In this paper, I consider bullfighting in Nanyo (the southern region of Ehime Prefecture) from the point of view of tradition and acculturation. The tradition of bullfighting originated in the encounter between Misho Ushi (Cows produced in the Misho region) and people in the Minami Uwa region, who hit upon the idea of turning grazing bulls into objects of amusement. Bullfighting in earlier times was a simple pastime that farmers enjoyed by themselves. They would bring their bulls to a spot between hills, a dry river bed, or the like, where they could enjoy this activity. With the objective of easing the economic burden on the bull owners, farmers began charging an entrance fee for spectators and would give the owners "fight money". This occurred in the latter half of the 19th century. It was the beginning of bullfighting shows. Bullfighting became a rather popular sport, similar to Ozumo (Professional sumo wrestling). It also became an increasingly lucrative business. However, the decline of agriculture from 1952 on caused a reduction in this activity. Bulls used for fighting lost their function as work cows, whose numbers decreased sharply, because of their use in the sport. Bullfighting also declined gradually, due to the fact that keeping bulls only for sport was limited to the wealthy. However, thanks to a tourism boom in the 1960’s, it made a bit of a come back. The government of the Uwajima district considered bullfighting, which became famous with the help of the mass media, a tourism resource, and also labored for its reorganization and improvement. A bullfighting dome constructed in 1975 became the symbol of Uwajima’s "Bullfighting Street". On the other hand, the people of the Minami Uwa district, who have maintained bullfighting in their own independent organization, don’t abide by Uwajima’s tourism policy. They continue with close local relationships. In conclusion, there is a difference between the Uwajima district, where the customs have changed to favor tourism, and the Minami Uwa district, where management has remained private in order to maintain tradition. In general, the future of bullfighting in Nanyo (the southern region of Ehime Prefecture) has many problems, such as a lack of fighting bulls and successors. It is for this reason and many more that the outlook for the sport is very dim.

Keywords: Nanyo, rural sport, show, tourism

1. Introduction

Belligerent bulls are whipped to fight¹, and the first to flee is the loser; that is the simple and straightforward rule in the sport of bullfighting in Japan.

Today bullfighting still survives in Ojiya City and Yamakoshi Village in Niigata Prefecture, Okinoshima, Tokunoshima, Okinawa and the Nanyo district in Ehime Prefecture². Ehime prefecture corresponds to the former Iyonokuni, which was known as the Iyo Eight Domains under the shogunate system (1635-1866), and was divided into eight domains; Saijo, Komatsu, Imabari, Matsuyama, Shintani, Ozu, Yoshida and Uwajima.

In the modern era, this area has been divided into three districts according to historical, geographical, cultural and politic/economic differences. Thus the

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² In addition to traditional bullfighting sites, bullfighting is held in Yamagata Village in Iwate Prefecture and Nishi-ku at Kobe City. The latter was started by immigrants from Tokunoshima.

Problem: How does the author describe the decline of bullfighting in Nanyo? How does this differ from the Minami Uwa district?

Answer: The author describes the decline of bullfighting in Nanyo due to agriculture, starting in 1952, which led to a reduction in the activity. Bulls used for fighting lost their function as work cows, and this decline continued gradually due to the fact that only the wealthy kept bulls for sport. However, in Uwajima, the district considered bullfighting a tourism resource and worked on its reorganization and improvement. In contrast, Minami Uwa continued with local relationships and maintained their own independent organization. In conclusion, there is a difference between Uwajima, which changed to favor tourism, and Minami Uwa, which maintained tradition.
eastern part including Ochi County is called "Toyo." Next is the neighboring district "Chuyo," including Hojo City, Iyo County and Kamiukena County. The southern part, including Kita County, is known as "Nanyo". The Nanyo district that is the area of bullfighting culture is smaller than the administrative Nanyo district. Considering the distribution of bullrings in the past (Shimizu, 2001: 55) and referring to documents on folklore, it is restricted to Uwajima City, Kitauwa County, Higashiuwa County and Minamiuwa County. In this essay, the phrase "bullfighting in the Nanyo district" will be used mainly for descriptive purposes, with the name of each area given according to the context.

This report aims to examine the tradition and acculturation of bullfighting solely in the Nanyo district in Ehime prefecture. Today they say "Uwajima is most famous for bullfighting" and "bullfighting is best enjoyed in Uwajima", although bullfighting did not originate in the present Uwajima (City). The question why bullfighting in Uwajima is so famous is considered to be an important clue in examining the tradition and acculturation.

