

Hermann Hesse and Japan: A Study in Reciprocal Transcultural Reception

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

This thesis examines Swiss-German writer Hermann Hesse's reception in Japan and of Japan in the context of transcultural reception processes. Initially, it contextualizes Hesse's reception in Japan in the regional setting of East Asia (China, Taiwan, Korea and Japan) and demonstrates how imperial Japan, through its cultural dominance and its legacy, acted as a cultural gatekeeper in shaping Hesse's regional reception during its colonial period from 1895 to 1945 and beyond. Second, the thesis discusses Hesse's reception in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community by explicating three distinct phases of the reception process, which commenced in 1909, (the second part of Hesse's novel *Knulp*), and continues to the present day (with a new translation of Hesse's 1919 novel *Demian* in 2017). Third, this thesis demonstrates, through a discussion based on unpublished documents related to Hesse's overlooked but highly influential 'Japanese' cousin and transcultural mediator between East and West, Wilhelm Gundert, that within the concept of a world literature system research must increasingly focus on the transformative human agency and social relations in the topographical nodal points of the system in order to understand how the transcultural literary reception process unfolds. Finally, drawing upon the unpublished epistolary corpus of Japanese readers' letters to Hesse in the DLA archives, the thesis explains how, once emotional trust is established in the epistolary exchange, deep affinities arise between the European author and his Japanese readers and spiritual capital is generated, which, in combination with the translation work of his 'Japanese' cousin, inspired Hesse to new transcultural literary outcomes in the form of Zen poems. This new form of literary production, with its roots in Zen-Buddhism, goes beyond *Das Glasperlenspiel*, which is commonly seen as the 'culmination' of Hesse's overall literary production, and means that claims about Hesse's late literary production must be re-thought.

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Preface

Japan presents the Western researcher with numerous obstacles in that the researcher faces an alien tradition that brings with it significant linguistic and cultural challenges. These challenges are concrete and real. However, they are not unfamiliar challenges because my life is punctuated by long sojourns in different cultural spaces. An enduring relationship with Hesse's works has accompanied these journeys. I developed a fascination with the image of Hesse I found projected on the covers of some of his novels (the ascetic guru) while still a teenager at school in England in the 1970s. I remember reading two of Hesse's novels in English translation at this time; his Indian tale *Siddhartha*, and the outsider novel *Der Steppenwolf*. *Siddhartha* nourished my burning interest in Buddhism and India, and may have influenced my decision to travel overland by bus to India in 1979 more than I can appreciate now. With limited resources, I journeyed in the magical Indian sub-continent for about six months, travelling from the Himalayas in the north to Sri Lanka in the south by train and bus, learning along the way that to survive I would have to throw overboard all that I had learned in the West culturally, and just go with the flow and accept the inexplicable adventures that came my way every day. I also read *Der Steppenwolf* voraciously as a teenager, without quite understanding what Hesse was saying to me, but finding its rebellious nature and rejection of accepted staid norms conducive to the unfinished ideas of a renewal of the West through peaceful Eastern philosophy and a shaky, rudimentary notion of socialism swirling around my mind.¹ Later, when living and working in Germany, and having gained near fluency in the language, I was able to read Hermann Hesse closely in German for the first time, admiring in particular the simplicity, yet breath-taking aesthetic quality of his prose. After living in Germany for some twenty years, I had the opportunity to move to Japan and work there. After acquiring a degree of reading literacy in the Japanese language, I was surprised at the number of Hesse's works I was able to identify on the shelves of bookshops and libraries. Almost every Japanese person has heard of Hesse's name.² Indeed, German culture and German literature are held in high esteem in Japan. German cars are prestige objects, and Tokyo even celebrates an annual *Oktoberfest*. Conversely, apart from among Japanese literature specialists, I have met few people in the West who have read any Japanese literary works beyond Jay Rubin's English translations of the novels of the internationally popular Japanese writer Haruki Murakami. Being immersed in the cultural environment of Japan is enriching and full of fascinating cultural discoveries, yet, curiously, unlocked a need to read deeply in European literature (perhaps as a way of grounding my identity). Hence, I read Hesse's major works in German in their entirety, more

¹ As I argue later, this, I believe, is what happens during the reading experience: finding in the text something that corresponds to a personality trait or an 'identity theme'.

² In Chapter 1, I will explain why this should be so.

or less sequentially from his first novel, *Peter Camenzind*, steeped in Romanticism and sweeping descriptions of nature, through to what many critics argue is his *magnum opus*, *Das Glasperlenspiel*,³ written over a period of eleven years from 1931 to 1942, concurrent with the era of Nazi oppression in Germany and Europe. Re-grounded in Hesse's 'European' literature (an Indian tale such as *Siddhartha*, even with its themes of Buddhism and Taoism, is still written from the perspective of a European writer and is comprehensible to a European reader), and as the length of my sojourn in Japan grew ever longer (now some seventeen years), I decided to investigate reasons for the extraordinary reception of my favourite German writer in Japan, and to present the results of my research formally in an academic thesis. Hesse's writing has accompanied me as I have travelled around the world, and as I have read his works in different cultural spaces and at different life-stages, drawing and assembling different meanings from those texts, or, better, projecting different meanings upon the texts.⁴ My perspective is not unique, as Hesse has accompanied many through the stages of their lives, but I see at first-hand that Hesse is read globally, and thus remains a vitally important author in world literature, and worthy of greater and continued attention in German studies.

Introduction

This thesis explores a research theme that is overlooked and is largely unknown in German studies in the West: both the Japanese literary reception of Swiss-German⁵ writer and Nobel Prize for Literature laureate Hermann Hesse (1877-1962) and Hesse's reception of Japan. Given the time span from the first publication of his work in Japanese translation in 1909 to the present, and the depth of Hesse's reception in Japan, a country with an entirely different social, economic, political, linguistic and cultural tradition, the paucity of curiosity and scholarly work in English and German about this gap in Hesse research is surprising. Although the scholar Adrian Hsia has written at book-length about Hesse's reception in the Chinese cultural spaces of East Asia,⁶ Hesse scholars interested in Hesse's reception in Japan will find little to read in a European language apart from Japanese Germanist Masaru Watanabe's short essay in German on Hesse's Japanese reception for Martin Pfeiffer's

³ I argue that Hesse's intense transcultural dialogue with his Japanese readership resulted in a new level of literary production beyond *Das Glasperlenspiel* (see especially Chapter 4).

⁴ See the discussion of Holland's 'identity themes' in both the Introduction and Chapter 3.

⁵ 'Swiss-German' designates the two countries in which Hesse lived (Germany prior to 1912 and Switzerland from 1912 until his death in 1962). Hesse himself in *Alemannisches Bekenntnis* (1919) declares himself a native of the Alemannic geographical and cultural region. 'Für mich ist die Zugehörigkeit zu einem Lebens- und Kulturkreise, der von Bern bis nördlichen Schwarzwald, von Zürich und dem Bodensee bis an die Vogesen reicht, ein erlebtes, erworbenes Gefühl geworden. Die südwestdeutsch-schweizerische Gebiet ist mir Heimat (...)' Hesse, H. 2003. *Alemannisches Bekenntnis*. In: Michels, V. ed. *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 12. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 115-119. Here: p. 115. All subsequent references in this thesis to the *Sämtliche Werke* will be indicated by *SW*, the volume number and the page number(s).

⁶ Hsia, A. 2002. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

anthology of essays about Hesse's worldwide reception, which was published in 1977.⁷ In the 1980s, Japanese Hesse researchers reached out with German language contributions on the theme of Hesse's reception at the International Hermann Hesse Gesellschaft's colloquia in Hesse's Swabian birthplace of Calw.⁸ However, the last contribution by any participant (Masaru Yamaguchi) at the colloquia about Hesse's reception in Japan was some thirty years ago in 1988. The most recently published proceedings of the 14th International Hesse Kolloquium in 2013, for example, contains nine articles, all by European contributors (seven German, one Swiss and one English) on the theme *Stufen der Selbstfindung*.⁹ This broad concern with the aesthetic and bibliographical qualities of Hesse's writing is mirrored in the nine volumes (2004-2017) of the *Hermann-Hesse-Jahrbuch*, which is published annually by the Internationale Hermann-Hesse Gesellschaft: all but two of the contributors (Adrian Hsia and Soon-Kil Hong) are Western academics and not one of the articles touches on the subject of Hesse's Japanese reception and his reception of Japan. The evidence points toward an increasingly inward-looking 'turn' in recent Western Hesse scholarship, which, aside from fleeting references, continues to maintain a resolute silence about Hesse's Japanese reception and his reception of Japan.

The trend toward 'navel-gazing' and close reading among Western Hesse scholars seems to be counterintuitive in a world which is globalizing and ever more closely networking through rapid technological developments in transport and communications. Indeed, in his 2004 essay, 'Ein Glasperlenspiel im Internet: Hesse lesen im globalen Zeitalter', Germanist Ingo Cornils argues provocatively that Hesse anticipated the modern communication culture of a globalized world in his glass bead game.¹⁰ Cornils reaches the conclusion that 'Hesse Lesen im globalen Zeitalter bedeutet, Teil einer internationalen Gemeinschaft zu sein, vielleicht nicht gerade der Morgenlandfahrer (...), aber immerhin der geistig Verwandten.'¹¹ And, it should be noted that the people constituting this international community of readers

⁷ Watanabe, M. 1977. Japan. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung: Internationale Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 222-233. Other papers on Hesse written by Japanese German Studies scholars of indirect relevance, that is, not dealing directly with the theme of his reception, are Ide, A. 1984. Meine Innere Begegnung mit Hermann Hesse. In: Bran, F. & Pfeifer, M. eds. *Begegnungen mit Hermann Hesse*, 3. *Internationales Hermann-Hesse-Kolloquium in Calw*, pp. 117-123; Watanabe, M. 1986. Das Glasperlenspiel als Bildungsroman aus japanischer Sicht. In: Bran, F. & Pfeifer, M. eds. *Hermann Hesses Glasperlenspiel*, 4. *Internationales Hermann-Hesse-Kolloquium in Calw*, pp. 31-42; Yamaguchi, M. 1988. Die Musikalität der Sprache Hermann Hesses in ihrer Bedeutung für den japanischen Leser. In: Bran, F. & Pfeifer, M. eds. *Wege zu Hermann Hesse*, 5. *Internationales Hermann-Hesse-Kolloquium in Calw*, pp. 90-98.

⁸ Japanese Germanists who have presented at the Hermann Hesse colloquia in Calw: 1984: Ayao Ide. Meine innere Begegnung mit Hermann Hesse. 1986: Masaru Watanabe. „Das Glasperlenspiel“ als Bildungsroman aus japanischer Sicht. 1988: Masaru Yamaguchi: Die Musikalität der Sprache Hermann Hesses in ihrer Bedeutung für den Japanischen Leser. Internationale Hermann Hesse Gesellschaft. 2017. *Bisherige Kolloquien*. [Online]. [Accessed 11 November 2017.] Available from: <https://www.hessegesellschaft.de/bisherige-kolloquien.html>

⁹ Limberg, M. 2013. ed. *Der poetischen Wahrheit nachgehen: Der biographische Aspekt in Hermann Hesses Werk*. Großbergwedel: Wehrhahn Verlag.

¹⁰ Das Glasperlenspiel. First published in 1943 by the Fretz & Wasmuth Verlag in Zürich.

¹¹ Cornils, I. 2004. Ein Glasperlenspiel im Internet: Hesse lesen im globalen Zeitalter. In: Solbach, A. ed. *Hermann Hesse und die literarische Moderne*. Frankfurt a.Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 399-413. Here: p. 413.

have purchased over 150 million copies of Hesse's books worldwide in more than seventy languages,¹² sales and licenses for translations which have kept the renowned Suhrkamp Verlag in business since the 1970s.

Yet, in the West, especially in Germany, Hesse scholars still have to spend much time and energy justifying and legitimising the current relevance of their work to professional readers such as critics, journalists and academics in the field of literary studies. The (in)famous *Spiegel* article of July 1958 entitled *Im Gemüsegarten*, which portrays Hesse satirically as an eccentric old man dotting on his garden and cats, concludes with a damning quote by Musil 'Alles sehr begreiflich; das einzige Komische ist, daß er die Schwächen eines größeren Mannes hat, als ihm zukäme'.¹³ The negative tone of the article paved the way for further public dismissals of the relevance of his work and the dismantling of symbolic capital in the terms of the prestige afforded to Hesse's work in the media as well as in tertiary education and German Studies research.¹⁴ A case in point is the literary critic Marcel Reich-Ranicki, who in an 1990 collection of essays (*Nachprüfung*) entitled his two discussions of Hesse's work (or, according to Reich-Ranicki, 'Hermann Hesse, Unser Lieber Steppenwolf') *Seele und Geschäft*' and *Ein Beitrag zur deutschen Sentimentalität*.¹⁵ As Bourdieu points out one of the general properties of the cultural field is 'the symbolic structures waged within it'.¹⁶ The energy and time spent in defence and justification of reading Hesse in the contemporary world, while a valuable and necessary task, might be better redirected if scholars became more interested in researching Hermann Hesse's global relevance.

Indeed, it seems inexplicable that Western Hesse scholarship is not reaching out to develop relationships with the huge international community of Hesse book-buyers and readers and conducting research on the phenomenon of Hesse's global reception. Moreover, it would seem imperative to do so. As Western scholars, we should be intensely curious and interested in understanding how literature can link human beings as readers across the globe in an international community, beyond the political boundaries of the nation, and how the works of a European author can free themselves from national cultural parameters and gain an international autonomy. The existence of this community of like-minded Hesse readers that cuts across all the different linguistic and cultural communities, breaking free from national dependencies and national divisions, demonstrates that human beings share very

¹² Michels, V. 2013. 'Mit dem Farbkasten auf der Lauer': Zu Hermann Hesses Aquarellen. In: Herwig, H. & Trabert, F. eds. *Der Grenzgänger Hermann Hesse: Neue Perspektiven der Forschung*. Freiburg: Rombach, pp. 19-28. Here: p. 19.

¹³ Hesse, H. 1958. *Im Gemüsegarten*. *Der Spiegel*, 9 July, pp. 42-48.

¹⁴ Bourdieu defines 'symbolic capital' as prestige, reputation and fame. Bourdieu, P. 1992. *Language & Symbolic Power*. Trans. Raymond, G. & Adamson, M. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 230.

¹⁵ Reich-Ranicki, M. 1990. *Nachprüfung: Aufsätze über deutsche Schriftsteller von gestern*. Stuttgart: DTV.

¹⁶ Bourdieu, P. 1985. The Market of Symbolic Goods. Trans. Swyer, R. *Poetics*. (14), pp. 13-44. Here: p. 13.

similar concerns and interests regarding the themes in Hesse's work, such as the natural environment or one's personal growth and development as an individual, which suggests a promising common basis for working together on the problems that threaten humanity.

Moreover, if we care to look, we find that recent developments in related academic fields are pointing the way for us. In the field of world literature, academics are looking beyond the traditional domination of canons of European and American literature to accommodate a process of globalization and expansion of the literary universe. Theorist David Damrosch is able to write about 'the contemporary shift [in world literature] from a focus on the Old World to a broader picture of the whole world',¹⁷ and illuminates his discussion with instances of non-Western literature, including writing at length about Japanese classics such as Murasaki Shikibu's *The Tale of Genji*.¹⁸ Moreover, Pascale Casanova in *The World Republic of Letters* argues provocatively for us to imagine a new literary space and a new literary universality.¹⁹ Using Franz Kafka as an example, Casanova points out the distance between 'the literary (and political and intellectual) space in which he produced his texts' and 'the corresponding space in which his work was received' in the literary universe.²⁰ In what she terms 'the literary present', contemporary generations of readers appropriate and use Kafka's texts in their own different ways, whether for studies of 'autonomy, formalism, polysemy' or 'modernity' in this new global literary space.²¹ While not ignoring a historicization of Kafka's writing, in which Kafka contributed to a national literature through his exploration of Jewish identity, Casanova opens up the concept of new universal literary space in which we can fruitfully discuss the global reception of a European writer such as Hesse. Franco Moretti in his 'Conjectures on World Literature', in which he discusses the structure and inequalities of the world literature system in terms of the literary forms of an 'Anglo-French core' meeting the local reality and local content of a periphery in the modern period since 1750, sums up a literary 'division of labour': 'national literature, for people who see trees; world literature, for people who see waves'.²² By 'trees', Moretti means the branching of language families and comparative philology, while the wave is used in the sense of a 'wave of advance', that is, 'trees need geographical *discontinuity*', whereas 'waves dislike barriers, and thrive on geographical *continuity*'.²³ While not a central argument of this thesis, the present project may, nonetheless, be seen as a contribution to thinking about a potential global 'turn' in Hesse scholarship, in which the viewpoint of inquiry is shifted from the aesthetics of national reception to the global literary space from

¹⁷ Damrosch, D. 2003. *What is World Literature?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 188.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 296-299.

¹⁹ Casanova, p. 2004. *The World Republic of Letters*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Moretti, F. 2000. Conjectures on World Literature. *New Left Review*. 1, pp. 54-68. Here: p. 68.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 67. Emphasis in original.

which a reader in a particular linguistic and cultural space around the world may draw upon a text for local and personal activation and appropriation.

My research into Hermann Hesse's reception of Japan demonstrates that he was motivated to write in a new way about novel spiritual experiences in the form of lyrical poetry (Zen poems) just one year before his death in 1961 contrary to the received wisdom in Hesse scholarship that his literary production was over once his last novel *Das Glasperlenspiel* was published in 1943 at a time when Hesse was in his mid-sixties. I propose that on the basis of my findings we must recast the way we think in Hesse studies about Hesse's literary production – 1943 can no longer be seen as the year in which his literary production stopped in meaningful terms and *Das Glasperlenspiel* can no longer be seen as the crowning achievement and the *non plus ultra* of his literary production.²⁴ Although he overlooks Hesse's singularly concise Zen poetry, a lonely voice in Hesse scholarship, namely that of Michael Kleeberg, expresses a similar opinion to mine. He writes: 'Hesse hat sich ja öffentlich "zur Ruhe gesetzt" nach dem Glasperlenspiel und tatsächlich auch keinen weiteren Roman geschrieben, wohl aber Hunderte von Seiten autobiografischer Prosa, die für mich nach Intensität, wenn auch nicht nach Umfang, die Krönung seines Werks darstellen.'²⁵ My research also raises some questions regarding the central points currently being explored in German Studies and German literature clustered around the concept of 'lateness' in literary production which not only but also coalesce in the idea that an ageing author may be concerned overly with the proximity of death,²⁶ or that 'older writers more frequently incline towards remembering'.²⁷ Without doubt Hesse does concern himself with the themes of ageing and old age from different perspectives, for instance, in the short essay *Über das Alter* (1952),²⁸ or in the poems *Stufen* (1941)²⁹ and *Der Alte Mann und seine Hände* (1957).³⁰ However, whereas, for example, Germanist Stuart Taberner, in his seminal close reading and study of the old-age style of Grass, Klüger, Wolf and Walser, frames his argument in terms of what happens in literary production when a writer performs the casting back typical of old

²⁴ Even in 2015 philosopher Rüdiger Haas, who wrote his PhD dissertation on Hesse (*Über das Wesen des Todes. Eine tiefenphänomenologische Betrachtung konkret dargestellt am dichterischen Werk Hermann Hesses*), argues in the same vein: Der öffentlichkeitsscheue Hesse wünscht sich in seiner letzten Lebensphase (...) mehr Zurückgezogenheit. (...) Die Hauptarbeit seiner letzten Lebensjahre liegt im Lesen und Beantworten von Briefen. Haas, R., 2015. *Luise Rinser und Hermann Hesse: Briefwechsel 1935-1951*. Augsburg: Aufgang Verlag, p. 21.

²⁵ Kleeberg, M. 2017. *Zwischen den Fronten. Der Glasperlenspieler Hermann Hesse*. 13 December, Literaturhaus, Berlin. (Rede zur Eröffnung der Ausstellung.) Kleeberg selects six 'late' texts: *Erinnerung an Hans* (1936), *Beschreibung einer Landschaft* (1946), *Der Bettler* (1948), *Unterbrochene Schulstunde* (1948), *Glück* (1949), *Schulkamerad Martin* (1949), *Josef Knecht an Carlo Ferramonte* (1960), *Schreiben und Schriften* (1961).

²⁶ Braun, R. 2011. Günter Grass's Ein Weites Feld (Too Far Afield). In: Taberner, S. ed. *The Novel in German since 1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 35-49. Braun draws upon Gordon McMullan.

²⁷ Taberner, S. 2013. *Ageing and Old-Age Style in Günter Grass, Ruth Klüger, Christa Wolf, and Martin Walser*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, p. 15. (Emphasis in original.)

²⁸ *SW14*: 270-272.

²⁹ *SW10*: 366.

³⁰ *SW10*: 389.

age, or how a writer's life-review is 'reconfigured as *old-age style*', and he asks (this is a central theme in his argument) how this literary performance may 'relate to a world that may have changed far beyond its presumptions?',³¹ I find that Hesse's Zen-poems, written just over a year-and-a-half before his death in his mid-80s, while, granted also the late performance of the outcome of a decade-long, intensive transcultural dialogue between the author and readers in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community, primarily represent a casting of contemporaneity, in the sense of an instant spiritual insight transformed into lyrical poetry, and the casting forward toward the new potential offered by this insight in terms of subsequent literary production, in the time that was to remain for Hesse, and the philosophical approach to living life, not just the serenity of literary late style, but also in a transcultural form of enriched identity elevated beyond topography and the situatedness of a local linguistic and cultural community.

The Work at Hand

From the outset, beyond all the metrics and data which will underpin the project, it became clear that a central aim of this project would be to explain why Japanese readers demonstrate such a great affinity with Hermann Hesse, and, equally, as became clear as the project unfolded, why that affinity was reciprocated to such a large degree by Hermann Hesse, far away in Europe. How could it be that a European author's reception in Japan starts early in the country's modernity in 1909 and continues, over a century later, to the present day? Why is it that Hesse's reception in Japan has been lengthier and deeper than it has been even in countries that neighbour Germany and Switzerland? Also, how has this reception process occurred, and who are the people facilitating this reception process? Finally, what is the mechanism behind the transcultural aspects of the reception process and how has a transcultural understanding been so emphatically achieved?

At the inception of the project, I had these basic questions and very little prior literature to draw upon regarding Hesse's reception in Japan and of Japan. It very soon became clear that there was not one single answer or approach to the task at hand in view of the overall complexity of a reception process of a European author in an East Asian country. I soon realised that the project would require several approaches, ranging from investigating the clues in Hesse's own works, scanning the vast amount of secondary materials available on Hesse in English and German, and all the secondary works I could access in the Japanese language for clues to unravel and to start to make sense of the reception process. Reader-reception theory, world literature theory and a sociological approach seemed to offer

³¹ Taberner, S. 2013. *Aging and Old-Age Style in Günter Grass, Ruth Klüger, Christa Wolf, and Martin Walser*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, p. 20. (Emphasis in original.)

answers as regards theoretical insights into how readers react to and activate texts and how texts might circulate the globe and be received in the literary fields of different cultures. Moreover, as my initial work led me along promising, new paths, I began to uncover primary materials in libraries and archives, which led to exciting discoveries about Hesse's reception process in Japan. Interviews conducted with translators, publishers and students in Japan gave me further valuable insights into the reception process and the current relevance of Hesse in Japan. Also, gradually, I came to realise that my long-term cultural sojourns have helped me to make sense of a project that spins threads between traditions and cultural spaces that span half the globe. Therefore, this thesis opens up the field of Hesse reception studies to include a detailed analysis of the linguistic and cultural community of Japan and provides a basis for other scholars to build upon. Beyond this my thesis uncovers evidence that will significantly impact Hesse studies in the future. Indeed, based on my research on Hesse's reception of Japanese culture, I argue and demonstrate that Hermann Hesse did achieve a new level of literary expression and spiritual insight after what is considered his *magnum opus*, *Das Glasperlenspiel*. Secondly, my research shifts our understanding of transcultural literary reception in a new direction, demonstrating particularly that, hitherto, far too little attention has been paid to unravelling the social ties and networks that explicate the agency unfolded in transcultural receptions in the literary and cultural fields in linguistic and cultural communities that differ the original contextual community of the text.

What Is a 'Reception'?

In this project, the term 'reception' denotes primarily Hermann Hesse's literary reception in Japan, but also Hesse's reception of Japan. A reception in a political nation, or better a linguistic and cultural space, is rooted, in the context of the thesis, first and foremost in the materiality of a literary text – the print medium. A reception, however, may also be multi-medial, that is, it is mediated in forms and combinations of forms other than literary texts. For example, Hermann Hesse's watercolours have long been appreciated and exhibited throughout Japan. Between 1998 and 1999, Hesse's watercolour paintings travelled from Hiroshima Prefecture to the northernmost island of Hokkaido, via the Kintetsu Department Store in Tokyo, where the paintings were exhibited for some two weeks in March, 1999.³² Twenty-five of the Hesse watercolours from the exhibition were selected for a parallel exhibition, *Tabibito Kaerazu (A Traveller Never Returns)*, which brought together Hesse's watercolours symbiotically with those painted by Japanese poet Junzaburo Nishiwaki.³³ More recently, Hesse's writings on butterflies in his stories *Jugendgedenken*, and *Das*

³² Shindo, M. 1999. Hesse in Japan. *Gunther Gottschalk: Hermann Hesse Page*. [Online]. [Accessed 12 October 2017]. Available from: <http://www.gss.ucsb.edu/projects/hesse/about-e.html>

³³ Ibid.

Nachtpfauenaug,³⁴ and in an anthology of Hesse's writings on butterflies, edited by Volker Michels, *Hermann Hesse: Schmetterlinge*,³⁵ inspired the design and creation of an inter-medial Hermann Hesse butterfly exhibition in Japan in 2009 (see Chapter 1), which, in 2010, then travelled back to Calw, Hesse's birthplace,³⁶ on to the Hesse-Höri-Museum in Gaienhofen on Lake Constance in 2011, where Hesse resided between 1904 and 1912,³⁷ and, finally, in 2013, to Montagnola, where Hesse resided from 1919 until his death in 1962.³⁸ The exhibition continued to be shown at venues in Japan until April 2014.³⁹ The butterfly exhibition is an example of how a reception can cross genres in medial transpositions, in this case, from literary texts to a textually annotated Lepidoptera display, from the printed medium to the inter-medial exhibition of text, artwork, lighting and material butterfly specimens.⁴⁰ Classical theorist Lorna Hardwick is thus right to point out that reception studies not only deliver understandings about the culture that receives the text but, as I demonstrate in this thesis, also equally about the originating contextual culture and the author, whereby the recipient and sender communities enter into in a rich dialogue with each other.⁴¹ It is precisely this interactive dialogue, I argue, which ultimately helps to shape a reception process in the receiving field.

How Hesse Knew about and Was Fascinated by Japan

‘Am besten verstehen mich wohl die Japaner, (...) und am wenigsten die Amerikaner. Aber das ist auch nicht meine Welt. Da komme ich nie hin.’⁴²

This quotation is from Felix Lützkendorf's 1972 recollections of a 1951 meeting with Hesse at his residence in Montagnola; a rural village high above the city of Lugano in Switzerland's southern Italian-speaking canton Ticino, and Hesse's home from 1919 until

³⁴ *Jugendgedenken* is a reworking of Hesse's original story *Das Nachtpfauenaug* (SW8: 14-20), which was written in 1911. *Jugendgedenken* was published by the *Würzburger General-Anzeiger* (now the *Main-Post*) on 1 August, 1931. *Jugendgedenken* is largely unknown outside of Japan, where it has had a significant impact on Hesse's reception in Japan (see Chapter 1).

³⁵ Hermann Hesse. 2011. *Hermann Hesse: Schmetterlinge*. Berlin: Insel.

³⁶ Schwarzwälder Bote. 2010. Symbole für die Schönheit der Natur. *Schwarzwälder Bote*. 4 February, p.1.

³⁷ Hermann-hesse.de. [no date]. "Hermann Hesse und die Schmetterlinge". *Ausstellungseröffnung in Montagnola*. [Presse Release]. [Accessed 15 October 2017]. Available from: <https://www.hermann-hesse.de/archiv/2013/03/23/hermann-hesse-und-die-schmetterlinge-ausstellungseröffnung-montagnola>

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ The exhibition was the brainchild of Germanist and Hesse translator Asao Okada and biologist/engineer and Hesse enthusiast Kousuke Niibe.

⁴⁰ For more on Hesse and butterflies, see my article: Cunningham, N. 2014. Hermann Hesse and the Butterflies: A Journey from Innocence to Experience and Back. In: Cornils, I. ed. *literatur für leser*. 15(1), pp. 31-38.

⁴¹ Hardwick, L. 2003. *Reception Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 4.

⁴² Lützkendorf, F. 1991. Die Weisen bleiben in ihrer Kammer... Begegnung mit Hermann Hesse. In: Michels, V. ed. *Hermann Hesse in Augenzeugenberichten*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 373-376. Here: p. 373. Felix Lützkendorf (1906-1990) was an author and screenplay writer, writing the screenplays for more than 35 films between 1937 and 1962. Lützkendorf wrote a dissertation on Hesse which was published in 1932. It was entitled *Hermann Hesse als religiöser Mensch in seinen Beziehungen zur Romantik und zum Osten*. After reading the thesis, Hesse commented in a letter to Lützkendorf on 9 September, 1931, 'Ich schreibe also, wie Sie mir deutlich beweisen, meine Bücher gar nicht so abseits und alleine, wie ich immer glauben wollte. Werden wir also bescheidener.' Hesse, H. 2016. *Hermann Hesse. Die Briefe 1924-1932. Band 4*. Michels, V. ed. Berlin: Suhrkamp, pp. 492-493.

1962. On one side of Hesse's study, reaching to the ceiling, were the bookshelves which housed Hesse's personal library. Besides valuable first editions of books by authors of the Romantic tradition, the shelves carried a complete collection of translations of Hesse's works into thirty-four different languages, of which, according to Lützkendorf, Hesse was most fond of the Japanese and Indian translations.⁴³ Lützkendorf's recollections are, of course, anecdotal and subject to the vagaries of time which affect a person's memory. Further written documents, however, confirm that Hesse knew how his texts were being received in Japan. In a letter to American Germanist Theodore Ziolkowski in 1955, Hesse adds attributes to his reception in Japan, acknowledging that the process is dynamic: 'Ich habe in Japan viel mehr and viel eifrigere Leser als etwa in Frankreich, in Frankreich mehr als in England etc. Mit der Zeit kann das sich ändern.'⁴⁴ Writing again in the same year (1955) in the form of a foreword to Germanist Kenji Takahashi's Japanese translation of Hesse's *Gesammelte Schriften*, Hesse notes that, in regard to the reception of European science and culture in Japan, 'Wir Europäer sind immer wieder von der weitherzigen Bereitwilligkeit überrascht, mit der unsre Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur aufgenommen wird.'⁴⁵

In fact, we can go back earlier, to 1922, to find that Hesse wrote about Japan in his afterword to the anthology of stories from Japan he published that year: *Geschichten aus Japan*.⁴⁶ These stories were selected from A.B. Milford's *Tales of Old Japan* (1871) and J.G. Kohl's German translation in 1875, *Geschichten aus Alt-Japan*. Hesse writes that, 'Das Japan, von welchem diese Geschichten erzählen, existiert heute nicht mehr' and that the new Japan 'hat jahrzehntelang, ohne sein geistiges Leben mit zu ändern, die äußere, technische Kultur des Westens angenommen'.⁴⁷ Hesse's fascination with pre-modern Japan is implicit in his statements, and he draws parallels between the inner convulsions he detects in both Japanese

⁴³ Ibid., p. 373.

⁴⁴ Preface. 1979. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung. Internationale Rezeptionsgeschichte. Zweiter Band*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

⁴⁵ Hesse, H. 1986. *Hermann Hesse: Gesammelte Briefe. Vierter Band 1949-1962*. Michels, V. ed. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 234. All subsequent references in this thesis to the *Gesammelte Briefe* will be indicated by GB, the volume number and the page number(s).

⁴⁶ Hesse, H. 2012. *Geschichten Aus Japan*. Berlin: Insel. The original edition was published by Verlag Seldwyla in Bern in 1922 as third of series of five anthologies entitled *Merkwürdige Geschichten und Menschen*, which were selected and published by Hesse. The stories which Hesse selected for *Geschichten Aus Japan* were originally published by Macmillan as an anthology of *Tales of Old Japan: Folklore, Fairy Tales, Ghost Stories and Legends of the Samurai* translated and collected by A.B. Mitford (1837-1916) in 1871. Milford (1837-1916) had been an attaché with the British legation at Edo (Tokyo), who mastered the Japanese language and compiled the anthology of classic Japanese tales and ethnographic portraits. Milford's anthology was then translated into German by J.G. Kohl (1808-1878) in 1875 as *Geschichten aus Alt-Japan*, which was published in Leipzig by Friedrich Wilhelm Grunow. Hesse chose five stories from Kohl's anthology, making minor corrections ('...an wenigen Stellen leicht korrigiert'), including changing the title of the story of 'Kasuma's Rache' (Kazuma's Revenge) to 'Das Schwert'. Hesse obviously chose the stories from the aesthetic perspective, and he included stories about courageous warriors, loyal friends and women in love, thereby omitting Milford's ethnographic accounts of old customs.

⁴⁷ Hesse, H. 2012. Nachwort. In: Hesse, H. *Geschichten aus Japan*. Berlin: Insel, pp. 139-140. Here: p. 139.

and German society as traditions and cultural certainties crumble and these societies seek spiritual re-orientation in the post-war society of the 1920s: ‘Japan steht heute in inneren Kämpfen, im Ringen um neue, lebensfähige Ideale, in Kämpfen der Anpassung, der inneren Auflösung, welche um nichts schwächer sind als die ähnlichen Kämpfe, in denen wir seit dem Weltkriege stehen.’⁴⁸ For Hesse, the classic Japanese stories he selected in this anthology are self-contained cultural vignettes of the past, fountains of enjoyment, with their own discrete spirituality and conditions of provenance and demise, rather than documents of a sterile historicity, ‘Schöne, in sich vollkommene Kulturgebilde der Vergangenheit lieben, ihre Geistigkeit verstehen, die Bedingungen ihres Entstehens und ihres Wiedervergehens erkennen – das ist nicht Historienkult und leere Gelehrsamkeit, sondern lebenfördernder Genuß.’⁴⁹ In sum, these statements document elements of Hesse’s engagement with Japan. As the project unfolds in the chapters, we learn that Hesse’s engagement and dialogue with the culture and people of Japan went far deeper.

Theoretical Considerations

Much theoretical work has gone into trying to understand how readers respond to literary texts and how meaning is created outside of scientific methodology. While this thesis does not pursue a single methodological approach, it is informed by reader-response criticism, world literature theory and concepts of transcultural understanding and reception within a linguistic and cultural community. Moreover, Bourdieu’s approach to the literary field and cultural production informs the sociological aspect of Hesse’s reception in Japan. Therefore, this introduction to the thesis reviews theoretical developments in each of these fields to establish how these approaches may inform the project. The individual chapters also include, where necessary, further brief expositions of these theories in order to contextualise the chapters within the overall project of explicating Hermann Hesse’s reception in Japan and Hesse’s reception of Japan. As I embarked on the project, I examined the key writings of philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer in the field of hermeneutics to establish whether his theoretical groundwork might yield insights into the relationship between a reader and a literary text, which could ultimately inform the project to understand the Japanese reception process. I address his work first.

Hermeneutics: Hans-Georg Gadamer

Martin Heidegger’s student Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) is generally acknowledged as being Europe’s preeminent thinker and writer on hermeneutics; that is, forms of interpretation and knowing outside of the scientific method. His most important work is

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 140.

Truth and Method, first published in 1960 as *Wahrheit und Methode*.⁵⁰ The core thesis of Gadamer's hermeneutics is the historical perspective of our understanding. A person is a product of his or her own history and society, that is, the history and the society provide the 'horizon' of what he or she knows. Our interpretation of a text, according to Gadamer, is approached from these perspectives. A completely objective interpretation of a text in Gadamer's thinking is thus impossible because of these varying perspectives. These assumptions are highly problematic and seem to rob the reader of agency in the reading act, if such an act is defined solely by external determinants.

Moreover, effectively, readers cannot go back through time and approach the historical moment of the creation of a text with an 'unmittelbares sympathetisches und kongeniales Verstehen' as proposed by Schleiermacher;⁵¹ rather the reader is subject to the effects of history which has flowed in the meantime, including the effects of the text we are reading such as its contemporary reception process and the previous interpretations of the text. In Gadamer's thinking, a triangulation process takes place involving the historical context of the text, the cultural context of the writer, and the historical and cultural situation of the contemporary reader. Gadamer terms these different perspectives 'horizons'.⁵² This idea seems to suggest that an understanding, that is, a 'fusion of horizons' involving a text by Hesse and a Japanese reader, is unlikely or only partially possible because of the different historical and cultural traditions at play. However, as this thesis demonstrates, understanding (the creation of meaning) does occur very well among the Japanese readers of Hesse's texts, but not significantly under the terms Gadamer proposes. The key point is that Gadamer says nothing about transcultural reception; rather his project is concerned with the connection between experience and logos and is confined to Western historical and philosophical traditions. Next I turned to the field of reader-response criticism, which I thought might bring some insights and greater promise as regards understanding the reception of Hesse's texts among his Japanese readership.

Reader-response criticism

In the hermeneutical field of literary interpretation, Anglo-American reader-response criticism (reception theory in Germany) gradually shifted from an emphasis on the author and the text toward greater attention to the reader and his or her complex interiority. New Criticism, important particularly in the 1930s and 1940s, was epitomised by the 'practical

⁵⁰ Gadamer, H.G. 2010. *Wahrheit und Methode*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 194.

⁵² Ibid., p. 307.

criticism' of I.A. Richards.⁵³ New Critics focused on the text in an act of 'close reading', that is, focusing on the words on the page, free from associations with history and context, elucidating the poetic elements of a text within a unified structure, and avoiding the authorial intentions of text production.⁵⁴ Thus in this approach the objective existence of the text was prioritized and privileged. In the 1960s, in order to overcome the elimination of writer and reader from the analysis, there was a shift in literary theory toward reader-response criticism and reader-oriented theories.

Reader-oriented theories

One of the early proponents of a reader-oriented theory is Louise Rosenblatt. In Rosenblatt's analysis,⁵⁵ if an author is well received there is a correlation between the author's intention (what the author perceives as the content or message conveyed by the words) and the reader's intention (what the reader perceives as the content or message conveyed by the words).⁵⁶ This approach, however, is locked into a positivist method of understanding with a 'causal link' between the author's intention and a 'proper' reading of the text and explication of meaning by the reader, which in my view is a significant weakness in the approach and hardly applicable to transcultural events, where meaning has to transcend the borders of European and East Asian linguistic and cultural spaces as a translated text, disrupted from its original context, as it enters a new community. I next turn to Wolfgang Iser, the best known and most widely published reader-response critic, who focuses more promisingly on the reading experience as an interaction between reader and text.

Reader-response criticism: Wolfgang Iser

In the 1970s, a literary theory research group was constituted at the University of Constance, known as the 'The Constance School'. Two scholars stood out in this school in particular for their work on reception aesthetics: Wolfgang Iser (1926-2007) and Hans Robert Jauss

⁵³ Richards, I.A. 1929. *Practical criticism: A study of literary judgements*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Although I.A. Richards's name has become linked to the concept of 'practical criticism', as David W. West points out, Richards was well aware that his experiment with the text (poem) in isolation provided the reader with difficulties since 'The precise conditions of this test are not duplicated in our everyday commerce with literature, (...) even the reviewers of new verse have as a rule a considerable body of the author's work to judge by (...).' Richards, 1929, cited in: West, D.W. 2002. Practical Criticism: I.A. Richards' experiment in interpretation. *Changing English*. [Online]. 9(2), pp. 207-213. [Accessed 3 March 2017]. Available from: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ccen20>. Here: p. 207.

⁵⁴ Dorfman, M.H. 1996. Evaluating the interpretive community: Evidence from novice and expert readers. *Poetics*. [Online]. 23, pp. 453-470. [Accessed 3 March 2017 through Leeds University library]. Here: pp. 454-455.

⁵⁵ Louise Rosenblatt developed a 'transactional' theory as a way of phrasing the relationship between a reader and a text. Instead of a linear relational relationship between the reader and the text, there is a 'situation' or 'an event at a particular time or place in which each element conditions the other.' Rosenblatt, L.M. 1994. *The Reader. The Text. The Poem. The Transactional Theory of the Literary Work*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, p. 16.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

(1921-1997).⁵⁷ Wolfgang Iser was primarily interested in the structure of texts and their potential effects. He was influenced by the Polish philosopher Roman Ingarden (1893-1970), and, similar to Ingarden, Iser was interested in the microcosm of literary reception at the level of the text. In *The Act of Reading*, Wolfgang Iser posits that meaning is created, ‘As text and reader (...) merge into a single situation, the division between subject and object no longer applies, and it therefore follows that meaning is no longer an object to be defined, but is an effect to be experienced.’⁵⁸ Iser also takes up Ingarden’s work on ‘places of indeterminacy’ (*Unbestimmtheiten*) in the literary text by suggesting that in the communicatory situation, the text is able to influence the ‘dialogue’ by means of ‘blanks’ or ‘vacancies’ (*Leerstellen*).⁵⁹ The vacancies condition the reader’s view of themes in the text, but require ideational activity on the part of the reader, which eventually builds up and transforms the textual perspectives into the ‘aesthetic object’ of the text.⁶⁰ I would suggest that we may take it as granted that the ‘reader’ Iser posits is reading the text in the same language as it is written in by the author. While in Japan many scholars and even students have read Hesse in German, the majority of Japanese readers read Hesse in Japanese translation, and thus they interact with and activate a Japanese text in which the translator has already ‘filled in’ the ‘places of indeterminacy’ according to his or her understanding of the text and in accordance with the respective translation style used.

Moreover, Iser’s ideas are theoretical and he has never set forth a concrete method to test his notions of the reading act inter-subjectively. Thus his proposals have drawn criticisms from other quarters. For instance, Bortolussi and Dixon point out the circulatory nature of Iser’s proposals regarding text and reader interaction: ‘From his theory of the text he extrapolates a concept of the reader and the reader’s presumed activities confirm his hypothesis regarding the text.’⁶¹ However, I posit that Iser’s theory does contain seeds which can be helpful in understanding a (Japanese) reader’s response to a literary text. For instance, Iser argues in *Prospecting* that, ‘If a literary text does something to its readers, it also simultaneously reveals something about them. Thus literature turns into a divining rod, locating our

⁵⁷ Literature reception-theorist Hans Robert Jauss also used the notion of Gadamer’s ‘horizons’ in his work, and, in fact, Jauss is probably best known for his concept of the ‘horizon of expectations’ (*Erwartungshorizont*). According to Jauss, these expectations can be religiously and officially sanctioned moral expectations, which are transgressed by a text, or unfilled or violated expectations in reading practice. For example, the expectation we hold when we read a text in the folktale genre is that good will triumph over evil. Jauss’s work is similar to Gadamer’s and does not obviously offer new insights into the transcultural reception process in Japan. However, removing the text out of the field of ‘objectification’ prepares the ground for the reader-oriented theories that were developed by others in the field. See: Jauss, H.R. 1979. *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft*. In: Warning, R. ed. *Rezeptionsästhetik*. München: Fink, pp. 126-162.

⁵⁸ Iser, W. 1978. *The Act of Reading*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Bortolussi, M. & Dixon, p. 2003. *Psychonarratology: Foundations for the Empirical Study of Literary Response*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 7.

dispositions, desires, inclinations, and eventually our overall make-up.’⁶² I suggest that this passage does two things. First, it allows us to observe the subtle shift away from the locus of the Iserian ‘halfway position’, that is, a position between the text as an object and reader as a subject, toward the nature and interiority of the reader of the text. Secondly, Iser’s shift toward the interiority of the reader, which he does not develop further, points us towards Norman Holland’s psychological, reader-oriented approach to reader-response criticism, which I review below. Given a position in which the focus of the reading act has shifted to reader interiority, I argue that the Japanese readers’ letters (see Chapter 3) also be viewed as documentary evidence of how Hesse’s texts, (the divining rods), beyond an aesthetical value, draw out something from the interiority of reader and reveal glimpses of the ‘overall makeup’ of the correspondent. This train of thought leads me to Norman Holland’s concept of readers’ ‘identity themes’, which play a role in my analysis of Japanese readers’ letters.

Reader-response criticism: Norman Holland

Reader-response theorist Norman Holland has turned to cognitive neuroscience as an explanatory tool for the reader’s reaction to a text. In his essay ‘Where is a Text?’ he argues that while the subject-object split, that is, the perceiving of objects ‘out there’, is essential for survival, thinking in this way can lead to confusion when considering a story or a poem.⁶³ Holland cites cognitive linguist Gilles Fauconnier: ‘Our folk theory of language is that the meanings are contained directly in the words and their combinations, since that is all that we are ever consciously aware of. The effect (meaning) is attributed essentially to this visible cause (language)’.⁶⁴ Similarly, affects are thought to be located in text when we discuss how a poem or a story made us feel. This experience of language is illusionary because we experience meaning or perception in an instant through ‘complex intervening neural events’.⁶⁵ Consequently, for Holland, a reader’s interpretation of a text ‘is really a wholly internal affair, within the reader’s brain’ and thus the ‘reader cannot truly say things about “the” text “out there” in a world that is outside that reader’.⁶⁶ I find what Holland writes mirrors my own early experiences of reading Hesse in English translation by account of the fact that I was unable to fathom entirely the authorial intention, yet the text spoke to a certain aspect of my psyche, that is, the text had become a site of projection for a psychological characteristic within my teenage psyche. This ‘aspect’ or ‘characteristic’ of the psyche is, I suggest, identical to what Holland terms an ‘identity theme’.

⁶² Iser, W. 1989. *Prospecting: From Reader Response to Literary Anthropology*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, p. vii.

⁶³ Holland, N.N. 2002. Where is a Text? A Neurological View. *New Literary History*. 33(1), pp. 21-38. Here: p. 23.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

The ‘internalisation’ and the ‘cognitive turn’ in the field of reader-response criticism discussed above are reflected by Holland’s development of the notion of ‘identity themes’.⁶⁷ The underlying attribute of an ‘identity theme’ for Holland is the constancy with which it influences the individual’s life, and this constancy means that it colours new experiences and is very resistant to change so that, according to Holland, we live our lives based on variations of an almost unchanging central identity theme.⁶⁸ The solidity of the identity theme rests upon the balance that suits a particular individual, which in a negative expression may mean that the individual even acquires ‘a symptom, an inhibition, or a neurosis’, but in a positive expression the individual develops ‘a successful balance of pleasure and unpleasure, defense and relaxation, through love or work (to mention the two great regions for healthy living)’, and once the balance is achieved the individual ‘tends to adhere to it.’⁶⁹ Beneath any one solution that an individual adopts, there is a ‘tenacious, general structure of drives and adaptations that changes, little, if at all, even under the greatest stresses.’⁷⁰ Thus, when interpreting literary texts, an individual deals with a text in the same way as he or she copes with life experiences: ‘the reader will filter a text through his characteristic patterns of defence, project onto it his characteristic fantasies, translate the experience into a socially acceptable form, and thus produce what we would call an interpretation.’⁷¹

Although it is not the aim of this thesis to write psychological identity themes for Hermann Hesse’s Japanese readers based on their correspondence with Hesse, the new perspective Holland brings to reader-response theory is useful in that it surmises that our experience of literature cannot be simply thought of as ‘a discrete stimulus and a definable response’, or a ‘concretisation’ of ‘text schema’, but rather that, according to Holland, ‘each reader will bring all kinds of personal associations and experiences into the relationship between himself and the story’.⁷² I find this a more convincing approach to inform my analysis of the Japanese readers’ letters to Hesse that I undertake in Chapter 3. Moreover, I agree with Jane Tompkins that the emphasis for understanding literary reception falls on individual

⁶⁷ Holland, N.N. 2011. *The Nature of Literary Response*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers. An ‘identity theme’ may also be termed an ‘ego identity’. See: p. 56.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷¹ Tompkins, J.P. 1980. Introduction. In: Tompkins, J.P., ed. *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, pp. ix-xxvi. Here: p. xix. Tompkins quotes Holland, and she points out that Holland equates the way people interpret literary texts in the same way as they deal with life experiences. Building upon Freud, Holland writes: ‘...we consciously and unconsciously adopt strategies for minimizing the anxieties caused by conflicts like those between desires and reality, desires and guilt, or morality and reality. We also choose our strategies to achieve as much pleasure with a little effort as possible. In the familiar image of the donkey, we try to maximise the carrot and minimize the stick, all the while doing as little work as we can.’ Holland, N.N. 2011. *The Nature of Literary Response*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, p. 55.

⁷² Holland, N.N. 2011. *The Nature of Literary Response*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, p. 62.

consciousness rather than structuralist ‘systems of intelligibility that operate through individuals’.⁷³ Hesse himself lends credence to this approach. Writing to his eldest son Bruno in January 1928, Hesse puts forward his ideas about how an individual’s identity and awareness shapes the way an artist responds to a landscape, ‘Wenn du mit mir Tessin malst, und wir beide das gleiche Motiv malen, so malt jeder von uns nicht so sehr das Stückchen Landschaft als vielmehr seine eigene Liebe zur Natur, und vor dem gleichen Motiv macht jeder etwas anderes, etwas Einmaliges.’⁷⁴ In fact, Holland maintains that literature can most sensibly be studied ‘in some human being, the one who made it, the one who is experiencing it, the one who is talking about it.’⁷⁵

One criticism levelled at Holland is that his approach ignores the ‘introjects’ or internalizations of the alien elements encountered in a text.⁷⁶ However, I argue that Holland’s approach clearly sensitises us to the experiences and associations that individual Hesse readers draw upon in their text reading practices, which, I would suggest, then influence the themes that an individual chooses to write about in his or her correspondence with Hesse (see Chapter 3). The reader’s epistolary practice, and the themes addressed in correspondence, shift subtly within the framework of epistolary exchange and dialogue. Thus, by focusing on the experiences and associations, as they are expressed in the epistolary corpus, we can understand what matters to Japanese readers personally both in their dialogue with Hesse’s texts, and equally in their dialogue with the author himself through the documentation provided by the epistolary corpus. This is the reception process at the most personal and intimate level in the private sphere. There is one further approach that may prove useful in understanding Hesse’s reception process in Japan.

A Sociological Turn: Pierre Bourdieu

Finally, Pierre Bourdieu provides the possibility of a sociological approach to Hermann Hesse’s literary reception in Japan. Bourdieu’s approach encourages an examination of the literary reception process in the larger social context; in other words, emphasises a shift away from focusing on the textual aspect of the reception process, and the activation of the text by the reader, toward the broader contextual and social field in which the author is received with the aid of transcultural mediators who translate the texts, the publishers who disseminate texts, as well as the reviewers, critics and academic institutions which

⁷³ Tompkins, J.P. 1980. Introduction. In: Tompkins, J.P., ed. *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, pp. ix-xxvi. Here: p. xix.

⁷⁴ Hesse, H. 2016. ‘*Ich bin ein Mensch des Werdens und der Wandlungen*’. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe. Band 4. 1924 – 1936*. Michels, V. ed. Berlin: Suhrkamp, pp. 261-3. Here: pp. 261-262.

⁷⁵ Holland, N. N. 1989. *Poems in Persons: An Introduction to the Psychoanalysis of Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 161.

⁷⁶ Alcorn, M.W. & Bracher, M. 1985. Literature, Psychoanalysis, and Re-Formation of the Self: A New Direction for Reader-Response Theory. *PMLA*. **100**(3), pp. 342-354. Here: p. 351.

consecrate texts according to established cultural norms or in non-conformist, innovative ways. A sociological approach to a reception process assumes that a textual reception in a linguistic and cultural community is not an a priori objective entity that can be defined precisely as a concrete object, but rather that the process is a dynamic heterogeneous human construction and that the formation of this process can be interpreted and perceived in multiple ways by people with varying value sets in different times and different areas.⁷⁷

This line of thinking asserts that an author's reception in a linguistic and cultural community is a dynamic human construction of social reality, which means that the interplay of the agents and the social structure must be examined, as well as the ways in which these agents,⁷⁸ whether individuals and groups, participate in the formation of a perceived social reality, and then finally how this social reality is known, how it is institutionalised and how traditions are created.⁷⁹ In other words, in the sociological approach, the agents and the social context are taken into consideration when examining the site of reception and when ideas about a particular author's reception in a linguistic and cultural community are developed. Moreover, the site of reception may be conceived of as a field; that is, in particular a literary field in which there is an interplay of forces related to the literary reception of the author in a linguistic and cultural community, forces which may comprise publishers, reviewers, critics, who participate as social agents in a dynamic process involving a struggle and trajectory for greater economic capital in the form of economic resources, cultural capital in the form of legitimate knowledge, social capital as valued social relationships, and ultimately symbolic capital which is manifested as social honour, prestige and distinction.⁸⁰ These actors of the literary field (a field is delimited by the point where its effects cease) may also be thought of as agents of social change. Particularly translators and publishers effect social change in their fields (the translation field and the publishing field), and in the literary and cultural fields overall, when, for instance, they are viewed as transcultural importers and pioneers in the reception process of foreign literature in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community. As agents of social change, they challenged existing elite norms of the distinctiveness and legitimacy of classical Chinese scholarship and underwrote the development of a new rich literary capital as Western literature was received in the modern era. Applying Bourdieu's sociological approach, in fact, frames the

⁷⁷ Chung, Y. 2013. *Translation and Fantasy Literature in Taiwan*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 18.

⁷⁸ The 'agency' unfolded by an 'agent' may be thought of as 'the degree of free will exercised by the individual in their social action'. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31. Beyond the public sphere and these four capitals, I argue that a further type of capital is eventually created in the private sphere, once emotional trust has been established, that is, 'spiritual capital', a type of non-tangible capital which enriches the mutual exchange between Hesse and his Japanese readers. This idea was originally suggested by Dr. Richard Hibbitt from Leeds University in an email exchange with the author.

reception process of Hesse's literary works in Japan as a dialectic, sociological phenomenon in a Japanese literary field that is populated by different subjective agents which compete dynamically and unfold strategies for the accumulation of different types of capital and distinction within an objective field. Explicating the networks and social ties between real actors and agents in fields helps on the one hand to add a tangible quality to what may otherwise be an intangible concept and on the other unfolds the macro-level objective structure of the political, cultural and social context within which agents are constrained.⁸¹

World Literature and World Authors

Can Hesse be termed a 'world author' and his texts as instantiations of 'world literature'?⁸² In purely metrical terms this is clearly the case. According to the UNESCO *Index Translatorum*, Hesse is the thirty-fifth most translated author worldwide; in the German language, second only to Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm.⁸³ Moreover, according to Volker Michels, the editor of Hermann Hesse's works in Germany, Hesse has been translated into more than seventy different languages and his worldwide sales have reached some one hundred and fifty million copies.⁸⁴

Linda Hutcheon reminds us that Goethe's theorisation and use of the term *Weltliteratur* in 1827 arose out of increased trading and communication between the European nations, but that 'acknowledgement of cultural diversity was premised on the belief in the separate and different characteristics of each individual nation's culture.'⁸⁵ Literature, however, is now read and activated in a worldly or global context, which, as this thesis demonstrates through investigation of Hesse's reception in Japan among Japanese readers, in addition to his global reception in many other countries of the world, underpins the conceptualisation of Hesse as a 'world author'.⁸⁶ As instantiations of 'world literature', that is, works that have entered a global literary space, Hesse's works are widely available to the reader in Japan. Although his texts can be bought in German from specialist book shops in the large urban centres and via the internet, his work is mostly read and activated in Japanese translation.⁸⁷ Therefore, while

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 74.

⁸² Hesse ranks between the 700 BC Greek poet Hesiod and the 20th century American novelist Duboise Heyward in Kohler, D. & Magill, F.N. eds. 1958. *Cyclopedia of World Authors*. New York: Harper & Row, pp. 512-513. The editors have included a total of 750 'world authors'.

⁸³ UNESCO *Index Translatorum*. [Online]. [Accessed 6 September 2016]. Available from: <http://www.unesco.org/xtrans/>

⁸⁴ Suhrkamp/Insel. *Hesse-Jubiläum 2012 – Eine Einleitung von Volker Michels*. [Online]. [Accessed 6 September 2016]. Available from: <http://www.suhrkamp.de/hermann-hesse/>

⁸⁵ Hutcheon, L. 2002. Rethinking the National Model. In: Hutcheon, L. & Valdés, M.J. *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-49. Here: p. 27.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 30.

⁸⁷ Anecdotally, Minoru Komai from the Kobunsha publishing company in Tokyo has confirmed that Matsunaga's 2007 translation of *Unterm Rad* into Japanese has reached a sales volume of hundreds of thousands. As a publisher, his biggest problem is to find qualified translators with knowledge of German with sufficient time on their hands to translate more of Hesse's works. He stated that the 2017 translation of *Demian* required

the world literary system needs commercial trading channels, the focus of an investigation into the literary reception of a work in a cultural context must be on upon the nodal localization activities which transpose a work into the local language.⁸⁸ These localized literary marketplaces are populated by actors and mediators, linked in networks of social relations as publishers and translators, or even family members and friends (see Chapter 2: Hesse's 'Japanese' cousin) who shape the reception process in a cultural context.⁸⁹ In this particular cultural context, receptions are further moulded and communicated by forms of mediality and inter-mediality, such as books, newspapers, magazines, photography, exhibitions, film and the internet, after which, as Pascale Casanova points out, a work can be theorized, commented upon or celebrated.⁹⁰ A further example of agency is embodied by the living author, who can influence a reception process in a receiving culture, especially nowadays through a multilingual internet and social media presence.⁹¹ A recent theory of world literature has been proposed by the well-known scholar David Damrosch, which I now discuss in order to tease out insights into the reception process of Hesse's texts in Japan, particularly with a mind to how much attention Damrosch devotes to in particular human agency in the structure of the world literature system.

extensive editing to simplify the translation copy to make it more appealing to a younger readership. Komai, M. 2017. *Conversation with N. Cunningham*, 17 October.

⁸⁸ Regarding the conception of nodal points or nodes, Valdés suggests that nodes can be understood as historical points in time (1492 in the Americas or 1989 in Central Europe) or as topographical entities. These topographical entities can extend to the size of cities and their literary cultures and publishing industries. An example is the role played by Tokyo as a centre of the reception, translation and dissemination of Western literature during Japan's period of colonial power in East Asia, and later due to its concentration of publishing houses and universities. This is the sense in which the term 'node' or 'nodal point' is used in the thesis. It is linked dialectically to the temporal aspect of the node and establishes the literary and cultural context of the reception of Hesse's texts in Japan. The concept of node can also be extended in a third instance to institutions or academies, which can help develop and control a national literary culture, as well as fourthly to largely uncontrollable figurative nodes such as the 'idea of the poet as prophet' which transcend place. These latter two nodes control the cultural imaginary. Valdés, M.J. 2002. Rethinking the History of Literary History. In: Hutcheon, L. & Valdés, M.J. *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 63-115. Here: p. 70 & pp. 104-105.

⁸⁹ Pascale Casanova, for instance, suggests that the position of a text in the world literature system depends upon 'the number of cosmopolitan intermediaries – publishers, editors, critics, and especially translators – who assure the circulation of texts into the language or out of it.' Casanova, P. 2004. *The World Republic of Letters*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 21.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁹¹ For example, Thomas O. Beebee discusses the Brazilian author Paulo Coelho who maintains his website in thirteen different languages to nurture worldwide interest in his work. Beebee, T.O. 2011. World Literature and the Internet. In: D'haen, T., Damrosch, D. & Kadir, D. eds. *The Routledge Companion to World Literature*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 297-306. Here: p. 302.

It should be noted that I follow French sociologist Bruno Latour in defining 'agency' as being composed by a list of behaviours which can be attributed to an 'agent'. Latour, B. 2014. *How Better to Register the Agency of Things. Tanner Lectures, Yale*. [Online]. [Accessed 29 August 2018]. Available from: <http://www.bruno-latour.fr/>. Furthermore, Latour points out that an exploration of the agency, that is, the behaviours exercised by an agent, may also extend to letting in elements that are 'non-human'. Following Latour's argument, Hesse's texts, which circulate and are distributed and translated around the globe, may also be designated 'agents' on account of the agency they develop when taken in the hand and read by a human being (e.g. various emotions, spiritual empathy, etc.). Likewise, Hesse's letters and gifts to his Japanese readers, and the letters and gifts received by Hesse from his Japanese readers may act as agents that unfold agency in a similar way to his texts. As agents, letters and gifts are also almost certain to invoke the obligation of reciprocity (agency) inherent in an epistolary exchange. Latour, B. 2007. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Here: p. 72.

In his book *What Is World Literature?*, David Damrosch puts forward three defining characteristics of his model of the world literature system. In brief, first, he suggests that world literature is ‘an elliptical refraction of national literatures’; secondly, that it is ‘a writing that gains in translation’; and, finally, he suggests that world literature ‘is not a set canon of texts but a mode of reading: a form of detached engagement with worlds beyond our own place and time.’⁹² Below I discuss each of Damrosch’s three points and relate them to the current project and its focus on human and material agency in the world literary space.

Damrosch’s argues first that most literary works arise in characteristic national traditions which are then refracted and diffused as the text moves further away from the local source.⁹³ Damrosch understands the originating and receiving cultures as poles between which a literary work circulates elliptically, wherein at the pole of the receiving culture the text is appropriated for local needs, whether positive, negative or neutral; once contained within this elliptical space the work is ‘world literature’, that is, ‘connected to both cultures, circumscribed by neither alone’.⁹⁴ Transposed to this project, following Damrosch, once a text written by Hesse enters Japanese cultural space it is ‘connected to both cultures’, whether read in the original or translated into Japanese, but is never ‘circumscribed’ entirely exclusively by one of these cultures. Given that Damrosch is modelling a system, my objection is that the model lacks causality in this first point, by which I mean both human agency and the agency unfolded by the text. Moreover, the model requires an unwinding of its homogenous aggregation, that is, the ‘tracing of associations’ or the ‘types of connections between things’ to explain the ‘aggregate’ as Bruno Latour suggests.⁹⁵ As I discuss in Chapter 1, the authoritative role played by Japan politically and culturally in the East Asian region up to 1945, which even shaped Hesse’s reception in the region beyond this point as a linguistic legacy, throws into question the binary nature of the proposed elliptical space. I would suggest that a model of a world literature system requires a network approach with multiple entry and exit points. From a historical perspective, some of these points in the network, Japan for example, would be more dominant than others (countries and cultural spaces colonised or semi-colonised by Japan). Damrosch also uses the term ‘appropriation’. Indeed some cultural spaces may ‘appropriate’ or ‘instrumentalise’ Hesse’s texts, for instance the ‘appropriation’ of Hesse’s novels *Siddhartha* and *Der Steppenwolf* by the counterculture hippy-movement in the US in the late 1960s and early 1970s (and one could even argue that *Siddhartha* appropriates Eastern culture). However, the term ‘assimilation’ describes better the ‘acculturation’ or ‘assimilation’ of many of Hesse’s texts into Japanese

⁹² Damrosch, D. 2003. *What Is World Literature?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 281.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 283.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Latour, B. 2007. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Here: p. 5.

culture, resulting in some new ‘cultural products’ such as the inter-medial butterfly exhibition I discuss in Chapter 1. Moreover, much of Hesse’s work has been ‘localized’ in Japan by means of multiple para-textual annotations and commentaries in Japanese by transcultural mediators in their translations.⁹⁶

Secondly, Damrosch argues that some texts can never be effectively translated and that they will remain outside the world literature system. He cites *Finnegans Wake* by James Joyce, and adds that such texts remain most valued within the originating local context.⁹⁷

Interestingly, the first third of *Finnegans Wake* has been translated successfully, after eight years of labour, into Chinese and has found a readership there.⁹⁸ Clearly this weakens Damrosch’s argument that some texts are beyond effective translation. Evidently, with hard work, the ‘gaps’ or ‘places of indeterminacy’ in a text can be filled by a translator and the text rendered effectively even into an East Asian language and be activated by its readers. Damrosch also writes that, ‘In an excellent translation, the result is not the loss of an unmediated original version but instead a *heightening* of the naturally creative interaction of reader and text.’⁹⁹ Damrosch is not explicit in defining what an ‘excellent’ translation entails, but suggests that a good translation possesses ‘adaptability to our private experience’.¹⁰⁰ I would argue that a ‘superior’ translation grants a reader in a different linguistic and cultural community access, that is, it opens a mediated window on a different culture, in order that the reader may create meaning and activate the text in resonance with his or her personal ‘identity themes’. As regards translation practices, Antione Berman suggests that a translator may ‘heighten’ transcultural rendition by ‘clarifying’ explicitly what is only suggested in the original text, or by ‘expanding’ on the original text without altering or increasing the original meaning, or by ‘ennobling’ a text, that is, making it more elegant or understandable in the target language.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, Berman argues, a text may become ‘deformed’ through rationalization and destruction of rhythms, or the removal of underlying systems of signification where the translator replaces a word with multiple meanings with one that limits interpretation in the target language.¹⁰² Berman’s arguments make it clear that much depends on the ‘expertise’ and dispositions of the translator as an agent of transcultural mediations. The text when translated undergoes ‘a rupture of contextualisation’ as it enters a

⁹⁶ It is usual for translators in Japan to add an afterword to a translated book which contextualizes the work in the author’s *oeuvre* and which often explains the translator’s personal relationship to the author and the text.

⁹⁷ Damrosch, D. 2003. *What Is World Literature?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 289.

⁹⁸ Kaiman, J. 2013. *Finnegans Wake* becomes a hit book in China. *The Guardian*. [Online]. 5 February. [Accessed 31 March 2016]. Available from: <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/feb/05/finnegans-wake-china-james-joyce-hit>

⁹⁹ Damrosch, D. 2003. *What Is World Literature?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 292. (Emphasis in original)

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Berman, A. 2000. The Translation and the Trials of the Foreign. In: Venuti, L. ed. *The Translation Studies Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 288-297. Here: pp. 245-247.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 248-249.

new ‘linguistic and cultural community that is different and distant from the context of origin’.¹⁰³ Ultimately, I would argue, once the translator has ‘clarified’, ‘expanded upon’ where necessary and ‘ennobled’ the source text to a reasonable degree (reputable Japanese publishers undertake meticulous editing work), the success of a transcultural rendition of a text in a new linguistic form depends upon the subject matter of the text and whether it resonates with the experiences and ‘identity themes’ of the reader. For example, the Japanese reader of a Japanese translation of a Hesse text may find associations in said text that chime with personal experience, or the text might trigger insights on personal development and individuation.

Damrosch’s final point is that, in the world literature system, the reader’s act of reading is a form of ‘detached engagement’ with foreign literature. In other words, although a body of foreign literature, canonical or non-canonical, circulates, the reader has agency in selecting what to read.¹⁰⁴ Rightly Damrosch signals the agency of selection available to the individual reader in Japan. However, two factors must be met for Damrosch’s theory to hold validity in practice. First and most importantly is the availability of the foreign text in a suitable translation. A case in point is the 2017 translation of Hesse’s novel *Demian*, which required considerable editing work in order to achieve a final product suitable for a young Japanese readership.¹⁰⁵ Secondly, Japanese school students and university students must read (foreign) literary texts in class and for homework which takes up much of the students’ out-of-class time and robs them of agency in selection.¹⁰⁶ However, because most of Hesse’s texts have been translated into Japanese and published in affordable editions, an interested Japanese reader with the requisite reading time available indeed has agency regarding the text to read, and the sequence in which the texts are read. These factors qualify the applicability of Damrosch’s claim of a ‘detached engagement’ of the Japanese readership with world literature.

As regards the notion of ‘world author’, this thesis clearly demonstrates in a case study of Hesse’s reception in Japan that the agency exercised by a world author (Hermann Hesse) can unfold important influences in linguistic and cultural communities involved in the reception process. Chapter 3 discusses Hesse’s personal engagement and dialogue with his readership

¹⁰³ Valdés, M.J. 2002. Rethinking the History of Literary History. In: Hutcheon, L. & Valdés, M.J. *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 63-115. Here: p. 82.

¹⁰⁴ Damrosch, D. 2003. *What Is World Literature?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 298.

¹⁰⁵ One of the primary difficulties in achieving a suitable level of readability and modernity lies in the choice of the Chinese characters (*kanji*) that are used for a modern Japanese translation. Komai, M. 2017. *Conversation with N. Cunningham*, 17 October.

¹⁰⁶ For example, Kobunsha publishing company placed its 2007 translation of *Unterm Rad* on the recommended summer reading list for elementary and junior high schools students from 2008. Teachers often adopt these recommendations from the publishing companies for their students. In 2015, Kobunsha was still recommending *Unterm Rad* and priced the novel at 620 Japanese yen. Kobunsha. 2017. *Kobunsha website*. [Online]. [Accessed: 23 October 2017]. Available from: <http://www.kotensinyaku.jp/konku-ru2015/cover45.html>.

in Japan through his letter correspondence. This is an example of the personal agency that a living author can bring to the process of influencing the outcomes of a transcultural literary reception in a particular linguistic and cultural space. As Chapters 3 and 4 explicate, Hesse shaped his transcultural literary reception by developing deep personal ties with Japanese readers in which a type of private enriching ‘spiritual’ capital was generated that enhanced the mutual exchanges. The relationship between Hesse and his readers is documented and historicised by the haptics of the epistolary corpus held in the DLA archives. Contemporary authors can now influence receptions in other linguistic and cultural communities through their homepages and a media presence in English,¹⁰⁷ as can, equally, publishers by means of the company’s webpages. I follow Germanist Rebecca Braun’s argument that we need to recast the agency of the world author in the world literature system. Writing about the term ‘world author’, Braun states:

‘I do not mean by it simply a writer who has achieved global recognition (...), nor do I mean an author who consciously comes from a certain under-represented, minority, or, from the hegemonic Western perspective, “exotic” part of the world. (...) Rather, just as the term “world literature” is used to describe a whole systemic process by which literary texts are valued, *the term “world author” stands for the human-led notions of individual agency and situated responsibility in relation to these processes.*’¹⁰⁸ (Emphasis NC)

Soon after Hesse’s work was consecrated through the award of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1946, which signalled the canonisation of his works in the world literature system, Hesse embarked upon a significant epistolary dialogue with his readers in Japan. As Chapter 3 reveals, Hesse maintained a stance of honesty and authenticity towards his readers in Japan, developing deep affinities with some in their mutual exchanges. The dialogue would in fact eventually take his own writing to a new level of singular expression (see Chapter 4). These chapters of the thesis in particular demonstrate that, as Braun proposes anticipatorily, that the world literature system must recast the living ‘world author’ as a potentially significant agent within the circulation of literary texts globally and in the social worlds of the linguistic and cultural communities in which these texts are activated and unfold both non-human and human agencies.

¹⁰⁷ Renowned Japanese author Haruki Murakami has an English-language website at www.harukimurakami.com. The website includes a biography, a bibliography, community pages for readers’ contributions about their favourite characters and scenes from his novels, and transcripts of conversations between Murakami and his translators. Murakami, H. 2018. *Murakami website*. [Online]. [Accessed 27 February 2018]. Available from: www.harukimurakami.com.

¹⁰⁸ Braun, R. 2015. Introduction: The Rise of the World Author from the Death of World Literature. *Seminar. A Journal of Germanic Studies*. (51)2, pp. 81-99.

Overall, my research demonstrates that we must refocus on the need to recognise the importance of both human agency but also non-human agency in the world literature system. The nodal points of the system, that is, the cultural and linguistic context in which the text is received, host in particular aggregates or networks of human agents. These agents are the publishing houses and their editors and translators, as well as the critics and the academics that write about and consecrate authors and literary texts. Further examples are engaged living authors¹⁰⁹ and the readers themselves who also unfold agency in the literary field. These nexuses of social relations will differ from one receiving linguistic and cultural space to another, and must be examined as associations and types of connections, which represent agencies that unfold behaviours in the fields and sub-fields system as various capitals are sought and acquired. These agents in the respective cultural field, Bourdieu theorises, rather than being ‘a simple aggregate of isolated agents’, ultimately form ‘a set of systems of interrelated agents and institutions functionally defined by their role in the division of labour in the cultural field, whether the labour is the ‘production, reproduction [or] diffusion of cultural goods’.¹¹⁰

From a ‘Transnational’ to ‘Transcultural’ Reception

As I have discussed above, Hermann Hesse was well informed about his literary reception in Japan. I argue that Hesse’s literary reception in Japan is an instantiation of world literature in a ‘transnational’, or, better, in a ‘transcultural’ reception. The term ‘transnational’ contains the word ‘nation’, denoting the nation state and the crossing of the borders of a national state from one state to another. Benedict Anderson, in his influential book *Imagined Communities*, provides a definition of the modern nation state: ‘...it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.’¹¹¹ Anderson argues that, because we can never know all the fellow-members, no matter how small the nation state, it remains an ‘imagined’ community. Moreover, the nation state as ‘imagined political community’ is not necessarily analogous with a single, homogenous culture. The term ‘culture’ is usually defined in contrast to the realm of nature, and it may be thought of as ‘the entire “way of life” common to a certain nationality, race or other social group’.¹¹² Recent acknowledgement of the fact that multiple cultures can exist in one nation state coined the notion of ‘multiculturalism’. This term is also problematic as it gives the impression that multiple,

¹⁰⁹ Hesse, for instance, refused to grant permissions for Chinese translations while classical Chinese literature was being suppressed in China. Upon an author’s death, direct authorial agency is removed from the shaping of the reception process, and the process passes entirely into the hands of other individuals and collective agencies – one thinks here of Volker Michels’ editorial and publishing work at Suhrkamp Verlag.

¹¹⁰ Bourdieu, P. 1985. *The Market of Symbolic Goods*. Trans. Swyer, R. *Poetics*. (14), pp. 13-44. Here: p. 13.

¹¹¹ Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, p. 6.

¹¹² Berg, W. & Ní Éigeartaigh, A. 2010. Editors’ Introduction: Exploring Transculturalism. In: Berg, W. & Ní Éigeartaigh, A. eds. *Exploring Transculturalism. A Biographical Approach*. Wiesbaden: VS Research, pp. 7-17. Here: p. 8.

discrete cultures exist in parallel in a nation state, with little interaction. Wolfgang Welsch has suggested the use of the noun ‘transculturality’ in order to capture semantically the rich interactions of cultures in complex modern societies, the external, cross-border networks these multiple cultures maintain, and the hybridity that increased mobility and advances in communications technology bring.¹¹³ I acknowledge Welsch’s recognition of the increasing cultural complexities of the nation state, and thus I prefer the use the adjective ‘transcultural’ before the noun ‘reception’ (and elsewhere in the thesis) to describe the transposition of a text from one linguistic and cultural community to another, of which there may even be a plurality of instances in one nation state. For instance, from 1895 until 1945, Japan was the colonial power in East Asia, and, thus, was a multi-ethnic and multicultural entity politically. Even after 1945, as the modern borders of the nation state were redrawn,¹¹⁴ Japan was still home to significant communities of ethnic Korean and Chinese residents as a consequence of its imperial forays into East Asia.¹¹⁵ Therefore, the term ‘transcultural reception’ means the import and significantly most often also the translation of a text from its original language into the language of the receiving or target linguistic and cultural community.

Project Outline

The thesis has four chapters and adopts a pleiotropic approach to understanding Hesse’s reception in Japan. Here I outline the salient points the reader will find discussed in each chapter.

In Chapter 1, I initially draw upon secondary sources in order to contextualize, geographically and culturally, Hesse’s transcultural reception in Japan and in East Asia as a region dominated by Japan as a colonial power. Chinese culture from the mainland has deeply influenced Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. The Confucian school of thought and Chinese literary norms were engrained in the cultures of these countries prior to the contemporary phase of capitalist modernity and Westernization and influenced the direction of the translation of texts. The inception of modern Japanese history is usually conflated with the Meiji Restoration in 1868, when the emperor returned to Edo (Tokyo) from Kyoto. This event marked the end of the old feudal system under the Tokugawa generals. The shift from a feudal system to a modern industrialized economy saw a parallel shift in the cultural life of the country and in Japanese literature. Writers turned from the language of the Chinese classics to writing Japanese novels in the vernacular. The influx of cultural ideas from the

¹¹³ Welsch, W. 1999. Transculturality – the Puzzling Form of Culture Today. In: Featherstone, M. & Lash, S. eds. *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*. London: Sage, pp. 194-213. Here: pp. 197-198.

¹¹⁴ With the exception of Okinawa prefecture which was returned by the US to Japan in May 1972.

¹¹⁵ Reischauer writes that at the end of WWII there was a Korean community of some 700,000 left in Japan from much larger numbers who had entered Japan to replace Japanese workers who were needed as soldiers. The Chinese community at this time was much smaller, numbering in the tens of thousands. Reischauer, E.O. 1994. *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*. Tokyo: Charles Tuttle, p. 34.

West required the coinage of new vocabulary to write within the cognitive parameters of the modern Western novel and Western philosophy.¹¹⁶ The reception of Western literature and philosophy was mediated by transcultural agents such as academics and translators who had studied in the West, for example, Mori Ogai (1884-1888) in Germany and Natsume Soseki in London (1901-1903), who helped to introduce new literary norms into the developing modernity of the Japanese cultural and literary space. At this time the ‘coloniality of power’ exercised by the European states determined the ‘order and direction’ of translation of especially philosophical and scientific but also literary texts from English, German and French, the languages of international circulation, into the other languages of the world.¹¹⁷ Hermann Hesse’s texts were received in Japan, and they were translated for the first time in 1909 (*Meine Erinnerung an Knulp*) as the modern literary and translation field developed. Japan rose to become an imperial power in East Asia, especially following its first defeat of a European power in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. Japan maintained colonies in Taiwan (1895-1945) and Korea (1910-1945), and held parts of China in a semi-colonial status. Local languages were suppressed and the use of the Japanese language promoted and legitimised. I argue, therefore, that Japan’s cultural authority in the region was the determining factor in Hesse’s East Asian reception prior to 1945. The key transcultural mediators at this time were Japanese academics and translators working in hand with the publishing companies as institutes of diffusion to the newly educated consumers of culture. In fact, Japanese language translations of Hesse’s work retained cultural and symbolic capital as source texts for many East Asian academics, schooled in Japanese, until the 1960s when a new generation of German Studies graduates came of age in these countries.

The first chapter provides a detailed discussion of the metrics of Hesse’s reception in Japan in the context of a transcultural reception process in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community. The reception was facilitated by the translation of his works and the dissemination of these translations in the Japanese market by the publishing houses. I analyse Hesse’s reception in Japan by breaking it down into three time periods. During the first period, 1909-1945, Hesse’s work was read in German by pupils in the Japanese elite school system (*kotogakko*). However, a growing number of Japanese translations from around 1925 made his works available to a wider reading audience. The last decade of the period, although Hesse’s work was still translated, saw a growing transculturally mediated reception of Nazi literature into the Japanese literary field. The second period of reception, from 1946 to 1989, coincided with post-war educational reforms as the school system was

¹¹⁶ The novels of contemporary Japanese writers now often have a high number of Western cultural references and instances of intertextuality.

¹¹⁷ Mignolo, W.D. 2002. Rethinking the Colonial Model. In: Hutcheon, L. & Valdés, M.J. eds. *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 155-193. Here: p. 172.

re-organized along American co-educational lines. In 1946, Hesse was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. Translation of his works into Japanese intensified in the 1950s. Each year there were multiple translations of Hesse's works, whereby Kenji Takahashi was most distinctive and productive of all the Japanese translators. A mid-1960s lull in translation activity occurred until the boom in the popularity of Hesse in America in the late 1960s and 1970s rekindled interest in his texts in Japan. The last decade of this period saw a generational change and new associations among transcultural mediators as a generation of translators and academics passed away. I cast the third period of Hesse's reception in Japan as from 1990 to the present. It is a period marked by the re-discovery of Hesse and concurrent academic research into his life and works. Indeed, in 1991, the *Hermann Hesse Freundeskreis / Forschungsgruppe Japan* was formed, and the *Forschungsgruppe*, comprising largely university academics, has promoted scholarly research and the translation of Hesse's works ever since. A salient feature of this third period is how publishing work in Germany by Suhrkamp Verlag and Suhrkamp's Hesse editor Volker Michels has stimulated much of the current translation work in Japan. For example, Suhrkamp / Insel Verlag's *Hermann Hesse: Mit der Reife wird man immer jünger* (1990) and *Hermann Hesse: Freude am Garten* (1992) have been translated into Japanese, and they have become bestsellers in the Japanese marketplace.

To illustrate in detail how the transcultural reception process of a text written in German in Japan occurs as it enters a new linguistic and cultural community, I examine the modern reception of *Unterm Rad*. Based on an interview I conducted with the translator of the novel, Miho Matsunaga, I explicate how one translator approached the task of transcultural mediation, and I explore the personal associations this novel had for the translator. I also profile and discuss the transcultural mediations of the most prolific and distinctive of the Japanese translators, Kenji Takahashi, whose translation work spanned almost fifty years (1938-1986), which generated significant economic and cultural capital, as well as personal symbolic capital, and helped stake out the field for Hesse's literary reception in Japan. From a further perspective, Kenji Takahashi may also be considered a 'figural' node because of the strategic position as an opinion-former he was able to achieve in the historiography of the reception process of Hesse's works and in the promotion of their cultural legitimacy and consecration in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community.¹¹⁸

A testimony to this cultural legitimacy of Hesse's works in Japan is the exposure of 80% (around one million) of Japanese junior high school students to Hesse's work in their Ministry of Education approved textbooks annually. Since 1947, Japanese high school

¹¹⁸ Neubauer, J. & Cornis-Pope, M. 2010. General Introduction. In: Neubauer, J. & Cornis-Pope, M. eds. *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe*, Vol. IV. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 1-9. Here: p. 7.

students have read Kenji Takahashi's translation of Hesse's story *Jugendgedenken*, and, more recently, since 2002, also Germanist Asao Okada's translation of *Das Nachtpfauenauge* (the original story upon which *Jugendgedenken* was based) in their textbooks. Moreover, I demonstrate the different genres of reception of Hesse's work in Japan by introducing the notion of the 'transculturation' of Hesse's writings in the form of a new cultural 'product'. This 'product' is an inter-medial butterfly exhibition, created by two Hesse readers and Lepidoptera enthusiasts, which combines Hesse's literary work on butterflies with material butterfly specimens. The exhibition was shown throughout Japan at various venues, and then internationally in Hesse's hometown of Calw in Germany and in Montagnola, where Hesse resided from 1919 until his death in 1962. This return of ideas to the community of origin and act of transculturation underlines the fact that cultural transformations can go from East to West and not just from West to East.¹¹⁹ Finally, I conclude the first chapter with a discussion of certain affinities Hesse enjoyed with Japanese culture. Hesse was a passionate wanderer and admired the life of the vagabond, which he captured in his *Knulp* stories. The vagabond is also a figure of literary interest in Japanese culture. When Kenji Takahashi visited Hesse in Montagnola in 1931, Hesse talked about his admiration of Japanese artist Hiroshige's woodblock prints of the fifty-five stations of the old *Tōkaidō* road between Edo (Tokyo) and Kyoto. Overall, this first chapter lays the groundwork for understanding the metrics and salient features of Hesse's reception in the social world of the Japanese linguistic and cultural community. In the following chapter, I unfold the intricacies of the reception by discussing the human agency in the world literature circuit through a case study of a transcultural mediator, and, through the course of two further chapters, I explicate Hesse's deep affinities with his Japanese readers, which ultimately raise his work to new a level of expression as a late writer.

Next, in Chapter 2, I situate Hesse as a world author whose texts enter into world circulation, to be read in the original language and in translation in the literary fields and social worlds of various linguistic and cultural communities. I argue in this chapter that, in the world literature system, the social ties involved in the associations at the various sites that help to

¹¹⁹ Mignolo, W.D. 2002. Rethinking the Colonial Model. In: Hutcheon, L. & Valdés, M.J. eds. *Rethinking Literary History: A Dialogue on Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 155-193. Here: p. 172. Mignolo points out that the concept of transculturation, as it applies to the social life of things, works, especially when located in the 'coloniality of power', moves in a double-direction to its destination. First from the past, in the case of translations from Latin and Greek, in support of the Renaissance and Enlightenment, and thus in the making of modernity, and, second, translations from modern English, German, French to spread knowledge about Christianity, the 'civilising mission' or to promote development and expand marketplaces. *Ibid.*, p. 173. This thesis demonstrates that the products of cultural transformations, often developed from the starting point of a translation, do not flow solely unidirectionally from West to East, but that products of transculturation return from the East to the West and find a place in the cultural practices of the West, where the potential exists for further acts of transculturation. There is a particular reception of Hesse in Japan in which 'spiritual' capital is generated which is able to return to the West; akin to Hesse's reception in Japan and Hesse's reception of Japan in which influence and agency is bidirectional.

unfold human agency must be given a more central role in the analysis of the reception of a work or an author in a particular linguistic and cultural community.¹²⁰ The term ‘human agency’ applies to both the agency of the living author Hermann Hesse and to the role of transcultural mediating agents such as publishers, editors, translators, and academics. The case study presented in Chapter 2 (Wilhelm Gundert) is of a person best termed a ‘transcultural mediator’ for both his translation activities into and out of Japanese and Chinese and his familial ties with Hesse and social ties with other actors in the German and Japanese communities. Gundert played a significantly important role in Hesse’s reception of Japan and in the reception of Hesse’s texts in Japan.

In this chapter, I draw upon unpublished memoirs to provide a case study of Gundert as a transcultural mediator. I explicate how Hesse’s ‘Japanese’ cousin, Wilhelm Gundert, was a transcultural intermediary between Hesse and Japan and the East in general. Gundert spent nearly thirty years in Japan, and he even came to embody Japanese culture in terms of his personality and intellect. He wrote extensively and published works on Japanese literature and religion. During a sojourn in Europe, Gundert visited Hesse in Montagnola in February 1922, enabling Hesse to finish the second part of *Siddhartha*, which is dedicated to his ‘Japanese’ cousin. In an unpublished letter from the DLA archives, Gundert hedged plans during the early 1920s to promote Hesse’s reception in Japan (Hesse had only been translated once into Japanese at this point in 1909), and declared himself ready to work as Hesse’s representative in Japan.¹²¹ In 1927, sponsored by the German ambassador in Japan, Gundert became the first German director of the *Japanisch-Deutsches Kulturinstitut (Nichi-doku bunka-kyôkai)* in Tokyo with a remit to actively promote transcultural exchanges between Japan and Germany. After his doctoral thesis and a number of articles, Gundert started a distinguished publishing career with his study of *Die Japanische Literatur* in 1929.¹²² However, a serious rift developed between Gundert and Hesse as Gundert became a member of the Nazi party in Japan in 1934. After returning to Germany, Gundert held a chair in Japanese studies and was vice-rector at Hamburg University. After the war, Gundert was eventually classed as *Mitläufer* (nominal member of the Nazi party). Hesse remained in a state of disbelief about his cousin’s NSDAP membership, but the rift was overcome once Gundert finished his translation work on *Lyrik des Ostens* in 1952,¹²³ and he commenced

¹²⁰ Quoting Latour, Rebecca Braun proposes a similar approach to uncovering human agency in the world literature system: ‘follow the actors themselves’. Braun, R. 2016. The world author in us all: conceptualising fame and agency in the global literary market. *Celebrity Studies*. 7(4), pp. 457-475. Here: p. 472.

¹²¹ Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach Handschriften-Lesesaal (henceforth all unpublished letters from the Handschriften-Lesesaal will be indicated as DLA) – Letter from Wilhelm Gundert to Hermann Hesse dated Tokyo 29 July, 1922.

¹²² Gundert, W. 1929: *Die Japanische Literatur*. In: *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*. Walzel, O. ed. Wildpark-Potsdam: Athenaion.

¹²³ Gundert, W. 1952. Japan. In: *Lyrik des Ostens*. Gundert, W., Schimmel, A. & Schubring. eds. München: Carl Hanser Verlag.

work on the translation of the Chinese Zen bible *Pi-Yen-Lu* from Japanese and Chinese texts, which was to have a significant impact upon Hesse as the decade wore on. Their estrangement overcome, the cousins enjoyed the first of the many subsequent meetings at Hesse's residence in Montagnola in June 1954. These meetings drew Hesse into Gundert's translation work. The first volume of the translated Zen *koans* was published in 1960 as *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der smaragdenen Felswand*.¹²⁴ The volume had a remarkable effect upon Hesse, who, in 1947, admitted 'Ich habe von Zen nur eine leise Ahnung'.¹²⁵

By returning from the East to the West (from Japan to Germany), Wilhelm Gundert brought the wheel of transcultural mediation and mutual exchange between Japan and the West full circle. Thus, this chapter provides a case study of a transcultural mediator in the world literature system and it emphasises the need for research to contextualize transcultural exchanges in terms of individual agency as well as the relational sets of social relations or types of connections they maintain in the literary field. A transcultural mediator may be a person with a particular disposition, and, fittingly in the case of Wilhelm Gundert, Márta Fülöp suggests that a 'mediating person' is a person who maintains his or her core cultural identity, while learning and assimilating other important features of a different culture, thereby synthesizing cultural influences at the intellectual and personality level.¹²⁶

Chapter 3 explicates the agency Hesse unfolded as a 'world author' in his interactions with his Japanese readership. As Rebecca Braun has argued recently we can focus on 'world authorship' 'as the growth of an author's connections to actors in diverse geographical and cultural locations' which provides a 'robust framework for understanding how a transnationally connected author interfaces with diverse publics'.¹²⁷ In this chapter the interface that the world author Hesse connects with is a Japanese reading public that activates and reads Hesse's texts. The chapter contains five reader case studies,¹²⁸ which are based on my research (2013-2015) on unpublished Japanese readers' letters held in the archives of the DLA in the *Hermann Hesse-Japan-Konvolut*.¹²⁹ The case studies and the

¹²⁴ Gundert, W. 1960. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand. 1. Band*. München : Carl Hanser Verlag.

¹²⁵ GB3: 410. Open letter from Hermann Hesse to Rin Jubishi in Japan dated mid-April 1947. (See Chapter 4.)

¹²⁶ Fülöp, M. 2010. Natsumi Soseki: Culture Shock and the Birth of the Modern Japanese Novel. In: Berg, W. & Ní Éigeartaigh, A. eds. *Exploring Transculturalism. A Biographical Approach*. Wiesbaden: VS Research, pp. 63-80. Here: p. 63.

¹²⁷ Braun, R. 2016. The world author in us all: conceptualising fame and agency in the global literary market. *Celebrity Studies*. 7(4), pp. 457-475. Here: p. 463.

¹²⁸ I select the five case studies based on the length of their correspondence with Hesse during the 1950s. The five readers selected are two 'lay' readers (university students), one 'enthusiast' and two 'professional' readers (academics and translators).

