemonic discourse challenging America's role as the preeminent superpower. Films of this genre often subtly criticized American presence in Micronesia by way of portraying Japanese protagonists more in tune with and sympathetic towards Native populations. Such positioning not only provided cover to indirectly reveal a contested and complicated postwar relationship with the United States, it also nostalgically invoked the colonial era by delicately framing Japan as the superior colonizer. Many of these monster movies demonstrated continuity with *Nan'yō* discourse of the past by recalibrating old narratives to meet the realities of the postwar and the dawning of the nuclear age. Critical analysis of such films will reveal the representation of certain anxieties indicative of a complete paradigm shift associated with the postmodern condition as brought on by the development of atomic weapons and the possibility for total human annihilation. Globalization and the spread of global capitalism consistent with the postmodern condition will likewise be explored as *Nan'yō* became a locale for global consumption.

Chapter 7 returns to a discussion of germane conversations of South Seas discourse held during "Transoceanica 2012" which placed contemporary conceptualizations and expressions of *Nan'yō* in the everyday. The chapter will explore the legacy of South Seas discourse in present-day contexts. Finally, the question of

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<sup>82</sup> Shimada, (1967).



whether *kaijū* (怪獣) deserve the status of *yōkai* will be entertained, and I will argue for their inclusion into the ranks of this cadre of traditional ghosts and monsters.

## Chapter 2 A Fantastically Mundane Morning in Ogura

Members of the largely elderly community living near Ogura station on the Kintetsu Line busily engage in their morning chores. On this ordinary weekday in the winter of 2009, residents invariably greet each other with a comment on the chilly conditions. A typically densely populated Japanese town, Ogura occupies one of several hamlets that make up the city of Uji. Known as the home of *The Tale of Genji* and Heian-period sites located near the river like the Byōdōin, Uji draws tourists from all over the world.<sup>1</sup> However, despite being part of Uji, Ogura does not celebrate an illustrious past. Rather, this working-class neighborhood experienced its unremarkable heyday in the gritty postwar when it became a commuter town to its more glamorous northern neighbor, the ancient capital and modern city of Kyoto.

Rows of houses no more than three-stories-high built during the late 1960s and early 1970s stand stacked against each other facing the street. Like countless other residential neighborhoods in Japan, the buildings jut directly onto the asphalt. In addition to serving as private residences, a high percentage of these homes double as hair salons, traditional confectionaries, bakeries, dry cleaners, restaurants, bars, grocery and liquor stores, butcher shops, realty offices, clothing and sporting goods outlets, pharmacies, and health clinics. Power poles dotting the narrow road provide some separation from the steady flow of traffic heading to and from the station. In an effort to mitigate the domineering presence of concrete, cars, and pedestrians, homeowners line the space between the poles and buildings with an eclectic display of potted flora of all shapes and sizes. Standing amongst many of the plants and on top of doorsteps sit strategically placed statues of raccoon-like creatures holding a bottle of *sake* and wearing a circular straw hat.

This figure known as *tanuki* (狸) is both an actual animal and an iconic supernatural creature that occupies a central position in the *yōkai* pantheon of Japanese folklore. *Tanuki* are shape-shifters who use their power to deceive the humans they come

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<sup>1</sup> The Heian period refers to the years from 794-1185. It succeeded the Nara period when the capital moved north to Kyoto. The Heian period is largely identified as the era when a typically Japanese style of court life and cultural institutions and practices took hold. This included the flourishing of literature that reflected an aesthetic sense with which Japanese art forms are commonly associated with today.

across. However, in addition to playing the role of trickster, *tanuki* are known to perform acts of altruism and believed to bring good luck. Positive orientation towards *tanuki* finds widespread application in their ubiquitous display as statues in the entryways of homes and storefronts in Ogura. As one senior neighbor who kept a small figure in front of his house explained, although he only half-believed in its power, he was satisfied to have the *tanuki* sit there so long as the possibility to receive good fortune remained.

Along with its real counterpart, male *tanuki* depicted in lore and statues possess very large testicles. This anatomic peculiarity has provided fodder for embellishment and comedic relief in numerous mediums over the centuries such as Tokugawa-period woodblock prints known as *ukiyo-e* (浮世絵). In a particularly bawdy illustration, Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839-1892) suggested that umbrellas were a superfluous accessory by positioning *tanuki* next to three surprised travelers literally bowled over by their



Figure 8. *Rainy Day Tanuki* by Tsukioka Yoshitoshi. Public domain.

immense balls (See Figure 8). And while such portrayals may seem uncouth to the unfamiliar, Tsukioka's rendition provides glimpses into aspects of Japanese culture that include attitudes towards the body and bodily functions. Moreover, features ascribed to *yōkai* continue to find expression in contemporary contexts that link the present to the past, demonstrating cultural continuity. For example, children still sing a song that graphically describes how even on a windless day the testicles of *tanuki* wildly wave from side-to-side.

*Tanuki* make up just one of the countless fantastic creatures people encounter in Ogura on any given day. Down the road outside the local bookstore next to the bank stands a circular vertical rack of children's books. Covers of four of the books on display reveal generational shifts in the creation, continuity, and perpetuation of ghosts and monsters in Japanese culture. The first book portrays the heroic exploits of Kitarō of the *Ge ge ge no Kitarō* series.<sup>2</sup> Based on a character introduced in a popular form of early twentieth-century entertainment called *kami-shibai* (紙芝居) (picture-card storytelling), writer and illustrator Mizuki Shigeru (1922- ) transformed this relatively obscure protagonist into a national icon beginning in the 1950s. For decades, Kitarō has been assigned the daunting task of preserving the balance of peace between the human and supernatural worlds. In this 2008 story, Kitarō and his band of *yōkai* friends fought monsters of the Western tradition, such as Dracula, Frankenstein, and the Mummy.

In recognition of Mizuki's accomplishments and capitalizing on the recent surge of interest regarding *yōkai*, his hometown of Sakaiminato City in Tottori Prefecture dedicated a street after their favorite son. In addition to the bronze statues of Kitarō and other *yōkai* lining Mizuki Road, shops selling an assortment of trinkets associated with the cartoon series display their wares for visiting tourists. Sakaiminato's success in marketing *yōkai* as a means to promote the city and bring in revenue has inspired other towns having cultural and historical connections with *yōkai* to follow suit. One notable seminar session by Nichibunken collaborative research team member, Yasumatsu Miyuki, presented an ethnological study of a small town that initiated such a program as a means to generate revenue and incentivize younger generations to stay. This presentation

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<sup>2</sup> While this particular book was not written by Mizuki, the series continues to be published by a commercial press. The title of the book on the rack is *Ge ge ge no Kitarō osoikakaru seiyō yōkai tachi* (Kitarō vs. the Ghosts and Monsters of the West) (Kōdansha: 2008).

exemplified the applicability of Ghost Studies to understanding Japanese contemporary culture concerning issues faced by rural communities, that included economic, cultural, and demographic changes bound within local heritage, familial obligations, individualism, and the imposition of invented traditions—the planners decided to host an annual *yōkai* festival to promote this project.<sup>3</sup>

Two other books sharing the rack deal with *kaijū* (怪獣), or giant monsters best associated with movies produced during Japan’s postwar economic boom, such as *Gojira* (ゴジラ), *Radon* (ラドン), *Mosura* (モスラ), and *Gamera* (ガメラ).<sup>4</sup> The first, titled in mostly *katakana* script, follows the conventional narrative of monsters engaged in deadly combat.<sup>5</sup> The second classifies in precise detail numerous *kaijū* according to various characteristics and abilities in encyclopedic form. This book features the famous interplanetary hero, *Urutoraman* (ウルトラマン) (Ultraman), who became popularized on television in a variety of series and offshoot programs beginning in 1966.<sup>6</sup> Of note is this type of monster catalog derives from a long tradition of encyclopedic texts documenting supernatural phenomena and strange creatures dating back to the eighteenth century.

The recent global sensation Pocket Monsters or *Pokemon* is the subject of the fourth book on the revolving stand.<sup>7</sup> Originally a card game requiring players to collect monsters and attain knowledge based on characters’ individual powers, the Pocket Monsters have grown into a commercial industry unto themselves producing an endless collection of consumer goods and toys, books, animated television shows, and motion pictures. While most Pocket Monsters are recent creations, some like *nokocchi* and *namazun*, drew inspiration from traditional *yōkai* and other mythological beings.<sup>8</sup>

Across the street towards the station, the recently constructed convenience store displays a set of goods to promote the thirteen-hundred-year founding of the imperial

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<sup>3</sup> This presentation later appeared as the article, “Yōkaimachi okoshi ni okeru yōkai sōzoku,” in Komatsu ed., *Yōkai bunka no dentō to sōzoku* (Tokyo: Serika Shobō, 2010), 604-627.

<sup>4</sup> The names given to these *kaijū* for foreign release are as follows: *Gojira* (Godzilla); *Radon* (Rodan); *Mosura* (Mothra); *Gamera* (Gamera).

<sup>5</sup> *Urutora garakushi dai kaijū batoru nebā endingu odesse* (Ultra Galaxy Giant Kaijū Battle Never Ending Odyssey) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2009).

<sup>6</sup> *Urutoraman zenkaijū sei zoroi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2009).

<sup>7</sup> *Poketto monsuta diamondo & pāru* (*Pocket Monsters: Diamonds & Pearls*) (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> *Namazun* is a spin-off of the traditional giant catfish associated with causing earthquakes, *ōnamazu*. See Foster, 2009, 214.

capital, Heijō-kyō.<sup>9</sup> With its home offices in nearby Nara<sup>10</sup> this chain of stores came under contract to sell cups, key chains, stationary, and other trinkets bearing the image of the mascot representing the campaign, Sento-kun.<sup>11</sup> Due to accumulated popularity and familiarity, these souvenirs enjoy considerable sales for their manufacturers and distributors. However, Sento-kun's original unveiling began on rough footing that immediately ignited controversy.

An undeniably fantastic creature in his own right, Sento-kun has no historical or cultural affiliation to traditional *yōkai*. Rather, he is the product of an odd amalgamation of iconography directly related to Nara's past: Sento-kun is a boy resembling a Buddha with deer antlers attached to its head. Although the designer assigned to the project wanted to highlight two readily identifiable symbols of the city's heritage for this character—the deer and the image of the Buddha—the majority of respondents initially reacted to the roll-out negatively and found the image “unsettling.” As can be imagined, members of the Buddhist community took particular offense, leading the Nara Buddhist Friendship Society to develop its own counter-mascot named Nāmu-kun.<sup>12</sup> Other critics complained about the backhanded way the city and prefecture handled Sento-kun's selection. Despite appealing to the community for ideas to develop a mascot, the local government ultimately decided to contract a professional artist. Payments to the creator and monies involved with copyright procurement contributed to even more condemnation upon the official introduction. Having been completely caught off-guard and in desperate need to turn public opinion around to save its investment, the Nara government embarked on an aggressive promotional campaign that sent the mascot on junkets through the entire country. After gaining notoriety via tour appearances at numerous events, Sento-kun ultimately fell in favor with the public and even managed to “out-popularize” other well-

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<sup>9</sup> Nara served as the ancient capital during the eighth century. As mentioned, the capital then moved to Kyoto where it remained the center of cultural and economic activity through most of Japan's early history leading into the Tokugawa era.

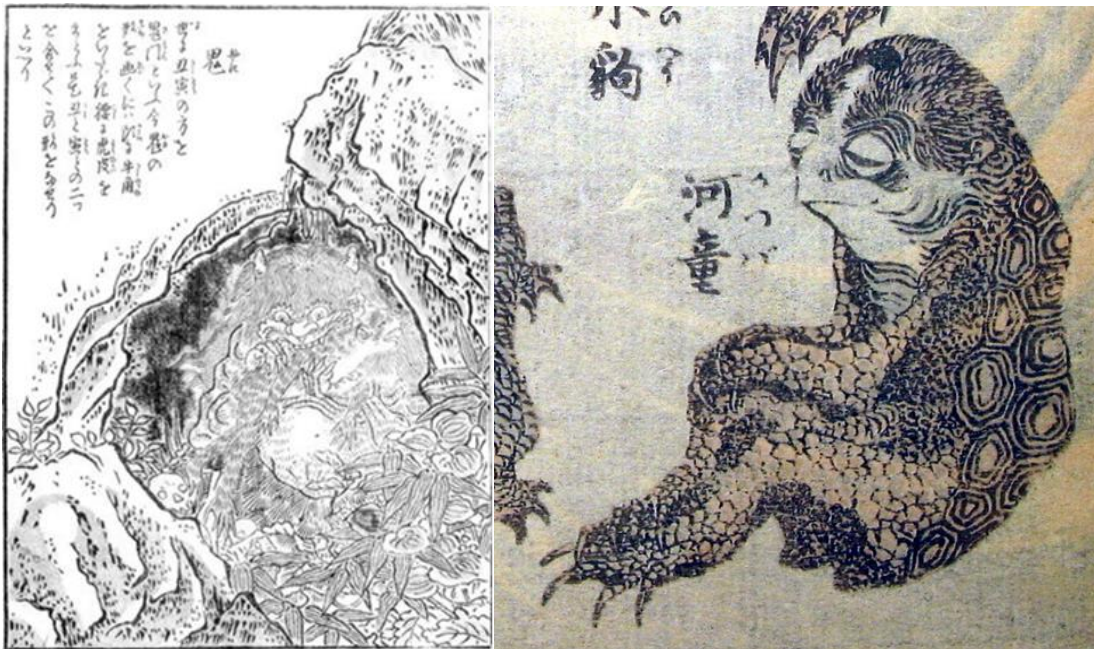
<sup>10</sup> Nara City is the last stop on the Kintetsu Line which runs north from Nara to its final destination, Kyoto Station. Ogura is also a stop on that line and it takes roughly thirty-minutes to reach Kyoto City by train. Conversely, it takes a little over an hour to reach Nara from Ogura heading south.

<sup>11</sup> *Kun* is commonly applied suffix attached to boys' names as a term of endearment. It functions in the same way that “*chan*” operates as a suffix added to the ubiquitously merchandised cat, *Kitty-chan*. Both suffixes soften or amplify a sense of cuteness to the individual being identified. They likewise can have an infantilizing effect as discussed in the previous chapter.

<sup>12</sup> “Hotokesama o bujoku: soryoyūshi ga sento kyarakuta no saikō yōsei,” *Asahi Shimbun (Tokyo)*, 27 March, 2008.

known prefectural and municipal mascots in opinion polls. Fortunately, the campaign succeeded and the local government and companies marketing Sento-kun have been reaping the rewards of their efforts ever since.

Although Sento-kun clearly exists as a strange and arguably otherworldly being, he is extremely hard to define and does not neatly fit into any conventional monstrous category. As a result, Sento-kun neither qualifies as *yōkai* nor *kaijū* in terms of affiliation. In fact, people have an immensely difficult time explaining what this strange mascot is other than describing him as a “*karakutā*” or “character” along the same lines as Mickey Mouse or Ronald McDonald. Nonetheless, because Sento-kun defies classification, he serves as an apposite example illustrative of the various debates undertaken by *yōkai* scholars regarding the categorization of monstrous creatures. But Sento-kun indeed resembles *yōkai* in a very fundamental sense and that involves a particular process. Sento-kun evolved from unsettling to cute within the collective consciousness over time. Changes in attitudes towards Sento-kun parallel a central topic Foster explored in *Pandemonium and Parade* concerning the transformation of *yōkai*



Figures 9 and 10. *Oni* (鬼) from *Gazu hyakkiyagyō* by Toriyama Sekien and *Kappa* (河童) from by Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849). Public domain.

from initially being feared to something associated with the ludic.<sup>13</sup> Regardless of whether Sento-kun is *yōkai* or not, the Nara prefectural government promoted their mascot as a marketing device to attract visitors and raise awareness of their historic anniversary. The use of monstrous imagery as a tool to sway public opinion is another similarity found between applications of *yōkai* in Japanese cultural production and the Sento-kun controversy.

The thousand-yen barbershop located across the tracks is painfully understaffed but skillfully managed by its lone attendant. Striking up a pleasant conversation about the recently celebrated New Year's holiday, he segues into plans for the next event on the calendar. More of a ceremony than a holiday, *setsubun* (節分) marks the end of winter with a purification ritual. Once again attention shifts to the fantastic because a conversation on *setsubun* invariably invokes *oni* (鬼) (demon or ogre), the prototype for all *yōkai*.<sup>14</sup> Introduced from China in the ninth century but beginning as far back as the Zhou dynasty (770 BCE-256 BCE), *setsubun* became officially observed in Japan during the Muromachi period (1333-1568). Drawing on Daoist ideas, magicians and diviners of *Onmyōdō* (陰陽道) (The Way of Yin and Yang) defined agents causing inexplicable harm to humans as *oni*. The earliest *oni* were invisible amorphous entities that later acquired shape and gained physical appendages through artistic rendition in paintings and performance over time.<sup>15</sup> Thus the iconic image of *oni* so readily identifiable in Japanese cultural production took many centuries to develop and significantly differed from the *Onmyōdō* model of ancient times (See Figure 9). *Setsubun* rites entail driving off these demons from one's home to make way for a clean and fresh spring start. Families toss dried soybeans in and outside of their homes while chanting the phrase, "*Oni wa soto! Fuku wa uchi!*" or, "Out with the demons! In with good fortune!" Frequently a member of the household dresses up as *oni* and endures an onslaught of beans thrown at them. Stores all over Japan carry kits containing a simple bright red paper demon mask and a packet of tiny dry-roasted projectiles during *setsubun* season.

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<sup>13</sup> Foster, 2009.

<sup>14</sup> Komatsu Kazuhiko, "Supernatural Apparitions and Domestic Life in Japan," *The Japan Foundation Newsletter* 27 (1) (June 1999), 3.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.



Two adorable smiling reptilian-like creatures of a popular conveyer belt sushi chain tower over the street adjacent to the barbershop. Like the sign of the restaurant bearing their name, *kappa* (河童) cast a large shadow in the world of *yōkai*. This iconic trickster inhabits lakes, rivers, ponds, and streams. Its two most outstanding features include a concave depression atop its head and penchant for cucumbers (See Figure 10). Humans can avoid an unpleasant run-in with *kappa* by offering them this delicacy. The relationship between *kappa* and cucumbers takes on tangible form in a sushi dish known as *kappa-maki* (河童巻き) (*kappa* roll). Thus the clever founders of the *Kappa-zushi* franchise seized upon this mainstay of culinary culture to market a cute and accessible business logo. Like the Sento-kun-goods at the convenience store, an entire range of *kappa*-related toys are strategically arranged on a display case near the cash register inside the shop.<sup>16</sup>

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Anecdotes detailing encounters with the fantastic on a typical winter morning in Ogura are representative of what people experience in Japan every day. These ethnographically descriptive accounts introduced a multitude of otherworldly creatures and entities ubiquitously thriving within the mundane. Ghosts and monsters of traditional lore and their contemporary counterparts weave in and out of Japanese life in a variety of forms with effortless fluidity. This scenario of the present day mirrors thoughts Meiji-period *yōkai* enthusiast Izumi Kyōka expressed concerning the “in-between.” Cherishing glimpses the world of the unknown occasionally offered its observer, Kyōka recognized the nuanced significance of the fantastic and the ability of mysterious phenomena to weave in and out of the real. In a 1908 essay he shared his appreciation for the twilight, that daily moment that is neither day nor night:

I wonder how many people there are in the world who truly have a sense for twilight? It seems to me that many people have lumped twilight and dusk together. When speaking of “dusk” the sensation of the color of night, the color of darkness, becomes dominant. However, twilight is neither the color of night nor the color of darkness. So saying, it is neither simply the sensation of day, nor of

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<sup>16</sup> For a more detailed discussion on *kappa*-related discourse and its transformation from the feared to the familiar, see Michael Dylan Foster, “The Metamorphosis of the Kappa: Transformation of Folklore to Folklorism in Japan,” *Asian Folklore Studies*, Volume 57, 1998: 1-24.

light. In the momentary boundary of entering darkness from light, is that not where the twilight world lies? Twilight is neither darkness nor light, nor is it a mixture of light and darkness. I think that twilight is a world of singularly subtle shades that exist solely in that momentary space of entering darkness from light, of entering night from day. Similar to the singularly subtle twilight world, existing in the space of entering darkness from light, there is a world of subtle shades called down on the boundary of entering light from darkness, in the momentary interval of moving to day from night. This too is a singularly subtle world that is neither darkness nor light nor a mixture of darkness and light. I consider it a great mistake that people in the world think as though there were no other worlds outside of night and day, darkness and light. It is my belief that there is certainly a singularly subtle world of the in-between outside of sensations that approach the two extremes of dusk and daybreak. I have been thinking that this taste for twilight, this taste for dawn, is something I would like to impart to people in the world. This taste for twilight, this taste for dawn, is not something that exists merely in the relation of day with night. I believe that in similar fashion among all things in the universe there are singularly subtle worlds. For example, even when it comes to people, good and evil is something like day and night, but in between this good and this evil there is in addition a singularly subtle place that we should not destroy, that we should not extinguish. In the momentary space of moving from good to evil, in the momentary space of entering from evil to good, humans display singularly nuanced shapes and feelings. I would like to primarily sketch and to transcribe such a twilight-like world. I have been thinking too that I would like to impart in my works a world of the singularly in-between, a taste of the singularly in-between, which is on neither the extremity of good, right and wrong, pleasure and displeasure.<sup>17</sup>

As with *yōkai*, *Kyōka*'s conviction rested on an acknowledgement that certain spaces defying complete rational explanation enhance and offer insight to the human experience.

*Tanuki* statues serve as fitting examples of the “in-between.” While these common outdoor accessories operate as familiar fixtures of the physical landscape, they are clearly more than mere decorative lawn ornaments. Imbued within the statues is an intangible ethereal and spiritual quality. This quality—based on a tradition and history that ascribed *tanuki* the power to bring good fortune—can be both believed and disbelieved at the same time. Rituals associated with *setsubun* also maneuver between the mundane and otherworldly and similarly hold an intangibility that can be believed and disbelieved concurrently. In the case of *setsubun*, the purification aspect of the ritual suggests that a certain harmony is trying to be reached or maintained through the performance of a time-honored tradition.

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<sup>17</sup> Figal, 1999, 1-2.

By maintaining a ubiquitous presence in the physical and social landscape, *yōkai* function as effective vectors to gauge continuity and change in Japanese culture and history. Michael Foster attributed a large part of this success to the ability of *yōkai* to concurrently inhabit real and ethereal planes of existence.<sup>18</sup> He also acknowledged that much of the power associated with *yōkai*—powers to be believed, disbelieved and feared, as well as the power to be used metaphorically in a multitude of forms—derived directly from their elusive nature that prohibited them from being readily captured in both literal and linguistic contexts.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, there are a number of characteristics and features *yōkai* share. Komatsu Kazuhiko defined *yōkai* as:

...either a fearful phenomenon that is seen as the manifestation of a curse or divine retribution, or the spiritual entity that causes it. It was believed that these phenomena or apparitions could be warded off by worshiping the causative spirit as a kami (Shinto deity), or by exorcising it with powerful magical incantations or by force of arms.<sup>20</sup>

Accordingly, Komatsu divided *yōkai* into two distinct categories: *yōkai genshō* (妖怪現象) and *yōkai sonzai* (妖怪存在).<sup>21</sup> Translated as uncanny phenomena, *yōkai genshō* refers to a weird, frightening, or otherworldly effect which humans perceive and experience from time to time. This can include the appearance of a strange or ethereal light such as *kitsunebi* (狐火) (foxfire).<sup>22</sup> *Yōkai sonzai* describes the traditional pantheon of monsters that developed a recognizable physical form such as *tanuki*, *kappa*, and *oni*. For this category he identified four consistent traits: (1) *yōkai* come out only at night; however, especially powerful *yōkai* can darken their surroundings and appear during the day; (2) the spiritual entity or physical thing a *yōkai* ultimately becomes happens gradually as that entity grows in age; (3) *yōkai* are able to possess humans as well as inanimate objects such as daily household items; and (4) a certain prototype for *yōkai* developed based on the *oni* model.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Foster, 2009, 23-29.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 5-8.

<sup>20</sup> Komatsu, 1999, 3.

<sup>21</sup> Kazuhiko Komatsu, “Yōkai no genshō” in Kondō Gaju, ed., *Zusetsu Nihon no yōkai* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1990), 18-20.

<sup>22</sup> The Western equivalent of *kitsunebi* is will-o'-the-wisp.

<sup>23</sup> Komatsu, 1999, 2-3.

Inflicting harm on human populations is the *modus operandi* for all *yōkai*. However, their diametric personalities consistently disrupt that primal function, resulting in *yōkai* performing benevolent acts and tricksters being deceived. For example, because they maintain rigidly high standards of etiquette, *kappa* can be easily fooled to return a bow which diminishes the water supply atop their heads, subsequently depleting their power—they can also be dissuaded from performing violent acts if given cucumbers. Because they possess mortal weaknesses, *yōkai* make particularly suitable agents to encapsulate the human experience.

Impulses to comprehend the unknown or prevent unforeseen and uncontrollable misfortunes lay at the heart of the creation and sustainability of *yōkai*. The *Onmyōdō* model reveals that *oni* provided explanation for inexplicable events which reflected desires to maintain harmonious interaction of oppositional forces in nature. Physical acts of throwing beans and chanting, “Out with the demons! In with good fortune!” still taps into that original impulse expressed by early *Onmyōdō* practitioners to realize balance. Achieving cosmological harmony is likewise a common theme found in early modern and contemporary *yōkai* discourse such as the *Ge ge ge no Kitarō* series, wherein the protagonist was assigned the daunting task of maintaining equilibrium between the spaces humans and *yōkai* occupy.

Historical contexts and characteristics associated with *oni* later informed features and functions ascribed to traditional *yōkai* and other fantastic creatures roaming the cultural landscape. And though belief can play a role, non-belief does not preclude *yōkai* from acting as useful metaphors and epistemological markers. The giant catfish, *ōnamazu*, that inspired the aforementioned Pocket Monster, *namazun*, provides a particularly good example. As discussed in the introductory chapter, legend held that *ōnamazu* inhabited the subterranean and triggered earthquakes when left free. In “Shaking up Japan: Edo Society and the 1855 Catfish Picture Prints,” Gregory Smits pointed out that evidence suggests actual belief in *ōnamazu* causing natural disasters was in decline at the time of the Great Ansei Earthquake.<sup>24</sup> However, the metaphorical power of the creature was brought to bear when it served as a vehicle to express how the world

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<sup>24</sup> Gregory Smits, 2005, 1045-1078.

was considered out of balance and needed rectifying.<sup>25</sup> Broadsheets circulating throughout Edo rendered *ōnamazu* as both the cause of the terrible earthquake and an integral agent in disaster recovery. Diametric qualities *yōkai* possess facilitate their use in a variety of circumstances. In this case, the broadsheet creators used the giant catfish to make a political statement that challenged the status quo. As for modern and postmodern contexts, scholars of Folklore and Ghost Studies, such as Saitō Jun, have cited *ōnamazu* as a historical and cultural precursor to *Gojira*.<sup>26</sup>

*Ōnamazu* allegorically articulated another earth-shattering event of the latter Tokugawa period: the Perry landings of 1854.<sup>27</sup> Like the Ansei earthquake, the encounter with the American fleet served as a sign that the world was out of kilter, resulting in the appropriation of the fantastic to make sense of the moment. One artist represented Japan's tenuous situation with the West by posing *ōnamazu* in a literal tug-of-war against the American naval officer (See Figure 11). In renderings of foreign ships, illustrators again drew on the fantastic and accentuated the bow and stern with monstrous imagery



Figures 11-12. *Ōnamazu* in a tug-of-war with Commodore Perry & Perry as *Tengu* (ca.1854) Public domain.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Saitō Jun, “Yōkai to kaijū,” in *Yōkai henge: Minzokugaku no bōken* 3 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho, 1999), 66-119.

<sup>27</sup> Gregory Smits, “Yōkai: Monsters, Giant Catfish, & Symbolic Representation in Popular Culture,” from the web-based book, *Topics in Japanese Cultural History*, <http://east-asian-history.net/textbooks/172/index.htm>.

to emphasize both the immediate and existential threat his fleet posed. Demonstrating the efficacy of *yōkai* to construct and define “the Other,” Commodore Perry was likewise painted in monstrous terms. Illustrators exaggerated facial features to closely resemble the goblin guardians of mountain regions known as *tengu* (See Figure 12).<sup>28</sup> *Tengu* play a predominant role in *yōkai*-lore as a whole, and like *tanuki* and *kappa*, fall within the category of trickster.<sup>29</sup> In “Nosing around: Visual representation of the Other in Japanese Society,” Eldad Nakar expounded on the Perry-as-*tengu* illustration and observed that a distinctive trend to elongate noses for the purposes of “Othering” occurred in both early modern and modern Japan.<sup>30</sup> She elaborated on how “reflexivity” played an integral role in this process:

Many studies have employed the concept of the Other in relation to the process of making and remaking patterns of understanding in order to understand our place in the world. People create an array of notions about the Other, and through these sometimes innocent-looking representations, they deliberate on their own identity, the content of the ‘self.’<sup>31</sup>

As Nakar suggests, the Perry-as-*tengu* illustration revealed more about the artist and the conditions surrounding the rendition than the actual subject being rendered.

However, no *yōkai* has been rendered as “the Other” in Japanese history more than the prototypical *oni*. According to Komatsu, the term was used during the medieval period to describe culturally non-affiliated peoples who lived outside the nexus of imperial influence.<sup>32</sup> Baba Akiko observed that from the tenth through eleventh centuries the Fujiwara Regency identified populations posing potential threats as *oni*. She added that their zenith of political dominance coincided with the highest proliferation of recorded *oni*-related incidents.<sup>33</sup> Citing Baba’s study, Noriko T. Reider posited that Minamoto no Yorimitsu’s legendary slaying of the Shunten-dōji *oni* (1075) also

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<sup>28</sup> Yoshida Kenji and Brian Durrans, eds., *Ajia to yō-roppa no shōzō, Self and Other: Portraits from Asia and Europe* (Osaka: The Asahi Shimbun, 2008), 109.

<sup>29</sup> While prone to hassle travelers crossing through their territory, *tengu* occasionally share their knowledge of swordsmanship with certain individuals they deem worthy.

<sup>30</sup> Eldad Nakar, “Nosing around: Visual representation of the Other in Japanese Society,” *Anthropological Forum* 13, no. 1 (2003).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>32</sup> Komatsu, 1993, 3.

<sup>33</sup> Baba Akiko, *Oni no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1972).

benefitted the Fujiwara by defining enemies in monstrous terms to justify subjugating the disenfranchised.<sup>34</sup> As for the modern era, John Dower discussed how *oni* became *the* leading symbol to represent the Allied Powers during the Pacific War.<sup>35</sup> Conversely, Dower keenly pointed out that the appropriation of dualistic *oni* to represent the enemy outsider provided psychological space for reconciliation among Japanese towards the occupying forces in the immediate postwar era.<sup>36</sup> Reider similarly discussed how shape-shifting powers facilitated the transformation of *oni* from frightening to playful creatures in the modern age. Reider remarked that this change was amplified to an unprecedented extent and “reflective of Japan’s own socio-economic transmutation into one of the major industrialized nations of the world.”<sup>37</sup>

Reider’s comment suggesting that the proliferation of “cute and sexy *oni*” was a particularly modern phenomenon by no means diminishes the significance of playfully rendering *yōkai* in times prior. As early as the Muromachi period (1392-1573), illustrated scrolls or *emaki mono* humorously portraying *yōkai* on a night out on the town elicited



Figure 13. Portion of the picture scroll *Hyakkiyagyō* Public domain.

<sup>34</sup> Noriko T. Reider, “Transformation of the *Oni*: From the Frightening and Diabolical to the Cute and Sexy” *Asian Folklore Studies* 62 (2003): 133-157.

<sup>35</sup> John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 236.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Reider, (2003): 133-157.

their power to disrupt traditional discursive boundaries. The most famous, *Hyakkiyagyō* (Night Parade with One Hundred Demons), first appeared in the sixteenth century and featured an iconic display of creatures romping through the streets of Kyoto (See Figure 13).<sup>38</sup> During the mid-Tokugawa period, artists painted several versions of this narrative. Consistent with folklore, the narrative preceded the production of the first illustrated scroll. And like many accounts detailing the activities of *yōkai*, *hyakkiyagyō* initially served as a cautionary tale for residents to be on the lookout for a possible harmful encounter with the otherworldly on certain nights.<sup>39</sup> In contrast to its original message—an advisory from which people drew fear—all of the illustrated *hyakkiyagyō* scrolls presented the potentially dangerous and even lethal evening in lighthearted fashion.

Playfully rendering ghosts and monsters of traditional lore also found expression in four catalogues produced by Toriyama Sekien from 1776-1784.<sup>40</sup> Following the format of Edo-period encyclopedic texts in which plants, animals, *yōkai*, and people of known and unknown lands were categorized and compiled, Sekien assigned each entry a description by which an image and definition of a particular *yōkai* could take hold.<sup>41</sup> According to Foster, both the illustrated encyclopedias and Sekien's bestiaries facilitated the emergence of an imagined Japanese national identity:

But even during the early-modern Tokugawa period, the collection of disparate *yōkai* traditions from all over the Japanese archipelago contributed to a sense of shared heritage, a kind of national community imagined through a collective identity, of which *yōkai* were a defining element.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> The National Institutes for the Humanities in Japan published a compilation of illustrated scrolls that include the original sixteenth century version and other renditions of the tale. See National Institutes for the Humanities (Ningen bunka kenkyū kikō), *Hyakkiyagyō no sekai* (Tokyo: National Institutes for the Humanities, 2009).

<sup>39</sup> Foster, 2009, 8.

<sup>40</sup> These catalogues include *Gazu hyakki yagyō* (The Illustrated Night Parade of a Hundred Demons (1776)); *Konjaku gazu zoku hyakki* (Continued Illustrations of the Many Demons Past and Present (1779)); *Konjaku hyakki shūi* (Supplement to the Hundred Demons from the Present and the Past (1780)); and *Gazu hyakki tsurezure bukuro* (Illustrated Idle Collection Bag of Many Things (1784)). See Toriyama Sekien in Inaba Atsunobu, ed. *Gazu hyakki yagyō*, (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1992).

<sup>41</sup> The two most famous of these encyclopedic texts are *Kinmōzui* (An Illustrated History of Humanity (1666)) and *Wakan sansaizue* (Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of Three Realms (1713)). See Nakamura Tekisai, *Kinmōzui* (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1975); Terajima Ryōan, *Wakan sansaizue* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1994).

<sup>42</sup> Foster, 2009, 25.



Seizing the opportunity to integrate the ludic in numerous entries, Sekien invented his own ghosts and monsters. Foster observed that this utilization of *yōkai* could enhance allegorical potential and disrupt a wide range of discursive boundaries:

The playful sensibility he infuses into his catalogs makes richer and more expansive the otherworld of *yōkai*. Not only does this playfulness eventually lead him to create entirely new monsters, it also transforms *yōkai* into multivalent metaphors through which he can talk of other things and implicitly questions the boundaries of the real and the imaginary in ways that still resonate today.<sup>43</sup>

Foster's point regarding *yōkai* as multivalent metaphors directly applies to *Nan'yō* discourse because cultural production on the South Seas shares many characteristics associated with *yōkai* discourse and falls within *yōkai* discourse as a whole. Those "other things" include issues dealing with imperialism and Japan's position as a colonial power, the development of attitudes of superiority in Asia and Oceania in the early modern and modern periods, and postwar identity formation heavily determined by Japan's reconfigured relationship with the United States.

Postwar *kaijū* are particularly evocative and demonstrate continuity in *Nan'yō* supernatural discourse. Many of these twentieth-century creations emerged from the South Seas, reflecting a long-standing practice of appropriating the region in otherworldly contexts; they also play a central role in contemporary debates concerning the study of *yōkai*. Cultural producers depicting human populations inhabiting this locale also drew on monstrous terminology and imagery. Such renderings of Pacific peoples aided Japanese colonial expansion to the south and facilitated the creation of political and social hierarchies from the early modern period. These instances of allegorical expression firmly fall within the boundaries of *yōkai* discourse and offer scholars of Ghost Studies the opportunity to explore the appropriation of *yōkai* vis-à-vis *Nan'yō* in tangible ways. And while examples abound with regard to peoples described as *yōkai* or ascribed supernatural powers—the fairy twins of *Mosura's* Infant Island come to mind—the vast majority represented in *Nan'yō* discourse are squeezed into a uniform composite emphasizing native backwardness.<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, this backward native paradigm

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>44</sup> In the American release, the island is called Beiru. Infant Island was the Japanese name used in the original version as well as in the short story from which the narrative was adapted. The Japanese name will be used going forward.

associated with “*Nan’yō Orientalism*” affirmed modern identities by juxtaposing the advanced against the primitive, providing the former a homogenous product that could be globally consumed.

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Toriyama Sekien chose only a few oceanic *yōkai* to include in his bestiaries. The first, *umizatō* (海座頭), appeared in the second volume of the first encyclopedia. Minimal textual descriptions accompanied the entries in this work. For *umizatō*, Sekien only provided its name written in *kanji* (Chinese-based characters) followed by a brief explanation in *hiragana* (phonetic script). The illustration depicted a blind minstrel walking on water holding a guide stick and carrying a fretted lute on its back while approaching the bow of a small boat. Specialist in Ghost Studies, Murakami Kenji, commented that, because only few details supplemented the illustration, it is difficult to know what Sekien had in mind regarding the function this *yōkai* played at the time of publication.<sup>45</sup> Reports of *umizatō* sightings in Tōhoku, however, were recorded in other early modern *yōkai*-related literature. Of these accounts many related encounters in conjunction with a more vicious sea monster, the dreaded *umibōzu* (海坊主).<sup>46</sup>

Literally translated as “sea bonze,” *umibōzu* are one of the most well-known and feared oceanic *yōkai*. Their size varies greatly ranging from the miniscule to towering beasts measuring over thirty meters. The name may be somewhat misleading because *umibōzu* have no actual connection to the Buddhist clergy. They do, however, have a large bald head reminiscent of a priest. Like their size, origins of this sea monster vary. According to some tales, *umibōzu* are an amalgamation of vengeful spirits whose human bodies drowned at sea. Other explanations identify *umibōzu* as supernatural mutated sea creatures, residents of the legendary undersea palace of the Dragon King, or a natural phenomenon associated with windstorms.<sup>47</sup> Given their immense size, these creatures command tremendous power. Not only capable of damaging and capsizing ships, they are known to swallow entire vessels. While an encounter can be lethal, there are ways to

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<sup>45</sup> Murakami Kenji, ed., *Yōkai jiten* (Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 2000), 60.

<sup>46</sup> *Umibōzu* did not appear in the Sekien bestiaries but is a central figure in the oceanic *yōkai* pantheon.

<sup>47</sup> Yoda Hiroko and Matt Alt, *Yōkai Attack! The Japanese Monster Survival Guide* (Tokyo: Kōdansha International: 2008), 50; Mizuki Shigeru, *Mizuki Shigeru no Nihon yōkai meguri* (Tokyo: JTB Press, 2001), 39.

avoid violent confrontation. According to the Tōhoku legends, *umibōzu* are compatriots of *umizatō* and obediently follow the wandering minstrel's commands and disappear if ordered.<sup>48</sup>

A genealogical connection between *yōkai* discourse and Japanese art history also linked *umizatō* and *umibōzu*. One of the most famous renderings of *umibōzu* appeared in a woodblock print painted by the renowned Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1798-1861). Best known for illustrations of heroic figures, landscapes, and actors, Utagawa also created many *yōkai*-themed paintings. Drawing on a tale featured in the late Edo-period collection, *Usō kanwa* (雨窓閑話), the print captured an encounter between *umibōzu* and Kuwano no Tokuzō (See Figure 14). In the story, the protagonist defied the prohibition among sailors and fishermen to go out to sea at the end of the month. As a result, Kuwano encountered the giant sea monster who asked if he was frightened. The intrepid mariner nonchalantly replied that his only fear was getting through the challenges of daily life. Nonplussed by this indifferent response, the giant sea creature vanished.<sup>49</sup>



Figures 14 & 15. *The Boatman and Umibōzu* by Utagawa Kuniyoshi and *Funa-yūrei* in *Ehon hyaku monogatari* by Takehara Shunsen. Public domain.

<sup>48</sup> Kusano Takumi, *Gensō dōbutsu jiten* (Dictionary of the Monster) (Tokyo: Shinki Gensha, 1997), 46.

<sup>49</sup> Chiba Mikio, *Yōkai zatsugaku jiten* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1991), 66; Sasama Yoshihiko, *Oni to mononoke no bunkashi* (Tokyo: Yūshikan, 2005), 188-89; Murakami Kenji, *Nihon yōkai daijiten* (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2005), 50-51.

Following professional protocols, Utagawa Kuniyoshi was one of many painters who began his career as an apprentice. Having completed the necessary training, successful students like Utagawa inherited professional surnames of their respective schools. While the connection between Utagawa Kuniyoshi and Toriyama Sekien spanned several generations, the founder of the Utagawa School, Utagawa Toyoharu (1735-1814), trained under Sekien in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Once Utagawa Kuniyoshi became a master, he mentored nineteenth-century painters Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839-1892) and Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831-1889). All of the aforementioned artists took an interest in the fantastic and rendered land-based and oceanic *yōkai* in individual works.<sup>50</sup> For example, Kyōsai followed his teacher's example and drew an encounter at sea with a giant monster in the woodblock print, *Sendō to funa-yūrei* (The Boatman and the Sea Specter). While the sea monster he identified is the next *yōkai* to be introduced, the size, bald head, and means of attack depicted in the drawing suggest that the creature was indeed *umibōzu* (See figure 16).



Figure 16. The Boatman and the Sea Specter by Kawanabe Kyōsai. Public Domain

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<sup>50</sup> Foster, 2009, 58.

The second illustrative entry of an oceanic *yōkai* in Sekien's bestiary stood in sharp contrast to his rendition of *umizatō*. While the artist provided little if any written description in his first work, he added text in subsequent catalogues. In the first volume of the second encyclopedia, Sekien introduced *funa-yūrei* (舟幽霊). Omitting any visual representation, he provided an illustration of the mood and conditions at sea when a likely encounter with *funa-yūrei* might occur. In his relatively detailed account, he explained that unusual and sudden shifts in weather patterns resulting in the appearance of whitecaps are conditions that favor their arrival. Like *umibōzu*, *funa-yūrei* shared a profoundly feared reputation among members of fishing communities.<sup>51</sup>

Literally translated as “ship ghost,” *funa-yūrei* fall into a distinct category of *yōkai* called *onryō* (怨霊). *Onryō* are vengeful spirits that experienced a violent or disgraced death who terrorize not only their original tormentors, but anyone with whom they happen to come in contact. Many of today's internationally popular J-Horror films, such as *The Ring* and *The Grudge* (released in Japan as *Jūon*), draw on this aspect of *yōkai* iconography to frighten contemporary cinematic audiences around the world. Having lost their human form by drowning, *funa-yūrei* travel in groups and attack mariners, fishermen, and passengers voyaging along Japan's coastlines. As a tactic to draw in victims, they create false fires which are confused for lighthouses or shore-based navigational points of orientation.<sup>52</sup> Once *funa-yūrei* surround a ship, they ask a crewmember or passenger for a ladle. If obliged, the ladles supernaturally multiply and swamp the vessel. Denying *funa-yūrei* this request is equally terrible because the vengeful sea specters simply capsize the boat. However, *funa-yūrei* can be deceived by surrendering a bottomless or punctured ladle. According to Yoda and Alt, numerous fishermen take this precautionary measure along with them to avoid such a potentially fateful encounter.<sup>53</sup> Bottomless ladles resemble *tanuki* statues in function, although in this case the object serves to avoid misfortune. This preventative practice provides insight into attitudes and beliefs towards the ocean as a dangerous and supernatural space by people whose livelihoods depend on it.

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid; Sekiyama Toshie, *Nihon no umi no yūrei/yōkai* (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1982).

<sup>52</sup> Yoda and Alt, 2008, 49; Mizuki, 2001, 43.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

Consistent visual representation of *funa-yūrei* by artists of the Tokugawa period in woodblock prints or *yōkai* catalogues followed the Sekien bestiary.<sup>54</sup> Takehara Shunsen created one of the more famous illustrations that appeared in *Ehon hyaku monogatari* (Picture Book of One Hundred Stories) (1841) (See Figure 15). Drawing on Sekien's format, Shunsen accompanied his pictures with a written description of each *yōkai*. For *funa-yūrei* he depicted a band of sea specters busily preparing for an attack on an unsuspecting victim. Members of the team are portrayed rowing the boat, hauling large buckets, and holding the aforementioned ladles. Two small fires stand ablaze around those disembarking the ghost ship. Presumably the vengeful spirits are making their way towards their ill-fated target. In addition to accoutrements associated with *funa-yūrei*, Shunsen included specific articles of clothing that served as readily identifiable markers of this *yōkai*. All of the ghosts are dressed in long white robes with the exception of one specter. And every *funa-yūrei* wears a white triangular-shaped headdress. The kimonos and headdresses are signifiers of death and associated with clothing worn by corpses in Buddhist funeral rites.<sup>55</sup>

Shunsen's *funa-yūrei* burned an indelible image that contemporary artists continue to imitate. For example, Mizuki Shigeru's depictions are near replicas of the image.<sup>56</sup> Other illustrators have also drawn on the Shunsen model in the vast array of *yōkai*-related literature.<sup>57</sup> However, as Nakamoto Kōji explained in a recent *yōkai* catalogue geared to a popular reading audience, although there might be a traditional image or sustained sense of what a particular *yōkai* is, those images—which include traditional features—are always susceptible to change over time.<sup>58</sup> Nakamura also included in his entry an illustration and description of what he suggested was *funa-yūrei*'s contemporary equivalent, the ghost ship or *yūrei-bune* (幽霊船). Accordingly, these

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<sup>54</sup> Sekien's entry lacks visual depiction of the *yōkai*. Rather, he provided an illustration of the mood and conditions at sea when an encounter with *funa-yūrei* may occur. In this picture, Sekien drew a number of waves gurgling over one another creating whitecaps in an otherwise tranquil ocean landscape. Sekien explained in the relatively detailed account that unusual and sudden shifts in weather patterns resulting in the appearance of whitecaps are conditions that favor the arrival of *funa-yūrei*.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Mizuki, 1994; 2001.

<sup>57</sup> Ichianagi Hirofumi, ed., *Shitteokitai sekai yūrei yōkai toshi densetsu* (Tokyo: Seitōsha, 2008); Yoda and Alt, 2008.

<sup>58</sup> Komatsu Kazuhiko, ed., *Kaii yōkai hyaku monogatari: Ikai no mori e no izanai* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2002), 28.

vessels sail against the wind and are equipped with modern accessories like steam whistles and incandescent lights. Modern ships that once likely sunk, *yūrei-bune* ply the oceans heading on a collision course with any craft travelling in the vicinity. And just as the ghost ship is about to ram its victim, *yūrei-bune* suddenly vanish out of sight. When comparing traditional and modern *yōkai*, Nakamura observed that *funa-yūrei* elicit a nostalgic sense of fear—a charm so to speak—when invoked. On the other hand, he explained that *yūrei-bune* produce a realistic scariness. Nakamura concluded that the transition from *funa-yūrei* to *yūrei-bune* reflected modernization with respect to advancements in maritime transportation and observed that “the reality of the weird” changes with the times.<sup>59</sup>

Nakamura’s statement strongly resonates with this project. While it is important not to dismiss the continued observance of rituals, beliefs, and half-beliefs related to traditional *yōkai* like *funa-yūrei* or *tanuki*, it is equally important to recognize that *yōkai* evolve or are born to fit the times and offer mechanisms for individuals to deal with new unexplainable realities that change inevitably brings. Moreover, the mediums by which *yōkai* discourse is expressed similarly transform. Although a substantial proportion of *yōkai*-related literature remains very close in format and composition to Tokugawa-period catalogues, modern forms of media, such as television, film, and video games also contribute to the production of contemporary Japanese ghost culture. Also, not only do recent variations of traditional ghosts, monsters, and strange phenomena add to the pool of *yōkai* discourse, but also an entirely new category of fantastic creatures, such as *kaijū*, can break out onto the scene—many *kaijū* literally emerged from the depths of the South Seas or the islands occupying its waters.

In the third and fourth bestiaries, Sekien introduced four oceanic *yōkai* that differed from the previous ones insofar as they inhabited the seas as actual marine organisms. Many of these creatures such as “the human fish,” or *ningyo* (人魚), resemble legendary monsters found in maritime lore throughout the world. However, despite this general similarity, the human fish stands in sharp contrast to the Western merman or mermaid in appearance and supernatural power. More beast-like than human, *ningyo* are known to be a delicacy of sorts. According to legend, its meat is not only delicious but

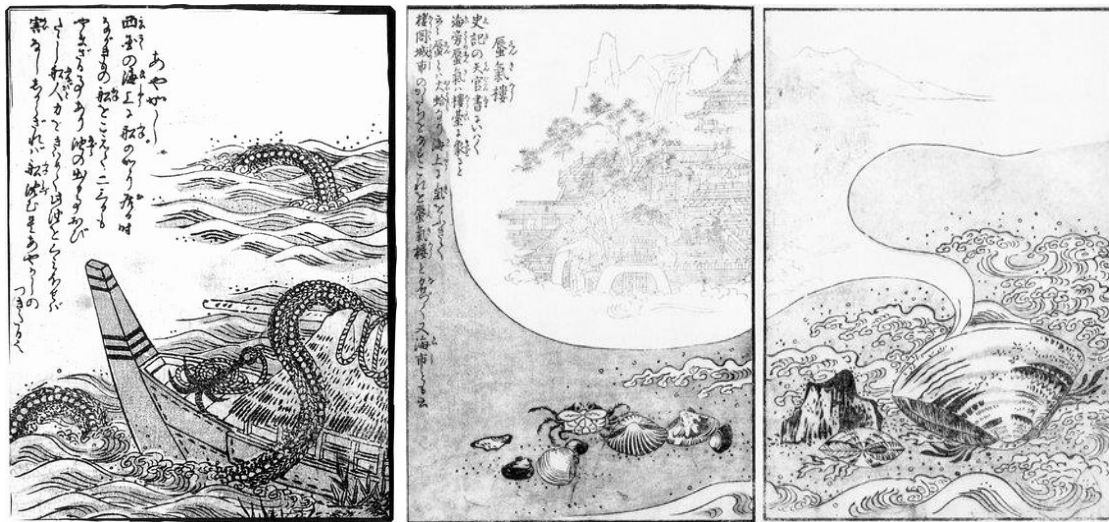
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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

also capable of radically increasing longevity. However, consistent with the *yōkai* paradigm *ningyo* are also known to bring bad weather or misfortune to those who catch it.

Also appearing in the third catalogue is the oceanic monster identified as *ayakashi* (アヤカシ) (See Figure 17). In the accompanied illustration to the entry, Sekien rendered a sea creature of immense size. While no body or face was depicted, Sekien presented his audience with a sense of scale by drawing a boat overwhelmed by gigantic tentacles that covered both the foreground and background of the frame. Certain controversy surrounds Sekien's terminology identifying this exceptionally large monster. According to Murakami Kenji, *ayakashi* was an all-purpose term used to describe oceanic *yōkai* or strange marine phenomenon of a generic nature.<sup>60</sup> While the creature in question certainly fits that rather broad criterion, Murakami argued that Sekien should have identified the behemoth by its precise name, *ikuchi* (イクチ).<sup>61</sup>

Accounts and explanations of *ikuchi* appear in two Tokugawa-period texts, *Tankai* (Sea of Conversations) (1795) and *Mimibukuro* (Ear Bag) (1814). The author of *Tankai*, Tsumura Rōan (1736-1806), described the creature as extensive in length and capable of grabbing hold of ships that crossed its path. In addition, he reported that *ikuchi* discharged a sticky oily fluid that would sink a vessel if the crew did not quickly remove



Figures 17 & 18. *Ayakashi (Ikuchi)* and *Shinkiro* in *Konjaku hyakki shūi* in *Konjaku hyakki shūi* by Toriyama Sekien. Public domain.

<sup>60</sup> Murakami, 2000, 28.

<sup>61</sup> Murakami, 2005, 25.



the adhesive substance from the deck.<sup>62</sup> In *Mimibukuro*, the name of the sea monster went through a slight phonetic change to *ikuji*.<sup>63</sup> According to Negishi Yasumori (1737-1815), *ikuji* was an enormously long eel-like creature that inhabited the waters to the south and west of Japan. Also included in Negishi's discussion is a report of an encounter with a smaller version of the monster off the waters of the island of Hachijō. Having no discernible eyes or mouth, it clung to the bow and eventually curled into a circle.

There are two geographical details to take away from the descriptions and accounts of *ikuji* found in the *Mimibukuro*. First, the account detailing an encounter with *ikuji* suggested that the waters south of the Japanese archipelago contained agents of an unexplainable and otherworldly nature. Second, the Island of Hachijō, located nearly 112 miles southeast of the Izu Peninsula, had a long history tied to the fantastic evidenced in the legendary exploits of the medieval hero, Minamoto no Tametomo (1139-1170), whose participation in the Hōgen Rebellion (1156) resulted in banishment to Ōshima. After gaining control of the local population, Tametomo set off to conquer *oni*-inhabited islands even farther south.<sup>64</sup> At the time of the *ikuji* sighting detailed above, this southern island was again serving as a penal colony for banished convicts. Also, the waters south of Hachijō provided the setting where *Gojira* attacked a merchant frigate in the opening scene of the original 1954 film.<sup>65</sup>

Land-based *yōkai* such as *tanuki* do not hold the exclusive right to shape-shifting powers. In the final bestiary, Sekien introduced *sazae-oni* (サザエ鬼) (turban shell demon) which transforms into human form. Well-detailed in maritime lore, the most famous legend involves *sazae-oni* tricking a group of pirates into parting with their booty. According to the tale, pirates brought aboard a beautiful woman lost at sea. Under feigned duress, she agreed to have sexual relations with the entire crew. During these private encounters, she subsequently cut off the testicles of each scallywag. In the end

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<sup>62</sup> Shibata Shōkyoku, ed., *Kiban ibun jiten* (Tokyo: Chikuma Gakugei Bunko, 2008), 32.

<sup>63</sup> Negishi Yasumori, *Mimibukuro* Vol. 1, ed., Hasegawa Tsuyoshi (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 1991), 357-58.

<sup>64</sup> Klaus Antoni, "Momotaro (The Peach Boy) and the Spirit of Japan: Concerning the Function of a Fairy Tale in Japanese Nationalism of the Early Shōwa Age," *Asian Folklore Studies* 50, no. 1 (1991), 169.

<sup>65</sup> Nomura Kōhei, ed., *Gojira dai jiten* (Tokyo: Kasakura Shuppansha, 2004), 48.

*sazae-oni* arranged the return of all of the buccaneers' family jewels in exchange for their plundered treasure.<sup>66</sup>

Fittingly, the last oceanic *yōkai* to introduce is also a supernatural crustacean that made its appearance in Sekien's third catalogue. This giant clam known as *shinkirō* (蜃気楼) has the ability to project mirages and generate visions of distant lands (See Figure 18). Legendary excursions to far-off locales and encounters with foreign peoples and strange creatures contributed to the formation of *Nan'yō* discourse from ancient times to the modern era.

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This chapter created a framework from which to conceptualize the role of *yōkai* in Japanese culture and history. An ethnographic description of a mundane morning in a typical Japanese community contextualized how *yōkai* and otherworldly beings ubiquitously inhabit the physical and cultural landscape. Highlighting connectivity to the past, *yōkai* serve as effective vectors to gauge continuity and change over time. Not only do *yōkai* disrupt conventional discursive boundaries, they illuminate political and social realities and provide insight into notions of “the Self” and “the Other.” *Yōkai* similarly tap into the natural impulse among human beings to make sense of the unknown and thus offer glimpses into the mechanisms by which intellectual and social movements take form. The oceans serve as a critical space where these developments undergo contestation. Various oceanic *yōkai* detailed in Sekien's catalogues shed light on orientations towards the seas. Their introduction also underscored the genealogical connections and debates, tying producers of *yōkai* discourse throughout Japanese history together. Like *shinkirō*, the following chapter will offer visions of far-off lands inhabited by fantastic peoples and creatures documented in ancient texts, folklore, and other early modern forms of cultural production. Moreover, it will attempt to trace processes by which such mediums rendering foreign lands and peoples took shape and how they ultimately contributed to form a loosely fixed but readily accessible composite of *Nan'yō*.

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<sup>66</sup> Yamashita Shizuka, *Yōkai mashin shōryō no sekai* (Tokyo: Jiyū Kokuminsha, 1977), 50.

