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# *Asia Pacific Perspectives*

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### **Editor's Introduction**

We are pleased to introduce the summer 2013 issue of *Asia Pacific Perspectives*. This issue brings together the voices of scholars from Canada, Australia, Britain, and Japan as it considers the interaction between the international and the local in East Asia today.

The first two articles examine the issue of human rights from different perspectives. **David Webster** looks at the struggle for independence in Timor-Leste in terms of local agency. He argues that a regional actor successfully appealed to the international community for support by using human rights norms as a leverage issue. **Silvia Croydon** analyzes the development of a concerted regional approach to the question of human rights in East and Southeast Asia. She finds that there are many challenges to the creation of a regional approach, but that progress is being made.

Looking at the recent tension surrounding maritime disputes in East Asia, **Mike Chia-Yu Huang** asks what drives China's increasingly "assertive" foreign policy. He argues that the number of actors in decision-making has led to inconsistent policy, and that this causes tension between domestic factions, neighboring states, and global powers. **Felicity Greenland** also addresses the conflict between local experiences and international norms, using research on traditional folk songs. She describes a rich and established cultural history of whaling in Japan, a legacy put under pressure by current global environmental concerns.

Finally, with this issue, *Asia Pacific Perspectives* introduces a new type of article, one we are calling "Think Piece." This new series will allow contributors to respond to current events and big ideas in the Asia-Pacific region in a shorter, more informal style that integrates personal opinion informed by scholarship and the author's expertise. We hope you will find value in our first "Think Piece" by **Pablo Figueroa** on the Fukushima nuclear-reactor situation in Japan.

Dayna Barnes, Managing Editor

John Nelson, Editor



# Towards a Modern Context for the Traditional Whaling Songs of Japan

Felicity Greenland, Bukkyo University

## ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes historical Japanese folk songs to provide cultural perspectives on contemporary Japanese attitudes towards whaling. It reveals the deep connection between whaling and Japanese community identity, and helps to explain the resistance to and rejection of international anti-whaling campaigns, which fail to recognize this significant facet of Japanese culture. This research uses the songs to investigate traditional whaling and its later counterparts, and discusses the role that folk songs might serve in the current whaling debate. The intangible cultural heritage of Japanese whaling includes a body of traditional, local folk songs known as *kujira uta* whose lyrics outline Edo period whaling practices in terms of geography, personnel, techniques and species, and provide insight into cultural attitudes. Content analysis of fifty songs, and comparison with contextual sources, contributes to an understanding of the songs as local affirmations of a wider social, folkloric and spiritual consensus set in an international arena.

**KEY WORDS:** *Japan, whaling, Edo period, folk-song, heritage, community*

## Introduction

Although it is not the only whaling nation, Japan is particularly infamous for its whaling. Tokyo's consistent rejection of the anti-whaling norm draws condemnation from other governments and execration from the overseas public and transnational NGOs. At the same time, the international media are quick to fall back upon stereotypes, while the internet facilitates their entrenchment. In short, Japan's persistence in whaling badly affects its international image.

While international lobbies seek to focus on issues of environment – sustainability of whale populations, and ethics of the treatment of intelligent mammals – the Japanese reaction takes different form. First, at the national scale, many Japanese believe that anti-whaling protest attacks their country's identity. They see *kujira* (whale) as part of their traditional fish-based diet and, so, part of Japan's 'unique culinary culture'. By extension, anti-whaling arguments are felt to vilify Japan's traditions and relationship with nature. Many Japanese view protests against Japanese whaling as cultural imperialism or racism.<sup>1</sup> At its most extreme, the anti-whaling movement nourishes this contention, for example by harking back to *samurai* and World War II, and Hirata has described how such 'shaming campaigns' may serve only to strengthen the resolve of the Japanese public and policy makers.<sup>2</sup> Second, at a much smaller scale but more acute, the whaling issue directly affects individuals, families and communities in small coastal towns and villages for whom livelihood and identity are not matters of rhetoric. Their customary trials and tribulations are certainly not allayed by the whaling ban, but neither are they eased by the image brought to bear on them by the controversy as they try to cultivate alternative industries such as tourism.<sup>3</sup>

It is not difficult to find whale meat on a restaurant menu or in a supermarket in Japan. It is available in cans, as dried blubber, and as vacuum packed 'whale-bacon,' and offered raw or cooked in restaurants of all classes. This is the

most widely cited evidence of 'traditional whale culture' in Japan, but what other evidence is there and what does this evidence amount to?

At March 2011 there were at least ten specialist whaling-related museum collections in Japan – three of those were destroyed or damaged by the tsunami of the Great East Japan Earthquake, or Tōhoku Disaster. In addition to relics and equipment from the industry itself, tangible artifacts include archaeological finds, books, scrolls, screens, wood block prints, pottery, textiles and religious paraphernalia, that document, commemorate or celebrate whales and whaling in a heritage setting. Recently, cute designs on pocket-handkerchiefs, mobile phone straps and so forth, enable modern consumers to put their money where their mouth is and demonstrate their fond regard for whales. Antique or contemporary, each object, offers insight into Japan's relationship with the whale, past and present.

However, there is also an intangible heritage. The current existence of at least thirty-nine annual whaling festivals at twenty Japanese towns indicates that non-material cultural products of whaling, in the form of songs, dances, music and rituals, are also valued. A number of these towns were also affected by the tsunami and, in the recovery effort, the continuation of festivals was an early focus of energies in order to boost community spirit. Insofar as the survival of tangible artifacts is contingent on nature or zeitgeist, the intangible is less ephemeral. In this sense, traditional folk songs, with neither physical substance nor material value, may be regarded as one of the more enduring cultural products of whaling. Furthermore, there may be information conveyed by the study of folk songs that it is not possible to deduce from other cultural products.

This paper explores the information on historical whaling contained in Japanese folk songs from the Edo period. In doing so it draws on socio-musical heritage to illuminate the present day. Can these songs offer any alternatives to the current manner in which ordinary people, both within and outside Japan, approach the contentious matter of whaling?

Japanese whaling songs (*kujira uta*) form a small subset of the Japanese *min'yō* folk-song genre. The corpus discussed in this paper consists of fifty hand-harpoon and net-method whaling songs, from nine prefectures, purported to have been handed down from the Edo, or Tokugawa, period (1603-1868). The songs are not well known in Japan.<sup>4</sup> They are obtained from a personal collection derived from a variety of sources: oral tradition, manuscripts, picture scrolls (*emakimono*), folding screens (*byōbu*) and other items in museums and private collections. A number of the songs have been supplied by folk music preservation societies (*hozonkai*) and are currently performed at festivals (*matsuri*) devoted specifically to whales and whaling or to the general perpetuation of folk traditions.<sup>5</sup> The songs are sung in a variety of ways, by individuals and groups, often in a call-and-response format, sometimes accompanied by drums, shamisen, or other instruments. This paper does not address arrangement or musical theory in the songs but rather focuses on the lyrical content.

### **Historical Background**

Japanese whaling may be viewed as taking place within three broad historical eras: an early 'passive' period, of beached and drift whaling, a pre-modern

period, of active coastal whaling initially with hand-harpoons later augmented with nets and organized teams, and a modern period of increasingly sophisticated technology. Very simplistically, these pertain to a period from ancient to pre-Edo times, the Edo period (1603-1868), and the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, although there is some overlap.<sup>6</sup> The kujira uta folk songs pertain to the middle, or pre-modern, Edo period and are believed to be authentic.

