

## **Conceptualizations of Natural Habitat's Influence on the Formation of the People's Character in Japan: *Jinkokuki* and *Shin Jinkokuki* Texts' and Studies' Analysis**

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**Abstract.** The article is mainly based upon the analysis of two Japanese texts, *Jinkokuki* 人国記 (*Records of the People and the Provinces*, 16<sup>th</sup> century) and its later revised version *Shin Jinkokuki* 新入国記 (*New Records of the People and the Provinces*), created by the Confucian scholar and cartographer Seki Sokō 関祖衡 in 1701. *Shin Jinkokuki* is often considered to be one of the first Japanese atlases, as Seki not only revised and enlarged the original text, but also added maps to the descriptions of all of the Japanese provinces. Both texts are valued by Japanese scholars as fruitful sources for studies in the history of environmental psychology, or geopsychology, and a careful study of their content provides some new information on the ideas and concepts of natural habitats' influence on the formation of behavioral models and personal qualities typical of the inhabitants of certain areas within Japan in the 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, some Japanese authors, many of them playing leading roles in the introduction of Western science into Japan, were obsessed with the idea of formulating a typically Japanese way of thinking and behaving that would not only differentiate the Japanese from others, but also make the nation consider itself better than others. The search for roots of *yamato-damashii* and Japanese uniqueness in terms of relations between the Japanese people and the country's nature, just as an attempt to make some certain values of the samurai class nationwide, revitalized interest in *Jinkokuki* and *Shin Jinkokuki*,

which were used as an instrument of state propaganda. The second part of this article analyses works by Watanabe Tooru 渡辺徹, a psychologist who issued the first scholarly publication of these texts and whose academic career seems to be one long road to the “Records of the People and the Provinces”.

**Keywords:** *Jinkokuki*, Seki Sokō, Watanabe Tooru (Tohru), geopsychology.

## Introduction

Texts on geographical themes describing and comprehending space hold a special place in the history of Japanese literature. Way back in the Nara period (710-794), by the decree of Empress Gemmei, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of the 5<sup>th</sup> moon of the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Wadō (713), detailed notes were made on natural conditions, customs, and legends of various provinces that made up the territory of the state: “Express in writing the names of the kori and sato of the Home Provinces, the seven circuits and the various provinces with pleasant Chinese characters. Record individually the silver, copper, dyestuffs, flora, birds, fauna, fish, insects, etc., that are produced within [the various] kori. Also record whether the soil is fertile or not, and the origins of the names of the mountains, rivers, plains and grasslands. Also record in history books the old tales and strange events related by the elders” (translation by Edwina Palmer) [Palmer 2007, p. 224]. These notes were called *fūdoki* (Lit. “notes of wind and earth”, in modern Japanese the combination *fūdo* is used in the meaning of “natural conditions”). The full description of the five provinces has ultimately survived until our days – Izumo, Hitachi, Harima, Bungo, and Hizen. As for other texts, only fragments are available. For a long time after the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the Japanese government did not make any attempts to implement such large-scale projects.

Undoubtedly, the mentioning of place-names in texts of any genre – from official chronicles to the *waka* Japanese language poetry–constitutes a significant part of the cultural code fitted into the piece of work and is subject to deciphering; yet, such data are of solely a

fragmentary character within a single text. Thus, for example, an itinerary describes only those provinces and places where a poet or a pilgrim has been. Official chronicles shift the accent on recording the events of national significance in a particular region – draught, high water, poor harvest, famine, rebellion, and happy harbingers [Meshcheryakov 2001; Simonova-Gudzenko 2016]. No monument of the ancient and early medieval Japanese literature contains a description of all Japanese provinces providing characteristics of natural conditions and customs of the people inhabiting this very territory.