### Chapter 3 Strange Early Encounters

The giant clam (*shinkirō*) rendered by Toriyama Sekien in *Konjaku hyakki shui* (1780) had the power to create visions or present mirages of faraway lands and foreign cities. As discussed, encyclopedic texts of the Tokugawa period, such as *Wakan sansaizue* (1713) and *Kinmōzui* (1666), not only provided artists like Sekien a template to follow, they also functioned as source material from which many of the fantastic creatures depicted in *yōkai* catalogues came. Similar to *yōkai* catalogues, Tokugawa-period encyclopedias followed a well-established format modeled after texts that originated in China during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, such as Li Shizhen's, *Becao gangmu* (Detailed Survey of Materia Medica) (1593) and Wang Qi's, *Sancai tuhui* (Illustrated Compendium of the Three Realms) (1607). Although circulation of those printed works contributed to the development of similar Japanese versions, they by no means acted as the first conduit from which people in Japan absorbed information on the outside world. Moreover, continental scholars of the late Ming period (1368-1644) who documented natural history and science, geography, and medicine resembled their Japanese counterparts by drawing on writings compiled in the past that depicted the known and unknown worlds. In this case, they appropriated ancient texts so old that contemporary researchers can only speculate as to who wrote them and when.

The most notable, *Shan-hai jing* (The Classic of the Mountains and the Seas), took centuries to develop by numerous authors from the period of Warring States (403-256 BCE) through the early Han dynasty (206 BCE-220 CE).<sup>1</sup> It was the transmission of this ancient anthology along with other forms of cultural production to Japan beginning in the seventh century when the earliest conceptualizations of the outside world developed in the archipelago. And once consistent contact and cultural exchange between Japan and peoples of the Asian continent took hold, a worldview mirroring Chinese orientations held sway. By the eighteenth century, a convergence of overlapping

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<sup>1</sup> While the *Shan-hai jing* was compiled during these periods, the earliest extant copies of the anthology are reproductions produced in the Ming period (1368-1644). Thus, it is impossible to say exactly what the original imagery and accompanying textual descriptions were. For more information on this text, see Anne Birrell, trans., *The Classic of the Mountain and the Seas* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000); Richard E. Strassberg, *A Chinese Bestiary: Strange Creatures from the Guideways through the Mountains and Seas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

discursive mediums drawing on ancient and early modern texts, catalogues, and encyclopedias offered glimpses of the world and foreign peoples in both real and imagined contexts. An introduction to these variegated yet interconnected forms of cultural production will serve as the focus for this chapter that explores the following questions: What were these various mediums? How did they affect the formation of a Japanese worldview? What kind of worldview developed with regard to conceptualizing the foreign and the seas? How did these ancient, medieval, and early modern understandings of and dispositions towards the foreign and the seas affect or parlay to the development of the idea of *Nan'yō* as a space in both real and imagined contexts? Finally, what was the role of *yōkai* within that process?

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As early as the eighth century when Japan adopted a Chinese writing system, fantastic tales describing otherworldly places including supernatural oceanic locales appeared in works that chronicled Japan's ancient past and mythical beginnings such as *Kojiki* (Record of Ancient Matters) (712) and *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D 478) (720).<sup>2</sup> In "Momotarō (The Peach Boy) and the Spirit of Japan," Klaus Antoni observed that mythical stories detailed in these earliest texts solidified power of the ruling authority by establishing a divine connection between an imperial line and the cosmic order.<sup>3</sup> In addition to myths, *Nihongi* recounted fantastic legends of individuals like the young fisherman, *Urashima* (浦島), who travelled the seas and visited the legendary Mt. Hōrai (蓬莱山) (or Mt. P'eng-lai as it is known in Chinese and detailed in *Shan-hai jing*). This paradisiacal mountain lies somewhere in the eastern seas, reflecting long-held notions of an otherworldliness inextricably tied to the seemingly limitless expanse separating the Asian continent from the unknown. While much of the iconography borrowed heavily from continental cosmology, the tale of Urashima depicted in *Nihongi* had Japanese origins and is considered a quintessential example of Japanese folklore that ultimately became a marker of a unified national

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<sup>2</sup> *Nihongi* is also referred to as *Nihon shoki*.

<sup>3</sup> Antoni, 1991, 156.

identity in the modern era.<sup>4</sup> And while it underwent certain changes over time, fundamental elements remained intact. Below is the passage from *Nihongi* detailing Urashima's journey to Mount Hōrai dated at 478 CE:

Autumn, 7<sup>th</sup> month. A man of Tsutsukaha in the district of Yosa in the Province of Tamba, the child of Urashima [the original text reads Urashima-ko] of Mizunoye, went fishing in a boat. At length he caught a large tortoise (or turtle), which straightway became changed into a woman. Hereupon Urashima's child fell in love with her, and made her his wife. They went down together into the sea and reached Hōrai San (Mt. P'eng-lai), where they saw genii. The story is another Book.<sup>5</sup>

As evidenced by the passage, the turtle acted as a key figure and fulfilled a supernatural purpose specifically suited to its anatomy and natural abilities. In both Chinese and Japanese mythology, the turtle was assigned the role of ambassador connecting the mundane (land-based populations) with the otherworldly (fantastic beings inhabiting the seas). Another similarity that can be drawn between the turtle and certain *yōkai* involved shape-shifting manifest in its transformation into a human being.

The narrative strain detailing the young fisherman falling in love with a woman of oceanic origins remained consistent in versions appearing in other ancient texts like *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves) (ca. 759) and *Tango no kuni fudoki* (The Records of Tango Province). Slight modifications to these accounts provide insight into certain beliefs and iconography associated with the seas as a supernatural space. *Man'yōshū*'s rendition is most noteworthy because it identified the woman as the offspring of the Sea God, *Owatatsumi* (綿津見).<sup>6</sup> In this account, Urashima rowed his

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. From the Muromachi period (1333-1573) on, the protagonist and title of this now ubiquitously known fable changed to Urashima Tarō. In this case, Urashima is given a commonly identifiable first name that serves as the equivalent of Jack, i.e., Jack and Jill, Jack and the Beanstalk, etc., in Western literary contexts.

<sup>5</sup> The original translation appeared in W.G. Aston's, *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the earliest Times to A.D. 697* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles and Tuttle Co. Inc., 1973, 1993), 368. This translation is also cited in Yuko Tagaya, "Far Eastern Islands and their Myths: Japan," in Andrea Grafetstatter, Sieglinde Hartmann, and James Ogier, eds., *Islands and Cities in Medieval Myth, Literature, and History: Papers Delivered at the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds in 2005, 2006, 2007* (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang Publishers, 2011), 98. As a means to provide clarity to Aston's translation, Tagaya adds some slight modifications which I have incorporated. Thus the passage above is drawing directly from Tagaya's modified version of the Aston translation which accepts the protagonist's name as Urashima-ko.

<sup>6</sup> Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, *The Man'yōshū: Translation of One Thousand Poems with the texts in Romaji and a new Forward by Donald Keene* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965), 408.

boat for seven consecutive days “beyond the bounds of sea” before meeting the royal. The Sea Goddess (*Otohime*) (乙姫)<sup>7</sup> then escorted Urashima in the direction of the paradisiacal land, *Tokoyo* (常世), where they ultimately arrived at her father’s palace (*Watatsumi no kami no miya*) (綿津見の神).<sup>8</sup>

*Owatatsumi*, also known as *Ryūjin* (竜神) (Dragon God), controls the tides and rules the oceans from his undersea palace, *Ryūgū-jō* (竜宮城). Appearing in numerous legends and myths, *Ryūjin* has been credited for determining the outcome of certain events and worshipped as a sentinel of Japan since ancient times. Moreover, while the dragon as a mythical icon has Chinese origins, its integration into Japanese cosmology and legend took on particularly strong historical and political relevance with regard to the formation of an early Japanese state. A significant appropriation concerns the constructed genealogical connection between *Ryūjin* and the imperial family. This shared ancestry can be traced through *Otohime*, who is considered the grandmother of the first emperor Jimmu. Emperor Jimmu is significant in historical contexts—the modern era in particular—because he is credited with establishing the Yamato polity and extending territorial rule after completing the legendary eastward campaign into the Kinai plain. Beginning in 1872, the Meiji state memorialized Jimmu’s fabled consolidation of power as a national holiday (Japan’s Founding Day). A similar legend blurring the boundaries between history and mythology involved *Ryūjin* and Empress Jingū (ca. 169-269 CE). *Ryūjin* is known to have assisted her in the invasion of Korea by giving the monarch his magical jewels which swallowed up enemy ships through strategic manipulation of the tides.<sup>9</sup> This encounter highlighted the positioning of the mythical creature as an icon affirming a national identity defined in large part via the juxtaposition of a common enemy, i.e., the Korean fleet.

Regarding standing in the *yōkai* pantheon, *Ryūjin* defies simple categorization. While appearing in a multitude of catalogues, he is not necessarily considered a traditional *yōkai* in the same sense as *tanuki*, *oni*, or *tengu*. Mizuki Shigeru commented on this precarious positioning in *Zusetsu Nihon yōkai taizen* (Comprehensive Illustrated

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 408.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 408.

<sup>9</sup> For a concise discussion of *ryūjin*, other mythical creatures, and *yōkai* see Richard Freeman, *The Great Yōkai Encyclopedia: The A-Z of Japanese Monsters* (North Devon, UK: CFZ Press, 2000), 279-81; Michael Ashkenazi, *Handbook of Japanese Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 240-41.

Catalogue of Japanese Yōkai) (1994).<sup>10</sup> According to Mizuki, *Ryūjin* was conceptually defined not as *yōkai* but as a deity of mythological affiliation. Both Mizuki and Richard Freeman integrate this fantastic creature in their respective contemporary Japanese and English-language *yōkai* catalogues.<sup>11</sup> Despite ambiguity concerning placement, *Ryūjin* shares certain fundamental qualities ascribed to *yōkai*; most notably a diametric personality capable of inflicting harm or performing acts of altruism. In addition, *Ryūjin* is tied to geographical orientation by representing one of the four cardinal directions: the east. Thus the single mythical creature in the Chinese and Japanese zodiacs represents both the cardinal direction and the oceans occupying that supernaturally charged space of inexhaustible ethereal potential.<sup>12</sup>

By drawing on *Shan-hai jing* (*Sengaikyō* in Japanese), eighteenth-century *yōkai* cataloguers demonstrated continuity in *yōkai* discourse over time. The text reflected Chinese and Japanese geographical orientations and notions of the foreign with regard to the lands and peoples of oceanic locales. Renderings of outlying populations produced a constructed hierarchy distinguishing the civilized from the barbarian. Toriyama Sekien borrowed directly from *Shan-hai jing* and introduced the creature known as *shokuin* (燭陰) in *Konjaku hyakki shūi* (1780) (See Figure 20). He cited the anthology explaining that *shokuin* was the god of Shōzan, a mountain located in “the regions beyond the seas.”<sup>13</sup> This entry provides a sense of the general content and structure of *Shan-hai jing*. Consisting of eighteen chapters, the text was separated according to geological features and cardinal directions.<sup>14</sup> An important epistemological distinction defining the foreign differentiated the first and second halves. The first five chapters covered the world of “the mountains.” The latter thirteen dealt with distant lands associated with “the seas.” All of the chapters included entries that identified and described fantastic creatures and spirits. The various strange lands detailed in the text included a country of giants, a country with long-armed and long-legged peoples, and a country with people with holes

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<sup>10</sup> Mizuki, 1994, 487.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.; Freeman, 2000, 279-81.

<sup>12</sup> Marinus Willem de Visser, *The Dragon in China and Japan* (New York: Cosimo (1913, 2008), 59-61. Later this space will be designated as *Nan'yō* from the modern era.

<sup>13</sup> Takada Mamoru, ed., *Toriyama Sekien ezu hyakki yagyō* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1992).

<sup>14</sup> Birrell, 2000; Strassberg, 2002; Yoshida and Durrans, 2008, 217.

in their stomachs (See Figure 21).<sup>15</sup> *Shokuin* pictured below made its appearance in Chapter Eight, “Classic of the Regions beyond the Seas” (See Figure 19).

According to Yoshida Kenji, while areas within “the mountains” contained creatures considered supernatural, those creatures nonetheless occupied and formed part of the known world. In contrast, inhabitants of lands associated with “the seas” occupied the non-Chinese world, i.e., the unknown world. In addition to denoting regions separated by water, “the seas” sometimes referred to foreign lands contiguously connected to the Asian continent.<sup>16</sup> The distinction made between “the mountains” and “the seas” served to reconcile the acceptance of fantastic creatures within one’s own cultural landscape. Such a caveat resembles mechanisms by which domestic Japanese *yōkai* act as symbols of a collective imagined community that contribute to national discourses.

Variance in meaning and multiple uses of “the seas” in chapter titles of *Shan-hai jing* have particularly important ramifications concerning *Nan’yō* as a supernatural space. One aspect involves the distinction made denoting “regions within the seas” (the inner seas) and “regions beyond the seas” (the outer seas).<sup>17</sup> Similar terminology gained



Figures 19 and 20. *Shokuin* in *Shan-hai jing* and *Konjaku hyakki shūi* (1780). Public domain.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Chapters six through nine are titled “Classics of the Regions beyond the Seas.” Chapters ten through thirteen are titled “Classics within the Seas.” Chapter eighteen is also titled “Classics within the Seas.”



currency to describe *Nan'yō* when phrases “inner and outer *Nan'yō*” appeared during the first half of the twentieth century to distinguish Micronesia (inner *Nan'yō*) from the rest of the South Pacific and South East Asia (outer *Nan'yō*). Moreover, in the same way “the seas” held a multitude of meanings in *Shan-hai jing*, *Nan'yō* was also nebulously defined due to continually shifting boundaries over time.

*Shan-hai jing* reflected and affirmed traditional attitudes surrounding the authority of Chinese society as the focal point and standard bearer of world civilization. Such beliefs centered on the fundamental relationship between the cosmos and the Chinese emperor, whose role was to maintain harmony with the forces of nature dictated by the Mandate of Heaven. Within this conceptual framework, the heavens formed a circle over a square earth. The earth was then separated into lands inhabited by “civilized” and “uncivilized” peoples.<sup>18</sup> To explain this system in terms of a metaphor, the imperial capital worked like the sun. Peoples and lands closest to it received the greatest amount of light (civilization and sophistication). Areas farthest away and out of the reach of imperial influence were designated as barbaric and considered the most foreign.

Following this model that relied heavily on cultural contact with the continent, Japan eventually occupied the epicenter of the universe by the end of the early modern period. Such notions that integrated Chinese geographic orientation and a constructed hierarchy based on perceived physical and cultural distance found expression in language used to describe inhabitants of the untamed periphery, which consisted of a compound that combined a character denoting the word barbarian with a corresponding cardinal direction pointing from the capital: *tōi* (東夷) (eastern barbarian); *seijū* (西戎) (western barbarian); *nanban* (南蠻) (southern barbarian); *hokuteki* (北狄) (northern barbarian). One clear example of this terminology operating in the sixteenth century is the word *nanbanjin* (南蠻人) (literally southern barbarian person) to describe Europeans—particularly the Portuguese—whose arrival from the southern seas marked the beginning of trade with Europe and the spread of Christianity to Japan in 1543.

From the seventh century through the early modern period, the ancient *Shan-hai jing*, Tokugawa-period encyclopedias, and other catalogues depicting the known and unknown worlds communicated ideas related to geographical orientation. In discussing

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<sup>18</sup> Yoshida and Durrans, 2008, 271.

the format of *Wakan sansaizue* (1713), Tessa Morris-Suzuki examined the relationship between foreignness and geographical distance.<sup>19</sup> She likewise correlated these conceptualizations as a series of concentric circles that began at a fixed central location observing that monsters and other fantastic beings inhabited lands farthest from the center.<sup>20</sup> Clearly the division represented in the organization of *Shan-hai jing* into known and unknown lands associated with “the mountains” and “the seas” reinforced traditional attitudes and beliefs related to the superiority and centrality of Chinese culture and society. As Morris-Suzuki suggested, by the Tokugawa period, these ideas became integrated into a Japanese worldview that positioned the archipelago at the center of the universe and imposed notions of inferiority upon peoples living in peripheral lands. Thus China’s impact as a conduit by which a Japanese worldview developed cannot be overstated and *Shan-hai jing* profoundly contributed to that process. However, the most influential cultural resource coming from China that formed a picture of the world in Japan was Buddhism. Beginning in the seventh century, exposure to Buddhism introduced the notion that only three civilized countries existed within the known world: China, India, and Japan.<sup>21</sup>

This conceptual framework of the world served as the organizational structure for the eleventh-century anthology, *Konjaku monogatari* (Anthology of Tales from the Past).



Figure 21. *Kankyōjin* (People with holes in their stomachs) from *Shan-hai jing*. Public domain.

<sup>19</sup> Morris-Suzuki, 1998, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ayusawa Shintarō, “Geography and Japanese Knowledge of World Geography,” in *Monumenta Nipponica* 19, no. 3/4 (1964), 276.

Consisting of thirty one volumes—only twenty eight have survived—it detailed stories from the three countries, many of which delved into supernatural themes.<sup>22</sup> The section on Japan presented a particularly diverse selection of *yōkai*-laden lore.<sup>23</sup> Numerous legends and chronicled accounts featured Buddhist and Confucian teachings within the narratives.<sup>24</sup> In addition to such didactic tales, travelogues concerning Japanese protagonists to the continent figured into the anthology. Tendai priest, Enchin (814-891), was one such bonze whose voyage to China was documented in the eleventh volume.<sup>25</sup> Enchin's accounts provided not only a glimpse of the transference of Buddhist teachings from Tang China, they also gave a view of how the world was perceived with regard to the seas east of the continent and the inhabitants of the Ryūkyūs (Okinawan archipelago) in particular. A brief but illuminating description stated the following: “This land lies in the middle of the ocean; it is a land where humans are eaten.”<sup>26</sup> According to Antoni, this passage later functioned to ascribe an otherworldly and savage quality to the people of the islands and contributed to the greater notion that lands occupying the seas south of the Japanese archipelago—what would later be conceptualized as *Nan'yō*—were supernatural and the home of uncivilized human populations and creatures like *oni*. Moreover, Antoni suggested that the rendering of South Seas peoples in monstrous terms acted as a means to justify the subjugation of populations living there from the medieval period through the modern age.<sup>27</sup>

As evidenced by Enchin's documented journey, sustained political and cultural ties between China and Japan made significant gains during the Tang Dynasty (618-907). From the seventh through early tenth centuries, Japan sent nineteen envoys to the continent as a way to gather spiritual knowledge and expertise. Members of these envoys, mostly Buddhist monks like Enchin, eagerly immersed themselves in the wonders of

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<sup>22</sup> According to S. W. Jones, the *Konjaku monogatari* was completed in 1075. See S.W. Jones, *Ages Ago: Thirty-Seven Tales from the Konjaku Monogatari Collection* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959).

<sup>23</sup> Mori Masato, “Konjaku Monogatari-shū: Supernatural Creatures and Order,” in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 9, no. 2/3 (June–September 1982): 147-70.

<sup>24</sup> For more discussion on the structure of the *Konjaku monogatari*, see W. Michael Kelsey, “Konjaku-monogatari-shū: Toward an Understanding of Its Literary Qualities,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 30, no. 2 (Summer 1975): 121-50.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Antoni, 1991, 171. Cited in *Konjaku monogatari in Nihon koten bungaku taikai* (Classical Literature of Japan) 24 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1958-1966): 84.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

Chinese civilization. Through these missions, Japanese travelers and their Chinese hosts engaged each other in a wide array of activities and venues. Of course, cross-cultural encounters are never a unilateral experience. There is always give and take operating on a multitude of levels in tangible and intangible forms that can include the exchange of material goods and ideas.<sup>28</sup> Conceptualizations of and attitudes towards the seas formed an intellectual space where such exchanges occurred. While the majority of traffic between Japan and China consisted of Japanese voyagers, there were occasions when Chinese officials or Buddhist clergy braved the dangerous waters to visit Japan. Banquets held in recognition of a returning monk or for a Chinese subject on route to Japan provided attendees an opportunity to share thoughts and feelings about the seas and maritime travel in poetic verse.

According to Edward H. Schafer, poems recited at banquets highlighted the otherworldly quality attached to the oceans and underscored the dangers and risks voyaging entailed. Schafer also observed that poems recited at sendoff banquets not only expressed an orientation towards the vast oceanic expanse in supernatural terms—the waters east of the continent in particular—but reinforced notions of China as the center of all civilization.<sup>29</sup> The following Tang-period poem recited at the farewell party of Abe no Nakamaro (701-770)—Cha’o Heng was his adopted Chinese name—by Wang Wei in 753 revealed supernatural themes associated with braving the waters to the east that included encounters with fantastic creatures of the seas. In addition to the supernatural qualities associated with the seas, notice Wang’s positioning of Japan as an isolated country cut off from the civilized world in the following paraphrased poem:

The great ocean goes on forever—  
Who knows how Japan is to be found in that waste?  
The lands of legend are immeasurably far from us—  
Uncountable leagues, merging with the sky.  
Your only guiding beacon is the place of sunrise;  
In the end, your only pilot is the capricious west wind.  
Dark leviathans will be revealed by the light of heaven;  
Weird fish will spurt red flashes to agitate the sea surface.

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<sup>28</sup> For further discussion on this process working as a theoretical framework to interpret cross-cultural encounters and exchange, see Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991).

<sup>29</sup> Edward H. Schafer, “Fusang and Beyond: The Haunted Seas to Japan,” *American Oriental Society*, 109, no. 3 (July–September 1989): 379-99.

On to your rustic home—beyond even the womb of the sun;  
There, isolated from the civilized world, you will play the lonely squire.  
Totally cut off in your fabulous outpost,  
Can we really expect news of you to reach us?<sup>30</sup>

The leviathans Wang detailed above are described as giant turtles in the more literal translation. Evidenced in the Urashima legend, turtles played an important role as both messengers and as a form of transport connecting land-based humans to the mystical realm of the oceans. Thus, similar to the ancient anthologies and mythical chronicles, poems recited at sendoff parties contributed to establishing continuity in supernatural discourse on the oceans between China and Japan.

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The original conceptualization of *oni* developed by seventh-century *Onmyōdō* practitioners consisted of an amorphous entity considered responsible for natural disasters and inexplicable phenomena such as earthquakes and widespread disease. That shapeless image transformed into a tangible physical presence by the medieval period (1185-1600). Throughout this process, transmission of supernatural ideas from the continent greatly informed notions associated with *yōkai* and the categorization of peripheral peoples in monstrous terms in Japan. Baba, Komatsu, and Reider observed that the ruling elite defined communities considered living outside of the norm as “*oni*” in order to legitimate the eradication or subjugation of such “foreign” populations.<sup>31</sup> These strategies were similarly applied to non-Japanese peoples of South Seas origins from the thirteenth century. The earliest recorded encounter between Japanese people and visitors who came from the southern seas appeared in the historical chronicle, *Kokon chomon-shu* (Things Written and Heard in Ancient Times and at Present) (1254). The peoples detailed in the account were perceived as *oni* and described as such in no uncertain terms. It is significant to keep in mind that the first written sighting of peoples coming from the southern seas to Japan were conceptualized as otherworldly beings and articulated via lexicon associated with *yōkai*. This application of vocabulary using *oni* to define both

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 385.

<sup>31</sup> Baba, 1972; Noriko T. Reider, *Japanese Demon Lore* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 2010); Komatsu, 1999.

visitors to Japan and encounters with human populations of southern oceanic locales continued through the medieval period into the modern age. Below is a passage documenting the arrival of sea travelers to Oki-no-shima in the twelfth century detailed in the aforementioned Kamakura-period text:<sup>32</sup>

‘On 7 July in the in the first year of Shoan (1171 AD) a boat arrived at Oki-no Shima (奥島) in Izu Province [Japan]...Eight “ogres” jumped into the water and came ashore. As the people served them cooked millet and sake, the “ogres” ate and drank almost like horses. The “ogres” did not speak any language the people understood... Their skin was dark brown... All [were] naked [except] their loins were wrapped with cloth woven from grass. There were tattoo designs on their bodies.’ Their hair was high and ruffled. A fight broke out when the “ogres” tried to take bows and arrows from the Japanese, five of whom died. Others fled. The “ogres” boarded their boat and sailed away.<sup>33</sup>

While the exact origin of the people who briefly disembarked on the island in the Izu chain is unknown, Pacific historians Ron Crocombe and Nakajima Hiroshi suggested they came from Micronesia based on certain traits and descriptions gleaned from the account—the wearing of tattoos being the clearest marker of peoples of Micronesian or Pacific Island origins.<sup>34</sup>

Military chronicles depicting events of the tumultuous twelfth century from the Hōgen Rebellion (1156) through the Gempei War (1180-1185) similarly documented encounters between Japanese protagonists and “strange” peoples—some described as *oni*—who populated islands in the seas south of Japan. These encounters played a significant role in shaping “*Nan ’yō Orientalism*” and found expression in texts such as *Hōgen monogatari* (Tale of the Disorder in Hōgen) (1156-1159) and *Heike monogatari* (Tale of the Heike).<sup>35</sup> Parts of *Hōgen monogatari* followed the exploits of legendary

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<sup>32</sup> The Kamakura period was from 1192-1333. During this period, Japan was ruled by a military government, or shogunate, whose succession of leaders received approval from the emperor in Kyoto to hold the title of shogun. The shogunate based their operations in the eastern city of Kamakura (located roughly thirty miles south of modern day Tokyo).

<sup>33</sup> Ron Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West* (Suva, Fiji: IPS Publications, The University of the South Pacific, 2007), 105; Tachibana-no-Narisue, *Kokon chomon shū* (1254) (Things Written and Heard in Ancient Times and in the Present) (Tokyo: Shinshosha, 1986); Nakajima Hiroshi, “‘Kokon Chomon Jū.’ The First Description about the Pacific Islanders in Japan,” *Journal of the Pacific Society*, no. 72/73 (January 1997), 122; The description, text, and analysis on the use of *oni* as a marker to define an “Other” with regard to this encounter cited in the *Kokon chomon shū* is also explored in Ishikawa Eikichi, *Nihon no Oseania hakken* (Japan’s Discovery of the Pacific) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1992), 238-40.

<sup>34</sup> Crocombe, 2007, 105.

<sup>35</sup> As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Sudō’s delineation of “*Nan ’yō Orientalism*” drew from Said’s concept of a constructed hierarchy based on a discursive tradition that accentuated the superiority of

hero, Minamoto no Tametomo (1139-1170), who is best known for his superior archery skills which he demonstrated by sinking a warship with a strategically placed shot made from a seemingly impossibly long distance in a naval battle. Ultimately, Tametomo fell on the losing side of the war and was exiled to an outlying island located off the Izu peninsula. There he conquered local peoples and declared himself ruler of Ōshima and the surrounding five islands. One day, Tametomo decided to venture farther south after watching two herons fly from that direction. Such pluck paid off as he ultimately reached an island inhabited by *oni*. The following exchange resembles the previously introduced encounter of “ogres” visiting Oki-no-shima. In this case, *the island* was identified using monstrous terminology, i.e., the Island of Devils (*Oni-no-shima*):

When he (Minamoto no Tametomo) asked the name of the island, they said, ‘The Island of Devils.’ ‘Then you are the descendants of devils?’ ‘That is so.’ ‘Then if you have a famous treasure, bring it out. I will look at it.’ When he commanded this, they answered: ‘Long ago, when we were really devils, there were treasures such as the Cloak of Invisibility, Floating Shoes, Sinking Shoes, and Sword. At that time, though there were no boats, we crossed to other lands and took the Sun Eating People as human sacrifices. Now, however, our luck has run out, the treasures are gone, in form we are men, and we are not able to go to other countries.’<sup>36</sup>

Tametomo eventually returned to Ōshima and brought with him an Oni-no-shima Islander. This move proved an effective means to consolidate power that instilled fear among the community, given Tametomo’s subjugation and subsequent enslavement of an ostensibly supernatural being.<sup>37</sup>

Tametomo’s encounter with *oni* was also rendered in visual form by the Tokugawa-period artist, Kita Shigemasa (1739-1820) (See Figure 22). Further adaptations to the tale and illustrations depicting this encounter continued into the modern era (See Figure 23). The adventures on Oni-no-shima and subsequent series of events underscore a number of important issues related to Japanese and *Nan’yō* Orientalism. A constructed hierarchy based on notions of perceived cultural

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Western societies through the continued negative representation of a culturally stagnant Orient. Sudō saw analogous mechanisms operating within Japanese representations of Pacific peoples. Sudo, 2010.

<sup>36</sup> William R. Wilson, trans., *Hōgen Monogatari: Tale of the Disorder in Hogen* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 103-04.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.



Figure 22. Minamoto no Tametomo with *oni* by Kita Shigemasa (ca. 1764-1772). Public Domain





Figure 23. Early Meiji-period woodblock print of Minamoto no Tametomo and the Islanders of Ōshima by Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1886). Public domain.

sophistication is brought to bear with relation to Tametomo and the inhabitants of Ōshima and Oni-no-shima. In this case a foreign “Other” was appropriated as a vehicle to exercise power over a domestic population. Placing the foreign on display achieved a political purpose solidifying Tamemoto’s authority on Ōshima. This strategy of displaying South Seas peoples played out in real terms in twentieth-century Japan via international exhibitions. Following Euro-American nations, the government recognized the efficacy of hosting large-scale spectacles that provided domestic populations a sense of pride with regard to its nation’s expanding overseas presence and colonial projects abroad by juxtaposing the modern against the so-called “primitive” at such venues.

The Oki-no-shima legend depicted in *Hōgen monogatari* has been identified as the basis for *Momotarō* (The Peach Boy). As discussed, the folktale served as an archetype representing the imperial colonial enterprise and articulated Japan’s unique position in the modern world as *the* “steward” of the Eastern hemisphere to domestic and colonized populations.<sup>38</sup> However, prior to the establishment of this narrative being indelibly ingrained into the collective consciousness of Japanese citizens at home and colonized peoples in the expanded empire, numerous variations of Tametomo’s exploits emerged throughout the medieval and Tokugawa periods. Several renditions involved the hero voyaging to the Ryūkyūs where he subjugated the peoples there. The first recorded version appeared in the sixteenth-century anthology *Nanpō bunshū* (Literary Collection of Nanpō) (1649), by the priest Bunshi Genshō (1555-1620).<sup>39</sup> In the early nineteenth century, acclaimed writer of epic historical novels and founder of the literary genre *yomihon* (読本) (“reading books”), Takizawa Bakin (1767-1848), wrote *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* (Crescent Moon: The Adventures of Tametomo). In this adaptation Tametomo travelled to the Ryūkyūs where he eventually consolidated power and brought “peace” to the islands.<sup>40</sup> Tokugawa-period master of woodblock prints Utagawa Kuniyoshi, also rendered scenes of Bakin’s version in a “South Seas” setting. On

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<sup>38</sup> Antoni, 1991, 172; Tierney, 2010, 110-46; David Henry, “Japanese Children’s Literature as Allegory of Empire in Iwaya Sazanami’s *Momotarō* (The Peach Boy)” *Children’s Literature Association Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 218-28.

<sup>39</sup> Antoni, 1991, 169-70; Masuda Wataru, *Japan and China: Mutual Representations in the Modern Era*, trans. Joshua Fogel (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 173-74.

<sup>40</sup> For a historical overview of this genre and Bakin’s role in its creation, see Leon Zolbrod, “Yomihon: The Appearance of the Historical Novel in the Late Eighteenth Century and Early Nineteenth Century Japan,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 25, no. 3 (May 1966): 485-98.

instruction from Tametomo’s recently deceased monarch, Emperor Sutoku (1119-1164) sent an envoy of *tengu* to prevent his loyal retainer from committing ritual suicide (*seppuku*) (切腹). Following this directive, *tengu* are portrayed rescuing the hero and his retainer from the gigantic sea monster, *ōwanizame* (大鰐鯨) (See Figure 24). More than one hundred years later, famed novelist and right-wing ideologue, Mishima Yukio (1925-1970), wrote a kabuki play of the same title. Like Bakin’s adaptation, this “modern” version—performed one year prior to the author’s own ritualized suicide—emphasized the nationalist theme of complete devotion to the monarch. In Mishima’s case the play served to underscore indefatigable dedication to Emperor Shōwa (1901-1989) and the return of imperial rule to postwar Japan.

Despite variations to Bakin’s adaptation, there are common threads weaving them all. Every version involved Tametomo’s successful campaign to bring “order” and “wealth” to the islands and peoples of Okinawa. Consistent with *Nan’yō* Orientalism is the representation of South Seas peoples in a multitude of visual, print, and performance art mediums. One critical component concerned the injection of fantastic elements that included traditional *yōkai*. Sudo identified a similar medieval tale documented in *Heike monogatari* featuring the Buddhist Priest, Shunkan (1143-1159), as another example of *Nan’yō* Orientalism. In this case the protagonist was exiled to Kikai ga shima (literally

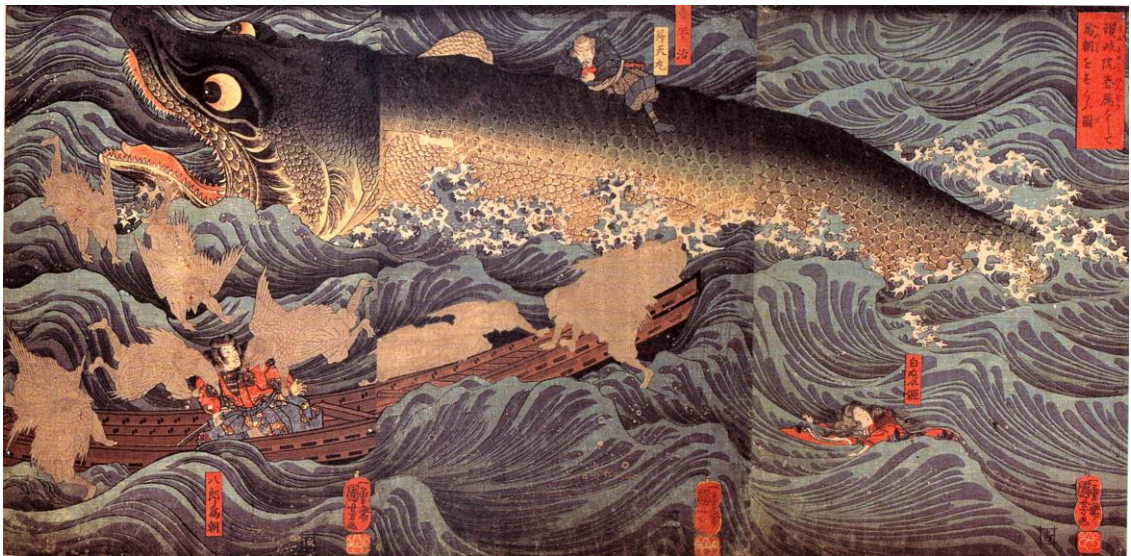


Figure 24. “The Rescue of Minamoto no Tametomo by *Tengu*” by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (ca. 1851). Public domain. (The brown creatures hovering over Temotomo are *tengu*)

“Demon World Island”). The peoples and landscapes of this outlying island south of the Satsuma domain were ascribed particularly primitive and primordial qualities. In so doing, Islanders were delineated from the “civilized” by being described as “completely different” from their Japanese counterparts.<sup>41</sup> Details of the journey also reflected an unknown element associated with traversing southern waters:

Thus, as the tale tells us, Shunkan, the chief temple secretary of Hosshō-ji, Captain Yasuyori, and Major General Naritsune, three in all, were exiled to Kikai-ga-shima (鬼界ヶ島) off the bay of Satsuma. This is an island that can be reached from the capital only after many days of hardship and a voyage over the waves of stormy seas. No vessel comes to this island regularly, for sailors cannot find a safe course unless they are familiar with the surrounding waters. Very few men can live there. Those few men who do live there look completely different from common folk of the mainland. They are hairy and dark like oxen and cannot understand our language. The men have lacquered bonnets to wear on their heads and the women have long hair. As they wear no clothing, they do not look like human beings. They have nothing to eat, so they must kill animals for food. They do not cultivate the fields, and so they have neither rice nor wheat. There is no silk, for they cannot grow mulberry trees. On this island there is a high mountain that burns with eternal fire, and the land is full of sulphur. Thus it is also called Sulphur Island. Thunder rolls continuously up and down the mountain. At its foot rain is frequent and heavy. No one can live there even for a moment.<sup>42</sup>

This description not only paralleled previous variations of the Tametomo legend, but anticipated continuity in *Nan'yō* discourse that endured in early modern castaway narratives and other forms of fiction. Indeed, this composite of an otherworldly southern locale of primeval landscapes and culturally “backward” human populations would be portrayed by Tōhō studios in the postwar monster movie *Mosura* (1961) and those of the *Gojira* series. Spin-offs that incorporated these tropes were similarly produced by competitors Nikkatsu and Daiei in films *Daikaijū gappa* (*Gappa: The Colossal Beast*) (1967) and *Gamera tai barugon* (*Gamera vs. Barugon*) (1965).<sup>43</sup>

By the Muromachi period (1333-1573), many iconic medieval military chronicles and tales associated with ancient texts underwent reconfiguration. An inherently visual and eclectic literary form, *otogizōshi* (御伽草子) combined aspects of such legends,

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<sup>41</sup> Antoni, 1991, 171.

<sup>42</sup> Kitagawa Hiroshi and Bruce T. Tsuchida, trans., *The Tale of the Heike*, Volume 1 Books 1-6, (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975), 127.

<sup>43</sup> For an analysis of continuity in *Nan'yō* discourse, particularly in South East Asia, during the twentieth century, see also Ching, 2011, 85-100.

historical events, religious beliefs, and folklore into a medium that is thought to have been read aloud. To facilitate oration, short narratives were accompanied by illustrations rendered in scrolls or booklets.<sup>44</sup> Scholars have observed that this genre represented a transition from medieval to early modern literature. Numerous tales revisited exploits of legendary heroes travelling to supernatural spaces inhabited by otherworldly beings such as the island-hopping adventure, *Onzōshi shimawatari* (Yoshitsune Visits the Islands). And while the southern seas were not explicitly invoked, several adaptations of *Fisherman Urashima* and mythological creatures of oceanic origins like *Ryūjin* appeared within the narratives.<sup>45</sup> Also included was the folktale, *Issun-bōshi* (The Inch-High Boy), which followed a fearless miniature-sized hero defeating a menacing *oni* with a needle he used as a sword. Similar to military chronicles and ancient texts, yarns spun in *otogizōshi* scrolls and booklets contributed to the development of a national discourse in later periods, particularly the modern era when folklorists mined the past to create a unified identity. These stories were also frequently integrated into textbooks beginning in the Meiji period. School systems within the colonial periphery which included *Nan'yō-chō* (南洋庁) (South Seas Bureau) utilized the materials. Such texts became effective tools in creating colonial subjects as these narratives made an indelible impression on younger generations of Islander communities.<sup>46</sup>

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Throughout the ancient and medieval periods, details of travels to and encounters with monstrous inhabitants of islands directly south of Japan imparted an otherworldly quality to that space. While beliefs associated with the unknown South Seas impeded or deterred movement there, overseas travel went unabated and was not limited to the continent. By the late medieval period, mariners sailed to Southeast Asian island

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<sup>44</sup> James T. Araki, "Otogi-zōshi and Nara-ehon: A Field of Study in Flux," *Monumenta Nipponica* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1981): 1-20; Chieko Irie Mulhern, "Otogi-zōshi: Short Stories of the Muromachi Period," *Monumenta Nipponica* 29, no. 2 (Summer 1974): 181-98.

<sup>45</sup> For a compilation of *Otogizōshi* tales, see Kuroda Hideo, Satō Masahide, and Furuhashi Nobuyoshi, eds., *Otogizōshi: monogatari, shisō, kaiga* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1990).

<sup>46</sup> For an engaging study that examines the processes by which the state implemented policies to assimilate colonized peoples, see Leo Ching, *Becoming Japanese: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

countries like Indonesia and the Philippines.<sup>47</sup> Some of the earliest Japanese to those locales included a notorious lot of pirates called *wakō* (倭寇).<sup>48</sup> Reports of their activities in the region began as early as 1574 by Spanish colonial authorities stationed in Manila.<sup>49</sup> Japanese traders and disaffected samurai also began to migrate to Southeast Asia in the seventeenth century, where they developed prosperous expatriate communities or “Japan Towns” (*Nihon machi*) (日本町).<sup>50</sup>

From 1633 to 1639, Shogun Iemitsu issued a series of edicts restricting overseas travel. This ordinance marked the beginning of a period in history commonly and problematically called *sakoku* (鎖国) (national seclusion).<sup>51</sup> Under this heavily regulated system which lasted until 1854, ships could only ply the coasts of the Japanese archipelago. Subsequently, expatriates living abroad were left without a home country to which to return. Stranded subjects like those in “Japan Towns” of Southeast Asia ultimately assimilated into their adoptive societies. Yet restrictions on overseas travel and trade did not end communication and contact with Southeast Asia. On the contrary, international commerce remained a viable economic enterprise and an important facet of statecraft for the government.<sup>52</sup> Chinese junks loaded with material goods and news of the outside reached Nagasaki throughout the year. On arrival, they were required to deliver documents listing their cargoes and crews as well as submit reports on the political and economic climates of the lands from which they had come. Japanese officials gleaned geographic knowledge, information on regional developments, and glimpses of the peoples living in those various lands through ethnographic accounts lodged within the papers.

The reports make evident that the idea of Southeast Asia as a region had not developed. Voyagers described the locales they encountered as individual countries.

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<sup>47</sup> Takegoshi Yosaburō, *The Story of the Wako: Japanese Pioneers in the Southern Regions*, trans. Hideo Watanabe (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1940).

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. For more information on East Asian pirate activities, see Stephen Turnbull, *Pirate of the Far East, 811-1639* (Oxford, UK: Osprey Publishing, 2007).

<sup>49</sup> Takegoshi, 1940, 127.

<sup>50</sup> Robert L. Innes, “The Door Ajar: Japan’s Foreign Trade in the Seventeenth Century.” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1980).

<sup>51</sup> Ronald Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

<sup>52</sup> Ishii Yoneo, ed., *The Junk Trade from Southeast Asia: Translations from the Tōsen Fusetsu-gaki, 1674-1723* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998).

Accounts reflected the geographical perspective positioning the imperial capital at the epicenter of all civilization. Vietnam and the Kingdom of Siam fell within the Chinese orbit and were included within the nexus of refined societies. Lands inhabited by “barbaric” Southeast Asian peoples also surfaced in these reports. One such trading port located on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula was the country of Pattani.<sup>53</sup> A description of its peoples submitted to Nagasaki officials in 1690 read:

The land is quite extensive but sparsely populated. A concentration of a little more than ten to twenty thousand people including several hundred Chinese residents is located around the ruler’s palace. Because of the warm weather most people are naked. Everything seems to be barbaric.<sup>54</sup>

Although the passage did not correlate nakedness to barbarism, Natives were nonetheless recognized as uncivilized. According to the translator, “nakedness” implied being unclothed from the waist up, the lower half of the body covered with a sarong.

The quote revealed a number of details worth elaborating. Countries considered “barbaric” were not necessarily deemed completely foreign nor were they described in monstrous terms. For example, certain Southeast Asian peoples were identified as inhabitants of one of the inner countries like *Naka-tenjiku* (Inner-India).<sup>55</sup> All of these trading sites were integrated into a vibrant and interconnected global network regardless of falling outside the boundaries of the concentric circle “civilized” states occupied.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, they were no more unfamiliar to Japanese of the seventeenth century than their continental counterparts despite restrictions on overseas travel. Finally, it is premature to make any definitive claim that an image of *Nan’yō* had emerged with relation to the lands and peoples of Southeast Asia albeit what is now Southeast Asia became subsumed into *Nan’yō* once a vision coalesced by the end of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, a composite later identified as *Nan’yōjin* (南洋人) (*Nan’yō* person) which ostensibly originated from the region took shape during the Tokugawa period.

As a result of a sustained relationship with the continent beginning in the seventh century, Japan developed a worldview similar to China demarcating the barbaric from the

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>56</sup> For a more comprehensive examination of this global network in Southeast Asia, see Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680*, Vol. 1 and 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

civilized through a spatial relation wherein societies occupying the center were considered incrementally more “sophisticated” than those of distant lands. Through examining maps and geographical writings like *Wakan sansaizue*, Marcia Yonemoto observed that oceans were used as a discursively ambiguous site as a means to determine Japan’s place in an ever complicated world. She outlined the physical and geographical challenges ocean voyaging entailed and how such complexities were largely responsible for creating a society orientated to the land. Tokugawa-era isolationism further reflected this fundamental orientation and contributed to the development of an imaginative discourse that reinforced notions of Japan at the center of the universe and facilitated the “Othering” of non-Japanese peoples—Pacific peoples in particular.<sup>57</sup> Thus, along with ancient anthologies, Tokugawa-period geographical texts proved influential in conceptualizing foreign lands and peoples occupying those locales.<sup>58</sup>

Nishikawa Joken (1648-1724) was an eclectic scholar whose broad expertise included Confucianism and Dutch learning.<sup>59</sup> Best known for offering economic advice



Figures 25 and 26. Examples of *tenaga* and *ashinaga* (long-armed people and long-legged people) from *Shan-hai jing* and *Wakan sansai zue*.

<sup>57</sup> Yonemoto, 1999, 170.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.; Yoshida and Durrans, 2008.

<sup>59</sup> Dutch learning refers to Western knowledge that was transferred into Japan by the Dutch, who were the only Europeans allowed to trade in Japan during the era of isolationism (1633-1853). All exchange of goods and interaction between the Japanese and the Dutch took place on the Island of Dejima located in the harbor of Nagasaki in Kyushu.



to artisans and merchants in *Chōnin bukuro* (Merchant's Satchel) (1719), Nishikawa also gained notoriety as an astronomer and author of geographical volumes *Kaitsūshōkō* (Thoughts on Trade and Communication with the Civilized and the Barbaric) (1695, 1709) and *Shijūni koku jinbutsu zusetu* (Illustration of Forty-two Nationalities) (1720).<sup>60</sup> *Kaitsūshōkō* followed the format of early continental encyclopedias that arranged foreign lands and peoples according to levels of perceived sophistication—what Yonemoto called the “Middle Kingdom consciousness.”<sup>61</sup> The text also drew directly from *Shan-hai jing* in depictions and descriptions of fantastic creatures, strange peoples, and weird places.<sup>62</sup> However, Nishikawa and other early modern compilers of encyclopedias added information in their works as news from the outside world became available. Ayusawa Shintarō discussed how overlapping mediums contributed to a worldview that accepted the validity of strange creatures inhabiting foreign lands during the time of national seclusion:

In one of the ancient geography books of China, the *Shan-hai-ching* (A View of the Universe), one finds pictures of such strange types of men that our imagination is baffled. During this period of national isolation, there were some Japanese who considered the mythological lore of the *Shan-hai-ching* to be of the same value as the empirically based world maps of the West. Hence, they combined the old and the new into one book. Generally speaking, the Japanese of this time did not hold the key to enable them to learn which of the two worlds was the real one. Restricting our remarks to the one field of geography, we can say that they allowed new knowledge, old legends, accurate maps and erroneous reports to coexist as a potpourri in their minds.<sup>63</sup>

This amalgamation of old and new material blurred distinctions between the real and imagined, resulting in the formation of wild notions of foreigners and lands that remained fixed as late as the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>64</sup>

Making their debut in *Shan-hai jing*, *tenaga* (手長) (long-armed people) and *ashinaga* (足長) (long-legged people) have crisscrossed the pages of ancient anthologies, Tokugawa-period encyclopedias, and modern *yōkai* catalogues. Various compilers

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<sup>60</sup> The above mentioned geographical texts and other selected works by Nishikawa Joken are available online. See the Waseda University database of Chinese and Japanese Classics at:

<http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/search.php?cndbn=%90%bc%90%ec+%94%40%8c%a9>

<sup>61</sup> Yonemoto, 1999.

<sup>62</sup> Yoshida and Durrans, 2008, 273.

<sup>63</sup> Ayusawa, 1964, 79.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

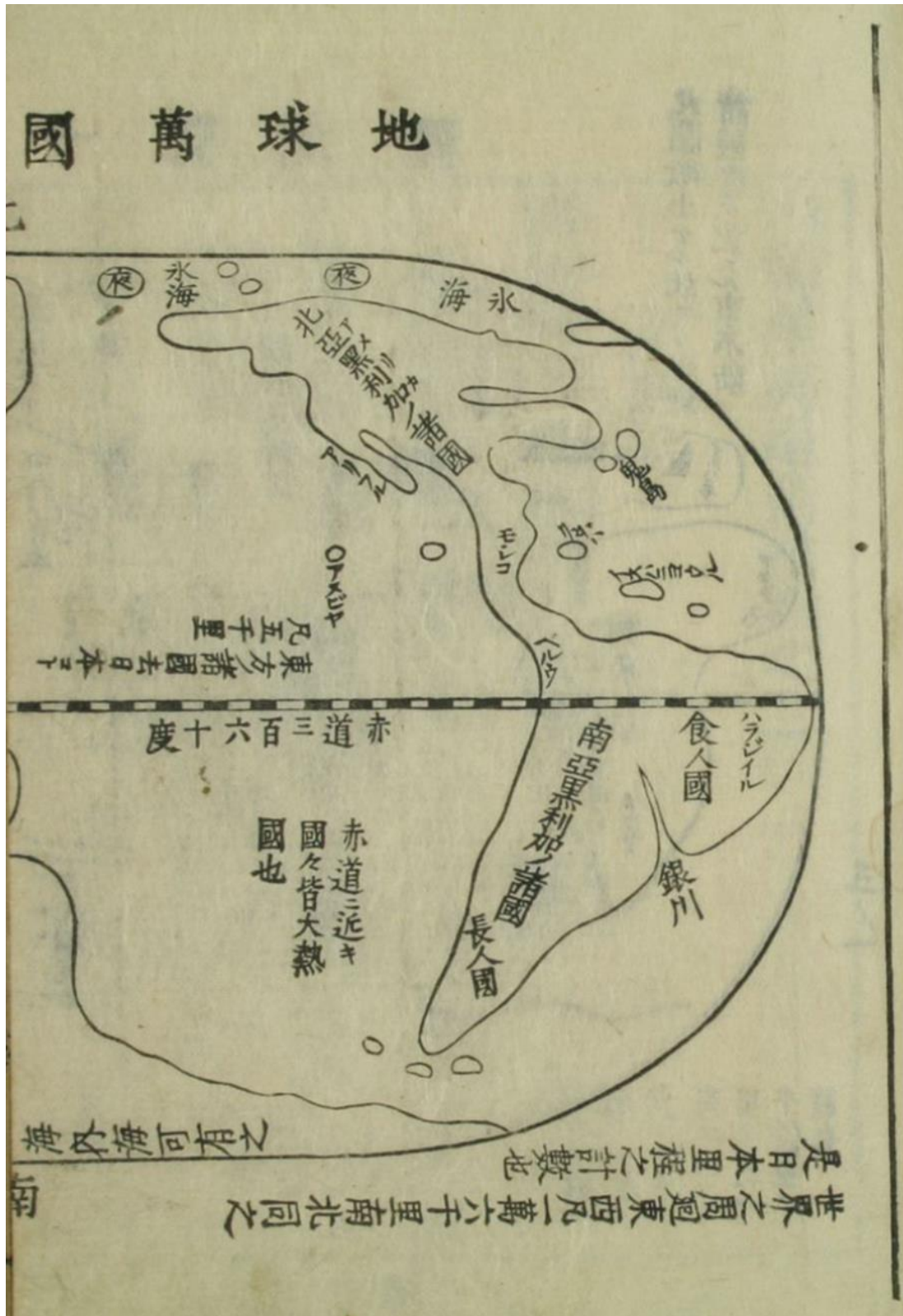


Figure 27. Map from *Kaitōshōkō* identifying the Land of the Long People (長人國) at the tip of South America.

borrowed directly from each other to render these fantastic creatures over time (See Figures 25, 26).<sup>65</sup> In the seventeenth-century, *Sancai tuihui* they were described as two distinct tribes who cooperated to catch fish. Maps accompanying geographical texts of that era confirmed the existence of *tenaga* and *ashinaga* by identifying their respective homelands. Early modern peoples assumed they actually inhabited the world because printed materials provided “evidence” to support belief in the profoundly strange. According to Nishikawa’s text they lived in the southern part of the South America continent (See Figure 27). In addition to their association with the foreign, *ashinaga* and *tenaga* ultimately entered into the pantheon of domestic *yōkai* and appeared in *yōkai* catalogues. In a contemporary volume, Mizuki Shigeru drew them maximizing their respective anomalous appendages with *tenaga* sitting on the shoulders of *ashinaga*.<sup>66</sup> His depictions attest to contemporary populations in Japan maintaining a connection to these strange beings of ancient origins. Illustrations and accounts of *ashinaga* and *tenaga* demonstrate continuity in discourse wherein a fixed image took hold and held sway.

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Early modern writers of popular literature further blurred the lines between the real and the imagined by integrating *ashinaga* and *tenaga* in works of satire. Falling within a larger category of humorous fiction known as *gesaku* (戯作), *dangibon* (談義本) was a literary sub-genre characterized by sardonic subtexts and critical messages intended to highlight hypocrisies of the day. In Hiraga Gennai’s, *Fūryū Shidōken den* (Tale of the Dashing Shidōken) (1763), the main character traveled to many known and unknown lands described in *Kaitsūshōkō*, *Wakan sansaizue*, and *Shan-hai jing*, such as the Land of Giants, Land of Small People, Land of Long-Legged People (*ashinaga*), and Land with People with Holes in their Chests. As Yonemoto pointed out, each meeting resulted in exposing a contradiction operating within Edo society. Gennai appropriated foreign lands and encounters with foreign “Others” to uncover such blemishes.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Contemporary *yōkai* catalogues that have entries for *tenaga* and *ashinaga* include: Mizuki, 1994; Murakami, 2005; and Yoda and Alt, 2008.

<sup>66</sup> Mizuki, 1994.

<sup>67</sup> Yonemoto 2003, 109.

Shidōken's sojourns to the Land of Giants and Land of Small People shared similarities with the quintessential *Nan'yō*-related postwar *kaijū* film, *Mosura* (1961).<sup>68</sup> The most obvious resemblance involved the confinement of supernaturally tiny peoples. In the Land of Small People, Shidōken captured a miniature-sized princess and her attendant for personal amusement. In *Mosura*, the villain Clark Nelson abducted the little fairy twins of Infant Island and then exploited them for profit as performers in Tokyo. When Shidōken visited the Land of Giants, *he* became the object of confinement as the giants made the small wonder a sideshow attraction.

The sideshow depicted in this episode matched a popular form of early modern urban entertainment known as *misemono* (見世物). These attractions held at temple fairs were carnival-like exhibitions that featured all kinds of strange and exotic sights.<sup>69</sup> For Gennai, he had produced a “real” *misemono* exhibit prior to creating the fictional one described in the story. Yonemoto pointed out that rendering Shidōken as an observed



Figure 28. Wasobyōe and the stork on display in *Ikoku kidan Wasobyōe* by Yūkokushi (1774)

<sup>68</sup> *Mosura* was released the following year in the United States under the Romanized title *Mothra* (1962).

<sup>69</sup> Andrew Markus, “Carnival of Edo: *Misemono* Spectacles from Contemporary Accounts,” in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 45, no. 2 (December 1985): 499-541.

foreign object in a *misemono*-like setting destabilized conventional notions of the “Other.”<sup>70</sup> *Mosura* similarly appropriated the supernaturally foreign in order to unveil problematic realities at home. Its creators provided social commentary on Japan’s postwar position via two constructed spaces: Rolisika, an amalgamation of the United States and USSR; and Infant Island, a supernaturally-charged island located in Japan’s former South Seas territory. Despite temporal distance, *Mosura* and *Fūryū Shidōken den* underscored the efficacy of appropriating fantastically foreign “Others” to make statements directed at the home front.

Western Japanologists drew connections between works of satirical fiction and fantastic voyaging in early modern Japanese and European literature. In April 1879, Basil Chamberlain (1850-1935), presented a paper to the Asiatic Society in Tokyo, “Wasobyoe, the Japanese Gulliver.”<sup>71</sup> In the article, he identified similarities between *Gulliver’s Travels* (1726) and *Ikoku kidan Wasobyōe* (Wasobyōe’s Intriguing Journey) (1774).<sup>72</sup> Chamberlain’s presentation consisted of selected readings of the story featuring the protagonist visiting an array of fantastic locales. Reminiscent of the Urashima legend, Wasobyōe, a merchant with a penchant for fishing, got swept away by a storm that took him thousands of leagues from home. He traveled east—the cardinal direction of the dragon—finally washing up on shore of the Land of Immortality. The burden of everlasting life pained both the local population and Wasobyōe. The protagonist decided to brave the unknown and left the island on a giant stork. Flying as far south as it could, the bird arrived at the Land of Giants after what seemed like months.