Bullfighting has roots in the amusement of farmers in the Edo Period (1603-1866), although few historical data survive (Ishii, 1993:3-4). Therefore, this examination refers to documents on folklore, newspaper articles and oral testimony collected by the author. (July 1990, May and June in 1991, July 1993, July-August 2000). The information without special annotation in this text is based on the oral testimony.

2. People in Nanyo loved fighting bulls

In this chapter, we examine why the bullfighting tradition evolved in the Nanyo district.

The development of bullfighting relies on the existence of livestock farming as regular vocation of the area. However, livestock farming is not just confined to the Nanyo district. Why did bullfighting evolve solely in this district? Logical supposition leads us to the conclusion that the people who first enjoyed bullfighting lived in the Nanyo district, especially in Minamiuwa County.

In the autumn of the year (1711-1716), when Muratoshi Date became the fourth lord of Uwajima domain, the number of cattle in the domain was counted. This census revealed that there were 4,222 head. All of them were draft cattle. People used to pasture cattle in the surrounding mountains when grasses sprout in spring in order to save on fodder and labor. Such grazing had been popular in many parts in the domain from the late 16th century before 1615 when the first domain lord Hidemune Date arrived (Ehime News, March 8, 1961).

Cattle are a herd species, and they continued to flock together in the process of domestication. Order is necessary in the social life of cattle as well as in the human community. Order is maintained by hierarchy of social rank. Thus bulls fight in pursuit of social rank. When a new male joins the herd, its competence must be tested by locking horns, and it must comply with the severe ranking of bulls. This bullfighting fascinated the people of Minamiuwa County. It is generally believed that the first bullfighting was performed by Misho-cattle (Kan, 1937:557. Yamahira, 1991: 280), which are perfectly suited for fighting.

Misho-cattle are an improved hybrid of a local and a foreign breed; its has two ancestries are Hukuura (Short Horn) and Obata (Devon). Misho-cattle have a passion for fighting and were bred first for draft and then for fighting. Later, bulls with thick cranial bones, broad necks and powerful physiques were selected and bred especially for bullfighting (Yamahira, 1991: 281). The encounter between people fascinated with bullfighting and Misho-cattle nurtured the bullfighting tradition at the origin.

3. Bullfighting as amusement in agricultural communities

The people in Minamiuwa County who owned fighting Misho-cattle gathered together with their bulls to enjoy the bullfighting at riversides or punch bowls, during seasonal festivals. Any open space would do for a bullring.

The bullfighting that originated in Minamiuwa County gradually expanded to the whole domain. By the middle of the 19th century, people began to raise questions about the harmful effects of bullfighting. In August 1856, the magistrate of Uwajima issued an interdiction against bullfighting to local governors. It said, "Bullfighting is performed so frequently that the price of cattle has begun to increase. It is said that people are unable to make a living because of this. Such conditions cannot be permitted to continue. Public decency is also being disrupted. Therefore, bull fighting is now prohibited." (documents of
Miura-Tanaka families, 1856)

Shoya (a village official), or a volunteer served as promoter at that time. The document to prohibit bullfighting was sent forward to each Shoya in Nomura-gumi (Nomura Town at present). This is a valuable document to show how frequently bullfighting was performed. This interdict, however, survived only in form throughout the period of transition when the Japanese traditional name era changed quickly from Manen, Bunkyu and Genji, then to Keio in rapid succession, and Japan as a whole was tossed about by the waves of transformation, the Meiji Restoration. When the Meiji era started, bullfighting began to be performed again in each local region of the Nanyo district.

The first bullring was built at Nagasu in Misho Town around 1877 (Kan, 1937: 559). This is the first bullring for free-of-charge bullfighting. Although it was a simple ring surrounded by a bamboo fence, bullfighting became increasingly popular when another ring was constructed near Johen. At the same time, the harmful effects of bullfighting became controversial again. If one had a strong bull, the bull grew in monetary value every time it won. Bullfighting was a kind of gamble for the owner of a bull.