¹²⁹ The German Literature Archive Marbach (Deutsches Literaturarchiv - DLA). The *Konvolut* contains a total of 149 epistolary items, 80% of which are dialogical. The constitution of the *Konvolut* is most likely due to the way the DLA received the correspondence as a batch: 'Das Konvolut Japan im Nachlass Hermann Hesse wurde wahrscheinlich so vorgefunden, denn in der Regel bilden wir solche Zusammenhänge nicht neu. Ich vermute, dass diese Briefe gemeinsam, sozusagen in einem Stapel, ans Deutsche Literaturarchiv kamen.' Fink, H. 2017.

personal letters reveal the close relationship Hesse maintained with some of his Japanese readers, and demonstrate how the ‘postal self’ of the writer is created in interaction with the ‘postal other’ who receives the letter.¹³⁰ These letters also document Hesse’s Japanese reception, providing examples of how individual readers responded to his texts. Indeed, my survey of the reader correspondence in the DLA *Konvolut* shows that *Peter Camenzind*, Hesse’s first novel, is most frequently referenced thematically (29% of all references), followed by Hesse’s second novel *Unterm Rad* (23%), which is thought to be his most popular work in Japan. Arguably, *Peter Camenzind* offers Japanese readers glimpses of nature before it was ‘othered’ in capitalist modernity and when Japanese writers and artists adopted Western perspectives of nature. The letters also demonstrate how epistolary correspondence can carry and trigger affective utterances and responses across cultures. A further feature of some letters is the use of inter-medial textures (text and drawing) in which correspondents use creative imagination to aid comprehension of their letters. For instance, after reading *Unterm Rad*, some young readers illustrate their letters to Hesse with drawings of how they imagine scenes from the novel.

Moreover, these letter exchanges markedly demonstrate that Japanese culture is not impervious to accepting and assimilating foreign culture in new ways, which calls into question the theories of rigid binary exchanges and a singular impervious culture we find in traditional ethnographic studies of Japan. I would suggest that human beings are far more creative and capable of communicating across boundaries that would separate us than these studies allow for. Indeed, I follow German philosopher Wolfgang Iser in his argument that human beings share ‘commonalities’ or ‘universals’, which, once the cultural universal of language has been mastered, can be communicated and understood transculturally by actors in mutual cultural exchanges. According to Iser, the common basis for understanding rests on three ‘universals: ‘surface universals’, ‘neurological logic’ and ‘needs/cultural universals’.¹³¹ Surface universals are words, facial expressions and gestures.¹³² The term ‘neurological logic’ means that at root we are logical beings.¹³³ ‘Needs universals’ are the sensory experiences and physical experiences, such as hunger and shelter against the natural elements, which we all need to address, and thus are a familiar experience to human beings. ‘Cultural universals’ are the need for a society to pass on traditions and

Email to N. Cunningham, 2 October. Frau Fink at the DLA was also able to confirm that I am the sole researcher to have consulted the *Konvolut* in recent years: ‘Sie sind der einzige Forscher, der sich in den vergangenen Jahren auf dieses Konvolut konzentriert und damit gearbeitet hat.’ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Derrida, J. 1987. *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*. Trans. Bass, A. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

¹³¹ Iser, W. 2009. On the Acquisition and Possession of Commonalities. In: Schulze-Engler, F. & Helff, S. eds. *Transcultural English Studies: Theories, Fictions, Realities*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 19-33.

¹³² Ibid., pp. 15-21.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 29.

knowledge, most often achieved through the development of writing systems in place of oral traditions.¹³⁴ These ‘universals’ establish a common basis for transcultural communication and mutual exchange between human beings in different linguistic and cultural communities and the potential for a peaceful and cooperative global cosmopolitanism.

However, I would argue that for the development of deeper affinities between transcultural epistolary correspondents a further quality is required; that of ‘emotional trust’, which allows spiritual capital to be generated. This quality, I suggest, is required in order that correspondents in different linguistic and cultural communities can successfully understand the content and meaning of their mutual exchanges. Emotional trust arises once basic courtesy and civility is established in the turn-taking modus of mutual epistolary exchange. It can be kindled and nurtured through kindness, warmth and generosity, and authenticity and honesty. Another way of thinking about emotional trust is as viewing it as the accumulation of ‘spiritual capital’, which has the potential to spiritually enrich the mutual epistolary exchange. Bourdieu defines spiritual (or ‘cultural’) capital as symbolic interests outside the marketplace, that is, the field of economic interests or economic transactions.¹³⁵ In other words, as the epistolary exchange shifts from the public to the private sphere, it enters into ‘relatively autonomous areas of practice’ where ‘symbolic interests become autonomous by being opposed to material interests’.¹³⁶ The longer epistolary exchanges examined in this chapter in the five case studies reveal the depth of the personal relationships that some Japanese readers develop with Hesse, which culminates in ‘meetings of minds’ and ‘communities of spirit’, which has the potential to alter life courses and lead to acts of ‘transculturation’, that is, cultural transformations (see also the thesis Conclusion).¹³⁷ As Stuart Taberner puts it in his writing on types of cosmopolitanism and ‘romantic’ cosmopolitanism, which he suggests, ‘emphasizes the spiritual connectedness of humans to one another, which can only be rediscovered and fostered through acts of the poetic imagination.’¹³⁸ In fact, I posit that Hesse as a subject, and owing to the evident universality of his texts, strikes a fundamental chord with some Japanese readers which they may be unable to find when reading or in dialogue with Japanese authors. Moreover, some Japanese readers become ‘writers’ in their epistolary interaction with Hesse. The long texts

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

¹³⁵ Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Trans. Nice, R. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 177.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ For example, Japanese Germanist Mayumi Haga (the final reader case study), in his last letter to Hesse held in the DLA archive, dated June 1962, remoulds his garden according to the image he retains in his mind of Hesse’s garden in Montagnola.

¹³⁸ Taberner, S. 2015. Transnationalism and Cosmopolitanism: Literary World Building in the Twenty-First-Century. In: Herrmann, E., Smith-Prei, C. & Stuart Taberner. eds. *Transnationalism in Contemporary German-Language Literature*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, pp. 43-64. Here: p. 44.

in some letters demonstrate a reversal of the traditionally conceived roles of author and reader, and a disruption of the normative asymmetry in favour of a symmetry of equality.

A significant productive outcome of Hesse's intense transcultural correspondence with his Japanese readers is a 'bridging' or 'preparatory' poem that Hesse wrote at the end of 1958. The poem *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht verwitternd*¹³⁹ links Hesse's prior knowledge of Buddhism with his growing understanding of Zen-Buddhism through his interaction with his Japanese readers and his 'Japanese' cousin. As we see in the final chapter, this 'bridging' poem prepares the way for Hesse to step over into the new world of Zen-Buddhism and a new form of personal experience and late literary expression.

Chapter 4 explicates for the first time in Hesse scholarship how the transcultural learning process, demonstrated in Chapter 3, enabled Hesse to write three Zen-poems in the penultimate year of his life. Again, I draw upon the unpublished memoirs of Wilhelm Gundert's wife for the information in this chapter as well as some of the unpublished letters from Japanese readers in the DLA *Konvolut*. I argue that these Zen-poems mean that Hesse scholars must recast the convention that *Das Glasperlenspiel* (1943) was the 'culmination' of Hesse's literary production and that which followed was just administering a legacy. The few academics who have written recently about Hesse's lyrical poetry describe it as a 'hesitant repository of timeless melancholy' (Rüdiger Görner)¹⁴⁰, more positively as 'an inexhaustible source for reflections on poetics in the twenty-first century' (Olaf Berwald)¹⁴¹, or that 'Der Tod, die Vergänglichkeit und Sinnlosigkeit jeglichen Daseins werden in allen verfügbaren Tonlagen beklagt' (Sonja Klein),¹⁴² and fail to address this late step Hesse took in his literary production. I also demonstrate in this chapter that the three Zen-poems are substantially different from the poems that Hesse wrote at the same time as *Das Glasperlenspiel*. Moreover, in the Zen-poems, we can find Wilhelm Gundert as the Zen master, and Hermann Hesse as a disciple or novice.¹⁴³

Chapter 4 unpacks the details of Wilhelm Gundert's influence upon Hesse's new form of late literary production. It also discusses the inspiration Hesse received from his transcultural dialogue with his Japanese readers. I make the argument that Gundert's Christian upbringing

¹³⁹ SW10: 390.

¹⁴⁰ Görner, R. 2005. Letzte Lieder: Zur Sprache des Späten in der Lyrik Hermann Hesses. In: Cornils, I. & Durrani, O. eds. *Hermann Hesse: Today*. Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, pp. 205-220. Here: p. 220.

¹⁴¹ Berwald, O. 2009. Hesse's Poetry. In: Cornils, I. ed. *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, pp. 241-262. Here: p. 258.

¹⁴² Klein, S. 2017. Trost der Nacht – Hesses Lyrik der 1920er Jahre. In: Ponzi, M. ed. *Herman-Hesse-Jahrbuch Band 9*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, pp. 37-44. Here: p. 40.

¹⁴³ Hesse long sought a form of expression similar to the sparse effect of East Asian calligraphy or Japanese *haiku*. '...und später begann er unter des Meisters Anweisung Gedichte zu machen, und er lernte langsam jene heimliche Kunst, scheinbar nur das Einfache und Schlichte zu sagen, damit aber in des Zuhörers Seele zu wühlen wie der Wind in einem Wasserspiegel...' Excerpt from *Der Dichter* (1913). SW9: 42-48. Here: p. 47.

was substantive in enabling a successful translation into German of the spiritual content of Chinese and Japanese texts of the *Pi Yen Lu*. In 1960, Gundert's translations of the first thirty-three cases of the one-hundred Zen *koans* and commentaries collected in the 11th and 12th centuries in China in the *Pi Yen Lu* were published. Shortly after, in the first two months of 1961, Hesse wrote a distillation of a lifetime journey of spiritual exploration in three concise Zen-poems: *Der erhobene Finger* (The Raised Finger – January 1961), and *Junger Novize im Zenkloster I & II* (The Young Novice in the Zen Monastery I & II). I argue that these poems add a new dimension to Hesse's literary production. Although structurally the Zen-poems share some similarity with Hesse's *Drei-Stufen-Lehre* (Three-Step Doctrine),¹⁴⁴ the Zen-poems transcend the Christian and European cultural space, breaking open the borders between East and West, providing the potential for a reading in a worldly spiritual space. A brief analysis of the fictional letter written by Josef Knecht (Hesse's *alter ego* in *Das Glasperlenspiel*) to Carlo Ferromonte in 1961 strengthens my argument that the Zen poems disclose new spiritual insights for Hesse. Knecht's letter documents his experience, and thus Hesse's, upon reading Gundert's translation of the first case of the *Pi Yen Lu*. In this *koan*, the Bodhidharma's oblique reply to Emperor Wu's question about the nature of holiness bursts the bubble of the Emperor's mundane pretensions. Upon reading Bodhidharma's reply, Knecht (Hesse) experiences an intense moment of insight into the formless essence of Zen.

Original Contribution

By the conclusion of the thesis, the reader will have a comprehensive understanding of the reasons for Hermann Hesse's popularity in Japan and how his reception unfolded and continues to unfold in Japan in the context of a transcultural reception process. This project reveals the deep transcultural dialogue that was maintained by Hesse and his Japanese readers, and explicates the affinities that grew out of that dialogue, and demonstrates that the mutual exchanges, enriched with spiritual capital, were a substantial part of Hesse's reception of Japan. The approach is necessarily multifaceted given the complexity of the process of reception and the cultural 'distance' between a European writer and an East Asian readership. The thesis also reveals that analysis of networks of agency in the form of human relationships and human mediators is essential within any conceptual rendering of the sites of the world literature system. Furthermore, the investigations conducted in the framework of the project lead to the conclusion that Hesse's literary work underwent significant developments in the last few years of his life, contrary to the widely held belief that *Das Glasperlenspiel* was Hesse's final crowning literary achievement. This means that Hesse

¹⁴⁴ SW12: 152-164

scholarship must recast its traditional patterning and labelling of his works. The ‘preparatory’ poem, *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht verwitternd*, written in late 1958, bridges Hesse’s prior knowledge of Buddhism and points the way to the three Zen-poems which capture new spiritual experiences and profound insights into Zen-Buddhism. Moreover, the phenomenon of the dialogic, transcultural relationships Hesse developed with his Japanese readers means that we must also rethink the loci of agencies and their bundles of social ties in a transcultural reception. A case in point is the agency unfolded by Hesse’s overlooked ‘Japanese’ cousin, a transcultural mediator between Hesse and Japan and the East. Overall, the thesis draws together the threads and social ties of a transcultural reception process in a concrete instantiation of transcultural reception theory. And, finally, the project celebrates for the first time in Western Hesse scholarship the unique relationship between Hermann Hesse and Japan and his Japanese readers as well as Hesse’s own reception of Japan.

Chapter 1: The Reception of Hermann Hesse in Japan: Imperial and Domestic Gateway

I. Japan's Modernization, the Empire and Cultural Authority: Shaping Hesse's East Asian Reception

1.0. Overview

As this thesis clearly demonstrates, in this and in subsequent chapters, the long-held belief in a sequential process in Hesse's reception of Asian literature and philosophy, and his reception in Asian countries, via India to China and onwards to Japan, is no longer tenable in Hesse research. It is essential to recognize that Japan was the cultural fulcrum around which Hesse's East Asian reception took place, not China, and it was with Japan and his Japanese readers with whom Hesse most deeply entered into a transcultural dialogue (see Chapter 3). The discussion in the first part of Chapter 1 demonstrates that, in order to understand Hesse's reception in East Asia, we must acknowledge the more than four-decade-long dominance of imperial Japan in regional cultural relations, and we must recognize the linguistic legacy of these cultural power relations, which extended for decades into the post-war period, and the influence they exerted upon the reception of Hesse's literary works in East Asia.

Germanist Adrian Hsia is arguably the leading Hesse scholar regarding Hermann Hesse's relationship with the culture of East Asia, and his monograph *Hermann Hesse und China*, originally published in 1974, updated extensively in 2002, is the sole standard work that can be consulted by Hesse researchers around the world on matters regarding Hesse's interest in the region's culture, philosophy and religion, and the impact this interest had upon Hesse's literary production.¹⁴⁵ Hsia summarizes the importance of China to Hesse as follows: 'Gerne übersieht man, daß Hesse selbst mehrmals betonte, er habe zwar etwas in der indischen Philosophie gesucht, es aber nur in der chinesischen gefunden, außerdem habe China seine

¹⁴⁵ See for example Paul Bishop who draws upon Hsia in his chapter on *Das Glasperlenspiel* in Ingo Cornils' *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse* in which Bishop interrogates the influence of the East on Hesse's thinking and Knecht's perfection of his knowledge of the Chinese *Book of Changes (I-Ching)* in the bamboo grove with the figure of the Älterer Bruder, which, Bishop argues, signals the inception of Knecht's awakening. Bishop, P. 2009. *Beads of Glass, Shards of Culture, and the Art of Life: Hesse's Das Glasperlenspiel*. In: Cornils, I. ed. *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, pp. 215-240. Here: p. 232. Similarly Joseph Mileck draws upon Hsia as a source as do Ralph Freedman, and Christoph Gellner in discussing Hesse's relationship with India and China. Mileck, J. 1978. *Hermann Hesse: Life and Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 28; Freedman, R. 1979. *Hermann Hesse: Pilgrim of Crisis*. London: Jonathan Cape, p. 350; Gellner, C. 2005. *Hermann Hesse und die Spiritualität des Ostens*. Düsseldorf: Patmos, p. 116.

Ahnungen bestätigt und bewußt gemacht und sei ihm sowohl geistige Zuflucht als auch zweite Heimat geworden.¹⁴⁶ Writing his original introduction to the book in 1972, Hsia notes, ‘Und doch blieb Hesses Beziehung zu China nahezu unbekannt.’¹⁴⁷ Hsia’s book was thus seminal in explicating Hesse’s relationship with the classics of Chinese literature and Chinese philosophy. Moreover, the updated and expanded edition published in 2002 added to our knowledge in Hesse research about Hesse’s reception both in mainland China and Taiwan, as well as in Hong Kong and Singapore. Hsia’s research has helped to shape the way Hesse researchers approach Hesse’s relationship with Asia: first there are Hesse’s familial missionary links to India, both through his parents and grandparents, then Hesse’s later preoccupation with the Chinese literary classics (indeed, this is the standard interpretation of Hesse’s *Siddhartha* – a spiritual journey from the Upanishads and Buddha in the first part of the novel to the philosophy of Lao Tse in the second¹⁴⁸). Likewise German publishing house Suhrkamp’s Hesse-editor Volker Michels, writing in the introduction to his 2009 compendium of Hesse’s literary work that references China (*Hermann Hesse: China. Weisheit des Ostens*), notes ‘Kein Wunder also, daß es zunächst die Inder waren, deren Weltbild den jungen Hermann Hesse beschäftigte (...) Doch schon kurz darauf erwachte auch sein Interesse für chinesische Kultur und Dichtung.’¹⁴⁹, to which Michels adds, ‘Den Weg von indischer zu chinesischer Lebenspraxis, von jugendlichen Aufbegehren zum Augenmaß taoistischer Besonnenheit, zeigt auch die Entwicklungsgeschichte in Hesses Buddhalegende *Siddhartha*.’¹⁵⁰ Parallels can also be drawn to Hesse’s actual journey to ‘India’ (in fact, the closest he came was Ceylon) and the Far East in 1911 (Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Singapore and Sumatra), from which, unable to reach the Indian subcontinent, he returned most impressed by the Chinese he encountered on land forays, and whom he described as ‘ein imponierendes Volk’ for their ability to resist the corrupting and dominating influences of the West in a letter to Conrad Haußmann written on the steamer ‘York’ on the return leg of his journey.¹⁵¹

In fact, Hesse’s literary work was first received in East Asia in translation, thereby making his work accessible, in Japan in 1909, forty-one years after Japan opened up to the world and embarked rapidly upon a path towards capitalist modernity after the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Japanese military victories in wars over China in 1894-1895 and over the European

¹⁴⁶ Hsia, A. 2002. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁸ Hsia, A. 2009. *Siddhartha*. In: Cornils, I. ed. *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, pp. 149-170.

¹⁴⁹ Hesse, H. 2009. *Hermann Hesse: China. Weisheit des Ostens*. Volker, M. ed. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 11

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁵¹ Hesse, H. 2013. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe 1905-1915. Band 2*. Michels, V. ed. Berlin: Suhrkamp, pp. 268-270. Letter to Conrad Haußmann dated 29 November, 1911, p. 269.

power Russia in 1904-1905 are often cited as markers of the rapid modernization of Japan in the Meiji period (1868-1912) in the relevant literature,¹⁵² because these victories gave Japan a measure of equality in international state affairs with the Western powers. During this early period of modernization in Japan, classical Sino-centrism was rapidly abandoned, and Western culture and literature came to be seen as the normative standard, bringing with it a concomitant drive to translate Western literature into Japanese. Japan's imperial ambitions as it rapidly modernized saw it quickly impose not only its military and political will on neighbouring countries (Korea, China and Taiwan) as they became colonies and semi-colonies from 1895 until 1945, but also her cultural will in terms of language and literature.

In the first part of Chapter 1, I will discuss Japan's rapid modernization particularly from the perspective of the intellectual, literary and cultural changes it brought to her people. Then I will discuss Hesse's early and subsequent post-war reception in the East Asian countries China, Taiwan, and Korea from the perspective of a regional, transcultural network of imperial Japanese influence, demonstrating that the impact and legacy of Japanese cultural authority in terms of language and cultural policies upon the reception of Hesse's works in the region continued for decades after 1945. In the second part of Chapter 1, I explain the chronology and characteristics of Hesse's continuing unique literary reception in this non-European country. Next, I explore some of the affinities that individual Japanese academics and readers have identified with in Hesse's work in the reception process. Finally I elucidate the inter-medial forms of responses to Hesse's literature, such as a butterfly exhibition combining his texts with butterfly specimens, which have also emerged during the literary reception process among Hesse's readers in Japan.

1.1. National, Regional and Transcultural Receptions of Hesse's Work into and within East Asia

1.1.1. Japan's modernization and Westernization

Japan was dominated by military leaders for a period of over two-hundred and fifty years. The Tokugawa era (1603-1868) commenced when Tokugawa Ieyasu unified the country through the battle of Sekigahara, and was granted the ancient title of shogun by the emperor.¹⁵³ The semi-independent regional feudal lords (*daimyō*) were limited to one castle per domain and forced to swear an oath of loyalty to the shogun.¹⁵⁴ At this time (1633-1639), the country embarked upon a period of seclusion as a series of edicts throttled contact with

¹⁵² See for example: Neary, I. 2002. *The State and Politics in Japan*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 18; Paine, S.C.M. 2017. *The Japanese Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 88; and Gordon, A. 2014. *A Modern History of Japan. 3rd Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 120.

¹⁵³ Gordon, A. 2014. *A Modern History of Japan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 13.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

the outside world as Japanese were prevented from travelling overseas, and the practice and teaching of Christianity were forbidden in Japan.¹⁵⁵ The English abandoned trading with Japan in 1623, the Spanish in 1624 and the Portuguese traders were forced out in 1639.¹⁵⁶ Solely the Dutch, who were not interested in proselytizing, remained in a trading enclave on the artificial island Dejima in Nagasaki Bay.¹⁵⁷ The only foreign literature that was widely known and in circulation in Japan at the time was Chinese literature, although the banning of Western literature was later relaxed for texts of non-ideological and practical utility such as astronomy, medicine, military science, geography, or biology.¹⁵⁸ At the same time as the great Japanese poet Bashō (1644-1694) was writing his masterful *haiku* poetry, based on verses that added up to seventeen syllables, and his seminal work *Oku no hosomichi* (*Narrow Road to the Deep North*, 1694) was full of allusions to Japanese literature and history and thus ‘Chinese poetic and historical texts’,¹⁵⁹ fictional novels were considered an inferior form of pre-modern literary production and were termed *gesaku* in Japanese, that is, more entertaining than ‘official historical writings’, but to be considered an ‘amusement’ or ‘plaything’.¹⁶⁰ *Tōkaidōchū-Hizakurige* (*Travels on Foot on the Tokaidō* or *The Shank’s Mare*), written by Jippensha Ikku (1765-1831), is a well-known example of this genre. It was published in forty-three volumes from 1802 until 1822 and features the misadventures of two plebian male characters called Yajirobē and Kitahachi who travel the *Tōkaidō* (the old road between Edo and Kyoto), who become entangled in comic and mostly unsuccessful intrigues with women they meet on the way.¹⁶¹ However, as Japan modernized in the Meiji period (1868-1912), the term *gesaku* fell largely into disrepute as denoting frivolous writing at a time when modern Japanese novelists sought to achieve the psychological depth of Western literature in their own texts.¹⁶²

1.1.2. Writing the changes of modernization

As Japan modernized and Westernized, besides political and economic changes, she moved radically away from the Chinese heritage which had hitherto dominated her culture, education system and literature, and the country turned to the West for new impulses to drive forward modernization. The modern university system was introduced in 1877, with the founding of Imperial University in Tokyo, which later became known as Tokyo Imperial

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Becker, H.J. 1983. *Die Frühe Nietzsche-Rezeption in Japan (1893-1903)*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, p. 2.

¹⁵⁹ Karatani, K. 1993. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, p. 21.

¹⁶⁰ Suzuki, T. 1996. *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 17.

¹⁶¹ Keene, D. 1999. *World within Walls: A History of Japanese Literature. Vol. 2*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 412.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 397.

University, and, finally, Tokyo University in the post-1947 era. The new university served as a prototype for the Japanese university system with four faculties: Law, Medicine, Science and Humanities. The faculties demonstrate the Western segregation of nature and culture that was adopted into the Japanese knowledge system at that time. Below I map out how early affinities with Bismarck's Prussian state helped promote the introduction of German literature to Japan, and I discuss, using *Wilhelm Tell* as an example, the transcultural challenges translators had to overcome to make European literature intelligible to readers in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community, and thus lay the groundwork for the inception of the process of Hesse's literary reception in Japan in 1909 across linguistic boundaries.

Crucially, for the Japanese intellectual, the import and the translation of European literature and philosophy meant that Western thought, mentality and ways of life came increasingly to be seen as the norm, better than Japanese tradition, and something rather more than just 'exotic'.¹⁶³ The actual groundwork for the transcultural transmission of knowledge and ideas was done on a number of study tours to both America and Europe in which Japanese elites participated. Based on their overseas experiences, these elites adopted the slogan *Fukoku kyōhei* (Enrich the state, strengthen the military) as an expression of their desire to catch up with and, importantly, evade the control by the Western nations that they had seen occur in a weak China. One of the most important tours undertaken was Tomomi Iwakura's two-year mission (December 1871-July 1873), with a delegation of some fifty senior statesmen and students, to twelve countries to learn about Western technology and political, economic and scientific institutions in Europe and America. In fact, the participants of the tour were most impressed by Otto von Bismarck's Prussia, especially from the perspective of what they could learn about the creation of the modern German state from a plethora of principalities, and this aspect of Prussian state-craft served Japan as a model for the formation of her own modern state from the diverse feudal domains as she became a new constitutional monarchy, with authority divided between the Meiji emperor and the legislature, and an emphasis on military power over civil authority.¹⁶⁴ In particular, Prussia's victory over France in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) left a lasting impression on the Iwakura mission, and Bismarck's European strategies inspired Japan's own subsequent efforts to overturn China as the major East Asian regional power and encouraged her to snuff out Russian aspirations in the region in a series of short campaigns with punitive peace treaties.¹⁶⁵ Prussian influence

¹⁶³ Takahashi, T. 1993. Übersetzungstypen und ihr kulturelles Interferenzverhältnis in der Geschichte der japanischen Übersetzungen deutscher Literatur. In: Frank, A.P., Maaß, K.J., Paul, F. & Turk, H. eds. *Übersetzungen, verstehen, Brücken bauen. Geisteswissenschaftliches und literarisches Übersetzen im internationalen Kulturaustausch. Band 8, Teil 2*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, p. 624.

¹⁶⁴ Paine, S.C.M. 2017. *The Japanese Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 6.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

also guided the work upon constitutional issues carried out by the secretary of the Council of State and the government's main strategist Kowashi Inoue, while two German experts Lorenz von Stein and Hermann Roesler directly aided Hirofumi Ito's (1841-1909) drafting of the Meiji constitution (handed down to the people in 1889) after Ito's grand tour to Europe in 1882, and Prussian major Klemens W.J. Meckel helped to shape and modernize officer training at the military academy from 1885 until 1888.¹⁶⁶ While the number of German residents in Japan between 1876 and 1910 never exceeded that of the British and American residents in absolute terms, the formation of the *Doitsu Gaku Kyōkai* (The Association of German Studies) by Meiji era oligarchs in 1881 clearly demonstrates the cultural interest that Japanese elites held for Germany.¹⁶⁷ This interest is underlined by the number of Japanese students who were dispatched overseas by the Japanese Education Ministry between 1876 and 1914, which shows a clear preference for Germany (634 compared with 330 sent to Britain and 257 to the US).¹⁶⁸ Moreover, Japanese linguist Kazutoshi Ueda returned from Germany in 1895 bringing back with him new ideas for the creation of a standardized national language (*kokugo*) which were based on the work of the *Deutscher Sprachverein* (formed in 1885), which became government policy in 1900, and helped to fuel the *genbun-itchi* movement, which promoted the unification of spoken and written language in a national, standardized vernacular language, which also was established as the norm in Japanese literature.¹⁶⁹ Overall the ideas imported from Germany, and the local policies they helped to generate in the Meiji era as Japan built a modern state, raised interest in translating and thus facilitating the reception of German-language literature in Japan. However, before the works of a writer such as Hermann Hesse could successfully be translated, a number of significant cultural and linguistic challenges had to be overcome by Japanese translators.

Western names were an initial problem for Japanese translators and cultural mediators. For example, the name 'Goethe' was first translated as 'Güte' by Masanao Nakamura (1832-1891) in his translation of John Stuart Mills' *On Liberty* in 1871 (*Jiyu no kotowari*), using the katakana syllabary that renders foreign names in Japanese.¹⁷⁰ As the Japanese language does not have a sound which corresponds to the German umlaut 'oe', some forty different variants of writing 'Goethe' were tried until the use of 'Gēte' (ゲーテ) became

¹⁶⁶ Takenaka, T. 2016. The Myth of "Familiar Germany": German-Japanese Relationships in the Meiji Period Reexamined. In: Cho, J.M., Roberts, L.M. & Spang, C.W. eds. *Transnational Encounters between Germany and Japan*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 19-34. Here: pp. 22-23.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, p. 23. There were 200 German residents in Japan in 1876 and 780 in 1910 compared with 1,000 and 2,500 British residents.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁶⁹ Suzuki, T. 1996. *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 44-45.

¹⁷⁰ Japanese is written using the *hiragana* and *katakana* syllabaries, *kanji* (ideographs) and Latin script (*romaji*).

standardised.¹⁷¹ Since the cultural gulf between Europe and Japan was still immense, titles of literary works could not be rendered into Japanese solely by using the name of the hero as the Japanese reader lacked the necessary cultural knowledge about the text and its background. For instance, the opening scene of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (1804) was translated into Japanese by Tetsutaro Saito in 1880 as *Suittsuru dokuriu jiyu no yumizuru*, which translated back into German means 'Bogensehne der schweizerischen Unabhängigkeit und Freiheit' ('Bowstring of Swiss Independence and Freedom').¹⁷² The Japanese title therefore explains the theme of story to the potential Japanese reader. Two years later, in 1882, in a partial translation of the text, the name of the hero could be included in the title, but again with explanatory additions: *Teru jiyu monogatri. Ichimei jiyu no sakigake*, which means 'Tells Freiheitsgeschichte oder Führer der Freiheit' ('Tell's Freedom Story. Leader of Freedom.').¹⁷³ In 1890, the opening scene was re-translated this time as *Wiruherumu Teru jiyu no hitoya* or 'Ein Freiheitspfeil von Wilhelm Tell' ('A Freedom Arrow from William Tell') before, in 1903, a Japanese translation by Koji Tokuda was published simply under the same title as Schiller's original: *Wiruherumu Teru*.¹⁷⁴ As knowledge of the story spread and its popularity increased the story was translated in its entirety in 1905 by Shiho Sato under the title *Wiruherumu Teru*. However, this time the story was localized and set in Japan. The names of the protagonists were also rendered as Japanese names and 'Ruodi' became 'Roji', 'Kuoni' 'Koji' and 'Tell' 'Teizo'. The apple was replaced by the Japanese kaki fruit (persimmon).¹⁷⁵ This need for explanation and annotation in the title of a translation for such a well-known story from European folklore until it also became established in Japanese culture seems distant from the perspective of modern Japanese literature which dips into and draws upon Western cultural references that have long become established in Japanese culture.

1.1.3. Writing in the modern post-war era

In the post-war era (from 1945), modern Japanese literature reflects the absorption of European tradition. Whereas in the Meiji era, the texts of an author such as Mori Ogai (1862-1922), who resided in Germany from 1884 until 1888, were still steeped in the traditional components of Japanese culture and literature, the texts of a modern-era author such as Haruki Murakami draw heavily on tropes, images and cultural references from

¹⁷¹ Takahashi, T. 1993. Übersetzungstypen und ihr kulturelles Interferenzverhältnis in der Geschichte der japanischen Übersetzungen deutscher Literatur. In: Frank, A.P., Maaß, K.J., Paul, F. & Turk, H. eds. *Übersetzungen, verstehen, Brücken bauen. Geisteswissenschaftliches und literarisches Übersetzen im internationalen Kulturaustausch*. Band 8, Teil 2. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, p. 627.

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 627.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 628.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

Western classical music, literature and pop culture. Murakami's first novel, *Norwegian Wood*, which references the John Lennon song of the same name, is a case in point. In *Norwegian Wood*, Murakami references no less than twenty-three Western writers, including Shakespeare, Racine, Ionesco, Fitzgerald, Dante and Dostoyevsky, but only three Japanese writers: the novelist Kazumi Takahashi (1931-1971), the Nobel Prize laureate Kenzaburō Ōe (1931-), and avant-garde author Yukio Mishima (1925-1970).¹⁷⁶ We learn in the novel that Murakami, like many other Japanese people, has read Hesse's second novel (*Unterm Rad*) at secondary school. The first-person narrator of *Norwegian Wood* spends a night downstairs in a small bookshop re-reading Hesse's *Beneath the Wheel* (*Unterm Rad*) while his girlfriend sleeps upstairs. 'I picked a discolored copy of Hermann Hesse's *Beneath the Wheel* that must have been hanging around the shop unsold for a long time, and left the money for it by the cash register. (...) I had first read the novel the year I entered middle school. (...) The book did have its dated moments, but as a novel it wasn't bad. I moved through it slowly, enjoying it line for line, in the hushed bookstore in the middle of the night.'¹⁷⁷ This passage from Murakami demonstrates that Hesse's *Unterm Rad* has long been established in Japanese culture as a literary work that many Japanese students will have read and will remember having read during their school years, and Murakami's reference novel may awaken the reader's own personal associations with the novel. Murakami does not need to couch his reference to the novel in cultural annotations; it is assumed and taken for granted that the Japanese reader is acquainted with both the novel and the writer.

Now, turning to the East Asian region, comprising China, Taiwan, Korea and Japan, Hesse was first translated in Japan by Shosho Chino (1883-1946) in 1909 as Japan was earnestly unfolding its imperial ambitions. Chino was a young scholar of German, and later professor for German literature at Keio Gijuku University, and a Rilke and Goethe specialist. He translated the second part of *Knulp* for the first edition of the literary magazine *Subaru*, which was published between 1909 and 1913, with a focus on Romantic and anti-nationalistic themes.¹⁷⁸ Hesse's work was not published again in translation in Japan until 1925, when Mitsuya Mitsui's rendering of *Siddhartha* into Japanese was issued by the Shinchosha publishing house in Tokyo. From 1930, until shortly before the end of war, all of Hesse's then major works and much of his poetry was translated into Japanese. Elsewhere in the East Asian region, which up to 1945 came under stricter imperial Japanese cultural domination tied to the war effort, Hesse's work was translated in fits and starts. *Siddhartha*, a work of Eastern philosophy and religion, which fascinated readers and critics alike in

¹⁷⁶ Oguro, Y. 2003. Die Brechungen der modernen japanischen Literatur. Thomas Mann bei Yukio Mishima, Kunio Tsuji und Haruki Murakami. *Neue Beiträge Zur Germanistik*. 2(4), pp. 107-121. Here: p. 120.

¹⁷⁷ Murakami, H. 2000. *Norwegian Wood*. New York: Vintage, p. 232.

¹⁷⁸ Maeda, R. *Mythen, Medien, Mediokritäten*. 2010. München: Wilhelm Fink, p. 269

Japan, for example, was partially translated into Korean in 1926, but not fully until 1959. Likewise, the first Chinese translation of *Siddhartha* was published much later in Taiwan in 1968.¹⁷⁹ Japan's continuing lead role post-war in the East Asian reception of Hesse's works can be demonstrated by examining the number of licenses issued by Suhrkamp Verlag in Germany for translations of Hesse's works into other languages up to the year 2000. For translations into Japanese, a total of two hundred and twenty three licenses were issued. The second largest number of licenses was granted for the Korean language (132). In contrast, only fifty licenses were issued for translations into English, less than a quarter of the figure for Japan.¹⁸⁰ In the next section, I discuss how Japan's rapid modernization, its imperial ambitions, and the associated cultural policies, affected the process of the reception of Hesse's literary texts in the East Asian region, and the consequences for how Hesse researchers understand Hesse's East Asian reception.

1.2. Tokyo: Imperial Gateway for Receptions of Western Literature in East Asia (1895-1945)

Japan became a beacon for East Asian modernity following its victories over China in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and over the European power Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). During the imperial period, hundreds of thousands of colonialized elites in Korea and Taiwan, together with their counterparts in semi-colonialized China, travelled to Japan to study in the Japanese education system.¹⁸¹ Japan offered a localized version of Western knowledge in her universities and colleges in the fields of engineering, fishery management, law, politics, medicine, military science, science and technology.¹⁸² Students from Japan's colonies and semi-colonies not only had Japanese literature at their fingertips, but also the Japanese translations of Western literature. For instance, Japanese writer Ryūnosuke Akutagawa describes visiting a Tokyo bookshop in his 1927 collection of short stories *A Fool's Life*: 'Twenty years old, he climbed a European-style ladder leaning against the bookshelves, looking for new books. Maupassant, Baudelaire, Strindberg, Ibsen, Shaw, Tolstoy (...) More than books, *fin de siècle* itself was arrayed there. Nietzsche, Verlaine, the brothers Goncourt, Hauptmann, Flaubert (...)'.¹⁸³ On the other hand, in the colonies, Japanese publishers also found a ready market for off-loading unsold *enpon* (one-yen books), which helped to disseminate Western literature in Japanese translation throughout

¹⁷⁹ By way of comparison, the first English language translation of *Siddhartha*, by Hilda Rosner, was published in New York in 1951, over twenty-five years later than the first Japanese-language rendition.

¹⁸⁰ Ulrich, C. *Hermann Hesse HHP. Gunther H. Gottschalk: Verzeichnis aller vom Suhrkamp Verlag lizenzierten Hesse-Übersetzungen. Nach Titel und Sprache*. [Online]. [Accessed 31 December 2014]. Available from: <http://www.gss.ucsb.edu/projects/hesse/publications/uebersetzungen-titel.pdf>.

¹⁸¹ Casanova, P. 2004. *The World Republic of Letters*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 16.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁸³ Akutagawa, R. 2007. *A Fool's Life*. Lewes: Allardyce Book, p. 5.

the empire.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, in 1942, some 1,500 writers from around East Asia gathered in Tokyo at the Imperial Hotel for the first Greater East Asia Writers' Conference (*Dai Tōa Bungakusha Taikai*), which was attended by writers, editors and critics.¹⁸⁵ This and subsequent conferences in Tokyo (1943) and in Nanjing in China (1944) mark a high point in Japan's cultural authority over her East Asian empire, but the conferences also represent the culmination of decades of intra-regional literary dialogue between writers and academics in Japan, Korea, China (including occupied Manchuria) and Taiwan, smoothed across the region by the textual dissemination of Japanese literature and the translated Japanese texts of Western writers. A further indication of the cultural gateway function of the imperial capital is provided by the Chinese writer and revolutionary Xie Bingying (1906-2000) who describes the atmosphere in Tokyo as follows: 'The Tokyo publishing world moved at breakneck speed. Regardless of their fame, books were translated into Japanese within two weeks of their arrival in Tokyo. The books were very cheap. So it's not surprising that so many foreigners – and particularly literary folk – came to Tokyo to study.'¹⁸⁶ Clearly, these 'literary folk' were at the well-spring of both Japanese literature and Japanese translations of Western literature during their sojourns in the imperial capital. Indeed, Tokyo's concentration of publishers, translators and reviewers, driven by profit and consecration, the accumulation of economic and cultural capital, turned the capital city into a cultural gateway and site for the localized reception process of Western literature for domestic consumption and for the 'hinterlands' of the colonized territories during the imperial era.

At the heart of Japan's incursion into East Asian were political, military and economic goals. Moreover, the legacy of her imperial cultural authority extended beyond the imperial period (1895-1945), and its backwash meant that even in the 1970s Korean and Chinese translators were using Japanese source texts for their translations of Hesse's texts. The language policies of the colonial authorities resulted in promoting the reception of Western literature, and thus Hesse's work, through the medium of Japanese language translations. The establishment of German Studies departments in the universities in Korea and China in the post-war era eventually led, however, to the inception of truly localized reception processes for Hesse's works in these countries from the German source language. This development has been compounded by the esteem in which American cultural capital is currently held in the countries of East Asian. Most of the some three hundred and forty universities and colleges in South Korea have American literature courses, similarly the approximately three hundred and twenty universities in Taiwan, a situation which is mirrored at the more than seven hundred and fifty universities in Japan and at the more than 2,400 institutes of higher

¹⁸⁴ Casanova, P. 2004. *The World Republic of Letters*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 19.

¹⁸⁵ Thornber, K.L. 2009. *Empire of Texts in Motion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 113.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

education in China.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, in the spaces formerly colonized and dominated culturally by Japan, translators and cultural mediators are now in direct dialogue with Western texts.

The following discussion of Hesse's reception in the individual East Asian countries is another important aspect in demonstrating how Japanese imperial cultural policies have shaped Hermann Hesse's reception in these countries, even in the decades beyond their liberation from imperial oppression. In fact, the reception of Hesse in these countries cannot be understood without recognizing how Japan was culturally dominant in the region for the first half of the 20th century, and how she served as a cultural gateway for the reception of European literature into East Asia.

1.2.1. Hermann Hesse's reception in East Asia: Korea

First, it should be noted that as a constituent of the eager consumption of Western literature and culture, German literature is well-received and German writers are well-known in Korea.¹⁸⁸ There are academic societies for Goethe, Büchner, Kafka and Hesse, and, according to Korean Germanist Chang Hyun Cho, sixty-six German departments have been established at one hundred and seven universities in Korea since 1947, and sixteen of these departments offer post-graduate masters' and PhD degrees, which means South Korea produces some 2,700 German studies specialists annually.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, Cho adds that 80% of Korean students have heard of Hesse and 50% of students have read Korean translations of his novels.¹⁹⁰ Hesse's most popular work in Korea is the novel *Demian*, which, besides being available in Korea in book and audio forms, is also used as a name for cafes, or even as a trademark in dressmakers' shops (this draws parallels with the appropriation of the title of Hesse's novel *Der Steppenwolf* for the famous American rock band of the same name in the 1960s).¹⁹¹ Cho points out that Hesse's works, particularly works such as *Siddhartha*, are infused with the atmosphere of East Asia, which contributes to their popularity among readers in Korea.¹⁹² Cho makes a valid point as Hesse's interest in Confucianism, Taoism and Lao Tse mirrors the roots of Korea's own philosophical and religious traditions. Indeed,

¹⁸⁷ Estock, S.C. 2014. Introduction to Western Canons in a Changing East Asia. *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* (16)6, pp. 1-7. Here: pp. 5-6.

¹⁸⁸ According to Lee, writing in 1977, for political reasons Hesse is not read or translated in North Korea. Lee, I. 1977. Korea. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 272.

¹⁸⁹ Cho, C. H. 2010. The Asia Reception in Hermann Hesse and Hesse Reception in Asia: Centering on Hesse's work "Siddhartha". *TRANS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*. [Online]. 17 (Sektion 1.12). [Accessed 7 February 2018]. Available from: http://www.inst.at/trans/17Nr/1-12/1-12_cho17.htm

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Hong, S. 1991. Korea. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung. Dritter Band*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 193-203. Here: p. 193.

¹⁹² Cho, C. H. 2010. The Asia Reception in Hermann Hesse and Hesse Reception in Asia: Centering on Hesse's work "Siddhartha". *TRANS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*. [Online]. 17 (Sektion 1.12). [Accessed 7 February 2018]. Available from: http://www.inst.at/trans/17Nr/1-12/1-12_cho17.htm

Korean Germanist Inn-Ung Lee concludes that: ‘Was er [Hesse] gedacht und geschrieben hat, klingt asiatisch und sogar mehr ostasiatisch’.¹⁹³

While the establishment of German Studies departments in Korean universities in the post-war period has gradually nurtured an authentic, vernacular Korean reception of Hesse’s works, the roots of Hesse’s reception in Korea actually lie in Japan’s imperial domination of the Korean peninsula (1910-1945). On 22 August 1910, Korea was transformed into a Japanese colony as the Treaty of Annexation came into force, which was accompanied by a policy to teach the Japanese language in the education system, while at the same time suppressing Korean language publications, newspapers, political organizations and public gatherings,¹⁹⁴ and through attempts to diminish Korean identity by obliging Koreans to use the Japanese language and adopt Japanese names.¹⁹⁵ The policy was formally known as *dōka* (assimilation into Japanese culture) and *kōminka* (conversion into dutiful imperial subjects).¹⁹⁶

Against this imperial background, the initial localization and reception of Hermann Hesse’s literary texts in Korea was fragmentary. There was a partial translation of the novel *Siddhartha* by Konsik Yang in 1926, the poem *Im Nebel* was translated by Hangsok So in 1935, the story *Der Dichter* was translated by Namchol Sin in 1941, and the poem *Weißer Wolke* was translated in 1947 by an unknown translator.¹⁹⁷ The initial impression that Korean readers had of Hermann Hesse and his literary work was that he was first and foremost a poet.¹⁹⁸

Following the liberation of the Korean peninsula in 1945, Korea suffered a period of prolonged turmoil until the Korean War was ended in 1953. In 1948, Hesse’s short novels *Schön ist die Jugend* and *Der Lateinschüler* were translated into Korean¹⁹⁹, and in 1954 a translation of the novel *Roßhalde* was published. This translation was followed by a five-volume selection of Hesse’s works (published by Youngung Chulpansa in Seoul) from 1954 to 1956 as *Hermann Hesse Seonzip*, which included *Schön ist die Jugend*, *Knulp*, *Hermann Lauscher*, *Demian*, *Peter Camenzind* and *Narziss und Goldmund*. The legacy of Japanese colonial cultural and language policies meant that the Korean translators working on this

¹⁹³ Lee, I. 1972. *Ostasiatische Anschauungen im Werk Hermann Hesses*. Ph.D. thesis. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, p. 6.

¹⁹⁴ Paine, S.C.M. 2017. *The Japanese Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 82.

¹⁹⁵ Fukuoka, Y. 2000. *Lives of Young Koreans in Japan*. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, pp. 5-6.

¹⁹⁶ Thornber, K.L. 2009. *Empire of Texts in Motion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 13.

¹⁹⁷ Lee, I. 1977. Korea. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 263-264.

¹⁹⁸ Cho, C. H. 2010. The Asia Reception in Hermann Hesse and Hesse Reception in Asia: Centering on Hesse’s work “Siddhartha”. *TRANS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*. [Online]. 17 (Sektion 1.12). [Accessed 7 February 2018]. Available from: http://www.inst.at/trans/17Nr/1-12/1-12_cho17.htm.

¹⁹⁹ The translator was Namku Han and the translation was published under the title *Hesse e du Danpyon* by Dongzi-sa in Seoul.

collection used Japanese translations as their source materials.²⁰⁰ Similar to the boom in publishing activity in Japan in the 1950s as publishing houses competed in bringing out sets of Hesse's collected works and monographs in Japanese translation, as the country was repairing the damage caused by the Korean War, the number of Korean translations of Hesse's works increased rapidly, often with multiple publications of the same work, using Japanese translations as source materials.

The dependence upon Japanese translations as a source for Korean translations of Hesse's works started to erode during the 1960s, when Korea was ruled over by a military regime, and there was civil unrest on the streets and on the university campuses. However, as the economy stabilized and foreign trade increased, new university departments were opened which taught foreign languages in order to meet the demand in South Korea for people with foreign language skills. Consequently, this policy also produced graduates in German language and literature, who in turn would have the potential to translate Hesse into the Korean language based on their ability to read and comprehend Hesse's works in German. Particularly popular at this time in Korea were Hesse's novels *Peter Camenzind*, *Knulp* and *Demian*.²⁰¹ In 1968, a further five-volume edition of Hesse's collected works was published, but, because the translators understood little German, most of the texts were still translated from Japanese language materials.²⁰² Although the Japanese mediated reception of Hesse's literary works was still extending its influence and was interwoven into the Korean reception process, in the same year, a five-volume edition of Hesse's *Gesammelte Dichtungen* (*Hermann Hesse Zeonzip*) was published by Yemun-kun in Seoul, which contained translations by qualified Germanists.²⁰³

In the 1970s, the reception process of Hesse's literary works in Korea was shaped by Korean translators and cultural mediators as the cultural legacy of Japanese colonialism was shaken off. During this decade, Hesse's reception in Korea was pushed forward by publishers who saw that translations of Hesse's works sold well, and, with the exception of *Morgenlandfahrt*, all Hesse's major works were translated into Korean. Some translators had their translations published by a plurality of companies in the rush to participate in the lucrative reception process. Hesse's novel *Demian*, in the translation by Ki Song Ku, became a best-seller – one of a total of fifteen different translations of *Demian* on the Korean market

²⁰⁰ Lee, I. 1977. Korea. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 264.

²⁰¹ Cho, C. H. 2010. The Asia Reception in Hermann Hesse and Hesse Reception in Asia: Centering on Hesse's work "Siddhartha". *TRANS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*. [Online]. 17 (Sektion 1.12). [Accessed 7 February 2018]. Available from: http://www.inst.at/trans/17Nr/1-12/1-12_cho17.htm.

²⁰² Lee, I. 1977. Korea. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 264.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

at this time.²⁰⁴ As a further testament to Hesse's popularity in the early 1970s in Korea, Inn-Ung Lee notes that the majority of Korea's high-school German textbooks contained Hesse's poem *Im Nebel*, the essay *Wolken*, and the novel *Peter Camenzind* in German as pedagogical material.²⁰⁵ Towards the end of the decade, the anniversary events to commemorate Hesse's hundredth birthday in 1977 gave rise to newspaper and magazine articles about the writer, the literary magazine *Munhak Sasang* published a special edition dedicated to Hermann Hesse, and the Goethe Institut co-organized a Hermann Hesse symposium.²⁰⁶ In other words, an independent, vernacular Korean reception process of Hesse's literary works was fully underway in the 1970s.

By the end of the twentieth century, the market had been saturated by vernacular translations, and a popular novel such as *Demian* was available to Korean readers in up to thirty different translations; likewise *Narziß und Goldmund*, which was published in up to nineteen different translations.²⁰⁷ Also, interest in Hesse's poetry led to the publication of eight different translations of his selected poems, while collections of his essays were published eleven times in different translations, and four cartoon-book adaptations of his works have appeared, designed for Korean children to read.²⁰⁸

The discussion above clearly shows that the Korean reception process of Hesse's literary works evolved out of a period of Japanese cultural dominance, the influence of which extended well into the 1960s and 1970s. As a result of cultural policies implemented by the colonial authorities, Hesse's reception in Korea took place by proxy via the translations of Japanese translators, published by Japanese companies. Indeed, not until the 1970s were Korean translators able to translate from European languages (translation from Japanese was also easier because it is a language similar in structure and grammar to Korean) and work with the original, more difficult German source texts, and shape an independent, vernacular reception process. The key mediation role Japan played in her colonies is noted by Korean revolutionary writer Im Hwa as follows:

A detailed study of Japanese literature, or Meiji and Taishō literary history, is even more important than a direct study of Western literature. This is because our new literature received Western literature through Japanese literature. Moreover,

²⁰⁴ Cho, C. H. 2010. The Asia Reception in Hermann Hesse and Hesse Reception in Asia: Centering on Hesse's work "Siddhartha". *TRANS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*. [Online]. 17 (Sektion 1.12). [Accessed 7 February 2018]. Available from: http://www.inst.at/trans/17Nr/1-12/1-12_cho17.htm.

²⁰⁵ Lee, I. 1972. *Ostasiatische Anschauungen im Werk Hermann Hesses*. Ph.D. thesis. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, pp. 5-6.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁰⁷ Cho, C. H. 2010. The Asia Reception in Hermann Hesse and Hesse Reception in Asia: Centering on Hesse's work "Siddhartha". *TRANS. Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*. [Online]. 17 (Sektion 1.12). [Accessed 7 February 2018]. Available from: http://www.inst.at/trans/17Nr/1-12/1-12_cho17.htm.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

Japanese literature did not so much transfer itself to Korean literature as it gave Western literature to Korean literature. It did so via translations, creation, and criticism.²⁰⁹

1.2.2. Hermann Hesse's reception in East Asia: China

Unlike the cultural and language colonization policies that were brought to bear in Korea, and also Taiwan, in mainland China Japan pursued largely economic and military goals. The exception was the Japanese-supported state of Manchuria in north-east China, upon which colonial authorities also imposed a Japanese way of life (*Shinto* as the national religion and the Japanese language as the *lingua franca* to be learnt by the different ethnic groups).²¹⁰ Solely this part of the Chinese mainland was dominated culturally by Japan.

In his book *Hermann Hesse und China*, Adrian Hsia is interested in righting what he terms the *Vernachlässigung* of Hesse's relationship with Chinese literature and philosophy, and thus Hesse's reception of China. Yet while Hesse was interested in the Chinese classics, he did not maintain any significant dialogue with Chinese intellectuals, writers or readers during his lifetime. Hsia concedes that prior to 1945 solely Hesse's story *Schön ist die Jugend* was translated into Chinese (1936), and that there was little interest in German literature in China at that time.²¹¹ Hesse's attitude towards China is exemplified by a letter Hesse wrote in August 1954 to En-lin Yang, who had studied in East Berlin and had asked Hesse for permission to translate his works into Chinese. Hesse responds:

Wie ich erfahre, sind in China die großen chinesischen Klassiker, die ich über alles verehere, heute verboten: Kung Fut Tao, Lao Tse, Dschuang Tse etc. Ich kann diese Nachricht nicht nachprüfen. Aber ich möchte in einem Lande, das seine edelsten Geister nicht mehr erträgt und nicht mehr dulden will, lieber zu den Verbotenen als zu den Geduldeten gehören.²¹²

Hsia terms Hesse's reaction *fehlgeleitet*, and a result of the propaganda of Cold War press campaigns.²¹³ Arguably, Hsia may have a point. However, the most important thing that any Hesse researcher must note is that Hesse's links with China were imaginary, and although highly appreciative,²¹⁴ were never realised in the form of a concrete transcultural dialogue or mutual exchange of haptic gifts and cultural artefacts. A further key point that must be noted

²⁰⁹ Thornber, K.L. 2009. *Empire of Texts in Motion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 113.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²¹¹ Hsia, Adrian. 1977. Der chinesische Sprachraum. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 234-260. Here: p. 234.

²¹² Hesse, H. 1974. *Hermann Hesse: Ausgewählte Briefe*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 426-427.

²¹³ Hsia, A. 2002. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 10.

²¹⁴ Indeed, Hesse writing in the left-liberal journal *März* in 1911 states the following: 'Ostasien hat, zwischen Buddha und Christus, eine nie zur Volksreligion gewordene Philosophie besessen, deren aktive, beständig schöne Ethik der christlichen entschieden näher steht als der indisch-buddhistischen.' *SW17*: 16.

is that a search of the SLA database reveals that Hesse's personal library contained manifold German translations of Chinese philosophy, literature and poetry, but also an equal number of translated Japanese classics and collections of poetry.²¹⁵ Crucially, Hesse's relationship with Japan was both imaginary and appreciative, and concrete. As I demonstrate in Chapter 3, during the 1950s Hesse was deeply involved in a transcultural dialogue with Japan and his Japanese readers, which had a real outcome for his late literary production. Hesse researchers must therefore turn to Japan for answers regarding Hesse's historical literary reception in East Asia. On the other hand, as I discuss below, the process of Hesse's literary reception in China is a recent, ongoing process, which has yet to reach the point of establishing and assimilating Hermann Hesse into Chinese culture.

Not until 1960 were six of Hesse's poems translated and included in an anthology containing the work of forty German poets.²¹⁶ The Cultural Revolution in 1966, targeting particularly bourgeois culture and literature, postponed the reception of 'non-progressive' German literature until after the death of Mao Tse-tung in 1976. According to Hsia, Hesse's stories *Innen und Außen* and *Die Verlobung* were translated into Chinese in 1980.²¹⁷ After this point, Hesse's reception accelerated in the 1980s. *Unterm Rad* was translated in a magazine in 1981, and in book form in 1983; similarly *Peter Camenzind* in 1981 in a magazine and in book form in 1983.²¹⁸ The novel *Gertrud* was also published in translation in 1983, as was *Klingsors letzter Sommer*.²¹⁹ In 1984, Yang Wuneng's translation of *Narziß und Goldmund* was published in Shanghai, the first edition in a volume of 43,000 copies, the second edition in 1998 in a limited run of 4,000 copies.²²⁰ This was followed by translations, for example, of *Roßhalde* (1984), *Ausgewählte Erzählungen* (1985), with translations of *Gertrud* and *Siddhartha*, *Steppenwolf* and *Peter Camenzind* (1986), and *Demian* in 1989.²²¹ Hesse's reception continued in the 1990s with translations of *Siddhartha* (1997) and *Das Glasperlenspiel* (1998),²²² and anthologies of Hesse's works were published in 1993 (*Also sprach Hesse*), in 1997 (*Hesses Prosa: Eine Auswahl*), in 1999 (*Ausgewählte Erzählungen und Schriften Hesses*), and in 2000 (*Lieder des Pilgers: Ausgewählte Gedichte und Prosa*).²²³

²¹⁵ Schweizerisches Literaturarchiv (SLA). *Hesse-Archiv*. [Online]. [Accessed 23 January 2018]. Available from: <http://ead.nb.admin.ch/html/hessed.html>.

²¹⁶ Hsia, A. 1977. Der chinesische Sprachraum. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 235-236. All translated by Qian Chunqi.

²¹⁷ Hsia, Adrian. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002, p. 372.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 371-372.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

²²² *Ibid.*, pp. 371-372.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

An important aspect of the reception of Hesse's literature in China, and German literature in general, is that it has been a political process until recently. From 1953 until 2013, with a break from 1966 to 1976 because of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese journal *Weltliteratur* published Chinese translations of texts by some two-hundred German-language authors. Whereas the focus was on modern East German literature to promote socialist culture before the Cultural Revolution, between 1977 and 1988, authors who highlighted the problems of modern capitalist societies, such as Franz Kafka, Siegfried Lenz, Günter Grass and Max Frisch, were translated for the journal. With the introduction of greater academic freedom from the 1990s, authors such as Hesse, who, according to Chinese Germanist Chen, deals with existential themes and the meaning of life, could then be freely published.²²⁴

Clearly, as a 'non-progressive' writer, a substantive reception of Hesse's works in mainland China was not possible until the 1980s. Therefore, Hesse's literary reception in mainland China is a recent phenomenon in a country where the modern reception of Western literature has been subject to internal national policies regulating cultural production and consumption. Japanese cultural policy applied only to its occupation of Manchuria during the imperial period, when, as in Korea, intellectuals in Manchuria could readily find a cultural gateway to Western literature through Japanese translations. Hesse's actual interest in China was focused on Chinese classics of literature and philosophy.

1.2.3. Hermann Hesse's reception in East Asia: Taiwan

In this final section, I discuss Hermann Hesse's literary reception in Taiwan, the smallest colony, which encapsulates the authority of imperial Japanese cultural power and reinforces the argument that Japan has dominated Hermann Hesse's East Asian reception. The island of Taiwan was Meiji-era Japan's first overseas colony (1895-1945). Besides economic and political control of the island, the colonial authorities also sought to integrate the Taiwanese population into the Japanese cultural sphere by spreading knowledge of the Japanese language and promoting its use. By the late 1930s, the Taiwanese were expected to adopt Japanese names, publish in Japanese, and to revere the Japanese sun goddess Amaterasu, with the result that when the Japanese left the island in 1945 over half the local population had some Japanese language proficiency.²²⁵ In 1898, the Japanese language newspaper *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* (*Taiwan Daily News*), which published poems in a literature section in Chinese by both local and Japanese writers, was established, and many literary journals followed in the 1930s which published work by Taiwanese and Japanese writers in both languages.²²⁶ During the colonial period Japanese literature by writers such as Natsume

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 297.

²²⁵ Thornber, K.L. 2009. *Empire of Texts in Motion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 13.

²²⁶ Ibid., p. 74.

Sōseki, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, and the ‘White Birch Society’²²⁷ was read in Taiwan as well as English, French and Russian writers in Japanese translation.²²⁸ In previous centuries, the East Asian region had seen outflows of literature from a sinocentric hub to Korea and Japan, but during the imperial period the cultural flows were reversed, radiating out from Japan to her colonies and semi-colonies (China, Korea and Taiwan), which was matched by streams of students from the colonies bound for the imperial capital.²²⁹

A localized, vernacular reception process for Hermann Hesse’s was not possible until Taiwan emerged from Japanese cultural authority. The legacy of Japan’s cultural and language domination expressed itself in the reception of Hesse’s literature until the 1970s as translators worked with Japanese (or even English) translations for their translations into Chinese. The only exception was Germanist Hsuan Cheng who was able to translate directly from German into Chinese. Cheng’s translation of *Narziss und Goldmund* was published in 1965,²³⁰ and then *Klein und Wagner* in 1975. In 1946, *Demian* was translated, *Siddhartha* in 1968, and *Demian* again in 1969.²³¹ In the same year, the English-language translation of *Das Glasperlenspiel* by Richard and Clara Winston was published as *The Glass Bead Game (Magister Ludi)* in Taipei. The 1970s saw a boom in Hesse’s popularity as *Ausgewählte Erzählungen (Eine Fußreise im Herbst, Aus Kinderzeiten, Die Verlobung, Der Zyklon and Schön ist die Jugend)* was published in 1972, then five of Hesse’s stories under the title *Lateinschüler* in 1974, and three different translations of *Wanderung* were published in 1972, 1973 and 1974 respectively.²³² *Siddhartha* was translated three times, and *Unterm Rad, Roßhalde, Steppenwolf* and *Knulp*, together with *Augustus*, were all translated twice in the period from 1968 to 1976.

The boom in Hesse’s popularity in the 1970s meant that many Taiwanese high-school and university students became accustomed to reading Hesse in Chinese translation. This post-1945 reception process, however, was still influenced by the reception of Hesse in Japan as Taiwanese translators relied heavily on Japanese translations of Hesse’s works as their source texts.

To conclude this section, I turn to Pascale Casanova who makes very pertinent comments in her book *The World Republic of Letters*, which add to my argument that Hesse’s East Asian

²²⁷ The ‘White Birch Society’ (*Shirakaba-ha*) was a group of alumni from Gakushuin Peer’s School in Tokyo, writers, artists and critics, who published a literary magazine (*Shirakaba – White Birch*) from 1910-1923. The group was particularly interested in disseminating the ideas of Western art and literature in Japan, including Expressionism, Post-Impressionism and the ‘I-novel’.

²²⁸ Thornber, K.L. 2009. *Empire of Texts in Motion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 69.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

²³⁰ Hsia, Adrian. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002, p. 365.

²³¹ Hsia, Adrian. ‘Der chinesische Sprachraum’ in *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung* ed. Martin Pfeifer. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977, p. 254.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 253.

reception flowed through and from Japan. Casanova, whose project is to remove the literary text from isolation and reconfigure it within a relationship to the ‘totality’ of texts, literature and aesthetic debates which provide the actual basis for the text’s originality, proposes a ‘literary world’ in which individual works (and their translations) are ‘a minute part of the immense “combination” constituted by the literary world as a whole’.²³³ Within this literary space, Casanova argues that ‘rival languages compete for dominance’.²³⁴ As demonstrated above, in the East Asian region of this ‘literary world’, the Japanese language enjoyed a period of dominance that fundamentally influenced the process of Hesse’s literary reception in East Asia. As a concrete outcome, Hesse researchers must now look to *Japan* (rather than China, as Adrian Hsia would have us do) to understand the roots of Hesse’s reception in the literary field of East Asia. For overseas students from the Japanese Empire, a newly modernized Japan provided a localized, East Asian cultural gateway to Western knowledge and Western literature. For instance, in the academic year 1906-1907, over ten thousand Chinese students were studying medicine, English, French and Western literature in Japan.²³⁵ Tokyo was thus a locus or a topographical node where a transcultural literary text could be ‘consecrated’ and legitimised, that is, critically approved and disseminated for wider circulation by publishers, translators, and critics.²³⁶ However, the colonial literary legacies have been eroded in recent decades, as independent local reception processes and historiographies of Hesse’s literary works now unfold in line with shifts in ‘literary’ power relations to former fields of Japanese cultural domination.

II. Hermann Hesse’s Reception in Japan: Translations and Forms of Reception

In this second part of Chapter 1, I review the chronology of Hesse’s unique literary reception in Japan, which has by no means been concluded, in order to demonstrate the depth to which a European writer has been assimilated into the culture of an East Asian country. I discuss some of the affinities that individual Japanese academics and readers have identified with Hesse’s work in the reception process of his literary texts in order to unravel some of the reasons why Hesse has been so well received in Japan. Moreover, I identify and discuss two important translators and transcultural mediators of Hesse’s reception in Japan, Kenji Takahashi and Asao Okada, in order to argue and demonstrate that individual actors are able to exercise and unfold formative personal agency in the transcultural reception process in a linguistic and cultural community. Indeed, because of these two cultural mediators almost every Japanese junior high-school student reads translations of Hesse’s works in their

²³³ Casanova, p. 2004. *The World Republic of Letters*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 3.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²³⁵ Qi, S. 2012. *Western Literature in China and the Translation of a Nation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 52.

²³⁶ For a discussion of place and the ‘consecration’ of a literary work, see: Hibbitt, R. 2017. Bruges as Symbolic Capital. *Forum for Modern Language Studies*. 53(3), pp. 349-359.

classroom textbooks. Finally, I discuss some of the different genres of responses to Hesse's literature in Japan, such as an inter-medial butterfly exhibition which combined Hesse's texts and butterfly specimens, which demonstrate how an idiosyncratic, localized response, based initially on the literary reception process, can lead to new cultural 'products' in the Japanese cultural space.²³⁷

1.3. Hesse's Current Popularity in Brief

That Hermann Hesse's works continue to be appreciated and read in Japan is obvious to the visitor to any sizeable Japanese bookshop. Even today, most bookshops in Japan stock a range of paperback translations of Hesse's work from different publishing houses. Since Hesse was first translated into Japanese in 1909, this means that Hesse's works have been translated, published and read in vernacular Japanese for more than one hundred years. In 2003, a major publishing house, Iwanami-Shoten,²³⁸ which started a literature series based on Reclams Universal Bibliothek in 1927, *Iwanami-Bunko*, surveyed its readers about their favorite books, and they ranked Hesse's *Unterm Rad* 39th; higher than any other foreign-language literary text.²³⁹ In 2004, a bestseller list issued by the publishing house Shinchosha for its own *Shincho-Bunko* series,²⁴⁰ ranked Hesse's second novel *Unterm Rad* 14th and then 15th in the following year.²⁴¹ Both of these *bunko* series²⁴² have helped to popularize foreign literature translated into vernacular Japanese as mass-produced paperbacks. The founder of Iwanami-Shoten, Shigeo Iwanami, read foreign literature in English and German at Upper School and Tokyo Imperial University, where he became acquainted with Reclams Universal Bibliothek.²⁴³ In addition to translations of Hesse's works, the catalogue of German authors published in the *Iwanami-Bunko* series was expanded from 1927 to 1945 in order to include

²³⁷ Other forms of Hesse's non-literary reception are found in Japan. For example, an exhibition of Hesse's watercolours in Tokyo drew more than 23,000 visitors in 1996, and reproductions of his watercolours have been printed on Japanese telephone cards. See: Hesse, H. 1997. *Hermann Hesse: Farbe ist Leben*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel, pp. 35-37. These exhibitions at eight different venues in Japan commenced under the title 'Hermann Hesse als Maler' in Sapporo and Kamakura in 1995, and reached Tokyo, Osaka, Mizunami, Okayama, Kasama and Kawaguchi in 1996. *Ibid.*, p. 173. The corresponding Japanese translation of this anthology is Hesse, H. 1998. ヘルマン・ヘッセの水彩画 (*Hermann Hesse no suisaiga - Hermann Hesse's Watercolours*). Ishikawa: Honjobijutsuinsatsu.

Hesse's watercolours had previously been exhibited in Japan in 1976 in Tokyo and other Japanese cities. Hesse, H. 1997. *Hermann Hesse: Farbe ist Leben*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel, p. 172.

In 1998, a further exhibition of Hesse's watercolours was organized, just two years after the 1995-6 exhibitions.

²³⁸ The publishing company was established in Tokyo in 1913 by Shigeo Iwanami (1881-1946). Iwanami graduated from the Department of Philosophy of the Imperial University of Tokyo in 1908.

²³⁹ Matsushima, W. 2009. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan – Taschenbücher, Kenji Takahashi und Lehrbücher.

Studies in arts and & letters: literature, history, geography. Meiji University. (30), pp. 101-108. Here: p. 102.

²⁴⁰ Shinchosha was established in 1896 and started publishing its Shincho-Bunko series in 1914, which it modeled on Reclam-Verlags Universal Bibliothek (itself launched on 10 November 1867).

²⁴¹ Matsushima, W. 2009. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan – Taschenbücher, Kenji Takahashi und Lehrbücher. *Studies in arts and & letters: literature, history, geography*. Meiji University. (30), pp. 101-108. Here: p. 102.

²⁴² In Japanese *bunko* means both 'library' and 'bookshop', but in this context it has also come to mean a paperback, pocket-sized book, or a series of such paperback books.

²⁴³ Mathias, R. 1990. Reclams Universal Bibliothek und die japanische Reihe Iwanami-bunko – Einflüsse auf das japanische Deutschlandbild in der Zwischenkriegszeit. In: Kreiner, J. & Mathias, R. eds. *Deutschland-Japan in der Zwischenkriegszeit*. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, pp. 361-384.

Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Friedrich Schiller, Heinrich von Kleist, Christian Friedrich Hebbel, Theodor Storm, Gottfried Keller, Gerhart Hauptmann, Arthur Schnitzler and Thomas Mann.

Hermann Hesse's reception in Japan was promoted by the competition between different Japanese publishing houses to issue his collected works, which represents a canonization of Hesse in Japan as an important and popular European author and generates symbolic capital. First, Mikasa-Shobo (Tokyo) brought out a nineteen-volume edition of Hesse's *Gesammelte Werke* from 1939 until 1943 (included all Hesse's major works up to *Die Morgenlandfahrt*), then Jinbun-Shoin (Kyoto) an eighteen-volume edition of *Gesammelte Schriften* from 1949 to 1955, followed by Shinchosha's (Tokyo) fourteen-volume edition of *Gesammelte Werke* between 1957 and 1958, which included for the first time a Japanese translation of *Das Glasperlenspiel* (all translations by Kenji Takahashi). Mikasa-Shobo published a further seventeen-volume edition of *Gesammelte Werke* between 1957 and 1959, and Shinchosha a revised ten-volume edition of *Gesammelte Werke* from 1982 until 1983 (all translations by Kenji Takahashi). Most recently Rinsen-Shoten (Kyoto) commissioned a sixteen-volume edition of *Gesammelte Werke* (2005-2007), followed up by an eight-volume collection of Hesse's works (2009-2011), which is based on Suhrkamp's twenty-volume *Sämtliche Werke* (plus *Registerband*), edited by Volker Michels and published from 2001 to 2007 in Germany.

A third metric indicator of Hesse's popularity in Japan is the number of licenses that Suhrkamp Verlag, Hesse's German publisher, officially issued for translations into Japanese up to 2000: a total of two hundred and twenty three licenses.²⁴⁴ The second largest number of licenses was granted for Korean (132), followed by Italian (110). In contrast, only fifty licenses were issued by Suhrkamp Verlag for translations into English, less than a quarter of the figure for Japan. The large number of licenses granted by Suhrkamp for both Japanese and Korean can be read as an indicator for the interest that exists in East Asia in Hesse's literary works.

1.3.1. Reception of German literature in Japan under the aspect of *kyōyōshugi*

Before identifying the chronological phases in Hermann Hesse's Japanese reception, I discuss an underlying intellectual current in Japan which is tied to the reception of German culture and German literature. The term *kyōyōshugi* is linked to a generation of intellectuals who rose to prominence in German Studies a few decades after the modern period of Westernization commenced with the Meiji Restoration (1868), many of whom were responsible for translating Hesse's texts into Japanese and for mediating Hesse's works in

²⁴⁴ Ulrich, C. *Hermann Hesse HHP. Gunther H. Gottschalk: Verzeichnis aller vom Suhrkamp Verlag lizenzierten Hesse-Übersetzungen. Nach Titel und Sprache.* [Online]. [Accessed 31 December 2014]. Available from: <http://www.gss.ucsb.edu/projects/hesse/publications/uebersetzungen-titel.pdf>.

Japan through monographs on his life and literary *oeuvre*, and who embodied this intellectual trend and strove and competed for symbolic and cultural capital as stakeholders in the literary field.

Prior to the Meiji Period (1868-1912), influenced by Buddhism and a feudal political system, education was based on learning Chinese as a reading language, Chinese history and Chinese literature.²⁴⁵ Students attained these goals by transposing and translating the Chinese classics into the Japanese word order, an approach to learning a foreign language that created a mould for the later study of foreign languages in Japan, especially in the case of German, a language with a positional high level of symbolic capital at that time.²⁴⁶ During the Meiji period, use of the word *kyōyō* was synonymous with the English word ‘education’; later in the Taisho period (1912-1926), its meaning evolved to become synonymous with the German word *Bildung*,²⁴⁷ and it became associated with adjectives and concepts such as ‘humanistic’ and ‘idealistic’ among intellectual elites as they became acquainted with Western languages and culture.²⁴⁸ Upper School students (eighteen to twenty year-olds) at this time could choose between English, French or German as a foreign language. If German was chosen, these privileged elites, on a trajectory to graduate as civil servants from the imperial universities, learned German intensively, and were expected to master it as a reading language in these preparatory Upper Schools.²⁴⁹ After one semester of grammar, the students started to read and translate highly challenging texts, while phonetic language practice served only for the purpose of text memorization and recital exercises.²⁵⁰ Upper School students in humanities or in technical streams, who had chosen German as their first foreign language, had between eleven and nine fifty-minute lesson units per week, and after three years they entered the imperial universities, such as Tokyo Imperial University (Japan’s first university, founded in 1877), which, from 1893, had a department of German literature.²⁵¹ Head of this department, and father of Japanese Studies in Germany, Karl

²⁴⁵ Yonei, I. 2005. Deutsch in Japan – Fossil, oder eine lebendige Sprache? *Doitsu Bungaku: Neue Beiträge zur Germanistik*. **121**, pp. 73-82. Here: p. 75.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76. Following Bourdieu, *positional* means that the properties assigned to a cultural good have no intrinsic value, but rather that the properties are *positional* in that they are held by relative importance of agents in a dynamic cultural or literary field. For example, since 1945, the literary capital of English language texts has risen in the international literary markets. Bourdieu, P. 1985. *The Market of Symbolic Goods*. Trans. Swyer, R. *Poetics*. (**14**), pp. 13-44. Here: p. 14.

²⁴⁷ In Germany, in the 18th century *Bildung* represented new aesthetic and moral standards and ideals, during the 19th century, with the onset of industrialization, *Bildung* came to represent the preservation of humanist ideals, yielding territory in the modern period to *Ausbildung* (training, skills and expertise), the original sense of the word being carried solely in the term *Bildungsbürgertum* – the part of the bourgeoisie interested in accumulating and the use of cultural capital. Bleicher, J. 2005. *Bildung. Theory, Culture & Society*. **23**, pp. 364-365.

²⁴⁸ Oguro, Y. 2004. Thomas Mann in Japan – Rezeption und Neuere Forschung. *Neue Beiträge zur Germanistik*. **3**(4), pp. 143-152. Here: pp. 143-144.

²⁴⁹ Hesse’s ‘Japanese’ cousin Wilhelm Gundert taught German in the Upper Schools in Tokyo, Kumamoto and Mito (see Chapter 2).

²⁵⁰ Yonei, I. 2005. Deutsch in Japan – Fossil, oder eine lebendige Sprache? *Doitsu Bungaku: Neue Beiträge zur Germanistik*. **121**, pp. 73-82. Here: p. 77.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

Florenz (1865-1939),²⁵² and his Japanese successor Seiji Ueda, preferred to work with complex literary and philosophical texts in order to foster and develop students' reading and translation abilities.²⁵³

In the Taisho period (1912-1926), and at the beginning of the Showa period (December 1926-1989), Japan underwent an era of rapid capitalistic development, which saw the rise of the middle-class. The so-called 'Taisho democracy' saw a move toward the equality of men and women, the extension of voting rights to all, greater press freedom, improved rights of assembly and the introduction of the right for workers to strike. Japanese Germanist Iwao Yonei writes that 'Wer nicht Kant, Schopenhauer, Marx oder Engels gelesen hatte, und mit den daraus erworbenen Kenntnissen auf Japanisch diskutieren konnte, galt als ungebildet.'²⁵⁴ This *Zeitgeist* was fostered by Shigeo Iwanami (1881-1946), who, in 1927, founded the *Iwanami-bunko* library of world literature based on the model of Reclam's Universal Bibliothek, largely on the basis of German literature and philosophy, which led to a conflation of meaning of the term *kyōyō* and *Bildung*.²⁵⁵ However, the Japanese education system was remodeled and 'democratized' along the lines of the American system in 1947, English was made the compulsory foreign language, and the concept of *Bildung* based on German *Geisteswissenschaften* was eroded, particularly as Germanists such as Kinji Kimura at Tokyo Imperial University, Kenji Takahashi and Mayumi Haga had actively promoted the reception of Nazi literature in Japan. The education reforms of 1947 removed the former elitist education structure, and German (as well as other non-English foreign languages) is not taught until students enter university. Because the number of universities has expanded dramatically in post-war Japan, the number of students learning German has increased, coupled with a decline in elite consciousness. Since the 1970s, the meaning of *kyōyō* has become equated with faculties that focus on cultural studies and the liberal arts at universities, in conjunction with changes in the mode of economic production from mass production to IT technologies and innovative electronic products for consumers which require Japanese business people to have better knowledge of a globalized world and its markets.²⁵⁶ Consequently, German is no longer studied primarily as a reading language at university; rather the focus has shifted to regional studies and learning how to communicate

²⁵² Karl Florenz returned from teaching at the Imperial University in Tokyo (later Tokyo University) to accept the *Lehrstuhl für Sprache und Kultur* Japans at the Hamburg Kolonialinstitut (later Hamburg University) in 1914.

²⁵³ Yonei, I. 2005. Deutsch in Japan – Fossil, oder eine lebendige Sprache? *Doitsu Bungaku: Neue Beiträge zur Germanistik*. **121**, pp. 73-82. Here: p. 78.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁵⁵ Oguro, Y. 2004. Thomas Mann in Japan – Rezeption und Neuere Forschung. *Neue Beiträge zur Germanistik*. **3(4)**, pp. 143-152. Here: p. 144.

²⁵⁶ Hasegawa, M. 2013. The meaning of 'Kyoyo' and the paradigm shift in the Japanese educational system. *The Japan Daily Press*. [Online]. 13 May. [Accessed 28 December 2016]. Available from: <http://japandailynews.com/the-meaning-of-kyoyo-and-the-paradigm-shift-in-japanese-educational-system-1328756/>

in functional German, often in preparation for study abroad programmes. Thus the potential for German to function as a *Bildungssprache* as it did before the post-war educational reforms has been removed. As we can see, the development in the etymology of the concept *kyōyō* reflects the changes in the status and function of the German language in Japan and mirrors the overall paradigmatic reception of German literature in Japan; from a Western language and a literature tied closely to elite notions of intellectual refinement through culture and art to a more functional and communicative approach to language learning in tune with the needs of a globalizing world.

In the following section, I approach Hermann Hesse's literary reception in Japan chronologically in three different stages of reception (1909-1945, 1946-1989, 1990-present), from the first translation of Hesse's work up to the present day, and I shall argue that each stage represents a distinctive period of reception corresponding to either wider socio-political change or generational succession among transcultural mediators.

1.4. Historical Stages of Hesse's Japanese Literary Reception

1.4.1. First stage of reception: 1909-1945

Hermann Hesse was first translated into Japanese and published in Japanese translation in 1909. Shosho Chino (1883-1946), a young scholar of German, and later professor for German literature at Keio Gijuku University, also a Rilke and Goethe specialist, translated the second part of Hesse's *Knulp* (published in the *Neue Rundschau* in 1908) for the first edition of the renowned literary magazine *Subaru* under the title *Tomo (Friend)*. *Subaru* was published from 1909 until 1913, with a focus on Romantic and anti-nationalistic themes.²⁵⁷ Hesse's work was first published in book form when Mitsuya Mitsui's (1890-1952) translation of *Siddhartha* was published by Shinchosha in Tokyo in 1925.²⁵⁸

Accessible to readers in Japan for the first time through Mitsui's translation, Hesse's *Siddhartha* drew deep admiration from Japanese critics and academics for the European author's understanding of Eastern philosophy and religion. In 1926, Hesse wrote to his second wife Ruth about the 'ersten Urteile aus Japan über die japanische Ausgabe des Siddhartha' and the 'zum Teil begeisterte Kritiken von dortigen Gelehrten'.²⁵⁹ In July 1927, shortly after his 50th birthday, writing again to his by then ex-wife Ruth Wenger, Hesse

²⁵⁷ Maeda, R. 2010. *Mythen, Medien, Mediokritäten*. München: Wilhelm Fink, p. 269.

²⁵⁸ Mitsui also published secondary literature on German literature and Hesse: *12 Vorlesungen von der Germanistik*, in which he covered Hesse at length in 1926, and *Buddha und Buddhismus in der deutschen Literatur* in 1935. Matsushima, W. 2009. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan – Taschenbücher, Kenji Takahashi and Lehrbücher. *Studies in arts and letters: literature, history, geography*. 30, p. 101-108. Here: p. 103.

²⁵⁹ Hesse, H. 2005. *Hermann Hesse: "Liebes Herz!" Briefwechsel mit seiner zweiten Frau Ruth*. Michels, U. & V. eds. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 526.

comments on a letter from Japan in response to the Japanese translation of *Siddhartha*: ‘Schön war der Brief eines Japaners, der mir im Namen meiner japanischen Leser gratuliert und sagt, ich sei für sie der “vertraulichste”²⁶⁰ europäische Dichter’.²⁶¹ Through research in the DLA, I established that much of Hesse’s knowledge about the reception of *Siddhartha* in Japan came from his correspondence with his ‘Japanese’ cousin, Wilhelm Gundert (see Chapter 2), who translated Japanese newspaper reviews of the novel for Hesse. For example, Takasu Hojiro writing in the newspaper *Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun* on 23 March, 1925, points out that:

Kein Deutscher dürfte je die indische Stimmung so treffend wiedergegeben haben wie er. Das glühende Wahrheitsstreben des Helden und seine tiefen Erfahrungen sind mit romantischer Poesie gezeichnet und es ist, als sei die ganze Not des modernen Menschen in dieser Person verkörpert. Das Schönste ist der Schluss, wo er in Gemeinschaft mit dem alten Fährmann der Stimme des Flusses lauscht, den tiefen Sinn der grossen Natur kostet und zum Leben des ewigen Geistes erwacht. Es ist das ein Kapitel, das geradezu Licht auf den Weg wirft, den die Schaffung einer neuen Kultur gehen muss.²⁶²

Hojiro acknowledges the alienation of the modern Japanese subject under the hectic travails of Westernization and capitalist industrialization in his glowing critique of the novel, in contrast to the peace that emanates from *Siddhartha*’s being in the final chapter of Hesse’s Indian tale. *Siddhartha* leaves his parents’ house and thus the systems of convention and tradition in the typical Brahmin household in order to embark upon a personal search for his true-self. From 1868, Japan embarked, arguably, upon a similar journey of sorts as she turned her back on centuries-old sinocentric certainties and truths, and sought to find her way in the new, Western-oriented world order. However, *Siddhartha*’s spiritual journey to peace and harmony with the cosmos is a very personal one, as he sloughs off all the dogma and scriptures of organized religion. Therefore, it remains unclear as to how these notions and insights presented in the novel could be the forge for the new culture of a newly industrialized East Asian society as Hojiro suggests.

²⁶⁰ Hesse chooses to highlight the word “vertraulichste” through quotation marks, with, I would suggest, demonstrates a degree of irony on Hesse’s part as the word translates literally as ‘most trusted’ or ‘most confidential’ (European writer), or could have the nuances of ‘most familiar’ or ‘most sensitive’. *Siddhartha* was Hesse’s first novel to be translated into Japanese (1925), and at this time in the mid-1920s Hesse was still largely unknown in Japan outside of specialist German Studies groups. Later in the 1950s, Hesse entered into an extensive and intensive transcultural dialogue with his Japanese readers and translators, and this term could be applied in the sense of ‘mutual trust’ I propose in Chapter 3 that must underlie epistolary correspondence if transcultural communication is to be truly successful.

²⁶¹ Hesse, H. 2005. *Hermann Hesse: “Liebes Herz!” Briefwechsel mit seiner zweiten Frau Ruth*. Michels, U. & V. eds. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 563.

²⁶² Gundert, W. 1925. Letter to HH. Handschriften Lesesaal. DLA, Marbach

Gundert also translated for Hesse a review in the national newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun* which comments upon the translation as follows:

Es ist geradezu erstaunlich, wie tief der Dichter in den Geist des Ostens eingetaucht ist und ihn darzustellen gewusst hat. Das Werk dürfte unter den asiatischen Schöpfungen fremder Autoren dasjenige sein, welches am weitesten vorgedrungen ist. Auch die Übersetzung ist vortrefflich.²⁶³

The third text that Gundert translated about the reception of *Siddhartha* in Japan for Hesse is a reflective comment by the Japanese Buddhist scholar Akegarasu (1877-1954):

Beim Lesen empfand ich, dass Hesse die Upanischaden gut gelesen und verdaut und einen wirklichen Geschmack vom Buddhismus haben muss. Und wenn er den Namen Govinda aus den Schriften der Jaina hat, dachte ich, so muss er auch in diesen bewandert sein. Die Grundgedanken seines Buches sind von der Sphäre, die ich bis jetzt gekostet habe, nach meinem Gefühl nicht besonderes weit entfernt. Shinran Shonin [der Gründer der Shin-Sekte, die den Glauben an Amidas Gnade predigt und zu der auch Akegarasu gehört – WG] pflegte zu sagen, sein Glaubensstand sei der des Mönches Ryoshin. Dieser Ryoshin war ursprünglich ein Lernbessener im Kloster Kofukuji in Nara, trat aber eines Weibes wegen aus und lebte mit ihr als Fährmann am Kakogawa.²⁶⁴ An ihn musste ich denken, als ich dieses Buch las.

‘Während wir Davon reden, dass die Aufgabe des Ausgleichs zwischen Osten und Westen den Japanern zufalle, schreibt ein Deutscher so ein Buch da!’ Und es erregte meine Bewunderung, wie dieses Deutschland, das wir seiner Niederlage wegen gering schätzen, in geistiger Hinsicht einen solch merkbaren Ruck vorwärts getan hat.²⁶⁵

Siddhartha was again translated into Japanese by Kohkun Sonoda in 1930. In 1933, *Knulp*, *Der Steppenwolf*, and *Weg nach Innen* were all published in Japanese translation.²⁶⁶ Then from 1935 until 1943, all Hesse’s major works were published in Japanese translation, including new translations of *Der Steppenwolf* (1936) and *Siddhartha* (1941). This first stage of Hesse’s literary reception in Japan was capped by Mikasa-Shobo’s publication of Hesse’s

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Kakogawa is a city of the south of Hyogo Prefecture in West Japan (modern population around 270,000) and home to the *Totasan Kakurin-ji* temple which is considered a national treasure.

²⁶⁵ Gundert, W. 1925. Letter to HH. DLA, Marbach. It should be noted that at this point Hesse had acquired Swiss nationality. Germany, of course, was heading towards a Nazi dictatorship. Arguably this comment demonstrates a moment of transcultural misunderstanding among some intellectuals in Japan.

²⁶⁶ Translated by by Toshio Uemura, Tomio Tezuka & Rokurobe Akiyama, and Mitsuya Mitsui respectively

collected works, which had reached nineteen volumes by 1943. The turmoil of the war years brought the translation process to a temporary halt. Unfortunately, the Nazi-period reception of German literature in Japan, which I discuss below, demonstrates how some Japanese transcultural mediators succumbed to juxtapositions and misinterpretations of Hesse's work of at times a significant magnitude as they pursued careerism and opportunism by assuming important bureaucratic positions in the institutions of an autocratic Japanese government, when the actions of others prove that the option of at least 'inner migration' was available to Germanists in Japan.²⁶⁷

1.4.1.1. Hesse's Nazi-period literary reception in Japan: Transcultural reception gone wrong

As noted above, politically Japan entered a period of autocratic nationalism during the 1930s in which a climate of fear, generated by the assassination of liberals in government and business, discouraged critical thought and opposition.²⁶⁸ Importantly, this also brought about a period of conformity in thinking among Japanese Germanists and idiosyncratic reactions to Hesse's works at a time when Nazi literature was the predominant form of German literature being received in Japan. Japanese Hesse translator Kenji Takahashi provides a particularly good example of how Japanese transcultural mediators sought at this time to conflate aesthetic literature with the new literature encouraged by the Nazis.

From 1935, Japan moved closer to Germany in terms of foreign policy and through cultural exchanges between the nations.²⁶⁹ Japan herself fell under authoritarian one-party state rule and the founding of the *Taisei Yokusankei* (Imperial Rule Assistance Association) in October 1940 marked the end of the freedom of the press, and stricter control of the cultural life of the nation.²⁷⁰ In 1942, in a further measure, the *Nihon Bungaku Hōkukai* (Japan Literary Patriotic Association) was established to replace the *Bungeika Kyōkai* (Literary Writers' Association), which had been set up in 1926, as literature was also harnessed for the war effort.²⁷¹ Nonetheless, Hesse's work was still being translated and published as late as 1943,²⁷² and Japan did not experience any book burning campaigns, nor were libraries 'cleansed'

²⁶⁷ A case in point is Germanist Toshihiko Katayama (1898-1961), who published *Doitsu Kindai Shishū* (*Moderne deutsche Lyrik*) in Tokyo in 1941. The anthology included work by Johannes R. Becher, Bertolt Brecht, [also Hermann Hesse], Erich Kästner, Klabund, Else Lasker-Schüler, Joachim Ringelnatz, Franz Werfel, Stefan Zweig, and thus would not have been publishable in Nazi Germany as these authors were banned in Germany. Katayama proves that at least subtle protest against the official cultural policies was still possible in Japan. Matsushita, T. 1989. *Rezeption der Literatur des Dritten Reichs im Rahmen der kulturspezifischen und kulturpolitischen Bedingungen Japans 1933-1945*. Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, p. 159.

²⁶⁸ Neary, I. 2002. *The State and Politics in Japan*. Cambridge: Polity, pp. 35-36.

²⁶⁹ The Anti-Comintern Pact was signed between Germany and Japan in 1935, the Cultural Agreement in 1938, and the Tripartite Pact between Germany, Japan and Italy in 1940. Matsushita, T. 1989. *Rezeption der Literatur des Dritten Reichs im Rahmen der kulturspezifischen und kulturpolitischen Bedingungen Japans 1933-1945*. Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, p. 47 & p. 51.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²⁷² Mikasa-Shobo's revised edition of the collected works of Hermann Hesse.

of subversive literature.²⁷³ Kenji Takahashi, whose interest in Hesse began before the war (his first translation appeared in 1938, when he translated *Unterm Rad*; translations of *Demian* and *Gertrud* followed in 1939²⁷⁴), and who translated much of Hesse's work after the war, was appointed head of the cultural section of the *Taisei Yokusankei* in 1942, which resulted in closer cooperation with the Information Service of the Cabinet and greater central control of Japanese writers by the state.²⁷⁵ Other Germanists were also appointed to leading positions in the new formed *Nihon Bungaku Hōkukai*. For instance, Shōshō Chino, who translated Hesse first into Japanese in 1909 (*Meine Erinnerung an Knulp*), was appointed head of the department for foreign literature, and Mayumi Haga, who, among other Hesse works, translated *Peter Camenzind* and *Siddhartha* after the war (see Chapter 3), became head of the 'Department for Investigations' (*Chōsashitsu*).²⁷⁶ Germanist Hayao Saneyoshi, who later translated Hesse's novels *Demian* (1959) and *Unterm Rad* (1961), is an example of the conformity among many prominent Germanists at this time. In 1938, Saneyoshi praises, in an afterword to his translation of Thomas Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig*, Mann's aesthetic art, but, on the other hand, roundly criticizes Mann for fleeing Germany to live in exile and for his anti-Nazi position.²⁷⁷

Crucially, in the wake of the Cultural Agreement between Germany and Japan, which was signed in 1938, there was a rapid increase in the number of translations of Third Reich literature as it was seen as the most representative form of German literature.²⁷⁸ Indeed, in 1942, German literature, for the largest part publications by Third Reich authors, was the dominant form of European literature that was being published: out of a total of seven hundred and seventy nine translated works that were published in that year, two hundred and twenty two were works of German literature, followed by one hundred and ninety four works of French literature and eighty-eight works of British literature.²⁷⁹ Until the 1940s, translations from German generally fell into two groups: the classics represented by Goethe, Schiller and Hebbel; and modern authors represented by Rilke, Heinrich Mann, Thomas

²⁷³ Matsushita, T. 1989. *Rezeption der Literatur des Dritten Reichs im Rahmen der kulturspezifischen und kulturpolitischen Bedingungen Japans 1933-1945*. Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, p. 65.

