THE HORIZON AND FOCUS
IN URBAN CULTURAL THEORY

The “International School” Program
27-29 September 2005

COE, URBAN-CULTURE RESEARCH CENTER
Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences, Osaka City University, Japan
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Keynote Speech

Prof. Dr. Towao SAKAEHARA
Dean of Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences
Osaka City University

Good morning! First of all, I’d like to welcome you all on behalf of the Faculty and Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences. My name is Towao Sakaehara. I’m the dean of the Faculty.

This is the third International School to be held. The first of the school was started in 2003, and it has been held regularly at this time of the year. Now, I’d like to briefly talk about its history and its future objectives.

The Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences is designated one of the 20 centers nationwide selected for COE programs for the 21st century. COE is a competitive system governed by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Sciences, and Technology, and those selected programs receive higher allocation of budgetary funding from the government. Among all the programs selected in the field of Literature and Human Sciences, I’m proud to say that our program is the only one accepted among the public universities. Also, no other programs applied by Osaka City University in different disciplines have been accepted.

Now, as part of the educational and research projects set forth by COE program, we have proposed this International School in our efforts to train young researchers. The Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences has established Urban-Culture Research Center to serve as a stronghold to promote COE program. And the International School comprise this center’s educational and research division. It aims to promote academic exchange programs, to invite researchers from universities and institutes of different parts of the world, and thus, to achieve high academic standards, so that the COE researchers, researchers with PhD. degree, and PhD. students can compete on the international arena in the future. We also recognize the International School as an official course in the university’s curriculum and actively recommend students in the Master’s programs to attend.

The first International School was held in 2003 for four days, from September 24 to 27, at Academic Extension Center in Umeda. During the first three days of the school, six guest speakers from overseas gave lectures; they included Andrew Gerstle of London
University; Roland Schneider, Judit Árokay, and Eva Kaminski-Kleciak of Hamburg University; Robert Duquenne of l’École française d’Extrême-Orient; and Joerg Quvenzer of EKO-Haus der Japanisheen Kultur. In addition, two professors from Japan, Hiroyuki Sakaguchi from our university and Fukiko Kitagawa of Tottori University also gave lectures, followed by active discussion. The series of lectures were included in the official curriculum as the course, “Theory of Comparing Cultural Exchanges I.” 80 people attended the school.

On the last day of the school, we hosted an international symposium under the title “Japanese studies conducted overseas and the present state of international exchanges.” This symposium was held to concurrently celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of our Faculty. Five lecturers from the previous three days served as panelists at the symposium. They were Andrew Gerstle, Roland Schneider, Robert Duquenne, Joerg Quvenzer, and Hiroyuki Sakaguchi. A large turnout of 110 participants included several alumni.

A summary of the lectures and the international symposium was edited and published in 2004 under the title “Cultural Exchange in Urban Cities”.

The second International School was held for three days from September 21 to 27 last year in Room 815 of the General Education Building. The theme for last year’s school was “The history of urban cultures in Japan, Asia, and other countries of the world.” We aimed to clarify the outer view of the urban cities, such as locations, forms, and structures, as well as urban cultures, societies and customs from the view point of comparative history.

Three eminent researchers, Siswadi Darmo-sumarto of Institute Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta, Deng Xiaonan of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Daniel Botsman of Harvard University were invited and gave lectures. And from our graduate school, six professors, Shin Nakagawa, Masahiko Yamano, Sinzo Hayase, Towao Sakaehara, Keiji Nakamura, and Hisakazu Yamaguchi, gave lectures on “Urban cities and societies in South-east Asia,” “Ancient Chinese castles and their influence to the surroundings,” “Societies and orders in modern urban cities of Asia.” Those series of lectures were included in curriculum as the course, “Theory of comparative cultural exchanges II.” 60 participants attended the school.

This year, in hosting the third International School, we have particularly paid attention to the international aspects of the school. In the past International School, we have placed a great emphasis on comparing how studies are conducted in different countries, and, therefore, invited researchers from several countries. During both of the past two schools, from the academic point of view, we have indeed managed to achieve our goal to a certain degree, however the style of how the school should be run was not completely international. The language, for instance, used during the school was limited to Japanese. This year, we’d like to bring some changes in how the school should be run.

To be more specific, three eminent professors will give lectures in English on the theme, “the Horizon and Focus in Urban Cultural Theory.” I’m truly pleased to announce
those lecturers include Manfred Pohl of Hamburg University, Rogelia Pe-Pua of the University of New South Wales, Australia, and Alexander Vesey of Stonehill University in United States. I would like to thank them all for making a long journey to be here for this International School.

The lectures by the three professors will be given in the morning, followed by presentations by eight graduate students on their works in the afternoon. And the discussion session following the presentations is expected to be held for the first time in English. We consider this to be an excellent opportunity for our graduate students to strengthen their skill to present and discuss in English.

I’m convinced that all of you graduate students and post doctoral students will have more and more opportunities in the future to make presentations in English and to take part in discussion in English. And we expect you to actively work and compete in the international academic environment. I hope this school will give you a chance to train for the future.

In order to prepare for this new attempt, all the professors and graduate students who are expected to speak at the school have been requested to submit a summary on their lectures and presentations in advance. In addition, the lectures given by the guest speakers will be simultaneously interpreted into Japanese, thanks to Kobe College. Furthermore, some graduate students and faculty members have been appointed to serve as facilitators in the discussion session following the lectures. I’d like to thank you all who’ve worked hard to make this International School possible today.

To add one more thing, we plan to publish reports on this year’s International School in English. We consider that publishing an English report is an equally important task as holding the school itself, and we would like to ask for your cooperation. Now, for the Master’s and undergraduate students, this school is an official course “Theory on International Urban Cultures I.”

In ending my speech, I hope this upcoming three days will be fruitful to everyone attending the school, and wish for the best of luck to everyone. Thank you very much.
Part 1

A More Prominent Role for the Japanese Prime Minister?:
Some Observations from Germany

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The constitutional role of heads of governments (prime ministers) in non-presidential democracies tends to show a gradual but profound change in recent years: The rising political importance of prime ministers. One of the reasons for this tendency is the ever increasing importance of the media but also an growing preference of the electorate for well known individual „faces“ rather than program-oriented „teams“, which decides the results in elections. The popularity of one single prominent figure tends to become more important for election results than the programmatic principles of political parties. This phenomenon has become more obvious during recent years, especially both in Japan and Germany: In Japan, Prime Minister Koizumi took the lead over the major government party (his own) while campaigning, in Germany on the other hand, Chancellor Gerhardt Schröder became the leading personality in political decision making (and campaigning) while his own party took a back seat. Recent elections results in Japan and Germany underlined one fact which has been already been well known in Japan: As a rule, to be successful in Japanese elections you needed three basics (sanban), a well known face (kanban), a local base (chiban) and of course a wide open purse for material benefits (kaban). In Germany the personalization in politics (i.e. focussing on one single political figure) within the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and its image building is a more recent phenomenon, probably starting with Schröder in 1998. But it is also copied by the major opposition party, Christian Democratic Union (CDU), which tried to make its party chairperson, Angela Merkel, a „kanban“ during the last election campaign – and failed.

The phenomenon of a rising importance of prime ministers has primarily been observed in Britain and other West European parliamentary democracies (like Germany), but the so called „presidentialization“ of the office of the prime minister in Japan is a fairly recent phenomenon. In fact the the Japanese prime minister has not been subject of much academic research, and even the Japanese press (media) often used to ignore the prime minister. Despite being the leader of of a majority party in a centralized
political system, the Japanese prime minister was usually described as weak and uninteresting, with both the academic and popular discourse focusing on the powerful bureaucracy and factional politics within the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). However, recent political changes, most prominently the selection and popularity of Junichirō Koizumi as Japan’s prime minister in the spring of 2001, have led to a surge of interest in the structural position of the prime minister. This was also underlined by introducing a system of proportional parliamentary mandates.

Traditionally, the role of the Japanese prime minister was significantly constrained by other political actors, he was condemned primarily to a role of „reactive leadership“, despite sometimes being able to enhance the priority of favoured issues in his party’s and government agenda. Most studies so far have come to the conclusion that the Japanese prime minister is in fact a weak leader being subject to forces outside his immediate control when it came to central decision making, the policy-making process was primarily bottom-up, not top-down with a wide range of interest groups incorporated throughout. The prime minister up to now has not been in a position to follow an independent policy line by fully controlling both his party and the cabinet – unlike the German chancellor. Frequently reshuffling the cabinet line-up (every year or so) deprived the prime minister (and his ministers) of the ability to oversee their ministries effectively thereby strengthening the power of the ministerial bureaucracies. The LDP was a highly fragmented, decentralized party with independent bases of power in the factions and the zoku – veteran politicians specialized in a certain policy area. Individual candidates had their own constituency support base, due to an electoral system that promoted intraparty competition. Changes in the electoral system during the 90s i.e. the introduction of a partly proportional system (180 seats out of 480, lower house) gave more weight to parties and their programs, however the predominant weight (300 seats) is still given to the individual candidate/politician, who inevitably relies on his personal power base.

Probably the most „efficient“ impediment for a Japanese prime minister to enhance his public image used to be the structure of the country’s mass media. Most Japanese reporters from the the major national newspapers and broadcasters are assigned to specialized „beats“ within the important organizations of government and society, namely the infamous „press clubs“ which could also be called opinion or news cartels. This system induced a conformity of stories and dependence on official sources. Of course a Japanese prime minister used to have the unique chance to manipulate published opinion (vs. public opinion) through carefully cultivated relations with „his“ press club – this relationship also led to a mutual dependence, the media could not operate without candid informations from „the horse’s mouth“, the head of government on the other hand would instrumentalize the feeding of newsworthy information to the reporters. Western observers tended to underestimate this chain of mutual influence and rather focused on the role of information networks which concentrated on the flow of informations between the media and the powerful bureaucracies. TV news, which usually provides the primary
means for enhancing political actors’ image remained rather unimportant as information sources about elected politicians. Especially NHK the major public broadcasting system which dominates the TV news used to be very reserved about aggressive and reporting, mainly because of its fear to alienate the ruling party (LDP), controversial news, reports and comments about individual politicians were rather avoided in favour of reporting on bureaucratic activities.

Reporting focused mainly on policy making by the bureaucracy; and coverage of politicians centered on their scandals, factional backroom deals and need for money, with comparative little attention placed on the political visions (programs) of leading politicians (and their parties). In general, news coverage in the political field is a zero-sum game where coverage of any single actor or event has been limited. In this type of media system, it seems likely that the prime minister, even if there were incentives to cultivate an increasingly prominent public image, it would hardly been possible to do so, because the public image of a prime minister could not be prominently conveyed to the voters. In addition to the increased importance of the party label, we see another important factor: changes in partisanship and the party system. LDP politicians, beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, became more nervous about their electoral prospects and chances of holding on to their parliamentar y majority. The LDP vote share in national elections began a long decline almost immediately after its formation in 1955. Unlike the development in Germany the floating votes did not move towards the opposition parties (in Japan: Socialists) but rather tended to be absorbed by small splinter parties, many of them offsprings of the LDP. This tendency is continued until now, and it is probably Koizumi’s most important achievement that he redirected the floating votes to himself and thereby to the LDP.

In the mid-1970s, for the first time pollsters asked what party people supported, and the number who replied „no party“ surpassed the LDP supporters and all other parties. Non partisans consistently polled around 30 percent of the electorate since the mid-1970s, long-term partisan identification weekend; strong partisans were replaced by floating voters who based their support on contemporaneous evaluation of parties. The LDP and other parties faced a new challenge in trying to appeal to those voters.

Prime minister Koizumi obviously realized that the floating votes could only be captured by projecting a totally different image of an LDP-leader to the public. He radically changed his image, away from the typically grey-faced professional politician to a „lion heart“-type, unconventional „youngish“ leader. Koizumi is certainly not very different from his predecessors (after all he hails from a family of professional politicians and was trained by people like Mori Yoshiro), but he captured the TV media attention by promoting a totally different public image, i.e. that of an unorthodox, colourful maverick, an outsider of the traditional political class.

Both the decreased vote share of the LDP and the increasing percentage of the public that did not support a political party served to make the public image of the prime
minister more crucial. If the prime minister had even a minor impact on his party’s electoral fortunes prior to this period („Koizumi age“), its importance would have been magnified by the increase in marginal candidates and the threat to the LDP majority as the whole party was forced to become more responsive to swing voters’ (floaters) interests. These voters had to be captured by an unusual public appearance (image) as well as a sharply focused programmatic position. Koizumi did an excellent job by doing just this: He gave the TV media the most prominent role in projecting his major political goals, namely the privatization of the postal organization. The most important changes in Japanese political culture was in the increasing importance of television in politics. The relationship between the prime minister, voters and the non-print news media underwent profound changes since the mid-1980s, when the media environment was transformed with the appearance of a new programme in 1985 on TV Asahi. This combination of entertainment and sharp or even cynical comments on political culture formed a stark contrast to the rather dull (and factual oriented) news on the major powers in Japanese politics, i.e. mostly the bureaucracy. The focus on commercial TV moved the attention from factual reporting to government mistakes and corruption and on politicians as individual personalities. Prime minister Koizumi has become the prototype of this rather new development: He made himself a unique political personality who created „news value“ without being identified with his party and the old established power brokers; he created a „fresh image“ as a crusader for the public good.

TV media attention and political maneuvering of course go hand in hand – and Koizumi has developed this interrelation into a form of art. He kicked 37 LDP politicians out of the LDP after they refused to vote for his postal reform. Immediately after that „revolutionary“ move he called a snap election – a very risky move indeed. However the election results proved that Koizumi is a media professional, his opponents certainly are not. Koizumi has run a shrewd campaign and surged ahead in opinion polls. He stole the limelight from the major opposition party (DPJ) by not only turning himself into some political outcast (against some strong factions within his LDP) but also by directly attacking opponents through so called mostly young „assassins“ as candidates who confronted the „traitors“ in their own constituencies. This again has turned out to be a major publicity coup: The young challengers (many of them attractive young women) won the TV screens, were obviously very attractive also politically to the voters and Koizumi won the day.

So prime minister Koizumi had called a general election in an audacious gamble to silence opponents within his own party - a move which no head of government in Japan had risked before. The ruling party (within the coalition together with the Kômeitō) achieved an absolute majority (296 out of 480 seats) a result that exceeded any of the pundits’ predictions. Koizumi projected one single political goal, the privatization of the Japan Post, which through media support most Japanese voters accepted. The prime minister used the (TV) media so efficiently that many reformists are worried that post
privatization after the overwhelming election victory will black out any other reforms, since after all, the LDP is neither liberal nor democratic and still caters to a huge range of vested interests. Other long overdue changes do have majority support, and many young and urban voters were desperate for them. So all in all the election results do not add up to an ideological revolution so much as a big shift in power away from narrow, outdated interest-groups and towards the interests of the majority of the Japanese.

Prime minister Koizumi now has to face a host of problems which he will not be able to overcome by perfect media strategies. The bid to transform the Japanese economy (and political culture at that) is far from over. The problems remain vast, the means unclear and the time all too short. Koizumi now has to live up to the overwhelming expectations of the voters, and his time is running out: Next year his term as president of the LDP will expire, and he has publicly declared that he will not seek another term. Koizumi has shown how revengeful he can be, even if it was „only“ a group of the LDP faction in the Upper House which did not support his privatization plans and „betrayed“ him – committing political suicide.

Koizumi definitely is a media professional (or at least his aids are...) but after the fireworks have finished he will have to face other problems which cannot be glossed over by perfect media performance. Pension system reforms, tax cuts, public debts (dazzling 150 percent of GDP), a rapidly aging population, cutting the public service etc. But Koizumi gained the support of the vast majority of urban voters and thereby moved away from the traditional groups/organizations of the LDP supporters: Farmers, small enterprises and above all the huge construction firms and other big business groups.
Swearing Fealty and the Role of Documents

in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc

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1. Introduction

In the thirteenth century, Languedoc in the south of France, where instruments written by notaries became to play a more important role than ever before, was incorporated into the French royal domain. The purpose of this paper is to show how the oaths of fealty and documents were related to each other in the social context of thirteenth-century Languedoc. In other words, I would like to examine the relationship between ‘orality’ and ‘literacy’, by paying attention to the influence of the royal authority on the social and political structures of this region. To this end, first, it is important to overview the discussion on the former period.

As for the judicial institutions in France, the eleventh and the twelfth centuries were the period of transition from the disappearance of Carolingian judicial institutions to the development of a more formalized, bureaucratized and centralized legal system. Although the judicial institutions in this period had long been studied by medieval historians, there were few systematic investigations of the processes by which disputes were settled. A watershed was marked by the study of Fredric L. Cheyette in 1970. In his article, Cheyette drew a different picture of eleventh- and twelfth-century French law. Illustrating the ways of dispute settlement in this period among upper-class members of Languedoc, he indicates the fact that before the mid-thirteenth century disputes over property were usually “settled by arbitration and compromise, when not by war.” According to him, compromises arranged by the arbiters were not decided “on the basis of a set of impersonal rules rationally applied”. The function of the arbiters was not to “do justice” in the sense of applying “objective rules”; rather, the most significant general norm that governed their actions was that “both parties should be satisfied”, which was suitably expressed in his article title: ‘Suum Cuique Tribuere.’ Cheyette insists that the sort of law that was recognized in this region before the mid-thirteenth century differed fundamentally from the sort of law that developed there after that date. Languedocian
people before that period did not clearly distinguish law either from “observed practice” or from “morals or proper conduct.” They neither defined “their rules in terms of objective criteria of class and situation” nor expected courts to apply these rules to the cases before them; rather, these people believed that disputes should be settled in a way that took account of “the subjective feelings of the persons involved, their pride, honor, or shame.” Since Stephen D. White reviewed this stimulating argument, studies on dispute settlements or modes of communication in early medieval France have attracted a great deal of attention so far. In general, it has been demonstrated that rituals, gestures or symbolic objects were of great importance in communication before the thirteenth century.

Then what was the circumstance after the thirteenth century? In Languedoc “authoritative courts making normative judgments” appeared during this period, which was mainly because of the incorporation of this region into the royal domain. The earlier form of compromise settlements was replaced by the decisions through the application of fixed legal rules as the dominant mode of dispute settlement. However, as Cheyette adequately indicates, this change can be explained only if we closely examine the break-up of established social groupings within the ruling class of Languedoc and the appearance of royal agents “not amenable to the pressures and arguments of old-type arbitration.” On medieval literacy, too, it has not been clear how the modes of communication changed in thirteenth-century Languedoc. In this paper I would like to show how this change occurred within the context of Languedocian society, by focusing on the role of documents or the attitude of people toward written instruments. Before examining the main subject, it will be useful to note ‘orality’ and ‘literacy’ in the Middle Ages.

2. ‘Orality’ and ‘literacy’ in the Middle Ages

What are ‘orality’ and ‘literacy’? Walter Ong clearly shows the differences between oral and literate cultures, that is, oral-based cultures, which do not have a system of writing, and writing cultures. There was a shift from oral-based culture to literate culture based on writing and print. Ong illustrates how this shift changes the way people think, assuming that print technology played a decisive role in it. The invention of printing is thus regarded as an epoch-making incident by many scholars. It has been proposed that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are one of the principal turning points, observes, the mode of communication depends on place and time. However his explanation is mainly from the diachronic point of view rather than the synchronic one, and he highlights the shift from primary oral culture to writing culture, then to electronic culture. Modern literates tend to believe that those who use documents are more civilized than those who do not, and that literacy is the measure of progress. But we cannot assume linear development from illiteracy to literacy. The question we have to ask here is what the mode of communication was before the age of mechanical
the mode of communication was before the age of mechanical reproduction. In medieval Europe, non-literate habits and methods of proof long persisted in various areas of life, though documents were used. In fact, medieval European society had both oral and literate cultures and the two modes of communication were complexly intertwined unlike a non-literate society.

On this point, Michael Clanchy, who studied the increasing use of written instruments in medieval England, makes the following remarks; in the eleventh century literate modes were still unusual, whereas in the thirteenth century they became normal. This formative stage in the history of literacy had received less attention from scholars than the invention of printing in the later Middle Ages had been. But it is no less important. Since Clanchy published *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307*, however, much more attention has been drawn to this issue. Although Clanchy’s study deals only with England, similar phenomena were found in other regions of medieval Europe. In Languedoc, before the thirteenth century, one of the most important elements was oaths, especially the oaths of fidelity, although there were contracts drawn up on many occasions. On the contrary, during the thirteenth century, the relationship between the oral culture and the written culture was changed by the increasing use of documents and the formalized, bureaucratized and centralized legal system.

So in the following chapters, I will, first, overview the importance of symbolic objects and gestures in Europe before the thirteenth century; and secondly, focusing on thirteenth-century Languedoc, I will illustrate the relationship between the oaths of fealty and the role of documents.

**3. Symbolic objects and gestures in medieval Europe**

Before the thirteenth century, documents written upon parchments were interpreted as something symbolic, rather than as documentary proof. Even papal letters were sometimes considered as mere a sheepskin blackened with ink with a bit of lead attached to it. Although this is an extreme example that documents were recognized simply as a physical object, most documents were not, evidently, treated only for its contents before the thirteenth century. In their society, the symbolic objects, such as a whip, a hunting horn, or a knife, played a significant role.

In fact, the conveyance of property was carried out in a ceremony, using the symbolic object, such as a knife or turf. For instance, knives were traditional symbols for conveyances. In rare cases, on the hafts of knives were found inscriptions. While these inscriptions inform only a few details of a conveyance, parties had more confidence in the knife itself as evidence than in writing. All those present witnessed the transfer of the knife which stood for the conveyance. The symbolic knife could be retained regardless of whether it had anything written on it, because it preserved the memory of the conveyance. An appropriate symbolic object was thus considered as equivalent of documentary proof.
According to Clanchy, “property rights and all other knowledge of the past had traditionally and customarily been held in the living memory. When historical information was needed, local communities resorted not to books and charters but to the oral wisdom of their elders and remembrances”\textsuperscript{18}.

Gestures were also important means for memorizing things. For instance, in the Bayeux Tapestry\textsuperscript{19}, there is a scene where Harold swears fealty to the Duke William. The text in this scene reads: ‘where Harold gave his oath to William (\textit{UBI HAROLD SACRAMENTUM FECIT WILLELMO DUCI}).’ William is enthroned at the left side. Harold, at the right side, is standing by two caskets giving his oath to the Duke William. This scene illustrates one of the most famous oathtaking in the eleventh century. In fact these two caskets are reliquaries which contain relics, that is, parts of the body or clothing of a holy person. In the oathtaking ceremony Harold touching these two reliquaries. The reliquary was a symbolic object and was believed to reinforce oaths. Let us take another example: the picture of ‘hommage’ of a feudal knight in the Heidelberg Manuscript of the Sachsenspiegel\textsuperscript{20}. In this picture can be seen the vassal on the left side and the lord with three witnesses on the right side. The vassal swears an oath of fealty to his future lord, extending his hands toward the lord; on the other hand, the lord receives his oath, holding his hands. This gesture represents the homage. The vassal also points his fingers at himself as well as at the turf. This stands for the investiture of the fief. In this case, the turf was seemingly transferred as a symbolic object for the fief. And the witnesses (and the moon with a face) see all these ceremonial gestures. Such objects and gestures were intended to impress the event on the memory of all those present.

Clanchy significantly stated that “the true facts of a transaction were engraved on the hearts and minds of the witnesses and could not be fully recorded in any form of writing however detailed”\textsuperscript{21}. Symbolic objects and gestures were thus preserved along with documents throughout the Middle Ages.

4. Oaths of fealty and the role of documents in Languedoc

Numerous charters of the twelfth century are addressed to ‘all who shall hear and see this charter.’ In the cartulary of the city of Toulouse\textsuperscript{22} which was a collection of title-deeds, copied into a register in the early thirteenth century, there can be found the phrases such as ‘to all those reading and hearing this charter, in the future as well as in the present, the following thing should be manifested (\textit{Manifestum sit cunctis, tam presentibus quam futuris, hanc cartam legentibus vel audientibus, quod...}’), or ‘the following thing should be approved by all those present who will be inspecting and hearing this public instrument (\textit{Noverint universi presentes pariter et futuri inspectuct vel audituri presens publicum instrumentum, quod...})’\textsuperscript{23}. As is evident from these, documents were read out aloud in public at that time. It indicates the basic problem of the relationship between the spoken and the written word. The validity of the written documents was not assured
unless they were read out aloud in the presence of many people. Like the inscribed knife mentioned above, written documents were not only symbolic objects but also documentary proof. In short, they were considered as evidence which could be heard by reading aloud or seen by inspecting them in the twelfth century. After the late twelfth century, however, as the use of written documents increased, written records became to play a more important role. Moreover the preservation and protection of them became a serious concern on many occasions. In this way, during the thirteenth century, there gradually appeared a new attitude toward them. Let us now consider how the oaths of fealty and the role of documents were related to each other in thirteenth-century Languedoc, by looking into two examples of oaths of fealty in this period.

The first is oaths of fealty to Alfonse de Poitiers, who was the brother of King Saint Louis IX of France and became the count of Toulouse in 1249 as a husband of Jeanne, daughter of the count Raymond VII. A few days after the death of Raymond VII on 27 September 1249, Queen Blanche de Castile deputed three persons to Languedoc: Guy and Hervé de Chevreuse, knights, and Philippe, a treasurer of Saint-Hilaire-de-Poitiers. Their formal commission was to take possession of the Toulousan inheritance and to receive oaths of fealty there in the name of Alfonse, who was absent because of the crusade. Arriving at Toulouse in mid-November, they called upon the people of Toulouse to swear fealty to Alfonse. The Toulousans agreed to this and duly performed perhaps on 6 December, but it was only after obtaining directly from the queen a special forma juramenti which included a reservation of their liberties. In the assembly, Sicard Alaman was appointed as governor of Toulouse. He pledged faithful administration in public. What is important here is that the Toulousans considered the reservation stipulated in the forma juramenti most important. The contents of the oaths were to be recorded. They swore fealty to Alfonse according to the forma juramenti.

The next example reveals a more detailed situation. In 1271, the barons, knights and cities in the county of Toulouse swore fealty to the agents of King Philip III when the county of Toulouse was integrated into royal domain. How was this procedure carried forward?

The work was entrusted to Seneschal Guillaume de Cohardon of Carcassonne, who was to be assisted by Barthélemy de Penautier, judge of Carcassonne. Philip III addressed a mandate to the seneschal on 19 September 1271. Guillaume received it at Toulouse on 4 October. The king’s directive was brief. He merely asked the seneschal to take possession of the county of Toulouse, Agenais, and whatever properties Alfonse and Jeanne may have had in the sénéchaussée of Carcassonne. Guillaume de Cohardon and Barthélemy de Penautier decided, first, to “have this king’s mandate shown, read, and made public (faciat ostendi predictas litteras domini regis ... et legi et publicari)” to the consuls of Toulouse and to other barons, knights, and people, and, when this had been done, to take formal possession of the county and other lands which had belonged to Raymond VII. The officials planned to examine and make inventory of county records,
to eliminate superfluous officials and pensions\textsuperscript{33}, to institute other officials\textsuperscript{34}, and to require accounts for the previous year\textsuperscript{35}. Finally, “since oaths of fidelity should be the key to the custody of the land and county (\textit{quia juramenta fidelitatis debent esse clavis custodie terre et comitatus predicti}),” the seneschal was to ask and receive fealty on behalf of the king from cities, other good towns, \textit{castra}, barons, knights, and others, according to a certain form\textsuperscript{36}. Bisson assumes that this form should contain a clause of recognition of fiefs, properties, and obligations, though it was omitted from their record, perhaps inadvertently\textsuperscript{37}. The register ‘\textit{Saisimentum Comitatus Tholosanti}’ was intended to be a basic source of information on the king’s new southern domains as well as a comprehensive collection of fealties.

There are no letters of convocation in the record, and it is possible that the summons were given by word of mouth\textsuperscript{38}. On the morning of 8 October, a large assembly was held in the Dominican cloister at Toulouse\textsuperscript{39}. Barthélemy de Pennautier began by reading the king’s mandate to gathered people consisting of Sicard Alaman, the county lieutenant, many other “good men (\textit{bonis viris})” of the city of Toulouse, the counts of Astarac and Comminges, Jourdain and Isarn-Jourdain de l’Isle, Jourdain de Saissac, Arnaud de Marquefave, and “very many other barons, knights, and nobles summoned to swear fealty to the lord king for the fiefs they hold of him in the county of Toulouse (\textit{quamplurimis aliis baronibus et militibus et nobilibus vocatis adjurandum fidelitatem domino regi pro feudis que ab ipso tenent in comitatu Tholose}).” The judge also communicated the contents of the treaty of Corbeil, by which the king of Aragon in 1258 had abandoned all his rights in Toulousan lands. The seneschal then took over and, in the name of the king and perhaps in some symbolic gesture, assumed possession of the “whole county of Toulouse (\textit{totum comitatum Tholosanum}),” including the \textit{civitas}, the district of Agenais, and “all other territory (\textit{totam aliam terram})” that had belonged to Raymond VII. Finally, he ordered that all those present should be obedient to the king and his officials and that they should swear fealty to those officials acting for the king. As Bisson points out, such elaborate preliminaries are the mark of a thoroughly ceremonial assembly, intended to notify publicly to all men of the county, whether they were present or not, that regal lordship was now in force\textsuperscript{40}.

