Truly Honest: Miyazawa Kenji as Resistance to Modern Folklore
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Abstract

This essay critically considers definitions of "the folk" by comparing Miyazawa Kenji's “The Night of the Festival” to the commonly portrayed "folklore" established by Yanagita Kunio. I see Yanagita’s folklore as a substratum of modern subjectivity, with the category of “the folk” emerging from a metropole/periphery dichotomy wherein the intellectual elite categorizes folklore tautologically in order to define themselves. Miyazawa’s fiction emerges from the rural locality, where the violence of modern enlightenment acts on cultural production. “The Night of the Festival” exhibits, in both form and content, an ambivalent and complex interplay of violence, nature, and modernity that problematizes modern folklore studies and requires us to reconceptualize the local and natural as traits that exist and occur as such.

The issue of negotiation between a modern metropole and that metropole’s imagined periphery is particularly relevant in this historical moment. After the March 2011 earthquake and tsunami, the spotlight again returned to the marginalized periphery in a troubling mirroring of the search for modern subjectivity in the late 19th and early 20th century. Given his rise to literary prominence over the course of the 20th century, Miyazawa Kenji has become an ecological and spiritual representative of the decimated rural. As was the case during Miyazawa’s own life, the politics of this encounter are often dictated by and for the benefit of the metropole.

Theorizing Folklore, Nature, and Children’s Stories

The discovery, development, and proliferation of “folk” and “folklore” as categories of scholarship emerge from enlightenment thought and the formation of modern subjectivity. These are necessarily elite, urban phenomena that reflect a modern desire for categorization and identification of origins and peoples. Alan Dundes (1977, 18) describes the early folklore movement as a “comparative method” whereby the “historical reconstruction of the elite, literate, civilized European cultures was to be undertaken.” Elliot Oring (1986, 5-6) likewise understands early folklore specialists to hear an “echo” of the distant past in the peasantry of the present. We might also think more critically about myth, modernity, and the enlightenment through Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno (2002, 5): “The myths which fell victim to the Enlightenment were
themselves its products…Myth sought to name, to tell of origins—but therefore to narrate, record, explain. This tendency was reinforced by the recording and collecting of myths. From a record, they soon became a teaching.” Horkheimer and Adorno theorize myth in modern enlightenment as merely the tautological doubling of terror. By naming the unknown in an effort to dominate it, the cry of terror becomes the “echo of the real ponderance of nature in the weak psyches of primitive people” (Horkheimer and Adorno, 10-11). Thus, “[h]umans believe themselves free of fear when there is no longer anything unknown…Enlightenment is mythical fear radicalized…Nothing is allowed to remain outside, since the mere idea of the ‘outside’ is the real source of fear” (Horkheimer and Adorno, 11). Before we approach that which we name “myth” or “folklore” we should understand that it is always already subsumed within modern subjectivity. Myth and folklore point to human alienation from precisely the same “nature” which folklorists attempt to define.

Yanagita Kunio’s approach to folklore studies fits this enlightenment mold, as his search for Japanese folklore was coeval with his search for a mythic ethnic origin (and by extension, modern subjectivity). On this subject, Melek Ortabasi (2014, 10-11) writes, “Yanagita saw in the daily behavior, rituals, and beliefs of Japan’s rural population a manifestation of cultural history, as well as a way of rendering comprehensible the rapid changes occurring in Japan in the early twentieth century.” We might think of Tōno monogatari as less a collection of folklore, and more an encyclopedic accounting of a modern-mythic past intended to apprehend and comprehend Yanagita’s historical moment. Ortabasi claims that Tōno monogatari is “far less transparent than Yanagita pretends. Indeed, the ‘reality’ Yanagita offers in Tales of Tōno is actually a carefully
created aesthetic construct intended to include the reader in the ‘foreign’ worldview presented by the text” (Ortabasi 2014, 20-21). Here, we might align this “foreign” worldview with precisely that modern subjectivity by which mythical fear becomes radicalized. Yanagita’s “reality” becomes a fetishized search for origin. Akasaka Norio highlights the problematic nature of Yanagita’s reality by tracing the variety of “origins” that exist across his entire oeuvre. At the time Yanagita wrote Tōno monogatari he believed that the origins of Japanese culture could be discovered in the northern mountains of Tōhoku. After Yanagita shifts stances on Japanese origins in 1929, focusing instead on the south seas, the topic of yamabito (山人, literally “the people living in the mountains”) vanishes from his writings (Akasaka 2002, 98-99). Many aspects of Tōno monogatari betray this intensely modernist conception of folklore. In form, Yanagita collects, names, numbers, and indexes. In style, he translates and transposes into the language of the national polity. And in his career, he abandons the study of northern peoples once he becomes convinced that the origin exists elsewhere.