Concomitantly, the western civilization imported after Meiji era brought meat-eating culture to Japan. Cattle became valuable for beef as well as for draft. After prefectural authorities launched the production of beef cattle in 1877, Misho-cattle, which were superior as fighters, were considered to be inferior as beef cattle, and livestock numbers began to decrease. Cattle from Oita and Higo were substituted for Misho-cattle. Oita and Higo cattle mature in a shorter term, one year, compared to Misho-cattle, which take 3-4 years. Introduction of cattle from Kyushu caused the production of cattle in Minamiuwa County to decrease vastly. And bullfighting, which had been the amusement of farmers, began to change its nature.

4. Bullfighting Shows

Some children suited for a certain sport are chosen among a large number of children to be trained by spending much energy and money, aiming to become first class athletes. It is similar for bullfighting. It takes a lot of energy and money to choose certain calves suited for bullfighting among a large number of calves to be trained, aiming to become first class fighting bulls. At the start of the 20th century, the cost to raise one grand champion bull was said to be about 400 yen per year. A bale of rice (60 kg) was 4 yen at that time. The money for bullfighting went far beyond that. When a bull won, the owner had to give a feast with sake for patrons and neighbors. When it lost, again a feast had to be held. Such extravagant spending was possible only for the rich, including wealthy farmers and merchants and Shoyas (Ehime News, March 11 1961).

Enthusiasm for bullfighting continued to swell, while the price of a bull plunged at one lost match, and the owner had to give away the bull which had been brought up with tender care as cheap beef. Under such conditions, the bullfighting show is said to have been inevitable in order to be relieve the owners of bulls of these heavy burdens and for bullfighting to flourish. Admission fees were charged for the first time in Tsushima Town in 1893, increasingly followed by other towns and villages (Ehime News, March 11, 1961).

After 1900, each participating bull began to be paid. It was a unique payment system for the Nanyo district to pay more money to losing bulls than winners, with a consideration to compensate the loss of the owner of a losing bull, which came down in price as mentioned above. The market rate of payment was 5-10 yen in 1897 and the admission fee was about 10 sen (0.1 yen) (Ehime News March 11, 1961).

Japanese bullfighting was called Ushi-zumo (cattle sumo wrestling) in former days and imitated the grand sumo wrestling tournament in its characteristics. The official ranking list in bullfighting with Yokozuna (a grand champion) at the top is essential for the present bullfighting show and increases attention to bullfighting, although it was not invented until around 1911. The rankings began to be listed after 1912, and a flayer written in cardboard the size of a sheet of newspaper was said to be the first of these. This hand-written flayer turned into three-color

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3 Bulls better suited for fighting are intrinsically not suited for beef. When a bull becomes of no use for fighting, its meat will be sold as mince and the leather will be used for material for leather goods.

4 People in the Nanyo district call "Tsukiai (horning)" traditionally.

In the process of its transformation into a bullfighting show, bullfighting gradually grew more spectacular. The invention of the ranking list played an important role here. The ranking did not conform to the strict rules of sumo wrestling, in which it is determined by the result of matches with 15 wrestlers over the 15 days of a sumo tournament, for such a system is impossible for bullfighting. Bullfighting consumes bodily strength too enormously for the bulls to participate in successive battles. Moreover, it takes a long time for the loser bull to recover its fighting spirit. The bulls of the grand and the second champion classes can take part in only two or three matches in a year. These harsh conditions correspond more to those of professional boxing than sumo wrestling.

Therefore, the ranking cannot be strictly determined as in sumo wrestling, but no one ever hoped that. However, the owners of bulls and bullfighting enthusiasts seem to enjoy fully the dubious ranking.

A bull in Uchikake (a long outer garment) has appeared since the end of Meiji Era. When the match approaches, a colorful banner with a bull’s name left undyed is sent from people connected to the owner of a bull and the bull’s patrons (Ehime News, March 17, 1961). On the day of the match, the appearance of the bulls resembles and reminds us of the ring entrance ceremony of professional sumo wrestling, with a forest of banners of participants standing around the bullring.

In contrast, Misho-cattle disappeared from bullfighting and were replaced by Kyushu-cattle and Misaki-cattle. National and prefectural governments encouraged increases in the production of beef cattle and dairy cattle. The number of cattle in the Nanyo district increased each year to over 5,000 in 1916, including the cattle in Minamiuwa County and Kitauwa County (Enime News, March 17, 1961).