At this point, the barons and knights responded that they recognize the king as their immediate lord, but asked the reservation of their liberties. Furthermore, on behalf of the men of the county, they demanded good and faithful administration without abuses. The session ended with a request that they be allowed to deliberate among themselves. Having made their point, on the afternoon of 8 October the nobles began to swear fealty to the royal agents. The proceedings lasted on for two days and the names of 418 nobles were written down in the register\textsuperscript{41}.

To summarize the characteristics of this assembly, the barons and knights desired to retain their privileges and to put their reservation in writing, before swearing fealty. Accepting their requirement, the agents inserted the prescribing words into the documents.
In accordance with this format, they swore fealty to the king’s agents. It is not until the terms were written down into the documents that the oaths formed a new relationship between the sovereign and his subjects. This case indicates that in the late thirteenth century the oaths based on documents played an important role in terms of the deed and the word.

The oath in the twelfth century was a sort of “liturgy” or “verbal music.” Its “rhymes and rhythms were calculated to plant the text deep in the memory” of all those present\textsuperscript{42}. In the same way documents were treated as symbolic objects rather than documentary proof. By the late thirteenth century, however, the nature of oaths was gradually altered: oaths were now prescribed by written documents. In addition, documents became records of which text was consulted or inspected according to its contents. There were found the phrases, in the register \textit{saisimentum}, such as ‘see the document no.20 about (the town) Ondes (\textit{Addle supra de Undis 20 instrumento})\textsuperscript{43}. The notary of the king wrote it perhaps for future reference to their contents. A more obvious example is found in the inquisitorial documents of Bernard Gui in the early fourteenth century, ‘\textit{Liber sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanae ab anno Christi MCCCVII ad annum MCCXXXIII}’. This book includes a detailed index. There are written all the defendants’ names, their punishments and the folio numbers. This index was certainly for future reference\textsuperscript{44}. These instances show that a new attitude toward written documents appeared during the thirteenth century\textsuperscript{45}.

However, it is not that traditional oral procedures disappeared. While it seems to us logical to dispense with symbols and make full use of the potentialities of writing, as Clanchy remarks, contemporaries continued with their pre-literate habits even when charters prevailed. For example, habits of reading aloud documents persisted throughout the Middle Ages and beyond, along with the way of scanning a text silently with the eye. Similarly, the Gospel books, solemnly exhibited upon an altar, continued to be treated as symbolic objects. They were used to reinforce oaths. In the record of \textit{saisimentum}, for example, the consuls of Toulouse swore fealty to the king’s agents, ‘touching the holy Gospels of God with their hands (\textit{ad sancta Dei Evangelia dictus consules corporaliter tæcta}),’ and so did the surrounding people, holding their hands toward it (\textit{elevatis manibus})\textsuperscript{46}. This is still in practice in law courts of America and Europe. We have another example from the medieval Toulouse. In the cartulary of Toulouse, there is a clause about a man named Forto de Molliverneta, suing her wife, Banilonie,becauseofhersinofadultery.Accordingtothesentence,hewould be unable to divorce her until the documents of their marriage registration were torn and burnt. As a result, ‘those charters were destroyed and burnt (\textit{carte ille destructe et combuste fuerunt}).’\textsuperscript{47} In a clause of ‘\textit{Customs of Toulouse (Consuetudines Tholose)},’ approved by the King after the incorporation of the county of Toulouse, a similar habit can be found. A man who cleared off his debt could not be released from the debt until the documents of his debt were torn (\textit{fractum})\textsuperscript{48}.  

15
In this way, documents in the thirteenth century were not only used as documentary proof but also functioned as symbolic objects. Pre-literate customs and ceremonies persisted despite the use of documents. In the Middle Ages literacy itself was not a virtue. As noted above, the word inscribed spiritually on the minds of men retained its strength as did the letters written on parchment.

5. Conclusion

So far I have focused on the relationship between orality and literacy in medieval Languedoc. Briefly stated, before the twelfth century gestures and symbolic objects were the most important to make oaths effective, whilst in the thirteenth century documents came to play a decisive role and oaths were based on written documents. What I would like to present in this paper is this shift from habitually memorizing things to writing them down and keeping their records. The relationship between orality and literacy transforms across the ages. This shift which occurred in thirteenth-century Languedoc was prior to the shift from script to print, and was so profound a change in its effects on the mode of communication. It should be emphasized that rituals came to be prescribed by written documents in the thirteenth century: oaths based on written documents now played a significant role along with gestures and symbolic objects.

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1 On ‘orality’ and ‘literacy,’ see the chapter 2.
4 Ibid., p.291.
5 Ibid., p.293.
6 Ibid., pp.288-89.
7 White, op.cit., p.281-284.
9 Cheyette, op.cit., p.297. As for the royal administration in Languedoc, see J. B. Given, State and Society in Medieval Europe: Gwynedd and Languedoc Under Outside Rule, 1990. According to him, political authority was highly institutionalized in Languedoc at the time of conquest. The dominant classes of Languedoc preserved and in some cases
expanded their authority under French hegemony, and the new royal administration was heavily infiltrated by Languedocians. Their continued strength significantly restrained the ability of the French to appropriate Languedoc's resources.

15 For example, contracts for merchant ventures or for loans of money, mortgage contracts, marriage contracts, rental contracts for peasant land. These contracts filled with the pages of notarial minute-books and were carefully preserved in strongboxes. F. L. Cheyette, *Ermenegild de Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*, 2001, pp.187f. On contracts in Languedoc, see M. Castaing-Sicard, *Les contrats dans le très ancien droit toulousain (Xe-XIIIe siècle)*, 1959.
16 Clanchy, *op.cit.*, pp.261f.
18 Clanchy, *op.cit.*, p.3.
19 M. Rud (transl. by C. Bojesen), *The Bayeux Tapestry and the Battle of Hastings 1066*, 1983. The Bayeux Tapestry, despite its name, is not actually a tapestry but embroidery. This tapestry is a little over 70 metres long and is now exhibited in the museum of Bayeux Tapestry in Normandy. It illustrates the series of events in England and Normandy which led up to invasion by William the Conqueror in 1066. Its highlight is the battle of Hastings between William, duke of Normandy, and Harold, king of England.
20 This manuscript was probably composed in the early fourteenth century. On this picture, see F. L. Ganshof, *Qu'est-ce que la féodalité?*, 1944.
23 Similar phrases are found in *Ibid*, AA. nos. 2, 12, 20, 21, 30, 72, 76, 78, 82, 90, 92, 94, 95, 101.
26 The phrase of the reservation is as follows: ‘Dico, protestor et intelligo quod propter hujusmodi juramentum nichil amittamus, ego, et alii cives et burgenses Tholose, de consuetudinibus et libertatibus nostris.’ A. Teulet et al. (éd.), *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, tome 3, no. 3830.
27 Bisson, op.cit., p.151.
30 Sais., Pièces Annexes, no.123. The campaign began at Toulouse in the middle of September, but the government’s activities were discerned regularly after king’s mandate arrived at Toulouse.
31 Sais., no.5, 2.
32 Sais., no.5, 3.
33 Sais., no.5, 4.
34 Sais., no.5, 5.
35 Sais., no.5, 6.
36 Sais., no.5, 7.
37 Bisson, op.cit., p.169.
38 Bisson, op.cit., p.170.
39 Sais., no.6.
40 Bisson, op.cit., p.171.
41 Sais., no.7.
42 Cheyette, op.cit., pp.188f.
43 Sais., no.25. Similar phrases are found in no.18 et passim.
45 In this connection I would like to take a typical example from Clanchy. The will was formerly an essentially oral act until the thirteenth century, even when it was recorded in writing. The persons present witnessed the testator making his bequests ‘with his own mouth’; they ‘saw, were present, and heard’ the transaction. By the end of the thirteenth century a man’s final will no longer usually meant his wishes spoken on his deathbed, but a closed and sealed document. The witnesses no longer heard him; instead they saw his seal being placed on the document. The validity of the will then depended primarily upon its being in a correct documentary form and not on the verbal assurances of the witnesses. This is a similar example of the shift from memory to written record around the thirteenth century. Writing shifted the spotlight away from the transitory actors witnessing a conveyance and on to the perpetual parchment recording it. Clanchy, op.cit., p.254.
46 Sais., no.80.
47 Limouzin-Lamothe, op.cit., AA no.33.
48 H. Gilles (éd.), Les coutumes de Toulouse (1286) et leur premier commentaire (1296), 1969, no.70.
Zur Verwendung des Schweizerhochdeutschen

seit der Reformation

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1. Einführung


In dieser Arbeit behandle ich besonders die deutsche Sprachgemeinschaft in der Schweiz, weil der Sprachgebrauch der Deutschschweizer sehr charakteristisch ist. Man nennt die Sprachsituation in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz „mediale Diglossie“. Der von Ferguson eingeführte Terminus Diglossie bedeutet, dass der Einzelne jeden Tag zwei oder mehrere Sprachen unter individuellen Umständen wählt oder wählen soll.2 Ferguson dachte, dass auch der Fall der deutschsprachigen Schweiz der Diglossie entspricht, aber in den letzten Jahren stellten einige Soziolinguisten die Behauptung auf, dass die Sprachsituation in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz eine „mediale Diglossie“ ist. Nach dieser Theorie wählt man in einer diglossischen Gesellschaft unter Umständen zwei oder mehrere Sprachen als Ausdrucksform aus, aber in der Schweiz hängt die Wahl der Sprache nicht von den Umständen, sondern vom Modus ab, schriftlich oder mündlich.

2. Züricher Bibel

Der Beginn der Reformation im deutschsprachigen Gebiet ist die Veröffentlichung der 95 Thesen von einem Mönch in Wittenberg, Martin Luther. Ein Symbol der Reformation Luthers ist, dass er die Bibel aus dem Lateinischen ins Deutsche übersetzt hat. Vor der Zeit Luthers gab es schon deutschsprachige Bibeln, aber dank der Entwicklung der Drucktechnik und der Abnahme von Analphabetismus hat sich die Bibel Luthers in ganz Deutschland ausgebreitet.


\[
\text{Man zündt euch nit ein liecht an / vnd setzt es vnder ein fierteyl / sonder vff einen lüchter / so lücht es denen allen die jm husz sind.}
\]

Zürcher Bibel (1524) Matthäusevangelium 5,15.

\[
\text{Man zu(e)ndet auch nicht ein Liecht an / vnd setzt es vnder einen Scheffel / sondern auff einen Leuchter / so leuchtet es denn allen / die im Hause sind.}
\]

Luther Bibel (1545) Matthäusevangelium 5,15.

Beim Vergleich dieser zwei Sätze kann man nachvollziehen, dass Schweizerdeutsch und Neuhochodtsch in 16. Jahrhundert bei den Mono- und Diphthongen wie \(<ü>\) und \(<eu>\), \(<u>\) und \(<au>\) in Opposition zueinander stehen. Zusätzlich steht \(<i>\) auch zu \(<ei>\) in Opposition. In der deutschen Sprache diphthongierten im 15.Jahrhundert einige Vokale, d.h., \(<i>\) zu \(<ei>\), \(<u>\) zu \(<au>\) und \(<ü>\) zu \(<eu>\). Das ist ein deutliches Merkmal, woran sich Mittelhochdeutsch von

In der ersten Auflage der Zürcher Bibel fand man viele schweizerdeutsche Charakteristika, aber ab der nächsten Auflage nehmen sie allmählich ab. Die Bibel von 1531 nimmt bereits die Schreibart des Frühneuhochdeutschen an.

*Man zündet auch nit ein liecht an vn setzt es vnder ein vierteyl / sunder auff einen leüchter / so leüchtet es denen allen die im hausz sind.*

Züricher Bibel (1531), Matthäusevangelium 5,15.


3. Zu den Druckaktivitäten im mittelalterlichen Zürich

In der mittelalterlichen Schweiz hat das Volk fast nie geschrieben oder gelesen. Aber dank der Reformatoren vermehrten sich die Chancen vom 16. Jahrhundert an.


Die Drucksprache wurde erst im 16. Jahrhundert, d.h., seit der Veröffentlichung der Zürcher Bibel, begründet. Wie das Beispiel der Zürcher Bibel deutlich gezeigt hat, nahm diese Schreibart allmählich die Charakteristika des Frühneuhochdeutschen an. Bei der Wortwahl oder hinsichtlich von Redewendungen konnte man die Besonderheiten des Schweizerdeutschen noch erkennen, aber schon um 1600 hat die Drucksprache die Rechtschreibung des Frühneuhochdeutschen angenommen.6

Die Schriftsprache war sehr mundartlich, weil es bei Tagebüchern oder privaten Briefen keine Notwendigkeiten gibt, von anderen gelesen zu werden. Deswegen war sie genauso wie die Mundart oder der sogenannte Idiolett.

Der Kanzleisprache bedienten sich hauptsächlich Beamte oder Sekretäre, und sie


4. Festlegung des Schweizerhochdeutschen als Schriftsprache


Der konkrete Inhalt dieser Arbeit war, dass die Synode von Zürich zuerst die Bibel neu bearbeitet hat, um sie dann auch in den anderen Synoden gemeinsam zu verwenden. Alle Synoden außer Baselstadt und Schaffhausen, in denen die neuhocheutsche Rechtschreibung als Schriftsprache schon angenommen worden war, haben an dieser Arbeit teilgenommen. Zu dieser Arbeit haben sich die Vertreter der einzelnen Synoden versammelt und die Bibel gemeinsam übersetzt, wobei auf die verschiedenen Mundarten in der Schweiz Rücksicht genommen wurde. Aber im Laufe der gemeinsamen Übersetzung ist Bern aus der Arbeit ausgestiegen, wodurch die Zentralität der Arbeit schwächer geworden ist. Die sogenannte Piscator-Bibel in Bern hatte auch einen großen Einfluss, aber bei der neuen Übersetzung hielt man sie
nicht für wichtig, und deswegen trat Bern aus.

Obwohl man die gemeinsame Übersetzung, abgesehen von Zürich, ohne große Städte durchgeführt hat, dehnte sich der Einfluss der Züricher Bibel in anderen Gebieten aus. Das war für die Entwicklung des Schweizerdeutschen sehr wichtig.


5. Entwicklung des Schweizerdeutschen als gesprochene Sprache


Es ist eine ebenso unläugbare als wehmütig stimmende Thatsache […], daß unsere nationalen Eigenthümlichkeiten […] eine nach der andern abbröckeln und dem gleichmachenden und verschleifenden Zuge der Zeit anheimfallen. […] Aber auf keinen Boden schleicht das Verderbnis so heimlich und darum so sicher, wie auf dem unserer Mundarten. […]

Unsere Sprache, das sind wir selber, und wer wollte sagen, es sei ein rohes Volk, das auf den Zinnen Europas wohnt! Mit unserer eigenthümlichen Sprache aber würden wir unsere schweizerische Denkart aufgeben, würden aufhören, wir selber zu sein! So lange wir unsere Sprache festhalten, so lange hält die Sprache uns als eine Nation zusammen, und schützt unsere Individualität besser als der Rhein.11

Dieses Vorwort appellierte an das Gefühl der Deutschschweizer, und es weckte die Identität als Schweizer.

Dieses Idiotikon hatte einen großen Einfluss auf das Sprachbewusstsein von Deutschschweizern. Man kann auch den Einfluss auf die Artikel in der schweizerischen Lehrerzeitung erkennen. Am Anfang hat man die neuhochdeutsche
Rechtschreibung bei dieser Zeitung als wichtig angesehen, aber seit 1880 gab es vermehrt Artikel, die Schweizerdeutsch aus anderen Gesichtspunkt darstellen.

Hier zitiere ich aus einem Artikel der Ausgabe 33 aus dem Jahr 1874. Der Titel dieses Artikels lautet „Über di aussprache des hochdeutschen“.

Unser grundsatz soll sein, di mundart durchaus rein und korrekt zu sprachen, aber ebenso auch di sogenannte schriftsprache. Wenn di behörden uns lerern vorschreiben, di letztere in der schule zu gebrauchen und den kindern beizubringen, so meinen si damit sicherlich nicht ein seltsames gemisch von mundart und büchersprache, sondern jene ausdrucksweise, welche wir von gebildeten Deutschen, seien si nun Württemberger, Hessen, Sachsen, Hanoveraner oder glider eines andern stammes […]\(^\text{12}\)

Man könnte den Artikel insofern missverstehen, als wäre er ironisch gegen die Regierung geschrieben worden. Aber in Wirklichkeit ist er ein Lobpreis für das Hochdeutsch in Deutschland.

Das hochdeutsche ist eben nicht aus unserer mundart hervorgegangen, sondern aus der obersächsischen; es hat ferner in virthalh jarhunderten eine großartige entwicklung und manche wesentliche wanderung durchgemacht, während das Allemannische nur geringfügige änderungen erlitt.\(^\text{13}\)


Sehr passend vergleicht Professor Osthoff Schriftsprache und Mundart mit zwei Bäumen, die neben einander im Walde aufgewachsen sind.\(^\text{14}\)


Hier gibt es auch eine andere Behauptung, nämlich dass Schweizerdeutsch viele
alte Charakteristika hat, und dass man viele Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Schweizerdeutsch und Mittelhochdeutsch finden kann. Hier zitiere ich aus Ausgabe 35 vom Jahre 1887. Dieser Artikel heißt ebenfalls „Schriftsprache und Mundart“.

(dass) [U]nsere Mundart [ist] in den Vokalen der mittelhochdeutschen Sprachstufe viel näher als das Neuhocheutsche. So haben wir eine Menge alter kurzer Vokale beibehalten, welche die Schriftsprache gedehnt hat,[…]'\(^{15}\)

Es wird in neuester Zeit öfter behauptet, dass eine Verbindung zwischen Schweizerdeutsch und Mittelhochdeutsch besteht, besonders seit der Veröffentlichung des Schweizerischen Idiotikons von Staub. Der neben die Bibelsprache gestellte Dialekt wurde hier wiedererkannt und geschätzt.

6. Schweizerdeutsch in heutiger Zeit


Die hier geschriebene Sprache empfinden die Deutschen als sehr komisch. Wenn man sie mit der hochdeutschen Übersetzung zusammen liest, werden die Eigenschaften des Schweizerdeutschen deutlicher.


Einfach findet man die schweizerdeutschen Eigenschaften beim Wählen der Wörter. Im ersten Zitat benutzt man Wörter, die in Deutschland nie oder fast nie verwendet werden. Es gibt nicht nur viele Entlehnungen, z.B. Velo aus dem Französischen oder Car aus dem Englischen, sondern auch einige typische Redewendungen wie „in Tat und Wahrheit“. Aber dies ist die allgemeine Darstellung in der Schweiz. Deutschschweizer wählen diese Form eben bei öffentlichen Situationen.


Obwohl die Schweiz viel kleiner ist als Deutschland, findet man in der Schweiz verschiedene Dialekte. Aber sie gehören alle zu einer Dialektgruppe, Alemannisch, deshalb können die Leute in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz ohne große Schwierigkeiten kommunizieren. Ich habe schon erwähnt, dass das Wort


7. Zusammenfassung


Heute befinden sich Schriftdeutsch und die gesprochene Sprache auf verschiedenen Ebenen, aber sie koexistieren in der Schweiz. Seltamerweise benutzt man die Schriftsprache als Kommunikationsmittel. Aber man spricht in fast allen Situationen im Dialekt.

In der Reformationszeit haben die Völker an der Literaturkultur teilgenommen. Die Schreibart der ins Deutschen übersetzten Bibel akzeptierte allmählich die Rechtschreibung des Frühhochdeutschen und wurde zur Grundlage der heutigen Schriftsprache in der Schweiz. Schweizerhochdeutsch stammt aus der geschriebenen Sprache.
Literaturverzeichnis


Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung: Nr.33, 1874; Nr.32,35.1887.


Anmerkungen

2 Ferguson (1959) S.327ff.
4 Das gantz Nüv Testament recht gründlich vertütscht. Mit gar gelerten vnd richtigen vorreden/ vnd der schwa(e)resten o(e)rteren kurttz/ aber gu(o)t vßlegung. Ein gnu(o)gsam register wo man die Epistlen vnd Evangelien deß gantzen jars in disem Testament finden sol. Getruckt durch Christophorum Froschouer zu(o) Zürich Anno M. D. xxiiij.
6 Zollinger (1920) S.30.
7 Zollinger (1920) S.32.
8 Zollinger (1920) S.97.
9 Finsler (1854) S.23f.
10 Der Titel ist auch „Schweizerisches Idiotikon“.
12 Schweizerische Lererzeitung [sic] (1874) Bd.33, S.268.
13 Schweizerische Lererzeitung [sic] (1874) Bd.33, S.268.
14 Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung (1887) Bd.32, S.255.
15 Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung (1887) Bd.35, S.279.
Part 2

Migration and Cross-Cultural Issues

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This paper consists of two parts. The first part is about migration. Why do people move? Where do they go? What are the consequences of migration for the sending country and for the receiving country? How about its impact on migrants and their families. I will address these questions through a case study about the migration of Filipinos to Spain.

The second part will look at some cross-cultural issues related to migration. Given the limited space, I will focus on one issue – racism – within the context of my research on racism in Australia, and limit the discussion to the Asian-Australian experience.

1. Migration case study: Labor migration of Filipinos to Spain

The materials for this case study are drawn mainly from a study I did in 1999 which led to a book chapter publication (Pe-Pua, 2003) and presentations I gave in Spain in 2004 (Pe-Pua, 2005).

Let me begin by telling you the story of Dolores, a Filipina domestic worker in Spain.

*My husband came to Spain in 1985. He was adventurous and thought he would be able to find work in the jewellery industry since that was where he worked before in the Philippines. He came under a fake passport. He didn’t get work for a year and a half; didn’t send any money. I was studying for my college degree then, but he wanted me to join him. So my mother paid for me to come, also under a fake passport and visa. I didn’t want to come but I knew that it would mean our separation if I didn’t do as he wanted. I didn’t know any Spanish, but was able to work as a domestic helper. My husband ended up working in a restaurant, got*
depressed, and got sick. I had difficulty caring for him so I sent him home to the Philippines.

I am close to my children. I ring them up often. If only you know how much I spend on phone calls. One time, my daughter asked me why don’t I stop working as a domestic. I felt very hurt because sometimes it seems like they are ashamed that their mother is just a maid. Maybe because they see my sisters and brother are professionals back home and their lives are okay. I could have been someone like that too if my husband has not insisted that I come to Spain. Anyway, I told my daughter that I will just see them through college. After they all finished, I will stop working as a domestic.

My children wanted to come, but I thought, what work will they end up with? Domestic work as well? Having one domestic helper in the family is enough! This trend has to end! (Pinay4) (Pe-Pua, 2003).

We can see from this story that migration is not a simple matter of people moving from one country to another. Migration involves some psychological impact on migrants and their families. I will come back to this later.

1.1 Philippine labor migration

The Philippines is known as a labor-exporting country. The scale of deployment of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs) increased steadily beginning from the 1970s. The OFWs are mainly domestic workers, construction workers and engineers, entertainers, teachers, nurses and doctors, and sea-based workers such as seafarers. By the end of 2003 there were 867,969 OFWs worldwide. The oil-rich Middle East (particularly Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates) and Asia (particularly Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore and Taiwan) continue to be popular regions of destination of OFWs because of their proximity to the Philippines, the active recruitment efforts to those countries, and close contact with those nationalities (particularly Chinese who are the biggest minority group in the Philippines). Europe comes as the third top region, with Italy as the top European country of destination. Advances in technology and increased visibility of migrant networks opened up new opportunities in countries such as Spain and Italy (Pe-Pua, 2000; Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, 2003).

One of the features of Philippine migrant labor that emerged is that it has become feminized since the late 1980s. For example, 81,000 Filipino women went overseas to become domestic helpers in 1995 (UN Secretariat, 1995, cited in Zlotnik, 1995).

Labor export was never meant to be a permanent strategy to address the problem of high unemployment in the Philippines. But since remittances of US$7.6 billion (2003
figures) from OFWs all over the world keep the Philippine economy afloat, overseas employment continues to be encouraged (and monitored) despite many social costs associated with it. OFWs are called the “new heroes” of the Philippines because of their significant contribution to the Philippine economy, and the self-sacrifices they make for the sake of their families (Pe-Pua, 2000; Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, 2003).

There are two government agencies that regulate the processing, deployment and welfare of OFWs, namely the Philippine Overseas Employment Agency (POEA) and the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration (OWWA). Recruitment agencies aggressively exploit new markets; and banks set up mechanism to capture the remittances of workers. The Philippine Government, through the embassies, consulates and diplomatic missions, provides a number of services to OFWs. Consular services and assistance to Filipino nationals in Spain are among those that migrant workers frequently avail of.

1.2 Immigration and labor policies in Spain

The Philippines was a former colony of Spain, thus, there exists special historical ties between the two countries. Spaniards are known to have a benevolent attitude towards Filipinos. The Philippines (and other former colonies) is accorded special preference as a source country for immigrants in the Spanish immigration program. As colonial citizens, Filipinos can apply for naturalization to become Spanish citizens after two years’ residency – an entitlement that a substantial number of Filipinos have availed of (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 1999; Huntoon, 1998).

The Ley de Extranjeria (Law on Foreigners) of 1985 paved the way for some important laws governing migrant workers. Based on special rules of this Law, Filipinos are among the nationalities given preferential treatment when applying for work permits. The rights and liberties that foreigners with legal status enjoy under the Law are: freedom of movement and choice of residence; right to education; right to form associations, hold public meetings and demonstrations; right to join Spanish trade unions or professional organizations (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 2004; Huntoon, 1998; POLO Madrid, 1999).

Until July 1985, Filipinos were allowed to enter Spain without a visa, and even to change their tourist visa and be issued a work permit. Filipinos are now required to have a visa to enter Spain (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 2004). This is due to the Ley. While the status of many Filipinos became secure under the Law, many of them experienced difficulties obtaining work and residence permits, leaving them feeling fearful and vulnerable. This is due to circumstances such as not having the proper documents, not having the time or not allowed by their employers to attend to processing their application, or simply neglecting to do so (e.g., forgetting to do so) (Lobera, 1993).
The Spanish government has implemented three major regularization programs (popularly known as CUPO or Contingente) in 1991, 1996 and 1999, resulting in the provision of legal work and residence permits for a significant number of formerly undocumented workers. Residence permits have to be renewed annually (Huntoon, 1998). With the conclusion of these regularization programs, all foreigners must have working permits to hold jobs or face deportation (POLO Madrid, 1999). In accordance with the 1991 CUPO, employment of foreign workers are allowed only in household and agricultural services which Spanish workers tend to avoid (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 1999). Post-regularization data in Spain officially registered 25,000 Filipinos in 1992. Before these regularization campaigns, about 75% of the community did not have legal status (CFMW & KAIBIGAN, 1995).

Spain recognizes the need for integrating migrant workers into their society, and thus provides the legal framework for bringing their families to Spain through the Agrupacion de Familia (Family Reunification) scheme. This is also partly due to pressures within the European Union to accord migrant workers their basic human rights as part of the host society, whether they are documented or undocumented.

Work permits are required to work legally in Spain. This work permit states the approved occupation. An application needs to be lodged to switch occupation. The laminated identification card bears additional security features to guard against proliferation of false identification cards among foreigners (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 1999).

The same labor laws that apply to Spanish citizens also apply to migrant workers. Filipinos who are authorized to work are amply protected by Spanish Labor and Social Security laws. They can bring any case of labor exploitation or injustice directly or through NGOs to the Spanish police. Employers must register their workers with the Spanish Social Security System; both the employer and worker pay the dues but the employer shoulders the greater part. This entitles them to medical treatment benefits, sickness and maternity benefits, permanent disability benefits, old-age and retirement pension, death grants and survivorship pension, unemployment benefits, and family benefits (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 1999, 2004; Huntoon, 1998; POLO Madrid, 1999).

1.3 Filipinos in Spain

The Philippine Embassy in Madrid estimated that there were approximately 40,750 Filipinos in Spain at the end of 2003. This figure includes only those who have registered with the Philippine Embassy (POLO Madrid, 2003). Non-government organizations’ estimates were higher placing the population at 50,000 even during the mid-1990s (CFMW & KAIBIGAN, 1995).
There are more Filipino women (66%) than men in Spain. The majority of women are in the 25-45 years age group (in 1999). Most Filipinos work as domestic helpers in private households and in the hostelry industry (90%). A very small proportion work as administrative employees, factory workers, teachers and professionals. The Filipino community is considered the oldest group of immigrants of Asian origin in Spain. This community is characterized by an immigration dominated by women; as being very well-organized (its solidarity evidenced by the existence of various organizations); and as a group with hardly any conflicts and cases of delinquency (Commission on Filipinos Overseas, 1999; POLO Madrid, 1999, 2003).

