

Unmediated Nationalism: Science and Art in Shigetaka Shiga's *The Japanese Landscape* (1894)

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'Discovery of the Landscape' in Modern Japan

According to the orthodox view of cultural history it was not until the modern era, specifically the Renaissance, that Western people ceased to regard natural scenery merely from the viewpoint of utility or religion, and came to see nature as 'landscape', as an aesthetic object¹. This 'discovery of the landscape' is often said to be related to the establishment of the modern autonomous self²: just as the modern self gained its independence from conventional systems of value, accordingly the nature confronting the self gained its own objective independence (enabling, as a result, the self to exploit nature if necessary); then, in order to fill the gap between these two separate entities of the self and nature, landscape was discovered as a compensatory bridge between them, a bridge which, though confined to the pure realm of the aesthetic, promised a harmonious unity of man and nature.

Whether this story is true or not³, what should be noted is that it is often used as an explanatory principle in the context of *Japanese* modernisation. For instance an influential literary critic, Kojin Karatani asserts:

All the translations from Japanese in this paper are the author's.

¹ For one of the earliest examples, see: Jacob Bruckhardt, *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860), IV, iii. Bruckhardt cites Alexander von Humboldt's *Kosmos* (1845) as his precursor, but this type of assertion can be detected already in the aesthetics of the Picturesque of late-eighteenth-century England. Cf. Shin-ichi Anzai, 'Gilpin, Price, and Knight: A Critical Survey of the Aesthetics of the Picturesque', *Aesthetics* (ed. The Japanese Society for Aesthetics), 5 (1992): 65-76. For further examples, see: Rainer Maria Rilke, 'Von der Landschaft' (1932); Kenneth Clarke, *Landscape into Art* (1949); Joachim Ritter, *Landschaft: Zur Funktion des Ästhetischen in der modernen Gesellschaft* (1963); Ernst Gombrich, *Norm and Form* (1966); Augustin Berque, *Nihon-no Fukei, Seiyō-no Keikan* (日本の風景・西欧の景観 — そして造景の時代: *Japanese Landscape / Western Scenery: Towards an Age of Creating Landscape* [originally published in Japanese]) (Tokyo: Kodansya, 1990); Piero Camporesi, *Le belle contrade: nascita del paesaggio italiano* (Milano: Garzanti, 1992); Yoshiaki UCHIDA (内田芳明), *Fukei-no Hakken* (風景の発見: *The Discovery of Landscape*) (Tokyo: Asahi Newspaper Press, 2001); Kazuyoshi ABIKO (安彦一恵), and Yasukuni SATO (佐藤康邦) (eds.), *Fukei-no Tetsugaku* (風景の哲学: *The Philosophy of Landscape*) (Kyoto: Nakanishiya, 2002).

² For a typical example, see: Charles Baudelaire, 'L'homme et la mer (1852), in *Les Fleurs du mal*.

³ Cf. Georg Simmel, 'Philosophie der Landschaft' (1913); Koichi KOSHI (越宏一), *Yoroppa Bizyutsu-shi Kougū* (ヨーロッパ美術史講義 — 風景画の出現: *Lectures on European Art: The Emergence of Landscape Painting*) (Tokyo: Iwanami, 2004); W.J.T. Mitchell, 'Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape', Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (eds.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (London: Routledge, 1997). There is abundant evidence that at least the Japanese cultural elite, including painters, had long adopted the modern Western way of viewing the landscape, even before Japan reopened trading with the Western countries in 1859. Cf. Tomoo KAHIWAGI (柏木智雄), Shino KURAIISHI (倉石信乃), and Yasuhide SHINBATA (新畑泰秀), *Akarui Mado* (明るい窓 — 風景表現の近代: *Transparent Windows: Politics of Landscape*) (Tokyo: Taisyukan, 2003).

It was as late as the 20's of the Meiji period [1868-1912] that 'landscape' was discovered in Japan. . . . Before then Japanese people had known no landscape as such. If one realises this, one can clearly see the multiple significance of 'the discovery of the landscape' in Japan. . . . The landscape was a new epistemological structure.⁴

In the discussion of this 'discovery of the landscape' in Meiji Japan, the significant role that Shiga Shigetaka's *The Japanese Landscape* (1894)⁵ played has been always emphasised. As the number of the book's contemporary reviews reveals, its importance was already recognised at the time⁶. For example, a pioneer of Japanese mountaineering literature, Usui Kojima (1873-1948) affirms that Shiga's *The Japanese Landscape* was

the most innovative work in those days. . . . Even if one can find there some small errors from the advanced viewpoint of today's scientific knowledge, the immense influence [Shiga] exerted on the youths of the day can never be denied. . . . It seems that ever since its publication such conventional landscape beauty as was represented by Oumi-hakkei [eight scenic sights around Biwako Lake] or Nihon Sankei [the three most scenic sights in Japan] has been utterly abandoned.⁷

Of course, there might be some exaggeration in Kojima's words. Indeed Shiga's *Japanese Landscape* has some precedents, and other similar books were published at the time⁸; also, it has been pointed out that Shiga silently borrowed from some English books concerning the same subject⁹. Nonetheless, the strong influence of Shiga's book on the succeeding generations is too apparent to deny. It was literally a best-seller in Meiji: from its publication to 1903 it witnessed 15 new editions and has been continuously republished even to this day. Its popularity in the Meiji period is said to be second only to that of books by Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834-1901), the most influential thinker in the early modern Japan in general. In addition it is well known that *The Japanese Landscape* was epoch-making in the history of modern Japanese mountaineering based

⁴ Kojin KARATANI (柄谷行人), *Nihon Kindai Bungaku no Kigen* (日本近代文学の起源: *The Origins of Japanese Modern Literature*) (Tokyo: Kodansya, 1980): pp. 17, 21. See also, Takanori LEE (李孝徳), *Hyo-sho Kuukan no Kindai* (表象空間の近代: *The Modern Spatiality of Representation: The Formation of the Media in Meiji 'Japan'*), (Tokyo: Shin-yo-sha, 1996).