World War I started in 1914 and cast aside with one blow the economic depression and financial

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5 They have bullfighting tournaments in Korea, although the people involved in bullfighting in the Nanyo district do not really believe it.
crisis of the 1910’s in Japan. Industrial development caused industrial production to overtake agricultural production. This world war economic boom, however, did not last long. While the unprecedented economic boom profited capitalists and brought forth overnight millionaires, agriculture remained stagnant and many farmers suffered from inflation. Farmers in the Nanyo district were no exception. At this time, the debate over the pros and cons of bullfighting had gone into the political field.

On Dec. 9 in 1921, the prefectural assembly started a debate on the issue over the pros and cons of bullfighting. Hottest battle of words among assembly members elected from the same Nanyo district was reported as the fateful confrontation brought the local power struggle into the assembly hall. This bullfighting debate was covered extensively by the mass media and remains an impressive event in the history of the prefectural administration today (Ishii, 2001: 24). In consequence, while the prohibition of bullfighting was not realized, the prohibition on bullfighting shows was continued.

It was difficult for bullfighting to survive without admission fees. People involved in bullfighting repeated the movement to restore the bullfighting show, which resulted in limited permission of the show from the prefectural government in 1929. Seizing the opportunity, the Nanyo Ushizumo Institution was established by the bull owners in the Uwajima district (Uwajima City, Kitauwa County and Higashiuwa County), and the number of competitions in each area was determined (Shimizu, 2001: 62).

In reality, business depression made people tighten the purse strings and come less frequently to the costly bullfighting. Moreover, the numbers of bull breeders crucial to bullfighting and even bulls of 4-8 years of age, best for bullfighting, decreased. Bulls under the age of 4, which were immature for bullfighting, dominated and the number of competitions also decreased. Bullfighting followed a course of decline.

Although bullfighting temporally resumed a roaring success in the 1930’s, it declined again because of World War II. After the war, food was in short supply, and cattle were killed in secret. It was difficult to breed the bulls, who required great amounts of feed, when people did not have enough to eat. Meanwhile, even in the chaotic aftermath of the war, people were gathering momentum to resurrect bullfighting again.

They pragmatically planned a bullfighting show in the Hanshin area. The eagerness of the people involved in bullfighting overcame several obstacles and led towards success in the bullfighting show held in Nishinomiya Stadium for two days, on Jan. 25 and 26 1947 (Ehime News, March 22, 1961). This expedition to Hanshin contributed to the development of bullfighting enormously, as had the expedition to Tokyo in 1913. It is well known that "Togyu" (bullfighting) written by Yasushi Inoue, Akutagawa Prize winning novel published in the first half of 1950, used the bullfighting expedition to Hanshin as the basis for the story (Inoue, 1950).

With this expedition to Hanshin as a turning point, bullfighting in the Nanyo district flourished once again. Despite this process, the GHQ banned bullfighting not only in the Nanyo district but also on a nationwide scale for reasons of animal protection and restriction of gambling in May 1948 (Ehime News, May 15 1948). The instructions from GHQ were absolute law for the Japanese during the Occupation.

5. Bullfighting as a tourist event

Movements for lifting of the ban by people involved in bullfighting bore fruit in official cancellation (Ehime News, Mar.23 1961). However, agricultural mechanization followed next to attack bullfighting. After 1950, when the Japanese economy began to recover, the power cultivator, which can be used anytime and for various purposes gained popularity over cattle, which cost money for feeding and troublesome labor for caring. Draft cattle for farm use lost their value. It was natural that enthusiasm for breeding bulls for fighting declined and cattle were bred mainly for milk and beef. Only rich people could breed fighting bulls. The last match was held in 1955 in Uwajima City and in 1956 in the Minamiuwa district and bullfighting ceased to exist for a period of time. (Shimizu, 2001: 62).

Although bullfighting disappeared once, a

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6. Bulls are fed with straw and thatch mixed with Shagi wheat, bran, soy beans and corn. They lose weight before a match and are fed with adder powder, adder sake, garlic, garlic sake, tea, raw eggs and sticky rice according to their taste. It costs 2,000-3,000 yen per day to feed one bull at present.
nationwide boom in tourism restored it to life. The high economic growth that started in the 1960’s expanded the fields of leisure activity of the Japanese people. City people in particular became tired of nearby leisure and began to go farther in the pursuit of new tourist sites. The name of "Uwajima" became known throughout Japan thanks to "Tenya-wanya (hubbub)" a serial novel in The Mainichi newspaper, written by Bunroku Shishi after the war (1948-9), "Togyu (bullfighting)" by Yasushi Inoue and the movie version of "Tenya-wanya".