Miyazawa Kenji writes against this urge to classify and dominate knowledge of the folk or the rural. His fiction overflows with the uneven and complex interplay of local place and spiritual existence. In his innovative study of Miyazawa, Hoyt Long argues that Miyazawa’s texts are consumed as local cultural objects and

[illuminate] something essential about the history of how locality has been written, produced, and consumed in Japan since the turn of the last century. For not only does it underscore the radical multiplicity of “the local” as a site of identification…it also raises important questions about how this unevenness
impacts the potential of things said and done locally to work back upon the physical and cultural character of place (Long 2012, 13).

The perspective of the metropole, Yanagita’s position, classified “the local” (meaning rural) as a particular which could be understood within the universal, but Miyazawa’s texts complicate even the most concrete terms of modernity: “rural” and “nature.” Rural becomes a site of resistance:

Iwate appears as not just another non-descript rural area marginalized by a transcendent center, nor a place waiting to catch up to a modern moment coded as the end point of progress. Rather, it appears as a unique locality caught up in global forces, a place that need not look to Tokyo first to get its bearings or set its developmental clock (Long 2012, 119).

Of course, “progress” as conceptual framework becomes constituted in the modern enlightenment project. Accordingly, the “modern moment” becomes end point for “progress” by teleological design. The opposite end of the scale of progress, the mythical origin, projects onto the “natural.” Here too, however, the Japanese word for “nature” must be understood as a modern construct (Akasofu 1989, 162-163). 「自然」 was reimagined in the late 19th century as a translation of the English word “nature.” In that historical moment it came to have two readings. The modern reading “shizen” signaled the outward natural world as we understand it today. “Jinen” a word that dates to at least the late 8th century, meant something closer to “things as they are” or “unadorned” and was used largely in Buddhist contexts. As we will see from his fiction, Miyazawa rejects overly simplistic dichotomies—or paths of progress—in favor of complex interplays of “local” and “nature.”
It is fitting that Miyazawa is often considered a writer of “children’s tales.” If we accept this categorization at face value, we might consider the form itself to exist between linguistic and literary worlds: it is not the garbled babble of infants, yet also not tempered, developed speech of adults; it is not quite fiction, yet also not didactic pronouncement. And while children’s stories are often “educational,” they are hardly simple. Children’s stories are frequently ambivalent explorations of complex philosophical constructs such as “nature” or “the wild.” This literary mode exposes these ideas themselves as “evershifting rhetorical and political terms” (Dobrin and Kidd 2004, 2). By writing in his local moment, Miyazawa explores an ever expanding “natural” by assigning life to that which is lifeless. Throughout his stories we find anthropomorphized plants and animals, breathing landscapes and spacescapes, even living rocks (Wakamatsu 2014, 266). Yet as Wakamatsu (2014, 267) also points out, these ambivalent artistic expressions are political reactions: Miyazawa was active in the nōmin geijutsu movement (農民芸術, literally “farmers arts”) and saw an inherent political connection amongst farmers, imagined local communities, art and religion. For Miyazawa, the nōmin geijutsu movement reflected not Marxist economic revolution, but a spiritual revolution (Wakamatsu 2014, 268). Miyazawa saw the movement as the fundamental union of modern scientific knowledge with rural intuition, whereby individual consciousness would develop into an aesthetic cosmos of group society that encompassed, rather than displaced, the rural and the natural (Miyazawa 1995, vol. 13, 7-20). In sum, Miyazawa’s utilization of children’s tales as literary form acts as political resistance to modern subjectivity’s rise in the form of the modern novel and contemporary folk studies. Miyazawa saw children’s tales as a secondary negotiation between worlds (Hirao 1978,
These worlds exist at the endpoints of the modern spectrum of progress. The first world is that of the mythical, natural origin. The second world is that of modern subjectivity. Enlightenment thought, the modern project of progress, is itself the primary negotiation between these worlds. Thus, going to and from the metropole and local could be expressed most completely in playful, ambiguous fictions (Hirao 1978, 285). It is the very literary form of Miyazawa’s secondary negotiation, the children’s story, that allows for political and spiritual synthesis that might challenge folklore as a modern project.