²⁷⁴ Stories, including *Wanderung*, *Die süßen Brote*, *Die beiden Sünder*, *Innen und Außen*, *Aus der Kindheit des heiligen Franz von Assisi* and *In der alten Sonne* were published by the Shinchosha company in Tokyo in 1940, *Eine Bibliothek der Weltliteratur* was translated and published for Mikasa-Shobo in Tokyo in 1941, and in 1942 Takahashi translated *Gedichte* for Shinchosha.

²⁷⁵ Matsushita, T. 1989. *Rezeption der Literatur des Dritten Reichs im Rahmen der kulturspezifischen und kulturepolitischen Bedingungen Japans 1933-1945*. Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, p. 66.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ Oguro, Y. 2004. Thomas Mann in Japan – Rezeption und Neuere Forschung. *Neue Beiträge zur Germanistik*. 3(4), pp. 143-152. Here: p. 145.

²⁷⁸ Matsushita, T. 1989. *Rezeption der Literatur des Dritten Reichs im Rahmen der kulturspezifischen und kulturepolitischen Bedingungen Japans 1933-1945*. Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, p. 116.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Mann, Hermann Hesse, Georg Kaiser, Ernst Toller, Jakob Wassermann, and Stephan Zweig.²⁸⁰

As the reception of Nazi-literature took hold in Japan, particularly from 1940,²⁸¹ some Japanese Germanists blatantly misinterpreted the politics of the new literature and forged erroneous links in their commentaries and essays between the canonical classics and modern authors and the contemporary writing of Nazi authors. For instance, Kenji Takahashi, one of the most important transcultural mediators of German literature in Japan, (Takahashi translated not only Hesse but also Heine, Erich Kästner, Hans Carossa, Goethe and the Brothers Grimm, and his publishing career totaled more than two hundred books, including his own monographs²⁸²) published *Gendai doitsu bungaku (Modern German Literature)* in 1937, and *Gendai doitsu bungaku to haikai (Modern German Literature and its Background)* in 1940, in which he callously placed authors such as Goethe, Schiller and Hesse in the same textual discourse as Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, which he termed 'the work of the century', and Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*.²⁸³ Although not obligated to do so, Takahashi switched to translating and propagating Nazi literature, a position which he developed in his writings during the 1930s. In 1933, writing in the *Tokyo Asahi* newspaper, Takahashi denounces the Jews in an article *Bunka o kobotsu mono (Was die Kultur zerstört)*: 'Es kann sicher nicht geleugnet werden, daß es unter den Juden viele schlechte und hinterlistige gibt', and he continues, referring to his own experiences in Germany, 'Auch ich habe manchmal mit den Nazisozialisten mitgeföhlt, als ich sah, wie die Juden sich breitmachten.'²⁸⁴ As noted, Takahashi's negative position towards the Jews was a personal one and can be contrasted against other Germanists writing at the same time about German literature who demonstrated objectivity in their writing. For example, Germanist Yoshitaka Takahashi, who published *Nachisu no bungaku (Nationalsozialistische Literature)* in 1941 and *Kōsō suru seishin: Doitsu bungaku ronshū (Deutsche Literaturtheorien)* in 1942.²⁸⁵ In the afterword to the first publication, Yoshitaka Takahashi points out that he has discussed

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 116.

²⁸¹ For instance, Nazi author Will Vesper's work was translated into Japanese in 1940 (*Hölderlins Leben in seinen Briefen und Gedichten*), in 1941 (*Eine merkwürdige Geschichte*) and in 1942 (*Das harte Geschlecht*). Ibid., p. 196.

²⁸² Maeda, R. 2010. *Mythen, Medien, Mediokritäten*. München: Wilhelm Fink, p. 274.

²⁸³ Roberts, L. 2010. *Literary Nationalism in German and Japanese Germanistik*. New York: Peter Lang, p.163.

Further publications in which Takahashi pushed for understanding of the Nazis were the translation of Jakob Saar's book *Hitler Jugend* in 1941, and reviews and commentaries on German literature *Doitsu sakkron (Zu deutschen Schriftstellern)* in 1941 and *Bungaku to bunka (Literatur und Kultur)* in 1942. Maeda, R. 2010. *Mythen, Medien, Mediokritäten*. München: Wilhelm Fink, p. 274.

²⁸⁴ Matsushita, T. 1989. *Rezeption der Literatur des Dritten Reichs im Rahmen der kulturspezifischen und kulturepolitischen Bedingungen Japans 1933-1945*. Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, p. 69. On the other hand, despite the complexities of the situation, it should be noted that Takahashi sent the royalties he received from the translation of Erich Kästner's works to the author himself. Kästner's books had been burned by the Nazis. Ibid., p. 106.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 120.

Nazi literature ‘objectively’, within the context of the socio-political and literary changes in Germany and *deutsche Literaturwissenschaft*, concluding that it is the Japanese reader himself who must pass judgement on this new form of political literature.²⁸⁶ On the other hand, as Takeo Matsushita correctly observes, Kenji Takahashi tried to present to the Japanese reader ‘die neue deutsche Literatur mit ihrer Gemeinschaftsidee im ganzen als eine verheißungsvolle Erscheinung’.²⁸⁷

Furthermore, it must be recognised that Takahashi had a personal stake in the transcultural reception of Hesse’s works in Japan. Takahashi visited the *Casa rossa* (Hesse’s new house in Montagnola) in 1931, and in *Doitsu sakkaron* (*Theory of the German Author*), published in 1941, describes Hesse’s book *Aus Indien* as the work ‘closest to the East Asian’s soul’, and he writes that Hesse was the German writer best able to understand the Japanese.²⁸⁸

Takahashi’s intellectual confusion arguably arose from his recollections of his conversations with Hesse in 1931 in which Hesse spoke positively about Emil Strauß as one of Germany’s finest writers of literature, which may have led Takahashi to believe that Hesse condoned Strauß’s later Nazi activities,²⁸⁹ and Takahashi recalls that he talked to Hesse about the loss of German ‘spirit’ (*seishin*) and the influence of countries such as America upon Germany, which may have led Takahashi to wrongly believe that Hesse was in agreement with or at least receptive to the cultural changes taking place in Germany during the Third Reich.²⁹⁰ By 1953, Takahashi was approaching the Nazi period from the viewpoint of the young victims of war.²⁹¹ Takahashi translated Walter and Hans Bähr’s book *Kriegsbriefe Gefallener Studenten 1939-1945*,²⁹² under the title *Doitsu senbotsugakusei no tegami*, and comments:

Sie sind nicht so eingebildet wie die in den Krieg gezogenen Studenten im Ersten Weltkrieg, sondern bescheidener und zeigen viel menschliche Wärme.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 121.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 165. [Takahashi, K. 1941. *Doitsu sakkaron*. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō.]

²⁸⁹ In September 1946, Hesse wrote a letter to Wilhelm Schäfer in which he characterized Strauß as having been ‘seit 1914 ein typischer Deutschnationaler’ and since 1919 ‘Saboteur und Verhöhnner der jungen Republik’, then ‘fanatischer Hitlerjünger’ and ‘von der Partei auf einen Ehrenposten gestellt’, ‘Fanatischer Antisemit war er auch’, and in summary ‘Wir haben längst unter Trauer von ihm Abschied genommen.’ *GB3*: 369.

²⁹⁰ Matsushita, T. 1989. *Rezeption der Literatur des Dritten Reichs im Rahmen der kulturspezifischen und kulturepolitischen Bedingungen Japans 1933-1945*. Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, p. 166.

²⁹¹ After 1945, Takahashi taught in the literature faculty at Chuo University in Tokyo, before becoming professor for German Studies at the same university in 1954. Ryozyo, M. 2010. *Mythen, Medien, Mediokritäten*. München: Wilhelm Fink., p. 273.

²⁹² Bähr, H. and Bähr, W. 1952. *Kriegsbriefe Gefallener Studenten 1939-1945*. Tübingen und Stuttgart: Wunderlich. / Takahashi, K. 1953. *Doitsu senbotsugakusei no tegami*. Tokyo.

Sie waren die wirklichen Opfer des Krieges, weil sie sich dem Kanonenfeuer aussetzen mußten, obwohl sie gegenüber den Zuständen in Deutschland kritisch eingestellt waren und sich nicht begeistert für das Vaterland opfern wollten.²⁹³

As Japanese Germanist Taeko Matsushita correctly points out, here Takahashi shows the same amount of understanding for the victims of the Third Reich as he had done previously for the Nazis and Nazi literature prior to the German defeat in 1945, yet his position remains unreflective and opportunistic since the causes of the war and the consequences of his service for the autocratic Japanese regime after all political parties had been banned eluded him.²⁹⁴ Takahashi's unauthentic transition after the war to a liberal-humanistic position and his fundamental influence in laying the groundwork for Hesse's reception in Japan, a writer of principled opposition to war and militarism,²⁹⁵ opened the door for his appointment as President of the Japanese Center of PEN International from 1977 until 1981, an organization which is dedicated to defend human rights and the freedom of expression. In July 1977, Takahashi defined his relationship to Hesse and his works in an interview with a 'Tübinger Zeitung' (see associated footnote) as follows:

Wer Literatur nicht nur mit dem Herzen, sondern auch mit dem Hirn aufnehme, die Germanisten und Literaturwissenschaftler also, teile die allgemeine Wertschätzung natürlich nicht unreflektiert, meinte Takahashi. Er selbst aber nehme sich das Recht heraus, bei Hesse ebenfalls mehr das Herz als den Verstand sprechen zu lassen: 'Ich bin ein ziemlich einseitiger Hesse-Verehrer.'²⁹⁶

While many readers may maintain a deeply emotional relationship with Hesse's works, Takahashi was a trained academic and would have been capable of an objective position. Unwittingly, Takahashi acknowledges that his admiration for and his agency in the reception of Hesse's works have not been part of a reflective process, but rather an emotional one, and this goes some way to explaining how Takahashi moved seamlessly from insisting on a link between Hesse's work and Nazi literature to a liberal and democratic position in the post-war era reception of Hesse's work.

1.4.1.2. Modern legacy of Hesse's Nazi-period literary reception

²⁹³ Cited in Matsushita, T. 1989. *Rezeption der Literatur des Dritten Reichs im Rahmen der kulturspezifischen und kulturepolitischen Bedingungen Japans 1933-1945*. Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, p. 151.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Cornils, I. 2016. *The Politics of Conscience. Hermann Hesse's Struggle with Pacifism, September 2016*, London. Pacifist and Anti-Militarist Writing in German 1892-1928. Conference at the Institute for Modern Language Research.

²⁹⁶ Herman-Hesse-Editionsarchiv, Offenbach. 1977. *Aus einer Tübinger Zeitung. Tao und der Weg nach innen*. Freitag, 1. Juli 1977. A copy of this newspaper cutting was handed to me by Volker Michels when I visited the Herman-Hesse-Editionsarchiv, Offenbach, in August, 2013.

Unfortunately, Takahashi's unreflective position and confused hermeneutical approach has remained as a tendency among some Japanese Germanists and continues to wrongly inform their research on Hesse. In 2002, Kenichi Takeoka, Professor of European and American Culture at Kagoshima University, published an article in German entitled *Hermann Hesse und die völkische Idee*.²⁹⁷ Takeoka claims that Hesse was sympathetic towards the Nazis basing his erroneous argument on four premises. He starts by arguing that German émigrés distrusted Hesse since he did not clearly distance himself from the Nazis, pointing out that Alfred Rosenberg had attempted to recruit Hesse for the *Europäische Dichtervereinigung* (an organ to disseminate Nazi propaganda abroad), and that Hesse's work was 'tolerated' in Nazi Germany, which, for Takeoka, means that Hesse's opposition towards the Nazis was at best an act of inner migration.²⁹⁸ Takeoka goes on further to equate Hesse's depictions of nature and rural life with Nazi *Heimatliteratur*, and argues that the reception of Hesse's work as *Naturdichtung* was not 'harmless', and, thirdly, that Hesse's work was absorbed into *völkisches Ideengut*, as evidenced by Kenji Takahashi's 1940 book *Gendai doitsu bungaku to haikei (Modern German Literature and its Background)*, in which Hesse is held to be a representative of quintessential German literature, that is, an opposite pole to Jewish and gutter literature (*Asphaltliteratur*), and thus Hesse was treated on a par with Nazi writers.²⁹⁹ Finally, Takeoka connects Hesse's novel *Der Steppenwolf* and the Nazi *Studentenbund* (Student Society) in terms of opposition toward the traditional bourgeois world order,³⁰⁰ and he points out the influence of Hesse's novel *Demian* upon the bourgeois youth after World War I owing to 'demonstrable' similarities with the Nazi movement as regards the roles of youth associations, and a type of affirmation of the war.³⁰¹ Takeoka's arguments are not developed in any great detail, and seem to ignore Hesse's own biography, a charge that can also be levelled at Takahashi. Hesse's third wife, Ninon, was a Jew, born in Czernowitz, Romania, and Hesse was thus aware at first-hand about the existential threats the Nazis posed to his wife's family. Following the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor on 30 January, 1933, the Reichstag fire on 27 February, 1933, the new elections on 5 March, 1933, and the passage of the Enabling Bill on 23 March, 1933, which allowed Hitler to bypass parliamentary procedure, Hesse was under no illusions what this meant for Germany and Europe. Writing just two days later on 25 March, 1933, to Swiss sculptor Hermann Hubacher (1885-1976), Hesse notes his personal reaction to these political changes,

²⁹⁷ Takeoka, K. 2002. Hermann Hesse und die völkische Idee. *Cultural Science Reports of Kagoshima University*, 55, pp. 281-295.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 293-294.

³⁰⁰ According to historian Bernd Martin, Hesse's *Steppenwolf* became a cult book in Japanese military circles after its translation into Japanese in 1930. Martin, B. 2006. Japanese-German collaboration in the development of bacteriological and chemical weapons and the war in China. In: Spang, C.W. & Wippich, R.H. eds. *Japanese-German Relations 1895-1945*. London: Routledge, pp. 200-214. Here: pp. 204-205

³⁰¹ *Ibid.* pp. 294-295.

‘dauerndes Unwohlsein und der furchtbare Druck der letzten Ereignisse haben mich kaputt gemacht’ and informs Hubacher about the first refugees arriving from Germany in Montagnola, ‘Ein Flüchtling aus Leipzig, sozialistischer Schriftsteller [Heinrich Wiegand 1895-1934], ist seit 8 Tagen unser Gast, gestern kam auch Thomas Mann (der aber nicht bei mir wohnt).’³⁰² Hesse was equally aware and horrified by the ruthless treatment of opposition figures in Germany:

In Deutschland sind etwa 30 bis 40 Tausend Menschen zur Zeit, lediglich ihrer Gesinnung wegen, gefangen gesetzt, viele werden gefoltert, viele sind totgeschlagen, fast alle roh und zum Teil schwer mishandelt worden. Das deutsche Pogrom gegen den Geist ist heftiger, brutaler und säuischer als alles das Schlimme, was im faschistischen Italien geschah. Dazu die Judenverfolgung, das Unwürdigste, was diese blutigen Tiger sich noch extra ausdenken konnten.³⁰³

Fortunately, Takeoka’s paper is not representative of current Hesse research in Japan, being an obscure relict of the callous stance Takahashi took toward Hesse in the 1930s and 1940, drawing unwarranted associations between Hesse and Nazi literature, and is refuted by a close reading of the texts compiled by Volker Michels in *Hermann Hesse: Politik des Gewissens*,³⁰⁴ and *Band 15: Die politischen Schriften*, of the *Sämtliche Werke*,³⁰⁵ in which

³⁰² Hesse, H. 2011. *Hermann Hesse: ‘Der Klang der Trommeln’ Breifwechsel mit Hermann Hubacher*. Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, pp. 98-99.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

³⁰⁴ Hesse, H. 1981. *Hermann Hesse: Politik des Gewissens. Erster Band: 1914-1932. Zweiter Band: 1933-1962*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. See for example *Aus den Vorarbeiten zum ‘Glasperlenspiel’* (pp.456-457), written in note-form in June 1931, in which Hesse sketches out his position, through the attitude adopted by the novel’s protagonist Joseph Knecht, as regards the coming of the next dictatorship, the relationship between *Geist* and *Politik* and the attempt of *Politik* to co-opt *Geist* for its own nefarious project: ‘Das große Gespräch über Geist und Politik zwischen Knecht und dem Führer der Diktatur, der ihn dafür gewinnen will, das Glasperlenspiel in den Dienst des neuen Staates zu stellen, andernfalls muß seine Partei gegen die Glasperlenspieler ebenso rigoros vorgehen wie gegen alles ihr reaktionär scheinende, die Bünde auflösen, das Spiel verbieten und zerstören, seine paar Führer und Wissenden töten.’ Knecht’s answer is worth quoting in full as it demonstrates Hesse’s basic position toward any totalitarian regime in which he is not prepared to sacrifice *Geist* at any cost: ‘Der Versucherer spricht recht klug und beinahe geistig, Knecht gibt höflich und bescheiden Auskunft, macht keinerlei Versuch sich zu retten. Er weigert sich, auf den Vorschlag einzugehen, d.h. sein Institut dem Staat zu unterstellen und die ihm vom Staat überwiesenen jungen Leute im Spiel auszubilden, damit so der Geist mit der Politik und Aktion verbunden werde. Er sagt: es wäre auch ganz wertlos, wenn er aus irgendwelchen Gründen sich bereit erklären würde ja zu sagen: denn wer sich gewissenhaft und nach allen Regeln jahrelang dem Erlernen des Spiels widme und dabei etwas erreiche, der sei für immer verdorben und verloren für jedes Ausüben von Macht, für jedes materielle Streben.’ Knecht’s refusal to be co-opted by the dictator can only have one outcome: ‘Also, er sagt nein, und willigt in den Untergang.’ However, Knecht’s very last glass bead game is an attempt to demonstrate the path humankind could take toward a humanitarian world in which politics is impregnated with *Geist*: ‘Thema dieses letzten Spieles ist: Kampf der unreinen, streberischen Mächte gegen den reinen Geist, scheinbare Fortschritte der Macht, Politik etc., die sich aber langsam als lauter Auflösungen erweisen, und zuletzt, wo das ursprüngliche Geist-Thema sich zum Machthema umgekehrt hat, erweist sich alles als vom Geist verwandelt und durchsetzt.’ Hesse, H. 1981. *Hermann Hesse: Politik des Gewissens. Erster Band: 1914-1932*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 456-457.

³⁰⁵ In fact, the position that Hesse sketches out in his notes for *Das Glasperlenspiel* can already be identified in outline much earlier in Hesse’s writing in an article for the *Die Friedens-Warte* in 1918 entitled *Mein Standpunkt* (pp. 200-201) in which he writes, ‘So hoffe ich denn auch nicht, daß ‘der Geist’ in Deutschland sich politisiere, sondern gerade das Gegenteil, daß er noch viel mehr als bisher sich im Reich des Irrealen befestigte und auf politische Verwirklichungen verzichte – nicht aus Resignation, sondern weil er höhere Befriedigungen kennt.’ The strength for Hesse of a position based on *Geist* is that it would make war fundamentally unattractive and

Hesse's long-held position regarding political causes and war is stated both clearly and in all its nuances. Contemporary Hesse research in Japan (as I discuss below), predominantly conducted by the *Hermann Hesse Freundeskreis / Forschungsgruppe Japan*, is very much wedded to humanistic values.

1.4.1.3. Elite schools, competitive publishing houses, and inner migration

The final important characteristics of Hesse's reception in the years until 1945 concern the roles played by Japanese elite schools, and the competing Tokyo publishing houses whose publications of translations opened the potential for 'inner migration' among readers who sought an interior sanctuary against a period of autocratic ultra-nationalism and war.

First of all, the pre-1945 reception process of Hesse's works involved a large cohort of young readers and, particularly among this cohort, the 18-20 year old pupils in the prestigious Upper Schools (*kotogakko*), who had to read German literature both in German and in Japanese translation.³⁰⁶ The university-educated German professors at the Upper Schools used Hesse's works as teaching and reading materials in their classes; for instance, works such as *Knulp*, *Unterm Rad*, *Peter Camenzind* and *Schön ist die Jugend*, as they were understood relatively easily and were popular among the pupils.³⁰⁷ As noted earlier, the career of Kenji Takahashi (1902-1998) in the prestigious Upper School system is representative for a professor of German. Takahashi was a German Studies graduate from Tokyo Imperial University, and he joined the private Seikei Upper School in Tokyo as a professor for German in 1925.³⁰⁸

Second, however, besides a teaching career, Takahashi found time to translate Hesse's works for major Tokyo publishing houses. In 1939, Takahashi translated *Gertrud*, which was published by the Shinchosha publishing company in Tokyo in a print run of over 50,000 copies in order to meet the expected demand.³⁰⁹ In 1940, Takahashi's translation of *Wanderung* and other short stories was published by the same company, and in 1942 his translation of *Gedichte*. Moreover, in 1941, Takahashi worked for the family-owned Mikasa-Shobo publishing company in Tokyo, a major competitor of Shinchosha as regards publishing translations of Hesse's works, and translated *Eine Bibliothek der Weltliteratur*. In this pre-1945 phase of the reception process, Mikasa-Shobo gained a lead over its

meaningless: 'Politisch ausgedrückt, würde ich mit meinen Anschauungen sehr, sehr weit links stehen, viel weiter links als je eine Partei in Deutschland stand. Meine Denkart würde, wenn sie die der Majorität wäre, jeden Krieg zu einer lächerlichen Fabel machen.' *SW15*: 200.

³⁰⁶ Matsushima, W. 2009. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan – Taschenbücher, Kenji Takahashi und Lehrbücher". *Studies in arts and & letters: literature, history, geography*. 30, pp. 101-108. Here: p. 103.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Maeda, R. 2010. *Mythen, Medien, Mediokritäten*. München: Wilhelm Fink, p. 273.

³⁰⁹ Matsushima, W. 2009. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan – Taschenbücher, Kenji Takahashi und Lehrbücher". *Studies in arts and & letters: literature, history, geography*. 30, pp. 101-108. Here: p. 103.

competitors as it was the first company in Japan to publish Hesse's collected works in translation, in five volumes from 1939 until 1943.

Finally, some Japanese researchers suggest that Hesse's work offered a humanistic refuge under an autocratic regime during the final years of this reception period. Matsushima argues, for instance, that Hesse's Eastern spirit offered a form of refuge, or inward migration, for those who could not accept Japanese expansionist military ambitions.³¹⁰ On the other hand, translations of other European writers could also open the door to an inner refuge for Japanese readers. A case in point is Germanist Toshihiko Katayama (1898-1961), a professor at Hosei University and from 1938 at the elite First Upper School in Tokyo, who, besides Hesse (*Die Gedichte* – 1939), also translated Rilke and Carossa into Japanese. Similar to Hesse, Katayama maintained a close personal relationship with French novelist and pacifist Romain Rolland (1866-1944), and translated his works into Japanese. His translations were read above all by younger people during the war years who were seeking an interior refuge in a Japan dominated by the military.³¹¹ As Ingo Cornils succinctly points out in an essay on Hesse's political conscience,³¹² Hesse's literature can unfold a moral blueprint for individual resistance towards war and militarism as the reader recognizes the existence of both good and bad inside himself or herself, as Hesse demonstrates in a novel such as *Demian*, and, through such self-examination, I would suggest, the reader awakens to possibilities other than violence and aggression.

In the next section, I analyse the second stage of Hesse's reception in Japan from 1946 until 1989, which was a time of frenetic translation activity sponsored by publishing houses keen to publish Hesse's works. Towards the end of this phase there was also a generational change in the pool of translators and transcultural mediators working on Hesse. The discussion of this second stage of Hesse's reception also forms the reception background for the epistolary dialogue that Hesse maintained with his Japanese readers in the 1950s (see Chapter 3).

1.4.2. Second stage of the process of reception: 1946-1989

Following Japan's defeat in 1945, the elite Upper Schools (*kotogakko*) were abolished.

These schools had provided employment to a great number of German professors, and some 120,000 teachers were purged from the system from 1947 until 1949 in order to eliminate militarists, and henceforth a co-educational high school system was implemented in Japan

³¹⁰ Ibid., p. 103.

³¹¹ Maeda, R. 2010. *Mythen, Medien, Mediokritäten*. München: Wilhelm Fink, p. 271.

³¹² Cornils, I. 2016. *The Politics of Conscience. Hermann Hesse's Struggle with Pacifism, September 2016, London*. Pacifist and Anti-Militarist Writing in German 1892-1928. Conference at the Institute for Modern Language Research.

(6-3-3), similar to American structures, with a four-year university programme.³¹³ Four-year Japanese university programmes are thus an amalgamation of the general education courses of the last two years of the old Upper Schools and the specialization of the first two years of the pre-war imperial universities.³¹⁴ As a result, post-war Japanese high schools no longer have German classes, and German is generally only taught at Japanese universities.

In 1946, the literary reception of Hesse's works in Japan entered a new post-war phase, in which many of the Germanists who had helped to shape Hesse's pre-war reception continued their translation work. Germanist Morio Sagara (1895-1989)³¹⁵ translated a collection of Hesse's short stories in 1946, likewise Germanist Takeo Ito in 1947. In 1949, Kenji Takahashi, as noted above, formerly an ardent disseminator of Nazi ideas in Japan, seamlessly re-assumed a leading role in shaping the reception of Hesse's works in Japan by translating the novels *Gertrud* und *Demian* for the Tokyo publishing house Shinchosha. Two years earlier, in 1947, Kenji Takahashi's translation of Hesse's short story *Jugendgedenken*, which was published in 1931 by the *Würzburger General Anzeiger*, and which is a largely stylistic reworking of *Das Nachtpfauenauge*, published in 1911, was approved by the Education Ministry and incorporated in a Japanese language textbook for second year junior high school students for the first time (see my discussion below).³¹⁶ What followed thereafter in the 1950s can only be termed a frenetic period of translation and publishing of Hesse's works in Japan. Kenji Takahashi, for instance, not only had fifteen translations of Hesse's texts published in this decade, he was also solely responsible for the translations published by Shinchosha culminating in a fourteen-volume-set of Hesse's collected works from 1957 to 1958, which was republished in modified form in a ten-volume-set from 1982 to 1983. Indeed, this period of Hesse's reception and the increase in his popularity in Japan was significantly moulded by Shinchosha publishing house and competitors such as Mikasa-Shobo, also based in Tokyo.

Initially, Mikasa-Shobo did not plan to replicate its pre-war edition of Hesse's collected works (1939-1943), for which it had gained a good reputation for the quality of its translations, but the company caught wind of the fact that Shinchosha was planning a collected-works project as a popular edition to commemorate Hesse's 80th birthday, which put pressure on Mikasa-Shobo to follow suit.³¹⁷ Previously, Mikasa-Shobo had been unable

³¹³ Neary, I. 2002. *The State and Politics in Japan*. Oxford: Polity, pp. 40-41.

³¹⁴ Reischauer, E.O. *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity*. Tokyo: Tuttle, pp. 198-199.

³¹⁵ Morio Sagara was the first President of the post-war association of Germanists in Japan, the *Japanische Gesellschaft für Germanistik* (JGG), which was formed in 1947.

³¹⁶ Matsushita, Taeko. 1989. *Rezeption der Literatur des Dritten Reichs im Rahmen der kultur-spezifischen und kulturpolitischen Bedingungen Japans 1933-1945*. Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, 1989, p. 107.

³¹⁷ Tanaka, H. 2016. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan in den 1950er Jahren durch Essays, Verlagsgeschichte und Briefe. *Kanagawa University Kokusai Keiei Forum*. 27, pp. 237-264. Here: p. 242.

to match the range of Shinchosa's *Works of Modern World Literature* (1952-1958 *Gendai Sekai Bungaku Zenshū*³¹⁸), a mammoth project which reached a total of fifty volumes, aimed at urban middle-class readers, whereas Mikasa-Shobo's project *Works of Modern World Literature* (1953-1957 *Mikasaban Gendai Sekai Bungaku Zenshū*) could only muster thirty-one volumes.³¹⁹ Shinchosa's success in the field of world literature helped to push Mikasa-Shobo into bankruptcy in 1957.³²⁰ Shinchosa landed a further coup when Hesse responded positively to a request by Kenji Takahashi to write a foreword to the 14th volume of the set of his collected works (*Späte Prosa*), which Hesse titled *An meine Leser in Japan*.³²¹ In this short essay, Hesse acknowledges the absorption and assimilation of Western culture in Japan, 'Wir Europäer sind immer wieder von der weitherzigen Bereitwilligkeit überrascht, mit der unsre Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur in Japan aufgenommen wird...', and he points out the personal connections he has with Japan, '...zu Japan kam ich auch in eine gewissermaßen persönliche Beziehung durch meinen Vetter Wilhelm Gundert und mehrere andre Deutsche, die Missionare, als Lehrer, als Übersetzer in Japan tätig gewesen sind.'³²² Moreover, as Chapter 3 demonstrates, Hesse struck up a dialogic relationship with his Japanese readers, which influenced his late literary production (see Chapter 4), and which he acknowledges in the foreword, '...und es war mir eine Freude zu sehen, wie dort drüben in Ihrem fernen Inselreich allmählich ein Echo mir entgegentönte, wie meine Liebe dort Erwidierung fand.'³²³

As a response to this competitive advantage gained by its rival, Mikasa-Shobo included Hesse's *Briefe* in Volume 16 of its edition of Hesse's collected works.³²⁴ Up to this point, *Briefe* had not been translated into Japanese, and this translation was seen as a means to open up new perspectives into Hesse as an author in dialogue with his Japanese readers.³²⁵ Ayao Ide negotiated directly with Hermann Hesse for permission to print the letters, and Masahiro Seita, who was responsible for the project at Mikasa-Shobo, asked Hesse for an introductory address for his Japanese readers, which, because of poor health, Hesse was unable to do, although Seita found a workable solution by obtaining permission from Kenji Takahashi to use part of Hesse's foreword for Shinchosa (*An meine Leser in Japan*) for Mikasa-Shobo's edition of the collected works.³²⁶ Notable at this time is that Hesse had

³¹⁸ Shinchosa's 'Works' included Hesse's novels *Peter Camenzind*, *Gertrud*, *Knulp* and the story *Schön ist die Jugend*.

³¹⁹ Tanaka, H. 2016. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan in den 1950er Jahren durch Essays, Verlagsgeschichte und Briefe. *Kanagawa University Kokusai Keiei Forum*. 27, pp. 237-264. Here: pp. 242-243

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³²¹ *Ibid.* *An meine Leser in Japan: SW15*: 784-786.

³²² *SW15*: 784-785.

³²³ *SW15*: 785.

³²⁴ Tanaka, H. 2016. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan in den 1950er Jahren durch Essays, Verlagsgeschichte und Briefe. *Kanagawa University Kokusai Keiei Forum*. 27, pp. 237-264. Here: p. 243.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

developed personal relationships with his Japanese translators and through them with the major Japanese publishing companies who were making Hesse popular in Japan, which is an underlying factor in the intense dialogue he maintained with his Japanese readers through individual correspondence (see Chapter 3). For instance, in a letter dated 30 November 1956, Takahashi discusses the persimmon tree in Hesse's garden in Montagnola, comparing it with the persimmon tree in his own garden in Tokyo, before discussing how the publisher plans to use Hesse's foreword for the volume of the collected works containing the first Japanese translation of *Späte Prosa*: 'Da wir "Späte Prosa" als neuestes, noch unübersetztes Werk von Ihnen allererst erscheinen lassen, wollen wir in dem Bande Ihr Gleitwort für unsre Ausgabe Ihrer Werke vorangehen lassen.'³²⁷ The degree of dialogic interaction between Hesse and his Japanese translators (Chapter 3 provides further examples) is a major feature in his transcultural reception and demonstrates how the author was also instrumental in unfolding agency to shape his reception in Japan, in tandem with publishers and transcultural mediators, and how he grasped the opportunity for individual epistolary communication.

In the following decade, Mikasa-Shobo published an anthology of Hesse's works (*Hermann Hesse Chosakushū*), from 1967 to 1968.³²⁸ Mikasa-Shobo also signed an agreement with Suhrkamp Verlag for the Japanese translation of Hesse's *Gesammelte Briefe* for which Ayao Ide was named as translator (see Chapter 3 for a discussion of Ide's epistolary dialogue with Hesse), a project which never reached completion because of Ide's time-consuming academic duties.³²⁹ This failed project marked a turning point in Mikasa-Shobo's commitment to publishing Hesse's works in Japan, and may indicate a point of temporary market saturation. In 1968, Mikasa-Shobo was declared bankrupt for the second time and the company only able to recover financially in the 1970s, after it pulled out of the business of translating literary works, and specialized in self-help literature, as it does to the present day.³³⁰

The two major Tokyo publishing houses, Shinchosa and Mikasa-Shobo, competed against a third, Kyoto-based publishing company, which commissioned translations and published Hesse's literary works: Jinbun-Shoin. Kenji Takahashi also translated Hesse's works for this publishing company in conjunction with Germanist Mayumi Haga (1903-1991, see Chapter 3 for a detailed analysis of his correspondence with Hesse).³³¹ The translations of Hesse and

³²⁷ Takahashi, K. , 1956. Letter to HH. SLA (Das Schweizerische Literaturarchiv).

³²⁸ Tanaka, H. 2016. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan in den 1950er Jahren durch Essays, Verlagsgeschichte und Briefe. *Kanagawa University Kokusai Keiei Forum*. **27**, pp. 237-264. Here: p. 249.

³²⁹ Ibid., pp. 246-250.

³³⁰ Ibid, p. 245.

³³¹ Haga studied in Germany as a student of Wilhelm Gundert, Hesse's 'Japanese' cousin, a distinguished scholar of Japanese literature and religion (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of Gundert's role as a transcultural mediator of

Sartre's works provided a significant income for Jinbun-Shoin.³³² Mayumi Haga was not uncritical about the monopoly that Kenji Takahashi enjoyed as regards Hesse's literary reception in Japan and criticized his translation style, albeit indirectly. Writing in 1977, Haga recalls the events organized for the centennial of Hesse's birth held in Marbach and, in particular, a presentation by two young Japanese academics (one of whom was Masaru Watanabe³³³) entitled *Hermann Hesse in Japan*:

Auf dem Symposium hielten zwei junge Professoren aus Japan einen Vortrag mit dem Titel „Hermann Hesse in Japan“, der eine Art spirituelle Revolution verursachte. Die exklusive Übersetzung in Japan bis jetzt sei all zu banal. Das sei keine wahre Übersetzung. Vielmehr wurde meine Übersetzung als Meisterwerk gelobt.

Das heißt mit anderen Worten: Der Mann, der ein Monopol auf die Übersetzung von Hesse hat, ist seiner Aufgabe nicht gewachsen.³³⁴

Seeing beyond the pride that Haga must have felt as his translation work was described as a *Meisterwerk*, there is a serious criticism being made. At this time, Kenji Takahashi dominated Hesse's literary reception in Japan and had translated all fourteen volumes of Shinchosa's edition of Hesse's collected works (1957-1958). Takahashi's workload is barely imaginable and throws open the question about the quality of his translations.³³⁵ Indeed, Takahashi himself concedes in a letter written to Hesse on 16 March, 1955, that his translation of *Das Glasperlenspiel* was a difficult, exhausting process: 'Inzwischen ist meine Übersetzung von "Das Glasperlenspiel" nach schwerer, doch freudvoller Arbeit endlich (...) erschienen.' and 'Durch die harte Arbeit an dem großen, sinnreichen Werk, das mir anfangs fast unübersetzbar vorkam, bin ich erschöpft und zugleich entzückt.'³³⁶ Haga writing again in 1977 expresses his concern about Takahashi's domination of Hesse's reception in Japan:

Japan for Hesse), and under Ernst Bertram, a professor at Cologne University. He was the son of Yaichi Haga (1867-1927), professor for Japanese language and literature at Tokyo Imperial University. Similar to Takahashi, Haga worked as a transcultural mediator for Nazi literature and ideology in Japan. Maeda notes: 'Haga selber wurde allerdings in den späten 1930er Jahren Anhänger und Verfechter der NS-Kulturideologie und übersetzte Schriften der NS-Germanistik.' Maeda, R. 2010. *Mythen, Medien, Mediokritäten*. München: Wilhelm Fink, pp. 294-295.

³³² Ibid., p. 244.

³³³ Watanabe contributed the Japanese section (pp. 222-233) to Martin Pfeifer's survey of Hesse's international literary reception and the presentation served as a basis for his essay. Pfeifer, M. ed. 1977. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

³³⁴ Tanaka, H. 2016. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan in den 1950er Jahren durch Essays, Verlagsgeschichte und Briefe. Kanagawa University Kokusai Keiei Forum. 27, pp. 237-264. Here: p. 244. One of the peculiarities of Takahashi's translation that I have personally noticed is that his Japanese translation can often be transposed word-for-word back into the original German text, giving his translation style a very 'German' feeling.

³³⁵ As I discuss in section 6.3 below, Asao Okada found and corrected many technical mistakes in butterfly terminology in Takahashi's translation of *Jugendgedenken*.

³³⁶ Takahashi, K. 1955. Letter to HH. SLA.

Wegen des Paradoxes fühlte ich, als ob mein Blut rückwärts floß. In der bedauerlichen Realität Japans sah ich den Mann mit einem völlig gegensätzlichen Charakter, der auf Hesse ein Monopol hatte und für ihn warb.³³⁷

It holds that if Haga is referring to Takahashi's past as a propagator of Nazi literature and Nazi ideology in Japan, he must be measured by the same yardstick. On the other hand, he is justified in questioning the monopoly held by a single translator and transcultural mediator over the reception of such an important European writer in Japan. However, as Chapter 3 demonstrates, Hesse maintained an intense dialogic relationship with a large number of individual translators and readers in Japan, which helped to subvert any monopoly positions that a single transcultural mediator could claim.

A further important feature affecting Hesse's reception in Japan in post-war decades was the influence of literature critics in Germany who wrote negatively about Hesse's works because these critiques were also read in Japan and influenced attitudes among Japanese Germanists towards reading Hesse. For instance, literary scholar Ernst Robert Curtius (1886-1956) published *Kritische Essays zur europäischen Literatur* (1950), which includes an essay on Hermann Hesse in which he takes Hesse's writing style to task.³³⁸ Moreover, German writer Karlheinz Deschner (1924-2014) in his book *Talente, Dichter, Dilettanten: überschätzte und unterschätzte Werke in der deutschen Literatur der Gegenwart* considers Hesse an 'epigonaler Dichter' and finds that passages of Hesse's novel *Narziss und Goldmund* are nothing more than *kitsch*.³³⁹ Watanabe describes the effect this critical current arriving from Germany had upon one (unknown) Germanist:

Auch ein japanischer Germanist, der in seiner Jugend für Hesse geschwärmt hatte, begann sich anlässlich der Urteile von Curtius und Deschner seiner früheren Vorliebe zu schämen. Unter den Fortschrittlichen in der Literatur galt es als nicht ganz fein, sich mit Hesses Werken zu befassen. Sie wandten sich von ihm ab, um sich Autoren wie Kafka, Brecht, Benn und Musil zuzuwenden.³⁴⁰

This gap that opened up in some cases between Japanese *Literaturwissenschaft* and the enthusiasm of Hesse's Japanese readers is similar in effect to Hesse's reception in Germany.³⁴¹ However, many Japanese Germanists were also passionate readers of Hesse's

³³⁷ Tanaka, H. 2016. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan in den 1950er Jahren durch Essays, Verlagsgeschichte und Briefe. *Kanagawa University Kokusai Keiei Forum*. 27, pp. 237-264. Here: p. 245.

³³⁸ Curtius, E.R. 1950. *Kritische essays zur europäischen Literatur*. Bern: Francke, pp. 152-168.

³³⁹ Dreschner, K. 1964. *Talente, Dichter, Dilettanten : überschätzte und unterschätzte Werke in der deutschen Literatur der Gegenwart*. Wiesbaden: Limes Verlag.

³⁴⁰ Watanabe, M. 1977. Japan. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung: Internationale Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 222-233. Here: pp. 226-228.

³⁴¹ Ingo Cornils writes: 'Academics and literary critics in his birth country [Germany] were long ill at ease with him, and some have remained so well into the new millennium, though more of them have been willing to treat

works (see Chapter 3). The following example is representative of a reader's reactions towards Hesse's works in the post-war era. A young female reader, a university student studying theology in Kyoto, writes in a letter to Hesse in June 1951 about her affective experience after reading his work in Japanese and then in German for the first time in a class: 'Die Worte, die von Ihrem tiefen Einblick ins Leben herkommen, ziehen mich an und rührt mich oft fast zu Tränen.'³⁴²

The publication by Shinchosa in 1986 of the two-volume set of Takahashi's translations of *Das Glasperlenpiel* and *Späte Prosa*, mark the end of a frenetic period of reception history in the post-war era in Japan. The generation of German professors who had started their careers in the elite, pre-war Upper Schools was reaching retirement and old age. Henceforth, Hesse's literary reception in Japanese passed into the hands of a post-war generation who have taken up the mantle to translate into Japanese Suhrkamp Verlag's *Sämtliche Werke* and the manifold themed collections of Hesse's writings such as *Freude am Garten*, compiled and annotated by Hesse editor Volker Michels for Suhrkamp.

1.4.3. Third stage of the process of reception: 1990-present

The most recent reception phase of Hesse's works, from 1990 and into the new millennium, has been dominated by a collective of Hesse specialists assembled as the *Hermann Hesse Freundeskreis / Forschungsgruppe Japan*. This group of Hesse researchers was formed in 1991 when Ayao Ide was elected as its first president, and Kenji Takahashi delivered the inaugural lecture at the first meeting. The group, which currently has seventy-eighty members,³⁴³ provides a bi-annual platform for lectures by Hesse researchers at its meetings, issues an annual report (*Berichte*), and maintains a regularly updated homepage on the internet (Hermann Hesse Homepage Japan).³⁴⁴ As many of the pre-war and post-war translations use old-fashioned Japanese,³⁴⁵ one of the aims of the *Freundeskreis* is to translate Hesse's works into contemporary Japanese. In 1996, a selection of Hesse's letters

him as a serious writer in recent years.' Cornils, I. 2009. Introduction: From Outsider to Global Player: Hermann Hesse in the Twenty-First Century. In: Cornils, I. ed. *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, p. 1.

³⁴² Hagiwara, I. 1951. Letter to HH. DLA, Marbach.

³⁴³ Tanaka, H. 2018. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 3 February.

³⁴⁴ This website is offline at present as it is being updated and moved to a new platform. Yamamoto, Y. 2018. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 3 February.

³⁴⁵ For example, the translation of *Unterm Rad* by Tatsuji Iwabuchi in 1966. If we take the sentence 'Der Herr segne dich und behüte dich, Amen.' (1972), which are the parting words of shoemaker Flaig to Hans before he leaves Calw for matriculation in seminary at Maulbronn, Iwabuchi renders the translation in Japanese as '神のお恵みとご加護のあらんことを、アーメン'(Kami no omegumi to gokago no arankotowo, amen. 1966). Kami can be used generally to denote a god anywhere not just in Japan. Omegumi = blessings (noun); gokago = divine protection; and arankotowo = gives the feeling or impression of having come from the bible, where aran comes from the verb *arimasu* and yields the sense of hoping to receive god's blessing and protection. Overall the translation has an old-fashioned, religious feeling, but also an atmosphere of older Japanese texts. A possible rendition in English that demonstrates the rather archaic atmosphere of the translation is, 'May God's blessings and divine protection be bestowed upon ye, Amen.' Hesse, H. 1972. *Unterm Rad*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 52. Hesse, H. 1966. *Sharin no shita*. Tokyo: Obunsha, p. 68.

entitled *Um das Chaos zu überleben (Hesse Kara no Tegami)* was published by Mainichi Shinbunsha. Based on the success of the first volume, Mainichi Shinbunsha commissioned a second volume, published in 1998, entitled *Briefe der Seele. Von der Qual der Pubertät zum Glanz des Alters*. One year later, in 1999, Mainichi Shinbunsha published a commentary by the group on Hesse's life and works: *Einladung zu Hesse: Leben und Werk*. The *Freundeskreis*'s biggest project to date has been to render the latest edition of Hesse's collected works into Japanese. On the 125th anniversary of Hesse's birth (1877) in 2002, the *Freundeskreis* posted an open invitation on its homepage for publishers to express their interest in the project. The invitation elicited a positive response from the Rinsen-Shoten publishing company in Kyoto. In 2005, the *Freundeskreis* embarked on the project of translating into Japanese Suhrkamp's twenty-one-volume *Sämtliche Werke* (2001-2005), which was edited by Volker Michels. The first sixteen volumes of Hesse's important works were published in 2007.³⁴⁶ Four years later, in 2011, a further eight volumes, entitled *Essays*, were published by Rinsen-Shoten, ranging in content from the *Tagebücher* to *Die politischen Schriften*, which, according to Germanist Yoichi Yamamoto, means that Japanese Hesse readers and researchers have a comprehensive resource available to them in modern Japanese.³⁴⁷

While the *Freundeskreis* provides a coordinated, collective framework for translation projects, individual members have worked on their own translations. For instance, Asao Okada, a professor emeritus of comparative literature at Toyo University in Tokyo, has worked independently on the translation of Suhrkamp paperbacks, edited by Volker Michels, which are organized around an anchoring theme of Hesse's work. Most of Okada's translations have been published by the Soshisha Company in Tokyo, which has issued nine editions of Okada's translations since 1995.³⁴⁸ Two of these translations have become bestsellers: *Hermann Hesse: Mit der Reife wird man immer jünger (Hitowa Seijnykururuni 1995)* and *Hermann Hesse: Freude am Garten (Niwashigoto no Tanoshimi 1996)*. According to Asao Okada, the former has sold some 300,000 copies, the latter some

³⁴⁶ Most of the volumes had been printed in a second edition and one in a third edition by Oct. 2014. The first editions comprised 1,300-1,500 copies, whereas the second editions have been printed in quantities of 300-500 copies. Yamamoto, Y. 2015. *Email to N. Cunningham*. 14 January.

³⁴⁷ The first editions of the eight volumes of essays were printed in quantities of 1,200-1,300 copies. To date, though selling well, none of the volumes had yet been reprinted in a second edition. Yamamoto, Y. 2015. *Email to N. Cunningham*. 14 January.

³⁴⁸ These Japanese translations include: *Hitowa Seijnykururuni (Mit der Reife wird man immer jünger)* (1995); *Niwashigoto no Tanoshimi (Freude am Garten)* (1996); *Waga kokoro no kokyo (Tessin)* (1997); *Aisurukotoga dekiru hito wa shiawaseda (Wer lieben kann, ist glücklich)* (1998); *Jigoku wa kokufuku dekiru (Die Hölle ist Überwindbar)* (2001); *Hesse no dokushojutsu (Die Welt der Bücher)* (2004); *Siddhartha* (2006); *Eigensinn macht Spaß* (2009) (*Wagamama koso saikounobitoku*) – all published in Japanese translation by Soshisha (Tokyo). Okada also translated an anthology comprising Hesse's *Der Lateinschüler, Schön ist die Jugend, Das Nachtpfauenauge, Der Zyklon* in 2010 for Soshisha (Tokyo).

250,000.³⁴⁹ These extraordinary sales figures emphasize that Hesse is not only read by a younger generation in Japan at school, but also among a generation that is reaching or has already reached retirement age, most of whom probably read Hesse at school or university, and now once again after a busy life of employment has the spare time to enjoy the meditative quality of these books. On the other hand, Okada's translation of Hesse's *Siddhartha*, published by Soshisha in 2006, had, by the spring of 2014, sold just some 10,000 copies, which although a very respectable sales figure, represents more of a niche in the book market. This is at least the ninth time that the novel had been translated into Japanese since 1925.³⁵⁰ Okada indicated in an interview in May, 2014, that this was a translation and transcultural mediation project that he had long wished to undertake privately as he is the son of a Buddhist priest.³⁵¹

One further Tokyo publishing house, Kobunsha, has included Hesse's works in its *Kobunsha Classics* series of the major works of German literature.³⁵² To date, this has brought to fruition two translation projects of Hesse's works: Germanist Miho Matsunaga's modern translation of *Unterm Rad* in 2007³⁵³ and a new translation of Hesse's *Demian* translated by

³⁴⁹ Okada, A, 2014. *Interview with N. Cunningham*. 19 May, Tokyo.

³⁵⁰ *Siddhartha* (1922) was first translated into Japanese in 1925. The first English translation was in 1951 by Hilda Rosner (New York: New Directions Publishing Company). This was the sole English translation on the English market until 1999, when Joachim Neugroschel's translation was published by Penguin Classics. In 2000, the novel was again translated; this time by Sherab Chödzin Kohn (Boulder: Shambhala). Yet another translation was published in 2006 by Modern Library in New York (translator: Susan Bernofsky). One reason for the spate of translations in English around the time of the new millennium that is offered in Adrian Hsia's chapter on *Siddhartha* in Ingo Cornils' *Companion*, and here Hsia quotes Sherab Chödzin Kohn, is that Hesse is a writer who is read particularly in times of crisis and that the years around the millennium were such a period which triggered a human yearning for spirituality (p. 159). Hsia, A. 2009. *Siddhartha*. In: Cornils, I. ed. *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, pp. 149-170.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

³⁵² The *Kobunsha Classics* series includes Japanese translations of works by Thomas Mann, Franz Kafka, Bertolt Brecht, Immanuel Kant, Sigmund Freud, Friedrich Nietzsche and Karl Marx.

³⁵³ Miho Matsunaga is a Germanist teaching at Waseda University in Tokyo. In my reading of her translation style, in contrast to Kenji Takahashi's word-for-word approach, she adopts a more interpretative style. (See also the discussion of the reception of *Unterm Rad* below. Hesse, H. 2007. *Sharin no Shita de (Unterm Rad)*. Tokyo: Kobunsha Classics.) For example, as Hans visits the marketplace in Calw as the apple harvest is being pressed, Hans is asked whether he would like to drink some more apple juice to which he responds: "Dank recht scheen, I hab' schon's Grimmen." (1972) ('Thanks, thanks. I've the runs already.' [1968]). Kenji Takahashi translates the sentence as 'おおきにありがとう、おらもう腹が痛くなったよ' (*Ookini arigatou, ora mou hara ga itakunatta yo* [1951]), which may be translated as: 'Thanks, thanks. I already have stomachache.' The curious point about Takahashi's 1951 translation is that he has chosen to use Osaka dialect (Osaka dialect = *Ookini*) in order to represent a non-standard form of speech (perhaps wishing to imitate the Swabian dialect in this way) and a very casual form of the subject (*ora*). In contrast, Miho Matsunaga translates the same sentence as 'せつかく だけど遠慮しとくよ、もう腹が痛いんだ' (*Sekkakudakedo enryoshitokuyo, mou hara ga itainda* [2007]), which may be translated as 'I appreciate it, but I think I will pass.' Matsunaga has chosen a polite register for her translation, and the use of this register elevates Hans above the 'ordinary' market people around him. Here, Matsunaga adopts an interpretative translation strategy in view of the fact that Hans is considered a gifted child and as an exceptional student was able to enter the *Klosterschule* (Maulbronn). Thus a certain distance has developed between Hans and the common people of Calw, which Matsunaga is presenting implicitly in her choice of words in Japanese. These traces left by the translator in a translation may be thought of as the translator's 'habitus', which may reflect personal traits as well as societal norms. Hesse, H. 1972. *Unterm Rad*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 128. Hesse, H. 1968. *Beneath the Wheel*. New York: Picador, p.144. Hesse, H.

Shoichi Hisayoru and published in 2017.³⁵⁴ It is worth noting that Kobunsha provides Japanese school teachers with summer reading lists for their students, which regularly include Matsunaga's translation of *Unterm Rad*, thus continuing the tradition among young Japanese of first reading Hesse during their school years.

To sum up, I have divided the process of Hermann Hesse's literary reception, primarily in Japanese translation, into three stages. The first stage (1909-1945) was characterised by the translation and literary work carried out by professors who taught German in the elite three-year Upper School schools (English was taught in middle schools), Kenji Takahashi is an example of this career path, the publication of translations of Hesse's work in paperbacks affordable and available to a broad group of readers, and the first publication of Hesse's collected works by Tokyo publishing house Mikasa-Shoba. Following the signing of the *Abkommen über kulturelle Zusammenarbeit zwischen dem Deutschen Reich und Japan* in 1938 some Japanese Germanists chose to construct unsupportable links between modern writers such as Hesse and Nazi literature. Many commentators and critics were struck by Hesse's knowledge of Eastern religion and philosophy as exemplified by the novel *Siddhartha*.

The second stage of the process of reception of Hesse's works in Japan (1946-1989) was marked by a dissolution of pre-war educational structures, and the implementation of a 6-3-3 structure, with four-year university courses, similar to the American system in 1947. The frenetic reception of Hesse's works that followed in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s was driven especially by three publishing houses, Shinchosa (Tokyo), Mikasa-Shobo (Tokyo) and Jinbun-Shoin (Kyoto), which competed for greater economic and cultural capital in the publishing field by bringing out sets of Hesse's collected works. The final decade of this period is notable for a generational change in the transcultural agents who were active in translating, reviewing and commenting on Hesse's work for Japanese readers in liaison with the publishing houses. Writing in 1977, Masaru Watanabe claims that Hesse's reception in Japan demonstrates a fit between essences of Hermann Hesse's works and the national characteristics and experiences of the Japanese, and points out similarities between Hesse's stances toward war and the similar humanitarian stances among Japanese intellectuals, writers and poets.³⁵⁵ Watanabe has a valid point to the extent that a novel such as *Knulp*, for example, provides the interpretative space for a Japanese reader to project subjective notions of freedom from responsibility and vagabond wanderings upon the story (see Chapter 3

1951. *Sharin no shita*. Tokyo: Shinchosa, p. 169. Hesse, H. 2007. *Sharin no Shita de*. Tokyo: Kobunsha Classics, p. 221.

³⁵⁴ Hesse, H. 2017. *Demian*. Tokyo: Kobunsha Classics.

³⁵⁵ Watanabe, M. 1977. Japan. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 222-233.

where I develop the concept of ‘identity themes’ further), which, as noted above, are a classic theme in pre-modern Japanese literature and art.³⁵⁶ Moreover, in a novel such as *Peter Camenzind* Hesse arguably strikes a chord with the deep sentiments of Japanese readers who are used to traditional themes in Japanese poetry of *ka-cho-fu-getsu*, the flowers, the birds, the wind and the moon.³⁵⁷

The final and continuing period of Hesse’s literary reception in Japan (1990-2018) has been dominated by the translation and research carried out by the *Hermann Hesse Freundeskreis / Forschungsgruppe Japan*, which notably worked collectively on the translation into Japanese of Hesse’s *Sämtliche Werke*, published by Hesse’s long-time editor at Suhrkamp, Volker Michels from 2001 until 2005. Individually, Asao Okada (as a postgraduate, a student of Kenji Takahashi) has translated themed paperback collections of Hesse’s works published by Volker Michels at Suhrkamp, some of which have become bestsellers in Japan, testifying to the continued interest among a Japanese readership in Hesse’s work.

1.5. Hermann Hesse’s Reception in Japan in Practice

In the preceding sections of the chapter, I have discussed three distinctive phases of Hesse’s literary reception. Now I turn to case studies of Hesse’s translation and reception in Japan which make the transcultural process real and demonstrate how it works in practice. First, I examine the reception of Hesse’s second novel *Unterm Rad* in Japan and how one particular Japanese reader is able to relate to the novel. Second, I explain the curious events that have led to some 80% of Japanese junior high-school students reading Hesse’s short stories *Jugendgedenken* and *Nachtpfauenauge* in their textbooks since 1947. Next, I explore an inter-medial form of reception in Japan which has arisen out of the interest of a Japanese Germanist in both Hesse’s literary work and butterflies and moths, which resulted in a Japanese exhibition which eventually brought Hesse’s Japanese reception back to Europe. Finally, I discuss transcultural connections between Hesse’s vagabond novel *Knulp* and Japanese stories and artworks pertaining to the old coastal road between Edo (Tokyo) and Kyoto, the *Tōkaidō*. These following sections are all vignettes of a Japanese nodal-specific process of reception.

1.5.1. Case study: Reception of Hesse’s novel *Unterm Rad* in Japan

³⁵⁶ See for example Hiroshige Andō’s woodblock prints *Fifty-Three Stages of the Tōkaidō* (an annotated guide to the woodblock prints is provided by: Tokuriki, T. 1963. *Tōkokaidō*, Osaka, Hoikusha Publishing Co.) and Ikku Jippensha’ *The Shank’s Mare* (1802), which follows the ribald adventures of Yajibei and Kitahachi, two Edo rascals, on the Tōkaidō road between Edo (Tokyo) and Kyoto. The book is available in English translation by Thomas Satchell: Ikku Jippensha. 2001. *The Shank’s Mare*. Boston: Tuttle Classics.

³⁵⁷ Takahashi, T. 2006. *Japanische Germanistik auf dem Weg zu einer kontrastiven Kulturkomparatistik*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, p. 131.

Hermann Hesse's second novel *Unterm Rad* (*Beneath the Wheel*) was published in October 1905 and by the end of the year some 15,000 copies of the book had already been sold.³⁵⁸ Joseph Mileck describes the novel as an attempt by Hesse 'to unburden himself of unpleasant memories' of his painful experiences over four years in Maulbronn, Bad Boll, Stetten, Cannstatt and Calw from 1891 to 1895.³⁵⁹ For Ralph Freedman the novel was a 'reckoning with the past',³⁶⁰ and he describes Hesse at the time of writing as having 'become obsessed with the evils of formal education, with the "wheel" of an unfeeling system that crushes any sensitive child.'³⁶¹ Indeed, writing to his step brother Karl Isenberg in November 1904, Hesse declares that, 'Die Schule ist die einzige moderne Kulturfrage, die ich Ernst nehme und die mich gelegentlich aufregt.'³⁶² Gunnar Decker argues that the novel 'wird zur Abrechnung mit dem Schulsystem seiner Zeit und dem Bild des Kindes als Zögling',³⁶³ but, on the other hand, points out that the pressures and stress that young people suffered in the Wilhelmine school system still exist in today's society.³⁶⁴ What was considered 'Nervenfieber, Bleichsucht, Auszehrung oder gar moral insanity' in the 19th century is now captured under the fashionable phrase 'burnout'.³⁶⁵ Decker's analysis lifts it out of the historical and bibliographical standpoint and points to the current relevance of the novel.

The plot of the novel has been laconically summarised as 'the story of a gifted boy of humble birth who is sent from his village to the theological academy, sinks to the bottom of the class, breaks down, goes home and dies.'³⁶⁶ The 'gifted boy' is the Swabian school pupil Hans Giebenrath, the main protagonist of the novel. His counterpart and Hans Giebenrath's friend is Hermann Heilner. In Jefford Vahlbusch's new reading of the novel,³⁶⁷ he argues that we should see beyond the commonplace allegorical interpretation of the novel according to which Hesse's personality is split up and represented by the poles of Giebenrath and Heilner (this allegorical approach is supported by, among others, Hugo Ball, Heinz Stotle, Joseph Mileck and Volker Michels), wherein Hans Giebenrath has to die in order that Hermann Heilner (Hesse) may continue to live and flourish,³⁶⁸ which, Vahlbusch suggests, has 'undermined' our understanding and appreciation of the novel.³⁶⁹ Instead, taking solely the evidence as it is provided by the text of the novel, *Unterm Rad* becomes a story 'about

³⁵⁸ *GBI*: 131.

³⁵⁹ Mileck, J. 1980. *Hermann Hesse: Life and Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 34-35.

³⁶⁰ Freedman, R. 1979. *Hermann Hesse: Pilgrim of Crisis*. London: Jonathan Cape, p. 130.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁶² *GBI*: 130.

³⁶³ Decker, G. 2012. *Hesse: Der Wanderer und sein Schatten*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 234.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

³⁶⁶ D. J. Enright, 1968, cited in Vahlbusch, J. 2009. *Novel Ideas: Notes toward a New Reading of Hesse's Unterm Rad*. In: Cornils, I. ed. *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, pp. 17-56. Here: p. 17.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

supplemental tutoring in preparation for a specific prestigious and very competitive state examination' (an experience very familiar to 'ambitious' Japanese students who attend cram schools and exam prep schools in the evenings and at weekends in order to increase the likelihood of their success in school and university entrance exams) rather than a 'school novel'.³⁷⁰ Weighing the evidence presented in the novel, Vahlbusch concludes that the continuing success of the novel may be attributed to the fact that rather than portraying 'abusive or exploitative turn-of-the-century schooling practices, (...) it does not display them at all.'³⁷¹ For Vahlbusch, this means that, once the 'polemical shell' of the novel is cracked open, '*Unterm Rad* has a largely unnoticed empty centre waiting to be filled – with readers' own painful school-centred memories and resentments'.³⁷² Vahlbusch's close reading of the novel provides a new way of interpreting its ongoing popularity and success in Japan; beyond the commonplace allegorical and autobiographical interpretations (Vahlbusch ultimately argues that it is a novel about the relationship between schoolboys³⁷³). The 'empty space' of the novel, framed within a *Schulroman*, or better a *Schülerroman*, provides Japanese readers with the interpretive freedom, or Iserian gap, by which they can project their own associations and experiences of a rigorous Japanese school system with high stakes entrance exams (see also my discussion of 'identity themes' in the Introduction and Chapter 3) upon the novel. For example, Miho Matsunaga, who translated *Unterm Rad* into modern Japanese in 2007, writes in her afterword to the novel: 'It was when I was in my mid-teens, just about the age of Hans, that I read *Beneath the Wheel* for the first time. Back then, I just had experienced the [senior] high school entrance exam, and so it gave me an affinity with the situations that Hans went through.'³⁷⁴ I would argue that the affinities are most probably to be found in the exhausting long hours of evening and weekend study in the cram and exam prep schools that Japanese students face when an important entrance is looming, and the pressure they may feel from parental expectations. The extra hours of study after school that are imposed upon Hans to prepare him for the prestigious state exams (*Landexamen*) are a familiar experience for both gifted and ordinary school pupils in Japan.

An die Schulstunden, die täglich bis vier Uhr dauerten, schloß sich die griechische Extralektion beim Rektor an, um sechs war dann der Herr Stadtpfarrer so freundlich, eine Repetitionsstunde in Latein und Religion zu geben, und zweimal in der Woche

³⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 29.

³⁷¹ Ibid., p. 35.

³⁷² Ibid., p. 35.

³⁷³ Ibid., p. 49.

³⁷⁴ Matsunaga, M. 2007. Afterword. In: Hesse, H. *Sharin no Shita de. (Unterm Rad)*. Tokyo: Kobunsha, p. 304. (Translation by Risa Tominaga.)

fand nach dem Abendessen noch eine einstündige Unterweisung beim Mathematiklehrer statt.³⁷⁵

The physical and mental toll (tiefliegende, unruhige Augen; Schweiß auf der Stirn und Herzklopfen³⁷⁶) that such exertions take upon a young person are described in the novel in all clarity and most likely strike a chord among young Japanese readers of recent experiences in cram and exam prep schools, or raise troubled warnings of exertions and pressures to be borne patiently in coming years.

As noted, with the ‘empty centre’, the Japanese reader can bring personal associations and experiences into the relationship with the story, in the sense of Holland’s ‘identity themes’ that I discuss in the Introduction and Chapter 3. Miho Matsunaga’s modern translation of *Unterm Rad* (*Sharin no shita de*) was published by Kobunsha in Tokyo in 2007.³⁷⁷ In her para-textual afterword, Matsunaga writes that she read *Unterm Rad* in Kenji Takahashi’s Japanese translation for the first time in her mid-teens at high school, an age similar to that of the novel’s main protagonist, Hans Giebenrath.³⁷⁸ Matsunaga sat and passed her high-stakes entrance exams for senior high school, but was fretting over the poor marks she had received in her first exams at the new school, and thus there was an associative link with the fictional character Hans who had also doubted his success in the *Landesexamen* and had worried about his future path in life should he fail.³⁷⁹

Although Matsunaga approached the translation of the novel with this reading experience in memory, she was now a mature, married woman with children, and a professor of literature at one of Japan’s most prestigious universities; a woman with considerable private and professional life experience. In short, Matsunaga now read the novel, in preparation for translation, from a very different perspective – ‘a motherly perspective’.³⁸⁰ Questions formed

³⁷⁵ Hesse, H. 1972. *Unterm Rad*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 9.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

³⁷⁷ Hesse, H. 2007. *Sharin no shita de (Unterm Rad)*. Tokyo: Kobunsha. (In the Japanese title, *Sharin* means wheel, which is followed by the possessive particle *no*, linking wheel with *shita*, which means beneath, followed by the particle *de* which indicates the place that an event or action occurs. In other words, the protagonist rather than coming under the wheel, which would be indicated by the Japanese particle *ni*, has all along been beneath the wheel, giving us the sense of a pupil being trapped and crushed within an educational system from which there is no escape. Hesse’s book is part of a paperback series published by Kobunsha entitled Kobunsha Classics. Other books in the series include Bertold Brecht’s *Antigone*, Franz Kafka’s *Das Urteil & Die Verwandlung*, E.T.A. Hoffmann’s *Nußknacker und Mausekönig/Prinzessin Brambilla*, and Rilke’s *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge*.)

³⁷⁸ Matsunaga, M. 2007. Afterword. In: Hesse, H. *Sharin no Shita de. (Unterm Rad)*. Tokyo: Kobunsha, p. 304. (Translation by Risa Tominaga.)

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 304. ‘Hans saß eine halbe Stunde lang auf dem Fenstersims, (...) und versuchte sich vorzustellen, wie das sein würde, wenn es nun wirklich mit Seminar und Gymnasium und Studieren nichts wäre. Man würde ihm als Lehrling in einen Käseladen oder auf ein Bureau tun, und er würde zeitlebens einer von den gewöhnlichen armseligen Leuten sein, die er verachtete und über die er absolut hinaus wollte.’ Hesse, H. 1972. *Unterm Rad*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 28.

³⁸⁰ Matsunaga, M. 2007. Afterword. In: Hesse, H. *Sharin no Shita de. (Unterm Rad)*. Tokyo: Kobunsha, p. 305. (Translation by Risa Tominaga.) Although Matsunaga was translating from a new perspective, O’Hagan and Ashworth suggest that the act of translation operates through a series of three ‘levels’: enabling: the knowledge

in her mind during the translation work. ‘Why is he so sensitive and clumsy? Couldn’t he talk to someone himself? I felt impatient following Hans.’³⁸¹ Hesse’s ‘vehement tone’ in criticising the education system again surprised Matsunaga, but ‘Hesse was still so young that he must have been remembering his bitter time at school while writing as if it only happened the day before.’³⁸² Reading as a teenager, Matsunaga had not appreciated Hesse’s descriptions of the natural world, but this had changed in adulthood, ‘This time I was able to really appreciate his rich description of nature that I used to skip. For example, I was convinced that Hesse was very fond of fishing by reading the fishing scene in which he carefully described each step of preparation. I feel like there is no one among contemporary German-speaking writers who describes natural scenery as sensitively as Hesse does.’³⁸³ Although the person is the same, aspects of the novel move into focus and recede according to the reader’s life experiences, and identity themes such as ‘student’, ‘mother’ and ‘nature-lover’ become more or less important to the person engaging with and entering into a relationship with the text.

When I interviewed Miho Matsunaga, she added details about her affective experience of reading *Unterm Rad* as a high-school student. She felt sadness at the death of Hans at the end of the story, and that the story had an element of darkness (*düster*) about it.³⁸⁴ As discussed above, although she experienced similar difficulties at school to the protagonist Hans, Matsunaga stressed that there were certain limits framing her potential interaction and relationship with the text at that time.³⁸⁵ Hans attends the seminary at the Maulbronn monastery at the end of 19th century, which, at the time, only boys could enter, and was thus an all-male world with rigorous disciplinary practices, which means that it was very different from the environment that a female student in a post-war Japanese high school would experience, and therefore these historically contextualising aspects of the novel

that the translator possesses about the foreign language; facilitation/localisation: the interplay between the cultural understanding the translator has and pitching the translation at the target audience; and adaptation: the provision of a coherent message in the target language and culture, while maintaining the specificities of the source language and culture. Ashworth, D. & O’Hagan, M. 2002. *Translation-mediated Communication in a Digital World*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp. 74-76.

³⁸¹ Matsunaga, M. 2007. Afterword. In: Hesse, H. *Sharin no Shūta de. (Unterm Rad)*. Tokyo: Kobunsha, p. 305. (Translation by Risa Tominaga.)

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 305.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

³⁸⁴ Matsunaga, M. 2015. *Interview with N. Cunningham*. 31 July, Tokyo. (Interview conducted in German. Matsunaga believes that Kobunsha has sold 10,000-20,000 copies of the book. Kobunsha is very active in promoting sales of books among Japanese school pupils and organizes competitions with prizes. Matsunaga herself could not remember why she originally read *Unterm Rad*. For her, it is almost a ‘tradition’ that *Unterm Rad* is read by Japanese school children. In the pre-war education system, students in the all-male elite *kyūsei-kōkō* high schools learnt German and *Unterm Rad* was a popular reading material. The pre-war cultural atmosphere was influenced by the philosophy of *kyōyō-shugi*, derived from the German concept of *Bildung*, in the pre-war Taishō period, was marked by ideas of self-cultivation in aesthetic, ethical and spiritual matters. A further, modern factor is that *Unterm Rad* is sometimes included on school summer reading lists.)

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

framed her reading experience, yet remained peripheral.³⁸⁶ However, Matsunaga could relate to the passages of the novel in which Hesse describes Hans' feeling of loneliness, his sense of alienation and his yearning to be understood in his new environment, having had similar experiences after entering her new senior high school.³⁸⁷ At the end of the interview, Matsunaga concludes that the novel plots the life, the intellectual and the spiritual development of an individual subject (*Bildungsroman*), until it reaches a 'negative' outcome.³⁸⁸

In sum, as a reader, Matsunaga's response to *Unterm Rad* is not simply a binary cause-and-effect event in which the text calls forth a reaction intended by the author, nor does Matsunaga constitute the 'hypothetical' reader involved in the 'concretization' of the 'schematised aspects' of the text in the Iserian sense (see Introduction). These ideas fall short. Rather the reader is interested in themes and conflicts in the story with which she builds associations, which change as the 'identity' themes in her own life come to the fore or recede. Matsunaga's experiences as a teenager at a Japanese school and in the cram and exam prep school system shaped the way she read the book as a pupil; that is, these experiences influenced what seemed important to her and what she then chose to remember from the text. Re-reading the novel in order to translate it into Japanese, now as a mother and as a university professor, means she responded more strongly to other themes in the text in a way that ties in with her present 'ego' identity and lifestyle, which, arguably, have influenced the approach to her translation and transcultural mediation work.³⁸⁹ For example, Matsunaga's maternal feelings for Hans may have influenced her translation into Japanese of the passage that describes Hans' death. Matsunaga translates the sentence 'Zu derselben Zeit trieb der so bedrohte Hans schon kühl und still und langsam im dunklen Flusse talabwärts.'³⁹⁰ as このころ、これほど父の怒りの的になっていたハンスは、すでに冷たく静かになって、黒い川をゆっくりと谷の下流に向かって流れていた。(Konokoro korehodo chichino ikarino matoni natteita hansuha, sudeni tsumetaku shizukaninatte kuroi kawa wo yukkurito tani no geryuni mukatte nagareteita.).³⁹¹ Rendered in English her translation reads, 'At this time, the target of his father's massive anger, Hans, who was already cool and quietened, was floating slowly toward the bottom of the valley in the black river.' Matsunaga's translation is full of empathy for Hans, who is a target of the

³⁸⁶ Ibid. According to Matsunaga, the terminology of the 19th century seminary was also a challenge to mediate and translate into Japanese.

³⁸⁷ Ibid. One of the words Matsunaga uses to describe her own experience is *Auswegslosigkeit* (that is, the hopelessness she felt).

³⁸⁸ Ibid. In the interview Matsunaga contrasted the outcome of this novel with *Siddhartha*, which, for her, has a 'positive' outcome.

³⁸⁹ Hesse, H. 1951. *Sharin no shita (Unterm Rad)*. Tokyo: Shinchosa; Hesse, H. 2007. *Sharin no shita de (Unterm Rad)*. Tokyo: Kobunsha.

³⁹⁰ Hesse, H. 1972. *Unterm Rad*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 164.

³⁹¹ Hesse, H. 2007. *Sharin no Shita de. (Unterm Rad)*. Tokyo: Kobunsha, p. 285.

father's anger rather than the random 'object of threats', and she describes the river as 'black' rather than 'dark' (*dunkel*), which attributes negative connotations to the body of water, as if she were appalled by his death in an alien medium as a mother. Both Takahashi (1951) and Iwabuchi (1966) render *dunkel* as 'dark' in Japanese (*kurai kawa*). I would argue that Matsunaga's relationship with *Unterm Rad* demonstrates that there is no 'absolute' text or immanent reading of the text. What comes into focus or recedes from interest in the text is related to the readers' unique identity themes, or, arguably, themes that may be common to a cohort of readers at a particular life-stage in Japan.

1.6. Hesse's Stories in Japanese Junior High School Textbooks

Arguably, one of the most lasting and comprehensive effects Kenji Takahashi has had on Hermann Hesse's reception process in Japan has been the incorporation of his translation of Hesse's short story *Jugendgedenken* (based on *Das Nachtpfauenauge*, published in 1911) in textbooks used by the majority of Japanese junior high school students. The adoption of the story in the textbooks means that Hesse is read in Japanese translation by 80%,³⁹² that is, close to one million, of Japanese students in their first year of junior high-school in their Japanese language textbooks (*kokugo*). At this stage of the education system, five textbooks are used to teach vernacular Japanese, four of which contain Takahashi's translation of *Jugendgedenken* (see Figure 1 for an example).³⁹³

³⁹² Matsushima, W. 2009. Die Hesse-Rezeption in Japan – Taschenbücher, Kenji Takahashi und Lehrbücher. *Studies in arts and letters: literature, history, geography*. **30**, pp.101-108. Here: p. 106.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

「語り手」に注目して

「少年の日の思い出」は「客」が少年時代の思い出を「私」に語るという構成になっている。「語り手」に注目して作品を読み、構成や展開、表現の特徴を捉え、ものの見方や考え方を広げよう。

少年の日の思い出


ヘルマン・ヘッセ
高橋健二訳

客は夕方の散歩から帰って、私の書齋で私のそばに腰かけていた。昼間の明るさは消えうせようとしていた。窓の外には、色あせた湖が、丘の多い岸に鋭く縁取られて、遠くかなたまで広がっていた。ちょうど、私の末の男の子が、おやすみを言ったところだったので、私たちは子どもや幼い日の思い出について話し合った。


「子どもができてから、自分の幼年時代のいろいろな習慣や楽しみことがまたよみがえってきたよ。それどころか、一年前から、ぼくはまた、チョウチョを集めをやっているよ。お目にかけてようか。」と私は言った。

彼が見せてほしいと言ったので、私は収集の入っている軽い厚紙の箱を取りに行った。最初の箱を開けてみて、初めて、もうすっかり暗くなっているのに気づき、私はランプを取ってマッチを擦った。すると、たちまち外の景色は闇に沈んでしまい、窓いっぱいには不透明な青い夜色に閉ざされてしまった。

私のチョウチョは、明るいランプの光を受けて、箱の中から、きらびやかに光り輝いた。



高橋 健二
[1902—1998]
東京都に生まれた。
ドイツ文学者。



ヘルマン・ヘッセ
[1877—1962]
ドイツの詩人・小説家。

ヘッセやケストナーなどの作品を数多く翻訳している。
《出典》ヘッセ全集2 車輪の下によった。

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Figure 1: *Jugendgedenken. Exchanged Words* textbook from the Kyoiku Publishing Company. Bottom left: Kenji Takahashi. Bottom right: Hermann Hesse.³⁹⁴

In this story the narrator of *Jugendgedenken*, who is now an adult, talks about experiences from his adolescence and his passion for collecting butterflies and moths. His passion leads him to steal a rare specimen from his friend, which he then inadvertently breaks. Despite the narrator's apologies, his friend disdains him, which leads the narrator to the conclusion that one can never undo what has already been done. *Jugendgedenken*, which was published in the *Würzburger General Anzeiger* in 1931, is a largely stylistic reworking of *Das Nachtpfauenauge*,³⁹⁵ published in 1911, and is largely unknown outside of Japan.³⁹⁶ Kenji Takahashi visited Hesse for two days in Montagnola in early August 1931, and Hesse gave Takahashi some newspaper articles of his work as a parting gift, including

³⁹⁴ 中学国語1 伝え合う言葉 (*Chugaku kokugo 1 tsutaeaukotoba: Junior High School Japanese 1—Exchanged Words*). 2013. *少年の日の思い出* (*Shounen no hi no omoide: Jugendgedenken*). Tokyo: Kyoiku Publishing Company, pp. 110-199. Here: p. 110. The textbook bears the label: 文部科学省検定済教科書中学校国語科用 (Junior High School Japanese Textbook Approved by Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology Japan). © Kyoiku Publishing Company.

³⁹⁵ SW8: 14-20.

³⁹⁶ It is not included in the *Sämtliche Werke*, for example.

Jugendgedenken.³⁹⁷ Takahashi was fascinated by the story, translated it into Japanese, and it was published in a collection of stories entitled *Vagabundentum und Heimweh* by Shinchosha (Tokyo) in 1940.³⁹⁸ Takahashi's translation of the story was noticed by editors of textbooks for Japanese language classes in junior high schools (the content and plot of the story mean that it is easily understandable for the target age range of the textbooks), and the story was incorporated in a Japanese language textbook for second year junior high school students for the first time in 1947.³⁹⁹ In 1957, the original German text of *Jugendgedenken* was published by Ikubundo (Tokyo), edited by Kenji Takahashi, as a German teaching text at intermediate level for Japanese university students.⁴⁰⁰

Since 2002, however, the publishing company Sanseido in Tokyo has used Germanist Asao Okada's translation of *Das Nachtpfauenauge* in its textbooks in which Okada, a passionate butterfly collector and entomologist since childhood, has corrected the classificatory mistakes made by Takahashi in his translation. Okada writes:

Ich hatte schon 1950 in der Mittelschule "Jugendgedenken" im staatl. Lehrbuch für die japanische Sprache gelesen. Weil ich bereits zu dieser Zeit ein leidenschaftlicher Schmetterlingsammler und Hobbyzüchter gewesen bin, habe ich in der Übersetzung von Takahashi nicht wenige Fehlübersetzungen und Ungreimtheiten in der entomologischen Fachterminologie gefunden.⁴⁰¹

Although the prose of *Jugendgedenken* has been corrected and re-translated to bring greater classificatory accuracy in this new rendering, the source text has remained unchanged for the last seventy years. Moreover, as was the case in the era up to Japan's defeat in 1945, the use of these government approved textbooks (from 1963 decisions about textbooks were taken out of the hands of individual teachers⁴⁰²) means that most young Japanese people still encounter Hesse in their reading materials in the school classroom, and also in their summer reading lists at elementary or junior high school (*Unterm Rad*). In 2001, the members of the *Hermann Hesse Freundeskreis Japan* were asked by Masaru Watanabe where they had read Hesse for the first time, and most confirmed that they first encountered Hesse at school.⁴⁰³ The fact is that this causal link for the introduction of Hesse's works to school students was initiated by Hesse himself as, in early August 1931, he passed the original newspaper cutting

³⁹⁷ Okada, A. 2010. *Jugendgedenken und Das Nachtpfauenauge. Zur Ausstellung 'Hermann Hesse und die Schmetterlinge' in Deutschland und in der Schweiz*. [Leaflet]. Tokyo, p. 2.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁰² Neary, I. 2002. *The State and Politics in Japan*. Cambridge: Polity, p. 41.

⁴⁰³ Schnierle-Lutz, H. 2010. *Hermann Hesse und Japan*. [Leaflet]. Calw.

from the *Würzburger General Anzeiger* containing *Jugendgedenken* to Kenji Takahashi as a farewell gift in Montagnola as he about to depart.

1.7. Inter-medial Form of Reception: Hermann Hesse and the Butterflies⁴⁰⁴

The reception of Hesse's literary works in Japan has also inspired new creative works which combine the media of the text and material artefacts. Professor of classical studies Lorna Hardwick suggests that studying a literary reception, more than just an examination of the dialogue between past and present, means also investigating 'lateral dialogue', that is, a reception process that crosses 'boundaries of place or language or genre'.⁴⁰⁵ Hesse's reception in Japan crosses both the boundaries of place and language, but also genres. When a reception process crosses genres, artistic and intellectual processes are involved that introduce a new dimension to the reception process, which can serve for a number of purposes (political, artistic, social, educational or cultural).⁴⁰⁶ The exhibition *Hermann Hesse und die Schmetterlinge*, created by Hesse translator Asao Okada and by biologist and engineer Kousuke Niibe, serves both educational and cultural purposes, but also arguably a political purpose in promoting awareness about the disappearing habitats of these fragile creatures. Moreover, the use of real specimens of the butterflies mentioned in Hesse's stories *Das Nachtpfauenauge* (1911) and *Jugendgedenken* (1931), and Volker Michels' collection of prose and poetry in *Hermann Hesse: Schmetterlinge* (2011),⁴⁰⁷ opens up these texts to the visual sense rather than just the reader's cognitive imagination. By using the term 'inter-medial', I seek to capture both the medium of the literary text on paper, and its translation, as well as the adaptation of the literary text in its reception across this standard genre of reception into the medium of the materiality of butterfly specimens, and the relationship that these two media enter into when interwoven in the exhibition. But first I turn to the reception of the short story *Jugendgedenken* in Japan and how its reception influenced Asao Okada as a transcultural mediator.

As a post-graduate student, Asao Okada had the opportunity to study under Kenji Takahashi. Okada wrote an essay entitled *Tag- und Nachtschmetterlinge in der deutschen Literatur*, which he submitted to Takahashi, together with butterfly specimens he had obtained from Germany.⁴⁰⁸ Takahashi was interested in Okada's work and showed him the original

⁴⁰⁴ A connected article can be found in *Literatur für Leser*: Cunningham, N. 2016. Hermann Hesse and the Butterflies – A Journey from Innocence to Experience and Back. In: Cornils, I., ed. *Literatur für Leser Themenheft: Forever Young? Unschuld und Erfahrung im Werk Hermann Hesses*. Verlag Peter Lang. 15(1), pp. 31-37.

⁴⁰⁵ Hardwick, L. 2003. *Reception Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁷ Hesse, H. 2011. *Hermann Hesse: Schmetterlinge*. Berlin: Insel Verlag. (Edited by Volker Michels and originally published in 1979.)

⁴⁰⁸ Okada, A. 2010. *Jugendgedenken und Das Nachtpfauenauge. Zur Ausstellung 'Hermann Hesse und die Schmetterlinge' in Deutschland und in der Schweiz*. [Leaflet]. Tokyo, p. 3.

newspaper cutting that Hesse had given to him in Montagnola in August 1931.⁴⁰⁹ In the cutting Okada found a terminological typing error in the Latin name of the *Gelben Ordensband* moth, which should be written *fulminea* not *tulminea* (*Catocala fulminea*), and, as a result, Okada's research and suggestions prompted Takahashi to correct the mistakes in both the Japanese and German language teaching materials at junior high school and university levels respectively.⁴¹⁰ Okada's interest in both Hesse's works and the natural world of insects and butterflies would have 'lateral' consequences for Hesse's reception in Japan.

In 1984, commensurate with his passion for butterflies and insects, Asao Okada translated *Hermann Hesse: Schmetterlinge* (1979), which was published by the Asahi publishing house in Tokyo, and has been reprinted three times.⁴¹¹ From 1984 to 2009, among other works, Okada translated Suhrkamp anthologies (edited by Volker Michels) such as *Shikisaino majyutu* (*Magie der Farben*), *Hitowa seijyunkururuni* (*Mit der Reife wird man immer jünger*), *Niwashigoto no tanoshimi* (*Freude am Garten*) and *Wagamama koso saikounobitoku* (*Eigensinn macht Spaß*).⁴¹² As noted above, some of these translations (*Mit der Reife wird man immer jünger* and *Freude am Garten*) have reached sales figures in the hundreds of thousands, becoming best-sellers in Japan. While these almost meditative anthologies of Hesse's works organized around a central theme have found a willing older readership in Japan, they are still received as literary texts. Okada's innovative exhibition, created together with Kosuke Niibe, who produced the materials for the exhibition, was presented to the public for the first time in 2008 (*Ausstellung von Dr. Mambou's Erinnerungen an Insekten*) and continued in 2009 under the title *Jugendgedenken*.⁴¹³ The exhibition

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴¹¹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴¹² Hesse, H. 1992. *Shikisaino majyutu* (*Magie der Farben*). Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten Verlag. Hesse, H. 1995. *Hitowa seijyunkururuni* (*Mit der Reife wird man immer jünger*). Tokyo: Soshisha. Hesse, H. 1996. *Niwashigoto no tanoshimi* (*Freude am Garten*). Tokyo: Soshisha. Hesse, H. 2009. *Wagamama koso saikounobitoku* (*Eigensinn macht Spaß*). Tokyo, Soshisha.

⁴¹³ Okada, A. 2010. *Jugendgedenken und Das Nachtpfauenauge. Zur Ausstellung 'Hermann Hesse und die Schmetterlinge' in Deutschland und in der Schweiz*. [Leaflet]. Tokyo, p. 4.



Figure 2: *Jugendgedenken*: Exhibition at Gunma Prefectural Museum of Literature, spring 2014.

contained specimens and illustrations of almost all the butterflies and moths from Kenji Takahashi's translation of *Jugendgedenken*, and Asao Okada's translations of *Das Nachtpfauenauge* and Volker Michels' anthology *Hermann Hesse: Schmetterlinge*, and other miscellaneous written materials and drawings by Hesse related to the theme.⁴¹⁴ By the spring of 2014, the exhibition had visited 24 different venues throughout Japan, finishing and closing at the Gunma Prefectural Museum of Literature. Figure 3 shows the poster that

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

ヘルマン・ヘッセ昆虫展
—「少年の日の思い出」—

Hermann Hesse

2014年2月1日[土]～4月6日[日]

開館時間 / 9:30～17:00 (観覧受付 / 16:30まで) 休館日 / 毎週火曜日(2月11日(火・祝)は開館 / 12日(水)は休館)
会場 / 特別展示室 観覧料 / 一般200円(160円) 大学・高校生100円(80円) 中学生以下無料
※()内は20名以上の団体割引料金 ※障害者手帳等をお持ちの方とその介護者1名は無料

【協力】日本昆虫協会

群馬県立土屋文明記念文学館
Gunma Prefectural Museum of Literature in Commemoration of Bunmei Tsushiyō
〒370-3533 群馬県高崎市保遠田町2000
TEL 027-373-7721 FAX 027-373-7725
http://www.kungaku.pref.gunma.jp

企画展示
第83回 土屋文明とその門下の歌人たち
—「百生地」と(ケノクニ)—
2014年1月18日(土)～3月16日(日)

Figure 3 *Jugendgedenken*: exhibition poster.

that advertises this final venue. On March 29, 2014, Asao Okada held a lecture at the museum, which was attended by some fifty-five participants.⁴¹⁵ In Japan, the exhibition was entitled *Jugendgedenken*, focusing on the familiarity of Japanese Hesse readers with the story, but, because this story is largely unknown outside of Japan, when the exhibition travelled to Europe it was designated *Hermann Hesse und die Schmetterlinge*. The inter-medial exhibition was hosted by the Hermann Hesse Museum Calw in the spring of 2010, by the Hermann Hesse Museum in Gaienhofen in 2011, and finally by the Hermann Hesse Museum in Montagnola in 2013.

⁴¹⁵ Okada, A, 2014. *Interview with N. Cunningham*. 19 May, Tokyo.

The exhibition demonstrates that a lifelong engagement with Hesse's works (Okada read Takahashi's translation of *Jugendgedenken* in junior high school and then created the exhibition as a professor emeritus), combined with an acute interest in the natural world and some of its most fragile and beguiling creatures, can result in the creation of unique new cultural products, which represent a 'lateral' adaptation across the traditional genre of reception to combine two media, one associated traditionally with the reception process, the written text, and the other, butterfly and moth specimens, which open up the texts to the visual sense in a unique way. While such 'lateral' adaptations in the reception processes of literature are known, this inter-medial reception of Hesse's works invites the Japanese visitor to engage with a European writer through the portal of fragile creatures, which may sensitise and raise political awareness about protecting the threatened habitats of these Lepidoptera.

1.8. Vagabond Affinities

The final section of this chapter discusses the affinities that a Japanese reader may find in Hesse's novel *Knulp*⁴¹⁶ and the tradition of the vagrant in Japanese literature exemplified by the literary and artistic representation of the *Tōkaidō* route – the road, with fifty-three lodging stations for travellers, which in the Tokugawa era (1603-1868) linked Edo (Tokyo) and Kyoto.⁴¹⁷ *Knulp* was translated in its entirety into Japanese by Morio Sagara for the first time in 1938, and made accessible to a mass readership by the Iwanami-shoten publishing house, the Japanese equivalent of the Reclam Universal-Bibliothek.⁴¹⁸ Masaru Watanabe argues that part of the appeal of Hesse's literature for the Japanese reader lies in Hesse's 'Nomadentum', which has 'gemeinsame Züge mit charakteristischen Zügen der japanischen Literaturtradition.'⁴¹⁹ First, I explore examples of Hesse's *Nomadentum* and then discuss how this fits in with in particular Japanese artistic traditions of the *Tōkaidō*.

1.8.1. *Knulp*: Hesse the philosophical vagabond on the *Tōkaidō*

Hesse was a wanderer (reflected in the title of Gunnar Decker's recent biography – *Der Wanderer und sein Schatten*⁴²⁰), and his novel *Knulp* (1915) is a testament to the part of Hesse that was the sensitive vagabond. Writing to Cornelia Goltermann (Ludwig Finckh's

⁴¹⁶ *Knulp. Drei Geschichten aus dem Leben Knulps. SW3*: 143-232. Joseph Mileck summarizes the story and philosophy of *Knulp* as follows: 'Hesse has his vagabond philosopher argue the novelty and uniqueness of the individual, his basic self-sufficiency and autonomy, his essential aloneness, and his potential holiness. Fate for Knulp is not intrusive but inherent. He is not adrift in and subject to the forces of an alien world, but it is his own world. Life is not an adjustment to outer caprice, but a simple living of the self.' Mileck, J. 1978. *Hermann Hesse: Life and Art. Berkeley*: University of California Press, p. 85.

⁴¹⁷ The *Tōkaidō* route follows the coast. The other main road, the *Nakasendō*, followed a route through the mountains of central Japan to Kyoto.

