

Peer-Reviewed Proceedings of the Overseas Symposium 2016 in Otago

南太平洋から見る日本研究

——歴史、政治、文学、芸術——

**Japanese Studies Down Under:
History, Politics, Literature and Art**

郭南燕／将基面貴巳 編

Edited by Nanyan GUO and Takashi SHOGIMEN

Overseas Symposium 2016 in Otago

**International Research Center
for
Japanese Studies**

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海外シンポジウム 2016 オタゴ
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序

郭 南 燕

2016年11月24日から26日まで、ニュージーランドのオタゴ州首都ダニーデン市（Dunedin）にあるオタゴ大学（University of Otago）との共催で、「南太平洋から見る日本研究：歴史、政治、文学、芸術」をテーマとする第23回の日文研海外シンポジウムを開催することができた。

オタゴ大学は、1869年設立のニュージーランド初の高等教育機関で、当時の移住民（ヨーロッパ人と華人）が南島のオタゴ州で開拓した金鉱業で蓄積した富によるものである。四つの学部（人文学部、理学部、医学部、商学部）をもち、完備した科目を誇るこの世界最南端の大学は、ニュージーランドの他大学より遅れて、1993年2月に日本語プログラムを開設した。

今回の海外シンポジウムは、将基面貴巳教授（歴史学科長）との1年半の共同準備を経て、ニュージーランド、豪州、フィジー、米国、日本からの研究者の参加を得て開催することができたものである。シンポジウム前日（23日）は、米国ペンシルヴァニア大学の Frederick Dickinson 先生の公開講演「The First World War as Global War: Japan, New Zealand and the Dawn of an Asia-Pacific World」があり、シンポジウムの幕開けとなった。ニュージーランドと日本との第一次世界大戦への関わり方を通して、地理的に遠く離れている両国が、政治的、経済的に密接な関係を百年以上もち、アジア太平洋の全体性を作り出していたことを教えてくれる。

24日と25日のシンポジウムでは二つの基調講演があった。初日には日文研小松和彦所長から「ミクロネシアからみる日本研究」と題した講演が行われた。30年前に科研費によって約10年にわたって調査したミクロネシア諸島のキリスト教導入前の家族関係と怪談を紹介し、そこから日本の家族と民話を眺め直して、社会の基本的人間関係への理解がその国の歴史、伝統、文化への研究といかに関係するかという「異文化理解の心得」を示唆する内容であった。この講演は、妖怪研究を大成させた「小松学」の出発点の回顧と整理のきっかけにもなっている。

25日にはオークランド大学の Mark Mullins 教授から「Public Intellectuals, Neo-nationalism, and the Politics of Yasukuni Shrine」と題した講演があり、靖国問題に対する日本知識人の態度の変遷を辿り、日文研創設者の一人で現在も顧問を務める梅原猛先生の公式参拝への長期にわたる反対意見を紹介し、日文研関係者にとって印象深い内容であった。

二日あわせて六つのセッション「日本の古代歴史と文学」「江戸時代の社会と文化」「現代日本の政治と思想」「太平洋諸島と日本」「近現代日本文学と社会」「日本のテレビ、映画、大衆文化」があり、合計23本の発表があった。

中心テーマ「南太平洋から見る日本研究」を反映するように、Dickinson 先生の公開講演と小松先生の基調講演のほか、オタゴ大学の Glenn Summerhayes 先生による「An Austronesian Presence in the Sakashima Islands: an Archaeological Update」は、先史時代の沖縄先島諸島に残るオーストロネシア人の遺跡を通して、太平洋民族の移動の考古学的資料を紹介し、Dickinson 先生の「Japan Down Under: "Nanyō" in the Rise of a Global Japan, 1919–1931」は戦間期の日本に与えた南洋の政治、経済、軍事の影響力を究明し、オタゴ大学の Judy Bennett 先生の「After the Plane Crashed: Reactions to the Deaths of Japanese World War II Internees at Whenuapai, New Zealand」は第

二次世界大戦中のニュージーランド抑留日本捕虜の飛行機遭難事件がいかに闇に葬られたのかを振り返り、フィジーにある南太平洋大学の Ryota Nishino 先生の「*Toward a Future of Travel Writing and History: Collecting, Researching, and Reflecting on Southwestern Pacific Islanders' Experiences of the Pacific War*」はパプア・ニューギニアとソロモン諸島への日本軍侵略の史実がいかに現在の日本人旅行者に語られ、記録されているのかを考察し、関西大学の Alexander Bennett 先生の「*The History and Influence of Japanese Budō in New Zealand*」は日本の柔術が19世紀末期からイギリスと米国を経てニュージーランドに輸入されて広く歓迎されたことを、新聞・雑誌の記事と映画を通して論述し、オタゴ大学の Henry Johnson 先生の「*Japan in New Zealand: Taiko and Identity in Transcultural Context*」はニュージーランドにおけるさまざまな和太鼓の演奏グループの様態を紹介し、2015年のオタゴ大学の卒業式に和太鼓の演奏があったことを教えてくれた。以上のように、日本と南太平洋との歴史的、地理的、民俗的、政治的、軍事的、文化的関係に焦点を絞ったものである。

他のセッション発表も、日本の歴史、政治思想、文学、大衆文化を取り上げ、高い水準を示している。発表順序にしたがって紹介する。ウェリントン・ヴィクトリア大学の Edwina Palmer 先生の「*Bronze Bells in Early Japan: "Swallowed" by the Mountains? A New Interpretation of Their Ritual Purpose*」は古代日本の銅鐸の語源を探り、その儀礼性への新しい解釈を試み、オークランド大学の Ellen Nakamura 先生の「*Yamawaki Takako's Bittersweet Memories of Uwajima Castle, 1864-1865*」はシーボルトの孫娘山脇たかが宇和島城で過ごした意味を分析し、豪州マードック大学の森山武先生の「19世紀前半の社会変化と辺境への知の流れ——佐渡人柴田収蔵の読書と遊学、地図製作」は、佐渡出身の知識人の作成した世界地図の影響範囲を論じたものである。

将基面貴巳先生の「*Debating Japanese Patriotism in the Global Context: Alfred Ligneul and the Controversy on The Clash between Education and Religion*」は井上哲次郎の「教育と宗教の衝突」に対するパリ外国宣教会のリギョール神父の観点を紹介し、この有名な論争を初めてグローバルな文脈に位置付けている。マードック大学の Sandra Wilson 先生の「*What Difference Did the Second World War Make to Japanese Nationalism?*」は第二次世界大戦が日本のナショナリズムの発展にいかなる影響を与えたのかを論じ、オタゴ大学の Vanessa Ward 先生は、「*Taking the Ordinary People Seriously: The Institute for the Science of Thought and Democracy in Early Postwar Japan*」において、雑誌『思想の科学』の人々の思想と活動を紹介している。

シドニー大学の Mats Karlsson 先生の「*The Noble Art of Procrastination: Writer's Block as a Motif in watakushi shōsetsu*」は私小説に繰り返し現れる作家の創作困難に関する描写の意義と様式を論じる。カンタベリー大学の Susan Bouterrey 先生の「*Okinawa's Fictional Landscapes: A Reading of Medoruma Shun's Suiteki (Droplets)*」は沖縄出身の作家目取真俊^{め どり ましゆん}の芥川賞受賞作「水滴」における沖縄の空想された風景と戦争の記憶を考察する。豪州ウーロンゴン大学の Helen Kilpatrick 先生の「*Fostering Empathy for Non-human Species in Post-3.11 Fiction for Young People*」は、東日本大震災後の少年読者を相手にする『希望の牧場』の動物描写のもつ現実世界の風刺を分析している。

ヴィクトリア大学の Emerald King 先生の「*"And I'll Form the Head!" Cosplay as an Translated Process*」は、コスプレの定義、文化的意義、「文化翻訳」としての意味を熱く説明する。ワイカト大学の Alistair Swale 先生の「*Shinkai Makoto: The "New Miyazaki" or a New Voice in Cinematic Anime?*」は、アニメ作家新海誠の作品を取り上げ、アニメに反映された日本の政治と社会を論じ、日本の現

在の大衆文化をいち早くキャッチする鋭敏さを示している。オタゴ大学の Yuko Shibata 先生の「Floating Travelers to and from Japan in *Cape No. Seven* and *If You Are the One*」は、中国人の日本旅行ブームの火付け役ともなった有名な映画『非誠勿擾』と日本の著名な歌に通じる社会的背景の異同を分析する。

日文研からも五人が発表している。荒木浩先生の「〈妊娠小説〉としてのブッダ伝——日本古典文学のひながたをさぐる」は東南アジア伝来のブッダの子供誕生の諸説と光源氏と柏木の不義の子誕生にまつわるエピソードとを比較し、『源氏物語』がブッダ伝から受けた影響の可能性に言及している。石上阿希先生の「出版物にみる知識の収集と展開——絵入百科事典を中心に」は江戸期の『訓蒙図彙』に現れた万国人物の表象と変遷を取り上げ、当時の社会のもつ海外知識の一端を示す。John Breen 先生の「Is's Modern Transformations: A Spatial Approach」は伊勢神宮の俗的空間と聖的空間の形成の過程を比較研究する。北浦寛之先生の「草創期の日本のテレビ・ドラマ制作——映画との比較の中で」は初期のテレビ・ドラマ『私は貝になりたい』の構造、モチーフ、製作を論じる。

井上章一先生の「現代風俗に見るキリスト教」は、女性ファッション雑誌の読者モデルの出身校の大半がミッション・スクールであること、日本の偽教会で偽牧師の前で愛を誓い、結婚式を挙げる日常的現象を例に、日本社会がいかにキリスト教の外的イメージに憧れているのかを考察するものである。関西大学の Alexander Bennett 先生は、自分も留学生だった時に、アルバイトとして偽牧師をしたことが何回もあると告白して、場内を賑わせた。井上先生は大方の人に見過ごされがちな社会現象を見つめ直す機会を提供してくれているが、その主旨が誤解されて、女性を性的対象として扱っているというコメントがあった。異文化理解は往々にして誤解を伴うものだと思わせられる。

今回のシンポジウムは、日文研が南太平洋の日本研究と協力し、それを支援する姿勢が明確に打ち出されて、南太平洋の諸大学の日本研究の展開にとって非常に意義あるものだった。そればかりではなく、米国ペンシルヴァニア大学とオタゴ大学がこれから展開する太平洋文化についての交流のきっかけにもなっている。海外シンポジウムの開催は、広い波及効果があり、「日本研究」だけではなく、グローバルな文化研究にも役立っているようである。本シンポジウムを支援してくださったオタゴ大学と在ニュージーランド日本国大使館にも深く感謝を申し上げます。

本論文集は、学術的レベルを確保するために、研究発表時の原稿そのままではなく、査読者たちの厳しいチェックを経たものであり、書き直しが多く行われているものと、査読によって淘汰されたものがある。過去数年、『海外シンポジウム報告書』の編集を経験してきた私は、本号はもっとも高い研究水準に達したものだと思う。この場を借りて、匿名の査読者たちにお礼を申し上げる。なお、本論文集の編集に、日文研出版編集係の伊藤桃子氏に多大な尽力をいただいた。深甚なる謝意を表わしたい。

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I Japan's Ancient History and Literature

ミクロネシアの離島で日本文化を考える

——妖怪譚を中心に

小松 和彦

中央カロリン諸島の生活文化調査

若いころ、ミクロネシア（旧国際連盟委任統治領南洋群島）の中央部を占める中央カロリン諸島の一つ・ウルシー環礁とポンナップ環礁において、島民の生活文化の調査を行ったことがある¹。

中央カロリン諸島は、ヤップ島からトラック諸島に至る地域を指している（図1参照）。戦後、ミクロネシア地域は国連の信託統治領として米国が統治しており、長い間、日本人の入域が制限されていたが、1970年代からは日本人研究者も長期の入域が可能となった。それを機に、文部省の科学研究費を得て調査団が編成されたので、私もその調査団に参加することになった。

私はそのころ、四国の山奥（高知県香美郡物部村）に伝わる民間宗教「いざなぎ流」の調査とその延長上に浮かび上がってきた陰陽道や呪詛・妖怪の研究を進めていた。それにもかかわらず、その研究をなかば中断するかたちでミクロネシア調査に赴いたのには、いくつかの理由があったが、一番の理由は、社会の全体を一人で見渡せるような、小さな異文化社会に身を置いて、その社会の仕組みを調べ、それを通じて、日本の文化を「外」から眺めてみたかったからである。きっと、その体験は、文化人類学者たちの異文化調査記録を日本にいて読んだとしてもわからないようなことを教えてくれるにちがいないと思ったのである。

本格的な調査を行ったのは、ポンナップ環礁である。ポンナップ環礁は、トラック（チューク）環礁の西方約26キロ、北緯七度33分、東経149度25分に位置する環礁で、環礁島はポンナップ、タマタム、ファナリックの三つであるが、ファナリックは無入島で、ポンナップの首長が所有し、かつてはポンナップ島民の埋葬地であった。人口は約500人。タマタムは、主島であるポンナップの南方に位置し、ポンナップの支島的な立場にあり、島名もカヌー本体を支えるアウトリガー（浮子）に由来する。人口は約100名。私が調査していたころの環礁へのアクセスは、トラック諸島から、年に数度の不定期連絡船を利用するか、大金を叩いて漁船をチャーターするしかなかった。所用時間は直行で約半日。

ポンナップの主食は、タロイモとパンの実、現在は購入した米も食べる。これに海から獲ってきた魚貝類が副食となる。豚や鶏、犬もときどき食べる。ポンナップとは、「ポ」（カヌーの航海術伝承・伝授者、師匠）+「ナップ」（偉大な）、つまり「偉大なポ」の島という意味である。