The earliest records of whaling in ancient Japan indicate that beached or drifting (ailing or dead) whales were seen as a 'gift of the gods' worthy of respect and gratitude. Such 'auspicious events' appear in the ancient Ainu ballads (*yu-kar*), and also in Ainu *rimse* (festival dancing songs) and folk tales. The following extract from Miura's translation of the Ainu ballad 'The Song That Was Sung and Danced by Dolphine' indicates that it was considered bad luck and disrespectful to the gods not to utilize a beached whale,

As my little babies / Cried and fretted / Craving for food, / I went to the shore / Of the village / Of Pahlyonna. / But . . . / At the villagers / This Pahlyonna / Yelled and said: / The God of the Sea / Has been washed up here. / Ugly women / Cover him with dust. / So / I left the village / And went to the shore / Of the village / Of Yeiresp. / With much respect / Yeiresp bowed low / And said thus: / The God of the Sea / Has made a visit with us. / Villagers / Bring to the God / Sake, / Sacred wooden symbols, / Dried fish, to present. / Thus / I returned / With loads of good gifts / And good foods / To my babies. / Those gifts pleased / My kinsmen also. / Thus / One day / I caught and sent / An ill whale having diarrhea / To the shore / Of the Pahlyonna's village; / And also sent / A fat whale / To the shore / Of the Yeiresp's village. / Pahlyonna ate with his villagers / The ill whale that gave them diarrhea / And they all died; / Yeiresp ate with his villagers / The fat whale / And they are living / A happy life.<sup>7</sup>

Etter's records of Ainu culture collected in 1949 seem to suggest that, alongside 20<sup>th</sup> century whaling techniques, such whale-related folktales and lore persisted in living oral tradition.<sup>8</sup> Scholars cite various instances of transition from passive to active whaling: harpoons found in Jomon shell mounds have been taken to indicate the hunting of small cetaceans 10,000-300 BC;<sup>9</sup> twelve haiku among the 4<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century poems of the Manyōshū allude to isana tori (the taking of 'the brave fish'); there is 'other evidence' of active whaling from 12<sup>th</sup> century, and by around the late 16<sup>th</sup> century active hand-harpoon whaling was commonplace in Japanese whaling areas.<sup>10</sup>

Taiji-cho in Wakayama prefecture and Kayoi in Yamaguchi prefecture are purported to have pioneered techniques that increased the effectiveness of hand-harpoon whaling and then spread to other whaling areas.<sup>11</sup> First, in 1606, the third year of the Edo period, came the introduction of large scale whaling, in the form of a group organized by Wada Kakuemon to hunt baleen whales such as humpbacks and right whales. This technique spread from Taiji throughout South-west Japan. Secondly, in the early 1670s, a new method, *amikake-tsukitorishiki-hogei* or *amitori-ho* added nets to the hand-harpoon method. This technique gradually spread to other areas too, and persists in relic form in smaller cetacean fishing today.<sup>12</sup>

During the Meiji period (1868-1912) traditional-style coastal hand-harpoon and net whaling began to decline. There was apparent depletion of stocks, purported to be due to foreign (US, French, British) whaling in the Japan ground since the 1820s, such that in-shore methods could not secure enough catch to warrant the maintenance of infrastructure. Then in 1878, a major incident at Taiji

spotlighted the risks of the old methods in the new climate. A dearth of catch led to conflict over whether to go after a taboo whale and calf that had been spotted off shore. Eventually boats did go out and harpooned the whale but it survived its injury only to drag ships and crew far out to sea where 111 whalers perished.<sup>13</sup> Under the intertwined pressures of competition, technology and increasing risk, some areas simply ceased active whaling.

In other areas new methods succeeded the old, or enabled whaling to begin for the first time. First came the very gradual adoption of the harpoon gun, which had been invented in Norway in 1864 but did not immediately affect Japanese whaling practices. According to Morikawa, the most rapid development of Japan's modern commercial whaling industry began in 1899. This sudden acceleration was due to several factors of legal, technical and political confluence: first, the Deep Sea Fisheries Promotion Act was passed in 1898; second, Oka Juro, brought back modern whaling methods from Norway and established what later became the Tōyō Hogeï whaling company; third, the five-barreled harpoon gun was introduced in 1904 by Maeda Kenzo.<sup>14</sup> Fourth, a Russian whaling fleet was appropriated from the Russo-Japanese war (1904-05). In 1906, Oka's Tōyō Hogeï company established the first modern Japanese whaling stations at various locations, including in Chōshi in Chiba prefecture and Ayukawa in Miyagi prefecture which had not been traditional whaling areas.<sup>15</sup> The building of the Ayukawa whaling station, and of another at Same village in Aomori prefecture in 1911, was vehemently opposed by local fishermen on the grounds that blood and oil runoff from the processing plant would adversely impact local populations of other fish.<sup>16</sup> At Same, whales had not been traditionally fished or eaten but rather venerated as facilitators of sardine fishing.<sup>17</sup>

Japan's first factory ship with on-board processing began operating in 1925, and the first pelagic or deep-sea whaling by Japan commenced with trials in the Antarctic in the 1934-35 season and ventured to the North Pacific 1940-41. After a brief hiatus from 1941-46, due to World War II, Japan recommenced deep sea whaling with US assistance in order to combat post-war nation-wide food shortages. In 1946 whale meat supplied almost half of the scarce animal protein eaten in Japan, and in 1947 whale was the only meat served in school lunches.<sup>18</sup> It remained a leading food source until the early 1960s with whale meat supply peaking in 1962. In terms of numbers, whale kill peaked in 1965 at 26,000 animals, declining to just over 5,000 by 1980. In accordance with the International Whaling Commission (IWC)'s 1982 global moratorium on whaling, Japan officially ceased commercial whaling in 1987.

Currently, Japan conducts two kinds of whaling – pelagic and small type coastal whaling (STCW). The first is 'scientific' or 'research' whaling permitted under Article 8 of the IWC's 1946 International Convention for Regulation of Whaling (ICRW). The private, but government supported, Institute of Cetacean Research (ICR) that conducts these activities is obliged to adhere to a quota annually agreed with the IWC. The second is STCW of smaller cetaceans, such as pilot whales, not covered by the ICRW.

Although the 2011 tsunami damaged some whaling stations in the Tōhoku area, it did not end the industry as some anti-whaling lobbyists had hoped, and the international dispute remains unresolved. At the Annual Meeting of the



International Whaling Commission 2012, Japan was thanked (along with US and Korea) for its “contribution to North Pacific whale populations research.” At the same meeting, Japan also “drew attention to violent protest activities against its research vessels in the Southern Ocean” and “reiterated its concern over hardship suffered by its whaling communities since the moratorium.”<sup>19</sup>

### **Methodology and Themes in the Study of Whaling Songs**

Content analysis was performed on the lyrics and sources of fifty traditional Japanese whaling songs pertaining to pre-modern whaling in the Edo period.<sup>20</sup> First, the songs were indexed by source prefecture and allocated an identification number, and their precise geographical distribution was mapped.<sup>21</sup> Next, themes emerging from content analysis of the lyrics were counted on a binary system indicating presence or absence of each theme in any given song.<sup>22</sup> Frequency of multiple occurrence within a song was not counted. In order to interpret the geographical distribution and song lyrics, other sources were consulted, including print, artifacts, film footage, and field observations.<sup>23</sup>

Literal, rather than poetic, translations from Japanese to English were made and are provided in the text in order to provide examples. Due to the limited use of pronouns and plurals in Japanese, some assumptions have had to be made in translating. Insertion of an assumed ‘we’, ‘they’ or ‘s’ for this purpose is indicated by brackets ( ). Expressions with more than one interpretation in Japanese, for example *komochi-kujira* (a whale-and-calf or a pregnant whale), have been left in Japanese to retain their duality.

### **Song Source Analysis**

The geographical distribution of sources indicated the highest representation of songs on the western seaboard (*Saikai*) in the prefectures of (south to north) Nagasaki (22 songs or 44% of songs) and Saga (10%), adjacent to each other on Kyushu Island, and Yamaguchi (20%) on the main island of Honshu. Other sources were located on the eastern seaboard, in the prefectures of (south to north) Kōchi (10%) on Shikoku Island, and Wakayama (8%) and Osaka, Chiba, Mie, and Shizuoka (with one song each) on Honshu. On both seaboards a larger representation of songs was clearly observed towards the south.