The first text of this type was probably *Jinkokuki*, (*Notes of the People and the Provinces*, 16<sup>th</sup> century), where two scrolls contain a description of all 66 provinces and two islands of medieval Japan. In 1701, the Confucian scholar and cartographer Seki Sokō (1659-1728/33) edited and complemented this text as well as made a geographical map for each province description. This publication was adopted by the scholarly circles under the name of *Shin Jinkokuki* (New Notes of the People and the Provinces). Both versions maintain the idea of an interconnection between natural, climatic, and geographical conditions typical of this territory, on the one hand, and morals, customs, and behavioral patterns of its inhabitants, on the other. Thereby, these texts can be of interest to researchers studying the development of medieval Japanese views on nature, experts in humanitarian geography, and psychologists. The *Records of the People and the Provinces* have so far been insufficiently studied. There are two academic editions with comments of *Jinkokuki* and *Shin Jinkokuki* [Watanabe (ed.) 1948; Asano (ed.) 1987]; independent amateur attempts were also made to translate them into contemporary Japanese [Jinkokuki zakkuri to gendaigoyaku 2016]. However, the number of academic articles and comments in specialist literature tends to zero. In Japan, *Records of the People and the Provinces* are studied mostly by researching psychologists [Ukiya, Ōmura, Fujita 2008; Ukiya, Ōmura, Fujita 2014]. There is not a single special study devoted to *Jinkokuki* in the English language literature; there are only single comments. Thus, for example, Karen Wigen refers to *Shin Jinkokuki* by Seki Sokō just for the purpose of analyzing the map of the Shinano province

that he made, but without discussing the text per se [Wigen 2010, p. 86], while Fabian Drixler, in his detailed study of historical demography and infanticide in Japan of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, refers to the fragment of the Mutsu province description that narrates the barbarian custom of killing children starting from the third one in the families of those regions [Drixler 2013, p. 196-197]. In the Russian language Japanese studies, Alexander N. Meshcheryakov alone referred to the *Records of the People and the Provinces*; he analyzed political reasons present in Seki Sokō's preface to this work [Meshcheryakov 2014, c. 222-223]. In this connection, what is quite surprising is a moderate, yet sustained interest towards the literary monument on the part of ordinary Japanese readers who make note of the medieval author's shrewd observations and draw parallels with contemporary manners and morals of people in different prefectures located in the territories of former provinces. An important role in drawing attention to the *Records of the People and the Provinces* has lately been played by the Japanese mass media, Nippon Television Corporation in particular.

Since 2007, they have been broadcasting a weekly entertaining program *Himitsu kenmin* (*Mysteries of Prefectures' Inhabitants*) that describes specific features of prefectures and the "character" of their inhabitants in an easily understood manner. The *Jinkokuki* descriptions are also easily subjected to stereotyping. The unification of characteristics and the exclusion of a historical approach in considering the realities described become an instrument of local identification, which, in its turn, may be used for populist purposes – to laud the qualities of the people of one territory and humiliate those of the other. Until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese scholars and writers willingly cited the fragments of the text that brought out the worst in the inhabitants of provinces unloved by them. For example, a famous artist and *rangakusha* scientist of the Edo period (1603-1868), Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818), writes about people from the Tango and Inaba provinces, not without a jest and referring to *Jinkokuki*, that if there are skillful and talented ones among them, they are sure to be stupid, and if there are knowledgeable people, their human qualities leave much to be desired [Watanabe (ed.) 1948, p. 53].

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, *Jinkokuki* was firmly established in the arsenal of advocates of a special “Japanese spirit” and served as one of the instruments for mass propaganda.

### ***Old and New Records of the People and the Provinces: Nature of Texts and Nature in Texts***

Although both versions of the *Records of the People and Provinces* took part in the informational turnover in Japan of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (nearly 70 versions of the manuscripts and publications are known), the origin of the authentic text, the author’s name, and the date of its creation are not known for certain. The tradition attributes the authorship to the fifth *shikken* from the Hojō family, Hojō Tokiyori (1227-1263). Most of the surviving versions have a note added to the indication of the copyist’s name at the end that this text had been written by the one embarking on the road from the Saimyōji temple during a secret wandering across all provinces [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 100]. Historians characterize the reign of Tokiyori as the period of utmost flourishing of the *shikken* system, while the politician himself is referred to as a skillful manager and a good diplomat who managed to improve relations between the Hojō clan and the Emperor’s palace [Yamamura (ed.) 1990, p. 129]. Tokiyori formally left his high post in 1256, became a monk of the Zen temple Saimyōji and took the monastic name of Dōsū; however, he did not give up politics and played a major role in the shogunate until his death in 1263 [Sansom 1990, p. 413-417]. The image of a wise ruler wishing to help people overcome their hardships, improve governance, and understand the real state of affairs in the provinces first hand is attributed to Tokiyori in several legends; these say that, after he took his monastic vows, he set on a secret journey through all Japanese lands to get to know the people’s sentiments and see the work of provincial functionaries with his own eyes [Watanabe (ed.) 1948, p. 16-17]. The preface to the *New Records of the People and the Provinces* by Seki Sokō starts with a rendering of this legend, according to which, in ancient