Filipino domestic workers are constantly in demand and preferred over other nationalities because of their good reputation as all-around workers. They are not typical of domestic helpers because they have better education and prior occupational background compared to women in the domestic service industry, and relative to the occupation they are taking up. For instance, 41% of Filipino migrant workers in Spain (majority of whom are women) have completed university studies, including degrees in commerce, education, economics, dentistry, medical technology, midwifery and nursing. Many held professional jobs in the Philippines before going to work in Spain (CFMW & KAIBIGAN, 1995; Lobera, 1993; Zlotnik, 1995).

Spain is not a labor market, meaning that there is no specific policy of recruiting foreign workers, no formal Spanish recruiting agencies in the Philippines. The Filipinos’ familiarity with Spain is entrenched in their psyche as a result of more than 300 years of Spanish colonization of the Philippines. But while the Filipino language and culture have traces of Spanish culture, the country of Spain itself is alien to Filipinos – what it looks like, the way of living, and so on. Many of the Filipino workers have been assisted by friends and relatives who have been working in Spain. Students who were scholars of the Spanish government and former domestic helpers of Spanish nationals who travelled to the Philippines were among the early migrants.

A number of Filipinos have used the CUPO to enter Spain. A domestic worker in Spain finds a prospective employer for a family member or a friend who wants to come to Spain. Or she convinces her current employer to sign papers that guarantee work (genuine or otherwise) for the family member or friend. This then provides the venue for their entry. Once in the country, while they are still looking for a job, they have to pay for their own medical insurance. (Pe-Pua, 2003) This process of “name hiring” (signing a document to certify the availability of work for a person overseas) however has been made more difficult by restrictions that took effect in January 2004. Sponsoring Spaniards are now required to personally (queue up and) appear before the Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales (Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs) to submit the application and supporting documents and justify the need to hire a worker from overseas. Unless the need is genuine, or unless the Spanish employer feels compassionate towards their
existing Filipino maid, they will not go through the difficult process of getting an appointment (which takes two to three months) and queue outside the Ministerio. In addition, after a Resolucion de Concesion de Trabajo y Residencia (approval of the labor application) is issued, the ofertas de empleo (offer of employment) must be stamped by the POLO office. As a result of these restrictions, the average number of labor contracts being verified at the POLO office has decreased from ten (under the old system) to two a day (under the new law) (POLO Madrid, 2003).

Workers who want to bring their spouses to Spain use either the Agrupacion de Familia scheme that will give them a residence permit (only), or the CUPO which will allow them to obtain both a residence and a work permit, as long as the prospective employer’s offer of employment is in the domestic hostelry industry (Pe-Pua, 2003). There are also instances of Filipinos entering as tourists, and then staying on to work; or entering the country under false documents or using “agents” in the Philippines that have networks in Europe (Pe-Pua, 2003).

The most common reason given for coming to Spain is the financial benefit and betterment of their family situation. They expect a more decent income compared to what they can ever hope to earn in the Philippines. They endeavour to give their families a better life and their children a better education. Eventually they want to own property in the Philippines (Pe-Pua, 2003).

1.5 Filipina domestic workers

Filipino men have more difficulty than women in finding work since the greater demand is for domestic helpers. Some men manage to find work as cooks, waiters, or kitchen hands in restaurants or housekeeping staff in the hotel industry. Some work as couriers for jewellery stores, or do some office work at the Philippine Embassy (computer programmer or client support, for example), or work in the construction industry. While it is rare, some men work as domestic workers for a while, joining their wives in a live-in arrangement (Pe-Pua, 2003).

Filipino women, on the other hand, have hardly any difficulty finding a job as domestic workers. A common arrangement is interna or live-in where the worker gets free accommodation and food, and sometimes toiletries as well. But there could be trade-offs such as longer working hours. This is why some women prefer to be externa workers – they go home to their own place at the end of the day; they have shorter working hours; and they can still accept other work from other employers. Also, the pay is higher; however, the bonus is less, and other benefits such as vacation pays are not available (Pe-Pua, 2003).

Filipino domestic workers in Spain seem to be satisfied with their work (Pe-Pua, 2003) and based on reports from the Philippine Embassy (POLO Madrid, 2003). The pay
ranges from US$550–1,000 a month (1999 data) which is better than the pay that Filipinos domestic workers in Hong Kong and Singapore get (which range from US$125–400) (Pe-Pua, 2000). Internas also get bonuses (13th and 14th month pay), social security, vacation leaves, and days off.

Abuses by employers are also rare. Some of the few abuses cited involve non-payment of salary, the employer keeping the worker’s papers/documents, and demand for longer working hours beyond what the contract states. The positive treatment that Filipino domestic workers get from Spanish employers is also verified by Philippine Embassy staff. “On the whole, Spanish employers are good providers and responsible, they respect the agreements made with the workers. The relationship between Spanish and Filipino is characterized by mutual respect and empathy – no doubt an offshoot of our historical and cultural links” (POLO Madrid, 1999).

Filipino domestic workers also enjoy a certain “prestige” brought about by the high regard that Spanish employers have for them because they are perceived to be hard-working, industrious, persevering, trustworthy, loyal, caring, and excellent house-keepers and child-minders in general. Spanish employers trust their Filipino workers, for example, they would give the house keys to them so they could come in and out of the house anytime. They are the highest paid among domestic workers in the main cities; thus it is considered a status symbol for Spanish families to have a Filipino domestic helper (“Only the rich can afford a Filipino chica”). Employers “beg” their departing domestic helpers to stay and entice them with a salary increase, reduced working hours and other incentives (Pe-Pua, 2003). In recent times, Filipina domestic workers “have learned to be choosy. They prefer to be externas and work for families with no pets and with less or without children and near their places of residence” (POLO Madrid, 2003).

Filipina maids play a very significant role in Spanish households. They liberate many Spanish women from household duties; thus the Spanish women are able to participate in the labor force. Because Filipina maids are loyal, efficient and nurturing, Spanish employers feel secure leaving their children in their care when they go to work. These maids even help the children with their homework. And oftentimes they are “counsellors” within the household, listening to the problems of household members, and offering advice when appropriate. In exchange, they expect to be treated as part of the family, or at least be accorded with kindness and consideration, and not as strangers (Pe-Pua, 2003). There was a story of a Filipina maid in Madrid whose señora (literally, Spanish woman; refers to the lady of the house in this instance) always sounded harsh, never smiled or showed appreciation for what she was doing. She tried to leave her but when the señora found out the reason why, she immediately pleaded with her to stay, and changed her treatment of her completely from then on (Lobera, 1993).

Migrant workers can change occupation, as long as they follow the formal application procedures for this. While many Filipino workers (men and women) would welcome the chance to work as a professional or do something other than being a
domestic helper or a waiter/cook, most of them are not willing to sacrifice their working
hours in order to obtain specific qualifications that will allow them to pursue a skilled or
professional career path. They said they cannot afford to reduce their earning capacity
because relatives back in the Philippines count on the remittances they send. Trying to get
an education in Spain can be very costly too. And some cited their long absence from
such endeavours that to take it up now would be too taxing on their intellect. Others
experienced difficulties in having their academic degrees and qualifications validated or
recognized in Spain, thus hindering their chance of practising their profession. Recently, a
few Filipinos have managed to upgrade their occupation and now work in commercial
centres and in teaching. Language is another obstacle to obtaining further education or
getting a better job. Moreover, competition in the job market is stiff, so that host citizens
are favoured than foreigners among job applicants (Pe-Pua, 2003; POLO Madrid, 2003).

1.6 Changes in the Family

Fulfilment of family goals in the economic sense is a proven benefit of overseas
labour migration for many Filipino workers in Spain. The impact on their family life, and
their personal life, however, is a complicated matter that is at times suppressed for the
sake of economic gain, for the family and for the source country (by way of remittances).

I would be dealing with three main issues – the changes to the family that is left
behind, the changes in relation to families that are reunited in the country of work, and
what can be done to support the women domestic workers? I will be drawing directly
from the book chapter that I wrote (Pe-Pua, 2003).

(a) Split/Transnational families

A major social impact of labor migration is the evolution of the split or transnational
family or household where members are separated, albeit only in a physical sense.
Families become transnational because husbands and children are left in the source
country. The family is believed to be intact in spirit if the separated members are able to
negotiate their way through adjustments required of the special situation. Family
members are still expected to fulfil their respective family roles. Reciprocity and loyalty
are expected despite changing conditions.

Let us examine the implications of the transnational family dynamics on, first, the
mother-children relationship, and then the husband and wife relationship.

It is not uncommon for members of the extended family in the Philippines to take the
child-rearing responsibility when mothers take up overseas employment. In this “fostering
out” situation, the absentee parent would adopt-out their children to trusted kin, but would
pay for all expenses of their children (plus an allowance for the carer) and provide (better)
accommodation to the carer. Another form is to have female relative/s live in the home of the migrant worker, especially if the husband is around, and take on the mothering role. Adult children would normally be left on their own but with some kin staying with them as a “maid”, and frequently visited by close relatives. The female relatives in most instances are likely to do virtually all the cooking, cleaning, and providing moral support to the children.

What is very obvious is that there is an ingrained view that women are main caretakers and have primary responsibility over the children. Thus, studies have shown that the impact on children is greater when it is the mother who goes overseas to work than when it is the father. Thus, the mother in absentia becomes concerned that her children back home are not being raised in the moral tradition that “only a mother would give” if she were around. This relates to discipline, serious study, respect for elders, debt of gratitude, and hard work, and so on.

The emotional needs of the family, emotional strains and this frustration over the inability to personally “mother” their children are however oftentimes repressed and substituted with thoughts that provide justification to being away, that is, their children’s achievements in terms of education and independence, and the economic upliftment of the family.

There is the constant pain of separation on the part of the mother and the children. Children left behind could feel that they are missing out on the love and care of their mothers who have gone away to take care of other mothers’ children. A feeling of rebellion could sometimes end in blaming the mother and forsaking whatever economic benefits they have come to enjoy. There could also be some guilt feelings being directed at their mothers overseas, a feeling of “shame” for the occupation they are involved in, problem of over-spending, and what Parrenas (2001) termed the commoditisation of love, that is, when love is reduced to the provision of material things to compensate for the physical absence. A consequence is that children become demanding and more concerned about material things than about their mothers’ situation and welfare as domestic workers.

On the other hand, there could also be a great deal of appreciation of their mothers’ sacrifice. The mother-child bond can remain strong despite (or in fact grow strong because of) the separation. Be that as it may, the theme of denial of intimacy is very strong in the story of both mothers and children. Some mothers cope with this by treating their wards like their own children albeit experiencing the pain of neglecting their own children everyday that they care for other people’s children. Other mothers come to regard domestic work with disdain due to the constant reminder of their neglect of their own children. Still others simply focus on working to get their minds off the loneliness of separation.

The impact of their absence on the mother-child relationships can be influenced by a number of factors:
- the ability of the husband back home to fulfil the dual role of father and mother to their children.
- the ability of the “surrogate mother” (in the form of a female relative) to fulfil the mother role according to the migrant worker’s wish
- the frequency and quality of communication between mother and child
- the frequency and duration of visits home.

The husband and wife relationship in the transnational family has its own dynamics as well. In most cases, Filipino women become main breadwinners when they work as domestic workers overseas. They embrace and accept this new familial role but are often careful not to flaunt their newly-found “superiority” over their husbands lest they (husbands) start feeling some loss of pride and start objecting to the wives’ constant absence. Moving from being wives to maids has earned them a sense of greater control over finances. Many of them talked about living with very limited resources back home, and not being able to make ends meet, no matter how creative they have tried to be in budgeting or in generating income.

Being the main breadwinner through their overseas work gives women domestic workers a great sense of achievement and a belief that they are instrumental in ensuring a better future by supporting their families through remittances. This change of role of the women, however, poses a challenge to the traditional role of men as “providers,” a role that defines masculinity in the Filipino context. Through overseas employment, the women experience more independence and freedom from their husbands. Being overseas however, poses different challenges in the marital relationships.

Homesickness and loneliness are common on the parts of both the husband and the wife. One of the main worries of the women is the spectre of a husband’s infidelity. This scenario haunts these women who dread the pain and betrayal should their worries be confirmed. Husbands who are left behind also worry that their wives might turn to other men in the foreign land. Indeed, some women get involved in extramarital affairs in the country of work, either to fellow countrymen with whom they socialize during their days off, or to other nationals whom they meet while overseas. Some husbands simply continue to trust their wives, and try to avoid entertaining suspicions. Others would remind their wives that they would lose all their rights to their children if they commit adultery. In the event that news of an affair is confirmed and if the husband back home is the guilty party, the wife is likely to remain overseas. If the wife overseas has the affair, the husband is faced with the decision of whether to forgive her or not; but the wife has the choice of whether or not to return. Many Filipino communities see these affairs through a gendered lens, a double-standard mentality. When the husband has an affair, it is explained in terms of the masculine sexual need; female infidelity, on the other hand, is
considered a serious fault. Be that as it may, members of the nuclear and extended family are likely to intervene to effect a reconciliation, in most cases citing the children and the integrity of the family unit as factors to consider. Divorce as such is legally not possible in the Philippines.

Extramarital affairs can pose as a threat to the integrity of the family unit. Familial and spouse relationship breakdown make some women contemplate not ever going back to their home country except to visit. Some think about bringing their children over and leaving their husbands behind. The number of illegitimate children is also a consequence of such affairs.

**(b) Reunited families**

Spain allows foreign workers to bring their families through their family reunification scheme primarily. Where this option is available some women would still decide not to bring their families for varied reasons: additional expense, the educational situation of the children, husbands not willing to give up their jobs back home, problem with the Spanish language, and so on. These women prefer to perform their mother role from a distance (transnational motherhood). Some are also concerned that their children (particularly their daughters) will end up becoming domestic workers while with them because of the difficulty of finding a better job due to the lack of language proficiency, lack of the appropriate qualifications, and a competitive labor market.

Other women decide to be reunited with their families by bringing them to Spain.

The issue of mother-children relationships resumed after a prolonged separation is also a big problem faced by women. Depending on the parenting style of the surrogate mother, the children could be “spoilt” in terms of having their material wishes fulfilled, getting their own way, being “served” rather than being obliged to do any household chores, and so on. In other words, they would have been brought up differently had the mother not left for overseas work. Thus, after the initial joy of reunion, the mother could be faced with having to discipline children who are initially reticent to accept her role as disciplinarian, expecting her to buy them whatever they like (since their relationship with their mother in the past has been the infrequent visits in which the mother comes home from overseas with presents). They also assume that they will be exempted from performing household chores.

When husband and wife are together overseas, other challenges are related to the husband finding work, and his own role expectations of being “served” by the wife. In families where the husband manages to find work, financial stability is pointed out as a source of satisfaction with life in the host country. If the husband cannot find work he spends most of his time at home. The wife expects him now to take over most of the household chores since she works six to eight hours a day. This is a new role for him. Back home, he would probably be working, and even if he did not work, he depended on the extended family and/or hired help to manage the household. Thus, in the new
environment, he is stripped of this social support, faced with this new role of being a “house-band.” This has serious implications for men’s masculine identity and can be a source of conflict.

If both husband and wife work, a challenge commonly faced is the lack of supervision of children. Another set of problems occurs when children learn ways of the host culture and begin to answer back to their parents (versus the Filipino expectation of children being submissive to parents), criticizing their parents openly (sometimes in public), not respecting them (calling them by name for example, which is seen as impolite) or other authority figures such as the teachers. Or they may hang around with friends that are perceived to have a bad influence on them, fail in school, and in worst cases, become involved in drugs. Some of those who have a hard time in school because of a lack of proficiency in Spanish drop out and because they want to earn money right away also end up in domestic work. Their lack of language proficiency again is an obstacle for finding a good job in Spain where unemployment is usually high and job competition is very strong. Many parents eventually come to realize that the host country is not an ideal place for their migrant children.

On the whole, having their children around allows the women to fulfill their role as a mother by way of providing personal care and emotional support to their children. But being together also creates a dilemma, that of being primarily responsible for giving this care and support without the assistance from an extended social network. Back home, they can be working full time and will probably have maids or other relatives to help look after their children. In Spain, they work full time, but still carry the full burden of family care on their own. Certainly in some circumstances and respects, reunification actually makes life harder for these women.

Reunification can also take effect if the women decide to return home and discontinue doing overseas domestic work. This option however is one that most Filipino women avoid because of the fear of economic disempowerment. Many women would plan to be in this occupation for “a few years only,” meaning an average of five years, or just enough to send their children to college, or help in the education of some niece or nephew, or set up a business. This inevitably extend to ten years or more due to the increasing demands from their families. Some women who are in their 50s planned to return home for good soon since their children are almost done with tertiary education, but whether they ended up doing this is another matter.

In other words, the trend is towards a “career” of domestic work abroad. The great demand on them and expectation of assistance by the extended family fuels the need to continue working overseas. Even the frequency of visits home can be a dilemma for the women who think in terms of the cost of the airfare and lost income that could just as well go to fulfilling some other people’s material needs.

For those who eventually return to stay, new challenges await. The same adjustments of living together again with the husband and children have to be faced.
(c) What can be done?

Asian women who work as domestic workers overseas face a number of dislocations as Parrenas (2001), author of the book Servants of Globalization, argues. These dislocations include enduring a quasi-citizenship status in both the country of work and the country of origin, experiencing the everyday pain of human separation existent in the transnational household arrangement, struggling with a decrease in status despite an increased earning capacity, and facing alienation and non-belonging in their migrant community.

The issues related to changes to the family brought about by overseas migrant work have to be addressed by the source country and the country of destination. Both Philippines and Spain gain from the services provided by Filipino women. Thus both have responsibility in ensuring that they are able to cope with the changes. Since the issues are personal in nature, the type of assistance can be personal in nature as well. For example, services that assist the integration and settlement of reunited families into the host society such as language assistance and help with finding employment for the husbands can be established. The preference of Filipino women would be for a united family and when this family is happy, they are in a better position to continue to provide quality (domestic) work.

The support for transnational families would naturally fall on the Philippine government’s agenda. This can come in the form of emotional support or assistance with management of the remittances of the domestic worker so that the possibility of returning home after working overseas is associated with stability. There is also the suggestion of structuring overseas work contract to include a compulsory annual visit home that is paid for by the employer (which cannot be turned into cash if they decide not to go home for a visit). This way, the women will be able to monitor and cope with changes in family relations.

I would like to conclude this first part of the lecture by reiterating that when we study migration, we need to look into impact on both the sending and the receiving countries, and most importantly on the human side of migration – the migrants and their families.

2. Cross-cultural case study: Racism, the Asian-Australian experience

Have you encountered occasions when you have felt that, because of your ethnic background, you have been treated less respectfully, have not been trusted, or been called names or insulted?

This was how we began to collect stories of racism as part of a Research Methods
class at the University of New South Wales. Our aim was to examine the variation of the actual experience of racism.

We used a basic definition of racism as intolerance of ethnic or cultural differences. *Experience of racism* refers to the experience of being a direct victim of and/or of being a witness to a racist incident. *Racist incidents* are instances of intended harm and disparagement against an individual, groups or organisation due to ‘race’, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin.

Thus, we were interested in:

- The context of the incident (where or in what situation it occurred)
- The nature of the incident
- Action taken (or inaction for that matter) in response to the incident
- Some of the reason for such response
- Feelings and emotions
- The victims’ explanation of racism.

The principal method we used was *pagtatanong-tanong*, a style of interviewing that is qualitative, casual or informal and yet the interviewer is determined to get serious answers through probing and appropriate questioning (Pe-Pua, 1989). The students in my class were trained on this method before they started collecting stories of racism. Informed consent was obtained, participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity, and all interviews were taped.

The rationale for collecting stories and asking people to tell stories is that stories “reflect and reproduce existing social relations” (Bell 2003) Here we are also interested in the victim’s perspective.

The participants were selected on the basis of their answer to the question, “Have you encountered occasions when you have felt that, because of your ethnic background, you have been treated less respectfully, have not been trusted, or been called names or insulted?” Only those who have answered yes to this question were interviewed. All participants are either permanent residents or citizens of Australia.

This presentation is on the analysis of stories told by 85 Australians of Asian background only. Each interview reported one or more incidents of racism where the interviewees were either victims or witnesses to the incident. Only victim accounts (174 of them) were included in the analysis.

The stories were analyzed with the help of NVIVO, a qualitative data analysis software. A preliminary coding framework was established, with categories drawn from the literature, particularly from Mellor’s (2003) study of the experiences of Aborigines in Australia, and from a brainstorming session with colleagues. The framework was expanded as new categories emerged from the data.
2.1 Context of racist incidents

The context or situation where the racist incidents occurred has been specified in 88% of the incidents analyzed. The general categories of context are:

(a) School/educational setting

Almost all the incidents in this category occurred within the high school or primary school environments (or both), with only a very few at the tertiary level. Within the high school and primary school, the incidents happened in the classroom, in the school playground or in the context of playing, in a teacher’s or school administrator’s office, while interacting with other students or a teacher, or in the general environment of the school. Only in a few instances was the type of school mentioned, such as a private, Catholic or government school. At the tertiary level, the few incidents mentioned specific universities, and/or mentioned a specific setting within the university such as the tutorial, or social interactions.

(b) Public space

This refers to public transportation (bus, train, railway station, bus stop, airplane, and taxi); streets, and beach/park. “Streets” is used here to refer to the general environment of the street/road and nearby public space such as “outside the restaurant”, “going around town”, “parking outside the school”, or “car park”. At times, the name of the street was actually mentioned, always meaning the surrounds of the named street, for example, “walking in Chinatown”, “on Oxford Street”, “in Chatswood”, or “streets of Newtown”. The “street” context can also be inferred in descriptions such as “walking to the bus stop”, “driving on a very narrow road”, “walking home from school”, or “just when I stopped in front of one of the traffic lights”.

The “beach/park” refers to a beach, a park, or a harbor as the setting where the incident occurred, in relation, for example to activities such as walking, having a picnic, fishing, watching a concert, and playing.

(c) Workplace

In most cases, simply the words “at work” or “workplace” was used to refer to the context of the racist incident where the victim was a staff, employee or worker. Where the actual workplace was named, it would refer to a retail store (e.g., store where victim was a shopkeeper, KMart, Caltex), a food outlet (e.g., McDonalds, Hungry Jack’s, café, bakery), a classroom (the victim was a teacher), a company (e.g., “we supply products all over Australia”), or a hospital. While a specific workplace was not mentioned in some reports, descriptors such as “at the workplace in a meeting” and “workplace, particularly in Board meetings” were helpful in further clarifying this context.
(d) Commercial establishments

Two types of commercial establishments were cited, namely shops or shopping malls/centres, and restaurants where the interviewee was a client. “Shop” could refer to a supermarket, a chemist, a store (general or specialised store, such as car accessories store, and bakery. “Restaurant” could be a restaurant, a café or coffee shop, a food outlet (such as McDonalds, or a “chicken shop”).

(e) Entertainment/social activities

This category refers to social gatherings (social gathering, a party, a get-together, over dinner, or in the context of dating); or pubs/clubs (a pub, a club, a bar, or a disco place; or sports (while playing sports or during a game of soccer, cricket, basketball, or footy); or amusement parlor in one instance).

(f) Neighbourhood/home

The racist incident has occurred in the home of the interviewee or someone else’s home, or in the neighborhood under this category.

(g) Other

The “other” category includes real estate agency, Immigration office, consulate, daycare centre, nursing home, and court.

2.2 Nature of racist incidents

The racist incidents can be categorized into four types.

(a) “Race talk”

Verbal abuse includes the use of abusive or ‘rude’ language, swearing, yelling, screaming, venting out anger in a verbal way, generic racist slur. There were several references to speaking in an ethnic language that was the subject of the verbal abuse.

Name calling is a form of verbal abuse but it specifically uses words to name the person/s and said in a derogatory way, for example,

- Indian – ‘curry muncher’, ‘curry’, ‘Ethiopian kid from South Park’, ‘bloody Indian’


*Ridicule* is cloaked in ‘humor’, thus it is commonly identified through the expression, “make fun of me”, “pick on me”, “tease me”, “prove me”. The ridicule can usually come in the form of jokes and taunts, accompanied by laughter, sneering, and similar behavior.

A predominant object of ridicule is language expression – incorrect pronunciation of English words, having an accent, speaking in a non-English language (‘foreign language’), speaking at a fast rate, and so on. A number of incidents was about imitating and making fun of a non-English language or accent (of the victim).

Another source of taunts is skin colour, by itself or with other features. The eyes are also a frequent target. Food was another common target of jokes.

*I received a phone call, talking about eating animals. Some guy kept asking me “Do Chinese eat cats and dogs?” I said that happens in China. He asked me. “Do you eat cats?” I said, “no.” But he still kept asking me about this. (1092A)*

*Stereotypical remarks* refer to comments made that cast a particular ethnicity in terms of some (usually negative) characteristics. Some of these remarks could be comments related to sexuality or sex roles, or related to atrocities and aggressiveness. Some were insinuations of an untrustworthy character, or some generalization based on past contact with the particular ethnic group. There were a few remarks that refer to some cultural artifacts such as art (e.g. use of chopsticks, red paper envelope).

Exclusionist remarks refer to remarks that make another person feel like they do not belong in Australia, or should not be associated with because they belong to a certain ethnic group. Being told (or shouted at) to ‘go home’, ‘go away’, ‘go back to your country’, ‘what are you doing in our country’, ‘why have you come to Australia?’ This could be particularly hurtful especially for those victims who have become Australian citizens or who felt very Australian. Putting boundaries into mixed-race interaction or relationship, or example, dating and romantic relationships.

**(b) Treated differently**

The Asian-Australian interviewees felt that they were treated less favourably than non-Asians areas where service was being provided. In public transportation such as buses, some talked about being singled out for ticket inspection, or being asked to get off
the bus, or being asked to pay full fare when they are entitled to fare discount being students – all of these occur when others are not subjected to this kind of different treatment. Another example is on the plane, when the flight attendant was nice to other passengers who were not Asian, but not to her who was Asian. In restaurants, non-Asians were attended to first; or the waiter was nicer to the Europeans; or the Asian was served a smaller portion of food. In discos and pubs, Asians were not readily allowed to enter, or singled out for body search, whereas non-Asians were not.

Still on services, different treatment also comes in terms of rudeness, not being accommodative, or even denying service. For example, not being allowed to get on the bus, not being served, or refusing to rent out an apartment to an Asian.

Another manifestation of different treatment is when Asians are belittled or regarded as inferior. For example, interviews felt that many Australians look down on them because of their lack of English skills, or just the assumption that they would not know how to speak good English. For instance, a tutor would speak too slowly to them; an Immigration officer asked whether they understood “course” even though they have graduated from an Australian school; someone doubting their English just because they came from a country where English is not the first language; or a real estate agent not speaking directly to the Asian but to a non-Asian companion when renting a place. Aside from English, some people assumed that Asians are naturally slow in learning. An extreme example is when an Anglo-Australian client refused to be attended to by a professional x-ray technician who is Asian.

Different treatment was also observed at the workplace. Some interviewees felt they were being given worse or more difficult tasks; or they are not paid more despite their longer experience and tenure in the job; or the employer was always critical of their work; or they are not trusted with money or being singled out all the time.

(c) Attack on person and property

A few stories related to attack on property such as business place’s windows getting smashed after a series of intimidating phone calls; or theft of phone and wallet.

More stories were about some physical harm on the Asian person. For example, some Asian interviewees experienced being pushed to the floor; or pushed and shoved; or tripped by someone in the bus who stuck out his leg; or even bashed. Others experienced getting things thrown at them – the most common being eggs, chips and sometimes bottles. Others experienced being spat outside the restaurant or the train station.

Intimidation and threat are also considered attack. A story is about some people demanding ‘respect’ money from an Asian, taking his phone and wallet and even pointed a machete at his friend’s throat. Or someone backed up on the Asian’s car, hit the front bumper, came out of the car and even blamed the Asian and intimidated him. Another example is a group of teenagers who swerved their car around the bus full of Asian
tourists. Another extreme case is of a group of Asians being intimidated by banging on their apartment doors by Aussie neighbours who were drunk.

(d) Disrespect, distrust, exclusion

In a way, a lot of the experiences already narrated are signs of disrespect. Additional example of this is with regards to explicit rudeness shown, such as when some guy had his feet up on the seat of bus and refused to move them even after requested to do so. Or a teacher replied very rudely to a young student who asked an innocent question of where Antarctica is.

Distrust is show to some Asians at shops when their bags are checked thoroughly before leaving, when they are followed around in the shop. Also, when police officers come up to ask for their identification card; or when people distrust Asians because they speak in their own language.

Examples of exclusion when Asians are ignored by others, for example kids in school; or a teacher denying he/she knew their former students because they were Asians.

2.3 Response to racism

How do Asians react to racism?

(a) Inaction

The most predominant response of the Asian interviewees was non-response. In other words, they did not do anything about it. They just let the perpetrator say or do as they wanted; or they simply ignored them or kept silent about it or walked away. Some just forgot it, or tried to forget it. Most did not report the incident; or comment about it; or complain to some authority (for example police or management). Many just kept it to themselves; some wanted to retaliate but did not.