⁴¹⁸ Watanabe, M. 1977. Japan. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 222-233. Here: pp. 222-224.

⁴¹⁹ Watanabe, M. 1977. Japan. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 222-233. Here: p. 224.

⁴²⁰ Decker, G. 2012. *Der Wanderer und sein Schatten*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag.

sister⁴²¹) and her husband Ludwig Goltermann on 30 December, 1906, from Gaienhofen, Hesse, a self-acknowledged vagabond, passes on the news about his new house, ‘Die neueste Neuigkeit im alten Jahr ist, daß ich geborener Vagabund ein Häuslein bauen werde!’⁴²² Hesse then goes on to state what makes the life of the vagabond so appealing to him:

Wir Wanderer sind darin geübt, Liebeswünsche gerade um ihrer Unerfüllbarkeit willen zu hegen, und jene Liebe, welche eigentlich dem Weib gehörte, spielend zu verteilen an Dorf und Berg, See und Schlucht, an die Kinder am Weg, den Bettler an der Brücke, das Rind auf der Weide, den Vogel, den Schmetterling. Wir lösen die Liebe vom Gegenstand, die Liebe selbst ist uns genug, ebenso wie wir im Wandern nicht das Ziel suchen, sondern nur den Genuß des Wanderns selbst, das Unterwegssein.⁴²³

A quarter of a century later, Hesse would build a house for the second and the last time. The finality and permanency of the looming project stirs the heart and soul of Hesse, the vagabond, as evidenced by a letter Hesse wrote to Elsy Bodmer on 26 April 1930, one day after her husband had offered to provide the financial means for the project.⁴²⁴ Hesse is ambivalent about the prospect and is torn, on the one hand, between the possibility of finally being able to live in a house with a garden in Ticino, and, on the other hand, worried about giving up a life which up to that point, after he left the house in Gaienhofen in 1912 and moved to Bern, Switzerland, had allowed longer periods of travel and extended sojourns in various cities such as Zurich and Basle as the rhythm of the seasons brought different and uncomfortable climatic conditions to his apartment in the idiosyncratic palace Casa Camuzzi in Montagnola, his base since 1919. In the letter, besides expressing a wish, should the project reach fruition, to merely be a lifelong ‘guest’ in the house, which would then revert to the Bodmer family again upon his death, Hesse discusses the envy he feels toward the life that the Chinese Taoist poet Li Tai Pe (701-762) was able to lead. Li Tai Pe was appreciated and supported by the Chinese Emperor, but not burdened down with awards and positions, nor tied to the court; the poet was given a *carte blanche* to travel the huge country and drink

⁴²¹ Ludwig Finckh (1876-1964) was a writer who lived as a neighbour to Hesse in Gaienhofen on Lake Constance before Hesse moved to Switzerland in 1912. His early relationship with Hesse is described by Ralph Freedman as follows: ‘Hesse’s closest friend in the group [the literary circle *petit cénacle* in Tübingen at the end of the 19th century] was undoubtedly Ludwig Finckh, nicknamed “Ugel,” a law student who later switched to medicine and ended up as a minor novelist. Indeed, Finckh became one of his most intimate companions during the prewar years of Hesse’s success, and their relationship buckled only under the strain of the war, when Finckh became its jingoist supporter and Hesse his hesitant opponent.’ Freedman, R. 1979. *Hermann Hesse: Pilgrim of Crisis*. London: Jonathan Cape, p. 76.

⁴²² Hesse, H. 2013. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe 1905-1915. Band 2*. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, p. 43.

⁴²³ *SWI1*: 12.

⁴²⁴ Hesse, H. 2016. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe 1924-1932. Band 4*. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, pp. 388-390.

as much wine as he desired at the expense of the emperor. This is exactly the utopian lifestyle that Hesse imagined for himself:

Wenn ich für meine eigene Person zu wählen hätte, so würde ich etwas Ähnliches wählen: ich würde mir ausbitten, als Entgelt für meine Dichtungen niemals Geld zu erhalten, sondern das Recht, als Gast der anderen Menschen bescheiden, aber hübsch zu leben, behaglich, aber ohne Luxus. Ich würde den Wein und Brot mit einem Gedicht bezahlen.⁴²⁵



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Figure 4 Hesse in Italy in 1911.

Hesse's utopian lifestyle is very close to that lived by one of Japan's greatest *haiku* poets, Matsuo Bashō, who lived between 1644 and 1694. His seminal work, entitled *Oku no Hosomichi* (*Narrow Road to the Interior*⁴²⁷) (*Oku no Hosomichi*), is a travel diary, mixing *haiku* and prose, of a trip to the rural areas of northern Honshu (Japan's main island), taking with him only 'a pack with his writing materials, a few pieces of clothing, and several gifts from friends who saw him off.'⁴²⁸ During this period of Bashō's vagabond life, his *haiku* deal with the transitoriness of life in themes such as 'the hidden blossoms of a chestnut growing close to the eaves', or 'the ghostly dreams of dead warriors in the summer grass'.⁴²⁹ A further example from the vagabond genre in Japanese literature is the series of books *Tōkaidōchū-Hizakurige* (*Travels on Foot on the Tōkaidō* or *The Shank's Mare*) by Jippensha

⁴²⁵ Ibid., p. 389.

⁴²⁶ © Fondazione Hermann Hesse Montagnola

⁴²⁷ Matsuo, B. 1996. *Narrow Road*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press.

⁴²⁸ Van den Heuval, C. 1996. Foreword. In: Matsuo, B. *Narrow Road to the Interior*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, pp. 9-12. Here: p. 9.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

Ikku (1765-1831), which features accompanying illustrations and was first published in 1802 reaching the forty-third volume in 1822.⁴³⁰ The story revolves around two male characters, called Yajirobē and Kitahachi, plebeian vagrants from Edo, who travel the *Tōkaidō*, seemingly most interested in food, *sake* and intrigues with women, who travel from Edo to Kyoto and Osaka, and then back again to Edo.⁴³¹

Hesse had a particular interest in the *Tōkaidō* road.⁴³² At the beginning of August 1931, Kenji Takahashi visited Hermann Hesse in Montagnola as he was moving from his old apartment in the palace Casa Camuzzi into his new house, the Casa Rosa.⁴³³ Hesse revealed to Takahashi that when he wanted to imagine the scenery of Japan he would view the *Fifty-three Stations of the Tōkaidō*.⁴³⁴ This book contains a series of fifty-five woodcut prints (*ukiyo-e*, including Nihonbashi Bridge, see Figure 5 below, and Sanjō Bridge in Kyoto), created by the artist Hiroshige Utagawa (1797-1858) after his first journey along the *Tōkaidō* in the summer of 1832 and was first published in 1834.⁴³⁵ Hesse had received the ‘seit langem erhoffte Sendung’ (Hiroshige’s work) some seventeen years earlier from his ‘Japanese’ cousin, the transcultural mediator Wilhelm Gundert, at the end of April 1914.⁴³⁶ Figure 5 shows the starting point of the *Tōkaidō* at the Nihonbashi Bridge in Edo, Figure 6 the first station with inns at Shinagawa in Edo, while Figure 7 shows the twenty-seventh print with the Kakegawa River and Mt. Akiba in the background.

⁴³⁰ Keene, D. 1999. *World within Walls: A History of Japanese Literature. Vol. 2.* New York: Columbia University Press, p. 412.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, 412-413.

⁴³² The *Tōkaidō* was one of a series of five roads which linked Edo with the rest of Japan during the Tokugawa period. Hiroshige Utagawa also produced woodcut prints of the Kiso Road (The Sixty-nine Stations of the *Kiso Kaido*), also known as the *Tosando* or *Nakasendo*, which followed the Kiso River. The Kiso Road passed through the mountains of central Honshu and provided the only alternative to the *Tōkaidō* for the overland traveller between Kyoto and Edo. In Shimazaki Toson’s novel *Before the Dawn*, the prologue provides a flavour of the Kiso stretch of the road: ‘The Kiso Road lies entirely in the mountains. In some places it cuts across the face of a precipice. In others it follows the banks of the Kiso river, far above the stream. Elsewhere it winds around a ridge and into another valley. All of it runs through dense forest.’ Toson, S. 1987. *Before the Dawn*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, p. 7.

⁴³³ Takahashi, K. 1949. Conversation with Hesse in Montagnola. Afterword. *Gertrud*. Tokyo: Shinchosha, pp. 293-304.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁴³⁵ Tokuriki, T. 1963. *Tōkaidō*. Osaka: Hoikusha, p. 112.

⁴³⁶ ‘Von Wilhelm in Japan erhielt ich vor acht Tagen die seit langem erhoffte Sendung von Holzschnitten. Alles ist modern hergerichtet, die Blätter tadellos aufgezogen etc., dazu von Wilhelm wertvolle Erklärungen zu einzelnen Blättern. Es sind einige sehr schöne dabei, und als Hauptstück ein großes Album von Hiroshige dem Jüngern, 53 Blatt Landschaften. Wenige Tage nachher kam, Davon unabhängig, ein Brief von einem japanischen Lehrer, der seine Übersetzung des Camenzind ins Japanische plant! Ob sie zustande kommt, ist freilich ungewiß.’ Hesse, H. 2013. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe 1905-1919. Band 2.* Berlin: Suhrkamp, p. 393.



Figure 5: *Tōkaidō: Nihonbashi* by Hiroshige Utagawa.⁴³⁷



Figure 6: *Shinagawa* by Hiroshige Utagawa.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁷ The Fifty-three Stations of the *Tōkaidō*. Licensed under Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons.

⁴³⁸ The Fifty-three Stations of the *Tōkaidō*. Licensed under Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons.



Figure 7: *Kakegawa* by Hiroshige Utagawa.⁴³⁹

Despite the ‘otherness’ of Hiroshige Utagawa’s woodcut prints, which were based on his impressions of the ‘Eastern Sea Road’, it is not difficult to imagine the transcultural affinity Hesse, as a self-declared vagabond, must have felt with the beauty of the landscapes, the slow pace of life, and the sense of journey and freedom that the prints impart upon the viewer.

1.9. Chapter Conclusion

The translation of literary texts into Japanese in the modern period, that is, since the commercial treaty of 1858 between Japan and England and France, and the Meiji Restoration of 1868, must be seen in the larger context of the transcultural transfer of European and American modernity to Japan. The process has been a two-way street. Japanese philosopher Ryōsuke Ōhashi writes, ‘Der Prozeß, in dem Japan sich europäisierte, wobei umgekehrt das Japanische das Europäische japanisierte, ist ein typischer Prozeß der Übersetzung, in der das Original zwar den Inhalt der Übersetzung bestimmt, aber zugleich sich in einer übersetzten Gestalt zeigt.’⁴⁴⁰ Ōhashi is careful to use the word ‘Inhalt’ (content), for the word ‘meaning’ is problematic in the practice of literary translation. The use of the term ‘meaning’ suggests that an untransmutable meaning exists which is translated. This would suggest that nothing new arises in translation practice, that just the original ‘meaning’ is transformed into the closest approximation or imitation of the original meaning. However, Ōhashi points out that the meaning of a text is not static, for ‘Der Sinn des Textes befindet sich somit in einem hermeneutisch-dynamischen Werden’.⁴⁴¹ The reception and translation

⁴³⁹ The Fifty-three Stations of the *Tōkaidō*. Licensed under Public Domain via Wikimedia Commons.

⁴⁴⁰ Ōhashi, R. 1999. *Japan im interkulturellen Dialog*. München: Iudicium, p. 131.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

of Hermann Hesse's literary texts in Japan have thus been part of a hermeneutically dynamic process and part of a larger, dialogic Westernization project.

As I have established in this chapter, the reception and translation of European literature, and thus of Hermann Hesse's literary works, too, took place first in Japan in the East Asian region. Japan's imperial ambitions in the neighbouring countries brought both the received European culture and literature to the region, as Japan served a cultural gateway function, but, moreover, the cultural authority regarding language in particular left a legacy that impacted Hesse's reception in the region for decades after Japan's defeat in 1945. Thus it is necessary to study Japan's regional influence in order to understand Hermann Hesse's reception in East Asia. As regards Hesse's reception in Japan itself, I have broken down the reception process into three stages. The first two stages saw large publication projects initiated by major Japanese publishing houses, which competed for economic and cultural capital, to translate and publish Hesse's collected works. The third period of reception (1990-present) has in the main been influenced by researchers affiliated with the *Herman Hesse Freundeskreis*, both collectively regarding the major project of translating Hesse's *Sämtliche Werke* into Japanese, or individually (Asao Okada) as regards the translation of the themed anthologies of Hesse's work published by Suhrkamp and edited by Volker Michels.

Although individually Kenji Takahashi stands out as a translator and cultural mediator of Hesse's works in the 20th century in Japan, a figural node in the history of Hesse's literary reception in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community, his role in the reception of Nazi literature in Japan cannot be overlooked nor can his nefarious attempts to weave a Nazi narrative around Hesse's works be overlooked. Takahashi's influence continues to the present day in that his translation of Hesse's short story *Jugendgedenken* is read by around 80% of young Japanese people during their junior high-school years. More recently, the second important individual translator and cultural mediator of Hesse's reception in Japan has been Asao Okada who, besides his translation of Hesse's *Das Nachtpfauenauge*, which is also read in textbooks in Japanese junior high-schools, is also responsible for an inter-medial exhibition of Hesse's works, which combines both literary text and material butterfly and moth specimens.

The process of Hesse's reception in Japan has also been a project of translation. Returning to Japanese philosopher Ryōsuke Ōhashi, he suggests that the apprehension of meaning and

new meaning from the author's lived language in 'substantial' translations requires a literary translator to understand his own lifeworld and the lifeworld of the author.⁴⁴² He writes:

Die Übersetzung als Aufgabe der Sinnerschließung und Wortfindung fordert die Anerkennung der Andersheit der Anderen und der anderen Lebenswelt. In der kulturellen Welt von heute bedeutet dies oft, daß man mit einer Erfahrung konfrontiert wird, die der Fremdwelt des Anderen zugrunde liegt und die mit keinem Wort der eigenen Sprache übersetzt werden kann.⁴⁴³

The translation of literary texts is also a translation of these 'alien worlds', whereby the translator may be confronted with an experience in the source text for which suitable words do not exist in the target language. The natural world in Japan, and thus Japanese culture, has been strongly influenced by the climate and the distinctive seasons and changes between the seasons in the natural world. Each month has its own distinctive climatic feeling, flora and fauna, foods and cultural festivals. People living in a different climatic zone will experience nature in a different way. A substantial transcultural exchange is also concerned with the mediation and translation of fundamental experiences with nature and culture as they are presented in words with natural and conventional meanings. I will discuss how understanding may occur transculturally in Chapter 3, particularly using the epistolary correspondence between Hermann Hesse and his Japanese readers to show how a spiritual capital is generated between an author and his readership in the private sphere, but first, in Chapter 2, I will explain the role of Hermann Hesse's 'Japanese' cousin, Wilhelm Gundert, as an active mediator in facilitating transcultural understanding between Hesse and Japan, and Japan and Hesse.

⁴⁴² Ibid., p. 168.

⁴⁴³ Ibid., p. 168.

Chapter 2: Wilhelm Gundert: Hermann Hesse's 'Japanese' Cousin: His Influence and Mediation

*Zum Geburtstag bekam ich auch Grüße von japanischen
Studenten aus Tokio, die eben einen Vortrag über mich gehört hatten.
Die Verbindung mit Japan, wo der Siddhartha sehr bekannt wurde,
verdanke ich zumeist meinem dortigen Freund und Vetter Wil[helm]
Gundert.⁴⁴⁴*

2.0. Introduction

‘Dank zuvor und tiefe Verneigung vor dem Meister der Allee der Schützen!’⁴⁴⁵ Hermann Hesse opens a letter with barely contained joy and respect toward his cousin Wilhelm Gundert in September 1960. Hesse’s words pertain to the publication of the first volume of his cousin’s seminal work: the translation into German of the Chinese Zen bible *Pi Yen Lu* as the *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand*.⁴⁴⁶ The letter continues and reveals Hesse’s role and participation in the translation, and, as he sees it, the nature of his cousin’s accomplishment:

Ich habe nicht nur an Dir und Deinem Leben und Denken, sondern gerade auch am langsamen Entstehen dieses gewaltigen Werkes so vielfach und innig teilgenommen, daß ich, obwohl ich weder Sinologe noch Religionsforscher bin, mir vielleicht erlauben darf, Dir auch öffentlich für dies Geschenk höchsten Ranges zu danken, dessen Gehalte und vielfache Zauber auszuschöpfen mein Lebensrest viel zu kurz ist.⁴⁴⁷

The excerpt demonstrates the closeness of the relationship between Hermann Hesse and Wilhelm Gundert, and opens a door on its importance. The cousins were often together in childhood, they corresponded regularly with each other throughout their lives, apart from a

⁴⁴⁴ Hesse, H. 2016. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe 1924-1932. Band 4*. Berlin: Suhrkamp. Letter to Heinrich Wiegand dated beginning of July 1929, pp. 328-330. Here: p. 329.

⁴⁴⁵ In 1960 Wilhelm Gundert lived in *Schießhausallee* (avenue of the marksmen) in Neu-Ulm. ‘Tiefe Verneigung’ – the deeper the bow, the greater the mark of respect in Japanese society. The person with the lowest rank bows the deepest. ‘Meister’, or *sensei* in Japanese, is a sign of respect paid by the student to the teacher. The teacher here is Wilhelm Gundert, the masterful translator, annotator and intercultural mediator of the Zen koans contained in the *Pi Yen Lu* (see footnote below).

NB. All translations from German to English are by the author unless otherwise stated.

⁴⁴⁶ Gundert, W. 1960-1973. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag. *Pi Yen Lu* (Japanese: *Hekiganroku*) has been translated into English as *The Blue Cliff Record* by Thomas Cleary. Cleary’s translation is used for all English renditions of the *koans*, also known as ‘cases’, in this chapter. The *Pi Yen Lu* is a collection of 100 Zen *koans* with commentaries and verses from Chinese Zen masters. According to Cleary, the Blue Cliff Record is a set of ‘public cases’ compiled by the Zen master Hsueh Tou Ch’ung Hsien (980-1052). Hsueh Tou added verses and remarks to elucidate the cases. A later Zen master, Yuan Wu K’ue Ch’ in (1063-1135) added further introductions, remarks and commentaries. In their entirety the works comprise ‘The Blue Cliff Record’. Geographically, the Blue Cliff indicates Mt. Chia in Hunan, one of the places where Yuan Wu spoke to disciples. See: Cleary, T. & Cleary, J.C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. xvii.

⁴⁴⁷ GB4: 382-386. The letter was published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* on 3 October, 1960.

period of estrangement during Gundert's membership of the Nazi party, and Gundert often visited Hesse in Montagnola. Gundert played a unique role throughout Hesse's life as a mediator of Eastern and Japanese culture in which he lived and immersed himself for a period of nearly thirty years. He was a scholar of Japanese religion and literature, and also necessarily a scholar of Chinese culture.⁴⁴⁸ The publication of the first volume of the *Bi Yän Lu* inspired Hesse to write and distil a lifetime journey of spiritual exploration in a set of three concise Zen poems at the end of his life. In the poems we find Gundert as a teacher, and Hesse as a disciple or novice (see Chapter 4).⁴⁴⁹

Six years earlier Hesse characterized their relationship. First, there were shared childhood memories, second, a love of the 'East', and, finally, similarities in spirituality and intellect, which they had jointly inherited from Hesse's much admired, maternal grandfather, Hermann Gundert.⁴⁵⁰ In 1931, in an afterword to the anthology *Weg nach Innen*, Hesse explains that he dedicated the second part of *Siddhartha* to Wilhelm Gundert because, among all his friends, his cousin stood out as the one who had penetrated Eastern thought to the greatest degree and had lived longest in an Eastern atmosphere.⁴⁵¹ For Hesse, Gundert was a living embodiment and repository of the wisdom of the Far East, wrapped in a familiar Swabian coating, which guided and influenced Hesse in the second half of his life as his interest shifted from Indian philosophy and spirituality in the first part of *Siddhartha* to Chinese wisdom in the second part of the tale.⁴⁵²

So who was Wilhelm Gundert? In biographies of Hermann Hesse, we learn that Wilhelm Gundert was Hesse's cousin on his mother's side. Moreover, he is also often referred to as Hesse's 'Japanischer' Vetter, his 'Japanese' cousin,⁴⁵³ owing to his long immersion in Japan and his studies of Japanese literature and religion. Gundert resided in Japan from 1906 until 1920, and then again from 1922 until 1936. While a remarkable sojourn in a distant country

⁴⁴⁸ From the sixth century Japan imported political systems, agricultural techniques, technology, Buddhism, higher culture such as literature and philosophy and its writing system from China. Reischauer, E.O. 1994. *The Japanese Today*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, pp. 42-46.

⁴⁴⁹ Hesse long sought a form of expression similar to the sparse effect of East Asian calligraphy or Japanese *haiku*. '...und später begann er unter des Meisters Anweisung Gedichte zu machen, und er lernte langsam jene heimliche Kunst, scheinbar nur das Einfache und Schlichte zu sagen, damit aber in des Zuhörers Seele zu wühlen wie der Wind in einem Wasserspiegel...' Excerpt from *Der Dichter* (1913). SW9: 42-48. Here: p. 47.

⁴⁵⁰ 'Und wenn ich mich besinne, warum ich Dich gern habe und hoch werte, so sind es drei Gründe, die ich entdeckte: die Gemeinsamkeit vieler früherer Erinnerungen, die Gemeinsamkeit unserer Liebe zum Osten, und dann der Umstand, daß ich unter allen Gundertnachkommen, die ich kenne, einzig bei Dir das Fortleben einer Art Geistigkeit und Begabung finde, die ich am Großvater verehere.' Michels, V. 1975. *Materialien zu Hermann Hesses 'Siddhartha'*. Erster Band. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 235.

⁴⁵¹ 'Die zweite Widmung aber, an meinen Vetter Wilhelm Gundert, galt demjenigen meiner Freunde, der am tiefsten in das Denken des Ostens eingedrungen ist und am längsten in seiner Luft gelebt hat.' *Ibid.*, pp. 335-336.

⁴⁵² See Jürgen Weber's *Indien gesucht, China gefunden*, especially pp. 77-101, 'Der chinesische Siddhartha'. 2011. Norderstedt: Books on Demand.

⁴⁵³ The term *japanischer Vetter* originates from Hesse himself. See for example the letter to Ruth Wenger, later to become his second wife, dated 15th October, 1921. *Hermann Hesse 'Liebes Herz!' Briefwechsel mit seiner zweiten Frau Ruth*. Michels, U. & Michels, V. eds. 2005. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 120. The term has been appropriated by Hesse's biographers.

in an age when travel was slow and arduous and the number of Westerners in Japan very small,⁴⁵⁴ the label ‘Japanese’ cousin is often misused, intentionally or unintentionally, to reduce Gundert to a fleeting curiosity in Hesse’s biography. In Ralph Freedman’s *Pilgrim of Crisis*, Gundert is granted a single paragraph in which Freedman documents Gundert’s visit to Montagnola in February 1922, which inspired Hesse to finish the second part of *Siddhartha*.⁴⁵⁵ In *Hermann Hesse: Life and Art*, Josef Mileck treats Wilhelm Gundert even more sparingly. The cousin is mentioned once in the context of the publication of the *Bi Yän Lu*.⁴⁵⁶ Mileck argues dismissively, that for Hesse, ‘Zen was confirmation and not new disclosure.’ Gundert fares little better among Hesse’s German biographers. In Gunnar Decker’s *Hesse: Der Wanderer und Sein Schatten*, Decker mentions Gundert’s visit to Hesse shortly before completion of the second part of *Siddhartha*, and in the frame of a letter to Gundert in 1952 about the absurd switching of street names in Constance from Finckh to Hesse – this in a biography of almost six hundred and seventy pages.⁴⁵⁷

Work to address the omission has only begun. Irmgard Yu-Gundert, Wilhelm Gundert’s granddaughter, has written a short biography,⁴⁵⁸ and initiated an analysis of Gundert’s importance to Hesse. In two other articles, *Über den Einfluß innerfamiliärer Tradition auf das Bild des religiösen Menschen im Werke Hermann Hesses* and *Hesses späte Begegnung mit dem Zen-Buddhismus – Hermann Hesse und sein Vetter Wilhelm Gundert*, Yu-Gundert explores aspects of the cousins’ relationship.⁴⁵⁹ In the latter article, Yu-Gundert concludes: ‘Diese Begegnung [with Gundert’s translation of the *Pi Yen Lu*] hat Hesse dazu angeregt, sein eigenes tieferes Wissen in den drei Zen-Gedichten so vollständig und klar zusammengefasst anzusprechen, wie kaum je an irgendeiner Stelle des früheren Werkes.’ I concur with this synopsis. Not to be forgotten is also Hesse’s 1961 fictional letter from Josef Knecht to Carlo Ferromonte, which also describes Zen.⁴⁶⁰ I would argue that the Zen poems

⁴⁵⁴ As Karl Löwith arrived in Sendai in 1936 to take up a teaching position he remarked that apart from his family there was one other German in the city. The other foreigners comprised an Englishman, who was teaching at the same university, and missionaries and Catholics comprising largely Canadians, two Italians, and one Swiss. Sendai is the largest metropolitan centre in the north of Honshu, the main Japanese island. (Löwith, K. 1986. *Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933*, Stuttgart: Metzler, p. 111). Ayano Nakamura estimates that there were about 1,200 Germans resident in Japan in 1930 prior to Hitler’s rise to power in 1933. The number increased during the war years through the emigration of political refugees, particularly Jewish refugees, and in 1947, following the defeat of Japan, the US Army repatriated some 2,000 Germans. Nakamura, A. 2011. Die NSDAP-Ortsgruppen in Japan und die dortige deutsche Kolonie. In: Pekar, T. ed. *Flucht und Rettung*, Berlin: Metropol Verlag, pp. 54-64.

⁴⁵⁵ Freedman, R. 1978. *Hermann Hesse: Pilgrim of Crisis*. London: Jonathan Cape, pp. 229-230.

⁴⁵⁶ Mileck, J. 1978. *Hermann Hesse: Life and Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 162.

⁴⁵⁷ Decker, G. 2012. *Hesse: Der Wanderer und sein Schatten – Biographie*. München: Carl Hanser, p. 405 & p. 645.

⁴⁵⁸ Yu-Gundert, I. 1993. Wilhelm Gundert. In: Frenz, A. ed. *Hermann Gundert: Brücke zwischen Indien und Europa*. Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, pp. 387-388.

⁴⁵⁹ Yu-Gundert, I. 2001. Über den Einfluß innerfamiliärer Tradition auf das Bild des religiösen Menschen im Werke Hermann Hesses. *Hesse Forschung. Band 6*. Koreanische Hesse Gesellschaft, pp. 31-59. Yu-Gundert, I. 2002. Hesses späte Begegnung mit dem Zen-Buddhismus – Hermann Hesse und sein Vetter Wilhelm Gundert. In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse Siddhartha*. Stuttgart: Staatsanzeiger Verlag, pp. 165-178.

⁴⁶⁰ SW12: 687

go beyond *Das Glasperlenspiel*, the point at which his literary work is usually thought to have reached its culmination.

Beyond this important moment, the life-long relationship between the cousins contains overlooked facets which are essential to a full biography of Hesse. One central role that Gundert played in Hesse's life was that of a cultural mediator – much of what Hesse learned about Japan and Japanese culture, and thus Chinese culture, in his life was made accessible to him by his 'Japanese' cousin. The influence was not one-sided. In particular, Gundert's rendering of the *Pi Yen Lu* into German was responsive to Hesse's comments during the translation process, and Hesse sought to influence the reception of the translation through reviews and the publication of the aforementioned letter in a national Swiss newspaper.

As stated above, with the exception of Yu-Gundert's articles, little has yet been published about Wilhelm Gundert's life and his influence upon Hesse. While the Sinologist Jürgen Weber has also recognized this omission, his chapter on 'Der japanische Vetter' remains an outline of this important transcultural mediator.⁴⁶¹ This chapter discusses their relationship in salient detail chronologically. Moreover, it explores Gundert's formative life in Japan, discusses Hesse's forgiveness of Gundert's membership of the Nazi party, and illuminates visits in Montagnola in the 1950s, up to the publication of the *Bi Yän Lu*. Much of the research draws upon new primary sources, in particular the unpublished memoirs of Gundert's wife, Helene Gundert, and a series of private communications received from Wilhelm Gundert's granddaughter in South Korea, Irmgard Yu-Gundert, as well as unpublished letters written by Wilhelm Gundert to Hermann Hesse, which are deposited in the DLA Marbach

2.1. Wilhelm Gundert: Biography

Wilhelm Gundert was born on 12 April, 1880, in Stuttgart, and died on 3 August, 1971, in Neu-Ulm, at the age of 91. Hermann Hesse and Wilhelm Gundert shared a common grandfather, Hermann Gundert (1814-1893), a renowned pietist missionary in India, and described by Ralph Freedman as the patriarch and the guiding spirit of the family.⁴⁶² Hesse's mother, Marie (1842-1902), was Hermann Gundert's first daughter, David Gundert (1850-1945), Wilhelm Gundert's father, Hermann Gundert's youngest son. The notion of the patriarchal grandfather, the Hesse and Gundert houses, the Baltic⁴⁶³ and Indo-swabian houses of the dynasty, and thus distinct lines of inheritance, were important bonds for the cousins.

⁴⁶¹ See: *Der japanische Vetter*, in Weber, J. 2011. *Indien gesucht, China gefunden*. Norderstedt: Books on Demand, pp. 193-207.

⁴⁶² Freedman, R. 1978. *Hermann Hesse: Pilgrim of Crisis*. London: Jonathan Cape, p. 17.

⁴⁶³ Hesse's father, Johannes (1847-1916), was born in Weissenstein, Estonia, where his father had a medical practice.

2.1.1. Missionary in Japan

Wilhelm Gundert's parents were both born in India.⁴⁶⁴ His father, David Gundert, was a publisher in Stuttgart. Wilhelm Gundert's mother, Marie, née Hoch (1857-1887), died aged twenty. One year later, in 1888, David Gundert married Johanna, née Feldweg, which added three step sisters and four step brothers to the family.⁴⁶⁵ Wilhelm Gundert attended the Eberhard Ludwigs-Gymnasium in Stuttgart until 1894, whose graduates include G.W.F. Hegel and Eduard Mörike, and then the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Schönthal until 1898. At the tertiary level, and in accordance with the family's pietist and missionary background, Gundert studied in the renowned Swabian seminary Tübinger Stift (1898-1901). At this time he sometimes visited Hesse⁴⁶⁶. He also studied under the renowned theologian Professor Kähler for two semesters (1900 & 1901) in Halle.⁴⁶⁷ In Tübingen, he joined the Bibelfreunde-Kreis (B.F.), and as an active member, did not share all of the same values as Hesse, who was a reader of and contributor to *Jugend*, a satirical magazine, which among other things criticized the increasing influence of the churches.⁴⁶⁸ In Halle, Gundert joined the Deutsche Christliche Studentenvereinigung (DCSV),⁴⁶⁹ an organization that maintained numerous international contacts through the Studentenbund für Mission. It gave Gundert the opportunity to travel abroad and forge contacts with non-European Christians from America, England and Japan.⁴⁷⁰ One of these contacts was Kanzo Uchimura (1861-1930), the founder of the *Mukyokai-shugi*, the non-church movement, which sought access to Christian faith independently, beyond the control of Western churches.⁴⁷¹ Uchimura and his writings,⁴⁷² and

⁴⁶⁴ Seckel, D. 1973. Wilhelm Gundert zum Gedenken. In: Gundert, W. *Bi Yän Lu. 3. Band*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, pp. 153-156. Here: p. 153.

Dietrich Seckel (1910-2007) was a German art historian, and was considered the founder of the Ostasiatische Kunstgeschichte in Germany. Seckel taught German in Urawa, near Tokyo, between 1939 and 1947.

⁴⁶⁵ 'Die Nachkommen von Ludwig Gundert (1783-1854)' in Frenz, A. ed. 1993. *Hermann Gundert: Brücke zwischen Indien und Europa*. Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, p. 363.

⁴⁶⁶ In 1898 and 1899, during Gundert's first semesters in Tübingen, Hesse was working as an assistant in the Heckenhauer Buchhandlung. Hesse was devoted to an independent systematic programme of self-education through reading, and persuaded Gundert to read Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*. Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 16.

⁴⁶⁷ Seckel, D. 1973. Wilhelm Gundert zum Gedenken. *Bi Yän Lu. 3. Band*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, pp. 153-156. Here p. 153. Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 16.

⁴⁶⁸ The magazine was published in Munich and coined the term *Jugendstil*, known as Art Nouveau in English, for the developments in art and architecture between 1890 and 1910.

⁴⁶⁹ The DCSV was founded in 1897, when it comprised eleven university groups with some 300 members. The organization focused on intensive Bible study, joint prayer, compulsory emulation of Christ in daily life, and missionary work. In 1938, the organization was forbidden by the Nazi authorities in its form as an independent student organization with full-time travel secretaries (an independent organization would have been anathema to the NASDP authorities and the policy of 'Gleichschaltung' or enforced conformity), and its members came under the control of the Evangelische Kirche. After the war, the organization became the Evangelische Studentengemeinden (ESG) with full-time student priests. Studentenmission in Deutschland e. V. [no date]. Geschichte: Vorgeschichte. [Online]. [Accessed 7 March 2018]. Available from: <https://www.smd.org/de/smd/ueber-uns/geschichte/die-vorgeschichte/>

⁴⁷⁰ Seckel, D. 1973. Wilhelm Gundert zum Gedenken. *Bi Yän Lu. 3. Band*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, pp. 153-156. Here p. 153. Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 16.

⁴⁷¹ Gellner, C. 2005. *Hermann Hesse und die Spiritualität des Ostens*, Düsseldorf: Patmos, p. 76.

their letter correspondence, made a great impact on Gundert, motivating him to travel to Japan in 1906 as an independent missionary in order to study and work together with Uchimura and other Japanese Christians. At the end of 1906, shortly after her arrival in Japan, Wilhelm Gundert married Helene (née Bossert 1883 - 1986) at the German General Consulate.⁴⁷³ They had six children, all of whom were born in Japan.

From the autumn of 1906 until 1909, Gundert taught German at the *Dai Ichi Koto-Gakko* (First Upper School) in Tokyo.⁴⁷⁴ Gundert started to immerse himself in the Japanese language, the cultural values of the Japanese and their everyday practices by living in a Japanese rather than European style. Influenced by Uchimura, his neighbour in Kashiwagi in Tokyo, Gundert planned a new style of evangelistic missionary work in the Japanese countryside, focused on a deeper, personal style of proselytism in contrast to the broad programmes and institutions of the American missionaries.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷² Uchimura's work *How I Became a Christian* was published in a German edition by Wilhelm Gundert's father in Stuttgart, and sold, after reprinting, 18,000 copies (Utschimura, K. 1905. *Wie ich ein Christ wurde: Bekenntnisse eines Japaners*. Stuttgart: D. Gundert.). Miura, H. 1996. *The Life and Thoughts of Kanzo Uchimura*, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, p. 43.

⁴⁷³ Helene Bossert was the youngest daughter of a Swabian priest and important church historian, Gustav Bossert. Yu-Gundert, I. 1993. Wilhelm Gundert (1880-1971): Mittler zwischen West und Ost. In: Frenz, A. ed. *Hermann Gundert: Brücke zwischen Indien und Europa*. Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, p. 387.

⁴⁷⁴ Until 1945, the *kotogakko* functioned as a type of three-year Liberals Arts College in which the humanities and sciences were taught to 18 to 20-year olds, following the completion of the five-year middle school. Languages were at the core of the curriculum, especially English and German. Seven *kotogakko* were established in Tokyo, Sendai, Kyoto, Kanazawa, Kumamoto, Yamaguchi, and in Kagoshima in 1886-1887. Their number had reached 38 by 1942. They constituted elite institutions as graduates were more less guaranteed places at the imperial universities. The old *kotogakko* were dissolved in 1949/50 by the occupation authorities. In the new system, the *kotogakko* became three-year, co-ed high schools, similar to the American senior high school. See: Maeda, R. 2010. *Mythen, Medien, Mediokritäten*. 2010. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, footnote p. 51 & pp. 108-119.

⁴⁷⁵ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, pp. 27-28.



Figure 8: Wilhelm Gundert with his wife Helene and their first son in Tokyo in 1907.⁴⁷⁶

In 1910, Gundert moved the family from Tokyo to rural Muramatsu Town in Niigata Prefecture to work with a group of friends close to Kanzo Uchimaro.⁴⁷⁷ The town was a former seat of a *daimyo*, a feudal lord, and some of the townspeople were descended from samurai. Gundert lived according to Japanese custom, he helped out in the rice fields, and

⁴⁷⁶ Source: Frenz, A. ed. 1993. *Hermann Gundert: Brücke zwischen Indien und Europa*. Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, p. 387.

The photograph shows Gundert and his wife Helene with their first son in Tokyo in 1907. The ease at which the couple wear traditional Japanese clothes, a *haori* and kimono, and footwear, *geta*, assume a Japanese posture, he with his hands laid one upon the other in his lap, and she with her legs folded beneath her (normally a posture very uncomfortable to Westerners), belies the fact that they arrived in Japan in the previous year. Many years later, after their return to Germany, Helene Gundert and one of the couple's daughters, Hanna, stood out somewhat in German society as they had retained certain Japanese traits in behavior and posture. Also when speaking, they tended to use restrained gestures and a voice of higher tone, characteristic of Japanese women in the upper-middle class home of a male scholar. Yu-Gundert, I. 2013. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 3 March.

⁴⁷⁷ Kanokogi, T. ed. 1980. Zum 100. Geburtstag Wilhelm Gunderts. Gedenkschrift. *Sonderausgabe von Kishitsukiho*. Universität Kumamoto, p. 10.

Niigata Prefecture is about two hours by bullet train from Tokyo, located on the Japan Sea coast of the main island, and in 1910, outside of the main cities in the prefecture, would still have been a largely agrarian society. Muramatsu Town is located in a mountainous region of the prefecture, and had an estimated population of some 20,000 in 2003. The town was merged into the city of Gosen on 1 January, 2006.

his modesty was reciprocated with trust and veneration.⁴⁷⁸ This means his understanding of Japan was based on a physical and psychological experience, demanding full commitment, which affected and moulded the entire personality. As Dietrich Seckel writes: ‘Das ist denn auch jedem Wort anzumerken, das Gundert später über östliche Dinge schrieb; und wer ihn kannte, namentlich in seinen späten Jahren, wurde tief berührt von seiner Persönlichkeit, die durch die Lebensweisheit und die menschliche Kultur Ostasiens aufs stärkste geformt war.’⁴⁷⁹ This formative period was a key time in which a youthful Gundert was starting to mature.⁴⁸⁰ Seckel adds, ‘In bezaubernder Weise erinnerte er an die feinen, wissensreichen, erfahrenen, bescheidenen, ganz in sich ruhenden, doch allem und allen zugänglichen Gelehrten und Meister des Ostens, die noch viel stärker wirken durch das, was sie sind, als was sie lehren.’⁴⁸¹ These characteristics, as we shall see, were later very appealing to Hesse. Already in 1910, Hesse noted in a letter to his father Johannes how Gundert’s writing style in his correspondence from Japan reminded him of his grandfather Hermann Gundert.⁴⁸²



Figure 9: Muramatsu Station in 1923.

⁴⁷⁸ Seckel, D. 1973. Wilhelm Gundert zum Gedenken. In: Gundert, W. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand. 3. Band*. München : Carl Hanser Verlag, pp. 151-156. Here: p. 154. Seckel writes, ‘...[Gundert] lebte dort mit den Japanern und ganz nach ihrer Weise,...’. In other words, Gundert ‘went native’.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁴⁸⁰ Gundert arrived in Japan in 1906, aged 26, following his theology studies and vicariate in Germany. He lived in Japan for about 30 years, interspersed by short trips home to Germany. As a result, he matured and developed as a human being primarily in Japan – and not in the West. Yu-Gundert, I. 2013. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 3 March.

⁴⁸¹ Seckel, D. 1973. Wilhelm Gundert zum Gedenken. In: Gundert, W. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand. 3. Band*. München : Carl Hanser Verlag, pp. 151-156. Here: p. 154.

⁴⁸² Hesse, H. 2013. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe 1905-1915. Band 2*. Michels, V. ed. Berlin: Suhrkamp. p. 230.



Figure 10: Muramatsu Town before the fire of 1946.

Following the outbreak of war in 1914, the family was cut off from financial assistance from Germany and their savings soon exhausted.⁴⁸³ Therefore, Gundert accepted an offer to teach German at the *Dai-go Koto-gakko* (Fifth Upper School) in Kumamoto in Kyushu, where he taught from 1915 to 1920.⁴⁸⁴ In Kumamoto, Gundert learned about the practice of Zen-Buddhism.⁴⁸⁵ Gundert writes in the *Vorbericht* (preview) to the first volume of the *Bi Yän Lu* that Indian monks brought Buddhism to China, and that the sutras, the holy scriptures of Buddhism, were translated into Chinese in the 6th and 7th centuries.⁴⁸⁶ Writings on Buddhism were brought to Japan from China at around 660, and these formed the canon of the first

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁴⁸⁴ Kyushu is the third largest Japanese island, and the most southwestern. The city of Kumamoto is located on the western coast of the island, south of Nagasaki.

⁴⁸⁵ This information is provided in a 'Lebenslauf' of Wilhelm Gundert on pp. 10-11 in a special edition of *Kishitsu-koho*, Oct. 1980, published by Toshinori Kanokogi, University of Kumamoto, entitled 'Zum 100. Geburtstag Wilhelm Gunderts. Gedenkschrift'. There is no explanation by the unnamed author (presumably Professor Toshinori Kanokogi) as to how Wilhelm Gundert became more closely acquainted with the practice of Zen-Buddhism. However, shortly after his stay in Kumamoto came to an end, Gundert started to publish about his knowledge of Japanese Buddhism: in 1922: Gundert, W. 1922. *Der japanische Buddhismus*. In: Kern, M. ed. *Das Licht des Ostens*. Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, pp. 541-566; or in 1923: Gundert, W. 1923. *Zeugnisse neuen Lebens im japanischen Buddhismus*. *Ostasien-Jahrbuch*. Bd. 2, pp. 92-107; and in 1928: Gundert, W. 1928. *An Introduction to the Main Currents of Buddhist Philosophy in Japan*. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. 2nd Series. 5, pp. 72-88. This list of publications following closely on the heels of his stay in Kumamoto would lend credence to the statement. Gundert's vast knowledge of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism is made most explicit by his translation and annotation of the Zen-Buddhist koans or cases in the *Bi Yän Lu*. Inmgard Yu-Gundert describes Gundert's years in Japan between 1906-1909 and 1915-1920, when he was teaching at the Higher Schools in Tokyo and Kumamoto as primarily dedicated to the study of the Japanese language, literature, culture and spiritual world ('Hauptsache war das Studium der japanischen Sprache, Schrift, Kultur und Geisteswelt.'). Yu-Gundert, I. 1993. *Wilhelm Gundert (1880-1971): Mittler zwischen West und Ost*. In: Frenz, A. ed. *Hermann Gundert: Brücke zwischen Indien und Europa*. Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, p. 387.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ Gundert, W. 1960. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand*. 1. Band. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 7.

Buddhist sects in Japan in the Nara Period (710-784).⁴⁸⁷ A method of quiet contemplation whilst sitting was developed. In India the practice is called *dhyana* (*dhārāna*), in Chinese *tschan-na*, and in Japanese *zen-na*, which is shortened to Zen.⁴⁸⁸

In Kumamoto, Gundert was reading Hesse's novel *Demian* and his appeal to German youth *Zarathustras Wiederkehr*,⁴⁸⁹ which reflected his own struggle with Pietism.⁴⁹⁰ In a letter to Marulla Hesse, Hesse's youngest sister, Gundert writes: 'Es bedurfte der Versetzung nach dem fernen Osten und der Absperrung durch den Krieg, um mich zu mir selber zu bringen. Aber das Leben bleibt sich selber treu, es kann nicht anders als sich auswirken.'⁴⁹¹ Further, in a letter from Stuttgart in September 1920, he writes to Marulla: 'Daß wir den Demian nicht zusammen lesen konnten, ist mir ein Vermissen, für mich ist es meine eigene Geschichte...'⁴⁹²

Despite the apparent ease with which Gundert had gone native in Japan, he was struck by immense homesickness while lecturing in Kumamoto. In May 1918, his yearning for home was triggered by a picture of Hesse in a book of Swabian storytellers which had fallen into his hands by chance.

Erst Dein Bild, kaum anders als wie es seit Jahren in meiner Erinnerung lebt, und dann ein zweites, heiliges, von Dir selbst mit Sohnesliebe gezeichnet, so wahr und klar, dass es mich mit der Macht der Gegenwärtigkeit hineinzog in jenen Kreis, in dem allein, ich jemals ganz daheim gewesen bin, und endlich wieder einmal den Meltau der Fremde hinwegwischte, unter dem der Tränenquell vertrocknet.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁷ See: Gundert, W. 1928. An Introduction to the Main Currents of Buddhist Philosophy in Japan. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan. 2nd Series. 5*, pp. 72-88. Here: p. 75.

⁴⁸⁸ Gundert, W. 1960. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand. 1. Band.* 1960, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, pp.7-8. Zen became more widely known in the West through the English language publications of D. T. Suzuki. See, for example: Suzuki, D.T. 1927. *Essays in Zen Buddhism*. London: Luzac; Suzuki, D.T. 1957. *Mysticism – Christian and Buddhist*. London: George Allen & Unwin; or: Suzuki, D.T. 1958. *The Zen doctrine of No-Mind*. London: Rider. Gundert's interest in Japanese religion eventually resulted in a new work entitled *Japanische Religionsgeschichte*, published in 1935, in which he wrote in detail about Buddhism in Japan. Gundert, W. 1935. *Japanische Religionsgeschichte*. Tokyo: Taiheiyosha.

⁴⁸⁹ *Zarathustras Wiederkehr. Ein Wort an die deutsche Jugend.* was published in 1919. See SW15: 220-246.

⁴⁹⁰ According to Barry Stephenson the central theme of *Demian* (1917) is how Hesse deals with the 'worlds of light and dark'. The 'world of light' is Hesse's childhood Pietist home, while the 'world of dark' is the entire world outside the idealized hearth of family love. Stephenson argues that light and dark also represent the traditional Christian dichotomy of good and evil, and of Christ and the devil. Rather than to strive for a victory of light over dark, or Christ over the devil, it is precisely this dichotomy which is driving Europe towards destruction in Hesse's view. To escape the dualistic world of Swabian Pietism, Emil Sinclair (Hesse/Gundert) learns of the Gnostic God Abraxas from Demian (Jung/Hesse, much later Gundert). Jung's Abraxas is a god higher than the Christian god, which combines all opposites into one being. Stephenson, B. 2009. *Veneration and Revolt: Hermann Hesse and Swabian Pietism*. Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, pp. 93-97.

⁴⁹¹ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 95.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*

⁴⁹³ Gundert, W. 1918 (5 May). Postcard to HH. DLA, Marbach. The postcard was sent from the *Daigo Kotogakko* (Fifth Upper School) in Kumamoto City.

It is as if a gossamer thin layer of foreign acculturation was swept aside by Hesse's picture to reveal the deep, spiritual Swabian roots they shared. The experience is also cathartic. 'Sein Heimweh einmal voll empfinden dürfen, ist auch Glück. Dazu mir geholfen zu haben, dafür danke ich Dir von Herzen.'⁴⁹⁴ While Hesse was looking toward Asia, Gundert was obviously ready for a return to Europe.

In February 1920, Hesse wrote to Gundert characterizing contemporary Germany as struck by *Feigheit* and *Weinerlichkeit*, but he also recognizes that '... es ein latentes anderes Deutschland gibt, das nicht nur Goethe, Hölderlin und Nietzsche innig kennt und liebt, sondern auch Lao Tse, und das ganz vom instinktiven Wissen seiner Aufgabe durchdrungen ist: Chaos und mütterliches Asien nach Europa hereinzutragen...'.⁴⁹⁵ Gundert's return is that of an apostle from 'motherly' Asia, which is a recurring motif in Hesse's essay *Die Brüder Karamasoff oder Der Untergang Europas*,⁴⁹⁶ published in 1921, in which Hesse foresees a collapse of the European order following the First World War, and a return to Asia, the motherly home; a metaphor for the perishing of the European soul, leading in turn to a new birth.

After arriving at Marseille on 1 September, 1920, Gundert visited Hesse in his new residence in the Casa Camuzzi in Montagnola, before continuing to Germany to be reunited with his family.⁴⁹⁷ This brought the cousins face to face again for the first time since childhood. In a letter dated 11 September, 1920, to Ruth Wenger, who later became his second wife, Hesse describes the visit:

Einen schönen Tag hatte ich zwischenein mit einem Vetter, den ich seit den Jünglingszeiten nimmer gesehn hatte und der nach vielen Jahren aus Japan zurück kam und auf dem Heimweg nach Deutschland mich besuchte. Wir sprachen von Europa, von Ostasien und noch mehr von frühen kleinen Erinnerungen aus der Bubenzeit, die uns in Menge einfielen.⁴⁹⁸

In Germany, Gundert worked on his doctoral thesis (*Der Schintoismus im japanischen Nō-Drama*) at the University of Hamburg under Karl Florenz, one of the pioneers of Japanese studies in Germany.⁴⁹⁹ In October, 1921, Gundert met Hesse in Höfen, where Hesse's sister

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ *GBI*: 446-447.

⁴⁹⁶ Hesse, H. 1921. *Die Brüder Karamasoff oder der Untergang Europas*. In: *Blick Ins Chaos: Drei Aufsätze*. Bern: Verlag Seldwyla, pp. 1-20. *SW18*: 125-140.

⁴⁹⁷ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 108.

⁴⁹⁸ Hesse, H. 2005. *Hermann Hesse: "Liebes Herz!" Briefwechsel mit seiner zweiten Frau Ruth*. Michels, U. & Michels, V. eds. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 48.

⁴⁹⁹ In 1914, the first chair for Japanese studies in Germany was created at the Kolonialinstitut in Hamburg. Karl Florenz (1865-1939) was appointed to the position. He had been a lecturer and then professor at the *teikoku*

Adele lived, and travelled with Hesse to Calw.⁵⁰⁰ Hesse describes himself as ‘wieder innig befreundet’ with his ‘japanischer Vetter’.⁵⁰¹ In 1922, Gundert returned to Japan, not with the intention of working as a missionary in the narrow Christian sense, but as a mediator of Eastern and Western spirituality.⁵⁰² Before his departure, Gundert and his wife Helene visited Hesse on 9 February in the Palazzo Camuzzi in Montagnola. After this visit, Hesse characterizes Gundert as the only person in the world with whom he can talk properly about Indian and Chinese religion and spirituality:

Er ist nämlich der Einzige auf der Welt, mit dem ich indisch und chinesisches reden kann, der das alles kennt und versteht und weiß und drin lebt, ganz wie ich, für den Tao der Inbegriff ist und diese ganze Gedankenwelt nicht Kuriosum und Spielerei oder Studium, sondern Leben und Atem; wir verstehen voneinander jedes Wort und jede Betonung. Dabei habe ich in der Auffassung und Anwendung der Tao-Lehre und indischen Lehren meine europäischen Spezialitäten, er seine japanischen... Wenn ich eine Weile in der Atmosphäre meines Veters leben könnte, wäre der Siddhartha bald fertig, allerdings würde er dann auch so, daß kein Europäer ihn mehr verstünde.⁵⁰³

Thanks to Gundert’s stay, following a writing block of one and a half years, in which he despaired of ever finishing the novel,⁵⁰⁴ Hesse was able to complete the second part of *Siddhartha* within a few months and, owing to the briefness of the visit, we learn, in a version that was accessible to European readers.⁵⁰⁵ Hence we find *Siddhartha* is dedicated to his ‘Japanese cousin’, I posit, because it motivated Hesse to complete the second part of the novel, but also because of Hesse’s joy, so palpable in his reports about Gundert’s visit, in

daigaku (Imperial University) in Tokyo between 1889 and 1914. Before 1914, for most Germans, Japan was ‘ein unerforschtes Stück der Erde’. German scholars were only just starting to translate the old Japanese texts, and the publication of anthologies of translated fairy tales and legends gave the impression in Germany of Japan as a ‘Fairy-Tale Land’. Japanese Buddhism was largely unknown. Florenz’s successor in Hamburg was Wilhelm Gundert. See: Bieber, H. J. 2008. Die Anfänge deutsch-japanischer Kulturinstitute. In: Morikawa, T. ed. *Japanische Intellektuelle im Spannungsfeld von Okzidentalismus und Orientalismus. Intervalle 11*. Kassel: Kassel University Press, pp. 121-179. Here: p. 128.

⁵⁰⁰ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 110.

⁵⁰¹ Hesse, H. 2005. *Hermann Hesse: “Liebes Herz!” Briefwechsel mit seiner zweiten Frau Ruth*. Michels, U. & Michels, V. eds. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 120.

⁵⁰² Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 109.

⁵⁰³ Hesse, H. 2005. *Hermann Hesse: “Liebes Herz!” Briefwechsel mit seiner zweiten Frau Ruth*. Michels, U. & Michels, V. eds. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 160.

⁵⁰⁴ Michels, V. 1975. *Materialien zu Hermann Hesses ‘Siddhartha’. Erster Band*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 197 (*Brief an Hugo Ball*).

⁵⁰⁵ It was still far from an easy process. Hesse writes to Ruth Wenger after Easter 1922: ‘Am Siddhartha sind seit meiner Rückkehr [from Zurich at the end of February] drei Seiten geschrieben. Das ist wenig, und etwa 15 bis höchstens 20 Seiten würden genügen, dann wäre es fertig.’ Then in early May: ‘Der Siddhartha ist im ersten Manuskript nun fertig, es sind bloß 5 oder 6 Seiten noch dazugekommen, zwei davon sind gut.’ Hesse, H. 2005. *Hermann Hesse: “Liebes Herz!” Briefwechsel mit seiner zweiten Frau Ruth*. Michels, U. & Michels, V. eds. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 193 & p. 204.

reconnecting with his childhood friend, a friend who was like a prophet from East, versed and immersed in the philosophy and spirituality of Indian religion, Buddhism and Taoism. Gundert appeared as a living embodiment of all that Hesse was studying in books on Eastern religion and philosophy. By 1922, Gundert himself started publishing on Japanese literature and religion with a study of Japanese Shintoism and Buddhism.⁵⁰⁶ Besides the physical presence of an Eastern sage, Gundert as a scholar was able to aid Hesse with the second part of *Siddhartha*, which was then completed within months. Gundert initially felt unworthy of the dedication: ‘Ich fühle mich dessen ja so unwürdig. Kann man auch einem so missratenen Menschen den Siddharta [sic] widmen?’⁵⁰⁷ However, his initial reluctance was swiftly overcome: ‘Ich nehme es an und drücke Dir im Geist die Hand in inniger Dankbarkeit.’⁵⁰⁸ Gundert wished for the strength to pursue the ‘Siddartaweg [sic]’ and to bear the responsibility he felt as a transcultural mediator between two cultures.⁵⁰⁹

Gundert left Marseille on 12 February, 1922, on board the Japanese steamship *Shizuoka Maru*, bound for Kobe. On 27 March, 1922, the *Shizuoka Maru* arrived at the port of Kobe. Gundert arrived in Mito on the fourth of April to meet his employer at the *Mito Koto-gakko* (Mito Upper School), and to look for lodgings in the city.⁵¹⁰ We know from a letter dated January 1923 to Ruth Wenger that Hesse had been working on a version of his fairy tale *Piktors Verwandlungen* for his cousin in Japan.⁵¹¹ For his part, Gundert, now back in Japan, interceded on behalf of a colleague who wished to translate Hesse’s *Märchen* into Japanese. The project never came to fruition, but Gundert saw the potential translation as integral to increasing awareness about Hesse and his works in Japan: ‘Es wäre der erste Schritt auf dem Weg, den ich mir vorgesetzt habe, Dich allmählich in Japan bekannt zu machen.’⁵¹² At this point, Hesse had only been translated once into Japanese. In 1909, a partial translation of *Knulp* by Shosho Chino was published in the literary magazine *Subaru*.⁵¹³ Gundert pointed out that translations into Japanese could be considered advertising material in order to raise interest in the original work.⁵¹⁴ Further, as Gundert explained, there was no competition to be feared with the original work because fully adequate translations did not exist.⁵¹⁵ Hesse’s cousin was also concerned about the financial profit to be made from any translation of

⁵⁰⁶ See Gundert’s bibliography in the 3rd volume of the *Bi Yän Lu*. Gundert, W. 1973. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, pp. 157-161.

⁵⁰⁷ Wilhelm, G. 1922 (29 July). Letter to HH. DLA, Marbach.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ His wife returned to Japan with two children a year later. The city of Mito is located in the prefecture of Ibaraki, and lies some 130 km to the northeast of Tokyo.

⁵¹¹ Hesse, H. 2005. *Hermann Hesse: “Liebes Herz!” Briefwechsel mit seiner zweiten Frau Ruth*. Michels, U. & Michels, V. eds. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 274-275.

⁵¹² Wilhelm, G. 1922 (29 July). Letter to HH. DLA, Marbach.

⁵¹³ Chino, S. 1909. *Tomo (Meine Erinnerung an Knulp)*. *Subaru*, 1, pp. 82-103.

⁵¹⁴ Wilhelm, G. 1922 (29 July). Letter to HH. DLA, Marbach.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid.

Märchen and proposed that Hesse should receive a percentage of sales as from the second or third thousandth copy and offered to represent Hesse in Japan: ‘Wenn Du mir die entsprechenden Weisungen gibst, bin ich gerne bereit als Dein Vertreter zu handeln.’⁵¹⁶

Responding to two letters he received from Hesse in August and September 1922, in December 1922 Gundert thanked Hesse for granting permission for a translation of *Märchen* on the basis of an honorarium.⁵¹⁷ Gundert’s colleague, Nakajima, however, succumbed to illness and the project was never realized. Gundert was not discouraged and proposed a further way to publicize Hesse’s works in Japan: ‘Ich werde im nächsten Schuljahr (ab April) in zweien meiner Klassen etwas von Dir lesen.’⁵¹⁸ Again, Gundert was very concerned that Hesse should benefit financially. Should the publishing house Fischer in Berlin grant a discount on the order, Hesse would receive the difference. For coming years, Gundert proposed ordering the books directly via Hesse.

Gundert received his PhD from the University of Hamburg in 1925, and his thesis was published in 1925 in Tokyo as *Der Schintoismus im japanischen No-Drama*. Seemingly as an act of reciprocity, Hesse reviewed the work for the *Berliner Tagesblatt* in 1926.⁵¹⁹ The cousins were intimately concerned in opening up possibilities for transcultural mediation and reception. Hesse wrote: ‘...die No-Dramen [sind] nicht eine beliebige Spezialität (...), sondern ein eminent wichtiges Stück japanischen Geistes und Glaubens.’⁵²⁰

Gundert continued to teach in Mito until 1927. In a school alumni journal, published in 1968, some former students in Mito remember his mastery of the Japanese language.

Lektor Wilhelm Gundert wohnte während seiner Zeit an der Kôtôgakkô im Hotel Shibataya im Izumi-Viertel. Seine Erläuterungen zum ‘Kojiki’, den japanischen historischen Aufzeichnungen, die ausschließlich mit chinesischen Zeichen (*kanji*) niedergelegt sind,⁵²¹ und sein Vortrag zu den Roman über den Prinzen Genji (‘Genji Monogatari’)⁵²² in fließendem Japanisch versetzte die Schüler in Erstaunen

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Gundert, W. 1922 (6 December - Mito). Letter to HH, DLA. Hesse mentions Nakajima’s request in a letter dated 21 September, 1922, to his nephew Carlo Isenberg: ‘Und gerade als er weg war [Kalidas Nag], kam ein Brief aus Japan mit der Anfrage eines Japaners, der meine Märchen übersetzen will.’ Hesse, H. 2015. *Hermann Hesse. Die Briefe. 1916-1923. Band. 3.* Michels, V. ed. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, p. 482.

⁵¹⁸ Gundert, W. 1922 (6 December - Mito). Letter to HH, DLA.

⁵¹⁹ SW19: 21

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

⁵²¹ The *Kojiki* is the oldest chronicle of Japan, dating from the early 8th century, with the origin myths of the four Japanese islands.

⁵²² The Tale of Genji (*Genji Monogatari*) was written by the Japanese noblewoman and lady-in-waiting, Murasaki Shikibu, in the early 11th century. It provides a description of the courtiers during the Heian period (794-1185).

und es dauerte nicht lange, bis sie zu ihm kamen, um sich von ihm die Grammatik der japanischen Sprache erklären zu lassen.⁵²³

2.1.2. *Japanisch-Deutsches Kulturinstitut in Tokyo*

In 1927, following a request by the German ambassador Wilhelm Solf (1862-1936), the first ambassador of the Weimar Republic in Japan (1920-1928), Gundert was appointed as the German director of the newly established *Japanisch-Deutsches Kulturinstitut (Nichi-doku bunka-kyôkai)* in Tokyo, a position Gundert held until 1935, in tandem with the Japanese director of the institute, Takahiko Tomoeda (1876-1957).⁵²⁴ The institute was a sister institute to the *Berliner Japaninstitut* (1926-1945), which was established a year earlier in May, 1926. Both institutes were organized as *Vereine*, and financed from the public purses of their respective host countries,⁵²⁵ supplemented by private donations.⁵²⁶ An academic and scholarly exchange was emphasized: ‘Förderung der wechselseitigen Kenntnis des geistigen Lebens und der öffentlichen Einrichtungen in Deutschland und Japan’.⁵²⁷

Together the German and Japanese directors of the *Japanisch-Deutsches Kulturinstitut*, Gundert and Tomoeda, organized various exhibitions on Japanese and German relations, on Goethe, German architecture, German art, from Dürer to Menzel, and on Philipp Franz von Siebold⁵²⁸. The original intention was to change the German director of the institute, as was the case in Berlin, every year or two years. In the words of Solf on 1 August, 1927, ‘Gundert

⁵²³ Kawamura, S. 2005. Wilhelm Gundert (1880-1971). Japanologe. Leiter des japanisch-Deutschen Kulturinstituts. In: Hoppner, I. & Sekikawa, F. eds. *Brückenbauer: Pioniere des japanisch-deutschen Kulturaustausches*. München: Iudicium, pp. 123-127. Here: p. 125.

⁵²⁴ Gundert was also a functionary, a ‘Beisitzer’ (committee member), in the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG), which was established in Tokyo in 1873, at least for the years 1933 and 1934, according to a table of OAG functionaries for 1933 and 1934 in: Spang, C. 2011. Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG) zwischen den Weltkriegen. In: Peckar, T. ed. *Flucht und Rettung*. Berlin: Metropol Verlag, pp. 65-90.

⁵²⁵ The Institute in Tokyo received a budget of 30,000 yen per year (around 60,000 RM) from the Japanese government. As a result of the lack of funding, only Gundert’s position was full-time, and Tomoeda’s position was part-time. In order to finance the education of their four children, both Gundert and his wife taught German. Bieber, H. J. 2008. Die Anfänge deutsch-japanischer Kulturinstitute. In: Morikawa, T. ed. *Japanische Intellektuelle im Spannungsfeld von Okzidentalismus und Orientalismus. Intervalle 11*. Kassel: Kassel University Press, pp. 121-179. Here: pp. 164-165.

⁵²⁶ Hack, A. 1995. Das Japanisch-Deutsche Kulturinstitut in Tokyo zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. *Nachrichten – Der Gesellschaft Für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens / Hamburg*. **157-158**, pp. 77-100. Here: p. 77.

⁵²⁷ Bieber, H. J. 2008. Die Anfänge deutsch-japanischer Kulturinstitute. In: Morikawa, T. ed. *Japanische Intellektuelle im Spannungsfeld von Okzidentalismus und Orientalismus. Intervalle 11*. Kassel: Kassel University Press, pp. 121-179. Here: p. 141.

⁵²⁸ Kawamura, S. 2005. Wilhelm Gundert (1880-1971). Japanologe. Leiter des japanisch-Deutschen Kulturinstituts. In: Hoppner, I. & Sekikawa, F. eds. *Brückenbauer: Pioniere des japanisch-deutschen Kulturaustausches*. München: Iudicium, pp. 123-127. Here: p. 125.

Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) was a German doctor and naturalist. He arrived in Nagasaki in 1823 as a member of a Dutch trade delegation. He studied Japanese natural history and culture, and disseminated knowledge of Western medicine and science in Japan. See: Takahashi, T. 2006. *Japanische Germanistik auf dem Weg zu einer kontrastiven Kulturkomparatistik*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, p. 189.

hat meines Erachtens den Posten mehr oder weniger als eine Lebensstellung angenommen.⁵²⁹

In 1929, Gundert's work *Die Japanische Literatur*⁵³⁰ was published in Germany and reviewed by Hesse in 1930 for the *National Zeitung* in Basle. Hesse commented upon Gundert's intellectual work and transcultural mediation as follows: 'Mit unendlicher Geduld und Behutsamkeit wird diese Literaturgeschichte vorgetragen, dem Geist der Sprache, der Schrift, der Versmaße und Formen nachgegangen, und alles durch zahlreiche, gewissenhaft übersetzte Proben belegt.'⁵³¹ Hesse wrote to Edmund Natter in January 1951 thanking him for sending him a paper containing examples of short Japanese poetry. Hesse explains that he studied Gundert's history of Japanese literature,⁵³² and that, therefore, he is familiar with these special forms of short Japanese poetry called *tanka* and *haiku*.⁵³³ Hesse adds that Gundert had often heard academics and students in Japan improvise such poetry when they followed invitations and gathered at social events.⁵³⁴

At this time, Gundert was moving away politically and ideologically from Hesse, and sought to return to Germany. However, in June or July 1930, Hesse writes to Georg Reinhart and he can still focus on Gundert's role as a cultural mediator:

Ein paar schöne asiatische Stunden hatte ich neulich beim Besuch meines japanischen Veters (es ist der, dem der zweite Teil meines Siddhartha gewidmet ist), er hat nun etwa 25 Jahre ganz im Osten gelebt, war zu kurzem Urlaub in Europa, und hat viel von jener Art Weisheit, die ich an R. Wilhelm liebte. Sein Gang war ein ganz ähnlicher wie der von Wilhelm, er ging als christlicher Missionar hinaus und endet als treuer Diener an der geistigen Befreundung und dem Austausch der beiden Kulturen.⁵³⁵

But subsequently we find a letter written by Hesse on 11 February, 1934, in which Hesse remonstrates with his cousin's willingness to arrange himself uncritically with the new political and cultural order in Germany. The signs of the estrangement to follow are clear, an

⁵²⁹ Hack, A. 1995. Das Japanisch-Deutsche Kulturinstitut in Tokyo zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. *Nachrichten – Der Gesellschaft Für Natur und Völkerkunde Ostasiens / Hamburg*. **157-158**, pp. 77-100. Here: p. 78.

⁵³⁰ Gundert, W. 1929: *Die Japanische Literatur*. In: *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*. Walzel, O. ed. Wildpark-Potsdam: Athenaion.

⁵³¹ SW19: 170.

⁵³² Gundert, W. 1929: *Die Japanische Literatur*. In: *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*. Walzel, O. ed. Wildpark-Potsdam: Athenaion.

⁵³³ *Haiku* are short syllabic poems comprising one line of five syllables, followed by a line of seven syllables, with a final line of five syllables; *tanka* are similar but with two additional lines of seven syllables.

⁵³⁴ 'Mein Vetter hat in Japan noch oft solche kurze Gedichte bei Einladungen unter Gelehrten und Studeten improvisieren hören.' *GB4*: 96.

⁵³⁵ *GB2*: 251.

estrangement that would also remove Gundert temporarily from Hesse's life as a cultural mediator.

Daß man in solchen Zeiten 'bei seinem Volk stehen' müsse, wie auch Du es ausdrückst, mag schon richtig sein, aber man kann das auf viele Arten tun. Durch Mitschreien bei dem großen Geschrei und Mithassen bei all den Pogromen gegen die Juden und den Geist, gegen Christentum und Menschentum nützt man ja seinem Volk wenig, für das 'Volk' sind die 'großen Zeiten' ja immer die des Hassens und der Kriegsbereitschaft.⁵³⁶

The difference in opinions about how to serve the German people is evident. The excerpt is also a premonitory warning about the material and personal loss Gundert would suffer in the war. Fundamentally, Hesse's political philosophy was of non-action and he avoided joining cause with any political party.⁵³⁷ Gundert's alignment with the NSDAP meant an unavoidable political and philosophical rift between the two cousins during the Hitler years. Nonetheless, the rift was not irreparable. Indeed, even during the war Hesse's thoughts would turn occasionally to his cousin's plight as Hamburg was bombed from the air. The period of estrangement coincides with Gundert's appointment as a Professor of Japanese Studies at Hamburg University.

However, in 1935 Gundert's *Japanische Religionsgeschichte* was published in Tokyo and reviewed by Hesse in November 1935 for *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* in Stockholm. Despite his differences with Gundert, he acknowledges Gundert's role as an important transcultural mediator: '(...) man atmet eine angenehme, reine Luft von Sachlichkeit, Ordnungssinn und selbstloser Dienstbereitschaft, wie sie einem echtem Sendboten und Vermittler zwischen Abendland und fernstem Osten zukommt.'⁵³⁸

2.1.3. Chair of Japanese Studies at Hamburg University

In 1936, Gundert returned to Germany to take up a professorship for Japanese Language and Culture at Hamburg University.⁵³⁹ Gundert was succeeded in Tokyo by Walter Donat, who

⁵³⁶ Hesse, H. 1981. *Hermann Hesse: Politik des Gewissens* 2. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 548.

⁵³⁷ Hesse lays out his philosophy toward political action very clearly in a letter dated 25th September, 1933, to a 'Studienassessorin' as follows: '...denn ich halte von Kampf, Aktion, Opposition nicht das mindeste; ich glaube zu wissen, daß jeder Wille zur Änderung der Welt zu Krieg und Gewalt führt, und kann darum mich keiner Opposition anschließen, denn ich billige die letzten Konsequenzen nicht, und halte das Unrecht und die Bosheit auf Erden nicht für heilbar. Was wir ändern können und sollen, das sind wir selber...'. Hesse, H. 1981. *Hermann Hesse: Politik des Gewissens* 2. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 540.

⁵³⁸ SW20: 113.

⁵³⁹ Irmgard Yu-Gundert points out that Gundert may have been somewhat naïve upon his arrival in Nazi Germany. Having lived in Japan for 30 years, unlike Hesse, he had no direct experience of the First World War, little experience of the Weimar Republic, and no first-hand experience of Hitler's rise as a dictator. However, such initial naivety cannot explain Gundert's subsequent and unswerving support for the Nazis in the following years in Hamburg until 1945. In his written response to his dismissal from the University of Hamburg, Gundert admits only to the very faintest of notions of the negative aspects of national socialism: '[ich] hörte gelegentlich, meist nur andeutungsweise, von Gewalt und Unrecht seitens des Partei und war davon sehr peinlich berührt. Aber

held the position formally until 1945. However, Donat was only able to conduct his duties until the summer of 1941, when the German attack on the Soviet Union blocked any return to Japan.⁵⁴⁰ Gundert was Karl Florenz's successor in the Japanese Department, and his appointment owed much to Florenz' support and to the support of the former German ambassador in Japan, Solf.⁵⁴¹ Gundert's selection was also the first appointment to a chair of Japanese Studies in accordance with the new Nazi guidelines. Gundert joined the NSDAP in April 1934 while still in Japan.⁵⁴² In the autumn of 1936, he was appointed Dean of the Philosophy Faculty, becoming Rector of the university from 1938 to 1941, and Vice Rector until the end of the war. Gundert himself ascribes his rapid promotion in all probability to his '...naiv gläubige Einstellung zum Nationalsozialismus und zu Adolf Hitler, die mich der Partei und dem Staat als persona grata für leitende Stellen in der Universität empfahl.'⁵⁴³

In a letter probably written in September 1939 by Hesse to Paul Otto Waser, Hesse describes his horror at Gundert's transformation since his arrival in Germany:

Ich habe z.B. einen Freund dort, der hat sein ganzes Leben in Ostasien verbracht, Freund dortiger Gelehrter und Künstler, gewohnt an den Umgang mit auf Seide gemalten Aquarelen und an Gespräche mit buddhistischen Bonzen, im Lauf der Jahrzehnte selber fast Asiate geworden; der wurde vor einigen Jahren bei der Heimkehr nach Deutschland von seinen Söhnen belehrt und bekehrt, und ist, ein

erstens hatte ich selbst nichts Derartiges aus der Nähe erlebt, zweitens hörte ich nur von Dingen, die sich lange vor meiner Rückkehr zugetragen haben, und drittens waren die wenigen Vertreter der Partei, mit denen ich in Berührung kam, fast durchweg stille, pflichttreue, anständige Männer, denen ich keine Unmenschlichkeit zutrauen konnte. So blieben jene negative Eindrücke viel zu schwach, um meiner grundsätzlichen Einstellung zum Nationalsozialismus einen Stoss zu versetzen.' From Wilhelm Gundert's written response to his dismissal from Hamburg University, dated 15th November, 1945, a copy of which was forwarded to me by Irmgard Yu-Gundert in May, 2013. Yu-Gundert, I. 2013. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 3 March.

⁵⁴⁰ Karl Löwith describes Walter Donat at a meeting of the Nazi 'Lehrerverbund' in Karuizawa, a mountain resort in Nagano Prefecture, held each year in August, (Donat was director of both the 'Lehrerverbund' and the Deutsch-Japanisches Kulturinstitut), as follows: 'Sein etwas vergrämes Gesicht war von einer scharf hervorstehenden Nase beherrscht, der hässliche Mund und das schwächliche Kinn passten zu seinen herabhängenden Schultern. Wenn er den Arm vorstreckte, um mit einer vom vielen Reden und Rauchen ausgelierten Stimme "Heil Hitler" zu sagen, so wirkte das einfach armselig. Doch war er sehr eifrig im Organisieren und seine Energie im Verfolgen des propagandistischen Zwecks war beträchtlich. Man sah ihn stets in Betrieb und er strapazierte sich ab im Dienste der neuen deutschen Kultur und seines eigenen Fortkommens.' Löwith, K. 1986. *Mein Leben in Deutschland vor und nach 1933*, Stuttgart: Metzler, p. 117.

⁵⁴¹ See above. Information taken from Wilhelm Gundert's written response to his dismissal from Hamburg University, dated 15th November, 1945, to the Verwaltung der Hansestadt Hamburg, Schulverwaltung – Hochschulwesen – Zu Händen des Herrn Senators Landahl. Betr.: Antwort des dienstentlassenen Professor Dr. W. Gundert auf die Entlassungsschreiben vom 13. August 1945, pp. 1-10.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Such a declaration should be treated with care, as Irmgard Yu-Gundert has pointed out, most recently in a private letter to me dated 19th May, 2013, that Wilhelm Gundert expressed directly to her in conversation in 1960 or 1961, as she was a 19 or 20 year-old, that there was an 'opportunistic element' to the decisions he made in the national socialist era.

feiner gewissenhafter Gelehrter, tatsächlich ein Bewunderer Hitlers und Fanatiker des 3. Reichs geworden.⁵⁴⁴

Gundert was relieved of his duties on 12 August, 1945. One commentator summarizes his activities thus:

Nicht in seinem wissenschaftlichen Œuvre, aber in seinen verwaltungspolitischen Aktivitäten und seiner Öffentlichkeitsarbeit läßt er deutlich eine enge Verbundenheit mit dem Zeitgeist erkennen. Diese Profilierung führte dazu, daß er 1945 aufgrund einer Intervention der Alliierten, lediglich ‘vom Dienst befreit’ und nicht offiziell emeritiert wurde.⁵⁴⁵

Hartmut Walravens⁵⁴⁶ notes that: ‘Gundert hat sich mit der NS-Ideologie und -Administration arrangiert...’⁵⁴⁷ Walravens uncovered expert assessments (*Gutachten*) written by Fritz Jäger, Karl Florenz and Wilhelm Gundert about their students and academic colleagues during the Nazi period. In Walravens’ words: ‘Offensichtlich hatten sich Jäger und Gundert den Ruf zuverlässiger Kollegen erworben, wie insbesondere die Zuarbeit für den SS-Standartenführer⁵⁴⁸ Six zeigt’.⁵⁴⁹ Six was condemned as a war criminal and sentenced to prison in Nuremberg in 1948. Rather than having sought an ‘accommodation’ with the system, Gundert was clearly *committed* to the system and its ideology.⁵⁵⁰

2.1.4. Confrontation with Hesse

It is difficult to imagine that Gundert’s commitment to the political ideology of the Nazis could not have resulted in anything other than a break with Hesse. Hesse had already

⁵⁴⁴ GB3: 129-130

⁵⁴⁵ Asien-Afrika-Institut Japanologie Universität Hamburg, 2016. *Geschichte*. [Online]. [Accessed 5 March 2018]. Available from: <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/japan/ueber-die-abteilung/geschichte.html>.

⁵⁴⁶ Hartmut Walravens is a former professor of Sinology at the Freie Universität Berlin and former lecturer at Hamburg University (Seminar für Sprache und Kultur Chinas).

⁵⁴⁷ Walravens, H. 2007. *Aus der Arbeit der Hamburger ostasiatischen Lehrstühle: Gutachten von Fritz Jäger, Karl Florenz und Wilhelm Gundert*. Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens / Hamburg. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e.V. Universität Hamburg. **181-182**, pp. 149-186. [Online]. [Accessed 5 March 2018]. Available from: <https://www.oag.uni-hamburg.de/noag/noag-181-182-2007/noag2007-10.pdf>. Here: p. 151.

⁵⁴⁸ “Standartenführer” is the rank of full colonel. Professor Franz Alfred Six (1909-1975) was Chair for Foreign Political Science at the University of Berlin, and the first dean of faculty for Foreign Studies. According to Eberhard Friese, Six was SS-Oberführer in 1941 and SS-Brigadeführer in 1945. Friese, E. 1990. Kontinuität und Wandel. Deutsch-japanischer Kultur- und Wissenschaftsbeziehungen nach dem ersten Weltkrieg. In: Vierhaus, R. & Von Brocke, B. eds. *Forschung im Spannungsfeld von Politik- und Gesellschaft. Geschichte und Struktur der Kaiser-Wilhelm-/Max Planck-Gesellschaft*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, pp. 802-834. Here: p. 829

⁵⁴⁹ Walravens, H. 2007. *Aus der Arbeit der Hamburger ostasiatischen Lehrstühle: Gutachten von Fritz Jäger, Karl Florenz und Wilhelm Gundert*. Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens / Hamburg. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e.V. Universität Hamburg. **181-182**, pp. 149-186. [Online]. [Accessed 5 March 2018]. Available from: <https://www.oag.uni-hamburg.de/noag/noag-181-182-2007/noag2007-10.pdf>. Here: p. 152.

⁵⁵⁰ Irmgard Yu-Gundert comes to a similar conclusion: “1934 wurde Wilhelm Gundert Mitglied der nationalsozialistischen Partei, teils aus Opportunismus (Professeur angestrebt), teils aus Überzeugung...”. See: Yu-Gundert, I. 1993. Wilhelm Gundert (1880-1971): Mittler zwischen West und Ost. In: Frenz, A. ed. *Hermann Gundert: Brücke zwischen Indien und Europa*. Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, pp. 387-388. Here: p. 388.

provided refuge to writers and intellectuals who had fled Nazi Germany at his house in Montagnola, Switzerland, receiving notable writers such as Thomas Mann in the spring of 1933,⁵⁵¹ and Bertold Brecht in the same year.⁵⁵²

Gundert was unmoved by the unfolding of the war that Hesse had predicted. In a 1943 article entitled *Fremdvölkisches Kulturgut und Eigenleistung in Japan*, in a volume published as *Das Reich und Japan*, Gundert commences, ‘Unter den vielen Wundern, die diese einzigartige Zeit uns erleben läßt, ist nicht das geringste die schicksalhafte Begegnung Deutschlands mit Dai Nippon,⁵⁵³ dem Inselreich des fernsten Ostens.’⁵⁵⁴ It is significant that Gundert can write of ‘wonders’ or ‘miracles’ in the period from 1942 to 1943 as the tide of the war was beginning to turn against Germany, and as a process of material and human attrition started to impact the Gundert family personally.

The first Allied fire bombing raids on Hamburg took place in the nights of the 14th and the 15th of November, 1940. These raids forced the Gundert family to spend most of the night in the air-raid shelter in the basement of the house. The house was hit by four incendiary devices, though the fires were quickly extinguished. The family was thankful for every quiet night from that point onwards.⁵⁵⁵ In February 1942, news reached Hamburg that Gundert’s brother Heinrich, a farmer on the Indonesian island of Sumatra, had drowned at sea with more than three-hundred other men.⁵⁵⁶ By the end of July 1943, Hamburg had been devastated by massive air raids, and the Gundert family was registered as *total Ausgebombte*, and forced to leave Hamburg temporarily to find new shelter.⁵⁵⁷

Despite his estrangement from his cousin, Hesse remained concerned about Gundert’s fate and the fate of other friends in the city following the air raids and firestorms in Hamburg at the end of July 1943. Writing to Otto Basler on 16 August, 1943, Hesse comments: ‘Ich weiß bisher erst von zweien, die Obdach und alle Habe verloren haben und als Flüchtlinge und Bettler nach Süddeutschland unterwegs sind, einer von ihnen ist mein Vetter Wilhelm

⁵⁵¹ From a letter dated probably March 1933 to Volkmar Andreä: Unser Gastbett ist von einem geflohenen Leipziger Kollegen besetzt, andere werden rasch folgen, dieser Tage kommt auch Thomas Mann. Die sind wenigstens alle am Leben... Hesse, H. 1981. *Hermann Hesse: Politik des Gewissens 2*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 517

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 918.

⁵⁵³ Short for *Dai Nippon Teikoku*, the Great Imperial State of Japan, often also known as the Japanese Imperial Empire.

⁵⁵⁴ Gundert, W. 1943. *Fremdvölkisches Kulturgut und Eigenleistung in Japan*. In: Donat, W. ed. *Das Reich und Japan*. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt Verlag, pp. 15-43. Here: p. 15.

⁵⁵⁵ ‘Dabei fielen vier Brandbomben auf unser Haus oben, die wir aber bald löschten. ... Man ist für jede ruhige Nacht dankbar. Jetzt heißt’s die Zähne zusammen beißen, nur nicht viel darüber reden.’ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 163.

⁵⁵⁶ Heinrich Gundert had been interned by the Dutch. As the Japanese advanced across Southeast Asia and threatened the Dutch positions in Indonesia, the Dutch sent Heinrich and other interned Germans by ship to India. Heinrich’s ship was then attacked by Japanese bombers. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 168. ‘*Total Ausgebombte*’ designated those suffering a total loss of house and home on account of the air raids, who, once registered, received a certificate that entitled them to state help as refugees.

Gundert, dem einst zusammen mit [Romain] Rolland, der Siddhartha gewidmet war.⁵⁵⁸

Hesse's expresses genuine concern at the plight of his friends, and extends unconditionally the same concern to his cousin.

Far from defeatist, in late 1944, at the age of sixty-four, Gundert registered for service in the *Volkssturm*, a militia comprising pensioners and children. In similar manner of defiance, he held a lecture entitled *Grundlagen des japanischen Heroismus* to recuperating officers.⁵⁵⁹ In early 1945, Gundert declared his solidarity with Goebbels, and he still believed in victory: 'Die wöchentlichen Aufsätze von Göbbels "im Reich"⁵⁶⁰ sind nach meiner Ansicht von großer Bedeutung. Sie sprechen das aus, was ich selbst will und empfinde. Nein, wir geben das Vertrauen in unser Schicksal nicht auf.'⁵⁶¹ The British army moved into Hamburg on 3 May, 1945.

2.1.5. Denazification

By May of 1945, the war in Germany was over, and a militaristic, authoritarian Japan surrendered in August 1945. Gundert lost his youngest son in the war, his residence in Hamburg, and his teaching position at Hamburg University. In his own words, he felt that he had been duped and deceived.⁵⁶² His relationship with Hesse had been severely affected by his membership in the NSDAP and his ideological support for the Nazis, but correspondence resumed as early as late August 1948, and in 1947 Gundert was reading Hesse's late novel *Das Glasperlenspiel*.⁵⁶³ A personal meeting would have to wait until 1954.

Gundert's formal denazification process started on 15 August, 1945. Gundert was dismissed from his position with immediate effect by the education authorities in Hamburg. Gundert had been employed as a civil servant, which means he lost the right to draw a pension or similar remuneration.⁵⁶⁴ Without an income, the family accepted an offer to move into an empty apartment in Gundert's sister's house in the small town of Schorndorf in Gundert's

⁵⁵⁸ GB3: 230.

⁵⁵⁹ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 171.

⁵⁶⁰ *Das Reich* was a weekly newspaper founded by Goebbels in May 1940. Goebbels contributed a weekly editorial.

⁵⁶¹ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 172.

⁵⁶² In 1946, Gundert wrote to his son, Hermann: 'Wir sind alle ins Dunkel geführt, jeder auf seine Art und müssen den Weg unter die Füße nehmen, ohne ihn auch nur richtig zu sehen.' *Ibid.*, p. 182. To be treated with care in view of the letter he received from Hermann Hesse dated 11th February, 1934, in which Hesse clearly states the dangers that lie ahead. See: Hesse, H. 1981. *Hermann Hesse: Politik des Gewissens* 2. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 548.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 804-805. Gundert had also been reading Hesse's *Das Glasperlenspiel* in the evenings in 1947.

Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 192.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 175. Gundert was dismissed 'ohne weitere Ansprüche auf Gehalt, Wartegeld, Ruhegeld oder ähnliche Dienst- und Versorgungsbezüge'. Gundert, W. 1945. *Brief an die Verwaltung der Hansestadt Hamburg, Schulverwaltung – Hochschulwesen – Zu Händen des Herrn Senators Landahl. Betr.: Antwort des dienstentlassenen Professor Dr. W. Gundert auf die Entlassungsschreiben vom 13. August 1945*, 15 November.

home state of Württemberg, arriving on 11 April, 1946.⁵⁶⁵ On 19 July, 1946, Gundert received a bill of indictment as a *Hauptschuldiger* (primary culprit) on account of his background as Rector of Hamburg University during the Nazi period. At a hearing on 9 September in the *Spruchkammer* (a denazification court), on the basis of exonerating reports from colleagues, students, and acquaintances, and with the help of three witnesses, Gundert was re-classed as *Mitläufer* (nominal member of the party), and fined six-hundred marks.⁵⁶⁶ Gundert's status was finalized as *entpflichteter ordentlicher Professor* (full professor dissolved of duties).⁵⁶⁷ The currency reform in June 1948, the conversion from Reichsmark to the Deutsch Mark, decimated Gundert's savings. In order to receive a pension, he wrote a petition to the British military government in Hamburg and obtained help from the State Minister of Culture in Stuttgart, Bäuerle, who in turn wrote to Senator Landahl in Hamburg.⁵⁶⁸ As a consequence, a pension was granted, providing material security and allowing Gundert to continue his academic work and resume his role as a transcultural mediator under the new realities in Germany and Japan.⁵⁶⁹

2.1.6. Forgiveness⁵⁷⁰

By 1948, the cousins were again engaged in cordial correspondence. Writing to Gundert on 30 August, 1948, Hesse expresses contentment that he was able to please his 'Japanese' cousin with a gift of letters written by Saint Francis Xavier (1506-1552), a Jesuit missionary who introduced Christianity to Japan in 1549.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶⁵ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 179 & p. 181.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁵⁶⁷ Gundert finally received notification from Hamburg of his status as an emeritus professor on 3rd February, 1955. *Ibid.*, p. 214. In the afterword of volume 1 of the *Bi Yän Lu*, Gundert expresses gratitude to the authorities in Hamburg for enabling him to draw a pension without the distraction of day-to-day teaching duties. As a consequence, he was able to concentrate on his research and writing: 'Der Rechtsordnung der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg aber muß ich es danken, daß mir nach der Entbindung von der öffentlichen Lehrpflicht noch die Möglichkeit gegeben war, ohne wirtschaftliche Sorgen ganz der Forschung und dem freiem Dienst am Geist zu leben.' Gundert, W. 1960. *Bi-yän-lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand. I. Band*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 555.

⁵⁶⁸ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 197.

⁵⁶⁹ Irmgard Yu-Gundert, who shared a house with her grandfather and grandmother in the post-war years, notes that Gundert never spoke about Japan's colonial past in Korea, nor were Japan or Germany's war crimes mentioned in the Gundert household: '...in den Jahren des Heranwachsens gab es bei uns zu Hause auch nahezu keine Gespräche über die allerjüngste deutsche Geschichte. Der Großvater trug nicht leicht am Wissen um die eigenen Verirrungen in der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit, doch äusserte sich das nicht im Gespräch.' Yu-Gundert, I. 2004. Private Erinnerungen an die Zeit der "Lethe" Koreas. *DaF-Szene Korea Nr. 20*. [Online]. [Accessed 5 March 2018]. Available from: <http://www.lvk-info.org/nr20/lvk-20lethe.htm>.

⁵⁷⁰ Hesse was prepared to forgive former members of the Nazi party. In a letter addressed to Friedrich Sieburg in March 1957, he writes, '...habe selbst einigen sehr lieben Freunden ihre Zugehörigkeit zur Partei erst nach langen Jahren und nach rückhaltloser Aussprache verziehen.' Hesse, H. 1981. *Hermann Hesse: Politik des Gewissens* 2. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 922.

⁵⁷¹ The first Europeans in Japan were Portuguese traders in 1542 who traded firearms with local feudal lords in the southern island of Kyushu. Christianity was introduced a few years later by Jesuit missionaries led by Xavier between 1549 and 1551. By 1580 Jesuit missionaries had converted some 150,000 Japanese to Christianity, and some 300,000 by 1614 – a higher ratio of Christians than at present. In 1614, the first of the Tokugawan shoguns, Ieyasu Tokugawa, enforced an edict to eliminate Christianity from the country. Miura, H. 1996. *The Life and*

Hesse rationalized that his cousin had acted with almost childish naivety in the face of authority. However, Hesse did not extend forgiveness universally. A case in point is the writer Ludwig Finckh, a close friend from Hesse's years in Gaienhofen (1905-1912) on Lake Constance, to whom *Peter Camenzind* is dedicated. Because of Finckh's uncritical role in the First World War and his active membership in the NSDAP, Hesse was unable to find forgiveness.⁵⁷² In 1957, shortly after his 80th birthday, Hesse assented to Finckh's requests and received him in Montagnola on 12 September. Commenting later in retrospect to his son Heiner in July 1961, and following the publication of Finckh's autobiography *Himmel und Erde* in the same year, into the narrative of which Finckh weaves his friendship with Hesse, but does very little to rehabilitate himself,⁵⁷³ Hesse regretted deeply that he had received him.⁵⁷⁴ This stands in contrast to his eagerness to meet his 'Japanese' cousin again.