With the contribution of mass media, which advertised bullfighting, people in Uwajima became aware of the benefit of positioning bullfighting as a resource for tourism and held the Bullfighting Resurrection Council in Uwajima City on Sep. 8 in 1959. On Sept. 18, bull owners in the Uwajima district established the Uwajima Bullfighting Promotion Committee. In November of the same year, the Nanyo Bullfighting Promotion Committee was reorganized, with 4 branches including the Tsushima Bullfighting Association, the Hiromi Bullfighting Promotion Committee and the Matsuno Bullfighting Promotion Committee as well as the above mentioned Uwajima Bullfighting Promotion Committee. As a result, it enabled independent competition to be held in each area, while the system of operating bullfighting competitions remained unchanged, and volunteers of bull owners and local influential people remained as promoters (Shimizu, 2001: 62).

The bullfighting competition co-sponsored by the Uwajima Agricultural Festival at the end of the year was covered by NHK, private broadcasts, major newspapers and photographic magazines. "Bullfighting in Uwajima" became well-known nationwide in no time. The four independent organizations were integrated into the Nanyo Bullfighting Federation, with offices in the Uwajima City commerce, industry and tourism department. Bullfighting built a strong position as a resource of tourism and the quality of matches was considered to affect the number of tourists.

The bullfighting league implemented a registration system of bulls in order to secure the quality of the competition and announced the ranking of bulls. Warei bullring (former Shimomura bullring) was restored to good condition and bullfighting as a tourist event began. Independent management of the league did not last long. Some bull owners and volunteers began to serve as promoters without permission by paying the usage charge for the bullring by bidding. As a result, the way of management was reconsidered and the collegiate system of bull owners was adopted, since some bull owners walked out of the league disagreed over the way of management.

In March 1974, the Uwajima Bullfighting Management Council was established with representatives of Uwajima City Council members, Tourist Agency executives, academic experts, representatives of bull owners and bull handlers, 34 members in all. The competition began to be sponsored by the Tourist Agency of Uwajima (Shimizu, 2001: 63). In March 1975, a dome-shaped bullring was completed, which was eagerly

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7 Warei bullring, which was built about 1910 next to the precinct of Warei shrine, has been reconstructed and maintained with subsidies from administration since 1960, and holds bullfighting as a tourist event today.
welcomed by Uwajima citizens and bullfighting enthusiasts. The total construction cost was 1,600 million yen, with a total area of 2,300.07 m², concrete stands and a capacity of about 4,000 people. The construction of the nation’s first dome-shaped municipal bullring certainly added a new page to the history of bullfighting.

In December of 1974, at the request of bull owners, the Uwajima Tourism Bullfighting Association was established, consisting of bull owners in the Uwajima district, some bull owners in Minamiuwa County, breeders and people in agreement with the goals of the Association. Existing operating policy was taken over without change (Shimizu, 2001:63). Uwajima City began to deliver a subsidy to the Association, and wages to bulls thereafter. It also started nationwide PR activities in a thorough manner (Ishikawa, 2004:961). As a result, tourist agents began to include bullfighting in their tour schedule and tourists increased from all over Japan.

In the latter half of the 1970’s, tourists amounted to over 30,000, but then showed a gradual decrease. It failed to reach 10,000 in 1987. The number increased a little to recover to 10,000 after the city succeeded in attracting tourists of a Kyushu bus company the next year. After that, the number of tourists decreased again (Kurita, 1990: 222). In 1995, the number of tourists amounted to about 8,000, including those who visited regular competitions and bullfighting tourist events. It was about 6,300 in ’96 and about 8,300 in ‘97. In ’98, when the Akashi Kaikyo Bridge was opened, parties of tourists increased with the so-called bridge formation effect and the number amounted to approximately 10,000. It dropped to around 6,000 the next year (Mainichi News, Nov. 19, 2000).

At present, the Uwajima Tourism Bullfighting Association consists of about 70 bull owners, about 150 registered bulls and about 30 bull handlers. It holds 5 regular competitions a year and bullfighting shows for tourists. In addition, the city provides a subsidy of 10 million yen per year to the Association and is supporting the continuation of bullfighting.