There were varied reasons why interviewees did not do anything. Mainly, many felt that nothing will come out of it if they tried to report the incident. Some felt that it is difficult to change people’s attitudes. Thus, there was a sense of helplessness and hopelessness. Some did not see that they could possibly win if they fought the racism. Thus, for many, it would just be a waste of time. The helplessness could also be because the perpetrator is someone in authority who would thus be difficult to fight. Or some felt “it happens all the time” anyway.

Many victims also felt pressured by the social norm and expectation of being polite, respectful and decent (“doing the right thing”) despite being victimised. Some did not do anything out of fear – fear of losing their job or getting suspended in school; fear for the perpetrator who were either stronger physically or were a group; fear of what their parents might say.
Others lacked confidence or did not know what to do. Others were confused (“mixed feelings”, “not prepared”), or wanted to avoid an escalation of the incident, or were concerned about others (“didn’t want parents to worry”).

For this inaction, there were some afterthoughts. Some realised afterwards how serious the abuse really was. Some wished they have fought back, reported the incident, spoken up, retaliated, or humiliated the perpetrator. Some felt angry at not having done anything. Others spoke of lessons learned from the experience, getting over it, and becoming a stronger person because of it.

(b) Confronted the perpetrator

There was a considerable number of interviewees who did something. One form of action is retaliating physically. The victim decided to fight back, retaliating by hitting back or getting into a brawl, or by beating the perpetrator up.

Another form of action is by verbal confrontation. The victim lashed out in anger, made some racist retort (“you white dog”), or entered into a battle of words (argument, sneering back and forth). Others told the perpetrator to stop, or lectured them on good manners and on what it is like if they were the recipients of such racist abuse.

(c) Confided in others

A behaviour shown by a few interviewees was confiding to friends, family members, other Asians, or other people. These people helped them process the incident, assured them that not all Aussies are racist, advised them to be tough or to report the incident. Most of them were sympathetic, empathetic, understanding, and comforted them.

(d) Reported the incident

A few reported the incident to the authority such as a teacher, principal or restaurant manager.

(e) Avoided the situation

Others decided to just avoid the situation by not going near the perpetrator again, not talking to them, or not going to the place of the incident. Some avoided the incident by not doing the action (speaking loudly, for example) that was the target of the racist act.

2.4 Feelings, emotions

There were a variety of emotions expressed by the victims as a result of the racism experienced:

- Angry, pissed off, annoyed
• Hurt, offended, upset
• Embarrassed, shamed, humiliated
• Shocked, in disbelief
• “Unfair”
• Helpless, vulnerable
• Fearful, scared
• Sad
• Questioning why people behave in a racist way
• Disappointed
• Self-doubt
• Felt left out
• Amused

2.5 Explaining racism

We asked the interviewees what they think are the reasons why these racist incidents occurred. One explanation they gave is people’s ignorance or lack of education. They don’t understand the cultures of others. They are afraid of newcomers; they are afraid of what they don’t understand and what they don’t know. Some see Asians as a threat, either to jobs, or to education places.

Another explanation is that some never intended any harm but were just trying to be funny. Others attribute it to the influence of family, for example, when parents don’t teach their children to accept other cultures; when such racist attitudes are passed down from parents to children.

Others felt this is some personality reasons, such as being basically racist, loud-mouthed, or insecure. Some felt that the racism was justified, in others “you can’t blame them”. Still others felt it was human nature, or that these racist incidents are exception rather than trend or usual practice.

2.6 Conclusion: Stories of racism as tool of understanding

In this study we have attempted to highlight the perspective of the victims and analyzed stories of racism in terms of their lived experience. The descriptive nature of the presentation is inevitable given the qualitative richness of the data. Using a grounded theory methodology, the analysis has generated a taxonomy of context and nature of racist incidents, response and feelings of victims, and their explanation of racism.

Stories of racism told by Asian-Australians can be compared to those told by other
ethnic groups in Australia, including Anglo-Australians and a few Aboriginal Australians. Stories are an important tool for understanding race relations and racism. They are also a powerful tool for educating people against racism, for engaging both majority and minority groups in confronting this important issue and be responsible for their action or attitudes toward racism. Teaching people to analyze stories and people’s different views about it “may pave the way for more reflective discussion of the racial conflicts and tensions in our society” (Bell, 2003: 24).

The racism we saw in the stories told by Asian-Australians has features of what Essed (1991) calls “everyday racism” – verbal and physical behaviors, discrimination, negative stereotyping, prejudice, cultural domination and rejection experienced in diverse situations of everyday life.

Focusing on the victims’ perspective is complementary to the already strong focus on the perpetrators. Focusing on the perpetrators may lead suggestions at diminishing racism. But continuing focus on them “may inadvertently operate as tools of the politics of the time” (Mellor, 2003: 483-483). By focusing on the victims’ lived experience and insights we can begin to understand the overt and covert nature of racism, how victims process it and respond to it, and what can be done so that they are able to enjoy a “normal” everyday life.

References


In Search for a New Form of Ethnic Relationship:
Korean and Japanese Residents in Osaka, Japan

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1. Japan as a Multiethnic Society

It was the latter half of the 1980’s that the Japanese society experienced the large-scale internationalization of its population. A considerable number of foreign laborers began to flow into Japan and engage in the labor that has been called “3K” – kitanai (dirty), kitsui (hard) and kiken (dangerous), in which Japanese youngsters disliked. The number of registered foreigners was the record-breaking 1,973,747 in 2004. In the same year, the foreign population ratio of Japan reached 1.55%. Considering the fact that the ratio was only 0.7% in 1985 and 1.08% in 1994, we now observe the steady progress of the Japanese society changing into multiethnic one. On one hand, the multiethnic tendency of the society brought about various cultural conflicts between Japanese and foreigners. On the other hand, there have been some local communities that decided to include foreigners in themselves and seek for ways of co-existence with people of various ethnic backgrounds.

It is certain that Japan will have more foreign people in the future. The society is fast aging, while in 2006 the population will hit the peak and will continue to decrease. There will be needs to hire foreign workers to maintain its workforce and productivity. Especially, the labor shortage in 3-K industries has been serious already. Moreover, as we will have more aged population, there will be an increasing demand for caregivers and as the first step to alleviate this problem, there have been talks between Japan and the Philippines to accept/send Filipino caregivers in near future. Direct look at the current problems will force us to admit that Japan will have no other choice but to depend on foreign workers and as a result there will be more diverse people as members of local community.

The focus of recent discussion regarding the integration of migrants will be “how the people of hosting society can seek cooperation with foreign residents and maintain the local community as it is”, rather than “how the hosting people will accept foreigners”. This is because of the confronting issues in Japan that needs revitalization of local
communities. We need to consider foreign residents as important participants/actors of the local community activities that are eventually sought for the revitalization of local communities. Now, a question will arise: “How can Japanese residents make a cooperative relationship with foreigners?” “What are the ways to overcome the ethnic barriers so that both of them will approach to their counterparts?” This paper tries to analyze the social factors/conditions to enable local communities with diverse population to form harmonious and cooperative ethnic relationships.

The research site of this study is Ikuno Ward, Osaka city. In Ikuno Ward, about 25% of the total population (136,935) or 34,004 are foreign nationals, about 94% of whom are Koreans (total population is as of April 1, 2005 and the number of alien registration is as of the end of March 2005). The fact itself makes Ikuno Ward popular for its extremely high rate of foreign population. In the following discussion, I will focus on the attempts in Ikuno Ward to solve social welfare problems in local communities. What needs attention is the fact that these attempts have been initiated by the solidarity of Koreans and Japanese residents. This will be a pilot case of inter-ethnic solidarity where foreigners have participated in the decision-making process of the policies for the local community. In this sense, Ikuno Ward can be considered as a good example of the local community with diverse population, from which I would like to seek the new form of inter-ethnic relationship.

2. Two Ethnic Subcultures in Ikuno

(1) The Korean Community in Japan

First, let me describe the two ethnic subcultures that we can observe in Ikuno. According to the urban subculture theory of C.S. Fischer, in the cities where the concentration of population much advances, there will be natural uprising of various subcultures, namely, groups of specific cultural characteristics like musicians and Chinese Americans. As the population to support the subculture increases, they will form social systems like newspaper and organization, then as such systems develop, they will further maintain and reinforce the social ties among its members. If a specific subculture develops exceedingly, there will be conflicts between other subcultures in the same local community, which will nurture the stronger ties among a specific group of subculture. Fischer (1975, 1984) mentioned that this preposition was applicable also to ethnic relations. Such developmental mechanism of subcultures can be found in Korean groups in Ikuno.

There are various ethnic organizations that stem from the concentration of Korean people in this area. First of all, we will notice that there are many Korean restaurants and the stores serving ethnic foods such like kimchi (Korean pickles) and folk costumes such as chima chokoli (Korean dress). Especially, in the 500-meter-long shopping street called "Korean Town", one can easily find the entrance with the gigantic Namdaemun
(South Gate), an imitation of that in Seoul. Needless to say, the area has a number of
Korean restaurants, food stalls and groceries. Even the gate itself differentiates the area
from others, the one having a symbolic taste of Korea. This area attracts tourists and
Korean shoppers not only within Osaka area but also from Kyoto and Nagoya.

There are other ethnic institutions in Ikuno like North Korean Elementary and Junior
High School, credit banks, chamber of commerce and industry, employment agencies,
hospitals, churches, temples and welfare institutions for seniors. The area is complete
with these institutions to suffice every single need of their life. Also, there are two major
political institutions: the Korean Confederation of Japan (so-called Soren with Northern
Korean influence) and Korean Residents Union in Japan (so-called Mindan and that of
South Korea), both of which have offices in Ikuno. These organizations played a central
role of organized movement to protect the human rights of Korean people and their ethnic
education after the WWII. These institutions and their ethnic social subsystem enabled
Korean residents to live among themselves and without any association with local
Japanese people.

According to Tomio Tani, the manifest/latent of ethnic culture can be regarded as the
interaction of that of personal level and institutional (systematic) level. In other words, in
the areas of less Korean population, it cannot be possible for a Korean to make his/her
ethnic culture manifest, but it will be difficult for them to maintain their ethnic culture
manifest institutionally or “as a group”. On the other hand, in Ikuno where various
ethnic facilities are prepared, it is comparatively easy to express one's ethnic identity in
the system level by participating in one of such organizations (Tani, 2002a). In fact,
there has frequently been concerts of ethnic music by amateur players as well as cooking
lessons of kimchi.

Ikuno is the local community where Korean people show their own culture. On the
other hand, families and relative are where they succeed ethnic culture (Tani 2002a). The
ceremony of ancestor worship that families and relatives perform is called "jesa"
(religious service). Especially, "gijesa" (mourning religious service), a kind of “jesa”,
has been performed at the death anniversaries of their ancestors every year, where a
number of families and relatives get together (Tani 1992:272). The young generation who
found employment or got married outside Osaka may return home at the opportunities of
gijesa. Recently, the gijesa ceremonies are being simplified with less participants.
However, the gijesas play the important role of strengthening the unity of families and
relatives, letting them confirm ethnic identity and succeeding Korean culture (Tani
2002b).

As shown above, in Ikuno, Korean ethnic organization, events, and jesas maintain
and strengthen ties among the members of Korean community. At the same time, such
institutions and events are manifest in the system or group level too, thus we can clearly
distinguish Korean ethnic culture from others.
(2) Japanese Society

Many observers will be attracted to the obviously Korean culture in Ikuno, but on the other hand, we should pay attention to the unique subculture of local Japanese people.

One of the local organizations in Ikuno is “Association to Preserve Ikaino Culture”. Ikaino is the old name of a part of Ikuno Ward, and they try to maintain historical heritages and cultures of their local community. The group is composed of nearly 170 households of former farmers/land-owners when the area was a suburb farming area. They have the shared asset or the community center, “Ikaino Hall”. Their unity as a group is still significant as they perform various activities based at the hall like the holding of annual festival of their Shinto shrine and the maintenance of the carefully-decorated portable shrine that they pull during the shrine festival.

The other local organization is called "chonai-kai" or local residents association, the smallest unit of residents in Japan’s local community. They are composed of those who moved to the area before the WWII. In Osaka City, 10 to 15 “chonai-kai” will form a larger unit called “allied chonai-kai”, the unit also of the residents who will come to the same public elementary school. The head of “allied chonai-kai” will be chosen from those who have been there before the WWII. They will also play leading roles like advisors for the PTA of public schools and social welfare coordination board of the area. In short, they work as key persons of the local community and in fact maintain/manage local organizations (Tani, 1992). An officer of a chonai-kai told me, “In Ikuno, one family should have been here for more than 100 years to be chosen as a head of chonai-kai”. In fact, there are 19 allied chonai-kai in Ikuno but there is no Korean leader. There are very few among the leaders who came to Ikuno after the WWII. This shows the exclusiveness of the local culture: those who have settled in Ikuno for generations have formed the very exclusive local organizations based on the homogeneity of its members. One can easily assume that there is an unique subculture in the local Japanese community.

From above facts, we understand that the groups of Korean and Japanese residents maintain each ethnic subculture that has exclusive nature and strong ties among its members. It has not been rare that Korean and Japanese maintained personal and friendly relationship in schools or workplaces (Tani 2002b). However, there have been no collaborative relationships “as groups” and each of the subculture have maintained their own norm and values, exclusive of “others”.

3. Cooperative Activities of Koreans and Japanese Residents

(1) Community-based Welfare Actions

Since August 2004, people of Ikuon have embarked upon pilot actions for community-based welfare system. This is called “Ikuno Community-based Welfare
Action Plan”, where the Ikuno Ward Social Welfare Coordination Board and Ikuno Ward Office facilitate the activities. This involves both Korean and Japanese residents of various backgrounds. According to the Action Plan, local residents should first discuss on various welfare issues that they have now, then seek ways for the solution, and practice it. To make each issue clear, participants will join sub-groups according to their interests: “senior citizens”, “children”, “handicapped people”, “women” and “Korean and other foreign residents (hereinafter called “foreign residents”)"). Each sub group will hold monthly meetings, and representatives of sub groups should hold bimonthly meetings to evaluate their past activities and discuss on future plans.

Let me elaborate on the sub groups by giving the example of the discussions at the “foreign residents” group where I join as a visiting researcher. Members of the sub group include representatives of volunteer groups and NPOs, civil employees, chonai-kai officers, and representatives of Ikuno branches of both Soren and Mindan (political organizations of South and North Korea). This is the very first attempt where representatives of Soren and Mindan will jointly involve in the action plan making process of a community-based welfare. The group has discussed specific issues of Korean residents: two-income families, aged people living alone, exclusion of Korean residents from the board of officers of chonai-kai, and aged Koreans left out of reach of information about community life. In the future, they will gather ideas and opinions to solve such issues in cooperation with members of other sub groups.

In Ikuno, there has been various social welfare plans and activities initiated by active citizens as well as by administrators. However, they have been done separately. The social welfare coordination board, officers of chonai-kai and social welfare counselors of the community mainly initiated the social welfare activities of the official channel. Before, they had no coordination with private sector like workplaces of handicapped people and volunteer groups. Also, since there was no Korean resident in the official board of chonai-kai, it was difficult for the chonai-kai people to understand the living environment and issues of Koreans (Nikaido, 2004). The Acton Plan was significant and epoch-making as the plan of community-based welfare system in the sense of (1) ward office, chonai-kai leaders and NPO representatives got together to discuss for the first time; and (2) Korean residents joined such “official” decision making process.

I believe that the above action plan can be appreciated as a chance for both Japanese and Korean residents to get together as groups. The “success” of this plan - whether the plans will be effectively practiced for the construction of new social system - will depend on how both Japanese and Koreans will recognize and strongly wish to solve the problems that they have now. To verify these points, I have interviewed Japanese chonai-kai leaders as well as representatives of Soren and Mindan, to analyze if the action plan is relevant in real sense, and if they are ready for the change.
(2) Issues on the Side of Koreans

Soren was established in May 1955 and they are supposed to collaborate with the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Its headquarters is in Tokyo, and all 47 prefectures of Japan have the regional branches of Soren, some of which have its sub branches. In Osaka Prefecture, there are 25 sub branches of Soren and 4 are within Ikuno Ward. Their activities are focused on the unification of their home land, negotiation for the after-war compensation with Japanese government, and ethnic education for the children of Korean background. Soren has closely 120 ethnic schools all over Japan.

On the other hand, Mindan was established in September 1948 to support the government of the Republic of Korea. Like Soren, they have the headquarters in Tokyo, then branches in all prefectures in Japan. In Osaka Prefecture, there are 36 Mindan branches and 4 are in Ikuno Ward. Their activities include political actions for the voting rights of foreign nationals in regional elections, support to ethnic banks and promotion of ethnic education.

The making of the Action Plan in Ikuno Ward, representatives from the 4 sub branches of both Soren and Mindan, and a representative from the elementary school of Soren joined the discussion for the Action Plan. I have interviewed 2 Korean participants of the “foreign residents” sub group for the Action Plan, Vice President of the Soren Ikuno South Sub Branch and President of Mindan Ikuno East Sub Branch. I interviewed the former on 18 March 2005 and the latter on 16 May 2005 at their respective offices.

Soren Ikuno South Sub Branch has 13 officers, 2 regular staff and nearly 300 member households. On the other hand, Mindan Ikuno East Sub Branch has 45 officers, 4 regular staff and 1650 member households (as of the interview). Although different in political ideologies and focus of activities, both of them had some up-to-date issues in common.

First of all, there have been quite various problems that Korean residents have voiced out to the branch offices of Soren and Mindan. Examples are judicial problems concerning intermarriages and divorces; financial troubles entailed from inheritance; troubles of traffic accidents; caring for the aged people; requests for interpreters for newcomer Koreans going to ward offices. There are cases of newcomer Koreans who visited a number of windows in ward office for help, and finally reached Soren or Mindan. However, their “problems” involve various and complicated ones, and such people in charge of trouble-shooting needs much information and knowledge about laws of both Japan and Korea, and coordination with multiple government offices. As a result, their workload is beyond the capacity of each branch office. To attend to both the routine office work and trouble-shooting of Korean nationals, the Soren offices have jointly established the “Consultation Center for Fellow Koreans” for the past several years, but
they cannot respond to the problems of everyone. Because of this, representatives of Soren and Mindan requires, as part of the Action Plan, to open a special window of consultation for residents at the ward office. They propose to start a system at the ward office in coordination with Soren and Mindan, for foreign residents with problems to approach the office and seek solution for them or proper referrals to related offices or government institutions.

The second problem is that young generations of Koreans are able to survive even without Soren and Mindan, therefore they find it difficult to maintain their organization. In the past, Soren and Mindan branches put much emphasis on the issues assigned to them by the national headquarter as well as to reinforce ties with their mother country. Additional to these are the anti-discrimination actions that sprang in the 1980’s – refusal to the fingerprinting on the alien registration cards; anti-discrimination actions for their employment; and actions to let foreign nationals to live in public apartments. These ended successful and their social rights have become more sufficed than before. As a result, less people find it meaningful to maintain their strong ethnic network. Especially, younger generations feel less discriminated than old people, and therefore less number of them has experienced to join anti-discrimination actions. Moreover, due to the large number of Korenas in Ikuno Ward, they have sufficient communication with fellow countrymen even without the organizations like Soren and Mindan.

Confronting such realities, representatives of the ethnic organizations told me, “Even so, we must not end our ethnic organization”. Even if younger people feel less discriminated, there is need to express their collective opinion as Koreans to Japanese-dominant the society. In such occasion, the voice should be louder and therefore they need a place to get together to collect their opinions. The “place” is essential, which should be Soren or Mindan. In order to do this, they should go beyond the “branch” office of the headquarters. While serving their fellow Koreans, they needed to make efforts to “narrow the distance between Korean residents and their ethnic organizations”. Concretely, they held Korean language classes and Japanese chess gathering at Mindan branches, and since last year they hold film showing of Korean movies. They also started to publish a newspaper called “Mindan Dayori (letter from Mindan)”. The changes have been aimed at making Mindan the organization “for its members”. The “Consultation Center for Fellow Koreans” of Soren is the similar effort.

In line with such efforts, Korean organizations are now aware of the significance to contribute to the local community. This is based on their belief that in order to support the life of Koreans, they need to support the local community where they live in. A branch leader of Mindan has been involved involuntary activities since he was in the late 40’s when he got sick and he developed his interest in the local community. In the process, he became aware that the revitalization of the local community is the key to revitalize their fellow countrymen.

Symbolic to the solidarity of Koreans with its local Japanese community is the
“Consultation Center for Fellow Koreans” of Soren. It is wide open to everyone, to Soren members, Mindan members, Koreans and Japanese in general. In the same manner, various cultural classes and film showing of Mindan is open to Japanese people too. Rooms at Mindan branches are open too to voluntary groups of the local community: even a group of Japanese-only members can use the room for free. Also, through the annual “Ikuno Festival” in October (organized by the Ikuno Community-based Groups Foundation) as well as other community events, they wish to maintain communication with administrative people, officers of chonai-kai and other community-based groups, to keep their awareness in common and the feeling of trust to one another.

So far, Soren and Mindan were the organizations beyond the reach of Japanese neighbors and even of ordinary Korean residents. However, when they sought to construct a new and close relationship with their local community organization and people, they happened to be invited to join the decision-making process of the Action Plan. Officers of Soren and Mindan understand that their joining the Action Plan will give them chances for them to publicly address their opinion and issues of Koreans. Also, they are now making collaborative relationship with other community-based organizations, to gain the important chance to change the local society together. Another merit on the side of Koreans will be that Soren and Mindan are now able to work as strong bridges between the Ward Office and the needy Korean senior citizens. At this point, the ethnic organizations will be strong helpers to the local government office: in the past, many Korean seniors lived only within the ethnic community due to the language barrier and their distrust to the Japanese local government.

(3) Problems of the Japanese Community

As mentioned above, there are 19 allied chonai-kais in Ikuno. One of them is Miyukimori Allied Chonai-kai that is composed of 9 chonai-kais, with 1,912 households and 5,135 people (as of January 2005). Miyukimori is known for its large number of Korean neighbors and as the home of “Korean Town” of Ikuno. Around 70 to 80% of the pupils of Miyukimori Elementary School are with Korean background. A member of the “foreign residents” sub-group of the Action Plan is a representative from the Miyukimori Community Network Committee, and through her I was able to interview the president of the Miyukimori Allied Chonai-kai. The interview was conducted on 18 August 2005 at the Miyukimori Hall, which took about 3 hours and a half.

The Miyukimori Allied Chonai-kai is a part of the Miyukimori Coalition for Social Welfare. The same president governs the two organizations, and it shows that the activities of Miyukimori Allied Chonai-kai are at the same time those of Miyukimori Social Welfare Coordination Board. Their activities include the lunch service to senior citizens of over 70 years old; teatime gathering; cultural classes for the interaction of community residents; cherry blossom viewing; and Christmas party. More than 100 people are registered as volunteer staff in charge of the monthly lunch service and teatime
gathering. They are based at the Miyukimori Hall, the 3-storey building established 5 years ago. It cost JPY90M: 40M from Osaka City Government and 50M from donations by community residents. The copper plate at the entrance shows the names of individual and corporate donors, many of which are Koreans. Community residents regard the hall of themselves: group activities like cultural classes and chorus group have been more vitalized since the opening of the new hall.

They have networks outside chonai-kai, an example of which is the participation in the “Ikuno Ward Committee for the Future”. It is composed of the presidents of allied chonai-kais of Ikuno Ward and aimed to draw up the future vision of Ikuno and work together in their community activities to realize the vision. It is similar to the Action Plan I have mentioned above. The Committee started in September 2004 and they discuss in 4 sub-groups; “living environment”, “security”, “vitalization of community” and “people’s well-being”. Different from the Action Plan is that the Committee has no sub-group to discuss specifically on the issues of Koreans. The leader say that in the future they will pursue the community-based social welfare in collaboration with the organizations involved in the Action Plan.

The Miyukimori Allied Chonai-kai has a number of volunteer members involved in their activities and they are committed also to the community plan of Ikuno Ward. What are the issues of their community and chonai-kai that they should tackle now?

First of all, the community leader pointed out that they feel the decreasing population and weakening of the ties of community residents, in short, shadowing of the local community. There are more people like senior citizens who need support from the society. Also, due to the continued economic recession, many of the small-scale business establishments in Ikuno wish to expand their factories. However, there is a lack of land because Ikuno as the area of transition is concentrated already of residential houses and factories. As a result, a number of factories and business establishments were not able to expand their business premises and therefore had to close their offices. These entailed the decrease of population and thus local people need to work by themselves to support the local community.

The second problem raised by the community leader is the lack of active members of their community-based activities. In their community where many are Koreans, they found it essential to work hand-in-hand with Korean people, but so far they had few chances to communicate with their counterparts.

In the past, all allied chonai-kai officers have been Japanese nationals only. Miyukimori is not exceptional: the allied chonai-kai leader and 9 chonai-kai leaders are all Japanese. There are only 2 Korean officers in one chonai-kai, one as vice-leader and one as in charge of the rescue in the times of natural calamity. To promote more Koreans to join chonai-kai, there should be more Korean officers in the organization. Today, chonai-kai officers are no longer “honorable” job and in fact many of them are quite busy handling various community-based activities. Who is suitable to be officers are
whoever to wish to serve for the community. The current president of the allied chonai-kai has long been a business owner in Miyukimori, who feels strong commitment to the local community and wishes to serve for it. He says, “I wish more and more responsible Koreans will become chonai-kai officers”. His wish is even stronger because in recent years, Koreans have been chosen as the PTA president of Miyukimori Elementary School for 3 consecutive years. This “accomplishment” may made Japanese leaders realize that Koreans should be given chances for local leaders too. He expects that probably there are Korean nationals who wish to actively be involved in chonai-kai, but cannot see chances to become officers.

He gives appreciation to the Action Plan as it has a specific sub-group to discuss the issues of Koreans. However, he does not believe the Plan will solve all the problems and issues of allied chonai-kais. He likes to increase Korean officers in chonai-kai, not in the manner of “top-down” like the local government-led Action Plan but more grass-rooted ways in their community. Probably, his belief is based on the long-time community-based volunteer activities as well as the hopes for the “Ikuno Ward Committee for the Future”. In other words, he likes to pursue the community-based social welfare while maintaining the chonai-kai organization as its core, instead of making a new network through the Action Plan.

4. The Action Plan and Inter-ethnic Relationship

Above are from the interview of the key actors of the two ethnic sub-cultures in Ikuno, Korean ethnic organizations and Japanese chonai-kai, on their views to their current issues and the Action Plan. We see here that Soren and Mindan are having problems in the varied living issues of their fellow countrymen, less people actively involved in their ethnic organizations and weaker ties among its members, while they wish to establish solidarity with local people by joining the Action Plan. On the other hand, chonai-kai people have found it problematic that their local community is losing vitality due to the aging of society and the closure of middle-scale and small-scale business establishments. They wish to work hand-in-hand with Korean residents to maintain their chonai-kai activities, and they are ready to appoint Korean officers. However, they lack in friendly relationship with Korean counterparts. Japanese officers wish to maintain their existing community-based activities while they do not regard the Action Plan a striking measure to solve the current problems.

As mentioned above, Korean ethnic organizations and Japanese-centered chonai-kais have different views and evaluations to the significance of joining the Action Plan. Not every participant of the Action Plan has the same expectation to the Plan. If so, is it meaningless to continue discussions for the Action Plan? I believe that it is still meaningful due to the following reasons.

First, both Koreans and Japanese aim to “revitalize the local community” and they
find it meaningful to work hand-in-hand to realize what they think desirable. The goal is the same, but their approaches are different: Soren and Mindan prefer to establish a new network, while Japanese chonai-kai people like to involve more ethnic people in the existing chonai-kai activities. For the revitalization of local community, it will not be impossible to pursue the two at the same time or one by one. The Action Plan should include the construction of such system to realize the goal by several approaches.

Second, the making of the Action Plan is not the only fruit. Rather, the process of discussion will be meaningful for the collaborative inter-ethnic relationship. Japanese and Korean people for a long time have shared the same “space”, but they had very few chances to get together around the same table and discuss on the specific issue. Now, they get together at least once a month at the meeting room of the city hall and continue discussions to find solution for their current issues. In the “foreign residents” sub group, the participants exchange information on events of each organization, trying to find occasions to visit activities and events of other organizations. The meeting itself generates additional occasions of interactions of people with different ethnic background. In the sense that the meeting has been the chances of direct contact between Japanese and Koreans, through the discussions both of them shared the common awareness towards the local community, the Action Plan involving the representatives of different local organization is quite meaningful.

The Action Plan as a place of meeting with Koreans will be also beneficial to the allied chonai-kai. They now have chances to meet Korean friends who are willing to seriously be involved in the issues and the revitalization of their local community. While they continue interaction with others and sharing the same local identity as residents of Ikuno, they will approach the shard goal: chonai-kai activities supported by the people of various ethnic background.

Does the Action Plan promote the unity of the two ethnic subcultures? Let us continue to watch the future developments.

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University).


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Attitudes toward Different Cultures
in Japan, Germany, and United Kingdom:
From the Perspective of Terror Management Theory

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Key words: receptive attitudes toward different cultures, terror management theory, negative view of death.