Details of Wasobyōe’s journey revealed perceived boundaries separating the known and the unknown worlds. The geographical space where the protagonist landed occupied regions southeast of Japan, i.e., *Nan’yō*. Moreover, Wasobyōe decided that he did not want to travel to mythological lands already firmly established within the collective consciousness like the Buddhist paradise or the Dragon Palace. Rather, he abandoned all convention and voyaged to the truly unfamiliar. The following passage is evocative of a nascent South Seas supernatural discourse in early modern contexts:

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<sup>70</sup> Yonemoto, 2003, 120. For more details on Gennai’s *misemono* exhibit, see Markus, 1985.

<sup>71</sup> B.H. Chamberlain, “Wasobyoe, the Japanese Gulliver,” in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 7, part 4 (1879), 285-308.

<sup>72</sup> To access Wasobyōe online, see the Waseda University database of Japanese and Chinese classics at [http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he13/he13\\_00798/index.html](http://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/he13/he13_00798/index.html)

He (Wasobyōe) determined, therefore, to extend his travels beyond the limits of this universe, seeking lands of which neither Shiyaka nor Confucious had ever heard any report, and then to return home, and put to shame all such as were puffed up with the notion of their own universal topographical information. So, bestriding his stork once more, he started off to pass out of this world by the farthest boundary of the Southern Ocean, and flew straight on without ever casting a glance either to the right hand or to the left. On they went, the stork and he, a valiant rider and a noble bird, capable of doing their five or six hundred, aye! Their thousand leagues a day; and, as they flew, many a country opened out before Wasubiyauwe's gaze: but he would look at nothing comprised within the limits of this universe of ours. So the days passed by till they had been a good three months upon the road. By and by, the rays of the sun and moon waxed faint; then it seemed every day as if the sun were on the point of vanishing all together; and, by the fifth month of their journey, their flight had led them into regions of absolute darkness, where day-light was no longer to be distinguished from the night. The stork began to utter cries of doubt and distress, and the courage oozed out even from Wasubiyauwe's doughty heart, as there arose within his agitated breast he thought of the possibility of being swallowed up alive in the Hades of Darkness. "But no!" cried he, "if I am to pass out of this universe, of course I must expect to reach the limit of the space illumined by the rays of sun and moon. Once cross this region of darkness, and I shall soon arrive in some other world. One effort more, good stork! One effort more!" And the bird, apparently understanding the words addressed to it, shook itself and flapped its wings, and sped on like an arrow, flying and flying and flying for four months more at least, though, to be sure, it was not possible to keep tally of the days in a region where the distinction of day and night was all unknown. Then it began to grow light again, and they arrived within the limits of another world.<sup>73</sup>

Like Shidōken, Wasobyōe arrived at the Land of the Giants where he was quickly captured and then put on display. A local scholar acted as the protagonist's caretaker and showed off the marvelous anomaly to curious villagers of fellow giants (See Figure 28):

Attracted by the report of the extraordinary creature caught by Dr. Kawauchi, crowds of people, both men and women, young and old, kept pouring in daily from the neighborhood to obtain sight of it. They would try making the little thing stand in the palm of their hand or on their head, and would discuss its various peculiarities. "Certainly," they would say, "it is wonderfully tame. What? It requires no made-up food,—no hemp-seed? Why? It's easier to feed than a quail!" Wasubiyauwe did not relish being made a toy of in this manner. But it was useless to be angry, and there was no good to be expected from resistance in dealing with such giants as these people were. And so the days and months slipped by.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Chamberlain, 1879, 299-300.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 303.

Eventually Wasobyōe felt the inhabitants lacked sophistication or possessed any drive to attain knowledge. Subsequently, he put it upon himself to teach the community Buddhist and Confucian doctrines. Ironically, the giants received Wasobyōe’s civilizing mission with indifference and paid the tiny traveler’s lessons no mind. Ultimately, the Japanese voyager decided that he had lived long enough among the giants and departed on the back of the stork to return home.



Figure 29. Wasobyōe in the Land of the Long People in the sequel, *Ikoku saiken Wasobyōe* by Yūkokushi (1774).

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In the sequel, *Ikoku saiken Wasobyōe* (Wasobyōe’s Return to Foreign Lands) (1774), Wasobyōe voyaged to fantastic lands on the back of a supernatural turtle. As with Shidōken, he traveled to the Land of the Long People, receiving a cordial welcome from *ashinaga* who provided refreshments upon arrival (See Figure 29). Fantastic animals transported protagonists to several strange lands in the aforementioned tales. However, the most prominent method of arrival to an imagined South Seas from early modern times to the present day has been the shipwreck. Accounts of shipwrecks appearing Edo-period fiction undoubtedly offered readers vicarious thrills on the high seas. This is perhaps due

in part to the fact that early modern Japanese voyaging was indeed precarious business. Bad weather and the possibility of being blown off course were constant realities associated with maritime travel. Fear and respect for the unknown in unfamiliar waters became manifest in rites that elicited the supernatural quality evoked by the seas. Once mariners lost their bearings or were blown off course, they reverted to prayer as described by scholar of Western learning, Honda Toshiaki (1744-1821):

Even when the weather improves, the crew are at a loss to tell in which direction to head, and the ship floats about helplessly. As a last resort they cut off their hair and make vows to Buddha and the gods. Then they take pieces of paper on which have been written the names of the twelve directions, roll them up into balls, and put them into a basket with a hole in its lid. (This they call “drawing lots.”) The captain and crew, in tears, fervently call on Buddha and the gods of heaven and earth to indicate the direction. They grasp the basket in their hands and strike the lid. Then, when one of the pellets jumps out, they pick it up, their eyes blinded by tears of joy, and cry that it is the direction vouchsafed by Buddha and the gods. They then set their course by it, and go completely astray.<sup>75</sup>

Similar to fishermen developing strategies to protect themselves against oceanic *yōkai*, mariners lost at sea practiced rituals to deal with a seemingly hopeless situation. In this case sailors drew lots to determine where to set a new course irrespective of logic or geographical knowledge.

While fictitious shipwreck narratives facilitated belief suspension among readers of early modern satirical fiction, actual shipwreck accounts had tangible utility for the state. Inclement weather or other unanticipated events inevitably forced ocean-going vessels off course. The political climate associated with “national seclusion” dictated that officials spend considerable energies collecting stories of returned castaways. As with the Chinese-junk reports, shipwreck accounts provided intelligence on the outside world.<sup>76</sup> Islands of relative short distances to Japan became an issue of particular concern to the government as imperialist encroachment by Western nations into Asia and the greater Pacific became a political conundrum that could not be ignored. Subsequently, the *bakufu* (幕府) revisited earlier castaway accounts documenting uninhabited islands and used them

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<sup>75</sup> Donald Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720-1830* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 46-47.

<sup>76</sup> For a comprehensive examination of Tokugawa-period shipwreck accounts, see Michael S. Wood, “Literary Subjects Adrift: A Cultural History of Early Modern Castaway Narratives, CA. 1780-1880” (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 2009).



to make sovereignty claims over those territories.<sup>77</sup> The archipelago best representing this nascent overseas expansion tied to castaway accounts was the Ogasawara chain (a.k.a., the Bonin Islands).

Consisting of about thirty islands, the Ogasawaras lie roughly one-thousand kilometers directly south of Tokyo. During the early Tokugawa period, several ships lost at sea grounded there. Castaway stories detailing those events later resurfaced and gained exposure. Those receiving significant notoriety often appeared as published accounts made available to the masses. As with many stories that get told and retold, popular castaway tales were embellished. *Nanpu ni fukinagasareta Enshū Arai bune kako no kikoku monogatari* combined aspects of *Fūryū Shidōken den* with exaggerated ethnographic descriptions of imagined island populations and an actual eighteenth-century shipwreck account.

Adrift for two months, the Arai party finally reached landfall on the uninhabited Ogasawaras in 1720. For twenty-some-odd years, survivors of the merchant ship eked out an existence there before returning home. Drawing on this incredible testament to the human spirit, the anonymous author based the first point of embarkation of the embellished narrative on the real account. From there, the fictionalized castaways braved the oceans for one-hundred days. Upon arrival to *Tenjiku Annan koku* (an amalgamation of India [Tenjiku] and Vietnam [Annan]), they encountered Natives whom the author immediately placed in a subordinate position to the weary travelers. The imposed social hierarchy reflected the existing worldview in Japan that correlated cultural difference by physical geographical distance from the perceived center. Recognizing Orientalist overtones, Michael S. Wood commented on the “Othering” of these Islanders:

We read on this second island, which is later described as “Tenjiku Annan koku,” (Vietnam) the castaways discover a group of armed, naked, dark-skinned men and women who stand eight feet tall and exhibit large mouths, long hair, high noses, and bright eyes. Threatening at first, once the castaways demonstrate they are from Japan, the natives drop their sticks and provide food for the drifters. While this text recalls other Tenjiku stories...it also functions to recast old Asian Others as barbaric and strange beast-like creatures.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 300; Scott A. Kramer, unpublished manuscript.

<sup>78</sup> Wood, 2009, 327.

Backward primitiveness clearly operated within these portrayals. In addition to being rendered as unrealistically large beings, the author ascribed Islanders insatiable sexual appetites:

At night, with out (sic) distinction between men and women, they enter a house to rest and copulate ten or fifteen at a time. Like beasts, they do not care whose wife they are with, and when they are attracted to an attractive bride they spend their time having sex without any concern for day or night, inside or outside.<sup>79</sup>

Ethnographic depictions and constructed social hierarchies played a significant role in the development of *Nan'yō*-related discourse. Wood added that renderings of foreign peoples in fictitious and authentic shipwreck accounts functioned as a form of early anthropology in Japan.<sup>80</sup> A discursive device Wood also identified from the make-believe castaway tale involved foreign communities literally inhabiting another world.<sup>81</sup> Tenjiku Annan koku blurred lines between the real and the imagined. In this case the invented island was a combination of actual places located on the Asian continent.

Overlapping discourses that contributed to reconfiguring long-established “Otherness” paradigms found expression at the third destination. After Tenjiku Annan koku, the protagonists eventually reached an island inhabited by beautiful women. Wood observed that this episode paralleled an anecdote from *Fūryū Shidōken den* that portrayed Chinese travelers as sexually inferior to their Japanese counterparts.<sup>82</sup> Yonemoto mentioned that this representation reflected a larger trend wherein the stationing of a once revered icon of civility, i.e., China, transformed during the Tokugawa period. Like Shidōken and his Chinese travel companions, the island hoppers of the embellished castaway account were forced to provide sexual acts beyond their physical capacities and barely managed to escape. Subordination of Chinese peoples and society via discursive strategies in numerous forms of cultural production moving into the modern era had significant ramifications with regard to Japanese overseas expansion, regional and global political relations, and implementation of colonial projects abroad.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 238-88.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> For a comprehensive examination of this paradigm shift, see Tanaka, 1993.

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Strange beings from far-off lands served as subject matter for numerous Edo-period artists and sculptors. Utagawa Kuniyoshi and Kawanabe Kyōsai rendered the long-armed and long-legged peoples in their works, demonstrating the dissemination of fantastic imagery of foreigners to urban populations (See Figures 30, 31). Both took interest in the otherworldly and painted not only extraordinary humans, but also *yōkai* and behemoths of the seas such as *ōwanizame*. Translated as *The Living Dolls of Asakusa Okuyama*, Utagawa based the painting on a popular *misemono* display that caused quite a stir in 1855. The exhibit featured three-dimensional papier-mâché models crafted by Matsumoto Kisaburō (1825-1891).<sup>84</sup> Matsumoto designed the statues from illustrations and descriptions appearing in ancient and early modern geographical texts, anthologies, and fantastic fiction.<sup>85</sup> According to an entry from *Bukō nenpyō* (Chronicles of Edo, 1849-1878), the figures put on display included long-armed and long-legged peoples, peoples with holes in their chests, peoples with no stomachs, and other exotic human populations.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to weird beings of foreign origins, *misemono* also featured supernatural ocean-based creatures. A celebrated display that gained considerable international notoriety was the “Fejee Mermaid.” While an unmitigated hoax, its handlers created a convincingly “real” specimen by attaching a monkey’s head to the body of a fish. After titillating Edo-period audiences, the taxonomically doctored attraction moved from Nagasaki to the Dutch colonial hub of Batavia and then to Europe. In 1842, the proprietor of the Boston Museum purchased the “mermaid” and lent it to friend, P.T. Barnum (1810-1891). Like printed materials of foreign origins that informed domestic populations and fantastic discourse in Japan, cultural production related to the supernatural coming from Japan likewise had an impact on determining global discourses. This reciprocal dynamic in the exchange of otherworldly discursive mediums

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<sup>84</sup> For more information on temple fairs and pre-modern side-shows, see Markus, 1985, 499-541.

<sup>85</sup> Yoshida, 2008, 273; Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600-1868* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).

<sup>86</sup> Nishiyama, 1997.



Figures 30 and 31. *Asakusa Okuyama Iki-ningyō* by Utagawa Kuniyoshi and *Tenaga-ashinaga Zu* by Kawanabe Kyōsai. Public domain.

is all the more intriguing given the heavy trade restrictions set in place during Japan's era of "national seclusion."

Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries large attractions featured as *misemono* included a number of beached whales and a seventeen-foot-long giant squid whose carcasses were hauled onto Edo venues. According to Andrew Markus, the Japanese name for whale, *kujira*, was liberally applied to denote all "sea monsters" exhibited at such events.<sup>87</sup> This phenomenon closely resembled the storyline of the postwar *kaijū* film, *Gojira tai Mosura* (Godzilla vs. Mothra) (1964).<sup>88</sup> In an early scene, a giant egg of South Seas origins washed up on a beach in Mie Prefecture after a powerful typhoon. Without missing a beat, a wily capitalist swindled local villagers into selling the rights to the egg and showcased the immense wonder for sizable profits. The film gradually developed into a didactic tale about protecting the environment and reigning in unfettered materialism.<sup>89</sup> In addition to the remarkable parallels between *misemono* and the film's narrative, a more general linguistic continuity can be drawn between these early modern and modern mediums. Adaptations of the word "*kujira*" became *the* recognized marker of giant movie monsters beginning with *Gojira*. From then, *kaijū* have been commonly named as three-syllable words ending with the ubiquitous "*ra*."<sup>90</sup>

*Misemono* also functioned as precursors to international fairs held in Japan from the Meiji period on. As briefly examined, the international fair developed in the West during the heyday of nineteenth-century European imperialism and global hegemony. The introduction of this institution to Japan began as early as 1862 when the *bakufu* sent its first overseas envoy to Europe. Members of the Japanese delegation, including the famous Meiji-period reformer Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901), marveled at the sights of the International Open held in Great Britain. He and fellow members of the group did not

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<sup>87</sup> Markus, 1985, 528.

<sup>88</sup> *Godzilla vs. Mothra*, directed by Honda Ishirō (1964; Maple Plain, MN: Simitar Entertainment, 1988), DVD.

<sup>89</sup> For more analysis on the role of postwar consumption and South Seas discourse via *kaijū eiga*, see Igarashi Yoshikuni, "Mothra's Gigantic Egg: Consuming the South Pacific in 1960s Japan," in William M. Tsutsui and Itō Michiko, eds., *In Godzilla's Footsteps: Japanese Pop Culture Icons on the Global Stage* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

<sup>90</sup> While by no means exhaustive, some of the more famous *kaijū* appearing in films of the 1960s and 1970s include *Mosura*, *Gamera*, *Gidara*, and *Hedora*.

miss the powerful symbolism imbedded within the spectacle highlighting British power and prestige. Later international fairs concomitantly emphasized the progress of imperialist nations, whilst underscoring the backwardness of dependent states through displaying colonial subjects.<sup>91</sup> Soon after attending the London exposition, Japan participated as a member nation in the World's Fair in Paris in 1867. It would not take long before Japan held its own international exhibitions that showcased the various foreign peoples and cultures of *its* expanding empire. For example, the Taishō Fair of 1914 put *Nan'yō* Islanders on display in an embellished and exaggerated presentation.<sup>92</sup>

A wide array of cultural production depicting the known and the unknown overlapped and blurred the distinction between reality and fantasy. Evidenced with “The Living Dolls,” imagined representations of foreign peoples that took shape long ago carried over into the late-Tokugawa era.<sup>93</sup> Such mediums mirrored the anthropological canon of the Western tradition examined by Margaret Hodgen in *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. They even managed to enter into Western discourses of the fantastic by the nineteenth century and anticipated the reciprocal exchange of fantastic discourse during the modern age.<sup>94</sup> This mixing also contributed to positioning *Nan'yō* in supernatural contexts during the Meiji-period in travelogues, adventure novels, and the adventure travelogue (an embellished travel account reminiscent of the fictionalized castaway tale).

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Creatures such as *ashinaga* and *tenaga*, which appeared in satirical works of fiction and “scientific” texts, ultimately became absorbed into the pantheon of traditional *yōkai*. This transformation is made clear in numerous contemporary *yōkai* catalogues, such as Mizuki's entry in the aforementioned *Zusetsu Nihon yōkai taizen* and in Murakami Kenji's *Nihon yōkai daijiten* (Great Japanese Yōkai Encyclopedia) (2005). In the accompanied textual description, Mizuki provided details of folklore that related an

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<sup>91</sup> For an insightful study on the use of international exhibitions as a means to exercise colonial power, see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

<sup>92</sup> For more information on international fairs held and Japanese history, see Yoshimi Shun'ya, *Hakurankai no seijigaku: manazashi no kindai* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron-shinsha, 1992).

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964).

*ashinaga* and *tenaga* sighting in Kyūshū.<sup>95</sup> Murakami likewise cited legendary accounts as well as discussed the establishment of Shinto shrines dedicated to *ashinaga* and *tenaga* deities living on Mount Bandai in Fukushima and at Suwa Taisha in Nagano.<sup>96</sup>

The transformation by *ashinaga* and *tenaga* suggests that not all entities identified as *yōkai* were always considered so. Eventual acceptance of strange beings into the ranks of *yōkai* raise a number of questions concerning the naming and categorizing of the weird in Japanese culture and history: How does one constitute *yōkai*? Are there other examples of strangely foreign beings transforming into *yōkai*? Given the similarities in roles fulfilled by the supernaturally foreign throughout Japanese history, might modern representations such as the fairy twins of Infant Island be deemed contemporary *yōkai*? These questions highlight continuity in supernatural discourse and underscore the efficacy of invoking the otherworldly—both *yōkai* and the fantastically foreign—to reveal aspects of the human experience that provide insight on current events, history, social conditions, and geopolitical developments. The integration of *ashinaga* and *tenaga* into the pantheon of *yōkai* also suggests that these beings of an overseas origin ultimately assimilated into and occupied a loosely definable domestic Japanese space. As such, they could theoretically be projected or represented as “authentic” symbols of Japanese history, culture, and identity. However, despite their transformation into domestic *yōkai*, this race of supernatural beings continued to be rendered as foreigners and strange inhabitants of the South Seas during the early modern era as *netsuke* (根付).

*Netsuke*, carved kimono toggle, secured valuables and personal items such as purses and snuff boxes. An elegant chord ran through the toggle connecting it to a man’s kimono.<sup>97</sup> While extremely practical, *netsuke* also functioned as individual pieces of art that demonstrated exquisite craftsmanship and fine detail. These miniature wooden and ivory sculptures came in an assortment of designs that included human and animal forms. Within this wide array of representation were heroes of Japanese lore and the Confucian, Buddhist, and Chinese folk traditions. Minamoto no Tametomo’s exploits in the southern

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<sup>95</sup> Mizuki, 1994, 36.

<sup>96</sup> Murakami, 2005, 220.

<sup>97</sup> For a comprehensive overview of *netsuke* that includes a beautiful presentation of these figures from the early modern through contemporary periods, see Kinoshita Muneaki, *Netsuke Art of Kinoshita Collection* (Kyoto, Japan: Kyoto Seishu Netsuke Art Museum, 2009).

islands was one such legend detailed in *netsuke* form (See Figure 32).<sup>98</sup> This carved rendition of the tale resembles Kita Shigemasa’s woodblock print introduced earlier in the chapter. Like Islanders of Ōshima, non-Japanese populations such as Europeans and other “South Seas” peoples were rendered as *netsuke* (See figure 33).<sup>99</sup> Consistent with the times, the one-size-fits-all category, *tōjin*, was commonly used to describe foreign subjects appearing as *netsuke*.

A composite of a human figure ultimately identified as *Nan’yō-jin* (South Seas person) took shape during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with *ashinaga* and *tenaga* further blurring the boundaries of the real and the imagined within that process. As mentioned, these creatures were rendered into kimono toggles (See Figure 33). However, craftsmen also morphed the heretofore identified South Seas Islander *netsuke* with *ashinaga* to produce *ashinaga Nan’yō-jin* or “long-legged South Seas person (See Figure 34).<sup>100</sup> While *netsuke* do not provide definitive proof that the South Seas existed as a clearly defined entity within the collective Japanese consciousness in either actual or supernatural terms, they offer glimpses into the establishment of *Nan’yō* as a conceptual space in those contexts from the early modern period.



Figures 32, 33. *Netsuke* of Minamoto no Tametomo and Islanders of Ōshima (Copyright image courtesy of Dmitry Levin Art); *Nanyo-jin netsuke* (Copyright image courtesy of Kyoto Seishu Netsuke Art Museum).

<sup>98</sup> “Dmitry Levin Art,” accessed February 9, 2014, <http://www.trocadero.com/dmitry/items/1179045/items/item1179045.html>

<sup>99</sup> Kinoshita, 2009.

<sup>100</sup> “Classic Netsuke: the Kyoto and Edo School,” Kyoto Seishu Netsuke Art Museum, accessed January 19, 2011, <http://www.netsukekan.jp/english/collection/classics/index.html>; Kinoshita, 2009, 166.



*Nan'yō-jin* and *ashinaga Nan'yō-jin netsuke* provide clues to the development of the South Seas as a conceptual space during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, well before the early modern period, notions associated with the seas directly south of Japan had a long tradition of being understood in otherworldly terms. Discourses of those vast oceanic distances not only evoked notions of the supernatural, but also informed attitudes concerning the types of inhabitants who occupied those locales which included *yōkai* and monstrous beings. Legends, historical chronicles, and anthologies depicting the known and unknown worlds all contributed to the formation of a nascent *Nan'yō* discourse that drew heavily on ideas and imagery adopted from the Asian continent. Iconic supernatural lore associated with the seas and the cardinal direction of the dragon greatly determined a worldview borrowed from China. Cultural production related to *Nan'yō* reflected attitudes and geographic orientations infused with Orientalist elements. These dispositions found expression in a multitude of mediums that included legendary tales, whose protagonists travelled to fantastic lands and who overran local populations resulting in the consolidation of power and legitimization of a constructed social hierarchy. This discursive convention would continue to play out as Japan entered the modern era and disengaged itself from its traditional reference point.



Figures 34, 35. *Ashinaga* and *tenaga netsuke* (left); *Ashinaga Nan'yō-jin netsuke* (long-legged South Seas Islander) (right) (Copyright images courtesy of Kyoto Seishu Netsuke Art Museum).

Concomitantly, Euro-American institutions, ideas, and perspectives became the template for nation-building in Japan. *Nan'yō* played a critical role in this transition as a discursive field where reconfigured Orientalist attitudes and geographical orientations took new forms. The space served as a foil affirming Japan's rising international status in contrast to China. It also functioned as a physical and discursive buffer from the cadre of ever-encroaching Western imperialist powers. Accordingly, the South Seas contributed to the creation of a modern unified national Japanese identity by being packaged as a fantastic locale vis-à-vis the "modern" world. The following chapter will explore how pre-existing otherworldly qualities associated with the oceans south of the Japanese archipelago fit in with colonial expansion and the project to extend Japanese power and hegemony abroad. Like *yōkai*, *Nan'yō* coalesced into a fixed-yet-elusive entity in both real and imagined forms in various discursive mediums during the Meiji period.

## Chapter 4 Entangling a *Yōkai*-like *Nan'yō* to the Nation State

The Meiji period (1868-1912) marked a fundamental shift in conceptualizing *yōkai* and *Nan'yō*. It also marked the moment when Japanese imperialist ambitions and territorial expansion abroad became realized for the emerging nation state. Evidenced in the image, *Shin hyakkiyagyō* (*The New Night Parade with One Hundred Demons*), *yōkai* maintained relevance as a signifier of a marginalized “Other” in cultural production (See Figure 35). In this case, the illustrator drew on Tokugawa-period *hyakkiyagyō* scrolls to mockingly depict captured soldiers during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895.<sup>1</sup> Woodblock prints representing aspects of the conflict which included rendering Chinese peoples with monstrous and exaggerated features gained a tremendous following during the war years.<sup>2</sup> They also coincided with a discursive disassociation from a continental orientation as Japan embarked on a new trajectory that aligned with the West. Novelist Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886-1965), commented on the profound impact these images had on him as a child:

I would go almost everyday and stand before the Shimizuya, a print shop with a large stock of triptychs depicting the war. There was not one I didn't want, boy that I was, and I was horribly envious of my uncle who would buy all the new editions as fast as they appeared.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to creating national pride in overseas military campaigns, these images contributed to a developing “subjectivity” that brought Japan “closer” to Euro-American peoples. Journalist Tokutomi Sohō (1863-1957), commented that victory over China demonstrated that “civilization is not a monopoly of the white man.”<sup>4</sup> Besides securing territories abroad and increased influence over the Korean peninsula, the war facilitated a reconfiguration of “the Self” commensurate with the state's goal to create a “modern” nation that emulated Western systems of politics, economic organization, and culture.

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<sup>1</sup> Zilia Papp, “Monsters at War: The Great Yōkai Wars, 1968-2006,” *Mechademia*, Volume 4, 2009, 226.

<sup>2</sup> James L. McClain, *Japan: A Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002), 301.

<sup>3</sup> Donald Keene, “The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and Japanese Culture,” in Keene, *Landscapes and Portraits* (Tokyo: Kōdansha International, 1971), 269-270; Also cited in McClain, 2002, 301.

<sup>4</sup> John D. Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō, 1863-1957: A Journalist for Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 229. Also cited in McClain, 2002, 300.

Although *yōkai* played a role in enhancing Japan’s overseas presence and imperialist projects, they came under fire in this transformative age. In fact, long-held traditions of all kinds were deeply scrutinized as the government tried to remove the “evils of the past” as stated in the Charter Oath of 1868.<sup>5</sup> The process involved introducing a system of laws and institutions that mirrored Western countries but which also positioned the Emperor as sovereign of the nation. Accordingly, the state aggressively eradicated beliefs and practices considered superstitious or archaic in nature, whilst raising the profile of the Emperor via the establishment of Shinto as the *de facto* state religion.<sup>6</sup> Other ideological competitors such as Buddhism fell prey to these initiatives in what was known as the *haibutsu kishaku* movement (廃仏毀釈) (abolish



Figure 36. Woodblock print drawing on Tokugawa-period *hyakkiyagyō* scrolls. In this case captured Chinese soldiers of the Sino-Japanese War are mockingly rendered as *yōkai*. Image courtesy of the International Center for Japanese Studies.

<sup>5</sup> Article four of the Five Article Oath (1868) stated, “Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based on the just laws of Nature.” Wm. Theodore de Bary, Donald Keene, and Tsunoda Ryūsaku, *Sources of Japanese Tradition* 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, Volume 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 136-137.

<sup>6</sup> Helen Hardacre, *Shinto and the State 1868-1988* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1989).

Buddhism and destroy Shākyamuni).<sup>7</sup> Enchō San'yūtei, a prominent performer of *rakugo* (落語) (comic storytelling) expressed concern over the elimination of *kaidan* (怪談) (a form of ghost-storytelling made popular during the Tokugawa period) from the public sphere:

The *kaidan* is nearly extinct these days. There aren't many artists who perform them anymore, because there aren't any more ghosts. These days ghosts are symptoms of nervous disorders, and Messieurs Enlightenment find *kaidan* to be distasteful.<sup>8</sup>

The passage served as the preface to Enchō's ghost story, *Kasane ga fuchi* (Reckoning at Kasane Swamp), which he began reciting in 1888.<sup>9</sup> A year later, the government promulgated the Meiji Constitution. While Article 28 guaranteed religious freedom, practicing that right was limited in scope, given the precedent established to marginalize folk beliefs and other religions upon the founding of the Meiji state.<sup>10</sup>

As mentioned, the academic discipline devoted to *yōkai* began in the late Meiji period with Inoue Enryō (1858-1919). A philosopher who synthesized Buddhist ideas with Western modes of thought, Enryō's vision of modernity entailed adopting foreign concepts and technologies so that Japan could successfully compete in a Euro-American dominated world. The rationale behind *yōkaigaku* involved creating mechanisms to distinguish the mysterious from the real. According to Enryō, this project fell to the enlightened scholar-class whom he believed was the only segment of society capable of knowing the difference. He felt innovation and advancement could not be fully integrated until the general public was rid of their superstitious inclinations. Thus *yōkaigaku* began as a platform to disprove and demote the status of strange creatures and otherworldly phenomena.

The state's efforts to eradicate archaic beliefs and Enryō's academic activism triggered a vigorous debate between proponents of *yōkaigaku* and intellectuals who found

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<sup>7</sup> Higashi Masao, "The Rise of Weird Fiction," in *Kaiki: Uncanny Tales from Japan, Volume 2, Country Delights* (Fukuoka: Kurodahan Press, 2011), 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Article 28 of the Meiji Constitution (1889) stated, "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief." An online version of the Meiji Constitution can be accessed at "The Constitution of the Empire of Japan (1889)," Hanover Historical Texts Project, last accessed March 15, 2014, <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/1889con.html>

value in embracing the weird. These latter enthusiasts maintained that investigating and applying *yōkai* in scholarship and literature provided insight into comprehending the human condition, whether or not the existence of *yōkai* was simply perceived or was indeed real.<sup>11</sup> The *kaidankai* (The Ghost Association) served as one such Meiji-period forum where issues associated with the fantastic and the strange found expression. A year after formation, the organization published a volume that began with a chastisement of those espousing to know the unknowable in scientific and didactic ways:

Most of the books on supernatural marvels handed down to this day relate—for the sake of ethical education and admonitions—moral allegories and they become nothing more than material for didacticism. They presumably press these spirits into service for the sake of a lesson. How can human faculties grasp the likes and dislikes of the spirits? Attached to the mores of this world, they all miss the truth of the matter. The things that are recorded here in this book are all facts [*jijitsu*], I hear. Reader, do not be at a loss on account of that rushing thing not resembling a train, that flying thing not resembling a bird, that swimming thing not resembling a fish, and that beautiful thing not resembling a worldly, chic, schoolgirl.<sup>12</sup>

Two notable members of the society were Yanagita Kunio and Izumi Kyōka. These kindred spirits shared the opinion that *yōkai* operated as legitimate signifiers with each offering an alternative approach to interpret the role of the mysterious during this era of unprecedented change. They also strongly felt that integrating literary approaches to such endeavors provided the most effective means of dealing with the strange.<sup>13</sup> Yanagita employed ethnographic methodologies to extrapolate the meaning and purpose of *yōkai* in Japanese society.<sup>14</sup> His groundbreaking ethnological survey of ghost stories from a rural village in Tōhoku, *Tōno monogatari* (The Legends of Tōno), informed ethnological studies in Japan throughout the modern era.<sup>15</sup> Kyōka, on the other hand, saw the otherworldly as a particularly effective literary tool applicable to works of fiction.

Kyōka responded to *Tōno monogatari* with a certain hesitation. While he admitted to having read the seminal work countless times, he stressed that *yōkai* were not

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<sup>11</sup> Kawakami Chiyoko, “The Metropolitan Uncanny in the Works of Izumi Kyōka: A Counter-discourse on Japan’s Modernization,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59, no. 2 (December 1999): 559-83.

<sup>12</sup> Figal, 1999, 167.

<sup>13</sup> Foster, 2009.

<sup>14</sup> Ronald A. Morse, “Introduction” in Yanagita Kunio, *The Legends of Tono, 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition*, trans. Ronald A. Morse (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2008), xxii; Charlotte Eubanks, “On the Wings of a Bird: Folklore, Nativism, and Nostalgia in Meiji Letters,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 65 (2006): 1-20.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

exclusive to rural towns nor were they diametrically opposed to modernity. In contrast, he consciously supplanted ghosts in urban settings to provoke his audience and keep the supernatural alive and relevant.<sup>16</sup> In a published interview, Kyōka discussed his enthusiasm to write about the fantastic in metropolitan settings:

I am aware that there are criticisms out there against my writing about ghosts. I don't have any specific reason for this [writing about ghosts], just my emotions. I have been frequently advised on this matter by [Oguri] Fūyō and others [not to], but I cannot ignore my emotions. At one time, someone said to me, "If you want a ghost, why don't you make it appear in a somber landscape such as in the deep mountains? It seems there is no point in making it appear in the middle of Tokyo, let alone in a small space of three or four *tsubo*."<sup>17</sup> But I prefer to make it appear in the middle of O-Edo where the bells of streetcars can be heard.<sup>18</sup>

Kyōka's hesitation to fully embrace *Tōno monogatari* mirrored Foster's analysis. Foster observed that Yanagita's approach to gather and collect folklore resulted in "the sterilization of *yōkai*."<sup>19</sup> By collecting and documenting *yōkai*-lore as emblematic of an idealized past and signifier of an authentic Japanese identity, Yanagita subsequently stripped *yōkai* of their ability to exist in the now and perform their timeless functions. Grounded in the idea that an authentic identity could be uncovered via folklore and cultural signifiers including *yōkai*, ethnologists and anthropologists searched for cultural linkages between Japanese and foreign peoples as a means to claim a shared heritage.<sup>20</sup> By establishing a discursive link, foreign communities being observed and compared could essentially be frozen in time, or like Yanagita's *yōkai*, become "sterilized."

Proponents of overseas expansion applied this method of observation to ethnologically link Japanese and *Nan'yō* populations when the impulse to colonize the region gained traction during the final years of the Meiji period. Such projects to discover cultural affinities with South Seas peoples allowed Japan to discursively locate itself in a constructed hierarchy that justified colonial projects in both patriarchal and authoritative scientific language. In 1912—the year *Tōno monogatari* was published—Yanagita and

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<sup>16</sup> Kawakami, 1999, 582.

<sup>17</sup> One *tsubo* is approximately 36 square feet.

<sup>18</sup> Izumi Kyōka, "Yo no taido" (My Principle, 1908) in *Kyōka zenshū* (The Collected Works of Kyōka) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973, 1976). Cited in Kawakami, 1999, 565-66.

<sup>19</sup> Foster, 2009, 118.

<sup>20</sup> Harootunian, 2001, 317-318.

famed scholar of colonial studies Nitobe Inazō, utilized this methodology in a state-sponsored project. Their task involved identifying cultural similarities among populations being absorbed into the expanding empire—Ryūkyū Islanders and Koreans specifically—to facilitate assimilation, colonization, and territorial consolidation.<sup>21</sup>

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Islands and oceans occupying the space south of Japan remained largely unknown, mysterious, and ill-defined at the advent of the Meiji period.<sup>22</sup> And while much of Oceania had been mapped and colonized by Western imperialist powers, Japanese conceptual frameworks of the South Seas did not neatly fit in the East-West paradigm.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, the space became fodder for debates concerning Japan's position in the world as *Nan'yō* developed into an independent geographic entity. Subsequently it served as a discursive field where notions of a Japanese national identity could be projected vis-à-vis the various Euro-American countries exerting their control over the region and the indigenous peoples living there. Certain elites envisioned *Nan'yō* functioning as a barrier to deflect or ameliorate the threat of an expanded Western presence in the Pacific and where Japan could also assert its own growing influence.

Such ruminations manifested in a policy known as *nanshin* (南進) (southward advance). From the second half of the nineteenth through twentieth centuries, *nanshin* found expression in a vast array of cultural production that contributed to the realization of colonizing southern territories and Pacific Islands. Industrialized societies largely defined themselves by their ability to utilize methodologies and tools of observation developed in the natural and social sciences to explain the unknown and unfamiliar. These systems of knowledge included disciplines such as anthropology that could provide answers to account for differences in human societies and cultures. Such disciplines played a vital role in imperialist projects and saw application in Japan's colonial endeavors in *Nan'yō* as soon as *nanshin* advocates initiated the call to explore the oceans and encounter the peoples of the South Seas.

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<sup>21</sup> Robert Tierney, "Going Native: Imagining Savages in the Japanese Empire" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2005), 149-50.

<sup>22</sup> Peattie, 1988, xviii.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.



As Japan grew into an imperialist power, a unique form of Japanese Orientalism emerged.<sup>24</sup> Orientalism was a discursive tradition developed in the West that created a totalized image of the Orient that facilitated legitimization of imperialist projects over Middle Eastern societies.<sup>25</sup> While discourse highlighted a glorious past, it also emphasized an inability among Oriental peoples to recapture their remarkable history and enter the modern era. The cumulative effect of these narratives injected the notion that such societies were inherently static and diametrically opposed to European civilization in cultural orientation. Japanese Orientalism was substantively similar but differed significantly in its framing of “the Other.” Japanese Orientalist discourse positioned Japan as a society capable of “advancement” based on its successful transition into the modern age. While non-Japanese populations in the Eastern hemisphere were similarly cast as “fixed” to the past, *this* “Other” was nonetheless recognized as sharing a history and at times, a genealogical connection with Japanese peoples. Thus Japanese Orientalism was both inclusive and exclusive in nature. Exclusive in the sense that Japan separated itself from the West. Inclusive insofar as Japan identified with being a part of a larger family of Asian and Pacific nations. The catch was that among its brethren, Japan occupied the top tier in a constructed hierarchy. By highlighting its historic transformation into a modern nation, Japan framed imperialist projects in paternalistic terms, promoting itself as the only authority possessing the wherewithal to protect Asia and Oceania from Euro-American encroachment and hegemony.<sup>26</sup>

Similar to Tokugawa-period discourse representing strange foreign peoples, the various mediums of Meiji-period *Nan'yō* discourse crisscrossed and coalesced to form a distorted and sometimes fantastic image of the region and its peoples. Traditional notions of *Nan'yō* retained otherworldly resonance, opening outlets for the limitless potential of human energies and advancements in the natural and social sciences to be both imaginatively and practically expressed in various disciplines and forms of cultural production. In other words, an adaptive appropriation of *Nan'yō* facilitated the

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<sup>24</sup> Sudō, 2010, 3-6.

<sup>25</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Press, 1979).

<sup>26</sup> Yamashita Shinji, Joseph Bosco, and J.S. Eades, eds. *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 99; For a comprehensive overview of Japanese imperialism, see W.G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

articulation of certain impulses that remained tied to the supernatural but also met the demands required by modernity.

The clearest example of this new paradigm involved the appropriation of *Nan'yō* as a setting for the budding genre of science fiction literature.<sup>27</sup> Drawing on the Western canon by such writers as Jules Verne (1828-1905), this new paradigm featured man-made innovation played out to supra-natural extremes. Authors of this new genre, such as Oshikawa Shunrō (1876-1914), consistently injected a didactic message in these works. More often than not, fictitious futuristic weaponry designed in the islands thwarted Western imperialists, brought glory to the empire, and saved Japan's oppressed brethren of the Eastern hemisphere. By becoming supra-naturally charged, *Nan'yō* remained a viable site where Japanese identity formation could develop. The reworking of the space during the Meiji period established a foundation where conceptualizations of Pacific peoples took root and held sway.<sup>28</sup> In addition to descriptions in works of fiction, Islanders could now be described and defined within the frameworks and lexicons of modern scientific disciplines such as anthropology that legitimized colonial projects and an imperialist agenda. Reflexivity played an integral role in this process insofar as notions of "the Self" were projected onto the peoples living in the South Seas. Ultimately, this recalibration provided the necessary wiggle room to adapt to the realities of the modern age without *Nan'yō* losing any of its original otherworldly potentiality.

This chapter will examine how the idea of *Nan'yō* transformed into a tangible and definable space conjoined to a corresponding imagined counterpart. Both a real and imagined *Nan'yō* functioned together as a means to support and define Japanese expansion and economic development south of the metropole. Numerous literary mediums facilitated this agenda by integrating fantastic storylines to inspire populations at home in political novels (*seiji shōsetsu*) (政治小説), children's fiction, and the soon-to-follow adventure novel *bōken shōsetsu* (冒険小説). Travelogues and an embellished form of the travelogue appearing in serialized periodicals likewise contributed to the call for southern expansion and represented an early form of Japanese anthropological

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<sup>27</sup> Thomas Schnellbacher, "Has the Empire Sunk Yet?—The Pacific in Japanese Science Fiction," *Science Fiction Studies*, Volume 29, (2002), 382-396.

<sup>28</sup> Sudō, 2010, 10; Senjū Hajime, "Historical Transition of Representation on Micronesia and the South Sea Islands," in *The Journal of Island Studies* Vol. 2002, no. 3 (2002): 47-65.

discourse.<sup>29</sup> As Natsume Sōseki demonstrated in *Higan sugi made* (To the Spring Equinox and Beyond), vicarious pleasure afforded by embellished travelogues detailing adventures in the South Seas allowed urban populations to temporarily escape from their humdrum existence and alienation brought on by the modern condition. Also, in accordance with the government's plan to introduce institutions and systems of knowledge to consolidate power and create a unified national identity, the state developed an education system that drew on Western models. Textbooks proved to be an effective vehicle to disseminate state-supported ideology. Part of this process included integrating traditional folktales—many of them laden with *yōkai* such as *oni*—into textbooks as a means to inculcate young minds with notions of patriotism tied to imperialist expansion abroad. Later, once Japan began expanding overseas, the government created similar textbooks for colonized populations for purposes of assimilation and acceptance of Japanese rule. Finally, there was the emergence of *Nan'yō* as a space that could be consumed at the experiential level via travel to the region under the auspices of a modern tourist industry. According to those who marketed *Nan'yō* as a travel destination, its appeal largely rested on an ability to elicit feelings of nostalgia to an otherworldly past and satisfy an impulse to safely engage the hitherto dangerous seas south of the Japanese archipelago.

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Yano Tōru observed that the idea and image of *Nan'yō* did not coalesce in real terms until the advent of Japanese imperialism abroad in the Meiji period.<sup>30</sup> However, foreign relations and territorial expansion by the former regime set a template in place for the new regime to follow. For example, the powerful Satsuma domain held control over the Ryūkyū Kingdom as a vassal state following the Satsuma invasion of Okinawa in 1719. Similarly, the shogunate held nominal rule over Hokkaidō, the Kuril Islands, and parts of Sakhalin by way of the Matsumae clan. Japan's presence in the greater Pacific, meanwhile, was more discursive in kind, as shown in shipwreck narratives and the published accounts of castaway-cum-globetrotter Manjirō (John) Nakahama (1827-1898).

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<sup>29</sup> Sudō, 2005, 130.

<sup>30</sup> Yano, 1975, 27-46; Yano, 1979, 50-78.

Contact at the state level with Oceanic societies did not begin until the final years of the Tokugawa regime when Japanese representatives sought to establish relations with various Island countries via overseas missions.<sup>31</sup>

One of the main obstacles faced by the Meiji government concerned the unequal treaties Japan had submitted to during the late Tokugawa period. Right away, the oligarchs made it a priority to reverse those treaties that included extra-territoriality concessions. Like the preceding tours, numerous overseas missions were sent to gauge the pulse of the international community. Delegates on the Iwakura Mission (1871)—named after the appointed ambassador of the mission, Iwakura Tomomi—soon realized that reversing the maligned treaties was an unrealistic and over-optimistic goal. Accordingly, they shifted their energies to absorbing as much information as they could with regard to the operation and administration of government, economy, military, education, social welfare, and international relations. Ultimately, the Iwakura Mission became a fact-finding tour resulting in the integration of Western modes of governance and industrialization into Japanese frameworks.

In very short order, Japan capitalized on lessons learned abroad, which included understanding the language and machinations of imperialism. In 1874, the government hoped to exploit an opportunity to colonize Taiwan when it sent an expeditionary force to punish aborigines who killed a group of shipwrecked survivors from the Ryūkyū Islands.<sup>32</sup> This expedition and its subsequent representation in various forms of print media underscored the importance of bringing “civilization” to a “backwards” people as justification for imperialism and colonization. That same year, the Ogasawara Islands were officially annexed. In 1875, Japan negotiated the Treaty of Saint Petersburg with Russia, and received the Kuril Islands in return for relinquishing all claims of Sakhalin to the Tsar. A year later the state imposed concessions such as favorable trading status and extraterritoriality on Korea by forcing the Choson kingdom to sign the unequal Kanghwa

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<sup>31</sup> Akimichi Tomoya “Japanese Views of Oceania” in *Ibunka e no manazashi, Images of Other Cultures: Re-viewing Ethnographic Collections of the British Museum and the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka*, eds. Yoshida Kenji and John Mack (Osaka: NHK Service Center, Inc., 1997), 244.

<sup>32</sup> For an examination of the 1874 Japanese Expedition to Taiwan that argues Japanese colonialism emerged concurrently with modernity, see Robert Eskildsen, “Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan’s 1874 Expedition to Taiwan,” *The American Historical Review* 10, no. 2, (April 2002): 388-418.

Treaty.<sup>33</sup> Other early imperialist activity rounding out the decade included the official annexation of the Ryūkyūs in 1879.

The Kanhwa Treaty of 1876 served as a particularly significant milestone in imperialist expansion. It enhanced Japan's ability to impose influence on the Korean peninsula but heightened tensions between the Meiji state and Qing China resulting in the Sino-Japanese War. During the years between the Kanhwa Treaty and the outbreak of that war, the Meiji government dedicated an enormous amount of its resources towards expanding the armed forces and improving military capabilities.<sup>34</sup> The slogan *fukoku kyōhei* (富国強兵) (enrich the nation, strengthen the military) reflected the importance placed on establishing and maintaining a vibrant economy and solid national defense.

Achieving such lofty goals was initially very difficult given fundamental economic realities that limited the government's ability to raise revenues. Despite making considerable progress in creating a human resource pool capable of directing and implementing policies geared towards growing an advanced military, the actual material hardware required to implement such plans lagged significantly.<sup>35</sup> However, conditions in the West with regard to imperialist nations expanding maritime arsenals forced the Japanese government to increase its burgeoning fleet and allocate monies to the navy. Beginning in the 1880s, the Japanese navy took steps to replace sail-driven vessels for more modern steamships built with steel hulls.<sup>36</sup> This significant development in naval expansion serendipitously aligned with the activities and vision of *nanshin* enthusiasts—many of them within the navy—who touted southern expansion in a variety of mediums, institutions, and venues.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Mastery over language and legal terminology applied to international law playing a role in colonial expansion in Korea is explored by Alexis Dudden in *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005).

<sup>34</sup> For more on the Japanese navy during the early Meiji period, see J. Charles Schencking, *Making Waves: Politics, Propaganda, and the Emergence of the Japanese Imperial Navy, 1868-1922* (Stanford University Press, 2005).

<sup>35</sup> Schencking, 2005, 2-4.

<sup>36</sup> David C. Evans and Mark Peattie, *Kaigun: Strategy, Tactics, and Technology in the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1887-1941* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1997), 13-19.

<sup>37</sup> Schencking, 2005, 38-44.

Some of the more vocal proponents occupied important positions in the military, private enterprise, academia, and the government.<sup>38</sup> In fact, powerful and influential figures, such as Enomoto Takeaki (1836-1908), Shiga Shigetaka (1863-1927), Suzuki Keikun (1854-1938), and Taguchi Ukichi (1855-1905) had their hands in a number of pots and wore a multitude of hats that strengthened their ability to draw on a wide range of supporters in both the private and public sectors. For example, Enomoto had established a successful military career with the navy, earning the rank of vice admiral by 1874. That same year he received a post as minister to St. Petersburg, which began a long run of ministerial positions in the government that included deputy foreign minister (1879), minister to the navy (1880-1881), minister to Peking (1882), minister of communications (1885-1889), minister of education (1889-1890), minister of foreign affairs (1891-1892), and minister of agriculture and commerce (1894-1897).<sup>39</sup>

As a staunch supporter of *nanshin* ideology, Enomoto enthusiastically oversaw the process begun by the navy to send vessels into Micronesian waters and the greater Pacific as training voyages for officers from 1875 through the 1880s. In addition, Enomoto resourcefully applied his military and political power to tap into professional networks in support of expansion into the south by effectively utilizing a multitude of creative strategies. In fact, he went so far as to independently seek out the Spanish government to assess the possibility of Japan purchasing the Northern Marianas Islands and Palau.<sup>40</sup> While this bold move never bore fruit, Enomoto successfully promoted southern expansion in other projects and schemes. For example, during his tenure as communications minister in 1887, he provided a ship from his agency to amateur explorers, which resulted in the discovery and subsequent annexation of Iwo Jima.<sup>41</sup>

Enomoto also figured prominently as an influential member of numerous scientific, economic, and political organizations that rallied for Japanese expansionism and embraced *nanshin* ideology. These groups included the Tokyo Geographical Society (*Tokyo Chigaku Kyōkai*), the Oriental Society (*Tōhō Kyōkai*), and the Tokyo Economic Studies Association (*Tokyo Keizai Kenkyūkai*). To provide an idea of the types of people

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<sup>38</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of *nanshin-ron* that emphasized the fostering of economic trade over military territorial gain from the Meiji into the Taishō periods, see Shimizu, 1987: 386-402.

<sup>39</sup> Peattie, 1988, 2-9; Schencking, 2005, 38-44.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

who participated in these associations, members within the Tokyo Geographical Society included the prominent intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi, as well as distinguished politicians Inoue Kaoru (1836-1915) and Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922). In 1885, Enomoto proved instrumental in founding the South Seas Society (*Nan'yō Kyōkai*).<sup>42</sup> As the name suggests, the South Seas Society served as an organization whose mandate involved realizing the *nanshin* vision. From the latter part of the nineteenth century until World War II, this group took charge of supporting *nanshin*-related projects in a semi-official capacity. Finally, in 1893 Enomoto and other kindred spirits within the navy, played an important role in the establishment of the Immigration Society (*Shokumin Kyōkai*). Under his lead as its first president, the Immigration Society published a prospectus that clearly outlined a vision of Japanese expansion to the south that called for following Western models of imperialism. The association emphasized that the navy figured heavily in actualizing a successful emigration policy and would be instrumental in promoting free trade throughout those southern regions being colonized and commercially exploited. Even before the society outlined its objectives regarding emigration and free trade into *Nan'yō*, Enomoto actively pursued the establishment of a semi-private business venture in the region. In 1890 he enlisted the support of economist, Taguchi Ukichi, to form the South Seas Island Company (*Nantō Shōkai*).

A renaissance man in his own right, Taguchi used various platforms to galvanize support for *nanshin* and overseas projects promoting colonization and free trade.<sup>43</sup> One platform Taguchi used to raise awareness of these issues was his own economic journal, *Tokyo keizai zasshi* (The Tokyo Economic Review). Accordingly, Taguchi wrote numerous articles that outlined the benefits of free trade to *Nan'yō* in global contexts related to colonialism. Moreover, as part of the crew who set sail on the first trade voyage for the South Seas Island Company, he documented his observations in a series of essays published in the journal. As Mark Peattie observed, the South Seas Island Company ultimately proved unsuccessful as a business venture but it provided the populace a tangible resource to increase interest in *Nan'yō*.<sup>44</sup> Taguchi's essays were also significant because they represented one of the early travelogues that documented voyages to the

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Peattie, 1988, 16.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 20.

region during the Meiji period. Later in 1893, he would be credited for writing *Nantō junkōki* (A Record of a Voyage to the South Seas) that also discussed the activities of the company and provided ethnographic descriptions and sketches of landscapes, peoples, and material culture from Guam, Yap, Palau, and Pohnpei.<sup>45</sup> Despite this rocky start, Japanese merchants became *the* dominant overseas trading presence in the region by the time Micronesia fell under German control in 1899.<sup>46</sup>

An influential leader within elite social and political circles, Shiga Shigetaka likewise promoted *nanshin* activities and documented his voyages to the South Seas in published travelogues during the late 1880s.<sup>47</sup> As the self-proclaimed founder of the term *Nan'yō*, Shiga casts a very large shadow in the context of *Nan'yō* discourse. Moreover, his travelogue *Nan'yō jiji* (Current Conditions of the South Seas) depicting a ten-month voyage to Micronesia, Polynesia, Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii proved widely popular upon publication in 1887. It was so successful that it was printed afresh in two additional editions in 1889 and 1891. Peattie pointed out that this book was significant in two ways. First, it was the first Japanese-authored publication on the Pacific written for a general audience. Second, it represented the moment when the public was made “aware of *Nan'yō* as a regional concept, distinct from what was Western (*Seiyō*) or Eastern (*Tōyō*).”<sup>48</sup> Shiga’s goal was to inform the public on affairs in *Nan'yō* as a means to prevent the spread of Western hegemony in the Pacific and East Asia.<sup>49</sup> He positioned the South Seas as an imagined limen where idealized visions of modernity and “the Self” could be projected. Both Pamela Cheek and Jonathan Lamb discussed the role of voyaging and cross-cultural encounters with Pacific peoples in terms of creating a

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<sup>45</sup> Taguchi Ukichi, *Nantō junkōki* (Tokyo: Yamato Shoten, 1893); Peattie, 1988, 20. According to Peattie, Suzuki Keikun wrote most of the book and drew the accompanying illustrations.

<sup>46</sup> For a comprehensive overview of Japanese economic activity in Micronesia and the exploitation of the Micronesian lands and peoples under Japanese colonial rule, see David C. Purcell, “The Economics of Exploitation: The Japanese in the Mariana, Caroline and Marshall Islands, 1915-1940,” *Journal of Pacific History* 2, part 3 (1976): 189-211.

<sup>47</sup> For the most comprehensive study on Shiga Shigetaka, see Masako Gavin, *Shiga Shigetaka 1863-1927: The Forgotten Enlightener* (Richmond, Surrey, 2001). Also see Kenneth Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969).

<sup>48</sup> Peattie, 1988, 8

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*



national identity in European metropolises.<sup>50</sup> Cheek examined eighteenth-century French and British literature, and argued that Enlightenment-period globalization had a tremendous impact in interpreting sexuality and national identity formation. Contact with peoples of the Pacific, most notably Tahitians, provided a discursive field for British and French societies to indulge themselves in their own sexual fantasies, define gender roles, and envision ideal communities.<sup>51</sup> Lamb similarly explored the development of identity formation and a shifting world view in Britain during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries vis-à-vis exploration, global trade, and cross-cultural encounters in the South Seas. Lamb suggested that “South Seas” literature significantly informed populations in the metropole, which both affirmed and disrupted notions of “the Self.” Travel literature and reports from the Pacific emphasized physical experience and heightened sensation. These expressive forms were absorbed into the mental and physical landscape of Europe.<sup>52</sup> Japanese producers of *Nan'yō* discourse during the Meiji period mirrored the Western paradigm in substance and effect.

Like his *nanshin* brethren, Shiga argued strongly for the development of a powerful navy capable of deterring Western encroachment into the Pacific and Japan. In *Nan'yō jiji*, he likened the situation to alligators and whales that could send waves reaching Japanese shores by slapping their tails. Shiga urged his audience to take notice of this existential threat in relation to national defense.<sup>53</sup> He continued to advocate for southern expansion through the 1890s and shared the opinion held among *nanshin* ideologues that the navy should continue to search out and claim any unexplored and uninhabited islands remaining in the Pacific. In an article published in the periodical *Nihonjin* (The Japanese People), Shiga reemphasized the critical role the navy played in realizing this aspect of the *nanshin* vision that correlated with nineteenth-century imperialism:

Every year, to comfort the long line of imperial ancestors, on February 11 and April 3—the anniversary of Emperor Jimmu’s accession and the day of his

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<sup>50</sup> Pamela Cheek, *Sexual Antipodes: Enlightenment Globalization and the Placing of Sex* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Jonathon Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

<sup>51</sup> Cheek, 2003, 1-22.

<sup>52</sup> Lamb, 2001, 1-15.

<sup>53</sup> Schencking, 2005, 39-44; Shiga Shigetaka, *Nan'yō jiji* (Current Conditions in the South Seas) (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1887), 4.

passing—we should ceremonially enlarge the territory of the Japanese Empire no matter what, however little. Our naval vessels should venture forth on these days and hoist the Rising Sun on unoccupied islands. If there is no island, rocks and stones will do. Some will say this is child’s play. It is not. This would not only be a valuable exercise for the navy, more significantly, it would instill an expeditionary spirit in the Japanese people who have been living in the confinement of their islands. We must go in for the action by all means.<sup>54</sup>

Discovery and annexation of Iwo Jima under the mentoring of Enomoto Takeaki helped fuel the notion that there were still places left to be “discovered” and claimed. It also affirmed traditional notions of *Nan’yō* as a yet-to-be completely known entity. For Shiga, any effort to secure the last morsel of land there was a worthy, if not divine, enterprise.