times, a *zenko* from the Saimyōji temple secretly visited all the provinces, revealed the wealth hidden by provincial functionaries, listened to inferior people's complaints and released them from guilt, promoted governance, and developed education. At the same time, he took in the people's feelings and sentiments and compiled the *Records of the People and the Provinces* [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 105]. Tokiyori's name is also mentioned in the afterword to the *Shin Jinkokuki*, but with a share of doubt in his authorship [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 280]. Hojō is mentioned as the compiler of *Jinkokuki* in the *Ii Ke Hisho* (*Secret Records of Ii House*), kept in *Kunai-chō*, the Administration of the Imperial Court of Japan. According to this text, a famous medieval commander Takeda Shingen (1521–1573) used the records made by “a master from Saimyōji” as a textbook on military art [Watanabe (ed.) 1948, p. 8-9]. Takeda Shingen conducted reconnaissance in the provinces and used *Jinkokuki* to better understand the methods of suppressing the local population given the peculiarities of their morals and behaviors. He specially focused on the provinces of Yamashiro, Harima, Ise, Ōmi, and Echizen. He allegedly wrote down citations from the sections containing descriptions of these places on his fan and demonstrated it to his warriors as an audio visual aid in military skill training. Citations and paraphrases from *Jinkokuki* are also found in the military treatise *Kōyō Gunkan* (1586) of the Takeda clan [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 286]. Shingen's acquaintance with the “*Records of the People and the Provinces*” is mentioned by Seki Sokō in his version of the Kan province description. He ascertains that, according to Takeda Shingen, as proved by *Jinkokuki* by the master from Shingen, there are such morals in the Tango and Iwami provinces that if you meet one good man out of a thousand, ten thousand – you are lucky [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 134].

No earlier references to the work have been found. Although the text's commentators and copyists of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries often challenged Tokiyori's authorship, the first issue of *Jinkokuki* in the 20<sup>th</sup> century dates the text as of the Kamakura's period and attributes it to the *shikken*'s brush [Rokujūrokushū *Jinkokuki* 1911]. The current position on this issue follows the survey performed by psychologist Watanabe Tooru

(Tohru) (1883-1957), who first published both versions of the text in 1948, supplying them with detailed commentaries and an introductory article. According to Watanabe, *Jinkokuki* could not have been written before the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The textological analysis enabled the researcher to limit the time parameters of its appearance to 1529-1569. His arguments are the use of the word *sengoku* in the meaning of “warring provinces”, which was impossible before 1468, references to the *ikki* rebellion of 1487, the description of realities of the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the depiction of some events in the text – both “past” and “present” [Watanabe (ed.) 1948, p. 21-23]. The earliest of the surviving manuscripts, the so-called *Bairinbon*, is, however, attributed to the 17<sup>th</sup> century and is dated as of 1686. It was created by Kurokawa Dōyū (1623–1691), a doctor from the Aki province, who had come to know about the existence of *Jinkokuki* from the *Secret Records of the Ii House*, borrowed the manuscript from a certain Ochi Masamichi after moving to Kyoto, and completed copying it on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the 9<sup>th</sup> moon of the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Jōkyō [Watanabe (ed.) 1948, p. 24]. Attributing the text to the 16<sup>th</sup> century still makes it possible to characterize it as the first overall description of the natural and topographic features of all provinces in Japan based on the consistently advanced idea that there is a relationship between the natural conditions of the habitat and the characters and morals of the people inhabiting a particular territory. The ancient *fūdoki* described only some provinces; they were compiled in accordance with a plan, but the narration did not follow any pre-formulated concept. In other words, Japanese researchers who studied *Jinkokuki* and *Shin Jinkokuki* suggest considering these texts the earliest examples of Japanese literature that can be referred to as “humanitarian geography”. Watanabe Tooru also sees the roots of geopsychology in these texts [Watanabe (ed.) 1948, p. 8].