1. Introduction

In recent years, as internationalization marches on, there are more opportunities to acquaint ourselves with foreigners and different cultures while in our own countries. On the other hand, serious cross-cultural conflicts have arisen in many parts of the world. It is often said that these conflicts arise due to socioeconomic issues such as unemployment, increase in crime, and so on. However, these are not the only factors that may hinder the acceptance of different cultures. The terror management theory (TMT) (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991; Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997), states that there is also a psychological factor, which is to protect the individual from the fear of death that is the ontological terror. This study investigates the relationship between the ontological terror and attitudes toward different cultures within the framework of TMT.

Most studies conducted on cross-cultural conflicts have addressed the attitudes of immigrants, namely the adaptation of immigrants for predominant cultures. By contrast, this study focuses on the acceptance of different cultures coming from outside the host country. We define receptive attitudes toward different cultures (RADC) as being positive and favorable attitudes toward different cultures and foreigners.
2. Terror management theory

According to TMT, human beings have survival instincts similar to other animals but due to our highly developed cognitive function we are aware of our mortality and vulnerability. Hence, the theory contends that humans have to deal with an inherent fear of death, namely an ontological terror.

We cannot stand being aware of such an ontological terror all the time. People therefore repress this terror beyond their consciousness by maintaining self-esteem and a certain cultural worldview. A cultural worldview is a view of people and world that is characteristic of one’s own culture. It gives our life significance and offers us literal immortality through spiritual concepts such as an immortal soul, afterlife, and transmigration. A cultural worldview also creates symbolic immortality in the sense that an individual lives as a member of a society that has existed for a very long time and that will continue into the distant future. A cultural worldview also gives us standards and values for evaluating who is a worthy person in a society. Self-esteem consists of the belief that we ourselves meet these standards. By relying on the culture beyond the individual, we protect ourselves from the ontological terror. This psychological function is called the cultural death-anxiety buffer system. If this buffer system is damaged or incomplete, we have to enforce our cultural worldview and/or to enhance self-esteem.

According to TMT, the ontological terror increases the need to defend one’s own culture and hence restricts the acceptance of different cultures, because they are perceived as threatening permanence of one’s own culture. In fact, previous studies showed that a manifestation of ontological terror (mortality salience) promoted positive attitudes toward one’s own culture and negative attitudes toward different cultures(e.g. Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Rosenblatt, Veeder, Kirkland, & Lyon, 1990⁵; McGregor, Lieberman, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, Simon, & Pyszczynski, 1998⁶; Mukai, 2000⁶, 2002⁷). We reasoned that people who have negative views of death (NVD) might be in a condition in which the death-anxiety buffer is incomplete. Thus, it was hypothesized that individuals with highly negative views of death would assume less receptive attitudes toward different cultures (RADC). However, we also reasoned that this would vary according to the degrees of internationalization within environments.

3. Highly internationalized environments

Highly internationalized environments are defined as areas where there are many foreigners, immigrants, or visitors, and many opportunities for cross-cultural contact such as multinational states or metropolises, etc. In such highly internationalized environments, people tend to consider that receptive attitudes toward different cultures are desirable for a peaceful life. According to TMT, people are likely to enhance their self-
esteem by adopting desirable attitudes and then to reinforce the cultural death-anxiety buffer. Thus, there are some factors that indicate that in highly internationalized environments a strong ontological terror will promote not only the exclusion of different cultures for the protection of one’s own cultural worldview, but will also promote receptive attitudes toward different cultures for the enhancement of self-esteem. If this occurred, I think the relationship between negative views of death and receptive attitudes toward different cultures is weakened because these two conflicting motives cancel out each other.

In this study, we compared Japan with Germany and the United Kingdom. The foreign population was 1.0% in Japan (in 2000, Statistics Bureau, 2004⁸), 8.9% in Germany (in the 2003, Statistical Offices of the Länder and the Federal Statistical Office, 2005⁹), and 7.6% in the UK (in the 2001, National Statistics, 2004¹⁰). Clearly, these two European countries are more densely populated by foreigners or ethnic minorities, relative to Japan. Moreover, in our view these European countries are more advanced than Japan with respect to multiculturalism in education (e.g. Amano, 1997¹¹; Sakuma, 1998¹²; Kimura, 2000¹³). Accordingly, we hypothesized that the negative relationship between NVD and RADC would be weaker in Germany and the UK than in Japan, because in these European countries highly NVD do not lead to a decrease in RADC.

4. Hypothetical model

Our hypothetical model predicts that negative views of death decrease the receptive attitudes toward different cultures, but that this relationship is weaker in Germany and in the UK than in Japan. Figure 1 graphically illustrates our hypothetical model.

![Figure 1: Hypothetical model](image-url)
5. Method

(1) Procedure and participants

Japan: The survey was conducted in March 2003 with a stratified two-stage random sampling procedure. The questionnaires were sent by mail to residents in the Kansai area, whose age ranged from twenty to eighty-five. Data from 350 respondents (151 males and 199 females) were submitted to the analyses. The average age of the respondents was 41.32 (SD=11.36). Please note that we decided to limit data for analyses to those of respondents between twenty and fifty-nine (for all the three countries) because there was a large age distribution imbalance among the three countries.

Germany: The interview survey was conducted between January and March, 2004. Data were collected on a voluntary basis from residents mainly in the northern regions of the country. The age of respondents ranged from fifteen to seventy-nine. Data from 226 respondents ranging from twenty to fifty-nine (96 males and 130 females) were submitted to the analyses. The average age was 38.79 (SD=12.06).

UK: The interview survey was conducted in April, 2004 by computers with a stratified two-stage random sampling procedure. The age of respondents ranged from twenty to seventy-nine. The data from 259 respondents between twenty and fifty-nine (120 males and 139 females) were submitted to the analyses. The average age was 38.17 (SD=11.01).

(2) Measures

Negative view of death (NVD): The Death Attitude Scale, developed by Watabe and Kaneko (2004) was used for measuring negative views of death. This scale included 27 items representing attitudes toward one’s own death (e.g., “When I think about my own death, I become terribly frightened”, “Death means that I will be gone forever” etc.). Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they would agree or disagree with each of the items on a 6-point scale. As some of the items proved to be inappropriate for use in a preliminary analysis, only the responses to 18 items were analyzed in the present study.

Receptive attitudes toward different cultures (RADC): For measuring RADC, we constructed a new scale consisting of 18 items. These items were originally taken from the scales by Adorno (1950), Karasawa(1994), and Yamazaki, Taira, Nakamura, and Yokoyama (1997), and modified and adapted for use in the present study (e.g., “I want to make many friends with people from different countries”, “We Japanese (German, British) have a lot to learn from foreign countries.”, etc.). Participants indicated the extent to which they would agree or disagree with each of the items on a 5-point scale. Since the preliminary analysis revealed that some items were inappropriate, only the responses to 14 items were analyzed in the present study.

Participants in all three countries completed the RADC scale first and then the NVD
scale.

6. Results

(1) Factor analysis

We first conducted a principal factor analysis using promax rotation separately for each scale within each country. The results showed that the basic pattern of factor loading was quite similar across the countries for both of the scales, so we collapsed the data across all three countries.

The factor analysis of NVD revealed four factors according to the conventional criterion of eigenvalue, each representing “pain and fear (PF)” , “escape and unknown (EU)” , “extinction and nihilism (EN)” , and “pure and happy afterlife (PHA)” (see Table 1). The 4 items were eliminated, because their communalities were low or they didn’t load high on any factors. The items that loaded high on each of the factors were used to construct a sub-scale for each aspect of the attitudes toward death. We calculated Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for each sub-scale and found acceptable reliability: PF $\alpha = .86$, EU $\alpha = .77$, EN $\alpha = .74$, and PHA $\alpha = .79$. The score of each sub-scale was calculated by averaging the relevant item scores.

The factor analysis of RADC revealed that this scale consisted of only one factor, according to the conventional criterion of eigenvalue (see Table 2). Since all the items loaded high on the factor, we constructed a single scale using all items. We calculated Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for the scale and found acceptable reliability ( $\alpha = .90$. The scale score was calculated by averaging the scores of relevant items.
Table 1: Factor analysis of the NVD scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Communality</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: Pain and Fear (α = .86)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I think about my own death, I become terribly frightened.</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>1.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My own death is my greatest fear.</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>1.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I think about my own death, I feel I can't breathe.</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II: Escape and Unknown (α = .77)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is difficult for me to think about my own death.</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>1.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I rarely think seriously about my death.</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t understand much about my own death.</td>
<td>-.08</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is no point in thinking about my own death.</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III: Extinction and Nihilism (α = .74)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I die, my existence will fade away with the passage of time.</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death means that I will be gone forever.</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>1.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My death will not make a difference to the world.</td>
<td>-.24</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I die, nothing will change even a little.</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>1.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In death, I will lose everything.</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>-.20</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>1.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV: Pure and Happy Afterlife (α = .79)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I die I will go to a better place.</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I die, I will be reborn into a better life.</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>1.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-factor correlations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 2: Factor analysis of the RADC scale

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>Communality</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Despite cultural differences and customs I will always aim for a greater mutual understanding.</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have a lot to learn from other countries.</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>3.55</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association with people from other cultures broadens our horizons.</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We should respect all cultures as well as our own.</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to make friends with people from different countries.</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is good for Japan (Germany, the UK) to actively introduce different cultures.</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to form a closer relationship with people of different races.</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To keep order in our society, the area foreigners live in should be restricted.</td>
<td>-.79</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to know more about other cultures.</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Japan (Germany, UK) Government should restrict the type of work available for foreigners.</td>
<td>-.69</td>
<td>.48</td>
<td>2.41</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreigners should not have the same rights as Japanese (German, British) Citizens, however long they may reside in Japan (Germany, the UK).</td>
<td>-.67</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t think it is better for Japanese (German, British) companies to have foreigners in management positions.</td>
<td>-.64</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If overseas assistance doesn’t bring profit to Japan (Germany, the UK) then we shouldn’t do it.</td>
<td>-.64</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We must welcome foreigners in all situations.</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(2) Comparison of means

Mean scores of RADC and each sub-scale of NVD were calculated for each of the three countries and analyzed in a one-way ANOVA. The main effects was significant on all scores ($F$s(2,775~804)>20, $p<.001$), so we performed multiple comparison tests using the Tukey’s HSD test. The mean score of RADC significantly differed across the countries(Japan; $M=3.67$, $SD=0.54$, Germany; $M=4.21$, $SD=0.66$, UK; $M=2.42$, $SD=0.94$, $p<.001$). The score was highest in Germany, next in Japan, and lowest in the UK. The mean score of PF scales was highest in the UK ($M=4.49$, $SD=1.16$), next in Japan ($M=3.56$, $SD=1.27$), and lowest in Germany ($M=2.52$, $SD=1.18$) ($p<.001$). The mean scores of EU and EN scales were highest in Japan ($M=4.20$, $SD=0.97$, $M=4.09$, $SD=1.00$), next in Germany ($M=3.86$, $SD=1.17$, $M=3.78$, $SD=1.03$), and lowest in the UK ($M=3.14$, $SD=1.01$, $M=3.18$, $SD=0.93$) ($p<.001$). The score of PHA scale was lower in Japan ($M=2.97$, $SD=1.20$) than in the UK ($M=3.73$, $SD=1.22$) ($p<.001$). The score of PHA scale was lower in Germany ($M=2.99$, $SD=1.54$) than in the UK ($p<.001$). As a whole, the scores of negative views of death were relatively high in Japan and those of PHA and PF were high in the UK. However, simply comparing means across cultures like this seems to be the “imposed etic” approach that Berry (1989)18 mentioned, and hence it is difficult to draw a decisive conclusion from these comparisons. Therefore, we examined our hypothetical model by comparing the relationship between NVD and RADC between the countries.

(3) Hypothetical model

The hypothetical model, illustrated in Figure 1, was tested using the two variables mentioned above, NVD and RADC, in a synchronous path analysis with multi populations. Figure 2 shows the results. On the whole, this model represents a good fit to the present data ($GFI=.96$, $AGFI=.91$, $RMSEA=.06$). Both of the latent variables showed significant loading ($p<.05$) of the observed variables, and the path between NVD and RADC was also significant ($p<.05$) but only in Germany and the UK. Thus our hypothesis that negative views of death decreased the receptive attitudes toward different cultures was supported in Germany and the UK but not supported in Japan.

Further analyses revealed that the negative relationship between NVD and RADC was stronger in Germany and the UK than in Japan (between Japan and Germany; $z=2.25$, $p<.01$, between Japan and the UK; $z=2.29$, $p<.01$). There was no difference between the former two. This pattern of results was completely opposite to our prediction that the negative relationship between NVD and RADC would be weaker in Germany and the UK than in Japan.
7. Discussion

In this study, we predicted from the perspective of TMT that negative views of death decrease receptive attitudes toward different cultures because of its potentiality for rising ontological terror to the surface. But results suggest that this relation is not universal, and that it is subject to the internationalized level of environments. First, we considered that highly internationalized environments create standards that promote the acceptance of different cultures, weakening the negative relationship between negative views of death and receptive attitudes toward different cultures. However, contrary to our predictions, the results suggest that in highly internationalized environments, negative views of death are more likely to reduce receptive attitudes toward different cultures. From this one may argue that highly internationalized environments do not necessarily promote the acceptance of different cultures. Rather, it appears that in such circumstances people often experience actual cross-cultural conflict, and consequently, feel that their daily life is threatened by the influx of foreigners and different cultures. In other words, because people regard different cultures as a real threat to their own culture, the negative
relationship between negative views of death and receptive attitudes toward different cultures becomes conspicuous in internationalized countries. According to Tamura (1993)\textsuperscript{19}, a newspaper ("Die Zeit") survey in the late 1980s showed that almost half of Germans blamed foreigners for rising unemployment. He also pointed out that stereotypes of foreigners led to opinions that increasing foreigners equals more crimes. After the reunification of Germany, attacks on foreigners increased, notably in 1992 on refugees at Rostock that horribly spread throughout Germany (Tamura, 1993; Yamamoto, 1993\textsuperscript{20}). The United Kingdom has also had many problems with the segregation of ethnic minorities. According to Sakuma (1998), the law protects them from segregations, but they are nonetheless often harassed in their daily lives. He cites cases where such daily discrimination led to riots. In Japan so far, no such big cultural conflict as riots has occurred. Therefore, in Germany and the United Kingdom, different cultures more intensely threaten their own cultures, more clearly conflict with their own cultures, and a negative relationship between attitudes toward different cultures and negative views of death increased.

On the other hand, Japan mainly produced emigrants during the recent period of high economic growth, severely limiting the number of immigrants who settle in Japan (Isoya, 1996\textsuperscript{21}). Only since the 1990s have problems surrounding such "guest workers" drawn attention (Sikibu, 1996\textsuperscript{22}). Of course, permanent residents and inhabitants will continue to increase, and coexistent will be one of the most important subjects in the future. However, now the Japanese people may feel that they should accept different cultures, but they have only had limited cross-cultural experiences; in reality, they are not very interested in cultural exchanges. Since Japanese feel little threat from foreigners in daily life, a negative relationship between negative views of death and receptive attitudes toward different cultures did not appear in the Japanese sample.

Incidentally, at first glance, this study’s results seem to suggest that education that teaches respect for multiculturalism cannot promote the acceptance of different cultures and cannot urge cultural coexistence. Such a conclusion was hasty since most participants in Germany and the United Kingdom are not of the generation who received such education that prevailed in broth countries in recent years. We hope to clarify the effects of education by researching the younger generations who, in the future, will shoulder the burden of society. At least, to realize friendly cultural coexistence, it is surely inadequate only to pass laws. Since negative views of death hinder receptive attitudes toward different cultures, we may have to reconsider thoughts of death to encourage the acceptance of different cultures. If people don’t fear death blindly, if they don’t avoid it, they may be able to develop positive attitudes toward death; then it will not be necessary to repress ontological terror by keeping out different cultures.

Finally, one should mention two problems about the scale of receptive attitudes toward different cultures used in the present study. First, this scale cannot distinguish people who genuinely feel an interest in cross-cultural exchange and accept different
cultures and foreigners from those who don’t feel such interest but outwardly show receptive attitudes toward them. Studies must also measure the strength of individual interest and predict actual behavior toward different cultures. Second, this scale measured attitudes toward different cultures and foreigners at large, and so it is unclear what particular foreigner or culture the participants imaged when answering. However, maybe their answers were greatly dependent on the country, ethnic background, or race that participants imaged. For example, Azuma & Yoneyama (1967)\textsuperscript{23} and Nakamura (1999)\textsuperscript{24} showed that Japanese generally were positive and receptive toward Western European whites, and on the other hand, they took negative attitudes toward Blacks and Koreans. Thus, different targets may well lead to different responses. Consequently, we must consider not only general attitudes toward other cultures but also differences in attitudes toward individual countries or cultures.

\textsuperscript{1}This research was conducted as a part of COE project of Urban-Culture Research Center in Graduate School of Literature and Human Science, Osaka City University.
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How Wadaiko is Being Accepted in USA

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Introduction

A number of wadaiko (Japanese drum) groups have been organized in USA since wadaiko drumming had been developed as Japanese-American music at end of the 1960’s. In the early 1970’s, there were only three wadaiko groups namely, which are “San Francisco Taiko Dojo” in San Francisco, “San Jose Taiko” in San Jose and “Kinnara Taiko” in Los Angeles. However, at present, there are more than 150 groups including groups in Canada. Wadaiko has been played by not only by Japanese-Americans but also by people living in America, who have various cultural and ethnic backgrounds. It was in 1968 that the first wadaiko group, “San Francisco Taiko Dojo”, was organized in America. Its organization was attributed to Seiichi Tanaka. He noticed that wadaiko was not used in Japanese-American community festivals; hence, he decided to organize his own wadaiko group. At the same time, “Kinnara Taiko (1969)” and “San Jose Taiko (1973)” started their activities at Buddhist temple. Most of Buddhist Temples belonged to Jodoshinshu, a group of early Japanese immigrants. Some Buddhist temples had Japanese language schools and had they had calligraphy and tea ceremony as cultural activities. It was a communal institution where Japanese-immigrants could have an opportunity to communicate with each other. Most of such the early wadaiko group members were young Sansei. For these young people whose parents had been sent to the internee camp during the Second World War, producing the sound while playing wadaiko in Happi(Short kimono)and Hachimaki(Japanese Headband) was not only a musical activity but a positive means of expressing their pride as Japanese-Americans. In addition, dynamic performance of wadaiko was one of the ways that made it possible to connect the distressful experience that their ancestors had in the past with the present. This was a way to awaken and enhance their cultural and ethnic identity.

However, at present, members of wadaiko group are not only Japanese Americans. After the 1980’s, the number of wadaiko groups had increased and the purpose of their activities and manner of performance had diversified. They call these groups, “Taiko communities” —venue where members not only share knowledge of their own cultural
history but a place for them to exchange general information and develop relationships. This makes it different from the wadaiko groups in Japan.

In this paper, I discuss how Taiko communities had been developed and maintained and how present performers accept wadaiko and develop the manner of performance. I include the social backgrounds, musical situation and the place that sustains the performance activities of wadaiko.

After 1960’s, ethnomusicologists regarded music in its social and cultural contexts. As a pioneer research, Merriam suggests that the important theme should not only be the music “itself” as sound but should include “behavior” (the musical and nonmusical acts of musicians) and “concept” (involves what people think about music in the broadest terms). This implies that the sound of music is impossible to be understood singly if music is regarded as human’s action. It must be researched as the sound of culture.

Since the 1980’s, with the above situation as a premise, the categories such as race, gender, physic and emotion that are related to music have been regarded as problems. From the point of view that identity is something constructed in the place where various styles of expression are intersecting, the body of performance has been also observed. In this regard, wadaiko drumming, which has been developed as music in order that Japanese-Americans can express themselves, can not be unrelated to the present society and the situation surrounding human. Music is one of the factors that comprise the present society and it has an aspect which forms identity such as ethnicity, classes and gender. At the same time, identity changes and is socially constructed. Therefore, in this paper, based on such standpoint, I discuss the process how wadaiko in USA had been accepted in relation to the construction of personal identity, the formation of wadaiko groups and the social background at the time, the situation of wadaiko performance in Japan and the consciousness of current wadaiko performers.

The form of wadaiko music

It was after World War II that wadaiko came to be played in Japan by more than one person as a creative music which is combined with various kinds of wadaiko such as small and big ones like a drum set. It is different from the form which was used in agricultural rituals and festivals since long ago. The form which is called “Kumidaiko” was first examined when Daihachi Oguchi, who organized a jazz band in Okaya-City, Nagano in 1951, was asked to perform a sheet of music that was found near Suwa Shrine. Through the work of the renovation, Oguchi got fascinated with wadaiko more and more and then he organized “Osuwadaiko Hozonkai (Conservation Community of Osuwadaiko)” and he made up opuses for kumidaiko. He thought that they could learn reciprocal help and solidarity by playing kumidaiko. “Odaiko (a big Japanese drum) is to bass drum what shimedaiko (a rope-tensioned Japanese drum) is to snare drum. I
brought sense of jazz drumming into the traditional sense of wadaiko which is played in order to dedicate to Suwa Shrine.” Oguchi said. In 1957, he presented a concert for local citizens and after 1959, he was asked to appear on television several times. Moreover, he played wadaiko in national events such as Olympic in Tokyo in 1964 and International Exhibition in Osaka in 1970 and made his style—“Osuwa Daiko”—known to the whole country.

Wadaiko music in America, which puts an important point on performing together with a number of members, is based on kumidaiko, which is creative style of performing. Also, the style of performing the angled taiko on a stand from a side is often seen in USA. This style was devised by “Sukerokudaiko”, the first group that employed kumidaiko in Tokyo. “Sukerokudaiko” is a group which was organized in order to bring down local bondaiko which is a kind of taiko used in the Bon Festival in the local area. Members of the group have composed original musical works based on the technique, which has a peculiar style of playing taiko from a side in the Bon Dance. Seiichi Tanaka—who first tried to play wadaiko in USA—visited “Osuwadaiko” and “Sukerokudaiko”, mastered the technique of playing wadaiko and brought it to USA. Such taiko performance incorporates actions together with sound. The action includes stretching ones arms wide to emphasize the intensity of the sound, jumping around the taiko and raising ones arms high before beginning and ending to beat taiko. Also, players often shout in between the performance of the music. In many cases, they wear costumes such as happi and hachimaki.

Tanaka advocates “spirit (mind training, self-control)”, “technique (music ability and technique, physical expression, rhythm)”, “body (strength, power, stamina)” and “etiquette (communication, decency, respect, harmony, speech)” as essential factors for such performance of wadaiko and he regards these factors as not one existing individually but one forming the whole performance. On the basis of this thought, when practicing, he takes a long time to meditate and calls it “The training of Tanaka style”. Moreover, he stresses the importance of physical exercise such as running and doing push-ups for strength, endurance and power sustenance. He also thinks that shouting is one of important expression to elevate players’ confidence and essential way to communicate with each other during performance. At present, most of the American taiko groups have experienced being trained by Tanaka either directly or indirectly.

Around the same time, “Kinmara Taiko” —a Buddhists taiko group in Los Angeles that the Sansei chief priest of Senshin Buddhist temple established—started their movement. The group made casks of beer and wine into taiko. This technique of making taiko as instrument was followed by many later groups that had difficulty in securing authentic taiko.

The founders of “San Jose Taiko”, PJ. Hirabayashi and Roy Hirabayashi, have participated in the antiwar movement and the ethnic movement since before getting to know wadaiko performance, and they have regarded wadaiko performance as a way to
express ethnic identity that Sansei have tried to get since they organized their group. They have also been taught the technique of making *taiko* by “Kinna Taiko” and how to play *taiko* and preparing for the performance by “San Francisco Taiko Dojo”, and they have created original pieces based on the style of *Kumidaiko* and “Sukerokudaiko”.

**Formation of Wadaiko group and the social background**

American *taiko* groups had been developed from the late 1960’s to the 1970’s when various political movements occurred in USA. It was the time that minority people such as Asian, African and Hispanic Americans started to assert their rights and Japanese-Americans started to group for their identity. It was also the period that the “Asian American Studies Center” was established in UCLA and UCB while the civil rights movement and Vietnam War occurred.

In the field of music, it was also this time that soul music of the African-Americans started to become popular. This is where Rhythm and Blues have been derived. Moreover, while political movements have been going on, rock and reggae music developed as a way to criticize the social confusion. The Latin rock group, ”Santana”, the pride of Hispanic-Americans, and “Earth Wind and Fire”, that pursues return of Africa and Pan-Africanism had been accepted by young people who are mainly students. In addition, salsa, which is Puerto Rico music incorporated with Hispanic and Native-American music, developed in New York.

Jonny Mori, a member of “Kinnara Taiko” admired the music of “Santana” and “the Earth Wind and Fire”. He started the rock band, ”Hiroshima”, that combines electric guitars and saxophones with *wadaiko*. At the time when the youth protested the politics and developed their own style of expression, rock music was also identified as one of the things that had social power.

The kinds of music stated above brought about rapid progress in developing sound equipment and technique, communication, and information media after the 1980’s. With the emergence of music video, musicians’ physical appearance, behavior and manner of dressing were also regarded as means of expression similar to the function of music. It was also after the 1980’s that fusion of styles began to be prominent. For example, African American and European styles manifested in Michel Jackson’s inclusion of “Van Halen” and Madonna’s incorporation of African-American dancers in their performances. During such situation, how did *wadaiko* show its spread after 1980’s?

**Development of Wadaiko groups -the spread of Wadaiko culture-**

The preliminary activities of the pioneering groups popularized *wadaiko*
performances as one of the performing arts boosted by the influence of Japanese professional groups such as the “Ondekoza” and “Kodo” who gave performance tours in America. More and more people showed interest to perform as a means of entertainment and since the 1980’s, new groups including non-Japanese-Americans had been organized. In the same token, in the 1980’s, performers who made a living by playing wadaiko, increased in Japan and wadaiko performance began to be recognized as one of the stage music.

In 1995, the homepage called “Rolling Thunder Taiko Resource” was designed on the internet. This homepage featured a database that included lists and mail addresses of taiko groups and information on the kinds of taiko and how to play them. Furthermore, in 1997, a nonprofit organization, Japanese American Cultural and Community Center (JACCC) sponsored a conference called “North American Taiko Conference”. In the conference, groups gathered together in order to present, transmit and promote Japanese and Japanese-American culture. Moreover, it was to deepen mutual understanding between Japan and America. Although it was easy for most of the wadaiko performers in America to get information on Japanese taiko through videos and internet, contact and communication with Japanese taiko players was limited. Through the Taiko Conference, the Japanese taiko group, “Kodo”, played a role in expanding Taiko communities in North America by giving workshops on playing wadaiko and dance. It was through these workshops that the members of “Kodo” introduced Japanese folk music which was the core of their repertoire.14

The main purpose of the North American Taiko Conference, which takes place every two years since its inception, differs from wadaiko events in Japan which are often primarily geared towards taiko performance. The conference is organized for various events such as workshops, concerts, discussions, communication among the groups, sale of instruments, CD and videotape by Taiko makers and Taiko groups in Japan and America. In these conferences, more than 400 wadaiko performers gather from North America and Hawaii.

The Tendency of performance ~ Sacramento Taiko Dan~

One hundred six groups attended the “Taiko Conference 2003” which was held at the University of California, Sacramento on July 31 – August 3, 2003. More than half of the groups were organized after the middle of the 1980’s. These groups had evolved from their original membership to new ones including university groups. Not all the members were Japanese-Americans. They came from various ethnic backgrounds from Asia, Africa and Europe. The host group of “Taiko Conference 2003”— “Sacramento Taiko Dan” —was the first Japanese taiko group in Sacramento, that was organized by a Japanese-American woman, Tiffany Tamaribuchi in 1989. The members of the group initially
practiced at the Japanese community’s Methodist Church until they got their own practice place in 2002. The priest of the church is not a Japanese-American, but he is one of the members who organized “Sacramento Taiko Dan”. It has now 80 members who are from 5 to 60 years old. Most of the members are women. The concert presented by “Kodo” in 1986 inspired Ms. Tamaribuchi ‘s decision to play taiko. Before this, she had also witnessed the performances of “San Francisco Taiko Dojo” and “San Jose Taiko”. She studied taiko performance under Seiichi Tanaka who lived in San Francisco for a year and a half. Ms. Tamaribuchi looked at wadaiko playing as a chance to learn Japanese culture; hence, she organized her own group—“Sacramento Taiko Dan”— which paved the way for people of Sacramento to play wadaiko. In USA, several groups have leaders taking turns in leading the groups. However, in Ms. Tamaribuchi’s case, she plays the lead role of producing and composing. Examples of her compositions are titled in Japanese which are “Kokorozashi”, ”Sazangaku”, and ”Tanatsubaki”. Her group wears happi and hachimaki as costumes. She tried to take part in the taiko contest held in Japan and co-starred with Japanese professional groups successfully.

There are no special requirements to join “Sacramento Taiko Dan”. However, proper care of the instruments and observance of some social rituals\textsuperscript{15} are observed. The reception that was held at the practice place of “Sacramento Taiko Dan” on the day before the Taiko Conference 2003 was also started by Kagamibiraki, purification by a Shinto priest and other special ritual ceremonies were carried out\textsuperscript{16}. Even Japanese taiko groups never do such ceremonies in any events. Members of “Sacramento Taiko Dan” includes those who are not Japanese-Americans, but it is said that even if members join the group because of their interest in music, they would get used to such ritual ceremonies.