¹ ミクロネシアに関する概説は、英語文献では、William H. Alkire, *An Introduction to the Peoples and Cultures of Micronesia* (California: Commings Publishing Co., 1977)、日本語文献では印東道子編著『ミクロネシアを知るための60章』（明石書店、2015年）などを参照のこと。なお、ポンナップ島の本格的定住調査は、文部科学省の科学研究費補助金等を得て、1980年から1997年にわたって、それぞれ半年から数ヶ月間、断続的に行った。1997年の調査は、主にNHKスペシャル「黒潮」の撮影隊を案内して「ポ」儀礼を詳細に撮影・調査するためのものであった。1977年に行ったウルシー島での調査は私費によるものである。

この地域の伝承によれば、中央カロリンの島々のカヌー航海術には、「ウウリエン」と「ファンウル」という二つの流派があり、ポンナップはウウリエン派の発祥の地で、かつては「ウウリエン」（語義は「風を見る」）という航海の神を祀る祠があったという²。ポンナップでの調査では、とくに伝説や昔話の採集に力を入れた。

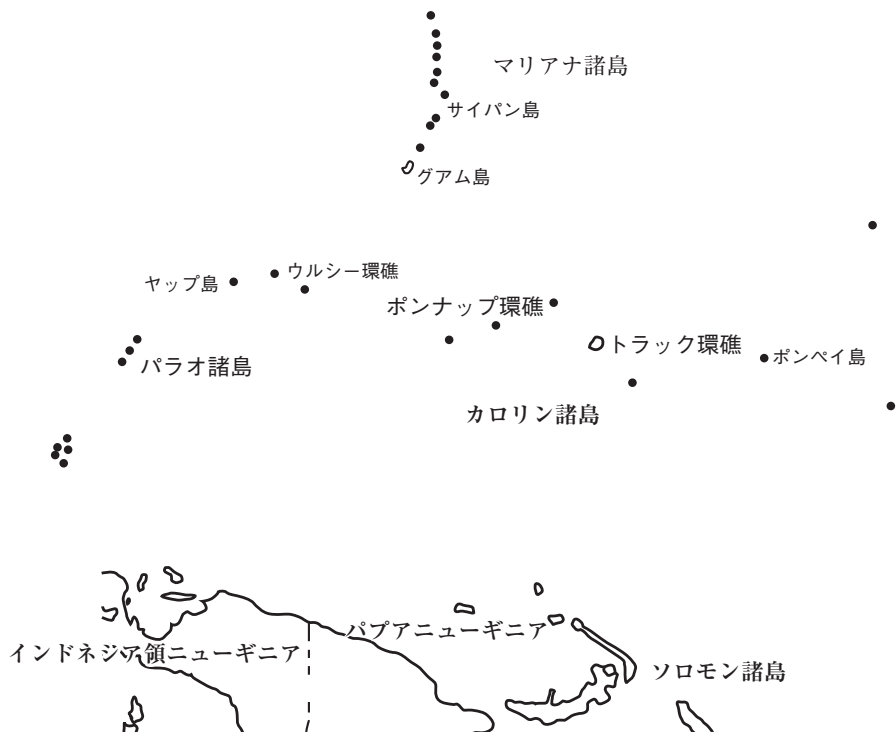


図 1

伝説・昔話の採集の前提——母系出自・妻方居住集団

異文化の伝説・昔話を研究することは、自文化の伝説・昔話を研究するのとは違って多くの困難が伴っている。その前提として現地の文化の理解が必要だからである。例えば、ウリシーであれ、ポンナップであれ、昔話のなかに登場する親子は、「昔々、誰それという娘が、お母さんとどこそこに住んでいました」というふうに、母と子として語られることが多いのだが、これはこの地域の社会が伝統的には母系で母方居住が一般的であったことを反映している。また、昔話のなかの主人公は、次々に出会った女（男）と「遊ぶ」（セックスする）が、その話をなんの説明もすることなしに日本語訳にすると、なんというプレイボーイ、プレイガールということになってしまうが、ポンナップでは、キリスト教に改宗するまでは、生涯一人の夫、一

² 小松和彦「聖なる島ポンナップの島名起源説話」、川田順造、徳丸吉彦編『口頭伝承の比較研究』第2巻（弘文堂、1985年）、136-152頁。

人の妻をもつのが好ましいといった考え方はなく、次々に夫（妻）を変えていた。この社会では、夫婦の絆は淡いものであって、社会を構成する単位にはならなかったのである。例えば、ポンナップには「結婚」という用語も、「家族」に相当する用語もなかった。現在は結婚については「アブプル」、家族については「ファミリー」と表現するが、これはトラック本島から戦後になって入ってきた概念で、この「アブプル」は「カップル」が訛ったもの^{なま}のだと考えられている。夫婦のことを「ププル」というが、これも同様であろう。

ポンナップは母系制・妻方居住婚を原則とする「母系出自集団」(matrilineal descent group) の社会で、これは女性が産んだ者たちによって集団を編成するということを意味する。この集団を現地語で「アイナン」という。これは人類学でいうクラン (clan: 氏族) に相当する。集団は母系 (女系) であっても、政治的権力は男たちが握っている。ポンナップ語で男を「ムワン」、女を「ローブット」というが、「ローブット」とは「穢れた者」という意味である。

ポンナップに存在するアイナンは六つあり、それぞれいくつかの支族 (サブ・クラン、リネッジ [lineage]) に分かれて生活している。六つのアイナンは序列化されており、その最上位に位置するマーサルは、伝統的首長を出すアイナンということを意味する「ホー・ポンナップ」(ポンナップの人) という称号をもっている。マーサルの最年長者が自動的に「ハモル」(伝統的首長) となる³。

島内の政治は、形式的には島民たち全員による合議で決めることになっているが、実質はそれぞれのアイナンの有力な長老たちと選挙で選ばれた村長と数人の議員たちが集まって決めている。これらはすべて男性である。また選挙で選ばれた村長も慣習的にマーサルから選出されている。女性は表面的には政治の舞台には出てこないが、各アイナンの長老格の女性も隠然たる力をもっており、男たちもその意見を容易には無視できない。

このアイナンは、カヌーに例えられる。アイナンの女たちは、自分のアイナンの男たちを「ムワン・ナ・ワーイ」(私のカヌーの男) と表現し、自分のアイナンの女のパートナー (配偶者) として移り住んできた他のアイナンの男を「ムワン・ナ・プイトイ」(私のカヌーに流れてきた男) と表現する。

この社会では、セックスをととても大事する。最大の快樂だと思っている。しかし、恋愛は熱しやすく冷めやすいことも知っており、戦後、島をあげてキリスト教に改宗してからは、一夫一婦制が奨励されるようになったが、以前は、同棲していても、その男 (女) が嫌になったらすぐに別れてしまっていた。

この社会では、セックスでつながっている男女の関係よりも、アイナンの女が子どもを産むことが重視される。それがアイナンの存続・繁栄を保証するからで、このため、女が子どもを産んだとき (とくに初児を産んだとき) は、一族を挙げて大きな祝宴「ウムウィナウナウ」(ナウとは出産すること、ウムとは祝宴用の大きな食器を意味する) を開く。このとき、産婦の同棲者 (夫) 側の一族 (アイナン) は、その子どもに、自分たちの土地の一部を贈与する。この土地は、女と同棲者 (夫) が別の女のところに去ってしまったとしても返却されることがない。したがって、この夫側からの妻側への贈与が、ある程度、男のプレイボーイ化を制御している

³ 詳しくは、小松和彦「ポンナップ島の首長制素描」、小川正恭、渡辺欣雄、小松和彦編『象徴と権力』(弘文堂、1988年)、222-245頁。

ともいえるだろう。次から次に別の同棲する女に子どもが生まれたら、男のアイナンの財産が流失してしまうからだ。また、父方のアイナンから土地を分与された子ども（「アフアフル」と呼ばれる人たち）は、さまざまなかたちで父方のアイナンに奉仕することが義務づけている。

ポンナップの親族名称

こうしたアイナン中心の社会編成は、親族の関係を示す名称にも現れている。この社会の親族名称は、日本のそれとは著しく異なっている。図2は、日本の親族関係名称を示したもので、人類学では、△を男、○を女、□を男もしくは女を表し、このタイプの親族名称をエスキモー型と呼んでいる。「チチ」の兄弟姉妹、「ハハ」の兄弟姉妹を「オジ」「オバ」と称し区別している点に特徴の一つがあり、父方と母方の名称が相似している点も特徴である。また、このような親族名称を用いつつも、社会集団の基礎は男系的傾向が強い「イエ」と呼ばれる集団によって営まれている。

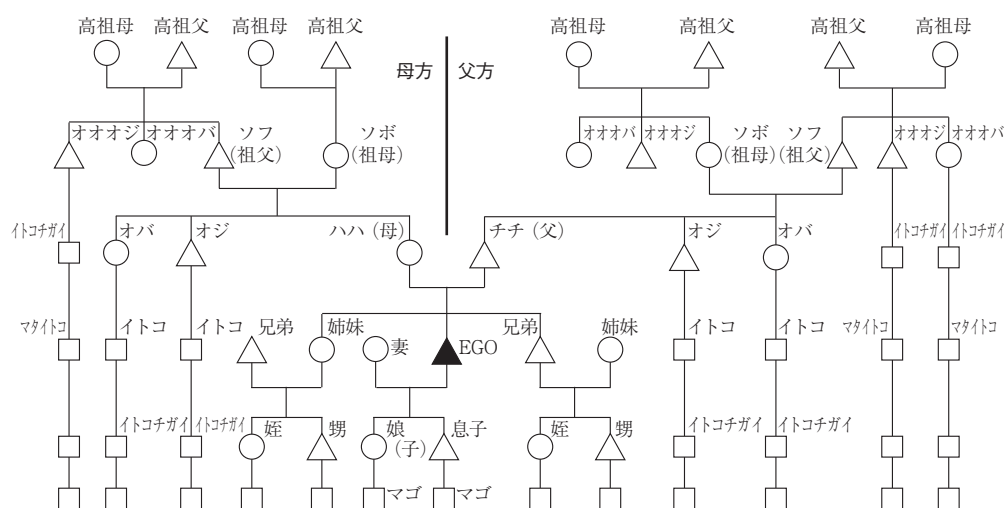


図2 日本の親族関係名称(EGOが男の場合)

これに対して、ポンナップの親族名称は、人類学でいうクロウ型で、アイナン（母系出自集団）と性別、世代を基礎に作られている⁴。「お母さん」とか「お父さん」といった呼びかけの名称（親族呼称）はない。図3および図4はポンナップの親族関係名称を示したものである。この図は、図2の日本の親族関係名称との対照を考えて図式化している。日本の関係名称に慣れている者からすれば、不思議に思われる関係名称である。というのも、例えば「オバ」に当たる名称がなく、それが「ハハ」になっているからである。

以下、これを少し詳しく見てみよう。図3は関係図の基点（EGO）を男にして見たときの名

⁴ 詳しくは、小松和彦「ポンナップ島の親族名称と表敬・忌避行動」、牛島巖、中山和芳編『オセアニア基層社会の多様性と変容——ミクロネシアとその周辺』（国立民族学博物館研究報告 別冊6号、国立民族学博物館、1989年）、73-91頁。

称で、図4は基点（EGO）を女にして見たときの名称である。

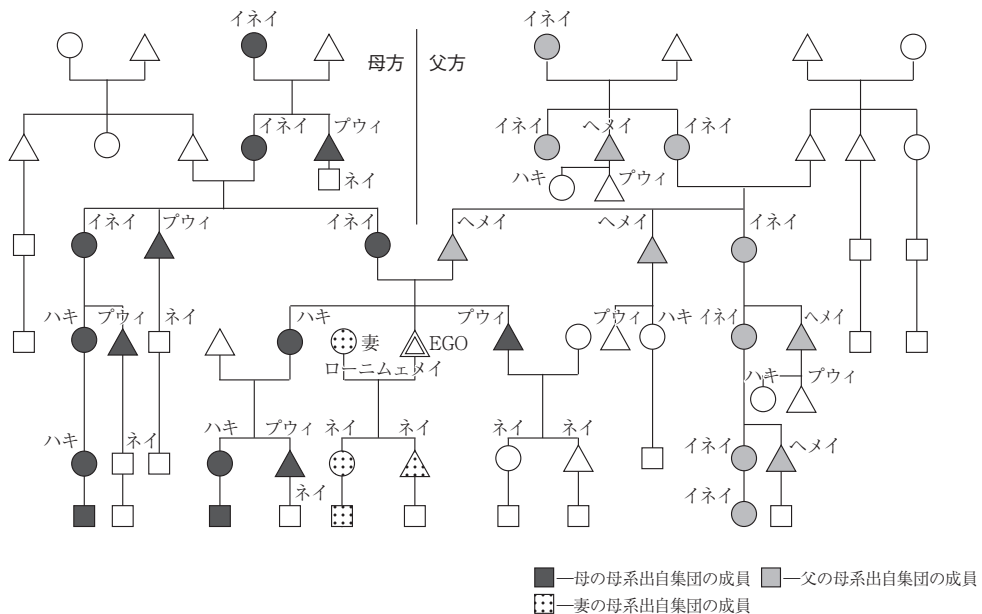


図3 ポンナップ親族関係名称(EGOが男性の場合)