The researcher has failed to determine the name of the author of *Jinkokuki*. Watanabe provides only some general considerations prompting that this text, due to its stylistic homogeneity, can be attributed to one author who could have really travelled through many Japanese provinces, had military skills and battle experience, showed an interest in political issues, and knew Confucian principles [Watanabe (ed.) 1948,

p. 14-15]. The presumed author was likely from the Shinano province (currently the Nagano prefecture), which is testified by the affectionate description of this territory in the text.

The author of the *New Records of the People and the Provinces* is a Confucian scholar and cartographer Seki Sokō. Until the 2012 publication of Kasai Kazuhiro's monograph, the information about Seki Sokō was very fragmentary. It is known that he was friendly with Kawai Sora (1649-1710), a disciple of Bashō (1644–1694), loved travelling, produced several geographical works, started editing the *Records of the People and the Provinces* in 1700 and published the book in 1701. [Kasai 2012, pp. 106-138; 242-249]. It should be noted that Seki Sokō also gave the text the title of *Jinkokuki*. To avoid confusion, it was already in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that scholars started to refer to the 1701 version as the *New Records of the People and the Provinces*. Seki enlarged the original text, added a more detailed description of the territory, mentioning the significant place names; he traced the changes of morals, comparing realities described in *Jinkokuki* with his own observations and ideas, wrote the preface and the afterword as well as provided the description of each province with a map. All this enables one to refer to *Shin Jinkokuki* as one of the earliest Japanese atlases<sup>1</sup>.

In Seki Sokō's time, Japan was under the reign of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The period of long feuds had been in the past, and the publication of the *Jinkokuki* original text, with recommendations on how to conquer separate provinces based on the inhabitants' morals engendered by local geographical and climatic features, was no longer possible. In his preface, Seki postulates the dependence of human qualities on the features of the earth, then praises the current leadership, under which people's morals are gradually improving, people are fed, strive for the good, and are happy [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 105]. A. N. Meshcheryakov writes: "Thus, recognizing the fundamental importance of the natural factor, the author ascertains that it is subject to being corrected by the

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<sup>1</sup> For the details of the Japanese map-making tradition, see [Woodward, Harley 1994, p. 367-497; 598-621].

authorities. As a matter of fact, this is the task of any wise ruler: using and building on people's natural qualities to encourage them to drastically improve this naturalness" [Meshcheryakov 2014, p. 223]. Commenting on Seki's text, Watanabe notes that, on the surface, it reminds of a war treatise, but by the content, it is rather a composition on the psychology of personality based on the *Jinkokuki* revised text [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 284]. Yet, the original version of the *Records of the People and the Provinces* also testifies to the independent interest for researching the relationship between the natural habitat and a human being, which is not limited to the pragmatic military aid. At the end of the text, there is a lengthy deliberation about the world order principles with citations from Chinese classics comparing the behavior of people and animals, touching upon eradication of ugly customs, and improving methods of political governance [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 96-97]. Seki Sokō develops these ideas and adapts the material to the realities of his time. The need for considering possible sanctions on the part of the authorities in case the text contains critical remarks about the regime resulted in expressing a clearer idea of historical changes in morals not explicit in *Jinkokuki*. *Shin Jinkokuki* is also notable for mentioning individuals (Takeda Shingen, Emperor Jimmu, Akamatsu Norimura's "gang", etc.), some place names, more detailed climatic and topographic descriptions of the provinces.