The importance of family ties should not be overlooked. They were cousins by virtue of Hesse's maternal grandfather, Hermann Gundert. In a *Rundbrief* written to friends from Sils-Maria in August 1954, after meeting his cousin for the first time in twenty-four years two months previously, Hesse underlines their intellectual and family bonds: '...da er [Gundert] also nicht nur einen großen Teil meiner geistigen Interessen teilt, sondern außerdem und überdies seit meinem neunten Lebensjahr mir befreundet und als naher Verwandter intimer bekannt und verbunden ist als andre, später hinzugewonnene Freunde, habe ich mir seit langem dies Wiedersehen gewünscht.'⁵⁷⁵ They felt they were continuing the academic work of the grandfather, Hermann Gundert. On 16 March, 1926, Gundert wrote to Hesse's older sister Marulla, with whom Gundert maintained a close relationship throughout her life, about a common understanding of Buddhism:

Neben meiner Schule befasse mich z. Zt. besonders mit Buddhismus, kann sein, daß dies noch meine Hauptspezialität wird... Im ostasiatischen (Mahayana) Buddhismus finde ich auch die beste, umfassendste und tiefste gedankliche

Thoughts of Kanzo Uchimura 1861-1930. Cambridge: Eerdmans, pp. 1-2.

GB3: 495.

⁵⁷² 'Unser guter Finckh ist während der Hitlerzeit und während des scheußlichen Krieges derselbe gläubige, begeisterte, dumme Anbeter der Macht und dessen, was er Vaterland nannte, gewesen, wie er es zu Zeiten des Kaisers und des ersten Krieges war. Es wäre weiter nichts drüber zu sagen, es ist die typische Haltung des offiziellen deutschen Durchschnitts-Intellektuellen...' Excerpt from a letter to Max Bucherer, also a friend from the Gaienhofen days, in 1947 from: Hesse, H. 1981. *Hermann Hesse: Politik des Gewissens* 2. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 782.

⁵⁷³ For example, Finckh on Hitler: 'Es gab Leute, die glaubten, daß Hitler Gutes gewollt habe, aber einer unterirdischen Macht gegenübergestanden sei, die ihn bekämpft und zu Fall gebracht habe; er habe sie gespürt und sich abdrängen lassen zu falschen, grausamen, schlechten Maßnahmen, - eine unreife Ernte gebrochen, und sei darüber in Wahnsinn verfallen.' Finckh, L. 1961. *Himmel und Erde*. Stuttgart: Silberburg-Verlag, p. 164. In October, 1933, Finckh was one of 88 writers who signed the 'Gelöbniß treuester Gefolgschaft' (vow of most faithful allegiance) to Adolf Hitler, which was printed in the *Vossische Zeitung* on 26 October, 1933.

⁵⁷⁴ See the letter addressed to Heiner Hesse in which Hesse states: 'Hätte ich gewußt, daß er nie umgelernt, eingesehen und bereit hat, so hätte ich ihn nie empfangen.' GB4: 402-403.

⁵⁷⁵ Hesse, H. 2000. *Rundbrief aus Sils-Maria. Hermann Hesse: Briefe an Freunde*. Michels, V. ed. Frankfurt am Main: Insel, pp. 196-210. Here: p. 197.

Fundierung der Erkenntnisse, die mir das eigene Leben gebracht hat und in denen ich mich kaum mit irgend jemand so einig weiß wie mit Deinem Bruder Hermann.

⁵⁷⁶

Gundert had also started work on the East Asian part of the anthology *Lyrik des Ostens* and the German translation of the *Pi Yen Lu*, thus his political mistakes may have diminished in Hesse's view, an opinion that is shared by Gundert's granddaughter Irmgard Yu-Gundert.⁵⁷⁷ Albrecht Frenz stresses the key role of the first case of the *Bi Yän Lu* in which Emperor Wu of Liang asks Bodhidharma about the highest meaning of the holy truths to which Bodhidharma replies, 'Offene Weite – nichts von heilig.'⁵⁷⁸ Frenz suggests that this must have touched Hesse's heart, sweeping away any doubts, and bonding the two in a way reminiscent of their shared childhood.⁵⁷⁹

To a degree Gundert's behaviour remained inexplicable to Hesse. Writing to his cousin Fanny Schiler-Gundert in Calw on 24 January, 1951, Hesse asks how such a pure-hearted person as Gundert could become a Nazi.⁵⁸⁰ According to Hesse, and to paraphrase, until the end of the First World War, in families such as the Hesse and Gundert families there was a natural, inviolable recognition of the legitimate authority of the state, its institutions, the Kaiser, and the Kanzler. However, with the abdication and flight of the Kaiser after the war, and the subsequent revolution, citizens were suddenly living in a republic, rather than an empire or a monarchy, and the very same citizens were then asked to shape the political institutions of the state. With the exception of a few old democrats and the social democrats, most were clueless about how the new system should function, while half of the population rejected such a system outright, especially former figures of authority associated with monarchy and church, and, significantly, intellectuals in universities. In Hesse's mind, they failed to accept and foster the new republic, and Gundert was no different. Instead of nurturing the new, young state, attempts were made to sabotage it, and many placed their hopes in strong men such as Hindenburg. As a consequence, Hitler was the next logical step. In Japan, Gundert had worked closely with the German legation and lived in a quasi-German colony. In Hesse's opinion, such a hothouse environment encouraged Kaiser worship, a

⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁶ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 143.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸ Gundert, W. 1973. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand. 3. Band*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 37. In English; 'Empty, without holiness.' Cleary, T. & Cleary, J. C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 1.

⁵⁷⁹ Frenz, A. 2013. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 23 February. Albrecht Frenz is co-founder of the Hermann Gundert Society, and was its president until 2001. He is married to Dr. Hermann Gundert's great-great-granddaughter.

⁵⁸⁰ See: Hesse, H. 1970. *Hesse: Gesammelte Werke. Band 10*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 575-576. Quoted in: Yu-Gundert, I. 2002. Hesses späte Begegnung mit dem Zen-Buddhismus – Hermann Hesse und sein Vetter Wilhelm Gundert. In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse Siddhartha*. Stuttgart: Staatsanzeiger Verlag, pp. 165-178. Here: p. 166.

craving for spurious titles, and rhetorical patriotism. Gundert had been immersed in this atmosphere for a long period of time. This, rather than conservatism among university professors had prevented him from opening his eyes and exercising independent thoughts and judgments: he acted like a pious subject in all political matters.⁵⁸¹ Hesse concludes his letter thus: ‘Sonst ist ihm nichts vorzuwerfen, er ist unschuldig wie ein Kind den Weg mitgegangen, der die große Mehrzahl seiner Standesgenossen schließlich zu Hitler geführt hat.’⁵⁸²

Finally, it is right to note that Gundert did come to regret his role in the Nazi years. In a letter written in German on 16 April, 1959, to his Japanese friend Yamada, a former student of Kanzo Uchimura, Gundert describes himself as having been ‘...a disloyal servant [of God] over many years’ (‘...einen viele Jahre untreuen Knecht’), who had been punished justly (‘gerechte Strafen’) through the death of two of his children, dismissal from his position at Hamburg University, and through the loss of his worldly possessions. Irmgard Yu-Gundert suggests that these matters and Gundert’s Nazi past were never spoken about during his visits to Montagnola. Nonetheless, she notes that Hesse would have perceived Gundert’s deep remorse, even without specifically broaching the topic.⁵⁸³

In 1969, Gundert was still defending himself against his membership of the NSDAP. A former English teacher, a fellow member of the Japanese Association of Foreign Teachers, wrote a complimentary article in an English language Japanese newspaper, but criticized his

⁵⁸¹ Irmgard Yu-Gundert sees a duality of east and west in her grandfather. In the latter aspect, he was extremely conscientious in his interpretation of the different readings of Chinese characters and ideas in his post-war scholarly work, in the researching of all realia and citations, and in the use of accessible commentaries and parallel texts. However, as regards the former eastern aspect of his character, he lacked critical interpretation skills that hindered analysis and comparison, skills rejected by the Zen masters in the *Pi Yen Lu* it should be noted, while being drawn to stillness, a reclusive life, long walks in nature for the purpose of reflection, and an intense passion for the study of books. He also had a talent for feeling his way into old texts and relied to a great degree on his intuition. This is puzzling, as intuition itself should have been enough to read the game the Nazis in Germany were playing. Yu-Gundert, I. 2013. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 3 March.

⁵⁸² Hesse, H. 1970. *Hesse: Gesammelte Werke. Band 10*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 575-576. Here: p. 576.

⁵⁸³ Yu-Gundert, I. 2013. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 28 February. Furthermore, Yu-Gundert reports that her grandfather spoke to her only once about his Nazi past in the winter of 1960/1961. In 1934, when Gundert joined the NSDAP, his friend in Japan Hermann Bohner, a missionary and professor, criticized him strongly. Gundert, however, had considered membership in the party necessary in order to obtain the position at the University of Hamburg. Therefore, his initial entry into the party may be termed ‘opportunism’. As Yu-Gundert concedes, his later support for Nazi ideology once in Germany is of a different calibre. Yu-Gundert, I. 2013. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 23 March.

A further detail of interest is Gundert’s extreme sense of loyalty to the Nazi Party once he had sworn allegiance. Gundert applied for party membership in the winter of 1933/1934, as did almost all members of the German colony in Tokyo and Yokohama, and was accepted into the party on 1st April, 1934, in Munich. Gundert swore allegiance to the party during the course of 1934, which in his own words ‘...von da ab bindende Kraft besass’. Upon arrival in Hamburg, he reported to the local office of the Nazi party, joined the N.S. Dozentenbund (Association of Nazi Lecturers), and swore allegiance to the Führer. From 1939 onwards, despite a worsening situation, Gundert was committed ‘...die geschworene Treue zu halten’. Gundert, W. 1945. *Brief an die Verwaltung der Hansestadt Hamburg, Schulverwaltung – Hochschulwesen – Zu Händen des Herrn Senators Landahl. Betr.: Antwort des dienstentlassenen Professor Dr. W. Gundert auf die Entlassungsschreiben vom 13. August 1945*, 15 November.

membership of the NSDAP. The article touched a sensitive nerve and Gundert felt obliged to counter why he felt he had had no other choice but to become a party member. He simply would not have been able to accept the Chair in Japanese Studies at Hamburg University in 1936 had he not been a member of the NSDAP.⁵⁸⁴

In sum, Hesse was reluctant to spurn the intellectual and family bonds linking the two cousins throughout their lives. Gundert was not alone in exhibiting blind trust in the authorities, but Hesse was willing to forgive Gundert for his childlike innocence in submitting to the policies of the totalitarian Nazi state. Commencement of work on the East Asian part of *Lyrik des Ostens* and the translation of the *Pi Yen Lu* re-strengthened their shared interest in the culture and spirituality of China and Japan and helped to smooth the path to reconciliation.

2.1.7. Visits to Hesse in Montagnola

In 1954, Gundert moved to Neu-Ulm. He visited Hesse from 1 June to 5 June in Montagnola; their first meeting in person in twenty-four years. Helene Gundert describes it as ‘...ein großes Erlebnis ...für Wilhelm...’.⁵⁸⁵ Hesse and his wife, Ninon, breakfasted separately, and then spent the morning following their own pursuits: Ninon in her own study; Hesse in the garden. Lunch was taken together, and on the afternoon of the first day there was a trip to Lake Lugano. On the first two evenings, the guests and their hosts listened to music on the radio, after which there were conversations about contemporary writers, both German and French, and family relatives. Ninon talked about her excavations in Crete and Gundert talked about siblings. On the third evening, Gundert read from case 24 of his *Bi Yän Lu* translation: *Die Nonne Liu bei We-schan*.⁵⁸⁶ On the fourth evening, Gundert read aloud from his radio lecture on Buddhism. In the morning before his departure, instead of Ninon, Gundert read Hesse’s post to him. Departure was not easy for Gundert: ‘Der Abschied wird mir schwer, beide waren überaus liebevoll zu mir.’⁵⁸⁷ Hesse described his impressions of Gundert’s visit in a *Rundbrief* to friends from Sils-Maria, dated August 1954, and for him,

⁵⁸⁴ ‘Der Brief eines einstigen englischen Lehrers, der mit ihm in der Japanischen Association of Foreign Teachers gewesen war und einer Artikel über ihn in einer englisch-sprachigen japanischen Zeitung lobend geschrieben hatte aber seinen politischen Fehler tadelte, daß er der N.S. Partei beigetreten sei, wurmte ihn sehr, und er müßte ihm auseinandersetzen, warum er genötigt war, es zu tun.’ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 242.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 211. Until this point Gundert had feared the older cousin’s criticism and disapproval regarding his membership of the NSDAP and support for the Nazis between 1934 and 1945. However, with the publication of *Lyrik des Osten* and Gundert’s plans for the translation of the *Pi Yen Lu*, he had regained the confidence to meet Hesse again. Yu-Gundert, I. 2013. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 28 February.

⁵⁸⁶ ‘Iron Grindstone Liu arrived at Kuei Shan. Kuei Shan said, "Old cow, so you’ve come!" The Grindstone said, "Tomorrow there’s a great communal feast at T’ an Shan, are you going to go, Teacher?" Kuei Shan relaxed his body and lay down; the Grindstone immediately left.’ Cleary, T. & Cleary, J.C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 159.

⁵⁸⁷ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 211.

too, Gundert's departure was a sad moment: 'Ungern ließ ich den Gast, nachdem er sich freundlich einen weiteren Tag des Bleibens hatte abschmeicheln lassen, mit seinem schwäbisch-japanischen Gesicht und mit seinem kostbaren Manuskript wieder abreisen, der Abschied tat weh.'⁵⁸⁸

Writing the next day, on 6 June, to Theodor Heuss,⁵⁸⁹ who had invited Hesse to accept the Pour le Mérite civil order,⁵⁹⁰ Hesse explained that after his conversations with his cousin, he had been inclined to refuse the order and reject all worldly goods and recognitions.⁵⁹¹ He struggled with the question of whether it would be stupider to accept it or stupider to reject it from a false sense of wise aloofness. From the perspective of the Zen masters in the *Pi Yen Lu*, either decision is sheer vanity. Finally, Hesse consulted the oracle of the *I Ging*,⁵⁹² and the judgment favoured accepting the invitation.

Between 14 May and 19 May, 1956, Gundert and his wife lodged at Seehof Lugano at the foot of Monte San Salvatore. Ninon drove them twice by car to Montagnola, where they remained from midday until the evening.⁵⁹³ On 17 May, Gundert was able to read the thirteenth case of the *Bi Yän Lu* (*Ba-ling's silberne Schale*⁵⁹⁴). Gundert was struck by what he considered the undeserved attention of both Hesse and Ninon.⁵⁹⁵ Gundert notes that the thirteenth case of the *Pi Yen Lu* tries to give Zen a tactile form, making it visible to the eye, or perceivable to the ear. The central question is whether this is possible at all.⁵⁹⁶ Hesse had his own opinion about the problem of the 'Sagen des Unsagbaren': 'Wenn ich als Maler die Vollkommenheit der Welt zeigen will, muß ich das Blatt etc. ganz genau malen.'⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁸⁸ Hesse, H. 2000. *Hermann Hesse: Briefe an Freunde*. Michels, V. ed. Frankfurt am Main: Insel, pp. 196-210.

⁵⁸⁹ Theodor Heuss was President of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1949 to 1959.

⁵⁹⁰ Pour le Merité is a civil order which is awarded for achievements in arts and sciences. Hesse received the order in 1954, Thomas Mann in 1955. The president of Germany is the head of the order.

⁵⁹¹ *GB4*: 207-208.

⁵⁹² Known as *I Ching* in English, or the *Book of Changes*. The book is one of the oldest classic Chinese texts and contains a divination system.

⁵⁹³ At the time Hermann Hesse was suffering from sclerosis of the cartilage in his hands, fingers as well as hips. On the 16th of May, he travelled to Bellinzona for injections. On the afternoon of the 15th of May, Ninon drove the party along the lake to Morcote to enjoy the church and its wonderful view. Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 217.

⁵⁹⁴ 'A monk asked Pa Ling, "What is the school of Kanadeva?" Pa Ling said, "Piling up snow in a silver bowl."' Cleary, T. & Cleary, J. C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 88.

⁵⁹⁵ 'Erstaunliche, unverdiente Teilnahme der beiden.' Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 217.

⁵⁹⁶ 'Es ist die Frage: gibt es eine Möglichkeit, das Sagen dem Unsagbaren anzugleichen, daß in ihm das Unsagbare hörbar wird?' Gundert, W. 1960. *Bi-yän-lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdnen Felswand. 1. Band*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 258.

⁵⁹⁷ The conversation topics also included Ninon's enthusiasm for an Asian sculpture in Museum Riedberg in Zurich; an American friend had suggested that Hesse approve a filming of *Siddhartha* in America in order to disseminate Hesse's ideas in the USA, but Hesse refused as he had no interest, and the art of writing short, succinct letters, to which Hesse reported that his admirers do exactly the opposite. Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 217.

One day after his departure, on 19 May, 1956, Hesse writes that in the evening of 18 May, he and Ninon read the 9th case of Gundert's translation.⁵⁹⁸ In Gundert's *Bi Yän Lu*, the case is known as *Die Vier Tore von Dschau-dschou*.⁵⁹⁹ Hesse und Ninon enjoyed the case, even though it would have been incomprehensible without Gundert's introduction and commentaries and lacks the magical immediacy of case 13: *Pa Ling's Snow in a Silver Bowl*. Hesse suggested that, 'Alles in allem neige ich doch dazu, das weitläufige Verfahren dem abkürzenden vorzuziehen.' Hesse's input in this respect is reflected throughout Gundert's first volume of *Pi Yen Lu* translations in extensive, well-researched commentaries for each case.

In November 1956, Gundert visited again. One month earlier, in October 1956, Hesse wrote to Walter Haußmann about his memories of uncle David Gundert's house in Stuttgart and of his eldest son, Wilhelm Gundert, who was his playfellow during the holidays.⁶⁰⁰ Hesse then describes Gundert's work and translation of the *Pi Yen Lu* as a treasure chamber ('Schatzkammer'), from which he (Gundert) brings samples on his visits to Montagnola. Furthermore, Hesse wrote to Gerd Gattwinkel in late October, 1957, just before Gundert visited in November, about his essay on *Das Glasperlenspiel*.⁶⁰¹ Whilst lacking the energy to read Gattwinkel's paper, and uncomfortable at constantly being confronted with analyses and interpretations of his works, Hesse chose to answer by quoting a Chinese Zen master from the 9th century.

Als er im Wasser sein Spiegelbild sah:
Nur kein Suchen hinter andern her!
Weit, o weit entfremdest dich dir selbst.
Jetzt, da ich allein und selber geh,
Überall begegne ich dem Kerl.
Jetzt ist er kein anderer als ich,
Aber ich ein anderer als er.
So, nicht anders, ist es zu verstehn
Und bestätigt mir den Sinn der Welt.⁶⁰²

Whether written by a Chinese Zen master, or by Hesse himself, it testifies to the influence of his cousin and his translation of the *Pi Yen Lu*. Late 1958, Hesse writes to one of his translators in Japan, Mayumi Haga, in response to Haga's complaint about a decline in

⁵⁹⁸ Hsia, A. 2002. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 123-124.

⁵⁹⁹ 'Chao Chou's Four Gates'. The case is short: 'A monk asked Chao Chou, "What is Chao Chou?" Chao Chou replied, "East gate, west gate, south gate, north gate."' Cleary, T. & Cleary, J. C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 59.

⁶⁰⁰ *GB4*: 272-273.

⁶⁰¹ *GB4*: 299-300.

⁶⁰² The author of the poem is not specified. It may be Hesse himself. *GB4*: 299.

traditional Japanese values.⁶⁰³ As a consolation, Hesse sends a copy of his poem *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht, verwitternd*, which he wrote after receiving Kei Wakasugi's book *Buddha in the Field* (1958).⁶⁰⁴ The poem is of Zen-like conciseness and concludes: 'Bild allen Wandels in der ewigen Einheit' - a poetic insight that would not be out of place in any of the *Pi Yen Lu* cases.

From the 20 to 23 November, as noted, Gundert visited Hesse in Montagnola for the second time in 1956. On two days, in the late afternoon, he read from two cases of the *Bi-yän-lu*. The reactions of both Hesse and Ninon moved him: 'Ich bin tief bewegt über das Interesse und die Geduld, mit denen beide zuhören und sich aussprechen.' Gundert then commented on Ninon's interest: 'Frau Ninon erkundigt sich liebevoll über meine Arbeitsweise und Schwierigkeiten.'⁶⁰⁵

In 1957, Helene and Wilhelm Gundert visited Hesse from 4 to 8 November. This time Gundert spoke about Kanzo Uchimura, his biblical and Confucian nature, and the movement of Non-churchism (*mukyokai-shugi*) he founded in Japan.⁶⁰⁶ He also showed Hesse and Ninon the Chinese source text of the *Bi Yän Lu* and explained some of the Chinese characters. Hesse commented that Gundert's exhaustive care over the names of the Zen masters and the geography of the cases was detrimental to the overall project.⁶⁰⁷

In June 1959, Hesse wrote to Gundert about a triviality from a letter writer who Hesse termed a 'naïve man': What three things would Hesse take on a one-way flight to the moon?⁶⁰⁸ Hesse declares that Meng Hsiä would have answered 'a roll of paper, a brush and my ink tray'; the utensils needed to practice calligraphy on the journey through space. Meng Hsiä was Hesse himself.⁶⁰⁹ Hesse knows that Gundert will appreciate the witticism in full.

⁶⁰³ GB4: 324.

⁶⁰⁴ Kei Wakasugi was a Japanese writer and photographer. The book is a photographic survey of sculptured and carved images of the Buddha in various parts of Japan. (See Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 for a longer discussion.)

⁶⁰⁵ The cousins also spoke about Carossa, Bert Brecht, and the relationship between Schiller and Goethe. Gundert also asked Hesse about how many letters he received. Hesse estimated about 5,000 a year, of which he was able to answer about 1,000 by hand or in printed form. Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, pp. 218-219.

⁶⁰⁶ Kanzo Uchimura's Non-churchism movement was an attempt to escape the influence of Western missionaries in Japan, and thus the priestly class that mediated between God and man. According to Uchimura, faith was passed directly from God to an individual. See: Miura, H. 1996. *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura: 1861-1930*. Cambridge: Eerdmans, especially pp. 105-113.

⁶⁰⁷ No further details are presented in the memoirs, but Hesse was probably pointing out that it is easy to lose one's way in excessive attention to peripheral detail, which detracts from the tension of the Zen lesson presented in each individual case. Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, pp. 224-225.

⁶⁰⁸ GB4: 344.

⁶⁰⁹ Meng Hsiä is a fictional Chinese sage invented by Hermann Hesse. According to Volker Michels, the name means 'Träume-Schreiber' (see footnote to letter to Otto Engel. GB4: 387). The fictional sayings of this sage included a sign on Hesse's garden gate in Montagnola. The sign 'Bitte Keine Besuche!' had helped little in deterring visitors. Instead, Hesse posted a sign with the following words: '*Worte des Meng Hsiä (alt chinesisches)*. – Wenn Einer alt geworden ist und das Seine getan hat, steht ihm zu, sich in der Stille mit dem

Moreover, the short, pithy response is reminiscent of the master and pupil relationship in the cases of the *Bi Yän Lu*.

Gundert next visited Montagnola in October of 1959. The Gunderts stayed in Zurich and Lugano and were invited twice to visit Hesse. We learn only that Hesse was not particularly well, and, with Ninon in Greece, Hesse's eldest son, Bruno, was taking caring of him.⁶¹⁰ In 1975, Bruno Hesse noted: 'Es wurde von Japan und vom Zen-Buddhismus gesprochen, dann kam das Gespräch auf Mörrike'.⁶¹¹

Tode zu befreunden. Nicht bedarf er der Menschen. Er kennt sie, er hat ihrer genug gesehen. Wessen er bedarf, ist Stille. Nicht schicklich ist es, einen Solchen aufzusuchen, ihn anzureden, ihn mit Schwatzen zu quälen. An der Pforte seiner Behausung ziemt es sich vorbeizugehen, als wäre sie Niemandes Wohnung.' See: Hsia, A. 2002. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 196-199. Hsia argues that Meng Hsiä's sayings, particularly in *Chinese Legende* (St. Gallen, 1959), were largely a consciously unemotional answer by Hesse to the attacks of literary critics in the mid-1950s about his lack of political engagement. To avoid any personal misunderstandings, Hesse answered, by proxy, through the words of Meng Hsiä. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁶¹⁰ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 232.

⁶¹¹ Hesse, B. 1987. Ein paar Erinnerungen an Vater. In: Michels, V. ed. *Hermann Hesse in Augenzeugenberichten*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 305-312. Here: p. 309.



Figure 11: Wilhelm Gundert in 1960.⁶¹²

In April 1960, Hesse wrote to Gundert to congratulate him on his approaching 80th birthday.⁶¹³ Hesse recalled his own 80th, which he celebrated with his sons, daughters-in-law, grandchildren, and close friends. The topic changes to childhood memories and is prefaced by a birthday rhyme that the cousins used to sing. Hesse recalled the house on Herdweg in Stuttgart, Gundert's father and brother, Uncle Willy, and how as children they played in the garden, surrounding countryside and ponds. The letter is suffused with an air of melancholy and reminiscence.

In September 1960, the first volume of the *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der smaragdenen Felswand*, containing the first thirty-three cases of the one hundred Zen koans, was published. On 8 October, Gundert started on the 34th case of the *Bi Yän Lu*, inspired by the excellent reviews and Hesse's congratulatory letter, which was printed in the *Neue Zürcher*

⁶¹² Wilhelm Gundert. 2018. *Gunther Gottschalk: Hermann Hesse Page*. [Online]. [Accessed 5 March 2018]. Available from: <http://www.gss.ucsb.edu/projects/hesse/people/gundert-w.html>.

⁶¹³ *GB4*: 374-375.

Zeitung on 3 October.⁶¹⁴ The impact of Gundert's work is palpable from the first sentence of Hesse's open letter:

Seit jenem schönem Ereignis der Verdeutschung des *I Ging* durch R. Wilhelm vor bald vierzig Jahren hat keine Eroberung fernöstlicher Schätze durch den abendländischen Geist mich so tief berührt, so herzerfreuend alles Westöstliche in mir angerufen wie die große, mir vorerst nur im großen Umriß erfaßbare Leistung, an die Du Deinen Lebensabend, wohl mehr als ein Jahrzehnt geduldigster und heikelster Arbeit, hingegeben hast.⁶¹⁵

Hesse expresses warm and deep recognition for his cousin's work, and he compares it to Richard Wilhelm's translation of *I Ging* some forty years earlier.⁶¹⁶ Hesse recognizes that the remaining years he has (there were only to be a further two) would be insufficient to appreciate all the wisdom contained in the translated work, while scholars in both China and Japan have had more than eight hundred years to indulge themselves in the wisdom of the book.⁶¹⁷ Hesse doubts that a European from a Judeo-Christian background would ever comprehend and be able to translate the work, except for somebody with Gundert's background in Japan and his career as a scholar of Japanese and, later, Chinese religion and literature.

⁶¹⁴ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 235. For Hesse's letter, see: *GB4*: 382-386.

⁶¹⁵ *GB4*: 382.

⁶¹⁶ Richard Wilhelm's translations of the works of Confucius, Lao Tzu and Chuan Tzu into German gave European readers, and Hesse himself, access to Chinese spirituality and philosophy. In a letter dated 4th June, 1926, Hesse acknowledges his debt to Richard Wilhelm: 'Ich verdanke Ihnen so ziemlich alles, was ich an Beziehungen zum Chinesischen habe, das mir, nach einer vieljährigen mehr indischen Orientierung, sehr wichtig wurde.' *GB2*: 142.

⁶¹⁷ Here Hesse does himself a disservice because as I argue his set of three Zen poems are evidence of an outcome from Gundert's project. (See Chapter 4).

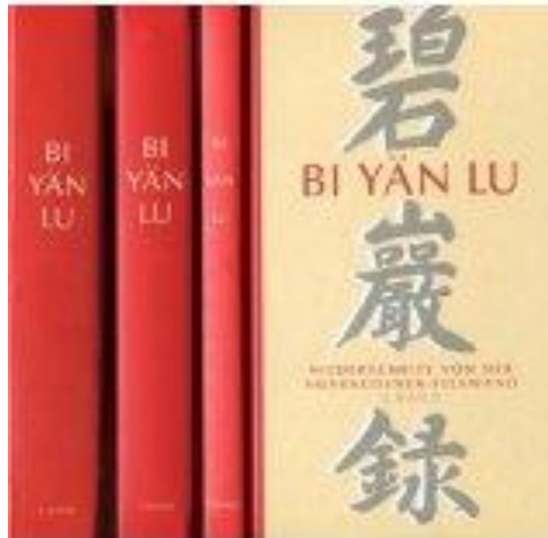


Figure 12: Wilhelm Gundert's *Bi-Yän-Lu: Meister Yuan-wu's Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand* in three volumes.

Hesse wrote to Theodor Heuss in October 1960, shortly before Heuss made a state visit to New Delhi.⁶¹⁸ Hesse writes:

Bei Gelegenheit Ihres humanistischen Vortrags dort können Sie den Hindus erzählen, daß der Schwabe Dr. Hermann Gundert ein großer Sanskritist war und ein Lexikon des Malaylam verfaßt, daß sein Enkel Hesse den ‘Siddhartha’ geschrieben hat, der in neun indischen Sprachen übersetzt ist, und daß Vetter Wilhelm Gundert so eben eins der klassischen Werke des Zen-Buddhismus übersetzt und kommentiert hat. So hat die Lehre des Sakyamuni über China und Japan den Weg nach Schwaben gefunden.⁶¹⁹

Hesse values the work because its sweet core can only be discovered in iron-hard shells (‘...das Buch...seinen süßen Kern in so eisenharten Schalen halt...’).⁶²⁰ There is no access for the impatient, the merely inquisitive, and above all for the ‘Besserwisser’.⁶²¹ At face value the cases make no rational sense, and, as Hesse describes in his fictional letter from Josef Knecht to Carlo Ferromonte in 1961, days or weeks are required to decode the cases, which Hesse’s *alter ego* Knecht likens to hieroglyphics.⁶²² Josef Knecht (Hesse) concedes that to understand the goals of instruction one requires a teacher or master versed in

⁶¹⁸ *GB4*: 388-389.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

⁶²⁰ *GB4*: 385.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*

⁶²² *SW12*: 687. Hesse gives an example of the difficulty of understanding the cases in his guise of Josef Knecht as follows: ‘Ein Mönch fragte Hsiang-lin: Was ist der Sinn davon, daß fern vom Westen her der Patriarch gekommen ist? Hsiang-lin erwiderte: Vom langen Sitzen müde.’ This is case 17. In English: ‘A monk asked Hsiang Lin, “What is the meaning of the Patriarch’s coming from the West?” Hsiang Lin said, “Sitting for a long time becomes toilsome.”’ Cleary, T. & Cleary, J.C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 110.

Buddhism and sinological studies (Gundert). However, some cases can be understood intuitively. Knecht (Hesse) cites case 1 in which Emperor Wu asks the great master Bodhidharma, ‘What is the highest meaning of the holy truths?’ Bodhidharma replies, ‘Empty, without holiness.’⁶²³ Upon reading the master’s reply, which is rendered by Gundert as ‘Offene Weite – nichts von heilig’,⁶²⁴ Knecht (Hesse) is struck by such a force that he describes the moment as an ‘Erwachen’, a feeling of unity or oneness with the universe, a moment of enlightenment or *satori*. For Knecht (Hesse) this was not the first such experience, and he draws parallels with similar experiences described by Christian mystics and Jacob Böhme. But how were the Chinese Zen masters able to capture or pin down the moment so that one could live as enlightened throughout a lifetime? Within the confines of a rationally trained Western mind, the only solution that Knecht (Hesse) can find to this question is that a Chinese Zen master is able to repeat the experience a second, third, even a tenth time.⁶²⁵

Two aspects stand out here. First, Hesse emphasizes the family trinity, which includes the grandfather Hermann Gundert and his cousin Wilhelm Gundert. Secondly, Hesse describes the circular nature of the spiritual quest: from the birthplace of all three in Swabia, via India, China, and Japan, back to Swabia. The return to Swabia is metaphorical as only Hermann Gundert spent his final years and died in Swabia, Hesse in Montagnola and Wilhelm Gundert in Neu-Ulm. ‘Swabia’ represents the Occident, or, I suggest, the spiritual enlightenment experienced in a momentary flash upon reading the first case in Gundert’s translation of the *Pi Yen Lu*. Overall in the model, the catalyst for the journey to the East was the influence exercised by the grandfather Hermann Gundert upon the two cousins in childhood and that the journey to the East was undertaken both physically and spiritually by Gundert and spiritually by Hesse.⁶²⁶ If Hesse’s Zen poems, and one can add the letter from Josef Knecht to Carlo Ferromonte, represent a concise expression and summary of Hesse’s learning, spirituality and life philosophy, it was made possible by the physical journey of Gundert to Japan, his return to Germany, forgiveness of his political mistakes, and finally by his non-institutional academic work and spiritual and intellectual development which led to the translation and commentary of the *Pi Yen Lu*. Hesse’s interest in Indian and Chinese religions is well documented, far less his experience of momentary spiritual enlightenment and the summary expression of that wisdom in Zen poems. Hesse’s path of spiritual development, nonetheless, traces the same path from India to China, then on to Japan, where

⁶²³ Cleary, T. & Cleary, J.C. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 1.

⁶²⁴ Gundert, W. 1960. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdnen Felswand. 1. Band*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 37.

⁶²⁵ *SW12*: 689.

⁶²⁶ It can be argued that Hesse’s sole journey to the East in 1911, during which he visited Ceylon, Singapore, Sumatra, but not India, was an escape from claustrophobic family life in Gaienhofen. See: Weber, J. 2011. *Indien gesucht, China gefunden*. Norderstedt: Books on Demand, pp. 59-62.

it culminated in Zen Buddhism. The return to the Occident was facilitated by Hesse's 'Japanese' cousin, Wilhelm Gundert.

In a letter to Kurt Wolff in March 1961, Hesse confirms that his three Zen poems, *Der erhobene Finger* and *Junger Novize im Zen-Kloster I & II* were written after months spent studying Gundert's *Bi Yän Lu*.⁶²⁷

On 4 October, 1961, Hesse writes to Erika Mann in anticipation of what would be Gundert's final visit to Montagnola the following day.⁶²⁸ From the few words that Hesse writes, significant are: '...da stehen mir einige Abende in östlicher Luft bevor, mit Zen-buddhistischen Gesprächen, das ist Bad und Atemluft für mich.'⁶²⁹

The Gunderts visited Hesse in Montagnola for the last time on 5 October, 1961. In Helene Gundert's memoirs this visit is mentioned with no more information than the date.⁶³⁰

2.2. Transitions

In December 1961, Hesse writes briefly to Gundert.⁶³¹ He expresses pleasure at having received a letter written by Gundert's mother (Marie Gundert: 1857-1887), and notes the poetry written by his own mother. Notable is his description of his failing health.⁶³² Hesse died in Montagnola on 9 August, 1962.

Ninon Hesse visited Neu-Ulm in 1964 to work on the collections of Hermann Gundert's handwritten letters. She copied passages about his grandson, the young Hermann Hesse, some of which she was able to use in *Hermann Hesse Kindheit und Jugend vor Neunzehnhundert*.⁶³³ On 25 February, 1965, the Hesse Archive was inaugurated at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach, Germany, with many members of both the Gundert and Hesse families present.⁶³⁴

In 1964, the second edition of Volume 1 of the *Bi Yän Lu* was published. Between 1960 and 1966, Gundert continued to translate the *Pi Yen Lu*, up to case 50. The second volume of

⁶²⁷ 'Die beiden Gedichte gehen auf die monatelange Beschäftigung mit einem Buch zurück, dem Bi Yän Lu, ...' GB4: 394-395. Note that Hesse writes *two* poems. For our purposes, 'Junge Novize' comprises two separate parts, and thus I write *three* Zen poems.

⁶²⁸ GB4: 407-408.

⁶²⁹ GB4: 407.

⁶³⁰ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 237.

⁶³¹ GB4: 413.

⁶³² From December 1961 onwards, Hesse suffered from leukemia.

⁶³³ Hesse, H. 1966. *Hermann Hesse Kindheit und Jugend vor Neunzehnhundert 1877-1895*. Hesse, N. ed. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Speaking to Helene Gundert, Ninon commented on what she found in Hermann Gundert's letters about Hermann Hesse: 'Ich bin ganz neidisch auf dich, weil so viel Netteres über deinen Mann als über den meinen drin steht.' Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 239.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-240.

Gundert's translation, containing cases 34 to 50, and dedicated to D. T. Suzuki,⁶³⁵ was published in 1967. From 1967 to 1969, Gundert continued his translation work up to case 60.

Between 1969 and the spring of 1971, Gundert continued to translate in abridged form up to case 67. Cases 68 to 70 remained uncompleted. In May 1971, Hesse's sons Bruno and Heiner visited Gundert. Bruno returned for one last time on 25 May.⁶³⁶ In July 1971, Gundert fell ill and died on 3 August. The third volume of the *Bi Yän Lu*, with cases 51 to 68, was published posthumously from Gundert's estate in 1973.

2.3. Chapter Conclusion

Arguably, one of the happiest events that Hermann Hesse was able to experience at an advanced age was the completion and publication of his 'Japanese' cousin's German translation of the first thirty-three cases of the Zen Buddhist 'bible' the *Pi Yen Lu* as volume one of the *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand*. For Hesse the work represented both a portal into the future for greater transcultural understanding between Europe and Asia, as well as a reconnection with the spiritual and intellectual inheritance from the common grandfather, the missionary and philologist Hermann Gundert.⁶³⁷ Indeed, we may place both the cousins' achievements in the line of Swabian tradition represented by the grandfather; a tradition of culture, that is, of spiritual growth, maturation, and the improvement of one's soul, in contrast to the acquisition of marketable and practical skills for modern 'civilization', and its dominant characteristics of instrumental reason, bureaucratization, and mechanization.⁶³⁸

Until now, with the exception of two essays by Wilhelm Gundert's granddaughter, Irmgard Yu-Gundert,⁶³⁹ and a book chapter by the Sinologist, Jürgen Weber,⁶⁴⁰ the importance of Hermann Hesse's relationship to his 'Japanese' cousin has been overlooked in Hesse research. Therefore, it is the goal of this chapter to demonstrate the importance and the background of the relationship between the cousins in all its salient features, a relationship, which, together with the deep affinities he shared with his Japanese readers (see Chapter 3), ultimately helped to reinvigorate Hesse's late literary production and his production of

⁶³⁵ Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki (1870-1966) was a professor of Buddhist philosophy at Otani University in Kyoto. He wrote about Zen philosophy for the Western reader. Wilhelm Gundert accompanied Suzuki as interpreter on Suzuki's short Zen lecture tour in Marburg and Stuttgart in July, 1959. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

⁶³⁶ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 246.

⁶³⁷ See: Volker Michels' *Nachwort* in *GB4*: 475-494. Here: p. 491.

⁶³⁸ See: Stephenson, B. 2009. *Veneration and Revolt: Hermann Hesse and Swabian Pietism*. Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, p. 16.

⁶³⁹ Yu-Gundert, I. 2001. Über den Einfluß innerfamiliärer Tradition auf das Bild des religiösen Menschen im Werke Hermann Hesses. *Hesse Forschung. Band 6*. Koreanische Hesse Gesellschaft, pp. 31-59. Yu-Gundert, I. 2002. Hesses späte Begegnung mit dem Zen-Buddhismus – Hermann Hesse und sein Vetter Wilhelm Gundert. In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse Siddhartha*. Stuttgart: Staatsanzeiger Verlag, pp. 165-178.

⁶⁴⁰ See: Weber, J. 2011. *Der japanische Vetter. Indien gesucht, China gefunden*. Norderstedt: Books on Demand, pp. 193-208.

maxims of his spiritual development over a long lifetime in three unique Zen poems shortly before his death, poems in which we can sense the figure and influence of Wilhelm Gundert as represented by the term ‘master’, and Hesse as the ‘novice’ who is able to reach and experience new insights about Zen Buddhism and the unity of the universe (see Chapter 4).

Moreover, this chapter demonstrates how the social agency of a unique transcultural mediator within a cultural field that oscillated between East and West played a crucial role in shaping Hesse’s reception of Japan, and Hesse’s reception in Japan. Wilhelm Gundert endeavoured to mediate transculturally and pass on the best that he had found in Japan to the Western world, and thus also Zen Buddhism. Without the intervention and unfolded agency of his ‘Japanese’ cousin, Hesse’s work may have culminated in *Das Glasperlenspiel* (1943), without further exploration of Chinese and Japanese Zen Buddhism, and a concise expression of his spiritual searching in the late three Zen poems he wrote just one year before his death. Thanks to these transcultural constellations, that is, the deep affinities with his Japanese readers and the transcultural mediation efforts of his ‘Japanese’ cousin, Hesse was able to reach a new level of capturing wisdom of stunning simplicity and clarity.

Chapter 3: Hesse in Transcultural Dialogue with His Japanese Readers

The year is 128 A.D., and Lucius Modestus is one of Rome's premiere bathhouse architects, although he's recently been having a tough time finding a new design to impress ruling emperor, Hadrianus. For reasons explained later on, he is sucked into an aqua vortex that propels him to present-day Tokyo, where he finds himself mesmerized by the way in which the Japanese (who he refers to as "slaves" and "flat-faces") have refined their national bath culture. Taking inspiration from top-of-the-line Jacuzzis, showers, saunas and hot springs, he travels back to Ancient Rome and develops a whole new line of public and private baths, rising in prominence under a regime plagued by foreign wars and incompetent successors.⁶⁴¹

3.0. Prologue – A World of 'Universals'

The Japanese film *Thermae Romae* (2012), directed by Hideki Takeuchi, is based on a popular manga series of the same name created and illustrated by the Japanese comic artist Mari Yamazaki. The Roman bathhouse architect Lucius Quintus Modestus, played by the well-known Japanese actor Hiroshi Abe, is able to travel through the fabric of time and place by means of an inexplicable 'aqua vortex', which transports him back and forth from the ancient bathhouses of Rome to the hot springs and baths of modern Japan. The modern bathhouse practices and gadgets in Japan inspire the architect to innovate his Roman bathing house designs, and he is able to eventually impress the ruling emperor, Hadrian. The love-interest is provided by a struggling manga artist called Mami. In the second manga series, and in the second film of the two thus far produced, Lucius's female counterpart is a young student called Satsuki, who is a brilliant scholar of Ancient Rome and who speaks fluent Latin. Satsuki starts a club at her university in which the participants embrace and create a fantasy world of Ancient Rome. Satsuki's would-be boyfriend even cuts his hair like an Ancient Roman, and Satsuki is beset by regrets that she was not born in Ancient Rome. Suddenly, the realization of her dream to experience Ancient Rome seems to be possible when the lithe, naked Roman architect, Lucius, suddenly pops up next to her, like an apparition, in the hot spring she is visiting. In the first series, Lucius utilized the features of Japanese baths to improve his Roman baths. However, in the second series, a sense of parity is established between the different cultures and historical eras when Lucius is able to lend his knowledge to a Japanese engineer who wants to build a Roman-style bath in Japan.

Why should this preliminary excursion into these seemingly disparate worlds be relevant to the goal of this chapter; the analysis of unpublished letter exchanges between Hesse and his Japanese readers? The fact is that, traditionally, ethnographic studies of Japan and the

⁶⁴¹ Mintzer, J. 2012. *Thermae Romae: Toronto Review*. [Online]. [Accessed 23 July 2017]. Available from: <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/review/thermae-romae-toronto-review-368472>.

Japanese people have emphasized the uniqueness of Japanese culture and how incommensurable it is with other cultures, particularly Western cultures. An excellent example of this traditional paradigm is Ruth Benedict's 1946 seminal post-war study of Japanese culture, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*.⁶⁴² In her approach, the author is still locked into the perspective of viewing the object of inquiry in terms of the binaries between Occident and Orient, '...I had seen where my Occidental assumptions did not fit into their view of life...' ⁶⁴³ and in the overemphasis of the singularities of a specific culture:

Virtue and vice as the Occident understands them had undergone a sea-change. The system was singular. It was not Buddhism and it was not Confucianism. It was Japanese – the strength and the weakness of Japan.⁶⁴⁴

We find the same patterns of thinking in Chie Nakane's 1970 canonical ethnographic study *Japanese Society*.⁶⁴⁵ Nakane is also locked into an understanding of Japanese society in terms of binaries and differences. Her intention is to,

...offer a key (a source of intelligence and insight) to an understanding of Japanese society, and those features which are specific to it and which distinguish it from other complex societies.⁶⁴⁶

On the other hand, our excursion to the bathhouses of Ancient Rome and Japan works against these canonical tendencies which insist on binaries and singularities. We learn that bathhouse culture is shared by human beings around the world and across time. Moreover, the innovations from Japan that Lucius integrates into his Roman bathhouses, and that the Japanese engineer rediscovers, though fictional, serve as a metaphor for the exchange that is ever present and ongoing between cultures. Furthermore, I would argue that Lucius is able to move almost seamlessly between cultures through his 'aqua vortex'. He himself speaks Latin yet is able to communicate with modern Japanese through the universal language of gestures and body and sign language, and, in the second series, through the interpreting skills and transcultural mediation of the learned Satsuki, who is fluent in Latin and a scholar of Ancient Rome. The point is that more commonalities exist between human beings and their cultures than we might first realize. Indeed, I follow German philosopher Wolfgang Iser and term these commonalities 'universals'.⁶⁴⁷ The term 'universals' as used here

⁶⁴² Benedict, R. 2005. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. Boston: Mariner Books.

⁶⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁵ Nakane, C. 1998. *Japanese Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, viii.

⁶⁴⁷ Iser, W. 2009. On the Acquisition and Possession of Commonalities. In: Schulze-Engler, F. & Helff, S. eds. *Transcultural English Studies: Theories, Fictions, Realities*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 3-36.

denotes the proto-cultural ‘elementary commonalities’ shared by human beings in their constitutions, capacities and experiences.⁶⁴⁸ This chapter will explore how these ‘universals’ are deep commonalities which transcend national cultures in order to explain how there can be a meeting of minds and a development of ‘spiritual capital’ between Hesse and his Japanese readers in their mutual exchanges and most significantly in their transcultural letter correspondence.

3.1. Introduction

Thus far, this thesis has analysed two major transcultural strands of Hesse’s reception in Japan: Chapter 1 told the story of how Hesse’s work was uncovered by scholars, academics, writers and critics, who then translated his texts into Japanese and mediated his entry into the Japanese literary field in combination with publishing companies seeking to accumulate economic capital through the dissemination of Hesse’s texts in the Japanese marketplace, which, as cultural capital accumulated in tandem with economic capital, commissioned further translations from translators. This reception process in Japan spread to other countries in East Asia, originally on the basis of Japanese imperial ambitions and cultural authority in the region. Chapter 2 analysed the importance of the role that Hesse’s ‘Japanese’ cousin, Wilhelm Gundert, played as a transcultural mediator between Hesse and Japan, and the East in general. While Chapter 4 will analyse the consequences in terms of Hesse’s late literary production of Gundert ‘bringing’ the East to Hesse, the present chapter closes a further gap in Hesse research. As the third and deepest strand of the reception process, it explores and brings to light for the first time the significant transcultural relationship that developed between Hesse and his Japanese readers through the practice of letter-writing. It demonstrates how this transcultural relationship is experienced on a personal level of mutual exchange. The deep affinities generated by this transcultural relationship brought a level of enhanced mutual understanding to both Hesse as well as some of his Japanese readers as a type of spiritual capital was developed.

The underlying research for this chapter is archival work carried out on the letters and postcards exchanged between Hesse and his Japanese readers held at the Deutsches Literaturarchiv (DLA) in Marbach am Neckar.⁶⁴⁹ This source material contains the unmediated voices and responses of Japanese readers to Hesse’s work and correspondence, permitting insights, for the first time, not only into the ‘archetype’ or ‘habitus’⁶⁵⁰ of the Japanese reader, but also into the dispositions that are revealed in their responses to Hesse’s

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

⁶⁴⁹ I visited the DLA three times during August 2013, August 2014 and August 2015 to carry out this research.

⁶⁵⁰ According to Bourdieu’s use of the term, ‘habitus’ means ‘a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are “regular” without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any rule.’ Thompson, J.B. 1992. Introduction. In: Bourdieu, P. *Language & Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press, pp. 1-31. Here: p. 12.

texts. As these epistolary exchanges unfold, we begin to understand not only the affinity Japanese readers felt with Hesse, but also the affinity Hesse developed with some of his Japanese readers, and Japanese and Eastern thought in general. By the end of this chapter, I will have explicated a unique transcultural relationship between an European author of world acclaim and his Japanese readers, which, I argue, is built on the basis of shared commonalities or ‘universals’ and a type of spiritual capital that enhanced the process of mutual exchange.

This chapter will first deal with the adopted theoretical approach to transcultural reception. Then, I contextualise Hermann Hesse as a letter writer. Next, I survey the epistolary corpus held by the DLA and the metrics of the works referenced by the Japanese letter writers. Finally, I examine the correspondence of five Japanese readers in case studies which unfolds a transcultural ‘meetings of minds’ and the development of a spiritual capital that enhanced mutual exchange.

3.2. Theoretical Approaches

While reader-response theory can tell us much about a text as an aesthetic object (New Criticism), or elucidate the phenomenological interaction between text and reader in the Iserian sense (see Introduction), reader-response theory cannot be usefully applied to shed light on the question of the deep transcultural affinities Japanese readers share with Hesse in epistolary correspondence. On the other hand, Norman Holland’s psychoanalytical approach to reader-response theory is useful for my discussion of themes Japanese readers address in their letters to Hesse to a certain degree. Holland’s approach is based on the argument that a reader projects an ‘identity theme’ upon the text which guides the response to the text (see the thesis Introduction). In this way, the reader responds in a unique way to the text or the passage of the text in a way which corresponds to, what Holland terms, a psychological ‘identity theme’, by which he means a personal association or an experience, which is relevant in the individual consciousness of a reader at a particular point in life. For instance, in broad terms, a reader in a bleak man-made urban setting may experience a general yearning for nature and the countryside and find a particular solace in the descriptions of nature in Hesse’s first novel *Peter Camenzind*. Another reader, particularly one experiencing an exam-driven and performance based educational system like the one in Japan, may seek comfort in knowing that others, even in cultures distant, have also suffered in harsh educational environments (*Unterm Rad*). Moreover, a reader may wish, at least for the duration of the reading experience, to throw off the chains of a life melded to routine, drudgery and tiresome responsibilities, and indulge in the freedoms of the vagabond life as depicted in Hesse’s novel *Knulp*. These examples are general, but help to illustrate that it is the reader that reacts in a unique, individual way to a text from the experiences and

associations that exist in his or her individual consciousness. In fact, building upon Holland's work, some theorists, such as Alcorn and Bracher, go further and suggest that readers not only project 'identity themes' upon the text ('projections'), but that texts can also produce edifying 'introjections' which can build or reform the self.⁶⁵¹ In other words, the text, as sensory input, can trigger a reaction in the reader, for example, an emotional or reflective response, which in turn shapes self-formation. In sum, the approaches that Holland and Alcorn & Bracher suggest can help us tease out the reasons why certain texts and novels are referenced particularly often in the letters that Japanese readers sent to Hesse.

Other theorists have already studied intensively Hesse's correspondence with his readers collected in the main archives for Hesse's correspondence in Germany and Switzerland. Of particular interest to this chapter is Germanist Gabriele Lück who has sampled the letters written to Hesse held by the archives in Marbach, Bern and Offenbach.⁶⁵² She proposes that readers (she suggests a figure of 70%⁶⁵³) tend to become 'literary writers' in their epistolary correspondence with Hesse, reversing the traditional author-reader relationship, and that, thereby, they assume specific assignable roles in their written interaction with Hesse. The meta-categories for the roles she proposes are 'storyteller' (*Der Geschichtenerzähler*), 'writer' (*Der Dichter*), 'man of letters' (*Der Literat*), 'lyrical poet' (*Der Lyriker*), 'philosopher' (*Der Philosoph*), and 'interpreter of works' (*Der Interpret*).⁶⁵⁴

The same roles can also be identified in the correspondence I have examined in the DLA archive, yet, overall, my concern is a different one. All the aforementioned reader-response approaches have as their basis the text. They either focus solely on the text, or examine the reader's interaction with the text, or investigate the themes that a reader projects on to a text,

⁶⁵¹ Alcorn, M.W. & Bracher, M. 1985. Literature, Psychoanalysis, and the Re-Formation of the Self: A New Direction for Reader-Response Theory. *PMLA*. 100(3), pp. 342-354. Here: p. 352.

⁶⁵² Lück, G. 2009. *An Hermann Hesse: Der Leser als Produzent*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. I provide more information about the archives below.

⁶⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁶⁵⁴ The sub-categories are: non-fictional storyteller (*Der non-fiktionale Geschichten-Erzähler*), the storyteller who acts unconsciously (*Der unbewusst agierende Geschichten-Erzähler*), the storyteller who acts consciously (*Der bewusst agierende Geschichten-Erzähler*), and the fictional storyteller with biographical reference (*Der fiktionale Geschichten-Erzähler mit biographischen Bezug*). *Ibid.*, p. 7. Lück's goal was to investigate the 'Faszination Hesse' by looking at the letters he wrote and received from readers around the world. *Ibid.*, p. 12. Rather than the author and his texts 'Der Schwerpunkt liegt hierbei auf dem nicht-prominenten Briefschreiber.' *Ibid.*, p. 13. The sheer volume of around 35,000 letters in the archives in Marbach, Bern and Offenbach means that Lück's research was necessarily limited to sampling the letters held in these archives. Based on her sampling, she establishes that only six percent of correspondence is dated in the first two decades of the 20th century. There is an exponential increase in the years after 1945 up until the point of Hesse's death in 1962. *Ibid.*, p. 85. I find the same correlating pattern in the DLA Japan *Konvolut*. Lück recorded her results in an electronic database with the goal of identifying the aforementioned literary 'roles that readers assume in their correspondence. The role of 'philosopher' was assumed most often by correspondents (28%), followed by the role of 'storyteller' (25%). While these two roles are not always easy to differentiate, Lück ascribes the high frequency of occurrence of the 'philosopher' role and the 'storyteller' role to the existential questions arising for readers out of the European experience of the two world wars, which are then formed either as philosophical speculations or put forward within the frame of storytelling. The roles of lyrical poet (17%), interpreter (12%), writer (11%) and man of letters (7%) were less frequently represented in her sampling. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

and, conversely the edifying effects that a text may have upon a reader. Lastly, Gabriele Lück's archival research project has sought to categorize the roles a reader assumes as a 'writer' in his or her correspondence with Hermann Hesse. However, in this project, I frame the correspondence, indeed, the reception of Hesse's work in general in Japan, in terms of both a 'transcultural exchange', and, specifically in this chapter, as a 'meeting of minds', of the creation of deep affinities across and beyond cultures and, building upon Bourdieu's concept of the development of sociological capitals (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) in the public sphere, introduce the notion of a 'spiritual capital' developed between the correspondents in the private sphere that enhances the mutual exchange. To this end, I undertake, in a close analysis and a close reading of the archived letters, an examination of five, longer epistolary exchanges between Hermann Hesse and his Japanese readers to tease out the ideas of transcultural reception and exchange and the generation of affinities and spiritual capital. The material basis for these transcultural exchanges is the epistolary devices that travel back and forth between Hesse in Europe and his Japanese readers, most significantly in the form of letters and postcards. They serve as a medium or as a figurative 'platform' to facilitate transcultural communicatory exchange, and, ultimately, in the lengthier exchanges, to foster the development of deeper spiritual affinities across linguistic and cultural borders. This can only be achieved in the first place because, and here I agree with ideas put forward by Wolfgang Welsch, that human beings share underlying commonalities or 'universals'.

To follow this line of thinking, I briefly present some of the ideas put forward by Wolfgang Welsch in an article entitled *On the Acquisition and Possession of Commonalities*.⁶⁵⁵ This helps to clarify, first of all, what is denoted by the adjective 'transcultural', and, secondly, explain the reasoning behind the notion of human 'universals', which permit the kind of transcultural understanding we find in the correspondence between Hesse and his Japanese readers, and which, ultimately, permits the creation of deeper affinities and spiritual capital between an European writer and his East Asian readers.

First, for the purpose of this thesis, on the one hand, the term 'transcultural' denotes the transfer of a cultural element (a text, a song, an artwork, or an idea, for instance) from one linguistic and cultural community to another. On the other hand, in order to understand how a writer and a reader can reach deeper levels of affinity (here I follow German philosopher Wolfgang Welsch), the term 'transcultural' supersedes the notion of a 'monocultural' society in the sense proposed by Johann Gottfried Herder in the late 18th century. Herder's notion of the singularity of a culture imagined a society is characterized by an 'ethnic

⁶⁵⁵ Welsch, W. 2009. *On the Acquisition and Possession of Commonalities*. In: Schulze-Engler, F. & Helff, S. eds. *Transcultural English Studies: Theories, Fictions, Realities*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

foundation', 'social homogenization' and 'intercultural delimitation'.⁶⁵⁶ In contrast, a 'transcultural' society has three⁶⁵⁷ significant characterizing features:

- (i) macro-level permeations creating hybridization in terms of population, market products and information;
- (ii) micro-level transcultural formations of individuals;
- (iii) historical transculturality in the sense that cultural permeation has always been, to a lesser or greater extent, characteristic of cultures in the past.⁶⁵⁸

In sum, this means that we can interpret the epistolary exchange between Hesse and his Japanese readers as both 'transcultural' in the sense of epistolary devices being transported and delivered around the world, and, moreover, in the sense that this process is initiated by agents who have been shaped individually and collectively by a process of micro-level transculturation formations in a society and culture (*habitus*) that historically has also been subject to macro-level contextual permeations and subsequent hybridizations.

The second concept I borrow from Welsch in order to tease out the reasons for the development of a deeper meeting of minds between Hesse and his Japanese readers is the concept of 'commonalities' or 'universals', which are shared by human beings around the world. A major problem for the inquiry is to establish how both the writer, Hesse, and his Japanese readers are able to comprehend one another at an unexpectedly profound level despite the fact that they are living and immersed in such disparate linguistic and cultural contexts. The existence of such affinities revealed in the correspondence alone suggests that there must be commonalities that are shared by human beings which lie deeper, and thus are arguably more determinant than the different linguistic and cultural environments in which people spend their lives. Welsch puts forwards that,

If there were no common basis to cultures at all, then the fact that we can transfer semantic items (beliefs, thoughts, perceptions, yearnings, etc.) from one culture to another and integrate them into a context which originally was not theirs would be completely unintelligible.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁵⁷ Welsch numerates five. Here I omit two of his categories, which identify new formations and constellations of increasingly diverse cultural elements (hybrids), as they are not directly relevant to interpreting the epistolary exchanges between Hesse and his Japanese readers.

⁶⁵⁸ Welsch, W. 2009. On the Acquisition and Possession of Commonalities. In: Schulze-Engler, F. & Helff, S. eds. *Transcultural English Studies: Theories, Fictions, Realities*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 7-11.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Consequently, without this ‘common basis’ there could be no appreciation of literature and works of art from foreign cultures.⁶⁶⁰ This common basis means that artefacts from a foreign culture, the work of literature or art, retain their potential in the target culture to affect or respond to the reader. Therefore, these works are able to cross time and space and become relevant to us; they are not locked into the originating culture; instead, in the receiving culture we can experience how they are ‘transculturally effective’ and retain their relevance for us.⁶⁶¹

These phenomena seem familiar to us, if, indeed, not self-evident. The evidence of the ‘transcultural effectiveness’ of Hesse’s work in Japan is also well documented in the letter correspondence with Japanese readers. Therefore, we need to understand the ‘common basis’ which operates largely at a level that transcends cultures, but also interweaves its way into open cultural expression. Turning to Welsch again, he proposes that as human beings we share three kinds of universals: ‘surface universals’, ‘neuronal logic’ and ‘needs/cultural universals’.⁶⁶² I summarize Welsch’s proposals regarding ‘universals’, which, I argue, constitute the ‘common basis’ and provide a systematic theoretical approach, at the proto-cultural and cultural levels, to explaining how there is sufficient, basic potential for transcultural communication between an European writer and a Japanese readership.

First, we share as human beings ‘surface universals’ which constitute a part of the common basis. In this respect, in the same way that we are equipped with Chomsky’s universal grammar, upon which is moulded the specific language we speak, research shows that we also share, as human beings, ‘surface’ universals; in other words, facial expressions and gestures.⁶⁶³

Secondly, the fact that we are logical beings also means that there is a common basis for transcultural understanding. Welsch points to recent research in neuroscience which shows that neural processing in the brain is underpinned by basic logical operations,⁶⁶⁴ which enable, at root, ‘affirmation and negation, sameness and difference, [and] exclusive and inherent relationships’.⁶⁶⁵ Without these root logical operations, we would not be able to make any cultural comparisons at all; that is, weigh up and understand what is similar and

⁶⁶⁰ We can, of course, expand this list to include film, music, fashion, design, ceramics, etc.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13. Emphasis retained from the original.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 19-33.

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-21.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29. Welsch writes that neural processing is based upon logical particles (‘and’ & ‘or’), logical relations (‘same’, ‘identical’ & ‘other’), connectives (‘either/or’, ‘as well as’ & ‘if...then’), quantitative qualities (‘one’, ‘many’ & ‘all’) and qualitative categories (‘affirmative’ & ‘negation’).

⁶⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

what is different. In fact, these logical, cognitive elements are the root for all determinacy and the common basis for understanding.⁶⁶⁶

Finally, ‘needs’ and ‘cultural universals’ are the third root strand which provides a common basis for transcultural understanding. There are certain elemental sensory experiences and physical demands that are common to us. For instance, all humans share the experience of hunger and a need for protection against the climatic elements and natural living environments through shelter and accommodation. These problems are managed and tackled in various ways, in accord with the prevailing natural environment, through cultural solutions to the need for sheltering dwellings and for secure storage means for surplus food provisions. Although the cultural expression of the solutions to these problems differs around the world, human beings share a common need to develop such solutions. Welsch thus terms them ‘needs universals’, and we can readily recognize and understand the different cultural expressions, reflecting the respective prevailing environmental challenges, of these solutions to these elementary needs.⁶⁶⁷ The second component of this final root strand is solely cultural in nature and lies within the fabric of culture, a central ‘mission’ of which is to pass on tradition and hand down knowledge through the development of writing systems – a near universal solution (some cultures still depend on the transmission of tradition orally). This example of a ‘culture universal’⁶⁶⁸ is a particular point of transcultural contact between Hesse and his Japanese readers because writing systems can be learnt, decoded and the texts translated. As Chapter 1 demonstrates, translations of written texts were necessary to facilitate the transcultural reception of Hesse in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community. Moreover, Chapter 2 shows that transcultural mediators play an essential role in the bi-directional transcultural transfer of cultural concepts and literary texts.

In sum, the three elements outlined above (‘surface universals’, ‘neuronal logic’ and ‘needs/cultural universals’) provide the common basic potential for transcultural dialogue between human beings situated in European and East Asian cultural contexts. Particularly, the ‘cultural universal’ of writing systems is relevant. However, although we can readily accept that the ability to learn, decode and translate a different writing system is a precondition for transcultural communication in the form of written texts, it is still not, in itself, enough to explain the shared affinities, the higher-level commonalities, between a European writer and his Japanese readers. We need to add a further element to this frame,

⁶⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30. Moreover, research in evolutionary biology suggests ‘surface universals’ and ‘logical neuronal processing’ were put into place around 40,000 years ago and that our ‘emotional and mimetic repertoire’ (the proto-cultural common basis) has been ‘frozen’ at this developmental stage ever since. Thus, further human development has taken place in the cultural sphere as humans have spread out and migrated across the globe. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

which is required if transcultural communication and exchange is to be a success – the element I propose to use is ‘emotional trust’. Only if emotional trust is established among the communicatory participants will the partners be encouraged to move toward really successfully understanding the content and meaning of their transcultural exchanges. Emotional trust arises from such elemental manners as courtesy and politeness, turn-taking in exchanging correspondence, basic civility, but will become open-ended and deepen once a correspondent displays and embraces kindness and generosity, both materially and spiritually, warmth and congeniality in word and thought, as well as honesty and authenticity. Emotional trust, which may also be termed ‘spiritual capital’,⁶⁶⁹ then, determines the proximity or the distance of the relationship between the correspondents and whether a meeting of minds and a communion of spirit, such as that which we find between Hesse and his Japanese readers, can really be fostered and enrich the epistolary exchange. In the five longer epistolary exchanges, analysed in the latter sections of the chapter, between Hesse and the Japanese readers, once emotional trust is established, readers open up to reveal the elaborate depths of their inward connection with Hesse, his texts and his thinking. These longer epistolary exchanges reveal that his texts, once activated, strike a chord with some Japanese readers which generates a complex affinity with an European writer that may otherwise have remained untapped by other writers from the Japanese linguistic and cultural community.

3.2. German Literature Archive Marbach (DLA)

The findings presented in this chapter are based on research I carried out on the unpublished letters of Japanese readers to Hesse which are held in the DLA archives. There are three main archives holding Hesse’s and the readers’ correspondence. Most of the letters written to Hesse by correspondents from around the world are stored either in the DLA, in the Swiss Literary Archive Bern (Schweizerisches Literaturarchiv – SLA),⁶⁷⁰ or in Volker Michels’ Editionsarchiv in Offenbach.⁶⁷¹ The DLA holds some 17,000 *Handschriftendatensätze* (hand-written records, mainly letters and postcards), and the SLA about 20,000 letters and postcards from 6,000 different correspondents. The Editionsarchiv in Offenbach, though smaller, is growing.⁶⁷² In fact, the number of letters held by these various archives, the

⁶⁶⁹ A type of capital that is ‘set up in opposition to strictly economic interests’ and economic transactions. Spiritual capital cannot be commodified and is affiliated with the realm of symbolic capital. Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Trans. Nice, R. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 177.

⁶⁷⁰ I visited the SLA in August 2015 to gain an overview of the Japanese readers’ correspondence held there.

⁶⁷¹ I visited Volker Michels at the Editionsarchiv in August 2013.

⁶⁷² Volker Michels continues to receive letters from the relatives of letter recipients as the most comprehensive series yet of volumes of correspondence is researched, uncovered and published under the title *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe*. Volume four was published by Suhrkamp in 2016 covering the years between 1924 and 1932. Although this volume extends to over 700 pages of letters and appendices, Michels explains in his *Nachwort* that only one-tenth of the letters now uncovered for this period could be included in the published volume. So far letters from Japanese readers have only been published piecemeal in the four volumes of *Gesammelte Briefe* published by Suhrkamp Verlag, a project realised by Volker Michels in conjunction with Heiner Hesse und

‘epistolarium’, is now estimated to total over 40,000 individual items.⁶⁷³ However, this large figure still does not represent the total epistolary endeavours of Hesse and his readers, just the correspondence that has been donated or deposited in archives. In view of the global dimension of the exchange of letters between Hesse and his readers, the complete picture and size of the epistolarium will probably never be known. As Hesse’s son Heiner Hesse points out in a *Nachwort* to the first volume of the *Gesammelte Briefe*, referencing Hesse’s own *Nachwort* in the 1952 volume of letters, Hesse only started to archive copies of letters in 1927 as he embarked on a new life with his soon to be third wife, Ninon Hesse.

Ich habe sehr viele Tausende von Briefen geschrieben, ohne je daran zu denken, Abschriften zurückzubehalten. (...) Erst seit dem Zusammenleben mit meiner Frau von 1927 an, haben wir gelegentlich Briefe aufbewahrt, deren Thema uns charakteristisch schien oder in denen wir ein Problem von allgemeinerem Interesse besonders genau formuliert fanden.⁶⁷⁴

The *Hesse-Japan-Konvolut* at the DLA contains items from a total of fifty-two named letter and postcard writers as well as two items by unnamed writers. There are a total of one hundred and forty nine epistolary devices in the *Konvolut*, ranging from letters, aerogrammes, and postcards, through birthday, Christmas and New Year’s cards, and photographs, down to essays, newspaper cuttings, drawings, poems, a music composition, and a watercolour landscape. Two items are dated pre-1945, and five dated from the immediate post-war period (1945-1949). However, the bulk of the correspondence in the *Konvolut* was exchanged from 1950 until 1962, the year of Hesse’s death. Five items are undated. Broadly, two groups can be identified: business or commercial correspondence and correspondence stemming from private persons. In the former category, three letters originate from a journalist working for the national daily *Asahi Shimbun* in Switzerland,⁶⁷⁵ two are from Japanese publishing company representatives, one from a representative of a women’s magazine *Fujin-no-tomo*,⁶⁷⁶ and the final one is from an employee of an Osaka television company. In the latter category, the correspondents, as far as identifiable, are academics, university students, school students, teachers, company employees, and parents of children.

Ursula Michels between 1972 and 1986. In the absence of plans by Volker Michels to publish a volume dedicated to the letters of the Japanese readers, this is a project which could follow-up this thesis.

⁶⁷³ Hesse, H. 2012. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe 1881-1904*. Band 1. Michels, V. ed. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, p. 9.

⁶⁷⁴ Zur neuen Auswahl der Briefe. Heiner Hesse. In *GBI*: 578-579.

⁶⁷⁵ Currently one of the five large national daily newspapers in Japan, founded in Osaka in 1879.

⁶⁷⁶ ‘Women’s Friend’. Japan’s first women’s magazine, founded by Motoko and Yoshikazu Hani in 1911, and is still popular today.

Overall, in my survey, the vast majority of the items in the DLA *Konvolut* (80% - see the figure below) are readers' letters that are dialogical or potentially dialogical, which means part of an on-going transcultural dialogue or with the potential to elicit a dialogical reply. Some 11% of correspondence comprises greetings, either birthday or seasonal, 5% business correspondence, mainly with publishing houses, 3% thank-you letters (for a book and watercolour landscapes), and there is one request for a photograph of Hermann Hesse (1%). These items are often termed 'epistolary devices' in this chapter, for which I provide a definition below.

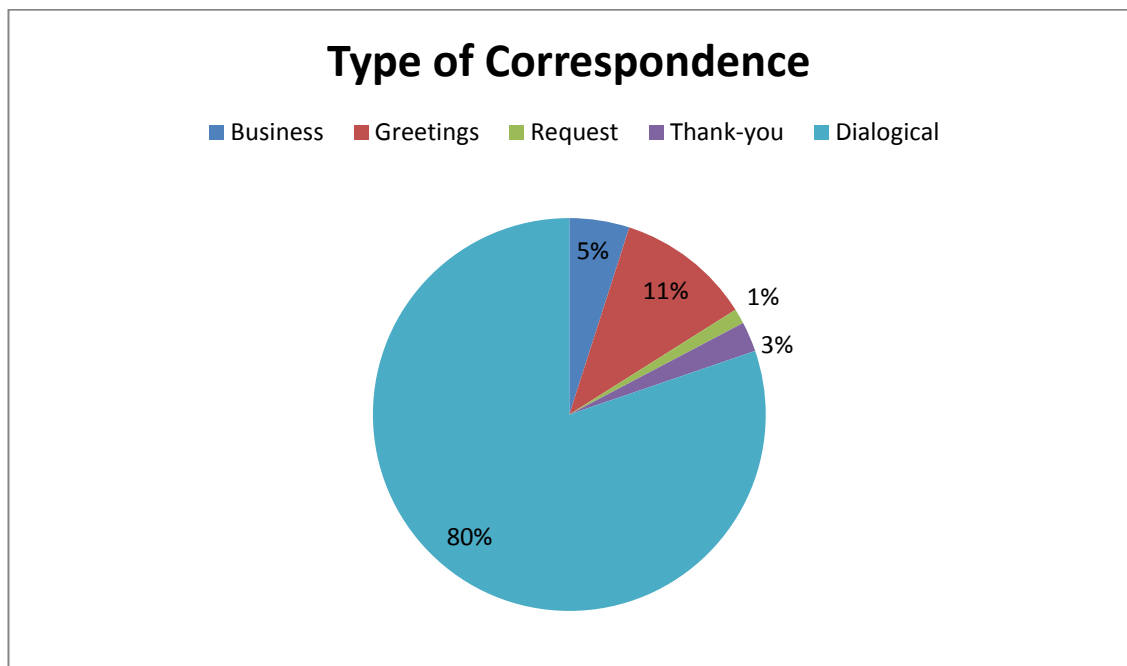


Figure 13: Type of correspondence in the *Hesse-Japan-Konvolut*.

3.2.1. What is an 'epistolary device'?

As is known, Hesse received a huge amount of postal communication from his readers, to the point in later years where it came to dominate his working life: 'Ich kann seit Jahr und Tag nichts Privates lesen, da die tägliche Briefpost allein größer ist als daß auch ein Junger und Gesunder damit fertig würde' (1950)⁶⁷⁷; 'Ich bin 77 Jahre alt und leidend, und muß jeden Tag Stunden und Stunden mit dem Lesen und Beantworten von Briefen hineinbringen' (1954)⁶⁷⁸; and 'Gestern habe ich mich an den Versuch gemacht, eine Hälfte meines Schreibtischs wieder frei zu kriegen, es ist nicht ganz gelungen, in Schichten lagen die unbeantworteten, aber zum Beantworten aufbewahrten Briefe und Drucksachen' (1961)⁶⁷⁹. Although it would be unusual for a Nobel Prize winning author to ignore his letter correspondence entirely, much work could be lifted from his shoulders through the

⁶⁷⁷ *GB4*: 91. Letter to Karl Votteler, dated December 17, 1950.

⁶⁷⁸ *GB4*: 213. Letter to Karl Zeller, dated October 1954.

⁶⁷⁹ *GB4*: 397. Letter to Robert Neumann, dated April 2/3, 1961.

employment of a secretary who screened and prioritized the incoming postal items. Instead, although Ninon Hesse did help, Hesse was largely ‘hands-on’ in dealing with his correspondence and felt obligated to respond to many of his correspondents individually, or, when this was no longer possible, in *Rundbriefe* which were sent out to friends. The responsibility Hesse assumed towards the individual reader and individual correspondent arises from his belief that the individual, not society as whole, of which he often despaired, could be reached and changed by his work and through epistolary exchanges in which he could ‘tutor’ a correspondent with insights into his motivations for a particular text or his *oeuvre* as a whole. Therefore, when an individual addressed Hesse on the basis of his literary output, whether it was with a question, praise, critique, or even on the basis of a false understanding of authorial intention, he felt an at times overriding obligation to respond individually in the form of a letter.⁶⁸⁰

From the evidence it is not false to claim that letter-writing became woven into Hesse’s everyday working life. However, letters are just one of a number of possible ‘epistolary devices’ which can be exchanged between correspondents. Epistolary devices are material, haptic, and, for the main part, comprise letters, postcards, seasonal greeting cards, photographs and drawings. The most common device and carrier of textual and communicatory capacity is the letter, however. Trapp proposes a working definition of the letter as an epistolary device as follows:

A letter is a written message from one person (or set of people) to another, requiring to be set down in a tangible medium, which itself is to be physically conveyed from sender(s) to recipient(s). Formally, it is piece of writing that is overtly addressed from sender(s) to recipient(s), by the use at the beginning and end of one of a limited set of conventional formulae of salutation (or some allusive variation on them) which specify both parties to the transaction. One might also add, by way of further explanation, that the need for a letter as a medium of communication normally arises because the two parties are physically distant (separated) from each other, and so unable to communicate by unmediated voice or gesture; and that a letter is normally expected to be of relatively limited length.⁶⁸¹

In contrast to speech, which can be ‘messy and emotional’ as a communicative act, letter writing constitutes a more ‘distancing and controllable’ format, yet also has the capacity to

⁶⁸⁰ Swiss author Adolf Muschg summarizes: ‘Der Autor, der den Einzelnen als Maß aller Dinge betrachtet, ist dem Einzelnen, der ihn anspricht (...) im Grunde größeren Respekt schuldig als einer fingierten Allgemeinheit, an die sich die Produkte seiner Einbildungskraft richtet.’ Muschg, A. 2013. *Das verborgene Werk: Hesse als Briefschreiber*. In: Limberg, M. ed. *Der biographische Aspekt in Hermann Hesses Werk*. Großburgwedel: Wehrhahn Verlag, pp. 13-32. Here: p. 14.

⁶⁸¹ Trapp, 2003. Cited in: Rosenmeyer, P.A. 2006. *Ancient Greek Literary Letters*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 3-4.

reveal the ‘feelings, thoughts, ideas and private experiences’ of the writer.⁶⁸² On the one hand, the Japanese readership’s letters survive in the archives as material, historical objects in standard epistolary formats, but, on the other, these devices reveal both the object life-worlds and, at times, the innermost workings of the minds of their writers, functioning sometimes as a mirror of the soul of the writer, a reflection of a person’s core beliefs and creeds. More profanely, devices can also be employed as a means of gentle manipulation (Hesse himself was a master in this field⁶⁸³).

Furthermore, letter-writing, during Hesse’s pre-electronic mail lifetime, a universal, baseline skill and practice for getting along in the world, has the potential for social refinement and literary performance. Also, letters, such as those sent by publishers to a writer, can trigger a capacity to act in the world (and as such are examples of non-human agency), or letters may simply express moods such as sentimentality or nostalgia, or communicate biographical information. Some exchanges of epistolary devices are largely functional and pragmatic, employing printed greeting cards, with standard seasonal greetings, or postcards with photographs of landscapes, temples or statues. In principle, however, it is correct to assert that the correspondents in an epistolary exchange enter into a process that is without predefined outcome; a transcultural process that is shaped entirely by the letter-writers themselves, facilitated by the materiality of the epistolary devices.

3.2.2. Further characteristics of the exchange of epistolary devices

As discussed above, the ‘act of letter-writing’ arises in the first place to overcome the geographical distance that exists between the respective sender and the respective recipient; in the case here between the European author Hesse and the Japanese readers of his texts. Distance was overcome originally by sea mail carried by ship and later by airplane as ‘airmail’. The initial trigger for the act of letter-writing is usually an aesthetic response to a literary work. Beyond this single act of inception, provided the recipient is willed to respond, a turn-taking dynamic arises that tips subsequent acts into a concatenation of exchange, knitting together a transcultural horizontal relationship in which, although the partners may never meet in person, can extend over years, decades, or even a lifetime.

Letters, as epistolary devices, may trigger and shape responses in other ways, too, beyond the actual text they contain. Punctuation of the text, paratext frames, or the visual and tactile materiality of the letter all have the potential to trigger and elicit a response from the

⁶⁸² Rosenmeyer, P.A. 2006. *Ancient Greek Literary Letters*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 4-7.

⁶⁸³ Hesse’s letter to his Swiss publisher Wilhelm Stämpfli demonstrates his mastery of manipulative codes in requests for writing and painting materials: ‘Falls es Ihnen eine Belästigung ist, dann bitte werfen Sie meinen Brief weg – ich möchte nicht der sein, der Sie plagt.’ Quoted in: Feitknecht, T. 2012. *Hesses Verleger und Freund Wilhelm Stämpfli*. Berne: Stämpfli Verlag, p. 30.

recipient. Art work contained in a letter, be it a drawing or water colour motif,⁶⁸⁴ and author or reader photographs can have the same effect and unfold agency. The greeting and closing salutations of a letter address the recipient directly, and the register of the language can vary from casual to the same level of formality as found in a literary text. For instance, at times, readers address Hesse as if he were a close friend, ‘Dear Hermann’,⁶⁸⁵ or, conversely, a formal colleague, ‘Hoch geehrter Herr Doktor h.c. Hermann Hesse’.⁶⁸⁶ The closing salutations may be formal, ‘Mit allen guten Wünschen zeichne ich hochachtungsvoll’,⁶⁸⁷ or express a transcultural familial piety ‘Dem verehrten Herrn Onkel’.⁶⁸⁸ The salutations set the tone for the letter. The two examples below illustrate my point. The first is written by a young girl.

Dear Mr. Hermann Hesse. Happy birthday to your 83th birthday. As suddenly I send you this letter, I think you are surprised. My name is Isako Akimoto. I am a Japanese girl and I am 15th [sic] years old. I had thought I would write you since read your books. I read your books “Unter dem Rad”[sic], “Hermann Lauscher”, “Peter Camenzind”, “Demian”, “Schön ist die Jugend” and “Der Lateinschüler”. I moved by them and they taught me many things. Especially I was moved by “Unter dem Rad”[sic] and next is “Demian”. I read “Unter dem Rad”[sic] many times. Almost all of our classmates read your books, and we use to converse about them. Especially we converse about spiritual depth. Particularly I converse to Miss Akiko. She read many your books too and she is friendly friend of mine. (...) I am very glad I could write the letter to you. Well I have to say good-by to you. Please take good care of yourself. Good-by now! Your story’ reader, Isako Akimoto. If you give me letter I am very glad.⁶⁸⁹

The young girl writes to Hesse as if she was writing to an important close friend, her age is no hindrance, and the letter remains in this friendly register. The fact that she and her friends converse about the spiritual depth of Hesse’s book demonstrates the deep chord that his writing has struck among young people in Japan. In the second example, the writer, an academic, maintains a more formal register, and thus more distance, but writes also, as a friend, who has deep affinities with Hesse.

Mein lieber, verehrter Freund, Hermann Hesse, Ich bin 28 jähriger Japaner,
Professor der deutschen Sprache und Dichter. Ich bin herzlichster Bewunderer

⁶⁸⁴ Hesse often headed his letters with small watercolour paintings.

⁶⁸⁵ Nishimura, Y. 1959. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁶⁸⁶ Haga, M. 1959. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁶⁸⁷ Hagiwara, I. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁶⁸⁸ Yamada, K. 1958. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁶⁸⁹ Akimoto, I. 1960. Letter to HH, DLA. Grammar and spelling as in original.

Ihrer Kunst und Ihrer Persönlichkeit: Ihrer heilig stillen Seele und dessen befreiendes, beglückender Stimme verdanke ich mein inneres, tiefes Glück und meinem menschlichen Glauben. Ich habe mit Freude und Bewunderung Ihre Gedichte “Unterwegs” und “Siddhartha” gelesen. Nun lese ich zusammen mit meinen Studenten den “Camenzind”. Glauben Sie mir, mein ferner Freund. Ihr treuer Toshiko Katayama.⁶⁹⁰

Derrida argues that the self that is revealed in the exchange of correspondence is a particular kind of self, that is, a ‘postal’ self.⁶⁹¹ He maintains that letters, or other epistolary devices, exchanged between the sender and recipient may be considered an exchange of self which constructs itself in reciprocation with a ‘postal’ other’.⁶⁹² Derrida, writing to a beloved other in the *Envois* section of the book *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*, in ‘our mail, our *envois*, our back-and-forths, the post’, pledges to no longer write ‘so many things that I can leave to others’ but to focus on the object of the ‘postal’ other, ‘henceforth ... I write nothing else to you, I write (to) you only, yourself, to yourself’.⁶⁹³ The ‘postal’ self is created and sustained through the interaction with the other. It is therefore critical that an epistolary device reaches the addressee. Derrida terms a letter that fails to arrive and reach its intended recipient a ‘dead letter’.⁶⁹⁴ A ‘dead letter’ is eventually returned to the sender and leads to a collapse of the construct of the postal self, which requires the postal other in order to be activated. It may be argued that flexibility offered to the postal self, provided it is constructed marinated through interaction with the postal other, allows the writer to assume ‘roles of tone or register’ which may be adopted in mutual epistolary exchange. Thus a certain tone or register adopted for the dialogue in an epistolary exchange is most likely to be maintained in order to provide communicative stability. The young woman above (IA) may, of course, adopt a different tone or register in her postal self as she matures and becomes an adult with a greater life experience. We might even imagine that the postal self acts as if it were ‘visiting’ the recipient. If this effect is achieved, in such moments, the physical distance between the correspondents is eliminated, and a sense of true ‘nearness’ can arise. Precisely this feeling of close proximity and nearness, I argue, is a pre-

⁶⁹⁰ Katayama, T. 1927. Postcard to HH, DLA. Grammar and spelling as in original. Born in 1898, he died in 1961. Katayama graduated from the German Literature Dept. at Tokyo Imperial University in 1924. In the same year, he became a professor of German language at Hosei University. He was a German teacher at the First Upper School in Tokyo from 1938. In 1947-1948, he was briefly a professor for German language and literature at the University of Tokyo. He was fascinated by French novelist Romain Rolland and commenced correspondence with Rolland in 1925, visiting Rolland in Switzerland in 1929. He translated Rolland’s work into Japanese and wrote about him. Besides translating Hesse (*Die Gedichte*, *Hesse-Rolland Briefe* [together with Shigeru Schmizu]), he also translated Rilke, Heine and Goethe.

⁶⁹¹ Derrida, J. 1987. *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*. Trans. Bass, A. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁶⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

condition for the development of the emotional trust that is needed for a transcultural ‘meeting of minds’ and the generation of spiritual capital between an author and his readers that enriches their mutual exchange.

3.3. Hermann Hesse – The Letter Writer

Wer innerhalb
gewisser Grenzen die edle
Poesie betreibt,
der ahnt oft nicht die
Konsequenzen,
die er auf sich
herniederschreibt.⁶⁹⁵

Although, Hesse postured at times as an ambivalent letter correspondent, as the poem above demonstrates, he felt a responsibility as a writer towards his readers, that is, the reader as a specific individual rather than as a fictional generality. As the metrics of the three main archives prove, he was prolific in responding to his readers. Letters also brought moments of great joy to him which helped to overcome dark moments of despair. On the other hand, Hesse often had trouble escaping the sense of entrapment that the sheer quantity of the correspondence brought with it.⁶⁹⁶ The inception of Hesse’s relationship with larger quantities of epistolary correspondence corresponds with the success and cultural consecration of his first and second novels, *Peter Camenzind* and *Unterm Rad*, in 1904 and 1906, which generated an interested and, at times, demanding readership that sought contact with the young author. In December, 1908, Hesse writes to a reader of *Peter Camenzind*:

Werter Herr! Ich bin gar kein Briefschreiber und hüte mich stets davor, mit den Lesern meiner Bücher in Kontakt zu treten, weil dabei selten etwas herauskommt. Aber Ihr lieber Brief hat mich gefreut und verdient meinen Dank. Andere junge Leute schicken immer gleich ein halbes Pfund Manuskripte mit, die ich Augenkranker lesen soll und von denen erwartet wird, daß ich sie entzückt für Meisterwerke erkläre. (...) Jetzt genug – es ist schwer und fast unmöglich, Briefe an Unbekannte zu schreiben. Ich gehe jetzt in den Wald und hole einen Christbaum

⁶⁹⁵ Unpublished poem by Hermann Hesse. Michels, V. 1994. ‘Ich habe täglich zwischen hundert und vierhundert Briefseiten zu lesen.’ In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse in Seinen Briefen*. Bad Liebenzell: Verlag Bernhard Gengenbach, pp. 60-81. Here: p. 60.

⁶⁹⁶ Letter to Maulbronn school friend Otto Hartmann on April 2, 1947. Michels, V. 1994. ‘Ich habe täglich zwischen hundert und vierhundert Briefseiten zu lesen’ In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse in Seinen Briefen*. Bad Liebenzell: Verlag Bernhard Gengenbach, pp. 60-81. Here: pp. 60-61.

für meinen kleinen Buben. Gehen Sie Ihren Weg – und wenn der “Camenzind” Ihnen nichts mehr zu raten hat, so werfen Sie auch ihn weg!⁶⁹⁷

As I pointed out above, Hesse’s sense of responsibility towards some readers was richly rewarded at times, and these rewards were harvested from entering into a process of give and take with the reader: he the giver of a book or a poem, the reader the giver of an aesthetic response; the two then embarking upon a bi-directional epistolary exchange. For instance, Hesse writes to Rosa Muggle in December 1941, ‘Ihr Brief ist auch ein Geschenk für mich. Ich bin ja mit meinen Gedichten und Büchern nicht nur der Gebende, ich nehme und empfangen von den Lesern und Freunden ebenso, es geht ein steter Strom hin und her, der mich ebenso wärmt und halt wie die andern.’⁶⁹⁸ This give and take that Hesse describes here is also the key for him to unlock and understand further dimensions of his reception and readership in Japan. The steady flow, the back-and-forth, that he describes in the above letter, warms, better, nourishes, and maintains the ‘emotional trust’ so necessary for the affinities and the spiritual capital uncovered in this chapter in the transcultural relationship between an European author and his Japanese readers.

Conversely, Hesse did not tolerate inauthentic exchanges, devoid of emotional trust. He writes in February 1915: ‘Liebe, hochgeschätzte Frau Anner! Wir wollen aber jetzt lieber aufhören. Hat es wirklich einen Wert, so viele Worte zu machen, nur zum Zeitvertreib?’⁶⁹⁹ Moreover, false expectations are rejected, ‘Sie haben Recht, ich bin kein Philosoph. Darum, wenn Sie Philosophie suchen, oder Weisheit irgend einer Art, sind Sie bei mir vor der falschen Apotheke.’⁷⁰⁰ To emphasize the fact that Hesse was not interested in sales figures or public success, but the actual reception of his works by readers is evidenced by a letter to Frau H.S. in August 1955, ‘das Leben ist zu kurz für solche Auseinandersetzungen (...) Wenn die Buchhändler in Deutschland mich empfehlen und propagieren, wenn viele Leute daraufhin diese Bücher kaufen, so gibt es statistisch imponierende Zahlen, diese haben aber wenig mit der eigentlichen *Wirkung* meiner Schriften zu tun. (...) Ich habe nicht die Kräfte und Zeit zur Verfügung, diese Art Briefwechsel fortzuführen, darum habe ich mir noch einmal Mühe gegeben, es muß aber das letztmal sein.’⁷⁰¹

A further factor in Hesse’s sense of responsibility toward his readers arose from his calling as a writer: ‘Wenn ein Mensch in den Dienst einer Arbeit oder Leistung gestellt hat, nicht aus Edelmut, sondern einfach weil sein Naturell und seine Art von Begabung ihn dazu treiben, dann glaube ich, muß er das, was ihm die Welt als Antwort auf seine Arbeit zuträgt,

⁶⁹⁷ Hesse, H. 2013. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe 1905-1915. Band 2*. Michels, V. ed. Berlin: Suhrkamp, p. 134.

⁶⁹⁸ *GB3*: 195.

⁶⁹⁹ Hesse, H. 2013. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe 1905-1915. Band 2*. Michels, V. ed. Suhrkamp: Berlin, p. 435.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

⁷⁰¹ *GB4*: 246.[Emphasis added]

auch auf sich nehmen.⁷⁰² At other times Hesse was shamed into an epistolary response: ‘Sie [his readers] sind für mich rührend und beschämend durch ihr Vertrauen’,⁷⁰³ or he was piqued into a more formulaic response which he often satisfied by sending pre-printed literary materials: ‘Ich mag also die Briefe nicht einfach ohne Echo lassen, und da ich in fast allen Fällen nicht ausführlich antworten kann, schicke ich den Korrespondenden einen Gegengruß in Form eines Gedichtes oder Aufsatzes, der gerade gedruckt vorliegt.’⁷⁰⁴

3.3.1. Managing written correspondence from Japanese readers

As iterated above, most of the correspondence Hesse received from Japan was written during the 1950s and in the two years of the 1960s, until his death in August 1962.⁷⁰⁵ In view of the sheer magnitude of correspondence that Hesse received overall from readers worldwide, Volker Michels writes that Hesse kept only those letters that he considered to be characteristic and chronicles of contemporary history, or which were helpful in some aspect as documents of readers’ responses to his books⁷⁰⁶. While these parameters are set rather narrowly, we assume that Hesse must have considered the correspondence from his Japanese readers to be epistolary documents of his reception in Japan, characteristic of contextual contemporary trends in Japanese society, but also, I would speculate, because they are evidence of a case of transcultural communication that reaches an extraordinary depth of affinity and lead to a generation of spiritual capital.