A year after Shiga’s essay appeared in *Nihonjin*, founder and contributor to the periodical, Miyake Setsurei (1860-1945), boarded the battle cruiser *Hiei* on a six-month naval training mission through *Nan’yō*. This voyage included stops on Guam, New Britain, New Caledonia, Australia, New Guinea, the Philippines, and Hong Kong.<sup>55</sup> As Miyake recounted in his memoirs, an additional objective of the mission involved discovering unclaimed islands in the region.<sup>56</sup> Peattie observed that the crew was most likely searching for the island chain of Grampus, which appeared in an eighteenth-century maritime log written by the sea captain John Meares.<sup>57</sup> According to Meares, they named the archipelago Grampus after spotting a large sea creature spouting its blowhole near the shore of the island.<sup>58</sup>

Most travelers who documented their experiences at sea on naval vessels were civilians. Powerful figures like Enomoto had enough influence within the military to secure their passage. Civilian writers who detailed such voyages to *Nan’yō* played a key

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<sup>54</sup> Schencking, 2005, 41; Shiga Shigetaka, *Nihonjin* (The Japanese People) April 3, 1890, 12; Peattie, 1988, 9. See also Henry Frei, *Japan’s Southern Advance and Australia: From Sixteenth Century to World War II* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), 45.

<sup>55</sup> Aniceto Ibanez del Carmen, Father Francisco Resano del Corazón de Jesús, et al., *Chronicle of the Mariana Islands*. Translated by Marjorie G. Driver. (Guam: University of Guam Press, Micronesia Area Research Center, 1998; Miyake Setsurei, *Miyake Setsurie: Jiten/Jibun wo kataru* (Tokyo: Nippon Tosho Sentā, 1997), 50-52.

<sup>56</sup> Peattie, 9; Pyle, 1969, 158; Miyake, 1997, 50-52.

<sup>57</sup> Peattie, 9; Pyle, 1969, 158; Miyake, 1997, 50-52.

<sup>58</sup> John Meares’s April 5, 1788 log entry in John Meares, *Voyages made in the years 1788 and 1789, from China to the north west coast of America : to which are prefixed, an introductory narrative of a voyage performed in 1786, from Bengal, in the ship Nootka; observations on the probable existence of a northwest passage; and some account of the trade between the north west coast of America and China; and the latter country and Great Britain* (London: Printed at the Logographic Press; and sold by J. Walter, 1790), 94-97.

role in meeting the agendas of *nanshin* advocates by emphasizing the importance of Japan's expansion into the region in numerous contexts. In addition to making calls for emigration, the exploration of yet-to-be discovered lands, and the promotion of commercial activity, they also stressed the necessity of maintaining and funding a powerful navy.

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As writers documented their journeys, representations of the peoples of *Nan'yō* began to take shape and coalesce into a sustained image that highlighted backwardness. By and large these travelogues portrayed Pacific Island societies in primitive terms that created a constructed composite of Islanders. They also projected an image of “the Self” as an enlightened being engaged in a humanitarian mission to civilize less fortunate and ill-prepared peoples incapable of independent advancement. Not only were these publications important in terms of illuminating how attitudes towards Pacific peoples developed, but they also represented an early form of anthropology.

Travelogues coincided with the birth of this academic discipline when the Tokyo Anthropological Society was formed in 1884. Some of the earliest anthropological articles appearing in journals came directly from field notes and jottings of passengers or crewmembers aboard naval ships travelling through the South Seas.<sup>59</sup> For example, the BTAS (The Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society) published “*Kusaitō no jūmin*” (On the Inhabitants of the Strong Island). This article described the Islanders of Kosrae in the eastern Carolines as “having strange, laughable and primitive customs.”<sup>60</sup> While no singular author was given credit for the piece, Shimizu Akitoshi suggested that it was cobbled together from reports documented on a naval training mission.<sup>61</sup> Thus, from its debut as an academic discipline in Japan, anthropology became inextricably tied to *nanshin* discourse in fundamental ways. Indeed some of these early anthropologists were vociferous advocates of southern expansion. One travelogue that clearly blurred the lines

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<sup>59</sup> Van Bremen and Shimizu, 1999, 126-128.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 127.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

between early anthropology and calls for southern expansion was Suzuki Keikun's *Nan'yō tanken jikki* (Report of the Expedition in the South Seas) (1892).<sup>62</sup>

The same year the anthropological society was founded, the government sent an envoy to the Marshall Islands to investigate the suspected murder of a group of pearl divers who had been blown off-course and whose remains were discovered by the crew of a British schooner.<sup>63</sup> The government chose two young employees within the foreign ministry, Suzuki Keikun (also known as Suzuki Tsunenori) and Gotō Taketarō, to lead the envoy. Like many *nanshin* advocates, Suzuki and Gotō ran within an elite circle of high-ranking political and military officials as well as influential members of the various scientific, economic, and geographical associations.

Gotō was particularly well-connected. In fact, his father, Gotō Shōjirō (1838-1897), not only played an important role in the Meiji Restoration, but contributed to the call for increased popular representation in national political affairs manifest in the Freedom and People's Rights Movement, serving as one of the founding members of the *Jiyūtō* (the Liberal Party). Apparently, Suzuki's and Gotō's fathers had been friends. According to Peattie, this relationship enabled Keikun to enter into the foreign ministry. The mission provided an ideal opportunity for him to bring his foreign language skills and artistic talents to good use.<sup>64</sup>

That fall, the Japanese leadership decided to enlist the British schooner that had returned the remains of the pearl divers, to set sail for the Marshall Islands on a four-month journey and investigative mission. In addition to making inquiries of the deaths and reporting those results, Suzuki supposedly documented his travels through the South Seas and sketched the peoples and material cultures of the islands. Notes and illustrations from the voyage eventually became *Nan'yō tanken jikki*. In addition to ethnographic details and anthropological observations of Pacific peoples and cultures, the travelogue included a strong dose of *nanshin* ideology touting Japanese expansion.<sup>65</sup> Suzuki later

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<sup>62</sup> Suzuki Keikun, *Nan'yō tanken jikki* (Report of the Expedition in the South Seas) (1892), Reprinted in *Tōyō bunko 39: Nan'yō tanken jikki* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1980).

<sup>63</sup> Peattie, 1988, 9.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> There is controversy surrounding the authenticity of Suzuki's work with regard to plagiarism and the reliance on memory vs. field-notes. In the context of this study, whether or not Suzuki plagiarized or depended on memory to write his travelogues is irrelevant. In fact, such details enhance the overall premise that involves the construction of an image based on a cacophony of messages disseminated to a public

shared in his memoirs an anecdote that provided insight into his enthusiasm to actualize the *nanshin* vision. While in the Marshalls, the crew raised the Japanese flag in front of the residence of high-ranking chief, Labon Kabua. Once word of this symbolic and bold gesture reached the ears of officials in Japan, the government ordered an additional envoy to return to the islands and take the flag down.<sup>66</sup> Suzuki led another Pacific voyage in 1887. This time he sailed towards Hawaii and made stops at remote atolls such as Midway Island. That voyage ultimately spawned the publication *Nan'yō fūbutsushi* (Customs and Landscapes in the South Seas) in 1893. It focused on descriptions of flora and fauna encountered at the various atolls he visited.<sup>67</sup>

As for the representation of Pacific peoples, Suzuki's documented expeditions reflected a modern worldview consistent with Western modes of thought that delineated human society in stadial categories based on direct observation.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, by the time he published his findings, many social scientists of the day, including Japanese academics and intellectuals, accepted Social Darwinism as a credible explanation to account for difference. Moreover, Social Darwinism legitimized colonial and imperialist projects to populations at home and to colonized peoples abroad. In sum, Suzuki and other writers of *Nan'yō* travelogues created a medium that promoted *nanshin* ideology, as well as contributed to the representation of Pacific peoples that led to a fixed and sustained composite emphasizing backwardness.

While Suzuki's travelogues represented an early form of Japanese anthropological discourse, the works also included *nanshin* ideologies that stressed the importance of Japan maintaining a powerful navy as a means to deflect and avoid Western hegemony. Furthermore, *nanshin* ideology imbedded within travelogues provided a platform to promote free trade and colonization that entailed the emigration of Japanese nationals to the region. Ultimately such works contributed to the transformation of *Nan'yō* into a

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audience—these messages can include Western forms of literature and scientific knowledge—which ultimately coalesced into a fixed, sustained, and completely constructed image of people living in “*Nan'yō*.” For more on this issue, see Takayama Jun, *Nankai no dai tankenka Suzuki Keikun: sono kyojō to jitsuzō* [Suzuki Keikun, the great explorer of the South Seas: his illusory image and the reality] (Tokyo: San'itsu Shobō, 1995). See also Van Bremen and Shimizu, 1999, 127.

<sup>66</sup> Peattie, 1988, 12.

<sup>67</sup> Suzuki Keikun, *Nan'yō fūbutsushi* (1893). Reprinted in *Shiri-zu shu nipponki: Meiji no bōkentachi* 19 (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 1994); Peattie, 1988, 13.

<sup>68</sup> Suzuki, 1892; Van Breeman and Shimizu, 1999, 127-128.

locale where all the aforementioned visions could become realized. They offered the Japanese public new ways to conceptualize the future of the nation going forward. While the travelogue proved an effective communicative tool, a new genre of printed media pushed the imaginative boundaries of the *nanshin* vision and Japan's imperialist projects even further.

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The political novel (*seiji shōsetsu*) provided *nanshin* ideologues an additional venue to trumpet calls for expansion in the South Seas. However, in a more general sense, the genre functioned as a platform for writers to communicate ideas associated with modernization and nation-building embraced by the state. In *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity*, Suzuki Tomi described the political novel as “allegorical stories that attempted to popularize parliamentary and constitutional ideals, including such Enlightenment notions as equality and freedom of thought to provide the necessary basis for an ‘advanced nation.’”<sup>69</sup> While Enlightenment ideals informed conceptual structures upon which advanced nations were understood to be based, definitions of what constituted such polities were also equally dependent on the ability of nation states to demonstrate competency in imperialist projects.

As evidenced by such leaders as Shiga Shigetaka, advocates of *nanshin* ideology adeptly appropriated the perceived need for Japan to expand its territory with the drive to gain influence in *Nan'yō*. Writers of political novels similarly wove the *nanshin* vision into their narratives, which further strengthened the cry to see an increased Japanese presence there. Furthermore, the nature of the political novel as a work of fiction offered these authors the latitude to cast wide nets with regard to creating wildly imaginative encounters between Japanese protagonists and the Western powers whose activities in *Nan'yō* both threatened Japanese interests at home as well as oppressed foreign communities living in South East Asia and the Pacific. In addition to didactic messages common to all political novels, authors setting their stories in the South Seas experimented with infusing supra-natural elements into the narrative. In this case, central

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<sup>69</sup> Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 20.

characters employed ultra-advanced weaponry in their efforts to defeat Euro-American imperialist foes.

The first major work to incorporate *Nan'yō* as a locale that made a big splash on the popular literary scene was Yano Ryūkei's *Ukishiro monogatari* (The Tale of the Ship "Ukishiro" [Floating Fortress], 1890).<sup>70</sup> Often cited as a precursor to modern Japanese science fiction, this story told the tale of a youthfully exuberant protagonist who set off on an adventure in the Pacific. Under the leadership of two revolutionary ideologues, Captains Sakura Yoshifumi and Tachibana Katsutake, the mission entailed liberating and then colonizing Madagascar.<sup>71</sup> The chosen surnames of the captains had symbolic meaning reflective of the didacticism lodged within the genre. *Sakura* (cherry blossom trees) and the native citrus fruit *tachibana* are plants placed on each side of the Emperor's seat in formal settings. Once gathered at the point of embarkation, Captain Sakura laid out his imperialist vision:

The Western race carries out its exploits throughout the entire earth while the Japanese people carry out their exploits within their own country. We shouldn't put up with such a lamentable predicament... Indeed, we should take this entire earth as our stage and carry out a great enterprise of singular proportions. Why does Japan alone need to cower in fear and move stealthily about?<sup>72</sup>

Sakura's words forcefully echoed the fundamental arguments and objectives of *nanshin* proponents, who urged for a more proactive role by the government in international affairs or suffer the consequences of Western domination. As with Sakura, the main character, Kamii Seitarō, resembled real-life advocates of southern expansion. Kamii shared a similar background to the adventurer, sketch artist, and ethnographer, Suzuki Keikun. Both the protagonist and Suzuki studied foreign languages before travelling through the Pacific.

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<sup>70</sup> Yano Ryūkei, *Ukishiro monogatari* in *Yano Ryūkeishū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1970).

<sup>71</sup> For a discussion of how this novel fit in with the development of Japanese science fiction, see Takayama Takayuki, "Japanese and Asian Science Fiction," in *A Companion to Science Fiction* ed. David Seed, (New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).

<sup>72</sup> This quote is cited from Owen Griffiths, "Militarizing Japan: Patriotism, Profit, and Children's Print Media, 1894-1925" in *Japan Focus an Asia-Pacific E-Journal* (2007), 5.  
<<http://japanfocus.org/products/details/2528>>

The eager adventurers began their journey aboard the *Kaiō Maru* ready to expand trade and respond to any military confrontation lying ahead. In one of the earliest escapades, the crew ran into a number of skirmishes with various indigenous peoples in Brunei. Having obtained a futuristic weapon designed on a secret island, the sailors then thwarted a band of pirates.<sup>73</sup> The euphoric victors claimed the enemy vessel as their flagship and renamed it *Ukishiro* (Floating Fortress). With the *Ukishiro* secured, the crew continued their adventure through the South Seas, setting a course for the Dutch trading center of Batavia.

By placing Japanese protagonists on voyages to European-controlled territories in the Pacific, the author clearly intended to metaphorically position Japan in opposition to the West, as well as make a strong political statement concerning Euro-American encroachment and colonization of the Eastern hemisphere. Japanese protagonists served as guardians of colonized or potentially colonized peoples. Readers anticipated eventual armed confrontation between Japan and the great imperialist powers of the nineteenth century as the story unfolded. Yano did not disappoint his audience in that regard. The *Ukishiro* came under attack by the Dutch when the ship reached the colonial enclave.

An anecdote reminiscent of Tokugawa-period tales of South Seas adventure included a sojourn to a “savage” island. After drifting on a balloon to a fictional locale set in the Celebes, Kamii engaged in a “civilizing” mission to domesticate the Native population.<sup>74</sup> Once rescued, the hero and the crew of the *Ukishiro* then encountered a British ship sailing through the Straits of Malacca. As a result of this entanglement, they captured a Dutch official who conveniently served as bargaining bait. The ship returned to Batavia where an exchange was made for Japanese officers being held in confinement there. While both the mariners and the narrative never arrived at their ultimate destination of Madagascar, Sakura and Tachibana did fulfill their dream of participating in military activities designed to overthrow Western imperialist rule of a colonized territory. The captains joined a guerilla army of local soldiers who nearly drove the Dutch out of Java.

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>74</sup> Sudō also discusses *Ukishiro monogatari* as an early example of *Nan'yō* Orientalism. See Sudō, 2010, 5. Also, Yano may have borrowed the narrative device of drifting on a balloon to a remote locale from a Jules Verne novel, as early science fiction works by Verne and H.G. Wells had been translated into Japanese and become quite popular during the first half of the Meiji Period. See Tatsumi, 2005. More discussion on the impact of Jules Verne will follow when the works of Oshikawa Shunrō and the adventure novel (*bōken shōsetsu*) are explored.



In anti-climactic fashion, the rebels ultimately came to an agreement with the colonial authorities and the Japanese adventurers received monetary compensation for their participation in the campaign.

Providing military aid and tactical assistance to a guerrilla war to overthrow a European colonial power in the South Seas was the subject of the Meiji-period political novel *Nan'yō no dai hanran* (Insurrection of the South Seas) (1891).<sup>75</sup> Inspired by a personal relationship with Jose Rizal (1861-1896), Suehiro Tetchō (1849-1896) centered his tale on the adventures of a young and energetic political activist who supported the burgeoning Filipino independence movement. As the story developed, local militia and resistance fighters from Japan successfully defeated Spanish colonizers. Ironically, the story concluded with the protagonist making an appeal to the Meiji government to annex the Philippines and convert this newly liberated former colony into a protectorate. In true Japanese Orientalist spirit, Meiji-period readers were treated to a happy ending. The Japanese hero married his fiancée and the Philippines became absorbed into the empire.<sup>76</sup>

Other notable political novels of that decade that integrated *Nan'yō* as a locale included Sudō Nansui's *Hi no mihata* (The Japanese Flag) (1890), Komiyama Tenkō's *Bōken kigyō: Rentō Daiō* (The King of Ren Isle) (1887), and Hisamatsu Yoshinori's *Nanmei iseki* (The Southern Ocean; Results of Man's Labor) (1887). As with the works of Yano Ryūkei and Suehiro Tetchō, these imaginative jaunts into the South Seas blended actual contemporary economic conditions, political controversies, and international affairs into exaggerated and inventive storylines that pitted Japanese protagonists against Western imperialist powers. In addition to stimulating vicarious pride and achievement among the reading public, these novels also maintained the tradition of framing *Nan'yō* as a space of limitless potential that drew on age-old orientations to the region tied to the otherworldly. Supra-natural elements such as futuristic weapons tapped into preexisting sensibilities that ultimately contributed to the preservation of *Nan'yō* as a supernatural and *yōkai*-like entity. This literary device wherein *supra-natural* elements played a role

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<sup>75</sup> Suehiro Tetchō, *Nan'yō daihanran* (Insurrection of the South Seas), (1892). Reprinted in the series *Meiji bungaku zenshu* 6 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1967): 243-320.

<sup>76</sup> For a more comprehensive overview of this novel, the relationship between Jose Rizal and Suehiro Tetchō, and Philippine-Japan relations, see Ikehata Setsuho and Lydia N. Yu-Jose, *Philippines Japanese Relations* (Quezon City, RP: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003).

within the plot of *seiji shōsetsu* found expression in other forms of literature during the Meiji period, such as children's print media and the emergent adventure novel.

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At the same time the political novel gained popularity, children's print media grew an enthusiastic readership. As discussed by Owen Griffiths, many of the stories that appealed to Meiji-period youth mirrored political novels in plot and message. Thus, military themes so prevalent in the adult-orientated genre carried over into the children's realm. In this case, brave patriotic youngsters were featured as protagonists fighting foreign enemies and Western imperialist powers.<sup>77</sup> One such story written by Izumi Kyōka titled *Kaisen no yoha* (The Aftermath of a Naval Battle) (1894), appeared in the series *Yōnen tamatebako* (The Child's Treasure Box).<sup>78</sup> Incorporating actual events and real naval vessels that fought in the Sino-Japanese War, Kyōka took nine-year-old hero, Matsue Chiyodai, on a journey that ultimately led to the mythical undersea utopia described in oceanic lore. Resembling the Urashima legend, the protagonist visited *ryūgūjō* (the Palace of the Dragon King) where he befriended the sea princess. After hearing of Chiyodai's brave deeds and learning of the heroic death of the youngster's father during the battle of the Yellow Sea aboard the battleship *Chiyoda*, the princess resurrected the child's father and pronounced him the King of the Seas. As an act of gratitude and display of continued loyalty to his homeland, Chiyodai's father decided to use his new powers as Sea King to protect Japan.<sup>79</sup> Deeply infused with supernatural archetypes, Kyōka connected age-old dispositions towards the oceans to contemporary realities that promoted Japan's emergence as a global power in contexts related to the war with China. By nimbly blending numerous discursive mediums, he appropriated the supernatural and *yōkai*-lore as a political tool to inculcate younger generations on the merits of military campaigns abroad.

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<sup>77</sup> Griffiths, 2007, 1-21.

<sup>78</sup> Also in 1894, Kyōka received widespread notoriety for another patriotic fictional tale that depicted a loyal Japanese soldier who willingly sacrificed his young life for the empire during the China campaign. This serialized story titled, *Yobihei* (The Reserve Soldier) ran in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* that fall. See Donald Keene, "The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and its Cultural Effects in Japan," in Peter F. Kornicki, ed., *Meiji Japan: Political, Economic, and Social History 1868-1912* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

<sup>79</sup> Griffiths, 2007, 7.

Although Kyōka is not well-known for his children's stories, he figured prominently in Japanese literature and is best associated with fiction that invoked the weird. As mentioned, Kyōka embraced the world of *yōkai* and readily incorporated otherworldly beings, strange phenomena, and ghostly apparitions into his vast body of work. In addition to Chiyodai's adventures at the undersea palace, Kyōka summoned oceanic ghosts and mythical creatures of the seas in *Ryūtdan* (Of a Dragon in the Deep) (1898), *Kaiiki* (Account of the Strange Seas) (1906), *Umi no shisha* (A Messenger of the Seas) (1909), *Kaijin no bessō* (The Sea Goddess's Palace) (1913), and *Ningyo no hokora* (Shrine of the Mermaid) (1916).<sup>80</sup>

Charles Shirō Inouye explored how water imagery in traditional Japanese texts found meaning and expression in Kyōka's works of fiction.<sup>81</sup> According to Inouye, Kyōka tapped into the notion that water could be an otherworldly locale unto itself or a barrier separating two distinct worlds. Traditional orientations towards water and the sea related to danger and death manifested themselves in *Kakegō* (Will-o-the-wisp) (1915). In the following quote from the novel, Kyōka rendered a monstrous and unruly ocean as the cause of death for someone drowned at sea:

The ocean towered darkly into the sky, throwing up its legs, spewing spray, violently gnashing its purple fangs in an attempt to pulverize all that obstructed it—cliffs, grass, sand. Its waves were the poisonous undulations of a dragon, its spray the heated flame of vengeful spirits of creatures, fished, tyrannized billion by billion.<sup>82</sup>

Kyōka's utilization of the sea described in *Kaisen no yoha* and his monstrous depiction of it in *Kakegō* underscored the diametric nature of the ocean in both real and literary contexts. Noteworthy is the contrast in utility and representation of the seas in these works. In the former, it acted as a locale for the reclamation and salvation of the deceased and the Japanese nation. In the latter the ocean operated as an agent of death and destruction.

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<sup>80</sup> For a comprehensive overview of Izumi's works and life, see Charles Shirō Inouye, *The Similitude of Blossoms: A Critical biography of Izumi Kyōka (1873-1935)* (1988). Also, numerous works can be accessed online at the Aozora Bunko website: [http://www.aozora.gr.jp/index\\_pages/person50.html](http://www.aozora.gr.jp/index_pages/person50.html). For an English translation of *Kaiiki*, see Ginny Tapley-Takemori in *Kaiki: Uncanny Tales from Japan Volume 2: Country Delights* (Fukuoka: Kurodahan Press, 2011), 40-68.

<sup>81</sup> Charles Shirō Inouye, "Water Imagery in the Work of Izumi Kyōka," *Monumenta Nipponica* 46, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 43-68.

<sup>82</sup> Inouye, 1991, 62.

Griffiths observed that *Kaisen no yoha* was typical of Meiji-period children's literature. Highlighting patriotic themes and lauding militarism, writers of this genre combined elements of "fact, fiction, and fantasy" in exotic settings like *Nan'yō*.<sup>83</sup> One notable example was *Shin hakken den* (The New Biography of Eight Dogs) (1898). Published in the popular children's magazine *Shōnen sekai* (Boy's World), its founder Iwaya Sazanami (1870-1933), followed the storyline of Takizawa Bakin's epic novel, *Nansō satomi hakken den* (Biographies of Eight Dogs) (1812-1842).<sup>84</sup> Takizawa, of course was the Tokugawa-period author who similarly reconfigured tales of the past demonstrated in retelling Minamoto no Tametomo's adventures in *Chinsetsu yumiharizuki* (Strange Tales of the Crescent Moon). Iwaya's adaptation of *Shin hakken den* centered on the exploits of eight boys who landed on and subsequently gained control over a South Seas island. Like *Kyōka*, Iwaya wrote to a contemporary audience and drew on supernatural discourse of the past related to the seas that communicated a message closely aligned with the *nanshin* vision. In addition to containing the basic elements of Meiji-period children's stories, Griffiths suggested that this serialized tale served as the proto-type for future works of children's literature representing Pacific locales and peoples, such as the hugely popular comic of the 1930s, *Bōken Dankichi* (Adventure Dankichi).<sup>85</sup>

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A common subtext embedded within many of the political novels, children's stories, and *nanshin* travelogues discussed thus far involved the projection of a paternalist attitude by early ethnographers and fictional protagonists onto real or imagined South Seas populations. Yamashita Shinji defined this dominant discursive strategy as the "Stranger King paradigm." According to Yamashita, this paradigm consisted of a

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<sup>83</sup> Griffiths, 2007, 7.

<sup>84</sup> Iwaya made his mark as the father of Japanese children's literature and like Yanagita, saw value in mining the past with respect to folk culture and folk tales. Indeed, Iwaya was one of the leading experts of the German folk tradition in Japan. He admired the efforts of the Brothers Grimm to record and preserve that tradition as a means to create a unified German national identity. Iwaya employed similar approaches in his own work, which ultimately contributed to fostering a martial spirit among Japanese youths during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Iwaya also contributed to *yōkai* discourse. As will be discussed in the next section, he recast the famous *yōkai*-laden folktale, Momotarō, to provide his young audience a forum to get enthusiastic about the Sino-Japanese War.

<sup>85</sup> Griffiths, 2007, 6.

Japanese observer visiting a foreign land and encountering a Native community which ultimately submitted authority to the newcomer.’<sup>86</sup> As demonstrated by such medieval legends that detailed the exploits of Minamoto no Tametomo and early modern fictional travel tales like *Fūryū Shidōken den* and *Tenjiku Annan koku*, the “Stranger King” was not solely a product of the modern era. Nonetheless, it continued to emerge as an overriding literary device in *Shin hakken den* and *Ukishiro monogatari*. Moreover, producers of cultural production on and of *Nan’yō* continually revived this paradigm throughout the twentieth century, most notably in *Bōken Dankichi*.

The premier Japanese folktale embodying this narrative is the *yōkai*-laden fable, *Momotarō* (The Peach Boy).<sup>87</sup> The story centers on the exploits of the Peach Boy who set out on a quest for glory that entailed defeating the ogres of Onigashima (Devil’s Island). On his way the young hero befriended three animals—a dog, a monkey, and a pheasant—who agreed to join him on this adventure. Under the leadership of the Peach Boy, the alliance overwhelmed the enemy, took their treasure, and returned home to live happily ever after. As early as the 1880s, the central government appropriated this icon of Japanese lore to imbue a sense of national unity in younger generations by including it in elementary-school texts of the newly established public school system.<sup>88</sup> Later, the government incorporated the fable in educational materials used by colonial subjects which included peoples of *Nan’yō*.<sup>89</sup> Incorporation of *Momotarō* in colonial textbooks impressed upon colonial subjects the notion of being part of a larger imperial family, albeit on a subordinate and unequal standing.

An early example of the *Momotarō* fable recalibrated to promote southern expansion and economic exploitation of the region was the article “*Momotarō no hanashi no gūi*” (The Allegorical Sense of *Momotarō*) (1893). Appearing in the periodical

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<sup>86</sup> Yamashita, Bosco, and Eades eds. 2004, 90-113.

<sup>87</sup> For a concise and comprehensive overview of the utilization of *Momotarō* as a discursive tool to define the “other” in the late-nineteenth through twentieth centuries, see Dower, 1986, 251-257.

<sup>88</sup> Tierney, 2010, 117-118. While a nebulous and hard-to-define term, *kokutai* (国体) has been described as a Japanese national essence. From the Meiji period onward, ideas associated with what it meant to be a loyal and productive member of society were bound within the concept which served as a successful reference point for the people of Japan to develop a national identity and follow the directives of the state. *Kokutai* similarly found utilization and expression in Japanese colonial projects overseas in efforts to assimilate non-Japanese populations into the imperial fold.

<sup>89</sup> Miyawaki Hiroyuki, *Nan’yō guntō kokugo tokuhon* (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 2006).

*Yōgakusei*, it synthesized *nanshin* ideals and described *Nan'yō* populations in monstrous terms that compared them to *oni* of Devil's Island:

Because Japan is an island nation surrounded by oceans, if we are to conquer foreign countries [gaikoku wo seibatsu] then we must build warships and set out on the waterways ... and just like Momotarō we must build up retainers, set out on ships and conquer foreign countries and be ready to take much foreign treasure; really there is no other tale that gives us such spirit as Japanese as Momotarō. All of you young readers, as you get older, set out upon the seas like Momotarō, cross south of the equator to the islands near Australia and find even better places to conquer than Oni Island, and conquer the dark natives who are like *oni* and be ready to bring back to the home country treasures like coconuts and pearls.<sup>90</sup>

In 1895, a retelling of the fable aimed at children appeared in Iwaya Sazanami's *Shōnen sekai. Ima no Momotarō* (Today's Momotarō) rallied the call for colonizing Taiwan.<sup>91</sup> Iwaya likewise contributed to Momotarō discourse with his own adaptation. His version used the folktale as an allegory to support Japan's involvement in the Sino-Japanese War the previous year.<sup>92</sup>

The most esteemed figure to apply the Momotarō parable for purposes of the state was Nitobe Inazō. Deeply invested in colonial projects both at home and abroad, Nitobe recognized the effectiveness of utilizing this celebrated narrative to create a unified national identity and justify colonial ventures and territorial expansion.<sup>93</sup> In 1907, he presented the paper "*Momotarō no enseidan* (Momotarō's Conquest)." This treatise outlined his thoughts on integrating folklore to communicate the aforementioned objectives to a young audience.<sup>94</sup> Nitobe also clearly identified *Nan'yō* as the space where Japan's destiny lay with respect to overseas colonization. Moreover, he invoked the medieval legend of Minamoto no Tametomo described in the *Tale of the Hōgen* and remarked that *oni* lands had moved farther south into Micronesia:

I believe that the tale of Momotarō's overseas expedition undoubtedly expresses the interest the Japanese feel toward the outside world and their expansionist drive. As for the land of the ogres, it is a general term for the islands of the South

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<sup>90</sup> David Henry, "Japanese Children's Literature as Allegory of Empire in Iwaya Sazanami's Momotarō (The Peach Boy)," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 221.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Tierney, 2010, 118.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* 121-127.

<sup>94</sup> This paper was later published as *Momotarō no mukashibanashi* that same year. Tierney, 2005, 148.

Seas. In the time of Tametomo, the boundaries of Japan did not extend beyond the eight provinces, and Hachijōjima was the island of the ogres. But when Japanese settled in Hachijōjima, its *oni* disappeared... Thereafter, people called the Ryūkyū the island of the ogres. Now, however, the Ryūkyū has become part of the Japanese territory and the Ryūkyū people have begun to learn Japanese... With each step we take southward, Onigashima is displaced even further south... Until 1895, Taiwan was the island of the ogres. Now, more than a decade after we occupied the island, many Japanese still regard it as the island of the ogres... because of our differences in language and customs. The Momotarō of today will expand and conquer islands of ogres much farther south. As for the treasures of the islands, they are naturally the products of the tropical zone, the treasures of the earth (*takara* 田から). The war booty that Momotarō brings back to Japan—the magical cloak, the cape of invisibility and the lucky hammer (*kakure mino, kakurekasa and uchide no kozuchi*)—are the tropical products that he supplies to his home country.<sup>95</sup>

As demonstrated by the passage, Momotarō embodied the Stranger King paradigm. This simple story likewise allowed Japan to project itself in a paternalistic light and bond with colonized communities vis-à-vis a common enemy.

Yanagita Kunio employed a methodology that located an authentic Japan via mining the folk. This approach gained application in comparative ethnology and anthropology, to establish links between Japanese and foreign communities. Nitobe wove the assertion that Japanese and *Nan'yō* peoples shared a common ethnic heritage with a polemical call to realize the outcome of the Momotarō fable. Accordingly, he stated that the actualization of such a divine quest would result in a homecoming that could bring Japan's long lost backward brethren into the modern age:

For a long time, the Japanese have made their homes on these small islands (Japan). As for their ancestors, while there were some who were born on the continent, the vast majority likely were people of Malay race who journeyed from the South Seas. Probably most of the blood flowing in our veins is the blood of the Malay race... Since the ancestors of the Japanese probably came from the South Seas, our southern expansion today can be thought of as the homecoming of one, crowned with laurels, who long ago left his hometown, traveled to the north and carried out great deeds.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 156-57.

<sup>96</sup> Tierney, 2005, 166-167. Also cited from Nitobe Inazō, “Momotarō no mukashibanashi” (The Folktale of Momotarō (1907) in *Nitobe Inazō zenshū* (The Complete Works of Nitobe Inazō) Vol. 5 (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1969), 167.

As Tierney observed, Nitobe not only insisted that a common ethnic heritage existed but an environmental determinism drove the process. The idea that people from colder climates had an inherent advantage over populations of tropical zones held considerable currency at the time. Environmental determinism appealed to many researchers and commentators in Japan who viewed climate as a credible variable to account for difference between Japanese and *Nan'yō* populations. It also served to cloak a constructed social hierarchy reliant on unequal power relationships inherent in colonialism.

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By the turn of the century, a new genre of literature that gained a tremendous following among the youth of Japan came of age. Filling the pages of periodicals targeting this reading audience, these imaginative serials included ghost stories, mysteries, and adventure tales. Mirroring the Western canon of such works like Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, authors in Japan also drew on early science fiction literature by Jules Verne and H.G. Wells. Led by Oshikawa Shunrō (1876-1914), the adventure novel exploded onto the popular literary scene and became a significant vehicle promoting *nanshin* ideals and imperialist expansion abroad vis-à-vis the West. Having achieved immediate success with the publication of his first and most famous adventure novel, *Kaitei gunkan* (Undersea Battleship) (1900), Oshikawa embarked on a prolific writing career.<sup>97</sup> Deeply ingrained with patriotic fervor and martial themes that pitted Japan against the Western imperialist powers, *Kaitei gunkan* echoed the themes and ideologies imbedded in Yano Ryūkei's political novel, *Ukishiro monogatari*.<sup>98</sup> Another key component the two works of fiction shared is the placement of supra-natural elements within the narrative.

As the title suggests, the novel centered on adventures aboard a fantastic warship whose crew bravely engaged the foreign threat. If imitation is the best form of flattery, then Oshikawa was obsequious. The plotline of *Kaitei gunkan* mirrored Verne's *20,000*

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<sup>97</sup> Oshikawa Shunrō, *Kaitei gunkan* (Undersea Battleship) in *Oshikawa Shunrōshū* (The Complete Works of Oshikawa Shunrō) Vol. 2 (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1987), 11-94.

<sup>98</sup> In addition to nationalism, Jason G. Karlin observed that Oshikawa also injected notions of what it meant to be a man growing up in the Meiji period, in the article, "The Gender of Nationalism: Competing Masculinities in Meiji Japan, *The Society for Japanese Studies* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 41-77.



*Leagues under the Sea* to the extreme. In Oshikawa's version, the castaway protagonist washed up on the shore of a remote island with his friend's son. These characters ultimately met up with military man, Colonel Sakuragi, who was using the island as a hideout to build a futuristic battleship equipped with weapons the world has never seen or could hardly imagine. Once completed, the battleship set sail on a mission to defeat Western imperialists on the high seas and bring glory to modern Japan.

After *Kaitei gunkan*'s successful debut, Oshikawa continued to write adventure novels set in *Nan'yō*. Like his debut adventure novel, the main characters employed fantastic supra-natural weapons to combat Euro-American hegemony.<sup>99</sup> In *Tessha ōkoku* (Iron Car Kingdom) (1910), youthful patriots created a technologically advanced island country in the South Seas that could challenge Western hegemony via building a Pan-Asian-Pacific alliance.<sup>100</sup> In addition to supra-natural elements, Oshikawa integrated other literary devices from Verne's works. For example, he included fantastic creatures such as prehistoric monsters in a short story that appeared in *Chūgaku sekai* (Junior High School World).<sup>101</sup> Oshikawa also wrote and co-edited detective serials and ghost stories published in periodicals, such as *Bōken sekai* (World of Adventure). Not only is Oshikawa recognized as one of the most influential writers of the adventure novel, he is also frequently cited as the grandfather of modern Japanese science fiction.<sup>102</sup>

In addition to being heavily influenced by authors of early science fiction, Oshikawa was intrigued by Western writers who documented their lives in the Pacific and set their works of fiction in South Seas locales. As someone who used the Pacific in his adventure novels and other stories, Oshikawa looked at the writings and experiences of Robert Louis Stevenson for inspiration. So fascinated with Stevenson—Stevenson lived about four years in Samoa—Oshikawa likewise moved to the Ogasawara Island to

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<sup>99</sup> Some of these novels include *Bukyō no Nippon* (Heroic Japan) (1902), *Shinzō gunkan* (The Newly Built Battleship) (1904), *Bukyō kantai* (Heroic Armada) (1904), *Shin Nippontō* (The New Japan Isle) (1906), and *Tōyō bukyō dan* (East Asian Heroic Squad) (1907).

<sup>100</sup> For more contextualization on the relationship between the works of Oshikawa Shunrō and Japanese expansionism and Pan-Asian movements, see, Jess Nevins, "Pulp Sci-Fi Under Japanese Totalitarianism," Last Modified December 24, 2012 <http://io9.com/5968947/pulp-sci-fi-under-japanese-totalitarianism>

<sup>101</sup> Oshikawa Shunrō, "Kikai/chinmyō zen sekai no dai dōbutsu" (Mysterious and Odd Gigantic Creatures of a Past World) in *Chūgaku Sekai* (Junior High School World) (February and March 1909). Cited in Saitō Jun, "Ayashii kemono kara kaijū e," in *Yōkai bunka no dentō to sōzoku: emaki sōshi kara manga ranobe made*, ed. Komatsu Kazuhiko (Tokyo: Serika Shobō, 2010), 396.

<sup>102</sup> Other writers of the period who are usually mentioned in this list include the aforementioned Yano Ryūkei and Suehiro Tetchō.

*experience* a romanticized but authentic existence in the South Seas.<sup>103</sup> As for writing, Shunrō generously borrowed from the plotline of *Treasure Island* by using South Seas locales in adventure stories such as *Shinzō gunkan* (The Newly Built Battleship) (1904), and *Shin Nippon tō* (The New Japan Isle) (1906).

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The idea of a romanticized South Seas grew with the advent of the embellished adventure travelogue. This genre blended the early Meiji-period travelogue with the adventure novel of the early twentieth century. Moreover, these crossover travelogues-cum-adventure stories often included detailed ethnographic accounts accompanied by photographs and maps of the places to which the authors travelled. By the end of the Meiji period, adventurers and advocates for Japanese imperialist projects, such as Kodama Otomatsu, began using this genre as a platform to rally for Japanese expansion and overseas colonization. Their exhortations entailed increasing markets and political influence in *Nan'yō*.

Published in 1910, Kodama's adventures in the South Seas were first published as a series by the *Asahi Shinbun* (Asahi Newspaper). Later they were reprinted in book form simply titled *Nan'yō*.<sup>104</sup> The title may be somewhat deceiving because the author's accounts were limited to what is now Southeast Asia. However, it is important to acknowledge the broad use of the term *Nan'yō* when describing the oceans and seas south of Japan in particular times and contexts. In any case, Kodama clearly embellished his adventures in the South Seas. In one extraordinary incident, he described a life and death battle with a giant octopus. According to the account, he survived the encounter after shooting it several times with his revolver.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> See the commentary section on Oshikawa's life in Itō Hideo, ed., *Oshikawa Shunrōshū: Meiji tanken bōken shōsetsushū* 3 (Tokyo: Chikuma Bunko, 2005): 461-70. Also see Miki Haruko, "Ogasawara, tabi to hakurankai kara mita fūkei" (Ogasawara: The Scenes as Viewed in Travel and in Expositions) in *Ogasawara-gaku kotohajime*, ed. Daniel Long (Ogasawara-studies: A Primer) (Kagoshima: Nampō Shinsha, 2002), 33-56.

<sup>104</sup> Kodama Otomatsu, *Nan'yō* in *Shirizuru shutsu Nipponki: Meiji no bōkenshatachi dai 18 kan* (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 1994).

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 114-120.

A notable anecdote related to this episode was its application by Natsume Sōseki in *Higan sugi made* (To the Spring Equinox and Beyond) (1912).<sup>106</sup> This novel explored the unfulfilled life of a recent college graduate struggling with the day-to-day monotony of modern Japan. Life in Tokyo was made bearable for the protagonist through daydreams that drew on Kodama’s serialized embellished accounts. Sōseki revealed in the novel that the main character’s vivid imagination began in high school English class where he was introduced to Western adventure novels set in the South Seas. For Sōseki’s main character, *Nan’yō* functioned as a space where one could escape ennui and alienation brought on by modernity during this unprecedented period of accelerated industrialization and social change. Imperialism and colonialist projects in “exotic” locales facilitated the projection of an imagined alter-existence that ameliorated difficult conditions experienced in the metropole.

In addition to contributing to *nanshin* discourse via his embellished travelogue, Kodama supported other causes that rallied for an increased Japanese presence in Asia as a member of the Gen’yōsha (玄洋社) (Black Ocean Society) (See Figure 37).<sup>107</sup> Formed in 1881, the ultra-right wing group vigorously engaged in provocative activities intended to



Figure 37. A photograph of the *Gen’yōsha* (The Black Ocean Society) (ca. 1905). Kodama Otomatsu is the man standing at the far-right of the picture. Public domain.

<sup>106</sup> Natsume Sōseki, *Higan sugi made* (Tokyo: Iwanami Bunko, 1990). For an English translation see Natsume Sōseki, *To the Spring Equinox and Beyond* (*Higan sugi made*), translated by Ochiai Kingo and Sanford Goldstein. Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing Company, 2005

<sup>107</sup> Kodama is the man standing at the far-right of the above photograph featuring *Gen’yōsha* members.

destabilize governments on the continent by employing a multitude of illegal and terrorist tactics. One of their more infamous acts was the failed assassination attempt of Foreign Minister Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) in 1889. The organization perceived his stance on treaty revision with the Korean government as too conciliatory in nature. In response they arranged for one of their members to hurl a bomb at Ōkuma, which blew off the official's leg. At the time photo was taken, the group funded local bandits in Manchuria to thwart Russian advances there. At the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, they continued supporting revolutionary groups in hopes of destabilizing the region and creating a power vacuum that could facilitate Japanese imperialist expansion there.

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By 1906, voyaging to *Nan'yō* was no longer a vicarious experience exclusively accessible through printed media. As Japan entered the twentieth century, a burgeoning tourist industry began promoting the Ogasawara Islands as a destination that offered its visitors a unique travel opportunity. An advertisement encouraging tourism to the archipelago published in the periodical *Fūzoku gahō* (Illustrated Monthly Periodical Magazine) presented two contrasting images that underscored the establishment of a reconfigured relationship between the individual and *Nan'yō* as a result of the changes brought by the modern age.<sup>108</sup>

The first image played on time-tested notions of the seas south of Japan as inherently dangerous. It also portrayed the lands and peoples inhabiting the islands as intrinsically mysterious. The advertisement invoked traditional orientations towards the seas and described the islands in fantastic terms that drew on medieval *yōkai* discourse. In addition to calling the islands “an otherworldly utopia,” it compared the Ogasawaras to “an unknown world rendered in an illustrated scroll.”<sup>109</sup> Reference to illustrated scrolls summoned within the minds of potential consumers encounters between Japanese protagonists and fantastic creatures of imagined lands by iconic figures of folklore and legend, such as Urashima Tarō and Minamoto no Tametomo.

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<sup>108</sup> Miki, 2002, 38-39.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

The second image emphasized proximity in physical and tangible contexts.<sup>110</sup> The advertisement hailed advancements in maritime technology made possible by innovation and industrial achievements exclusive to the modern age. Innovation now allowed people to physically experience *Nan'yō* without alarm. No longer did travelers have to fear the seas south of the Japanese archipelago, which entailed navigating through the infamous Black Current (*kuroshio*) (黒潮). State-of-the-art YKK steamships eliminated all dangers previously associated with ocean voyaging.<sup>111</sup> The advertisers cleverly pointed out how modern advancements eliminated tangible fears historically associated with sea travel, while driving home the notion that fantastic and supernatural elements remained embedded within the islands occupying those ocean expanses. This paradigm shift provided a new vehicle to engage *Nan'yō*. Japanese could now consume the South Seas in experiential contexts where they could now impose a tourist gaze onto Islander populations and landscapes.<sup>112</sup>

Kodama's embellished adventure travelogue serves as a good example of the lengths to which the amalgamation of fact and fiction weaved in and out of Meiji-period *Nan'yō* discourse. The entanglement of the various discourses created a cohesive picture of the region and its people that could be readily appropriated. However, like *yōkai*, this composite was inherently elusive, malleable, and nebulous. Discourses on *Nan'yō* involved many forms of cultural production that blurred the boundaries of the real and the imagined. Traditional imagery and notions of *Nan'yō* retained otherworldliness but also bifurcated, opening the possibility for supra-natural elements to be included. The shift resulted in widening the parameters of the entity so that historical developments associated with the modern era could be absorbed. This new appropriation allowed *Nan'yō* to stay relevant and continue to serve as a conceptual space of fantastic potentiality. Changes to the paradigm facilitated the integration and introduction of man-made technologies and innovations of limitless capabilities. Moreover, these

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> YKK is the acronym for *Yusen kabushiki kaisha*. This company was the premier shipping company whose vessels travelled through *Nan'yō* during the modern era.

<sup>112</sup> Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Edward M. Bruner, *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); For a discussion centered on Japanese tourism in contemporary Palau grounded in historical contexts, see Yamashita Shinji, "The Japanese Encounter with the South: Japanese Tourists in Palau," in *The Contemporary Pacific* 2, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 437-63.

augmentations allowed the modern *Nan'yō* to be both super and supra-naturally charged. Accordingly, it remained a viable site where conceptualizations of “the Self” and the world could continue to take shape and find expression.

Writers of fiction and state-supported professionals like Oshikawa Shunrō and Nitobe Inazō demonstrated the efficacy of incorporating super and supra-natural elements into narratives set in the South Seas for political purposes. Likewise, *yōkai*-laden folklore in textbooks proved to be effective tools to garner support among domestic populations for colonial projects and imperialist expansion. Such literary devices became powerful instruments to inculcate South Seas communities in the coming decades when formal colonization of the region became realized. Yanagita’s methodology identifying *yōkai* as part of an authentic national identity had analogous effects when applied to anthropological projects geared to detect similarities between Japanese and foreign communities, to establish a shared cultural heritage. This discursive strategy created a constructed hierarchy that facilitated assimilation and subjugation of colonized communities which included *Nan'yō* shortly after the outbreak of World War I.

*Nan'yō* became a space that could be concomitantly consumed and experienced in non-vicarious contexts as the tourist industry began selling the region as an exotic and otherworldly destination by the first decade of the twentieth century. Advancements in maritime technologies allowed potential visitors to transcend history and engage the seas south of Japan without fear. Advertisers seized on the opportunity to invoke a traditional orientation of those waterways and referenced medieval *yōkai* discourse as a way to promote *Nan'yō* as a fantastic-but-fully-approachable locale. Meiji-period reconfigurations allowed the South Seas to retain relevance, both with increased opportunities to engage *Nan'yō* and the magnitude by which Japan’s relationship with the region expanded. Like *yōkai*, the modern *Nan'yō* retained its ability to remain both a real-and-imagined entity that offered contemporary observers venues to comprehend the complicated machinations of history and contribute to the development of Japanese Orientalism at large. Taken in its totality, *Nan'yō* as a conceptual space underwent fundamental change during the Meiji period that allowed for a new paradigm to emerge commensurate with modernity.

## Chapter 5 Coeval South Seas Visions

At the turn of the twentieth century, powerful industrialized nations entered into an extraordinary period of inflexible alliance formation. While the intent of treaties aimed to ensure security, they ultimately proved destabilizing. These agreements obligated countries to go to war if a third party joined, potentially triggering a domino effect that could quickly spin out of control. A naval arms race exacerbated an already tense international climate. Observers sensitive to the fragile state of world affairs argued that global conflict between well-established imperialist nations and up-and-coming industrialized states was a likely outcome. In *The Valor of Ignorance* (1909), Homer Lea urged the US to prepare for future war with Japan. He observed that imperial expansion and naval build-up posed an imminent threat, concluding that the United States would suffer defeat in a military confrontation.<sup>1</sup> The following year, a translated version appeared in Japan titled *Nichibei sensō* (Japan-American War).<sup>2</sup> This publication spurred similar treatises by writers, such as naval officer, Mizuno Hironori (1875-1945).<sup>3</sup> In 1913, Mizuno took the pen-name Kitahara Tetsuo and outlaid a fictional war between Japan and the US in *Tsugi no issen* (The Next War).<sup>4</sup> War-scenario literature reflected the tenuous footing international relations stood at the time and demonstrated how the genre swayed public opinion to its respective national audiences anticipating a worldwide clash.

At the outbreak of World War One, the imperial navy firmly established military rule over the German colonies in the Pacific north of the equator. Both the physical and conceptual relationship between Japan and the South Seas underwent significant change.<sup>5</sup> A general shift in orientation emerged based on the assumption that *Nan'yō* needed to be pulled out of the past to join the modern world. Dealing with a *real Nan'yō* resulted in the reconfiguration of discursive strategies to comprehend the region, its peoples, and “the Self.” As discussed, several distinguished Meiji-period thinkers strongly appealed for

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<sup>1</sup> Homer Lea, *The Valor of Ignorance* (London: Simon Publications, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> Ike Ukichi, *Nichibei sensō* (Japan-American War) (Tokyo: Akitsu Shoten, 1911).

<sup>3</sup> Griffiths, 2007, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Mizuno Hironori, *Tsugi no issen* (The Next War) (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1982); J. Charles Schencking, “The Politics of Pragmatism and Pageantry: Selling a National Navy at the Elite and Local Level in Japan, 1890-1913” in *Nation and Nationalism in Japan*, ed., Sandra Wilson (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002), 32.

<sup>5</sup> Shimizu, 1987, 387-389.

*yōkai* to be taken seriously, maintaining that investigation into the weird opened doorways to understanding the human condition. By offering variegated methodologies bound in the literary, they explored innovative venues and contexts for *yōkai* to stay vibrant and thrive. A similar impulse to engage *Nan'yō* gained momentum. While the integration of supra-natural elements in various print mediums left the region metaphorically capable of capturing world events and global forces, contact with the South Seas on experiential levels realigned conceptual frameworks. *Yōkai* continued to play a role in this process. Methodologies introduced during the Meiji period to locate and subsequently sterilize *yōkai* had similar application and effect in comprehending and representing Islanders by agents of colonial projects and producers of popular discourse. This chapter will explore the application of strategies previously utilized to interpret *yōkai* and examine the emergence of a consciousness fixated on an exoticized *Nan'yō* that projected a set of lofty and almost providential expectations upon “the Self” at the expense of Native populations.

Despite these major changes, extensive continuity carried over. Many players and stakeholders who had advocated for southern expansion remained active. Likewise, fundamental characteristics imposed upon *Nan'yō* stayed intact and sustained themselves. Political and historical developments framed against European and American colonialism confirmed the region as an elusive locale whose borders and boundaries frequently expanded and receded.<sup>6</sup> After Japan secured control over *Nan'yō*, geographic lines were once again redrawn. Occupied Island territories under the administration of the navy became *Uchinan'yō* (Inner *Nan'yō*). Oceans beyond those waters earned the title *Uranan'yō* (Outer *Nan'yō*).<sup>7</sup> Such reconfigurations, coupled with Western notions of the South Seas, amplified the nebulous nature of this real and fluid conceptual space. Torii Ryūzō intimated these sentiments in an article published in 1915:

What we call the South Seas is practically a meaningless term. The scope of the term differs according to who is using it, and it is a non-scientific term: an equivalent for what we call the South Seas does not exist in Western countries.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> European colonialism in *Nan'yō* began with Ferdinand Magellan landing on Guam in 1521.

<sup>7</sup> Peattie, 1988, xviii.

<sup>8</sup> Torii Ryūzō, “Waga *Nan'yō* dojin no kishū” (The Strange Customs of our South Seas Natives) in *Gakusei* (May 1915). Cited in Tierney, 2010, 111.



Torii's acknowledgement that the term lacked any precise definition elicited how this malleable entity continued to transform in *yōkai*-like ways. Moreover, despite its so-called meaninglessness, Torii discursively positioned *Nan'yō* within a nexus that included Japan and excluded the West.

Change in orientation towards the South Seas reflected larger literary trends of the Taishō period (1912-1926). Writers and other artists who reacted against realism and naturalism likewise appropriated liminal spaces advocating for more inward and self-reflective modes of expression to understand and critique psychological crises and circumstances caused by modernity.<sup>9</sup> A pervasive literary technique utilized to underscore such torment involved rapidly changing the size and proportion of landscapes and body parts of individual protagonists in hallucinogenic-like visions. As Charles Exley pointed out in his study of Satō Haruo (1892-1964), members of the literary community published their works in an eclectic stew of print media.<sup>10</sup> With regard to detective fiction, he mentioned that “in this period (it) was not carefully distinguished from what are now separated genres of mystery, horror, and science fiction.”<sup>11</sup> As a result, numerous writers zigzagged between what we now understand as distinct genres to provide their audiences commentary on contemporary conditions utilizing non-rational and experimental narrative formats. Towards the latter half of the 1920s, many of these writers turned their attention toward film as a medium to better articulate their vision. They embraced the heightened sensory experience technical advancements in filmmaking could create.<sup>12</sup>

Meiji-period *yōkai* enthusiasts anticipated the shift in literary trends which resulted in a renaissance of ghost-telling literature. Moreover, many anti-realist and anti-naturalist writers joined the *yōkai* boom of the 1910s and 1920s. For example, in addition

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<sup>9</sup> During this period, urban centers became liminal spaces unto themselves. For commentary on this literary shift and how it reflected changes going in Taishō period Japan, see the Introductions of Francis B. Tenny's, *The Sick Rose: A Pastoral Elegy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993); *Beautiful Town: Stories and Essays by Satō Haruo* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996); Stephen Dodd, “Fantasies, Fairies, Electric Dreams: Satō Haruo's Critique of Taishō” *Monumenta Nipponica* 49, no. 3 (Autumn 1994) 287-314; Charles Marvin Exley III, “Satō Haruo and the Culture of Taishō,” (PhD diss., Yale University, 2005), 13-14, 54.

<sup>10</sup> Exley, 2005, 54.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.

<sup>12</sup> Anti-naturalist writers were influential in the development of the Pure Film Movement (Jun eigageki undō) (純映画劇運動) and the New Perception School (Shinkankakuha) (新感覚派). For a comprehensive study on the relationship between these movements and modernity, see Aaron Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895-1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

to writing horror stories, such as “Jinmensō” (The Face) (1918), novelist Tanizaki Jun’ichirō participated in the rebooted tradition of ghost-telling circles (*hyaku monogatari*).<sup>13</sup> Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892-1927) also contributed to ghost-story literature and integrated traditional *yōkai* into his works, which included the satirical fiction *Kappa* and a short story criticizing Japanese colonial projects in the South Seas in a reworking of Momotarō. Earlier in his career, he wrote a piece resembling an Oshikawa adventure novel set in the South Seas titled “Zettō no kaiji” (Strange Event on a Desert Island).<sup>14</sup> Influences from abroad similarly directed the trajectory of Taishō-period literature. Translated science fiction and adventure stories, such as Conan Doyle’s *The Lost World* enjoyed a healthy following.<sup>15</sup> Gothic horror by Edgar Allen Poe made a particularly profound impact. Both Tanizaki and Satō translated his works whilst Hirai Tarō (pen-name Edogawa Rampo) (1894-1965) adopted the author’s name in homage to the literary icon.<sup>16</sup> Other influences which shaped these writers from a young age included Meiji-period adventure novels set in *Nan’yō*. In a noteworthy anecdote, a young Edogawa Rampo attempted to sail off to the South Seas in a makeshift boat before being stopped by his parents during a summer holiday.<sup>17</sup> Artists and other professionals could now actualize such childhood fantasies and replicate aesthetic quests embarked on by Western literary and artistic figures such as Robert Louis Stevenson and Paul Gauguin to “authentically” experience the South Seas firsthand. Painter Kurata Hakuyō (1881-1938) and poet Kitahara Hakushū (1885-1942) moved to the Ogasawara Islands to ply their

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<sup>13</sup> Other famous figures who attended the 1914 gathering were Izumi Kyōka, Kitamura Rokurō, Okamoto Kidō, and Hasegawa Shigure. See Higashi Masao, “Earthquakes, Lightning, Fire, and Father,” in Higashi Masao, ed., *Kaiki: Uncanny Tales from Japan Volume 3-Tales from the Metropolis* (Fukuoka: Kurodahan Press, 2012.), 6-7. For an English translation of *Jinmensō*, see *Ibid.*, 77-91.