Seki Sokō, however, sticks to the general conceptual construct of the text, providing his own examples for explanation. Let us elaborate on the afterword to *Jinkokuki*. It dwells on the begetting of all things following the initial principle *dōri* 道理, whereby things and phenomena are not analogous due to the uneven distribution of the *ki* (pneuma) 氣 energy, and primary "purity" or "haziness", which conforms to the light 陽 (*yang*) and dark 陰 (*yin*) forces. The deliberation in the spirit of Confucian philosophical thought, with citations from the Chinese philosophical treatise *Huainanzi* (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) and with Buddhist terms, gradually passes from the general world order issues to particulars – the difference of qualities characteristic of man as well as of animals and plants. It is noted, for example, that, among the four types of the living things (arising from warmth, a womb, an egg, and by way of transformation), there are

birds and animals, fishes and insects, trees and plants. Among human qualities are sacred wisdom and good knowledge, but there are also bad and unworthy things. Even birds and beasts possess a bit of soul-*kokoro*. Even predators love their kids; even bees and ants know what it is to follow the master's and the vassal's way, follow the *rei* etiquette observing the difference between the upper and the lower; and warblers look for shelter to build a nest. Even trees and plants, which are deprived of the soul-*kokoro*, may be large and small, long and short; they are changing continuously. There also exist a certain number of possible combinations associating external features with internal qualities. According to the afterword, it happens so that a person is handsome, but his soul-*kokoro* is dirty; or he is ugly and his soul-*kokoro* is loathsome; or his appearance is awful but his soul-*kokoro* is direct. The reason for the variety of such associations is that the original qualities of the *ki* energy in all creatures are not the same [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 96].

Then follows a paraphrase of *Huainanzi* section «Terrestrial forms»<sup>2</sup> discussing the relationship between people's innate qualities and peculiarities of the earth. For example, people of the hard land are determined, people of the soft land are weak; people on the fertile land are handsome, while people on the poor land are ugly. There are many women where the air is swampy, and many men where the air is mountainous; there are many crazy people where the air is hilly, and there are many humane ones where the air is expansive [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 97]. The final part dwells on the opportunities for "straightening, and improving morals and customs of people with the help of three teachings – Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shintoism" – as well as continuous persuasions and explanations of principles differentiating between good and evil. However, these measures are effective only after the people's qualities in a particular province have been identified. In his afterword to the *New Records of the People and the Provinces*, Seki Sokō does without direct citations from Chinese classics and complex philosophical schemes; yet he expresses the same idea. According to Seki,

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<sup>2</sup> For English translation of *Huainanzi* see: [Queen, Meyer, Roth 2010]

the life of people is similar to that of plants. Depending on the soil, they flourish or wither; their character will be molded depending on how they are watered. He ascertains there are no talents in people living on fertile lands, while people living on poor lands are turning in the direction of duty, *gi* 義. People on cliffs and in deep ravines are direct and simple-minded, and people in wide valleys and on seacoasts are pretentious. The reasons are qualities of air, water, and soil [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 280].

Nearly all records of both *Jinkokuki* versions contain evaluative characteristics of the local population's qualities, and the main criteria enabling to define the morals as bad or good were, as a rule, categories common for understanding the conceptual construct of the samurai tradition. These include *giri* – a sense of duty; *dōri* – following the initial principle, common sense, “correctness” of deeds; *katagi* (*gyōgi*) – manners, ability to hold a “ceremonial form” and take up the body posture conforming to the respective status (applies also to the state of attire and arms); *magokoro* (*jitsugi*) – loyalty, devotion to duty, performance of duties in compliance with the position held, sincerity; *kō* – filial piety; *chū* – allegiance to the master.

There are some characteristics depending on the social class (samurai, peasant, city dweller, or merchant) and gender. The marker for samurai morals is courage or heroism (Japanese *yū* 勇, as well as readiness to sacrifice one's life in the service to the master (provinces Tōtōmi, Kai, Awa, Buzen, Hizen, Hyūga, Ōsumi, and Satsuma). Meanwhile, recklessness and irascibility – when warriors cease to value life – are described as a vice. The records of the Kai province in *Jinkokuki* say that the morals there are severe, while the principles of the filial piety and vassal duty are infringed. The description of severe local morals is presented as an illustration. According to the *Jinkokuki* text, heroism and courage are so widespread there that nobody reckons even with death. For example, if the parent is killed in the child's presence, the child will step over his dead body and fall next to him in the battle. The parent will do the same in the case of his child's death [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 33].