This distribution may be influenced by the activity and location of hozonkai (preservation societies) and other contributors to the corpus. The collection has some associations with Saga prefecture and is an ongoing project. Nevertheless, the location of sources approximates to documented histories of Japanese whaling, in which Chiba, Wakayama and Kōchi prefectures on the eastern seaboard, and Yamaguchi, Saga and Nagasaki prefectures on the western seaboard, are described as the main 19<sup>th</sup> century whaling districts.<sup>24</sup> However, the corpus does not contain any songs from Ine in Kyoto prefecture or from Ishikawa prefecture, both of which areas are included in a 1988 map showing stable net whaling 1675-late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the reason for this discrepancy is not currently known.<sup>25</sup>

The song source distribution does not extend to locations of later developments such as the large type coastal whaling (LTCW) stations at Ayukawa (est. 1906) and Abashiri (est. 1915), STCW stations at Abashiri, Ayukawa, and Wada, and pelagic and scientific whaling activity in the North Pacific and Antarctic or

Southern Ocean.<sup>26</sup> Proponents of the Japanese whaling tradition have been at pains to point out that, whereas whaling bases and grounds may have shifted northward and expanded to long voyages, many crew and their families from older whaling areas have shifted accordingly.<sup>27</sup> The boats currently involved whaling are also shared between bases. In these ways whalers have been able to continue to pass on skills and knowledge, observing a form of filial piety mores adapted to a modernizing industry.<sup>28</sup>

### **Lyric Analysis**

Themes emerging from content analysis of lyrics were deemed to pertain to two dominant categories: 'attitudes' and 'practice.' Taken at face value, the 'practice' themes appear to provide information on the ways in which whaling was historically carried out. Among the 'practice themes' are matters of geography, personnel, techniques and whale-types. 'Attitude themes' appear to provide information on the spirit in which whaling was conducted or viewed. These pertain to social aspects, religion and lore, and include auspicious motifs. Scores accrued, according to the number of practice- or attitude-related themes songs contained, provide a measure of the 'richness' of each song.

The prevalence of themes in the songs, both as a corpus and individually, is taken as an indication of the role or purpose of the song(s) and as a measure of value in conveying historical information on whaling. Cross-referencing between songs provides pointers to the spread and mobility of the songs, of the attitudes and practices contained within them, and of Japanese whaling as a whole.

As an indication of the general frequency of themes, 48 (96%) of the songs contained one or more practice themes, and 46 (92%) contained one or more attitude themes. There were no songs that contained neither one nor the other, and thus all songs could be deemed informative to some extent. On average, songs featured 4.94 practice themes, and 3.98 attitude themes, an approximate ratio of 5:4. The top-scoring song overall, carrying 5 attitude and 14 practice themes, 19 themes in total, was *Mawari no Kujira-gumi Uta* (Mawari Whaling Team song) from Tsushima, Nagasaki prefecture. This was also the top-scoring song in the practice category.<sup>29</sup> The top-scoring song in the attitude category was *Rokuro-maki no Uta* (a pulley-winding song) from Shinkami-gotō-cho, Minami Matsu-ura, Nagasaki prefecture, which carried 12 attitude themes.<sup>30</sup>

Practice themes were categorized into: techniques (found in 84% of all songs), whale-types (78%), proper nouns as locators (72%), and personnel (54%). Attitude-related themes were categorized as: symbols of good fortune (found in 62% of all songs), celebration (60%), prosperity (56%), and veneration of the whale or associated deities (52%). These themes are discussed in further detail below. Rather than deal with the themes in order of magnitude, they are presented in an order that facilitates the narrative for the reader.

### **Proper Nouns as Place Locators**

In an attempt to ascertain the geographical specificity of the songs, proper nouns were counted and compared to source locations. The proper nouns found included town names, appearing in 30 (60%) of the songs, of which 11 (22% of all songs)

named the whaling team of a specific town. 15 songs (30%) mentioned *Sangoku* ('The Three Countries'), and 7 (14%) named a specific shrine.

Comparing proper nouns to the listed source for each song, it was found that not all corresponded geographically. For example, all of the songs naming shrines name Ise Jingu shrine situated in Mie prefecture. Among these were songs sourced from Wakayama, south of Mie, and from Nagasaki prefecture on the opposing seaboard. Some songs named two distant shrines. For example, in *Kujira-tori Sen Myōjin Maru no Uta* (Myōjin Maru whaling boat song) from Minaminaya-cho, Yokkaichi, Mie prefecture,<sup>31</sup> together with Ise Jingu, a second shrine, Atsuta Jingu, located in Nagoya, is mentioned. Ise Jingu and Atsuta Jingu are considered the most important shrines in Japan and their proliferation in the songs invites two possible interpretations: either, the songs connect to a network of dispersed religious sites or, the songs have migrated retaining their original local referents. Both of these possibilities suggest that conventions in whaling ritual were shared between whaling communities. This sharing might be the result of consensus and/or the movement (seasonal or otherwise) or personnel.

This idea is supported by a broader location theme in the songs: the position in *Sangoku* (the three countries) mentioned in 30% of the songs. In the Edo period, India, China and Japan represented the Japanese conception of 'the world.' 15 songs proclaim the whalers to be '*Sangoku-ichi!*' ('best in the three countries!' or perhaps 'world champions!'). It is not clear whether the inferred 'we' refers to 'this, our local whaling team' or 'we Japanese whalers all' but, whichever, they appear consensual in their awareness of their part, and perhaps competition, in a larger whole including 'others' outside Japan. Given subsequent globalization, it is interesting to contemplate this broader context already influencing Japanese whalers in Edo times.

The richest example of geographically specific labeling in songs was the *Denchū Odori* (Denchū dance), from Shingū-shi, Miwasaki, in Wakayama prefecture, which scored on four of the five counts (town, team, individual, shrine and *Sangoku*),

Miwasaki whaling team harpooned and caught both the whale and calf,  
Putting the thick rope to the front pulley,  
And busily winding up the huge right-whale.  
The team of our master is flourishing. May our master thrive forever...  
The boats arrived in Gokasho-Bay. Now let's go to Ise Shrine.  
SORYA! We are No. 1 in the one..two..three countries!<sup>32</sup>

Gokasho Bay is near Ise Shrine in Mie prefecture, so this song indicates that the Shingū team's boats made their way to the neighboring prefecture.

### **Personnel**

In a socially oriented study it would be useful to know who and what kind of person was involved in whaling. The Japanese language presents a major challenge in this regard, since an implied 'we' is not specified in Japanese. Thus, those responsible for most action in the songs cannot be clearly identified or tallied, so workers and celebrators, whalers and local community members, are doubtless under-represented in the count of personnel in the song lyrics. However, other personnel are clearly indicated in 27 (54%) of the songs. The principal

master, the *danna* (appearing in 24 [48%] of the songs) owned both the fleet and the *naya* (workshed) which is in turn managed by the *bettō* (workshed manager), mentioned in 2 songs. The *oyaji* (father figure or captain of the team) (3 songs) led the catch from the lead-boat. The *kumi* (team), whose members appear to have acted as both catchers at sea and flensers on land, appear 10 songs. Only the *ha-zashi* (harpooner) (5 songs) is clearly designated by his task. The always respectful acknowledgement of the *danna*, for example “may our master thrive forever” quoted in the *Denchū Odori* above, suggests that one function of the songs is to pay respect to superiors. Hughes provides examples of other Japanese folk song genres in which similar praises appear, apparently sung to patrons in the hope of being rewarded with cash or comestibles.<sup>33</sup>

### Techniques

Better represented than either geography or personnel are ‘techniques,’ one or more of which appear in 42 (84%) of the songs. The principal techniques, in order of frequency in songs are pulley-winding (*rokuro-maki*) (appearing in 19 songs), throwing of nets (19 songs), worksheds (*naya*) (17) (including flensing [3]), harpooning (9), boats (9) (incl. leader-boats (3) and catcher-boats [3]), and hill-top lookout (*yamami*) (8 songs). The three higher counts in this ranking, pulley winding, worksheds and throwing nets, are jobs of high labor intensity at sea or high public visibility on shore. In this sense the songs appear socially inclusive and community orientated.