⁵ Shigetaka SHIGA (志賀重昂), *Nihon Fukei-ron* (日本風景論: literally, *Treatise on [or Theory of] on the Japanese Landscape*, 1894). The quotations from it in this paper are all from the edition by Nobuyuki KONDO (近藤信行), (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1995).

⁶ Cf. Mikio OMURO (大室幹雄), *Shiga Shigetaka Nihon Fukei-ron Seidoku* (志賀重昂『日本風景論』精読: *A Close Reading of Shigetaka Shiga's The Japanese Landscape*) (Tokyo: Iwanami, 2003), esp. Chs. 1 and 2.

⁷ Usui KOJIMA (小山鳥水), 'Commentary on Shiga Shigetaka, *The Japanese Landscape*, first Iwanami-Bunko ed.' (1937); rpt. SHIGA, op.cit., ed. KONDO, pp. 368-71.

⁸ OMURO, op.cit., esp. Chs. 5 and 6.

⁹ Ken KUROIWA (黒岩健), *Tozan-no Reimei* (登山の黎明 — 『日本風景論』の謎をめぐって: *The Dawn of Mountaineering: The Mystery of The Japanese Landscape*) (Tokyo: Pelican, 1979).

on the Western model, without traditional religious bias¹⁰. Moreover, as I shall mention in the last section, the book originated a modern tradition of similar books on the Japanese landscape, a tradition which continues even today. It can be safely said, then, Shiga's *The Japanese Landscape* was the most outstanding contribution to the 'discovery of the landscape' in modern Japan.

This strong influence of the book owes much to its obvious nationalistic character: it was published just at the time of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and thus coincided with a strong upsurge of nationalism in the Japanese public; very probably Shiga was conscious that the book's nationalist tendency would be advantageous to its promotion¹¹. This paper is not, however, intended to refute Shiga's nationalist statements (the political incorrectness of which is so apparent as to make such refutation unnecessary), nor to criticise the shakiness of his quasi-scientific discussions (as pointed out by Kojima), but rather to focus on the book's rhetorical structure, in order to show this structure itself is one of the main elements supporting and effecting its nationalism. It is needless to say that there have been many preceding studies of *The Japanese Landscape*, not a few of them mentioning its stylistic aspects¹²; but the relationship between the rhetorical structure and the nationalism of the book has not been fully investigated.

The Two-sidedness of *The Japanese Landscape*: 'Reconciling Science with Literature'

It is open to dispute whether or not *The Japanese Landscape* itself was *truly* innovative in the modern Japanese 'discovery of the landscape': commentators following the above-mentioned Karatani detect a definitive epistemological turn in the book¹³, whereas those conversant with traditional Chinese and Japanese literature emphasise its continuity with the pre-modern era, i.e., with the conventional topographies of famous sites and travel guidebooks published in the preced-

¹⁰ Usui KOJIMA (小島烏水), *Arupinisuto-no Shyuki* (アルピニストの手記: *Notes by an Alpinist*) (1936; 1939; Tokyo: Heibonsya, 1996); Masahiko ARAYAMA (荒山正彦), 'Meiji-ki-ni okeru Fukei-no Jyuyo (明治期における風景の受容 — 「日本風景論」と山岳会: Reception of Landscape in the Meiji Period: *The Japanese Landscape* and the Mountaineering Club)', *Jinbun Chiri* (人文地理: *Human Geography*), 41 (6) (1989): 551-64.

¹¹ Even today *The Japanese Landscape* is praised in the context of right-wing nationalism: e.g., Yoshio AKI (安芸由夫), 'Shiga Shigetaka to Nihon Fukei-ron (志賀重昂と『日本風景論』 — 国際的地理学者の国粹保存の視線: Shigetaka Shiga and *The Japanese Landscape*: The Viewpoint of the Preservation of National Characteristics by an International Geographer)', *Nihon oyobi Nihon-jin* (日本及日本人: *Japan and the Japanese Nation*), 1634 (1999): 98-106; Takeshi WATANABE (渡部武), 'Nihon Fukei-ron no Keifu (『日本風景論』の系譜 — 志賀重昂の繋ぐ中世と昭和: Genealogy of *The Japanese Landscape*: The Middle Ages and Showa Period Bridged by Shiga Shigetaka)', *ibid.*, 1636 (1999): 27-37.

¹² Cf. esp. OMURO, *op.cit.* Also, for a detailed study with wide references to previous studies, see: Uichi MORITANI (森谷宇一), 'Shiga Shigetaka *Nihon Fukei-ron* wo Yomu (志賀重昂『日本風景論』を読む: Reading Shigetaka Shiga's *The Japanese Landscape*)', *Bungei-gaku Kenkyu* (文芸学研究: *Studies in Literary Criticism*) (Osaka University), 6 (2002): 1-63.

¹³ Norihiro KATO (加藤典洋), *Nihon Fukei-ron* (日本風景論: *The Japanese Landscape*) (1990; Tokyo: Kodansha, 2000); LEE, *op.cit.*; UCHIDA, *op.cit.* For the revolutionary character of Shiga's *The Japanese Landscape*, see also: Jyoichi HIZIKATA (土方定一), 'Commentary', Shigetaka SHIGA, *The Japanese Landscape* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1967), II: 178-85.

ing Edo period (1603-1867) and even before¹⁴.

Probably it is nearest to the truth to say that the book has these two sides of old and new at once. On the one hand *The Japanese Landscape* is obviously based on newly imported Western science, classifying and analysing the whole of Japan (a relatively new concept itself) from the vantage point of the latest knowledge of geography. Five years before *The Japanese Landscape* Shiga had already published *Lectures on Geography* (1889), and the basic concepts of both books are similar to each other. Although Fukuzawa and others had introduced Western geography before Shiga, Shiga's full-scale geographical analysis of Japan must have felt very novel to ordinary readers at the time. On the other hand, however, the most conspicuous feature of *The Japanese Landscape* is its old-fashioned, quasi-Chinese style, with abundant, exuberant citations from ancient Japanese and Chinese literature (almost to the degree of making some of the text unintelligible to the average Japanese reader today). Shiga was good at Chinese literature (including Japanese literature written only in Chinese characters), and was regarded as one of the three best Chinese-style literati of the day alongside Soho Tokutomi (1863-1957) and Sanshi Toukai (1852-1922). In fact many of the contemporary reviews of *The Japanese Landscape* admire its ancient style and literary character. It is true that, having been educated at Sapporo Agricultural College (together with the famous Christian writer, Kanzo Uchimura [1861-1930]¹⁵), and being familiar with English literature, Shiga at times cites in *The Japanese Landscape* original English sentences from writers such as John Ruskin. But there is no evidence in the book of any interest in the contemporary 'modern' Japanese literature developed by Koyo Ozaki (1867-1903), Rohan Koda (1867-1947), and others under the influence of Western literature; and Shiga's style and rhetoric are far from modern. In short *The Japanese Landscape* is both ancient and modern: to cite Kojima again, it was an attempt to 'reconcile science with literature'¹⁶.