<sup>14</sup> For an English translation of an Akutagawa short story, see Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, “Kikei na saikai” (A Bizarre Reunion), trans. by Steven P. Venti, in Higashi ed., 2012, 21-54. For an English translation of *Kappa*, see Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, *Kappa*, trans. by Geoffrey Bownas (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971, 1972); Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, “Momotarō” in Akutagawa Ryūnosuke zenshū, Kōno Toshiro ed., Volume 11 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977-78), 158-166; Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, “Zettō no kaiji” (Strange Event on a Desert Island) in Kōno Toshiro ed., Volume 21 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten), 39-60.

<sup>15</sup> The original Conan Doyle novel, *The Lost World* (1912), first appeared in translated form in Japan in 1915. “Ushinawareta sekai” (The Lost World) ran in the daily paper, *Shinaichi* (the forerunner to the Nagoya-based *Chūnichi Shimbum*) from 17 July through 1 September in forty segments. Saitō Jun, “Ayashii kimono kara kaijū e,” in *Yōkai bunka no dentō to sōzoku: emaki sōshi kara manga ranobe made*, ed. Komatsu Kazuhiko (Tokyo: Serika Shobō, 2010), 396.

<sup>16</sup> Exley, 2005, 19-21.

<sup>17</sup> Nagayama Yasuo, *Gishi bōken sekai: Karuto hon no hyaku nen* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1996), 69.

trades in this regard.<sup>18</sup> Advocates of *nanshin* ideology and contributors to *Nan'yō* discourse conversely had direct ties to *yōkai* cultural production in the early twentieth century. The most prolific ethnologist of Micronesian peoples and cultures, Matsuoka Shizuo (1878-1942), was the younger brother of Yanagita Kunio.

This chapter will trace the interconnectedness between those who crisscrossed various mediums of cultural production and generated *Nan'yō* discourse by reconfiguring the space from the beginning of the Taishō period through World War II. These various moving parts and players not only echoed domestic trends in literature, art, and filmmaking, but also reflected the accelerated exchange of representations of the South Seas operating globally. By the Shōwa period (1926-1989) otherworldly representations of Islands and Islanders concomitantly converged to produce a readily identifiable set of mutually consumable tropes. However, variations of stereotypes and imagery drawn from that shared discursive field found expression in uniquely Japanese forms, suggesting that multiple modernities were being realized.

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The Taishō period figured prominently with respect to *Nan'yō* and *Nan'yō* discourse. Meiji-period supporters of colonial expansion and South Seas advancement continued to actively pursue their vision in various forms of print media, academic venues, and interest groups. Nitobe Inazō, for example, took a post at the prestigious Tokyo University as Professor of Colonial Policy from 1913-1918. During that time, he served as a director of *Nan'yō Kyōkai* (The South Seas Society).<sup>19</sup> From 1911-1912, Nitobe travelled to the United States on a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace fellowship lecturing on Japanese history and international relations at various colleges and universities in the Midwest and along the eastern seaboard.<sup>20</sup> Tsurumi Yūsuke (1885-

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<sup>18</sup> See Charles Fox, "Natives and Others: Prewar Representations of the Ogasawara/Bonin Islands," *Ritsumeikan gengo bunka kenkyū* 22, no. 4 (March 2011), 53-68.

<sup>19</sup> Hyun-gu Lynn, "Comparative Analysis of Japanese Interest Groups in Colonial Korea" (paper presented at the 1<sup>st</sup> World Congress for Korean Studies, Seongnam, Korea, 18-20 July, 2002). For a comprehensive study on the development of *Nan'yō kyōkai* from 1915-1945, see Yong En En, "The *Nan'yō Kyōkai* and Southeast Asia: 1915-1945" (Master's Thesis, National University of Singapore, 2010).

<sup>20</sup> Soon after the tour, Nitobe's talks appeared in the publication *The Japanese Nation: Its land, Its People, and Its Life, with Special Consideration to Its Relations with the United States* (1912). As the title suggests, the book covered a broad range of subjects including an entire chapter devoted to Japan's colonial projects in Taiwan wherein Nitobe took the accepted view of the day concerning the expectations of modern nations

1973), a protégé of Nitobe and recent graduate of Tokyo University, joined this tour of American academic institutions.<sup>21</sup> Like his mentor, Tsurumi became a strong proponent for South Seas expansion. In addition to Nitobe's influence, Tsurumi's advocacy grew out of a relationship with *Nan'yō* that began as a youth when he attended the elite First Higher School. There his English teacher introduced him to the literature of Robert Louis Stevenson. In an episode of life imitating art, the instructor was none other than novelist Natsume Sōseki.<sup>22</sup> Tsurumi cited the following depiction of a twilight landscape out at sea in *Island Night's Entertainment* as profoundly affecting his views of the South Seas and "the Self" from that moment on:

I saw that island first when it was neither night nor morning. The moon was to the west, setting, but still broad and bright. To the east, and right amid ships of the dawn, which was all pink, the daystar sparkled like a diamond. The land breeze blew in our faces, and smelt strong of wild lime and vanilla: other things besides, but these were the most plain; and the chill of it set me sneezing. I should say I had been for years on a low island near the line, living for the most part solitary among natives. Here was a fresh experience: even the tongue would be quite strange to me; and the look of these woods and mountains, and the rare smell of them, renewed my blood.<sup>23</sup>

The passage and its impact resembled Izumi Kyōka's treatise on twilight in both content and effect.<sup>24</sup> Kyōka's supernaturally charged description and Stevenson's primordial, exotic, and hyper-natural South Seas elicited a response that defied articulation but offered the observer glimpses into a seemingly alternate reality.

Following the precedent established in the Meiji period, a major element operating within conceptual reconfigurations of the South Seas was the belief that Japanese and *Nan'yō* peoples shared an ethnic and cultural heritage. Tokutomi Sohō

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to colonize foreign lands. See Nitobe Inazō, *The Japanese Nation: Its Land, Its People, and Its Life, with Special Consideration to Its Relations with The United States* (Safety Harbor, Florida: Simon Publications, 2001), 231-257.

<sup>21</sup> "Selections from the NDL Collection: 'Tsurumi Yūsuke monjo'" (Yūsuke Tsurumi Papers), *National Diet Newsletter*, No. 115 (August 2000); Accessible online at: [http://www.ndl.go.jp/en/publication/ndl\\_newsletter/115/153.html](http://www.ndl.go.jp/en/publication/ndl_newsletter/115/153.html)

<sup>22</sup> Tsurumi's description of his introduction to South Seas literature of Western origins by his high school English teacher, Natsume Sōseki, begs the question if the character Keitarō in *Higan sugi made* was actually based on Tsurumi, or was a composite of the students Sōseki taught as an instructor of English literature at the First Higher School in Tokyo from 1903-1906. As mentioned, The First Higher School was the elite prep school for students on track to enroll at the prestigious Tokyo Imperial University, and thus served as an early training ground for Japan's future leaders of the twentieth century.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Louis Stevenson, *Island Night's Entertainment* (1893) (Cambridge: CPS Classic Texts, 2008).

<sup>24</sup> For a complete translation of Tsurumi's reactions to the passage, see Tierney, 2010, 113.

(1863-1957) published numerous articles and books via his printing company the Min'yūsha. In *Jimu ikkagen* (My Views of Current Affairs) (1913), he promoted both southern and northern expansion, recommending that anyone engaged in activities in the South Seas treat Islanders with kindness and consideration. Sohō's argument centered on age-old commonalities, "For Japanese, going to the South Seas is like going to pay respect to one's distant relatives and ancestors."<sup>25</sup> In 1915, a director of *Nan'yō Kyōkai*, Inoue Masaji (1876-1947), discussed securing *Nan'yō* in seemingly providential terms grounded on the same premise:

I have long contended that Japanese expansion into the South Seas is a matter of returning to the ancient past of our race prior to the Emperor Jinmu. A certain archeologist has claimed that the Yamato race was born to the south and then advanced to the north by conquest. For many years, anthropologists have acknowledged that the blood of the Japanese is mixed with that of the South Seas people, a fact borne out by many similarities we share in physical appearance, manners and customs... I do not think it is an insult to the Japanese to say that we have a large share of southern blood in our veins. Anthropologists (*jinshugakusha*: literally race scientists) have argued that superior and victorious nations, such as the Anglo-Saxons, formed themselves by absorbing and fermenting (*junka*) several different racial strains. How can the Japanese people, who have received the blood of the southern peoples and purified it, leave the southern races to languish in their backwardness? By leading them, developing them and fostering their happiness, we are not merely laying down the so-called royal road for the barbarians; from our point of view as Japanese, we have the good fortune of being able to return to our original home from the time before the Emperor Jinmu... The southern expansion is inevitable, natural, and indispensable.<sup>26</sup>

Like Inoue, Tsurumi Yūsuke interpreted the realization of this objective as the fulfillment of a much larger destiny. This vision tied an affirmation of Japanese colonial projects to an intangible ideal promoting direct engagement with the South Seas. A new-found-but-long-lost identity took hold resembling the noble savage motif Europeans imposed onto Pacific populations during the age of scientific exploration and Enlightenment thought.<sup>27</sup> As evidenced, the Western tradition constructing an exotic South Seas greatly informed

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<sup>25</sup> Sohō Tokutomi, *Jimu ikkagen* (My Views of Current Affairs) (Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1913), 297. Cited in Shimizu, 1987, 398.

<sup>26</sup> Inoue Masaji, *Nan'yō* (The South Seas) (Tokyo: Toyamabō, 1915), 17-18. Cited in Tierney, 2005, 24-25.

<sup>27</sup> For more background on how Enlightenment thought and encounters in the South Seas shaped a Western worldview, see Henri Baudet, *Paradise on Earth: Some Thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998); Richard Lansdown, *Strangers in the South Seas: The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

conceptualizations of *Nan'yō* and “the Self” in modern Japan. However, the constant element emphasizing a common ancestry with South Seas peoples allowed Japanese discourse to remain independent from Western paradigms. By doing so, justification for colonization took added significance as Japan painted itself as a protector of its Pacific brethren from Euro-American encroachment and imperialism.

A softer image of inner *Nan'yō* gradually developed. No longer considered a hostile environ, the image of the South Seas acquiesced to the needs of the observer who viewed a tranquil and idealized natural landscape through a romanticized lens. The preface of *Nan'yō no fūdo* (Nature and Culture in the Southern World) published by *Nan'yō Kyōkai* in 1916 reflected this softer image and shift in orientation:

The name of the South Seas is easily associated with some hot and humid place where an endemic fever is prevalent and beasts and venomous snakes rampant; these regions are undeniably hot but are comfortable with sea breezes; in Palau, there are crocodiles but no beasts and venomous snakes, and nobody catches a fever in the plain; such islands as Truk, Palau, and Ponape are especially featured by ‘beautiful sceneries and panoramic landscapes that are really suggestive of the paradise of nature.’<sup>28</sup>

Writers, poets, artists, and policy wonks recognized the utility of connecting with an elusive and primordial *Nan'yō* to better understand the human condition and experience an idealized state of being. Distinguished elites such as Tsurumi provided an authoritative voice to implore the readers to embrace a preternatural South Seas via literary approaches. Embedded within Tsurumi’s invitation to access an elusive-but-immeasurably worthwhile alternate reality was a caveat requiring the participant to take a leap of faith. A qualitatively different dynamic operated within this recalibrated paradigm compared to alternative mediums associated with *Nan'yō* discourse. Earlier forms incorporating supra or supernatural elements were understood as inherently vicarious and simply required a temporary suspension of disbelief to successfully be engaged. Tsurumi’s proposal aligned closely to Meiji-period debates concerning the treatment of *yōkai*:

Rather than pondering the political and economic matter of developing the lands and ruling the people, I am more deeply moved by the image of moonlight shining through the leaves of a palm tree or a human figure in a sarong in the shadow of a mango tree... I am deeply convinced that our literary and poetic

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<sup>28</sup> *Nan'yō Kyōkai*, *Nan'yō no fūdo* (The Climate and Vegetation of the South Seas), (Tokyo: *Nan'yō Kyōkai*, 1916). Cited in Akimichi, 1997, 245.

interests have far deeper roots than our thirst for knowledge and intellectual interests.<sup>29</sup>

Engaging the South Seas in literary terms had ramifications with perceiving and representing *Nan'yō* populations going forward. The most fundamental projection involved freezing Islanders in a past that precluded any possibility of becoming part of the modern world without outside assistance.<sup>30</sup> Tropes juxtaposing backwardness against advanced civilization bound within age-old commonalities played out in a multitude of discourses and institutions that enhanced Japan's colonial efforts and expansion in *Nan'yō*.

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One efficacious vehicle at the disposal of “developed” countries to highlight technological and economic achievements as well as overseas colonial projects was the international exhibition. While certainly unplanned, the first year of World War I coincided with such an event held in Tokyo in March 1914. Celebrating the ascension of the Emperor, the Taishō Exhibition (*Taishō hakurankai*) (大正博覧会) not only marked the beginning of a new era, but served as a platform to confirm Japan's position as an advanced nation on par with the West. Periodicals such as *Tōkyō pakku*, *fūzoku gahō* (Illustrated Monthly Periodical), *Shōjo sekai* (Girls' World), and *Shōnen sekai* (Boy's World), launched a promotional campaign that amassed enthusiasm among a wide demographic spectrum.<sup>31</sup> As the names of the magazines suggest, they specifically targeted Japan's reading youth who were already well exposed to stories depicting supernatural technologies and exotic far-off lands in adventure stories laden with militarist and nationalist subtexts.

The Taishō Exhibition followed the Euro-American model, juxtaposing progress against backwardness through the public display of colonized peoples in their “natural” environs. Venues provided patrons glimpses of advanced technology at work in the form

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<sup>29</sup> Tsurumi Yūsuke, *Nan'yō yūki* (Travel Sketches of the South Seas) (Tokyo: Dainihon Yūbenkai, 1917), 1-2. Cited in Tierney, 2010, 112.

<sup>30</sup> In the case of Yosano's poem, simply being exposed to the air of an industrialized nation could instantly corrupt and diminish that primordial power and energy of *Nan'yō* populations when taken out of their element. See appendix.

<sup>31</sup> Miki, 2002, 33-56.

of ropeways and escalators. In contrast, visitors were offered a chance to experience Japan's expanding colonial periphery in the safe confines of the capital city. The Karafuto Pavilion, Hokkaidō Pavilion, Manchurian Pavilion, Taiwan Pavilion, Ogasawara Pavilion, and *Nan'yō* Pavilion were among the attractions that introduced the cultures and peoples of distant lands within the empire's growing sphere of influence. Both the Ogasawara Islands Pavilion and *Nan'yō* Pavilion (*Nan'yōkan*) (南洋館) featured individuals brought from those "exotic" locales as a major draw for each attraction. A special edition of the *Illustrated Monthly Periodical* stressed the exotic and wild nature of the foreign peoples at the pavilions.<sup>32</sup> In their effort to boost distribution and entice large crowds, the article pointed out that a group of former cannibals who performed a dance at the *Nan'yō* Pavilion—the Sakai people of the Malay Peninsula—had been particularly unruly upon arrival to Japan. In addition to the Sakai, five other ethnic groups from South East Asia—a total of 28 people (18 men and 10 women)—formed the contingent for the human display there. Efforts by promoters to stir up excitement clearly paid off. Attendance figures for that summer reached almost 7.5 million visitors. Admission fees ranged from 15 *sen* for a half day to 20 *sen* for an entire day. Taking into consideration the poor economic climate of the day and that a visit to a local bathhouse cost roughly 3 *sen*, large turnout suggested that attendees were willing to part with a certain amount of disposable income to experience this extravagant spectacle.<sup>33</sup>

Human participants and the rare items brought from their respective locales undoubtedly piqued the interest of Tokyo residents. Nonetheless, to ensure customer satisfaction organizers placed dolls of wild animals around the display to add an element of "exotic realism." Oddly, this fabricated and exaggerated presentation was persuasive enough to receive the following write-up in the business journal *Jitsugyō no Nihon* (Business Japan):

When you enter the South Seas Pavilion, you feel as if surrounded by the atmosphere of the South Seas. Against a backdrop of South Seas scenery, various kinds of tropical plants grow luxuriantly while dolls representing the natives are hunting for gorillas and boa constrictors... The biggest novelty is a live display in

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.



which one can experience native islanders (25 in all) living in realistically constructed huts.<sup>34</sup>

This skewed image of a constructed *Nan'yō* inhabited by wildlife of non-Pacific origins continued in the coming decades. While the passage suggested visitors left satisfied, a famous poet of the day, Yosano Tekkan (1873-1935), offered an alternative perspective.<sup>35</sup> In the poem titled, *Nan'yōkan* (Nan'yō Pavilion) his protagonist expressed deep disappointment and lamented the pathetic condition of the peoples put on display.

A literary advocate who championed the transformation of traditional *waka* into modern forms, Yosano established an association of like-minded poets known as the *Shinshisha* (The New Poetry Society) and founded the successful journal, *Myōjō* (Bright Star). Members of the association included his wife, Yosano Akiko (1878-1942), Satō Haruo (1892-1964), and Kitahara Hakushū (1885-1942).<sup>36</sup> In *Nan'yōkan*, an unnamed protagonist visited the well-attended international spectacle with his two daughters.<sup>37</sup> Upon entrance to the crowded South Seas Pavilion, he was immediately displeased and vehemently charged that the exhibit was grossly inauthentic. Having travelled to Singapore, the main character presented his audience with what *he* envisioned the South Seas and the inhabitants of the region to be. The speaker articulated a vision that was a complete synthesis of the natural world. For him, *Nan'yō* was a primordial locale where absolutely no separation existed between the human, animal, and plant populations. He described how its people, frogs, and flowers all interpreted and responded to stimuli synchronically and to equal effect. A critical component of the poem involved the protagonist's encounter with a Native dance team, whose members, he lamented, became spoiled and decayed upon contact with the air of the modern world.

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<sup>34</sup> From “Bisō o korashitaru Taishō hakurankai hiraku” (The Opening of the Ornate Taishō Exhibition), in *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, (March 1914). Cited in Tierney, 2010, 111.

<sup>35</sup> Yosano's given name was Hiroshi. Tekkan was his penname.

<sup>36</sup> For a list of *Myōjō* poets, see Katō Shūichi and Chia-ning Chang, *A Sheep's Song: A Writer's Reminiscences of Japan and the World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 24. Hakushū also collaborated with Yosano in the 1907 collection of travel essays titled *Go soku no kutsu* (Five Paris of Shoes).

<sup>37</sup> Yosano Hiroshi (Tekkan), “Nan'yōkan” (Nan'yō Pavilion), in *Hankyō* (October Edition) (Tokyo: Hankyōsha, 1914). For a complete English translation of the poem, see the appendix of this dissertation. The original Japanese version can be accessed at Aozora bunko: <http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/00320/card2565.html>.

The protagonist was convinced that *his* conceptualization of the region was authentic and real. He prescribed to the idea that peoples of *Nan'yō* were inherently incompatible with modernity and that physical exposure to industrialized societies lead to their near instant demise. Moreover, he bemoaned that members of “advanced” nations lacked the tools necessary to reproduce a relationship with the natural world that was both primordial and direct. To him the modern world prohibited channeling the otherworldly. Firsthand engagement with *Nan'yō* had the potential to provide the modern observer an opportunity to access and experience that primordial hyper-natural idealized state. Given this regrettable acknowledgement, the poem ended without resolution as the visitor was shaken out of his ruminations by his daughters and forced to deal with the modern capitalist consumer culture of Taishō Japan.

While a hard primitivism conjuring images of cannibalism and savagery emerged from both Yosano's *Nan'yōkan* and the journal description of the exaggerated display, Miki Haruko suggested that a very different picture of the Ogasawara Islands materialized during the exhibition.<sup>38</sup> She discussed how the Islander contingent who worked as waitpersons disrupted preconceived notions of South Seas populations and their assumed customs. Their unique ethnic make-up of Hawaiian and Anglo-Saxon ancestry combined with using English to communicate with patrons at the coffee shop complicated a fixed stereotype held among Japanese who visited the attraction. Miki argued that this encounter contributed to the development of a softer primitivism and made *Nan'yō* an even more ambiguous and malleable conceptual space.<sup>39</sup> This observation paralleled one direction South Seas discourse moved along during the decade. It also marked the moment when perceptions of *Nan'yō* increasingly gravitated towards identification with Micronesia.

Artists and writers who travelled to the Ogasawara Islands in 1914 produced works reflecting a set of expectations placed upon the communities and landscapes that did not match realities on the ground. Infused with romantic ambitions of creating works comparable to Paul Gauguin, painter Kurata Hakuyō (1881-1938) and poet Kitahara Hakushū (1881-1938), dealt with disappointment by selectively picking, omitting, or

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<sup>38</sup> Miki, 2002, 48-53; Tierney, 2010, 111.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 2002, 48-53.

rendering images that provided some semblance of a preconceived exotic South Seas.<sup>40</sup> Kurata produced more than 40 paintings while living in the Ogasawaras. Although only two have survived, his work titled *Ogaswara Island* was particularly revealing in terms of what was not there. As demonstrated by Charles Fox in “Natives and Others: Representations of the Ogasawara/Bonin Islands,” Kurata did not include any of the more modern buildings in his landscape of the town.<sup>41</sup> These missing centers of human activity included the post office, government offices, and the Anglican Church. Likewise, he did not render any non-Native peoples who lived in the community. Hakushū’s poetry similarly reflected the absence of human subjects.<sup>42</sup> While stanzas abounded with descriptions of lush flora and exotic landscapes, Fox observed that the representation of Islanders was sorely lacking with the exception of one folksong titled, “*Shima no tayori*” (Message from the Islands).<sup>43</sup> In this piece, the author presented a nihilistic picture of the Ogaswaras that described an assortment of characters who were either dead or dying. Fox pointed out that this depiction more accurately reflected the Island’s heterogeneous demographic composition. He also observed that Hakushū’s imagery represented the poet’s lament for an idealized past that had been replaced by corrupt foreigners and their decadent ways.<sup>44</sup> On a side note, while Hakushū lived in the Islands he befriended adventure novelist, Oshikawa Shunrō. Oshikawa at the time was recovering from a battle with alcoholism and getting his life together after enduring a substantial slip in popularity. For him, the Ogasawaras offered an opportunity to not only recuperate and decompress, but also “authentically” experience the South Seas like *his* literary hero, Robert Louis Stevenson.<sup>45</sup>

The Taishō Exhibition and artists who moved to the Ogasawaras in 1914 generated an amalgamation of imagery associated with *Nan’yō* that reflected and propelled preconceived visions of the South Seas.<sup>46</sup> These images—many completely

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<sup>40</sup> Fox, 2011, 55-61.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-61.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 57-58.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 58. All of Hakushū’s poems written on the Ogasawaras are available in *Hakushū zenshū*, Volume 7, Kimata Osamu, ed., (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1984-1988).

<sup>45</sup> Miki, 2002, 48-53.

<sup>46</sup> Mention of the South Seas Pavilion also appeared in anti-naturalist writer Shiga Noaya’s, *An’ya kōro* (A Dark Night’s Passing) (1921-1937). While the book was published by the literary journal *Kaizō* over the

fabricated—provided an ambiguous-yet-arguably cohesive conceptualization of the region and its peoples. Both a real and imagined South Seas served as a discursive space to formulate notions of what it meant to be a modern individual via projection, omission, and juxtaposition. An otherworldly sense of *Nan'yō* grew by the early Taishō period and its magnitude increased with the outbreak of World War One. Roughly three weeks after the Taishō Exhibition closed its gates, Japan sent warships into Pacific waters to eradicate the German fleet, establishing firm control over most of Micronesia.

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The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June, 1914 opened opportunities for the Japanese empire to solidify a permanent presence in the South Seas and realize the long-standing goal championed by *nanshin* advocates of the early Meiji period. Japan jumped at Britain's suggestion to engage any German vessels that threatened shipping. Military leaders assembled the necessary forces to intercept warships sailing in Micronesian waters, putting Japan in strong position to make a claim to retain the Islands at the war's end.<sup>47</sup> The task of searching for the enemy fleet fell to Vice Admiral Yamaya Tanin (1886-1940) whose First South Seas Squadron occupied the Marshall Islands. The navy then sent the Second South Seas Squadron under the command of Rear Admiral Matsumura Tatsuo (1868-1932) to secure the western part of Micronesia. Matsumura's battleships took Kosrae on October 5 and Pohnpei the next day. By the second week in October, Yamaya's squadron controlled the Chuuk Lagoon. The First South Seas Squadron reached Yap on October 7. From Yap they sailed to Palau and then to the phosphate-rich Anguar. The navy successfully completed its military takeover when the *Katori* reached Saipan on October 14.<sup>48</sup>

Prior to the war a number of Japanese traders had made Micronesia their home for many years. Mori Koben (1869-1945) planted roots there during the nascent stages of the *nanshin* movement. A passionate ideologue, Mori drew inspiration from Yano Ryūkei's

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span of more than 15 years, most of it appeared between 1921 and 1922. In a brief scene the protagonist debated whether to go to the Taishō Exhibition where his friend visited numerous times due to a particular interest in the Native dance performance. See Shiga Naoya, *A Dark Night Night's Passing*, trans. Edwin McClellan (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1976), 187.

<sup>47</sup> Purcell, 1976, 88.

<sup>48</sup> Peattie, 1988 41-44.

*Ukishiro monogatari* (The Floating Castle) and dreamt of the day when his nation's flag flew over the South Seas.<sup>49</sup> He exemplified the quintessential expatriate adventurer-cum-trader and personified the Stranger King motif to such a degree that his exploits reverberated all the way back to his native prefecture where he enjoyed celebrity status. Part of Mori's heroic reputation can surely be attributed to his return to Japan after losing fingers of his right hand while preparing explosives for a skirmish with a Chuukese clan in 1896.<sup>50</sup> Mori's homecoming to Shikoku to recover from injuries sustained from the accident offered ample opportunity to share life stories to captivated listeners. So prolific were his exploits in Shikoku that a song-and-dance routine drawing on his experiences became popular in the 1920s and decades to come.<sup>51</sup> Mori's dreams came true when he welcomed and provided intelligence for marines landing on Dublon in the fall of 1914.

For Lieutenant Commander Matsuoka Shizuo (1878-1936), operations during World War I in *Nan'yō* had immediate and long-term impacts. Already a veteran of battles aboard the *Chiyoda* in the Russo-Japanese War—the warship *Izumi Kyōka* used in his supernaturally charged children's story *Kaisen no yohan* (The Aftermath of a Naval Battle)—Matsuoka's life-changing experiences in Micronesia had little to do with military strategy or combat with the enemy. As detailed, the military takeover of Micronesia happened very quickly and without any major violent confrontation between the belligerents. What affected Matsuoka so profoundly concerned his impression of the peoples and landscape of the Islands that were heavily informed by a set of preconceived ideas bordering on fantasy. Indeed, Matsuoka's earliest adventures there resulted in choosing a career that allowed him to remain engaged with the region for the rest of his life. After leaving the navy, he turned to ethnology following the career path of his older brother, Yanagita Kunio.

As early as 1915, Matsuoka began researching and publishing articles on the peoples, cultures, and biosphere of the South Seas.<sup>52</sup> He also promoted *nanshin* ideology

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<sup>49</sup> For a detailed overview of Mori Koben's early life as a trader in Micronesia, see Peattie, 1988, 26-33.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> This dance known as the "Daku-daku odori" will be discussed at greater length in this chapter. For a comprehensive overview of the dance and its implications with identity formation in Japan and in Micronesia, see, Greg Dvorak, "Seeds from Afar, Flowers from the Reef: Re-membering the Coral and Concrete of Kwajalein Atoll" (PhD diss., Canberra: The Australian National University, 2007), 102-144.

<sup>52</sup> Matsuoka Shizuo, *Nanmei no himitsu* (The Secrets of the Southern Ocean) (Tokyo: Shun'yōdō Hakkō, 1915).

in a position paper presented to the Japanese delegation at the Versailles peace negotiations. Matsuoka strongly argued for Japan to maintain rule over the former German colonies, urging the delegates to acknowledge the region's strategic value that could facilitate further expansion south:

Even if our occupation brings no immediate advantage, the South Seas islands must be kept in our possession [and used] as a stepping stone to the treasure houses of the South Seas region.<sup>53</sup>

By the late 1920s through the 1930s, Matsuoka became *the* most prolific scholar of Micronesian languages and cultures—albeit an armchair anthropologist. In *Mikronesia no minzokushi* (The Ethnography of Micronesia) (1927), Matsuoka reflected on his introduction to the Pohnpeian landscape and peoples which he described in terms reminiscent of the Stranger King paradigm:

Cruising along the clear and calm coral reef was not unpleasant for me. Passing through the rocks and mangrove bushes in a native boat, we landed and found the houses of villagers which were invisible from the sea. Village children came out to see us, looking at our golden swords which attracted them. An old village chief clad in a new loin cloth welcomed us, together with his men.<sup>54</sup>

According to Kawamura Minato and noted by Yamashita, Matsuoka had dreams of ruling an island of Native peoples.<sup>55</sup> Like Mori Koben, Matsuoka personified both the Stranger King paradigm and the overlap of numerous forms of *Nan'yō* discourse that included traditional *nanshin* ideology and supernaturally charged children's print media. Indeed, these two men were tied by an odd reversal of circumstances and remarkable set of coincidences. Years after sailing on the real *Chiyoda* during the Russo-Japanese War (the ship *Kyōka* fictionally drew on in *Kaisen no yoha*) Matsuoka eventually occupied a South Seas Island. Inspired by an imagined ship (*the Ukishiro*), Mori Koben moved to *Nan'yō* and likewise assisted with its military takeover.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Matusoka Shizuo, *Nan'yō shin senryōchi no shōrai* (Tokyo: Shun'yōdō, 1917). Cited in Schencking, 1999, 792. Also see Frei, 1991, 100.

<sup>54</sup> Matusoka Shizuo, *Mikronesia no minzokushi* (The Ethnography of Micronesia) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1927). Cited in Yamashita, 2004, 100.

<sup>55</sup> Kawamura Minato, "Daitōa minzokugaku" no kyojitsu" (The Myth and Reality of Great Asian Ethnology) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1995), 153; Yamashita, 2004, 99.

<sup>56</sup> Peattie, 1988, 66.

Matsuoka's visions of ruling over a South Seas Island parlayed into contributing to *Nan'yō* discourse later in life via anthropology. Matsuoka employed an Orientalist approach tied to the notion that Japanese shared a history, culture, and ethnic heritage with Micronesians. This linkage served to legitimize Japanese hegemony distinct from Western paradigms. And while the "Stranger King" may have been from a distant land, he positioned Japan and Micronesia within a common cultural nexus:

It is difficult to explain the Micronesian spiritual culture in Western terms, because of the cultural difference in origin. This book is an attempt at an explanation of the Micronesian people by a Japanese in Japanese. I do not follow Western theory. I have fundamental doubts about how far Western anthropologists since Bastian's days could have understood the Micronesian belief system. In my observations, in Micronesia there were concepts of *imi* (taboo) or *tsumi* (crime, sin) similar to those which were found in ancient Japan. They are different from Western concepts of sacred/profane as explained by Durkheim.<sup>57</sup>

This discursive strategy had ramifications concerning colonialism. Matsuoka suggested that Japanese had certain advantages in understanding Micronesian cultures. He contended that cultural signs were mutually intelligible due to a shared bygone past and that no Western equivalents existed. Placed in a broader context, he also implied that Japan was better suited to engage with other Asian and Pacific societies than their Western counterparts. Fundamental ideas behind the Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere to sell military and economic expansion to domestic and colonized populations can in part be traced to intellectual frameworks operating within cultural anthropology.

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With the occupation complete, the military moved swiftly to create a system of administrative apparatuses. Renamed the Provisional South Seas Islands Defense Force (Rinji Nan'yō Guntō Bōbitai), the Second South Seas Squadron began operations as the ruling authority in January 1915. With headquarters and a naval garrison stationed at Dublon, they managed affairs by establishing additional offices and garrisons in each of the six assigned districts: the Northern Marianas, Jaluit, Pohnpei, Chuuk, Palau, and Yap. As a means to demonstrate competent colonial rule and assure long-term control, the

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<sup>57</sup> Yamashita, Bosco, and Eades eds., 2004, 100.

government sent specialists to gain information about the Islands and Islanders that year. Like Meiji-period travelogue writers, numerous scientists, agricultural experts, and medical doctors boarded naval vessels to visit various locales to conduct research. In addition to supervising the many studies going on throughout the region, the Self Defense Forces oversaw infrastructure projects, which included road-building and dock construction.<sup>58</sup> As for civil administrative duties, they regulated and enforced laws, constructed schools and medical facilities, and managed sanitation and hygiene.<sup>59</sup>

Beginning in December 1914, the naval administration opened five elementary schools attended by a total of sixty-seven students.<sup>60</sup> The three-year primary schools offered classes in rudimentary Japanese language as well as domestic and agricultural-skill acquisition for children eight-years-old and above. During the first two years, naval personnel and other expatriate civilians handled the curriculum and teaching responsibilities on a temporary basis. In the meantime, the Self Defense Forces promulgated Ordinance 407, calling for a comprehensive evaluation of conditions in *Nan'yō* to create a formal educational system. The agency dispatched Ishiguro Hidehiko (1884-1945) to the colonial headquarters to conduct a five-month region-wide survey and make an assessment based on his findings in the field.<sup>61</sup> In 1915, Ishiguro drafted the Primary School Regulations of the South Seas Islands and laid out the fundamental objectives of colonial schools:

The primary school should have as its goal, providing island children with moral education, teaching of the national language, general knowledge and skills essential to their daily life, ... (and) indoctrinating them with filial piety and obedience to authority (Article 1).<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Don A. Farrell, *History of the Northern Mariana Islands*. (Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, CNMI: Public School System of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, 1991), 298-299.

<sup>59</sup> Peattie, 1988, 64.

<sup>60</sup> Miyawaki Hiroyuki, ed., *Nan'yō guntō kokugo tokuhon* Volume 1 (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 2006), 8-12.

<sup>61</sup> Morioka Junko, "Parao ni okeru senzen Nihongo kyōiku to sono eikyō: Senzen Nihongo kyōiku o uketa Paraojin no kikitori chōsa kara" (Japanese Language Education under the Japanese Mandatory Administration in PALAU And Its Influence: Research based on listening comprehension tests administered to Palauans who received Japanese language education) in *Ritsumeikan daigaku bessatsu Kotoba to sono hirogari: Yamaguchi Kōji Kyōjyu taishoku kinen ronshū* (Kyoto: Ritsumeikan Daigaku, March, 2006), 331-97.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 9. English translation provided in Miyawaki Hiroyuki, "Colonial Language Policies and Their Effects," (paper presented at the World Congress on Language Policies: Barcelona, April 17, 2002), 3.



The passage clearly reflected the notion that educational institutions acted as a system to exercise power and create colonial subjects. Emphasis on education as a tool to assimilate colonized populations took on greater magnitude the following year in more explicit terms with the release of the *Directions for Primary School Teachers*:

Now that the South Seas Islands are under the rule of the Japanese Empire, it is certainly the mission of the Japanese Empire that the Empire should nurture the islands and assimilate them. Education is the essential means of assimilation. Assimilation, whether it will be successful or not, solely depends on education, and education whether it will be successful or not, similarly depends on teachers. Teachers should feel obliged to take island children as His Majesty's children and nurture them with benevolence.<sup>63</sup>

Naval officers began passing administrative duties to the Provisional South Seas Islands Defense Forces. By March of 1917, the agency published its first set of readers for primary school students. The readers consisted of two volumes. The first was geared for the youngest students and contained illustrations accompanied with a Japanese word or

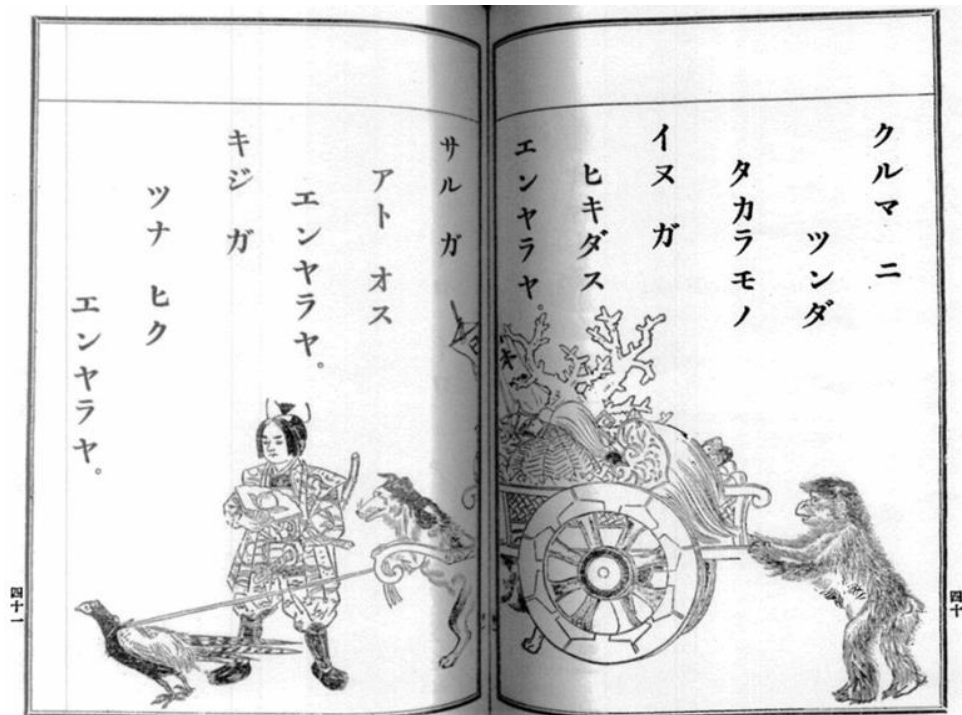


Figure 38. Momotarō from *Nan'yō guntō kokugo dokuhon* Vol. 1 (1917). Courtesy of Ōzorasha Publishing.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 3-4.

series of sentences all written in *katakana* script. Each lesson conveyed a certain practice, cultural norm, patriotic sentiment, everyday object or situation. The second, written for the higher grades, expanded on that model but provided its students with more text and advanced sentence structures.<sup>64</sup>

Following established models in Japan, these texts drew on *yōkai*. Readers circulated in *Nan'yō* from 1917 through 1945 (seven editions and a total of 26 volumes in all). In addition to *yokai*-laden folklore, they introduced numerous native myths and Shinto deities. Edited by Sugita Jihei, the first volume of the first edition provided a very short synopsis of the Momotarō folktale. Limited in details, it featured an illustration of the hero and his band of animal friends pushing a large cart full of plundered treasure seized from Onigashima (See Figure 38).<sup>65</sup> The only other mention of *yōkai* in that edition appeared in Chapter Ten of Volume Two titled, “Kakurembō” (Hide-and-Seek).<sup>66</sup> In the Japanese version of this game played by children all over the world, the person designated as “it” is referred to as “*oni*.” This mundane example subtly introduced *yōkai* as a concept, as well as faintly revealed the ubiquitous presence of *yōkai* in everyday Japanese culture extending into the colonial periphery.

While colonial schools were shaping the minds of Micronesian children, several intellectuals and politicians recognized that tapping into youthful exuberance at home could enhance Japan’s expanding influence and ongoing colonial projects in *Nan'yō*. Documenting a four-month journey through South East Asia in 1915, Tsurumi Yūsuke expounded on the efficacy of targeting young minds to promote long-term imperialist goals in the region:

Recently more and more writers have raised their voices to call for southern expansion and turn our attention to the rich and fertile regions of the south. I heartily celebrate this trend, but cannot think that a southern expansion policy calling only for expanded production or emigration is sufficient or complete. People will not easily summon the will to leave the land of their ancestors unless they are also stimulated to feel fascination and longing for the South Seas. This longing arises most easily during boyhood and youth when our imaginations are most active and our perceptions sharpest. The foundation of the expansion of the

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<sup>64</sup> Miyawaki, 2006, 8-12.

<sup>65</sup> Sumida Jihei, ed., *Nan'yō guntō kokugo dokuhon* Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Rinji Nan'yō Guntō Bōbitai Shireikan, 1917), 10-11 in Hiroyuki Miyawaki ed., *Nan'yō guntō kokugo dokuhon* Vol. 1 (Tokyo: Ōzorasha, 2006).

<sup>66</sup> Ashida Enosuke, ed., *Nan'yō guntō kokugō dokuhon* Vol. 2 (Tokyo: Rinji Nan'yō Guntō Bōbitai Shireikan, 1917) in Miyawaki, 2006, Volume 2.

Japanese race must be laid while our youth are still in the cradle. Imperialism must spark their desire for exotic lands and fire their dreams.<sup>67</sup>

Tokutomi Sohō similarly directed discussions of colonialism to Japanese youth in *Taishō no seinen to teikoku no zento* (The Taishō Youth and the Empire's Future) (1916). This treatise foreshadowed Pan-Asianism of the 1930s which called for the creation of a unified autonomous economic bloc that placed Japan in an assumed paternalistic role protecting Asian nations and peoples.<sup>68</sup> Nitobe Inazō continued to raise the call for public support of colonial projects and once again invoked Momotarō to rally his audience around expansion into the South Seas. This time he tweaked the story to allow for a more exhaustive colonial experience that could better meet the expectations of the times:

I love Momotarō and have frequently had occasion to refer to his story. Nevertheless, I believe that we need to revise this folktale to make it fit the new Japan. In this version, Momotarō goes to the island of the ogres, settles down and does not return to his home country. Rather than bringing the treasures of the island back to Japan, he invites the old man and woman to join him and plans to build a happy home in this new land.<sup>69</sup>

Nitobe's retooling of the fable in 1916 both reflected Meiji-period *nanshin* ideology and anticipated increased Japanese emigration to the South Seas.

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The early years of the Taishō era served as a watershed moment in *Nan'yō* history and discourse. Impacts on local communities and the environment were deeply pronounced as tremendous changes transpired on multiple fronts. By the end of World War I in November 1918, Japan staked out a strong position to retain Micronesia. Not only had the government secured numerous assurances from European allies, also established an administrative apparatus run by civilian bureaucrats under the purview of the Ministry of the Navy.<sup>70</sup> Despite gains made from diplomatic agreements, the United

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<sup>67</sup> Tsurumi Yūsuke, 1917, 5-6. Cited in Tierney, 2010, 113.

<sup>68</sup> Tokutomi Sohō, *Taishō no seinen to teikoku no zento* (The Taishō Youth and the Empire's Future) (Tokyo: Min'yūsha, 1916), 374. Cited in Shimizu, 1987, 398.

<sup>69</sup> Nitobe Inazō, "Nan'yō no keizaiteki kachi (1916) (The Economic Value of the South Seas) in *Nitobe Inazō Zenshū* (The Complete Works of Nitobe Inazō) Volume 4 (Tokyo: Kyōbunkan, 1969). Cited in Tierney, 2005, 159-60.

<sup>70</sup> Peattie, 1988, 64-68.

States viewed Japan's dealings in Asia and rule over *Nan'yō* with great suspicion and had ramped up an espionage campaign to investigate any military build-up in the region.<sup>71</sup> At Versailles, Japanese representatives strongly appealed for continued control of the occupied South Seas territory and rhetorically situated themselves as benevolent stewards in the best position to bring the Islands into the modern age.

Such objectives aligned with US President Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations vision. One of its primary purposes was to provide economic development to formerly colonized populations and foster their self-determination.<sup>72</sup> To achieve this goal, the League assigned certain member states the responsibility to act as "mentors" and designated territories deemed ill-prepared to immediately join the world of nations as "mandates" divided into three categories: Class A, Class B, and Class C. Within this framework, peoples inhabiting Class C mandates were considered the least capable of transitioning into a modern state and the most in need of political, economic, and social stewardship.<sup>73</sup> Micronesia (with the exception of Guam) was designated as Class C. The United States delegation and other international powers at Versailles agreed to Japan becoming mandatory of Micronesia in December 1920.<sup>74</sup>

Upon the conclusion of the peace negotiations, an issue concerning access to an international cable station located on Yap exacerbated tensions between the US and Japan. In an effort to ameliorate the situation, the countries entered into two sets of negotiations,

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<sup>71</sup> Dirk Anthony Ballendorf, "Secrets without Substance: US Intelligence in the Japanese Mandates, 1915-1935" *The Journal of Pacific History* 19, no. 1: 83-99; Peattie, 1988, 237-240.

<sup>72</sup> Coincidentally, both Nitobe and Tsurumi had personal histories tied to President Wilson. Nitobe and Wilson attended Johns Hopkins University together in 1906. When Nitobe visited the United States with Tsurumi in 1912, he took his protégé to the seminar room and pointed to where he and Wilson sat. For Tsurumi, he participated in a symposium in 1917 that focused on Wilson's ideas and policies. The following year Tsurumi not only met the US President on a visit to America, but formed an organization in Japan dedicated to promote Wilsonian principles appropriately named the "Wilson Club." As Tsurumi and Nitobe demonstrated with their rhetoric and actions, liberal progressive democratic ideals did not preclude the promotion and support of colonial projects in the post-World War I landscape. The proposed mandate system stipulating the eventual self-determination of dependent populations provided wiggle room for such politicians and stakeholders to practice business-as-usual colonialism under a new name. See Thomas W. Burkman, *Japan and the League of Nations: Empire and World Order, 1914-1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 146.

<sup>73</sup> For more information on the structure and policies set forth by the League, see the *Covenant of the League of Nations* accessible online at: [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/leagcov.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp).

<sup>74</sup> Peattie, 1988, 54-60; Oddly enough, while Nitobe had the opportunity to serve in the League of Nations as one of the Under Secretaries General beginning in 1920, his classmate at Johns Hopkins, the now former American president and person most responsible for the creation of the international body, never saw his vision realized for the United States. Ironically, the US Senate rejected the international organization's bid to join.

which settled the controversy and led to compromises over the South Seas mandate in February 1922. That same month, the United States, Japan, Great Britain, France, and Italy concluded naval warship construction talks and agreed to limit tonnage at the Washington Conference.<sup>75</sup> Even though agreements on warship limitations temporarily calmed the air, they had immediate ramifications in domestic politics. Right-wing militarists as well as Diet hardliners and their supporters resented the proceedings. They viewed the settlement as a slap in the face to Japan's growing prestige and saw their leaders as weak by taking a conciliatory stance to the West.

Militaristic and nationalistic themes continued to circulate in children's print media, shaping the collective consciousness of younger generations after World War I.<sup>76</sup> Authors frequently left their audiences envisioning future military confrontation between Japan and a Western nation on the high seas. Writers of popular fiction jumped on the anti-government bandwagon expressing discontent with Japan's perceived ineffectual role in international affairs. In January, 1922, Miyazaki Ichiu drew on current events, public dissatisfaction, and palpable existential fear of war in the serialized story, *Nichibei miraisen* (Future War between Japan and America).<sup>77</sup> In the second edition of the series, Miyazaki again framed future war scenarios within contemporary contexts and diplomatic developments. This time he used *Nan'yō* and the contentious issue surrounding the status of the international cable station on Yap for such a narrative to unfold.<sup>78</sup> As a political mouthpiece echoing public dissatisfaction, the story provided a platform to admonish the government's perceived acquiescence to Euro-American demands at the Washington Naval Conference and badger the US for meddling in Japanese matters vis-à-vis the South Seas.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Conference on the Limitation of Armament Treaty (1922), < [http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/pre-war/1922/nav\\_lim.html](http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/pre-war/1922/nav_lim.html) >

<sup>76</sup> Tomoya Akimichi, "Japanese Views on Oceania, In Modernist Images of Paradise" in *Images of Other Cultures: Re-viewing Ethnographic Collections of the British Museum and the National Museum of Ethnology*, Osaka: NHK Service Center, 1997), 245.

<sup>77</sup> Miyazaki Ichiu, "Nichibei miraisen," in *Shōnen kurabu* (November, 1922). Also see Griffiths, 2007, 1.

<sup>78</sup> According to Griffiths, the popular children's magazine that carried "Nichibei miraisen," *Shōnen kurabu* (Boy's Club) circulated 400,000 copies and sold 250,000 magazines every month in 1925. See Griffiths, 2007, 4.

<sup>79</sup> So popular was *Nichibei Miraisen* that the publisher, Kōdansha later printed the serialized story into a complete volume in 1923. Ibid.

While young people eagerly envisioned war scenarios in *Shōnen kurabu*, high-school students began singing and dancing to a song inspired by the Mori Koben legend known as the “*Daku-daku odori*.” Developed by Yoden Tsuruhiko, it presented an exaggerated and exploitative portrayal of imagined Micronesians to attendees at athletic festivals at Kōchi City High School beginning in the 1920s.<sup>80</sup> The choreographed narrative enacted a wedding ceremony between a chieftain’s daughter and her male suitor from the Marshall Islands.<sup>81</sup> All dancers representing Islanders applied generous amounts of make-up to create a stereotypically darkened complexion reminiscent of the black-faced minstrel icon liberally appropriated in Western discourse. This overtly racist image of Islanders would repeatedly be seized upon to render *Nan’yō* populations in numerous forms of cultural production. Moreover, the physical representation of Islanders, the choreography, and lyrics to the song all provided a composite that suggested *Nan’yō* peoples were not only “backward,” but an object that could be “possessed” individually and collectively in metaphoric and real contexts. In this case, the object of possession involved sexual control over the female body in colonial landscapes.<sup>82</sup> Greg Dvorak traced the development of the dance routine and renditions of the song through the modern era beginning with Yoden’s original lyrics:

Sekidō chokka Māsharu Guntō  
 Yashi no hakage de daku-daku odoru  
 Odori odotte yoru o akasha  
 Ashita wa banana no shita ni neru  
 Kinō yama de mita shūchō no musume

Below the equator in the Marshall Islands  
 She dances *daku-daku* shaded by the palm fronds  
 Dancing all night long  
 She’ll sleep tomorrow under the banana tree.  
 I saw the Chieftan’s Daughter on the mountain  
 yesterday

Kyō wa izuko de daku-daku  
 Odori shiranai hito wa iya  
 dare ga oyome ni yuku mono ka  
 Yūkari shigeru Indus-gawa de  
 Yashi no hakage ni banana ga  
 minorya  
 Musume odore ya daku-daku  
 Ashita wa tenki ka yūgata ga akai

Where will she dance today?  
 Who would become the bride of [a man] who  
 cannot dance?  
 By the Indus River where the eucalyptus thrives,  
 Bananas ripen in the shade of palm fronds  
 Girl, dance, do your *daku-daku* dance  
 Tomorrow might be a fine day, for the sunset is so  
 red.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Dvorak, 2007, 105-108.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid; Sudō, 2010, 35; Kōchi Shinbunsha, *Yume wa sekidō ni* (The equator of dreams) (Kōchi: Kōchi Shimbunsha, 1998) 190-91.

<sup>82</sup> Dvorak, 2007, 110; Sudō, 2010, 35.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid, 106.

Dvorak observed that, in addition to constructing power structures between Japanese and “Othered” South Seas Islanders related to sexual dominance, an amalgamation of disparate images having non-*Nan’yō* origins coalesced to form enduring stereotypes. Yoden ignored geographic realities and mixed unrelated locales and fauna into the narrative. The Marshall Islands do not lie below the equator. The Indus River does not flow anywhere near the region. And eucalyptus trees do not grow there either.<sup>84</sup> Yoden discursively projected an otherworldly quality upon the Marshallese people and *Nan’yō* at large. In addition, traces of an imagined Mori Koben, whose life experiences inspired the spectacle, were brought to bear, reconstituting the Stranger King paradigm for participants and audiences to internalize.

Meanwhile transition from military to strictly civilian-run administration over the South Seas territory was well underway. In March 1922, official handover occurred with the establishment of *Nan’yō-chō* (South Seas Bureau) (南洋庁). The civilian government greatly expanded the existing administrative structure and had nearly 950 employees assigned throughout the Islands within fifteen years. Power fell to the governor (*Nan’yō chōkan*), who had full authority to administer policies from his headquarters on Koror to branch governors or *shichō* supervising six districts: Palau Islands, Northern Marianas, Yap, Central Carolines, Eastern Carolines, and Marshall Islands. The other major shift impacting the trajectory of Japanese colonial projects in *Nan’yō* was the launch of a successful sugar industry in the Northern Mariana Islands. Although two attempts to cultivate sugar in the early part of the century had failed miserably, entrepreneur and agricultural specialist Matsue Haruji (1858-1954) took on the challenge, forming the *Nan’yō Kōhatsu Kaisha* (South Seas Development Company) (NKK) in 1920. The labor intensive nature of sugar production required recruiting workers from Okinawa to meet Matsue’s vision. The company provided travel expenses for thousands of emigrants to start a new life in *Nan’yō*.<sup>85</sup> Sugar production began in Saipan in 1922 when the first wave arrived. Once the industry showed signs of sustained profitability, new businesses such as large scale fishing ventures began operations in the region. Economic growth driven by the sugar industry had an enormous effect on demographics, which in turn

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 107.

<sup>85</sup> In addition to Okinawans, laborers also consisted of workers from Korea and other areas of Japan.

changed the physical and cultural landscape. In 1920, the ratio of Chamorros and Carolinians to Japanese, Korean, and Okinawan settlers in the Northern Marianas was nearly two-to-one. Five years later, it reversed with almost twice as many foreigners to Native populations.<sup>86</sup> This trend continued in the 1930s and would have resulted in near complete absorption of indigenous peoples if not for World War Two.

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Trauma and death caused by World War One had profound widespread effects. The global conflict obliterated established notions of violent engagement between nations and exceeded every previous international conflict in size and scope. No longer off limits, civilians became suitable targets for bombing raids that also reduced industrial and residential centers to rubble. Direct confrontation between armies was largely characterized by waves of soldiers abandoning their rat-infested trenches to make futile charges, resulting in scores of young men being mowed down by machine gun fire. The rapid-fire machine gun served as just one of the countless “advancements” in military technology that saw application. One particularly gruesome innovation unleashed was chemical weapons. Morally unvetted agents such as mustard gas not only brought unimaginable suffering to soldiers on the frontlines, but triggered a universal debate concerning the ethical limits of warfare and the lengths to which human beings were capable of killing each other. By the time war ended, a generation of young men had been slain, maimed, or psychologically scarred as families all over the world stood in a collective state of shock, waiting for the return of loved ones. Recovery found expression in a multitude of outlets. Certain members of affected societies accessed the supernatural to make sense of the senselessness.<sup>87</sup>

While already a steadfast supporter of Spiritualism well before the war, globally renowned creator of the Sherlock Holmes series and author of *The Lost World*, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, attempted to find consolation over the deaths of his son and brother killed

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<sup>86</sup> Farrell, 1991, 323.

<sup>87</sup> Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 54.



in World War One via the paranormal.<sup>88</sup> Doyle's high profile as the Spiritualist movement's most prominent advocate made him a lightning rod to which people looking to the otherworldly for solace could gravitate.<sup>89</sup> Michael Saler observed that Doyle's desire to engage phenomenon utilizing pre-modern sensibilities challenged notions emphasizing rational and secular modes of comprehension.<sup>90</sup> This fascination with accessing a preternatural reality became realized in Doyle's collaboration in the motion-picture adaptation of *The Lost World* as early as 1922, when he arranged a viewing of a scene featuring prehistoric creatures. Without any introduction or contextualization prior to the screening, Doyle said the following:

If I brought here in real existence what I show in these pictures, it would be a great catastrophe. These pictures are not occult. In the second place, this is psychic because everything that emanates from the human spirit or human brain is psychic. It is not supernatural. Nothing is. It is preternatural in the sense that it isn't known to our ordinary senses.<sup>91</sup>

Upon its official release in 1925, a reviewer of *Movie Weekly* marveled over Willis O'Brien's state-of-the-art special-effects:

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has made a real contribution to the cinema world in his production, "The Lost World." As an example of photographic skill, it has

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<sup>88</sup> For the most comprehensive study of Conan Doyle's Life, see Daniel Stashower, *Teller of Tales: The Life of Arthur Conan Doyle* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1999). For an article that examines Doyle's works and how they acted as a discourse challenging the "rational and secular tenets of modernity," see Michael Saler, "Clap If You Believe in Sherlock Holmes": Mass Culture and the Re-Enchantment of Modernity, c. 1890-c.1940," in *The Historical Journal* 46, no. 3 (2003), 599-622.