A case in point, which serves here as an example, is a letter written by a Japanese high school student in response to the re-publication of *Unterm Rad* in Japanese in 1951. Hesse quotes from the letter in a 1951 *Rundbrief* entitled *Begegnungen mit Vergangenen*.⁷⁰⁷ ‘Ich bin ein Gymnasiast in Tokyo. Ihr Werk, das ich als erstes gelesen habe, ist der Roman “Unterm Rad”’.⁷⁰⁸ The young Japanese reader continues and explains that he found himself in the same isolated and disoriented state as Hesse’s tragic hero of the novel, Hans Giebenrath: ‘Ich dachte damals sehr Ernst an die Einsamkeit, und ich war wie Hans

⁷⁰² Letter to Hesse’s daughter-in-law Isa in the autumn of 1952. Ibid., p. 64.

⁷⁰³ Letter to Wilhelm Stämpfli, 1931. Michels, V. 1994. ‘Ich habe täglich zwischen hundert und vierhundert Briefseiten zu lesen.’ In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse in Seinen Briefen*. Bad Liebenzell: Verlag Bernhard Gengenbach, pp. 60-81. Here: p. 65.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁵ This statement is based upon the dates of the letters held in the DLA *Konvolut*. Gabriele Lück reports in a similar vein that the number of letters Hesse received from all readers around the world expanded rapidly in the post-war period after Hesse received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1946 and at a time after Hesse had written his great novels. Lück, G. 2009. *An Hermann Hesse: Der Leser als Produzent*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 85-86.

⁷⁰⁶ ‘Nur das, was ihm selber besonders charakteristisch erschien, also Zuschriften, die für die Zeitgeschichte und die Wirkungsweise seiner Bücher aufschlußreich sind.’ Michels, V. 1994. ‘Ich habe täglich zwischen hundert und vierhundert Briefseiten zu lesen.’ In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse in Seinen Briefen*. Bad Liebenzell: Verlag Bernhard Gengenbach, pp. 60-81. Here: p. 60.

⁷⁰⁷ *Unterm Rad* was originally translated into Japanese by Kenji Takahashi in 1938. Kenji Takahashi’s translation was republished in 1951.

⁷⁰⁸ Hesse, H. 2000. *Hermann Hesse: Briefe an Freunde*. Michels, V. ed. Frankfurt am Main :Insel, pp. 96-97. Here: p. 97.

Giebenrath in einem verwirrten Seelenzustand.⁷⁰⁹ Seeking consolation the young man sought and then chose a story which mirrored most closely his state of mind: ‘Ich hatte dasjenige Werk aus vielen gesucht, das meinem Seelenzustand entsprechen würde.’⁷¹⁰ The letter writer is overjoyed to find that he shares the same experiences, transculturally, across time and space, of the ultimately doomed character of Hans Giebenrath in a repressive education system. ‘Es war nicht zu beschreiben, wie groß meine Freude war, als ich Ihre junge Gestalt in jenem Romane fand. Ich denke, daß Sie niemand verstehen würde, solange er kein gleiches Erlebnis hatte.’⁷¹¹ The personal association with the experiences of the tragic, central character of *Unterm Rad* inspires the young Japanese man to commence reading Hesse’s other works. The growing affinity the reader feels with Hesse’s work leads to ever greater self-recognition in the transcultural texts of the writer, ‘Seit jener Zeit lese ich weiter Ihre Werke. Je mehr ich sie lese, desto tiefer finde ich mich selbst in ihnen.’⁷¹² Finally, this leads the young Japanese reader to an astounding conclusion: ‘Nun glaube ich fest, daß derjenige, der mich am besten versteht, in der Schweiz ist und mich immer ansieht.’⁷¹³ The young Japanese man is not alone in uncovering associations and identity themes in the works of this European writer.

Hesse comments on the letter and remarks how ‘der verschollene schwäbische Hans Giebenrath darüben in Japan wieder einem jungen Menschen zum Kameraden und Tröster geworden sei’.⁷¹⁴ The novel is described in the *Rundbrief* by Hesse as an attempt to objectify his own personal reaction to a poem written by Josef von Eichendorff ten years earlier in the parental house in Calw: ‘Was ich zur Zeit jenes Eichendorffschen Gedichtes in dem alten Hause in Calw erlebt und überstanden, was ich zehn Jahre später im selben Hause als Roman zu objektivieren versucht hatte (...), ‘es war nicht gestorben und untergegangen (...)’.⁷¹⁵ Thanks to the transcultural mediation of a Japanese translator, Hesse continues; ‘es hatte ein halbes Jahrhundert später, noch durch die Übersetzung ins Japanische hindurch, zu einem auf dem Weg zu sich selbst kämpfenden und gefährdeten jungen Menschen gesprochen und ihm ein Stück dieses Weges erhellt.’⁷¹⁶ Hesse emphasises the authenticity, the ‘latent potential’ for the reader, as a ‘lebendiger Kern’, which is based on ‘erlebtem und erlittenen Lebens’. It is not difficult to see why Hesse would archive this letter as it confirms

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹¹ Ibid.

⁷¹² Ibid.

⁷¹³ Ibid.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid.

⁷¹⁵ Ibid.

⁷¹⁶ Ibid.

his texts do reach the ‘hearts and minds’⁷¹⁷ of readers, not only in Europe, but also transculturally in East Asia.

In order to manage all the correspondence, Hermann Hesse maintained detailed card indexes of his epistolary correspondents. His index included a card and comments on the Japanese reader Sadao Nakajima, who is profiled further below, about whom he noted, ‘*rühr. Deutscher Brief, (...) sucht Rat, will kommen?*’.⁷¹⁸ According to Volker Michels, the card index had reached some 4,100 entries, excluding correspondents who had passed away, by the time of Hesse’s death in 1962.⁷¹⁹ The cards carried personal details of the correspondents, the gifts, such as private publications or books that Hesse sent to the recipients, and sketches of the personality traits of the readers.⁷²⁰

3.4. Major Works as Referenced Themes in Japanese Readers’ Correspondence

The epistolary devices archived in the DLA sent by Japanese readers to Hesse are sources of various kinds of information. As regards Hesse’s reception in Japan, the devices disclose which of Hesse’s works is most frequently thematically referenced in the correspondence, which in turn opens the door to understanding their transcultural reception in Japan. In this section I present the results of a basic survey of the correspondence to uncover which works and how frequently they are thematically referenced in the letters.⁷²¹ I then add my interpretation of why these works have proved so popular in Japan.

My survey of the correspondence (see Figure 14 below) shows that, of all Hesse’s novels, *Peter Camenzind* (29%) is most frequently referenced thematically in readers’ letters. The second most thematically referenced novel is *Unterm Rad* (23%), with *Demian*, *Knulp* and *Siddhartha* (16% respectively) tied third. Also referenced are *Gertrud*, *Schön ist die Jugend*, *Das Glasperlenspiel*, *Rosshalde*, *Narziss und Goldmund*, and even *Hermann Lauscher*. Notable for the lack of a single thematic reference is Hesse’s 1927 novel *Der Steppenwolf*. This novel was first translated into Japanese in 1939, but was discussed two years earlier by Kenji Takahashi in 1937 in a publication entitled *Gendai doitsu bungaku (Modern German Literature)*. In his article, Takahashi posited that the novel was an act of rebellion against a

⁷¹⁷ GB4: 246. ‘...durch meine Bücher wirklich erreicht, im Herzen und Gewissen erweckt worden.’ The letter is addressed to Frau H.S., and is dated 15 August, 1955. Hesse writes about the miniscule minority of readers in Germany who he can reach and who have the ‘die Neigung zum Erwachen, zur Selbstprüfung’.

⁷¹⁸ Hesse’s entry includes the typed notes: *rühr. Deutscher Brief, 57, sucht Rat, will kommen?* The other notes are hand-written and, as far as legible, include brief details and dates of letters sent and received, a note on SN’s poem ‘The New Buddha’, and a note about permission granted for a translation.

⁷¹⁹ Michels, V. 1994. ‘Ich habe täglich zwischen hundert und vierhundert Briefseiten zu lesen.’ In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse in Seinen Briefen*. Bad Liebenzell: Verlag Bernhard Gengenbach, pp. 60-81. Here: p. 66.

⁷²⁰ Michels, V. 2003. Teils ausgelacht, teils den sentimental Leserkreisen überlassen. Zur Hermann-Hesse-Rezeption in Deutschland. *Gunther Gottschalk: Hermann Hesse Page*. [Online]. [Accessed on 6 March 2018]. Available from: <http://www.gss.ucsb.edu/projects/hesse/papers/michels-calw-2003.pdf>

⁷²¹ By ‘thematic reference’ I mean that the reader goes beyond merely listing the book as one of the novels read by adding at least one thought in response to the experience of reading the text.

world that had suffered a ‘mechanization of the spirit’ (*seishin no kikaika*).⁷²² In fact, the global reception of the novel *Der Steppenwolf* took off after it was ‘discovered’ in America during the 1960s and popularized by counterculture figures such as Timothy Leary as a ‘manual’ for LSD trips. The ‘discovery’ and the cultural appropriation of Hesse’s works in America in the 1960s and 1970s sent reverberating ripples across the Pacific and increased the popularity of Hesse’s novels in Taiwan, South Korea and Japan. However, the reader correspondence examined in this chapter ends with Hesse’s death in August 1962, which occurred a few years before *Der Steppenwolf* was popularized by the counterculture movement in America, thereby attaining cultural distinction. According to Esselborn-Krumbiegel, *Der Steppenwolf* is a novel of high European modernity which makes its transcultural reception in East Asia more problematic. She writes, ‘In seiner Destruktion konsistenter Ich-Bilder erweist sich der Text als Seismograph eines historischen Umbruchs, werden Individuation und Selbstverwirklichung als Parameter gesellschaftlich Fortschritts hinfällig.’⁷²³ A further factor inhibiting its reception in Japan in the period under review is the fact that the novel offers multiple perspectives, and thus eliminates a stable narrator whom the reader can also recognize as a stable conversation partner. Below I explicate Japanese reader responses to the three most frequently thematically referenced novels, all of which are among Hesse’s earlier novels: *Peter Camenzind*, *Unterm Rad* and *Knulp*.

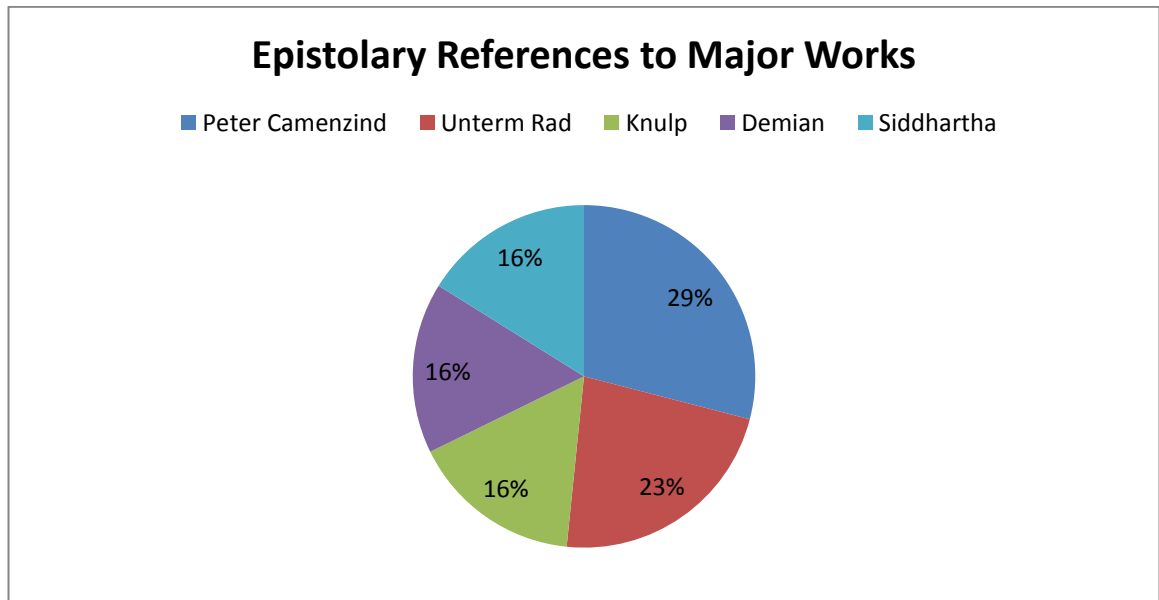


Figure 14: References to Hesse's major works in the epistolary corpus.

3.4.1. *Peter Camenzind*

⁷²² Cited in: Roberts, L. 2010. *Literary Nationalism in German and Japanese Germanistik*. New York: Peter Lang, pp.163-164. [Takahashi, K. and Sotomura, J. 1937. *Gendai doitsu bungaku – Gendai roshiya bungaku*. Tokyo: Kensetsusha.]

⁷²³ Esselborn-Krumbiegel, H. 2004. Strategien der Leserlenkung in *Demian* und *Der Steppenwolf*. In: Solbach, A. ed. *Hermann Hesse und die literarische Moderne*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 271-284. Here: p. 283.

Hesse's 1904 novel *Peter Camenzind* is ensconced firmly in the Romantic tradition. Ralph Freedman writes that the novel 'conveys an intimate sense of nature' and is 'interwoven with [a] fine feeling for natural landscapes'.⁷²⁴ The Romantic vignettes of the natural environment, which punctuate the novel, keep realism at bay, enabling the reader to be in communion with nature – a tempting pre-modern proposition to the Japanese reader embedded in the reality of modernity and the urbanity of everyday Japanese life. Indeed, Marco Schickling characterizes the novel as 'depictions of life close to nature and far from cities'.⁷²⁵ These features of the novel draw corresponding responses from the Japanese readers. For example, one 18 year-old male writes in September 1952: 'The beautiful and pure country sights are described in every page of the books. Books are filled with youth and they make great impression upon me.'⁷²⁶

Contextually, the appeal of reading a novel such as *Peter Camenzind* is greatly explained by the rapid modernization of Japan. Japan modernized and, above all, urbanized rapidly following the Meiji Restoration in 1868 as the agricultural workforce shrank in relative size, and the cities of Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto and Kobe grew in size in terms of population, from 13.3 million in 1920 to 22.5 million in 1940.⁷²⁷ In the post-war period, the urbanization rate reached 60% by 1963, and had grown to 93% by 2015.⁷²⁸ Thus, when the bulk of the correspondence was being written, during the 1950s, a majority of Japanese were already experiencing modernity in the great Japanese metropolises.

Concurrent with the rapid modernization and the urbanization of Japanese society, the way landscape and art are perceived in Japan has also shifted as Western thought and stylistic perspectives have been adopted in Japan. A Japanese reader of *Peter Camenzind* experiences glimpses of nature before it was 'othered' in the Japanese literary canon, and before the 'discovery' of landscape as an 'object' by writers such as Doppo Kunikida (1881-1908), particularly in his novel *Wasureenu hitobito* (*Unforgettable People*) in 1898. Japanese literary critic Kōjin Karatani suggests that Kunikida's novel *Unforgettable People* offers evidence that, 'before it became a representational convention', 'landscape' was an inversion of consciousness.⁷²⁹ According to Karatani, the inversion occurs counterintuitively in that the narrator of the novel forgets all the people of apparent importance and remembers all those who seemingly do not matter, whereby background, or rather landscape, supersedes all

⁷²⁴ Freedman, R. 1979. *Hermann Hesse: Pilgrim of Crisis*. London: Jonathan Cape, p. 108.

⁷²⁵ Schickling, M. 2009. Hermann Hesse's Politics. In: Cornils, I. ed. *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, pp. 301-322. Here: p. 303.

⁷²⁶ Yoshizawa, T. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷²⁷ Population Index. 1943. Population Redistribution and Urbanization in Japan. *Population Index*. 9(2), pp. 73-77. Here: p. 74.

⁷²⁸ The World Bank Group. 2016. *Urban population*. [Online]. [Accessed 12 March 2017]. Available from: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/>.

⁷²⁹ Karatani, K. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, p. 23.

other themes, as people who were once unimportant are imbued with meaning, and this landscape, once established, allows the constitution of ‘object’ and ‘self’ to emerge.⁷³⁰ The definition and eventual stabilisation of this new concept of ‘landscape’ became all the more possible once the definition of ‘traditional’ Japanese landscapes had been grounded in thinking processes by the Western Meiji moderniser and art historian Ernest Fenollosa (1853-1908). Fenollosa coined the new term *sansuiga* (‘mountain-water-picture’ or landscape painting) for paintings that, for the Japanese, had been ‘seasonal paintings’ (*shiki-e* or *tsukinami*). The new term came to signify traditional Japanese landscape painting, arising ‘out of the disjuncture between Japanese culture and modern western consciousness’.⁷³¹ The stabilisation of meaning of what constitutes ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ Japanese representations of landscape helped to embed perspectives which facilitated and smoothed transcultural appreciation of art and novels, and their affirmed ‘stylistic principles’⁷³² from the fields of art and literature in the West.

Peter Camenzind was first translated into Japanese in 1937. Masaru Watanabe argues that the major thematic elements we find in *Peter Camenzind* correspond to a particular attitude to life and sensitivity the Japanese have for their environment, ‘Das Träumerische und Romantische in Hesses Werk entspricht einem Lebensgefühl der Japaner’, and further ‘Hesses naturverbundene Einsamkeit und seine Freude an der Bilderwelt entsprechen dem Naturgefühl der Japaner’.⁷³³ Although Watanabe does not explicate the Japanese ‘feeling for nature’ (*Naturgefühl*), seasonal keywords are an important feature of the Japanese poetic tradition, and are preserved to this day in modern *haiku* writing.⁷³⁴ The climate in Japan means that the seasons are clearly differentiated and these seasonal keywords often trigger contextual associations and nostalgias among readers who are reminded of, for instance, summer festivals and cherry-blossom viewing parties. If, as Watanabe argues, a ‘feeling for nature’ arises in the subject reading the novel, the distinction between subject and object is blurred, as feelings have a unifying effect, and one moves toward feeling at ‘one’ with nature. On the other hand, were a ‘love of nature’ (*die Liebe zur Natur*) proposed, it would signify an objectification of nature by the reader or observer. We should be aware, of course, that other currents exist in Japanese literature. For instance, modern Japanese poets, as Donald Keene points out, have discarded their Japanese and Chinese literary heritage to the point that ‘no falling cherry blossoms or reddening maple leaves are permitted to grace their

⁷³⁰ Ibid., p. 34.

⁷³¹ Usami, K. 1993. Cited in: Karatani, K. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

⁷³² Bourdieu, P. 1985. The Market of Symbolic Goods. Trans. Swyer, R. *Poetics*. (14), pp. 13-44. Here: p. 20.

⁷³³ Watanabe, M. 1977. Japan. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 222-233. Here: p. 224.

⁷³⁴ Sato, H. 1996. Introduction. In: Bashō, M. *Narrow Road: Spring and Autumn Passages*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, p. 27.

verses except ironically'.⁷³⁵ Nonetheless, for the Japanese reader, the experience of reading *Peter Camenzind* may both trigger and, in part, satisfy a yearning for a pre-modern notion of nature. Although nature is presented in Hesse's novel as an object of aesthetics, which bridges the gap between the reader and raw nature in the Romantic tradition, it still permits a sublimation of the reader in nature in the same way as seasonal keywords in, for example, the *haiku* of traditional Japanese poetry, draw upon feelings, experiences and associations and immerse the reader in an atmosphere. The line of thinking may also be pursued that the novel, situated in the 'field of restricted production' (Hesse rejected the mass marketing of his texts – the 'field of large-scale cultural production'), is a 'pure' product that 'demands of the receiver a specifically aesthetic disposition in conformity with the principles of [its] production.'⁷³⁶

If we accept that *Peter Carmenzind* has the language and keywords with the potential to allow a 'feeling for nature' to arise, they will blur the divisions of object and self so prominent in the Western consciousness, and, it must be added, in the modern Japanese consciousness. In *Peter Camenzind* clouds are keywords with the power to blur and potentially dissolve the barrier between subject and object; equally they are symbols of the ultimate transitoriness of human life. Hesse writes: 'Sie sind das ewige Sinnbild alles Wanderns, alles Suchens, Verlangens und Heimbegehrens. Und so, wie sie zwischen Erde und Himmel zag und sehrend und trotzig hängen, so hängen zag und sehrend und trotzig die Seelen der Menschen zwischen Zeit und Ewigkeit'.⁷³⁷ In October 1956, one of Hesse's most industrious Japanese correspondents, a young female university student, writes how she overcame and dissolved the distance between herself and Hesse by sending her gratitude for his works by means of clouds: 'Vielleicht können Sie die Wolken, denen ich meine herzliche Dankbarkeit kürzlich anvertraute, sehen.'⁷³⁸ Clouds can change their forms rapidly, yet some appear to remain unchanged and stable for a long time, laden with symbolism. The young correspondent describes to Hesse such a cloud she has experienced while hiking in the area of Japan's highest and most symbolic mountain, Mt. Fuji, as floating around the mountain. She equates the cloud with a 'forgotten melody': 'Eine weiße Wolke schwebte, wie eine "vergessene Melodie" auf dem Fuji umher, als ich um seinem Fuß herum ging, so weit ich gelangen konnte.'⁷³⁹ She writes further in the same letter to Hesse that clouds in Japan can also be the magical, the transcendental stuff of legends:

⁷³⁵ Keene, D. 1956. *Modern Japanese Literature*. New York: Grove Press, p. 22.

⁷³⁶ Bourdieu, P. 1985. The Market of Symbolic Goods. Trans. Swyer, R. *Poetics*. (14), pp. 13-44. Here: p. 23.

⁷³⁷ SW2: 16.

⁷³⁸ Hagiwara, I. 1956. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

Es gibt eine Legende von einer himmlischen Erscheinung, die sich aus den Wolken über dem Fuji gebildet hat. Es war einmal ein Mann an dem See Miho, wo man den Fuji sehr gut sehen kann. Eines Tages fand er ein Kleid auf einem Zweige im Kieferhain. Das war so schön, wie er noch keines gesehen hatte, er wollte es nach Hause mitnehmen. Da war da plötzlich ein schönes Mädchen. Das bat ihn, ihm die Kleidung zurückzugeben. Mit dem zurückgegebenen Kleid schwang sich die himmlische Erscheinung hoch in die Luft und verschwand im hohem Himmel.⁷⁴⁰

Clearly, ‘clouds’ have the ability to transcend distances, which enhances the ‘nearness’ of the transcultural communication between a writer situated in Europe and a reader in Japan. Clouds can also evoke musical associations and awaken ancient legends. Moreover, as I proposed in ‘Theoretical considerations’ earlier in this chapter, clouds are part of a universal experience for human beings and form an effective ‘common basis’ for transcultural communication and understanding. The same argument could also be maintained about music and legends.

Finally, other Japanese readers make some deep, personal associations with Hesse’s first novel, which are quite unexpected, but, at the same time, demonstrative of Holland’s ‘identity themes’. For instance, writing in April 1958, a 17-year-old girl explains that *Peter Camenzind* was a favourite of her now deceased sister, and that reading the novel brings back fond memories of her.⁷⁴¹ For another reader, the personal association was grounded in the fact that the novel provided consolation for him while he was working in the Japanese colony of Korea during the war and in the immediate post-war period following Japan’s defeat in 1945. Writing in July 1960, he explains that he read *Peter Camenzind* and *Siddhartha* in Japanese translation in 1937, ‘I was deeply moved by these works, and they were my intimate companions through the time of the war.’⁷⁴² At the time, the correspondent had lived and worked as a teacher in Korea, ruled by the Japanese as a colony, for thirteen years, and upon Japan’s defeat returned with his family with ‘nothing but a suit-case. The only book I brought in the suit-case was your “Peter Carmenzind” [sic]. It always gave me a consolation through the uneasy and dark period after the surrender of Japan.’⁷⁴³ Later, in 1958, the same correspondent travelled to Europe to study art history, carrying with him a specially bound copy of the novel as a present for Hesse: ‘Just before my leaving Japan, I bought three copies of Japanese edition of “Peter Carmenzin” [sic], and got them specially bound, one for you, one for the translator, and one for me. I hoped to bring the book to you myself when I visited Switzerland, but some of my friends advised me not to disturb you

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁴¹ Goto, M. 1958. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁴² Shinki, M. 1960. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁴³ Ibid.

calling on you at home. So I gave up my desire. I came back to Japan last year. The other day I sent the book to you with my best wishes by ordinary mail.⁷⁴⁴ The unexpected, deep associations these two readers write about in their correspondence with Hesse make no mention of the long expositions of nature and natural landscapes in the novel. Unlike a transculturally universal theme such as ‘clouds’, their responses to the novel are dominated by unique personal associations and experiences. Thus, their relationship with the novel and its author are driven by defining experience which they link to the text in the form of ‘identity themes’.

3.4.2. *Unterm Rad*

Some 23% of epistolary correspondents include a thematic reference to Hesse’s 1906 novel *Unterm Rad* in their correspondence. *Unterm Rad* was first translated into Japanese by Kenji Takahashi in 1938 and published by Iwanami-shoten in a format mirroring that of the *Reclam Universal-Bibliothek*. The reception of the novel in Japan took off in the post-war period. For example, in the spring of 1952, an eighteen year-old student was instructed by his teacher ‘to read the “Unterm Rad” by you [Hesse] and I found you.’⁷⁴⁵ The novel had previously been read on Japanese radio; ‘In diesen Wochen ist ihr Roman “Unterm Rad” in den [sic] Rundfunk vorgelesen worden.’⁷⁴⁶ In 1956, a female reader writes about her experience of reading the novel for the first time:

Vor vier Jahren wurden [sic] ich, beim ersten Lesen Ihrer Werk “Unter dem Rad” [sic] von der nicht seither gewesenen Rührung ergreift [sic] – von der Schönheit der Natur, von der allzu feinen reinen Schönheit der naiven Jugend wie junges Gras und von der Kraft der großen Liebe. Ich war eigentlich sehr zurückhaltend und dagegen unerschütterlich, aber in jener Zeit, kaum las ich wie verrückt zu Ende, als ich mich, einige Zeit, der strömende Tränen nicht enthalten konnte.⁷⁴⁷

The novel, even in its Japanese translation, is able to activate a powerful emotional response among readers with aesthetic disposition on account of the descriptions of nature, the beauty of the purity of naïve youth, and first love. All these elements strike a chord with the identity themes of the reader. In 1958, a young girl describes her reading experience with *Unterm Rad* and other works by Hesse:

I am seventeen years old. This girl loves stars at night, writing poems and “Choux à la cream [sic]”. I have read all your works that had been translated in Japan. I like

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁵ Yoshizawa, T. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁴⁶ Hagiware, I. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA. As I discuss in the Thesis Conclusion, the novel is still being read and discussed on Japanese radio programmes to this day.

⁷⁴⁷ Ito, K. 1956. Letter to HH, DLA.

the novel “*Unterm Rad*” and “*Demian*” best of all. I hope I shall be able to read original poem. The translated poems are not what they are. Because Japanese has not rhyme [sic].⁷⁴⁸

Although still young, the writer is aware of Hesse’s interest in the East, which points to the contextualising information provided by translators in after-words to their translations of Hesse’s works and by consecrating commentators on German literature in general. ‘I know that you are interested in Eastern civilization, and I am sure you like our island-country Japan.’⁷⁴⁹ A further correspondent, a 19 year-old university student, writes about *Unterm Rad* and Hesse’s works in 1959:

I read and enjoy your many pure and noble work, and it is my mental food always. I like “*Unterm Rad*”, “*Peter Chamenzind*”[sic] and “*Das Glasperlenspiel*” very much, when I was happy or distress, I come in contact with your spirit. Dear father or [sic] my soul!⁷⁵⁰

Indicative of the popularity of Hesse among students in Japan and the symbolic capital his works can generate, the young man supervises a Hermann Hesse study group at his university, ‘I am particularly interested in your work in literature and I superintend “The study group of Hermann Hesse”. It is [a] study group about your work in literature.’⁷⁵¹ Another young reader, a fifteen year-old girl, writing in 1960, was moved by multiple readings of *Unterm Rad* to engage in a visual dialogue with Hesse (I explicate this inter-medial form of transcultural communication in more detail below. See also Chapter 1.). She draws a picture of how she imagines Hans Giebenrath dies in the river at the tragic end of the novel. Her correspondence also includes an imaginary picture of Hans with his *alter ego* in the novel Hermann Heilner, as well as two drawings in which she and her friend imagine Hesse’s house in Switzerland.⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁸ Goto, M. 1958. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁰ Nishimura, Y. 1959. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid.

⁷⁵² Akimoto, I. 1960. Letter with sketches to HH, DLA.

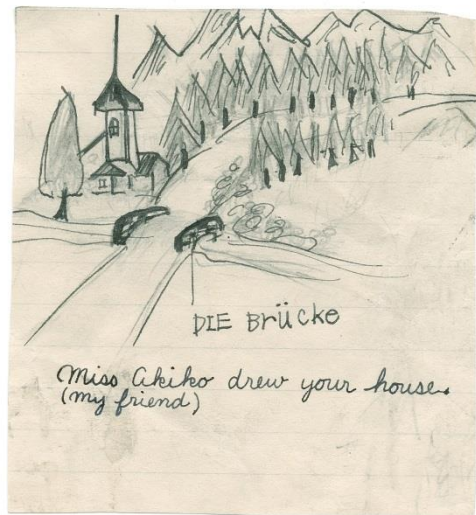
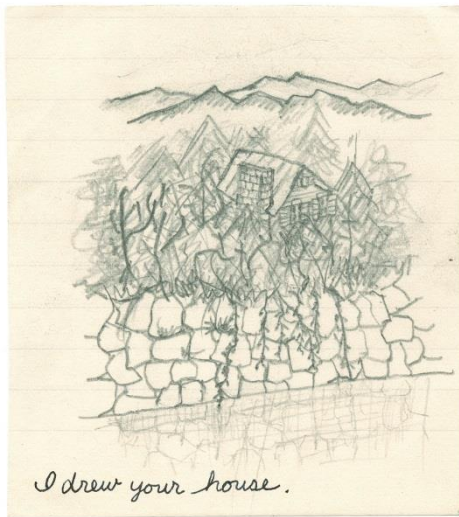


Figure 15: Young Japanese readers imagine Hesse's *Unterm Rad*.⁷⁵³

The illustration at the top is labelled in Japanese with the Japanese title of the book (*Sharin no shita*) and, in katakana script (used for foreign names and foreign words), with the names of the two protagonists of the novel, Hans Giebenrath and Hermann Heilner. The shift from text to image, from the verbal art of narrative to the visual art of illustration, represents an attempt to portray the characters the readers have encountered in the original work. The uppermost sketch shows Hans and Hermann, who do not stand out through any particular characterising features, sitting on the ledge of a diamond-shaped lattice window in a substantial building such as a church or the monastery seminar at Maulbronn. The figures appear to be immersed in conversation with each other. The sketch to the left represents the end of the novel. We see a portrayal of Hans, the river or stream, and dense reeds or other

⁷⁵³ Akimoto, I. 1960. Letter with sketches to HH, DLA.

vegetation on the bank of the waterway. It is noticeable how Hans's head still projects quite distinctly above the water as if, in this young Japanese reader's mind, the decision to perish will be a conscious one, that is, it does not happen by chance. This response to the text is communicated visually. The illustrator has added English text to the illustration in which she addresses Hesse directly, 'Do you know these pictures? I drew "Unter dem Rad [sic]". They are Hans and Hermann.'⁷⁵⁴ Here the text adds an element of intimacy to the sketch and creates a sense of closer proximity with the distant European writer.

Below these two sketches, to the right, the drawing contains text which labels the bridge, 'Die Brücke', and an explanation about the sketcher, 'Miss Akiko drew your house. (My friend)'.⁷⁵⁵ The sketch has been crafted schematically to show mountains and evergreen forest in the background, and a tree-lined road which draws the observer's eye, almost magnetically, down to a small, bridged river, next to which stands a deciduous tree, signalling a warmer climate, and next to the tree Hesse's house as imagined by the young reader's friend. The house is a curious imaginary object reminding the observer of a church. Finally, the sketch bottom left is texted, 'I drew your house'.⁷⁵⁶ The sketch is dense with detail, although again the observer notes mountains in the background, which anchor the imagined foreground geographically in Switzerland. The foreground is dominated by a stone wall, behind which the house nestles amid a dense group of trees. There is no river this time. The house itself has a huge chimney and sits squat as if crouched in the wooded landscape. Interestingly, both the young Japanese readers envisage Hesse's house as sitting quite isolated in a natural setting. There are no other houses in the drawings, and also no other people, just the natural elements of the countryside. These are the elements that the young readers wish to communicate visually. The visual dialogue that the readers enter into in these last two drawings is a blend of nature and the home. The latter, the home, is, in particular, a place of warmth, security and intimacy. By choosing to imagine and draw Hesse's home, they seem to express a desire for greater nearness to the writer.

Professor of Germanic Studies Mayumi Haga, one of the readers profiled below, enters into a profound dialogue with Hesse. In 1959, he writes how, as a young person, by reading *Unterm Rad* he was able to shake off despair and how the text bettered his awareness of the spirituality of nature:

Damals war ich noch jung und ganz allein in der Welt. Die Eltern waren nicht mehr da. (...) Ich weinte, Tag und Nacht, auf dem Veranda, vor der Tür des Hauses, auf der Wiese. (...) Da kamen Sie. Zufällig habe Ihre Dichtung in die Hand

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid.

genommen. Das war ein Stück von ‘Unterm Rad’. Ich habe durch Sie die Natur kennengelernt, wie groß sie ist, wie die Blume groß ist. Eine ganz andere Welt ist mir eröffnet worden, voll Innigkeit, süße, und Wichtigkeit.⁷⁵⁷

As I demonstrate below, provided the reader has the aesthetic disposition, this depth of enriched transcultural communication can only arise if the dialogue is embedded in ‘emotional trust’.

In sum, Masuru Watanabe, acting here as agent of cultural consecration in the field of restricted literary production,⁷⁵⁸ characterizes the appeal of Hesse’s earlier works to Japanese readers in textual impressions such as ‘frisches Naturgefühl, das Idyllische, die Sehnsucht nach der Ferne, Glück und Leiden der Jugend, Liebe und Wanderschaft.’⁷⁵⁹ Haga’s response to Hesse’s text addresses an aesthetic disposition that foregrounds the healing power of nature and how it can offer a different perspective on the way we live, ‘Ich habe durch Sie die Natur kennengelernt’ and ‘Eine ganz andere Welt ist mir eröffnet worden’. Watanabe is right to say that the text appeals to transcultural yearnings, some located in the proto-cultural common basis, for nature, love and freedom. However, his analysis ignores the identity themes that a reader brings to the text, the personal biography, experiences and associations which are unique and important to the individual reader who faces various dilemmas in the modern lifeworld. As a so-called *Schulroman*, a further significant theme in *Unterm Rad* is successful educational performance, and the associated anxieties; a theme relevant to many young persons in Japan who suffer from parental pressure to do well in a series of rigid entrance exams to high schools and universities. Indeed, in Japan, universities are ‘ranked in a well-charted hierarchy of prestige’⁷⁶⁰, the top ranked universities promise a wider range of lucrative career opportunities to their graduates. Interestingly, none of the Japanese readers activated a disposition consciously to this aspect of the novel in their correspondence with Hesse.

3.4.3. *Knulp*

Some 16% of Japanese epistolary correspondents make thematic references to Hesse’s 1915 novel *Knulp* in their correspondence with Hesse. I analyse here two Japanese readers’ responses to the novel. Each reader’s response is deeply coloured by a personal identity theme. Writing about identity themes elevates the character of the epistolary correspondence

⁷⁵⁷ Haga, M. 1959. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁵⁸ Bourdieu imbues these agents of consecration in the field of restricted literary production ‘with the categories of action, expression, conception, imagination, perception specific to the “cultivated disposition”’. Bourdieu, P. 1985. The Market of Symbolic Goods. Trans. Swyer, R. *Poetics*. (14), pp. 13-44. Here: p. 23.

⁷⁵⁹ Watanabe, M. 1977. Japan. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 222-233. Here: p. 224.

⁷⁶⁰ Dore, R. P. 1987. Citizenship and Employment in an Age of High Technology. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*. 25(2), pp. 201-225. Here: p. 212.

from a profane communicatory level of exchanged greetings and salutations, to a level which prepares the correspondents for the development of emotional trust, which I argue has the potential to allow a deep transcultural meeting of minds and the generation of spiritual capital that enriches mutual exchange.

The excerpts of the letters presented here thus move beyond the communicative mode to draw upon deep identity themes and personal experiences which the reader connects with features of the text. In other words, the letter correspondent is interested in a theme or a passage from the novel which is significant on a deeply personal level. For example, writing in 1952, an eighteen year-old Japanese boy, is interested in the way that the vagabond Knulp, a deeply self-sufficient character who always goes his own way, communicates with God shortly before death about his self-doubts and the lifestyle he has led, and how this sheds light on a possible path in life in which individual fate is valued over social expectancy:

I have read through the “Knulp” now, Knulp who enjoys his youth cheerfully [sic]! But there is sorrow to betrayal. The questions and answers between Knulp and God, when Knulp was going to eternal bed in snow, will show us the way of our future. (...).⁷⁶¹

The young man is quite naturally concerned about finding his way in the future. The communion between God and Knulp seems to hold the answer for the young man. Indirectly, he seems to be asking Hesse for advice. He also envisages a time in the future when he will visit Germany to see and experience for himself the landscape, countryside, towns, villages and people who were the setting and backdrop to Knulp’s life.

If I shall be able to go abroad, I will go to your country to see the way of Knulp and the sights from your study which may be draw [sic] in the books.⁷⁶²

The second correspondent who thematically references the novel writes to Hesse in January 1951:

I want to be a cosmopolitan – just like “Knulp” – which you wrote ever [sic]. If all human race were cosmopolitan, we should be able to get the eternal peace. I live in Hiroshima – you know, “The first atomic field”, and I am thinking always this very simple secret of the “Peace”. Oh, God! Let them notice this secret please!⁷⁶³

This young man lives in Hiroshima and his disposition toward the novel is linked directly to his experience of living in a city upon which the first ever atomic bomb was dropped on 6

⁷⁶¹ Yoshizawa, T. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁶² Ibid.

⁷⁶³ Shitanda, G. 1951. Letter to HH, DLA.

August, 1945. This is the uppermost identity theme guiding his response to the novel less than six years later. The OED defines a ‘cosmopolitan’ as person at ease and familiar with the languages and cultures of different countries; in other words, somebody whose identity draws upon more than just one culture and language. For this Japanese reader, the character Knulp is an independent and self-contained symbol for a transnational and transcultural ‘cosmopolitan’ beholden unto himself and his calling. As the letter writer sees it, Knulp, at least in the transcultural imagination, has the ability to serve as a model for humanity across the world, thereby unlocking the national spaces which are so often the sources for conflicts. By equating Hesse’s fictional vagabond character with the secret of ‘eternal peace’, the correspondent is unlocking codes at the core of the fictional character. As Joseph Mileck analyses, Knulp is much more than just a footloose vagabond, buffeted this way and that by the forces at play in the world, but rather he embodies the ‘novelty and uniqueness of the individual’ and ‘is his own world’, a character to whom ‘life (...) [is] but a simple living of the self.’⁷⁶⁴ ‘A simple living of the self’, as a transcultural ‘cosmopolitan’, could be the solution the young Japanese correspondent is seeking.

As we see clearly in this selection of thematic references to Hesse’s literary works, the letters that Japanese readers write to Hesse are more than just epistolary devices of perfunctory communication. Readers are very often guided by both particular aesthetic dispositions and identity themes in their personal biographies in their responses to Hesse’s novels. Sometimes they seek, as we saw particularly in the thematic references to the novel *Knulp*, transcultural transformations. One reader wants to experience the reality of the lifeworld of the character Knulp that Hesse describes in his book to better understand Knulp’s communion with God in order to gather ideas about the best path for his future; the other grasps the underlying symbolism of this fictional character, who is at home anywhere and everywhere, in order to propose a model that may bring humanity together and eliminate war. While the responses to the three most frequently thematically referenced novels are in large part guided by identity themes, this, I argue, is an important preliminary step, moving from perfunctory communication, toward developing ‘emotional trust’ and generating spiritual capital in the transcultural epistolary dialogue, and the joy of discovering oneself in the other.

3.5. The Artists – Japanese Readers in Visual Dialogue with Hesse

A unique category, absent from Gabriele Lück’s categories of reader correspondence with Hesse, is the embellishment of letters by readers with artwork and illustrations. It is a hybrid, inter-medial form, combining the written and the visual forms, of epistolary correspondence in which transcultural information is conveyed in direct mediations. As we know, Hesse

⁷⁶⁴ Mileck, J. 1978. *Hermann Hesse: Life and Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 85.

himself was fond of adorning many of his own letters with little watercolour vignettes. Hesse was also a landscape painter of the Ticino countryside of note himself, and, indeed, his paintings have been exhibited and appreciated in Japan a number of times (see Chapter 1). We have the sense that readers are striving to find the best means possible to contextualise and communicate the meaning of their life stories, their culture, and the environment in which they live to the reader living in Switzerland. Most of the artwork in the examples shown below is not an ‘isolated’ piece of art (art-for art’s sake), but rather seeks to provide a visual medium for better communicating transcultural information. In other words, the reader is not presenting an object and asking for it to be admired aesthetically for style, or for consecration because of the talent it demonstrates, rather the visual dialogue that readers enter into foregrounds the communication of transcultural information, whereby the method employed is considered the best way to mediate information from one linguistic and cultural community to another.

The first example of the transcultural visual dialogue the Japanese readers are entering into with Hesse is by a young Japanese girl who writes to Hesse in May 1951 in the role of the storyteller and philosopher. She writes how Hesse has helped to open her heart and helped her to appreciate nature:

Im meinem alltäglichen Leben sprudelt immer Bewunderung und Sehnsucht nach Ihnen. Wie die Mutter Natur, die zu erst meinem nicht weichen Herzen ihre Hände hinhielt, haben Sie mir ein weites, freies Herz wie das eines Knaben gegeben. Allein mit weißen Wolken zu sprechen, mit dem Firmament zu reden und ein freundliches Lied des Windes zu hören ist meine größte Lust; den weiße Wolken sind alle meines Herzens. Wenn ich zum Abendsterne bete, finde ich aus dem schönen Hirtensterne, aus rotgefärbter Wolkengruppe Sie heraus, sollen von Sehnsucht und Freude Heim weh und Liebe.⁷⁶⁵

The letter is, of course, inter-medial, with text and an illustration (see below). The text is notable for the transcultural ‘common basis’ she refers to and uses in order to communicate her appreciation to Hesse for opening her heart to nature. The concept of Mother Nature (*Mutter Natur*), the symbolism of clouds, the firmament, the wind, the evening star, the *Hirtenstern*, which is a reference to the star Altair which meets Vega (they represent the Japanese deities *Hikoboshi* and *Oriihime*) in the sky at the time of the *Tanabata* star festival on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month, are proto-cultural elements of the natural world, and part of our transcultural, common shared experience. The young writer’s drawing

⁷⁶⁵ Hakamada, M. 1951, Letter to HH, DLA.

is personally signed and represents a rural house seen through the overhanging branches of a persimmon fruit tree in the foreground.



Figure 16: Japanese reader's drawing of persimmon tree and rural structure.⁷⁶⁶

The striking rich red colours of the ripe persimmon fruit are contrasted against the temperate autumnal background, the blue sky and white clouds, and browns of the timber house and the thatched roof of the house. The immediacy, yet depth of the transcultural information would be much appreciated by Hesse who had a trained eye in seeing the colours of a landscape. While there is no direct link to the text in the letter, the drawing is a perspectival rural scene; it conveys a sense of the strongly marked seasons that people in Japan experience and the types of fruit that are significant to each season. The persimmon fruits are indicative of autumn and many houses with gardens in suburban areas, even to this day, have a persimmon fruit tree in order to enjoy the dried, sweet fruit through the autumn and winter months.

The second example of artistic dialogue with Hesse in epistolary correspondence is in a letter sent to Hesse by a young female university student 'storyteller'. She writes in 1954, and illustrates her story about Bodhidharma with a sketch of the priest in delicate shades of

⁷⁶⁶ By permission of the Hermann Hesse-Stiftung. Hakamada, M. 1951, Letter to HH, DLA.

blue. The page of the letter shown here demonstrates the overall neatness and symmetry of both her writing and her visual style. The transcultural information is provided in an inter-medial web of modes. (The text below is from the first paragraph of the story, whereas the illustration is on the last page of the letter, after the closing salutation.)

Wissen Sie von Zen-Priester Bodhidharma, der der Prinz des Inder-Königs und hochbegabter Menschen war? Er war nach China über die See im Jahr 520 A.D. gekommen und hatte mit Kaiser den Dialog vom Buddhismus abgehalten, doch er kannte; es ist noch nicht die Gelegenheit, so er geht nach Schorinji [Shaolin] Temple (少林寺) am Syuzan (嵩山) und vertieft er sich in Yoga-Meditation zur Mauer gegenüberstehend.⁷⁶⁷

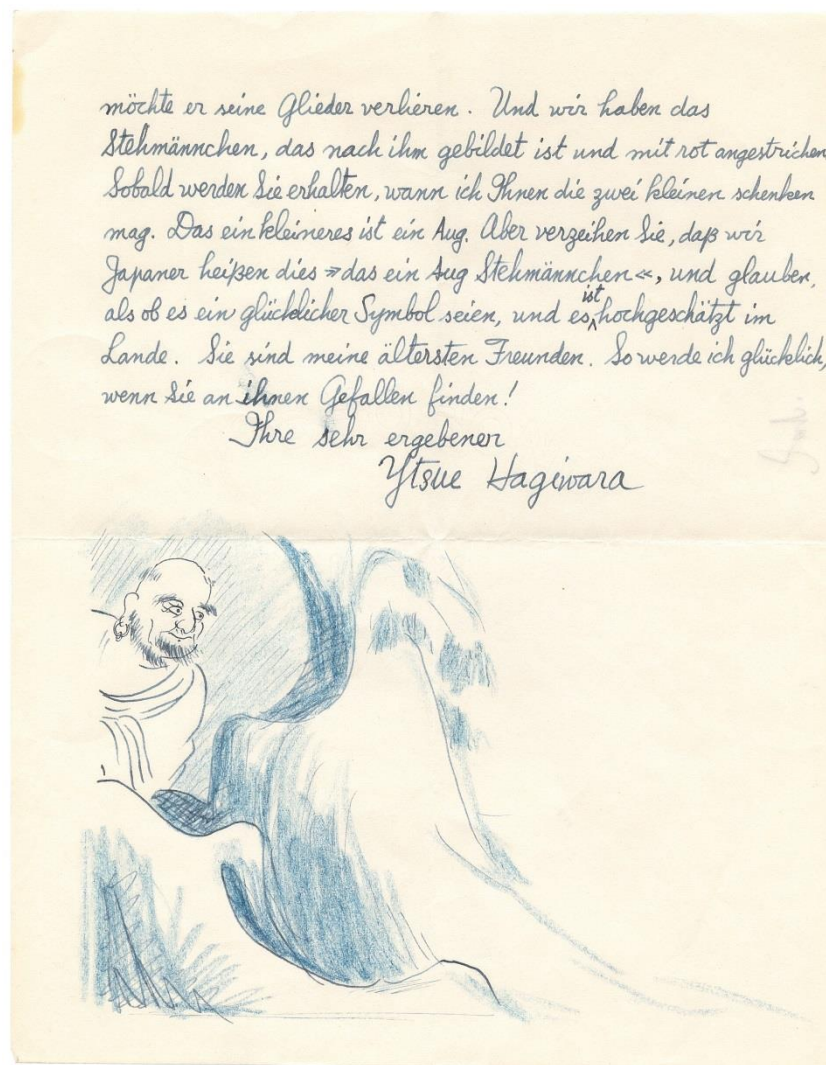


Figure 17: Japanese reader's drawing of Bodhidharma.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶⁷ Hagiwara, I. 1954. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁶⁸ By permission of the Hermann Hesse-Stiftung. The face of Bodhidharma bears some resemblance to a 15th century picture of the priest in the Kyoto National Museum. Hagiwara, I. 1954. Letter to HH, DLA.

The illustration seems to capture something of the mischievousness of Bodhidharma, who refused for years to impart teachings and instructions in China, until he felt the monks and novices to be ready to receive the dharma. He may be peering out of his meditation cave in this illustration, or he may be preparing a further unusual method of guiding and nudging the novices toward enlightenment.

The same young female correspondent, this time writing in 1956, about the Buddhist priest Ryokan, provides the third example of inter-medial, textual and visual, transcultural dialogue with Hesse. The story about the priest Ryokan attains a textual length of four-and-a-half pages and is punctuated by a hand-drawn scene of the monk sitting in a bamboo pavilion.

Er lebte einmal mit Bambus: Eines Tages fand der Ryokan einige Bambussproßlinge unter dem Fußboden seiner kleinen Wohnung, Gogoan. Sie wurden täglich größer, so daß sie bald bis an den Fußboden reichten. Er war erstaunt, er nahm erst die Binsenmatte ab, und dann machte er einige Löcher in die Diele, wo er dachte, daß sie herauswachsen würde...⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁹ Hagiwara, I. 1956. Letter to HH with drawing, DLA.

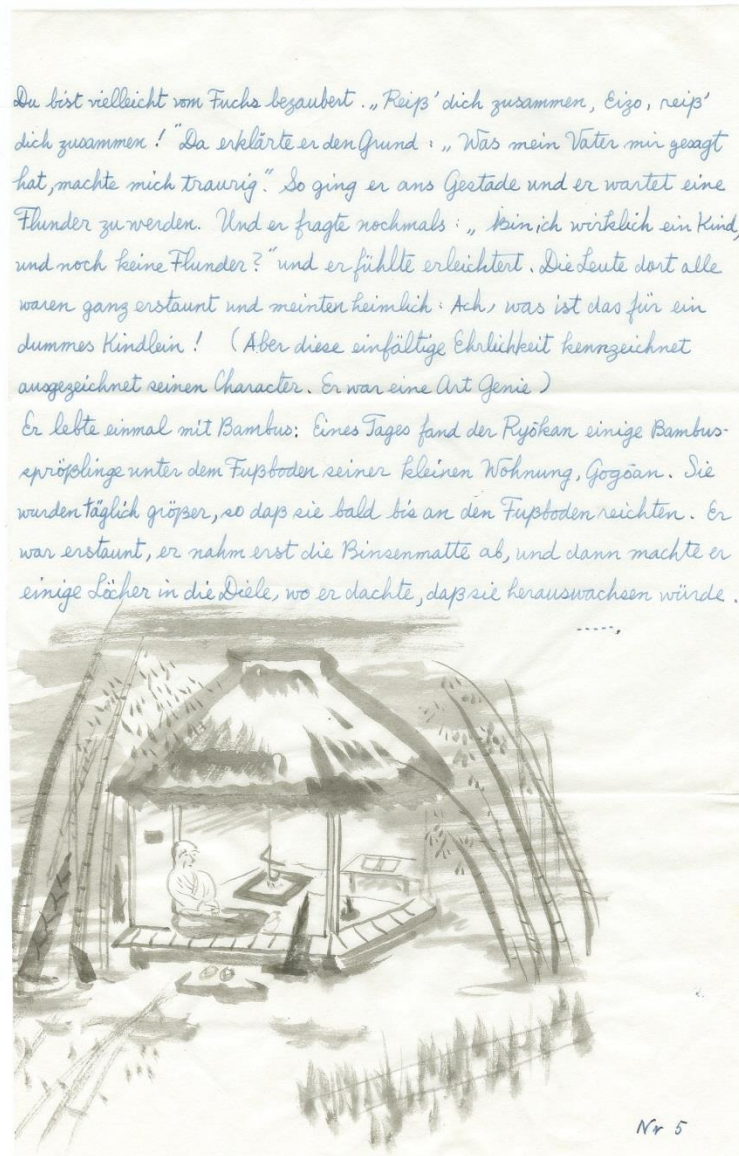


Figure 18: Japanese reader's drawing of Ryōkan's dwelling in the bamboo grove. ⁷⁷⁰

This illustration and autonomous reaction must have been particularly pleasing to Hesse and reminiscent of the symbol of the Orient (and of his monastic existence in Montagnola) in his 1943 novel *Das Glasperlenspiel*: the Chinese hermitage in the bamboo grove. Through the illustration and its tacit references, the young writer can transport Hesse to a transcultural place and time in which bamboo forests and bamboo groves are part of the everyday natural topographic and cultural environment in Japan.

In the following example, a young male university student in Kyoto, in the role of 'lyrical poet', sends an undated poem he has written, entitled *Of the New Buddha: An Aspiration*, to Hesse with an illustration not of his own hand of the Buddha. The poem pays a not unusual spiritual homage to Buddha, strengthened by the visual representation of Buddha. For

⁷⁷⁰ By permission of the Hermann Hesse-Stiftung. Hagiwara, I. 1956. Letter to HH with drawing, DLA.

instance, we read in the first verse, ‘The Buddha seems slow nevertheless is never negative,’ or ‘He tells us everything if we souls leave off frill. [sic]’⁷⁷¹

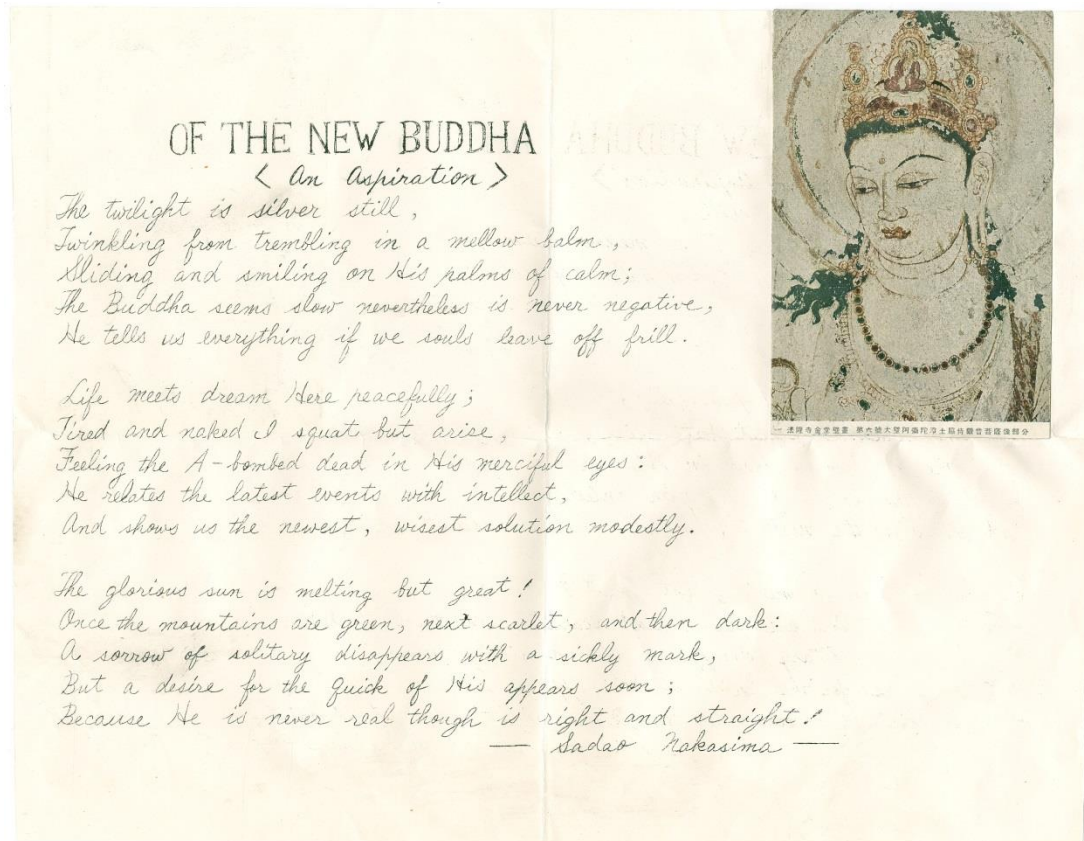


Figure 19: Japanese reader's poem and representation of Buddha.⁷⁷²

However, the poem contains an extraordinary line in the second verse: ‘Feeling the A-bombed dead in His merciful eyes.’ This sudden and oblique reference to the atomic bombs dropped on both Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 jerks the reader out of the hagiographic verse into the horrific reality of the 20th century and the experiences of the Japanese people. The poem demonstrates the depth of the trauma that has been experienced. The information transgresses the religious and philosophical disposition of the text around it, like a sharp destructive jab of modernity, and thus creates a very strong disjuncture and a novel way of conveying the horrors of the atomic bombings transculturally.

An undated and unsigned drawing of a school and a musical composition are further examples of the reader in the role of ‘artist’ and ‘music composer’ in transcultural dialogue with Hesse. The inter-mediality is created by a musical score and a drawing of the student’s school (‘Unsere Schule am Toyohira’) next to a reservoir. This is the sole example of this unique inter-medial form (musical composition and image) of transcultural communication

⁷⁷¹ Nakajima, S. Undated poem to HH, DLA.

⁷⁷² By permission of the Hermann Hesse-Stiftung. Ibid. Nakajima, S. Undated poem to HH, DLA

in the archive. It demonstrates clearly that transcultural communication can also be achieved, and potentiality enhanced, without the use of text.

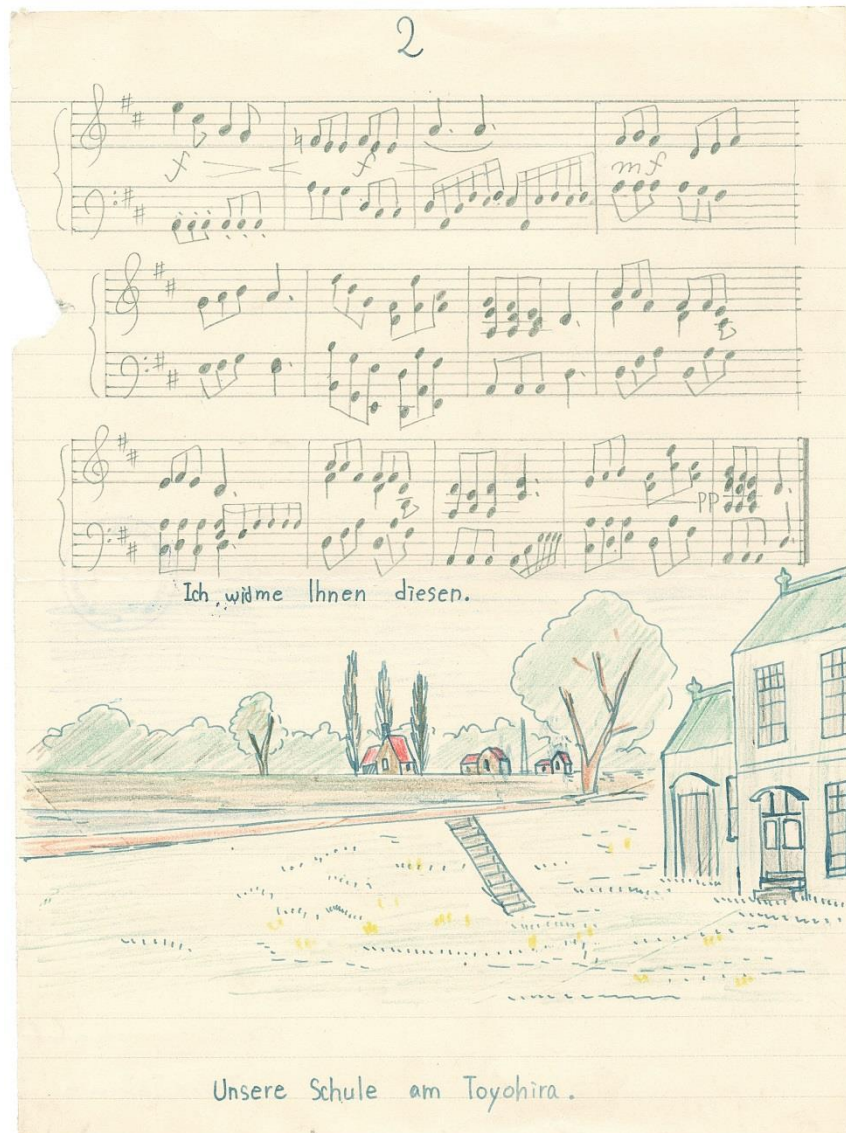


Figure 20: Musical composition and drawing of school by a Japanese reader.⁷⁷³

The final example, also undated and unsigned, is that of an illustrated letter written in Japanese of a lady undertaking a journey in a palanquin. The inter-mediality of the letter is reinforced by the fact that an image of a motor vehicle is embedded in the text, and that, on the left-side, the text extends, as if hovering, over the background sky and intertwines with the clouds of the landscape drawing.

⁷⁷³ By permission of the Hermann Hesse-Stiftung. Undated and unsigned drawing to HH, DLA.

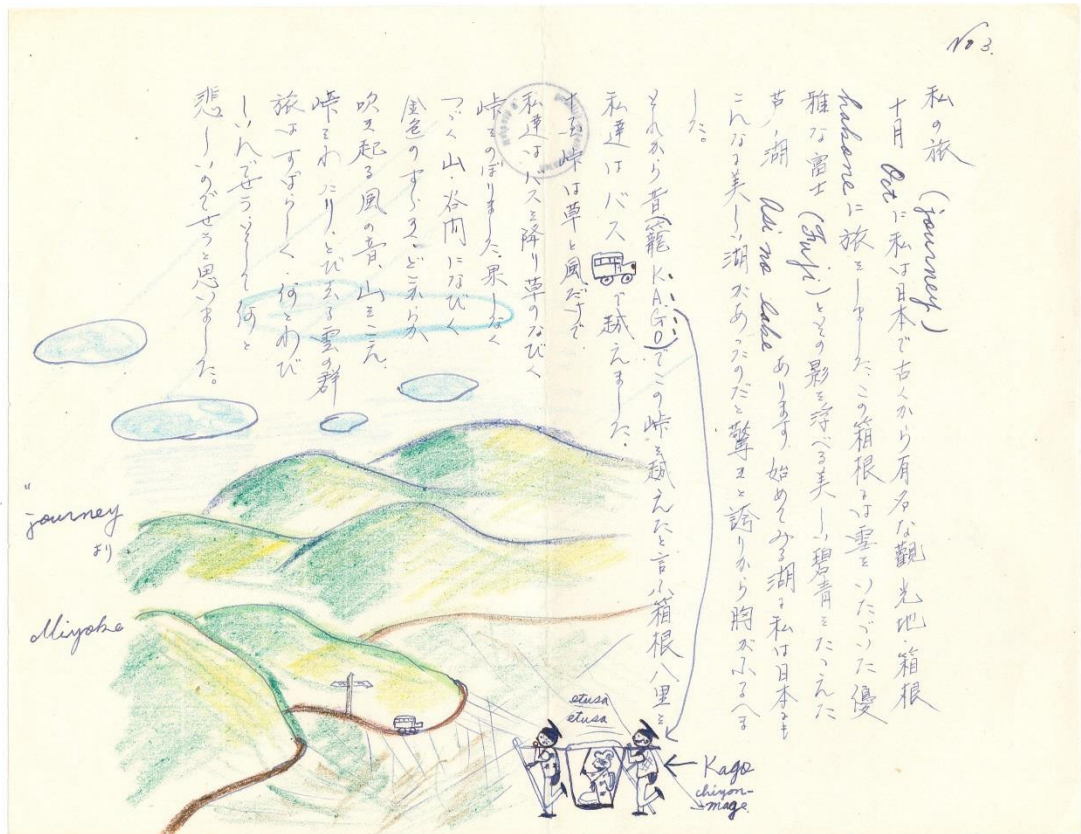


Figure 21: Japanese text and reader's drawing of a lady in a palanquin.⁷⁷⁴⁷⁷⁵

Here the text, although in Japanese, and requiring translation to be communicable to Hesse, is intermeshed with the drawing. Thus, rather than the eye resting on one medium, and then moving to the other, the format presented is interwoven, and is, as a whole, aesthetically interesting.

Overall, what we learn here, overlooked in Gabriele Lück's research project, is that some of Hesse's Japanese readers were keen to use different formats of inter-mediality. Thus text is not the only form and option for transcultural expression and communication between Hesse and his Japanese readers, rather, various forms of inter-medial transcultural communication exist, though most often text and visual image, which facilitate better transcultural communication and understanding of messages via the traditional arts. For his part, Hesse also often adorned his letters with watercolour vignettes, and thus inter-medial communication has always been a feature of Hesse's own correspondence with his readers. However, I suggest that Japanese readers are, for the main part, using inter-mediality to enhance the communication of the transcultural message, rather than just as a means of activating aesthetic pleasure.

⁷⁷⁴ By permission of the Hermann Hesse-Stiftung.

⁷⁷⁵ Undated and unsigned letter and drawing to HH, DLA.

3.6. Epistolary Correspondence As a Transcultural Platform

The various epistolary practices that I have already discussed in Hesse's relationship with his Japanese readers all create a new textual or inter-medial production 'platform'. The platform is a 'transcultural platform', which facilitates transcultural communication and the exchange of perceptions, knowledge and culture from one linguistic and cultural community into another. The epistolary transcultural platform examined here is personal, conducted in the private sphere away from all economic interests, and thus conducive for nurturing 'emotional trust', which I argue is the key 'ingredient' for the development of deep affinities with Hesse and the spiritual capital which enriches the mutual exchange between the author and his readers.

3.6.1. Selecting the epistolary practices of five Japanese correspondents

Of course, the epistolary correspondents, Hesse and his Japanese readers, are located and situated in different geographical, linguistic and cultural spaces. Through the transcultural platform that the epistolary exchange offers, transcultural friendships arise, experiences and opinions are recounted and exchanged, and, finally, even personal encounters may take place between the correspondents. A further aspect facilitated and nurtured by the transcultural platform of epistolary exchange is the 'role' of mediator and broker between different linguistic and cultural communities. As one Japanese correspondent, a Swiss-based correspondent of the Japanese daily newspaper *Asahi Shimbun*, writes, 'Nun befinde ich mich, zwischen Ihnen und den japanischen Literaturkreisen so zu sagen eine Vermittlersrolle zu spielen, und fühle mich dafür sehr verantwortlich.'⁷⁷⁶ In other words, a correspondent can act as a 'transcultural mediator' on the transcultural platform of epistolary exchanges. However, as the role of the 'transcultural mediator' is examined in Chapter 2, this chapter focuses on explicating the transcultural exchanges that lead to a deeper transcultural understanding and the development of affinities and spiritual capital between an European writer and his Japanese readers.

With this purpose firmly in mind, I have selected the correspondence of five Japanese readers on the basis of the extent and depth of their correspondence with Hesse (ranging from six to sixteen items of correspondence each), and with the intent of having a reasonable spread of variation in the overall aggregation. I examine correspondence from 'lay readers' (young university students), an 'enthusiast' (company employee) and from 'professional readers' (academic scholars and translators). The 'lay readers' are a female university student of theology in Kyoto and a male university student of German literature in the same city. The 'enthusiast' is a company employee, but also a Hermann Hesse collector and a member of the Hermann Hesse Gesellschaft in Hiroshima. The 'professional readers' are a

⁷⁷⁶ Sasamoto, S. 1948. Letter to HH, DLA.

professor of Germanic studies at Hokkaido University in Sapporo, Hesse translator, and co-founder of the *Hermann Hesse Freundeskreis Japan*, and a professor of German Studies at Kwansai Gakuin University in Osaka, literary critic and Hesse translator. The five correspondents write mainly in German, but also in English and French. As regards a representative selection of readers among the overall Japanese readership, I am well aware that the correspondents who have been selected must be considered university-educated individuals with an above average linguistic competence, who have been trained as ‘consumers’ of literature from Bourdieu’s ‘field of restricted production’ in the educational system and represent a ‘cultivated public’.⁷⁷⁷ However, these are the individuals who have developed the largest sets of correspondence, and, I argue, demonstrate to us most clearly how the deep transcultural affinities arise with Hesse, which lead Hesse to write and document that his Japanese readers understand him best of all.

Theoretically, it is worth noting, and here I follow Stanley Fish, that the five readers may be thought of constituting an ‘interpretive community’ (the Japanese reader), or three distinct interpretive communities (lay reader, enthusiast, professional reader).⁷⁷⁸ Fish defines these communities as:

Interpretive communities are made up of those who share interpretive strategies not reading (...) but for writing texts, for constituting their properties and assigning their intentions. In other words, these strategies exist prior to the act of reading and therefore determine the shape of what is read rather than, as is usually assumed, the other way around.⁷⁷⁹

For Fish, the interpretive community is not stable, however, because interpretive strategies are learned, although the fundamental ability of a human being to interpret is always given, and what we acquire is a ‘way’ of interpreting the text.⁷⁸⁰ The only stability that Fish lends to the construct is that ‘interpretive strategies are always being deployed’.⁷⁸¹ However, as I have argued above, that ‘identity themes’ play an often not insignificant role in guiding the individual’s reading and activation of the text.⁷⁸² Moreover, our focus here is on understanding the transcultural ‘dialogue of cultures’ which takes place in the epistolary exchanges, the fascination with the culture of the other, the development of emotional trust

⁷⁷⁷ Bourdieu, P. 1985. The Market of Symbolic Goods. Trans. Swyer, R. *Poetics*. (14), pp. 13-44.

⁷⁷⁸ Fish, S. 1980. *Is There a Text in This Class?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

I do not use the terms ‘lay’ and ‘professional’ in an evaluative sense but rather to distinguish two potential interpretive communities.

⁷⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁷⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸² Holland, N.N. 1989. *Poems in Persons: An Introduction to the Psychoanalysis of Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 62.

and spiritual capital, and the way in which the individuals can enhance and enrich their communication and understanding of the other.

3.6.2. ‘Lay’ reader: Itsue Hagiwara

The epistolary correspondence of Itsue Hagiwara (IH) archived in the DLA is the most extensive of all the Japanese correspondents: sixteen epistolary devices. Fourteen of these devices are letters, one a postcard and one an undated, illustrated birthday card. The devices span a five year period from June 1951 until October 1956. We can assume that these devices passed Ninon Hesse’s daily screening process before reaching or being read to Hermann Hesse.⁷⁸³

The first letter written to Hesse by IH is dated 20 June, 1951. At the time of writing, the correspondent is a student at Doshisha University in Kyoto in the Theology Department. Doshisha is a Christian university founded by Jo Nijijima, who, according to IH, met Hesse’s grandfather [or rather his parents] in Basel.⁷⁸⁴ All her epistolary correspondence is conducted in German. ‘Ich studiere nämlich auf der Universität Doshisha in Kioto, wo sich über 8000 Studenten u. Studentinnen befinden. Ich bin eine Studentin der theologischen Fakultät.’⁷⁸⁵ The students have been reading *Aus Kinderzeiten* and *Die Verlobung* in German for the past month, with the aid of a textbook made by one of the professors. For IH it is the first time to read Hesse’s work in German, having previously only read Hesse in Japanese translation. She describes her initial response to the stories:

Die Worte, die von Ihrem tiefen Einblick ins Leben herkommen, ziehen mich an and rührt mich oft fast zu Tränen. Wie es Ihnen wohl bekannt ist, finden Ihre Werke bei uns besondere unter jungen Leuten ihre eifrigen Leser. Die schönen romantischen Schilderungen ergreifen uns tief und versetzen uns gleich in eine süddeutsche Welt hinein. Wenn ich die beiden Novellen zu Ende gelesen habe, dann könnte ich davon noch ausführlicher schreiben. Mir ist gelegentlich, als wären Sie ein alt-japanischer Dichter, eine japanischer Dichter von Haiku, einer Art stimmungsvollen japanischen Gedichtes.⁷⁸⁶

IH is ‘storyteller’ and ‘philosopher’. She moves between a subjective and an intersubjective response to the literary text and in the third sentence (*Die schönen romantischen Schilderungen...*) demonstrates how the reading experience and actualization of the text can

⁷⁸³ ‘Sie [Ninon Hesse] sortierte allmorgentlich die Post (...)’. Kleine, G. 1997. *Zwischen Welt und Zaubergarten. Ninon und Hermann Hesse: ein Leben im Dialog*. 1997. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 370.

⁷⁸⁴ The first documented meeting of Hesse with a Japanese person was at the age of six or seven. Jo Nijijima, a missionary who established Doshisha University in Kyoto, visited Hesse’s parents in the Basler Missionshaus. Lee, I.U. 1972. *Ostasiatische Anschauungen im Werk Hermann Hesses*. Phd thesis. Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg, p. 20.

⁷⁸⁵ Hagiwara, I. 1951 (21 June). Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid. The text has been copied word for word without correction of grammar mistakes.

figuratively transport a reader to an imaginary world situated and located in South Germany. Shifting to a personal identity theme, IH wishes to localize Hesse and the text within the Japanese art of *haiku* writing, a seventeen-syllable poem (three lines of five, seven and five syllables), in which the writer evokes images of the natural world.

In the second half of the letter, IH's storytelling moves on to cultural themes. June is the time of the rainy season in Kyoto and IH describes the changes in the landscape: from the farmers planting the rice fields, the pauses in the rainfall which can be used for walks, the murmuring of small streams, and the lively, busy, yet peaceful rural landscape which recalls old, melancholic songs that summon up a gentle sadness. IH closes the letter as follows:

‘Wie schön wäre es, dass Sie einmal hierher kommen und die japanischen Landschaften mit eignen Augen sehen würden!’ Considering the Japanese language does not know the subjunctive mood, IH is confident in her use of German grammar.⁷⁸⁷ Although IH is willing to be Hesse's transcultural ‘eyes’ in Japan as concerns the seasonal changes in nature, the experiences and impressions are mediated and better experienced, she suggests, oneself.

In a second letter to Hesse dated 29 September, 1951, IH thanks Hesse for the gifts she received on 13 August, 1951: “‘Beschreibung einer Landschaft’, Ihre Photographie und ‘Hermann Hesse’ von Otto Engel.”⁷⁸⁸ The epistolary process is strengthened through the exchange of gifts. IH describes the hot summer months of the university holidays in which she has been reading books every day in the cool shade of trees, but in the main IH imparts and mediates transculturally the traditional seasonal festivals in Kyoto.

Wir haben hier in Kyoto viel die Japan eigenen geschmackvollen Feste im August. Das erste Fest ist das Allerseelenfest (Bon-Fest) (am 15. August), wo die Leute die Grabstätten der Verstorbenen besuchen und die Vorbereitungen zum Empfangen der Seelen der Verstorbenen treffen. Am folgenden Abend bietet sich eine wunderbare Schau dar: auf den fünf Bergen um die Stadt Kyoto werden grosse Feuerschriften angezündet. Auf diesen Bergen befinden sich nämlich die Gräben, die wie grosse Schriften geformt sind, und man legt dort Hölzer am vorhergehenden Tag. Am Abend entzündet man gleichzeitig diese aufgetürmten Hölzer. Es ist wunderbar, im Dunkel der Nacht die brennenden Schriften zu sehen! Nach einer Weile erlöscht es und dann steigen in der Stadt schöne Feuerswerke. Die Sommernacht wird dadurch noch mehr glänzender und

⁷⁸⁷ The subjunctive mood in German or English can be approximated by using a conditional in Japanese such as *nara* (nara) in a conditional subordinate clause. For example, ‘If I were you, I’d talk to the teacher first’ can be rendered in Japanese for ‘私だったら先生に相談する’, the conditional being ‘私だったら’ (*Watashi dattara* = If I were you. ...).

⁷⁸⁸ Hagiwara, I., 1951. Letter to HH, DLA.

die Seelen der Verstorbenen schöpfen Trost aus diesem Fest und kehren nach ihrer unterirdischen Heimat.⁷⁸⁹

The *Bon* summer festival, which is held to remember all the souls of departed ancestors, culminates on 16 August with five giant bonfires representing Chinese characters in the *Daimonji* festival. IH closes the letter: ‘Das beigefügte Blatt stellt die Sommerfest bei uns dar. (...) Das Postskript: Mit diesem Blatt, sende ich Ihnen Ansichtspostkarten der ehrwürdigen Garten in Kyoto zu Schiff. Möchte sie Ihnen erreichen!’⁷⁹⁰ Gift giving and receiving in Japan has certain rules and people note the gifts they have received in order to reciprocate with a gift of roughly equal value, although some gifts do not have to be returned as they are ‘expressions of debt or goodwill in a hierarchical relationship’.⁷⁹¹ ‘Thus students take gifts to their teachers as an expression of gratitude for learning imparted. Shopkeepers and tradesmen present small gifts to their customers at certain times of the year as thanks for their continued support.’⁷⁹² Also gifts should not be returned with larger gifts, ‘One of the most disparaging things one can say about a gift is that the giver has “repaid a minnow with a sea bream (a large fish).”’⁷⁹³

IH writes on 5 February, 1952, to thank Hesse for the newspapers and newspaper articles that she has received. IH expresses herself through lyrical poetry in the letter. IH is also a transcultural ‘philosopher’, ‘Neulich habe ich Ihre Verse und Rilkes gelesen, und die Worte begegnet, die zu meinem innerlichen, reinsten Geist etwas gegeben hatte. Und ich spürte, daß ich ein einsames Sein gewesen bin, und strecke meine Hände nach dem Wesen von Land zu Land aus, und ich wandere, zudem, wandele durch die große Bilder umher.’⁷⁹⁴ IH reveals her innermost being, and, in her lonely existence (‘einsames Sein’), she reaches out her hands to a transcultural community of spirit, and she wanders through this transcultural community to reach the point of transformation through the images she experiences. IH is a transcultural mediator and interpreter for Hesse in matters of Japanese culture, but she is also a mediator and participant in matters of the poetic transmission of *Geist* and the establishment of a realm of transcultural spiritual communion, which Hesse playfully and mystically sought in his 1932 novel *Journey to the East* (*Die Morgenlandfahrt*).

IH’s fourth letter is dated 20 May, 1952. After expressing sympathy for Hesse’s eye problems, IH reports to Hesse that his novel *Unterm Rad* has been read on the radio in Japan in the past few weeks. Hesse’s *Gedichte* transport IH to springtime in other countries: ‘Doch

⁷⁸⁹ Hagiwara, I. 1951. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁹¹ Hendry, J. 1987. *Understanding Japanese Society*. London: Routledge, pp. 72-73.

⁷⁹² Ibid., p. 73.

⁷⁹³ Benedict, R. 2005. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. Boston: Mariner Books, p. 142.

⁷⁹⁴ Hagiwara, I. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA.

kann ich mich die fremde Landschaft in den schönsten Färben einbilden, aber ist noch nicht nur meine Idee, so will ich sie wirklich genießen, und sehe in Ihrem “Gedichte” ein solcher Schönheit.⁷⁹⁵ IH then assumes the role of ‘lyrical poet’: ‘Gegen den Wind fuhr ich vorwärts / jenseit des Schneekügels, immer noch. Dort führte ich die Größe von Natur / im ganzen Stille, war ich auch einsam. Starrend jähem Gipfel und Abgrund an, / hörte ich, die Harmonie Gespräche brachte - . Flehte zu Dir: deine Worte zu halten, / und deine klaren Augen in der Seele zu suchen!’⁷⁹⁶ For IH, in this letter, epistolary exchange becomes a site of literary production, particularly of an ‘affective-expressive’ style, creativity and imagination. Notably this letter provides us with proof of how ‘emotional trust’ has developed between Hesse and IH – the European author has crafted his own poetry in *Gedichte* and IH feels the emotional trust provides her with space on the transcultural epistolary platform to open up and explore the possibilities of her sense of self and being in the world. We are witnessing the development of deep transcultural affinities and the generation of spiritual capital.

Letter five, dated 7 July, 1952, contains birthday greetings, interwoven with Japanese folklore: ‘Für Ihren glänzenden Geburtstag sende ich meine herzliche feierliche Worte durch das Funkeln der lieben Sterne.’⁷⁹⁷ The latter part of the sentence, ‘das Funkeln der lieben Sterne’, refers to the Japanese ‘Star Festival’ (*Tanabata*), which celebrates the meeting across the Milky Way of the gods *Orihime* and *Hikoboshi* on the evening of the seventh day of the seventh lunar month. IH adopts the role of storyteller, writing about a mountain tour around Lake Biwa, which is named after the Japanese mandolin whose shape it resembles. Knowing that Hesse also loved to wander in earlier days, IH, subsuming the self in Hesse the ‘guru’, seeks a moment of spiritual insight in her mountain tours: ‘Wenn ich mich nach Ihnen, dem Liebhaber von den Wandrungen, sehne, so wird meine Neigung für Bergen immer tiefer, und ich erwarte auf die eigene Vervollkommnung mitten in Touren.’⁷⁹⁸ The letter is accompanied by a photograph of herself and two small hand-painted, traditional wooden *kokeshi* dolls, characteristic for their lack of arms and legs, hand-crafted in local mountain villages.

IH’s sixth letter is dated 10 December, 1952. IH is responding to Hesse’s postcard of ‘Calw. Nikolaus Kapelle m. Brück’, which she describes as a ‘Feenland’.⁷⁹⁹ IH is ‘storyteller’ and a transcultural mediator of Japanese literature:

Wie es Ihnen wohl bekannt ist, daß wir die einigen großen klassischen Literaturen haben; gibt es die Novelle, “Gengi-Monogatari” Roman, “Manyoshu” – eine

⁷⁹⁵ Hagiwara, I. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁷ Hagiwara, I. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ Hagiwara, I. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA.

Sammlung von Tanka, (die einunddreißigsilbige japanische Gedichte,) der alten Japaner und Japanerinnen, ohne Unterschied zwischen hoch und niedrig, usw., und wir folgen mehr oder weniger dem hier dargestellten Geiste nach, und die manche können ein Gedicht von Tanka unvorsätzlich machen. Aber unsere klassischen Literaturen konnten nicht die Macht von der Weltliteraturen erlangen. Wo ist der Grund der Nachteile der japanischen Literaturen?⁸⁰⁰

IH discovers Hesse's *magnum opus* *Das Glasperlenspiel* (which was translated into Japanese by Kenji Takahashi in 1954): 'Neulich ich habe es gewußt, daß Sie ein Werk "Das Glasperlenspiel" verfassen haben. Und Sie haben schon das erreicht, was man Erlangen will. Ihr Werk, das für uns noch nicht eingeführt hat, möge ich lesen so bald als möglich!'⁸⁰¹ The final passages in the letter, in which IH is 'philosopher' questioning the self, describe a mountain tour in the Japanese Alps: "O, was ist der Mensch, daß du dich seiner gedenkst, und des Menschen Kind, daß du dich seiner annimmst?" Ich rufte und fragte.'⁸⁰² IH's writing here is a stream of consciousness. Her closing salutations are wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

In the following year, on 7 May, 1953, then on 12 December, 1953, on 18 April, 1954, on 16 August, 1954, and in the eleventh letter dated 7 October, 1954, patterns emerge. As regards, Hesse's works, only *Peter Camenzind* and *Reise-Erlebnis* are referenced, as IH uses the epistolary exchange for her own literary production, and, as has been previously argued in this chapter, through writing self-formation can be explored and reinforced. IH also projects a deeply idealized image of Hesse into her writing, one speculates necessarily as she has, as a student, no realistic opportunity to meet the author in person, and thus he remains the 'postal other'. Were IH to write in this way to a Japanese author, she would be robbed of the opportunity to explore the possibilities of self through transcultural communication – the parameters of monocultural self-formation would be narrower.

IH reports in her eighth letter about the publication of some of Hesse's watercolour paintings in the women's magazine *Fujin-no-tomo*. The magazine carried reproductions of the paintings Hesse gave to Kenji Takahashi when he visited Montagnola. Takahashi comments and annotates the paintings in the magazine, from which IH picks out the line: '...daß Sie am Malen die Ruhe der Seele fand in ihren schwierigsten Zeiten.'⁸⁰³ The transcultural techniques of quietening the mind to leave the soul in peace appear most important to her. In her letters, over time, IH's descriptions of spiritual communion with nature, much of which,

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid. IH would be pleased to know that *The Tale of Genji* has now entered the World Literature canon and is treated extensively as such by David Damrosch in his 2003 book *What is World Literature?*

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

⁸⁰² Ibid.

⁸⁰³ Hagiwara, I. 1953. Letter to HH, DLA.

as I have argued, is understandable on a proto-cultural common basis, most of the natural elements in Japan and Europe are shared, whether they be clouds, mountains or forests, gradually yield to stories about itinerant Zen priests, and a lengthy, illustrated (see above) biography of Bodhidharma and the story of his relationship with his disciple Huike (Eka in Japanese), who cut off his left arm in order to show the sincerity of his practice. The inclusion and length of these ‘storytelling’ passages about Zen-Buddhist monks demonstrate IH’s wish to elevate specifically ‘Eastern’ spiritual themes to the transcultural platform. As there are no itinerant Zen monks wandering around the countryside and cities of Germany or Switzerland, IH is employing the age-old human skill of storytelling, but with the purpose of offering new transcultural information in her correspondence.

In the final letter, eleventh letter of this batch in the *Konvolut* (written in October), IH returns to the theme of nature and the changing seasons. IH’s role is that of ‘storyteller’ and ‘philosopher’. Her style mirrors Hesse’s short essay *Zwischen Sommer und Herbst*:

Das Herbsts-Aug sah ich in der Luft, und früh morgens sah seinen herrenlosen Hund vorübergehen vor Kälte schauernd. Und fühlte, daß das Aug mich den ganzen durchbohrt und mich am ganzen auch zittern läßt. Herbst ist mir die innern; ergründe tiefer in mich, so muß Herbst mir sicher begegnen. Doch kann ich kein Wort von ihm aussprechen, den er ist über all meinen Erwartungen. Die viele hatten Seelenbekenntnis (od. es ist eine der Lieben) unter diesem Herbststag, genau auf Herbstdrängen an sich hin. Meine einzige Hoffnung in dieser Jahreszeit ist die Bekenntnis mit Tränen zu erhalten haben, die des von Herbst selbst oder meiner eignen ist. Lieber Herr Hesse, mögen Sie sich diese Gefühl schon erlebten und sehr gut verstanden haben!⁸⁰⁴

The turn-taking between the ‘postal selves’ and reciprocal gift exchange of epistolary practice continues throughout the letters: in the seventh letter, IH thanks Hesse for his postcard and *Drucksache*, in the eighth IH sends photos of Buddha statues, in the tenth letter IH thanks Hesse for poems and *Drucksachen* and closes the letter with plans to send Hesse two *Stehmännchen*:

Und wir haben das Stehmännchen, das nach ihm [Bodhidharma] gebildet ist und mit rot angestrichen. Sobald werden Sie erhalten, wann ich Ihnen die zwei kleinen schenken mag. Das ein kleineres ist ein Aug. Aber verzeihen Sie, daß wir Japaner heißen dies “das ein Aug Stehmännchen”, und glauben, als ob es ein glücklichen

⁸⁰⁴ Hagiwara, I. 1954. (7 October). Letter to HH, DLA.

Symbol seien, und es ist hochgeschätzt im Lande. Sie sind meine ältesten Freunden. So werde ich glücklich, wenn Sie an ihnen Gefallen finden!⁸⁰⁵

Because epistolary practice is based on turn-taking, a reciprocation from the ‘postal other’ is required to maintain the mutual exchange, missing a turn can trigger a strong affective response. Consequently, in the twelfth letter, dated 6 March, 1955, because IH has not received a reply to a letter sent in October of the preceding year, IH is anxious about Hesse’s health and whether he has received the tumbler dolls. IH describes in detail a hike taken in the winter holidays on the Kishu pilgrimage route: ‘Ich wanderte sorglos in Kishu, wo die Mandarinenpflanzungen, die abwechslungsreiche Küstenlinie, und die Kumano Waldzone allgemein bekannt sind.’⁸⁰⁶ The correspondent recalls Hesse’s words in a prior correspondence: ‘Ich besinne mich auf das manchmal, was Sie schon einmal mir so freundlich geschrieben haben, das “wozu dient wohl das, was du heute hier tun willst?”, indem mich auf die Reise gemacht habe.’⁸⁰⁷ IH continues: ‘Ich möchte noch eine Wanderung in dieser Jahreszeit machen, da ich monatlange Ferien habe. Ich weiß, was bei uns Schöpfung heißt, entsteht aus dem ganz und gar persönlichen und wesentlichen Geschehnis des Menschen. Darum ist das Ihrige mir Freund: die Gedichte, die Bilder und alles, was Sie gemacht haben.’⁸⁰⁸ The absence of a reply unlocks emotions in IH, as a missed turn triggers affective asymmetry in the epistolary relationship, in that IH underscores the transcultural spiritual depth she uncovers in Hesse’s poems, pictures and his textual works in general. A missed turn removes the ‘postal other’ and threatens the breakdown of the epistolary relationship.

IH’s 13th letter, almost one year later, is dated 12 January, 1956. Hesse’s reading of *Das Glück* is broadcast on Japanese radio, with subsequent discussion by Hesse translators Kenji Takahashi and Mayumi Haga:

Am. 5. Jan. habe ich Ihre Ansprache über „das Glück“, und dann auch das Gespräch von Ihnen mit zwei Japanern, Herr Kenji Takahashi und Herrn Mayumi Haga im Rundfunk gehört. Indem ich auf Ihre Stimme im Radio lauschte, nahm ich Ihre frischen Seelentöne in stillem, sich sehndem Gefühl auf, die mich wider an das Gefühl im Frühlingfeld erinnerten, wie in Ihrem Roman „Aus Kinderzeiten“, den ich zuerst von Ihnen gelesen habe. Da die heutigen Menschen ein glückliches Leben in einer fernen idealen Welt wünschen und es doch niemals erreichen können, so ergeben sich augenblicklich leichter weltlichem Vergnügen. Für diese

⁸⁰⁵ Hagiwara, I. 1954. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁰⁶ Hagiwara, I. 1955. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid.

Menschen, nein, nicht nur für solche Menschen, sondern für alle Menschen war Ihre Ansprache wertvoll, mit Ihren seligen seelischen Tönen und Kräften. Darum und dafür möchte ich Ihnen meinen herzlichen Dank ausdrücken.⁸⁰⁹

IH is able to detect the commitment and the power of commitment to his words and text in Hesse's voice as he reads. This uncompromising 'total' commitment to the text and the words alone has the authenticity to achieve transcultural communication. IH finds an equivalent in Japanese culture and she associates Hesse's voice and words with the way a Zen master can deliver Zen poetry with absolute spiritual commitment.⁸¹⁰ She is right to propose that Hesse's soul is also an authentic 'Zen soul':

Ich spürte in Ihrer Stimme und in Ihren Worten etwas besonders, als wäre eine „Zen“ Dichtung darin enthalten. Ihre Seele lebt immer ganz natürlich im „Zen“ Seele, umgekehrt wie wir, die mit willentlichen Streben ihre eigene Seele und die Welt erobern müssen. Trotzdem die bei sich in der Nähe diese seelische Überlieferung haben, suchen sie immer „irgendwo, über die Berge“ ihre „ferne Heimat“. Dessen schäme ich mich. Doch die Japaner müssen in Ihrer eigentlichen Religion leben, ohne eine andere zu imitieren. Ich fühle ernstlich als eine Christen, die nur ein Gefäß Gottes ist. Die in der Kultur ferne der Natur lebenden Menschen müssen wieder zu Gott zurückkehren, und die Gemeinde der Liebe, in der wir mit got [sic] gemeinsam leben, uns sehnen, aber nicht nur der Form nach der von der Welt entfliehend. Da ich kürzlich eine Lebensgeschichte von einem Zen-Priester, namens Ryokan las, möchte ich sein Leben im folgenden einfach erzählen.⁸¹¹

Through the transcultural epistolary platform and her deep exchanges with Hesse, which have allowed the necessary emotional trust to develop, IH realizes that a deep spiritual tradition ('diese seelische Überlieferung') has long existed in Japan in Zen-Buddhism. Because in modernity the touchstone and regenerative power of nature has been greatly reduced ('Die in der Kultur ferne der Natur lebenden Menschen'), people must again open themselves, with full commitment, to god ('wieder zu Gott zurückkehren'). IH, as a Christian, confesses to already taking this path ('Ich fühle ernstlich als eine Christen, die nur ein Gefäß Gottes ist.').