To cite a representative example: a passage titled 'Vapour in Sanin-do and Hokuriku-do Districts', begins by explaining scientific facts, but then concludes all of a sudden with a *haiku* (Japanese very short poem):

During the winter in Sanin and Hokuriku Districts the north-western winds from the Asian continent coming to Japan via the Sea of Japan carry the water vapour rising from the sea, and then hit the high mountains in the middle of the Japanese mainland, where the vapour remains in the form of clouds. As a result, in these mountains the water vapour is dense, and snow and ice fill all the surrounding areas. Conversely, during the summer the climate is drastically different: whereas the Pacific coast of Japan, under the influence of the

¹⁴ OMURO (op.cit., p. 51) asserts: 'Shiga's innovation only lies in his renaming old terms like "Enka", "Unmu", "Un-en" [all designating "mist" or "cloud"] as "water vapour".'

¹⁵ Uchimura published *Chiri-gaku Ko* (地理学考: *Thoughts on Geography*) in the same year as Shiga's *The Japanese Landscape* (Uchimura's treatise would be republished as *Chizin-ron* [地人論: *Thoughts on the Earth and Man*] in 1897). For the relationship of the two, see, for example: Norihisa SUZUKI (鈴木範久), *Uchimura Kanzo to sono Jidai* (内村鑑三とその時代 — 志賀重昂との比較: *Uchimura Kanzo and his Times: A Comparison with Shigetaka Shiga*) (Tokyo: Japanese Christian Press, 1975).

¹⁶ KOJIMA, 'Commentary', p. 368.

seasonal wind from the Indian Ocean, becomes humid and rainy in the summer, the Sanin region on the other side of the mainland is hardly influenced by the seasonal wind. Therefore, the early summer in Sanin region is characterised by:

'A little cuckoo's voice is so fine in the Izumo mountain [a mountain in Sanin region]'. [A haiku] by Hiroyuki. (60)

This kind of abrupt and almost arbitrary union between geography and literature, science and arts, new and old makes up the basic building block composing *The Japanese Landscape*, and is repeated again and again throughout the book¹⁷.

Such a two-sided character might well be seen as a proof that this book was written in a transitional period. Also, this doubleness can be attributed to the genre 'Chi-bungaku' (Geoliterature) prevalent in the period¹⁸. At any rate, this two-sidedness characterises the entire book, including its illustrations: on the one hand the illustrations by Hibata Sekko (for example figs. 1 and 2, reproduced at the end of this paper) belong to the old tradition of *ukiyo-e* (Japanese coloured woodblock prints), while on the other hand those by Meishi Ebina (for example figs. 3 and 4) are depicted in the realistic and 'scientific' Western style recently introduced into Japan.

Such two-sidedness must have surely contributed in great measure to the book's popularity¹⁹. But at the same time it imparts to the book an impression of being split; in spite of Kojima's praise of its attempt to 'reconcile' new with old, it seems more like a 'chimera', to cite another commentator's description²⁰. The most conspicuous rhetorical structure of *The Japanese Landscape* seems to consist in this kind of unmediated connection, the significance of which shall be considered next.

¹⁷ For the characteristic way in which *The Japanese Landscape* repeats morphologically similar units throughout, see: Tadahiko HIGUCHI (樋口忠彦), 'Shiga Shigetaka (志賀重昂)', in Kenzo UCHIDA (ed.), *Nihon wo Hakken-suru* (日本を発見する: *Rediscovery of Japan*) (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986), pp. 35-68.

¹⁸ Hideo KAMEI (亀井秀雄), 'Nihon Kindai-no Fukei Ron (日本近代の風景論 — 志賀重昂『日本風景論』の場合: The Theory of Landscape in Modern Japan: The Case of Shigetaka Shiga's *The Japanese Landscape*)', in Yoichi KOMORI (小森陽一), et al. (eds.), *Tsukurareta Shizen* (つくられた自然: *The Forged Nature*) (Tokyo: Iwanami, 2003), pp. 17-41. Shiga himself uses the term, 'Chi-bungaku', as shall be shown in a quotation below.

¹⁹ Daikichi IROKAWA (色川大吉), 'Shiga Shigetaka, Nihon Fukei-ron (志賀重昂『日本風景論』: Shigetaka Shiga, *The Japanese Landscape*)', The Editorial Board of the *Economist* (ed). *Nihon Kindai-no Meicho* (日本近代の名著: *An Anthology of Great Books in Modern Japan*), (Tokyo: Mainichi Newspaper, 1966), pp. 71-78.

²⁰ Fumio YONECHI (米地文夫), 'Shiga Shigetaka Nihon Fukei-ron no Kimaira-teki Seikaku to sono Keikan-ninshiki (志賀重昂『日本風景論』のキマイラの性格とその景観認識: The Chimera-like Character of Shigetaka Shiga's *The Japanese Landscape* and its Concept of Scenery', *Iwate-daigaku Kyouiku-gakubu Kenkyu-nenpo* (岩手大学教育学部研究年報: *Annual Report of the Faculty of Education, Iwate University*), 56 (1), (1996): 15-34.