**Motives of Entering the Group and Variety of Performances**

One of the members of “Sacrament Taiko Dan”, Megan Chao Smith, who played in the center of the stage, was born in 1969 and grew up in Boston. Her mother is Chinese. While she learned the piano in the Conservatory and did some concerts, she had an opportunity to borrow a video of wadaiko performance from her friends. After watching the video, she became interested in the stage performance of wadaiko and she joined the group in 1998. With regards to her motives for performing wadaiko, she stated\textsuperscript{17}, “Now, I have a much more different environment than before. I used to like playing concerto, but it has a similar part to taiko because playing taiko is needed to unify every member’s feeling. Of course, I am interested in the stage performance, but I am really interested in Japanese culture fundamentally. It is profound and I can discovery new myself”. Ms.Smith plays taiko as a way to show her respects for her ancestors and also pioneers who developed taiko music in America. In addition, she also wants to improve her skill
of performance and drive for an artistic lifestyle.

Art Lee, who entered “Sacramento Taiko Dan” when he was at the University of California is an African American born in 1975. He mentioned about taiko like this. “I like percussion of many countries such as Janbe of African’s and Samurunori of Korean’s. I used to like listening to them but I did not have a chance to learn them. At first, I got a chance to play taiko, and I got exited to hear the sound. Then I wanted to learn wadaiko. Wadaiko is a kind of percussion, but we need to use not only hands but also feet and the whole body to play it. It is also needed to take in dance. Taiko is beautiful and calm as well as powerful. At first, I wanted to learn it just as a hobby, but after spending a year in “Sacramento Taiko Dan”, I attended the workshop of “Ondekoza”. Then I thought I really wanted to play wadaiko more seriously. When I was in Taikoden, there was no African American except me and there were also few men, but I was open-minded and did not feel alone. Until I started taiko, I had never thought about my ethnicity such that I was an African American. I had focused on beating taiko 100%, so my ethnicity was none of my concern. Taiko players did not ask my ethnicity and we were related by “we”-being taiko players. But, while the number of non-Japanese players was increasing little by little, the people came to talk about it (concerned with our ethnicity). I think we have some various experience, but the most important thing is just to have fun.” Mr. Lee used to be a member of “Sacramento Taiko Dan”, and then he got to be a member of the Japanese taiko group, “Ondekoza”. After that, he organized his own wadaiko group. The members of this group are successfully incorporating different kinds of instruments, such as electronic musical instruments, into their wadaiko performances. They do not wear happi and hachimaki as costumes. They view wadaiko drumming as a new performance while connecting it with their experience and reconstructing it.

Such an attempt is not only done by the members of “Sacrament Taiko Dan”. Bryan Yamami, the director of “Taiko Conference 2003”, and his assistant, Yuta Kato, presented a workshop called “Hip Hop Taiko”. They are also members of the group, “TAIKO PROJECT”, whose members are mainly Japanese-Americans in their twenties. At this workshop, performers wearing T-shirt and short trousers combined the dance and rhythm of HIP HOP and played the set of fixed taiko shaking their shoulders around the taiko. The performers, who have belonged to taiko group since they were little children, tried to blend taiko with story-telling, spoken word and dance. In an interview, Yamami and Kato said: “When playing Hip Hop taiko, the most important thing is that we enjoy ourselves, and all participants exchange their energy with each other. I do not know about Hip Hop as well as taiko, but I take the part of the dance and the rhythm and try to put an important point on matching Hip Hop and taiko. The meaning of doing Hip Hop with taiko?? It is because we grew up with taiko and playing taiko is just natural for us.”

While young performers who are 20’s and 30’s are pursuing creativity of wadaiko
performance, the *taiko* culture that has been formed by the pioneers of *wadaiko* performance has come down to the young performers. Also, in the Taiko Conference 2003, though most of the *wadaiko* performers were not only Japanese and Asian Americans, many performers and audience regarded it as a problem that *wadaiko* is still considered as a Japanese performing art. Therefore, there were discussions on themes such as, “YOU ’re a Taiko Player? Playing a Japanese Drum When You’re Not Japanese (Taiko performance by non-Japanese)” and “We Know Where it Comes From...Now Where is Taiko Going? (How to approach to new Taiko performance)”. In such workshops, there are also the following remarks by non-Japanese American performer.  "I’m not majority in *taiko* world. I wonder my own identity fits in of *taiko* performance…”.

In the above situation, young performers inherit *wadaiko* drumming as American *taiko* performers with a new perspective as “Hip Hop Taiko” and develop it.

**Conclusion**

Though brief, I have discussed how *wadaiko* drumming has been accepted in USA. As Japanese-Americans were searching for their identity from the end of the 1960’s to 1970’s, they made it possible to express it by playing *wadaiko*. This has never been attained by *Bondaiko*, *Karate*, *Judo* and flower arrangement that have been inherited as Japanese-American culture before Taiko performance was formed. The reason why they could express their identity by playing *wadaiko* is not only because *wadaiko* is a Japanese traditional instrument but rather because of the powerful physical action and shout needed in performance. In addition, the fact that performance is done by a group is a major factor. This aspect of performance has fascinated various people—performers and audience—who have been searching for this Japanese-American identity and have created modern styles of *wadaiko* performance that have been assimilated with different kinds of music like Hip Hop, Samba, African rhythm that are thought of as opposite styles to traditional one. *Wadaiko* performance that includes wearing *Happi* and *Hachimaki*, energetic gesture, jaunty rhythm, shout, and percussive sound means not only something connecting current *wadaiko* performers to Japanese-American society and Japan, but also something expressing various desire of current performers’.

Such aspect is not unrelated to cultural situation after 1980’s. Popular music had reached a wider audience through developing information media such as internet and music video20. With the emergence of music video and musician’s physical appearance, popular music also came to have significance as the combination of sound and act. In other words, such music came to be interpreted by the combination of the sound and the visual effect21. It was also after the 1980’s that fusion of styles began to be prominent.

While people of diverse ethnic background, gender and musical experiences are concerned with *wadaiko* in several ways, *taiko* performers who are in their 20’s and 30’s
recognize wadaiko drumming as a part of American culture which Japanese-Americans formed. They have identified themselves with this musical culture and have adapted and organized wadaiko with a perceived peculiarity of performance. At the same time, the performance surrounding wadaiko drumming has also been developed by societies with differing situations in ethnic background, gender and musical experiences. The “North America Taiko Conference” does exist as a venue to recognize and share these differences.

Lastly, I would like to point out that the acceptance of wadaiko drumming in USA has affect Japanese taiko groups especially “Ondekoza” and “Kodo”. Since these groups were appreciated in USA, their wadaiko performance was also appreciated in Japan. Because of this, the demand of other Japanese wadaiko performing tour groups has increased. A Japanese taiko group that is organized by only female performers, “Honoodaiko”, for example, had all the tickets at Carnegie Hall in New York sold out in their 1999 performance. To understand how wadaiko has been accepted in USA, we should take into account the audience’s reaction at the concert in USA by such a Japanese taiko group.

2 This paper is based on the fieldwork mainly that I did in Sacramento in California from the end of July to the beginning of August in 2003. In this paper, ”Wadaiko” term is used as a synonym for “Taiko”.
4 Op. cit. no. 3.
8 The pamphlet on San Francisco Taiko Dojo.
12 Peter Wicke, ”Rock music” in: Toru Mitsui (ed.), The study of popular music, Ongaku no
tomosha, Nov. 1990.
15 For example, performers are requested to make a bow before entering the practice place.
16 For example, the group gave packages of folded paper cranes to the participants.
17 Megan Smith, Personal interview at the practice place of “Sacramento Taiko Dan”. 7 Jun. 31 July 2003.
18 Art Lee, Personal interview at University of California at Sacramento. 2 Aug. 2003.
19 Brian Yamami and Yuta Kato, Personal interview at University of California at Sacramento. 2 Aug. 2003.
Part 3

Early Modern Japanese Urban Society and Competition between Religious Groups

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I. Introduction

In keeping with the theme of urban studies that is the central focus for this year’s Osaka University International School forum, I will be using the context of early modern Japanese urban conditions and social structures as backdrop to examine some points concerning the ways in which Japanese religious communities used rituals to define, expand, and then defend their unique communal identities and rights. For many readers, this approach will stand in rather stark contrast to the more common descriptions of Japanese religion that emphasize topics such as Shinto ideas of purity, or the teachings of famous priest like Dōgen or Shinran. I have not adopted this particular approach as a means to deny the value of spiritually oriented discussions of Japanese religious practices, but rather as a means to reflect certain issues that have come to the foreground in my present research on social history of Kanto area religious communities in early modern Japan. To date I have primarily focused on Buddhist temples operating in rural environments, but over the course of this work, I have found numerous indications that urban areas and urban society were important spheres of activity for religious organizations. There are many potential angles for examining early modern urban religiosity, but in this paper my primary concern deals with the question of how clerics and ritualists used social structures and social dynamics to formulate and express religious authority. I readily admit that my interests do tend to place doctrinal issues in the background, but herein I will illustrate the value of urban social history as a viable method for gaining important insights on early modern Japanese daily life and religion that might not be seen in other kinds of research.
II. Cites, Power, and Authority

Before offering some details, however, I would like to make some comments to on two themes that define the conceptual background of the paper. There are many elements that go into the establishment and function of cities, but for my present purposes I will look at cites as centers of power. Any survey of the urban centers reveals that the desire to concentrate military, political, and economic power has played a vital role in the history of places ranging from the ancient Persian capital of Persepolis to modern Brasilia in Brazil. Of course, this concern with concentrating power applies to culture and religion as well. Well-known examples of this proclivity in world history include Rome, Byzantium (modern Istanbul, Turkey), or Jerusalem, but there are several excellent Japanese examples as well. With the building of Tōdaiji, Nara became both a religious and political center in the eight-century, while Osaka castle was not only a military base during the sixteenth to nineteenth-centuries, but also a significant symbol of samurai claims to status superiority over the townspeople, outcasts, and others who lived in its shadow.

Obviously, the concentration various power is closely intertwined with the holding of authority. That is, those seeking to centralize political systems, military strength, economic wealth, religious significance, and so on, must be able to wield authority to do so. Furthermore, leaders who are successful in their efforts to centralize gain even more authority for themselves. Power and authority thus can be mutually re-enforcing. But, this can work in the opposite sense as well: a loss of authority can lead to a drop in centralization, which in turn leads to an even greater decline in authority—a process exemplified in Japanese history by the gradual dissolution of governing control that occurred during the medieval Ashikaga shogunate.

Furthermore, due to this concentration of power and authority, cities are intensely dynamic spheres of human activity. It is therefore not surprising that the concentration of power fosters structures of control, and systems of social relationships, to manage this dynamism, and to avoid conflicts. There are many varieties of such structures inherent to urban life, but here I will focus is the early modern status system and how it applied to religious communities. A full explanation of status would take far longer than space allows, so let me make some general points.¹ Scholars once defined status in terms of the warrior—peasant—artisan—merchant model, but recent research indicates this is at best a crude and largely inaccurate summary of early modern status categories. In fact, there

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¹ A major work in the evolution of status studies has been Tsukada Takasahi, Yoshida Nobuyuki, and Wakita Osamu, eds., Mibunetsukōren (Kyoto: Buraku mondai kenkyūsho shuppan, 1994). For American scholars, Tsukada Takashi’s Kinsei Nihon mibunsei no kenkyū (Kobe: Hyogo buraku mondai kenkyusho, 1987) has also been influential. Also see articles in Tsukada Takashi, Yoshida Nobuyuki, Takano Toshihiko, et al., eds., Shirizukinsei kinsei no mibunetsukōren, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2000).
were many status groups, and while the warrior houses claimed the dominant position in the social hierarchy, in practice the Tokugawa shogunate and other domains accepted a degree of internal semi-autonomy within each group for the sake of managing daily affairs. Within this system, every person was identified by his affiliation with a particular group that had unique duties to the state and burdens, but also specific status rights and authority.

Ideally status distinctions created a clearly defined social order, but in reality status practices could create contention when two groups struggled to gain controlling rights over specific kinds of activities. This contentious side of status in turn illustrates one ironic aspect of cities as centers of power. That is ruling elites might see cities as expressions of their authority, but urban spaces often create conditions for contesting that very authority. This was clearly seen by Karl Marx who argued that while centralization of capital, labor power, and technological power in modern cities by the bourgeoisie might reflect bourgeois power, this centralizing process actually turned cities into crucibles for the smelting of a urban proletariat class that would overthrow the bourgeois authority that brought it to existence. Early modern religious status groups did not participate in anything quite so dramatic, but the in the example I will present below, status practices in urban spaces did create conditions in which communities could manipulate status relations in to gain advantages over competing status communities.

III. Western Scholarship on Early Modern Japan

While this first major point refers to the historical value of studying early modern religious communities in city settings, my second background theme concerns the potential methodological benefits of urban religious historical studies. This point applies to both Japanese and western scholarship, but since this paper is appears in a forum focusing on international studies, and I work within an American academic environment, I will primarily restrict my comments to previous research in the United States. Due to the ways in which modern universities have structured academic disciplines, and the nature of the West’s interactions with Japan since the Meiji Restoration, American studies of Japanese religion, philosophy, and history have taken different paths. It is thus not surprising that these divergences have created major gaps in the general knowledge of the early modern period that lasted for decades.

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2 This is not to say that all religious communities were submissive to warrior demands for conformity. The Fuji fuse branch of Nichiren Buddhism, and the kakure nenbutsu practitioners in Kyoto both represented nonconformist movements, and the late Edo era ee ja nai kai crowds posed real threats to social stability. That being said, none of these groups evolved into politically active anti-warrior movements.

3 Philip Brown makes these observations in “Summary of Discussions: The State of the
On the religious and philosophical studies side, scholars have long placed a strong emphasis on researching doctrines, texts, and major religious thinkers. As a result, there is an extensive body of research on Japan’s intellectual history. In the context of early modern studies prior to the 1990s, this general trend fostered several strands of concentrated research, one of which being on specific Confucian thinkers, their writings, and surveys that detail the evolution of various Confucian traditions. Another segment of analysis centers on Nativist developments—a sub-field in which scholars have examined thinkers like Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane, and the relationships between Confucian and Shinto ideologues. This kind of research has produced much valuable information, but more could be done to discuss how ideas and teachings developed in academies were actually diffused into other social spaces. For example, Tetsuo Najita’s Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan, and H.D. Harootunian’s Things Seen and Unseen: Discourse and Ideology in Tokugawa Nativism offer numerous insights into the vibrant world non-samurai intellectuals, and both Ronald Dore and Richard Rubinger have also penned works on the Tokugawa educational system, we would greatly benefit from a study of rural teachers actually interacted with other peasants, and with other status communities. Furthermore, while extant research on merchant and samurai run schools do reveal the degree of intellectual interaction between these communities, more could be done to address the relationship between education, and support for the discriminatory aspects of early modern social practice. On a similar note, these studies often highlight the tensions between contending intellectual communities, but one must ask whether those tensions were always at play in daily life settings in which a local Confucian trained teacher might interact with Shinto and Buddhist priests. And, to press the potential of different angles of analysis, there is very little in terms of research on topics such as the spiritual aspects of Confucian practices.

Similar limitations appear in many Buddhist studies as well. Given the Western interest in Zen, there are a number of studies of famous teachers such as Hakuin Ekaku, Ryokan Daigu, and the early Ōbaku school. However, in contrast Heian and Kamakura period Buddhist studies, there has been was almost no interest in early modern Tendai,
Shingon, Jōdo, or Jōdo Shinshu priests. The situation has been a little better in terms of studies on heterodox movements like the Fuji fuse Nichiren priests, and political/social role played by the evolution of the temple registration and temple parishioner (danka) systems in the suppression of “hidden Christians” (kakure kirishitan), but these foci have simultaneously deemphasized other cultural historical aspects of early modern Buddhist temple practice. A few scholars have also studied the so-called New Religions that arose at the end of the early modern period and their relationship to social unrest, but other groups like Shugenja, diviners, pilgrimage leaders (oshi), wandering flute playing priests (komusô), and fund raising petitioners (gannin) have never attracted much attention.

Similar unevenness can be found in other avenues of historical research as well. After the Second World War, American scholars were primarily interested in the history of Japanese modernization from the Meiji period onwards. Due to this focus, they tended to search the Tokugawa period for causes leading to Japan’s post-1868 industrial and social shifts. The best example of this approach is perhaps Robert Bellah’s use of Max Weber’s sociology in Tokugawa Religion to argue that Japan a native equivalent to Weber’ model of the Protestant work ethic.6 From the late 1960s onwards, this emphasis on “early modern Japan as the basis for modern Japan” gave way to greater interest in the inherent value of early modern history taken on its own terms. This shift in research objectives lead to two new topics of research: one, the political institutional history of the Tokugawa era state: and two, rural communities. Not surprisingly, a high degree of scholarly attention was also devoted to the political and economic conflicts that arose in peasant and warrior relationships.7

Emphasis on urban history came somewhat later, and for years this topic was understood in terms of “townsmen culture,” a topic sometimes typified by images of the Genroku period, and the economic aspects of urban life.8 To a certain extent, by the 1990s there was an expansion in American academic interest in cities as city life a window on Japanese social history—a development that reflected a shift in scholarly conceptualizations of urban themes and issues. In this area of activity, James McClain’s studies of Kanazawa, and his two anthologies dealing with early modern Edo and Osaka urban environments, have exerted a stimulating influence. 9 Of these two latter works, the anthology on Edo has the added benefit of being a comparative study of Edo and Paris in

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which the authors show how both capital cities shared a number of traits, including complex systems of governance controlled not by warrior or aristocratic elites, but rather by merchant organizations and other social groups. Also notable is Garry Leupp’s Servants, Shophands, and Laborers in the Cities of Tokugawa Japan, a study of the non-elite residents of the early modern Japanese urban landscape,\textsuperscript{10} but this area still requires more research.

Methodologically speaking, decades of American research focused on political and economic analyses, but from the 1980s onwards, scholars have appropriated methods found in other fields (e.g. Herman Ooms’ application of Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological theories concerning habitus and cultural capital). As a result, historians are increasingly sensitive to not only other themes inherent to early modern Japanese culture, but also to the impact of cultural assumptions on early modern daily life. Yet, only in the last ten years or so have scholars really paid much attention to religious communities. Like their colleagues in religious studies, most social historians considered religious groups and thinkers as ancillary data to their studies of early modern social and economic systems. With the recent publication of works like Nam-lin Hur’s major study of the Asakusa Kannon temple complex,\textsuperscript{11} and Janine Sawada’s examinations of the Shingaku movement,\textsuperscript{12} this latent tendency is shifting, but residual biases remain. For example, Herman Ooms carefully examined the impact of Buddhist and Shinto doctrine in his seminal Tokugawa Ideology, but in his more recent Tokugawa Village Practice, he ignored the important roles played by yamabushi, Buddhist priests, and other non-peasant actors in village affairs.\textsuperscript{13}

To briefly summarize, due to the way religious studies and history have evolved as academic disciplines, there are some very deep areas of research, and some very shallow ones. As a result, with a few exceptions, scholars in both disciplines have largely ignored the study of religious communities as social communities. This in turn has produced a number of limitations on how Western scholars and students perceive early modern Japanese society in general, early modern religion, and early modern cities. Fortunately, due in part to recent research by Japanese scholars, and to methodological advances among Western researchers, we are slowing overcoming these earlier barriers to gain better insights into Japan’s early modern period.

IV. Cities as Sites of Contention

To illustrate the potential gains in understanding that exist within the study of urban religious communities, I will offer a brief analysis a very specific example of contention between religious groups. This particular case centers on the control of divination practices in early nineteenth-century Osaka.14 Fortune telling still attracts a degree of attention in modern Japan, and seekers can find such pronouncements in a plethora of venues including magazines, specialty books like the Takashima eki, and even on the web. Furthermore, no modern organization can claim a monopoly on divination methods. This was not the case in early modern Japan, however, because various groups, especially diviners of the Onmyōdō tradition, struggled for authority over divination. In keeping with the early modern method of social control through status identity, many religious practitioners organized themselves into formally recognized status groups. They did so in part because of Tokugawa policy, but also because religious leaders realized they needed status group recognition in order to survive the increasing competition with other religious groups. In the case of Onmyōdō, diviners followed centuries of religious tradition by organizing themselves under the aegis of the minor Tsuchimikado aristocratic house in Kyoto, but they suffered from several disadvantages. Despite their claims of a divinatory legacy dating back to the Heian period, the Tsuchimikado received official recognition of their authority only in 1683. This was several decades after other groups including the many Buddhist schools, the Shugendō Tōzan and Honzan traditions, and Yoshida Shinto had firmly established their own social identity, and their unique rights over certain ritual formats. Furthermore, the initial recognition was by order of the imperial court (rinshi) rather than by a public policy announcement (fure) from the more powerful Tokugawa shogunate. As a result, the Tsuchimikado based Onmyōdō organization had a late start in recruiting members, and until the end of the eighteenth century, they lacked a degree of full recognition from warrior authorities in Edo.

The Tsuchimikado responded with a three-element approach. One, they started recruiting in the areas around the major cities of Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto, and Edo—in other words, they sought to bolster their authority by positioning themselves as a primarily urban oriented movement. Secondly, the house strove to differentiate themselves from other religious organizations by aggressively claiming the 1683 imperial

order gave it sole authority for issuing licenses to diviners—a tactic that, if successful, would result in a Tsuchimikado monopoly over the divination rite industry. Thirdly, the Onmyōji sought greater Tokugawa support by continually filing petitions for full recognition with the Temple and Shrine Magistracy (jisha bugyō), and by filing legal suits to press their claims against non-Tsuchimikado house diviners with Tokugawa officials in cities like Osaka. This last tactic reveals a subtle understanding of the power of precedent in the Tokugawa legal system, but from the stand point of the Shugendō clerics, Shinto priests, and other kinds of religious figures who had been practicing divination for centuries within their own traditions, the Tsuchimikado methods to increase their organizational power and authority represented an encroachment upon the authority of other status groups operating in major urban areas.

These motivations and methods are evident in the legal suits filed against the Tōzan and Honzan Shugendō groups in the 1770s wherein the Tsuchimikado claimed sole rights to all forms of divination. The Tokugawa Temple and Shrine Magistrates eventually ruled against the Tsuchimikado claims to a licensing monopoly, but magistrates’ ruling did stipulate that while Shugendō clerics could perform divinations for free and as part of their other rituals, only the Tsuchimikado house diviners could sell their divinations. In other words, through their legal actions the Tsuchimikado diviners did manage to acquire a monopoly over paid divination. In response to the cumulative effects to the Onmyōji campaign, the Tokugawa government ultimately recognized Tsuchimikado control over sellers of divinations in 1791.

However, Tsuchimikado authority did not always grow unchecked, and it eventually met its match in the Honzan Shugendō organization. Like the Tsuchimikado-based Onmyōdō, aristocrats governed the Honzan Shugendō organization, but their leaders were the far more influential abbots of the Imperial monzeki temple Shōgo-in in Kyoto. In 1810, Tsuchimikado officials filed suit in Osaka claiming that all diviners must be under their authority—that is, the Tsuchimikado sought to expand their control beyond mere divination licensing by demanding the shifting diviners from other status groups into their own. Honzan Shugendō clerics and Shinto priests rebuttals rested on their claims to equally ancient, and clearly unique, divination traditions, and therefore their members should not be subject to Tsuchimikado authority. The Yoshida Shinto organization eventually filed suit with the Temple and Shrine Magistracy in Edo, but the Honzan Shugendō opted for a different strategy: since both their own imperial abbots and the Tsuchimikado leadership resided within Kyoto aristocracy, the Honzan officials sought a mediated settlement among the aristocratic status community with the help of the buke densō officials (aristocratic families who acted as intermediaries between the shogunate and the court). In contrast to the Edo centered precedents of Tokugawa support for Tsuchimikado claims as expressed in various Temple and Shrine Magistracy rulings, in Kyoto the Shōgo-in imperial abbots carried far more influence over aristocratic authorities. Sensitive to inherent weaknesses of the their position within the aristocratic
status sphere, the Tsuchimikado accepted the Shôgo-in argument for a distinction between Onmyôdô and Shugendô divination practices. Thus, in this case the Tsuchimikado tactic of claiming rights over divination practices as a means for gaining an advantage over other status groups did not succeed due to the dynamics operating within the Kyoto based aristocracy.

V. Summary

This result is indicative of the fact that even with its efforts to expand, the Tsuchimikado diviners’ organization never quite reached the size and influence of other religious groups. Nevertheless, aside from the descriptive value of this account, it allows us to consider some important points about early modern cities, and early modern social politics. One, it is clear that urban communities were not only informed by the operations of their inherent political and commercial economies, but by their religious economies as well. In light of the cases just noted, in addition to the rice and cotton markets, Osaka was obviously also a large religious market in which many groups sought financial support via the sale of religious services to the laity. This of course was true for rural villages as well, but city markets were certainly larger, and more dynamic spheres—a point evident in the Tsuchimikado decision to first recruit diviners within urban environments, and then eventually move into more rural areas.

Secondly, we usually think of religious figures in spatial and organizational terms (e.g. temple communities and clerical hierarchies), but the Tsuchimikado case shows that the ability to develop an unique status identity through the acquisition of holding rights over specific rituals and services was vital to Onmyôdô’s effective expansion and survival. As a result, like material goods such as rice, soy sauce and sake, rituals and divination techniques were a commodity, and therefore were objects of contention between contending religious organizations. While its late inception date, and ritual overlap with other communities no doubt fed the insecurities of diviners in the Tsuchimikado organization to incited their perceived need to struggle for identity, authority and power, this general point applied to all religious groups including the prominent Buddhist schools. Due to space limitations, I have not covered other forms of competition as seen in things like “open curtain” exhibitions of usually hidden sacred objects (kaichô), or influence of perspective of potential lay buyers on the ritual market, but I will note that the new scholarship on the extent of religious activities in urban areas indicates future researchers of urban life can no longer ignore this aspect in their studies.

Finally, the Tsuchimikado case here offers some insights into issues surrounding the authority of the Tokugawa shogunate in the late early modern period. In theory all religious matters where under the supervision of the Temple and Shrine Magistrate, and the Tsuchimikado house clearly relied upon this authority when it filed legal suits with the
Tokugawa Town Magistrates in Osaka. Yet, the 1810 dispute with the Honzan Shugendō authorities at Shōgo-in unveils the degree to which religious authority under the Tokugawa legal system could be decentralized, and thereby manipulated by contentious groups. In this case, no one openly denied Tokugawa authority, but the Imperial abbots did manage to dilute that authority by using a negotiated resolution among aristocratic families as a means for taking the final judgment away from Tokugawa officials who usually supported the Tsuchimikado. Thus, the case began as a tale of two cities and three status groups (the Tokugawa officials in Edo and Osaka, the Shugendō priests, and the Onmyōdō diviners in Osaka), but with the addition of the Kyoto based buke densō and the aristocracy, it became a tale of four status groups and three cites, each of which had different power structures, and forms of authority.

Brining the discussion back to my opening remarks, this small description reveals that in addition to their ritual expertise, the Onmyōdō and Honzan Shugendō clerics were both savvy players in the game of status politics. That is, they both knew how to compete in the dynamic world the urban religious market by being able manipulate early modern forms of power and authority to their advantage. For the historian, the value of the story is the reminder that social systems are never as monolithically rigid as they might seem, and ruling authority is never as absolute as rulers might think.
The “Gakujin” Musicians of Shitenno-ji Temple in Early Modern Japan

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1. Introduction

Early modern society in Japan was composed of a variety of different social groups. Research on social groups, which has flourished since the 1970s, has focused on three main areas: (1) the system of outcasts, which included groups such as the eta and hinin; (2) the Imperial Court and its relationship to the Tokugawa shogunate; and (3) urban history focused chiefly on Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka. Recently work in these fields has been enriched by a methodological approach that calls for the exploration of “peripheries of status” (mibun-temi sh_en).

As one part of the work that has been done in the second of the three areas mentioned above, there has been much new research in recent years on the low ranking officials at the Imperial court, known as jige kanjin, who were responsible for managing the daily affairs of the court. The musicians in the group that will be the focus of my paper today were also included in this category of imperial officials. Gakujin groups performed Japanese court music, or gagaku, and from ancient times they participated in ceremonies at the court and large religious institutions. In the early modern period the three groups of gakujin performers at Kyoto, Nanto (=Nara), and Tennoji (in Osaka) were brought together and came to operate as part of a single, overarching organization known as the Sanpo gakuso (“Three halls”). Past analysis suggests that by performing at Buddhist funeral services for the Shogunal household the gakujin performers in the Sanpo Gakuso played a role in bolstering the authority of the Tokugawa family. Up until now, however, research on the gakujin groups has examined them only within this framework of the Sanpo Gakuso. It is, of course, true that in the early modern period the activities of the Sanpo Gakuso were centered on the ceremonies of the Imperial court and Buddhist services conducted for the Shogunal household, but each of the three gakujin groups had also participated in religious ceremonies conducted at local religious centers from earlier times, and continued to do so after the beginning of the early modern period. Given this, I believe that in order to deepen our understanding of the gakujin groups in early modern society, it is essential that we do not simply examine the overarching framework of the Sanpo Gakuso, but also consider the specific communities of musicians that formed the
larger organization, such as those at Tennoji and Nanto, and analyze their internal structures, as well as the full range of social relations in which they were involved.