<sup>89</sup> Kindred spirits from as far away as Arkansas corresponded with Doyle in an effort to gain assistance to publish their own personal stories related to contacting deceased relatives through supernatural experience and practice. Stephen J. Chism examines the mail correspondence between Doyle and Lessie Stringfellow Read and Read's adoptive mother, Alice Stringfellow from Arkansas, U.S.A. See Stephen J. Chism, "The Very Happiest Tiding": Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Correspondence with Arkansas Spiritualists," in *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 59, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 299-310. While Doyle's celebrity status may have endeared him to likeminded Spiritualists, the distinguished author's exploits associated with the weird drew suspicion from the general public. One episode that particularly called Doyle's credibility into question involved a set of pictures depicting two cousins from the village of Cottingley in playful interaction with miniature fairies. For Doyle, the photographs served as tangible proof of the existence of fantastic creatures. Known as the Cottingley Fairies, this series of photographs was featured in *The Strand* magazine in 1920, although the pictures were taken in 1917. It was not until the 1980s when the truth came out about the authenticity of the photographs. One of the two surviving cousins finally came forward and admitted that the photos had been doctored. For a more comprehensive and contextualized reading of the "Fairy Incident," see Alex Owen, "Borderland Forms": Arthur Conan Doyle, Albion's Daughters, and the Politics of the Cottingley Fairies," in *History Workshop*, no. 38 (1994).

<sup>90</sup> Saler, 2003, 599-622.

<sup>91</sup> "Dinosaurs Cavort in Film for Doyle," *The New York Times*, 3 June, 1922.

probably not been equaled. We know that double exposure is used in a number of these scenes, but it is certainly not apparent. When the huge monsters, which are told roamed in prehistoric days, the last of which are found on the Amazon plateau of “The Lost World,” are shown in contrast to the pygmy figures of the men who hunt them, the effect is extraordinary. We have ceased wondering how the picture was filmed. We simply accept it as one of the cinematic phenomena of the day and give unstinted praise to the author, director, research worker and photographer. After the picture is started, there is no end to thrills in which each sequence abounds.<sup>92</sup>

These comments resembled Doyle’s sentiments regarding the film’s ability to induce a unique sensory experience made possible by advancements in motion-picture technologies. In this case live-action characters were superimposed with stop-motion miniature models, providing realistic scale that accentuated the enormity of the dinosaurs.

Taishō-period anti-naturalist writers likewise experimented with size and proportion in their works. Coeval modernity serves as a conceptual reference point connecting Doyle with these authors. Both dealt with pressures to submit to rational systems of thought and anxiousness associated with the modern condition.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, many of these authors looked to film as a medium to tap into an alternate reality. Satō Haruo (1892-1964), a contributor to the literary periodical *Myōjō* and protégé of Yosano Tekkan, injected the fantastic into narratives and enthusiastically embraced the potential of filmmaking to articulate the otherworldly.<sup>94</sup> Indeed, he introduced contemporaneous action and detective films in his mystery stories, as well as advocated for cinematic adaptations of traditional Japanese folklore and Western stories such as Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* and Hans Christen Andersen’s *The Improvisatore*.<sup>95</sup> In “*Fūryū ron*” (Concerning Refinement) (1924), Satō discussed how certain physical responses triggered an otherworldly state with which “modern” people had lost touch:

In an instant when you are mentally or physically exhausted, have you never experienced being seized by an odd feeling that a part of the body, such as a hand or the head, suddenly seems to expand to infinity, and all at once suddenly shrinks to the size of a poppy seed? I have often experienced such a phenomenon. And I

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<sup>92</sup> “The Lost World,” *Movie Weekly*, 7 March, 1925.

<sup>93</sup> Dodd, 1994, 287-314.

<sup>94</sup> In 1954, Satō published a novel that worked as a biography of Akiko Yosano titled *Akiko mandara* (Akiko Mandala). For a comprehensive study on Satō and his work with relation to the Taishō period, see Exley, 2005.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*, 133.

have interpreted it to my own satisfaction: could it not be that, at a time when our ancestors and we ourselves were so young that we were hardly aware, the instance of surprise when we occasionally realized the greatness of nature and the minuteness of humanity has now been engraved so deeply into the recesses of our hearts that this is the first thing to be recalled when the mind is left to its own thoughts? Surely that unpleasantly large palm of the hand, and the palms that, to one's consternation, seem to be about to disappear, are symbolic of the universe and humankind.<sup>96</sup>

Mirroring Doyle's call to access the preternatural, Satō emphasized a process wherein certain body parts expanded and diminished as a way to reveal the wonders of the universe.

With regard to miniaturization, Stephen Dodd posited that the “native Japanese tendency to highly value things reduced to their smallest element” contributed to the popularization of folklore heroes who were small in size like Momotarō, Kintarō (The Golden Boy), and Issun Bōshi (The One-Inch Boy).<sup>97</sup> Miniaturization also shared a long history with Chinese container gardens that reduced the natural world in scale but amplified it in scope. Citing Rolf A. Stein's study of Japanese *bonsai*, Dodd explained how miniaturized replicas evoked the supernatural:

In fact, the more altered the representation is from the natural object, the more it takes on a magical or mystical quality. To set up a park holding specimens of all the typical things and beings of the universe is already a magical act, concentrating the universe into its center, the capital, the residence of the king. But reducing the whole thing in size, making it manageable, accessible to handling—this raises it from the level of imitative reality and puts it in the domain of the only true reality: mythical space.<sup>98</sup>

Satō utilized such techniques in literature to generate a more profound understanding of “the Self.”<sup>99</sup> Engagement with a miniaturized version of the world found utility when applied to a life-sized garden in *Den'en no yūtsu* (Rural Melancholy) (1919). This mythical-like landscape marked by a *sakaki* tree allowed Satō's protagonist “to devise his

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<sup>96</sup> Dodd, 1994, 294.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 292. All of these heroes of Japanese folklore engaged in battles with *oni* in their respective adventures. Kintarō defeated the legendary ogre of Mt. Ōeyama otherwise known as Shutendōji.

<sup>98</sup> From Rolf A. Stein, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 52. Cited in Dodd, 1994, 292.

<sup>99</sup> Dodd, 1994, 289.

own distinctive ‘construction of reality.’”<sup>100</sup> In addition to extraordinary visions and heightened sensations experienced in the garden, prolonged interaction with nature lead the narrator to have extremely vivid hallucinations reminiscent of fantastic voyages detailed in Tokugawa-period *gesaku* literature:

One of these [hallucinations] was an extremely detailed, but totally distinct city street; or rather, part of it... For several minutes—or was it several seconds—he felt as though he had been in one of those fairy stories where one soars back and forth between the land of midgets and the land of giants. When it was a city street in the land of giants, the space between his own eyes all at once widened. This made him feel as if he himself had become a giant, and there had been a corresponding expansion of his field of vision. At times he would be paralyzed by the thought that this illusory street had by chance grown enormously to natural size. Sometimes he would wonder if he might not really be in that street, and anxiously fumbled around to strike a match in the darkness in order to look around the sooty ceiling of his own house.<sup>101</sup>

A critical component operating within this transformation concerned the physical alteration of the landscape and the individual in size and proportion.

Dodd also cited Shiga Naoya’s seminal Taishō-period novel *An’ya kōro* (A Dark Night’s Passing) (1921-1937). Published over the span of more than ten years, Shiga examined disillusionment and alienation caused by modernity resulting in an inward retreat. Like the narrator of *Den’en no yūutsu* (Rural Melancholy), the protagonist—a recent college graduate named Kensaku—left an overbearing Tokyo on an extended journey. He eventually made a home base in a small house overlooking the Inland Sea. This locale provided a bird’s-eye-view of human activity below and the scattered islands and distant mountains separated by the waterway.<sup>102</sup> One day, Kensaku ventured to the Kotohira Shrine in Shikoku. Before reaching the harbor, he had a vision similar to the hallucination described in *Den’en no yūutsu*.<sup>103</sup> However, this wild visualization has

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid. The *sakaki* tree is a native tree to Japan that is associated with having spiritual power in Shinto mythology, beliefs, and rites.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 293.

<sup>102</sup> The house was situated atop Mt. Senkōji in Onomochi City. Onomochi City boasts such a long tradition of appearing in works of literature throughout Japanese history that the local government and business community promote it to encourage tourism. Visitors to the city can enjoy walking along the “Path of Literature,” which includes a stop dedicated to Shiga Naoya, as well as writers previously discussed in this study such as *nanshin* advocate Tokutomi Sohō, and children’s print media mogul Iwaya Sazanami. For more information, see the website:

[http://www.city.onomichi.hiroshima.jp/english/kanko/data\\_ono/1\\_komichi.html](http://www.city.onomichi.hiroshima.jp/english/kanko/data_ono/1_komichi.html)

<sup>103</sup> It is worth noting that this shrine houses the deity associated with providing safe passage to mariners.

added import because it anticipated the general narrative of giant monster movies beginning with *Gojira* in 1954.<sup>104</sup> As a crewmember explained that the mountain where the shrine was located resembled an elephant's head, Kensaku's vivid imagination took control:

Kensaku moved away from the group and went astern. There he sat down on a bench and looked at the line of mountains in the distance. There was a mountain on this side of the one the purser pointed at which seemed to Kensaku to have a much greater resemblance to an elephant's head. The elephant, which has until now only shown its head, suddenly rises out of the ground. The people are thrown into a panic. Will this monster destroy all mankind, or will they find a way to destroy it? Soldiers, statesmen, and scholars from all over the world gather together and rack their brains. Guns and mines won't do, for the elephant's skin is a hundred yards thick, and they would only scratch its surface. Trying to starve it would be useless, for it eats at fifty-year intervals. The more intelligent men say that so long as it is not annoyed it will do no mischief. Certain men of religion in India say that it is a god. But the great majority of men clamor for its immediate destruction, and are full of foolish ideas as to how this might be accomplished. The elephant begins to get angry. Before he knew it, Kensaku himself had become the elephant, excitedly preparing for his one-man war against the world at large. He is in a city. Each time he stamps his foot, fifty thousand men are crushed to death. Guns, mines, poison gas, airplanes, airships—all such ingenious devices created by man's intelligence are directed at him. He takes a deep breath, exhales through his long nose, and the airplanes, feebler than mosquitos, fall to the ground; the airships float away helplessly like balloons. He draws up water into his nose and disgorges it, and there is a flood; he descends into the depths of the ocean and comes up suddenly, causing a tremendous tidal wave... 'I hope this trip hasn't been too boring for you, sir. That over there is Tadotsu. We'll be arriving in about ten minutes.' It was the purser. Little did he know at that moment Kensaku was far from being bored. The boat began sounding her whistle persistently—it was a deep, unpleasant noise that shook one's eardrums—as she approached harbor at Tadotsu, a town crammed with rooftops. And so ended Kensaku's absurd fantasy. He himself saw nothing particularly amusing in it. True, when it came to the point where he was about to take on all of mankind, he felt a little odd; but to him whose natural inclination to fantasize had become gradually more pronounced during his recent solitude, the entire fantasy did not seem at all silly.<sup>105</sup>

Shiga's final thought acknowledged the utility of self-activating the fantastic as a means to comprehend and deal with pressures modernity exerted upon the individual. His

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<sup>104</sup> It is arguable that a number of King Kong rip-offs produced in Japan in the 1930s were the first monster movies of this kind. Their titles were *Wasei Kingu Kongu* (Japanese King Kong) (1933) and *Edo ni awareta Kingu Kongu* (King Kong appears in Edo) (1938).

<sup>105</sup> Shiga (1976), 133-134.

protagonist recognized that he was not frivolously daydreaming. Rather his vision was an enlightened flash of true consciousness.<sup>106</sup>

Advocates of the anti-naturalist movement looked to motion pictures as a medium to actualize the literary in visual form. During the 1920s Japanese filmmakers innovated and experimented with lighting, special effects, and other techniques to conjure a surreal experience. Best known for creating miniature models and sets of postwar-era giant monster movies, Tsuburaya Eiji (1901-1970), played an important role in this process. In 1926, he shot the avant-garde classic, *Kurutta ippēji* (A Page of Madness).<sup>107</sup> This silent film reflected the vision of its creators, a group of writers known as the *Shinkankakuha* (The New Perception School). Co-written by director Kinugasa Teinosuke (1896-1982) and future Nobel laureate and mentor of Mishima Yukio, Kawabata Yasunari (1899-1972), *Kurutta ippēji* was a tour de force of technological and creative cinematic achievement.<sup>108</sup> According to William O. Gardner, the New Perception School and Kinugasa's films "appeared at a time when the pace of change and the shocks of modernity were especially pronounced."<sup>109</sup> One major shock was the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 that leveled Tokyo, leading to the rebuilding of the city and introduction of newer and faster systems of communication and transportation. An accelerated sense of being modern took hold after the disaster, which included more rapid absorption of Western mediums affecting everyday life.

The same year *Kurutta ippēji* was released, *nanshin* advocate Tsurumi Yūsuke (1885-1973) commented on the swift integration of information and consumer goods entering Japan from the United States. In a lecture presented at Columbia University, he discussed the impacts of foreign-made products and media on society:

Japan is intensely eager to know and understand America. Our newspapers and magazines are constantly publishing articles about this great country, while new books about America and Americans are published by the dozen every month. Never before has American influence in Japan been so great as it is to-day. In

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<sup>106</sup> For further discussion on Shiga Naoya's writing and its correlation to Zen, see Roy Starrs, *An Artless Art: The Zen Aesthetic of Shiga Naoya* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998).

<sup>107</sup> August Ragone, *Eiji Tsuburaya: Master of Monsters: Defending the Earth with Ultraman, Godzilla, and Friends in the Golden Age of Japanese Science Fiction Film* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2007), 22.

<sup>108</sup> For more information on the director, his films, and The New Perception School, see William O. Gardner, "New Perceptions: Kinugasa Teinosuke's Films and Japanese Modernism," *Cinema Journal*, 43, Number 3, Spring 2004, 59-78.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, 60.

almost every Tokyo street you may read the unmistakable signs. Things American are everywhere. In the business center of Tokyo stand huge office buildings of distinctly American design, and you might be made homesick by the sight of so many Ford automobiles parked at the curb. American influence is still more noticeable in our homes, where we have adopted all the conveniences and comforts of American life from Victor phonographs to ice cream freezers. American motion pictures have become one of the principal amusements of the Japanese people, and although kissing scenes have been deleted by the police in the past, I understand there is now a new rule which tolerates movie kisses lasting no longer than thirty seconds!<sup>110</sup>

Tsurumi's comments highlighted unprecedented global cultural exchange associated with coeval modernity. They also implicitly underscored the role Japan played as the major conduit of Western ideas, ideologies, and technologies within Asia at the time. A year prior to the speech, *The Lost World* reached Japanese audiences only months after it appeared in cinemas in Europe and the United States.<sup>111</sup> The three-year lag separating the original 1912 novel into translated Japanese, compared to the release of its film adaptation, suggests that much of the world became more interconnected than in the previous decade. Doyle's fantastic prehistoric creatures brought to life on screen also marked a pivotal moment in cinema history that saw continued application in *King Kong* during the 1930s.

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Japan headed on a path isolating itself from the West upon the invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Tensions between Japan and China increased in magnitude, resulting in full-scale war by 1937. These developments were compounded by a tenuous trade situation directly related to energy-resource acquisition. Subsequently, the government entertained the idea of creating an autonomous economic bloc to secure access to petroleum and create a sphere of influence under Japanese control. This idea ultimately culminated in the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere during the latter part of the

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<sup>110</sup> Tsurumi Yūsuke, *Present Day Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1926), 18-19.

<sup>111</sup> *The Lost World* premiered in the United States on 22 February, 1925. Its world-wide release was on 22 June, 1925, and opened in theaters in Japan in August 1925. For the American and world premiere dates, see *The American Film Institute Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 453. For the Japanese film release date, see Saitō Jun, "Yōkai to kajū," in *Yōkai henkei*, ed. Tsunemitsu Tohru (Tokyo: Chikuma Shinsho, 1999), 89.

decade. *Nan'yō* discourse in the 1930s reflected these changes at home and in the South Seas territory. Activities to assimilate colonized populations took on added significance during the decade. Institutions and apparatuses of *Nan'yō-chō* expanded to create loyal subjects who identified with the empire's quest for greater control over Asia and the Pacific. Diffusion of Shinto beliefs and symbolism amplified, as did the role of the colonial school system.<sup>112</sup> Government-funded publishers continued circulating textbooks to better inculcate younger generations with the idea of becoming "Japanese."<sup>113</sup> Like their predecessors, primers drew on legends and *yōkai*-laden folklore which included a revised version of Momotarō and additions, such as Urashima Tarō, Issun Bōshi, Hagoromo (The Feather Mantle), and the Legend of Ōeyama.<sup>114</sup> These stories made lasting impressions on Islanders as demonstrated in Mita Maki's ethnographic survey of Palauan senior citizens, who remembered their content when recounting memories of childhood under colonial rule.<sup>115</sup>

In addition to learning about Japanese culture in school, the state arranged travel for Micronesians to visit or study in Japan. Tours to the metropole built a sense of stakeholding among colonized peoples and reassured domestic populations that policies to assimilate foreign subjects were paying dividends. Such trips also provided an ideal opportunity to juxtapose the "backward" against the "advanced." Micronesians visiting urban centers personified the extent to which colonial policies brought "civilization and enlightenment" to the "primordial savage." Sebastian Koichi Oikang, a Palauan senior who grew up during the Japanese colonial period, framed his overseas experiences in Japan by comparing them to the tale of Urashima Tarō:

After graduating from school, I went to Japan, and studied at *Tokyo Furitsu Nougei Gakkō* (Tokyo Agricultural School). In 1930, I left Palau for Japan, and when I arrived in Yokohama port, Viscount Mishima and I took a train, and went to his residence. I felt as if I were Urashima-Tarō (a young man in a famous Japanese fairy-story, who traveled under the sea on the back of a sea-turtle). Viscount Mishima also took care of Franz Polloi, another Palauan student.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Donald Shuster, "State Shinto in Micronesia during Japanese Colonial Rule, 1914-1945," *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (Spring 1982), 20-43.

<sup>113</sup> Ching, 2001, 89-132.

<sup>114</sup> Miyawaki, 2006.

<sup>115</sup> See the oral testimony of Ibau Demei Oitereng in Mita Maki, *Palauan Children under Japanese Rule: Their Oral Histories*, *Senri Ethnological Reports* 87 (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 2009), 25.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.



Oikang's comments speak to the power folklore had in terms of identity formation and creating a worldview. Travel to the metropole facilitated assimilation by indigenous peoples and concurrently made Japanese citizens feel good about themselves and overseas colonial projects. Matusoka Shizuo, who by the 1930s had become a prolific armchair anthropologist of Micronesian languages and cultures, was particularly fond of welcoming Islanders to his home when they visited Tokyo on such occasions.<sup>117</sup>

Travel to the South Seas by writers looking to experience an alternative reality that interaction with *Nan'yō* peoples could "provide" were attempted by Hijikata Hisakatsu (1900-1977) and Nakajima Atsushi (1909-1942) during the 1930s and early 1940s. Like their predecessors who moved to the Ogasawaras in search of aesthetic quests, both men responded with disappointment to realities on the ground brought by the imposition of now well-established Japanese colonial projects. Influenced by Matsuoka's, *The Ethnography of Micronesia*, Hijikata felt moved to employ more face-to-face approaches to ethnology in Micronesia.<sup>118</sup> He moved to Koror in 1929 and lived there for two years. Hijikata became growingly dissatisfied with the intrusion of "modern life" and the increased flow of non-indigenous peoples to the Palauan Islands. He also expressed frustration with Palauans for what *he* thought was a lack of interest in local culture and history.<sup>119</sup> As a result, Hijikata relocated to the most "isolated" atoll he could find. Eventually settling on the Yapese outer-island of Satawal, Hijikata spent most of his remaining years in Micronesia there as an ethnographer detailing the lives and cultural heritage of the community. He returned to Japan in 1942 and published *Driftwood* (Ryūboku) in 1943.<sup>120</sup> While arguably ahead of its time, this study anticipated the utilization of thick description as an ethnographic approach. Nonetheless, Hijikata's decision to leave Palau in search of "less-civilized" people to research suggested that he was operating under a fixed notion of what Micronesian peoples were supposed to be.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Peattie, 1989, 110.

<sup>118</sup> Sudō Ken'ichi, "Foreward," in Endō Hisashi, ed., *Collective Works of Hijikata Hisakatsu: Society and Life in Palau* (Tokyo: Sasakawa Peace Foundation, 1993), iii-xi.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, vii-viii.

<sup>120</sup> Hijikata Hisakatsu, *Ryūboku* (Driftwood), (Tokyo: Oyama Shoten, 1943).

<sup>121</sup> Hijikata described Palauans as being "semi-civilized." This condition was incongruent with his greater vision to ethnographically depict and detail peoples untainted by "civilization." Sudō, 1993, viii.

Hijikata seemed disgruntled with Palauans negotiating modernity and unwilling to accept the idea that an alternative modernity among indigenous peoples was being formed.

Like Hijikata, Nakajima quickly grew tired of Japanese colonial influence in the region. For him, he was discouraged by the efforts of colonial authorities to aggressively assimilate Native peoples. Taking on a job that specifically required such outcomes—he worked for the South Seas Bureau to ensure that school texts were properly meeting their objectives to inculcate Islanders with the state’s greater vision to create loyal subjects—Nakajima left his post less than a year into the position. After his return to Japan, he wrote short stories documenting the tension between his own expectations of the South Seas prior to going there and actual life in the Islands.<sup>122</sup> In a letter addressed to his wife, Nakajima admitted that some of his most rewarding times spent in Micronesia occurred when he was treated to encounters with Islanders who most closely recreated the vicarious pleasure he experienced reading Robert Louis Stevenson.<sup>123</sup> Nakajima’s works demonstrated keen and sincere insight into the complexity and messiness associated with colonial modernity.

Despite these more sensitive literary attempts to represent and understand the peoples of the region and conditions of the day, professional scholars and policy wonks continued to criticize indigenous ways of life and called into doubt Islanders’ abilities to “fully” adapt. In an overview of customs and social organization, Yamasaki Keiichi speculated how far Micronesians could “advance” under colonial guidance:

Just as the external or physical life of these islanders is but very slightly removed from the most primitive stage, so their mentality is also of a very low order. An observation of the educational work undertaken there since the establishment of the Japanese mandate shows that the children of their natives have made some advance in their ability to memorize and understand and are particularly good in subjects requiring manual skill. In arithmetic, however, they are extremely poor. But in spiritual development they have made a fairly good showing to date and give promise of developing to a reasonably high degree, although, of course, it is impossible to foretell the maximum development of which they are capable.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> For more comprehensive treatment and analysis on Nakajima’s experiences and literature in and of the South Seas, see Tierney, 2010, 147-181.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>124</sup> Yamasaki Keiichi, “The Japanese Mandate in the South Seas,” in *Pacific Affairs* 4, no. 2 (February 1931) 95-112.

Yamasaki's remark questioning whether children could master mathematics inferred that such disciplines were out of the reach of their comprehension. Drawing directly from the vocabulary of *yōkai* to describe Micronesian peoples, Gondō Shigeyoshi published a treatise that examined political, social, and economic structures of Native populations.<sup>125</sup> Using terms emphasizing primitiveness, he compared Yap Islanders to *ao oni* (青鬼) (blue demons). The account then went on to discuss certain sexual practices which included a system of prostitution and orgies. Like early modern shipwreck accounts, Gondō highlighted a primordial eroticism that marked a boundary between the “civilized” and the “savage.”

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1930s *Nan'yō* discourse also found expression in more popular domestic mediums such as film, music, and children's print media. The recording industry released the song that accompanied the “*Daku-daku odori*” in the record *Shūchō no musume* (The Chieftain's Daughter) in 1930. As Dvorak observed, this rendition burned an indelible image within the minds of the public as these lyrics became the mainstay for future recordings and performances, such as the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity South Seas Dance” (Tōa kyōē-ken Nan'yō odori).<sup>126</sup> Likewise, shipping companies promoted tourism to *Nan'yō* by drawing on notions of the exotic and the otherworldly in advertisements to allure vacationers there. A 1930 brochure by the Nippon Yūsen Kaisha (NYK) provided textual and visual descriptions of what to expect on such a voyage.<sup>127</sup> Juxtaposing the “backward” against the “advanced,” it featured numerous photographs of peoples and idyllic landscapes of Micronesia. Included within this representation was a photo of bare-breasted women that undoubtedly drew on the chieftain's daughter image invoked in the song made popular at the time. Visual and textual descriptions of the ships and their amenities emphasized luxury. The advertisement claimed that the state-of-the-art onboard experience heightened an otherworldly effect without sacrificing any of the

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<sup>125</sup> Gondō Shigeyoshi, *Nan'yō wa maneku* (The South Seas Call) (Tokyo: Nihon Kōronsha, 1939) 112-13.

<sup>126</sup> Dvorak, 2007, 128.

<sup>127</sup> Nippon Yūsen Kabushiki Kaisha (NKK), *Nippon yūsen ura-Nan'yō kōro annai* (Tokyo: Nippon Yūsen Kabushiki Kaisha, 1930).

comforts of home for travelers.<sup>128</sup> The military also capitalized on imagery consuming *Nan'yō* to promote its growing naval fleet and presence in the South Seas by contracting studios to produce a series of propaganda films, such as *Umi no seimeisen* (Lifeline of the Sea) (1932), *Kōtei sanmanri sekidō o koete* (Thirty Thousand Li Across the Equator) (1935), and *Waga Nan'yō* (Our Nan'yō) (1936).<sup>129</sup> Audiences responded favorably to *Umi no seimensei* reflected in long lines at the box office.<sup>130</sup> Reminiscent of Meiji-period travelogues, these motion pictures provided ethnographic accounts of the landscapes and peoples of the region, while highlighting the geopolitical significance of the South Seas with relation to Japan and Western powers.

Children's print media remained a mainstay of *Nan'yō* supernatural discourse. Shimada Keizō's cartoon serial, *Bōken Dankichi* (Adventure Dankichi), made major impacts in identity formation of younger generations via the appropriation of stereotypical tropes. Set in an imaginary South Seas locale, the comic made its debut in 1933.<sup>131</sup> The boy hero, Dankichi, and mouse friend Karikō, drifted in their boat until landing on a fantastic island inhabited by a strange mix of animals and people. The animals included a wild assortment of animals from the African continent such as lions, gorillas, elephants, and giraffes. At times this amalgamation of creatures went so far as to include dinosaurs roaming the landscape.<sup>132</sup> The illustrator rendered Islanders in caricature form resembling the black-faced minstrel icon of the Western racist discursive tradition that had found expression in the *Daku-daku odori*. Shimada's protagonists soon conquered the local inhabitants who crowned the Japanese boy their king. In order to tell Islanders apart, he ascribed each of them numbers drawn in bold white numerals on their chests. The symbolism was not subtle. Islanders were nameless and uniform, neither possessing an individual personality nor identity. The numbers served the purposes of Dankichi alone. In ensuing adventures young readers vicariously experienced Japan's "civilizing mission" in *Nan'yō* that mirrored colonial projects of the South Seas Bureau. The comic also echoed nationalist sentiments throughout its six-year run. Shimada often

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Dvorak, 2007, 124; Ragone, 2007, 28.

<sup>130</sup> Yamane Sadao, "Umi no seimeisen (Lifeline of the Sea)," in *Japan/America Film Wars: WWII Propaganda and its Cultural Contexts*, eds. Abe Mark Nornes and Fukushima Yukio (New York: Harwood, 1992), 197-198.

<sup>131</sup> Shimada, 1967, 1.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 258-65.

pitted the politically re-configured island community against Western foils who posed a constant danger to Dankichi's South Seas kingdom.

Like Matsuoka Shizuo, Shimada imagined conquering a South Seas island from childhood. The discursive tradition established in the Meiji period informed this fantasy.<sup>133</sup> Likewise, images and messages infused within *Bōken Dankichi* significantly influenced the youth of 1930s Japan. Shimada's characters gained so much appeal that a concerned mother wrote to the illustrator complaining that her son and his friends had "gone native."<sup>134</sup> She went on to say that some of the boys sustained injuries from playing too rough by internalizing Dankichi's adventures to the extreme. Nationalist ideologies and notions of the "Other" bound within the cartoon similarly expressed themselves through children's play. As Griffiths observed, the various forms of cultural production consumed by children aligned with the goals of the militarized state.<sup>135</sup>

Supernatural discourse on *Nan'yō* converged between the Western and Japanese traditions in literature and film that decade. In August, 1932, Miyoshi Takeji published an article on James Churchward's speculative history *The Lost Continent of Mu* that tantalized readers with the idea that an ancient civilization once inhabited *Nan'yō*.<sup>136</sup> That same year, Japanese theater-goers screened a US-produced short animated Betty Boop film whose adventure in a South Seas locale affirmed racial and sexual stereotypes.<sup>137</sup> As Naoto Sudo observed in *Nan'yō Orientalism*, the cartoon was retitled to align with contemporaneous South Seas discourse in Japan.<sup>138</sup> Film distributors changed the title to *Shūchō no musume* (The Chieftain's Daughter) to capitalize on the song made popular two years prior. The narrative centered on Betty Boop's anthropomorphic dog sidekick Bimbo, who traveled to the South Seas on a small outboard motorboat. Upon making landfall he quickly befriended Betty Boop, a local to the island. A supernatural quality

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<sup>133</sup> Shimada revealed that exposure to adventure stories set in South Seas locales served as inspiration for *Bōken Dankichi* and made no mention that the comic was based on the exploits of Mori Koben. Shimada, 1967, iv.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, v.

<sup>135</sup> Griffiths, 2007, 2.

<sup>136</sup> Miyoshi Takeji, "Ushinawareta Mu (Myu) Taiheiyōjō himitsu no tobira o hiraku," in *The Sunday Mainichi*, August 7, 1932; Churchward's theory of a lost continent first appeared in 1926 in *Lost Continent of Mu: The Motherland of Man*. It was later revised in 1931 as *The Lost Continent of Mu*. James Churchward, *The Lost Continent of Mu* (Kempton, Illinois: Adventures Unlimited Press, 2007).

<sup>137</sup> *Betty Boop's Bamboo Isle* in *Betty Boop: Original Max Fleischer Cartoon*, DVD, directed by Dave Fleischer, 1932, (LaCrosse, WI: Echo Bridge Home Entertainment, 2004).

<sup>138</sup> Sudo, 2010, 9.

was immediately imposed on the natural environment as anthropomorphized trees sang along with the soundtrack. Although Betty was rendered a shade darker than usual, she was significantly lighter-skinned than the other natives. Prior to encountering these more fierce inhabitants, Bimbo covered his face with mud to disguise his fair complexion. This trick allowed Bimbo and Betty to gain the confidence of the savage community. The protagonists were then elevated to a chief-like status when Betty performed an overtly sexualized dance for attendees to gawk over. A rainstorm revealed Bimbo's ruse, whereby the couple fled to the motorboat and returned to America.

Similarities between this cartoon and *Bōken Dankichi* are striking. The means by which both protagonists realized the Stranger King paradigm were identical. Visual representation of natives that drew on the racist black-faced caricature model was also of no discernable difference. The sexual component infused in Betty Boop's makeover and dance also resembled the highly sexualized appropriation of Islander women in *Shūchō no musume* and *Daku-daku odori*. This short animated feature of American origins clearly demonstrated how Japanese and Western discursive traditions on the South Seas had reached a point where iconography and storylines representing Islands and Islanders became relatable and interchangeable modern tropes.

A Japanese animated short appropriating American cartoon iconography that highlighted tensions between Japan and the West vis-à-vis *Nan'yō* was *Omocha bako daisanwa: ehon 1936 nen* (Toy Box Series Episode 3: Picture Book 1936) (1934).<sup>139</sup> This film featured Mickey Mouse making a military assault on an imaginary South Seas island. Prior to the invasion, a variety of animals and a young girl are seen happily dancing the *Daku-daku odori* to the melody of *Shūchō no musume*. Mickey Mouse directed the air attack, leading a squadron of flying bats, while snakes and alligators carried out the land assault. Defenseless native inhabitants scurried for cover. One of the main protagonists ran to a volume of Japanese folklore which magically burst open. Momotarō rose out of the book calling for reinforcements, which included Urashima Tarō, Kintarō (The Golden Boy), Issun Bōshi (The One-Inch Boy), Hanasaka-jūisan (The Flower-Blooming Old Man), and scores of crabs, bees and anthropomorphized chestnuts associated with the tale,

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<sup>139</sup> Komatsuzawa Hajime, "Omocha bako shirizu daisanwa: ehon 1936 nen (Toybox Series #3: Picture Book 1936)," in *Japan/America Film Wars: WWII Propaganda and its Cultural Contexts*, Nornes and Fukushima, eds. (New York: Harwood Press, 1992), 198-200.

*Saru kani gassen* (Monkey-Crab Battle).<sup>140</sup> The army of folklore heroes successfully repelled the invaders when Urashima Tarō unleashed his magical box (*tamatebako*), causing Mickey to turn into a feeble old mouse. Hanasaka-jiisan used his powers to replace the war-torn flora with fresh blossoms.

This nearly eight-minute animated short clearly demonstrated an intermingling of the supernatural between Japanese folklore and the South Seas. It also highlighted how cultural production on *Nan'yō* was pervasive enough that *Daku-daku odori* could be seamlessly integrated into new narratives representing the space. As for Mickey Mouse, this icon of American culture symbolized Japan's strained relationship with the US and a looming military confrontation. Such appropriation also demarcated boundaries between two discursive fields, i.e., a shared global discourse on the South Seas, and an exclusive *Nan'yō* discourse distinct from Western modes. While Mickey Mouse was coeval, the cartoon intentionally projected messages that were not universally relatable, giving strong support to the notion that multiple modernities were at work.

The most influential film to enter Japan underscoring coeval South Seas imagery was *King Kong* in 1933. Consistent with South Seas discourse of the Western tradition, representations of Islanders emphasized savagery and backwardness. In addition to these well-established tropes, thrilled cinema audiences sat mesmerized at the otherworldly spectacle brought to the screen as prehistoric monsters battled for survival. The giant monster ape served as a multivalent metaphor loaded with symbolism.<sup>141</sup> Film critic William Troy observed that Kong functioned as an effective allegory for modern America and expressed certain elusive qualities imbedded within the national character:

It is a characteristic hard to define except that it is related to that sometimes childish, sometimes magnificent passion for scale that foreigners have remarked in our building of hundred-story skyscrapers, our fondness for hyperbole in myth and popular speech, and our habit of applying superlatives to all our accomplishments. Efforts to explain it have not been very satisfactory; the result is usually a contradiction in which we are represented as a race that is at once too civilized and not civilized enough.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> All of these folktales with the exception of *Saru kani gassen* (Monkey-Crab Battle) also appeared in South Seas Bureau-approved school texts.

<sup>141</sup> For more discussion on the symbolism associated with King Kong as a multivalent metaphor, see Tedd Gott and Kathryn Weir, *Kiss of the Beast: From Paris Salon to King Kong* (Queensland: Queensland Art Gallery, 2005); James Snead, "Spectatorship and Capture in King Kong: the Guilty Look," in *Critical Quarterly* 33, no. 1, (March 1991): 53-69.

<sup>142</sup> William Troy, "King Kong," review of *King Kong* (RKO Movie). *The Nation*, 22 March, 1933, 326.

Troy's comments elicit a hard-to-define ambivalence that juxtaposed a primordial supernatural entity in a life-and-death battle with industrialized society. The giant monster served to validate individuals of industrialized societies as modern beings.

The worldwide release of *King Kong* also marked a turning point in Tsuburaya Eiji's career. As evidenced by his work on *Kurutta ippēji*, Tsuburaya held an intense fascination for expanding the limits of what was capable to be visually captured on film. By 1933, he established himself as a pioneer in motion picture production, with innovations such as a giant crane that "allowed the camera to move from eye level to the ceiling in seconds."<sup>143</sup> This advancement facilitating dramatic shifts in proportion and size figured closely to literary techniques employed by anti-naturalist writers to articulate an alternate reality.<sup>144</sup> After screening *King Kong*, Tsuburaya painstakingly studied it frame-by-frame to understand how Willis O'Brien created such amazing special effects.<sup>145</sup> In 1935, he utilized this knowledge to build miniatures, superimpose live actors with animated figures, and introduce stop-motion photography in *Kaguya hime* (Princess Kaguya), an adaptation of the tenth-century tale *Taketori monogatari* (The Bamboo Cutter). While no extant prints survived, it provided a realistic-yet-magical portrait of ancient Kyoto.<sup>146</sup>

That same year, Tsuburaya spent five months on location in *Nan'yō* aboard a navy ship shooting *Kōtei sanmanri sekidō o koete* (Three Thousand Miles across the Equator) (1935). Hiring private-sector filmmakers to enhance Japan's profile in the South Seas mirrored previous efforts by the navy to gain a foothold there during the Meiji period.<sup>147</sup> In 1937, the newly formed Tōhō Studios employed him to head their Special Arts Department where he developed special-effects scenes for government-sponsored propaganda movies. These projects consisted of full-length features released in mainstream cinemas as well as training films that incorporated miniatures demonstrating

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<sup>143</sup> Ragone, 2007, 23.

<sup>144</sup> Tsuburaya began developing the camera crane in 1929. Ibid, 22.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 26. Only a tiny percentage of films made prior to World War II remain intact. War destruction and chemical deterioration all but wiped out Japan's prewar motion picture archive.

<sup>147</sup> As mentioned, other navy-sponsored propaganda films featuring *Nan'yō* included, *Umi no seimeisen* (Lifeline of the Sea) (1932), and *Waga Nan'yō* (Our Nan'yō) (1936).



proper flying techniques for airmen.<sup>148</sup> Military-funded movies he filmed for Tōhō reaching popular audiences included *Kōdō Nippon* (The Imperial Way, Japan) (1939), *Kaigun bakugeki kai* (Navy Bomber Squadron) (1940), and *Hawaii Marē okikaisen* (The War at Sea from Hawaii to Malaya) (1943). *Hawaii Marē okikaisen* was particularly successful in breaking all box-office sales records for a Japanese production with its lifelike simulations of Japanese victories, such as the attack on Pearl Harbor.<sup>149</sup> Healthy ticket sales reflected widespread public support for military campaigns abroad. They also underscored the utilization of cinema by the state to garner enthusiasm for the war.

In addition to live-action motion pictures, the military contracted illustrators to produce animated features during the war. Recognizing the importance of shaping young minds, they sponsored two projects that drew on the Momotarō folktale. The first was a thirty-seven minute feature titled *Momotarō no umiwashi* (Momotarō's Sea Eagles) (1942). Three years later, Shōchiku studios released the seventy-four minute *Momotarō umi no shinpei* (Momotarō's God-Blessed Sea Warriors) (1945).<sup>150</sup> The storyline of this more technically superior movie emphasized a harmonious relationship between Japanese and colonized populations who all enthusiastically contributed to the war effort. Scenes depicting the colonial periphery were set in a tropical locale (presumably *Nan'yō*). With the exception of Momotarō, every character was as a cuddly animal of some kind. The locals consisted of an assortment of non-native species to the region such as tigers, leopards, squirrels, and rhinoceroses. Ostensibly a musical, two notable numbers included a *Whistle While You Work*-like song that involved building an airfield and another portraying a Japanese-language lesson taught in a colonial primary school.<sup>151</sup> This film affirmed notions of a paternalist relationship between Japanese and Islanders that maintained a culturally constructed hierarchy. It also reflected efforts to assimilate South Seas peoples and maintain support for the war.

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<sup>148</sup> Ragone, 2007, 27-28.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>150</sup> Fred Patten, "Momotarō's Gods-Blessed Sea Warriors: Japan's Unknown Wartime Feature," (1996) accessed April 18, 2012: <http://www.awn.com/mag/issue1.7/articles/patten1.7.html>

<sup>151</sup> *Momotarō no umiwashi*, DVD, directed by Seo Mitsuyo in *The Roots of Japanese Animation Until the End of WWII* (1945: Hamden, CT: Zakka Films, 2008).

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South Seas discourse in the first half of the twentieth century underscored the actualization of coeval and multiple modernities. It also mirrored impulses to engage the supernatural as secular and rational explanations to comprehend the modern condition were challenged worldwide. Literary and artistic forms of expression to conceptualize *Nan'yō* took on greater magnitude. More rapid modes of information exchange and mediums like motion pictures played a role in this process. Japanese colonial projects in *Nan'yō* similarly accelerated with the successful sugar industry driving the economic engine of the colony. By the 1930s emigration there reached a level that jeopardized the sustainability of local populations who became increasingly inculcated to Japanese cultural norms at an unprecedented clip. An otherworldly image of *Nan'yō* remained in place and became more accessible in size and scope. World War II had a tremendous impact on the development of *Nan'yō* supernatural discourse moving into the postwar period. Individuals like Mizuki Shigeru drew on direct experiences as a soldier in the South Seas to find meaning in traditional Japanese ghost culture and made significant contributions in the coming decades.<sup>152</sup> Others like Tsuburaya, whose war activities were more indirect, made similar impacts.

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<sup>152</sup> Mizuki Shigeru, *Mizuki Shigeru no Rabauru senki* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1994).

## Chapter 6

### Atomic Monsters and Discursive Mutations

A global geopolitical realignment immediately followed World War Two with the United States and the Soviet Union becoming the recognized superpowers of the world. Within this new order, Japan fell under US fiat manifest in a six-year occupation (1945-1952) engineered by SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) under the command of General Douglas McArthur (1880-1964). Micronesia similarly fell under American control via an internationally sanctioned mandate called the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI).<sup>1</sup> In exchange for political and economic development of the Islands, the United Nations granted the United States unprecedented leeway to direct policy in Micronesia that met national security needs without challenge or consequence. Unfettered experimentation of nuclear weapons resulted in the region becoming what Stewart Firth described as a “nuclear playground.”<sup>2</sup> Priorities reflecting self-fulfilling strategic and military objectives also included extraordinary measures to restrict travel that remained in place until the 1960s. Almost immediately authorities on the ground repatriated all Japanese civilians and military personnel who remained in Micronesia.<sup>3</sup> Given Japan’s extensive presence that lasted decades, this initiative forced family break-ups among local communities. Part of the rationale behind the policy was to remove any sign of a Japanese colonial legacy which entailed destroying much of the infrastructure that survived the war. Thus, the American government aggressively erased reminders of the past in order to effectively apply its own stamp of colonial rule onto Micronesian landscapes at the dawning of the nuclear age.

In Japan, the United States was busy imprinting a similar stamp by determining the trajectory of social, economic, and political futures of its former enemy. SCAP set out to “demilitarize,” “democratize,” and “decentralize” the country. One important task

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<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive treatment of developments in Micronesia in the immediate postwar through the decades under American rule as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) see Hanlon (1998). See also, Lin Poyer, Suzanne Falgout, and Lawrence Marshall Carucci, *The Typhoon of War: Micronesian Experiences of the Pacific War* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2001, 276-355).

<sup>2</sup> Stewart Firth, *Nuclear Playground*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987).

<sup>3</sup> This repatriation also included foreign laborers and other settlers from the Japanese colonial periphery, many Korean workers, who lived in the region during the colonial period or were brought there to fortify the Islands during the war.

involved controlling the flow of information by enforcing strict censorship laws.<sup>4</sup> All media forms were subject to review to prevent exposure to ideals or messages that contradicted the aforementioned goals.<sup>5</sup> Criticism of General MacArthur, occupation officials, and SCAP-led policies were strictly off-limits. The Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings were similarly denied a space in the public sphere.<sup>6</sup> The government withheld actual footage of the attacks and their effects. As a result, the population was prevented from gaining a realistic picture of what had happened. Limits placed on expression were such that overt condemnation and scrutiny could not fully emerge until after the Americans had left.<sup>7</sup>

Placing controls over the dissemination of popular media had a particularly damaging effect on the domestic film industry as motion-picture production substantially declined. Despite the downturn, Tsuburaya Eiji continued working at Tōhō and developed new special effect techniques there. However, once authorities became aware of Tsuburaya's extensive portfolio of military-sponsored propaganda films, the work environment became unbearable and he temporarily left the company. SCAP considered him a potential threat because they could not fathom someone creating such detailed and accurate battle scenes without having privileged access to high level intelligence during the war.<sup>8</sup> The beating suffered by the domestic film industry did not hurt the bottom line of cinema operators in Japan. SCAP supported the inflow of American-made films and encouraged theater-going by setting a freeze on ticket prices in 1946. The public responded enthusiastically, resulting in a spike in attendance that eclipsed prewar figures.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For a comprehensive treatment of the years of occupation, see, John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 405-450. See also Hirano Kyoko, "Depiction of the Atomic Bombings in Japanese Cinema During the U.S. Occupation Period," in Mick Broderick, ed., *Hibakusha Cinema: Hiroshima, Nagasaki and the Japanese Nuclear Image in Japanese Film* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1996) 103-119.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 414-416.

<sup>7</sup> There were a few exceptions but they aligned with SCAP's requirements by presenting a more benign portrayal of the events. The censors did approve the 1949 book, *Nagasaki no kane* (Bells of Nagasaki), which was then adapted to the screen the following year. This story followed the heroic efforts by a local doctor who while suffering from effects of the bomb courageously attended to those injured from the blast. Nagai Takashi, *Nagasaki no kane*, translated by William Johnston (Tokyo: Kōdansha International, 1994). *Bells of Nagasaki/Nagasaki no kane* in Ano eiga Shōchiku collection *Nagasaki no kane*, DVD, directed by Ōba Hideo (1950; Tokyo: Shōchiku, 2014).

<sup>8</sup> Ragone, 29-30.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Gravett, *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2004), 26.

The reappearance of foreign films and print media to Japan aligned with SCAP's mission to endear the population to "American" values and ways of life. It also contributed to the emergence of a new form of popular entertainment. Prior to the war, Tezuka Osamu (1928-1989) had gained a fascination and appreciation for films, comic strips, and animation of Western origins. Their postwar reintroduction was a welcome sight for this budding young artist. During the occupation years, he revolutionized storytelling by transforming conventional comic strips into graphic novels in what is now recognized as modern *manga* (漫画). These longer stories were accompanied by illustrations that incorporated visual techniques associated with filmmaking. His groundbreaking approach offered a cinema-like experience by dramatically shifting points of view, accentuating motion, and heightening audial effects via creative textual descriptions woven into illustrations.<sup>10</sup> Almost singlehandedly, he created a literary platform that stimulated and articulated the senses in ways resembling the ambitious objectives of Taishō-period anti-naturalist writers.<sup>11</sup> Tezuka's graphic novels gained an immediate following, appearing in hard-cover formats known as "*akahon*" (red books).<sup>12</sup> His first publication, *Shintakarajima* (New Treasure Island) (1947), sold over 400,000 copies.<sup>13</sup> Given the trying economic conditions, purchasing reading materials was out of reach for many people. Subsequently, rental libraries sprang up throughout the country providing an affordable momentary escape from the daily hardships of postwar life.<sup>14</sup>

Loosely based on Robert Louis Stevenson's adventure tale, *New Treasure Island* sent readers on a wild journey set in an imaginary South Seas island.<sup>15</sup> The story followed the long-established plotline of the fantastic castaway narrative and revisited recognizable tropes associated with *Nan'yō* supernatural discourse. Pacific Islanders were represented as savage cannibals that affirmed racist stereotypes. Tezuka appropriated the familiar

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>11</sup> There is debate as to how singlehandedly Tezuka revolutionized the medium and the extent to which he incorporated film techniques into his first graphic novel. See Ryan Holmberg, "Tezuka Osamu Outwits the Phantom Blot: The Case of New Treasure Island Cont." *The Comics Journal*, accessed April 12, 2014. <<http://www.tcj.com/tezuka-osamu-outwits-the-phantom-blot-the-case-of-new-treasure-island-cont/>>

<sup>12</sup> Sharon Kinsella, *Adult Manga: Culture & Power in Contemporary Japanese Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), 27.

<sup>13</sup> Frederick L. Schodt, *Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga* (Berkeley, CA: Stone Bridge Press, 2011), 235.

<sup>14</sup> Kinsella, 2007, 27.

<sup>15</sup> Tezuka Osamu, *Shintakarajima* (The New Treasure Island) in *Tezuka Osamu manga zenshū* Volume 281 (The Complete Works of Tezuka Osamu) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1984).

black minstrel icon and adorned bones atop the heads and through the noses of natives for increased effect. It is probably no coincidence that Tezuka's renderings resembled those in *Adventure Dankichi*. He admired Shimada Keizō and made a point of meeting the illustrator when he visited Tokyo in August 1947.<sup>16</sup> As for the island, it served as a site where an amalgamation of animals of non-South Seas origins such as elephants, gorillas, giraffes, cheetahs, rhinoceroses, anacondas, and lions roamed freely. A Tarzan-like character led this entourage of wild beasts and played an instrumental role in assisting the protagonists throughout the story.

Success from *New Treasure Island* gave Tezuka more editorial control over his next projects.<sup>17</sup> As with his first work, coeval forces influenced the artist's creations in substance and in the application of techniques.<sup>18</sup> However, these graphic novels better reflected the artist's concern with larger global issues resulting from geopolitical realignments following World War Two.<sup>19</sup> Evidenced in diary entries, Tezuka closely followed Cold War developments and detailed responses among Japanese people regarding American atomic bomb testing in the Bikini atoll during the summer of 1946.<sup>20</sup> Such anxieties found expression in *Kitarubeki sekai* (Next World) (1951).<sup>21</sup> The story began in an imaginary South Seas island. Years of atomic bomb testing by a superpower there mutated the native flora and fauna, creating an advanced species that developed telekinetic and telepathic powers. Having observed these drastic changes to the environment firsthand, a Japanese scientist went to the United Nations and pleaded for

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<sup>16</sup> The 1984 reprint of *New Treasure Island* included a selection of diary entries he wrote from 1946-1947. One of his objectives on a trip he took to Tokyo in the summer of 1947 was to meet his heroes of the comic book industry, who included Shimada Keizō. See entries for August 9 and August 11. *Ibid.*, 221, 222.

<sup>17</sup> The original published version of *New Treasure Island* went through significant editorial changes that reduced and simplified the narrative. Not until 1984 did the original vision Tezuka tried to create appear as a published work. This revision will be discussed later in the chapter because Tezuka did not recover the original manuscript; rather he painstakingly reproduced the plotline and illustrations from memory.

<sup>18</sup> Such influences were similarly reflected in the other two graphic novels that he wrote during this self-described "Kansai period." Kansai is a geographical term that describes the western part of Honshu. He lived and worked in Kansai during this time when he completed what is referred to as the trilogy, i.e., *Lost World* (1948), *Metropolis* (1949), and *Next World* (1951). For English translations, see Tezuka Osamu, *Lost World*, translated by Kumar Sivasubramanian (Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 2003); *Metropolis*, translated by Kumar Sivasubramanian (Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Comics, 2003).

<sup>19</sup> Tanaka Yūki, "War and Peace in the Art of Tezuka Osamu: The humanism of his epic manga," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 38 (September, 2010), 1-10.

<sup>20</sup> Tezuka, 1984. See the diary entries from the month of July 1946.

<sup>21</sup> For an English translation, see Tezuka Osamu, *Next World* translated by Kumar Sivasubramanian (Milwaukie, OR: Dark Horse Manga, 2003).

member nations to end bomb testing and nuclear proliferation. He warned them of an impending global conflict caused by rising tensions between the superpowers and the possibility of these supernatural creatures overtaking mankind. Tezuka metaphorically represented the main belligerents in the story as The United States and the Soviet Union whose refusal to heed the scientist's appeal triggered World War Three. Meanwhile the *fumoon* (this new race of supernatural beings) were busy preparing for a more urgent calamity wherein gases from outer space had swallowed up star systems and were approaching Earth. They embarked on a project similar to the biblical story of Noah's Ark, corralling specimens which they brought aboard their spaceships to eventually flee the planet. With most of the world already destroyed from the war, surviving populations in Asia focused their attention on the looming apocalypse. Fortunately humankind was spared as the sun's rays turned the gas into oxygen. Reconciliation was reached among the living who recognized how trifling and frivolous military conflict between nations had been. Tezuka's graphic novel ended with a humanistic call for peoples of the world to put down their petty disagreements and live in harmony with each other and the environment.

Both *New Treasure Island* and *Next World* appropriated *Nan'yō* as a supernatural discursive space. *New Treasure Island* followed a more conventional approach that paralleled narratives of Tokugawa-period castaway tales and Meiji-period adventure novels. Visual representation of islanders resembled renderings seen in the 1930s comic *Bōken Dankichi*. Incorporating non-native species into a South Seas setting also aligned with popular cultural production of the early twentieth century in music, print media, and animated films. *Next World* employed the didacticism of Meiji-period adventure novels that integrated contemporaneous geopolitical events into plotlines. However, a paradigm shift occurred wherein imagined supra-natural weapons that once saved Japan from overseas hegemony had now become actualized in real life with the advent of the nuclear age. Tezuka's work underscored the potential global consequences of unrestrained nuclear proliferation against the backdrop of Cold War antagonisms between the recognized superpowers. The South Seas functioned as a liminal foil, where Japan's tenuous position within this new geopolitical framework could be articulated. As a new discursive medium, the graphic novel afforded the opportunity to reach a wide audience

and was well suited to metaphorically explore topics subject to censorship by the authorities. Supernatural themes detailed in *Next World* anticipated the continued appropriation of *Nan'yō* in postwar monster movies following the American occupation and mirrored the storyline of the 1960s classic *Mosura*.

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The occupation officially ended in spring of 1952. Japan regained sovereignty but maintained strong military and economic ties to America. A controversial security treaty was signed that allowed the United States to retain military forces in Japan practically indefinitely.<sup>22</sup> The ongoing war in Korea amplified the need for the United States to maintain a strong presence in East Asia and underscored Japan's strategic importance as a bulwark to defend communist encroachment in the region.<sup>23</sup> Japan also played a fundamentally direct role in the conflict by transferring materials and troops to the peninsula as well as manufacturing cheap finished goods that could be sent to the war theater and abroad. While such conditions contributed to economic growth—a recovery described by many historians as “miraculous”—contingencies associated with the recovery compromised Japanese sovereignty.<sup>24</sup> The imposed frameworks and geopolitical repositioning set by the United States caused concern and raised unanswered questions among segments of society going forward. The South Sea served as a discursive site where contestation over these issues could be expressed in the immediate post-occupation landscape and decades to follow.

The year 1952 was also when RKO re-released *King Kong*. Like its former runs, the film was well received by large audiences in the United States and abroad. High box-

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<sup>22</sup> The internationally approved San Francisco Peace Treaty which officially ended the occupation and the United States-Japan Security Treaty which guaranteed a US military presence in Japan were signed within hours of each other in September 1951. See McClain, 2002, 556.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 555-561.

<sup>24</sup> During the late 1970s numerous scholars attributed Japan's postwar recovery to societal forces associated with culturally ingrained characteristics unique to the Japanese people. See Ezra Vogel, *Japan as Number One: Lessons for America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979). Since then scholars have reinterpreted the recovery by looking at larger geopolitical changes and the role the United States played in stimulating the Japanese economy as a response to Cold War developments. See Bowen C. Dees, *The American Occupation and Japan's Economic Miracle: Building the Foundations of Japanese Science and Technology 1945-52* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Robert J. Crawford, “Reinterpreting the Japanese Economic Miracle,” *The Harvard Business Review*, January 1, 1998; Michael Beckley and Horiuchi Yasaku, “America's Role in the Making of Japan's Economic Miracle,” Paper presented at the 2013 APSA in Chicago, American Political Science Association 2013 Meeting.



office returns led the major Hollywood studios to develop more contemporary giant monster movie projects.<sup>25</sup> The first, *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms* (1953), drew on unprecedented fears brought on by the nuclear age.<sup>26</sup> This motion picture introduced an ocean dwelling prehistoric monster to the modern world after an American nuclear test near the North Pole thawed the ice holding it frozen in time. Upon wreaking havoc on New York City, the behemoth was killed by the military which restored harmony to the world by once again deploying atomic weapons.<sup>27</sup> *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms* became a sleeper hit for Warner Brothers and caught the attention of members of the film industry in Japan. One such studio executive was the producer Tanaka Tomoyuki (1910-1997). Trying to figure a way to recover from a scrapped film project in Indonesia, he is said to have had an epiphany on his return trip to Japan while flying over that vast ocean distance constituting the former *Nan'yō guntō* (South Seas Territory).<sup>28</sup> The worldwide appeal for giant monster movies coincided with a recent event that had raised anxieties over dangers associated with nuclear testing and proliferation. In March of 1954, crewmen of the tuna fishing boat *Dai-go Fukuryū Maru* (Lucky Dragon Five) suffered exposure to radiation fallout from an American hydrogen bomb detonated in the Marshall Islands. Not only did this accident generate concern over the health of these individuals—the radio operator, Kuboyama Aikichi 1914-1954), died roughly six months later—nationwide panic ensued after contaminated fish taken from the vessel and other boats

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<sup>25</sup> Science fiction cinema had begun to receive a popular following in the US and in Europe at the beginning of the decade with films and serials such as *Destination Moon* (1950), *Rocketship X-M* (1950), *The Thing from Another World* (1951), *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951), *When Worlds Collide* (1951), *The Man from Planet X* (1951), *Captive Women* (1952), *Radar Men from the Moon* (1952), *Red Planet Mars* (1952), and *Zombies from the Stratosphere* (1952).