The Reorganisation of Landscape Beauty within a Scientific Framework: Schematisation into Homogeneous Planes

To repeat, the unmediated connection of science and literature throughout *The Japanese Landscape* impresses the reader as abrupt and arbitrary. If one traces the repetitions of such units, however, one can detect some regularity. Let us look at another, similar example:

The high mountains in the middle of the Japanese mainland, due to the density of the water vapour clinging there during the winter, are filled with ice and snow. Taking this into consideration, it would be natural that the ice and snow melting in the summer, if once touched by a little cooler air, should be frozen into what is called a ‘glacier’; but because of the high temperature, they do not do that. . . . On the summit of Mt. Harinoki, though, even in the height of summer one can see a large area of snow (approximately 8 km by 8 km) as well as snow in the valleys, which one could consider to be a glacier.

To summarise:

‘What a rush! Summer comes in while people are still watching cherry blossoms [symbolising spring]’. [A *haiku*] by Fusen.

This poem covers all the phenomena of the summer coming along the Japan Sea coast. The seventeen characters [composing the poem] well surpass a hundred volumes of *Chi-bungaku* (Geo-literature) and thousands of meteorological data. (62)

Here, literature abruptly connected to science epitomises the immensity of scientific facts, while science explains the framework which provides materials to be expressed in a poetical and artistic manner. As a result one gets the impression that science and the arts are connected causally, not casually (even though in fact there exists a gap between them). Such quasi-causal connections between science and the arts are repeated endlessly throughout *The Japanese Landscape*, making up the entire book.

This is not only true of its descriptions of particular landscapes, but also of its overall structure. Putting aside some appendant parts, *The Japanese Landscape* is composed of the following four parts: ‘The diversity and variety of the Japanese climate and currents’, ‘The richness of Japanese water vapour’, ‘The abundance of Japanese volcanic rocks’, and ‘The erosive force of Japanese rivers’. In other words the book systematically classifies the entire Japanese landscape using the framework of science. And then, at the end of each of these four chapters is attached a list of artistic expressions which the same scientific facts make possible: i.e., at the end of chapter one is attached ‘a list of [artistic] subjects concerning Japanese living things’, and at the end of chapter two, ‘a list of [artistic] subjects concerning Japanese water vapour’; though there is no specific list attached to chapter three, at the end of chapter four is attached a comprehensive address titled ‘To Japanese literati, poets, painters, sculptures and men of taste’. To quote from the last part:

I demand that the literati, poets, painters, sculptures and men of taste of this insular

empire [of Japan], if they would like to produce unprecedented masterpieces unique in the whole world, should seek subject matter only in things peculiar to Japan. . . . They should devote all their energy solely to Japanese water vapour, volcanoes (whether active or dormant), volcanic rocks, and violent erosion by currents. (317)

Thus, in a sense *The Japanese Landscape* as a whole is oriented towards works of art as its epitomes, while science supplies a quasi-teleological framework.

What is remarkable here is the schematic character of this scientific framework, which charts the whole of Japan in neutral and comprehensive geometrical terms. For example, Shiga divides Japan into two parts in a clear-cut way, the Sea of Japan side and the Pacific Ocean side, before enumerating the differences between them according to a simplistic contrastive table: 'the Sea of Japan side has many steep slants and precipices' whereas 'the Pacific Ocean side has few steep slants or precipices', etc. (24-29). Shiga, who often emphasises the importance of volcanoes to the Japanese landscape, first divides all the Japanese volcanoes into five classes according to their locations, then sub-divides four of these classes into several sub-classes, and then almost endlessly enumerates examples of each class, so as to eventually comprehend the whole of Japan in one single schema (98-173). He also says:

The shape of Japan is narrow widthwise, and extends tenuously lengthwise; in the middle of its land a range of steep mountains runs parallel to the sea coasts. . . . So, if some heavenly being should cut the Japanese mainland into two with a godly axe from above, then the section would be in the shape of an acute triangle. (265)

Thus, the Japanese land as a whole is charted into a schema, formulated on a geometric flat tableau. This type of formulation, as well as other spatial systematisations recently made possible, such as the first scientifically accurate maps of Japan, must have been at once novel and appropriate to the contemporary Japanese public sphere: Japan before the Meiji period had been a loosely connected alliance of independent *han* (feudal domains), which after the beginning of the Meiji period was drastically unified and cast into a new identity under a modern regime²¹.

It should be recalled, however, that in *The Japanese Landscape* the artistic expressions which the scientific schema supports and aims at are in themselves only of traditional types. For example, in spite of the above-mentioned words of Kojima, it is clearly repugnant to Shiga to deny conventional depictions of famous sites (321f.). Indeed in *The Japanese Landscape* many of the older types of famous sites are included. What the book actually achieved is, therefore, the re-organisation and schematisation of the Japanese scenic beauties including traditional ones, by utilising a newly introduced scientific schema and quasi-causal teleology.

In accordance with this, the particular landscapes Shiga describes are characterised by the

²¹ Cf. LEE, op.cit. For an analysis from a somewhat different perspective, see: Kenji SATO (佐藤健二), *Fukei-no Seisan, Fukei-no Kaiho* (風景の生産・風景の解放 — メディアのアルケオロジー: *The Production of Landscape, the Liberation of Landscape: An Archaeology of the Media*), (Tokyo: Kodansya: 1994).

homogeneous flatness of tableaux. For example an old celebrated place, Mt. Hiei, where a most important Buddhist temple-complex is situated, is described as follows:

From Kyoto city via Tanaka and Ichijoji one can reach the west side of the mountain. . . . also, from Ohtsu town one can reach Hie Shrine; from there one climbs about 1 km, to reach Hanatsumi Shrine; from there one climbs again about 2 km, to finally arrive at the central pavilion of Enryaku-ji Temple; from there after walking about 800 m, one reaches the summit. . . . where one can view the whole city of Kyoto, the banks of the Kamo River, the whole of Lake Biwako, and the Oumi-hakkei [eight conventionally celebrated scenic sights around Lake Biwako], all of which come to one's eyes, making one huge panorama. . . . (236)

Such panoramic, flat views are ubiquitous in *The Japanese Landscape*²². It is noteworthy in the description above that no mention is made of religion at all, even though Mt. Hiei is one of the most important traditional holy places of Japan; the names of shrines and temples function only as signposts.