“The Night of the Festival”

“The Night of the Festival” narrates the experience of a young boy, Ryōji, at the autumn festival for the mountain kami. After being badgered by a peddler to enter a sideshow, Ryōji meets a strange man with red skin and smoky golden eyes. Ryōji tries to follow the man outside, but is harassed by one of his friends. Later, he hears a commotion. A vendor has accused the strange man of stealing some rice cakes. After identifying the man as an outsider, the vendor presses the man for money and the location of his home. Just as the crowd around the man begins to turn violent, Ryōji surreptitiously gives the man money to pay for the rice cakes. The man pays for what he ate and disappears into the woods with the speed of the wind, prompting the crowd to call out that he is, in fact, yamaotoko (山男, meaning a “wild” man living outside of society, a prominent figure in Iwate’s folklore and myth). Ryōji returns home to consult his grandfather. While they are talking about the man, the ground rumbles and they step outside to find not a person, but a hundred pieces of firewood and the ground littered with chestnuts. Deeply moved, Ryōji and his grandfather ponder what kind of gift they should give the yamaotoko in return. In this story, violence lurks under the surface, bubbling over as the approach and assertion...
of the unknown reaches a crescendo. Through his own childish innocence, Ryōji understands and accepts this strange man’s wild nature without resorting to violence. The story concludes with apparent resolution, but the final lines gesture to the unseen, unnamed, and transcendental as a way of destabilizing simple, binary narratives.

“The Night of the Festival” opens with a beautiful juxtaposition of an even, simple, ordered nature and the commotion, commodification, and naming of the unknown that exists within the festival. An English translation alone would not fully capture the tension between the two lines, so I will quote them in the original Japanese:

山の神の秋の祭りの晩でした。

亮二はあたらしい水色のしごきをしめて、それに十五銭もらって、お旅室にでかけました。「空気獣」というふ見世物が大繁盛でした。

It was the night of the festival of the autumn gods of the mountain.

Ryōji wrapped himself in his new, water-blue sash and, having received fifteen sen, left to go see the portable shrine. The sideshow called “The Air Monster” was particularly bustling (Miyazawa 1995, vol. 10, 178. All subsequent quotations from this volume. Translations are my own.).

The first sentence carefully balances each “natural” word across possessives. They create an order with the implication of equivalence. The appearance of the “human,” defined by artifice (a dyed and unnecessary sash) and commodification (a precise accounting of the money he possesses), forcefully interrupts this balance. The festival bursts through the imagined darkness and stillness of the mountains at night with a declaration of power over the strange. A sideshow has captured and named an “Air Monster.” Ryōji is duped
into entering this display and confronts the “monster”: “It was a large, flat, tottering white thing. Ryōji couldn’t figure out what was its head or what was its mouth” (Miyazawa 1995, 178). The dissonance between signified and signifier here is comical. That which is named “monster” is in fact formless, harmless. But the tone as a whole has been set in just a few lines. The festival acts as interruption within the “natural” and exerts a modern tendency to commodify, name, and dominate.