The 14th letter is dated 23 October, 1956. We learn that, as part of her artistic, inter-medial, transcultural dialogue with Hesse, she has received a sketch from Hesse. IH opens:

⁸⁰⁹ Hagiwara, I. 1956. (12 January). Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸¹⁰ In Chapter 4, I show how Hesse is also inspired by his 'Japanese' cousin, Wilhelm Gundert, to seek a new form of expression in concise Zen poetry.

⁸¹¹ Ibid. I explain the story of the Zen monk Ryokan and IH's artistic dialogue with Hesse in a previous section of this chapter.

Da der Bibliothekar der Kyoto Univ. die Handschriften deutscher Dichter zur Ansicht für die Studenten ausstellen wollte, zeigte ich meine kostbare schöne Skizze von Ihnen. Es ist mir auch eine große Freude, wenn ich denke, daß so viele Leute, die Ihre Werke sehr gut verstehen und Ihnen so gut sind und so stark mit Ihren Dichtungen leben, diese sehen werden.⁸¹²

In the letter, the last in the *Konvolut*, IH writes about the transition to autumn in nature, and her comfort from Hesse's replies: 'Ich erinnere mich wieder an die fröhliche Zeit, wo ich zuerst Ihre Antwort erhalten habe. Alle Ihre Antworten sind auch jetzt bei mir. Wie vielmal habe ich in Ihrem Worte Trost gefunden! Dafür bin ich stets sehr dankbar.'⁸¹³ IH closes her letter with a folktale:

Es war einmal ein Mann an dem See Miho, wo man den Fuji sehr gut sehen kann. Eines Tages fand er ein Kleid auf einem Zweige im Kieferhain. Das war so schön, wie er noch keines gesehen hatte, er wollte es nach Hause mitnehmen. Da war da plötzlich ein schönes Mädchen. Das bat ihn, ihm die Kleidung zurückzugeben. Mit dem zurückgegebenen Kleid schwang sich die himmlische Erscheinung hoch in die Luft und verschwand im hohem Himmel.⁸¹⁴

It is interesting that IH's final piece of longer letter writing includes a Japanese folktale. Folktales are often told for entertainment purposes, but most significantly they are a feature of all cultures. It is if IH wishes to close with a text that emphasises the transcultural 'common basis' shared by humanity.

The other epistolary devices sent by IH are an undated Christmas and New Year's card, which must have been sent in 1956 because Hesse mentions the card in a letter to 'WK' in April 1957. The card has a picture of a crane and the following text:

'Sehr geehrter lieber Herr Hermann Hesse,

Ich wünsche Ihnen herzlichst, fröhliche Weihnachten und glückliches Neujahr! und für Leib so ganz das Allerbeste, wie ein Kranich tausend Jahre lebt!

Ihre sehr ergebene

Itue [sic] Hagiwara'⁸¹⁵

Hesse comments on the greetings as follows:

⁸¹² Hagiwara, I. 1956. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸¹³ Ibid.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid.

⁸¹⁵ Hagiwara, I. Undated greeting card to HH, DLA.

Der Glückwunsch einer japanischen Studentin lautete so: ‘Ich wünsche Ihnen herzlichst fröhliche Weihnachten (...) Ihre sehr ergebene Itue Hagiwara.’

Das gefiel mir, inmitten der Hunderte von fabrikmäßig hergestellten Gratulationen, nicht übel. Nur die tausend Jahre will ich doch lieber dem Kranich abtreten.⁸¹⁶

Hesse’s remark (‘Das gefiel mir nicht übel’) about IH’s unique, individualized, transcultural Christmas greetings from Japan serves as metaphor for their epistolary exchange as a whole. The correspondence that has been examined has nothing to do with ‘mass-produced’ perfunctory exchanges (‘inmitten der Hunderte von fabrikmäßig hergestellten Gratulationen’) offered by ‘socially neutralized works’, but has demonstrated that through the common basis of understanding among humankind, the mediation of cultural differences, inflected by identity themes and the process of self-formation, a sincere transcultural affinity arises with Hesse, and the spiritual capital which is generated has a significant impact on IH’s self-formation and her life.

3.6.3. ‘Lay’ reader: Sadao Nakajima

Sadao Nakajima⁸¹⁷ (SN) is the second ‘lay reader’ sampled from the DLA *Konvolut*. He writes to Hesse from September 1957 to 1962. SN comes from Usada-machi, a town in rural Nagano Prefecture. At the time of writing, SN is a student in the German Literature Department at Kyoto University. The *Konvolut* contains eleven epistolary devices: seven letters, four postcards, and three poems.

As the two photographs below show, Hesse maintained an entry on SN in his card index of regular correspondents.⁸¹⁸ Although the quality of the photographs is poor, we can read quite clearly the name and address of the correspondent. Below the name, typed we find: ‘ruhr. deutscher Brief 57, sucht Rat, will kommen?’ Also, in Hesse’s handwriting, are brief notes about correspondence received in subsequent years from SN, and at the bottom a note about the gifts sent to SN.⁸¹⁹

⁸¹⁶ GB4: 287. The final item in the DLA *Konvolut* is dated 12 July (no year) and is a birthday card with a newspaper cutting. The cutting has a picture of the flower-decorated vehicles which pass through the streets of Kyoto during the Gion Festival.

⁸¹⁷ SN varies the spelling of his own name from letter to letter and within letters. For instance, in the first letter we find the variants ‘Nakasima’ and ‘Nakajima’. The second variation is the most plausible and most common transcription in English of the Japanese *kanji* (中島). SN writes to Hesse initially as an undergraduate at Kyoto University. He also attended the graduate school at Kyoto University. In 1962, he was awarded a master’s degree. His thesis was entitled: *Hermann Hesse: Der Dichter in seinem Garten*.

⁸¹⁸ Photographs taken by the author in the Hermann-Hesse-Museum der Stadt Calw. © Hermann-Hesse-Museum Stadt Calw.

⁸¹⁹ Hesse maintained a large card index of regular correspondents, which by the time of his death contained the addresses of some 4,100 readers. The cards noted the name, address, any changes of address, as well as printed matter and books sent to the correspondent. Also noted on the cards were some keywords to identify the personality of the correspondent. In SN’s case: ‘ruhr. deutscher Brief 57, sucht Rat, will kommen?’ See Michels,

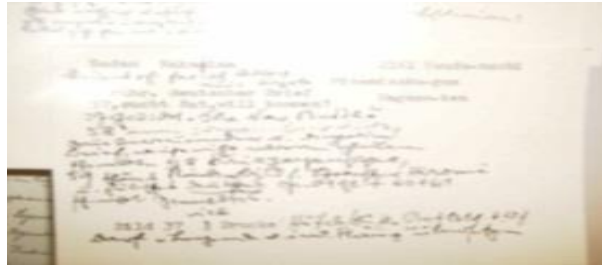


Figure 22: Hermann Hesse's card index entry for SN.

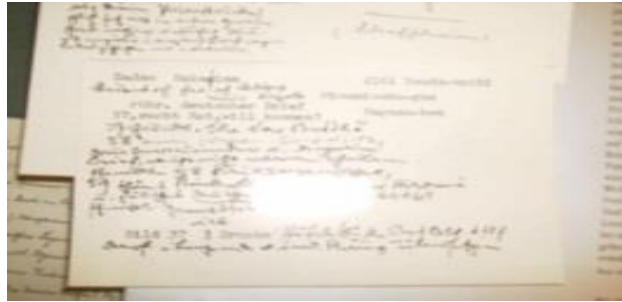


Figure 23: Hermann Hesse's card index entry for SN.⁸²⁰

In the first letter, dated 26 September, 1957, SN introduces himself to Hesse with a narrative about his biography. He writes:

Ich heiße Sadao Nakasima [sic], und auf der Universität zu Kioto bin ich. Vor drei Jahren, als ich ins Studentenleben ausflog, litt ich schwer an Leib and Seele. Ich konnte von diesen Krankheiten genesen, nachdem ich auf zwei Jahren und Tagen gelegen hatte. Vom Kinde auf bin ich schwächlich, trotzdem dass ich einmal ein Schnellläufer war. Aus erwähntem Umstande, kann ich kaum gelernt haben; und ich habe lange im elterlichen Hause, im milden Idyll, in der schönen Natur gewohnt.⁸²¹

As Erving Goffman points out in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, ‘When an individual enters the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him’.⁸²² As the epistolary correspondent is writing to Hesse for the first time, SN offers this information voluntarily as he enters the ‘epistolary room’. SN’s biographical narrative continues and develops into a story about his healing relationship with nature and the active volcano Mount Asama:

V. 1994. ‘Ich habe täglich zwischen hundert und vierhundert Briefseiten zu lesen.’ In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse in Seinen Briefen*. Bad Liebenzell: Verlag Bernhard Gengenbach, pp. 60-81. Here: p. 66.

⁸²⁰ © Herman-Hesse-Museum der Stadt Calw.

⁸²¹ Nakajima, S. 1957. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸²² Goffman, E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Anchor, p. 1.

Ich war einsam und öfters wanderte ich in den Wäldern, lag auf den stillen Waldwiesen, indem ich tief in Einsamkeit versank. Öfters war der Himmel sehr blau, und der schöne Asama-berg mit seinem Rauchwölkchen hob sich klar gegen das Blau des Himmels ab. Sehnsuchts-voll sah ich diesen tätigen Vulkan. Jeden Morgen hörte ich die Nachtigallen, Kuckucke und vielen Vögel singen, und die Singvögelchen brachten mir mein ekelhaftes Sinnen und Trachten aus dem Sinn.⁸²³

SN uses a rich, almost Germanic, linguistic expression in his depiction of nature: ‘stillen Waldwiesen’, ‘der schöne Asama-berg mit seinem Rauchwölkchen hob sich klar gegen das Blau des Himmels ab’ and ‘jeden Morgen hörte ich die Nachtigallen, Kuckucke und vielen Vögel singen’. Although the transcultural prose awakens associations with Romantic descriptions of German landscape and nature, the text is abruptly localized by the presence of an active, smoking, Japanese volcano.

SN has read, in translation, *Peter Camenzind*, *Schön ist die Jugend*, *Knulp*, *Gertrud*, *Siddhartha* and *Das Glasperlenspiel*, as well as other works. He concludes: ‘Ich glaube, dass Ihre Werke sind der Ausdruck Ihrer Liebe, und dass Ihr Herz schlägt der ganzen Menschheit. Nun bin ich Ihnen sehr dankbar.’⁸²⁴ For SN *Siddhartha* has a special significance: ‘Ich liebe „Siddhartha“ herzlich, und sehr sehne mich Deutschland, dem Land der Wagner und Beethoven, der Goethe und Lessing auch. So sehe ich die japanischen, wunderbare Buddhas von Herzen gern, indem ich freudig deutsch, klassische Musik höre.’⁸²⁵ Probably included in this first round of epistolary correspondence is a poem written in English entitled *Of the New Buddha: An Aspiration*, which includes the chilling line ‘Feeling the A-bombed dead in His [the Buddha’s] merciful eyes’.⁸²⁶ SN interweaves the allusion to the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki with the mercifulness of the Buddha in a uniquely coded Japanese representation of a collective consciousness impregnated with ancient spiritual wisdom and the modern horrors of war. In this first letter by SN, besides the sincerity he employs to describe his own challenging biography, he interweaves a transcultural mosaic of references to Hesse’s work, the ‘greats’ of German culture, and combines the Japanese Buddhas with German classical music.

SN’s second letter is dated 23 February, 1958, and contains a small map of Japan upon which he has drawn lines which are labelled Kyoto and Usuda, the place of his university and his hometown in mountainous Nagano Prefecture. SN describes Kyoto to Hesse: ‘In den Strassen wogt die modern Kioto auf und ab. Fremde, welche die Sehenswürdigkeiten

⁸²³ Ibid.

⁸²⁴ Ibid.

⁸²⁵ Ibid.

⁸²⁶ See Figure 19 above.

betrachten, Beamte, Kaufleute, schöne Frauen Kiotos drängen sich auf dem Bürgersteige.⁸²⁷
 SN then describes his hometown in Nagano Prefecture:

Nagano-präfektur ist ein Land von hohen Bergen, freundlichen, grünen Tälern und tiefen, blauen Seen.' (...) Im Winter ist das Land ebenso schön wie im Sommer. Im Sommer kann man die besten Ausflüge machen und die entlegeneren Orten besuchen. (...) Mit der Ankunft der wärmeren Tage werden die Täler täglich grüner. Dann blühen allerlei Blumen und die buntesten Farben sind überall zu sehen. Mit dem größten Recht nennt man Nagano-präfektur 'die Schweiz Japans', so denke ich herzlich.⁸²⁸

SN's portrayal of Nagano Prefecture as Japan's 'Switzerland' blurs the geographical distance between letter writer and letter reader by metaphorically transporting the person Hesse to Japan, conversely SN to Switzerland. The transcultural platform offered by the epistolary exchange allows the physical borders and distance to be dissolved, as the 'postal selves' visit each other. Thus, cultural borders also fall, permitting new forms of transcultural encounters and the potential mixing and blending of cultural elements.

SN's third letter is dated 8 April, 1958. SN writes about sleepless nights in which he struggles to recognize his real self, and in which he loses faith in the 'old gods' and in the new, mechanized mass culture:

Neuerlich kann ich nachts nie schlafen, indem ich tief in Selbstquälerei versinke. Ich muß sterben, wenn ich ein eingebildeter, schädlicher Knabe bin. Aber ich kann nicht mich selbst erkennen. Ich kann nicht die alters-schwachen Götter glauben; und ich denke, daß das Bewußtsein der stolzen, heroischen Hilfe nun sehr gering ist. Aber ich kann nicht die ungeheuere Gewalt der einheitlichen Maschinen-kultur hochachten.⁸²⁹

SN sees no alternative other than to lose himself in his studies in order to overcome his spiritual crisis: 'Ich bin leer und arm, also muß ich auf der Universität fleißig lernen.'⁸³⁰ Furthermore, SN expresses his confusion and disillusionment about the 'good' and the 'right' way to live, which has been claimed by even some of the most evil ideologies of the 20th century. Thus, he seeks Hesse's advice about the God-Devil deity Abraxas from Hesse's novel *Demian*:

⁸²⁷ Nakajima, S. 1958. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸²⁸ Ibid.

⁸²⁹ Nakajima, S. 1958. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸³⁰ Ibid.

Vielmal höre ich die Ratschläge: ‘Tue das Gute und Rechte, auf daß es dir wohl gehe auf Erden!’ Das ist ganz bestimmt wahr; herzlich glaube ich so. Aber ich kann nicht das Gute und Rechte verstehen. ‘Wir selbst sind gut!’, behaupteten die Nazis auch. Nun behaupten die Minister, die Wissenschaftler, und die Kritiker so, daher bin ich sehr verlegen. Aber herzlich begehre ich das Gute und Rechte, jedoch ist meine Meinung sehr ideal. Bitte [sic] entschuldigen Sie meine Unhöflichkeit und lehren Sie mich! Ich wäre sehr verbunden, wenn Sie mir um Abraxas sprechen wollten.⁸³¹

For Hesse, the ‘interpreter or works’⁸³² is an ‘activated reader’, in contrast to the passive recipients of a literary text, ‘sie wollen ein Buch und ein Kunstwerk nicht mehr einfach schlucken, sie wollen es sich erobern und analysierend sich zu eigen machen.’⁸³³ However, beyond the interpretation of an individual written work, we see also that SN is a young Japanese reader who is asking Hesse, an European, for spiritual guidance. The ‘emotional trust’ necessary for this level of deep transcultural communication has been nurtured and developed through the letter exchange.

SN writes again in the same month. The fourth letter is dated 26 April, 1958. As before, SN uses the salutation ‘Sehr geehrter Herr Doktor’.⁸³⁴ The letter is brief, and SN writes a few, poetic sentences about the arrival of spring. The tone is modest and almost apologetic: ‘Schon schrieb ich Herrn Doktor die unangenehmen Briefe, aber bitte erlauben Sie heute, Ihnen diesen Brief zu schicken.’⁸³⁵

SN’s fifth epistolary device is a postcard dated 9 December, 1958, of a Buddha statue, with a printed caption: ‘Miroku. 7th century. Wood. Chuguji Nunnery, Nara.’⁸³⁶ The card contains a short poem:

‘Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär’
Und auch zwei Flügel hätt’,
Flög’ ich zu Ihnen;
Weil’s aber nit kann sein,

⁸³¹ Ibid.

⁸³² One of Gabriele Lück’s reader roles.

⁸³³ ‘Leser und Dichtung’. *SW12*: 660-661. Hesse’s short essay was written in 1956 as a ‘foreword’ to a letter to a ‘Lieber Herr. B.’ in which Hesse points out the perils of over analysing Kafka’s writing. In ‘Leser und Dichtung’, Hesse contrasts, on the one hand, the ‘zunehmende Intellektualisierung des Verhältnisses zwischen Leser und Dichtung’, with, more positively, the reader who seeks to ‘seize’ the book and through analysis make it his or her own (sich erobern und analysierend sich zu eigen machen). Ibid., p. 661.

⁸³⁴ Nakajima, S. 1958. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸³⁵ Ibid.

⁸³⁶ Nakajima, S. 1958. Postcard to HH, DLA.

Weil's aber nit kann sein,
Bleib' ich all hier.⁸³⁷

SN's sixth letter is dated 3 February, 1959. Frequently, SN writes in the role of young 'philosopher' in an identity and spiritual crisis:

In meinem schlechtem Deutsch will ich Ihnen nicht lästig sein, aber heute, an meinem Geburtstag, von Ehrfurcht erfüllt, will ich Ihnen mitteilen, daß ich, nun in meinem dunklen und weglosen Leben, auf die Hochachtung und Sehnsucht gegen Sie allein gestützt bin, bitte, entschuldigen Sie mein eigensinnige Meinung! Doch heute kann ich nachts nie schlafen, ohne Ihre Bücher zu lesen.⁸³⁸

SN describes the personal impact that Hesse and his works have for him ('nachts nie schlafen, ohne Ihre Bücher zu lesen'). SN then requests permission for the cultural transfer activity of translating one of Hesse's texts from German:

Nun späte in der Nacht, im fremden, kalten Stüblein, schreibe ich Ihnen diesen Brief. Ich bin unfähig, ein Künstler zu sein, und ich bin noch jung, nach solcher Sache zu begehren, aber wenn Sie mir erlauben, Ihr wertres Buch 'Legende vom indischen König' einmal zu übersetzen und von Ihnen später einmal in einer Zeitschrift zu veröffentlichen, ich würde darüber sehr glücklich und Ihnen, geehrter Herr Doktor, sehr dankbar sein.⁸³⁹

The title *Legende vom indischen König* has been underlined using a red crayon, perhaps by Ninon Hesse, as requiring an answer.⁸⁴⁰ SN underlines the level of proximity and emotional trust he feels toward Hesse by enclosing a photograph of his younger sister:

Heute nehme ich mir die Freiheit, ein Lichtbild meiner jungen Schwester beizulegen. Sie, die einzige Schwester, die ich so viel liebe und auf die ich so viel

⁸³⁷ This a copy, with slight alterations, of the first verse of a three stanza poem by Franz Graf von Pocci (1807-76), a founding director of the Munich Marionette Theatre:

'Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär,
Und auch zwei Flüglein hätt,
Flög ich zu dir
Weils aber nicht kann sein
Weils aber nicht kann sein,
Bleib ich allhier.'

Hesse comments on the poem in a letter to Edmund Natter at the end of 1958, 'Ich mußte lachen, ein japanischer Student schrieb mir "Lieber HH. Wenn ich ein Vöglein wär [...] Vermutlich hat er den Vers in einem Lesebuch für Deutschlernde gefunden [...]'. *GB4*: 325.

⁸³⁸ Nakajima, S.1959. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸³⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁰ A letter archived in the SLA Bern from SN to HH dated 23 June, 1959, confirms that the text was translated, but it remains unclear whether or not it was published.

hoffe, hochact [sic] Herr Doktor herzlichst. Es würde mich sehr freuen, wenn Sie von jetzt an sie memorieren wollten.⁸⁴¹

The seventh letter was received in Montagnola on 3 November, 1961. The archived letter appears to be a typed copy of the original. It contains the salutation: 'Für unsern Dichter in seinem Garten'.⁸⁴² SN draws parallels in his writing between Goethe and Hesse in such a way that his writing alludes to the transcendent Magic Theatre in Hesse's novel *Der Steppenwolf* which is populated by the exemplary Immortals (Goethe and Mozart):

Mögen Sie schon vielleicht wie jener alte, geheimnisvolle Goethe aus Ihrer kostbaren Persönlichkeit, aus ihrem 'Eigentum', das Sie nach Ihrem lebenslang fortgedauerten Bestreben um Sie selbst zu sein festgestellt haben, ins Anonyme hinüber zu wachsen Heimlich und freudig versuchen?

Herzlichst sehne ich mich nach dieser Entpersönlichung des alten, grossen Dichters. Zugleich aber fühle ich mich ganz einsam, denkend scheu als ein Novize über Ihr Entwerden hin und her, ob gleich es vermuten kann, dass Sie nun zu allerletzt Ihres Sinns Vollendung, nämlich aus dem Ich sich der göttlichen Einheit zu nähern, wirklich suchen mögen.⁸⁴³

SN yearns for the transcendence of the troubled self, exemplified by, in SN's opinion, Goethe and Hesse, who are the 'alten, grossen Dichter' (the Immortals). In other words, SN believes that Hesse and Goethe provide transcultural models for his own self-development, his own individuation process, and ultimately for his own hopes of joining the transcendent Immortals. Moreover, SN's figurative role as a 'novice' in the letter elicits transcultural associations with Knecht's relationship with the Magister Musicae of Montepoort in Hesse's *Das Glasperlenspiel*. As Mileck writes:

The illustrious Magister Musicae of Montepoort, blue-eyed, white-haired, and only moderately tall, a man much given to meditation, Knecht's benign sponsor, confidant, and patron, is the personage, the counsellor to the young, the student of musicology, and the meditative sexagenarian Hesse had become in Montagnola. (...) In memory, a master returned to his youth and in imagination, he took the novice he had once been into gentle tow.⁸⁴⁴

⁸⁴¹ Ibid.

⁸⁴² Nakajima, S. 1961. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁴³ Ibid.

⁸⁴⁴ Mileck, J. 1980. *Hermann Hesse: Life and Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 266.

Hesse is, of course, writing about two sides of his own self in the relationship between Knecht and the Magister Musicae. The perspective of the transcultural novice is developed further by SN.

The DLA *Konvolut* contains four other postcards written by SN to Hesse and three undated poems. The poem of most interest is entitled *Novizengeständnis*, which describes a master-novice relationship in a Zen monastery. The poem is similar to Hesse's 1961 *Zen poem Junger Novize im Zen-Kloster*.⁸⁴⁵ Here SN makes a novice's confession that he has taken a small step on the path to individuation and self-discovery:

Novizengeständnis

Nun endlich ein wenig
Habe ich dich gefunden,
Dich Sadao Nakajima!
Nun endlich ein wenig
Ist es mir klar geworden,
Was dein echtes Shicksal ist.

Zwar ist da lang bisher
Derselbe Name natürlich,
Aber doch, zu meiner Schande,
Niemals war da
Ein solcher Mensch.

Und heute, zwar bist du
Noch nicht du selbst,
Aber doch, zu meiner Freude,
Stehst du da
Ein wenig wirklich.

Nun endlich ist es deutlich
Wo dein Heimatsort ist.
Komm nach Hause
Du armer Wanderer!
Kehr nach Hause
Eilig zurück!⁸⁴⁶

⁸⁴⁵ *SW10*: 393-394.

⁸⁴⁶ Nakajima, S. Undated. *Novizengeständnis*. Poem. DLA.

In sum, the transcultural epistolary exchange between SN and Hesse is characterised by the emotional trust felt by SN toward Hesse and the generation of spiritual capital which unfolds significantly on SN's self-development at this young stage of his life. This 'safe' transcultural platform facilitated by emotional trust and the generation of spiritual capital leads ultimately to the framing of the epistolary exchange in the parameters of a transcultural novice-master relationship. SN's poem *Novizengeständnis* demonstrates that he senses he is following the right path towards his goal of joining the 'European Immortals'.

3.6.4. Hesse 'enthusiast': Goro Shitanda

Goro Shitanda (GS) corresponds with Hesse from January 1951 until January 1959. The DLA *Konvolut* contains eight letters. He is a company employee, but also a 'student' of literature, who lives in Hiroshima at the time of the epistolary exchange. He corresponds mostly in English: 'I am a Japanese and I can't write good foreign languages. But I hope you will forgive me the liberty.'⁸⁴⁷

The first letter is dated 22 January, 1951. Like many other Japanese readers, GS is surprised by the Eastern religion and philosophy in Hesse's works. However, this provides the commonalities which allow deeper affinities to be nurtured:

Whenever I read your novels and poems, I used to be shocked by the Buddhistic [sic] ideology which stream in them.' (...) 'And I was surprised by the fact that the very ideology has ripened in Europe, where I had been believing that only Christianity [sic] must exist there. I am very glad to find out you – one of the greatest writer in the world – for an ideological brother on the almost opposite place of the earth.'⁸⁴⁸

GS feels personally connected to Hesse through the 'common basis' of their religious interests. GS experiences a 'transcultural shock' to find a European writer whose work is steeped to such a degree in Eastern religion and philosophy. Hesse responds in due course to GS in the same month with biographical information:

Mein Vater war einst Missionar in Indien, und mein Großvater (Vater der Mutter) war ein bedeutender Sanskritist und Indologe. Da ist es nicht mehr rätselhaft, daß ich indische Weisheit liebe. Später lernte ich auch die großen Chinesen kennen, sie

⁸⁴⁷ Shitanda, G. 1951. Letter to HH, DLA. (Mistakes are uncorrected unless they would impact understanding.) Born in 1926, Goro Shitanda wrote letters to Hesse between 1951 and 1962. He received some 60 letters from Hesse. He wrote three books, one of which *Kaikou* ("邂逅), encounter or chance meeting, was aired by the national broadcaster NHK as a radio play. He collected some 400 artefacts pertaining to Hesse, including letters, watercolour paintings. To display these artefacts he opened the Hermann Hesse Literature Museum. The museum is now closed. He is believed to have died before 2002.

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid.

sind ebenso wie die Bhagavad Gita und Buddhas Reden auch ins Deutsche übersetzt.⁸⁴⁹

On the basis of existing transcultural commonalities, GS feels encouraged to ask Hesse for advice about his future life path:

By the way, I am young and I am going to study the literature from now on. But I suffer from the important question – on these dangerous circumstances, should I shut myself in the house for a writer keeps one’s purity? Or, should I dedicate my life to the society? I ask you this answer, please.⁸⁵⁰

Hesse responds to GS:

Einen Rat kann ich Ihnen nicht geben, Sie müssen den Guru in sich selbst suchen. Sie sollten sich kein Programm machen, denn die besten Absichten können irreführen. Es kommt einzig darauf an, daß Sie die in Ihnen liegenden Gaben und Fähigkeiten so stark und rein möglich entwickeln, dann findet sich von selbst der Ort und das Amt, wo Sie sie in den Dienst des Lebens stellen können.⁸⁵¹

The second letter in the archive is dated 28 July, 1951. GS thanks Hesse for the gifts: ‘The other day, I got some pamphlets and a newspaper from you. And I have just received your beautiful graceful present right now. I am very glad to get the book and an elegant picture postcard – signed by yourself – author’s own.’⁸⁵² Then, GS demonstrates how the epistolary relationship develops once a common basis for transcultural communication has been established and how important emotional trust and spiritual capital are for developing deeper affinities. GS writes: ‘You have reformed my spirit fundamentally by showing that the great man can pour love upon even a common fellow like me.’⁸⁵³ Finally, GS emphasizes the importance of turn-taking and gift reciprocation both for developing and strengthening the transcultural relationship, as well as for simple maintenance of the postal-self and the postal-other. ‘A week ago, I drew two pictures for you, one your portrait, the other Japanese style still life. Knowing that you are fond of pictures, I have sent them by post. (...) By the way, I will send you a hanging picture some day.’⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁴⁹ *GB4*: 93

⁸⁵⁰ Shitanda, G. 1951. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁵¹ *GB4*: 93

⁸⁵² Shitanda, G. 1951. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

The third letter is dated 15 November, 1951. The letter carries the letterhead: ‘Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission APO 182 c/o PM San Francisco, California’.⁸⁵⁵ GS writes: ‘The other day, I received the presents from you. I thank you very much. I am very glad to see the picture of your Geburtsstadt – Calw. Somehow or other I was filled with deep emotion. I guess there are beautiful pious peaces [sic] and sweet humanistic lives there. It was naturally that a great poet appeared in such a good old place. Of course, very naturally it was!’⁸⁵⁶ Intentionally or not, the contrast between Hiroshima and Calw, the existential catastrophe of the atomic bombing, ‘the first atomic field’ as GS writes in his first letter, and the peaceful, ‘humanistic’ town in the Black Forest, is foregrounded, at once distancing the epistolary partners geographically, but, at the same time, collapsing the distance through transcultural dialogue on the epistolary platform where the postal-selves are able to meet.

The platform also allows GS to communicate transculturally with Hesse in an inter-medial form. GS encloses a copy of a picture by the Japanese artist Tetsuo entitled *The Lake*. GS comments: ‘This old picture “The Lake” was painted by a Japanese superior artist – Tetsuo (1786 – 1870) at his 80 age, 1866.’⁸⁵⁷ The artist Tetsuo has written a poem to accompany the picture:

May mystery soon be with you here,
And deep pure and cool you get near.⁸⁵⁸

GS feels that a person such as Hesse who is familiar with Eastern religion and philosophy will have the disposition to understand this: ‘Whoever like [sic] Orient will be able to understand that this picture is surely a neat, lovable and “philosophical” masterpiece.’⁸⁵⁹

GS feels a sense of responsibility as a transcultural mediator, as if he were compelled to explain and communicate the particular way of life and the cultural works and practices of Japan. He is encouraged by the familiarity and understanding of the Orient he believes Hesse possesses (*habitus*) and has demonstrated in his books and poems, particularly *Siddhartha*, Hesse’s ‘Indian tale.’ Thus, GS feels that the transcultural dialogue is being conducted by equals who deeply understand each other’s cultures and who have a deep aesthetic

⁸⁵⁵ Shitanda, G. 1951. Letter to HH, DLA. The Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC) was established in 1946 by presidential directive by President Truman to study the external effects of primary radiation among atomic-bomb survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The purpose of the commission was to carry out scientific research rather than to provide medical care. It was dissolved in 1975, when it was replaced by the successor Radiation Effects Research Foundation (RERF). Shoji Sawada provides a critical overview of the work of these two organizations. Sawada, S. 2007. Cover-up of the effects of internal exposure by residual radiation from the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*. 23(1), pp. 58-74.

⁸⁵⁶ Shitanda, G. 1951 (15 November). Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid.

disposition that permit appreciation of the cultural artefacts from the different cultures. A case in point is Hesse's reaction to the packaged gifts he receives from GS, which he feels is significant enough to document in a *Rundbrief*, *Allerlei Post* in January 1952, which was published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* on 2 February, 1955.⁸⁶⁰

Das kantig-lange Paket weckte meine Neugierde (...) Es kamen zähe, faserige Papierhüllen, dann japanische Zeitungen zum Vorschein (...) und schließlich (...) ein als Kakemono montiertes Bild (...) ein See mit ornamenthaft gezeichneten launischen Uferlinien, ein Felsberg vorn, ferne Randberge im Hintergrund, dazu ein Haus, Bäume und etwas Bambus.⁸⁶¹

Upon reading that the package had been sent from Hiroshima, Hesse remembers that it comes from GS for 'einige kleine Wünsche [die ich] hatte erfüllen können.'⁸⁶² Hesse notes the short poem by the artist Tetsuo ('May mystery...'), and the *kakemono* (hung scroll painting) is hung in Hesse's studio in the Casa Rossa in Montagnola, 'Es hängt jetzt, nachdem es zuerst einen Tag im Zimmer meiner Frau zu Gaste war, in meinem Studio.'⁸⁶³

The transcultural dialogue between Hesse and GS and the mutual exchange of gifts continues apace in the next two years. GS's fourth letter is dated 20 June, 1952. The letter opens with a remarkable degree of personal empathy and personal concern as GS reports that he has sent Hesse some Chinese medicine to help with his rheumatism.⁸⁶⁴ The depth of the significance of the transcultural exchange with Hesse is demonstrated by GS's remarks that Hesse's gift of six watercolour landscapes will become transcultural family heirlooms to be passed on from generation to generation.

Thank you for the 6 wonderful landscapes with your beautiful Gedichtes [sic]. I am much obliged. They are so beautiful that I will always treasure them and will pass them down to my later generation as heirlooms. The other day I received a Swiss newspaper in which I saw several lines about myself. I was pleased with the write up.⁸⁶⁵

Letter five is dated 11 November, 1952, and opens with news of a remarkable gift that GS has sent to Hesse:

⁸⁶⁰ *SW12*: 573-579.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 576.

⁸⁶² *Ibid.*

⁸⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶⁴ Shitanda, G. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.* Which Swiss newspaper is unknown as, according to Volker Michels, the *Rundbrief*, *Allerlei Post*, was not printed in the *NZZ* until 1955.

I am sending you a lovely kakemono that has been in my family for years. It has been my favorite constant companion and I hope that you will like it.⁸⁶⁶

To underline the depth of sincere reciprocity in the transcultural exchange between Hesse and GS, GS is for his part sending a *kakemono* (hung scroll painting), which has been ‘treasured’ in the family for years. GS finds it important to convey personal news to Hesse:

By the way, I was married on the 11th of October and we are both very happy. 1952 was a very good year and I believe that 1953 will be better.⁸⁶⁷

Marriage is, of course, a life-shaping event in most human societies and thus provides a common basis for transcultural understanding. It also demonstrates that at this stage in the development of the transcultural dialogue and relationship, GS finds it necessary to keep Hesse ‘up-to-date’ with changes in his life course because, I suggest, Hesse has become integrated in his life and in GS’s process of self-formation.

The transcultural exchange of gifts is maintained meticulously. The sixth letter, written in French, is dated 22 February, 1953. GS expresses appreciation for the presents he has received from Hesse: ‘Une belle aquarelle, un petit journal cher, une gentille photographie (...)’.⁸⁶⁸ The seventh letter is dated 14 January, 1954, and is dotted with an increasing number of German words and phrases

I was very glad when I received a paket with an envelope which contained the pamphlet under the title of ‘Engadiner Erlebnisse’ and a fine Fotobild. And I was excited when I saw a book, ‘Hermann Hesse, von Hugo Ball’ in the wrapping papers.⁸⁶⁹

GS ponders how he can reciprocate:

I could not sleep all the night through and I thought long hours and finally decided to write an essay about you in several years, hoping it will be a good Gegengeschenk to you. But it should be entitled ‘Hermann Hesse and I’ or ‘Hermann Hesse whose letters have affected my life’. How do you think about it?⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁶ Shitanda, G. 1952. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁸ Shitanda, G. 1953. Letter to HH, DLA. It bears the same ABCC letterhead as letter three.

⁸⁶⁹ Shitanda, G. 1954. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid.

The question at the end of passage above is underlined in red crayon, perhaps by Ninon Hesse, perhaps by Hesse himself, probably because it requires a response. In the following passage, the final pragmatic question is also underlined, indicating that it requires a response.

By the way, I read your ‘sämtliche Werke’ in Japanese, but to my regret, I have never read them in German. I want to read German editions but any book store in Hiroshima has not got them, so I am going to buy them from the store in Schweiz. Could you please write me the address of the publisher who has published your ‘sämtliche Werke’ in Schweiz?’⁸⁷¹

On the platform of transcultural transfer, the desire to read the *Sämtliche Werke* in German signals GS’s will and intention to immerse himself in a foreign language, in a foreign cultural context, and in a particular way of thinking, intellect and spirit (*Geist*) – the very ‘communion of spirit’ and generation of ‘spiritual capital’ I discussed in the opening sections of this chapter. Moreover, the planned title of GS’s essay (‘Hermann Hesse whose letters have affected my life’) demonstrates clearly my thesis that once ‘emotional trust’ has developed to a sufficient degree in the transcultural relationship the effects of the deeply shared affinities can be life changing.

The eighth, final letter from GS is dated 25 January, 1959; some five years after the preceding, seventh letter.⁸⁷² GS opens by thanking Hesse for an airmail letter which he has received in Hiroshima just four days after it was posted in Lugano. GS continues: ‘I have been satisfied to know that you were glad to get “das Gibsbildnis” [sic] which seems to be like your portrait.’⁸⁷³ GS regrets that he was unable to pursue his dream as a young man: ‘When I was 15-17 years old, I wanted to be a painter or a sculptor, but my father disagreed with my mind, to my regret, and I have given up for a long time’.⁸⁷⁴ GS expresses sympathy about Hesse’s poor reception in his own linguistic and cultural community in Germany:

You may say that young writers and criticasters [sic] in Germany criticize your work sarcastically? Never mind, forever Dr. H. Hesse! Your name and your work will live eternally, for your poems and your romans are already perfect classics, and your humanism will give also future people the warm and lovable light.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷¹ Ibid.

⁸⁷² Shitanda, G. 1959. Letter to HH, DLA. A further 10 epistolary devices (nine letters, one greeting card – sent between 1953 and 1962) from GS to Hesse are archived in the Schweizerisches Literaturarchiv Bern. These are not an object of analysis here.

⁸⁷³ Shitanda, G. 1959. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid.

GS then likens Hesse to Beethoven, uncannily similarly to the Immortals of humanism in Hesse's *Der Steppenwolf*, Goethe and Mozart: 'In the evening of Beethoven's life, young men in Germany said: "Beethoven's age is over, and Rossini's age has come!"' But in these days only Beethoven is still alive in our heart[sic].⁸⁷⁶ In GS's eyes, Hesse deeply impacts his own life and must be defended against the critics in the literary field who are interposed between the author and the reading public that activates the work.⁸⁷⁷ He 'canonizes' and legitimises Hesse as one of the Immortals on the basis of his own experience and reception of Hesse's work and on the basis of the affinities and the spiritual capital that are generated in transcultural dialogue with Hesse.

3.6.5. 'Professional' reader: Ayao Ide

I categorized the three previous readers examined as nonspecialized 'lay readers' or as an 'enthusiast'. They were undergraduate students and a company employee. In contrast, the last two readers examined in this chapter are professorial academics in German Studies and Hesse translators and may be considered agents in the hierarchized literary field with relational powers of legitimisation and consecration, particularly in their educational institutions where they pursue an intellectual specialization. The first, Ayao Ide (AI), taught at Hokkaido University in Sapporo, and was a significant translator of Hesse's works.⁸⁷⁸ The DLA Japan *Konvolut* contains six epistolary devices which were sent to Hesse from May 1951 until December 1959. The epistolarium consists of five letters and one undated photograph. The *Konvolut* also contains one letter written by Hesse to AI in 1955. AI corresponds with Hesse in German.

The first letter in the *Konvolut* (but obviously the second letter AI has sent to Hesse) is dated 19 May, 1951. In this brief letter, AI thanks Hesse for the pictures and printed matter he has received. AI is astonished that he has received a reply from Hesse: 'Offen gestanden, hatte ich kaum gewagt, eine Antwort von Ihnen zu erwarten. Wahrscheinlich werden Sie so viele Briefe von der Welt erhalten und keine Zeit haben, jeden zu beantworten, so glaubte ich.'⁸⁷⁹ AI is looking for a suitable Japanese gift to send to Hesse: 'Ich möchte Ihnen gern irgendetwas Japanisches schicken, und bin auf der Suche nach etwas Geeignetem.'⁸⁸⁰ Spring comes late to Japan's northernmost island of Hokkaido: 'Hier in Sapporo blühen jetzt mancherlei Blüten und Blumen gleichzeitig, Kirschblüten, Pfirsichblüten, Pflaumenblüten und der Magnolie ähnliche Kobushiblüten, Löwenzähne, Veilchen und mancherlei

⁸⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷⁷ Bourdieu, P. 1985. The Market of Symbolic Goods. Trans. Swyer, R. *Poetics*. (14), pp. 13-44. Here: p. 38.

⁸⁷⁸ AI's translations include *Das Glasperlenspiel* (1955. *Garasudama yugi*. Tokyo: Kodakawa Shoden), *Briefe* (1957 *Asue no tegami*. Tokyo: Mikasa-Shobo), *Die Marmorsäge*, *Der Lateinschüler*, *Aus Kinderzeiten* (1961 *Wakai Hi*. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten), and *Hermann Hesse, Thomas Mann: Briefwechsel* (1968 with Kenji Aoyagi. Tokyo: Chikumashobo Kaigai Hyoronsha).

⁸⁷⁹ Ide, A. 1951. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid.

sogenannte Alpenpflanzen wie sie im japanischen Hauptland genannt werden.⁸⁸¹ I argue that it is significant that AI describes seasonal fauna in nature at this inception stage of transcultural correspondence as the plants he describes are known to Hesse and the transcultural communication needs a common basis in order to develop further.

The second letter in the DLA *Konvolut* is dated 26 January, 1955. AI thanks Hesse for the gifts: ‘Sehr spät geworden, sende ich Ihnen meinen herzlichen Gruß vom Neujahr und meinen tiefen Dank für Ihr schönes Aquarell aus dem Buch “Hesse/Rolland Briefe”. Wie tief dieses schöne Geschenk mich freute, werden Sie sich vielleicht vorstellen können.’⁸⁸² AI is also re-reading Hesse’s early prose work for an essay⁸⁸³ and translating Hesse’s earliest poetry. ‘Auch lese ich Ihre Werke von Gaienhofener Zeit wieder und will meine Abhandlung darüber schreiben, einerseits übersetze Ihrer Jugendzeit Gedichte ins Japanische. Dadurch kann ich mir Ihre Gedichte ganz zu eigen machen, glaube ich.’⁸⁸⁴ As a translator, AI is also a transcultural mediator in the literary field in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community. As I discuss in Chapter 1, a translator is not involved in a simple transposition from the source language to the target language, but also requires a deep intercultural understanding of both cultures in order to successfully localize the translation in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community.

AI’s third letter is dated 25 June, 1957. AI congratulates Hesse on his 80th birthday. He outlines his deep affinities with Hesse, how Hesse’s approach to life and writing has become integrated into his very core being (a ‘communion of spirit’ and ‘spiritual capital’), and how his understanding of Hesse’s very deepest beliefs and spirituality can be best transposed into Japanese for the Japanese readers and AI’s own self-development.

Ich bin kein sogenannt tüchtiger Mensch, aber durch Ihre Seele unterstützt, führe ich immer mit Treue und Ehrfurcht mein Leben, und es wird die mir bestimmte, also für mich wichtigste Arbeit sein, daß ich Ihre Seele in der mir möglichst reinsten Gestalt den Japanern nahe bringen, und durch diese Bestrebung glaube ich selbst wachsen und mir, diesem kleinen Sein, einen Sinn geben zu können.⁸⁸⁵

AI writes here about the ‘gestalt’ of the transfer into Japanese, which is to be the ‘reinste’ gestalt, the ‘purest’ gestalt of the transfer of the ‘soul’. Through this work AI believes he is

⁸⁸¹ Ibid. Sapporo is capital city of Hokkaido Prefecture.

⁸⁸² Ide, A. 1955. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁸³ Ide, A. 1957. Hesses Gaienhofener Zeit. *Doitsu Bungaku*. 18, pp. 111-120. In this article Ide analyses how Hesse developed as person and writer in the years between 1904 and 1912. Ide concludes that the works written in the period uncover ‘das Menschenschicksal ausserhalb der Grenzen des bürgerlichen Lebens’ which provide us with concrete hints ‘auf welches Gebiet der Seelenforschung der Dichter sich später begeben wird’. Here: p. 119.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁵ Ide, A. 1957. Letter to HH, DLA.

able to grow spiritually and intellectually (*selbst wachsen*) and to give his being meaning (*diesem kleinen Sein...einen Sinn geben*). AI is guided here by his ‘identity theme’, that is, of achieving self-growth through his literary scholarship and translation activity. This growth can take place within the translation act and on the transcultural platform through an unfolding, mutual exchange of knowledge about the translator and the author.

The fourth letter from AI to Hesse was written on 14 January, 1958. It includes an exchange of New Year’s greetings, and AI reports about the upcoming publication of his translation of Hesse’s *Briefe* (1951) at the end of January 1958. He writes in a second footnote to the letter about listening to Hesse’s reading of ‘den Dichter’ on a long-playing record.⁸⁸⁶

Die Schallplatte, worin Sie, verehrter Hesse, ‘den Dichter’ vorlesen, habe ich gekauft und zweimal im Hause meines Freundes hören können, weil ich das Plattenspieler für die Langspielplatte leider noch nicht habe. Es ist mir sehr glücklich, daß ich immer Ihre Gestalt sehen und Ihre Stimme hören und durch Ihre Bücher mit Ihnen sprechen kann.⁸⁸⁷

AI constructs an inter-medial ‘gestalt’ of Hesse. It comprises image, voice and textual media. This virtual gestalt replaces the ‘absent other’. The absent other is a defining feature of epistolary exchange. As stated above, in *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud*, Derrida proposes a ‘postal self’ which is constructed in reciprocation with the ‘postal other’. The postal self and the postal other are locked into a dialectic relationship for one cannot exist without the other and they can only be manifested through interlocution with the other.⁸⁸⁸ The postal self in epistolary discourse is also subject to the temporal disjuncture between the present of the writer and the present of the addressee, caused by the geographical distance between sender and recipient. Because of this temporal disjunction, which interrupts the manifestation of the postal self, we can speculate that AI is motivated to create a ‘virtual gestalt’ of the postal other in an inter-medial form using Hesse’s voice on the long-playing record, through image and through Hesse’s texts.

The fifth epistolary device, dated 22 December, 1959, is a Christmas and New Year’s card, which is filled with news from the waning year and plans for the coming year.⁸⁸⁹

Also von Juni bis zu August möchte ich in der Schweiz umherreisen. Es würde mich sehr glücklich machen, wenn ich auf dieser Reise Sie besuchen dürfte. Ich

⁸⁸⁶ Most likely: Hesse, H. 1955. *Der Dichter. Ein Märchen*. Zürich: Europäischer Platten-Club.

⁸⁸⁷ Ide, A. 1958. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁸⁸⁸ Derrida, J. 1987. *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*. Trans. Bass, A. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

⁸⁸⁹ Ide, A. 1959. Letter to HH, DLA. The DLA also archives a 6th epistolary device which is an undated black and white photo which was most likely enclosed in one of the letters.

weiß natürlich, wie es Sie stören wird. Dann möchte ich wenigstens Ihre Wohnung und Ihren Garten sehen, wenn es erlaubt werden würde. Im November machte ich mir Zeit in geschäftlichem Verfahren für europäische Reise und reiste nach Nara und Kyoto und nahm etwa hundert farbige Lichtbilder auf. Ihnen möchte ich diese zeigen. Wenn es mir erlaubt würde, wäre ich sehr glücklich.⁸⁹⁰

For AI, the journey to Europe means transcending the ‘postal self’, which is created through the physical absence of the addressee. By travelling to Europe, AI can bridge the topographical space between the correspondence partners. This space has both separated yet connected the sender and recipient as interlocutors. The temporal disjuncture between the correspondents, that is, the different temporal ‘presents’ in which the correspondents write the letters, is also overcome and transcended in a meeting of persons.

3.6.6. ‘Professional’ reader: Mayumi Haga

Mayumi Haga (1903-1991/MH) was a professor of German Studies, translator⁸⁹¹ and literary critic and thus inhabited various relational intellectual positions in the hierarchical structure of the literary field in the receiving Japanese linguistic and cultural community. He was also a member of the *Shiki* (four seasons) group of poets, and published in the *Nihon rōmanha* (1935-1938), the official journal of The Japan Romantic School.⁸⁹² The letters archived in DLA *Konvolut* cover the short period of three years from 1959 until shortly before Hesse’s death in 1962. The six letters are lengthy (three to four pages respectively), and written in German. MH often nurtures a style of tragic sensibility in his letters which draws upon his formative background in the Japanese Romantic Movement. First, I will elucidate the aims of the Japanese Romantic Movement, which sheds light upon MH’s stylistic disposition in his exchanges with Hesse, before analysing the epistolary correspondence between MH and Hesse to unfold the development of the deep affinities and spiritual capital which evolved in the transcultural dialogue the two maintained.

The Japan Romantic School was founded formally in March 1935 with just six members, although it expanded its membership to twenty-two writers after four months, comprising

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁹¹ MH’s translations of Hermann Hesse’s works include *Peter Camenzind* (1949. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin), *Roßhalde* (1950. *Kohan no ie*. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin), *Knulp* (1950 *Hyohaku no Hito*. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin), *Siddhartha* (1951. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin), *Weg nach Innen* (1952. *Naimen eno Michi*. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin), *Hermann Lauscher* (1953. *Seishun Jidai*. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin), and *Krieg und Frieden* (1953. *Senso to heiwa*. Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin).

⁸⁹² The first issue of the journal puts forth its creed as, ‘In response to these times, we call ourselves the Romantic School and, along with a respect for the arts, call for an emphasis on poetic spirit and speak out for the exaltation of the artistic disposition. [...] We have taken up the lofty tune of the youth of our age and, rejecting faddish and vulgar literature, step forward without regret in the declaration of the noble and liberating action of the artist. We have already heard that poetry lies at the origin of language, it serves to build dreams of spirit in the void. Doak, K.M. 1994. *Dreams of Difference: The Japan Romantic School and the Crisis of Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. xxxvii.

fifty-six members at its peak.⁸⁹³ Japanese Romantics were above all interested in writing poetry because they ‘saw poetry as an ideal means of contesting the totalizing powers of the modernist representation’ and the functional unreality of poetry ‘opens up forms of knowledge that escape the scientific-rational opposition of subject and object.’⁸⁹⁴ The punctual voice of poetry tends to privilege experience over representation and the forward movement of narration through history. However, as Japanese historian Kevin Doak surmises, poetry as an alternative knowledge system based on pure imagination was eventually reined in by culture, and ‘in the end the poetic imagination served as little more than a means for (re)producing a very specific cultural identity’.⁸⁹⁵ Eventually, the leader of the Japan Romantic School, literary critic Yojūro Yasuda (1910-1981), developed a sense of ‘ironic’ aesthetics. This, Doak argues, became ‘a form of negative practice’ which ‘proved impossible to reconcile with any concrete form of social or political intervention and was transformed from a promising critical practice to a latent desire for total culture’.⁸⁹⁶ The discourse of irony, however, did provide a platform in the 1930s and early 1940s for possibilities of expression critical of modern rationality under an increasingly authoritarian regime in Japan. In 1970, the most bizarre case of the era of Japanese Romanticism occurred, which discredited the movement. Well-known Japanese novelist Mishima Yukio, steeped in the school of Japanese Romanticism, committed ritual suicide at a Self Defence Forces military base in Tokyo after calling upon soldiers to stage an unsuccessful coup d’état to reinstate the emperor to power and re-establish the pre-war system.⁸⁹⁷

MH’s first letter in the DLA *Konvolut* is preceded by an epistolary exchange in which Hesse wrote to MH at the end of 1958: ‘Sie haben gewiß recht mit Ihrer Klage über den Verfall, der auch Ihr Land ergriffen hat, ich habe den selben Eindruck von dort. Aber je dunkler und kränker die Welt wird, desto mehr müssen die Menschen, die um das Edle wissen, sich dagegen stemmen und durchhalten, damit die Tradition dennoch nicht völlig abreißt. Es genügen Wenige, um sie vielleicht zu retten.’⁸⁹⁸ Hesse also grants permission for a translation by MH of the new poem *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht verwitternd*, and requests that MH show the translation to Kei Wakasugi.

The poem that Hesse is referring to here was written in response to a gift he received from the Japanese poet Kei Wakasugi. Wakasugi, the book’s publisher, compiled a photographic record of Buddha figures and reliefs in Japan, which stand free in nature, completely at the

⁸⁹³ Ibid., p. xli.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid., p. xxxvii.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid, p. xxxviii.

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid., p. xli

⁸⁹⁷ Karatani, K. 1993. *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, p. 191.

⁸⁹⁸ GB4: 324.

mercy of the elements. Hesse describes the book in a letter sent to Hertha Binswanger at the end of December 1958.

Vor einigen Wochen schickte mir ein Kollege in Japan ein wunderbares Bilderbuch: von ihm auf vielen Wanderungen aufgenommen lauter Buddhafiguren, Reliefs und andre große und kleine Heligtümer, alle aber nicht unter Dach, nicht in Tempeln etc. Stehend, sondern seit Jahrhunderten im Freien, in einer Höhle, an einer Felswand, in einem stillen Bachtälchen lebend, und da langsam vergehend. Nach dem Betrachten dieser tief rührenden Bilder entstand das Gedicht (...).⁸⁹⁹

Hesse's poem is entitled *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht* and is dedicated to Kei Wakasugi.⁹⁰⁰

Gesänftigt und gemagert, vieler Regen
 Und vieler Fröste Opfer, grün von Moosen
 Gehn deine milden Wangen, deine großen
 Gesenkten Lider still dem Ziel entgegen,
 Dem willigen Zerfalle, dem Entwerden
 Im All, im ungestaltet Grenzenlosen
 Noch kündigt die zerrinnende Gebärde
 Vom Adel deiner königlichen Sendung
 Und sucht doch schon in Feuchte, Schlamm und Erde,
 Der Formen ledig, ihres Sinns Vollendung,
 Wird morgen Wurzel sein und Laubes Säuseln,
 Wird Wasser sein, zu spiegeln Himmels Reinheit,
 Wird sich zu Efeu, Algen, Farnen kräuseln -
 Bild allen Wandels in der ewigen Einheit.⁹⁰¹

MH's first letter in the *Konvolut* is dated 10 March, 1959, and he references the poem and his translation of the poem into Japanese as follows:

Das schöne Gedicht das Sie Kei Wakasugi gewidmet, habe ich übersetzt und in der 'Tokyo Times' veröffentlicht. Einige Exemplare davon habe ich Ihnen schon geschickt. Ich danke Ihnen herzlich für Ihre Freundlichkeit das Honorar schenken zu wollen! Nein, geehrter, lieber Herr Dichter! Das geht nicht! Wie kann ich Ihre allzu große Freundlichkeit annehmen! Ich bin ja sonst so reichlich von Ihnen beschenkt! Ihre Freundschaft an sich ist mir eine große Gabe, für die ich nie genug

⁸⁹⁹ *GB4*: 323.

⁹⁰⁰ *SW10*: 390. Published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* on 1 March 1959.

⁹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

dankbar sein kann! Geld kann ich nicht schicken. Ich erlaube mir Ihnen das Honorar, also in anderer Form, als eine Vase für Sie und kleine Schmücksache für Frau Gemahlin, zu schicken.⁹⁰²

In the same letter, MH describes how Wakasugi is overcome with emotion as MH translates and reads to Wakasugi both the poem and letter Hesse has written for the Japanese poet:

Wir saßen einen Abend zusammen Wakasugi und ich, und sprachen wir über Sie. Ich erzählte ihm von Ihnen und übersetzte ihm das wundervolle Gedicht von Ihnen, und Ihren schönen Brief für ihn. Ihre schöne sanfte Seite schütterten uns im Tiefsten. Eine Träne nach dem anderen kamen über den Wangen von Wakasugi. Wakasugi erzählte mir, daß er das Buddhabuch eigentlich für Sie gemacht, um es Ihnen und Carossa zu zeigen!⁹⁰³

MH writes again to Hesse on 15 December, 1959, about how reading an excerpt from *Unterm Rad* as a young man preserved him from a (symbolic)⁹⁰⁴ fate similar to that of the novel's protagonist Hans Giebenrath:

Damals war ich noch jung und ganz allein in der Welt. Die Eltern waren nicht mehr da. Ich war verraten, verlaufen, habe zum erstenmal kennengelernt, daß die Welt schlecht ist. Ich habe s. z. s. das Reine des Lebens zum erstenmal verloren. Ich wollte nicht mehr leben. Ich weinte, Tag und Nacht, auf dem Veranda, vor der Tür des Hauses, auf der Wiese. Ich ging dem Fluß entlang um mich hineinzustürzen. Da kamen Sie. Zufällig habe Ihre Dichtung in die Hand genommen. Das war ein Stück von 'Unterm Rad'. Ich habe durch Sie die Natur kennengelernt, wie groß sie ist, wie die Blume groß ist. Eine ganz andere Welt ist mir eröffnet worden, voll Innigkeit, süße, und Wichtigkeit. Dieser Rettung verdanke ich mein Leben. Genau so war es auch nach dem Kriege. Ich verlor alles, und Sterben war mir lieber. Da kamen Sie wieder mich hinaufzugreifen. Ich hörte Ihre Worte und empfand Ihre Wärme, Wahre des Herzens.⁹⁰⁵⁹⁰⁶

⁹⁰² Haga, M. 1959. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁹⁰³ Ibid.

⁹⁰⁴ Mileck argues that Giebenrath's suicide allows Hans Heilner to live a productive life: 'Giebenrath, too, is what Hesse was, and Heilner is the person he had to become if he was to make anything of his life. The former's demise and the latter's survival were Hesse's symbolic depiction of an actual change in his life.' Mileck, J. 1980. *Hermann Hesse: Life and Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 36.

⁹⁰⁵ Haga, M. 1959. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁹⁰⁶ 'Genau so war es auch nach dem Kriege. Ich verlor alles, und Sterben war mir lieber'. These words are to be treated with caution. In her essay 'Mayumi Haga oder Mechanismus der Vergessenheit', Rieko Takada writes that 'Nicht Hagas (fast komische) faschistische Behauptung, sondern sein falsches Selbstverständnis, daß er ein kritischer Außenseiter sei, irritiert uns. Haga hält uns sozusagen, den Narrenspiegel vor, in dem wir unsere Besessenheit sehen, daß wir als Intellektuelle gegenüber dem Establishment kritisch sein müssen, nicht affirmativ sein dürfen. Haga könnte sich selbst mit Recht einen kämpferischen Don Quichotte gennant haben.' Takada, R.

MH had experienced turbulence in his own private life and, before the war, was released from his position as a professor at the elite Third Upper School in Kyoto after a short time because of a love affair.⁹⁰⁷ In 1937, MH published *Koten no Shineitai (Leibgard der Klassik)* and in 1939 *Eiyu no Seikaku (Charakter der Helden)*; the Japanese word *Shineitai (Leibgard)* in the former text awakens associations with the Nazi SS, which underlines MH's 'positive' attitude toward the Nazis at this time.⁹⁰⁸ After the war, MH was a professor at Kwansai Gakuin University in Osaka and then at Soka University in Tokyo.⁹⁰⁹ MH's authorship in this letter shows the personal 'interiority' and 'internalisation' of the transcultural transfer and reception of the literary text in that 'Eine ganz andere Welt ist mir eröffnet worden, voll Innigkeit, süße, und Wichtigkeit'. As Alcorn and Bracher acknowledge, literature is much more than just aesthetic pleasure and can 'edify, in the most fundamental sense: to build or re-form the self'.⁹¹⁰ Similarly, Wolfgang Iser suggests that in the production of meaning from literary texts, the reader delves into the unconscious regions of the psyche:

The need to decipher gives us the chance to formulate our own deciphering capacity - i.e., we bring to the fore an element of our being of which we are not directly conscious. The production of the meaning of literary texts - which we discussed in connection with forming the "gestalt" of the text - does not merely entail the discovery of the unformulated, which can then be taken over by the active imagination of the reader; it also entails the possibility that we may formulate ourselves and so discover what had previously seemed to elude our consciousness. These are the ways in which reading literature gives us the chance to formulate the unformulated.⁹¹¹

Six months later MH writes to Hesse on 30 June, 1960. In the letter the writer assumes a 'philosophical' role in his attempt to find words to express the enduring intellectual and

1998. Mayumi Haga oder Mechanismus der Vergessenheit. *Human Sciences Reviews St. Andrews University* 14. [Online]. 31(01), pp. 63-92. [Accessed 26 February 2017]. Available from:

<http://ci.nii.ac.jp/els/110004696399.pdf>. Here: p. 91-92.

⁹⁰⁷ Yamamoto, Y. 2017. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 2 February.

⁹⁰⁸ Translations of Japanese titles into German by Professor Yoichi Yamamoto. Ibid.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁹¹⁰ Alcorn, M.W. & Bracher, M. Literature, Psychoanalysis, and the Re-Formation of the Self: A New Direction for Reader-Response Theory. *PMLA*. 100(3), pp. 342-354. Here: p. 352. Alcorn & Bracher propose a psychoanalytic definition of the self which is 'the organized totality of psychic elements, including, but not restricted to, the id, ego, and superego.' Ibid., p. 343. For C.G. Jung, the self is 'the archetype of wholeness of the psyche that transcends the ego. See Glossary in: Snowden, R. 2011. *Jung in a Week*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, p. 121. To understand how the self might be reformulated, Alcorn & Bracher suggest that, similar to the patient in psychoanalysis, the reader of literature experiences the 'transference phenomenon', that is, 'the reader's assimilative attempt [...] is an effort to force present experience to conform to (often infantile, distorted, and conflict-ridden) adaptive strategies and paradigms of experience that are derived from the past. Ibid., p. 346.

⁹¹¹ Iser, W. 1972. The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach. *New Literary History*. 3(2), pp. 279-299. Here: p. 299.

spiritual transcultural significance of Hesse's life and work to the Japanese reader. MH anticipates Hesse's birthday, and recalls his visit to Montagnola in 1955.

Es kommt mir das Ereignis wie Gestern vor. Und wie wohltätig und gnadenvoll unvergeßlich ist mir die Erinnerung von Montagnola, von 1955! Ihr schönes und aufrichtiges Dasein ist uns unendlicher Trost! Immer wieder kehren wir Ihnen zurück und vor Ihnen reiches Leben, das erneuertes Leben schöpfen. Sie haben die Frage, 'wozu Dichter'? durch Ihr Werk und Leben am herrlichsten geantwortet, wie bisher noch kein Mensch getan hat. Besonders heute sind Sie uns unersetzlich teuer und notwendig. Sie sind Kern und letzte Stütze unsrer Seele, unsre Heimat, und unsre Zukunft auch. Ohne Literatur von heute können wir leben, aber ohne damals, ohne Sie können wir nicht leben.⁹¹²

MH's next letter is dated 18 December, 1961, and contains expressions of gratitude for gifts received, 'Ich danke Ihnen vom Herzen für Ihr wohltuendes, liebevolles Geschenk Ihrer herrlichen Schriften und wunderschönen edlen kleinen Landschaften in Wasserfarbe! Wie glücklich bin ich darauf!'⁹¹³ and passages of philosophical eulogy, 'Wie beglückend aber, wie Herz erwärmend, und rettend wirken alle Ihre einzelne schöne Wörter und edle, innerlich feinfühlende Farben! Sie gleichen der wohltuender Natur, und ihrer sanften Hand selbst, wenn sie einem bis in das tiefestes Alleinsein begleitet und über ermutigend erhellend anspricht.'⁹¹⁴

The penultimate letter, dated 26 February, 1962, was written about six months before Hesse's death on 9 August, 1962. MH apologizes for having disturbed Hesse at a time when he has been ill.

Verzeihen Sie, daß ich es nicht gewußt, und oft Ihre Ruhe gestört habe!
Hoffentlich daß Sie es schon überwunden und jetzt ganz gesund und heiter wie immer! Sie können wir nichts anders vorstellen als die ewige Jugend. (...). Ich bete, daß Sie bald gesund und robust werden wie Camenzind.⁹¹⁵

Although by now quite ill, Hesse sent MH a work by Hesse's friend, the painter and illustrator, Gunter Böhmer (1911-1986) entitled *Rotes Dorf*. MH writes of his aesthetic appreciation of the picture.

Das schöne Bild von Böhmer ist sehr bedeutend und beglückend, und wenn ich sagen dürfte, auch höchst lehrreich! Der unnennbare Sanftemut und warme Luft

⁹¹² Haga, M. 1960. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁹¹³ Haga, M. 1961. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁹¹⁴ Ibid.

⁹¹⁵ Haga, M. 1962. Letter to HH, DLA.

wie eines Abendrotes, überströmt das Ganze, und wirft vom Innen heraus das tröstend erwärmende gefärbte Licht darüber. Und wie keck und sicher ist doch diese ‘Tessin’ des Malers wie heiter und still ist diese sanfte Chrome Green und Rosa Vermilion! Es läßt mich gleich an Ihr wunderschönes erleuchtendes Skizze und Gemäldchen und Gedicht erinnern.⁹¹⁶

MH’s appreciation of Böhmer’s work generates associations with Hesse’s sketches, paintings and poetry for MH. These acts of transcultural appreciation form a complex with multiple potentialities for development, for instance, if absorbed, as influences inflecting MH’s own literary works, as critical, consecratory recommendations in media sources, or in propagation among MH’s students and canonising university syllabi, and a larger Japanese audience beyond in the literary field. But also the reception of literature and artworks opens up the realm of ‘transculturation’; a space of ‘unresolved and unfinished potential meanings’.⁹¹⁷ (I reflect and comment more on this aspect of Hesse’s transcultural reception in Japan, and the possible direction of future research, in the Conclusion to the thesis).

In the letter, MH also expresses his immense joy that Hesse has read his text “‘Träumchen’ von Jüngern’: ‘Ich danke Ihnen vom Herzen für Ihre große Gütigkeit, daß Sie über mein dümmes Träumchen nicht zornig geworden sondern es gelesen haben. Das ist mir ein großes Erlebnis!’⁹¹⁸ According to MH, his text is theological and deals with the re-interpretation of the events surrounding Jesus’s Last Supper with the Apostles:

Ich wollte gar nicht hinter der Verkündigung der Apostel nach dem wirklich Geschehenes zu fragen. Nur war ich tief ergriffen von der überhistorischen Größe Jesu, und schien es mir fast undenkbar, daß alle seinen Jünger ihn in dem wichtigsten letzten Stunden verlaufen hätten, und niemand das herrliche Schicksal miterlebt hätte. Nachher habe ich auch entdeckt, daß bei Johannes es nur ‘zwei anderen Männer’⁹¹⁹ heißt und sie nicht ‘Räuber’ nennt. Ich habe schon genug gesehen, daß in dieser Welt allzuoft Ungerechtigkeit siegt und Unwahres

⁹¹⁶ Ibid.

⁹¹⁷ Codell, J.F. 2012. *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930*. Farnham: Ashgate, p. 11.

⁹¹⁸ Haga, M. 1962. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁹¹⁹ Johannes: 19:1-42 (17-19). Und selbst den Marterpfahl tragend, ging er hinaus zur sogenannten Schädelstätte, die auf hebräisch *Golgotha* genannt wird; und dort brachten sie ihn an den Pfahl und zwei andere [Männer] mit ihm, einen auf dieser Seite und einen auf jener, Jesus aber in der Mitte.[Online]. [Accessed 6 May 2017].

Available from: <https://www.jw.org/de/publikationen/bibel/bi12/bibelbuecher/johannes/19/>

In English: John 19:1-42 (17-18). So they took Jesus, and he went out, bearing his own cross, to the place called The Place of a Skull, which in Aramaic is called Golgotha. There they crucified him, and with him two others, one on either side, and Jesus between them. [Online]. [Accessed 6 May 2017]. Available from: <https://biblia.com/bible/esv/John 19.1-42>.

triumphiert. So schien es mir auch unrecht, daß man sie ‘Räuber’ nennt, vielleicht waren sie die Treuesten und besten Jünger von allem.⁹²⁰

MH’s reception experience and (re-)interpretation of the Bible provides a further example of a new perspective on a Western canonical text and its legitimised intertextuality as a text enters into a process of ‘transculturation’ or cultural transformation.

MH’s final letter to Hesse is dated 28 June, 1962.⁹²¹ It conveys birthday greetings for 2 July:

Ich erlaube mir Ihnen Ihren hohen und großen Geburtstag vom Herzen mit tiefster Dankbarkeit zu gratulieren! Ich schäme mich sehr, daß ich Ihnen, in dieser Herrlichkeit und Feierlichkeit nichts weiter bringen kann als ein bescheidenes aber herzliches Wort des Dankes. Ich bin so arm an Worten, und schönen Ausdrücken. Aber meine Dankbarkeit ist unsagbar, und wird es ewig so bleiben!⁹²²

MH thanks Hesse for Albert Goes’ book *Wagnis der Versöhnung*.⁹²³ MH upholds the transcultural exchange and sends Hesse Japanese woodblock prints: ‘Ich habe mir erlaubt Holzschnitte von Hiroshige und Toyokuni Ihnen zu schicken als ein Andenken.’⁹²⁴

Transculturation is not limited to literary texts and Japanese woodcut prints influenced European art from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, as first Yokohama in 1859 and then Japan was re-opened to the world, in a transculturation event known as ‘Japonisme’, that is, a cultural movement driven by an interest in Japanese art and design, which was particularly influential among artists working in impressionism, including notably Vincent Van Gogh, enabling them to find new sources of artistic inspiration as ideas flowed from East to West.⁹²⁵ As noted in Chapter 1, Hesse revealed to Kenji Takahashi in 1931 that he studied woodcut prints if he wanted to take an imaginary journey to Japan.

As if anticipating the short amount of time remaining for Hesse, the letter brims with accolades: ‘Sie sind immer so erstaunlich jung und frisch wie vor 40 Jahren! Das habe ich einmal in Montagnola bewundern können.’; ‘Sie sind so reich, weil es in Ihnen die höchste Weisheit und Liebe für die Welt versammelt sind.’; ‘Es ist grade [sic] mit Wunder, daß ich

⁹²⁰ Ibid.

⁹²¹ Hesse died on 9 August, 1962, in Montagnola.

⁹²² Haga, M. 1962. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁹²³ Goes, A. 1959. *Wagnis der Versöhnung*. Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang.

⁹²⁴ Haga, M. 1962. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁹²⁵ The process of transculturation affected artist production in Japan even though the country was largely closed to outside influence. The Japanese woodblock print artist Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) had a collection of Japanese, Chinese and European reference sketches destroyed in a fire in Edo (Tokyo) in 1839. Hokusai had been influenced by European art from his twenties and his most famous woodblock print *The Great Wave* has a European sense of deep perspective. Moreover, in approximately 1824-1826 Hokusai developed a European-style of art for the visiting Dutch East India Company officials knowing that his art would find its way to Holland. In 1843, *Hokusai’s Sketches* (vol. 6) was exhibited in the Print Room of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The British Museum purchased its first Hokusai print in 1860. See: Clark, T. 2017. Late Hokusai, Backwards. In: *Hokusai: Beyond the Great Wave*. Clark, T. ed. London: Thames and Hudson, pp. 12-33. Here: p. 26.

in Ihnen lebende Legende entdeckt habe'; and 'Ich werde Sie nicht mehr belästigen, indem ich von Ihrer Üppigkeit und Herrlichkeit rede. Denn so kann man unendlich sprechen.'⁹²⁶

Demonstrating that acts of transculturation are not limited to literary texts and artworks but also other content from cultures, MH draws upon his memories of Montagnola to design and populate his garden with plants in a similar way so that it evokes the author and his environment in Switzerland.

Es ist zu schön, daß ich immer hier unendlich mich verlieren kann; schön und überflüßig und schenkend und blühend schön, und ich pflege immer, Sie zu Ehren, einige Blumen einzupflanzen in meinem kleinen Garten, um möglichst Montagnola um nachzuahnen! [sic] Heute habe ich besonders Sie zu Ehren, einige Pechunien, Begonien, Rubinase, und Maloen gepflanzt. Es ist mir immer die größte Freude in der Frühe und Abend 'bewappnet' in dem Garten herum zu wandern.

MH's garden is a symbol for the possibilities and potentialities for 'transculturation' arising from transcultural exchange, opened up by means of and based upon the dialogic epistolary correspondence between Hermann Hesse and MH – a 'professional' reader, situated in a relational literary field in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community.

3.12. Chapter Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, as the third strand of the investigation into Hesse's reception in Japan and of Japan, the epistolary correspondence between Hesse and his Japanese readers offers a material 'platform' for mutual transcultural exchange. The epistolary devices and the gifts exchanged between Hesse and his Japanese readers also unfold a non-human agency upon the recipients of the devices and the gifts and are a constituent part of the social ties developed between the agents in the transcultural exchange. The letter writers are concerned about the mediation and translation of fundamental experiences with nature (proto-cultural experiences) and, subsequently, about the experiences of human beings in the different cultures which form in response to life in a particular climatic and geographical zone. As subjective individuals and actors, Hesse's Japanese readers are concerned with mediating their individual life experiences and their experiences of the linguistic and cultural space in which they live. Once a transcultural dialogue is established and maintained, and 'emotional trust' is achieved, the epistolary exchange, enriched with what can be termed the 'spiritual capital' of the private sphere, moves into new dimensions in which deep affinities with the other correspondent can arise and flourish, sometimes to the point where there is a 'communion of spirit.' By this I mean that the borders between a European *Geist* or intellect

⁹²⁶ Ibid.

and a Japanese (or Eastern) *Geist* or intellect are dissolved and cease to exist and that communication and dialogue are pursued in an autonomous communicative realm by human beings with the potential to unfold agency that may impact one another's lives.

In the correspondence of each of the five Japanese readers I selected for close analysis, we have been able to follow the development of transcultural dialogues between Hesse and his Japanese readers to the point where deep affinities have arisen and spiritual capital has been set up with the European writer. In the case of Itsue Hagiwara, the young female university student, the material transcultural platform of the epistolary device allowed her to become a transcultural mediator of Japanese culture and granted her the space to explore her own self as the transcultural interaction with Hesse unfolded its agency. With Itsue Hagiwara's young male counterpart, Sadao Nakajima, also a university student, the transcultural relationship with Hesse is at times framed as a 'master-novice' relationship as Sadao Nakajima seeks to work out a path for his future that is transcendental, similar to that of the European Immortals such as Goethe and Mozart, and, according to his own disposition, Hesse. Goro Shitanda, a company employee and Hesse enthusiast, establishes a significant transcultural relationship with Hesse. The agency unfolded in the epistolary relationship of the postal self and the postal other has a significant impact on his life. The material exchange of gifts with Hesse, some of which are Goro Shitanda's family heirlooms, symbolizes the deep affinities he feels with Hesse and the spiritual capital that accumulates through their exchanges. Ayao Ide, a Professor of German Studies and Hesse translator, achieves a similar transcultural 'communion of spirit' with Hesse. He is motivated in daily life, in a type of communion with Hesse's 'soul', to follow a path of fidelity (*Treue*) and veneration (*Ehrfurcht*), and sees it as his calling in life to transpose Hesse's 'soul' (or *Geist*) into a form that the Japanese readers can understand. By this he means through the best possible translation of Hesse's texts into Japanese. Ayao Ide sees this task or calling as giving his life meaning and allowing him to achieve self-growth. The final reader selected, Mayumi Haga, similar to Ayao Ide, is also professor of German Studies and a Hesse translator, and therefore is likewise a potential agent in the legitimisation of Hesse's works in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community. He shares deep affinities with Hesse and Hesse's texts and the correspondence with Hesse impacts his life. Because Mayumi Haga is creative and productive, Hesse's deep transcultural influences have the potential to unfold an agency which flows into 'transcultural' products such as his own literary texts, or even the way he landscapes his own garden. As Bourdieu argues, art is a 'collective action' which suggests we must break 'with the naïve vision of the individual creator' working in splendid isolation.⁹²⁷

⁹²⁷ Bourdieu, P. 1983. *The Field of Cultural Production, Or: The Economic World Reversed*. Trans. Nice, R.

Now, in the following chapter, I focus on one of the impacts the transcultural relationship with Japan has for Hesse in his own late literary production. In early 1961, Hesse is inspired by his 'Japanese' cousin, Wilhelm Gundert, and his Japanese readers to take a step toward a new form of poetry as he distils his life philosophy into three Zen poems. Writing to Dr. Engel in January 1959, Hesse points toward the new direction that his transcultural dialogue with Japan is going to take him: 'Sie kennen meine sehr alte Liebe zu Buddha, meine späte zum Buddhismus in der Form des Zen. Das wurde im Betrachten jenen Buches von Kei Wakasugi wieder mächtig wach.'⁹²⁸ I will argue in the next chapter that these Zen poems are an overlooked transcultural product within Hesse's overall literary production.

Poetics. (12), pp. 311-356.

⁹²⁸ Hesse, H. 1958-1959. Drei Briefe von Hermann Hesse. *Schweizer Monatshefte: Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*. [Online]. 38(12), pp. 1012-1014. [Accessed 17 August 2017]. Available from: <http://doi.org/10.5169/seals-160871>.

Chapter 4: Hesse's Zen-Poems: Beyond *Das Glasperlenspiel* to the Transcultural 'Essence'

Sie sind ja weder ein Wilder noch ein Verbildeter, sondern sind
ein Anhänger des Zen-Buddhismus, haben also einen Glauben und die
Ahnung einer seelischen Disziplin, die wie wenige andre den Menschen
zum Einlassen des Lichtes, zum Stillhalten gegenüber der Wahrheit
erziehen.⁹²⁹

4.0. Introduction

The goal of Chapter 4 is to explicate, for the first time, the learning process by which Hesse arrives at the Zen-poems he writes at the beginning of 1961. In doing so, this chapter will be tied, as the final strand of my research, into the project of analysing Hesse's reception in Japan and Hesse's reception of Japanese culture. In the previous chapters, I have opened a new direction in Hesse research by discussing Hesse's 'discovery' by academics and publishing houses in Japan, Japan's leading role in promoting Hesse's regional reception in East Asia, the translation of his works into Japanese, as well as the inter-medial modes of his reception in Japan (Chapter 1). By drawing upon unpublished memoirs, I have also filled a gap in scholarly work on Hesse by uncovering and giving substantive attention to the impact of his 'Japanese' cousin's transcultural mediation activities on Hesse's work and the reception of Hesse's work in the Japanese linguistic and cultural field (Chapter 2). Then I explored and explicated for the first time in Hesse research the deep transcultural epistolary dialogue that Hesse developed with some of his Japanese readers using unpublished archival materials (epistolary corpus) held by the DLA and I have shown how this led to the development of deep affinities of these readers with Hesse and the generation of spiritual capital in the private sphere of mutual exchange (Chapter 3).

In this chapter, I examine the transcultural impact of Japanese culture and religion upon Hesse in relation to ultimately attaining an entirely novel kind of expression in his late literary production in the form of concentrated, singular Zen-poems. As I demonstrate, Hesse's deep transcultural affinities with some of his Japanese readers gave rise to the event that led him to write a 'preparatory' poem (written in December 1958). This poem, I argue, was a necessary step on the way to achieving, subsequently, a new mode of penetrating

⁹²⁹ *SWI2*: 543-547. Here: pp. 546-547. 'An einem jungen Kollegen in Japan'. Letter written in April 1947. Hesse originally wrote a reply to the young aspiring Japanese writer Rin Jubishi (1926-2009) in mid-April 1947 after receiving Jubishi's long letter in January 1947. Hesse's original reply was returned by the Swiss postal service stamped 'nicht zulässig'. Therefore, he chose to publish a longer open letter 'An einen jungen Kollegen in Japan' in the newspaper in the hope that Rin Jubishi would be able to read the reply in this form. Rin Jubishi was the eldest son of novelist Yoshihiko Jubishi, and studied English literature at Tokyo University. In 1952, Rin Jubishi studied at Ohio State University on the Fullbright Program. He was forced to return early to Japan as he became involved in a church based on the teachings of Swedish theologian Emanuel Swedenborg. He published a magazine called *AZ* while he worked as a high school teacher and a president of a translation company. He had a total of 22 children. After the divorce with his last wife he lived alone in Nara prefecture in western Japan.

expression in the Zen-poems (written in January and February 1961), which also capture a new spiritual experience and insight into the unity of the universe. My argument leads to the conclusion that Hesse's literary production did not end in significant terms with the publication of the novel *Das Glasperlenspiel* in 1943 as Hesse researchers have thus far told us. For instance, Hesse biographer Ralph Freedman writes in *Pilgrim of Crisis* that 'The *Glass Bead Game* [was] a *summa* of his efforts in both art and life.'⁹³⁰ He adds that 'the years following the *Bead Game* were essentially occupied with reissuing, rearranging, and re-editing old work.'⁹³¹ Joseph Mileck characterises this novel as Hesse's 'Crowning Synthesis'.⁹³² Mileck also argues that 'the last period of Hesse's life was primarily one of literary entrenchment.'⁹³³ Most recently Gunnar Decker in his 2012 biography *Hesse: Der Wanderer und sein Schatten* writes about *Das Glasperlenspiel* that 'Der Wille zum Hauptwerk, das zum Vermächtnis werden soll, bleibt jederzeit spürbar.'⁹³⁴ Consequently, Hesse researchers will need to re-think their approach to the late stages of Hesse's literary production and they must understand that these Zen-poems challenge the fixity of previous assessments of texts which have been tidily labelled 'culminating' works.

As the title of this chapter suggests, I will unfold an argument to demonstrate that Hesse's transcultural dialogue with Japan and key transcultural mediators such as his 'Japanese' cousin inspired and motivated him to explore a highly significant new form of lyrical literary production in Zen-poems. First, however, before developing my argument further in this chapter, I take stock of where Hesse stood in regards to Zen-Buddhism just before the epistolary productive 1950s (see Chapter 3).

The text I quote above at the top of this chapter is an excerpt from a letter dated April 1947 that Hesse wrote to a 'young colleague' in Japan, the young aspiring Japanese writer Rin Jubishi. Read in conjunction with the second excerpt below, the letter is instructive in establishing the kind of disposition Hesse had to Zen-Buddhism at that time.

Vor Zen habe ich einen großen Respekt, einen weit größern als vor Ihren etwas europäisch illuminierten Idealen. Zen ist, das wissen Sie besser als ich, eine der wunderbarsten Schulen für Geist und Herz, wir haben hier in Abendland nur ganz wenige Traditionen, die sich mit ihm vergleichen dürften, und sie sind bei uns weniger wohlerhalten geblieben.⁹³⁵

⁹³⁰ Freedman, R. 1979. *Hermann Hesse: Pilgrim of Crisis*. London: Jonathan Cape, p. 376.

⁹³¹ *Ibid.*

⁹³² Mileck, J. 1980. *Hermann Hesse: Life and Art*. Berkeley: University of California, p. vii.

⁹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

⁹³⁴ Decker, G. 2012. *Hesse: Der Wanderer und sein Schatten*. Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 593. The reader will search without success for any reference to the Zen-poems in Decker's book.

⁹³⁵ SW12: 546.

At this point in time, Hesse describes Zen-Buddhism in general phrases such as a *seelische Disziplin, zum Einlassen des Lichtes, zum Stillhalten gegenüber der Wahrheit*, and *eine der wunderbarsten Schulen für Geist und Herz*.⁹³⁶ These rather vague phrases demonstrate that Hesse has not yet personally experienced nor gained insight into the core nature of Zen-Buddhism. In fact, as the letter to Jubishi continues, Hesse is at pains to emphasize that the Japanese correspondent should be on his guard to avoid the lures of what we might term ‘reverse orientalism’, that is, in Hesse’s words, the false ‘exoticism’ and ‘idealism’ of European culture. The young writer, Hesse writes, should seek to ground and protect himself in his native Japanese Zen-Buddhism. Indeed, Hesse argues similarly in that, despite his current despair over the current intellectual and spiritual climate in Europe, and rather than throwing himself into the arms of an Indian or other yoga system (as he may have done in the past), he stays grounded in the tried and tested school of the Classics and Christianity.

Ihr Zen wird Sie, so vertraue ich, vor dem Exotismus wie vor dem falschen Idealismus schützen, so wie mich die gute Schule der Antike und des Christentums davor schützt, mich etwa aus Verzweiflung über unsre geistige Situation unter Verzicht auf meine bisherigen Stützen irgendeinem indischen oder anderen Yogasystem in die Arme zu werfen.⁹³⁷

The final excerpt from the letter is a clear statement of Hesse’s position regarding Zen-Buddhism in 1947. He writes that, despite its magical attraction (*Zauber*), his European scepticism warns him against embracing an Asian religious discipline that he does not fully understand. However, he concedes that he is willing to embrace what he really does understand (one thinks of his work on Buddhism in *Siddhartha*):

(...) meine europäische Erziehung lehrt mich, gerade dem von mir unverstandenen oder nur halbverstandenen Teil der asiatischen Disziplin trotz allem Zauber zu mißtrauen, und mich an das zu halten, was mir an ihnen wirklich verständlich geworden ist.⁹³⁸

Of further interest at this stage is that Hesse uses the word ‘discipline’ to frame a contrast between his European education and the ‘discipline’ of an Asian religion. At this point, he makes a transcultural assumption that the practice of Eastern religion is associated with asceticism and the strict discipline needed in a monastery or a hermitage to maintain that practice. Nonetheless, it holds that Hesse was open to expanding his understanding of Zen-Buddhism, but it is clear that this learning process had not yet taken place to any significant

⁹³⁶ Ibid.

⁹³⁷ *SW12*: 546-547.

⁹³⁸ Ibid., p. 547.

degree, and that his understanding of Asian religious practice was incomplete at this time. I argue that a learning process takes place during the 1950s, and, as I discuss below, Hesse eventually commits himself to an entirely new singular form of poetic literary expression based on new insights into Zen-Buddhism.

4.1. Re-examining Aspects of Hesse's Relationship with His 'Japanese' Cousin

However, first, I re-examine and highlight relevant aspects of Hesse's re-vitalized personal relationship with his 'Japanese' cousin, Wilhelm Gundert, during the 1950s and uncover how crucial it was that Gundert shared his translation work on Japanese and Chinese Zen texts with Hesse. As I discussed in Chapter 2, Hesse's life was intertwined from childhood with his cousin Wilhelm Gundert. The years when Gundert was a member of the Nazi party interrupted this relationship for over a decade. This 'aberration' on Gundert's part provoked a virulent response in Hesse which resulted in years of silence until their post-war reconciliation. Thus far, most scholarly research on Hesse has overlooked or skimmed over the relationship between the cousins and the consequences of Gundert's transcultural mediation for Hesse's literary work. Indeed, at times in Hesse's life and in his literary production, Hesse's relationship with Gundert has been pivotal. A case in point is Gundert's assistance in helping Hesse write and finish the second part of *Siddhartha*, which Hesse then dedicated to Gundert (see Chapter 2). In this chapter, however, I will highlight the notable role Gundert played in inspiring Hesse to experiment with an entirely new form of transcultural expression in the lyrical texts of the Zen-poems. Once his contribution to the book of Oriental poetry *Lyrrik des Osten* was published in 1952, Gundert was able to start work on translating into German, from Japanese and Chinese source texts, the famous collection of Chinese Zen *koans* collected and commented upon in the *Pi Yen Lu*. Gundert's German translation of this Zen 'Bible' is entitled *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand*. The first volume of Gundert's work, comprising the first thirty-three 'cases'⁹³⁹ of one hundred, was published in 1960.⁹⁴⁰

To develop my argument that Wilhelm Gundert was instrumental in inspiring Hesse to write and to express himself in a new literary form, I will re-examine the common pietist background the cousins shared. Gundert studied theology at Swabia's renowned Tübinger Stift and travelled to Japan as a missionary in 1906. My argument is that, as his Gundert's

⁹³⁹ I use the word 'case' synonymously with *koan* (Gundert translates the word 'case' as *Beispiel*). Cleary & Cleary, who translated the *Pi Yen Lu* into English as *The Blue Cliff Record* in 1977, explain the etymology of the word in this context: 'The term "public cases" or "public records" (...) likens the Ch'an (Japanese: Zen) stories to law cases, legal precedents, according to which a determination – here, the understanding of a student – is made. Cleary, T. & Cleary, J.C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. xxix.

⁹⁴⁰ Gundert, W. 1960. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragden Felswand. 1. Band*. Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag.

wife's memoirs reveal,⁹⁴¹ the subsequent spiritual struggle he underwent in Japan to free himself from Christian dogma in order to develop a wider spiritual orientation and to follow his own inner 'voice',⁹⁴² eventually allowed him to penetrate and understand the Zen *koans* that are collected in the *Pi Yen Lu*. As a result, he was able to render the Chinese and Japanese source texts in a meaningful German translation. Although there are concomitant factors, as I demonstrate, it is the meaning and value that Hesse recognised in this project which exerted a key influence upon Hesse's late literary production. As in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, my research draws upon the unpublished memoirs of Helene Gundert, Wilhelm Gundert's wife, held by the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, and the unpublished correspondence between Hesse and his Japanese readers archived by the DLA in Marbach in the *Hermann-Hesse-Konvolut- Japan*.

4.1.1. *Demian, Pietism and Zen*

As I set out above, I argue that Gundert was able to master the translation of the *Pi Yen Lu* because of his Christian spiritual heritage. Further concomitant factors are his near thirty-year sojourn in Japan, and his life-long interest in Eastern philosophy and religion, which was nurtured even in younger years, particularly by his paternal and Hesse's maternal grandfather, Hermann Gundert.

Both Hermann Hesse and Wilhelm Gundert came from similar, learned Swabian pietist backgrounds, and their parents and grandparents undertook missionary service in India.⁹⁴³ Both of Gundert's parents were born in India. Similarly, Hesse grew up in house full of Indian influences.⁹⁴⁴ Wilhelm Gundert's grandfather, Hermann Gundert, was a highly respected pietist missionary and scholar of Indian languages. Moreover, the grandfather taught Wilhelm Gundert to read the New Testament in Greek as well as to memorize a verse from the Rigveda, a collection of ancient Vedic hymns, in Sanskrit.⁹⁴⁵ As his wife's memoirs

⁹⁴¹ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27.

⁹⁴² Gundert writes: 'Es bedurfte der Versetzung nach dem fernen osten und der Absperrung durch den Krieg [1914-1918], um mich zu mir selber zu bringen.' *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁹⁴³ Barry Stephenson, for example, characterizes the Gundert-Hesse family thus: '(...) the Gundert-Hesse family was single-minded in their commitment to Christ and their dedication to embodying Christian life through practical service. They were also learned, highly cultivated individuals. Hermann Gundert was fluent in several European and Indian languages (...) Latin literature, Greek philosophies, and Oriental religions shaped Johannes Hesse's thought and religion. Marie Gundert Hesse (...) organized the extensive missionary events in and around Calw, [and] wrote respected biographies of Bishop James Hannington and David Livingstone (...)'. Stephenson, B. 2009. *Veneration and Revolt: Hermann Hesse and Swabian Pietism*. Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, p. 4.