The characteristics significant for peasants and city dwellers are being law-abiding (*ritsugi*), compliance with the principles of hierarchy,

decency, and directness (Shinano, Dewa, Bitchū, and Tosa). The lack of these qualities in the overwhelming majority of the population in a particular province results in the dissemination of lies, subservience to the strong or the rich, theft and robbery. For example, the morals and customs of the Iga province are characterized in very uncomplimentary terms because genuineness is completely gone while greed is deep-seated. For a long time, day after day, night after night, the rulers of the land are deceiving peasants and rob them by violating the law. As for the peasants, they are thinking day and night about how to rob the rulers of the land; since no one has ever seen in a dream what following the principle of duty, *giri*, means, it is useless to try disseminating samurai customs in this area [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 25]. The character of women shows diligence, perseverance, and modesty (Mikawa). The qualities like intelligence, quick wit, directness, and insistence do not have a constant positive or negative evaluative characteristic; they depend on whether they conform, first, to the proper behavior of a certain class representative, and, second, to the striving for the performance of duty and the demonstration of loyalty.

Of special interest are records directly referring to the influence of natural factors on the appearance, speech, character, and behavior of people. The records of the Yamashiro province in *Jinkokuki* say that these features are influenced by the local river water and soil; the speech of men and women is clear and understandable from birth. The author of *Jinkokuki* compares it with free flowing water and wonders whether it is true that the province has such customs because of the local water. He states that the Yamashiro water is pure and is colored by ten thousand flowers; these colors are quite different from those in other provinces – that is how it was in the past and that is how it is now. Similar to this, the people's skin remains equally smooth. In addition, thanks to the local water qualities, a very feminine pronunciation is widespread here like in no other province. However, concerning the samurai customs, they are not respected in Yamashiro and are not at all so good [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 15]. Seki Sokō somewhat expands the description of this province, discussing differences of natural conditions in several parts of Yamashiro,

and, consequently, people's character qualities and models of behavior. Thus, people in a mountainous area have a direct soul but it would be hard for them to avoid common tendencies predisposing to immorality and effeminacy [Asano (ed.) 1987, p. 107]. The inhabitants of faraway provinces are often characterized as bull-headed and obstinate (Dewa), people from places with a mild climate – as effeminate and lazy (Kaga), those living in cold lands – as quick-minded and shrewd (Echizen).

In essence, both accounts describe the diversity of people's customs in all of the Japanese provinces caused by natural and climatic conditions of the territory; yet these morals – unlike the environment – are thought of as prone to change and may be improved by the proper influence on the part of the natural factor.

### ***Records of the People and the Provinces:* The Studies of Nature and the Nature of Studies**

With the formation of the state in the Meiji period (1868-1912), the interest for peculiar features of people from different provinces is replaced with the study and interpretation of the characteristic features of the “Japanese” behavior, thinking, and perception of the world. The Western scientific methodology is actively applied to the Japanese material for the search of its own historical and cultural guidelines. This search often channeled the attention of the scholars of that time to the *Jinkokuki* text. One of the first to raise the issue of this work's importance for studying the psychology of the Japanese was Takashima Heizaburō. His *Essays in Psychology* 心理漫筆 *Shinri manpitsu* (1898) contain a short description of ten provinces taken from *Jinkokuki*. The author explains the principle of selection by his attempt to demonstrate “the characters of the people inhabiting the key areas of the country” [Takashima 1898, p. 43]. Takashima does not in any way comment on the fragments per se, and it looks as if the reader had to make his own conclusions as to the information presented. Probably, using the example of the Ōsumi province, the psychologist tried to show the specific features of the attitude to death, by the example of Nagato – of the

attitude to requests and duties, by the example of Tosa – the relationship between behavior of humans and animals under the influence of natural factors, and through the example of Higo, he wished to show the softness of the samurai morals, etc.