Moreover, along with its scientific orientation, *The Japanese Landscape* as a whole has a clearly anti-religious tendency²³. For instance, Shiga rejects traditional Japanese religious worship of mountains as a mere superstition:

Since volcanoes exhibit great natural powers in a most fantastic way, vulgar people have worshipped them reverentially. The great gods and shrines of Mts. Fuji, Asama, Togakushi [etc.] . . . are, however, venerated just because people assume volcanoes to be residences of gods and Buddhist entities. (246)

Thus, conventional notable sites are deprived of their religious transcendence and privileges, and then indifferently schematised into homogeneous planes with the assistance of science.

Against this, of course, it may be argued that Shiga's insistence on the beauty of mountains and his well-known encouragement of mountaineering suggest some kind of transcendence or verticality. But 'Encouragement of mountaineering,' the most important section of *The Japanese Landscape* in this context, includes the following sentences:

When you climb a mountain and look down from the top, with clouds rising from below under your feet, the topography of the flat world will appear as if collected towards you; you could play with the whole world in your palm, so to speak; you are not among human beings; it is as if you were in heaven, and looked at this planet from outer space. (203)

²² E.g., SHIGA, ed.cit., pp. 32, 59, 62, 120, 214, 277, 355.

²³ In this regard, Shiga's ideas characteristically differ from Uchimura's as stated in the latter's *Chiri-gaku Ko* (地理学考: *Thoughts on Geography*, 1894) mentioned above. Cf. OMURO, op.cit.; UCHIDA, op.cit.; SUZUKI, op.cit.

Just as in the example of Mt. Hiei above, the spatial verticality is merely a means to transform the world into a homogeneous plane ('the flat world')²⁴.

From Absence of Human Beings towards Nationalism: The Structure of the Unmediated

In sum, the modernity of *The Japanese Landscape* in the contemporary context lay in a reorganisation and schematisation of landscape beauty into a homogeneous flatness within a scientific framework, and a removal of privileges from conventional notable places, leading to the subsequent discovery of so-called 'anonymous landscape'²⁵. This discovery can be rightly identified with that of anonymous human beings set among scenery which the critic Kojin Karatani detected in Doppo Kunikida's ground-breaking novel, 'Unforgettable People', published in Doppo's *Musashino* (1898) ('Musashino' is an older name for the area which now forms the western suburbs of Tokyo).

Nevertheless, it is not necessarily correct to regard, as Karatani does, this homogeneous flatness as a correlative of the modern autonomous subject or what Karatani calls 'the introverted man'. It is suggestive in this respect that in the quotation cited above, Shiga describes the spectator on the mountain top as being 'not among human beings'. On the anonymous plane of *The Japanese Landscape*, human beings are almost entirely absent; although some human figures do appear just as ornaments to the scenery, there is almost no evidence of real human lives making real landscapes --- no society nor history, still less politics --- to witness there²⁶.

Generally speaking, landscape is not a purely natural phenomenon, but a half socio-historical construct which takes time to be matured; in addition, it must go through accumulated cultural mediations and formations so as to be embodied in aesthetically and artistically valuable expressions. Shiga's neglect of these human aspects of the landscape, therefore, is without doubt a fatal defect in his theory²⁷. But it is exactly this kind of 'non-human' character which is essential to, and which was modern about, his theory. As we have seen, the schematisation of the land and

²⁴ The aesthetic category Shiga posits in the Introduction, 'Tetto (跌宕)', surely possesses some verticality rather akin to the Western 'sublime'. Cf. Akihiro HAMASHITA (浜下昌宏), 'Shiga Shigetaka Nihon Fukei-ron-ni miru Nihon-teki Suukou-no Kanousei (志賀重昂『日本風景論』にみる日本的崇高の可能性: The Possibility of the Japanese Sublime in Shigetaka Shiga's *The Japanese Landscape*: 'Tetto', Worship of Mountains, and National Characteristics)', *Bungei-gaku Kenkyu* (文芸学研究: *Studies in Literary Criticism*) (Osaka University), 8 (2004): 1-25. But Shiga's descriptions of this aesthetic category tend to concentrate on flatness, again: e.g., 'All the terrain is covered with plum flowers, with the moon shining on them; one cannot see any other thing there' (23). In addition, the section on 'Tetto' (pp. 22f.) as a whole consists of a sheer enumeration of examples, giving one the impression that it was necessary just for a systematic reason (classification for classification's sake), not that he really recognised its importance (in this sense it further testifies to his theory's characteristic of schematisation). Such a tendency applies (*mutatis mutandis*) also to the concept of the 'Yukon' (grandeur or boldness) of Japanese plants (e.g., pp. 34-35, 195).

²⁵ Cf. KARATANI, *op.cit.*; KATO, *op.cit.*; LEE, *op.cit.*

²⁶ OMURO (*op.cit.*) also points out that *The Japanese Landscape* lacks a sociological viewpoint.

²⁷ Shiga certainly speaks about the 'maintenance' of landscape (pp. 321ff.), but he never mentions its creation, which seems to be a defect, again. Cf. BERQ, *op.cit.*

the landscape into a homogeneous flatness within a scientific framework, for example, was in tandem with his refusal of pre-modern and religious historicity. Also, the rhetorical structure of works of art emerging from a matrix of science according to a quasi-causal teleology seems to presuppose the absence of human beings, of their socio-historical realities: throughout his book works of art often derive almost automatically from natural facts explained by science, with virtually no human, socio-historical mediation bridging the gap between art and science, which is exactly why their connection gives the impression of abruptness.

As an example let us look at the following passage, which at first glance seems to be an exception, for there Shiga discusses a socio-political phenomenon: 'peace'. But in fact he too easily connects 'peace' with the natural givens explained by science, without any human mediation between them.