The following song extract shows that the response to a whale-sighting was a highly coordinated and labor intensive business,

Then [Kametani-san, the whaling-team leader]  
 With the senior [workshed] manager  
 Climbs the Terasaki lookout-hill.  
 With a telescope, they look in all four directions  
 ‘Til they spot a komochi-kujira off-shore.  
 On spotting, they raise the banner  
 All the thirty-six ships go out ...<sup>34</sup>

A hill-top look-out (*yamami*) kept watch and, upon sighting a whale, raised a straw-matting banner (*toma*) to summon the whalers. It is not apparent from the song corpus that such numbers of ships were consistently widespread, and this raises a question as to whether the songs all pertain to the same techniques and chronology.

In the following song a banner (*zai*) is raised on the master’s boat to summon net-boats to close in on the prey, and two further banners are used: one to summon nets and another to signify a successful catch to onlookers.

Let the leader’s ship pull into the center.  
 The komochi-kujira is coming down towards us.  
 Raising and waving the banner IYO! and summoning the net,  
 The net is eight layers and its sides are two layers.  
 All the hand-nets in the sea form one layer.  
 Up goes the banner that signals (they’ve) got a whale...<sup>35</sup>



Another song shows the process of roping-up the whale, involving the harpooner diving into the sea to tie the whale to two catcher boats.

Then the komochi-kujira is under the net.  
Throwing harpoons  
The harpooner dives into the sea to put the rope around the whale,  
And quickly ties the rope to the newly built twin catcher-boats.<sup>36</sup>

Catcher boats row the tied whale towards the workshed(s) (naya) onshore where flensing and trying-out (oil extraction) is to take place.

IYŌ! To the inlet of Kayoi, IYA! when ordered to row,  
(We) have to row the boat, SĀ-YOI-YA-SĀ!  
IYŌ! To the pulley(s) at the workshed(s) on the shore...<sup>37</sup>

It is at the worksheds that job-specific work songs come into play, accompanying heavy and labor-intensive tasks of winching, flensing and bone-cutting. In larger operations there may be a division of labor between several worksheds.<sup>38</sup> The following extract is from the Shinkami-gotō-cho, Nagasaki prefecture pulley-winding song,

YATTO SĒ YATTO SĒ!  
In the sea (we) catch the whale, and on the beach (we) cut up the whale YOI! YOI!  
The master in the workshed counts the money SO!  
YŌI TŌ SORA! (We) wind it round. SORA! (We) have wound it round.  
YATTO SĒ! YATTO SĒ!<sup>39</sup>

In spite of its different location and work-role, the following Saga prefecture bone-cutting song shows undeniable similarities,

ĀH! (We) catch the whale, SŌ-RAI!  
And cut up the whale on the beach.  
The master in the workshed counts the money. SŌ-RAI!  
ĀH! The master, in the workshed,  
The master in the workshed counts the money. SŌ-RAI!  
ĀH! (We) cut well. (We) cut well.<sup>40</sup>

There are many other examples of similarities between songs from different regions. For example, the Shinkami-gotō-cho, Nagasaki prefecture pulley-winding song above is also similar to another pulley-winding song from Ogawa-shima in Saga prefecture,<sup>41</sup> and also to a Saga whalebone-cutting song.<sup>42</sup> The following Nagasaki net-tying song, also from Shinkami-gotō-cho, shares its azalea and camellia emblems with the Ogawa-shima pulley-winding song above and with a Mie celebration song.<sup>43</sup> Its emblems of longevity also appear in a Nagasaki celebration song.<sup>44</sup>

Ā! Azalea and camellia. NĀ-Ē!  
HŌ-RA-Ē-YĀ-YA-Ē!  
Shine on the Nokubi sea.  
HŌ-RA-Ē-YĀ-YA-Ē!  
A humpback whale with its calf,  
It shines on the workshed.  
May our parents live to be a hundred years old.  
HŌ-RA-Ē-YĀ-YA-Ē!

May our children live to be ninety-nine years old.  
 May our grandchildren live until their hair turns grey.  
 HO-RA-E-YA-YA-E!<sup>45</sup>

Besides regional sharing, several other features emerge from the work songs. Firstly, they appear to be constituted into different categories of work song principally by their form (refrains etc.) and not by distinct sentiments in the verses: except for their task-specific structure, there is little to distinguish one from another, or indeed from the celebration songs. Secondly, these work songs do not narrate the work in detail but rather allude to the work against a broader foil. Thirdly, the products (such as meat, oil and bone) go largely unmentioned.<sup>46</sup> All these observations point to a purpose in these songs other than a simple accompaniment or commemoration of industry.

### Species

Of the 39 songs (78%) mentioning whales, 30 songs specify species, whereas in 9 songs the species is unspecified. Five whale species are indicated: *semi kujira* (right-whale) (24 songs [48%]), *zatou kujira* (humpback) (7 [14%]), *tsuchi kujira* (Baird's beaked whale) (3 [6%]) and *nagasu kujira* (fin whale) (2 [4%]). The most often mentioned species, the right whale, was the easiest to catch by hand-harpoon method since it moves slowly and floats after death. However, in the following case a humpback is preferred by virtue of its size,

How wonderful the net of Kayoi [whaling team]  
 In it a huge right-whale leans over  
 [to right-whale] "Do not lean over on our rope this year.  
 For [this year we can hunt] a huge humpback".<sup>47</sup>

Of greater prevalence in songs than the right-whale, is the *komochi kujira* (whale with calf or pregnant whale) which appears in 25 (50%) of the songs (of these, 5 are of unspecified species) as opposed to lone adult whales (19 [38%]). The following song from Kōchi prefecture indicates that a *komochi* right-whale was highly valued after a dearth of catch,

(We are) the greatest in Sangoku, (we) have caught a komochi kujira.  
 (We) did it! (We) did it! (We) have done well for tomorrow!  
 (We) have caught a huge right-whale!  
 IYA! The prosperity of the whaling team, after a long interval,  
 Is the fish that comes with its child.<sup>48</sup>

The prevalence of this emblem in the songs appears to go against the literature in which komochi-kujira kills are indicated as taboo.<sup>49</sup> Regional or temporal variance may account for this inconsistency. Alternatively, perhaps in spite of their prevalence in the songs, such kills were not a common occurrence but appear in the songs for another reason.<sup>50</sup> The fact that several songs indicate that the capture of a *komochi-kujira* warrants a trip to Ise shrine:

Having harpooned the komochi right-whale  
 We shall go to Ise shrine for prayer.<sup>51</sup>

Along with the taboo, and the jubilation after a dearth, the lyrics suggest that periods of scarcity were not uncommon.