The *Records of the People and the Provinces* are also mentioned in some geographical and ethnographical works; however, of special interest is an attempt of the military interpretation of the text conducted by Japanese authors in the period of militarization. The year of 1943 saw the publication of the book by Watari Shōzaburō (1873-1946) *Studies of Yamato-damashii* (*Yamato damashii kenkyū*), which tells the story of how the Japanese self-awareness was being established; it was expressed in loyalty, patriotism, and self-sacrifice. One of the sections of this extensive volume is devoted to the justification of Japan's superiority over other countries. Thus, leaning on the idea of the relationship between natural conditions and human qualities and supporting his deliberations with citations from various works, including *Jinkokuki*, Watari ascertains that Japan is rich in the light “yang” forces; therefore, it is better than, for example, China, which is the congestion of the dark force “yin”. [Watari 1943, p. 325-348]. A separate chapter dwells on the influence of natural conditions on the formation of the Japanese morals and the rise of the military spirit [Watari 1943, p. 280]. For Watari, *Jinkokuki* is one of the stages of the establishment of Japanese self-awareness and a source for studying the *bushidō* philosophy. The usage of this term in the record of the Iyo province is especially remarkable for him. It is traditionally considered that the word “*bushidō*” was first mentioned in *Kōyō Gunkan*, but the text of the *Records of the People and the Provinces* had been compiled somewhat earlier [Watari 1943, p. 331-333].

The main student of *Jinkokuki*, who first published the work with comments in 1948, is Watanabe Tooru. He is known as a pioneer of Japanese psychology. Watanabe acquainted the Japanese academic world with the theory of the psychology of personality by William Stern (1871–1938), having issued the book *About Personality* (*Jinkakuron*) in 1912. He writes about the psychology of personality as a discipline important for the perception of the processes taking place in the Japanese

society of the period of modernization. To his mind, the promotion of this discipline will enable Japan to gain independence in the scientific world, announce itself, and get rid of the dependence on Western knowledge [Watanabe 1912, p. 9]. He also writes that personality studies are at the intersection of ethics, pedagogics, and biology [Watanabe 1912, p. 13-14]. Later, developing these ideas, he turned to studying the psychology of the habitat. In 1915, Watanabe stepped up as a translator of the book *Die geopsychischen erscheinungen* (“Geopsychological Phenomena”, 1911. It was reissued in 1935 under the title of “Geopsyche”). The book had been written by scientist Willy Hellpach (1877-1955), founder of this scientific field (psychology of the habitat, geopsychology, environmental psychology). The book’s Japanese title was *Fūdo Shinrigaku*, which can be notionally translated as the *Psychology of Natural Conditions*. The book described the influence of natural factors and environmental conditions on the formation of the personality and behavioral patterns of particular communities.

The preface to the Japanese edition stated that global science had not yet witnessed such studies, and the translation of this book was able to impact the popularization of the new trend in the Japanese society. It is specially indicated that the original was written in a complex professional language, abounding in psychological terms. For this reason, Watanabe had to resort to simplification and curtailments of the text’s fragments to make Hellpach’s book accessible to the Japanese reader [Hellpach 1915, p. 1-3]. The appeal to specific natural conditions in order to justify the qualities of the people inhabiting a specific territory can be found in earlier works by Japanese authors, for example, in Shiga Shigetaka’s book *Japanese Landscape (Nihon Fūkeiron, 1894)* [Meshcheryakov 2014, p. 313-337]; but Watanabe insisted on the scientific approach to studying this phenomenon. In some respects he preceded the studies made by Watsuji Tetsurō and described in his 1935 book *Natural Conditions (Fūdo)*, where the philosopher deliberates on the influence of the climatic and natural factors on the formation of the Japanese national character [Meshcheryakov 2014, p. 395-405], and those by naturalist Terada Torahiko [Meshcheryakov 2014, p. 406-416].

It is likely that studying the psychology of personality and geopsychology, as well as Watanabe's evident wish to promote the independence of Japanese science prompted him the necessity of exploring Japanese sources. Another step towards researching the psychology of habitat using the Japanese material and from the historical perspective was the 1918 publication of the book *The Essence of Moral of the Japanese People* 國民道德要領 (*Kokumin Dōtoku Yōryō*). The biased character of the book can be detected from the very beginning – the first page contains the text of the “Imperial Rescript on Education” of October 30, 1890, which underlines the necessity of observing the principles of filial piety, patriotism, and development of a vassal's moral and ethical qualities. Next is the text of the *Boshin Decree* 戊申詔書 (*Boshin Shōsho*) of October 13, 1908, stressing the necessity of moral education for the nation that serves as a formal start for the government campaign to improve the economic condition of the peripheral areas (*chihō kairyō undō*, 1909). The improvement of the periphery was planned by nurturing the required qualities in the subordinates. In the afterword, Watanabe stresses the role of science – psychology, particularly – in the cause of forming the foundations of the flourishing state. He refers to the necessity of studying morals and behavioral patterns of Japanese citizens in various parts of the empire if the state system called *kokutai* (ad verbum – “state body”) is to function successfully; thus, he justifies the existence of the psychology of personality and defends this sphere against possible accusations of an individualistic bias [Watanabe 1918, p. 3].