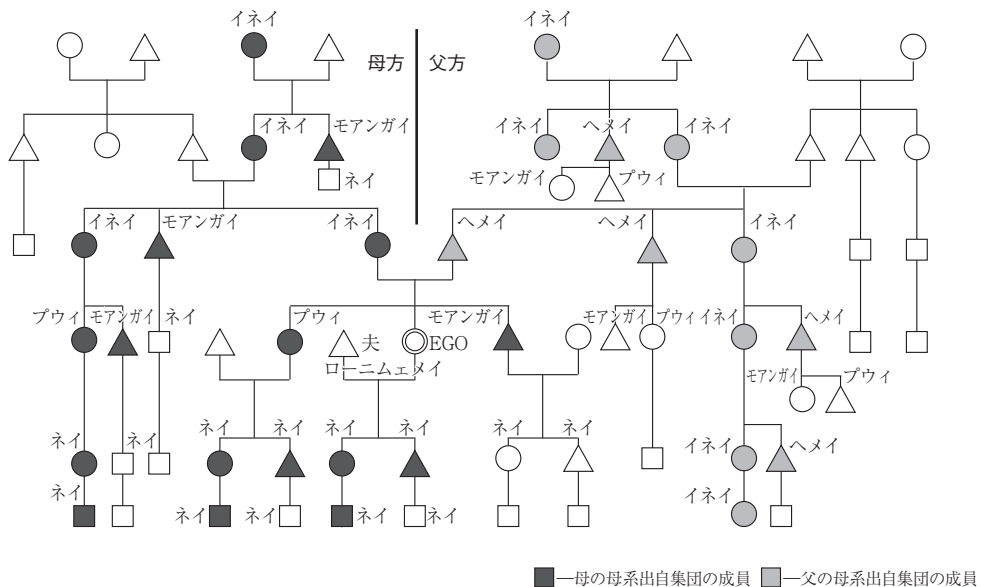


図4 ポンナップ親族関係名称(EGOが女性の場合)

これによりながら説明すると、男（EGO）から見た場合、自分が属するアイナンの男のメンバーは、世代に関係なく、「プウィ」（兄弟）という。奇妙に思うかもしれないが、私たちの社

会ではオジやマゴにあたる者たちもプウィなのである。また、女性同士の「姉妹」も互いにプウィという。男の立場から見て、女の「姉妹」は、同世代の女と下の世代のすべてをさして「ハキ」といい、女（EGO）の立場から見て、男の「兄弟」は「モアンガイ」という。さらに、男の立場からみて、自分が属するアイナンの女のメンバーのうち、上の世代の女はすべて世代に関係なく「イネイ」（母）という。この社会では、自分を産んでくれたイネイの同棲者を「ヘメイ」（父）と呼ぶが、同じアイナンのなかには、ヘメイ（父）も、「ネイ」（子）もない。

では、男の立場からみて、ヘメイにあたる人はどこにいるのだろうか。彼（正確には彼らといったほうが正しいのだが）にとって、自分を産んだ女の同棲者（私たちの社会での夫）が属するアイナン（誕生したときに財産を自分に分与してくれたアイナン）の男のメンバーすべてが「ヘメイ」（父）と呼ばれる。また、そのアイナンの女性メンバーのすべてがイネイ（母）となる。

ただし、女性の立場からみた場合、これとは少し異なっている。自分が属するアイナンの女性のうち同世代は、女同士はさきほど述べたようにプウィであるが、下の世代のメンバーたちは、男女を問わずネイ（子）となる。繰り返しになるが、男の立場からみると、自分が結婚した女が産んだ子は女のアイナンに属し、自分のアイナンには属さないのだが、その子を「ネイ」（子）と呼ぶのである。また、自分が属するアイナンの男が他のアイナンの女と結婚し、その女が産んだネイたちは、まとめて自分のアイナンの「アフオル」とも呼ばれる。

わかりにくいかもしれない。そこで、図3と図4の関係名称を、この社会の親族集団の基礎となるアイナン（母系出自集団）をもとに整理し直すと、図5～図6として示すことができる。図5は、EGOが男の場合のEGOのアイナン内の関係名称とEGOのアイナンの男性成員の「コ」の名称を示したものである。これに対して、図6は、EGOが女の場合のEGOのアイナンの関係名称とEGOの男性成員の「コ」の名称を示したものである。また、図7は、EGOが男の場合の「チチ」のアイナンの成員たちとその「チチ」の「コ」の関係を示したもので、図8は、同様に、EGOが女の場合を示したものである。

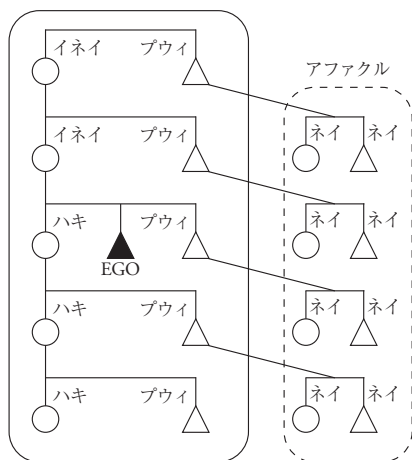


図5 EGO(男)の母系出自集団の関係名称とその外戚名称

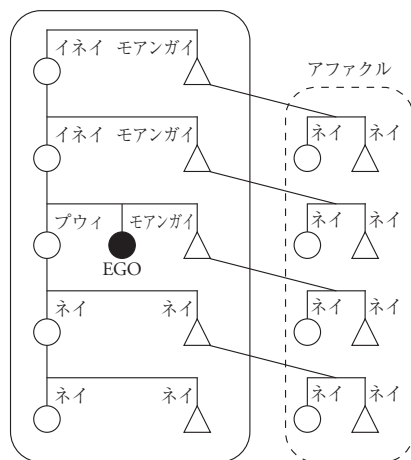


図6 EGO(女)の母系出自集団の関係名称とその外戚名称

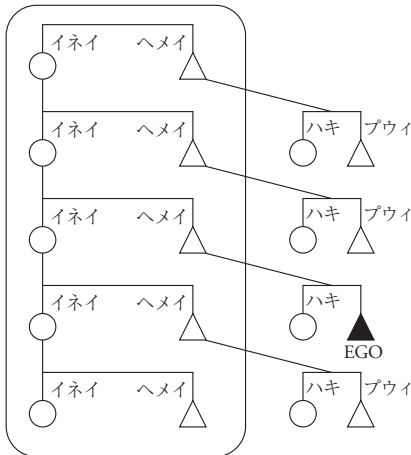


図7 EGO(男)の「チチ」の母系出自集団の
関係名称とその外戚名称

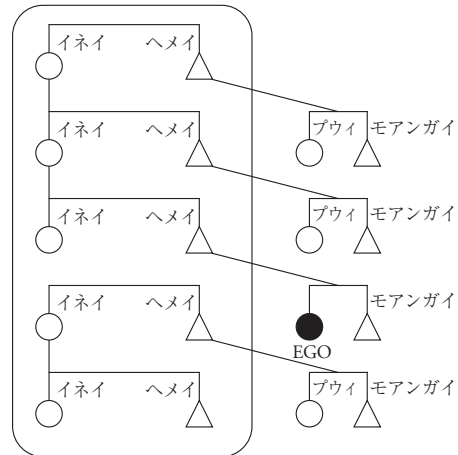


図8 EGO(女)の「チチ」の母系出自集団の
関係名称とその外戚名称

このような社会では、私たちの社会とは異なり、「父」（母の同棲者）の社会的役割はきわめて低く、たんにアイナンの女に寄ってきた男たちであって、同棲しているあいだは、アイナンの二次的メンバーとして扱われるが、同棲期間中に女が子ども産まない限り、労働力が増えた程度の扱いしか受けない。

それでは、「父」に代わるような役割は誰がするだろうか。それは、母のモアンガイつまり私たちの用語でいえば「母方のオジ」（母の兄弟）や「母の母の兄弟」たちである。アイナンの男たちは、同じアイナンの下の世代のプウイ（甥）、つまり、同じアイナンの同世代のハキにあたる女が産んだ子どもを保護し養育する。そして、男のメンバーは、その個人的財産をプウイ（甥）たちに譲る。アイナンの長の地位（氏族長権）や、首長の地位も、同世代の年下のプウイ（兄弟）、次いで下の世代のプウイ（兄弟）に譲られる。

以上のことを了解すれば、実際、ウルシーであれ、ポンナップであれ、キリスト教に改宗する以前の世代に属する古老たちが、これまでの人生で、次々に「ローニームウエイ」（配偶者、同棲者）や恋人、愛人といった性的パートナーを変えていったということも、不思議ではないだろう。今でもこの習慣は依然として残っているのである。島民の男と親しくなると、「お前のことを気に入っている女（ハキ）がいるので、夜、遊びに行かせていいか」と囁やかれるのも当然なのだということがわかる。このように、夫婦の絆は淡いもので、女が、自分の腹を痛めて子ども（その父が誰であるかがわからなくとも）を産んだという事実こそが大切であって、この動かない事実を基礎に集団が形成されているのである。

このようなポンナップをはじめとする中央カロリンの社会集団の編成の仕方を調べていくと、本稿では詳述しないが、私たちの前に、日本の社会集団すなわち「イエ」という集団の特徴も次第に浮かび上がってくる。

ボンナップのシャーマニズム——改宗以前の伝統的神観念

戦後、米国の統治下に入ったとき、島民はカトリックに改宗し、その結果それ以前の伝統的な宗教（アニミズム・シャーマニズム）を放棄し、それに関連する祭祀施設も破壊した。しかし、宣教師たちも口頭伝承の類いを廃棄・忘却させることはできず、たくさんの伝説・昔話が現在でも伝えられている。

興味深いことに、その伝説・昔話には、キリスト教改宗以前の信仰や倫理観、生活習俗が語り込まれており、伝説や昔話の解説を通じて、キリスト教改宗以前のボンナップの生活が浮かび上がってくる。

ボンナップ人は、世界（宇宙）を、島（ファヌ）と海（レヘット）、天（ラン）に大別する。また、島は、「ファヌ・ピ」（砂の島・珊瑚礁島）と「ファヌ・チューク」（高い山のある島）に分けられている。島は大別して「人里」（モホール）と「森」（レワル）に分けられ、この「森」は、現在でも島民には、妖怪のようなものが出没する所として恐れられている。

ボンナップ語で人間のことを「ヤラマ」といい、カミ（神）に相当する語を「ヤニュー」という。例えば、海の神を「ヤニュー・レヘット」、悪神を「ヤニュー・エンガウ」という。また、霊魂を「ンゴル」、幽霊・死霊、化け物、妖怪などを「ホーマ」という。

また、キリスト教に改宗する以前には、人類学や宗教学でいう「シャーマン」に相当する宗教者・呪術師がいた。彼らは「ワー・ン・ヤニュー」といい、その語義は「神のカヌー」で、文字通り、神懸かって病気治療や預言をした。また、「ホー・ヨー・ンゴル」という宗教者もいた。この語義は「魂を探す者」で、魂をどこかに落とししたり、ホーマに奪われて病気になったりした人を治療するために、病人から失われた魂を探してきてくれることができる、と考えられている。「ワー・ン・ヤニュー」と「ホー・ヨー・ンゴル」を兼ねた者もいた。また、「ワー・ン・ヤニュー」「ホー・ヨー・ンゴル」は、一般の人には見えない「もの」（霊）を見ることができると特別な能力をもった人でもあって、「ホーマが来る、ホーマが来る、火を焚いて、家に入れ」と警告してまわったりしたともいう⁵。

例えば、次の事例は、イケラムというシャーマンが、妻の魂をホーマに吐き出させて病気を治した、という話である。

【事例 1】（ボンナップ）

ボンナップには、ドイツ時代から日本時代にかけて、島の首長にもなったイケラムという名の男がいた。彼はワー・ン・ヤニューでありホー・ヨー・ソゴルでもあった。このイケラムについて、次のような話が伝えられている。

ある日の夕方、タロイモの畑で仕事をしていたイケラムの妻が、タロイモの葉の陰に変なものが横切ったのを見たら、急に気分が悪くなったので、仕事をさっさと切り上げて家に戻ったが、その日から重い病気になった。そこで、イケラムが神懸かって占ったところ、妻が見たものはホーマで、そのホーマが妻の魂を食べてしまったので病気になっている、というこ

⁵ 小松和彦「憑霊現象・治療儀礼・物語——中央カロリン諸島のシャーマニズム」『待兼山論叢・日本学篇』第27号（大阪大学文学会、1993年）、1-13頁。

とがわかった。妻の病気の原因を突きとめたイケラムは、ヤシの殻に呪薬を入れ、ホーマが出た畑に出かけた。イケラムがタロイモの葉の蔭に隠れていると、同じ場所にホーマが現れた。そこで、そのホーマの後ろにまわって首を捕まえ、思いきり締め上げて、食べてしまった妻の魂を吐き出させ、そして、持っていった呪薬の入ったヤシの殻にそのホーマを封じ込めてしまった。吐き出された妻の魂が病気の体に再び呼び戻されたので、だんだん妻の病気も良くなった。

ポンナップのシャーマニズムは、日本のシャーマニズムとは異なっている。日本では、病気は悪霊が乗り移ることで生じると考えたが、ポンナップでは、病人の魂が悪霊に奪われることで生じるのである。日本のシャーマン（密教系の祈禱師など）は病人に憑依している悪霊を呪力で退散させることで治し、シャーマン自身が神懸かることは少なく、それに代わって「依坐」などと呼ばれる「霊媒」を用意し、その者に神や悪霊を乗り移らせた。また、日本本土では、祈禱師にせよ、霊媒にせよ、奪われた魂を探しにいくことはない。

ヤニュー・ヤラマあるいは境界的・両義的存在

ポンナップでは、こうした宗教者に対応する「説話上の宗教者」を、「ヤニュー・ヤラマ」という。「ヤニュー」とは神、「ヤラマ」とは人間を意味するので、これは「半神半人」あるいは「双方の属性をもった者」ということを意味する。ヤニュー・ヤラマは人間世界と神・妖怪の世界の双方を行き来し、人間の世界では人間の姿になり、神や妖怪の世界では、神や妖怪の姿になるといわれており、あるときには人間の味方になり、あるときは神や妖怪の側に立つといわれている。ようするに、両義的・境界的な存在である。