To this end, my talk today will focus on the Tennoji gakuso, one of the three groups within the Sampo Gakuso, and, in particular, its relationship with the Shittennoji Temple, the origins of which can be traced back well before the early modern period. I will show that although participation in the ceremonies of court and Bakufu may have become the main focus of the Sampo Gakuso’s activities in the early modern period, the relationship with temples and shrines nevertheless remained a key point of support for the gakujin groups. After considering the internal organization of the Tennoji gakuso I will proceed to consider the group’s relations with Shittennoji Temple.

2. An overview of early modern gakujin groups

Let me begin by providing a brief overview of the history of gakujin groups in the early modern period.

Gakujin groups existed in Japan from ancient times, receiving support and patronage from the court as well as large temples and shrines. From around the time of the Onin War (1467-77), the spread of unrest and warfare rendered it impossible to perform ceremonies at the imperial court, and as a result courtly musical and dance performance arts went into decline. Under the influence of Oda Nobunaga, court ceremonies were eventually revived, and this, in turn, led to a revival of music and dance. By this point, however, the gakujin performers of Kyoto, who had been responsible for providing music and dance at the court prior to the early modern era, were no longer able to fully cope with the task. For this reason, performers from Nara (Nanto) and Osaka (Tennoji), who had not previously participated in court rituals, were now brought in to help in the revival. It was this development that led to the formation of the Sampo Gakuso organization, which consisted of the Kyoto community of musicians who had served the imperial court from ancient times, together with the Nanto and Tennoji groups who came newly to serve the court from the Tensho period (1573-1592). As noted above, the Sampo Gakuso would remain responsible for courtly music and dance performances throughout the early modern period.

How then was the Sampo Gakuso organized? As we have already noted, the Sampo Gakuso was given responsibility for performances at the imperial court from the late sixteenth century and from the early seventeenth century participated in Buddhist services for the Tokugawa shogunate. It also performed gagaku at major temples and shrines, but its primary role was to perform for the court and shogunate. Economic support too came primarily in the form of income from lands bestowed by the bakufu and a rice stipend from the court.

With regard to the first of these two pillars of economic support, we know that in
1665 the shogunate gave the sanpo gakuso land in the Yamato area valued at 2000 *koku* so that “gagaku might prosper.” A breakdown of this income is presented in Table 1 and consisted of karyomai, geiryomai, shishoryomai, and keikoryomai. Karyomai was divided up between 51 people, made up of the 17 top-ranked members from each of the three gakujuin groups, while keikoryomai was divided up among the remaining performers. In other words, whether a member received karyomai or keikoryomai depended on rank, not on household units. Geiryomai was distributed according to performance skill, and, just as with karyomai and keiryomai, was paid to members on a person-by-person basis. The grounds for distributing shishoryomai are unclear, though it was generally given to young gakujuin members of certain specific household units.

The second pillar of economic support was the system of rice stipends provided by the court. Gakujuin households that received such a stipend were called ofuchinin or, “performers on stipend”. Ofuchinin received stipends in rice, as well as performance fees each time they performed before the court. Beginning in the late eighteenth century a subordinate group, called ofuchinin nami (literally, “of the same standing as those on stipend”, also began performing before court, but received no stipend, instead being paid only a fee for each performance. Even after this change, the forty-two ofuchinin households continued to be first in line for the right to perform at any given courtly function. As such, ofuchinin standing also offered a guarantee of performance fees.

Overall then, the Sanpo Kakuso, the overarching organization for gakujuin performers in the early modern period, drew on a combination of two different kinds of economic support: lands from the Bakufu and stipends from the court. At the same time, of course, in the sense that both kinds of economic support were intended to keep the Sanpo Kakuso functioning they did share a common element.

Let me also briefly discuss the household units (*ie*) around which the gakuso groups were structured. Within the gakuso there were two distinct forms of “household”. On the one hand, the “household” could refer to extended kinship groups such as the Togi clan or the Hayashi clan, but, on the other, it could also mean the households of individual gakujuin performers. Here I will discuss only the latter of these two forms. The individual gakujuin performer’s household was directly important for determining how court stipends and performance skills were passed on to the next generation. Performance skills were passed down within the Gakujuin community, of course, but this process was understood in terms of a transfer from household to household. In 1754 a public quarrel broke out when a young man who had been adopted into another household attempted to have his biological father teach him performance techniques. In this case, a special exception was eventually made because of the father-son relationship, but we can clearly see from this that the master-apprentice relationship was, in general, not understood in terms of individual students and masters, but rather the household. The master-student relationship was, moreover, not one based on blood, but solely the relationship between the two
households. We also know that these relationships stretched beyond the boundaries of the individual groups at Kyoto, Nanto and Tennoji.

Next, I would like to provide some more detail about the Tennoji gakuso, which, was noted above, was one of the three groups making up the sanpo gakuso.

The Tennoji gakuso is said to have begun performing gagaku at Buddhist ceremonies held at Shitennoji temple from soon after the temple was founded in the 7th century. In other words, the relationship with Shitennoji temple clearly predated the relationships with the court and shogunate. Although they were not allowed to perform for the court prior to the early modern era, works such as “Tsurezuregusa” from the Kamakura period, suggest that the group had always maintained high standards of performance.

Within the Tennoji group there were four family lines (Togi, Hayashi, Oka, and Sono), each of which was responsible for a different musical instrument. Table 2 lists the signatories of a note from the gakuso to the Governor of Shrines and Temples (jisha bugyo) in 1758. The gakuso members listed here can be classified into three groups, according to their residential status. Group A consisted of people who resided near the Shitenno-ji Temple in Osaka. Group B are those who up until 1758 had lived near Shitennoji with Group A, but who had moved to Kyoto in that year. Group C are those who had moved to Kyoto between the late sixteenth century, when the Tennoji Gakuso was first asked to perform at the court, and 1758. In the sense that up until 1758, both Group A and B were based in Tennoji, they can be placed together, but even so, we can see that there was a significant divide within the Tennoji Gakuso between those who lived in Osaka, near Tennoji (zaiten) and those who lived in Kyoto (zaikyo).

Evidence from the diaries of court nobles, in addition to the information in Table 2, makes it clear that it was in the Muteki period that the Tennoji Gakuso was first divided residentially between Tennoji and Kyoto. It was, of course, also around this time that Oda Nobunaga and the Honganji Temple (in Osaka) were at war, and there is evidence that the Gakujin performers had fled Osaka at this time. Overall then, it is clear that the division of the group between Tennoji and Kyoto can be dated to this point in history, when the group was first asked to perform at the court.

It is important to note that although the Gakuso was divided between those who lived in Kyoto and those who lived in Tennoji, musicians from the two groups participated together, within distinction, in various performances, for the court, the bakufu, and also at Shitennoji Temple. When a large group of performers was needed for Buddhist services at Shitennoji a group of “Zaikyo” musicians from Kyoto would join with the “Zaiten” musicians. The same was true for performances at the court, or for the shogunate. It is also clear that with regards the official ranks bestowed on performers, there was no differentiation between the performers based in Kyoto and those based in Tennoji. What this shows is that the division between the performers in Kyoto and those
in Tennoji was only residential, and that in terms of their performance duties at the court there was no distinction between them.

With the official establishment of the “Sanpo Gakuso” in the Tensho period it was not just the Tennoji Gakuso, but also the Nanto Gakuso that was asked to begin performing at the court, and we know that a similar split into dual residential communities occurred in the case of the latter group also. This can undoubtedly be explained in terms of the growing demand for performances at the court. Yet, as we have seen from the fact that performers received courtly ranks and fiefs as members of the Tennoji Gakuso, the court and Bakufu clearly viewed them in terms of the framework of the Sampo Gakuso and did not pay any attention to the residential split that characterized the particular way in which members of the group were organized. As a result of this, the relationship that had existed between the Tennoji Gakuso and the Shitennoji temple from ancient times was to change steadily over the course of the early modern period. It is to this issue that I would now like to turn.

3. Relations between the “Tenno-ji Gakuso” and Shitenno-ji temple

Let me begin by providing a brief outline of the situation of the Shitennoji temple, with which the Tennoji Gakuso was affiliated. Up until the medieval period, Shitennoji had controlled a large number of manorial estates (sha_en), but during the warring states period they were seized by Oda Nobunaga. Later, the temple was awarded lands by the Toyotomi family, and at the beginning of the early modern period it controlled a fief worth around 1170 koku. After the collapse of the Toyotomi clan, these holdings were confirmed by the Tokugawa, and remained in the possession of the temple until the end of the Edo period.

What then was the nature of the relationship between the Tennoji Gakuso and the Shitennoji Temple in this period?

As noted above, the Tennoji Gakuso had originally performed in ceremonies and religious services at the Shitennoji Temple, but that after the formation of the Sanpo Gakuso at the beginning of the early modern period it had also become responsible for performances at the imperial court and for the Tokugawa shogunate. In other words, in the early modern period, a new role was added to that which the group had performed in earlier eras and Tennoji Gakuso was now expected to perform dual functions. Over the course of the Tokugawa period this led to changes in the pre-existing relationship with the Shitennoji temple, a fact that is made clear from a dispute between the Gakuso and the temple that broke out in 1758. In what follows I would like to examine this dispute as a way of exploring the changing relationship between the Gakuso and the temple. The dispute began when the “Zaiten” group of gakuin refused to submit their “religious registers” (sha_shi_ch) to Shitennoji, and was to last for a total of five years. That the
Zaiten performers did not participate in a single ceremony held at the temple for this five year period suggests just how serious this dispute was. The two key issues in the dispute were first, the status of the gakujin performers as indicated on the religious registers, and second, the terminology to be used to describe the financial support that was given to the performers by the temple.

a. The Status Issue

Let me begin by discussing the status issues involved in the submission of the religious register. With regards the Sampo Gakuso, the overarching organization for gakujin performers in the early modern period, we know that religious registers were generally submitted to the imperial court via a household of court nobles, the Yotsutsuji. There was no differentiation between “Kyoto Gakuso”, “Nanto Gakuso” and “Tenno-ji Gakuso”. All members were simply listed as belonging to the Sampo gakuso.

What then was the case with the “Tenno-ji Gakuso”? The 1758 dispute began when a number of gakujin performers in the Zaiten group, who lived in lands under the direct control of the Tokugawa shogunate, refused to submit their religious register to the Shitennoji temple. Here I should explain in more detail the residential arrangements of the Zaiten group. We have already noted that the Tennoji Gakuso included musicians who lived in Kyoto, as well as those who lived in Tennoji. But within the Tennoji based group there were further divisions along residential lines. Originally, Gakujin in the Zaiten group were all concentrated together in an area of temple lands known as the “Gakujin district”, where they had their own residences. From the beginning of the 18th century, however, some of the musicians began to struggle economically. They were forced to sell their residences and rent houses on lands controlled directly by the shogunate. As a result, by the middle of the 18th century, when this dispute broke out, the Zaiten musicians could be divided into those who continued to reside in their own houses on temple lands and those who had been forced to rent houses on shogunal lands.

At the time of the dispute, the temple officials explained their position as follows. They argued that they had received religious registers from the Gakujin musicians every year and had also been given responsibility for conveying decrees and orders to them by the Bakufu. From their point of view, therefore, the musicians in the Tennoji Gakuso were officials of the temple. This understanding was clearly based on arrangements that had existed since before the early modern period.

For their part, the Gakujin who refused to submit their religious register argued as follows. Up until the year before the dispute (1757), they had submitted their registers to the temple each year. Now, however, they learned that rather than passing the registers on to the Town Governors, as they were supposed to, temple officials had simply kept them in their own possession. This arrangement suggested
that the Gakujin were under the direct control of the temple, which would, in turn, mean that they would not be able to participate in ceremonies at the Imperial court as members of the Sampo Gakuso. In other words, using the fact that they were in the employ of the Sampo Gakuso, these Gakujin sought to assert their position as “Musicians of the Imperial Court” (kinri gakujin), and therefore refused to present their registers to the Shitennoji temple officials.

In addition, the rebel Gakujin also pointed out that their colleagues who were based in Kyoto were not required to submit their religious registers to the Shitennoji. Like the Zaikyo musicians, they too were no longer resident on temple lands and so there was no reason why they should have to submit their registers to the temple. To sum up, by pointing to the fact that they were no longer resident on temple lands, and appealing to the idea that they were “Musicians of the Imperial Court”, this group of Gakujin was seeking to assert their independence from Shitennoji.

As a result of this dispute the Gakujin continued to resist submitting their registers to Shitennoji, and were eventually told by the Osaka Town Governors that they should “withdraw from Osaka.” The “Zaiten” musicians who still lived on temple lands and those who did not responded differently to this order. The latter group ended up moving to Kyoto – and formed Group B in Table 2 as referred to above. In contrast, the former group, who had remained on temple lands, restored the original wording of the religious register to what it had been before the dispute began, and once again agreed to submit it to the temple authorities. This group, it should be emphasized, continued to own their own houses, and had also begun renting them out. This financial consideration was clearly an important factor in the differing responses of the two groups.

From the above we have seen that whereas Shitennoji viewed the Gakujin as “temple officials” under their authority, the Gakujiin saw themselves as “Musicians of the Imperial Court”. There was, in other words, a clear gap in the two understandings of the status positions of the Gakujin – a gap that was clearly a product of the creation of the Sampo Gakuso at the beginning of the Tokugawa period.

b. **The Economic Issue**

As noted above, there was also a financial or economic aspect to the dispute between the Tennoji Gakuso and the Shitennoji temple. This problem was something that emerged later, in the course of the dispute.

Although the details of the financial support paid to the performers by Shitennoji temple are not clear, we do know that such support was given, in addition to that provided by the court and the Bakufu. The problem that arose during the course of the dispute in the 1750s was whether this support should be referred to as a “stipend” (fuchi) or a feudal entitlement (chigy_, yakury_).
First, let us consider the position of the Shitennoji temple authorities. They argued that since ancient times the temple had paid the musicians a fixed stipend. And, the fact that this was a “stipend” indicated that the musicians were officials of the temple. In response to this, the musicians insisted that they were entitled to the payments they received from the temple because of the role that they played in Buddhist services that were performed there. They participated in these services not as officials of the temple, moreover, but solely on the basis of negotiations between themselves and the temple. They insisted, in other words, that the relationship between themselves and the temple was solely a relationship between two equal parties. Thus, they rejected the temple’s claims of control over them, not only with regards to the religious registers, but also with regard to the economic question of the payments they received.

In addition, the gakujin musicians also insisted that their payments were not “stipends” of fixed value, but rather feudal entitlements (chigy) , the value of which could change. They suggested on this basis that the payments they received should increase dramatically from the “fixed amount” that was provided by the temple. They were, in other words, clearly dissatisfied with the amount of income they received from the temple.

In the discussion above, I have described the relationship between the Tennoji Gakuso and Shitennoji temple. When Buddhist services were conducted at Shitennoji, it was only musicians from the Tennoji Gakuso who could participate. From the point of view of the Tennoji Gakuso, therefore, the relationship with Shitennoji temple was completely unrelated to the Sampo Gakuso organization, and was something that was unique to it. It is also important for us to recall that this was a relationship that predated the early modern period. I believe that prior to the early modern period, members of the Tennoji Gakuso were indeed something like officials of the temple, whose social status was under the authority of the temple, and who also depended on the temple for economic support. As a result of the founding of the Sampo Gakuso at the beginning of the early modern period, however, the Tennoji Gakuso now developed ties, not only to the Shitennoji temple, but also to the court and Bakufu. Surely it was this situation that led the performers at Tennoji to begin re-thinking their own status in terms of their role as “Musicians of the Imperial Court.” The dispute from the 1750s that I have discussed in this paper marked the point at which this re-conceptualization of the gakujin’s status position erupted to the surface. The dispute was eventually settled in 1763 through private conciliation and agreement, but the relationship between the Gakuso and the temple continued to change in the years that followed.

The relationship between the Gakuso and Shitenno-ji Temple changed though the quarrel was settled in 1763 by the discussion. First of all, the number of “Gakubakari”
to which dances were omitted had increased by the number of “Zaiten” having decreased in “Bugaku” in the Buddhist service of Shitenno-ji Temple after this quarrel. They were not able to do “Bugaku” in formal shape due to the number of people shortage. Moreover, the behavior of “Tenno-ji Gakuso” in the Buddhist service in Shitenno-ji Temple had changed. It appeared to the omission of “Bugaku” in “Syoryo-e” that was the most important Buddhist service in Shitenno-ji Temple by the quarrel in “Tenno-ji Gakuso”. And, I think that these things were caused by an incorporation of “Tenno-ji Gakuso” into “Sanpo Gakuso” since this quarrel. First and foremost, because of the decrease in numbers of Gakujin performers resident in Tennoji, the services conducted at Shitennoji temple came increasingly to involve simplified performances, in which there was only limited dancing. In other words, there were no longer enough people to conduct full performances. Even the most important services conducted at the Shitennoji, the Seireikai, had to be modified and simplified after the dispute with the Gakuso, and the role played by the Gakujin in the services at Shitennoji also changed. All of this was clearly a product of the dispute with the Gakuso, which can, in turn, be traced back to the creation of the Sanpo Gakuso at the beginning of the early modern period.

4.Conclusion

In this paper I have focused on the Tennoji Gakuso, which was one of three groups that comprised the Sanpo Gakuso, and, in particular, its relationship with the Shitennoji temple, which predated the early modern period. Finally, now, I would like to suggest some of the work that I still have left to do on this subject, as well as providing a brief account of the later development of the Gakuso.

One issue that I need to take up in my future work is the situation of the Shitennoji temple generally in this period. In this paper my focus was on the Shitennoji Gakuso, but that I also need to analyze the structures within which the larger temple community operated. This is important not only for our understanding of the Gakujin groups, but also for research on the history of the city of Osaka in general. The second issue I need to address concerns the concrete role that the Gakuso played in the services held at the temple. This clearly relates to the first issue also, but by analyzing what exactly the Gakuso did in the context of religious rituals, I should be able elucidate aspects of the relationship between the group and the temple that were not mentioned in my discussion today. Finally, I also need to consider their relationship with other religious institutions. The records of the Tennoji Gakuso make it clear that it performed not only at the Shitennoji temple, but also at the Sumiyoshi Shrine. In the medieval period, moreover, the gakujin at Tennoji taught the shrine priests at Itsukushima shrine in the province of Aki court dance and music. By examining these relationships with other religious institutions,
I should be able to reach a better understanding the position of the Gakujin within early modern society.

After the Meiji Restoration, the gakujin performers moved to Tokyo and areas around Tokyo, and because of their musical knowledge, they were to become pioneers in the introduction of Western music in the modern period.

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The Social Structure of “Kawatamura” Village Communities
in Early Modern Japan

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Firstly

Today I will talk about "Kawatamura" village communities in early modern Japan, a topic I took up in my graduation thesis. "Kawatamura" villages in the Edo period consisted of people of "eta" (outcaste) social status. They were officially allowed to pursue work related to processing hides and the production of leather. Because people associated the handling of dead cows with spiritual pollution (kegare) they were subject to terrible discrimination.

Firstly I will talk about earlier research on this subject. Before the 1970s, the mainstream trend was for research on "eta" and "hinin" as subjects in their own right. As I think you all well know, this was because of an understanding of Edo society in terms of Shi－Nou－Kou－Syou－Eta－Hinin (Samurai－Peasant－Artisan－Merchant－"Eta"－"Hinin"). "Hinin" means "non-human" in Japanese. So they were also discriminated severely. The principal objective of this kind of research was to how severe the discriminatory policies of the Tokugawa Shogunate were, and how those who were placed outside society were able to resist. In more recent work on the status system, however, scholars have shown that there were many different status groups in the Edo period, and that people of different statuses were granted special privileges around which they formed groups. Scholars have now come to understand Edo society as a whole in terms of all of these groups. Following this approach, thinking about people of “eta” social status provides us with clues for our overall understanding of Edo period society.

In my work on people of "eta" social status, I want to pay particular attention to the fact that they were organized into "villages" for administrative purposes, while also constituting a distinct social status group. There were other marginal status groups in the Edo period, but none were organized into villages. For this reason, I want to think about what kind of influence a frame such as "a village" had on the "Kawatamura" status groups. Focusing on the village, will also allow me to explore the social realities of the
area in which "Kawatamura" communities existed more concretely. My main focus will be the community of "Minami-Ouji" village, located in what is now Izumi-shi in Osaka. We must pay particular attention to two things when thinking about "Minami-Ouji" village. One is a population increase. Generally speaking, the population of "Kawatamura" communities tended to increase in the latter Edo period. Particularly in the Kinki region, village populations increased explosively. In "Minami-Ouji" village, there were approximately 400 people in the early 18th century, but by the end of the Edo period there were some 2000 people. It has been proved that this was not because of people coming from other villages, but was the product of natural increase. In peasant villages, the population tended to decrease slightly or slowly crawl along over the course of the Edo period. Why the population of "Kawatamura" communities increased so remarkably in this period has not yet been properly explained. There is, however, not doubt that this phenomenon had a big impact on the social structure of outcaste villages. The other thing is that "Minami-Ouji" village was an "Issondate" village. Whereas most "Kawatamura" communities in the Edo period were considered to be "branch villages" (edamura) of ordinary peasant villages, "Minami-Ouji" was recognized as a village in its own right (issondate). In a branch village the village headman (shouya) would be under the control of the main village's headman. But in the case of an issondate community like "Minami-Ouji", the village had its own headman and its own village elder/deputy headman (toshiyori). These village officials were, of course, of "eta" social status. But to some extent, it can be said that issondate villages were independent.

Today I will talk about the social structure of "Minami-Ouji" village in the mid-18th century, particularly from 1750 to 1770. Unfortunately we are not able to understand all aspects of the village social structure in this period because there are only limited amounts of documentary evidence remaining, but I will present what I have learned from the available historical records.

1. The state of unstable Households

First, please look at table one. This shows the change in the number of households in "Minami-Ouji" village from 1750 to 1770. We see that there was an increase of 45 households in this 20 year period, from 134 households to 179 households. Although it is not shown in this table, the population in this period increased by 170 people, from 661 people in 1750 to 835 people in 1770.

Looking at the breakdown of households in table one, I discovered that the reason for the changes in the number of households was not migration, but rather the practice of establishing branch families (bunke) or moving in together (douke). Generally speaking, under the "ie" patriarchal household system that was formed in the mid-17th century,
household name, property, and business would be passed down to the child who took over from the parents as family head. In "Minami-Ouji" village, however, we find almost no such examples. Although there were a range of different inheritance practices in "Minami-Ouji" village, "inheritance by the youngest son" was comparatively common. In other words, when each son, starting with the eldest, came of age, he would be provided with some property by the parents, and then leave to establish a branch household. Only the youngest son would stay to succeed to headship of the original household. New "households", therefore, increased steadily. At the same time, however, if a child found himself in trouble, it was also commonplace for him to move back in to their parent's household. This is what I mean by "moving in together" (douke). There are also cases in which a person would move in to a household with which he seemed to have had no familial ties.

In addition, if we look at family names (kamei), we see that it was not necessarily the case that a son would inherit the father's household name. There are cases in which the household name would be inherited by a completely unrelated person, an eldest son, who had earlier established a branch household, or a third son who had remained in the original household. With regards family properly, as I have already mentioned, it seems to have been common for it to be divided up among the sons. I do not yet have an understanding of what happened to family businesses. Overall though, it would seem that an "ie" system of households was not established in "Minami-Ouji" village. In one case, a family that had only one son first set him up in a branch household, but then, when the father died without having any more children, had him return to the main household. This would seem to prove that my interpretation is correct. In "Minami-Ouji" village, people established branch households and then moved back into other households with great frequency, and, in general, we can conclude that the situation of households in the village was very fluid.

2. Holding lands in the village and the actual state

Next, please look at table two. This shows ownership of the village's agricultural production output (muradaka) in 1750. "Minami-Ouji" village's total output at this time was 142 koku. This is extremely low given the population of the village. And from table two we see that 80% of households (134 households), produced less than 2 koku a year. This includes many households that were not able to produce anything (mudaka). Clearly then, this village was very poor. On the other hand, there is one household whose holdings produced more than 20 koku a year and there were very few households in the middle. So, we can also see that there was considerable polarization within the village. The information provided in table two, however, does not tell us everything about the
situation of individual households in "Minami-Ouji" village.

Let us begin with the village's upper social stratum. In table two, the household of headman Riemon is the one with more than 20 koku, while Gihee, the deputy headman, is the one with less than 20 koku more than 10 koku. Figure one and table three provide more detail about these two households. Here we see that the headman, Riemon II, was the son-in-law of headman, Riemon I, and we can also note that he was the eldest son of Gihee I, the deputy headman. This all came about because Genbee the eldest son of Riemon I died young, but the fact that the eldest son of Gihee I, acted as headman under the name Riemon is very interesting. Later, Kyuichirou, the eldest son of Genbee was adopted by Riemon II, marrying his daughter San. He then took over the headmanship as Riemon III after death of Riemon II. This all suggests that when Riemon I's eldest son died unexpectedly, Gihee's eldest son was used as a bridge, to ensure the continuation of the "ie" household. We also see that Riemon and Gihee had a strong relationship that included close familial ties. Gihee I's wife was the younger sister of Riemon I, and as we have already seen Riemon I's daughter married the son of Gihee I. It is also worth noting that, when we examine the property holdings of these two households in this period, we find that although there was some movement of property between those related to them, there was hardly any such movement of property with other, unrelated households. Looking at table three, we see that the combined property holdings of three families accounted for a total of 45 koku throughout this 20 year period (1750-1770). This accounted for roughly one-third of total output of "Minami-Ouji" village, and when we consider that these families also maintained control of the positions of village headman and deputy headman, it is seems reasonable for us to assume that they had enormous influence in the village.

By way of contrast, let us now try to examine the situation of the village's lower stratum. Some members of the village had, at this time, bought land in neighboring villages. In other words, even among the lower social stratum, there were some who had the economic power to be able to buy land in another village. The amount of land they purchased was only worth less than 3 koku, so it was very small, but this is still an important point to note. It is possible that these people may have been able to have stable lives to some extent. This, however, was by no means the case for all members of the village. There are three surviving records of households absconding (kakeochi) from the village in this period. These households owned no land at all in either "Minami-Ouji" village or other villages, and they were forced to constantly move from place to place. In other words they formed the lowest social layer in the village. It seems likely that there were many people like this in the village, who could never be sure of their daily livelihood, and whose only recourse when something happened, was to take flight under cover of darkness. To summarize then, we have seen that within the group of households listed in table two as having less than 2 koku, there were some with a degree of economic resources, and then those who constituted the very lowest stratum of village society. In
other words, the information in table two does not tell us everything about the realities of the social structure of the village. The power that Gihee and Riemon wielded within the village was, no doubt, even greater than is suggested by the table, and even within the lower stratum of village society we have seen that there was polarization. It is also worth noting, however, that even for villagers from the lower stratum who owned land elsewhere it would have been almost impossible to participate in village administration. This is because in village administration great emphasis was placed on those who owned land within the village. And this gave rise to the contradiction described above - something that was only possible because of the "village" framework within which the community worked.

3. The disturbance of the village in 1749

The third thing I would like to discuss is an incident that took place in the village in 1749. Village power struggles were common in "Minami-Ouji" village in the 19th century, but this is the first such incident we can find discussed in historical records. Riemon I and Gihee I, who I discussed above, were at the center of this incident. As we have seen, in 1750, they possessed about 45 koku between them, but it was only in the Kyoho period (1716-1736) that they had begun to accumulate these holdings. They steadily increased their property holdings from this time, and in about 1725, Gihee took office as the deputy headman for the first time, with Riemon as the headman. From around 1740, however, we find that the headman and deputy headman changed frequently. There are no documents to tell us whether this was the result of uprisings or protests within the village, but we do know that in an eleven-year period, the holders of these two offices changed four times, so there seems little doubt that village affairs were in a state of confusion. I believe that there must have been opposition from within the village to Gihee and Riemon's growing dominance, and that it was only in 1749 that the ongoing disorder and confusion that existed within the village could be resolved. At this point, Riemon and Gihee, together with 11 other powerful members of the village to whom they were related, denounced the then headman, Jihee, and demanded that another headman be appointed to deal separately with their property and taxes. As a result, Riemon and Gihee came, from this time, to serve as headman and deputy headman for themselves and the 11 others who joined their petition, while the rest of the village remained under the authority of Jihee. A two-headman system was established for the village, in other words, with roughly half of the village's total production controlled by each of the headmen. Riemon was responsible for 79.275 koku, while Jihee had 63.132 koku under his jurisdiction, almost as if there were two different villages. On the other hand, Riemon's jurisdiction included only 13 households, while Jihee's included some 120, including those with no land holdings at all.
A small number of people not only controlled around half of the village's total output, they had also managed to effectively divide the village in two.