The book describes various options of the interaction between individual and group morals and responsibility [Watanabe 1918, p. 12], interconnection between morals of the citizens and the state system [Watanabe 1918, p. 3], household and political understanding of this term [Watanabe 1918, p. 41]. Watanabe places the people's morals into the position inferior to that of the state system. Japan's state system is unique by virtue of the system of government – the head of the state is the single and continuous dynasty of heavenly august rulers, while Japan itself is located in the favorable climatic conditions: it is lavishly sunlit

and is enjoying fertile lands [Watanabe 1918, p. 2-3]. The “people’s character” (*kokuminsei*) largely depends on the natural factor [Watanabe 1918, p. 10]. According to Watanabe, the main qualities of the Japanese people existing naturally and improving under the influence of the particular political system since the ancient times are loyalty (*chū*) and filial piety (*kō*), which are in unity [Watanabe 1918, p. 14]. Thus, duty (*gi*) and care (*jō*) (categories characterizing the master-subordinate and parent-child relationship, respectively) are also united into an inseparable semantic pair. In the *Jinkokuki* terminology, all these categories, along with heroism and courage (their presence or absence in the inhabitants of a particular province), serve as the main criteria for defining the qualities of people’s morals and customs. Watanabe believes that Japan is unique compared to China, because, in China, these categories are not applied to the state and used only in the family; in Europe, their manifestation is defined not by natural reasons but by a search for personal profit, or may be provoked by forced pressure [Watanabe 1918, p. 15]. Referring to historical examples of specifically Japanese manifestations of character, Watanabe highlights the samurai as the most evident carriers of the “spirit of Japan” (*yamato-damashii* or *yamatogokoro*), attributing to them such qualities as piety, loyalty, courage, and patriotism rising to the level of self-sacrifice, all at once [Watanabe 1918, p. 26]. With this in view, Watanabe’s choice of *Jinkokuki* as a basic text for his studies looks quite appropriate.

Watanabe begins studying some aspects of historical psychology per se based on *Jinkokuki* in 1937 in order to prove the independent character of psychological perception development in Japan. The studies were completed in the post-war period, when *Kyūshin Jinkokuki* book with a detailed introductory article and comments was published in 1948. In addition to purely textological issues, Watanabe touches upon the specific historical weather perception and the influence of the natural factor on the Japanese character’s formation. In the environment of the post-war censorship and the total change of the ideological course, a paper like this could not glorify Japanese culture – the discourse here focuses on its independence emergent by virtue of

natural development [Watanabe (ed.) 1948, p. 33]. Watanabe writes that, despite many external factors influencing the Japanese worldview, the ideas presented in both versions of *Jinkokuki* are to be recognized as original. Giving the example of the Yamashiro province's description saying that clear speech, smooth skin, and soft morals of its inhabitants are defined by the quality of quick and pure local rivers and the qualities of soil, he states outright that the rudiments of geopsychology may be seen in this description [Watanabe (ed.) 1948, p. 36]. The most recent academic publication of *Jinkokuki* and *Shin Jinkokuki* with Asano Kenji's comments appeared in 1987; however, it does not propose any drastically new approach to the comprehension of these texts, following, on the whole, Watanabe's survey and summing up its main conclusions.

## Conclusion

In different times, the *Records of the People and the Provinces* were used as a textbook on military art, studied as a literary monument on geopsychology, and applied to research in the field of *bushidō* history. They were relied on as an element of state propaganda in the process of searching for the “spirit of Japan” and were cited in order to jest and satisfy the need for the feeling of superiority. Two versions of the text available and the problems with defining the author of *Jinkokuki* do not simplify the research either; however, further prospects are opening for continuing the study of the work as it is and its further life in the information environment.

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