<sup>26</sup> Prior to the re-release of *King Kong*, an independent low-budget production resembling Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* and starring Cesar Romero, titled *Lost Continent*, appeared in theaters in 1951. This film was set in an imaginary South Seas island where prehistoric creatures roamed the landscape. The following year a similar film titled *Untamed Women* (1952) was released. It too was set in an imaginary South Seas island where a group of American pilots drifted to after crash-landing in the Pacific. This film also featured dinosaurs as well as a tribe of human women and Neanderthal-like men. *Lost Continent*, DVD, directed by Sam Newfield (1951; Chatsworth, CA: Image Entertainment, 2001); *Untamed Women* in *Positively No Refunds Double Feature: Cuban Rebel Girls and Untamed Women*, DVD, directed by W. Merle Connell (1952; Tulsa, OK: VCI Entertainment, 2010).

<sup>27</sup> *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms*, DVD, directed by Eugene Lourie (1953; Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2003).

<sup>28</sup> William Tsutsui, *Godzilla On My Mind: Fifty Years of King of the Monsters* (New York: Palgrave Press, 2004), 14-15.

returning from the Western Pacific entered the commercial food supply.<sup>29</sup> Tanaka wove this event into a narrative featuring a colossal creature to pitch to Mori Iwao (1899-1979) at Tōhō upon arrival. Like Tsuburaya Eiji, Mori experienced temporary exile from the industry due to his role in producing propaganda films for the military. With American authorities no longer determining employment in the film community, he was reinstated as a top executive in the company.<sup>30</sup>

Once he received the go-ahead for the project from Mori, Tanaka hired Honda Ishirō (1911-1993) to direct the film and collaborate on the screenplay. A former soldier in the army, Honda experienced the recent war and witnessed the devastation caused by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima once he repatriated from China.<sup>31</sup> By this time Tsuburaya had regained his high profile position at Tōhō, whom Tanaka had enlisted to manage the special effects. Tsuburaya's team included special-effects artist Ōhashi Fuminori (1915-1989). Ōhashi had recently returned to Japan after living in the United States during the early 1950s, where he designed attractions for Disneyland which opened its doors to the public in 1955. Decades earlier, he worked on model-making for the giant ape in Shōchiku's 1938 rip-off, *Edo ni arawareta Kingu Kongu* (King Kong Appears in Edo).<sup>32</sup> Another key figure brought onboard the project was Ifukube Akira (1914-2006) to compose the score. As a child, Ifukube grew up in an eclectic environment in Hokkaido. There he was exposed to traditional music of the indigenous Ainu people as well as folk songs from greater Japan by various settlers from the main Islands. According to Ifukube, these influences had a great impact on his career going

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<sup>29</sup> Yoshimi Shun'ya and Shih-Lin Loh, "Radioactive Rain and the American Umbrella," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 7, Number 2 (May 2012), 324.

<sup>30</sup> Jon Rocco Roberto, "Godzilla and the Second World War: A Study of the Allegorical Meaning in 'Godzilla' and 'Godzilla Raids Again,'" *Kaijū-Fan*, Issue No. 5 (Spring 1997). Available online at History Vortex, accessed April 19, 2014. <<http://www.historyvortex.org/GodzillaSecondWorldWar.html>>

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>32</sup> Bob Johnson, "A Look Back at the Many Incarnations of AMBASSADOR MAGMA," *The Space Giants Series Guide*, SciFi Japan. Accessed April 15, 2014. <<http://www.scifijapan.com/articles/2007/08/27/the-space-giants-series-guide/>>. As mentioned in an earlier footnote, *Edo ni arawareta Kingu Kongu* and the earlier *Wasei Kingu Kongu* were arguably the first Japanese giant monster movies. While no verification for the latter film exists aside from a photographic still, Ōhashi's comments on his role in the former offers credible evidence that *Edo ni arawareta Kingu Kongu* was released to domestic audiences in the latter 1930s. *Ibid.*

forward.<sup>33</sup> During World War Two, he composed numerous martial songs (*gunka*) (軍歌), that appealed to the general public and advanced the state's propaganda efforts.<sup>34</sup> All of these contributors would play a definitive role in the development of giant monster movies, as well as more mainstream films in the coming decades. Filming for *Gojira* began in the summer and production finished in the fall of 1954.<sup>35</sup> Costs and time to shoot the picture well exceeded contemporary domestic projects. The heavy investment paid off when *Gojira* opened in November to huge end-of-the-year crowds which sparked the beginning of a new genre: the *kaijū eiga* (the giant monster movie).<sup>36</sup>

As mentioned, *Gojira* infused elements of the *Lucky Dragon Five* incident and borrowed heavily from the plotline of *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms*. Like its colleague, the prehistoric monster was awoken by a nuclear blast, proceeded to wreak havoc in the country's largest city, and was ultimately destroyed by an advanced weapon. Unlike its American counterpart, *Gojira* spoke to its audiences in profoundly unique ways on a myriad of levels that corresponded to developments unfolding in Japan. Previous taboo subjects like the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were no longer forbidden from discussion and scrutiny. More realistic and critical portrayals of the damage and trauma caused by the bombings had entered the public arena with the films *Genbaku no ko* (Children of Hiroshima) (1952) and *Hiroshima* (1953).<sup>37</sup> The *Lucky Dragon Five* incident also triggered a grassroots movement that raised awareness over nuclear related issues. This campaign was so successful that more than one-third of the entire population signed protests, appealing for national condemnation over continued proliferation and

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<sup>33</sup> Randall D. Larson, "Voice of Gojira: Remembering Akira Ifukube," Music from the Movies: The Online Home of the Best Film Music Magazine in the World! Accessed April 15, 2014.

<<http://web.archive.org/web/20080418094016/http://www.musicfromthemovies.com/feature.asp?ID=52>>

<sup>34</sup> Tsutsui, 2004, 24.

<sup>35</sup> That summer, the second nuclear-radiated giant monster movie produced by a major studio was released in the United States. Like its predecessor, *Them!* was successful at the box office. *Them!* DVD, directed by Gordon Douglas (1954; Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2002).

<sup>36</sup> Tsutsui, 2004, 22, 31.

<sup>37</sup> *Children of Hiroshima/Genbaku no ko*, DVD, directed by Shindō Kaneto (1952; Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2001); *Hiroshima*, DVD, directed by Sekigawa Hideo (1953; Tokyo: Shin Nippon Eigasha, 2005). The *Lucky Dragon 5* incident was also adapted to the screen at the end of the decade. Also directed by Honda Ishirō, Tōhō released *Dai-go Fukuryū Maru* (The Lucky Dragon Five) in 1959. *Dai-go Fukuryū Maru*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō (1959; Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2001). For comprehensive treatments of nuclear-related Japanese films see Mick Broderick ed., *Hibakusha Cinema: Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the Nuclear Image in Japanese Film* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1996); Jerome F. Shapiro, "Atomic Bomb Cinema: Illness, Suffering, and the Apocalyptic Narrative," *Literature and Medicine*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1998), 126-148.

testing.<sup>38</sup> *Gojira* appeared in theaters precisely when this swell of interest achieved critical mass.

The film also spoke to those who experienced the war at home and reminded people of devastation caused by firebombing raids at a time when the physical landscape had been largely restored. As Igarashi Yoshikuni discussed in *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*, *Gojira* “exorcised” many demons that were suppressed during the occupation and the years that followed. He noted that the rapid rebuilding of the country had reached a point where “markers of loss were steadily disappearing.”<sup>39</sup> *Gojira* provided an outlet to revisit the recent past as well as allegorically express Japan’s relationship with its wartime foe in contemporary contexts. Igarashi observed that the monster metaphorically represented the return of the former enemy as well as the souls of Japanese soldiers who died in the Pacific theater.<sup>40</sup> The war maintained a constant presence in the film. What ultimately caused *Gojira*’s demise was a nuclear-like weapon (the Oxygen Destroyer) reluctantly deployed by an injured veteran, Dr. Serizawa. Consistent with the mood of the day, Serizawa recognized the global implications of introducing an agent of immeasurable destructive capacity. Killing the creature was further complicated, given that its emergence into the modern world resulted from human activity. According to film critic Satō Tadao, such extenuating circumstances caused audiences to sympathize with the gigantic prehistoric character.<sup>41</sup> Thus, *Gojira* concurrently represented both a frightening victimizer and relatable victim.

Satō further pointed out that theater-goers identified with *Gojira* via longer historical connections and physicality.<sup>42</sup> In contrast to “the Beast” in *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms*, *Gojira* was humanlike in movement and composition.<sup>43</sup> Rather than utilizing miniature models and extensive stop-motion photography which presented a very life-like dinosaur whose actions were fast and seamless in the American film, most of the scenes featuring *Gojira* were shot using a man in a monster suit. Satō explained

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<sup>38</sup> Yoshimi and Loh, 2012, 324.

<sup>39</sup> Igarashi, 2000, 114.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>41</sup> See supplement section of the recently released DVD of *Gojira* by the Criterion Collection, “Tadao Satō.” Refer to the filmography in the bibliography for a full citation.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> See also Philip Brophy, “Monster Island: Godzilla and Japanese sci-fi/horror/fantasy,” *Postcolonial Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2000), 40-41.

that this approach mirrored well established traditions employed in *kabuki* theater.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, Gojira's movements were slow and methodical, which paralleled those of Sumo wrestlers whose tempered strides symbolized strength. Although inexhaustively powerful, levelling cities did not appear easy for the behemoth. Satō discussed how Gojira seemed to work hard to destroy the urban landscape. Accordingly, the choice to use monster suits enhanced its humanity and effectively underscored the overall allegorical message conceived by the film's creators.<sup>45</sup> This strategy also harkened back to efforts by Taishō-period writers to articulate responses by individuals reacting against modernity as seen in the wild vision detailed in Shiga Naoya's *A Dark Night's Passing*.<sup>46</sup>

In addition, *Gojira* revisited age-old orientations to the seas south of Japan as a supernatural locale and integrated Native religious systems that drew on Shinto beliefs and practices.<sup>47</sup> The monster's first land-based attack occurred on an imaginary outlying island south of the Izu peninsula called Ōdojima.<sup>48</sup> As mentioned, the geographical location of the imaginary Ōdojima matched that of the real Hachijō where sightings of the sea monster, *ayakashi/ikuji*, were detailed in Tokugawa-period texts. In a memorable scene, a village elder explained that the destruction they survived was caused by the mythical creature named "Gojira." Soon after arriving at the island, the team sent to investigate the incident witnessed a Shinto rite performed to appease this god. Drawing on iconography of traditional *yōkai* culture, filmmakers adorned practitioners with *tengu* masks. While entirely fictional, the ritual resembled the yearly festival practiced by the fishing community of Daiōchō in the Izu chain, known as the *Nakiri no kami matsuri*.<sup>49</sup> This festival is a reenactment of the legend of *Dandarabochi*, a one-eyed giant *oni* who terrorized the community in order to seize their resources. After enduring numerous attacks, residents devised an ingenious strategy to instill fear in the monster. They wove a mammoth straw sandal, or *waraji* (草鞋), to give the appearance that a larger being

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<sup>44</sup> Supplement section of Criterion Collection DVD *Gojira*, "Tadao Satō"; See also Jon Inouye, "Godzilla and Postwar Japan," *Japanese Fantasy Film Journal*, Issue 12 (1979), 4.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Shiga, 1976, 133-134.

<sup>47</sup> Joyce E. Boss, "Hybridity and Negotiated Identity in Japanese Popular Culture," in Tsutsui and Itō, eds., 2006, 104-105; Inouye, 1979, 4.

<sup>48</sup> Nomura Kōhei, ed., *Gojira daijiten* (Tokyo: Kasakura Shuppansha, 2004), 49.

<sup>49</sup> Daiōchō Kyōiku Inkai, *Nakiri no kami matsuri* (Daiōchō, Mie Prefecture: Daiōchō Board of Education, 1991).

possessing greater powers inhabited the village.<sup>50</sup> This clever solution brought about its intended result. Dandarabochi never returned. Since then, men of Daiōchō carry a giant straw sandal down to the beach, marking the final rite to the annual event.

In sum, *Gojira* operated as a multivalent metaphor that effectively encapsulated psychological trauma caused by World War Two and spoke to Japan's realigned geopolitical and economic position following the occupation. Numerous scenes highlighted tensions between modernity and tradition, underscored anxiousness over nuclear proliferation, and brought suppressed memories of the war to the surface. *Gojira* has remained an allegorical staple and historical barometer capable of gauging Japan's political, economic, and social milieu to this day.<sup>51</sup> Hollywood remakes of the monster movie beginning with *Godzilla: King of the Monsters* (1956), have arguably performed the same function.<sup>52</sup> The ability of giant monsters to metaphorically express such issues in both Japan and in the West is a subject that has a long historiographical tradition.<sup>53</sup> In "Marginalia: Dinosaurs as a Cultural Phenomenon," Keith Stewart Thompson discussed how dinosaurs were particularly effective metaphors given their inherent liminality:

The secret fascination of dinosaurs, especially for the young, is 'that they are half real and half not-real.' The resulting tension gives them a particularly exotic nature. In the mind of a child they are half dangerous and half safe, half scary monster and half special pal. They are powerfully strong but cannot reach us.

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<sup>50</sup> For an animated version of this folktale, a segment from the popular children's program can be viewed at *Nihon mukashi banashi* (Japanese Folktales) at [http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xktac3\\_mnmb-yyy-yyyy-creation](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xktac3_mnmb-yyy-yyyy-creation) (accessed April 17, 2012).

<sup>51</sup> In addition to the germane sources already cited, see Susan J. Napier, "Panic Sites: The Japanese Imagination of Disaster from *Godzilla* to *Akira*," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1993): 327-351; Chon A. Noriega, "Godzilla and the Japanese Nightmare: When Them! Is U.S.," in Mick Broderick, ed., "Hibakusha Cinema: Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the Nuclear Image in Japanese Film (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1996): 54-74; Bond Benton and Tracy Mariofiote, "Fatalism, Fear, and Retribution: Japanese Environmentalism in *Godzilla vs. Biollante*," *History Vortex*, accessed April 19, 2014. <[http://www.historyvortex.org/japanese\\_environmentalism\\_in\\_godzilla\\_vs\\_biollante.html](http://www.historyvortex.org/japanese_environmentalism_in_godzilla_vs_biollante.html)>

Japanese sources include Yoshii Hiroaki, *Gojira-Mosura-gensuibaku: tokusatsu eiga no shakaigaku* (*Godzilla, Mothra, and the Hydrogen Bomb: The Sociology of Special-Effects Films*) (Tokyo: Serika Shobō, 2007); Satō Kenji, *Gojira to Yamato to bokura no minshushugi* (*Godzilla, the Yamato (fictional spaceship), and our Democracy*) (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1992).

<sup>52</sup> Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, "Lost in Translation and Morphed in Transit: *Godzilla* in Cold War America," in Tsutsui and Itō, eds., 2006, 51-81; Tsutsui, 2004, 113-140; *Godzilla: King of the Monsters*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō and Terry O. Morse (1956; New York: The Criterion Collection, 2012); *Godzilla*, DVD, directed by Ronald Emmerich (1998; Culver City, CA: Sony Pictures Home Entertainment, 1998). Another Hollywood version of *Godzilla* is due for release in summer 2014.

<sup>53</sup> Refer to sources in footnote number 49 above. See also Keith M. Booker, *Monsters, Mushroom Clouds, and the Cold War: American Science Fiction and the Roots of Postmodernism, 1946-1964* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001); Ted Gott and Kathryn Weir, *Kiss of the Beast: From Paris Salon to King Kong* (South Brisbane, Queensland: Queensland Art Gallery Publishing, 2005).

They are in many ways familiar and near, and yet also very far away in time and totally foreign to our experience... the world of dinosaurs can be wholly controlled in the imagination. With control comes power, which is wonderfully reinforced as children master (at surprisingly young ages) the special vocabulary of dinosaurs<sup>54</sup>

Dinosaurs exemplify an “in-between” character emblematic of all *yōkai* and function like *tanuki* statues placed in the entryways of Ogura residents. Their liminality also parallels discursive strategies exercising power employed in *Nan’yō* Orientalism that framed South Seas Islanders as both near and far in temporal and cultural contexts. Like children mastering the lexicon of dinosaurs, producers of *Nan’yō* Orientalist discourse controlled the language that defined the South Seas and its peoples, which served the purposes of the observer. *Nan’yō* returned into mainstream popular discourse following the success of the first *Gojira* film. The *kaijū eiga* genre served as a vehicle where a constructed connection between Japan and the South Seas continued to operate.

*Gojira* was the first of many giant monster movies in Japanese postwar film, whose origins can be traced to *Nan’yō*. This new medium opened the door to appropriate the space that could metaphorically communicate a range of sensitive postwar issues and Japan’s colonial and wartime pasts. *Nan’yō*’s supernatural potentiality was coevally consumed in the West as these films were released in both European and American theaters. Pervasive stereotypical representations of Islanders that developed and converged between Japanese and the Western discursive traditions in the prewar period remained intact. Processes associated with reflexivity, projecting notions of “the Self” onto an imagined South Seas “Other,” held sway. As evidenced, scholars have discussed the variant meanings imbedded in *Gojira* and monsters of the genre in relation to cultural, political, and historical developments. Questions as to why so many of these colossal creatures came from the South Seas have similarly been explored. In “Video Irradiant: Micronesia and Monsters in Post-War Japanese Film,” Alexander Mawyer plotted postwar monster movies set in Micronesia and demonstrated that representations and fictional engagement with the Islands and Islanders portrayed on screen reflected visions

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<sup>54</sup> Keith Stewart Thompson, “Marginalia: Dinosaurs as a Cultural Phenomenon,” *American Scientist*, Vol. 93, No. 3 (May-June, 2005), 214.

of Japan's "political economic, and social futures."<sup>55</sup> Igarashi Yoshikuni explored the consumption of the South Seas in *kaijū eiga* and other forms of cultural production during the 1960s.<sup>56</sup> While consumption echoed the changing times and occasionally drew on Western influences, he acknowledged that the region maintained its long-standing "role of innocent past, impervious to social change, in Japan's historical discourse."<sup>57</sup>

Treatment of this subject in Japanese scholarship also highlighted longer historical connections to the region. Inamoto Kenji has written extensively on this topic. He focused on the relationship between Japan and Micronesia, detailing how motifs associated with early calls for southern expansion and twentieth-century colonial developments became infused in the genre.<sup>58</sup> Nagayama Yasuo examined the impact Meiji-period adventure novels had on informing an image of *Nan'yō* intrinsically tied to Japan's tenuous relationship with the West. He also discussed the ability of *kaijū eiga* to revisit a nostalgic impulse that former cultural production on the South Seas provided.<sup>59</sup> Ono Shuntarō dedicated an entire monograph exploring the cultural and historical backdrop behind *Mosura* in *Mosura no seishinshi* (The Psychohistory of Mothra).<sup>60</sup> Ono traced the screen adaptation to the short story, *Hakkō yōsei to Mosura* (The Luminous Fairies and Mothra).<sup>61</sup> He discussed how the story and film functioned as allegories for Cold War developments, observing that their publication and release coincided with the contested renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty in 1960. He also pointed to the integration of traditional religious iconography into the creation myth of the imaginary

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<sup>55</sup> Alexander D. Mawyer, "Video Irradiant: Micronesia and Monsters in Post-War Japanese Film" (Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1999), 2.

<sup>56</sup> Igarashi Yoshikuni, "Mothra's Gigantic Egg: Consuming the South Pacific in 1960s Japan," in *Godzilla's Footsteps: Japanese Pop Culture Icons on the Global Stage*, eds. William M. Tsutsui and Michiko Ito (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 83-102.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>58</sup> Inamoto Kenji, "Nan'yō shikan to Gojira eiga shi: Teikoku Nihon gensō chirigaku to Fukunaga Takehiko no Infantotō" (Historical Conception of the South and the History of Godzilla Films: Imperial Japan's Imaginative Geography and Takehiko Fukunaga's Infant Island), *Jinbunkagaku kenkyū* (Studies in Humanities), No. 123 (October 2008), 81-111; "Nan'yō guntō to Infantotō: Teikoku Nihon no Nan'yō kōkūro to Mosura no eizōshigaku (Infant Island and the South Seas: Poetics of Screen of Imperial Japan's South Pacific Air Route and Mothra)." *Jinbunkagaku kenkyū* (Studies in Humanities), No. 121 (October 2007) 91-123.

<sup>59</sup> Nagayama Yasuo, *Kaijū wa naze Nihon o osou no ka?* (Why do giant monsters attack Japan?) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2002), 6-30.

<sup>60</sup> Ono Shuntarō, *Mosura no seishinshi* (The Psychohistory of Mothra) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2007).

<sup>61</sup> Nakamura Shin'ichirō, Fukunaga Takehiko, and Hotta Yoshie, *Hakkō yōsei to Mosura* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1994). The original publication appeared in the weekly serialized *Asahi* periodical (*Bessatsu shūkan asahi*) in January 1961. *Mosura* opened in theaters that same year in July.



island depicted in the original tale.<sup>62</sup> Citing Nagayama's work, Ono recognized the role *Nan'yō* played in Japanese cultural production as a liminal "Other" distinct from Asia, which made it a particularly efficacious locale to channel fantasy.<sup>63</sup>

Like the aforementioned studies, this chapter will continue examining various discursive mediums that incorporated *Nan'yō* as an otherworldly space to articulate larger issues in the twenty and twenty-first centuries. Demonstrated in Tezuka Osamu's *Next World*, *Nan'yō* could serve as a counter-hegemonic discursive field where US-Japanese relations and Japan's position in the world could be contested. In addition to surveying *kaijū eiga*, this discussion will explore the appropriation of the South Seas with relation to *yōkai*. The blending of *yōkai*, *kaijū*, and other monsters in various mediums resulted in the blurring of distinctions between the entities. Direct physical engagement with Micronesia was restricted until the United States lifted the travel ban to the region in the latter half of the 1960s. However, that did not prevent the space from being consumed in Japan via motion pictures, literature, television, *manga*, music, and material culture that included toys, fashion, and food.<sup>64</sup> Rapid economic growth provided more opportunities for people to spend disposable income. Individuals and families allocated such resources to overseas travel. The lure of vacationing on a tropical Pacific Island that affirmed preconceived notions of the exotic made Micronesia a top destination among tourists. The term *Nan'yō* ultimately fell out of the lexicon in favor of phrases that more effectively evoked an exotic image. Like domestic cultural production that consumed the South Seas, the tourist industry has framed the region as a liminal "Other." Consistent with traditional South Seas discourse, the space morphed to align with this conceptual shift in orientation.

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By the 1950s the United States had transitioned to civilian rule in Micronesia. Development efforts were roundly criticized, leading some to cynically rename the mandate "The *Rust* Territory of the Pacific Islands." Prohibitions on travel restricted the flow of human traffic in and out of the region. Such deleterious conditions imposed upon

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<sup>62</sup> Ono, 2007, 98-99.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 70-72.

<sup>64</sup> Igarashi, 2006, 83-102.

local communities were strategically advantageous for the postwar superpower to carry out covert spy operations and utilize Micronesia as a “nuclear playground.” Saipan not only operated as headquarters for the civilian administration, but served as a secret CIA site under the auspices of the navy called the Naval Technical Training Unit (NTTU) from 1951-1962.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, the US enhanced its influence in Japan and greater East Asia by maintaining official control of Okinawa following the occupation.<sup>66</sup> America returned sovereignty of Okinawa to Japan in 1972 but has maintained a strong military presence with numerous outposts and bases there to this day.<sup>67</sup>

While the United States denied interaction between Japan and Micronesia throughout the decade, Tezuka Osamu continued to metaphorically appropriate Micronesia to articulate Japan’s position in the Cold War, anxieties over nuclear proliferation, and potential global conflict in *Taiheiyō X-pointo* (X-Point on the Pacific Ocean) (1953).<sup>68</sup> The story followed the exploits of a ne’er-do-well, who decided to prevent an atomic bomb test scheduled to detonate over the “imaginary” Konatahan Island. Belligerent countries depicted in the narrative served as stand-ins for the US and the Soviet Union. Like the superpowers, Tezuka’s readers certainly understood that the fictionalized island was an allegorical substitute for Anatahan of the Northern Marianas. In the early 1950s, Anatahan frequently appeared in the news, once a group of civilians stranded there for several years finally returned to Japan. Their experiences were well documented in the media due to scandalous underpinnings concerning males fighting over the lone female. The so-called “*Anatahan joō jiken*” (Queen of Anatahan incident)

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<sup>65</sup> William H. Stewart, “Cold War Covert Activities on Saipan and Elsewhere in the Region: CIA Activities on Saipan and the Period of the Naval Tactical Unit (NTTU),” A Brief Historical Review of “Selected Forces” & Factors Which Have Impacted the Economy of the Northern Marianas, accessed April, 24, 2014. <<http://saipanstewart.com/essays/coldwar.html>>

<sup>66</sup> For a comprehensive overview of Okinawan history that focuses on its colonial relationship with Japan and the US see Gavan McCormack and Oka-Norimatsu Satoko, *Resistant Islands: Okinawa Confronts Japan and the United States* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2012).

<sup>67</sup> American postwar influence over Japan and Okinawa had implications with regard to the development of ethnological studies in Japan. During the 1950s, Yanagita Kunio shifted his attention towards Okinawa and wrote extensively on the development of an “authentic” Japanese identity originating in the Islands in *Kaijō no michi* (The Path over the Seas) (1952). Yanagita proposed that Okinawa and the greater South Seas functioned as the major conduit of Japanese cultural traditions. Disillusionment following the failed opposition movement against the renewal of the US-Japan Security Treaty resulted in the resurgence of ethnological studies in Japan. Mori, 1980, 83; Yanagita Kunio, *Kaijō no michi* (The Path over the Seas) (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989).

<sup>68</sup> Tezuka Osamu, *Taiheiyō X-pointo* (X-Point on the Pacific Ocean) (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1980).

(アナタハン女王事件) was also adapted into live performances and a motion picture in 1953.<sup>69</sup> Shot entirely in Kyoto, director Josef von Sternberg enlisted Tsuburaya Eiji to engineer set designs and special effects.<sup>70</sup>

A noteworthy development in *manga* that played a significant role in postwar *yōkai* culture was the official debut of Mizuki Shigeru as a graphic novelist in 1958. Mizuki returned from the war a wounded veteran. Stationed in the South Seas (Rabaul, Papua New Guinea), he lost his left arm in an American bombing raid. This injury made him ineffectual in the field and offered the naturally inquisitive soldier the opportunity to abandon military duties and venture off on his own. During this time, he developed close relationships with the local community. Introduction to Tolai belief systems made a lasting impression on Mizuki, who had gained a fascination with the supernatural well before the war.<sup>71</sup> Upon repatriation, he integrated this interest in *yōkai* into his creative repertoire, working as a performer and illustrator of picture-card shows (*kamishibai*) (紙芝居).<sup>72</sup> Skills honed from *kamishibai* translated into graphic novels by the latter half of the 1950s. His first publication, *Rocketman* (1958), unabashedly drew on American superhero and comic strip iconography.<sup>73</sup> Reflective of his precocious personality, the illustrator injected a dose of playful sarcasm in the narrative. In Popeye-esque fashion, *Rocketman*'s bicep formed the shape of a mushroom cloud when flexed.<sup>74</sup> Mizuki achieved limited success during the early years of his *manga* career but attained mainstream notoriety the following decade with the unveiling of his band of *yōkai* defenders in the *Ge Ge Ge no Kitarō* series.

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<sup>69</sup> Mizuno Sachiko, "The Saga of Anatahan and Japan," *Transnationalism and Film Genres in East Asian Cinema*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Fall 2009): 9.

<sup>70</sup> *Anatahan (AKA The Saga of Anatahan)* DVD, directed by Josef von Sternberg (1953; San Diego, CA: Cinema Source, 2009).

<sup>71</sup> For more insight into Mizuki's early life, impressions of war, and his experiences in Rabaul, New Guinea as a soldier, see Ōtake Tomoko, "Drawing on experience," *The Japan Times*, Feb 6, 2005.

<sup>72</sup> Like *akahon* (red books), *kamishibai* (picture card shows) offered the masses an inexpensive outlet and temporary escape from immediate postwar hardships. Artists sold their works to picture card show companies who distributed them to storytellers who performed on the streets. In addition to working in a movie theater after the war, Mizuki both sold his illustrations to picture card show companies and performed this traditional storytelling art form to urban audiences. Schodt, 2011, 179.

<sup>73</sup> Mizuki was so unabashed that almost no discernible difference can be made between *Rocketman* and Superman. In fact, Mizuki did not even bother to change the "S" to "R" on his hero's uniform.

<sup>74</sup> *Rocketman* also compared his strength to that of a hydrogen bomb. Mizuki Shigeru, *Rokettoman* (*Rocketman*), *Rokettoman genteihan BOX* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan Kurieitibu, 2010).

High box office returns from *Gojira* led Tōhō to quickly produce a sequel as well as embark on other monster movie projects. In only five months, the studio pumped out *Gojira no gyakushū* (*Gojira's Counterattack/ Godzilla Raids Again*), which appeared in theaters in 1955.<sup>75</sup> In order to skirt issues surrounding *Gojira's* death, the film posited that atomic bomb testing had awoken other prehistoric creatures from the depths of the southern seas. While *Gojira no gyakushū* did not recapture the intensity or sophistication of the original, it did revisit longstanding narrative devices associated with traditional *Nan'yō* supernatural discourse. The protagonists found themselves castaways on a deserted imaginary outlying island south of Japan.<sup>76</sup> There they encountered two gigantic monsters of prehistoric origins: a “resurrected” *Gojira* and *Angirus*. Not surprisingly, these creatures eventually made their way to Japan and destroyed much of the urban landscape before meeting their ultimate demise at the end of the movie. The following year Tōhō released its first color installment of the *kaijū eiga* genre, *Radon* (*Rodan*).<sup>77</sup>

Rounding out the decade, the studio produced the mutant horror film, *Bijo to ekitai ningen* (*The H-Man/Beauty and Liquid Men*) (1958).<sup>78</sup> This departure from *kaijū eiga* drew on traditional oceanic *yōkai* motifs and the *Lucky Dragon Five* incident of 1954. In the film, sailors discovered a deserted ghost ship (*The Ryūjin Maru II/Dragon King II*) drifting in the seas south of Japan.<sup>79</sup> Once aboard, glowing amorphous entities attacked and killed most of the crew. Unbeknownst to the survivors, they returned with the monsters to Japan. It was later unveiled that the derelict vessel had been exposed to nuclear fallout from an atomic bomb test detonated in the South Seas. At this point, the story diverted into a series of complicated plot twists that involved murder investigations,

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<sup>75</sup> *Godzilla Raids Again/Gojira no gyakushū*, DVD, directed by Oda Motoyoshi (1955; New York: Classic Media, 2012).

<sup>76</sup> The island was identified as “Iwatojima” (Iwato Island). According to the *Gojira daijiten* (*The Great Dictionary of Gojira*) Iwato Island was either an outlying island located off Shikoku or one of the Izu chain. Nomura, 2004, 29.

<sup>77</sup> *Rodan* (*Radon*), *Rodan and War of the Gargantuans*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō (1956; New York: Classic Media, 2012).

<sup>78</sup> *The H-Man/Bijo to ekitai ningen* in *Icons of Sci-Fi Tōhō Collection 3 Sci-Fi Classics: The H-Man, Battle in Outer Space, Mothra*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō (1958; Culver City, CA: Sony Pictures, 2009). This film is recognized as the first of Tōhō's mutant horror trilogy. The other two films included *The Human Vapor/Gasu ningen dai ichigō* (*Gas Human Number One*) (1960) and *The Secret of Telegian/Densō ningen* (*The Teleporting Man*) (1960). See the Filmography section for full citations of *Human Vapor* and *The Secret of Telegian*.

<sup>79</sup> The name of this imaginary ship evoked both the *Lucky Dragon Five* and the mythical icon of oceanic-lore who ruled the seas.

bank robberies, and cabaret clubs, all woven together by the terror unleashed by the “liquid men.” While obviously set in the modern era, monsters of *Bijo to ekitai ningen* resembled vengeful ghosts of oceanic-lore (*funa-yūrei*) whose human forms suffered an unexpected and painful death at sea. This horror-whodunit tapped into existential and palpable fears tied to radioactive agents entering Japan in ghost-like ways. In contrast to *Gojira*, the monsters lacked physicality and appeared and disappeared at will. These characteristics better associated with traditional *yōkai* made the liquid men effective metaphors to allegorically represent shapeless, invisible, and potentially lethal isotopes that could creep into society unnoticed.

All of the aforementioned films were re-released abroad by American distributors in the 1950s. Capitalizing on the global appetite for mutants and monsters, Japanese horror movies successfully transitioned to Western markets.<sup>80</sup> However, these imports were subjugated to significant editing before they appeared in foreign theaters. Reflective of the political climate driven by Cold War realities, certain scenes that portrayed American culpability for nuclear destruction were cut or reformatted to present an alternative narrative. The most egregious example of this practice was the remake of *Gojira* titled, *Godzilla: King of the Monsters* (1956). The production company that secured the international rights reshot footage and inserted American actors into scenes. In contrast to the original, *Godzilla* opened in a Tokyo hospital ward where an American journalist was recovering from injuries alongside Japanese victims who suffered the wrath of the giant monster. Throughout the remainder of the film, events which unfolded on screen were mediated through the eyes of this Western observer (played by Raymond Burr). While the revised version provided a platform for audiences to immediately sympathize with their former enemy and draw attention to the harmful effects of nuclear warfare, it erased American involvement in creating the conditions for such a catastrophe to occur. The reconfiguration of Japanese horror movies continued in the 1960s, bringing the dangers associated with nuclear proliferation into the mainstream as a relatable global issue. On the other hand, recalibrated narratives prohibited historical reflection that

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<sup>80</sup> Like the amorphous monsters portrayed in *Bijo to ekitai ningen* (The H-man), American audiences were thrilled at the spectacle caused by *The Blob* in 1958. Other mutant-orientated horror films of the decade produced by Hollywood studios that metaphorically encapsulated Cold War fears included *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956), *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957), *The Amazing Colossal Man* (1957), and *War of the Colossal Beast* (1958). See the Filmography section for full citations.

implicated an American hand largely determining those frightening outcomes. Reciprocal exchange of cultural production evidenced in *manga* and horror movies of the 1950s validated processes associated with coeval modernity. At the same time, narratives and iconography reconfigured from said mediums affirmed the notion that modernity is negotiated and realized in a multitude of forms.

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The advent of the 1960s marked the dawning of the “golden age” of *kaijū eiga*. It also represented a major turning point in modern Japanese history.<sup>81</sup> The decade served as a showcase for the country’s remarkable postwar recovery. To many observers, the Japanese people had met the objectives of the occupation by rejecting militarism and embracing democratic freedoms and privileges. On the other hand, the decade reaffirmed deeply imbedded hegemonic structures set in place under American rule that limited the full actualization of such liberties. For example, a popular movement whose members included professional academics and leftist-leaning college students virulently opposed the renewal of the controversial US-Japan Security Treaty in 1960. In response, the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) utilized heavy-handed tactics and rammed through the accord in the Diet that year.<sup>82</sup> Despite such flashpoints, by the time Japan hosted the 1964 Olympics, the nation had reclaimed its position as an economic force and gained recognition as a peaceful member of the international community. The games symbolized how far the country had come since the war and provided validation that society had “rehabilitated.” Growing economic prosperity, however, came at a considerable cost with regard to social change. The nuclear family became the predominant unit of social organization, resulting in an increased demarcation between gender roles. Women were expected to remove themselves from the workforce after marriage to raise children while the patriarch became the acknowledged breadwinner of the household. Massive migrations from rural areas into urban centers shifted the demographic landscape. An intensified emphasis placed on consumer culture perpetuated by the ubiquity of television

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<sup>81</sup> For more comprehensive treatment of the decade with relation to economic recovery and social change, see McClain, 2002, 562-598.

<sup>82</sup> A significant outcome in the academic community emerged out of this failed popular movement. Many disillusioned intellectuals abandoned Marxist scholarship and turned to ethnological studies grounded in the works of Yanagita Kunio. Mori, 1980, 83.

led to criticisms over excessive materialism and society becoming disproportionately detached from cultural traditions.

The South Seas served as a discursive field where all of the aforementioned elements of change and contestation could find expression. *Kaijū eiga* were particularly effective vehicles to metaphorically articulate this transformative decade. With regard to *Nan'yō* supernatural discourse, no giant monster movie was more representative than *Mosura* to highlight continuities between the modern era and times before.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, *Mosura* was the first of this genre to bring audiences to an imaginary South Seas and encounter “native” people. As mentioned, the 1961 film was an adaptation of the short story, *Hakkō yōsei to Mosura*.<sup>84</sup> Both versions situated Japan’s postwar position in-between Cold War antagonists vis-à-vis *Nan'yō*. In this case the superpowers were morphed into one country named Rosilica (an amalgamation of America and Russia). The film began with the imaginary nation conducting a nuclear test in the South Seas. A Japanese vessel sailing in nearby waters was thrown off course by the blast, leaving the crew lost at sea. Once repatriated, the castaways shared an incredible story of a strange island where they encountered fantastic inhabitants. According to the seamen, the natives did not suffer radiation sickness because of a plant they ingested. The locals provided the antidote to the survivors who showed no signs of harmful exposure upon return to Japan. An international group of scientists were then sent to investigate. The villain, Clark Nelson, led the expedition under the authority of the Rosilican government. When they reached Infant Island, the team discovered a supernaturally tiny set of female twins. Nelson later captured the fairies and brought them to Tokyo where he arranged a stage show to exploit his abductees for profit. The fairies’ musical renditions mesmerized eager audiences. Unbeknownst to Nelson, the miniature twins had telepathic powers that allowed them to contact and call upon the god Mosura through song.<sup>85</sup> Having successfully communicated with the deity, the giant egg worshiped by the natives hatched, revealing an enormous caterpillar which quickly headed to Japan to save the twins. After swimming the great ocean expanse, it wreaked havoc on the urban landscape

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<sup>83</sup> *Mothra/Mosura*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō (1961; Culver City CA: Columbia Pictures, 2009)

<sup>84</sup> Nakamura, Fukunaga, and Hotta, 1994.

<sup>85</sup> These supernatural powers included the ability to understand Japanese. While it was never explained how, the twins had no trouble communicating with the sympathetic Japanese protagonists. On the other hand, the other natives were not portrayed as being able to speak the language in this film.

before spinning a cocoon against Tokyo Tower where it transformed into a giant moth. By this time Nelson had run away with his prized possessions. Mosura flew to Rosilica, where it again caused mass destruction before reaching the twins whom Nelson was forced to free. Their peaceful reunion restored harmony to the world, bringing the didactic tale that criticized capitalist consumption, environmental degradation, and Cold War hegemonic structures to a close.

*Mosura* integrated numerous tropes associated with traditional *Nan'yō* supernatural discourse. Parallels in storyline can be drawn between the film and the fictional exploits of the Tokugawa-period adventurers Shidōken and Wasobyōe. Audiences of both stories first encountered an otherworldly South Seas via the castaway and were made to consider implications associated with human display as a commercial enterprise. Representation of islanders in *Mosura* resembled *Nan'yō* discourse of the past in imagery and overall effect. Heavy make-up applied on Japanese actors to emphasize a dark complexion invoked techniques employed in black minstrel shows first introduced to Japan with the arrival of Commodore Perry. The racist icon was generously appropriated in the 1930s serialized comic, *Bōken Dankichi*. Islander renderings in *Mosura* revealed more about the subject doing “the Othering” than the subject “being Othered.” In this case, natives functioned as a foil to the modern individual of what *not* to do. They were there to remind “advanced” societies of inherent human frailties and recognize that unharnessed technologies could tip the delicate balance between survival and total global annihilation. Yosano Tekkan described South Seas Islanders in *Nan'yōkan* (Nan'yō Pavilion) as human beings who remained in tune with the primordial forces of nature. The natives of Infant Island similarly served that purpose for postwar theater-goers. Unwavering faith in the giant moth exemplified a strong bond with nature that was juxtaposed against a modern world detached from such connections. While islanders were positively portrayed in this light, they were nonetheless represented as peoples locked in time and subsequently denied agency.<sup>86</sup> Their individual stories and

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<sup>86</sup> This discursive strategy coincided with *Nan'yō* Orientalist discourse that adopted methodologies introduced by Yanagita Kunio. Yanagita treated *yōkai* as a marker to locate an “authentic” Japanese identity. As Foster discussed, this approach resulted in both *yōkai* and people who believed in them being “frozen” in time.



histories were of no real consequence. They existed for modern viewers to consume in order to avoid “Self”-destruction.

In contrast to the greedy capitalist from Rosilica, Japanese protagonists were seen as sympathetic to the indigenous community. They tried to heed the islanders’ warnings and respect their way of life. Accordingly, filmmakers metaphorically distanced Japan and the Islands from the West. As a conceptual space, the South Seas served as a counter-hegemonic field that highlighted geopolitical realignments and indicted the recognized superpowers. It also affirmed a national narrative that emphasized Japan’s postwar transformation into a peaceful nation. Such positioning correlated to *Nan’yō* Orientalist discourse of the prewar period. Meiji ideologues of southern advancement (*nanshinron*) emphasized cultural and historical affiliations with South Seas peoples that drew Japan closer to the region. This discursive strategy facilitated colonization efforts through projecting paternalistic impulses based on assumed cultural and genealogical ties. While not made explicit in *Mosura*, later monster films utilized *Nan’yō* as a setting linking Japanese protagonists to islanders via a shared history that referenced the colonial period.

Tōhō’s next project appropriating the South Seas was *Gojira tai Kingu Kongu* (Godzilla vs. King Kong) (1962). While it presented a didactic message critical of consumerism, *Gojira tai Kingu Kongu* lacked the seriousness of former *kaijū eiga*.<sup>87</sup> The film began with Japanese protagonists sailing to Faro Island in search of King Kong. Their plan was to bring the monster back and create a spectacle that would boost the sales of a slumping pharmaceutical company. Representations of islanders resembled those in *Mosura* in appearance. However, the lighthearted and comical approach taken in this film had an infantilizing effect on the imaginary natives more consistent with renderings of Pacific peoples in *Bōken Dankichi*. A technical element that heightened authentic effect and connected the film to traditional *Nan’yō* supernatural discourse concerned set location. Scenes featuring Faro Island were shot at Ōshima Island of the Izu chain.<sup>88</sup> *Gojira tai Kingu Kongu* was the first giant monster movie to shoot footage in an actual South Seas locale. As mentioned, medieval hero of military chronicles, Minamoto no Tametomo, was exiled there. His exploits in the archipelago included defeating the ogres

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<sup>87</sup> This strategy paid off for the studio. *Gojira tai Kingu Kongu* was the most successful giant monster movie at the box office to this date. Ragone, 2007, 66.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

of the more southern Oni-no-shima (Devil's Island). He returned to Ōshima with a number of conquered specimens to demonstrate the fruits of his conquest to the local population.

*Nan'yō* acted as a space that allegorically expressed Japan's postwar global role in *Kaitei gunkan* (Atragon/Undersea Battleship) (1963).<sup>89</sup> In this loose adaptation of Oshikawa Shunrō's Meiji-period adventure novel, humankind came under threat by the legendary continent of Mu. The only chance to defeat this technologically superior menace was to find a legendary naval hero who was last seen in a sea battle during World War II. A lead broken by a reporter led a team of investigators in search of this lost captain. They arrived at a fantastic South Seas Island rich in precious metals and mineral deposits, where the naval officer and his surviving crew had built a super battleship potentially capable of defeating the undersea civilization.<sup>90</sup> However, these former soldiers were still living in the past and they designed the ship to recapture glory for the empire of old. It took considerable efforts by his countrymen to convince the proud veteran that Japan had entered a new age and was part of a world order that valued international cooperation and tolerance.<sup>91</sup> After accepting this new paradigm, the captain unleashed his state-of-the-art weapon, conquered the Mu, and restored peace to Earth.

The psychological mutant monster thriller *Matango* (Mantango: Attack of the Mushroom People) (1963) underscored realigned geopolitical frameworks and tensions associated with the Cold War.<sup>92</sup> Departing from conventional portrayals that emphasized

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<sup>89</sup> *Atragon/Kaitei gunkan*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō. (1963; New York: Tokyo Shock, 2005).

<sup>90</sup> Like *Gojira tai Kingu Kongu* (King Kong vs. Gojira), scenes depicting landscapes of the imaginary island were shot on location at Ōshima. See Kajita Kōji's audio commentary in the special features section included in the DVD for *Atragon/Kaitei Gunkan* cited on the previous page.

<sup>91</sup> This theme of Japan contributing as a cooperative member state of the international community is similarly reflected in *Kaijū-shima no kessen Gojira no musuko* (Son of Godzilla) (1967) and *Kaijū sōshingeki* (Destroy All Monsters). In *Destroy all Monsters*, all of the known *kaijū* have been rounded up and confined on one of the Ogasawara Islands under the auspices of an international organization. Japan was a member of this conglomerate of states that understood the necessity of keeping these giant beasts under control and out of harm's way. Once the Earth fell under attack by interstellar aliens, the monsters were freed to save the world. *Son of Godzilla/Kaijū-shima no kessen Gojira no musuko*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō (1967; Culver City, CA: Columbia Tristar, 2004); *Destroy All Monsters/Kaijū sōshingeki*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō (1968; Houston, TX: ADV Films, 2004).

<sup>92</sup> *Matango: Attack of the Mushroom People/Matango*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō (1963; New York: Tokyo Shock, 2005). Shōchiku Studios also released a mutant horror film (mutated swarms of deadly insects) that similarly implicated Japanese protagonists as contributing agents to the Cold War in *Genocide*. This film was set in an outer island of Okinawa where Americans remained in control. *Genocide/Konchū*

an imposed hegemony, the film incorporated Japan within the nexus of Cold War nations as a complicit partner. *Matango* began with a group of friends enjoying a cruise aboard a sailboat. A violent storm laid waste to the boat setting it on an aimless course in the supernatural southern seas. Once adrift, a passenger had a brief but frightening encounter with a modern ghost ship (*yūrei-bune*) that disappeared into thin air before ramming the sailboat. The protagonists ultimately made landfall only to learn that the island they reached was deserted.<sup>93</sup> In contrast to other films utilizing *Nan'yō* as a setting, this island was particularly dark and gloomy. The only remnant of human activity was a mysterious derelict ship washed aground on the beach. The castaways took shelter aboard the strange vessel which they discovered was part of an international research experiment led by American, Soviet, and Japanese scientists. Further investigation revealed that these scientists tested native flora and fauna of the island, which mutated human subjects into a grotesque species resembling mushrooms. Panic ensued as the castaways were terrorized by the former crew who had transformed into mushroom people. With food supplies dangerously low, temptation to consume the plentiful mutating agent became irresistible. With the exception of the leading male role, all of the castaways succumbed to eating the plant and subsequently mutated. The film ended in a Tokyo sanitarium, where the lone survivor was left wondering if he made the right choice by abstaining from the “forbidden fruit.” He posed the question if he would have been better off staying on the island as a mutated monster than exist in modern human society. This nihilistic final scene resembled works of late Meiji and Taishō-period writers, whose characters sought refuge from modern alienation via vicarious or direct engagement with *Nan'yō*.

Tōhō released the second installment of the *Mosura* series in 1964 with *Mosura tai Gojira* (*Godzilla vs. Mothra*). In a slight plot twist to the original, the film began with the introduction of a giant egg of *Nan'yō* origins washing up on a beach in Japan.<sup>94</sup> It immediately became the object for capitalist consumption and profiteering. This initial encounter resulting in commercial display of the spectacle was reminiscent of *misemono*,

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*daisensō*, DVD, directed by Nihonmatsu Kazui (1968; New York: The Criterion Collection, Eclipse Series 37: When Horror Came to Shōchiku, 2012).

<sup>93</sup> The castaways speculated that they had landed on one of the Ogasawara Islands. As with *Kaitei Gunkan* and *Gojira tai Kingu Kongo*, scenes of island landscapes were shot on location at Ōshima Island. Ragone, 2007, 77.

<sup>94</sup> *Godzilla vs. Mothra/Mosura tai Gojira*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō (1964; Maple Plain, MN: Simitar Entertainment, 1998).

the popular form of public entertainment during the Tokugawa period. Carcasses of large sea creatures carried by currents to Japanese shores became carnival-like attractions. As with the original, the sequel provided a precautionary warning against overconsumption and humanity's degradation of the environment. Imaginary South Seas islanders again functioned as a reminder that twentieth-century impulses to satisfy material gain or achieve military and political hegemony would ultimately lead to total destruction and annihilation.

Like the film adaptation of *Kaitai gunkan* (Atragon), the Daiei Studios production, *Gamera tai Barugon* (Gamera vs. Barugan) (1965) drew on Japan's wartime past as the major narrative link to structure the story.<sup>95</sup> During the war, a former soldier stumbled upon a giant opal which he hid in a cave. Under the guise of returning to Papua New Guinea to recover bones of fallen comrades, this veteran assembled a team to retrieve the gem. The first scene introducing audiences to the South Seas involved a dance by local villagers, whose performance was interrupted by the Japanese protagonists. Choreography and accoutrements associated with the dance drew on Tahitian cultural traditions unreflective of the so-called "Papuan" setting. Consistent with the genre, Japanese actors with artificially enhanced complexions took the roles of these "native" inhabitants. Two of the featured dancers were former members of the Nichigeki Troupe, which choreographed the dance sequences in *Mosura*.<sup>96</sup> Ignoring warnings by the villagers to avoid the cave, the treasure hunters subsequently seized the opal and made way for Tokyo. Unbeknownst to them, the opal was actually the egg of a giant monster, which hatched when left unattended. The story then segued to the conventional monster movie narrative, wherein this newly introduced *kaijū*, Barugan, fought the more established giant turtle Gamera. The dance sequence demonstrated how an amalgamation of elements—in this case Pacific dance traditions—became subsumed into a totalized whole that represented a one-size-fits-all *Nan'yō*. Such discursive devices were heavily employed in the comic medium, where an assortment of animals of non-Pacific origins

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<sup>95</sup> *Gamera vs. Barugon/Gamera tai Barugon*. DVD. Directed by Tanaka Shigeo (1965; Los Angeles, CA: Shout! Factory LLC, 2012).

<sup>96</sup> See August Ragone's and Jason Varney's audio commentary in the special features section included in the DVD cited above.

inhabited an imaginary all-encompassing South Seas.<sup>97</sup> As David Kupferman observed, this practice was also applied in the Western film tradition with regard to rendering Micronesia.<sup>98</sup> The issue of bone recovery of fallen soldiers in the war theater is a sensitive topic. However, activities associated with war commemoration that included bone collecting served as a predominant means by which Japanese people began returning to Micronesia once the travel ban was lifted in 1964.<sup>99</sup> The impudence by which the ex-soldier in *Gamera tai Barugon* used it as an excuse to fool authorities confirmed his nefarious character.

The following year Tōhō released *Gojira, Ebirah, Mosura: Nankai no dai kettō* (Godzilla vs. the Seas Monster/Godzilla, Ebirah, Mothra: Big Duel in the South Seas) (1966).<sup>100</sup> This film stands out among the studio's previous giant monster movies because the narrative stayed in *Nan'yō*. It also marked the moment when imaginary islanders first communicated in Japanese. The natives of Infant Island and Mosura made a return appearance in this installment, which centered on a young man searching for his older brother who disappeared during a fishing expedition. After commandeering a sailboat, he and his compatriots found themselves shipwrecked in the South Seas. A terrorist organization plotting to take over the world had secured the island by controlling a sea monster that guarded the reef. A berry concoction produced by enslaved natives of Infant Island kept the *kaijū* at bay. The protagonists quickly learned to avoid the Red Bamboo (the terror group) after encountering an escaped islander who spoke fluent Japanese. The woman explained the plight of her people and revealed that the main protagonist's brother was safe on Infant Island. While no explicit reason accounted for her language skills, the implicit understanding was that the former colonial period played a role in the process. This band of unlikely characters ultimately foiled the evil plans of the Red Bamboo and destroyed their supra-natural power plant by enlisting the aid of Mosura and Gojira. The film ended with the natives safely returning to their home and the brothers

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<sup>97</sup> Both Shimada Keizō and Tezuka Osamu indulged in this practice in *Bōken Dankichi* and *New Treasure Island* respectively.

<sup>98</sup> Kupferman, 2011, 141-168.

<sup>99</sup> Keith Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Marianas Islands*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011, 99-100.

<sup>100</sup> *Godzilla vs. the Sea Monster/ Gojira, Ebirah, Mosura: Nankai no dai kettō*, DVD, directed by Fukuda Jun (1966; Culver City, California: Sony Pictures Home Entertainment, 2004).

being happily reunited. The series of high-paced twists and turns combined with supra and supernatural elements into the narrative set in *Nan'yō* resembled the adventure novel of the Meiji period. The film also positioned Japanese protagonists as sympathetic to an oppressed islander population, which paralleled plotlines of such works like *Ukishiro monogatari* (Floating Fortress) (1890) and *Nan'yō no dai hanran* (Insurrection in the South Seas) (1891).

In 1967 Nikkatsu Studios entered into the *kaijū eiga* arena with *Gappa* (Gappa: The Triphibian Monsters).<sup>101</sup> This film explicitly revisited the colonial past as well as affirmed contemporary domestic gender roles characteristic of Japan's postwar period. *Gappa* followed the conventional framework of a giant monster of South Seas origins laying to waste the Japanese urban landscape. In this case, the reason for the attack was couched in parental instincts tied to protecting one's offspring. A publishing magnate decided to create a theme park in Japan that showcased the exotic fauna, flora, and people of the South Seas. The company sent a team to the islands to collect specimens and gather data for the proposed project.<sup>102</sup> One of the members was a young single female photographer. Once they reached land, their encounter with the local population invoked paradigms reflective of constructed hierarchies operating during the colonial period. The local inhabitants joyfully responded when they heard that the visitors came from Japan. In fact, the village elder who spoke in stilted Japanese mentioned that their god, "Gappa" would now be able to sleep. Strangely, the tremors that had been rocking the island suddenly ceased as if the Japanese return to the South Seas was the fulfillment of a prophecy. The research team ignored the taboo placed upon entering the sacred cave and retrieved a giant egg inside. On their return voyage, the egg hatched a baby monster. Following parental instincts, the monster's mother and father flew to Japan and wreaked havoc until their offspring was returned. The film ended with this trio soaring home. As the onlookers gazed at the sentimental reunion, the female lead decided to quit her job, get married, and start having babies. The didactic message ascribing gender roles was

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<sup>101</sup> *Gappa/Gappa: The Triphibian Monster*, DVD, directed by Noguchi Haruyasu (1967; New York: Tokyo Shock, 1998).

<sup>102</sup> The Katherine Islands was the name given to the fictional archipelago visited by the team. This name is very similar to the Carolinian Islands of Micronesia. This reference is made further explicit in the opening scene when a graphic following the voyage on a map situates this island in Micronesian waters in the general vicinity where the Carolinians are actually located.

less than subtle in this motion picture. More subtle perhaps were the *Nan'yō* Orientalist tropes imbedded in the imagery, dialogue, and narrative of the film. Building a human theme park that displayed South Seas peoples was a tradition that began with the Taishō Exhibition of 1914. It remains a powerful form of public entertainment both in Japan and abroad. Public display of imagined South Seas landscapes and traditions is available for consumption at the Hawaiian's Theme Park in Fukushima Prefecture.<sup>103</sup> Similar parks are the staple of tourist agendas for Japanese tourists visiting Pacific destinations.<sup>104</sup>

By the advent of the 1960s, television entered the mainstream and became a ubiquitous fixture in Japanese homes. Familiar *Nan'yō* Orientalist tropes seen in *kaijū eiga* were similarly expressed on television during the 1960s. In "Empire's Afterlife: The 'South' of Japan and 'Asian' Heroes in Popular Culture," Leo Ching discursively analyzed the popular children's adventure series *Kaiketsu Harimao* (Fast Thief Harimao) (1960-1961). Ching observed that the program reflected both old and new paradigms related to former *nanshin* (southern advancement) ideologies and territorial expansionism that "enabled Japan to enjoy the trauma of its imperialist endeavors in Southeast Asia and conceptualize its new positionality within a U.S. dominated post-war postcolonial Asia."<sup>105</sup> Based on a serialized comic featured in *Shōnen kurabu* (Boys' Club), this program featured the exploits of a Japanese protagonist who came to the aid of defenseless indigenous communities struggling under Anglo-European hegemony. Ching pointed out that the program echoed a reconfigured form of imperialism commensurate with Japan's recently established role as a peaceful and benevolent member of the international community. He also suggested that this discursive repositioning aligned with Japan's economic relationship in Southeast Asia. By that time, Japan had become one of the largest donors of foreign aid to the region. However, most of those monies went into reinvesting in Japanese companies doing business there. As Ching discussed, one of the leading sponsors of the program had a direct interest in growing Southeast Asian markets.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> The park was founded a year prior to the release of *Gappa* in 1966. Its original name was the Jōban Hawaiian Center.