例えば、次の事例は、ヤニュー・ヤラマの境界性・両義性をよく表しているといえるだろう。

【事例2】（ポンナップ）

村のはずれのパンの木の洞に、ヤニュー・ヤラマが住んでいた。ある日、ホーマが森で出会った男を捕まえようと追いかけてきた。これに気づいた男は、一生懸命に逃げ、もう少しで捕まりそうになった。だが、たまたま大きな木の枝があったのでそれをくぐったところ、ホーマはその枝にぶつかって痛がった。その隙に、男はさらに遠くに逃げたが、ホーマはまた追ってきた。また、捕まりそうになったが、今度は大きな木の根が地面から出ていたので、それを飛び越えて逃げた。ところが、ホーマはその根に蹴つまずいてひっくり返ったので、その隙にまた遠くに逃げた。こうして、村（モホール）のはずれまでようやくたどり着いて、ヤニュー・ヤラマの住む木の前まで来た。いち早くそれに気づいたヤニュー・ヤラマは、逃げ帰った者を洞に招き入れ待っていると、そこにホーマがやってきた。ホーマがヤニュー・ヤラマの洞に首を差し込んで来たので、その首をひっ捕まえて締め上げたところ、ホーマは悲鳴を上げて降参した。見るとそのホーマは、女のホーマだったので、「おれの妻になれ。なれば命は取らない」と言って妻にしてしまった。

日本文化的な脈絡では、ポンナップのレワルに相当する領域は山であり、モホールに相当す

るのは人里・ムラである。そしてポンナップの場合はこのレワル（森）とモホール（村、人里）の境界は「村はずれ」であり、日本の山と人里の境界は、「辻」や「峠」「川」などである。

ホーマは「化け物」「鬼」「妖怪」と訳せばさほど問題はないが、日本の説話的形象のなかから、ヤニュー・ヤラマに相当するような存在をすぐに想起することは難しい。しかし、自然的・文化的環境の違いを考慮しつつ伝説や昔話を検討していくと、同様の存在を探し出すことができる。例えば、次のような話は、このことを考える手掛かりとなるだろう。

【事例3】（ポンナップ）

昔々、ポンナップに、家や舟などを壊したり、人の妻に乱暴を働いたりしたために、皆から嫌われているタウスという名の男がいた。あまりの乱暴ぶりに困り果てた人々は、ひそかに相談して、タウスを殺すことにした。そして、彼の寝込みを襲って縛り上げ、舟で沖に運び出し、石を重りにして海へ投げ込んだ。重しをつけられているので、タウスはどんどん沈んでいき、海の底に至った。

そこには、大きな家（カヌーハウス）があった。その家から年を取ったおじいさん（この老人はヤニュー・ヤラマであると説明される）が出てきて、「ここは人間が来るところではない。この家にはホーマ（鬼）が住んでいるから早く帰れ」と教えてくれた。男が、どうして自分が縛られてこのように海の底にやってきたのかを説明したところ、そのおじいさんは同情し、縛っていた綱をほどいて家の中に招き入れ、食べ物を与えてくれた。おじいさんは男に「ホーマたちは今、食べる人間を捜しに海の上の陸（人間の世界）に出かけている。夜になったら戻ってくる。そのときには、家の隅に置いてある家財道具の陰に隠れていなさい」と教えてくれた。夜になり、ホーマたちが戻ってきた。家に入るとホーマたちは、「人臭い、人臭い」と言った。ところが、その老人は「ここには人間はいない。きっとあなたたちがさっき人間の世界に行って、捕まえて食べた人間の肉のにおいが残っているのだ」と怪しんだホーマたちをなだめて寝かしつけた。翌朝、ホーマたちはまた人間の世界に出かけていった。すると、老人は家財道具の陰に隠れていた男を招き出して、「ホーマはもういないよ」と言って、食べ物を与えたりしたあと、「私の知っているホーマの「ロン」（秘密の知識、魚を獲る呪術や魚のいる場所など）を伝えよう」と一つ授けてくれた。

夜になるとホーマが戻ってきたので、またその家財道具の陰に隠れた。翌日も同じようにして、ホーマがいなくなったあと、老人は知識を授けてくれた。こうしてホーマの家に隠れ住みながら、そのおじいさんに助けてもらい、いろいろなロンを身につけていったが、やがて男は自分のふるさとに帰りたくなった。「帰りたい」と言ったら、そのおじいさんは「では、朝になったらホーマたちが人間の世界に出かけていく。そのときに、ホーマの姿に身をやつし、彼らに混じって人間の世界に帰りなさい」と言った。

こうして、ホーマの姿に身をやつしたその男は、自分が住んでいる村に帰ることができた。海の中から現れて、村に近づいて来たその男を見た村の人たちは、びっくりした。自分たちが殺したタウスが、海のなかからホーマ（幽霊）となって仕返しに来たのではないかと思ったのだ。しかし、タウスは人々に、「私は幽霊ではない、海の底のホーマの世界にいたけれども、こうして戻ってきた。もう乱暴はしない。だから、どうか私を迎え入れてくれ」と言った。話を聞いた村の人たちは「それだったら」ということになり、タウスを村に迎え入れた。

その後、タウスは、海の底のおじいさんに学んださまざまなロンを使って人々を幸せにしたので、後に村の長になった。⁶

この話を、「ある海辺の村」を「ある村」、「タウス」を「ある男」、「海に重りをつけて沈める」を「村を追放する」、「海の底のカヌーハウス」を「山のなかの一軒家」、「ホーム」を「鬼」、「ロン」を「打出の小槌」、「男を助けるおじいさん」を「老婆」に変えると、日本で語られている、山の中の一軒家に住んでいる山姥譚のような昔話になるだろう。

このような変換作業によって、中央カロリンの自然・文化環境と日本の自然・文化の環境の違いが明らかになってくる。と同時に、物語構造の類似もまた明らかになってくる。そして、この変換作業が、日本文化を、日本の伝説・昔話の特徴を、浮かび上がらせるはずである。すなわち、日本では、ヤニュー・ヤラマの相当する説話的形象は、「山姥」的存在が圧倒的に多いことがわかる。もっとも、中央カロリンでは、ヤニュー・ヤラマは「おじいさん」とは限らない。「おばあさん」でもまったく問題はない。その一例は、かつて私がウルシー環礁で採集した次の「鉄の歯をもったヴァギナ」の話のなかに登場する「忠告する老婆」によって示されている。

【事例 4】（ウルシー）

昔々、モグモグ島（ウルシー環礁の本島）に三人の兄弟が住んでいた。あるとき、長男が魚取りに出かけた。日が傾きかかったのに少しも釣れないので、モグモグ島の近くの無人島に行ってみようと考えた。その島は化け物が出る島として人々から恐れられていた。化け物島のリーフに入るとたくさんの魚がとれた。一休みしようと島に上陸すると、どこから現われたのか「一人の老婆」が出てきて、「この島は化け物が出るから早く帰りなさい」と忠告して立ち去った。

恐ろしくなった彼は、急いでカヌーのところに戻ろうとすると、今まで見たこともないほど若くて美しい娘が現われて彼を呼びとめた。「私はこの島で母と二人で住んでいる者ですが、あなたは立派な男の方ですね。カヌーに一杯の魚を獲ったのを見ましたわ。どこからおいでになりましたの」と話しかけてきた。彼は「この女は姿かたちこそ美しいがきっと化け物にちがいない」と最初は警戒した。だが、あれこれ話をしているうちにすっかりこの娘に魅せられてしまった。そして、「母に紹介するからぜひ家まで来て欲しい」とせがまれ、彼女の家まで行くことになった。

家に着くと、人のよさそうなおばあさんがやさしく彼を家のなかに迎え入れ、「私はこれから料理を作るから、それまで二人で、2階で遊んでいなさい」と言った。2階でたわむれているうちに、彼は彼女の体を抱きたくてきた。彼女も「私はあなたの妻になってもいいと思っています。私の入れ墨を見たくはありませんか」と言って、積極的に彼を誘ったので、彼は彼女を抱きしめ、固くなっていきり立つ彼のいち物を彼女の女陰めがけて突っ込んだ。そのとき、激しい悲鳴が彼の口から発せられた。しばらくして、息絶えた彼の体はバラバラにされて、料理鍋のなかに放り込まれ、女陰のなかから吐き出された彼のいち物もそこ

⁶ この話は、前掲「ボンナップ島の首長制素描」において紹介した。

に投げ込まれた。

数日後、次男が、行方不明になった兄を探しに化け物島へ出かけた。やはり見知らぬ老婆が現われて「ここは化け物が出る島だから帰ったほうがいい」と忠告した。次男は、「私は行方不明になった兄を探しに来たのだ」とわけを話すと、「その男はきっと化け物に食べられてしまったのだろう」と告げた。これを聞いた次男が、「それならば、兄の仇を討ちたい」と言うと、老婆は「そんな危険なことはやめて帰ったほうがいい」とすすめた。だが、彼は承知しなかった。「それならば仕方がない。しかし決して化け物に出会っても化け物の入れ墨を見てはいけないよ」と教えた。

老婆が立ち去り、次男が島のあちこちを探しまわっていると、美しい娘が現われて、彼を家に誘った。彼は、最初は化け物にちがいない、と警戒していたが、2階で話をしているうちに、ムラムラと欲情が湧き起こり、老婆の忠告を忘れて彼女を抱いてしまった。悲鳴が上がり、彼の死体もまた鍋のなかに入れられてしまった。

数日後、今度は一番下の弟が、二人の兄を探しに化け物島にやってきた。例の老婆が現われ、彼に忠告した。末弟がわけを話し、「もし兄たちが化け物に食べられたのなら、その化け物を退治したい」と言うと、老婆は、化け物にだまされて入れ墨を見ないように、と忠告した。賢い弟は、老婆の忠告でおよその察しがついたので、知恵を絞って退治する方法を考えた。

やがて、どこからともなく現われた美しい娘が、彼を家に誘った。2階で話をしているうちに、二人の間もうちとけ、娘はしきりに彼を挑発した。弟は、「なるほど、兄さんたちはこうしてだまされたんだな」と思いながら、娘に合わせてたわむれていた。そのうち、娘は我慢できなくなったのか、「早く、早く」とせがみだした。そこで、彼のいきりたついち物で彼女の女陰をなでまわし叩きながら「よーし」と掛け声を上げて、女陰めがけて突き刺した。恐ろしい悲鳴があがった。

しかし、その悲鳴は弟のものではなく、娘の声であった。二階から醜い化け物になった娘の死体が投げ落とされた。それを見た老婆は、けたたましい叫び声をあげて逃げようとしたが、弟に捕まえられて、蜜刀で斬り殺されてしまった。女陰に突き刺したのは、彼のいち物ではなく、この蜜刀だったのである。この化け物は「ンギ・パラン」と呼ばれる女の化け物であった。⁷

この話は、ウルシーでは二人の兄は化け物の「鉄のように固い歯をもったヴァギナ」で男性器を食いちぎられて死ぬのだが、ポンナップの同様の話では「鯨の歯のような歯をもったヴァギナ」をもった化け物に殺されたと語られている。

ポンナップでは、二人の兄弟の場合、「ロング・ラップ」と「ロング・リック」という兄弟として語られることが多い。ロング・ラップとは「たくさん聞く」（たくさん話さなければ理解できない者）という原義で「愚かな兄」を、ロング・ロックは「少し聞く」（少し話ただけで理解できる者）という原義で「賢い弟」を意味する。三人兄弟の場合は、アウティ・ラップ（親

⁷ この話は、「恐怖の存在としての女性像——化け物退治譚の深層」（『現代思想』1982年11月号「異人論」青土社、1985年に収録）において紹介した上で比較論的に検討したことがある。

指)、アウティ・ティーク(人差し指)、アウティ・リック(小指)という名の三人の兄弟の話となっている。

日本にもこの話と物語の構造がよく似た、「二人兄弟化け物退治」あるいは「三兄弟化け物退治」と名づけられている昔話群がある。次の話はその一つである。

【事例 5】(日本)

ある所に三人の兄弟がいた。三人とも武芸にすぐれていた。そのころ奥山に化け物がいるとの噂があったので、一番上の兄の太郎が「俺がその化け物を退治してくる」と家を出た。山のふもとまで行くと小屋があり、「白髪の老婆」がいたので道を聞くと「やめて帰ったほうがよい」と言った。太郎が「それでも行く」と言うと、老婆は「それなら、谷川の滝の鳴る音のとおりに行くも帰るもしなさい」との助言を与えた。さらに山に入っていくと、深い谷があり、大きな木が茂り、気味悪い感じになってきた。すると、向こうから一人の美しい女が歩いてきて、太郎と行きあった。女はにっこりと笑い「どこへ行く」と聞いた。「この山の化け物退治に来た」と言うと、女は「そりゃまだまだ遠い、ちょっと休んでから行くといい」と言った。太郎が立ち止まると「立って休むんなら坐って休んだほうがいい」と言うので坐って休むと、また女が「坐って休むんなら寝て休んだほうがいい」と言う。そこで太郎が寝ると、女は大蛇になって太郎にぐるぐると巻きついて絞め殺してしまった。

家ではいくら待っても山から太郎が帰ってこないで、次郎が兄を迎えに奥山に出かけた。山のふもとで老婆に会い、忠告を受けるが、いっこうかまわずどんどん奥山に入っていく。そして同じように、大蛇に殺されてしまった。