The whale types appearing in the songs differ from those hunted in later whaling. According to a recent Japanese government white paper, whales hunted between 1903-1981 included blue whale, sei whale, and minke, which do not appear in the traditional songs.<sup>52</sup> Whales appearing in the songs and not mentioned in the white paper include Baird's beaked whale and right whale. Fin whale and humpback appear both in the songs and in the white paper. More recently, Japanese whaling has targeted minke, Bryde's, sperm whales, sei, and pilot whales, none of which are named in the traditional songs.<sup>53</sup>

### Fortune Symbols

Let us turn now to 'attitude' themes, of which the most widespread is symbols of luck and good fortune, appearing in 31 (62%) of the songs. These auspicious symbols not only invoke 'fortune' but illustrate and celebrate it, since whales themselves were considered lucky. A small number of fortune symbols are man-made items (appearing in 6 songs [12%]), but much more frequently the emblems are drawn from nature (27 songs [54%]). Auspicious plants such as pine (17 songs), bamboo (11), and azalea and camellia (3) that together "shine on the workshed" contribute imagery of health, wealth and longevity to both work and celebration songs.<sup>54</sup> Animals such as the crane (*tsuru*) (9 songs) and turtle or tortoise (*kame*) (7 songs) represent longevity and prosperity. The following typical celebration song, carrying these images in quick succession between chorused refrains (*kakegoe*), forms a charm-like chant, which, looking to both past and future, is both celebratory and votive.

(We) celebrate this auspicious event SĀ-YOI-YA-SĀ!  
 Oh god SAI-YO! of the young pine tree SĀ-YOI, SĀ-YOI-YA-SĀ!  
 Branches grow YOI-YA-SĀ! and leaves thrive  
 SORYA! We are happy this year SĀ-YOI-YA-SĀ!  
 Our dreams SAI-YO! come true SĀ-YOI! SĀ-YOI-YA-SĀ!  
 The future is cranes and turtles YOI-YA-SĀ! and five-leaf pines.  
 SORYA! (We) want to be bamboo SĀ-YOI-YA-SĀ!  
 The mountain SAIYO! bamboo SĀ-YOI, SĀ-YOI-YA-SĀ!  
 The bamboo that signifies the thriving of our workshed-master.  
 SORYA! one, and another one  
 Let's celebrate and may this year be fortunate! HAIYA-OI!<sup>55</sup>

Man-made fortune symbols are less frequent, occurring mainly in the two major western seaboard whaling areas of Yamaguchi and Nagasaki prefectures. They feature gold - for health, wealth and comfort, its kanji synonymous with money - or golden items (4 songs); the auspicious and celebratory color red (2 songs); and the *tsuchi* (lucky hammer) evoking the Baird's beaked whale through homophony (1 song). Natural or man-made, the presence of fortune themes imparts a votive or auspicious tone to nearly two-thirds of the songs, drawing on a lexicon of widely understood imagery and tokens also found in other Japanese folk songs.

### **Celebration**

Six of the fifty songs are clearly designated as celebration songs (*iwai*) by their titles. Of these, five, including one celebrating house construction and another celebrating a newly built ship, are from Nagasaki prefecture, and one from Yamaguchi prefecture.<sup>56</sup> However, the declaration '*iwaimedeta!*' (let us celebrate!) and variants, along with other celebratory expressions, such as *kichijitsu* (auspicious day) and *ureshi* (elation), occur in just over half of the corpus (27 songs [54%]). Furthermore, there are other lyrical indications of festivities including dancing (6 songs), drinking sake (5), flocking to the beach to see the whale (3), music (2), and song (1),

...Drink, Daikoku! Sing Ebisu! YOI! YOI!  
The sake-server in the middle! Oh the fortune gods!<sup>57</sup>

All in all, one or more of these celebratory themes occurs in 30 (60%) of the 50 songs, making a substantial proportion of the corpus celebratory if not in name then certainly in content. These songs display many points in common with non-whaling celebration folk songs, for example the song *Yoshikawa zenze no ko*, of the Furukawa drum festival, which hails from the inland prefecture of Gifu in central Japan, suggesting that whaling songs have not developed in isolation from the wider folk song genre.<sup>58</sup>

### **Prosperity**

A similar proportion, 28 (56%) of the 50 songs, features declarations alluding to prosperity, such as *sakaeru* (to thrive or flourish). These declarations are focused largely (i.e., in 18 songs) on the *danna*, *oyaji* and *bettō*, that is, *senpai* or persons superior to the singers. Dramatically fewer songs eye the prosperity of the whaling team members themselves (3 songs), their kin (3) and surrounding villages (3). It may be gracious to honor superiors, or expedient to sing for their prosperity, perhaps in the hope of receiving gifts or benevolent treatment in return. In the following extract lies an indication of conflict in the industry and of the mutual dependence of social strata.

...Like crows, people steal pieces of meat.  
Then the manager starts to speak,  
Do not hit, do not punch, do not slap (them)  
If you punish the people, (they) can't catch whales.<sup>59</sup>

A small number of songs refer to an opulent lifestyle including golden objects or bountiful supplies of rice and anchovies but in general, precise details of the prosperity are not given.<sup>60</sup> Six songs sing of a vague 'prosperity tomorrow' and Akamichi et al. have detailed a complex system of gift exchange surrounding whaling.<sup>61</sup>

### **Veneration**

A final notable feature in the songs is a religious or folkloric sacred positioning of the whale, specific in the lyrics of 26 (52%) of the songs. A breakdown of veneration themes is: blessings (19 songs), shrines (7), gods (Ebisu (7), Benzaiten (2), Daikoku (2)), and the whale as a monk (1). The whale is frequently invested



with some form of sanctity, ranging from a *rishō* (gift or blessing) from the god(s) to the very incarnation of a deity or a monk. Ebisu, Benzaiten and Daikoku are three of the seven lucky gods of fortune (*shichifukujin*) who are commonly depicted in a 'treasure ship' (*takarabune*). Ebisu is considered to be incarnate in the whale and, according to Taki's sources, "visit[s] occasionally from the distant sea and bring[s] fortune to people".<sup>62</sup> In common belief, Ebisu is the god of occupations, particularly associated with fishing, and is often depicted carrying a fishing rod and sea bream. He is traditionally said to be hard of hearing and "devotees often bang on his shrine before reciting their prayers."<sup>63</sup> This image is reflected in the banging of boats at the Taiji dolphin hunt and in the *kinuta* (fulling block or mallet) dances among the Taiji whaling songs.<sup>64</sup> In a similar percussive image, Daikoku, god of wealth, carries a *tsuchi* (lucky hammer) for granting wishes, permitting the word play in which the *tsuchi kujira* (Baird's beaked whale)'s arrival is a wish-come-true. The third fortune god mentioned, Benzaiten, represents all that flows, including wealth and water. The following eponymous song from Nagasaki prefecture carries such images:

(We) celebrate the beach of Benzaiten  
 SĀ! The beach of Benzaiten.  
 On the beach are seven beaches (sic) and seven Ebisu;  
 Gift of the gods of Ise-shrine...<sup>65</sup>

From these examples, it may be deduced that a catch is received with conscious gratitude to the gods, born out in ritual acknowledgement. Seven songs named shrines, often a great distance away, as discussed above. Taki describes not only thanks at existing shrines but also the construction of ad hoc shrines for the repose of the soul of the caught whale, graves for fetuses found in the belly of a catch, and also the contribution of a percentage of catch proceedings to shrines.<sup>66</sup> These shrines and graves have not been neglected as time has passed. Kato and others have gathered examples of continued devotion at historical shrines and temples, the continued construction of whale tombs into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, new monuments for whales caught in more recent times, and also of memorial services held for whales that have recently died.<sup>67</sup> Other evidence suggests that the songs reflect some more widely held attitudes in terms of the rituals surrounding the death and taking of animals.<sup>68</sup> At least some of the attitudes and rites found in whaling communities may have counterparts in other industries elsewhere in Japan.<sup>69</sup>

Japan has criticized Western anti-whaling sentiment as hypocritical in light of other animal husbandry and hunting. Japan also accuses the West of anthropomorphizing of whales, and of emotional hysteria. It is a matter for future research whether Western behavior has not some secular parallels to Japan's deification. The argument would rest on whether Japan, like the West, accorded particular status to the whale, or simply treated it as part of a consistent spiritual relationship with nature.

### **General Discussion**

According to the binary count of themes revealed by content analysis, a slight majority of the song corpus is more concerned with practice than with attitudes.