<sup>104</sup> For a comprehensive study on this phenomenon, see Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

<sup>105</sup> Ching, 2011, 85.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

Television producers also seized upon the popularity of *kaijū eiga* as the decade unfolded. Tsuburaya Eiji was the first to make the successful transition to this medium in 1966 with the series *Ultra –Q*.<sup>107</sup> That same year, his special effects production company produced the first installment of *Ultraman*.<sup>108</sup> As with *kaijū eiga*, numerous giant monsters that appeared in the program came from the South Seas. Due to budget constraints more pronounced in television production, Tsuburaya was limited to the amount of time devoted to scenes featuring monsters. This limitation was woven into the storyline of the series wherein the superhero could only appear on Earth for short intervals. Part of the character’s appeal concerned this shortcoming which humanized the giant humanoid. Another humanizing aspect entailed the intergalactic alien’s relationship to its human vessel, a member of the Science Special Search party. When confronted by an untenable situation, this person activated Ultraman and assumed its gigantic form. Such dramatic shift in body size and proportion mirrored literary techniques of Taishō period anti-naturalist writers who proposed that a rapid change in physical form could temporarily overcome the modern condition.

As demonstrated by *Kaiketsu Harimao* (Fast Thief Harimao), serialized comics influenced the development of television programs set in the south. Printed media that included *manga* played a major role in disseminating imagery related to South Seas discourse and *kaijū eiga*. Numerous picture books like those on the bookstore rack in Ogura provided in-depth descriptions and accompanied illustrations of giant monsters reminiscent of Tokugawa-period *yōkai* catalogues.<sup>109</sup> Printed media also served as an effective vehicle to advance *yōkai* culture during the decade. Illustrated catalogues of *yōkai* similarly appealed to younger readers during this postwar monster boom.<sup>110</sup> Evidenced in Asahi Shinbun’s Sonorama series, illustrations, descriptions, and layouts of

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<sup>107</sup> *Ultra Q: The Complete Series*, DVD, directed by Kajita Kōji (1966; Los Angeles, CA: Shout Factory, 2013).

<sup>108</sup> *Ultraman: Series One, Volume One*, DVD, directed by Tsuburaya Productions (1966; Mill Creek Entertainment, 2007); *Ultraman: Series One, Volume Two*, DVD, directed by Tsuburaya Productions (1966; Newbury Park, CA: BCI Eclipse Company, 2007).

<sup>109</sup> *Asahi sonorama: Kaijū dai zukan* (Asahi Sonorama: Comprehensive Illustrated Encyclopedia of Giant Monsters) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, November 5, 1966); *Asahi sonorama: Kaijū kaibō zukan* (Asahi Sonorama: Autopsy of Giant Monsters Illustrated Encyclopedia) (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, March 5, 1967).

<sup>110</sup> *Asahi sonorama: Yōkai dai zukan* (Comprehensive Illustrated Encyclopedia of Yōkai). Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, December 26, 1966).



*kaijū* and *yōkai* in illustrated catalogues were nearly identical and blurred distinctions between categories of fantastic creatures. By 1966 Mizuki Shigeru gained mainstream notoriety as a graphic artist. He solidified his career that year with the introduction of his cast of *yōkai* characters in the children's comic series *Ge ge ge no Kitarō*.<sup>111</sup> Critical of American involvement in Vietnam, Mizuki utilized his ghostly heroes to battle foes representing the Western powers. In *Yōkai dai sensō* (The Great Yōkai War), he metaphorically situated Vietnamese people living on an outlying island in the Okinawan archipelago who called upon Kitarō to rid them of the American menace.<sup>112</sup> Consistent with South Seas discourse, Mizuki portrayed Japanese protagonists as defenders of their more vulnerable southern neighbors. Tezuka Osamu similarly used *manga* as a vehicle to scrutinize the war in his works that decade. He allegorically framed his criticisms of American activity in Vietnam through revisiting World War Two.<sup>113</sup>

The South Seas was consumed via numerous forms of cultural production during the 1960s. As Igarashi Yoshikuni observed, a rejuvenated orientation towards the space drew on the past but also wove together new icons and consumer products that entered the cultural landscape.<sup>114</sup> He cited the influx of “exotic” fruits such as bananas, pineapples, and mangos. A clothing company developed a line that integrated Hawaiian-inspired fashions seen in the Hollywood movie *Blue Hawaii*. And a toy manufacturer developed a doll (Dakko-chan) that appropriated the racist imagery of islanders pervasive in the 1930s.<sup>115</sup> As mentioned, the United States held a tight lock on human traffic in and out of Micronesia until 1964.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, the initial impetus for travel to Micronesia was largely tied to memorializing the war or recovering the remains of those who died there.<sup>117</sup> While travelers could visit Micronesia once the ban was lifted, the Japanese government imposed their own restrictions on the amount of money individuals could

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<sup>111</sup> The *Ge ge ge no Kitarō* series debuted in the serialized comic *Shūkan shōnen magajin* (Weekly Boys' Magazine) in 1966. Zilia Papp, “Monsters at War: The Great Yōkai Wars, 1968-2005,” *Mechademia*, Vol. 4, 2009, 226. However, Mizuki first introduced his main protagonists in an earlier *manga* in 1959 titled, *Kitarō no hakaba* (Kitarō's Graveyard).

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>113</sup> Tanaka, 2010, 7.

<sup>114</sup> Igarashi, 2006, 86.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> The US government removed the Naval Security Clearance in 1962 and lifted the ban on travel in 1964.

<sup>117</sup> Camacho, 2011, 97-104.

bring overseas.<sup>118</sup> These regulations severely limited opportunities to venture abroad because the money allotted to spend while vacationing was rather minimal. Thus, consumption of the South Seas that took place prior to actual experiential engagement via tourism largely informed the way Japanese came to understand and conceptualize the space in the coming decades.

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The 1970s began in Japan with an international extravaganza reminiscent of the Olympic Games held the previous decade. In March 1970, the country again opened its doors to the world to showcase progress and technological advancement with the Osaka Exposition. By this time, the country had solidified its reputation as a global economic power in manufacturing high quality electronics and automobiles. Sharing similarities with previous international fairs, the exposition juxtaposed the modern against the traditional. In this case, an attempt was made to demonstrate how the two could harmoniously exist with each other. The reconfigured postwar paradigm wherein Japan projected itself as a peaceful member of the international community thoughtful of its developing neighbors was brought to bear. Fairgrounds were aligned with futuristic attractions which creators of giant monster movies had a hand in creating and promoting. Mitsubishi enlisted the producer of the *Gojira* series, Tanaka Tomoyuki, to design their pavilion.<sup>119</sup> Daiei Studios capitalized on the excitement with *Gamera tai Jiger* (*Gamera vs. Jiger*) (1970), whose release ran concurrent with the opening of the event.<sup>120</sup> This film wove the international exposition into the narrative and drew on tropes associated with traditional South Seas supernatural discourse. “Expo” was a huge success that provided domestic populations added validation that they were truly riding on the cutting edge of modernity. The fairgrounds remain a significant site symbolic of the juxtaposition

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<sup>118</sup> Fred Schumann, “Private and Public Sector Collaboration in Guam’s Tourist Industry: Is Guam Prepared for the Future?” (PhD diss., Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, 2006).

<sup>119</sup> Refer to the audio commentary in the special features section included in the DVD. *Space Amoeba/ Gezora, Ganime, Gameba kessen! Nankai no daikaijū*, DVD, directed by Honda Ishirō (1970; New York: Tokyo Shock, 2006). This was not the first time when innovators associated with *kaijū eiga* had a hand in the development of futuristic theme parks. As mentioned, the technical assistant of the original *Gojira*, Ōhashi Fuminori, contributed to the design of attractions for Disneyland during the early 1950s.

<sup>120</sup> *Gamera vs. Jiger (AKA) Monster X/ Gamera tai Jaiga*, DVD. Directed by Yuasa Noriyaki (1970; Lisbon, New Jersey: Showa Video).

between modernity and tradition by serving as the home for the National Museum of Ethnology.

The advent of the 1970s also marked the end of the “golden age” of giant monster movies. Tōhō’s last installment within this period set in the South Seas was *Gezora, Ganime, Gameba kessen! Nankai no daikaijū* (Space Amoeba/Gezora, Ganime, Gameba Decisive Battle! Giant Monster of the South Seas) (1970). Of all *kaijū* films produced by the studio, this motion picture made the most direct references to Japan’s colonial past in *Nan’yō*. The narrative for the film took place entirely on the imaginary island of Sergio located somewhere between Micronesia and Hawaii.<sup>121</sup> Sets comprised of an amalgamation of imagery and cultural artifacts associated with “primitive” societies of the Pacific, which included strategically placed replicas of Yapese stone money in the village. Notable scenes of islanders communicating with protagonists in broken Japanese not only underscored a shared past which was directly referenced to in the dialogue, but realigned constructed social hierarchies imposed upon indigenous peoples during the colonial period. However, the invocation of that period was rendered nostalgically, demonstrated by the parties cooperating with each other in a battle against the giant monsters to protect the island. Such representations suggested that Japanese colonizers had been more in tune with colonized subjects compared to their more recent counterpart (the US) who assumed rule over Micronesia after the war.

The hiatus of *kaijū eiga* did not last long. Tōhō resurrected the genre in the following decade with *Gojira/The Return of Godzilla* (1984).<sup>122</sup> Representations of the South Seas as a supernatural discursive site continued in cultural production that decade, with revised versions of Tezuka Osuma’s earlier works reformatted into film and *manga* collections. *Next World* was adapted into the animated feature, *Fumoon*, while a revised version of *New Treasure Island* appeared in printed form.<sup>123</sup> All of the reprinted graphic

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<sup>121</sup> Much of the footage was shot on location on the outlying island of Hachijō, where sightings of the oceanic monster *ayakashi/ikuji* were documented during the Tokugawa period.

<sup>122</sup> *The Return of Godzilla/Gojira* in The Godzilla Collection, DVD, directed by Hashimoto Kōji (1984; New York, Classic Media, 2012).

<sup>123</sup> *Fumoon*, DVD, directed by Sakaguchi Hisashi (1980; Tokyo: Pioneer LDC, 2002); Tezuka, 1984. In the revised version of *New Treasure Island*, the protagonist Ken’ichi secured passage on a ship with a dog whom he had saved just prior to embarkation. Once settled in his cabin, Ken’ichi ruminated aloud to his dog friend of what kinds of adventures may lie ahead. After reaching the island, Ken’ichi and his compatriots encountered savage cannibals, whilst being chased down by a group of fierce pirates who were

novels contained a disclaimer in the preface acknowledging racist iconography. While this disclaimer offered a direct apology to Black people and Southeast Asians, it did not recognize Pacific populations.<sup>124</sup> Discriminatory imagery of Pacific Islanders remained a mainstay in public discourse as NHK (The National Broadcasting Corporation) utilized the offensive song *Kame-hame-ha* in their children's program *Okaasan to issho* (Together with Mom). Drawing on the name of the Hawaiian monarch who unified the Kingdom in the early nineteenth century, this song emphasized the "lazy" nature of Islanders and their proclivity to avoid work. Backdrops accompanying this song where toddlers run around the stage were/are frequently adorned with animals of non-Pacific origins such as lions. Given that this song has served as a mainstay in children's postwar discourse, its impact with regard to informing young generations about Pacific peoples is profound. More benign representations of the South Seas directed at girls included the animated series *Minami no shima no Furone* (Frone of the Southern Isles).<sup>125</sup> This animated series, later translated into animated features, drew on the storyline of Swiss Family Robinson, focusing on the adventures of a young heroine who lived in an idyllic exotic island. The cartoon accentuated harmonious family relationships that affirmed gender roles of postwar Japanese life.

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determined to seize his map and take the treasure. Accordingly, when run-ins with headhunters and buccaneers had taken a turn for the worse, the Tarzan-like figure swooped in with his animal army at the last moment. As the story unfolded, all of Ken'ichi's imagined escapades came to pass. Their exploits ended with Tarzan defeating the pirates and revealing the real location of the buried booty. A rescue team reached the island, whereupon Tarzan and his eclectic entourage of wild beasts joined the castaways and set sail back to Japan. That night, the dog woke Ken'ichi out of his slumber to make a startling admission. The dog was not of this world. In fact, it was a fairy from another planet. Indebted to Ken'ichi for saving its life, the fairy decided to actualize the boy's fantasy by transplanting the protagonist to an alternate reality. After sharing this revelation, the fairy then asked Ken'ichi if he wanted to stay in this other dimension and live out his wishes to their realistic conclusion. It warned that the treasure would be immediately taxed, the animals quarantined and sent back to the island, and Tarzan summarily deported. Ken'ichi reluctantly acquiesced and returned to his world of humdrum normalcy. Two points are worth highlighting. Tezuka redrew the graphic novel from memory to recreate his original version that the publisher significantly edited. The other has to do with the revised ending. All of the adventures that Ken'ichi experienced were a product of his own imagination. Thus the South Seas that he had engaged was purely conceptual. All of the images associated with it were drawn from his own perceptions and fantasies of what the region could and should be for him.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, i.

<sup>125</sup> This series is also titled, *Fushigi na shima no Furone* (Frone of the Fantastic Isle). *Fushigi na shima no Furone*, DVD, (Tokyo: Bandai Visual, 2000).

Travel to Micronesia consistently increased during the 1970s. Statistics for Guam testify to this spike in Japanese visitor arrivals that nearly tripled from less than a million people in 1971 to 3.5 million in 1978.<sup>126</sup> In 1978, the government abandoned restrictions set on spending money tourists could take overseas.<sup>127</sup> By the end of the decade, more than 4 million people visited the Island annually. The growth in tourism during the 1980s reflected the tremendous surge in disposable income associated with Japan's bubble economy. By the end of that decade, more than 18 million tourists arrived on Guam annually.<sup>128</sup> As tourism became the main vehicle by which conceptualizations of the South Seas took form, the term *Nan'yō* disappeared from the lexicon and public imagination, replaced by new terminology, such as the phrases *minami no rakuen* (南の樂園) (southern paradise) and *minami no kuni* (南の国).<sup>129</sup> Like the regional, geographical, and cultural category of Micronesia discussed by Pacific scholars David Hanlon and David Kupferman, the space remained a nonentity despite this linguistic shift. The tourist industry perpetuated conceptions that affirmed well-established exotic preconceptions in an innumerable array of services, activities, and material goods.

Images of exotic landscapes inhabited by peoples living in an idealized primordial state was one fundamental trope of Western South Seas discourse that developed in Europe upon the advent of global voyaging to the Pacific during the Age of Enlightenment. While there have been variations to the stereotypes over time, an element of continuity remained intact. Igarashi's observations regarding Japan's capitalistic consumption of *Nan'yō* in the 1960s drew upon these time-honored tropes and found continued expression in domestic mediums and the tourist industry. Tourism served as a new form of engagement that allowed for the delineation of a South Seas experience to be conceptualized as inherently distinct from the world tourists had left. As evidenced, significant increases in per capita income allowed Micronesia and the greater Pacific to become reachable destinations. Overseas travel became a signifier that replaced former

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<sup>126</sup> Guam Visitors Bureau, Japan Overseas Travellers (JOT), Japan PAX to Guam & Guam's Market Share 1967-February 2014.

<sup>127</sup> Schumann, 2006.

<sup>128</sup> Guam Visitors Bureau, 2014.

<sup>129</sup> Greg Dvorak, "Atolls of Amnesia: Touring Japan's Pacific Past in the Marshall Islands," *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, Vol. 2, No. 1, (Fall) 2011, 74.

symbols of postwar wealth.<sup>130</sup> The tourist experience correlated to a shared expectation of experiencing something fundamentally different from the everyday. The positioning of the South Seas as a distinct space bound within tropes emphasizing a static history similarly validated individuals travelling to the space as modern human beings.

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The burst of the Japanese economic bubble during end of the 1980s had significant consequences that affected Japanese ways of life. Deeply imbedded beliefs characteristic of the postwar are no longer realistic considerations. Younger generations do not see themselves smoothly transitioning into the workforce upon completion of college and receiving lifetime employment at a company. However, despite the prolonged downturn, conceptualizations of the South Seas and engagement with the region have not undergone significant change. Consumption of the space has been maintained and Micronesia's role as a preferred tourist destination remains high. Due to its proximity, the Northern Mariana Islands still provide an affordable option for tourists to visit. As mentioned, the term *Nan'yō* as a general category to describe this locale where millions of Japanese flock each year disappeared. Greg Dvorak pointed out that in addition to the term *Nan'yō*, Japanese have collectively entered into a greater state of amnesia related to its prewar and wartime history with the region. Much of that loss of memory was directly caused by colonial reconfigurations, wherein the United States cut Japan from Micronesia during its tenure as the governing body of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.<sup>131</sup> However domestic historical developments similarly affected such outcomes. State-controlled history texts only cover a limited range of topics dealing with World War Two and selectively ignore most of the colonial past which includes Japan's presence in Micronesia.<sup>132</sup> As a result, a significant percentage of travelers to Micronesia

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<sup>130</sup> These signifiers were known as the three J's: jewels, jet vacations abroad, and jūtaku (a modern home). McClain, 2002, 590.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, 69-70.

<sup>132</sup> An anecdote reflective of this condition was manifest in the filming of Clint Eastwood's *Letters from Iwo Jima*. In preparation for shooting, Japanese actors playing the roles of young soldiers needed to be briefed on the details of the war and the history of the battle on the island, because they possessed no

are unaware of a shared history with the region and its peoples, despite the fact that much of the reason why Japanese first returned there was to memorialize loss or relocate and return the remains of family members of fallen soldiers, conscripted workers, and other civilians.<sup>133</sup>

Collective amnesia that has wiped away such deep and profound ties between Japan and Micronesia also suggests that what now constitutes the region is a broader and more globalized category hinged to notions of modernity vis-à-vis the South Seas. This orientation does not preclude *Nan'yō* from operating in supernatural contexts. In fact, this more general concept takes on added significance because it provides people regardless of their country of origin the opportunity to validate their modernity through experiential engagement with the greater Pacific. Despite this new orientation, continuity remains and the space has retained a considerable measure of otherworldliness. Identification with the exotic that began during the Taishō period with the advent of tourism there has maintained a steady hold on shaping and sustaining conceptualizations of the region. Japan's sluggish and seemingly stagnant economic growth during the last few decades has impeded tourism. Rather, industries capitalizing on this reconfigured concept of a southern paradise have thrived.

Overseas weddings serve as the best example of this coalition of the amended paradigm taking hold and translating into a successful business.<sup>134</sup> Besides the impulse to consummate notions associating romance with the exotic, economic considerations also play a factor for couples marrying in Micronesia. Fred Schumann observed that getting married in the region had a pragmatic dynamic, because weddings in Japan can be extremely costly and culturally cumbersome.<sup>135</sup> This industry, operated almost entirely by Japanese companies, now enjoys greater volume with couples coming from previously unrepresented places such as China and Taiwan. Increased presence of Chinese couples

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knowledge of it. *Letters from Iwo Jima*, DVD, directed by Clint Eastwood (2006; Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2007).

<sup>133</sup> Camacho, 2011, 97-104.

<sup>134</sup> Fred Schumann and Charlene Amado, "Japanese Overseas Weddings in Guam: A Case Study of Guam's First Hotel Wedding Chapel," *South Asian Journal of Tourism and Heritage* 3, no. 1 (2010): 173-81.

<sup>135</sup> Fred Schumann, "The Online Marketing of Guam's Overseas Weddings in Japan" (2012), Unpublished paper.

taking part in this once virtually exclusively Japanese practice, underscores issues associated with multiple modernities finding more diverse applications.

The Japanese porn industry has also appropriated notions of exoticism tied to sexual activity vis-à-vis the South Seas. Many DVDs are shot on location in the Northern Mariana Islands and include the phrases “*minami no rakuen*” (southern paradise) or *minami no kuni* (南の国) (southern country) in their titles.<sup>136</sup> Japanese film crews have managed to nimbly navigate around existing labor and immigration laws to shoot their movies at various locales around the Islands. Their success in pulling off this delicate operation requires a significant amount of local cooperation and considerable logistical collaboration. In a strange way, these endeavors subvert numerous discursive boundaries and challenge established systems of power that speak to issues concerning agency and the complicated and ultimately malleable political relationship between the United States and the CNMI (Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands) bound within Japanese and American colonial legacies.<sup>137</sup>

More recently visitors from previously unrepresented nations such as China provide insight into modernity as a process and historical force tied to a set of expectations, rituals, and aspects of material culture. The South Seas still functions as liminal space insofar as it synchronically and fluidly occupies numerous temporal sites based upon a discursive tradition embedded within notions of a perceived timeless exoticism juxtaposed against modernity. In other words, the skyscrapers and luxury hotels that house deluxe banquet facilities, that invariably include the ubiquitous exotic dinner show with a fire dance finale that seemingly freezes time, meet certain expectations of what it is to be modern. At the same time, the buildings and state-of-the-art amenities that provide the infrastructure on which the entire tourist industry depends obviously do not preclude the South Seas from being part of the modern world. On the contrary, it is highly unlikely that, without the South Seas operating within the modern, such a sophisticated and large scale economic engine like the tourist industry could exist, let alone thrive. Nonetheless, the South Seas is a unique space that allows people to

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<sup>136</sup> For example, *Giri giri mozaiku SEX ON THE BEACH: Minami no shima de paco paco Asami Yumi*, DVD, Tokyo: S1 No. 1 Style (Esu wan namba-wan sutairu), 2006.

<sup>137</sup> For an essay that discusses such processes in the context of cultural performance in the tourist industry in the Pacific, see Christopher Balme, “Staging the Pacific: Framing Authenticity in Performances for Tourists at the Polynesian Cultural Center,” *Theater Journal* 2, (1998).



validate themselves as modern individuals through personal engagement, that concomitantly invokes the primordial, timeless, and otherworldly as part of those interactions and experiences.

Consumption via the tourist industry is the dominant form of contemporary South Seas discourse. However, that is not to say that *Nan'yō* no longer serves as a space from where Japanese monsters come. In addition to twenty-first-century screen adaptations of *Gojira* and *Mosura*, a notable recent release of the Gamera series, *Gamera the Brave*, reinscribed the origins of the giant turtle to *Nan'yō* and positioned the first appearance of its nemesis in the seas south of Japan.<sup>138</sup> While this continued appropriation of the South Seas validated the utilization of *Nan'yō* as a supernatural space in contemporary times, the filmmaking process of this 2006 monster movie took on added meaning with regard to expressions of postmodernism.<sup>139</sup> The filmmakers decided to shoot on location in the fishing village of Daiōchō in Mie Prefecture, and used members of the local community as extras in film sequences. What makes this decision to film there an exemplary model of postmodern expression is that Daiōchō shares a real historical past marked in ritual and belief to scare away a giant monster. This intriguing set of circumstances using Daiōchō as a film location reflects a postmodern impulse to integrate nostalgic elements in discourse. There is also a reversal of paradigms in operation with respect to the original *Gojira*. The villagers of the imaginary Ōdojima were depicted performing a religious ceremony venerating the mythical creature “Gojira.” In *Gamera the Brave*, this paradigm was reversed, where real people from a real town with a real tradition connected to an arguably real giant monster played fictitious roles in a genre whose prototype, i.e., *Gojira*, portrayed a make-believe island community that practiced imaginary rituals to venerate a fictitious beast. In this case, temporal reshuffling simultaneously jumbled the past and the present with the real and the imaginary, producing an overall effect of feeling in a perpetual state of “nowness” where nothing separated history from actual being. Clifford Jameson identified this effect as a major quality characterizing the postmodern

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<sup>138</sup> *Gamera the Brave/Chiisaki yūshatachi Gamera*, DVD, directed by Tasaki Ryūta (2006; New York: Tokyo Shock, 2008).

<sup>139</sup> Clifford Jameson, “Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism,” in *Postmodernism, A Reader*, ed. Thomas Docherty (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993).

condition.<sup>140</sup> In this way, *Gamera the Brave* functions as an apposite example of contemporary *Nan'yō* supernatural discourse, marking an epistemological shift transcending the modern.

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The South Seas continues to serve as a space that operates in both real and imagined contexts weaving in and out of temporal zones with a seemingly effortless fluidity. Modes of cultural production encompass a wide spectrum of engagement and affirm what it means to be a member of modern society. Processes associated with such validation and identity formation can be realized via direct actual experience in tourism. Whether on Waikiki Beach in Honolulu, Hawaii, or at the DFS Store (Duty Free Store) in Tumon Bay, Guam, people from all over the globe who travel to “exotic” Pacific locales engage in a series of rituals that provide access to an “authentic” South Seas. Access can likewise be experienced vicariously through mediums that utilize traditional tropes associated with the Pacific and Pacific peoples. The wide array of mediums tied to consumerism led to a convergence of Western and Japanese modes of cultural production that ultimately coalesced, creating a totalized conceptual non-entity.

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 7 Hula Girls and Dragon Balls

I stayed with an old friend in Tokyo during the conference. He has two rambunctious boys. In the morning the television was on so that they could watch their favorite programs. Every day when I came down for breakfast there was a commercial that kept my attention. It was for a water theme park that showed happy families engaged in a variety of water sports. The park also highlighted iconography associated with the Pacific cultures and traditions. There were dancing Hula girls and a living replica of the Kamehameha statue in all of the shots. The statue was the most disconcerting image in the commercial. It was very comical in appearance and movement, running around from shot to shot promoting the various attractions available at the park. After a few days, I finally asked my friend what was going on in the advertisement. He immediately told me that the commercial was part of a promotional campaign to bring people back to Fukushima where the park was located. I was aware that after the earthquake and subsequent nuclear accident, the city and Prefecture of Fukushima were still in the process of recovery but had no idea about a theme park being there. Evidently the park was one which most Japanese were well familiar with prior to the tsunami. A movie detailing its origins was made popular in 2006, which detailed the beginnings of a Hula dance troupe and their struggles to reignite the troubled town which was once Japan's premier coal producer.<sup>1</sup> "The Hula Girls" combined with an abundance of coal made the town an ideal spot to heat water and build a Pacific-Island themed park. My friend then explained that the reopening of the park after the disaster had received substantial news coverage and served as a welcome symbol of recovery. Accordingly, the commercial campaign was working and that a sense of national unity with regard to going to the park had developed. I was both impressed by the response but at the same time bothered that the imagery used to promote "Hawaiians" invoked offensive stereotypes of Islanders rendered in *Bōken Dankichi*. I wasn't necessarily surprised either. Later I discovered that the Tomy Toy Company had designed two Pacific-themed lines of their famous *Rika-chan ningyō* dolls (the Japanese equivalent of Barbie) dedicated to the Hula Girls and Fukushima.

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<sup>1</sup> *Hula Girls/Hura gyaruzu*, DVD, directed by Sang-Il Lee (2006; San Francisco, CA: VIZ Pictures, 2007).

At the post-conference get together, I revisited this conversation with two of Greg Dvorak's students studying Pacific history. They had seen the commercial too and were aware of the problematic imagery being appropriated. After some discussion on the relationship between the promotional campaign, the statue, and the tsunami, they started riffing on similar appropriations of discourse associated with the South Seas in popular mediums which included the similarly demeaning *Kame-hame-ha* children's song and the signature attack move of *manga* hero Dragon Ball Z, known as "the Kamehameha."

These discussion and experiences in Tokyo that summer underscored the pervasiveness of South Seas discourse and their relationship to forming Japanese identities over time. Leo Ching had it right when he wrote, "the south of Japan are ways of thinking rather than geographical entities with concrete geographical or territorial limits."<sup>2</sup> As with the Fukushima case, these ways of thinking are not necessarily directly related to an actual engagement with those peoples and cultures whose history and heritage are being appropriated. South Seas discourse, like *yōkai*, has constantly shifted to meet and articulate specific historical moments. However, by and large those moments of articulation find expression in mediums that perpetuate traditional tropes and discursive strategies exercising power.

What then is the legacy of *Nan'yō* supernatural discourse and all those monsters that once emerged from that vast imaginary locale? Doctored photos appearing on the internet of a giant squid washing up on a Fukushima beach attest to their continued relevance reflecting a wide array of human impulses. Peter Wynn Kirby framed the natural disaster and succeeding nuclear accident at the Fukushima plant in a discussion on *kaijū eiga* of the golden years.<sup>3</sup> He related that the imagery documenting the devastation and the subsequent nuclear crisis broadcast in televised news reports and uploaded onto the internet could not help but trigger flashbacks of these films and the iconic monster Gajira. Kirby recognized that the giant monster movie genre served as a vehicle to convey issues, including an anti-nuclear message, that he hoped will be realized:

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<sup>2</sup> Ching, 2011, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Wynn Kirby, "Japan's Long Nuclear Disaster Film," *New York Times*, March 14, 2011, accessed April 15, 2011: <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/03/14/japans-long-nuclear-disaster-film/>

As our thoughts remain focused on the plight of tens of thousands of people in harm's way, Japan's flawed nuclear record can help shed revealing light on nuclear power plans in other nations, including the United States, that have to succeed in the real world instead of in a far-fetched film plot.<sup>4</sup>

This final statement elicits two points worth elaboration: (1) Kirby situated his observation within a broader framework of *kaijū eiga*, which he obviously saw as a universally relatable discursive medium; (2) the problem he highlighted—the preventable nuclear accident occurring at Fukushima—had similar universality given the global ramifications tied to such accidents.

There is no denying Kirby's comment that the plotlines of *kaijū eiga* were far-fetched. There is also no denying that many of these films served as cautionary tales warning against a host of modern ailments, such as the proliferation of nuclear weapons, capitalist overconsumption, and environmental degradation. As cautionary tales, this genre acted very much like narratives depicted in traditional *yōkai* discourse, such as the *hyakkiyagyō*. As discussed, *hyakkiyagyō* was originally a ghost story to take seriously to avoid personal harm from venturing through the streets of Kyoto late at night in times past. By the sixteenth century, illustrated renditions of this tale in scrolls maintained the original narrative but took on a playful tone and ultimately depleted the power of those *yōkai* to instill fear. Despite this change in representation and orientation, *yōkai* have always remained relevant and continue to perform their fundamental roles even in the present day.

In the same way, *yōkai* ultimately transformed from the terrifying to the ludic, *kaijū* similarly underwent that process in representation and orientation over time. Take, for example, the original screen version of *Gojira* and later renditions featuring the monster in subsequent films. Not only was there noticeable physical change, but the entity that mercilessly destroyed much of Tokyo in 1954 evolved into a protector of the Japanese nation as well as a loving parent.<sup>5</sup> William Tsutsui eloquently reminded us how *Gojira*'s 1954 debut instilled palpable fear in cinema audiences and that the studio released the film at a time when World War II was not a distant memory and Cold War realities produced new anxieties in Japan:

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> *Son of Godzilla*, directed by Jun Fukuda (1967; Culver City, CA: Columbia Tristar, 2004), DVD.

The original *Gojira* was a sincere horror film, intended to frighten rather than amuse, which engaged honestly—indeed, even grimly—with contemporary Japanese unease over a mounting nuclear menace, untrammelled environmental degradation, and the long shadows of World War II. ‘Classic’ is a terribly overused word in the vocabulary of film critics, yet this label undeniably applies to the dark, brooding, and still compelling 1954 *Gojira*.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, not only did *Gojira* serve as an effective metaphor to express a multitude of historical, cultural, and psychological realities, the monster also shared fundamental characteristics ascribed to *yōkai*. Kirby’s response to make sense of the devastating natural disaster and subsequent nuclear crisis via the application of *kaijū*, demonstrates their continued efficacy to comprehend the incomprehensible in contemporary contexts. Moreover, the language of *kaijū* is universal because the transference of this movie genre was truly a global phenomenon. Accordingly, *kaijū* are particularly well-suited to function as universal signifiers to an increasingly globalized world in a postmodern age. While these similarities to *yōkai* in composition and character are not exhaustive, they provide enough evidence for me to propose that *kaijū* deserve to be recognized as *yōkai*.

Michael Dylan Foster does not share this opinion. Neither do the fourteen out of fifteen *yōkai* specialists he asked while trying to come to grips with this question of categorization.<sup>7</sup> While Foster acknowledged that “the difference between a *kaijū* and a *yōkai* is a murky one at best,” he argued that the ways in which *yōkai* are understood to be *yōkai* and determined by a traceable tradition or ambiguously established history that *kaijū* do not possess:

Regardless of whether the origins of a particular *yōkai* are ultimately traceable to an individual creator or have been obscured through generations of telling and embellishment, the subjects of Ema’s and Yanagita’s investigations are historical: they are linked to the past, to the land, to a sense of tradition. As if in recognition of this, a backstory is created for *Gojira* in the film—he is a creature of local legend, *Gojira* is physically molded on a dinosaur rather than any of the creatures in, for example, the *Wakan sansaizue* or Sekien’s catalogues. Perhaps he is simply too big to be a *yōkai*, too massive to lurk within the twilight shadows on the outskirts of town. Alternatively, *Gojira* might be considered to be, like a cyborg, a creature enhanced or mutated by technology, born from a violent fusion of culture and nature. Whatever the case, *Gojira*, both monster and movie, emerged not from layers of tradition but from a tragedy of violence and suffering:

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<sup>6</sup> Tsutsui, 2004, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Foster, 2009, 160-61.

Gojira was made possible—necessary—by the war itself. He is a scar, a marker of trauma, “burdened,” as historian Yoshikuni Igarashi puts it, ‘with contradictory missions: to simultaneously re-present the traces of history and to be erased from the surface of the earth.’<sup>8</sup>

Foster’s argument in the above passage is problematic in that he did not take into account the tradition of ocean-based *yōkai* and that the oceans—especially those south of the Japanese archipelago—function in *yōkai*-like ways possessing the ability to be conceptualized as otherworldly entities unto themselves. Moreover, Foster precluded the creation of new *yōkai* that will naturally evolve as a natural human response to explain when the unexplainable arise. As Nakamura discussed, *yōkai* can adapt to meet the changing times evidenced by the transformation of the traditional *funa-yūrei* to what he identified as its modern counterpart, *yūrei-bune*.<sup>9</sup> This new version of the traditional *yōkai* made a brief but startling appearance while the crew of the disabled sailboat drifted south in the 1963 screen adaptation of Oshikawa Shunrō’s Meiji-period adventure novel *Kaitei gunkan*.<sup>10</sup>

The introduction of unprecedented realities result in epistemological shifts to meet those changes in new forms of comprehension and expression. Postmodernism is characterized by a particular method of engagement that rejects any single explanation to account for contradictions by embracing irony in order to reveal multifaceted complexities. This condition is made apparent in Matsumoto Hitoshi’s portrayal of the outcast antihero in *Big Man Japan*.<sup>11</sup> In this brilliant dark comedy, Matsumoto suggested that the modern impulse to overcome modernity through the embodiment of supernatural form by the individual is not only anachronistic, but also something society has come to ridicule and despise. Set in contemporary Japan and drawing on traditional forms of *yōkai* discourse, which included the integration of Sekienesque catalogue entries to introduce the monsters attacking urban landscapes, Matsumoto presented a humorous but sobering account of present reality vis-à-vis the absurdly fantastic. The film centered on a middle-aged divorcee who lives alone and has inherited his once revered family profession: the

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Komatsu, 2002, 28.

<sup>10</sup> See citation for *Atragon* for full citation.

<sup>11</sup> *Big Man Japan*, directed by Matsumoto Hitoshi (2007; Los Angeles: Magnolia Entertainment, 2009), DVD.

*kaijū* killer. The Big Man was contracted by the government to repel these threats to society. In the past, not only did this job bring nationwide prestige and honor, but it also brought in big ratings whenever a *kaijū* confrontation was broadcast over the airways during the 1960s and early 1970s—a time that synchronically corresponded to widespread television ownership, signifying the postwar recovery and the “golden age” of *kaijū eiga*.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately for the Big Man, his popularity in today’s Japan has sunk to such depths that his program documenting battles was relegated to the latest of late night timeslots. On the urging of his manager, the Big Man was further humiliated by posting stickers of his sponsors on his naked torso to bring in revenue. Adding more insult to injury, the only time the protagonist enjoyed a tick in ratings was when he received a continued beating from the formidable Red Demon, or *Aka Oni*, a character based upon a real bully from Matsumoto’s childhood.<sup>13</sup> Ultimately, the Big Man was a victim of mass consumption associated with the postmodern condition.<sup>14</sup> Ironically, he is the loneliest and most alienated member of society, which contradicts the modern paradigm where such supernatural abilities could offer escape from ennui and existential malaise. This representation utilizing the multi-variant metaphor of *kaijū* and genre, demonstrates the increased hegemony of capitalism and corresponds to shifts in perception towards *Nan’yō* as it faded out of memory and became subsumed into larger globalized consumer contexts associated with postmodernity.<sup>15</sup>

Igarashi’s comments included in the previous passage likewise touch on this quality associated with the postmodern, known as duplicity or doubleness. In *The Politics of Postmodern Politics*, Linda Hutcheon explained this process by comparing postmodernism to the act of marking a word with “commas” to denote more than one meaning:

It is rather like saying something whilst at the same time putting inverted commas around what is being said. The effect is to highlight or “highlight,” and to subvert, or “subvert,” and the mode is therefore a “knowing” and an ironic—or even “ironic” one. Postmodernism’s distinctive character lies in this wholesale “nudging” commitment to doubleness, or duplicity. In many ways it is an even-

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<sup>12</sup> Igarashi also observes this relation to the rise in television ownership and the golden age of the monster movie. Igarashi, 2006.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Jameson, 1993; 1998.

<sup>15</sup> This is what Clifford refers to as the ‘culture logic of late capitalism.’ Ibid.



handed process because postmodernism ultimately manages to install and reinforce as much as undermine and subvert the conventions and presuppositions it appears to challenge. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to say that postmodernism's initial concern is to de-naturalize some of the dominant features of our way of life; to point out that those entities that we unthinkingly experience as "natural" (they might even include capitalism, patriarchy, liberal humanism) are in fact "cultural"; made by us, not given to us.<sup>16</sup>

Clearly, Matsumoto's *Big Man of Japan* operated under this set of conditions in readily apparent ways. However, it can be argued that the circumstances surrounding the making of *Gamera the Brave* also reflected such sensibilities, insofar as the conscious decision to use the village and villagers of Daiōchō as part of the narrative was totally unannounced and subsequently unnoticed by the viewing audience.

M. Keith Booker similarly drew on this concept of doubleness to observe that 1950's American science fiction literature and films like *Godzilla* were "filled with ambivalence and contradictions" and functioned in postmodern contexts.<sup>17</sup> He observed that in addition to expressing the palpable fear of nuclear holocaust driven by Cold War realities, science fiction spoke to a host of other anxieties Americans faced during the decade that correlate to Jameson's views on postmodernism with regard to the "increasing ideological hegemony of capitalism."<sup>18</sup> Such fears and anxieties felt among Americans during this period were clearly shared by the Japanese. Indeed, given Japan's direct experience of atomic bomb attacks, fears associated with nuclear holocaust were perhaps all the more palpable. Furthermore, *kaijū eiga* genre not only spoke to those fears, but also provided a space for expression to explain the unexplainable, as demonstrated by Kirby in the *New York Times* article more than fifty years later. This impulse to invoke *kaijū* to make sense of man-made or natural disasters—or both in the case of the 2011 tsunami and Fukushima meltdown—fulfills the fundamental role all *yōkai* play in society and validates their recognition as bona fide *yōkai*.

As for a historical connection, this dissertation has demonstrated that indeed a history connects *kaijū*, such as Gojira, to a well-established tradition of oceanic ghosts and monsters over time. This continuity in discourse is broad and rather general, but it is

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<sup>16</sup> Linda Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 1-2.

<sup>17</sup> M. Keith Booker, *Monsters and Mushroom Clouds, and the Cold War: American Science Fiction and the Roots of Postmodernism, 1946-1964* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001), 4.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

consistent insofar as an otherworldly sensibility towards the seas south of Japan found perpetual expression in discourse on the region later defined as *Nan'yō*. Also, the lone *yōkai* specialist who shares this opinion that *kaijū* are indeed *yōkai*, Saitō Jun, has demonstrated through a linguistic study that the language used to describe dinosaurs upon their introduction to Japan in various discursive mediums, including the adventure novel, adopted the vocabulary of *yōkai* to describe such creatures.<sup>19</sup> Accordingly, Saitō traces these terms to their ultimate conclusion: the modern *kaijū*. Saitō also proposes in an earlier study cited by Foster that *yōkai*, like *ōnamazu*, served as a prototype for their twentieth-century cousins, such as *Gojira*.<sup>20</sup> Although this debate will surely continue with regard to the categorization of *kaijū* as *yōkai*, this study has offered analysis and historical support to give credence to further consideration of such designation. In addition, who knows what new *yōkai* may emerge as new realities inevitably present themselves? The opportunity to engage in more discussion over the fantastic and the weird is always worth investigating, because it can provide inroads to comprehending the human condition.

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This study has utilized methodologies associated with Japanese ghost studies and identified similarities between the functions and characteristics of *yōkai* with the conceptual space known as *Nan'yō*. A fundamental and continuous otherworldly orientation towards the oceans and this particular category of space offers glimpses into Japanese conceptualizations of the outside world as well as “the Self.” Ultimately, *yōkai* are a product of culture and reflect attitudes and ways of comprehending reality reflective of its producers. Similarly, *yōkai* are particularly malleable entities whose power to express meaning depends on the projection of meaning unto them.

A historical sensibility to comprehend the seas south of Japan as a supernatural space has resulted in a similar process with regard to *Nan'yō*. Like *yōkai*, *Nan'yō* is a product of culture and its power to express meaning also depends on the projection of meaning onto it. Acknowledgement of this condition can facilitate the utilization of the

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<sup>19</sup> Saitō Jun, “Ayashii kemono kara kaijū e,” in Komatsu, 2010, 390, 411.

<sup>20</sup> Saitō, 1999, 66-119.

*Nan'yō* as a methodological tool to explore Japanese history vis-à-vis its relationship to this region. As demonstrated in this study, a wide variety of attitudes and ways of conceptualizing the world and the self can be elicited through such an inquiry. Both continuities and changes in epistemology similarly reveal themselves by an investigation of this space that functions like and shares qualities so close to *yōkai*. However, what this approach does not lend itself to is a better understanding of those peoples, i.e., *Nan'yō* peoples, whose appropriation in the discourse played such a critical role in our understanding of Japanese history and Japanese conceptualizations of the world. In other words, like the fictitious islanders portrayed in *kaijū* films of the golden era, the uniform composite by which they were created, served only a selfish purpose. The didactic tales simply affirmed the obvious and provided a warning to the potential abuses and problems modern societies can face if left to their own devices.

This dissertation has surveyed the ways in which the *Nanyo* has been consumed over time in Japanese historical contexts. There is no evidence or data to show that this trend will change. Indeed, the overwhelming pressures put upon contemporary societies to embrace the culture of capitalism suggest that the South Seas will continue to be consumed. Nonetheless, there are some encouraging signs that efforts to position Japanese and Pacific studies within a more open dialogue with each is gaining momentum. Hopefully, this study has contributed to that dialogue and offered insight into Japanese history and the application of ghost culture as a methodological tool for historical analysis.

*Nan'yōkan* (The South Seas Pavilion)<sup>1</sup>

Translated by Mark Ombrello

Midori no sameta, suna to gomi no  
darake no, mizuke no nai, ijiketa,  
hikui yashi no idachi,

Wilted greenery  
A cluttered mess of sand and garbage  
No moisture  
A low lying grove of coconut trees

Miira ni shita, ugokanai, tengūzaru,  
Shinda, misuborashii, chippokena wani,  
Kusunda, ōdo to chocolat no iro o shita  
yasumono no mozō no Jawa sarasa,  
Mada ichido mo ikichi o tamashii no  
hairanu, hyoro nagai dokuya no kazukazu....  
Eh?  
Kore ga Taishō hakurankai no Nan'yōkan?

A mummified and lifeless long-nosed monkey  
A small and shabby dead crocodile  
A dull earth-toned chocolate-colored cheap replica  
of a Javanese printed cloth  
Numerous long spindly poisoned arrows that never once  
lapped blood or took a soul....  
Huh?  
Is this the South Seas Pavilion of the Taisho Exhibition?

Saishō no futatsu no shitsu o mite aruite,  
Ore wa omowazu Ore no kodomotachi ni iitta,  
“Konna ja nai! Konna ja nai! Nan'yō wa!  
Soshite, Ore wa Shingapō-ru o omoidashita.

We walked through and looked at the first two rooms  
And without thinking I said to my children,  
“It’s not this!”  
“It’s not this!”  
“This is not the South Seas!”  
And then I remembered Singapore.

Konna ja nai! Konna ja nai!  
Ano sekido chokka no seikatsu wa konnanja nai!  
PAUL CLAUDEL ge me mawashita mo dori

It’s not this! It’s not this!  
That life right below the equator is not like this!  
It’s the sort of thing that would make Paul Claudel faint

Soko wa hikari to netsu to nioi to iro no sekai da,  
Hanayakana, memagurushii genzō nomi no  
sekai da,  
Junsuina shinjitsu nomi no kinchō shita sekai da,  
Banbetsu no chikara ga hakkoshi, jōtōshi,  
Uzu o maite aremawaru sekai da,  
Uchū no saishō no genki ga,  
Kegarezu, majirazu, yodomazu ni moete iru  
sekai da,

*There* is a world of light, heat, smell, and color  
A world of only brilliant and blistering hues  
A tense world of only pure truth where various  
powers ferment and evaporate  
A world of swirling storms  
A world where the first vital energy of space burns  
but is not injured, mixed, or stagnant

Taiyō wa hakkin yaite iru,  
Umi wa emerōdo no yu o tataete iru,  
Tsuchi wa pyurumyon moriagete iru,  
Kūki wa hi no tanpeeto da,  
Ame wa kin no raoaju da.

The sun burns platinum  
The seas brim with warm emerald water  
The earth swells scarlet  
The air is the spark of typhoons  
Rain is a sudden shower of silver

Dono mono ni mo nibui yowai iroga nai,  
Makka da, kin da, seppaku da, shojohi da,

No dull or weak color of any kind exists  
Bright reds, gold, snow white,

<sup>1</sup> Hiroshi (Tekkan) Yosano, “Nan’yōkan” (The Nan’yō Pavilion) (August 1914). Access to the poem is available online at Aozora bunko: <http://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000320/card2565.html>.

\*Note: This translation is the intellectual property of the translator. Please request permission from translator if interested in using this translation or parts from it in the future.

Gunjo da, fumimidori, murasaki da.  
Dono mono ni mo hansana bunrui ga nai,  
Shokubutsu mo dōbutsu da,  
Ningen da,  
Ningen mo shokubutsu da, dōbutsu da.

Aru ki wa hige o tare, hyakushu o  
Aru ki wa hige o tare, hyakushu o nobashi  
Jū, nijū no ashi o hashira no yō ni tatette iru.  
Aru ki wa ōgigata no kishi no kabuto o kaburi,  
Aru ki wa hosonagai dou ni makkana ebi no

Aru kaeru ga ushi no koe de hoeru.  
Aru hebi ga suzu o furu.  
Aru hebi ga suzu o furu.  
Isshaku no yamori ningen ni yobikake,  
Nijō no wani ga ningen o esa ni suru.  
Ningen wa maruki bunei no kara ni note  
hashiru kai da.  
Saru wa shōjyō no hyōjyō to sugata de  
daki au ningen

Shunkashūtō no bunbetsu mo nai,  
Shokubutsu wa me to ha to kareha to,  
Tsubomi to hana to mi to dōji ni  
motte iru.  
Kata hashi kara jikushite, karete,  
Kata hashi kara atarashiku unde iku.

Ningen mo sō da!  
Te nurui yume ya akogare ya,  
Shichimendouna meisō ya,  
Kokashii shōryō ya, kyogi ya,  
Bakarashii kōkai ya omoide o  
hitsuyō to sezu ni ikite iku.  
Karera wa ruten o ruten no mami ni  
ukeireru.  
Tada chinchō suru no wa aijyō da,  
Sōdō da, shōri no yoku da,  
Soshite sorera o sanbi no geijutsu da.

Nemutakute neru,  
Utakute utau,  
Hatarakute hataraku,  
Odoritakute odoru.  
Koishii onna wa ubattemo ai suru,  
Nikui teki wa koroshite shimau,  
Katta mono wa tadashiku hokoru  
Maketa mono wa fukushuu o kuwadateru.  
Shō, rō, byō, shi wa juntōna ruten da,  
Hana no kairaku da,  
Sonna koto o ki ni suru shunkan nanka

scarlet, indigo, ultra marine, dark green, purple  
No complex diversification of any kind  
Plants are animals and people  
Likewise people are plants and animals

One tree droops its beard and stretches out its hundred  
hands while ten to twenty legs are standing like posts  
One tree wears a fan-shaped helmet of a knight  
One tree has a face of a deep red shrimp attached to its  
long and narrow trunk

A frog croaks like a mooing cow  
A snake shakes a bell  
A thirty-centimeter gecko cries out to a human audience  
A six-meter crocodile makes pet food out of people  
Man is a sea-shell that rides a dug-out canoe made  
from a tree husk  
Monkeys are people who hug each other but  
hold the facial expressions and stature of orangutans

There is no difference between spring, summer, winter,  
or fall  
Plants can have sprouts, foliage, dead leaves, buds,  
flowers, and fruit all at the same time  
One side of the fruit is ripe and mature  
The other newly born

People are the same way!  
Soft in dreams and aspirations  
Challenged by contemplation  
Shrewd in discussion  
Deceptive  
Going through life holding foolish regret and  
placing no importance on memory  
They go with the flow accepting life's vicissitudes.  
To give praise is to love  
It is manual labor  
It is greed's victory  
Those are the arts of gratification

If they are tired, they sleep  
If they want to sing, they sing  
If they want to work, they work  
If they want to dance, they dance  
They pine for the woman they threw away  
They kill their hated enemies  
Victors hold righteous pride  
Losers design plans for revenge  
Birth, old age, sickness, death are the proper vicissitudes  
So are the blooming and wilting of flowers by which they  
possess no traditions to notice such things

motteinai.

Shizen to seibutsu to ga onaji myaku o uchi,  
Onaji tamashii to onaji iyoku o mochi,  
Onaji sei no chikara o haritsumete ugoku  
bakari da!

Moshi junsuina jinsei o horyū shite iru karera ni,  
Shochi no dotoku o toite kikaseta nara,  
Karera wa mekado o tattete okoru darou,  
Soshite iu darou, “Dai shizen no kokoro o  
shiranai,  
Daraku shita ningen no yokeina higami da,” to

Karera wa sekirara de iru,  
Taiyou ga sekirara de iru godoku ni!  
Soshite, karera ga hanayakana Jawa sarasa  
no ippen de,  
Mata wa shinsenna hito eda no ki no ha de  
Ningen no ki no mannaka ni tsuketa sei no  
konomi o ōu no wa,  
Reigi de mo nan demo nai,  
Yashi ga sono mi no kaku o kokuhi no naka  
ni osamete,  
naka ni osamete,  
Fū to chūjyū no gai o fusegu yō ni,  
Karera mo mata kishu no miya o,  
Teki to dōbutsu no gai kara mamoru no da.

Konna no ja nai!  
Ano iku iku shita Nan’yō wa!  
Ore wa kō omotte tsugi no shitsu e itta.

Soko ni wa byōnin rashii Nan’yō no  
danjyō ga,  
Aoguroi shina bita hada de,  
Kinori no shinai usō no hyōjyō to,  
‘Omaetachi wa usō o shiranai hazu da  
no ni!’  
Hari no nai ukichōshi no koe to de,  
Semai butai ni,  
‘Aa, omaetachi wa sangoshō no shima  
ga koishi karō!’  
Oddottarri uttatari shite iru.  
Kawai sō ni!  
Karera wa koya ni ippai ni natta  
mimono kara,  
‘Nanda! Omoshiroku mo nai!  
Yaban da ne!’ to  
Ōbira ni Nihongo de tsutawarete iru.

Kanbochya no odori o hometa  
Rodan ga,  
Kono mimono no naka ni iru no ja nai,

The pulse of nature and all living beings is synchronized  
They all possess an identical soul and will  
All are covered in the same life-force that drives them!

If they were to put aside their pure life and asked to explain  
shameful morals  
They would respond with an angry glare and likely say,  
“You don’t understand the heart of absolute nature  
and your depravity makes you all the more jealous!”

They are stark reality like the sun is stark reality  
And, as with a piece from that Javanese printed cloth  
And as with a fresh leaf from the branch of a tree  
The nut that holds one’s true nature concealed in the  
middle of the human tree contains neither manners  
or etiquette of any kind  
That nut is also lodged within the shell of a coconut  
The coconut protects its pit against harm caused by the  
wind, rain, and wildlife  
Likewise, the coconut protects them (South Seas people)  
and their palace of noble birth from harm caused by  
enemies and animals

It’s not this!  
This isn’t that South Seas which is full of life!  
And as I thought this I went into the next room

Assembled there were sick-looking  
South Seas men and women  
With faded bluish black skin and a  
halfhearted and insincere expression  
on their faces, I said to them,  
“Hey you! You who are supposed to know  
nothing about lying!  
You must be longing for a coral island!”  
Lacking any springiness or pluck  
and in a listless voice they danced and  
sang on the confined stage.  
How pitiful!  
And from the hut of this now  
standing-room-only attraction they  
were chided in Japanese without  
hesitation, “What the hell! You’re  
nothing special! You’re barbarians!”

The Cambodian dance that Rodin  
praised so highly was definitely not  
the one performed here at this attraction

Iya, sonna guran meetoru ga itatte  
kono Nan'yōkan o mitara nige dasu darō.  
Aa! Donna ii mono demo,  
Donna shinken na mono,  
Nihon no kūki ni fureru to,  
Taitei mina shinabutte shimaun da!  
Seishin o naku surun da!

Ore wa chika goro Yōroppa no ōfuku ni,  
Shingapo-ru o ni do mite,  
Nan'yō no seikatsu o urayamazu ni iranakatta  
Soshite Pari ya Ro-ma o mite kita ato ni mo  
Yappari Nan'yō o urayamashii to omotta.  
Naze da?  
Jinsei o muki dashi ni shite,

Shinjitsu no ai to sento to ni chikara  
ippai ikiru,  
Jiyūna sekai toshite wa,  
Pari mo Ro-ma mo  
Nan'yō no shima mo  
kanari ga nai kara da!

Ore wa atauta to Nan'yōkan o dete  
shimata.  
Ore wa fukubiki ni isogu, chitsujyo no nai,  
Uzōmuzō no komiau naka o, kodomo tsurete,

Migi ni nui, hidari ni nui shite aruita.  
Sore de mo kanari oozei ni butsukatta,  
Konna bai ni PARDON o iiawanai no ga  
Dai Nihon da!  
Soshite, yatto no koto de ue o muku to,  
Ore no me ni haitta no wa, banen de  
kasareta kozue to,  
Ōshū de wa Doitsu no ichibu de shika  
miataranai shiki no  
Iyana seseshyon no kenchiku to,  
Matsui Sumako to iu jyōyū no kanban da.

‘Otōsan, hayaku kaerimaseyo.’  
‘Yoshi!’

(1914, 24, August)

In fact, had the Grand-master been here to witness  
the South Seas dance he would have run away  
Indeed!  
No matter how good or earnest a thing is  
it almost always wilts when touched by the air of Japan!  
It loses its spirit!

Not too long ago I made a round trip  
to Europe and saw Singapore twice.  
I did not need nor did I envy the life of the South Seas  
Yet after going to see Paris and Rome  
I thought it over again and felt envious of the South Seas  
Why?  
Life bears its nakedness

Sincere love and combat live to and exercise their  
fullest power!  
As for a free world  
There isn't much of one in Paris or in Rome  
Or even in an island in the South Seas  
for that matter!

Hastily I left the South Seas Pavilion  
Having no gambling system, I hurriedly  
took my children through the center  
of the crowded mass away from the raffle drawing

Weaving left and weaving right,  
we bumped our way through the crowd  
This was no time to be polite and say,  
“Pardon me” here in this great Japanese nation!  
And finally  
as I turned upwards what caught my eye,  
along with a sooty wilted tree top  
I spotted an unpleasant example of secession architecture  
that can only be seen in one part of Germany in Europe,  
and a billboard of the actress Sumako Matsui.

“Dad, Let's hurry and get home!”  
“Right! Let's get going!”

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