今度は二人の兄をたずねて、三郎が奥山に行った。一番目の兄がしたように山のふもとの小屋に住む老婆に道を聞くと、このときばかりは老婆も引き止めず、「お前なら行っても安心だ」と言った。暗がりの林にさしかかると美しい女が歩いてきて、三郎に「どこへ行くのか」とたずねた。「山の化け物を退治して兄の仇を討つために」と答えると、女は「その山はまだまだ遠い、ここでしばらく休んでいくといい」と言って、兄たちと同じように三郎をそこに寝かせた。三郎はそれで寝て休んだが、右の目を休めれば左の目を開けておき、左の目を休めれば右の目を開けて、女の様子を見ていた。すると女は大蛇になって絡みついたので、刀を抜いて切ってかかり、ついにその大蛇を切り殺した。退治してから大木の陰を見ると、たくさんの人の骨が山と積まれてあった。そのなかに兄たちの脇差がまじっていたので、それを持って家に戻った。⁸

日本では、中央カロリンのようなセクシャルな要素が消え失せており、美しい女に化けた大蛇の誘いに乗って気を許した隙(一人で休息をとっていたとき)に食べられてしまうという話になっている。このあたりにも文化の違いが現れている。

⁸ 関啓吾編『日本昔話大成』第4巻(角川書店、1978年)に、この類型の昔話が多数示されている。

ボンナップの怪談——愛する妻が「怨霊」となる？

ボンナップにも、日本の幽霊と同じような霊が出ることもある。それは「ホーマ」という言葉で表現されたり、「誰その霊」（ンゴル〇〇）と表現されたりする。その出現の仕方は明らかに日本の幽霊と重なる面がある。

しかしながら、次に紹介する幽霊譚の結末や島民たちのコメントを聞くと、日本人としては当惑せざるをえないだろう。

【事例 6】（ボンナップ）

昔、イヨルとアナウンボンナップというたいへん仲の良い夫婦がいた。イヨルは妻のアナウンボンナップをととても愛していたので、いつも「もし私より先にお前が死んだらどうしよう。きっとお前の後を追って自殺するだろう、新しい女も探さない」と妻に言っていた。アナウンボンナップはこの言葉を聞いてとても喜んだ。

あるとき、アナウンボンナップが病気になった。病気がだんだん重くなって、イヨルの看病の甲斐もなく、とうとうアナウンボンナップは亡くなってしまった。人々が遺体の置かれたカヌーハウスに集まってきて、イヨルとともに泣き明かした。イヨルは泣き叫びながら、アナウンボンナップの遺体の穴に布切れをしっかりと詰めた。イヨルの悲しみはたいへんなものであった。家の柱に体をぶつけ、蜜刀で身体の至るところを傷つけ、周囲の者が押し止めるほどだった。

やがて夜も明けて、遺体を埋葬しなければならなくなった。遺体はたくさんの腰巻用の布でくるまれたあと、^{モミ}莫座に包まれ、船に乘せられて、葬送場所であるファナリック（無人島）に運び込まれた。親族たちが埋葬用の穴を掘っているあいだも、イヨルは泣き続けていた。

死んだアナウンボンナップの霊は、イヨルと別れがたかったのだろう、埋葬後、アナウンボンナップの霊もイヨルについて戻ってきた。船が着くと、島中の家々で火をたくさん焚いた。葬送船とともに、死霊や悪霊のたぐいがやってくるので、家のなかに入れないようにするためである。その日もイヨルは、親族とともに泣き明かした。翌日の夜もイヨルは泣き続け、疲れ果てて寝込んでしまった。

夜中にイヨルは目を覚ました。もうイヨルは泣かなかった。そして、何を思ったのか、そっと家の抜け出すと、近くの家忍び込んだ。その様子を見ていたアナウンボンナップの霊も、その後に付いていった。そこにはリエリエビッグファンという若い娘がいた。男が忍び込んできたことに気づいたリエリエビッグファンが小声で「誰？」と聞くと、「イヨルです」という返事があった。リエリエビッグファンは驚いて、「嘘でしょう？ 彼はアナウンボンナップが亡くなったので、家で悲しんでいるはずですよ。私のところに忍んでくるなんて考えられない」と言った。「いや、本当にイヨルなんです。私は妻が亡くなってとても悲しい気持ちです。たくさん泣きました。でも、いくら泣いても彼女は戻ってきてはくれない。それで気づいたのです。早く彼女のことを忘れないと、私はこれから生きていけない。リエリエビッグファン、どうかこの私に生きる力を与えてください」。イヨルはとても評判の良い男でしたし、リエリエビッグファンもイヨルのことが好きだったので、「私はかまわないけど、まだモゴノアヘイヤル（葬式終了・喪明けの祝宴）も終わらないうちに二人で遊んで、奥さん

の霊が怒らないかしら。私はとても怖いわ」と返事をした。だが、それでもイヨルはその場に留まって帰らなかったもので、とうとう二人は一晚一緒に過ごすことになった。アナウンポンナップの霊は、その様子を一部始終見ていた。

その翌日、人々が集まってモゴノアヘイヤルが開かれた。その晩も、イヨルはリエリエビッグファンのところに忍んできた。朝になって立ち去るとき、イヨルは「午後になったら、村はずれの私の作業小屋に行ってお待ちください。あそこなら周囲を気にせずによろしく二人で遊べるから」と告げた。

午後、イヨルは人目につかないように、村はずれの作業小屋に向かった。アナウンポンナップの霊もそのあとに付いていった。小屋にはリエリエビッグファンが待っていた。イヨルが彼女のそばに座ると、リエリエビッグファンが、「イヨル、アナウンポンナップが生きていたとき、あんなに愛し、死んだときもとても悲しんだのに、彼女のことをもう忘れてしまったの」と話しかけた。イヨルは「もうアナウンポンナップのことは言わないで。さあ、私と遊ぼう」と言って、彼女を抱き寄せ、彼女の腰巻を脱がせようとした。ところが、普通の女は腰巻を一枚しか身に着けていないのに、どういうわけか、まだその下に腰巻があった。イヨルは、おやっと思いつつもその腰巻を取り除いた。ところが、その下にもまだ腰巻があった。イヨルはいやな予感がして背筋が寒くなった。だが、勇気をふるって次々に腰巻を取り除くと、ようやく女の太股が出てきた。女を抱きながらその太股をちらっと見て、イヨルは驚きと恐怖の悲鳴をあげて、腰を抜かしてその場にへたり込んだ。リエリエビッグファンと思っていた女の太股には、自分が彫り込んだ入れ墨があり、陰部の穴には自分が詰め込んだ布切れが見えたからだ。「イヨル、どうしたの、さあ、私を抱いてちょうだい」。イヨルは恐ろしさのあまり声も出ず、ガタガタ身体を震わせるだけであった。リエリエビッグファンと思っていた女は、アナウンポンナップの霊がリエリエビッグファンの姿に化けていたのだ。

やがて、リエリエビッグファンに化けていたアナウンポンナップの霊が、生前の姿になってイヨルに語りかけた。「イヨル、私はアナウンポンナップです。あなたと別れがたくて、お墓に埋められたときから、ずっとあなたに付いていました。私はあなたが生前に私にいつも言ってくれていたことを覚えています。それなのに、モゴノアヘイヤルも終わらないうちに、他の若い娘のところに忍んでいきました。私は裏切られました。そんなあなたに恨みごとを言うために、こうしてあなたの前に出てきました。でも、もうあなたのことは忘れることにします。ですから、新しい女と結婚するなり遊ぶなりしてもかまいません。あなたとはこれで永遠のお別れです」。そう言って姿を消した。イヨルは、「私が悪かった、どうか私を許してくれ」と泣き叫び続けた。

しばらくして、きれいに着飾った本物のリエリエビッグファンが小屋の中に入ってきた。その姿を見るなり、イヨルは、「お前がいけないのだ、お前がいけないのだ」わけのわからないことを叫びながら、彼女を激しく叩き、追い返した。⁹

⁹ この話は、小松和彦「文化人類学手帖——ボンナップ島民族誌ノート(4)」(『ライフサイエンス』第12巻4号、生命科学振興会、1985年、72-76頁)で紹介した。

この話を詳しく聞くと、私たちからすれば、ボンナップの幽霊はあまりにも憎むべき相手に対して寛容だと思わざるをえないのではなからうか。私は、この話を聞きながら、夫は妻の幽霊によって狂い死にさせられるのだらうと思っていた。ところが、「私との約束を裏切ったわね。でも、こうして恨みごとを言ったので、もう許してあげる」と述べると、あっさり立ち去ってしまうからである。

そこで、この話を聴かされた後、私は島の人たちにかいつまんで「東海道四谷怪談」のお岩さんの話をしてみた。すると、ボンナップの人（男）たちのコメントは、お岩さんの恨みが深すぎると言い、伊右衛門に同情的なのである。「伊右衛門が妻を殺したのはただけでない。そんなことをしないで、さっさと古い妻と別れればよかったのだ」。

なぜなのか。それはボンナップの男女観・結婚観の違いによっているのである。この話のボンナップにおける教訓は、「夫は生前に妻と馬鹿な約束をしたものだ。そんな約束をするものではない」であった。

この話と似たようなことを、私も調査中に体験したことがある。私の世話をしてくれていた老夫婦の娘夫婦の話である。私より少し若い、仲の良い夫婦であったが、滞在中、その夫が事故で亡くなった。その葬儀の様子をビデオカメラに収めたところ、泣きくれていた妻が、今度来るときにそのビデオのコピーを是非持ってきて欲しいと頼んだので、1年後に訪問したとき、手頃な長さに編集したビデオテープを土産代わりに持参した。島に到着してほどなく、その娘がにこにこしながら挨拶にやってきた。娘の後ろに男が立っていた。なんとその男は娘の新しい夫だった。とてもビデオテープを渡せるような雰囲気ではなかった。その後、娘の両親にテープのことを話すと、口を揃えて「そんなテープは捨てろ。そんなものをみんなの前で上映したら、娘の亡夫の幽霊が出てくるかもしれない」と言うのであった。

ボンナップの社会では、この娘の早々とした再婚はけっして非難されるようなことではない。ボンナップでは、死者が出たとき、残された者たちはその死を思い切り泣き悲しみ、遺族の女たちは頭を剃り、男たちは自分の体を蛮刀で傷つけたりすることで追悼の意を表現する。しかしながら、その後は、できるだけ早く死者のことを忘れ、「今」の生活を充実させるほうが好ましいと考えているのである。

異文化の伝説・昔話の理解・説明は難しい。しかし、異文化との比較は、日本の文化、日本人の価値観、結婚観や恋愛観、世界観などを照らしてくれる貴重な素材でもあるといえるだろう。

An Austronesian Presence in the Sakishima Islands: An Archaeological Update

Glenn R. SUMMERHAYES

Introduction

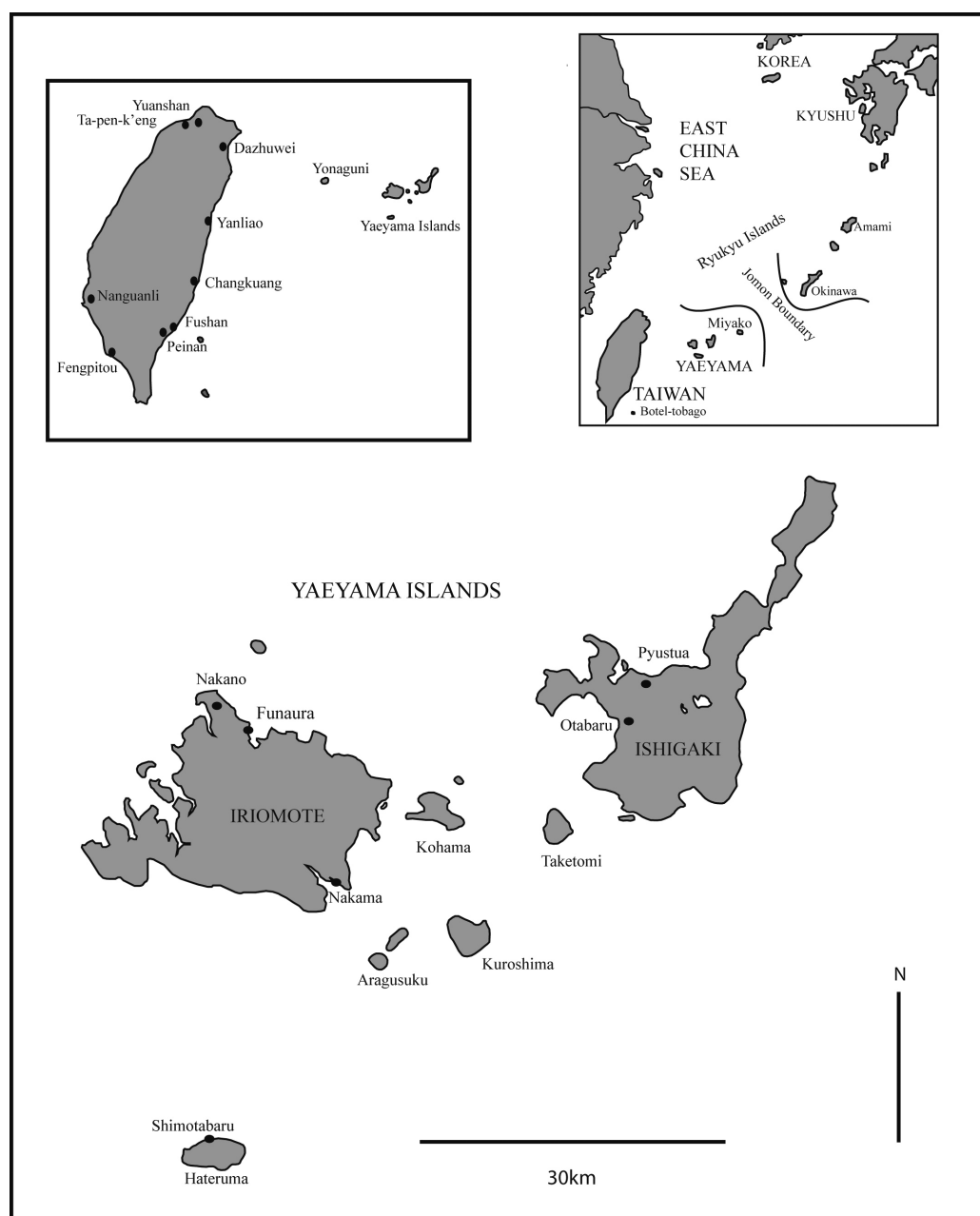
The Sakishima region is made up of the islands of Yaeyama and Miyako. Located only 250 kilometres east of Taiwan, Yaeyama is strategically located to receive any goods or influences from both Taiwan and China to the west (map 1). Yaeyama is made up of two larger islands, Ishigaki and Iriomote, and a number of smaller surrounding islands plus the island of Hateruma 25 kilometres south of Iriomote, and 40 kilometres south west of Ishigaki. In between Taiwan and Yaeyama lies the island of Yonaguni, found just over 100 kilometres east of Taiwan. Ninety kilometres to the north of Yaeyama is Miyako Island, and over 400 kilometres north lies the main island of Okinawa. It will be argued below that the Sakishima region was culturally isolated from the main island of Okinawa for thousands of years, with the major sphere of influence, although scanty, with areas to the west (Taiwan) and later on the south (Philippines).