The concept of the utmost 'peace' is best represented by the crater lake. Who knows this representative of the utmost 'peace' used to be a violent volcanic crater, with deafening roars, flashing lights, rising fires, melting rocks, sulphurous smoke, and scattered scorching ashes? What is 'peace', what is 'peace'? One must know true peace can never be obtained without a thorough exhaustion of material powers. . . . Should you like to be actively involved in the front line of society, exerting your volcanic energy to be famous and respected for your achievements, and should you like eventually to go back home, then I beg you to live by a crater lake; there you will end your life in the utmost peace, not infected by miasma, without any marsh gas evaporating from the crater, and with your body quietly nurtured . . . (178f.)

That is to say, persons who have been as active in society as volcanoes will be able to spend their retirement most peacefully by a crater lake. The original Japanese sentences by Shiga here are stylistically excellent with both scientific technical terms and brilliant Chinese idioms scattered among them. But behind his exquisite rhetoric one can detect an abrupt and unmediated causality, an almost inhuman environmental determinism (something allegedly typical of Japanese mentality)²⁸.

This unmediated causality in Shiga is problematic because it is exactly such a rhetorical structure that enables his vehement nationalism throughout *The Japanese Landscape*: his nationalism is based on the almost automatic justification of the superiority of the beauty of the

²⁸ Such an absence of human elements surely has some aesthetic relish. Cf. Soseki Natsume's concept of 'hi-ninjo' (literally, inhumanity or nil admirari) in his famous novel, *Kusamakura* (1906; Engl. tr. *The Three-Cornered World*, tr. Alan Turney [Tokyo: Tuttle, 1968]), which foregrounds the picturesque way of seeing people and landscape as so many pictures. Something similar can be seen in the sense of emancipation from human affairs which KATO (op.cit.) detects in contemporary novels by Haruki Murakami and Banana Yoshimoto. As Soseki himself suggests, in such instances there is probably some 'Japanese' quality in the concept of landscape beauty. Cf. Shin-ichi Anzai, 'Transplantation of the Picturesque: Emma Hamilton, English Landscape, and Redeeming the Picturesque,' Lorraine Dowler, Josephine Carubia, and Bonj Szczygiel (eds.), *Gender and Landscapes: Renegotiating Morality and Space* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 56-74.

Japanese landscape over that of other Asian and Western²⁹ countries by virtue of those characteristics of the Japanese natural environment objectively testified to by science³⁰. For instance, Shiga asserts the Japanese landscape is superior to its Korean and Chinese counterparts:

One fifth of the surface of the Japanese land being composed of [volcanic] rocks, it is quite natural that Japanese scenery should be so excellent. On the other hand, the Korean land is mainly made up of a primitive and primeval geology, with few volcanic rocks. Also, the Chinese land in the north is all from the Quaternary period, just composed of a very monotonous, large extension of aqueous rocks, called 'yellow soil', of about 168,000 km² (which means 1.7 times as large as the whole of Japan). . . . As a result fine yellow dust is scattered all around, coming into people's houses, covering the leaves of trees, accumulating in the countryside, making spring waters muddy and the whole landscape dreary. . . . (86f.)

Such unmediated and quasi-causal justification of the superiority of the beauty of the Japanese landscape based on science is repeated throughout *The Japanese Landscape*; a most typical example of such justification can be seen concerning Mt. Fuji (the highest mountain in Japan, of course):

All the people around the world unanimously admire Mt. Fuji. . . . Its excellence, however, can be explained by science. What makes Mt. Fuji so excellent in scientific terms consists in the following: if the mountain (all from its bottom plane to its top) should be divided evenly by vertical axes at equal distances, and if the sum of the lengths of any two random adjacent axes should be divided by their remainder, then the quotient would be constant, as if constituting the rule of the exponential line. In addition to this regular proportion, the mountain presents a subtle artistic figure. So, it is natural that:

'The bell-shaped mountain gathers the spiritual air around it. / In its east is formed a gulf. / The heavenly architect could not do better. / There should be no such mountain ever'. [A Chinese poem written by a Japanese.] Unrei Ishino.

I agree that 'The heavenly architect could not do better'; it is no accident that Japanese

²⁹ There is a subtle difference between Shiga's response to other Asian and Western landscapes: i.e., he tends to consider the former as basically inferior to the Japanese landscape, and the latter as equal (or potentially superior) to it (e.g., pp. 22, 35, 42, 83, 174-75, 180, 187, 190-91, 209, 326). One can detect here manifestations of the typical ideology of 'Quit Asia and Join Europe', of the inferiority complex towards the West, and of the psychological reaction against the menace of contemporary China. Cf. Takeo HIKIFUNE (船曳建夫), '*Nihon-jin Ron*' *Saikou* (「日本人論」再考: *Rethinking Theories of the Japanese Nation*) (Tokyo: NHK Publishing, 2003), pp. 57-61.

³⁰ Ai Maeda, analysing Shiga's theory of landscape and nationalism, says that in his memoirs of the later Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), which he wrote while accompanying the army to the continent, Shiga tends to concentrate only on the landscape and ignore the realities of the war. Ai MAEDA, 'Shiga Shigetaka to Nichiro Sensou (志賀重昂と日露戦争: Shigetaka Shiga and the Russo-Japanese War)' (1973), in *Genkei no Meiji* (幻景の明治: *The Illusory Meiji Period*) (Tokyo: Asahi Newspaper Press, 1978).

people admire Mt. Fuji, depicting it in sculpture, painting, and poetry, and revering it as the ultimate in beautiful mountains. (96f.; cf. 329f.)

It is needless to point out that here again, the neutral scientific schema is abruptly connected with artistic evaluation.

Importantly, this superiority of Mt. Fuji is utilised to justify Japan's colonialist invasion of other parts of Asia³¹ (the following had already been written by the time of the Sino-Japanese War):

Now the realm of the Japanese Empire has expanded into Taiwan . . . Also, within a year the Shandong Peninsula [in China] will possibly be incorporated into our Empire. In Shandon is situated Mt. Tai which Chinese people have revered as 'Tai-sou' [the main peak] since ancient times. . . . Let us make our Mt. Fuji the 'Tai-sou'; also let us name Mt. Kuril Chacha-nobori [in Kuril Islands, now in Russia] 'Kuril Fuji', Mt. Iburishibeshi [in Hokkaido, so named by the Ainu aboriginal people] 'Ezo Fuji', Mt. Iwaki 'Tsugaru Fuji' [etc.]. . . . As well as 'Satsuma Fuji' (originally, Mt. Kaimon), the highest mountain in Taiwan, Mt. Morrison, is similar in shape to Mt. Fuji, so let the name be changed into 'Taiwan Fuji'; Mt. Tai in Shandon, China, shall be soon renamed 'Shandon Fuji'. In this way we should give the title 'Fuji' to all the important mountains around us. (319f.)