⁹⁴⁴ Hesse describes the Indian atmosphere of his childhood in Calw in detail in a letter 'An eine Leserin' in January 1959. For example, 'Und bei diesem gelehrten und weisen Großvater gab es nicht nur indische Bücher und Schiftrollen, sondern auch Vitrinen voll exotischer Wunder, nicht nur Kokosschalen und fremdartige Vogeleier, sondern auch hölzerne und bronzene Götzen und Tiere, seidene Malereien und einen ganzen Schrank voll indischer Tücher und Gewänder in allen Stoffen und Farben. (...) Dies alles gehörte zu meiner Kindheit nicht weniger als die Tannen des Schwarzwalds, die Nagold und die gotische Brückenkapelle.' *GB4*: 328.

⁹⁴⁵ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 9.

reveal, this early contact with the Indian philosophy, together with the general Indian atmosphere in the Hesse-Gundert family, helped to sow the seeds for Gundert's subsequent interest in India and the Far East.⁹⁴⁶

Helene Gundert's memoirs show that Gundert's paternal grandfather Hermann Gundert commanded enormous respect in the Hesse-Gundert family. In March, 1921, writing to his wife, Helene, Gundert recalled how from an early age he was proud to be a grandson of Hermann Gundert, and how Gundert's own father nurtured this respect: "Der Großvater weiß alles", hat der Vater mir oft gesagt, und dieses Wort hat tief in meiner kindlichen Seele gehaftet.⁹⁴⁷ Much later than Hesse, who fled the Maulbronn Seminary at age fourteen, rejecting the path to clergyman his parents had mapped out for him, Gundert, who had completed his theological studies, began to distance himself from conventional Christian dogma while living in Japan (see Chapter 2). Gundert's new spiritual path coincided with his studies of Hesse's *Demian* in which he found his new orientation reflected: '(...) für mich ist es meine eigene Geschichte (...) und hier finde ich zu Demian eine Übereinstimmung im Tiefsten. Was wissen wir überhaupt von Jesus, und wie er's eigentlich gemeint hat?'⁹⁴⁸ Gundert's new approach to Christianity refocused on the creativity of individual faith and self-discovery rather than conversion through proselytization: '(...) nicht zu lehren bin ich da, nicht um andere zu Christen zu machen, sondern helfen soll ich ihnen, daß sie sich selber finden und zwar durch Glauben. Denn Glaube ist ein schöpferischer Akt, er erzeugt eben das, was er glaubt.'⁹⁴⁹ Gundert's new relationship to Christianity was, in his own words, a path full of twists and turns, but opened up a spiritual space in which he could apprehend the inexplicable mystery of God that the Bible talks about in a new light; a light that also opened up a new insight into the mysteries of Buddhism and especially Zen for him.⁹⁵⁰ At the end of this process, Gundert could then draw parallels between Christianity and Zen-Buddhism. For instance, among the Ten Commandments there is the rule: 'You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain.'⁹⁵¹ Similarly, in the cases set out in the *Pi Yen Lu*,⁹⁵² all talk or intellectualizing of the spiritual content of Zen is sharply rejected by the masters and is

⁹⁴⁶ 'Auch einen Sanskritvers aus dem Riga-Veda hat er mich nachsprechen lassen und damit mir den Keim zu meiner Zuneigung für Indien und den Fernen Osten früh ins Herz gelegt.' Gundert, W. 1973. *Bi Yän Lu, Band 3*. 1973. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 111.

⁹⁴⁷ Gundert, H. 1971-1975. *Mein Leben mit Wilhelm Gundert*. Unveröffentlichte Memoiren Helene Gunderts. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: NWG, Eb 27, p. 105.

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 95. (Emphasis in original.)

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 94. In the Preface to *Demian*, Hesse writes in a similar vein: 'Das Leben jedes Menschen ist ein Weg zu sich selber hin, der Versuch eines Weges, die Andeutung eines Pfades.' SW3: 236.

⁹⁵⁰ 'Am Ende aber hat mich dieser krumme Weg dazu geführt, das unergründliche Geheimnis Gottes, von dem die Bibel redet, in einem neuen Licht zu sehen. Und eben dieses Licht hat mir auch für das unergründliche Geheimnis des Buddhismus und speziell des Zen die Augen geöffnet.' Gundert, W. 1973. *Bi Yän Lu, Band 3*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 111.

⁹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 112.

⁹⁵² The 12th century background to the cases, commentaries and appreciative verses by Chinese Zen masters collected in the *Pi Yen Lu* is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

considered hollow (*alles hohle Reden*), and a novice who answers the master's questions with yes or no is likely to receive a blow from the master's staff as a response.⁹⁵³ Wilhelm Gundert surmises that the only thing that is holy in Zen is the 'empty' self (*das 'leere' Selbst* [ist] *das einzig 'Heilige'*), whereby in the formless emptiness the predicate 'holy' also disappears.⁹⁵⁴ Thus Gundert's inner spiritual crisis after World War I in Japan, his rejection of Christian dogma, and path towards an enlightened individual practice of faith – away from a stereotypical or intellectualized approach to religion – opened up exploratory spaces for insights into Zen-Buddhism which greatly aided a meaningful rendition of the *Pi Yen Lu* in the German language.

Irmgard Yu-Gundert, Wilhelm Gundert's granddaughter, points to parallels between Gundert's foray into Zen-Buddhism and the mysticism of Pietism. She argues that Pietism has both negative as well as positive aspects: on the one hand, by nature a human being's will is evil and must be broken if one is to attain salvation, and thus sensual indulgence is treated with suspicion; and, on the other, in the 17th and 18th centuries, Pietism was viewed as a more recent derivative of Christian mysticism⁹⁵⁵ and thus seen as a 'relative' of the Eastern mysticism found in Zen Buddhism, Buddhism and Taoism.⁹⁵⁶ As regards Hesse, Irmgard Yu-Gundert argues similarly that the source for Hesse's (late) understanding of Zen-Buddhism has the same roots as Gundert's, namely the Swabian pietism of the parental house.⁹⁵⁷ Yu-Gundert's argument is valid up to a point. However, I propose that her argument is incomplete and that my research demonstrates that much greater emphasis must be placed upon Gundert's agency as a transcultural mediator between Japan and Hesse and upon Hesse's intensive transcultural dialogue with his Japanese readership (I develop these points below) to fully explain Hesse's late, radical departure into a new form of literary expression in Zen-poems.

Hesse's *Rundbrief* from Sils-Maria, written in August 1954, summarizes pointedly the unique blend of Pietist and Japanese spirituality, which, in Hesse's eyes, made Gundert his 'Japanese' cousin: '(...) jahrelang trug er japanisches Gewand, wohnte und schlief, aß und trank auf Japanisch, und so wie sein helles schwäbisches Gesicht dort jenen Überzug von asiatischer Stille, Geduld und Versunkenheit bekam, so wurde sein geistiges Wesen, ohne daß ein schroffer Bruch mit seiner protestantisch- pietistischen Tradition nötig gewesen wäre,

⁹⁵³ Ibid.

⁹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 111.

⁹⁵⁵ The Pietist movement was called into life by Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705). Barry Stephenson writes: '(...) the movement aimed to reinvigorate the spiritual life of individual Christians and the Evangelical Lutheran Church through an emphasis on personal experience and charitable service in the world.' Stephenson, B. 2009. *Veneration and Revolt: Hermann Hesse and Swabian Pietism*. Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, p. 3.

⁹⁵⁶ Yu-Gundert, I. 2001. Über den Einfluß innerfamiliärer Tradition auf das Bild des religiösen Menschen im Werke Hermann Hesses. *Hesse-Forschung. Bd. 6*. Koreanische Hesse-Gesellschaft, pp. 211-240. Here: p. 216.

⁹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 215.

durch die Aufnahme des östlichen Gutes an Überlieferung, Weisheit und Moral langsam gedehnt und erweitert (...)'.⁹⁵⁸

The evidence presented above demonstrates that parallels between mysticism in Pietism and Zen-Buddhism, but particularly Gundert's own spiritual development enabled him to understand the *Zen koans* and transpose the 'spirit' of cases successfully into German. Gundert writes in the third volume of his translation, 'Es besteht zwischen Zen und Christentum in wesentlichen Punkten eine ganz reale Übereinstimmung und nur dieser habe ich es zu verdanken, daß die Übersetzung des Bi-yän-lu mir überhaupt bis zu einem gewissen Grad gelingen konnte.'⁹⁵⁹ Now, however, I return to the intense transcultural dialogue Hesse maintained with his Japanese readers in the 1950s that I analysed in Chapter 3 in order to explicate the 'preparatory' function this dialogue had for Hesse's excursion into Zen-Buddhism.

4.2. Hesse's Transcultural Dialogue with Japanese Readers and the 'Preparatory' Poem

I have discussed above how Gundert's rejection of Christian dogma coincided with and was reinforced by his reading of Hesse's novel *Demian*. I have also explicated some of the commonalities between mystical Christianity and Zen, which aided Gundert's understanding and translation of the Chinese and Japanese source texts of the *Pi Yen Lu*. Concurrent with Gundert's translation work on the *Pi Yen Lu* from 1952 onwards, Hesse was involved in an intense transcultural dialogue with his Japanese readers. I argue that the transcultural dialogue and the deep affinities that arose from the dialogue with some of his Japanese readers inspired and moved Hesse to write a 'preparatory' poem. The poem is entitled *Uralte Buddha Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht verwitternd*.⁹⁶⁰ It was written in December 1958, more than one year before the Zen-poems. Thus far in Hesse research this poem has not yet been contextualized properly and only insufficiently analysed. Olaf Berwald, who discusses Hesse's poetry in a chapter of Ingo Cornils' *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse* in 2009, dispatches the poem in one sentence within the frame of his analysis and surmises curiously that it is 'a text that not only offers a productive reception of Rilke's Buddha poems, but cultivates fresh ground for the sonnet, this seemingly most restraining of all lyrical genres (...)'.⁹⁶¹ My argument is that, figuratively, this poem is a transcultural 'bridge' between Hesse's previous prose and lyrical work and the subsequent

⁹⁵⁸ Hesse, H. 2000. Rundbrief aus Sils-Maria. *Hermann Hesse: Briefe an Freunde*. Michels, V. ed. Frankfurt am Main: Insel, pp. 196-210. Here: p. 199.

⁹⁵⁹ Gundert, W. 1973. *Bi Yän Lu. 3. Band*. 1973. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 111.

⁹⁶⁰ *SW10*: 390.

⁹⁶¹ Berwald, O. 2009. Hesse's Poetry. In: Cornils, I. ed. *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, pp. 241-262. Here: p. 258. Berwald does not write about the Zen-poems.

Zen-poems. In this poem, I argue, Hesse not only re-explores his admiration for the Buddha, but he also expresses a developing understanding of Zen-Buddhism.

4.2.1. Bridging prior work and the Zen-poems: the *Uralte Buddha-Figur* poem

Most likely in November or early December 1958 (the poem was written on 14 December, 1958),⁹⁶² Hesse received a book of photographs of Japanese Buddha statues, reliefs, and other sacred objects which, for the most part, are outside in the open and exposed to the elements. The objects were meticulously recorded by the book's publisher, the Japanese poet Kei Wakasugi, who sent the book to Hesse as a gift.⁹⁶³ As Hesse records in a letter to Hertha Binswanger at the end of December 1958, these ancient Buddha statues have been outside in the open for centuries.⁹⁶⁴ One statue is also in a cave, one is on a rock face, and one in a peaceful valley through which runs a stream.⁹⁶⁵ They are moss-covered, and they are gradually being eroded away through weathering by the natural elements.⁹⁶⁶ Hesse adds that, 'Nach dem Betrachten dieser tief rührenden Bilder entstand das Gedicht (...)'.⁹⁶⁷

This is not the only source in which Hesse confirms how he was deeply touched by the photographs in Wakasugi's book. For instance, he writes to Edmund Natter at the end of 1958, 'Ein (...) Japaner (...) schickte mir ein wundervolles Bilderwerk mit lauter im Freien stehenden, zum Teil uralten, vermoosenden und verwitternden Budhhas and anderen Heiligtümern. Da ist das Gedicht entstanden, das ich Dir mitschicke.'⁹⁶⁸ Further, writing in January 1959 to Carl J. Burckhardt, Hesse describes Wakasugi's gift as follows:

Ein japanischer Kollege schickte mir vor einiger Zeit ein ganz wunderbares Bilderbuch: lauter mit größter Liebe und oft unter Schwierigkeiten und Strapazen aufgenommene, meist sehr alte Buddhafiguren und andre kleine und große heilige Skulpturen: alle nicht unter Dach, nicht in Tempeln oder Museen, sondern im Freien stehend, von Moosen bewachsen, von Gras und Blumen umwuchert, zum Teil schon wieder Fels, Erde und Geröll geworden. Nach dem Betrachten dieses Buches ist das Gedicht entstanden.⁹⁶⁹

Finally, Hesse writes to Dr. Engel, also in January 1959:

⁹⁶² I have been unable as yet to learn exactly what date Hesse received the book.

⁹⁶³ Writing to Hesse on 10 March 1959, Japanese Germanist Mayumi Haga states that Kei Wakasugi created the book in order to show it to Hesse and Carossa: 'Wakasugi erzählte mir, daß er das Buddhabuch eigentlich für Sie gemacht, um es Ihnen und Carossa zu zeigen!' Haga, M. 1959. Letter to HH, DLA.

⁹⁶⁴ *GB4*: 323.

⁹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶⁸ *GB4*: 325.

⁹⁶⁹ *GB4*: 326.

Das neue Gedicht auf den verwitterten Buddha, das ich Ihrer Frau schickte, entstand im Dezember nach dem Betrachten eines einzigartigen japanischen Bilderbuches, das sein Herausgeber mir geschenkt hatte. Es sind lauter Aufnahmen von Statuen, Reliefs und anderen buddhistischen Bildwerken, die nicht unter Dach stehen, nicht in Tempeln oder Museen, sondern im Freien, unter Bäumen, zwischen Felswand und Bach, verschwistert mit allem Wachstum, zum Teil noch wohl erhalten und nur umspinnen und durchwachsen von Gras, Moos und Kraut, zum Teil schon seit Jahrhunderten kaum noch als Form kenntlich, verwittert, bröckelnd, einsinkend, hinüberwankend ins Vegetative, zur Natur heimkehrend.⁹⁷⁰

These letters, written in December 1958 or January 1959, demonstrate how deeply Hesse was touched and influenced by Kei Wakasugi's book. In fact, my research shows that the poem is dedicated to Kei Wakasugi.⁹⁷¹ As discussed in Chapter 3, the process of transcultural epistolary exchange between Hesse and some of his Japanese readers was based on the establishment of 'emotional trust' which allowed deep affinities with Hesse to arise among some Japanese readers and spiritual capital to be generated. Therefore, Kei Wakasugi's gift is not an isolated case of generosity, but is integral to Hesse's transcultural dialogue with his Japanese readers overall. Indeed, a constellation of events culminated closely and symbiotically towards the end of the 1950s. On the one hand, Wilhelm Gundert regularly visited Hesse in Montagnola, sharing the results of his translation work on the *Pi Yen Lu* with Hesse; on the other, Hesse was in constant transcultural dialogue with his Japanese readers, and it is in this framework that he received Kei Wakasugi's study of the ancient weathered Buddha statues. This fusion of events inspired Hesse to write the 'preparatory' poem *Uralte Buddha-Figur* in mid-December 1958. This is the full text of the poem:

Gesänftigt und gemagert, vieler Regen
Und vieler Fröste Opfer, grün von Moosen
Gehn deine milden Wangen, deine großen
Gesenkten Lider still dem Ziel entgegen,
Dem willigen Zerfalle, dem Entwerden
Im All, im ungestaltet Grenzenlosen
Noch kündigt die zerrinnende Gebärde
Vom Adel deiner königlichen Sendung

⁹⁷⁰ Hesse, H. 1958-1959. Drei Briefe von Hermann Hesse. *Schweizer Monatshefte: Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*. 38(12), pp. 1012-1014.

⁹⁷¹ Writing at the end of 1958 to the Japanese translator Mayumi Haga, to whom he had sent the poem, Hesse states: 'Wenn Sie Lust dazu haben, es zu übersetzen, dann bitte ich Sie Ihre Übersetzung an den Mann weiter zu geben, dem das Gedicht gewidmet ist, an Kei Wakasugi.' *GB4*: 324.

Und sucht doch schon in Feuchte, Schlamm und Erde,
 Der Formen ledig, ihres Sinns Vollendung,
 Wird morgen Wurzel sein und Laubes Säuseln,
 Wird Wasser sein, zu spiegeln Himmels Reinheit,
 Wird sich zu Efeu, Algen, Farnen kräuseln -
 Bild allen Wandels in der ewigen Einheit.⁹⁷²

I propose that we consider this poem a ‘bridge’ between Hesse’s previous literary production in the prose and poetry that constitutes *Das Glasperlenspiel* in 1943 and the Zen-poems he was to write shortly after this 1958 poem, and my analysis will demonstrate that there are a number of reasons to do so. Hesse’s well-known poem *Stufen* in *Das Glasperlenspiel*, for example, is about the different life stages a human being passes through on the way to death, which should be serenely embraced, in what Olaf Berwald describes ‘as a seamlessly rejuvenating process of metamorphic maturation’.⁹⁷³ The poem is an example of Hesse’s finest reflective poetry, yet is qualitatively distinct from the ‘preparatory’ poem and the Zen-poetry I am examining here.

Reading the *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht verwitternd* poem closely, the reader notices that Hesse has sacrificed the use of ‘I’ entirely in the poem in order to remove himself, and a narrator, from the composition as far as possible, and thus a position of objective knowledge, so that the weathered Buddha statue is foregrounded and garners the reader’s attention.⁹⁷⁴ Moreover, the poem has a meditative mood in that very few phrases of literal (Western objective) description of nature and the world are retained: *grün von Moosen; deine (...) Wangen; deine großen Gesenkten Lider; die (...) Gebärde* and *Feuchte, Schlamm und Erde*. Instead, the poem relies heavily on figurative language which is coloured by ideas from Buddhism and Zen-Buddhism: *still dem Ziel entgegen; Dem willigen Zerfalle; dem Entwerden im All; im ungestaltet Grenzenlosen* and *Der Formen ledig, ihres Sinns Vollendung*. In Buddhism all objects whether animate or inanimate carry Buddhahood within themselves and thus are sacred in their true, core nature. As the statue weathers it moves closer towards its inherent goal of dissolution and Buddhahood. However, when Hesse writes *dem Entwerden im All, im ungestaltet Grenzenlosen* and *Der Formen ledig* he moves gracefully into the field of Zen-Buddhism in which any preconceptions of form or the mental state of an observer are abandoned. The final line of the poem, also figurative, draws parallels between weathering statues, which represent the ultimate

⁹⁷² *SW10*: 390.

⁹⁷³ Berwald, O. 2009. Hesse’s Poetry. In: Cornils, I. ed. *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, pp. 241-262. Here: p. 256.

⁹⁷⁴ Compare, for instance, a 1914 poem with a religious theme entitled ‘Bhagavad Gita’ which commences in the very first line with: ‘Wieder lag ich schlaflos Stund um Stund, Unbegriffen Leids die Seele voll und wund.’ *SW10*: 221.

dissolution and transience of all form, and the constant deep and timeless unity of the universe: *Bild allen Wandels in der ewigen Einheit*. Hesse lends credence to this analysis in the letter to his long-term friend Otto Engel⁹⁷⁵ in January 1959 from which I have already quoted. In this poem, the process of re-visiting Buddhism and recalling the work and study that was necessary to complete *Siddhartha* meets and merges with the gathering impulses towards Zen-Buddhism provided by Gundert's translation work and Kei Wakasugi's striking book of ancient Buddha statues in the open. Hesse writes to Otto Engel: 'Sie kennen meine sehr alte Liebe zu Buddha, meine späte zum Buddhismus in der Form des Zen. Das wurde im Betrachten jenen Buches von Kei Wakasugi wieder mächtig wach.'⁹⁷⁶

In this section, I have discussed the 'preparatory' poem *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht verwitternd* and analysed the reasons for its bridging function. I now explicate how Wilhelm Gundert's translation work influenced Hesse to the point that he wrote the three Zen-poems in early 1961.

4.3. The Influence of Gundert's Translation of the *Pi Yen Lu* on Hesse's Zen Poems

Writing in 1967 in the preface to the second volume of the *Bi Yän Lu* (cases 34-50), Gundert recalls the encouragement he received from Hesse's engagement with his translations of the first thirty-three cases from 1954 until the publication of the first volume in 1960. He writes:

Auch in den nun folgenden Jahren fortgesetzten Ringens mit dem schwer faßbaren Gegenstand durfte ich Ermutigung durch Teilnahme von anderen erfahren. Hermann Hesse (...) hat sich in seinem Heim hoch über dem Luganer See an manchen Abenden aus meinem Manuskript vorlesen lassen. Und aus seiner liebevollen Beschäftigung mit der ihm neuen, aber irgendwie doch kongenialen Welt sind sogar noch einige seiner letzten Gedichte hervorgegangen.⁹⁷⁷

As I discuss in Chapter 2, after Wilhelm Gundert visited Hesse in the spring of 1922, Hesse was able to finish writing the second part of *Siddhartha*, and Hesse subsequently gratefully dedicated the second half of the novel to his 'Japanese' cousin. In a letter to Frederik van Eeden in 1923, Hesse summarizes the spiritual thrust of *Siddhartha* as the overcoming of the personality and being filled by God.⁹⁷⁸ At this time, Hesse was writing about Buddhism; not

⁹⁷⁵ Dr. Otto Engel (1888-1967) and his wife Mia (1887-1967) corresponded with Hesse over a number of years (GB3: 161 carries the first published letter from Hesse to Otto Engel which is dated 10 September 1940). In 1947, Otto Engel published *Hermann Hesse: Dichtung und Gedanke* (Stuttgart: Frommann). Otto Engel was an academic, librarian, and publisher of the works of evangelical theologian and philosopher Christoph Schrempf.

⁹⁷⁶ Hesse, H. 1958-1959. Drei Briefe von Hermann Hesse. *Schweizer Monatshefte: Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft, Kultur*. 38(12), pp. 1012-1014.

⁹⁷⁷ Gundert, W. 1967. *Bi Yän Lu: Niederschrift von der Smaragdenen Felswand*. 2. Band. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 14.

⁹⁷⁸ GB2: 48. Hesse is writing on 3 February, 1923, to Frederik van Eeden, author of the book *Johannes der Wanderer*. '...das Überwinden der Persönlichkeit und das Durchdrungenwerden von Gott (...) haben Sie aus dem 'Siddhartha' gesehen.'

yet about Zen-Buddhism. The steps he took towards a Zen-Buddhist orientation were firmly laid, however, when his Japanese cousin came to visit Hesse in his residence high above Lake Lugano bringing with him his manuscript in order to share the cases with Hesse.

By the beginning of 1961, the various strands of influence had arranged themselves in such an effective constellation that Hesse was then disposed to write his Zen-poems. Hesse was now acquainted with Zen-Buddhism through the translation of the Zen cases of the *Pi Yen Lu*. Moreover, thanks to both the intense transcultural dialogue and the deep affinities and spiritual capital that had developed between him and his Japanese readers, the Zen-poems were no longer aesthetically pleasurable yet culturally remote objects for Hesse. They became an almost inevitable new form of literary expression. I now discuss the three poems and will establish how they differ from Hesse's previous work. They are *Der erhobene Finger* (*The Raised Finger* – January 1961), and *Junger Novize im Zenkloster I & II* (*The Young Novice in the Zen Monastery I & II*), both written in February 1961.⁹⁷⁹

4.4. Three Zen-poems

Few Hesse researchers have evaluated and legitimised his Zen-poems. Two exceptions are Irmgard Yu-Gundert and Adrian Hsia. For Yu-Gundert, these poems are the most complete, concise expressions of the depth of Hesse's spiritual knowledge, rarely equalled in his earlier work.⁹⁸⁰ Moreover, for Hsia, Hesse not only penetrated the 'iron-hard shell' of the Zen cases, but had jumped directly to the 'sweet core'⁹⁸¹ thanks to the congeniality of his creativity.⁹⁸² While I am in general agreement with both researchers, neither, I argue, places enough emphasis on the ground work that was laid by Wilhelm Gundert during his visits to Montagnola, and neither is aware of the intense transcultural dialogue that Hesse maintained with his Japanese readers that is archived and held by the DLA. This dialogue with his Japanese readers motivated Hesse, especially through the agency of Kei Wakasugi's photographic work depicting weathered Buddha statues, to capture his growing understanding of Zen-Buddhism in the 'preparatory' poem *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer*

⁹⁷⁹ 'Whenever anything was asked, Master Chu Ti would just raise one finger.' Cleary, T. & Cleary, J. C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 123. Hesse's poem starts thus: Meister Djü-dschi war, wie man uns berichtet, von stiller, sanfter Art, und so bescheiden, daß er auf Wort und Lehre ganz verzichtet. ... The other two poems are *Junger Novize im Zen-Kloster I* and *Junger Novize im Zen-Kloster II*. See SW10: 393-394. For a further discussion of Hesse's three Zen poems, see: Yu-Gundert, I. 2002. Hesses späte Begegnung mit dem Zen-Buddhismus – Hermann Hesse und sein Vetter Wilhelm Gundert. In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse Siddhartha*. Stuttgart: Staatsanzeiger Verlag, pp. 165-178.

⁹⁸⁰ Ibid. 'Diese Begegnung hat Hesse dazu angeregt, sein eigenes tieferes Wissen in den drei Zen-Gedichten so vollständig und klar zusammengefasst anzusprechen, wie kaum je an irgendeiner Stelle des früheren Werkes.' Here: p. 178.

⁹⁸¹ See also Hesse's letter to Wilhelm Gundert in September 1960 as a direct response to his cousin on the publication of the *Bi Yün Lu*. Hesse writes of a 'süßer Kern', a sweet core, which can only be reached after penetrating the 'eisenharte Schalen', the iron-hard shells. GB4: 385.

⁹⁸² Hsia, A. 2002. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 134. The 'iron-hard shells' constitute the years of contemplative study, and the techniques used by a Zen master to bring a monk to enlightenment in an instant without using words, through actions such as boxing the ears of a monk, the violent tweaking of a nose, or through a blow of the master's staff.

japanischen Waldschlucht verwitternd, which I consider to be a transitional poem between Buddhism and Zen-Buddhism (see above), and then finally to evolve his literary production to the point of writing the Zen-poems. In the following, I discuss the three poems, before comparing and contrasting the poems with Hesse's *Drei-Stufen-Lehre* (*Three-Step Doctrine*) in order to emphasize their novel and notably concentrated form.

4.4.1. Poem 1 – *Der Erhobene Finger*

Der Erhobene Finger

Meister Djü-dschi war, wie man uns berichtet,
 Von stiller, sanfter Art und so bescheiden,
 Daß er auf Wort und Lehre ganz verzichtet,
 Denn Wort ist Schein, und jeden Schein zu meiden
 War er gewissenhaft bedacht. (5)
 Wo manche Schüler, Mönche und Novizen
 Vom Sinn der Welt, vom höchsten Gut
 In edler Rede und mit Geistesblitzen
 Gern sich ergingen, hielt er schweigend Wacht,
 Vor jedem Überschwange auf der Hut. (10)
 Und wenn sie ihm mit ihren Fragen kamen,
 Den eitlen wie den ernsten, nach dem Sinn
 Der alten Schriften, nach den Buddha-Namen,
 Nach der Erleuchtung, nach der Welt Beginn
 Und Untergang, verblieb er schweigend, (15)
 Nur leise mit dem Finger aufwärts zeigend.
 Und dieses Fingers stumm-beredtes Zeigen
 Ward immer inniger und mahnender: es sprach,
 Es lehrte, lobte, strafte, wies so eigen
 Ins Herz der Welt und Wahrheit, daß hernach (20)
 So mancher Jünger dieses Fingers sachte
 Hebung verstand, erbebte und erwachte.⁹⁸³

This first Zen poem is Hesse's response to Gundert's translation of the nineteenth case of the *Pi Yen Lu* entitled *Djü-dschi's Finger Zen* (*Chu Ti's One-Finger Ch'an* [Zen]).⁹⁸⁴ The raised finger of the Zen master Chu Ti warns novices against spending too much time and effort on

⁹⁸³ *SW10*: 393.

⁹⁸⁴ The English title for the case is taken from Cleary, T. & Cleary, J.C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 123. Other English translations of the case are also taken from the same book.

questions based on reason because this is the false path to enlightenment.⁹⁸⁵ Hesse echoes this Zen insight by writing that words are just a masking façade in line four (‘Denn Wort ist Schein’). This line from the poem has certain parallels with the Hindu doctrine that Hesse uses in Knecht’s third ‘life’, his *Indischer Lebenslauf*, one of the three *Lebensläufe* at the end of *Das Glasperlenspiel*. In this Indian life, set in the Vedic period, the young prince Dasa seeks to learn the art of meditation from a holy man in the forest. Dasa recounts how his life has thus far been full of torment and he asks the yogi how he can attain peace and tranquillity. The holy man listens quietly to Dasa’s story. Once Dasa has finished, the yogi laughs silently, shakes his head and replies ‘Maya! Maya!’, thereby dismissing Dasa’s prior life as ‘appearance’ or mere ‘illusion’.⁹⁸⁶ This gesture of raising the finger warns against an unnecessary reliance on the masking effect of words and the mental faculty of reason. Moreover, raising a finger is an actual method of instruction used by the Zen master, which offers a potential path to enlightenment for the novice. Different Zen masters employ different methods for their own practice and teaching of Zen. Chu Ti used the method of the raised finger until his dying day.⁹⁸⁷ On the other hand, this 19th case from the *Pi Yen Lu* also mentions the master Da-di in the notes, who employs a different method, hitting the ground once with his staff when questioned. One day someone hid this master’s staff. When he is asked, ‘What is Buddha?’, Da-di simply opens his mouth wide in response.

Since this first Zen-poem is based on the 19th case of the *Pi Yen Lu*, Hesse will have read Gundert’s translation of the pointer (*Hinweis*), which is an introductory passage to the case. This pointer opens: ‘Es steigt ein Stäubchen in die Höhe: die ganze Erde is darin befaßt.’ (‘When one speck of dust arises, the great earth is contained therein;’), and continues: ‘Es geht ein Blümchen auf, und eine Welt entsteht.’ (‘when a single flower blooms, the world arises.’).⁹⁸⁸ As an astute reader (or listener⁹⁸⁹), Hesse will have been transported to the core of Zen-Buddhism ‘thinking’. In fact, as Hesse writes in the foreword to the privately published pamphlet *Zen* in 1961, he was occupied for weeks following the publication of Gundert’s translation in September 1960 in the preliminary study of the *koans* and their

⁹⁸⁵ Chu Ti’s one-finger Zen also reminds one of Hesse’s essay on Herr Claassen written in 1936. *SW12*: 405-425. Herr Claassen, whom Hesse came later to recognize as a Pietist mystic, stood out among the visitors to Hesse’s parents’ house in Calw during Hesse’s childhood through his tendency to raise his thin wooden index finger before delivering a timely warning to a child.

⁹⁸⁶ *SW5*: 494-496.

⁹⁸⁷ In English, Chu Ti’s death is reported as follows: ‘When he was nearing death, Chu Ti said to his assembly, “I attained T’ien Lung’s one-finger Ch’an and have used it all my life without exhausting it. Do you want to understand?” He raised his finger, then died.’ Cleary, T. & Cleary, J.C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 125.

⁹⁸⁸ Gundert, W. 1960. *Bi Yän Lu, 1. Band*. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, p. 341. See also: Cleary, T. & Cleary, J.C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 123.

⁹⁸⁹ Because of his poor eyesight, Ninon Hesse, his third wife, often read books and manuscripts to Hesse.

annotations.⁹⁹⁰ Ninon Hesse read the cases out loud to Hesse and the days thereafter were spent for the most part in deep reflection and contemplation.⁹⁹¹ In the same foreword, Hesse confirms that, before writing the Zen-poems early the next year, he was able to penetrate through to the essence and gain new insights into Zen practice: ‘Ich hatte früher manchen Aufsatz und auch einige Bücher über Zen gelesen. Was sie mir nicht gegeben hatten, das erschloß sich mir bei dieser heilsamen Beschäftigung.’⁹⁹²

I would argue further that Hesse incorporates his ‘Japanese’ cousin gratefully into the poem as the fictitious Meister Djü-dschi. Indeed, the poem is formally dedicated to Wilhelm Gundert. During Gundert’s near thirty-year sojourn in Japan he had gone entirely native, absorbing much of the culture of the country in which he lived. Hesse variously describes Gundert as an ‘Eastern apostle’ from ‘motherly Asia’, and as a person with whom Hesse could ‘think, talk and contemplate in an Indian and Chinese way’ (‘...und mit ihm kann ich indisch und chinesisches denken, reden und schweigen wie mit niemand.’).⁹⁹³ In his eulogy to Gundert, Dietrich Seckel describes Gundert’s countenance and remembers him as a refined, wise, experienced, humble, contemplative scholar and master of the East (‘In bezaubernder Weise erinnerte er an die feinen, wissensreichen, erfahrenen, bescheidenen, ganz in sich ruhenden, [...] Gelehrten und Meister des Osten...’).⁹⁹⁴ In 1954, following their reconciliation (Hesse forgave Gundert his Nazi past and Gundert overcame his shame to the point that he was once again able to visit Hesse in person again – see Chapter 2 for more about these paradoxes), Gundert visited Hesse in Montagnola for the first time in twenty-four years. Hesse writes about his impressions of his ‘Japanese’ cousin and notes that Gundert’s bright Swabian face had acquired a mantle of Asian calmness, patience and deep introspection through the nearly three decades Gundert lived in Japan (‘...sein helles schwäbisches Gesicht dort jenen Überzug von asiatischer Stille, Geduld und Versunkenheit bekam, ...’); a country in which for years he wore Japanese garments, lived and slept, ate and drank just like a native (‘...jahrelang trug er japanisches Gewand, wohnte und schlief, aß und trank auf Japanisch, ...’).⁹⁹⁵ Although much of Hesse’s glowing description will have been influenced by the joy of seeing this family member again, and thus must be treated with

⁹⁹⁰ Hesse writes about his reaction to Gundert’s translation: ‘Erschienen ist das Werk im September 1960. Einige Wochen nahm die erste Lektüre (meine Frau las vor) in Anspruch. Seither hat das Buch und das Nachsinnen darüber einen großen Teil meiner Tage ausgefüllt. *SW12*: 248.

⁹⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹⁹² Ibid.

⁹⁹³ Letter to Felix Braun mid-February 1922. Michels, V. 1975. *Materialien zu Hermann Hesses ‘Siddhartha’*. Erster Band. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 152.

⁹⁹⁴ Seckel, D. 1973. Wilhelm Gundert zum Gedenken. In: Gundert, W. *Bi Yän Lu*. 3. Band. München: Carl Hanser Verlag, pp. 153-156. Here: p. 154.

⁹⁹⁵ Hesse, H. 2000. Rundbrief aus Sils-Maria. *Hermann Hesse: Briefe an Freunde*. Michels, V. ed. Frankfurt am Main: Insel, pp. 196-210. Here: p. 199.

caution, I suggest that the similarities between Gundert and the Zen master of the second line of the poem (*‘Von stiller, sanfter Art und so bescheiden, ...’*) are not down to chance.

Moreover, as Christoph Gellner correctly points out, the way the poem cuts its way through all time and all place lends itself to meditation rather than to interpretation.⁹⁹⁶ Interestingly, Hesse embraced and internalised the reductive and meditative style of the poem in his everyday practice by developing his own Zen-master ‘method’. Miguel Serrano, a Chilean diplomat and writer, who lived for ten years in the Casa Camuzzi in Montagnola, visited Hesse on 21 January, 1961. He recalls that Hesse raised his finger during a conversation about the very same poem, which had just been published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, saying, ‘Don’t forget that words are masks.’⁹⁹⁷ In this way, Hesse embodies the Zen master of his own poem, and tangibly focuses his visitor on the essence of the mind, instead of the external, intellectual acquisition of knowledge.

4.4.2. Poems 2 & 3 – *Junger Novize im Zen Kloster I & II*

Hesse’s second and third Zen-poems are *Junger Novize im Zen Kloster I & II*. Hesse expresses his understanding of Zen-Buddhism in the second poem by writing about the experiences of a young novice in a monastery, before distilling his knowledge of the core message of formlessness and unity in Zen in the third poem.

Junger Novize im Zen-Kloster

I

Meines Vaters Haus im Süden steht,
Sonne wärmt es sanft und Seeluft weht,
Von der Heimat träum ich manche Nacht,
Naß von Träumen bin ich oft erwacht.

Wittern meine Kameraden schon,
Wie mir ist? Mir bangt vor ihrem Hohn.
Alte Mönche schnarchen rau wie Tiere,
Ich allein, Yü Wang, bin wach und friere.

⁹⁹⁶ See: Gellner, C. 2005. *Hermann Hesse und die Spiritualität des Ostens*. Düsseldorf: Patmos, p. 217.

⁹⁹⁷ Serrano, M. 1997. *C.G. Jung and Hermann Hesse: A Record of Two Friendships*. Einsiedeln: Daimon, p. 37.

Einmal, einmal nehm ich meinen Stab,
 Binde die Sandalen, reise ab,
 Tausend Meilen, pilgre ich zurück
 In die Heimat, ins verlaßne Glück.

Aber wenn des Meisters Tigerblick
 Mich durchbohrt, erkenn ich mein Geschick,
 Spüre Glut und spüre Eis im Leibe,
 Zittre, schäme mich und bleibe, bleibe.

II

Ist auch alles Trug und Wahn
 Und die Wahrheit stets unnennbar
 Dennoch blickt der Berg mich an
 Zackig und genau erkennbar.

Hirsch und Rabe, rote Rose,
 Meeresblau und bunte Welt:
 Sammle dich – und sie zerfällt
 ins Gestalt und Namenlose.

Sammle dich und kehre ein,
 Lerne schauen, lerne lesen!
 Sammle dich – und Welt wird Schein.
 Sammle dich – und Schein wird Wesen.⁹⁹⁸

In outline, in poem three, we encounter in the first line the significant words ‘*Trug*’, and ‘*Wahn*’ (deception and illusion), which represent the current state of the young novice’s development in the Zen monastery. This is the world of appearances in which the novice is misled regarding the true nature of the world. By the last verse, together with the novice, we have journeyed through the world of various objects, that is, the world of mostly

⁹⁹⁸ *SW10*: 393-394.

intellectualized names and forms, until we reach ‘*Schein*’ (appearance), which is ultimately transformed into ‘*Wesen*’ (essence); the ‘essence’ of the mind and the essence of Zen. Adrian Hsia points out an interesting parallel to Hesse’s poem in the essays written by D.T. Suzuki, one of the seminal Japanese interpreters of Zen-Buddhism for Western readerships.⁹⁹⁹ Drawing on a famous expression in Zen-Buddhism, Suzuki writes that, before one embarks on Zen and attains enlightenment, mountains are simply mountains and rivers are rivers. After a period of instruction with a good Zen master, and with insight into the true nature of Zen, mountains are no longer mountains, nor are rivers rivers – in other words, one no longer distinguishes between the hallowed names and forms, the external intellectualization of the objects. In a final stage of *satori*, or enlightenment, the acquisition of a new viewpoint into Zen, for the student, mountains are again mountains and rivers are again rivers.¹⁰⁰⁰ The realization of the true nature of the observer occurs in the middle of this example when mountains are no longer mountains, nor are rivers rivers. I suggest this corresponds to the second verse of Hesse’s poem (‘*Hirsch und Rabe...*’). Returning to Suzuki, writing in a similar vein in 1964, he confirms that the goal of Zen instruction for the novice is to rid himself of dualistic thinking and logic (Hesse’s ‘*Trug und Wahn*’), and that the goal ‘consists in acquiring a new viewpoint for looking into the essence of things.’¹⁰⁰¹ I argue that the new viewpoint is found in Hesse’s final third verse: ‘*Lerne schauen*’. The mental attachments have been shaken off and the novice, if he follows the path the master has explicated, awakens to reality in that, following Hesse, ‘*Schein wird Wesen*’, appearance becomes essence. The master’s teachings in this third poem are far from any study of formal scriptures but rooted in inspirational practice where the impact of the recitation of a phrase may trigger a deep insight in the contemplative novice (‘*Samme dich – und Schein wird Wesen*’). This demonstrates, I argue, that Hesse now had insight into the essence of Zen practice.

4.4.2. Hesse’s ‘*Drei-Stufen-Lehre*’: from European Christianity to transcultural Zen-Buddhism

In her essay *Hesses späte Begegnung mit dem Zen-Buddhismus*,¹⁰⁰² Irmgard Yu-Gundert points out certain parallels in the Zen-poems to what she terms Hesse’s ‘*Drei-Stufen-Lehre*’ (‘Three-Step Doctrine’). Hesse’s ‘Three-Step Doctrine’ is known from his essay *Ein Stückchen Theologie (A Bit of Theology)*, which was published in 1932.¹⁰⁰³ In this essay,

⁹⁹⁹ Hsia, A. 2002. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Adrian Hsia. 2002. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 135-136.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Hsia is drawing on: Suzuki, D.T. 1927. *Essays in Zen Buddhism*. London: Luzac, p. 12.

¹⁰⁰¹ Suzuki, D.T. 1964. *An introduction to Zen Buddhism*. New York: Grove Press, p. 58.

¹⁰⁰² Yu-Gundert, I. 2002. Hesses späte Begegnung mit dem Zen-Buddhismus - Hermann Hesse und sein Vetter Wilhelm Gundert. In: Limberg, M. *Hermann Hesse Siddhartha*. Stuttgart: Staatsanzeiger Verlag, pp. 165-178. Here: p. 168.

¹⁰⁰³ SW12: 152-164. In a letter to Thomas Mann, dated 26 March, 1932, Hesse gives information on the background to this essay: ‘Zufällig fand ich dieser Tage wieder einen Aufsatz wieder, den ich vor längerer Zeit

Hesse records his knowledge of the three stages of the process of humanization (*Menschwerdung*) and individuation which comprises three stages: first, a stage of innocence (*Unschuld*); second, a stage of guiltiness (*Schuld*), in which there is a knowledge of good and evil (*das Wissen um Gut und Böse*), the demands of culture, morals, religions and human ideals, which lead every serious, critical individual invariably to despair (*Verzweiflung*); and a final stage which ends in downfall (*Untergang*), or a break through to grace, redemption, (*Vordringen zu Gnade und Erlöstsein*) and faith (*Glauben*).¹⁰⁰⁴ In this second state of innocence the ego has been subsumed in what Hesse terms the true self.¹⁰⁰⁵ While Hesse concedes that the same three-step pattern exists in other religious traditions, such as Brahmanism, Buddhism, and in Taoism, he is conscious that his own model is European and expressed in almost Christian terms.¹⁰⁰⁶ Acknowledging Yu-Gundert's comparison, I identify below some of these parallels in the three Zen-poems below. However, I argue that Hesse by this time had moved into a 'transformative', transcultural form of expression in Zen-Buddhism. By this I mean that, although the steps identifiable in the Zen-poems may have their distant roots in Hesse's previous Christian upbringing and thinking, the concentrated form of expression he chooses in these Zen-poems transcends cultural locality entirely. I suggest that these Zen-poems are instances of 'transculturation' (see the thesis conclusion), and exemplify a unique, concise synthesis of the essence of *Geist* in East and West, that is, a coming together of East and West rather than a unidirectional flow.

As stated above, parallels can be identified between Hesse's 'Three-Step Doctrine' and the Zen-poems. For instance, lines two and three of the second Zen-poem demonstrate the naivety and innocence of the beginner in the freezing Zen monastery, who suffers acute homesickness and yearns for the comforting warmth of his father's house: '*Vaters Haus im Süden steht, Sonne wärmt es sanft und Seeluft weht*'. The second stage of Hesse's Doctrine is represented by the struggle and despair that the young novice experiences in the final verse of the second poem. He endures fire and ice ('*Spüre Glut und spüre Eis im Leibe*') under the master's piercing gaze, but recognizes his fate ('*Aber wenn des Meisters Tigerblick mich durchbohrt, erkenn ich mein Geschick*'). The final Zen-poem demonstrates the goal the novice has to work toward and achieve. With the Zen master's guidance, the novice can unmask the subjective differentiation he observes in nature. The poem is sprinkled with the object-naming words *Berg*, *Hirsch*, *Raben*, and the aesthetic differentiation and perception of the world in the adjective-noun and substantive adjective

einmal geschrieben habe, um meiner Frau einige Begriffe und Nomenclaturen meines Denkens klar zu machen.' Hesse, H. 2016. *Hermann Hesse: Die Briefe 1924-1932. Band 4*. Michels, V. ed. Berlin: Suhrkamp, p. 566.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 152.

¹⁰⁰⁵ 'Sein Ich ist ganz zum Selbst geworden.' Ibid., p. 153.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *SW12*: 153.

combinations *rote Rose*, *Meeresblau* and *bunte Welt*. The third stage of Hesse's 'Three-Step Doctrine', which he termed, from the European and Christian perspective, grace, redemption or faith, the second 'innocence', is the state of enlightenment in Zen-Buddhism. In the final line of the third poem, Hesse writes from an insightful Zen perspective: '*Schein wird zum Wesen*' (appearance becomes essence). In fact, this same third stage can be found in the final two lines of the first Zen-poem of Meister Djü-dschi's raised-finger Zen: '*So mancher Jünger dieses Fingers sachte Hebung verstand, erbebte und erwachte.*'

Interestingly, Siegfried Unseld points out that in the final verse of the third poem the master implores the novice three times: *sammle dich*.¹⁰⁰⁷ Hesse may have chosen the word with an eye to its etymology. *Sammeln* derives from the Proto-Germanic *samana*, which at root means 'at one' or 'together'.¹⁰⁰⁸ Here, it can be interpreted as meaning coming together with god – which in Zen-Buddhism means recognizing the 'essence'. Notwithstanding these traces of Indo-European linguistic roots, and certain similarities with Hesse's 'Three-Step Doctrine', rooted in European and Christian culture, the universality of the message is clearly the same and coherent. Thus, with the Zen-poems, Hesse has crafted a literary form that is transculturally concise and quintessential in expression and heavily meditative in mood.

4.4.3. Josef Knecht's letter to Carlo Ferromonte: Cracking open the 'core' of Zen-Buddhism

A further piece of evidence that Hesse's study of Zen-Buddhism brought him entirely new insights and perspectives into the 'essence' of the universe is provided by the re-appearance of Josef Knecht (Hesse's *alter ego* in *Das Glasperlenspiel*). In the same cycle of literary activity as the Zen-poems, Hesse creates a fictional letter by Josef Knecht in 1961, which is addressed to Carlo Ferromonte.¹⁰⁰⁹ The 'letter' addresses Ferromonte's tendency to dismiss Zen as a passing fad and thus not worthy of further investigation.¹⁰¹⁰ Knecht describes the Zen anecdotes (cases) in Gundert's translation of the *Pi Yen Lu* as *Kerne* (pits, cores or 'seeds'), which are 'encased in very thick shells'.¹⁰¹¹ According to Knecht, the reader has very little chance of understanding the anecdotes with logical reasoning and rationality, and that meaning and comprehension can only unfold with the aid of detailed annotations, commentaries, and with the guidance of a scholar trained in sinology and buddhology.¹⁰¹²

¹⁰⁰⁷ Unseld, S. 2004. Hermann Hesse heute. In: Solbach, A. ed. *Hermann Hesse und die literarische Moderne*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 11-27. Here: p. 17.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁹ This is a playful Italianized reworking of the name of his half-brother Karl Isenberg. Hesse, Hermann: 'Brief von Josef Knecht an Carlo Ferromonte'. *SW12*: 685–691. Here: p. 687.

¹⁰¹⁰ 'Du neigst, wie es scheint, eher dazu, das für eine bloße Mode und müßige Spielerei zu halten; du selbst ja im Grunde entschlossen, dich nicht näher darauf einzulassen.' Ibid., p. 685.

¹⁰¹¹ Ibid., p. 687.

¹⁰¹² Ibid., p. 687-688.

However, some of the cases can be understood intuitively and Knecht cites the first anecdote from the *Pi Yen Lu* as a representative and for him unforgettable case in which Bodhidharma, the meditation master from southern India, deflates Emperor Wu's worldly pretensions: 'Ein Kaiser fragt: "Welches ist der höchste Sinn der heiligen Wahrheit?" Dazu Bodhidharma: "Offene Weite – nichts von heilig."' ¹⁰¹³ [Emperor Wu of Liang asked the great master Bodhidharma, 'What is the highest meaning of the holy truths?' Bodhidharma said, 'Empty, without holiness.' ¹⁰¹⁴] Knecht describes and summarizes his reaction to the case as:

Augenblick (...) der unmittelbaren Erkenntnis oder Erfahrung (...) als Wirklichkeit erlebte Einswerden mit dem Ganzen (...) das Ziel, nach dem alle Jünger des Zen streben. ¹⁰¹⁵

As Knecht continues in the letter he dwells upon the phrase *Offene Weite*, which he finds unparalleled for the way it captures profound immediacy among all the other thirty-two cases of Gundert's translation. ¹⁰¹⁶ Other cases, he concedes, yield nothing on the first reading and some sound like nonsense or bickering in the language of an utterly foreign species of human or creature, which, however, when revisited suddenly open doors and windows to the heavens and reveal their 'core' truth. ¹⁰¹⁷ However, for Knecht nothing surpasses the 'Vom-Blitz-des-Innewerdens-getroffen-Sein' of the first case. ¹⁰¹⁸ It just remains for Knecht (Hesse) to ponder about the enlightenment of the Zen masters in the cases of the *Pi Yen Lu* as their awakening seems to continue for a lifetime, and that for them the bolt of lightning has become the sun and the moment has been 'nailed down' (*festgenagelt*), rather than continuing as a sequence of more and more closely and easily experienced moments of enlightenment. ¹⁰¹⁹ Knecht concedes to Ferromonte that this is a 'gap' in his understanding of the enlightenment of Chinese Zen masters, possibly because he is still thinking and reasoning too much like a person from the Occident. ¹⁰²⁰

This striking letter and its account of the momentary 'insight' experienced when reading the first case of the *Pi Yen Lu* demonstrates that Hesse did indeed crack open the 'hard shell' to dig out the shining 'core' of the first case of the *Pi Yen Lu* that his 'Japanese' cousin had so

¹⁰¹³ Ibid., p. 688.

¹⁰¹⁴ Cleary, T. & Cleary, J.C. 1977. *The Blue Cliff Record*. Boston: Shambhala, p. 1.

¹⁰¹⁵ Hesse, Hermann: Brief von Josef Knecht an Carlo Ferromonte. *SW12*: 685–691. Here: p. 688. My translation: 'Moment of direct insight or experience', 'becoming one with the whole experienced as reality', which is 'the goal toward which all Zen disciples strive.'

¹⁰¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid., p. 689. 'Es gibt da Geschichten, die beim ersten Lesen gar nichts hergeben wollen; sie klingen wie Geschwätz oder Gezank in der Sprache irgendeiner völlig fremden Menschen- oder Tierart - und bei einem späteren Wiederbetrachten tun sie auf einmal Türen und Fenster zu allen Himmeln auf.'

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid., p. 689.

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid.

painstakingly translated and annotated. Indeed, I suggest ‘Zen-Meister’ Gundert’s competent translation provides a shortcut, a ‘method’, or a liberating technique, by which Knecht (Hesse) experiences an instant of wordless enlightenment ironically through ‘reading’ this profound source of wisdom. Ultimately, while I concede this applies only to one case, the first one, the ‘method’ of the skilled translation into German still cuts through the conceptualization and intellectualization of Hesse’s European ‘Three Step Doctrine’ entirely, and guides Hesse directly to a profound personal experience of the formless ‘essence’ of Zen-Buddhism.

4.5. Ultimate outcome of Hesse’s transcultural dialogue with Japan: unique form of literary production beyond *Das Glasperlenspiel*

As I point out above in this chapter, Hesse researchers have told us that nothing very much happened in terms of Hesse’s literary production after *Das Glasperlenspiel*. Gabriele Lück is right to conclude that the enormous efforts and energy that Hesse invested in letter correspondence, particularly in the 1950s, mean that this epistolarium must be considered a further genre of Hesse’s overall literary production.¹⁰²¹ My analysis in Chapter 3 of the transcultural dialogue and transcultural affinities and spiritual capital that developed with his Japanese readers also provides evidence to re-evaluate and re-think the common analysis of Hesse’s literary production and to integrate his epistolary work in his literary *oeuvre*.¹⁰²²

Besides Hesse’s epistolary corpus, a further genre of Hesse’s literary production which is still largely overlooked and is unlegitimised is the large body of poetry he wrote during his lifetime of some 1,400 lyrical texts which have been collected and published in seventeen different anthologies.¹⁰²³ Hesse reflected upon the well-spring for his poetry, and in his 1918 essay *Über Gedichte*, which he revised in 1954,¹⁰²⁴ he distinguishes between two types of lyrical text. For him, the first category of poetry is that of the ‘*schöne Gedichte*’ (‘beautiful poems’), by which he means poems that are written by poets specifically to be marketed and sold and read by the buyer for amusement, in order to uplift the spirit, or as a diversion.¹⁰²⁵ The second category of poetry that Hesse distinguishes originates from a profound event. He characterises this event as a singular and unique discharge, a call, a scream, a sigh, a gesture, or a reaction of a person’s soul to an experience by means of which a poet seeks to defend

¹⁰²¹ Lück, G. 2009. *An Hermann Hesse: Der Leser als Produzent*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, p. 179.

¹⁰²² To be fair, Volker Michels has recognized the magnitude of this problem and is in the middle of a project to publish 10 volumes of Hesse’s most important letters. Volume one – letters dated from 1881 to 1904 – was published by Suhrkamp in 2012. Volume four – letters from 1924 to 1932 – was published in 2016.

¹⁰²³ See: *SW10*: 623–624. Olaf Berwald and Rüdiger Görner have both written essays to address this problem, but, as Berwald concedes, ‘We have yet to discover the poet Hermann Hesse (...)’. Berwald, O. 2009. Hesse’s Poetry. In: Cornils, I. ed. *A Companion to the Works of Hermann Hesse*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, pp. 241–262. Here: p. 258. Görner, R. 2005. Letzte Lieder: Zur Sprache des Späten in der Lyrik Hermann Hesses. In: Cornils, I. & Durrani, O. eds. *Hermann Hesse: Today*. Amsterdam–New York: Rodopi, pp. 205–220.

¹⁰²⁴ *SW14*: 356–360.

¹⁰²⁵ ‘Sie sind gemacht worden, um verbreitet und verkauft und von den Käufern zur Erheiterung oder Erhebung oder Zerstreung genossen werden.’ *SW14*: 360.

himself against or become conscious of a surge of emotion or an experience.¹⁰²⁶ Hesse suggests, and I paraphrase, that it is wrong to critically evaluate a poem arising from this ‘primal’ event; the poem may appeal to others, but should it move and stir feelings in readers it does so because the poem expresses something that is shared by them with the writer or exists as a non-manifested possibility in readers.¹⁰²⁷ Accepting that Hesse wrote the Zen-poems from an innate need for expression, I have argued that we must examine the causes for this somatic ‘discharge’ of lyrical text. My argument has been that his intense transcultural dialogue with his Japanese readers and the translation work of his ‘Japanese’ cousin were the causes which shaped a need to write these singular Zen-poems. Once a poem was written, Hesse worked long and hard at reformulating his poems until he was satisfied with the final ‘product’.¹⁰²⁸ These Zen-poems have the quality that Hesse is able to capture a life-long occupation with Buddhism in the verse, but that they are also the final ‘product’ of an intense transcultural dialogue with Japan, which intensified in the 1950s, and was symbiotic with his cousin’s translation work on the translation of the *Pi Yen Lu*, and thus they also contain penetrating insights into Zen-Buddhism. Following this line of thinking, I argue that these Zen-poems no longer fit neatly into a categorising trichotomy such as that suggested by Peter Huber: *Liebes-, Natur-, und Gedankenlyrik* (love, nature, and reflective poetry).¹⁰²⁹ The third Zen-poem, for example, although written in the form of a lyrical text, provides the perspective of a Zen-master and is perhaps best categorised as a ‘public case’ or *koan* in its own right that tests and directs the reader’s own understanding of Zen-Buddhism as would a Zen master with a novice in a monastery. To contrast these Zen-poems to those poems that Hesse wrote while writing *Das Glasperlenspiel*, and which have been integrated into the overall novel as *Die Gedichte des Schülers und Studenten* [Josef Knecht], points to the same conclusion that these Zen-poems have a singular quality. For instance, a poem such as *Seifenblasen* from *Das Glasperlenspiel*, taken here as representative, is concerned with exploring the world of ‘appearances’ and borrows from the Indian philosophical and religious concept of the world of illusion captured by the word ‘maya’. The poem is about an old man, a boy, and a student. The last verse of the poem

¹⁰²⁶ ‘Es ist eine Entladung, ein Ruf, ein Schrei, ein Seufzer, eine Gebärde, eine Reaktion der erlebenden Seele, mit der sie sich einer Wallung, eines Erlebnisses zu erwehren oder ihrer bewußt zu werden sucht.’ *SW14*: 359.

¹⁰²⁷ ‘Manchmal geschieht es nun, daß ein Gedicht außer dem (...) auch noch andere erfreuen, bewegen und rühren kann (...). Vermutlich ist es dann der Fall, wenn das, was es ausdrückt, etwas vielen Menschen Gemeinsames, bei allen Mögliches ist. Aber gewiß ist das keineswegs.’ *SW14*: 359-360.

¹⁰²⁸ In a letter to his son Martin dated April 1940, Hesse sends him the final version of the poem ‘Flötenspiel’. He describes in detail how he has rewritten the poem over a period of days (*tagelang damit beschäftigt, dem kleinen Gedicht eine bessere Fassung zu geben*): ‘Es hatte zuerst vier Strophen und hat jetzt nur noch drei, und ich hoffe, es sei dadurch einfacher und besser geworden und habe nichts Wesentliches verloren. In der ersten Strophe störte mich die vierte Zeile schon von Anfang an, und beim öfteren Abschreiben für Freunde begann ich dann Zeile um Zeile und Wort um Wort zu beklopfen und zu prüfen, was entbehrlich sei und was nicht.’ *GB3*: 153.

¹⁰²⁹ Peter Huber writing in the *Nachwort des Bearbeiters* in *SW10*: 609-623. Here: p. 619. ‘Hesses autorisierte Lyrik läßt sich gut den klassischen Teilgebieten Liebes-, Natur-, und Gedankenlyrik zuordnen, wobei in der Jugend die beiden ersten dominieren, während im Alter die letztere überwiegt.’

reads: ‘Und alle drei, Greis, Knabe und Student erschaffen aus dem Maya-Schaum der Welten zaubrische Träume, die an sich nichts gelten, in welchen aber lächelnd sich erkennt das ewige Licht und freudiger entbrennt.’ Hesse is thematising the same illusionary world of ‘maya’ that the Indian prince Dasa learns about from the Indian yogi in the forest in the *Indischer Lebenslauf*. This poem is still bereft of the growth that was to come in Hesse’s developing transcultural spiritual outlook in the 1950s. Below I analyse an interesting argument put forth by Germanist Johannes Heiner that the prose of *Das Glasperlenspiel* can be read in such a way as to distil a path towards Knecht’s ‘enlightenment’. However, I will argue that this reading of Knecht’s ‘path’ to awakening is much different both culturally and in terms of process to the Zen-poems, thus underlining yet again their novelty and singularity.

In his essay, Johannes Heiner¹⁰³⁰ identifies seven ‘stages of awakening’ (*‘Stufen des Erwachens’*) which Josef Knecht passes through in Hesse’s novel *Das Glasperlenspiel*.¹⁰³¹ The first and second stages comprise Knecht’s initiation to meditation through music by the *Altmusikmeister*.¹⁰³² The third stage comprises Josef Knecht’s visit to the enlightened Chinese mystic in the bamboo grove, which causes Knecht to reflect that ‘enlightenment’ is not an end in itself, and that an ‘enlightened person’ must return to everyday life. The fourth stage is a ‘consciousness or awareness of the historical reality’ (*‘Bewusstsein der geschichtlichen Realität’*) of genesis and decline he obtains through his discussions with Pater Jakobus.¹⁰³³ The fifth and sixth stages consist of Knecht’s conversations with Plinio Designori and his pledge to educate Designori’s son Tito outside of Castalia, whereupon he resigns his offices and duties as the *Glasperlenspielmeister*, rejecting worldly materialism and emptying the *Geist*.¹⁰³⁴ These stages culminate in the seventh one in which Knecht, dedicated to the education of Tito, attains the final stage of awakening as he drowns in the mountain lake: ‘Er setzt dem Ertrinken im Bergsee keinen Widerstand entgegen. Josef Knechts Geist geht auf Tito über.’¹⁰³⁵ Following Johannes Heiner, because Knecht relinquishes the self and ego unconditionally, he dies in harmony with nature and the universe, and this represents his ‘awakening’. Heiner has distilled his analysis and these ‘stages’ from the plot and prose of *Das Glasperlenspiel*.

¹⁰³⁰ Germanist Johannes Heiner researches and writes extensively on Hesse and Rilke. He maintains a portal site to his written work at [<http://www.lyrikritke.de>].

¹⁰³¹ Heiner, J. 2005. *Stufen des Erwachens im Lebenslauf des Magister Ludi Josef Knecht*. [Online]. [Accessed 6 March 2018]. Available from:

http://lyrikritke.de/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=160&Itemid=115.

¹⁰³² Ibid.

¹⁰³³ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid. ‘He offers no resistance as he drowns in the mountain lake, and Josef Knecht’s spirit is transferred to Tito.’

In the paragraph above, I have translated ‘*Stufen des Erwachens*’ as ‘stages of awakening’. The word ‘stage’ reflects the categorical observations that an attentive reader can make from the story of Knecht’s life and the unfolding of his spiritual development. However, were ‘*Stufen*’ to be translated as ‘steps’ this would symbolize a conscious effort, or movement, or even a procedure to be effected toward a greater spiritual awakening. However, this is not the way that Heiner is interpreting the novel. Therefore, we are observing a ‘Seven-Step Doctrine’, which is locked into a European and Christian reading of the novel.

However, in Josef Knecht’s fictitious letter to Carlo Ferromonte in 1961, Hesse is doing his utmost to articulate a moment or instance of awakening or enlightenment, not unlike the inner visions of cosmic unity in a beam of sunlight experienced by the German mystic Jakob Boehme (1575-1624). Knecht’s reaction when reading Gundert’s translation of the first case of the *Pi Yen Lu* is described as ‘*Augenblick (...) der unmittelbaren Erkenntnis oder Erfahrung*’ (moment of direct insight or experience). The first Zen-poem, *Der erhobene Finger*, is the method of the raised finger to guide the novice toward this unmediated moment, ‘*So mancher Jünger dieses Fingers sachte Hebung verstand, erbebte und erwachte.*’ The second and third Zen-poems are about the novice learning to ‘see’ the world correctly, to unmask differentiating words, and to gain a new insightful perspective that collapses the world of appearances into a unity or essence. Hesse exhorts the novice ‘*Sammele dich – und Welt wird Schein*’, and then ‘*Sammele dich – und Schein wird Wesen*’. Thus, I argue, a further goal of the Zen-poems is to communicate the experience of moments of deep insight and new perspectives on the cosmos. Returning once again to the essay *Über Gedichte*, Hesse emphasized that writing a poem could be a compelling necessity and a response of the soul to a deeply profound experience. I suggest that this is the reason why Hesse ‘had’ to write both the *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht verwitternd* poem and the three Zen-poems. As these experiences are new, it follows that these poems are clearly differentiated from his preceding lyrical and prose work. After all, Hesse had not had these experiences of profound transcultural insight until his intense dialogue with his Japanese readers and not before he had read the translations of the *Pi Yen Lu* by his ‘Japanese’ cousin, Wilhelm Gundert.

4.6. Chapter Conclusion

As I have demonstrated in this chapter, the approach in Hesse studies that nothing significant happened in terms of his literary production after *Das Glasperlenspiel* in 1943 can no longer be maintained. In Hesse studies, we must now take into account the intensive transcultural dialogue in the 1950s between Hesse and his Japanese readers which culminated, seen solely in terms of literary production, in the ‘preparatory’ poem, *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht verwitternd*. Moreover, it is necessary to now recognize the

significant influence that his 'Japanese' cousin, Wilhelm Gundert, exercised upon Hesse in his role as a transcultural mediator between Hesse and Japan. The three Zen-poems, in particular, concisely articulated, meditative and singular, finally unmask the self, the ego, even the very words we use, to reveal the unifying essence behind the appearances, materiality and object-hood of the everyday world. Thus, I argue, these Zen-poems are truly transcultural. The core message of Zen-Buddhism in Hesse's three Zen-poems collapses both East and West into one unity.

Conclusion: Establishing and Addressing a Gap in Hesse Studies: Hermann Hesse's Reception in Japan/Hermann Hesse's Reception of Japan

This thesis is a timely addition to the field of Hesse research because it fills a significant gap in knowledge about Hermann Hesse's literary reception in East Asia and Japan. There are active groups of researchers in East Asia itself, in Japan, Korea, and increasingly in China, which form institutionalised literary groups and focus upon the translation of Hesse's literary works and which conduct research into the reception of his works in the respective linguistic and cultural communities and aspects of his biography.¹⁰³⁶ Moreover, as I pointed out in Chapter 1, Hesse researcher Adrian Hsia has written at length about Hesse's reception in China and Taiwan up to the new millennium in 2000.¹⁰³⁷ On the other hand, in Hesse scholarship in the West, knowledge about his reception in Japan is still often based upon a single essay written by Masaru Watanabe in 1977 for Martin Pfeifer's (editor) book on Hesse's international reception.¹⁰³⁸ For instance, Gabriele Lück's 2009 survey of Hermann Hesse's epistolary corpus also provides the reader with an overview of Hesse's international reception in a single chapter, which includes Japan.¹⁰³⁹ Almost all the information provided in this section about Japan stems from Masaru Watanabe's brief essay. Given that this ten-page essay was written some 40 years ago, and thus provides no more than a rather outdated 'broad-stroke sketch' of Hesse's reception in Japan, the field of Hesse studies in the West is in urgent need of updated information and a more expansive investigation and discussion of Hesse's reception in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community.

As established in the Introduction to this project, there are important questions to be asked about Hesse's popularity as a European writer in East Asia and Japan. And why did Hesse himself feel truly understood by his readers in Japan? That he did so seems astonishing given the cultural distance between his part of Europe and Japan in the Far East, despite the Indian atmosphere in a family house in which his grandfather, Hermann Gundert, and both his parents had served as missionaries in India.¹⁰⁴⁰ Equally, Hesse's gratitude toward Japan was reciprocated by many of his Japanese readers, who, in turn, felt themselves truly and

¹⁰³⁶ As discussed in Chapter 1, in Japan, the *Hermann Hesse-Freundkreis/Forschungsgruppe*. In Korea much Hesse research is carried out under the umbrella of the Koreanische Hesse-Gesellschaft (<http://hesse.or.kr>). Two recently published articles in German about Hesse by Chinese scholars are: Jian, M. 2015. Romantik in Rezensionen von Hermann Hesse. *Literaturstraße: Chinesisch-deutsches Jahrbuch für Sprache, Literatur und Kultur. Band 15*, pp. 273-281. Chen, H. 2015. Erleben der Individuation als Weg zur Überwindung der Identitätskrise in Hermann Hesses Steppenwolf. *Harvest. 1*, pp. 107-117.

¹⁰³⁷ Hsia, A. 2002. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. The book was originally published in 1974, but was updated and republished in 2002. The last updates about essays in Chinese or translations of Hesse's books into Chinese are given up to the year 2000.

¹⁰³⁸ Watanabe, M. 1977. Japan. In: Pfeifer, M. ed. *Hermann Hesses weltweite Wirkung: Internationale Rezeptionsgeschichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, pp. 222-233.

¹⁰³⁹ Lück, G. 2009. *An Hermann Hesse: Der Leser als Produzent*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 41-45.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Hesse writes, for instance, in *Mein Glaube*, 'Ich habe das geistige Indertum ganz ebenso von Kind auf eingeatmet und miterlebt wie das Christentum.' *SW12*: 130-134. Here: p. 131.

sincerely understood by a European writer, who had written about their innermost thoughts in his literary works. Through the creation of a material ‘transcultural platform’ in the form of an epistolary dialogue between the author and the Japanese readers, which generated a significant epistolary corpus, a depth of transcultural understanding was fostered and nurtured which led to profound affinities arising between the author and the Japanese readers and the generation of a ‘spiritual capital’ in the private sphere different from other capitals in the public sphere of the literary field and the wider cultural field. In other words, beyond the metrics, enumerations, publishing and translation details of a reception process of a European author in an East Asian country, there is a crucial story to be told about the dialogue Hesse conducted with his Japanese readers and the deep personal relationships that formed between the writer and these readers. The examination of these affinities and relationships, between author and readers, in this project has implications not only for how we understand transcultural literary receptions, for it serves as a model for ways of understanding reciprocity, but also reveals how the late production of Hesse’s authorial work was influenced by the dialectic relationship of his reception in Japan and his personal reception of Japan.

The various elements of the reception of Hermann Hesse’s literary work in Japan have been knitted together in this project through research on the unpublished epistolary holdings of Japanese readers’ letters in the DLA and SLA holdings, Helene Gundert’s unpublished memoirs, interviews with Japanese translators and a Japanese publisher, other primary sources such as conversations and email correspondence with Wilhelm Gundert’s granddaughter, Irmgard Yu-Gundert, and members of the *Hermann Hesse-Freundeskreis/Forschungsgruppe Japan*, and a number of European and East Asian secondary sources. The reception of Hesse’s work in Japan is complex, multi-layered and multi-faceted, even when adopting a diachronic approach to unravelling and telling the story, but is presented here in a contextualised framework. Consequently, I argue that this project has the potential to open up the field of Hesse research to new impulses about his global reception, that it has also demonstrated how imperial Japan served as a cultural gateway for the East Asian regional reception of Hesse’s works, and that it may provide a working model for other researchers to approach the investigation and discussion of the agencies and social ties unfolded in transcultural receptions in the literary field. Moreover, the thesis explains how Hermann Hesse has affected his readers in Japan through his literary works, and how during his living years his personal relationships and transcultural dialogues with Japanese readers often resulted in the development of deep affinities and spiritual capital between author and reader, which, ultimately, re-directed his late work toward the new, singular form of Zen-poems, poems which have largely been overlooked in the prior literature written

about Hesse's *oeuvre*. Hesse's active intervention (and the agency of mediators such as Wilhelm Gundert) in the process of the reception of his literary works in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community and his dialogue with Japanese readers demonstrates that future research into transcultural literary receptions must not overlook the importance of social relations between agents and groups of agents in the literary field in a particular linguistic and cultural community, and the associations and types of connection between these actors, as well as the potential unfolding of agency in interaction with objects of non-human materiality such as epistolary devices and gifts. Below I review the discussions presented in the individual chapters.

Thesis Chapters

In Chapter 1, I discussed how that, as Japan modernized politically and economically after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, there was a concomitant opening in Japan's cultural dialogue with the world as elite learning ideals shifted from the culture of the scholarly Chinese classics to emphasising the cultural importation of modern Western economic and political models. The developing interest in reading and translating Western and Russian literature in Japan led to the 'discovery' and thus to the inception of the reception of Hermann Hesse's works in Japan. The first translation of Hesse's literature into Japanese was the translation of *Meine Erinnerung an Knulp* in 1909. The translation of Hesse's work by academics in the pre-war decades was accelerated through the commercial interests of Japanese publishing companies interested in generating economic capital in the marketplace once the popularity of Hesse's literature among Japanese readers was legitimised and established. The analysis of the translation into Japanese of Hesse's novel *Unterm Rad* by three different translators gives a preliminary insight into the different approaches translators adopt in their translation practices (or 'habitus' – the interaction of personal dispositions and the positions in the translation and literary fields)¹⁰⁴¹ when translating European literature into Japanese. Furthermore, I focused on two Germanists and translators, Kenji Takahashi and Asao Okada, figural nodes and opinion-formers with various motivations in the literary field, in order to illustrate how transcultural mediators are needed to facilitate a literary reception in a linguistic and cultural space and how they, together with the publishing companies, help shape objective relations 'which are constitutive of the structure of [literary] field and which orient the struggles aiming to conserve or transform it',¹⁰⁴² and, in the case of Kenji Takahashi, can unfold a misdirected social agency that projects and interweaves the humanism of a writer such as Hesse into tortuous arguments of affinity with Nazi literature

¹⁰⁴¹ Chung, Y. 2013. *Translation and Fantasy Literature in Taiwan*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 130.

¹⁰⁴² Bourdieu, P. 1996. *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*. Trans. Emanuel, S. Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 205.

during the late 1930s and early 1940s. The chapter also demonstrates how the reception of Hesse's work in Japan has been inter-medial in the form of written texts and his watercolour paintings, and has shown how the inter-medial combination of actual butterfly specimens and Hesse's texts on butterflies in an exhibition provides an example of 'transculturation' – a new type of creative transcultural 'product' arising from the seeds of the original literary reception, which reverses and underlines the flow of transformed cultural products from West to East to East to West. While this chapter provides all the metrical information needed to understand the phases of Hesse's literary reception in Japan since 1909, it also demonstrates that Japan, because of its colonial past in Korea and Taiwan, and semi-colonial influence in China, was instrumental in shaping Hesse's pre-war regional reception in literary fields in East Asia through its imperial cultural authority. In Korea, for instance, the Japanese language was taught in schools, literature in the Korean language was suppressed, and Koreans had to take Japanese names. Readers and academics interested in Hesse at this time had little option but to read the legitimised Japanese translations of his works, and translations of Hesse's work into Korean from Japanese sources continued until the late 1960s. As regards mainland China, the reception of Hesse's works in the Chinese linguistic and cultural community started in the nineteen-thirties, (*Schön ist die Jugend* was translated into Chinese in 1936), but not again in translation until 1960, when six of Hesse's poems were translated in an anthology of forty German writers.¹⁰⁴³ In Taiwan, *Demian* was translated in 1946. Further translations were not rendered until the 1960s. According to Hsia, many Taiwanese translators (Taiwan was a Japanese colony between 1895 and 1945) have used English or Japanese translations as their source texts.¹⁰⁴⁴ From the establishment of Taiwan as a Japanese colony in 1895, and particularly from the annexation of Korea in 1910, until 1945, when the Japanese Empire collapsed, Tokyo as a literary centre and Japan's imperial cultural authority in the region shaped Hesse's reception in East Asia, and the legacy of this cultural and linguistic authority extended for decades after 1945. Such intra-regional receptions mean that the approach in comparative literature and world literature towards bipolar exchanges between 'national' literatures must be re-thought. The circulation of texts around the globe has implications for the national receptions of an author in different linguistic and cultural communities, but also for the intra-regional receptions of that author when languages compete for elite cultural dominance and legitimisation.

In Chapter 2, I explain that the circulation of texts around the globe within the field of 'world literature', that is, when a text is received in a linguistic and cultural space other than the original linguistic and cultural space, is dependent on human transcultural mediations

¹⁰⁴³ Hsia, A. 2002. *Hermann Hesse und China*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, p. 364.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

and bundles of social relations within the respective receiving cultural and literary fields. When we talk about how the literary product of one culture enters another linguistic and cultural space the practices, the social ties and agents involved in this event, in competition for a greater share of symbolic capital or moving together, need to be contextualized otherwise our understanding of reception is incomplete. Chapter 2 provides a case study of the role that Hesse's 'Japanese' cousin, Wilhelm Gundert, played as a social agent in mediating between the East and the West for Hesse, and demonstrates that Gundert's role had significant implications for Hesse's reception in Japan, for Hesse's own reception of Japan, and also for Hesse's own late literary production, as I explicate in detail in Chapter 4. Looking further afield, this chapter makes it clear that studies of world literature must also focus particularly on the human agents and their social networks, and the agency they unfold as transcultural mediators. The chapter also addresses an omission in Hesse research which has overlooked the role of his 'Japanese' cousin in both personal terms for Hesse and for his impact on Hesse's late literary production. By demonstrating the importance of a transcultural mediator, who was a social agent for the transcultural exchange of Hesse's texts, this chapter shifts the contextualisation of a transcultural literary reception toward the social ties and human agency involved in the event.

Chapter 3 discusses the archival research I have conducted. I unearthed and brought to light for the first time the epistolary corpus of letters and cards held by the DLA that was exchanged between Hesse and a number of his Japanese readers. The discussion in this chapter foregrounds the importance of social relations in understanding an author's reception in a particular linguistic and cultural space. My analysis of the transcultural, inter-medial epistolary exchanges between Hesse and his Japanese readers uncovers how literary receptions are experienced at a personal level in the private sphere, and how the postal self is activated in interaction with the postal other through turn-taking and the back-and-forth of letter writing. Following prior work by Wolfgang Iser, I posited that human commonalities or 'universals', particularly the 'cultural universal' of writing systems, allow a transcultural dialogue to develop between the European author Hesse and his East-Asian Japanese readers. The practice of epistolary exchange between Hesse and his Japanese readers, and the conventions of this exchange, such as turn-taking, create a material 'platform' for transcultural exchange and dialogue. Indeed, these exchanges may communicate 'proto-cultural' information, such as a correspondent's relationship with nature, as well as linguistic and cultural information about the practices a society has developed in response to the environment in which it flourishes. Moreover, once 'emotional trust' has developed between the correspondents, deep affinities can arise in which there is a transcultural 'meeting of minds' which may resemble a 'communion of spirit', and as this

spiritual capital is developed the mutual exchange is enriched. This deep form of authentically sincere transcultural exchange is often maintained over years of turn-taking correspondence and in a quality that is unwavering as writers unburden and pour out the sensitivity of the human soul amid the often crushing burdens and bland routines of a mechanized modernity. The directions that readers' letters take is often guided by 'identity themes', which shape a reader's interests at a particular life-stage, but in a modus that is free of unequal power structures, or domination, and which is based on authenticity of feeling and honesty. Ultimately, in some epistolary exchanges, a mind-set develops that collapses cultural differences and intellectual traditions, which can profoundly affect the lives of the correspondents. I explain these ideas by analysing the corpus of five Japanese readers' unpublished correspondence with Hesse. The deep affinities between author and reader also have the potential to impact the literary and cultural practices of correspondents in a process of 'transculturation'; which I posit here as the interjection of transcultural understanding, but, at times, also of profound emotion, feeling and insight, and the subsequent weaving of these influences and phenomena into new texts, poetry, or new cultural products and transformations such as inter-medial exhibitions. The final chapter of the thesis explicates the outcomes, in terms of late literary production, of the transcultural affinities Hesse maintained with his Japanese readers which, together with the transcultural mediation of his 'Japanese' cousin, inspired Hesse to record new spiritual experiences in a new singular form as Zen-poems.

In Chapter 4, I discuss how Hesse's deep transcultural relationship and affinities with Japan and some of his Japanese readers helped to transform his late literary production. As an outcome of his transcultural dialogue and interaction with his Japanese readership, Hesse wrote a 'preparatory' poem, which, I argue, captures in many lines of verse the transition between his understanding of Buddhism, at which stage there is still a duality, a division of subject and object, and strands of intellect and logic, and his evolving insights into the beguiling eternity and unity of Zen-Buddhism. The poem *Uralte Buddha-Figur in einer japanischen Waldschlucht verwitternd*, which serves a 'bridging' function, was followed by three concise, singular Zen-poems, peerless in Hesse's previous *oeuvre*. In the final line of the last verse of the third Zen poem, Hesse writes that, if the novice follows the master's guidance, finally, '*Schein wird zu Wesen*' (appearance or illusion, the phenomenal world, becomes essence); in other words, a timeless and placeless condition of mind in which duality is eliminated. In my analysis of the Zen-poems, I recognize the significant role played by Hesse's 'Japanese' cousin, Wilhelm Gundert, as a transcultural mediator between Hesse and Japan and the East in general. Gundert's translation of the first thirty-three Zen *koans* collected together in the *Pi Yen Lu* in the 11th and 12th centuries in China was a

seminal reading experience for Hesse during the 1950s and upon their publication in 1960. I argue that these Zen-poems are an expression of a profound insight and experience of the world for Hesse which developed out of his enriched engagement with his Japanese readership and his cousin's translation work. Consequently, prior arguments in Hesse studies such as Mileck's in which *Das Glasperlenspiel* in 1943 is considered the 'crowning synthesis', which suggests an unnatural degree of finality, of Hesse's work must be rethought and recast. In fact, I argue that the three Zen-poems, because they strive for a timeless and placeless truth, fuse, and then collapse all cultural differences between East and West. In an instantaneous moment, such as that described by Josef Knecht in the fictional letter to Carlo Ferromonte in 1961,¹⁰⁴⁵ the experience of the world is reduced to an eternal 'essence'.

Research Directions – Work to Be Done

To the best of my current knowledge, there are no plans to publish the epistolary corpus of letters and cards from Japanese readers held by the DLA in the *Hesse-Japan-Konvolut*. As Chapter 3 demonstrates, these letters are of vital concern for Hesse researchers interested in his worldwide reception as well as for scholars interested in documents that reveal the private relationships and deep affinities that can develop between a European writer and his Japanese readership. Indeed, the letters bear witness to the fact that a literary reception in a particular linguistic and cultural space can have enormously profound effects on the human beings who read and then correspond with an author once 'emotional trust', which may also be thought of as 'spiritual capital' enriching mutual epistolary exchanges outside of all economic interests, or other capitals, has been established on the basis of a sincere epistolary exchange. The fascinating insights the epistolary corpus provides means scholars must reconsider and potentially recast ideas about how transcultural receptions actually take place. Obviously Hesse was a crucial agent in the dialogue with his Japanese readers during his lifetime. However, a decision made by a commissioning editor in a publishing house in Tokyo, with a network of qualified translators at his or her disposal, and a marketing department that understands local readerships, can hold sway over whether or not a European novel is available in a modern Japanese translation for a Japanese readership. These crucial social agents in the topographical nodal points of world literature and the untying of bundles of social relations in these linguistic and cultural contexts are deserving of greater attention when scholars research transcultural receptions. A further consideration regarding the need for the publication of the epistolary corpus of letters and cards from Japanese readers to Hermann Hesse is the aesthetic value of the original paintings and the pictures drawn by some of the Japanese correspondents (some are used in Chapter 3). These

¹⁰⁴⁵ SW12: 685-691.

images also demonstrate how Japanese readers strove to communicate transculturally with Hesse by all authentic means available to them.

The inter-medial butterfly exhibitions discussed in Chapter 1 show how different genres of an author's reception in a particular linguistic and cultural space can be manifested imaginatively in a process of transculturation and a new transcultural 'product'. These transcultural 'products' are open-ended in creative possibilities, and thus in research approaches, and can be realised, for example, in film, music, painting, and comics. The hero in the Japanese film *Thermae Romae* (see Chapter 3), directed by Hideki Takeuchi in 2012, which is based on a manga series by the Japanese comic artist Mari Yamazaki, slips through time and space as the Roman bathhouse architect Lucius Quintus Modestus. This character, played by the well-known Japanese actor Hiroshi Abe, travels back and forth from the ancient bathhouses of Rome to the hot springs and baths of modern day Japan. In this metaphorical embodiment of transculturation, the Latin-speaking Lucius Quintus Modestus is able to bring Japanese innovations to his Roman bathhouses as well as lend his expertise to a Japanese bathhouse architect. Here the bathhouses are the transcultural meeting points and interfaces of Classical Antiquity and the ultra-modernity of current day Japan. The film is an innovative transcultural 'product' and demonstrates the creativity that can arise from instances of transculturation.

Current Relevance of Hesse in Japan

Hermann Hesse retains a cultural legitimacy in the literary field in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community and his works remain personally relevant for readers in Japan. Hesse's novels are still widely read and continue to provoke social discourse in the Japanese cultural field. His prose is translated and published by commercial publishing houses in Japan and translated and published by academics organized in institutionalised research groups. As Chapter 1 discussed, since 1947, most Japanese students have read Japanese translations of *Jugendgedenken* and *Das Nachtpfauenauge* in junior high-school textbooks that are approved and consecrated by the Ministry of Education. Currently, *Unterm Rad* is frequently included on elementary and high school summer reading lists in the new 2007 translation by Miho Matsunaga. This means that, extraordinarily, in a distant East Asian nation, most young Japanese people have been exposed to Hesse's texts during their mandatory schooling years and a potential reading public educated for a further reception of his works.

Although anecdotal, in my experience most Japanese university students are familiar with Hesse's name and can remember having read Hesse's work, most often *Unterm Rad*, at some stage during the compulsory schooling years. To provide one example, I asked one

female Japanese university student about her favourite work by Hesse. She stated that she had read Hesse's *Demian* five times in Japanese translation as a teenager. To paraphrase, she explained that she had been struggling between the 'dark' and 'light' sides of her life at the age of 17. She especially liked the character Max Demian in the novel, who she described as that 'strange' boy. She concluded that Max Demian's ideas were able to change her own way of thinking. Although I was unable to learn why and how her thinking changed, nonetheless, her statement demonstrates that this European author remains personally and privately relevant to readers in Japan. Acknowledging this continuing interest in Hesse, Kobunsha publishing company in Tokyo, which published the new translation of *Unterm Rad* in 2007 (see Chapter 1), has now published a new Japanese version of Hesse's *Demian*, translated by Japanese university academic Shoichi Hisayoru.¹⁰⁴⁶ One Japanese reviewer of the new translation surmises, 'I think it is worth reading for adults who have anxiety and troubles as well as for the youth of today.'¹⁰⁴⁷ The answer to the continued popularity of Hesse's novel *Demian* in Japan and its legitimation in the literary field is undoubtedly found in the much quoted foreword to the novel and epitomised in prose such as 'Das Leben jedes Menschen ist ein Weg zu sich selber hin, der Versuch eines Weges, die Andeutung eines Pfades.'¹⁰⁴⁸ The character Max Demian urges Emil Sinclair to overcome his faintness of heart and to follow the difficult path to liberating himself. A person who seeks to 'liberate' him or herself from the conformities expected in Japanese society does indeed bear the 'Mark of Cain' like Demian.¹⁰⁴⁹

A further example of a continuing interest in Hesse's texts and their legitimisation is provided by a radio programme, which was broadcast on July 12 and July 19, 2016, on the TBS (Tokyo Broadcast Service) radio network. The programme is entitled *Ogiue Chiki Session-22* and is hosted by social commentator Chiki Ogiue.¹⁰⁵⁰ Japanese author Shiwon Miura¹⁰⁵¹ and Japanese comedian Tatsuo Thank-you¹⁰⁵² were invited to the first programme on July 12 to discuss how they thought Hesse's novel *Unterm Rad* in Miho Matsunaga's

¹⁰⁴⁶ Hesse, H. 2017. *Demian*. Tokyo: Kobunsha.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Scary Book. 2017. *Demian*. [Online]. [Accessed 18 September 2017]. Available from: <http://scarybookplus.com/article/デーミアン>

¹⁰⁴⁸ *SW3*: 236.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Commissioning Editor Minoru Komai at Kobunsha Publishing Company in Tokyo explains that while *Unterm Rad* is the most popular Hesse novel in Japan and a good introduction to Hesse's work because young people in Japan can easily associate with the youthful educational experiences of the sensitive main character, Hans Giebenrath, he wishes to introduce the complexity of psychological experience and the dramatic change in style found in *Demian* to the same young Japanese readership, so that they can experience Hesse from a different perspective. He reports that the new translation has been well received critically and that sales so far are 'good'. Komai, M. 2017. *Email to N. Cunningham*, 6 October.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Chiki Ogiue is editor-in-chief of SYNODOS news site and author of books such as *Web Enjo* (Web on Fire) and *Mirai wo Tsukuru Kenri* (The Right to Create the Future).

¹⁰⁵¹ Shiwon Miura is a young Japanese writer. In 2006, she won the Naoki Prize for her story collection *Mahoro ekimae Tada Benriken* (*The Handymen in Mahoro Town*). In 2012, her novel *Fune o amu* (*The Great Passage*) received the Booksellers Award in Japan. The book was filmed.

¹⁰⁵² Tatsuo Thank-You is a Japanese comedian born in 1976.

2007 Japanese translation would end. The guests and presenter convened one week later on July 19 after reading the novel to discuss whether their predictions had been accurate. The radio programme demonstrates how Hesse's texts continue to generate discourse and discussion in the social life of the Japanese linguistic community and how the symbolic capital of his works is maintained in the literary field.

Finally, academic research on Hesse's work continues under the institutionalised umbrella of the *Hermann Hesse-Freundkreis/Forschungsgruppe Japan*, which was formed in 1991.¹⁰⁵³ The association holds biannual meetings to which a guest speaker is usually invited. In May 2016, I was fortunate enough to be invited to a meeting of the group, and I gave a presentation entitled *Westöstliche Affinitäten: Hermann Hesse im Bann seines Japanischen Veters* in front of an audience of some thirty people. My paper was then printed in the society's journal *Berichte Nr. 22*, both in German and in a Japanese translation, together with other research essays by members of the *Freundkreis/Forschungsgruppe*.¹⁰⁵⁴ The *Hermann Hesse-Freundkreis/Forschungsgruppe Japan* is the current institutional focal point for academic research on Hesse and translation of Hesse's works in Japan, and it maintains a website in Japanese which is regularly updated to report all its activities and the latest academic publications relevant to the field of Hesse studies.¹⁰⁵⁵

In this thesis, I have opened up a new field in Hesse studies which, with its inception, develops a basis for a greater understanding of both Hesse's intra-East Asian literary reception and his literary reception in the Japanese linguistic and cultural community. My investigation demonstrates that the concept of an isolated national tradition of literature that interacts with another cultural space and linguistic community in a bi-polar manner is obsolete. Moreover, a historiography of the reception of a writer's works in a linguistic and cultural community such as Japan in the original German and significantly in Japanese translation must unravel the social ties and associations that bind actors who participate in the reception process and it must explore the agencies unfolded by the non-human texts that are activated by readers as well as the human agents in the literary field of the community. The thorough analysis of Japanese readers' letters presented in the thesis demonstrates that a transcultural community was formed by a European author and his Japanese readers. The members of this transcultural community often connected with one another on a deeply personal level and the generation of spiritual capital in this private sphere enriched the

¹⁰⁵³ See Chapter 1. In the 1980s (formation date unknown) there was also an active *Hesse Verein* in Hiroshima in which Goro Shitanda was involved (see Chapter 3) and which published a journal in the form of a bulletin.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Cunningham, N. 2016. *Westöstliche Affinitäten: Hermann Hesse im Bann seines Japanischen Veters*. In: Yamamoto, Y. ed. *Berichte Nr. 22*. Tokyo, pp. 28-39.

¹⁰⁵⁵ The website can be accessed at: <http://www.h5.dion.ne.jp/~diyberg/contentstomonokai.html>.

mutual exchange. Hesse's historical and continuing reception in a particular nation, or, better, a cultural space and linguistic community, will have its own unique salient qualities and features. Once a living author and his or her readers enter into a communicative dialogue and relationship, a transcultural community arises in which transcultural social relationships dominate, which researchers need to unravel and contextualise. The topographical nodes of a world literature system host the social ties formed by transcultural mediators, literary agents and readers who need to be identified and the ties unravelled and traced in the various fields and sub-fields. The landscape of a localized literary reception is also home to transcultural communities which need to be understood and explained, as do the potentially deeply moving and influential transcultural personal relationships that may develop between living authors and their spatially and culturally distributed readerships.

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