Shimotabaru Phase

Although the first evidence of human occupation of Japan's most southerly islands goes back to 24,000 years in the late Pleistocene (Anderson and Summerhayes 2008; Nakagawa et al. 2010; Kaifu et al. 2015; Fujita et al. 2016), the evidence is scanty with no evidence of any subsequent human occupation. From Shiraho-Saonetabaru Cave on Ishigaki Island, skeletal remains were found dating to 24,000 years (Nakagawa et al. 2010). Further to the north on the main island of Okinawa, some 400 kilometres distant, the earliest occupation is dated to 35,000 years at Sakitari cave (Fujita et al. 2016). As the islands of the Ryukyus were never joined to the mainland during the late Pleistocene, evidence of earlier occupation is testimony to the maritime voyaging skills of these earlier inhabitants (Kaifu et al. 2015; Fujita 2016).

The next evidence of colonisation is by 4500 to 4000 years ago. Known as the Shimotabaru Phase, this colonisation episode introduces for the first time a Neolithic material culture set including crude low fired pottery and quadrangular adzes found in numerous sites in the Yaeyama islands (Ishigaki-shi 2007, 2008, 2015). Most archaeological sites are found in a rich red volcanic soil on small hills or terraces behind present day coastal plains. Their location was due to the mid-Holocene marine transgression where the sea was some two metres higher than today. The type site of Shimotabaru, located on Hateruma Island, was found on a raised beach ridge. Yonaguni, on the other hand, has only one Shimotabaru phase site, Toguruhama (see below) but with no pottery found to date (Okinawa Prefectural Board Education Board 1985; Yonaguni Town Hall 2015).

A paper by Summerhayes and Anderson (2009) re-examined the colonising phase, including a re-assessment of its timing, the nature of pottery production and exchange, and how this fits into a wider regional picture. This was important as it was the first major review of the evidence, most of which was never published or referenced in English.



Map 1. East Asia and Yaeyama Islands—Archaeological sites listed in text (from Summerhayes and Anderson 2009).

Re-assessment of Timing.

Prior to Summerhayes and Anderson (2009) it was thought that Shimotabaru occupation began from early 4th millennium BP. Radiocarbon age estimates (some over 50 years old) were subsequently recalibrated using updated δ^{13} corrections (Summerhayes and Anderson 2009:80). After calibration it

was determined that Shimotabaru occupation occurred from the middle of the 5th millennium BP to the early 4th millennium BP (4500 to 3900 years ago). Time depth in occupation was also observed by the identification of changes in pottery decoration over time (Ishigaki City Education Board 1997; Kishimoto 2004).

Nature of Exchange/Interaction

Summerhayes and Anderson (2009) argued that there was a degree of interaction between the Yaeyama islands as witnessed by the transfer of pottery, faunal remains and adzes. By undertaking a physico-chemical analysis, using the electron microprobe, of Shimotabaru pottery from a number of sites from the Yaeyama's, Summerhayes and Anderson (2009) identified numerous production centres which produced the stylistically uniform ware. At least four clay sources were identified, probably taken from behind Nagura Bay on the southeast coast of Ishigaki, behind the Otabaru archaeological site. Pottery found from both Hateruma and the north coastal site of Pyutsuta was transferred in, as these areas did not possess clays for pottery making. The presence of quartz in all clay samples, and epidote in most confirms Nagura Bay, Ishigaki, as the primary production area (Figure 1; see Summerhayes and Anderson 2009:83–84 for a detailed discussion).

Unfortunately as most Shimotabaru sites, with the single exception of the Shimotabaru type site on Hateruma, were found in a rich volcanic soil context, few organics survived thus restricting our assessments on whether these colonisers brought with them any form of agriculture. Exchange is seen in the movement of animals and food between the islands during the Shimotabaru phase. What we do know from the midden remains of the Shimotabaru site, is that the economy here was made up predominantly of fish, and freshwater shell fish imported from Iriomote. Wild boar (*sus scrofa riukiuanus*) was also found which would have been imported into Hateruma Island.

Stone adzes were found in all sites. Adzes with step butts, and trapezoidal cross sections, some slightly polished, were found. These were made from a variety of rocks, with most made from metamorphic greenschist which is found in Ishigaki next to the Otabaru site (the Tumuru Geological Formation—Foster 1965) and on the eastern coast of Iriomote (Summerhayes and Anderson 2009:86–87). From Hateruma, adzes made from gabbro, with dolerite, amphibolite were also found (Okinawa Prefectural Education Board 1986). These rocks are found on Ishigaki.

Where did These Colonisers Originate from?

Few archaeologists would argue with the nature of the evidence presented above. The million dollar question which provokes much dispute is where did these Neolithic people originate from? In summary, on the basis of the above evidence, these colonising people settled on beaches and islands within water estuaries, and at all times were close to fresh water. A degree of interaction between islands is evident, with, in particular, a number of production centres producing identical pottery suggesting a mobile population of colonising people.

Summerhayes and Anderson (2009) argued that the makers of the Shimotabaru assemblages probably originated from Taiwan, and indeed probably spoke an Austronesian language. This was based on a number of factors.

First, the colonising phase could not have originated from the Philippines to the south, as the Shimotabaru Phase preceded the introduction of the Neolithic into the Philippines by hundreds of years. That is, the Neolithic colonisation of Yaeyama occurs at the same time as the Middle Neolithic in Taiwan and precedes by a few hundred years the Austronesian expansion from Taiwan to the Batanes (Bellwood and Dizon 2013) and the Philippines (Hung 2005). Furthermore, there is evidence of occupation on Yonaguni (Toguruhamas site) at the same time as the Shimotabaru sites which suggests that colonisation passed through that island. Links between the Sakishima Islands and Okinawa are thought to have been very weak or non-existent (Ito 2003:63).

Secondly, the material culture has nothing in common and was not part of the Jomon expansion which stopped at the main island of Okinawa 400 kilometres to the north. This is seen in the evidence below.

1. The pottery had no similarities in form or decoration whatsoever to Jomon pottery to the north. It does have similarities with pottery from east Taiwan. It was argued (Summerhayes and Anderson 2009) that the Shimotabaru ware originated from the Fushan culture from eastern Taiwan in the Middle Neolithic which was seen as a period of growth (Hung 2008:52). Sites where this is found include Fushan (Shi et al. 2001:67) and Dazhuwei (Da-zhu-wei) (Liu et al. 2001) which date to c.4,200–3,500 BP. Other sites such Changkuang (Shi et al 2001:plate 41; Chao 2000) also have bowls with vertical handles/lugs, and date to the late fourth millennium BP. This site also has fingernail impressed decoration on the inside of the vessel. In northeast Taiwan open mouthed vessels with handles/lugs are common at the Yanliao site of Huangangshan Culture (Ye 2000:79–80).
2. It was also argued that similarities in adze forms existed between Shimotabaru and areas to the west. For full details see Summerhayes and Anderson (2009). Briefly though, adzes with attempted stepped butts (Pearson 1969:85) and also the presence of adzes with trapezoidal sections were aligned with types found in Taiwan, southern China and the northern Philippines (Kokubu 1963:229; Kanaseki et al 1964:11; Tsang 2005:69). Pearson (1969:105,111) also noted similarities between the slightly polished, ovoid-in-section basaltic adzes from the T'ai Yuan and Peinan site and those sites from Yaeyamas (Pearson 1969:105). Yet as the adzes found from the Yaeyama contexts were made locally, any similarities were not the result of physical exchange (see Summerhayes and Anderson 2009 for a review of the evidence). Hung (2004) has analysed over 1,000 stone adzes from 210 Neolithic sites from Taiwan and the Penghu Archipelago and has identified source rocks for all these adzes (nephrite, andesite, basalt and slate). None are made from the same materials used in the manufacture of the Yaeyama adzes.

Thus on the basis of similarities in pottery, adzes, timing of colonisation, and the exclusion of the Philippines and Jomon cultures to the north we are only left with the island of Taiwan as the 'probable source'. A supporter of Austronesian colonisation is Mark Hudson. Hudson (2006:425) made the point that "as far as I am aware, no Japanese archaeologist has made the obvious point that the prehistoric inhabitants of Sakishima were probably Austronesians". He argues that this was part of the Neolithic expansion (Hudson 2012:258) out of Taiwan and/or South East Asia (Hudson 2007, 2015).

No Connection with Taiwan?

Some archaeologists strongly argue that there were no links between the Shimotabaru Neolithic of the Sakishima Islands and Taiwan. Based on dissimilarities in artefacts, Chen (2002:35) argues that there are no connections. He also argued that the smaller islands were difficult for agriculture. This is an important point that I will return to later. Similar sentiments are expressed by many archaeologists. Shinjun Sato (2009) wrote that although Shimotabaru pottery at first resembles Southeast Asian pottery, he does not know where it originated. Sato went so far as to criticise links between Shimotabaru pottery and Lapita pottery. Unfortunately he confused 'Lapita' with 'Austronesian' as Lapita only exists in the western Pacific thousands of kilometres to the south, and appearing some 600 years or more later in time.

Another doubter is Isao Morimoto (2012). He also sees no archaeological connections between Taiwan and the southern Ryukyus with the exception of some shell beads. He said that while other shell artifacts from both regions are similar in form and production method "it is unclear that we can regard these materials as the result of influence from one to another. We must take account of their different economic backgrounds" (Morimoto 2012:9). Yet these shell artefacts are much later in time than the period in question. To support his argument he notes Cheng's (2002) argument that the absence of rice from the southern Ryukyu's indicates that the two regions belonged to different cultures. That is the people from Sakishima were from a hunter-gatherer economy and not an agricultural society. Again, more on the agricultural question below.

Pearson (2009) is also reserved about any connections with Taiwan suggesting the Philippines as a possibility.

Is it possible that the first people of Sakishima drifted north from the Philippines and belong to a pre-Austronesian culture from that area? (Pearson 2009:99)

This is based on similarities between *Tridacna* shell adzes found in Sakishima and those found in a burial in Duyong Cave Palawan. The problem here is that these shell adzes from Palawan date to about 5000–6500 BP, thus pre-dating any pottery from Palawan or the Sakishima Islands by over a millennium, a point Pearson notes in a subsequent publication (2013:78–79).

Lack of Similarity

Although Pearson recognises some similarities between Taiwan and Shimotabaru cultures, he questions any connections due to the lack of many other shared cultural forms between these two areas. That is, there is too much not shared to suggest a connection (Pearson 2009:98–99). Here he refers to items found in Taiwan yet absent in Shimotabaru culture: bark cloth beaters, pottery spindle whorls, earrings. Pearson (2013:78) states that we need to explain these absences. I will now address this point.

Firstly, the lack of agriculture in Yaeyama. Domesticated introduced pig (*sus scrofa/verrucosus*) is found in the northern Philippines in 4000 year old contexts (Piper et al. 2009:691) after the Yaeyamas were colonised. No domesticated pig was found in the Yaeyama although as noted above wild boar (*sus*

scrofa riukiuanus) was found and would have been translocated to Hateruma Island. As pointed out by Summerhayes and Anderson (2009:79) there has been no intensive study into early agriculture in this region. Arguments by some archaeologists that these people from the Shimotabaru phase lived a hunting and gathering existence is unfortunately based on negative evidence. The Neolithic settlement of Taiwan was for example based on pottery, polished adzes and horticulture of tubers (taro and yams) and not cereals (rice and millet) (see Hung and Carson 2014). The identification of these tubers need starch and phytolith analyses on stone tools and pottery and surrounding soils. This has been lacking to date. Furthermore, as noted above, the Shimotabaru sites, with the exception of the type site, were all located on red acidic volcanic soils where no organics survived.

Secondly, the spindle whorls and jade which are present in Taiwan are absent in the Shimotabaru sites in the Yaeyamas. Yet they first appear outside of Taiwan in the Late Neolithic, a few hundred years after the colonisation of the Yaeyamas. Jade (nephrite) from the Fengtian source from eastern Taiwan was exploited from 5000 years ago (Hung 2004). Yet it first appeared in the Batanes islands and Northern Philippines from the early 4th millennium BP, 3950–3750 years ago (Hung and Iizuka 2013). The first appearance of spindle whorls outside of Taiwan is later still. From the Batanes Islands, they first appear from 3200 years ago, hundreds of years after the Yaeyama islands were colonised (Cameron 2013). The lack of any of these material cultural forms equates to a lack of interaction between Taiwan and the Yaeyama islands after colonisation.