Here again, the (almost ridiculously) undisguised colonialist discourse is only justified by the superficial schema of 'similarity in shape'; consequently, mediating elements, such as the religious, cultural and historical significance of Mt. Fuji, or human life and society in Asia, are not taken in consideration.

Also, we can interpret the famous opening passage of *The Japanese Landscape* as being based on the same rhetorical structure. The book begins with the noted sentence, 'the rivers and mountains of one's homeland are beautiful'; then Shiga cites the examples of Ainu and Eskimo (Inuit) indigenous people, who once having left their homeland, nevertheless returned home in spite of the harsh climate.

Human feelings are very easily touched. Who never expatiates upon the beauties of his or her own homeland? This is merely a kind of idea, however. But Japanese people talk about the beauties of Japanese nature not only because it is their homeland, but also because of the absolute quality of the beauty of Japanese nature. Foreign visitors to Japan all liken it to a terrestrial paradise, never hesitating to behave naturally in the way the following poem suggests:

'If Chinese or Koreans behold the spring sunrise in Miyoshi-no [in Japan] with the

³¹ For similar problems of the landscape in Japanese colonies, see: Tomoo KAHIWAGI (柏木智雄), Shino KURAISHI (倉石信乃), and Yasuhide SHINBATA (新畑泰秀), *Shitsu-Rakuen* (失樂園 — 風景表現の近代 1870-1945: *Paradise Lost: The Politics of Landscape 1870-1945*) (Tokyo: Taisyukan, 2004), Ch. 5.

first sunlight hitting the cherry blossoms, then they will surely have the Japanese heart'. [A *tanka*, i.e., a short Japanese poem] by Sanyou Rai.

I believe the great artist, Nature has concentrated the utmost of her artistry on Japan. That is why the Japanese landscape is unique in the whole wide world. . . . (13f.)

Here Shiga's arrogantly discriminative, nationalist implications are so evident that a cursory comment will suffice: he uses the argument that if even inferior Ainu and Eskimo love their homelands, how much more will the advanced Japanese people do the same; also, he identifies these inferior natives with coarse natural environments, expelling them from 'beautiful Japan'.

What should be noted here is, rather, that the ubiquitous rhetorical structure of unmediated connection is apparent already in this famous opening passage. True, Shiga mentions some human beings here, but they are only either primitive natives almost identical with the natural landscape, or people contemplating landscape (including 'Japanised' people, i.e., the allegedly civilised Chinese and Koreans); that is, there are no human subjects who actively construct socio-historical realities through confrontation. Japan is likened to a 'terrestrial paradise' transcending the noise of real history. Most interesting is the relationship between the universal proposition, 'all human beings consider their homeland beautiful' and the particular one, 'Japanese people consider Japan beautiful'. Shiga asserts that the former is just an 'idea', while the latter is based on an 'absolute quality'; enumerating examples of the former he abruptly interrupts the description with a 'But', and then affirms the absolute superiority and uniqueness of the particular Japanese landscape over that of all other countries. In short, by a logically contradictory rhetoric the particular is deduced from the universal, the entity from the idea, in such a way that that entity is abruptly and absolutely enhanced without any socio-historical mediation³².

It is this very rhetorical structure which makes possible and 'natural' the obvious colonialist ideology of 'Japanising' Chinese and Korean people. As has been shown, this structure permeates Shiga's entire book; the nationalism of *The Japanese Landscape* is a rhetorical effect.

The Road to an Emperor-Centred Historiography: A Comparison with Keiji Uehara.

As is noted above, *The Japanese Landscape* was an extremely influential book, producing in its wake numerous books with more or less similar titles³³. Certainly, some of the authors of

³² Such an unmediated character can be detected in Doppo's 'Unforgettable People' mentioned above. There is certainly some new individualist interiority in it, but it is not so much the actively and historically developed maturity of individuals' minds as the unmediated generalisation of 'emotions'. Cf. Doppo KUNIKIDA, *Zensyu* (全集: *Works*), II (Tokyo: Gakusyu Kenkyu-sha: 1964): 120f.

³³ E.g., Usui KOJIMA (小島烏水), *Nihon Sansui Ron* (日本山水論: *Treatise on Japanese Mountains and Waters*; 1905), *Zensyu* (全集: *Works*), 5 (Tokyo: Taisyuukan, 1980); Gingetsu ITO (伊藤銀月), *Nihon Fukei Shin-ron* (日本風景新論: *New Treatise on the Japanese Landscape*) (Tokyo: Maekawa Buneikaku, 1910); Tochiro WATANABE (渡辺十千郎), *Fukei no Kagaku* (風景の科学: *The Science of Landscape*) (Tokyo: Shinkosya: 1924); Yozyuuro YASUDA (保田与重郎), *Fukei to Rekisi* (風景と歴史: *Landscape and History*) (1942), *Zensyu* (全集: *Works*), 16 (Tokyo: Kodansya, 1987); Keizi UEHARA (上原敬二), *Nihon Fukei-bi Ron* (日本風景美論: *The Beautiful Japanese Landscape*) (Tokyo: Dainihon Syuppan, 1943);

these books are critical of Shiga's views and/or have considerably different attitudes and opinions; but to trace the genealogy of these followers will reconfirm the impact and potential of his book.