As Ryōji attempts to leave, he bumps into a large man. This man, were he to appear in Tōno monogatari, would surely be classified along with the other yamaotoko. “When Ryōji looked up in surprise, he saw an old, white-striped, unlined summer kimono covered by some strange thing made of straw. The red-skinned man wearing this had a bony, angular face. He turned and looked at Ryōji equally astonished. His eyes were perfectly round and smoky gold” (Miyazawa 1995, 178). The man’s physical features mark him as the same yamaotoko that appear in Tōno monogatari stories—see legend 92 in particular (Yanagita 2004, 65). Even the reaction of the crowd at the festival resembles the reaction of the town-folk in Yanagita’s collected tales. The first voice we hear from the crowd defines the interaction of insider/outsider: “Hey, you bastard! You think I’ll put up with someone coming from who-knows-where and screwing me over? Give me my money now! My money!” (Miyazawa 1995, 180). This is not simply an identification of the yamaotoko as outside of physical locality, but also outside of the social system of contracts, commodification, and exchange. Unlike the yamaotoko of Tōno monogatari, who violently lash out, abduct, and murder (see tales 3, 5, 6, and 7), this man responds humbly, “B… bu… but I’ll bring you a hundred cords of firewood” (Miyazawa 1995,
There is a slippage between worlds of exchange, as if the very concept of economic value does not apply to the world in which the “other” resides.

When this strange man’s otherness begins to emerge, the crowd quickly turns violent. The crescendo of this scene is the violence of identification and naming, and it is Ryōji—in his position as innocent, honest child—that comes to understand the truth in the exchange between society and the yamaotoko. The vendor continues his angry, public interrogation of the strange man: “You goddamn liar! Where would anyone hand over a hundred cords of firewood for two sticks of rice cakes? Where the hell’re you from, anyway?” (Miyazawa 1995, 180). There is now a societal pressure for the strange man to name the place from which he comes. This is the force of modernity entering into the natural space and attempting to dominate it on the terms of modernity, rather than the terms of the local. Violence bubbles over when the man fails to participate in this system:

“Th, th, th, th, that’s something that I really can’t tell you. Please forgive me and let me go.” The man said this as his golden eyes fluttered and he wiped away the sweat on his face. It looked like he also wiped away his tears.

“Beat the hell out of him! Beat the hell out of him!” Someone yelled.

Ryōji understood everything. (Miyazawa 1995, 180)

The crescendo of violence occurs at the very moment when the unknown is confronted, yet left unnamed. Initially, it might seem quite strange for Ryōji to comprehend anything at this moment. What is there to understand when a man is about to be beaten by an angry mob? Yet what he recognizes is not the terror of the unknown, or even where this man came from, but rather the man’s innocence. “He’s crying. He’s not a bad man. In fact,
he’s honest” (Miyazawa 1995, 180). Honesty in this usage exists outside of the system of commodification, classification, and exchange. As a children’s tale, Ryōji embodies the innocent child that can negotiate the two endpoints of society (the fully wild and the fully societal). Thus the moment of violence is resolved through mediation: Ryōji pays for the man’s rice cakes and allows him to make an escape.

It is in this bubbling over of violence that the first elements of the fantastic emerge and the people of the festival embody the need to name and search for the significance of the other. The strange man pays the vendor with Ryōji’s money, entering into the system of modern commodification in order to escape it. Once he fulfills the obligation of exchange, he exposes his fantastic nature. He disappears entirely from the purview of both the festival-goers and the reader (he does not appear in the story again).

“There! There’s your money! Now forgive me and let me go. I’ll come back later and bring one hundred cords of firewood. I’ll come back later and bring back eight bushels of chestnuts.” And as soon as he said this, he parted the young people and everyone in the crowd, escaping to the outside world as if propelled by the wind (Miyazawa 1995, 181).