Thirdly, as argued by Hudson (2012:261) and Summerhayes and Anderson (2009), the Sakishima Islands were culturally isolated once colonised. Uncertainty exists as to the nature of any interaction (see Yamagiwa 2015, 2016). Whatever the nature of interaction that occurred between Taiwan and the Yaeyamas, it is of a different nature to that which occurred between Taiwan and the Philippines.

Insights into this can be seen in differences in pottery found and consumed in the Yaeyamas. Although only one vessel form was shared between Taiwan and the Shimotabaru assemblages, it has been the absence of the more complex forms found during the Middle Neolithic of Taiwan, and the differences in technology used, that many see as evidence for no connections at all. Furthermore, the majority of vessel forms and decorations shared between Taiwan and the Philippines are absent.

This leads to an interesting debate on whether the material culture of colonising groups should imitate or be identical to the material culture found in the areas they left behind. There is no reason for this to happen with pottery technology. With regards to pottery manufacture, the pots of any new location made use of existing clay and filler. The latter can be made up of beach sands, rocks, and added to the clay fabric to counter any shrinkage during the drying phase of manufacture. There is no need for new colonies to imitate the exact fabric groups of the areas they left behind—they make do with what they have at hand.

What about the absence of fine made wares in the Shimotabaru Culture compared to the variety of fine pedestal vessels and ring footed bowls found in Taiwan and also to the Philippines to the south? It must be noted that the assemblages from Taiwan consist of two main types of pottery. First, the finely made pedestal vessels and ring footed vessels were probably a non-utilitarian ware not used in domestic activities. Secondly, the plain pots and bowls that shared a similar form to the Shimotabaru pottery were a utilitarian ware used for domestic purposes. This is seen in the site of Fushan, Eastern Taiwan, which was dominated not by pedestal vessels and ring footed bowls but by red

slipped or plain pottery, and contain a pot form similar to Shimotabaru pottery. This plain pottery was a utilitarian ware and different from the fine made red slipped pedestal bowls and ring footed vessels from Taiwan which were a social ware (non-utilitarian/ceremonial?) and not used for cooking food.

Thus the early Yaeyama pottery although lacking the finely made ceremonial/social ware, contained mundane and clumsily made utilitarian ware. One model to account for this lack of social non-utilitarian (ceremonial?) ware and the presence of only basic cooking pottery would argue that with few colonists and no prior populations evident in the Sakishima Island, there was not a need to signal or reinforce their own identity through the production of socially mediated pottery. A similar argument was put forward to account for the loss of the elaborate Lapita dentate-stamped decorated pottery in Remote Oceania soon after colonisation (see Summerhayes 2000a, 2000b).

The Elaboration of Material Culture by Colonising Groups

In an article by Summerhayes and Allen (2007) it was argued that early elaborate material is a reflection of the homeland culture and that pottery decoration is elaborated internally as part of the colonising process. They used the concept of “costly signalling” to explain the elaboration of pottery decoration from the earliest colonising phases in areas of New Guinea involving Neolithic societies. The use of fine non-utilitarian pottery with or without fine decoration, and used in social and ritual use, would have reinforced group identity of any colonising group entering the domain of incumbent groups. Summerhayes and Allen argued that although the colonists “may have superior technology it is in the best long term interests of colonists to avoid conflict with incumbent groups when, by the very nature of the colonising act, the newcomers will inevitably compete for land and resources with existing groups” (Summerhayes and Allen 2007:116–7). Thus by “elaborating their material culture the colonists signal their own strength or fitness and provide objects that by exchange will confer prestige or other more utilitarian values on the recipients”.

Thus the use of ‘costly signalling’ to already populated areas explains the continued use of elaborate decorated vessel forms with the Austronesian diaspora into the Philippines and eventually into the western Pacific. But what happens when a colonising group enters an area where no previous people exist? Who are they signalling to? As seen in Remote Oceania, the colonising populations lost their complex dentate designs and vessel forms (bowls and stands) soon after entering areas where no prior people lived. Yet, the utilitarian pottery forms continued (plain cooking and water storage vessels). Could “costly signalling” apply in the early Yaeyama assemblages? Why bring in complex vessel forms? Why should the Shimotabaru pottery reflect an identical mirror image of Neolithic forms existing in Taiwan during the Middle Neolithic?

As noted above, the colonisation of Yaeyama was of a completely different nature to the movement of peoples south into the Philippines. Once Yaeyama was occupied it was culturally isolated with the nature of subsequent interaction for the next millennia unknown and uncertain (see Yamagiwa 2015, 2016). This explains the absence of spindle whorls, jade and other items which were exported out of Taiwan at a later period of time. Whatever the nature of interaction that occurred between Taiwan and Yaeyama, it is of a different nature to that which occurred between Taiwan and the Philippines. We must recognise that not all colonising groups were successful, and this would affect the trajectory of that group.

Where to from Here?

One island that holds clues to the nature of any interaction is Yonaguni. Its strategic geographical location between Taiwan and the Yaeyama islands ensures that any inferred interaction between Taiwan and Yaeyama should have been felt in Yonaguni—the island in the middle. Yet, Yonaguni is relatively archaeologically unknown. As noted above, there is one site, Toguruhama, which is contemporary with Shimotabaru sites from Yaeyama. The site was dug while extending the airport which is located on the north coast, with the site on a terrace some 6–8 metres above sea level. Toguruhama is dated to between 4560–4315 and 4400–4150 years ago.

The location of Yonaguni and occupation contemporary with Shimotabaru pottery from Yaeyama suggests that colonisation passed through that island. Two specific questions must be addressed:

1. Was a Neolithic presence found on Yonaguni Island? That is, can pottery be found that is related to the Shimotabaru ware of the Yaeyamas?
2. What is the past nature of interactions between Taiwan and the islands to the east? Why has the archaeological path in these islands taken a different route to those in the Philippines and further afield?

This is where attention must be focussed.

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Bronze Bells in Early Japan: “Swallowed” by the Mountains? An Interpretation of Their Ritual Purpose in Early Iron Production

Edwina PALMER

Introduction

The earliest extant large-scale works of literature in Japan, dating from the late seventh through the eighth century, comprise myths, legends, poems, chronicles and gazetteers. Many of these contain passages that to the modern reader appear at first sight to be obscure, irrelevant in context, or otherwise dismissed as ‘nonsense.’ In recent decades, however, it has become increasingly clear that their comprehension depended on word play. I have argued elsewhere that these plays on words were by no means random or puerile: they were often, to the contrary, ingeniously crafted and complex sets of word plays based on relevant and selected themes, motifs or tropes.¹ Decoding of these sets of word associations reveals deeper and holistic meanings for the phrase or passage in question. This resembles a verbal cryptic crossword, the decoding of which by the listener/reader is essential to ‘getting the point’ of the reciter’s intended meaning. The text I have mainly concentrated upon is *Harima no kuni fudoki* 播磨国風土記 (hereafter *Harima fudoki*), which dates from around 714 CE.

In this text, there are two separate entries that describe the disappearance of a ‘jingle bell’ on a hillside. In this article, I shall hypothesize that these two brief passages were oral vestiges of the Yayoi Period practice of burying bronze bells. The motives for the burying of bronze bells in the Yayoi Period are still unclear, and theories abound. In connection with ‘decoding’ a deeper meaning to the two *Harima fudoki* entries, I shall review the theory that the practice of burying bronze bells was connected to the early search for iron deposits.

First I shall present the two passages in question, before moving on to a review of the literature about iron extraction and production in ancient Japan.

Harima Fudoki

Passage (1): in the entry for Paripara *Sato*, Ipibo *Kōri*:

Suzukupi-woka: The reason why it is called Suzukupi is because in the reign of the Heavenly Sovereign Pomuda, [he] was hawking on this hill; the falcon’s bell fell off and they searched but to no avail. Hence it is called Suzukupi-woka.²

¹ Palmer, 2000; 2001a; 2001b; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2013; 2016.

² *Suzukupi-woka* 鈴喰岡 in Modern Japanese. ‘Bell-swallowing Hill,’ possibly Iwaoka in present-day Katabuki, Honda-chō, Tatsuno-shi (Kadokawa Nihon Chimei Dai Jiten Hensan Iinkai 1988, 1833); or Katabukiyama, Katabuki, Honda-chō, Tatsuno-shi (Tai 2010, 119). See Akimoto 1958, 305; Uegaki 1997, 69; Okimori et al. 2005, 26; Palmer 2016, 156. *Suzu*: ‘small jingle-bell, crotal.’ *Homuda*: putatively King Ōjin. *Taka*: ‘hawk,’ ‘falcon,’ a general term for small and middle-sized birds belonging to the Order Falconiformes. Bells were sometimes attached to the falcon’s tail (Uegaki 1990b, 76. See, for example, a *haniwa* displayed at the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, fig. 1). There is no explanation for the ‘swallowing’ in the text. It is not clear whether it was the falcon or the hill itself that was deemed to have swallowed the bell; I take it to mean the latter.

Passage (2): in the entry for Tuma *Sato*, Taka *Kōri*:

Suzupori-yama is so called because when the Heavenly Sovereign Pomuda came [here] on a progress, his [falcon's] bell fell off on this mountain. They searched but could not find it, so they dug the ground to look for it. Hence it is called Suzupori-yama.³

In both of the above passages, the word for 'bell' is 鈴, glossed *suzu*. *Suzu* refers to a crotal bell, which is to say, a 'jingle bell'—the type of spherical bell in which a ball moves freely when shaken, without the ball falling out. Metal ones jingle, but they may also be made of clay, in which case they rattle, sounding somewhat like maracas. In both passages, the bell disappears while a king is out hunting with a falcon on a hillside, and a search for the missing bell ensues. In the first entry, the inference appears to be that the hill (Suzukui-oka) itself has 'swallowed' the bell. In the second (Suzuhori-yama), those present dig but fail to find it. Either way, the consequence is that the bell is left *in* the hillside.

If a connection is to be made between these *suzu* bells and the buried bronze bells of the Yayoi Period (Old Japanese *sanaki* 鐸, nowadays called *dōtaku* 銅鐸), it might at first sight be argued that bronze being an alloy of copper (*akagane* 銅) and tin (*suzu* 錫), a mental association could easily have been made between tin (*suzu*) and crotal bells (*suzu*). There may indeed be some such connection: metallurgist Kamei Kiyoshi 亀井清 found that the tin content of Japanese bronze was greatest in the earliest Yayoi bronze bells, at around 20 per cent, there being less later on in the Kinki region.⁴ However, there appears to be much more involved in this puzzle.

Bronze Bells (*dōtaku*)

Almost half a century ago Tanaka Tatsumi 田中巽 noted that there were already more than a hundred theories regarding the usage, distribution, etc., of Chinese-style bronze bells (*dōtaku*).⁵ Even now, the mystery remains unsolved with any degree of certainty; and obviously, an appraisal of all such theories is beyond the scope of this article.



Figure 1. Falcon-shaped *haniwa* with bell attached to its tail. (Author's photograph reproduced by kind permission of the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, California.)

³ *Suzuhori-yama* 鈴掘山 in Modern Japanese. 'Bell Digging Mountain.' See Akimoto 1958, 337; Uegaki 1997, 105; Okimori et al. 2005, 40; Palmer 2016, 213. *Hori*: 'dig.' Local folklore has it that the bell can still be heard tinkling on rainy days (Inoue 1931, 427). Possibly present-day Susōji-yama, Hori-chō, Nishiwaki-shi (Akimoto, 1958, 336, n. 1; Kadokawa Nihon Chimei Dai Jiten Hensan Iinkai, 1988, 1385).

⁴ Kamei, in Mori 1983, 314.

⁵ Tanaka 1970, 1.

In brief, *dōtaku* appeared in Japan during the Yayoi Period (approximately 1000BCE–200CE).⁶ Around five hundred have been unearthed to date.⁷ Geographically, they tend to be concentrated in western Japan, especially in the Kinai region. Other bronze artefacts such as mirrors, weapons and agricultural implements dating from the Yayoi Period are frequently found as grave goods—often together with other items and sometimes in large quantities. However, this is not the case with bronze bells, which are typically found by accident, singly or in small numbers, separate from obvious dwelling or burial sites.⁸ Unlike other ritual objects, they are not found in burial mounds. Instead, they turn up in hills or valley sides, and appear to have been deliberately buried. Curiously, their use ceased rather abruptly around 300 CE, at the beginning of the Kofun Period.

Early bronze bells were small and functional, with thick rounded suspension loops on top and a clapper hung from the inside. Freshly cast, they shone in an awesome way. In time, suspension loops flattened such that the bells could no longer have been suspended. Clappers disappeared, meaning that they were no longer intended for ringing. In size, they became bigger, the largest to around 1.35m, arguably too big to be practical as suspended bells. In short, their purpose changed from “bells for listening to” to “decorative ritual objects for looking at”. Similarly, contemporaneous bronze weapons evolved from instruments of killing to symbols of authority.⁹

Yet once bronze bells had become ‘ritual’ objects, for what rituals were they used, and why? Why would they, rather than any other kind of object, have been ceremonially buried on hillsides? Many are decorated with scenes depicting deer, hunting and threshing scenes, grain stores, dragonflies, lizards, turtles, cranes, etc. Faute de mieux, this has led to what is perhaps the most widely accepted interpretation: that these depict agricultural scenes, and that the bells’ use was therefore presumably to invoke bountiful harvests.¹⁰ But given that Imori Tokuo 井守徳男 notes that deer are by far the most common creature portrayed also on fifth century decorated pots and *haniwa*—and even on an octopus pot—, which are not particularly linked to agriculture, it is hard to see a plausible specific direct connection between *dōtaku* and *agricultural* rites.¹¹

The most widely accepted of the many theories about *dōtaku* include the following (in no particular order): they were for propitiating a bountiful harvest; they were precious communally owned ritual objects, dug up only for ceremonies and festivals, like ceremonial bronze drums in Vietnam that were normally buried; they were discarded in the ground when no longer needed; they were buried when small village states confederated into districts (*kuni*); they were tutelary deities of village boundaries; they were concealed in the ground as treasures; they were distributed by central Yamato authorities to local tribute lords; they were apotropaic *yorishiro* (依り代 / 憑代) for warding off earthquakes, etc., as in ancient southern China.¹²

⁶ In 2003, AMS carbon dating placed the start of the Yayoi Period at around 1000 BCE. (Morioka Hideto 森岡秀人 in Harimagaku Kenkyūsho 2010, 90.)