However, the attitude themes focus largely on spiritual matters, with over half of songs containing references to veneration of whales and associated deities. Furthermore, with so many symbols of good fortune, ritual and celebration, many of which are not unique to whaling, this whaling practice is clearly enmeshed in a wider consensual web of cultural attitudes and mores. Even among the practice themes, there is a disproportionate focus on the komochi-kujira, which, if it were taboo or uncommon, implies that the songs serve a more symbolic than narrative purpose.

There are many aspects of traditional whaling not conveyed by these songs. Cross-referencing with literature and artworks, these aspects become conspicuous by their absence. Major omissions include the struggle involved in taking a catch, frequent failure, products and by-products, visual aspects such as the painting on whaleboats, and the sheer numbers of boats and people involved.<sup>70</sup> Screens and scrolls depict elaborate, bright paintings on the whaleboats and large numbers of boats and workers in formation – it must have been a spectacular and dramatic sight – but the songs say nothing of it.<sup>71</sup> When they were sung in context, that is, in pre-whaling preparation and in celebration, the environment served as a supplement to the lyrical expression and vice-versa.

For another frame of reference it is useful to look at Western whaling songs of the same period. Comparing with the oldest known British / American sea-shanty 'The Greenland Whale Fishery' for example, it is clear that the Japanese songs are not songs of long voyages and long absence.<sup>72</sup> It is not, therefore, surprising that they do not depict the hardships of long distances and separation. However, neither are the Japanese songs narratives of their own specific difficulties or disasters: boats are not named, there are no cruel ships captains, no dates, no storms, no eulogies. Since we know that there were indeed such events in Japanese whaling, then we can see that the songs simply did not take them as subjects but rather took a different focus, born of a different intent and purpose.<sup>73</sup> I deduce that these songs are not *about* whaling so much as *for* and *towards* it, codifying the process in a specifically rarified form. Rather than narrating, as Western shanties commonly do, the kujira uta appear more akin to hymns, honoring, acknowledging and praying.<sup>74</sup>

This brings us to consider a possible role for these songs now. No doubt, their original context, in the form of archaic practices, is obsolete. However, from the very fact of the preservation of these songs since the Edo period, we also know that this aspect of history has been, and remains, valued by at least a few. Indeed many of these songs now survive on the very account of their functional obsolescence, treasured by museums, preserved by hozonkai. Their sources are so varied, that this cannot be described as an unbroken living tradition, nonetheless, it is a revivable one.

In the present climate, there is renewed awareness of historical whaling culture.<sup>75</sup> In recent decades, there have been some new songs discovered, and significant artworks uncovered.<sup>76</sup> Prior to the tsunami of 2011 there were at least ten specialist whaling-related museum collections in Japan, of which, only one, *Taiji Cho Ritsu Kujira no Hakubutsukan* (Taiji-cho municipal whale museum) established in 1969, appears to predate the moratorium. Three were established in the 1980s and 90s in towns associated not with traditional but with modern

whaling.<sup>77</sup> These three museums were damaged or destroyed in the tsunami and their communities have not yet recovered. As for whaling festivals, where dates are available, they indicate that, of the thirty-nine annual events, eleven were initiated post-war, of which, four were started or revived post-moratorium. One involves the recent addition of a 'whale float' to an existing festival.<sup>78</sup> Rather than isolating the songs as music, performance in symbolic re-enactment of traditional whaling provides the most rich and authentic environment for the songs in the present. As vehicles of celebration and retrospection, if supplemented by education and well-informed critique aimed at local, wider domestic and international audiences, the songs could serve to boost both the economy and identity of historic whaling communities.

The integrity of these songs' lyrics as historical cultural signifiers rests upon their authenticity. In so far as the corpus is believed to be authentic and contemporary with Edo period in-shore whaling it appears to shed light on many aspects of cultural heritage by virtue of both content and omission. I have treated the corpus as a whole, and have not yet sought to investigate chronological variations but it seems not unlikely that these songs are from various dates and stages of whaling. Nor have I gone deeply into the geographical patterns of similarity, but it looks not unlikely that some may be compounds or adaptations of others. If any of the songs transpires to be a later composition or an assemblage, that in itself will prove informative. It does seem, however, that, since these songs are similar to other folk songs and not concerned with products or money but rather with work and prayer, their purpose was not so much to serve the industry but to support the people.

### **Conclusion**

In response to the ongoing international whaling controversy, this paper has attempted to investigate Japan's cultural heritage by means of folk song. The Edo period whaling songs give a rich, if incomplete, illustration of a historical whaling culture in Japan and show that, in the Edo period, a limited number of small coastal communities practiced whaling and were linked via labor mobility. Although its geography has shifted, a similar degree of isolation, at even fewer locations, linked by their industry, exists in Japanese whaling today. The songs provide an outline of some of the social, spiritual and folkloric attitudes associated with whaling which, contextual analysis shows, were not entirely unique to whaling or to the Edo period.

The individuals and minority interest groups who have preserved these songs have enabled them to be revived in the interests of heritage, contributing to the economy and social identity of whaling and ex-whaling communities. Insofar as they are authentic, these songs may be taken as illustrations of both continuum and distinction and, as such, can contribute to both sides of the whaling debate. Not only can the songs enrich local identities but also they can educate a wider audience, by making local history accessible in a populist manner, leading to interest, understanding and empathy towards transitional livelihoods. Such an approach is currently lacking in anti-whaling strategy, and in international media and public discourse on Japanese whaling.

Viewed alongside both history and the current controversy, the traditional whaling songs of Japan highlight the fact that, globally, humanity's relationship with the environment is in a state of constant flux, perpetually shifting as human needs and desires change, and is always influenced by developments in economics, politics and technology, as well as by changes in the natural world. The current global environmental movement, for which whaling has come to serve as a symbol, faces entrenched obstacles in the form of grass-roots issues in directly affected communities in various parts of the world. Without the development of acceptable alternatives, these issues will persist, and without understanding the origins of these issues, it will be difficult to develop viable alternatives. To facilitate the wider understanding and subsequent potential solution of these issues in the case of Japan, the traditional kujira-uta whaling songs provide both historical information and a potentially valuable contemporary heritage resource.



## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Kalland, Arne and Moeran, Brian. 1992. *Japanese Whaling: End of an Era?* Richmond: Curzon Press.,14.
- <sup>2</sup> In a commentary on Sea Shepherd website, the then President of the organization, Paul Watson wrote, "From the decapitations of Samurai upon innocent peasants, to the suicidal insanity of the kamikaze, violence and self-destruction have been a part of Japanese culture. / It is this killing - this willful slaughter not just of whales, but also of dolphins on Japanese beaches - that has become almost ritualistic. It is this ritualistic slaughter that is traditional." Source: Watson, Paul (2006) *The Truth about "Traditional" Japanese Whaling*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.seashepherd.org/commentary-and-editorials/2008/10/30/the-truth-about-traditional-japanese-whaling-375>. Accessed 24 July 2010. Shaming campaigns and Japanese resolve in: Hirata, Keiko (2005) 'Why Japan Supports Whaling'. *Journal of International Wildlife Law & Policy*, vol. 8, 1-21, Concl.
- <sup>3</sup> Kalland and Moeran. Op. cit., 18-42.
- <sup>4</sup> Nor are they detailed in English language works on Japanese folk songs. In his section on work songs, Hughes notes, "the whalers of Taiji (Wakayama prefecture) celebrated a successful hunt with a powerful dance based loosely on work movements (see Nakai et al. 1972: 119). The lyrics of the accompanying song are not obviously religious..." Hughes, David W. (2008) *Traditional Folk Song in Modern Japan*. Folkestone: Global Oriental, 75.
- <sup>5</sup> Uemura, Hirokazu (2009) *Nihongo no Sanpo*. [Online] Available at: [http://homepage2.nifty.com/ue\\_room/kujira](http://homepage2.nifty.com/ue_room/kujira). Accessed 15 May 2012.
- <sup>6</sup> Kalland and Moeran cite a drift whale flensed and sold in 1980s, also retrieval of half-flensed carcasses from busy shipping lanes in 1826. Kalland and Moeran. Op. cit., 66.
- <sup>7</sup> Miura, Kiyoko (no date). *Yukar: Epos of the Ainu: study and translation of Kamuy-Yukara*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.sacred-texts.com/shi/ainu/yukara.htm>. Accessed 10 Feb 2009. Ch 3.
- <sup>8</sup> Etter, Carl (1949) *Ainu Folklore: Traditions and Culture of the vanishing Aborigines of Japan*. Chicago: Wilcox & Follett, 164.
- <sup>9</sup> Kalland and Moeran, Op. cit., 85.
- <sup>10</sup> Consulate General of Japan (2011) *The Japanese Government's Position on Whaling*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.sydney.au.emb-japan.go.jp>. Accessed 10 Nov. 2011. Japan Whaling Association (2010) *Chronology of Whaling*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.whaling.jp/english/history.html>. Accessed 26 Apr. 2012.
- <sup>11</sup> Akimichi et al. (1988) *Small-Type Coastal Whaling in Japan*. Edmonton: Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, Occasional Paper No. 27, 10.
- <sup>12</sup> Beneficiaries of the Riches of the Sea and Japan Small-Type Whaling Association (no date). *Development of Japanese Whaling: Origins of LTCW, STCW and Pelagic Whaling*. p.3. [Online] Available at: [http://luna.pos.to/whale/gen\\_coast.html](http://luna.pos.to/whale/gen_coast.html). Accessed 30 June 2012.
- <sup>13</sup> Kalland and Moeran, Op. cit, 151. A monument to this incident stands on the road overlooking Taiji bay (Field study, May 2013).
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., 86.
- <sup>15</sup> Watanabe, Hiroyuki (2009) *Japan's Whaling: The Politics of Culture in Historical Perspective*. Melbourne: Trans-Pacific Press, 27.
- <sup>16</sup> Morikawa, Jun (2009) *Whaling in Japan: Power, Politics and Diplomacy*. London: Hurst & Company, 20-22.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid., 22.
- <sup>18</sup> Smil, Vaclav and Kobayashi, Kazuhiko (2012) *Japan's Dietary Transition and Its Impacts*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 45.
- <sup>19</sup> International Whaling Commission (2012) *Chair's Report of the 64<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the International Whaling Commission, 2-6 July 2012*. [Online] Available at: <http://iwc.int/chairs-reports>. Accessed 16 March 2013.

- <sup>20</sup> Uemura, Hirokazu (2009) *Nihongo no Sanpo*. [Online] Available at: [http://homepage2.nifty.com/ue\\_room/kujira](http://homepage2.nifty.com/ue_room/kujira). Accessed 15 May 2012.
- <sup>21</sup> For full list see Greenland, Felicity (2011) 'Whaling Songs in Japan as a Reflection of Cultural Practice'. *Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Bukkyo University, Kyoto*, no. 95, 113. Maps presented in Greenland, Felicity (2012b) *Attitudes and Practices in Japanese Traditional Whaling Songs*. Paper presented to International Conference on Asian Studies (ICAS), Colombo, Sri Lanka. (Unpublished) and in Greenland, Felicity (2012c) 'Within and Without: Viewpoints on the Concept of Whaling Community.' Paper presented to Anthropology of Japan in Japan (AJJ) Conference, Kyoto: Doshisha University Institute of Liberal Arts. (Unpublished).
- <sup>22</sup> Yano, Christine R. (2002) *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song*. London: Harvard University Press, p. 93.
- <sup>23</sup> Field trips to Nakao Residence, Yobuko cho, Saga prefecture (Oct. 2012), Ikitsuki-shima, Nagasaki prefecture (Oct. 2012), Taiji cho (May 2013), Telephone, mail correspondence with Nagato-shi Kyouiku Iinkai (Nagato City Board of Education), (July 2012).
- <sup>24</sup> Morikawa, Op. cit., 20.
- <sup>25</sup> Maps at Akimichi et al. Op. cit., 17. Ine documented at Akimichi et al. Op. cit., 10.
- <sup>26</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (no date). *Management of Cetacean Resources: Japan's Request for a Catch of 50 Minke Whales in Its Coastal Waters Is Justifiable*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/fishery/whales/iwc/request.html>. Accessed 16 May 2012.
- <sup>27</sup> Beneficiaries of the Riches of the Sea. Op. cit. / Akimichi et al. Op. cit., 52.
- <sup>28</sup> Akimichi et al. Op. cit., 52.
- <sup>29</sup> *Mawari no Kujira-gumi Uta* - Mawari Whaling Team Song -Mawari, Toyotama-machi, Tsushima, Nagasaki prefecture (N22) Index allocated to corpus songs reflects prefecture and sequence, see Greenland, Felicity. 2011. 'Whaling Songs in Japan as a Reflection of Cultural Practice'. *Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Bukkyo University, Kyoto*, no. 95, pp. 97-113.
- <sup>30</sup> *Rokuro-maki no Uta* (pulley-winding song), Shinkami-gotō-cho, Minami Matsu-ura, Nagasaki prefecture (N12).
- <sup>31</sup> *Kujira-tori Sen Myōjin Maru no Uta* (Myōjin Maru whaling boat song), Minaminaya-cho, Yokkaichi, Mie prefecture. (M1).
- <sup>32</sup> *Denchū Odori* (Denchū dance), Shingū-shi, Miwasaki, Wakayama prefecture. (W3)
- <sup>33</sup> Hughes, David W. 2008. *Traditional Folk Song in Modern Japan*. Folkestone: Global Oriental, 82.
- <sup>34</sup> *Mawari no Kujira-gumi Uta* (Mawari Whaling Team song), Nagasaki prefecture. (N22).
- <sup>35</sup> *Hazashi Uta* (Harpooner's song), Nagasaki prefecture. (N20).
- <sup>36</sup> *Mawari no Kujira-gumi Uta* (Mawari Whaling Team song), Nagasaki prefecture. (N22).
- <sup>37</sup> *Asa no Mezame* (waking in the morning), Yamaguchi prefecture. (Y7) A similar verse appears in *Hazashi Uta* (harpooner's song) Katsumoto-ura, Katsumoto-cho, Iki City, Nagasaki prefecture. (N20).
- <sup>38</sup> Nakazono, Shigeo and Yasunaga, Hiroshi. 2009. *Kujira Tori E-Monogatari*. Fukuoka: Gen Shobo, 180.
- <sup>39</sup> *Rokuro-maki no Uta* (pulley-winding song), Shinkami-gotō-cho, Minami Matsu-ura, Nagasaki prefecture. (N12).
- <sup>40</sup> *Kujira Hone-kiri Uta* (whalebone-cutting song), Ogawa-shima, Yobuko, Karatsu, Saga prefecture. (SG1).
- <sup>41</sup> *Rokuro-makiage Uta* (pulley-winding song), Ogawa-shima, Yobuko, Karatsu, Saga prefecture. (SG2).
- <sup>42</sup> *Kujira-hone-kiri Uta* (whalebone cutting song), Ogawa-shima, Yobuko, Karatsu, Saga prefecture. (SG1).