Once the man appears fantastic or mythical, the crowd that has gathered finally assigns him a name and begins their search: “’He’s a yamaotoko! He’s a yamaotoko!’ everyone began to scream. They chased after him in a cacophony, but he had already disappeared, and the people couldn’t see even a shadow of his figure” (Miyazawa 1995, 181). There is a need to name and search for the man here that ironically coincides with both the violence of the modern and the disappearance of the other. By expressing these two worlds as diametrically opposed—as in the incompatibility of myth and the existence of
homeland (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002, 60-61)—Miyazawa creatively depicts in his fiction the incongruous coexistence of the two: By expressing the desire to name, search, discover, and identify, the modern has ensured that the wild and natural will not (or cannot) emerge again. The *yamaotoko*, thus named, exists as signified in the modern parlance, while the true (or in Miyazawa’s words, honest) signifier is pushed out of view.

After this commotion, Ryōji consults his grandfather, embracing a major trope of the children’s story: the child seeking wisdom and education from an elder. We move from the first act of the story (which is associated with the experience of two worlds), to the second act of the story (which coincides with Miyazawa’s deployment of the children’s tale as a “secondary negotiation.”) The first words we hear from Ryōji’s grandfather confirm the innocence of the *yamaotoko*:

> “Haha, that was a *yamaotoko*, yes. Those people that we call *yamaotoko* are truly honest. I occasionally meet them in the mountains when it is particularly foggy. Still, this is the first I’ve heard of one coming to see a festival. Hahaha! Or maybe, it’s just that they’ve been coming all along and we haven’t noticed!” (Miyazawa 1995, 180).

The readers, by way of Ryōji’s “education,” confirm the true “nature” of the *yamaotoko*. We also find, however, a hint of myth. Perhaps *yamaotoko* are always with us, and we simply cannot notice them. Ryōji’s grandfather continues, describing how *yamaotoko* live:

> “Well, it’s said that they use the branches of trees to make fox traps. They get a branch *this* big and bend and bend it. Then they take another branch and push it down, like this. Then they put a fish on the end of the branch so it hangs down
like this. When a fox or a bear comes along, they touch that fish and the branch
whips around killing it. At least, that’s what people say they do” (Miyazawa 1995, 182).

This natural world is not without its own kind of trickery and violence. The dichotomy is
not between a necessarily violent modernity and a necessarily peaceful nature. Through
the secondary negotiation of a children’s tale, the reader must confront the coexistence of
complex, seemingly incompatible possibilities as “true,” “honest,” or “natural.” Readers
might ask, “So what makes these two worlds, and the violence that exists within them,
different?” One way we might approach this question is through the moral lesson of
honesty or innocence as mediated through the complex deployment of “nature” in the
modern period. There is no clear or perfect answer; rather, the story explores the
negotiation between ambivalent end points in nature and locality.

The difference between shizen (“nature”) and jinen (“things as they are”) is
essential to understanding how something seemingly simple, like nature, can itself be a
complex negotiation of naming and domination. Violence in modernity is accompanied
with contrivance: naming, exchange, and deception. The violence of the “natural” exists
“as it is.” When the yamaotoko brings his gifts to Ryōji’s home, the violence isn’t
someone kicking down a door. Nor is it abduction and murder as Yanagita highlighted in
Tōno monogatari. Rather, violence becomes movement: the shaking of the earth as in an
earthquake. When the yamaotoko leaves the festival and arrives at Ryōji’s home, the
lights are snuffed out. To suggest that light represents modern enlightenment would be an
oversimplification, as it excises the possibility of “natural” light in the sense of “things as
they are.” Instead, Miyazawa artfully crafts this scene to contrast the two worlds: “Ryōji
followed [his grandfather outside]. The lamplight was immediately snuffed out by the wind. In its place, the massive moon of the eighteenth night climbed silently over the black mountains to the east” (Miyazawa 1995, 182). Here we find the ultimate expression of *shizen* versus *jinen*. Certainly, the fire of the lamp is a “natural” light, yet it is light through contrivance. The light of the moon, as it emerges even from the blackness of nature, is light. It reveals the gifts of the *yamaotoko* as they are, honest reciprocation rather than commodified and violently enforced exchange.