By way of conclusion I shall take a look at just one example, Keiji Uehara's *The Beautiful Japanese Landscape* (1943)³⁴. Uehara's treatise reveals the clear influence of Shiga, as well as of the dominant, official ideology of wartime Japan, *Koukoku-Shikan*, i.e., Emperor-centred historiography (which, based on state Shintoism, portrays Japan as a divine country under the unbroken rule of the imperial family). Uehara argues that the Japanese view of landscape

differs completely from foreign [i.e., mainly Western] ones which have separated man from nature throughout history. . . . One can even say that the Nature of our home country, which we have been seeing without paying any particular attention, is related to us as our brethren are by blood. Considering this, it is no wonder that during the long course of time the Japanese environment shaped by Nature in this way has fostered in our unconsciousness the ideas of 'Together with [the Shintoist] God', 'Together with the Emperor', and 'Together with our Home'. . . . The fate of our Nation lies exactly in this. (6)

Whether the cliché, 'Japanese people love nature' is true or not, the anonymous landscape which Japanese people 'have been seeing without paying any particular attention is connected with an Emperor-centred historiography; the anonymous landscape is not maintaining the modern autonomous subject (as Karatani and others have asserted), but rather the familial solidarity of Japanese community as a whole.

Phrases in the quotation above, such as 'history', 'the long course of time', or 'the fate of the nation', suggest that Uehara clearly recognised the importance of history in the development of landscape --- a recognition totally absent from Shiga's book. In fact Uehara surveys the long history of the Japanese landscape, saying: 'We feel vividly that all the Japanese views of Nature from the ancient times until now are somehow kept unchanged and alive in our very hearts' (33). Uehara, a garden theorist, later to become professor at Tokyo Agricultural University, discusses at length concrete means to actively shape the real landscape, which is a sign of significant progress away from Shiga's position.

This historical consciousness of Uehara, however, falls into a kind of unmediated nationalism once again.

I have expatiated upon the transformations of our nation's view of nature since ancient times, not because I intended to describe them historically, but just because I wanted to bring

Fumio KATSUMATA (勝原文夫), *Nou no Bigaku* (農の美学 — 日本風景論序説: *Aesthetics of Agriculture: An Introduction to the Japanese Landscape*) (Tokyo: Ronso-sya, 1979); Norihiro KATO (加藤典洋), *Nihon Fukey-ron* (日本風景論: *The Japanese Landscape*) (1990), op.cit.; Risaku KIRIDOSHI (切通理作) and Shozo MARUTA (丸田祥三), *Nihon Fukey-ron* (日本風景論: *The Japanese Landscape*) (Tokyo: Syunzyu-sya, 2000).

³⁴ UEHARA, op.cit. (see the preceding note).

readers to understand the Providence of Heaven [i.e., the God of state Shintoism], which makes a nation flourish when it acknowledges the blessings of Nature with the ready disposition of thankfulness, and which also makes a nation quickly decline when it blasphemes against the blessings of Nature. (32)

History is important to Uehara, but only because it creates a sense of unity with Nature, which is likened to the nation's 'brethren by blood'. This unity is brought about by a 'Providence of Heaven' which is beyond human actions, and it is 'fostered in our unconsciousness' by the environment 'during the long course of time'. Uehara says: 'it is not what we have learned or what we are taught to know a posteriori. It is just an abrupt excitation of a psychology deeply rooted in our natural feelings, preserved innately in our long pedigree of blood from ancient ancestors on' (9). Such statements go even beyond Shiga's (quasi-)scientific explanations in their testimony to an unconscious, automatic, and hence unmediated, communion with Nature.

It is certain that neither within Shiga's book itself nor in its contemporary reviews are any elements directly supporting the Emperor system of Japan, in contrast to Uehara's work, which was published during the War. But the nationalism of *The Japanese Landscape* effected by its rhetorical structure of the unmediated is clearly akin to Uehara's Emperor-centred historiography. This fact reveals another important potentiality of Shiga's book, apart from its contribution to the alleged 'discovery of the landscape' in modern Japan.

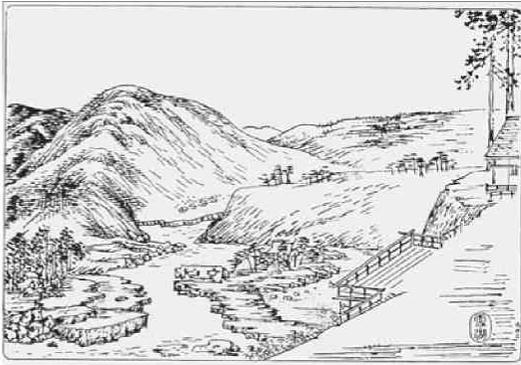


Fig. 1: Nezameno Toko [Nagano Prefecture] [*The Japanese Landscape*, ed.cit. 279]



Fig. 2: Sea Coast of Tsushima Islands [Nagasaki Prefecture] [p. 310]

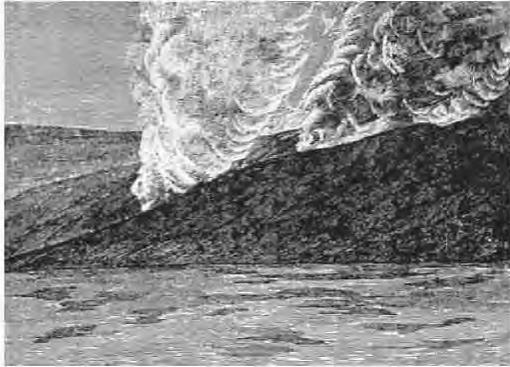


Fig. 3: Smoke billowing from the Volcano, Mt. Azuma Yama [Yamagata and Fukushima Prefectures] [p. 116]

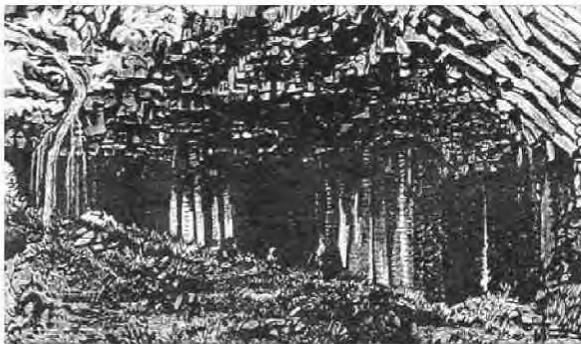


Fig. 4: Genbu-do Cave [Hyogo Prefecture] [p. 184]