- 43 *Kujira-tori Sen Myōjin Maru no Uta* (Myōjin Maru whaling boat song), Minaminaya-cho, Yokkaichi, Mie prefecture. (M1).
- 44 *Tsumori* (Tsumori), Moroyoshi, Ashibe-cho, Iki City, Nagasaki prefecture. (N19).
- 45 *Ami no Me-shime Uta* (net-tying song), Shinkami-gotō-cho, Minami Matsu-ura, Nagasaki prefecture. (N10).
- 46 Other whale products include: oil for insecticide; sinew for musical instruments ex. biwa strings; baleen for crafts and *bunraku* puppets; bones for shamisen plectra in Kalland and Moeran. Op. cit.,70.
- 47 *Satemo Migoto* (how wonderful!), Kayoi, Nagato City, Yamaguchi prefecture. (Y4).
- 48 *Kujira-bune no Uta* (whaling boat song), Kōchi prefecture. (K1) (Similar expressions are found in K2, Y1 and Y7).
- 49 Kato, Kumi (2007) 'Prayers for the Whales: Spirituality and Ethics of a Former whaling Community – Intangible Cultural Heritage of Sustainability'. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, vol. 14, issue 3, 305.
- 50 Kalland and Moeran present a tale of a whale and calf hunt in the Gotō Islands, 1715, in which 72 died. Kalland and Moeran. Op. cit., 150.
- 51 *Aya Odori* (Aya dance 1), Taiji-cho, Higashimuro-gun, Wakayama prefecture. (W2).
- 52 Ministry of Environment (1995) *Quality of the Environment in Japan*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.env.go.jp/en/wpaper/1995/eae24000000040.html>. Accessed 20 July 2012. Part 3, Fauna, Fig. 5-6-4.
- 53 Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2012) *The Position of the Japanese Government on Research Whaling*. [Online] Available at: [http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/q\\_a/faq6.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/q_a/faq6.html). Accessed 20 July 2012.
- 54 *Ami no Me-shime Uta* (net-tying song), Shinkami-gotō-cho, Minami Matsu-ura, Nagasaki prefecture. (N10); *Rokuro-makiage Uta* (pulley-winding song), Ogawa-shima, Yobuko, Karatsu, Saga prefecture. (SG2).
- 55 *Iwaimedeta* (celebration), Shinkamigotō-cho, Minami-Matsu-ura gun, Nagasaki prefecture. (N9).
- 56 *Iwaimedeta* (celebration) Ikitsuki-cho, Hirado City, Nagasaki prefecture. (N2); *Iwaimedeta*, (celebration) Shinkami-gotō-cho, Minami Matsu-ura, Nagasaki prefecture. (N9); *Iwaimedeta Uta* (celebration song) Moroyoshi, Ashibe cho, Iki City, Nagasaki prefecture. (N13); *Kenchiku Iwai* (house construction celebration), Moroyoshi, Ashibe-cho, Iki City, Nagasaki prefecture. (N15); *Shin zō Sen Iwai* (celebration of newly built ship) Moroyoshi, Ashibe cho, Iki City, Nagasaki prefecture. (N17); *Iwaemedeta* (celebration), Kayoi, Nagato City, Yamaguchi prefecture. (Y3).
- 57 *Rokuro-maki no Uta* (pulley-winding song), Shinkami-gotō-cho, Minami-Matsu-ura-gun, Nagasaki prefecture. (N12).
- 58 Yoshikawa "Zenze no ko" song: "*Medeta Medeta no Wakamatsu Sama yo* (Let's celebrate the young pine buds coming out) / *Eda mo Sakaeru Ha mo Shigeru* (Its branches and leaves will grow)". Source: Greve, Gabi. (2010) *WKD - Saijiki for Festivals and Ceremonies*. [Online] Available at: <http://wkdfestivalsaijiki.blogspot.jp/2011/02/furukawa-drums.html>. Accessed 15 May 2013.
- 59 *Mawari no Kujira-gumi Uta* (Mawari Whaling Team song), Mawari, Toyotama-machi, Tsushima City, Nagasaki prefecture. (N22).
- 60 *Kujira-tori Sen Myōjin Maru no Uta* (Myōjin Maru Whaling Boat Song), Minaminaya-cho, Yokkaichi, Mie prefecture. (M1).
- 61 Akimichi et al. detail a non-monetized customary distribution system in Akimichi et al. Op. cit., 2.
- 62 Taki, Shuzo (1996) 'Tomb of Whales'. *Isana*, no. 14, 1.

- 63 Miyamoto, Tsuneichi (2010) *The Forgotten Japanese, Encounters with Rural Life and Folklore*. Berkeley: Stonebridge Press, 307.
- 64 The Beneficiaries of the Riches of the Sea. Op.cit. *Aya Odori* (Aya dance 1), Taiji-cho, Higashimuro-gun, Wakayama prefecture. (W1); *Aya Odori* (Aya Dance 2), Taiji-cho, Higashimuro-gun, Wakayama prefecture. (W2).
- 65 *Benzaiten* (Benzaiten), Shinkami-Gotō cho, Minami-Matsu-ura-gun, Nagasaki Prefecture (N5).
- 66 Taki. Op. cit., 1.
- 67 Kato. Op. cit., 294, 297, 299, Post-script. Kyodo News Agency (2012) 'Taiji Museum Holds Memorial Service for Dead Whale'. *Japan Times*, Tuesday 3 April.
- 68 Kenney, Elizabeth (2004) 'Pet Funerals and Animal Graves in Japan'. *Mortality*, vol. 9, no. 1, Feb. pp.42-60.
- 69 It is common knowledge in Japan that there are graves in Hokkaido for cows and horses, and at Koyasan, Wakayama prefecture, for various animals.
- 70 Akimichi et al. indicate the net method required 500 or more people, Akimichi et al. Op. cit., 11.
- 71 Nakazono, Shigeo and Yasunaga, Hiroshi. 2009. *Kujira Tori E-Monogatari*. Fukuoka: Gen Shobo, 188-194.
- 72 Background in Lloyd, Albert L. (1967) *Leviathan*. London: Topic Records. (Sleeve notes), 6. / Lyrics in Huntington, Gale (2005) *Songs the Whalemens Sang*. Connecticut: Mystic Seaport, 11.
- 73 Kalland and Moeran. Op. cit, 150-1.
- 74 Hugill, Stan (1994) *Shanties from the Seven Seas*. Connecticut: Mystic Seaport Museum.
- 75 Kayoi hozonkai in Nagato-shi, Yamaguchi prefecture teaches local school children how to perform whaling songs. Personal communication, Nagato-shi Kyōiku Iinkai (Nagato City Board of Education), July 2012.
- 76 'Whaling songs from Ejima in Sakido-cho...[had] been unknown among whale folk art researchers, and came to light when local people presented a report several years ago...' Source: Nakazono, Shigeo (2003) 'Outline of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Traditional Whaling Summit'. *Isana*, no. 28, Dec., p. 3. A screen depicting a whale by Jakuchu (1716-1800), painted 1795, was discovered in 2008 in a house in Kanazawa City (Source: Miho Museum).
- 77 Kujira to Umi no Kagakukan, Yamada-cho, Iwate prefecture (1987-); Ayukawa Oshika Whale Land, Ishinomaki City, Miyagi prefecture (1990-); Sea and Shell Museum, Rikutenza-kata.
- 78 Of 39 festivals currently listed, three began in 1970s; one began in Taiji in 1987; Osaka (Dejima, Sakai) halted 1954 was revived 2006; Mie halted 1962 resumed 1994. Source: *Kujira Bunka: Kujira Matsuri*. 2012. [Online] Available at: <http://www.geocities.co.jp/NatureLand-Sky/3011/kujira-maturi-geinou.html>. Accessed 19 April 2012.

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**Felicity Greenland** studied Human Geography (BA, University of Manchester, 1985) and is trained as a thematic cartographer. She lived with two fishing families in Rausu, Shiretoko, Japan (Operation Raleigh youth organization, 1987). She holds an MA in Contemporary Japanese Studies (University of Essex, 1993), and has researched the contemporary position of traditional Japanese *taiko* drumming. She worked at English Folk Dance and Song Society, London 1993-2005. At Bukkyo University, Kyoto (2006-present), Greenland's research includes international song repertoires and the position of song in community and education.