In contrast, organizations were formed for bullfighting in Minamiuwa County by each town, village and community and operated in the same way as before, in which volunteers served as promoters for competitions. After around 1961, when bullfighting was resurrected in each area of Minamiuwa County, the Minamiuwa County Bullfighting Union was established. Bullfighting competitions were held regularly three times per
year, mainly in the Johen bullring and the Misho bullring, sponsored by the Union. However, the basic form of management remained the same and certain volunteers served as promoters (Shimizu, 2001: 63-4).

In 1972, the Nanyo Recreation City Project, which Ehime Prefecture had been promoting, was realized and the Sun-pearl in Misho Park was positioned as the central facility. Taking advantage of this opportunity, a movement gathered momentum to make bullfighting the highlight for attracting visitors. It was agreed to perform a bullfighting competition twice a month at the Sun-pearl bullring. Responding to this, bull owners of Minamiuwa County established the Minamiuwa Bullfighting Association, which was to manage all competitions (Shimizu, 2001: 63). The high self-sufficiency rate of bulls enabled the competition to be held twice a month. The rate still stands 63% at present, twice as high as that of the Uwajima district (Ishikawa, 2004: 962).

In 1975, the association changed the name to the Minamiuwa Tourism Bullfighting Association. In 1994, it held an assembly in concert with the association in Uwajima. The two organizations were combined in order to accommodate bulls for each other and to provide more attractive competitions, but it broke off after only a year and a half (Ehime News, Apr. 16, 1994). Bullfighting in Minamiuwa County has not taken part in the tourism policy of the local government and has continued to be managed independently by the Association.

6. Conclusion

In concluding the examination of bullfighting in the Nanyo district in Ehime Prefecture with the view points of tradition and acculturation, it can be summarized as follows.

The tradition of bullfighting was created by the encounter of the people of Nanyo, who conceived of bullfighting as amusement when observing the fighting of grazing cattle, and Mishi-cattle which can be called "a god-sent child" of bullfighting. Bullfighting at an early date was a rustic farming village amusement performed in natural clear spaces such as punch bowls and riversides. After the latter half of the 1870’s, it changed into a show that collected admission fees from spectators and paid fight money to competing bulls. This was intended to reduce the economic burden on bull owners in some ways. However, bullfighting became showy in the process of becoming an entertainment, which ironically increased the economic burden on bull owners.

The greatest danger to the continued existence of bullfighting was mechanization in agriculture. The power cultivator which became widely used from 1952, deprived bulls of value as draft cattle and bull owners were forced to own bulls only for sport. As a result, only rich people could continue to own fighting bulls.

High economic growth in the 1960’s and ’70’s provoked a tourism boom in Japan. As advertisement by mass media worked its magic, "Bullfighting in Uwajima" became famous nationwide. Uwajima City decided to treat bullfighting as a tourism resource and planned to form and integrate governing structures. The city started to deliver a subsidy to managing organizations in order to enforce the supporting system necessary for the survival of bullfighting.

While bullfighting in the Uwajima district was taken into the tourism policy of local government, bullfighting has survived in Minamiuwa County in a different way, upholding the tradition of a farming village, without assuming tourism as the first principle. Therefore, in 1961 they established another managing organization separate from the Uwajima district. Since then, it has been independent in management. The difference in self-sufficiency rate of fighting bulls between the Uwajima district and Minamiuwa County resulted in the difference in the systems of management. The self-sufficiency rate of fighting bulls was 30% in the Uwajima district, whereas it was 63% in Minamiuwa County. It is indicated that the Uwajima district had to select bullfighting as a tourist event because the self-sufficiency rate of bulls was low and not expected to increase in future. The catch phrases, "Uwajima is most famous for bullfighting" and "bullfighting is best enjoyed in Uwajima" were created by the advertisement of mass media and tourism. On the contrary, community-based bullfighting has been maintained in Minamiuwa County, although it is less conspicuous nationwide. Bullfighting in the Nanyo district was designated as one of the "intangible folklore cultural assets to be recorded" by the Agency for Cultural Affairs on Nov. 8, 1995. Under the order from the education board of
Ehime Prefecture, three senior researchers including the present writer and seven researchers examined and created reports. This very fact suggests that no optimism is yet warranted concerning the future of bullfighting.

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