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MORSE, RONALD A. *Yanagita Kunio and the Folklore Movement: The Search for Japan's National Character and Distinctiveness.* The Garland Folklore Library 2. Alan Dundes, series editor. New York/London: Garland Publishing, 1990. xviii+210 pages. Appendix, bibliography. Hardcover US\$29.00; ISBN 0-8240-7146-8.

The publication of this book kills, so to speak, two birds with one stone. Written in the form of an intellectual biography, it not only makes available an "eminently publishable" dissertation (vii), but also introduces the achievements of Yanagita Kunio—a "towering local folklorist" (ix) and the founder of Japanese folklore studies—in a language much more accessible than the original Japanese used by Yanagita himself.

Yanagita Kunio is unquestionably a person who needs and deserves to be discussed within the framework of Japanese intellectual history: the mere translation of his work does not suffice to show his true stature. Yanagita's life (1875–1962) coincided with the period of Japan's emergence (or reemergence) as a modern nation, and reflects, although somewhat obliquely, the pains and strains accompanying the conflict between tradition and progress. It is the special merit of Morse's effort that it situates Yanagita within both the intellectual and social milieu of his time and the circle of his family, friends, colleagues, and disciples. In order to understand, or at least to gain access to, the folklorist Yanagita, one needs to know of his early appreciation of poetry and essayistic writing as well as of his first activities as a high official in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce and other government agencies.

Yanagita is said to have always instructed his students to start by observing and questioning the obvious. To observe well, listen closely, and then think about what one has perceived enables one to develop a feeling for what one studies; only after gaining this kind of empathy with the subject can one begin to write (28). Such was Yanagita's philosophy. How fertile and also how important this idea was becomes clear towards the end of the book, where Morse explains how Yanagita categorized the field of folklore studies. According to Yanagita, folklore studies cover three major areas, the proper understanding of which demands on the part of the researcher increasing degrees of involvement. First is the area of material objects, which even a "casual traveler" (*tabibito* 旅人) can readily observe. Second comes the realm of oral transmission, which requires the attuned ear of a "longtime lodger" (*kigūsha* 寄寓者). However, it is only with the third area, that of mental and emotional phenomena ("social folk customs," to use Morse's term), that the real purpose of folklore studies is attained; this is accessible only to a "fellow villager" (*dōgōnin* 同郷人), since it demands an empathetic understanding of things that are beyond words (see KAWATA 1992, 26).

Morse discusses this approach at some length when he describes Yanagita's attempts to develop a methodology that would establish folklore studies as an independent scientific endeavor. He repeatedly emphasizes that Yanagita's stress was always upon fieldwork, i.e., direct observation, as Yanagita used to do on his frequent and extended travels to villages, first as a government official and later as a reporter for the *Asahi shinbun*. However, one might rightly ask whether such travels amounted to fieldwork in the sense that anthropologists use the term or whether they were not closer to the "field data collection" (144) of a casual traveler (*tabibito*), to use Yanagita's own categorization. As Morse points out, Yanagita's search for methodology is a search for ways to select, handle, and classify data (163) that could then be used for comparison, a comparison that relied "on the juxtaposition and rearrangement of data" (174). This sounds very Frazerian, and, in fact, Morse makes the connection. He also mentions, though, that TSURUMI Kazuko (1975) adopted Yanagita's approach in her concept of "endogenous change" as another paradigm of social change not considered by Western social science. Even if this does comprise a new paradigm, however, the fact remains that many young folklorists are not at ease with the approach. As I see it, the problem may have something to do with Yanagita's attempt to use "empathy" to understand the core area of folklore matters.

It is quite understandable that Morse presents Yanagita primarily as he appears through his own works and statements, but is this really an adequate way to evaluate his approach for non-Japanese readers, especially since Yanagita makes so much of the elusive quality of empathy? In a workshop on Yanagita's international significance held at Cornell University, Tada Michitarō demonstrated this method of empathy and insisted that it is basically unavailable to outsiders. The degree of Yanagita's own empathy with the village people of Japan is not beyond question, however. Speaking at the same workshop, Yoneyama Toshinao mentioned in passing the story of Yanagita's always wearing white socks (*tabi* 足袋) during his travels to the countryside (KOSCHMANN 1985, 52). This was at a time when the farming population in Japan went barefoot or, at best, wore flimsy straw sandals. Might this not reveal something about Yanagita's true attitude toward the villagers, beyond his declared feelings of empathy? Was he not, by wearing these socks, making it clear to the villagers that he was not one of them? And if so, what then of his "fellow-villager" type of understanding (see FUNAKI 1991, 195-213)? Is such deepgoing understanding possible under such circumstances? Or was Yanagita's empathy more the expression of feelings he developed *after having thought about* what he had observed and heard? If this is the case it would mean that his field observations were merely the starting point for his own subjective reactions. It might also be one of the reasons he did not conceive of a "contextual analysis of villages and local areas" (173), since classification and comparison by juxtaposition was sufficient for his purposes.

I am not trying to say that Western sociological analysis is the only possible method. On the other hand, Yanagita's approach reminds me strongly of earlier approaches in German and other European folklore studies. I think Morse would have done an even greater service to the non-Japanese reader if he had demonstrated how Yanagita built his arguments and showed the consequences this had for the interpretation of his material. As it is, Yanagita is mainly presented through Yanagita's own eyes.

Notwithstanding criticisms, Morse's book is to be highly recommended because of its success in placing Yanagita and his outstanding achievements within the context of his time. For alternate views on the matter the reader is advised to consult the papers given at the workshop mentioned above (KOSCHMAN et al. 1985).

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NAUMANN, NELLY. *Die einheimische Religion Japans. Teil 1: Bis zum Ende der Heian-Zeit* [Japan's indigenous religion. Part 1: Until the end of the Heian period]. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. V, Band IV, 1. Abschnitt, Teil 1. H. Hammitzsch, editor. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988. xiv + 299 pages. Bibliography, index. Paper G 140.—(for subscribers G 128); ISBN 90-04-08591-2. (In German)

Nelly Naumann, known for her many publications on Japanese indigenous religion (cf. SCHWADE 1986, 56, 107-108), provides us in the present work with a detailed analysis of the early development of Japan's national religion, Shinto. Characterized by thorough scholarship and careful interpretation, the book deals with the period from Shinto's earliest beginnings until the end of the Heian era (1185).

In her preface the author notes that most Western scholars of Japanese religion (Aston, Florenz, Gundert, Holton, etc.) have focused on the recent development of Shinto rather than on its primeval origins. In so doing they have missed an important aspect of Japan's native religion: since Shinto can be seen as an expression of the traditional values of Japanese culture, its beginnings are deserving of a thorough academic investigation.

Naumann takes up the following themes in the six main chapters of the book:

- I The religious ideas of the prehistoric period
- II From early history to history
- III The myths
- IV Pre-Buddhistic religion and its confrontation with Buddhism
- V The early [Shinto] cult in the Nara and Heian periods until its definitive formulation in the *Engishiki*
- VI Religious developments during the Nara and Heian periods

At the end of each chapter the author adds a very useful summary, in which she presents her conclusions concerning the issues and materials discussed.

In the first two chapters the author turns to the ancient archaeological and historical evidence to produce her own description of Japan's primitive indigenous reli-