**Finally -summary and problem-**

To sum up what I have spoken about today, the main things for us to understand about "Minami-Ouji" village are that, on the one hand, there was a growing population and low production because it was an "eta" community, and, on the other, that because it was an independent village (and not a branch village), village officials had to be appointed to serve as administrators. With population continuing to increase, but production capacity limited, villagers had to try to find some way to support themselves outside the village. For this reason, from the mid-18th century we find some members of the lower social stratum in the village buying land in other villages. They were not able to participate in the administration of their own village, however, because they had no land there. At the same time, Riemon accumulated large amounts of land within the village and came to have strong influence in village administration. In this situation, conflict between the two parties could not be avoided, and eventually gave rise to the struggle over control over the positions of headman and deputy headman. This struggle occurred because "Minami-Ouji" village was an independent village. One other important point is that there must be some correlation between the fluid nature of the "household" in "Minami-Ouji" village and the remarkable population increase that took place there in the latter Tokugawa period. At this stage, I am not yet able to fully explain this connection. What I would like to do, however, is suggest what meaning the close union between Riemon and Gihee, discussed above, given the extremely fluid nature of some aspects of social relations in "Minami-Ouji" village. When Riemon's eldest son, Genbee, died in 1760, his eldest son, Kyuichirou, it thought to have still only been around 15 years old. He was, in other words, too young to serve as headman. In this situation, if someone else from Riemon's family was not found to take over the position, the other village headman, Jihee, might regain control over the entire village, thereby returning them to the situation that had existed before the 1749 incident. It was in order to ensure that this did not happen that Gihee and Riemon's households showed such strong unity in defending their position.

This concludes my discussion of the social structure of "Minami-Ouji" village in the mid-18th century, but finally, I would like to briefly describe how things developed in the later Edo period. By the middle of the 19th century, village power struggles and disputes became increasingly frequent, and continued up until the Meiji Restoration. In this period, the village's population continued to increase even more than in the past, and the village was able to draw upon a growing range of economic resources outside the village itself. There was considerable ownership of land outside the village, and as a result of the boom
in demand for leather sandals, there were some people who had no land but who were nevertheless able to generate some profits for themselves. There were also villagers who pursued other occupations beyond agriculture, moneylenders, and horse traders. On the other hand, it is also true that there was a dramatic increase in the numbers of marginal people at the bottom of the village social hierarchy, and in general, the social situation was far more complex than in the mid-18th century. This, I suspect, is the reason why village power struggles were also increasingly complex and drawn out. In the future I hope to research the changes that took place between the mid-18th century and the mid-19th century.

Table 1 The change in the number of households in "Minami-Ouji" village from 1750 to 1770

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The number of an era</th>
<th>Kannon3</th>
<th>Hourei12</th>
<th>Hourei4</th>
<th>Hourei12</th>
<th>Hourei14</th>
<th>Meiya3</th>
<th>Meiya5</th>
<th>Meiya7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The number of families</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>1754</td>
<td>1762</td>
<td>1764</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td>1768</td>
<td>1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>179</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Increase breakdown</th>
<th>real number</th>
<th>branch family</th>
<th>moving in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kannon3—1750</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourei12—1752</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourei4—1754</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourei12—1762</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourei14—1764</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meiya3—1766</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meiya5—1768</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meiya7—1770</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decrease breakdown</th>
<th>real number</th>
<th>living together</th>
<th>moving for another village</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kannon3—1750</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourei12—1752</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourei4—1754</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourei12—1762</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourei14—1764</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meiya3—1766</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meiya5—1768</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meiya7—1770</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| In total | -2 | 12 | 18 | 6 | 6 | 3 | -2 |

Table 2 The ownership of village's agricultural production output (muradaka) in 1750

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the total (koku)</th>
<th>the number of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>more than 20 koku</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 20 koku</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 10 koku</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 5 koku</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 2 koku</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 0 koku</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the total families</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1 Family tree （Riemon I, Gihee, and Riemon II）

※the age and the amount of possession as of 1749

- Hatsu (60)
  - He died by 1762.
  - Genbee (32)
    - He died by 1762.
    - He established a branch family in 1772, but he died by 1774.

- Kamehachi (23)
  - He was missing after 1754.
  - He established a branch family in 1772.
  - He died by 1762.

- Riemon I (63)
  - He was Syonya until 1754.
  - 25,281 koku
  - Myouzyu (65)
    - She had died until 1754.

- Heikichi (2)
  -延 家系図
  - Denji → He succeeded to the family.

- Takebee
  - Towa
    - She was born in 1753.
  - Sanzaburu
    - He was born in 1759.

- Kyuichirou (5)
  - He was adopted as Riemon II's son.
  - and he married Sun who was Riemon II's daughter.

- Riemon II
  - He was Syonya from 1774.

- Cyau (26)
  - Riemon IV
  - Sun (4)
    - Yuki (10)
      - She married into Genbee family by 1764.
    - Fushi (8)
      - She married into Kahee family by 1762.

- Kisa (57)
  - Bunji (21)
    - He had established a branch family by 1762.

- Tameemon (34)
  - 6,326 koku
  - Riemon II
    - He was Syonya from 1762 to 1772.

- Miyo (2)
  - Kisa (3)
    - She may have died by 1762.

- Gihee (Ⅰ) (59)
  - He was Toshigori until 1762.
  - 13,362 koku
  - Bunji (21)
    - He had established a branch family by 1762.

- Toshimatsu (16)
  - He succeeded to the family.

- Sukeemon
  - Gihee (Ⅱ)
    - He was Toshigori from 1764 to 1796.

- Cyau (32)
  - She had already married into Heibee family.

- Man (25)
  - She had already married into Sanemon family.
### Table 3 The change of the amount of possession in three families

| Family | Kasene1 | Kasene4 | Kasene12 | Kasene2 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 |
|--------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|
| a | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| b | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| c | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |

| Family | Kasene1 | Kasene4 | Kasene12 | Kasene2 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 | Kasene12 | Kasene42 | Kasene6 |
|--------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|
| a | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| b | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| c | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |

**Notes:**
- X: Possession count
- Rhi: Rhieman
- Sh: Shouya
- To: Toshiyori

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☆・Shouya  ☆・Toshiyori
☆Rieman62

25.281
Image of the Last Judgment in Post-Byzantine Art

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Osaka City University

Introduction
In the Christian eschatology, the Last Judgment is a very important doctrine that has existed since the beginning of Christianity. For many years Christians have created numerous ways to represent this formidable day in their iconography, literature, and music—a day which they do not know when it will come.

The image of the Last Judgment is varied in many ways, too. This variation is caused by denominational differences such those found in the Eastern Orthodox or Roman Catholic traditions, but also by regional and period differences as well. In this essay I examine iconography relating to the theme of the Last Judgment that was produced from the 16th century onwards in the regions of Eastern Orthodox Church. In art history, there is a term which denotes the Eastern Orthodox Church's art after the fall of the Byzantine Empire: Post-Byzantine art. Thus the subject of this paper is the Last Judgment in sixteenth century Post-Byzantine art.

Iconography and Eastern Orthodox Church
First of all, I should be point out some characteristics of Eastern Orthodox iconography that we need to understand for this analysis. There is a general tendency to believe that Eastern Orthodox iconography, especially Post-Byzantine art, ceased its “artistic development” centuries ago. In other words, it seems to many observers that once the basic composition of one theme developed, it was later copied as a “prototype” for later works on this theme. Furthermore, there is no information on the date, place, or name of painter in for many pieces of this kind of artwork. Thus Eastern Orthodox iconography has not been in the spotlight so much.

This lack of attribution was mainly due to the iconoclasm of the 8th-9th centuries, and the polemical debates concerning use of an iconography in Christian life. Iconoclastic polemicists argued, to put it briefly, that using iconography might be against the divine order: “You shall have no other gods before me. You shall not make for yourself a graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; you shall not bow down to them or serve
them” (Exodus 20:3-5). While the two churches were still united in this period, the impact of such iconoclasm was more severe in areas that would become Eastern Orthodox regions than in those affiliated with Roman Catholicism. Due to these debates over iconoclasm, the Eastern Orthodox Church created a detailed theology of iconography, and firmly established iconography in its doctrinal system as an essential object in religious life. This fact means that iconography came under the control of the Church¹. According to Eastern Orthodox theory, icons were not spaces for the free presentation of specific people such as the painters or patrons who dealt with each work. Once a formula for themes such as Nativity or Annunciation was established, the formula was to be respected, and later iconographies were to be reproduced by following it. Artists deliberately avoided representations in three dimensions and the tradition as a whole did not value the recording of information pertaining to people, even that artist himself, related to the painting.

Because of this fact, observers claim the Eastern Orthodox iconography ceased to evolve artistically, and therefore it is not interesting to study. Byzantine art is considered to be but one step of a history that proceeds from early Christian art to later western Christian art. Therefore, in studies that trace the origins of western art, scholars have studied it to determine the development of the formula, and have used it to search for the origin of motifs that construct the formula.² The studies of the Last Judgment’s have the followed the same path, with the important topics being the establishment and the origins of its formula. The influence of texts written by Ephrem the Syrian (the deacon in Nisibys) on the formula is a typical problem in the study of the Last Judgment.

Given the tendency to regard these works to be simple imitations of the formula, few scholars have given any attention to the Last Judgment in Post-Byzantine art. Miltos Garidis and Ana Dumitrescu have written doctoral dissertations on the Last Judgment in Post-Byzantine art, but only the dissertation of Garidis has been published until now. I know a few details of dissertation by Dumitrescu only after hearing from her directly and from her website³.

These comments reveal how the Last Judgment in Post-Byzantine art has been regarded as an uninteresting subject for analysis, but I completely reject such perspectives. Even though the Byzantine tradition kept the formula, we should not define works of Last Judgment iconography being rigid copies of a prototype. In truth, there are many depictions of the Last Judgment in which we can find differences in the details, although they might seem to be stereotyped. Since these differences occur within a system in which art was not supposed to be a form of free representation, we become aware of forces extant at certain places and times within in the Eastern Orthodox community that could incite changes in the iconography. In this essay I try to analyze some of these alterations to Last Judgment iconography in Post-Byzantine art, and seek to define the changes and their background.
**Iconography of The Last Judgment**

**In Byzantine art**

Before looking Post-Byzantine examples of the Last Judgment, it would be better to consider an example of Byzantine art to confirm the structure of its formula.

It is said that the formula of the Last Judgment was firmly established by the second half of the eleventh century. There are five examples of this formula: two illustrations, namely fol. 51v. [fig.1] and fol.93v., painted in the manuscripts of Gospels in the second half of eleventh century in so-called the “Codex of Paris” gr.74 (these are in the National Library of Paris); two icons painted in the second half of twelfth-century in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai; and a mosaic from the twelfth-century on the west interior wall of the Cathedral of Torcello.

The “Codex of Paris gr.74. fol. 51v.” [fig.1] depicts the formula is as follows: In center of the upper part, Christ is painted in mandorla (pointed oval), the Mother of God stands on the left side of Jesus (from our perspective), John the Baptist stands on the other side and they look Jesus. This composition is named Deesis, and it represents an intercession by Mother of God and John the Baptist. In both side of the Deesis, there are the twelve Apostles and angels attending behind them. This scene represents the second coming of Jesus Christ (Matt. 25:31-40). A fire comes from Christ's feet and connects with the fire of Hell that is painted on right side of the middle space. At the center of this painting, on the fire's way to Hell, there is a chair of Christ upon which He will execute the Judgment. Usually this is called the Hetoimasia. The Bible and the cross symbolizing the resurrection of Christ are put on the chair; this shows the chair is a space of Christ.
Hades, the personification of Hell, is in the flames, and he stands upon a monster. Angels attack sinners who are in the fire and in there is also painted a rich man, the character in the parable of “a rich man and poor Lazarus” (Lk. 16:19-31), taking his finger in his mouth and looking at Paradise. Over the infernal fire, there is a space depicting the resurrection and an angel playing a trumpet announcing “the time” has come (Matt. 24:31 etc). The gr.74. fol. 51v. image in the “Codex” also depicts a resurrection from water on the left side of the picture. To the left of Hell’s fire, there are four groups waiting for the Last Judgment. An angel holds a scroll above the four groups; this represents “the sky vanished like a scroll that is rolled up” (Rev. 6:14). On the center of the lower section, a soul is weighed on the scales (Dan. 5:27). To the left of the weighing, people wait for Heaven's door to open and the Apostle Peter stands with its key (Matt. 16:19). To the left of the door on which a cherubim is painted (Gen. 3:24), Heaven spreads out. There are images of the Mother of God and the patriarch of Israel, Abraham, who holds the poor Lazarus (Lk.16:19-31). To the right of the scales there are the “Hell chambers,” a phrase coined by Sahoko Tsuji, and in each chamber sinners are tortured.

The aforementioned are the motifs that compose the formula of the Last Judgment in Eastern Orthodox art. As I mentioned above, the roots of these motifs came from the Bible. Images of the Last Judgment in Eastern Orthodox Church are also influenced also by the “Apocalypse of Paul” and the “Apocalypse of Peter,” neither of which are now generally included in canon. In both these canonical texts and the Apocryphas, there are in scattered references to the end of the world. These references raise an important question: does the iconography of the Last Judgment reflect a compilation of references drawn directly from the Bible; or was there single authoritative text that was edited before the establishment of iconographic “formula.” This returns us to the previously mentioned texts written by Ephrem the Syrian as it is possible that it exerted an influence, but this problem is still a point of controversy among scholars.

Post-Byzantine Artist Representations

Let us return to the iconography of Post-Byzantine art. Examples of this theme are as a follows: a Russian icon in the George R. Hann collection in the U.S.A. which was painted in the sixteenth-century [fig.2]; a Russian icon from the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg which was also painted in the sixteenth-century [fig.3]; and an Ukrainian icon from the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv which was painted in between the end of fifteenth-century and the beginning of sixteenth-century [fig.4]. In the examples we see inherited motifs from the formula; in other words we can say that they are typical representations of the Last Judgment in Eastern Orthodox art.

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The number of people waiting the Judgment has increased, and the punishments in each "Hell chamber" are depicted in more detail. In the “Codex of Paris” gr.74. fol.51v., there is only one patriarch, Abraham, painted in Heaven, while in these Post-Byzantine examples Isaac and Jacob also appear. We notice also a criminal who was crucified at the same time with Christ in Paradise (Luk.23: 39-43). The criminal does not appear in the “Codex of Paris” gr.74. fol.51v., but he does appear in the Torcello mosaic, and he is sometimes found in Byzantine era the Last Judgment iconography. On both sides of Christ descending men and women are painted, except for fig.4 in which they appear near the Hetoimasia. Adam and Eva, the first human beings created by God, are included; they are found also in Byzantine examples. Thus, the criminal and Adam and Eva are not new motifs to Post-Byzantine the Last Judgment iconography, rather their frequency of appearance has increased. To the lower left of fig.2, there is a motif of people climbing a ladder. This is a visualization of the Ladder to Heaven described by John Climacus who was monk at Mt. Sinai in the seventh century. “The Ladder to Heaven” is an important eschatological text in Eastern Orthodox Church and usually it is painted as individual work. Thus, we cannot say that the Ladder to Heaven motif in fig.2 is a new element in Post-Byzantine the Last Judgment depictions. In any event, these icons reflect an increase in the number of depictions from the formula; the numbers of the angels and demons have also increased.
We should also pay attention to the following new motifs in Post-Byzantine art as well. On the lower section of fig.2, David, a prophet from the Old Testament, is painted with a musical instrument. A man naked from the waist up lies near by David. Next to them a man covered with a red cloth lies on a platform, and an angel and demon stick him with spears. This motif does not appear in either fig.3 or fig.4, nor does it appear in the Last Judgment in Byzantine art, but it is often seen in Post-Byzantine representations.¹⁰

We also notice a belt-like object that appears in center of each picture, and goes from Adam's feet to the mouth of the monster of Hades. This is the motif that is my main interest in this paper. Adam stands near by Jesus in fig.2 and fig.3, or near the Hetoimasia in fig.4. Under Adam’s foot, there is an object that looks like a bestial head. Then a belt-like object is painted as if it is the lengthened neck of the beast. The belt-like object passes by Hetoimasia (except in fig.4, because the belt-like object appears under the Hetoimasia in this picture), and it arrives at the mouth of a monster in the infernal fires of Hell. There are objects on this belt that look like overlapped double circles. Demons are painted as if they corresponded to each double-circle. This explanation does not apply in the case of fig.3, but we can find demons near by the belt-like object. Twenty double-circles objects are painted in fig.2 and fig.3, but twenty-one are in fig.4.

In Byzantine artistic depictions of the Last Judgment, a “river of fire” is drawn in this place occupied by the belt like object. However, we should not simply see this new belt-like object as a transformation of the fire, because the river of fire is also drawn in other places in addition to the belt in the Post-Byzantine examples. For example, in fig.2,
the fiery river extends over the section depicting the resurrection of people, and it extends above the depiction of Hell’s flames. In the case of fig.3, the stripe of fire extends up from Hell towards the upper right of the picture, and terminates at the feet of Jesus and God. Clearly, the belt-like object is different from the river of fire from earlier art.

**Emergence of a New Motif: Tollgates**

The belt-like object has been considered as a visualization of tollgates (τ ἐλθὼν ἐκ α') images, which are described in the Eastern Orthodox traditions. The tollgates are the places where the souls of dead are investigated. When people die, their soul departs from flesh, and the soul must be investigated at the tollgates to see if the dead committed sins in life. A different is sin examined at each tollgate, with specific examples including gates for homicide, paganism, lying, and so on. The dead have to clarify that they did not committed the sin, or they have accomplished suitable compensation for each toll. If the dead are able pass through all the tollgates, they can go to Heaven, but if they fail in their proof, they are driven into Hell immediately. The Eastern Orthodox Christians compared the examinations of sin and compensation to the payment of a fare during the journey of the soul after death.

**Hagiography of Basil the Younger**

The hagiography of Basil the Younger (a figure who is believed to have lived in Constantinople in the tenth century) explains this image of the tollgates in detail. The hagiography contains two episodes: the vision of the Last Judgment by Gregory who is the author of the hagiography and the pupil of Basil the Younger; and the vision of the tollgates by Theodora who likewise was a pupil of Basil.11

According to Theodora, after her death her soul and her departed from her body, she passed the tollgates accompanied by a guardian angel. At each tollgate, demons waited and fully criticized the manner of her life as if they were prosecutors. Sometimes they told falsehoods to an effort to condemn her to damnation, but Theodora was able to pass through all tollgates, because the guardian angel and Basil the Younger helped her by acting like lawyers in her defense. Finally she arrived Heaven and witnessed the damned being tortured in Hell. According to the Greek text, there are twenty-two tollgates,12 while a Slavic text says there are twenty-one in all,13 but they hold in common the claims that that the final tollgate is “inhumanity and hardness of heart”14(Every p.146). Another folk-tale says there are twenty-four in all.15

The hagiography of Basil the Younger contains articles about the revolt by Constantine Ducas in 913, the emperor Romanus I, and Constantine VII. It states that Basil the Younger died in the reign of Constantine VII, which means he died during the middle of the tenth century. Scholars believe the hagiography was written in a short time after Basil the Younger's death.16 At present there is no original text, however the version
in the *ActaSanctrum* seems to be most closely related to what original might have be been. The two episodes of the world after death were not included in the text of *ActaSanctrum*, but rather appear in the manuscripts written in the thirteenth-century. Slavic manuscripts that included these episodes were written in the fourteen to fifteenth-centuries, and in this period the hagiography became popular in Eastern Orthodox regions. Basil the Younger is described as a merciful miracle performer in the hagiography, but there is no remarkable element in the depiction that is unique to him. It can be said that the importance of the hagiography of Basil the Younger is not the account of his life, but the episodes that describe the world after death to Eastern Orthodox Christians. This situation continues even today; for example, we can find booklets that explain Basil the Younger and what he showed to his pupils.

The episode of the Last Judgment by Gregory seemed to inherit the images of the Last Judgment from the ancient texts. One aspect of this continuity is its detailed categorization of sinners. This text has hardly been studied but it should be mentioned that the episode of Gregory is a compilation based upon older sources that was added into the hagiography of Basil the Younger.

As mentioned above, the proceeding studies have struggled with the question of whether the text by Ephrem the Syrian was source of Last Judgment imagery, yet we should pay at least as much attention to the hagiography of Basil the Younger when we study the images and the iconography of the Last Judgment. Because the text was compiled between the tenth and thirteenth-centuries, while the iconographic formula was being developed up until the eleventh-century, it is possible that these two activities were mutually influential.

Let us return to our main subject. Now we can say that the belt-like object appearing in the Last Judgment is a visualization of the tollgates image because of the texts of the hagiography of Basil the Younger.

**The Image of Tollgates and Last Judgment**

According to the episode by Theodora, the passage through the gates occurs soon after of death. Such an image does not appear in the original Christian eschatology.

**Particular Judgment**

Originally, descriptions of afterlife in Christian accounts were rather simple. In the *Bible*, Christ clearly states that after His second coming, He would judge both the living and dead, and send them to eternally dwell in Heaven or Hell. He did not give any details as to when these events would happen. Christians have thus waited for the time of Christ’s judgment, yet despite the passing of many generations, it has not yet come to pass. Accordingly, it is not surprising that Christians began to ask about what happened to those who died before the second coming. To response, the Eastern Orthodox Church answered as follows: before the Last Judgment, people are tried a temporary judge first,
and they are sent to Heaven or Hell. They then wait there until the Last Judgment occurs. That is, those people who died before Christ's Second Coming are to be judged twice. This first trial is called a “particular” or “private” judgment, while the original Last Judgment is called “universal” or “general” judgment, because it will apply to all human beings at the same time. The passing through the tollgates that occurs soon after death was the occasion when an individual was temporarily sentenced to Heaven or Hell. Thus the image of the tollgates was classified as being particular judgments.

The images of David and the two prone people, as we have seen, are also new motifs in Post-Byzantine Last Judgment iconography. I would include this representation in the particular judgment rubric, because it can be interpreted as two contrary ways of dying and living in this world. We cannot analyze this representation here for the lack of space, but rather can just note that Dumitrescu found that this motif comes from the illustration in manuscripts of Psalms no. 118 according to the Septuagint. Sometimes this motif is named the “death of righteous man”.

We have no definite information on the origins of the particular judgment images including the tollgates. Since the hagiography of Basil the Younger dates to the thirteenth-century, we can trace at least it back this far, but there are indications it may go back to the fourth-century. The notion of Purgatory is well-noted point of cause for the schism between the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches. It was a source of perplexity for Eastern Orthodox Christians when they met encountered this idea, but their puzzlement does not mean their perceptions of events after death were strictly limited to biblical sources. In fact, they had their own images about the world after death.

**Particular Judgment and Universal Judgment**

Now we are able to consider the point that the iconography of the Byzantine era representations of the Last Judgment only depicted the universal judgment, but in the Post-Byzantine era, the motif of particular judgments encroached upon the formula.

I noted above that the Eastern Orthodox iconography, especially Post-Byzantine iconography, tends to be restricted by custom. However, in actuality, re-arrangements were possible provided they accommodated the formula. These arrangements were not be invented on an individual basis, but instead they had to reflect a consensus concerning religious practices held by all Eastern Orthodox believers.

Unlike the universal judgment described in the Bible, particular judgment are not noted, and are instead a so-called folk belief. What we must notice from the inclusion of the particular judgment motif in Last Judgment iconography (which had originally represented only universal judgment) is the importance of the particular judgment to Eastern Orthodox Christians.

At one point in the seventeenth-century the idea of particular judgments was accepted as doctrine, but be that as it may, it fundamentally continued as a folk belief.

But, this does not mean that particular judgments were less important than the universal
judgment. The Eastern Orthodox Christians considered particular judgment to be as important as the Universal Judgment, and accordingly, the motifs of particular judgments acquired their position in the iconography of the universal judgment as if they were components of the Last Judgment formula. Despite scholarly assumptions that the Byzantine formula for images of the Last Judgment remained unaltered, in fact believers did make such a change in the Post-Byzantine era.

It is interesting to note that the addition of tollgate motifs occurred in the northern, or Slavic, regions of Eastern Orthodoxy, although the written texts existed previously in south (Greek) regions. Moreover, in the south even during Post-Byzantine era, we do not find iconography of the Last Judgment containing either tollgates or “the death of righteous men” as a component. At this point I can say nothing certain from this fact, and it should be an important point for further study about Last Judgment images in the Eastern Orthodox Church.

We have an interesting example. Fig.5 is a part of an exterior painting in the Church of St. George from the monastery of Voroneț, in Moldova, Romania.\textsuperscript{23} It was painted over half of the sixteenth-century on the north facade. According to previous studies, there are a number of cells, each of which contains a written sin such as “arrogance,” “lying,” “paganism,” etc.\textsuperscript{24}

In Moldova the phenomena of decorating almost all walls of a church with paintings, even the exterior ones, arose between the fifteenth and sixteen centuries. In those paintings we can find the tollgates at the Church of St. John the Baptist in Arbore, at the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God from Humor, and at the Church of the Annunciation from Moldovița. It is remarkable is that these tollgates are painted independently from the Last Judgment itself. In the Church of St. Georgy, the gates are painted on the north façade, but the Last
Judgment was painted on the west façade. It is impossible to say that these gates are a component of the Last Judgment.

On the other hand, the motif of "the death of righteous man" which also represents particular judgments is painted as a component of the Last Judgment in the lower center section. It can thus be said that in the Moldavian examples of the Last Judgment do include the particular judgment motif.

It is difficult to determine from these Moldavian examples whether they were painted before addition of the tollgates motif into the Last Judgment, or were painted after that and set a separated place. For reason mentioned on the introduction, because it is usually harder to identify the exact date of painted icons than that dates of wall paintings, we do not know whether the three icons predate, or post-date the Moldavian art. Nevertheless, since the tollgates were placed in their own space, we should see the Moldavian paintings as examples for estimating the importance of the tollgate image.

Conclusion
What we can note from the fact that the tollgate motif was added into the Last Judgment is a chronological expansion in the iconography used to represent the Universal Judgment, namely the Second Coming of Christ and events after that. In Post-Byzantine art, the Last Judgment came to reflect two different processes in one scene: particular and universal judgments. This represents an important transition in the representations from the Byzantine to the Post-Byzantine era.

We can say also that the Eastern Orthodox Christians made the Last Judgment more familiar by joining motifs from their original ideas into the formula by the eleventh-century. This then functioned as a successor formula in later periods for maintaining the original Last Judgment image from the early Christianity.

In the Eastern Orthodox Church iconography, I reiterate the point that there is a strong tendency to respect previously established formulas. Due to this fact, it has seemed to observers that such imagery represented an abandoned artistic development, and therefore many expressed little interest in this iconography as a viable subject of study, especially if the artwork came from later periods. But when we change our point of view, this shift allows to us to easily notice obvious changes that are indicative of the imagery’s own background, elements such as the mentality of the community in which the art resides.

In sum, we should not consider this fact of changes in representation simply from the viewpoint of art history. This is a phenomenon of change derived from folk beliefs in certain areas of Eastern Orthodox Christianity that particular judgments were to be similarly positioned with the essential early Christina doctrine of the Last Judgment. Therefore, we should consider these images as indications of the development eschatological images in Eastern Orthodox Christianity, and as a historical sign that even with their adherence to tradition, the Eastern Orthodox Christians composed their own
eschatologies.

4 Not only these phrases, of course; there are many phrases which explain the Second Coming in the Bible.
5 TSUJI Sahoko, “Establishment of Monochromy for Invisible World,” Reading the Iconography of the Middle Ages (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten: 1978), especially pp.175-200. For example, Millet, op.cit. approves this fact but Tsuji, in above “Formalization....”, expresses doubt.
7 We can see a color photo in a digital collection at http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/html_En/index.html
8 We can see a color photo in Room 4 at http://www.ugcc.org.ua/Gallery/Gallery.Entrance.html
10 Acta Sanctorum, March III,1668, 24*-39*. But the episode of the tollgates is not included in AASS. For the tollgates, see follows:


S.G. VILINSKIJ (ed.), Zhitie Sv. Vasilija Novago u russkoj literature (Odessa: 1911).
13 Sorin ULEA, "Originarea i semnifica ia ideorogic a picturii exterioare moldovene ti (2)", in : Studii i Cercet_rii de Istoria Artei, seria alt_plastic _19.1, (Bucre _ti: 1972.)
14 Every, op. cit., p. 146.
17 Ulea, op.cit.
18 Garidis, op. cit. p.24. also Ulea, op. cit.
19 Dumitrescu, op.cit.
20 Ex. Grigore NANDRI , Christian Humanism in the Neo-Byzantine Mural Painting of
In the English RSV translation, being based on Hebrew manuscripts, the Psalms no. 118 in Septuagint slides into no.119.
21 Every, op. cit. Also Michael ANGOLD, Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081-1261, (Cambridge: 1995), especially pp. 441-453.
23 We can see color photo in Maria A.MUSINESCU and Sorin ULEA, Vorone_ (Bucureşti: 1971), pl. 21.
24 Ulea, op.cit.

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