Miyazawa twists the end of the story in such a way that readers are left without a one-sided resolution. There is, in a sense, a closing: Ryōji receives the promised firewood and chestnuts. If the story were to end at the moment, we could point to an enclosed and coherent whole that coincides with a moral, educational tale as we often conceive of children’s stories. Instead, Miyazawa continues on, teasing out the transcendent unease of the unnamed and unseen existing “as they are.” Ryōji, deeply moved by the *yamaotoko*’s gifts, says to his grandfather:

“I want to give him something that is really, really great. Something so great it will make the *yamaotoko* want to cry, then feel as if he’s flown up into heaven. That’s how great I want this thing to be.”

Ryōji’s grandfather took up the extinguished lamp and said, “Hmm, I wonder if there is such a thing. Well, let’s go inside and eat those beans. Any minute now your father will be back from next door.” Saying this, Ryōji’s grandfather went inside.

Ryōji fell silent and looked up at the blue, tilted moon.
Off in the mountains, the wind was roaring (Miyazawa 1995, 183).

Both Ryōji and his grandfather recognize that there is an impossibility in returning the yamaotoko’s gift. Any present they think of—in a sense, that which they name and assign value—would always already emerge from their world. The gift would carry with it all the implications of modernity. The final image is not reciprocation, but contemplation of the overwhelming. There is a moment of transcendence when Ryōji stops naming and observes the honest light of the moon, the honest roar of the wind. The final lines return the reader to the opening line, where “nature” as it is exists without mediation. The unknown and unseen is granted existence as such, without the need to categorize, comprehend, or commodify.

Moving Forward

The issue of negotiation between a modern metropole and that metropole’s imagined periphery is particularly relevant in this historical moment. After the March 2011 earthquake and tsunami, the spotlight again returned to this marginalized periphery in a troubling mirroring of the search for modern subjectivity in the late 19th and early 20th century. Given his rise to literary prominence over the course of the 20th century, Miyazawa Kenji has become an ecological and spiritual representative of the decimated rural. Unfortunately, as was the case during Miyazawa’s own life, the politics of this encounter are often dictated by and for the benefit of the metropole. Folklore studies have been replaced by the slogan 「がんばろう東北！」(Fight, Northern Japan!) and the northern mountains have been again identified as a universal 故郷 (hometown, or origin) of the Japanese national polity. Some recent examples of this phenomenon are: the March 2014 issue of Subaru, “Rethinking Tōhoku 2014” where Miyazawa Kenji becomes the
representative periphery voice regarding the 1910 High Treason Incident (Satō 2014, 228-239)—an oddly metropolitan topic to be “rethinking” through the lens of the rural; a 2015 collection of lectures from Baikō Gakuin University, including the essay “‘The Life of Gusko Budori’ and 3/11: Miyazawa Kenji and the Lotus Sutra” (Kitagawa 2015, 59-79); and a somewhat frightening cottage industry of non-fiction texts. For example, *Opinions on the Reconstruction after the Great East Japan Disaster* (Ito, et al 2011), has the following written on the *obi* (advertisement wrapper): “50 voices from leading scholars on the Japan of tomorrow. What do we have to fix?” Other examples include: *Japan’s Economy is Going to Look Like This Post-3.11!* (Oguro, et al 2011) and *What Should We Do During a Disaster?* (Uchihashi 2011), which opens with essays by Ōe Kenzaburō, Tessa Morris-Suzuki, and Karatani Kōjin. I should note that all of these books were published within four months of the disaster itself, and represent only a small fraction of what was produced in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake. All of these texts deal with the extreme violence and trauma of natural disaster. But perhaps, instead of looking to northern Japan (and occasionally Miyazawa himself) as a way to define and name that which the metropole wants to call “Japan,” we might do better to read Miyazawa’s stories in the context of their locality. We should consider the form of his fiction—children’s stories—as negotiations of the intensely complex politics of modern binaries. There is ambiguity and ambivalence in Miyazawa’s dual “nature.” Critical consideration of the implications of that complexity is essential if we are to truly attempt to “rethink” Iwate, Tōhoku, or Japan.
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