⁷ <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/銅鐸>. Accessed 7 June 2016.

⁸ There are some exceptions, most notably at the Kōjindani site in Shimane Prefecture, where six were found near 358 bronze swords. Kōjindani Hakubutsukan, 2006; Shimane-ken Hikawa-chō, undated.

⁹ Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan 1991, 48.

¹⁰ See for example, Piggot 1989, 47: “Bronze bells are believed to have been used in springtime to awaken the spirits of the earth prior to planting.”

¹¹ Imori 2010, 235 and 251–252.

¹² Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan 1991, 49.

As the Wikipedia website points out, all of the above attract refutations.¹³ It is not the purpose of this article to evaluate these theories, which I also regard as largely unconvincing, but to consider the plausibility of a lesser known theory: that the ritual usage of bronze bells was related to the search for *iron* deposits.

The Beginnings of Iron Use in Early Japan

Broadly speaking, metal smithing appeared in Japan in the Yayoi Period, along with a more complex continental cultural suite that included wet rice agriculture, sericulture, and the production of stoneware pottery. A chronological demarcation between a 'bronze age' and an 'iron age' is much less clear in Japan than in many other parts of the world. Arguably, metal smithing originally arose from experience of pottery making, since both involve the construction of a furnace, the control of fire at high temperatures, and the transformation of mineral matter by fire.¹⁴ Debate remains about the commencement of bronze and iron making in Japan, including the extent to which it depended on importation of raw materials and scrap metal from the continent. Again, there is insufficient space here to discuss the discourse on this subject; but iron objects began to appear in Japan from around the fourth or fifth century BCE.¹⁵

Suffice it to understand that copper melts at a temperature of around 1100°C, whereas the melting point of iron is around 1528°C. These are the temperatures required for *casting* the metal into the desired shape, by pouring the hot molten metal into a mould. Needing hotter temperatures, it took the development of more sophisticated furnaces to be able to cast iron than bronze. Nevertheless, at 700–800°C iron becomes sufficiently malleable that it can be tempered and forged as wrought iron.¹⁶

Iron deposits appear in several forms. It is generally thought that iron working commenced in the region of Anatolia (Turkey), and that the most readily accessible sources were of magnetite, Fe₃O₄, which is to say, iron contained in fallen meteors. It is often claimed that there is no evidence of iron production in Japan in the Yayoi Period, but use of iron objects and their manufacture started in the first century BCE. For Japan's earliest efforts at iron working, evidence in Northern Kyūshū indicates that the source was imported pig iron or scrap iron from China or the Korean Peninsula.¹⁷ For example, iron bars (*tettei* or *kanateko* 鉄挺) imported from China and the Korean Peninsula have been found as grave goods in mid-Kofun Period graves. But there is increasing evidence of small ironworks dating from the mid-Yayoi Period onwards.¹⁸

¹³ Wikipedia Japanese edition, <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/銅鐸>. Accessed 7 June 2016.

¹⁴ Mayumi 2012, 39. Mayumi observes that in the *Nihon shoki* entry for Sūjin 7, the agent for enshrining the deity Ōmononushi at Mt. Miwa was called Ōtataneko from the *sue* pottery base village of Suemura. He posits that the agent's name Ōtataneko indicates that he was skilled in the use of *tatara* (furnace, iron bloomery). See also Aston, 1896 152–154.

¹⁵ Senda 2002, 180.

¹⁶ See for example, Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan 1991, 21; Mayumi 1993, 13; Asai 2008, 31; Mayumi, 2012, 16.

¹⁷ Asai 2008, 109; Morioka, in Harimagaku Kenkyūsho 2010, 89.

¹⁸ Asai 2008, 92–110.

However, warfare, both on the continent and within the Japanese archipelago, seems to have blocked the route through the Inland Sea in the late second century, such that the main points of entry were via the Japan Sea and the districts of Izumo, Hōki, Inaba, Tajima and Tango. Indeed, some scholars posit that this period of warfare in Eastern Asia, including the so-called second century Wakoku Tairan 倭国大乱 strife in Japan, was primarily a power struggle for the control of sources of iron.¹⁹ Once peace resumed, the Inland Sea again dominated, including the Harima coast, and from then on the Kinki hegemony started to control the production and shipment of iron.²⁰ Pertinent to the present study is that the province of Harima was from early times an important source of iron.²¹

It used to be believed that the first kind of ore to be domestically exploited was obtained from iron sands (*satetsu* 砂鉄, containing magnetite washed out of granite and andesite rocks) in river sediments and coastal beaches. If necessary, cliffs were mined, and the tailings of broken rock were washed downstream (*kanna-nagashi* 鉄穴流し). The heavier particles of iron sank to the bottom and could be collected in fibrous matting. Simple outdoor furnaces (*ro* 炉 “bloomeries”) were built of clay and fired with wood or charcoal. In order to raise the temperature within the furnace sufficiently, the continuous introduction of oxygen was essential. Consequently, bloomeries tended to be built on hillsides where they could catch the wind, and were likely fired on fine days when a stiff breeze blew.²² In addition, they used bellows (*fuigo* 吹き) made of deerskin leather to increase the draught through the furnace. The process was called *tatarafuki* (踏鞴吹き) or simply *tatara*.²³ This smelted out the iron sand from the rest of the rock to produce a spongy “bloom” of iron and slag (*kera* 鋸), which sank to the bottom of the furnace; the furnace was smashed to allow the molten mixture to flow out. The iron bloom was further refined by repeated heating and hammering to make wrought iron suitable for agricultural implements and weaponry. It is well known that such *tatara* bloomeries became relatively common during the latter part of the Kofun Period (late sixth to eighth centuries), but it is unlikely that high enough temperatures could be reached early on in the Yayoi Period for casting. Nevertheless, iron was much more practical than softer bronze, for making both agricultural implements and weaponry.

Bog Iron and “*Suzu*”

However, it has become increasingly evident that even in the Yayoi Period, Japanese in western and central Japan were aware of another domestic source of iron—ironstone in the form of limonite or “bog iron.” Streams bring down dissolved iron, and particles containing iron are trapped among the roots of aquatic plants in wetlands with sluggish water flow, such as upland bogs, lakesides, riversides, watermeadows, marshes and swamps. (See fig. 2.)

¹⁹ Senda 1998, 133ff; Senda 2002, 177; Morioka, in Harimagaku Kenkyūsho 2010, 108; Nagano 2015, 60–116.

²⁰ Asai 2008, 48–92; Morioka, in Harimagaku Kenkyūsho 2010, 94.

²¹ See for example, Kometani 1967; Chikusa-chō Tatara Hakutsu Chōsandan 1968; Oda 1981; Toba 1997a, 6–71; Tosa, in Mori 1999.

²² Kubota 2003, 30.

²³ The etymology of this word in Japanese is said to be derived from the same source as “Tartar,” since iron production is thought to have arisen first around present-day Turkey and was transmitted across Asia by Tartars.

In brief, the actions of the water and the bacteria around the roots cause the iron both to oxydize and hydrate into a lumpy mass (nodule) of reddish-brown hydrous ferric oxides ($\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3 \cdot n\text{H}_2\text{O}$). In due course the plants die. The outer clayey surface of the nodule dries and hardens to a crust, while the heavier iron-containing matter within also dries, precipitates onto the inner side of the crust, and shrinks but at a differential rate. Sandy particles eventually break away from the outer crust, so that the nodule rattles when shaken—just like a crotal bell or maracas.²⁴ In Japan, this is known variously as *kattekkō* (褐鉄鉤) or *koshōtetsu* (湖沼鉄 “bog iron”), *nariwa* or *nariiwa* (鳴石 “sounding stone”), *tsuboishi* (壺石 “pot stone”, since the crusts could be used as containers), or *Takashi Kozō* (高師小僧 “Little Boy Takashi”)—and, not unsurprisingly—*suzuishi* (鈴石 “crotal bell stone”).²⁵ (See fig. 3.)

In size, nodules of limonite vary from 5 mm to a few metres in diameter.²⁶ A noteworthy example was discovered at the Karako-Kagi Site (Tawaramoto-chō, Nara Prefecture) in 2000. Its dimensions were 14.5 cm x 13.2 cm x 6.9 cm. That it had been used as a precious ritual object was obvious from the fact that it had been broken open, the limonite extracted and substituted with two jade comma-shaped beads (*magatama*), then the crust receptacle “jewel box” capped with a clay lid.²⁷ It dated from the mid-Yayoi Period.



Figure 2. Conditions for limonite concretion.
(Maerewhenua River near Danseys Pass, New Zealand)



Figure 3. Example of limonite, “rattling rock”.
(Author’s photograph reproduced by kind permission of The Vanished World Society Inc., Duntroon, New Zealand.)

²⁴ Solvent action of ground water on the iron content of the rock causes the redistribution of the iron compounds from colloidal solutions within the rock. The bed of the rock then separates from the joints, breaking up into blocks which may then become rounded due to weathering, erosion or being rumbled down the river. Thus they are irregular in shape, but tend to be smooth, ellipsoid or bar-shaped. When the concretions are broken open, they usually consist of an outer shell, or concentrically arranged shells, of a hard ironstone with a centre of sand, the iron having been completely removed from the centre and deposited in the inner of the outer shell, decreasing in content as it nears the outermost casing. Occasionally an entire separate nodule of ironstone is found inside the centre of the concretion like the kernel of a nut (adapted from display information, Vanished World, Duntroon, New Zealand).

²⁵ Mayumi 1993, 11; Mayumi 2012, 58–60. The author notes that bog iron nodules may also be found in New Zealand along the Maerewhenua River in the Waitaki Valley from Danseys Pass to Duntroon, where they are known as “rattling rocks” or “rattle rocks”. See Andrew Robert Wilson, “Fascinating Fossils and Rattling Rocks in Waitaki,” *100% Pure New Zealand*, <http://www.newzealand.com/in/article/fascinating-fossils-and-rattling-rocks-in-waitaki/> and The Vanished World Society, Inc., Duntroon, North Otago, New Zealand, <http://www.vanishedworld.co.nz/index.php/home>.

²⁶ Mayumi 1993, 11; Karako-Kagi Kōkōgaku Museum, Collection Data No.2, undated.

²⁷ Karako-Kagi Kōkōgaku Museum, Collection Data No.2, undated; Karako-Kagi Kōkōgaku Museum 2004, 45.

Moreover, the inclusion of 6% ferrous phosphate (*kurotsuchi* 黒土 $\text{Fe}_3[\text{PO}_4]_2$) as a catalyst in the furnace lowers the temperature for making wrought iron (e.g., magnetite from 1130°C to 950°C), and since limonite naturally contains ferrous phosphate from decomposed organic matter, it produces malleable iron at temperatures even lower than the normal range of 700–800°C.²⁸ Experiments were conducted in 1991 at Namiai-mura in Nagano Prefecture to verify the feasibility of whether local bog iron could have been refined using only Yayoi Period technology, and the results were successful.²⁹

Mayumi (1993 and 2012) argues that limonite (bog iron) was the raw material for iron working in Yayoi Japan. He suggests that nodules would have been regarded as mysterious and awesome, because of their deposition within a crusty case and because they rattled.³⁰ Moreover, once harvested, they might potentially regrow within a matter of three or four years—almost as though they were themselves alive.³¹

Mayumi hypothesizes that through the use of sympathetic or homeopathic magic, similar, but less valuable, bronze bells, were buried in places near where nodules were likely to form: on hillsides, overlooking boggy ground and streams. He believes that the religious act of shaking bells was to propagate the formation of limonites, and that small bronze bells were at first used for such purposes: he suggests that this ceremony developed into the ritual *kagura* dance performed by the deity Ame no Uzume to entice the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami out from the Rock Cave of Heaven. Notably, Ame no Uzume shakes a spear which is wrapped in cogon grass (*chi* 茅) (*Nihon shoki*: 720 CE)³² or has jingle bells attached (*Kogo Shūi*: 807 CE).³³ In due course, as the search for usable iron sources became ever more urgent, the bronze bells for offering to the gods in return for bog iron nodules were enlarged.³⁴ The abrupt disappearance of bronze bells around the beginning of the fourth century is explained by improvements in furnaces and firing techniques to higher temperatures, facilitating the use of more widespread and accessible iron sands as ore from then on.

Mayumi marshals a good deal of indirect evidence to support his theory. As I have demonstrated repeatedly elsewhere, plays on words were considered to have apotropaic effects in ancient Japan; and often they were employed in multiples. It is no surprise, then, that *suzu* (tin) is homonymous with *suzu* (crotal), as noted above. Moreover, Mayumi points out that a generic word for aquatic plants was *suzu* (簍), (which is more commonly glossed in Modern Japanese as *komo*),³⁵ and included grasses, sedges, reeds and bamboos. Hence, the expression *suzu ga naru* 鈴が鳴る (the bell rattles) could call to mind *suzu ga naru* 簍が生る (waterside grasses grow). Both phrases were evocative of *suzuishi* 鈴石 or *nariishi* 鳴石: nodules of bog iron. In ancient times, then, nodules may well have been called *suzu* 鈴 too, since they in turn evoked *suzu ga naru* 鈴が生る (bog iron forms).³⁶

²⁸ Asai 2008, 33, 103–108. In their pure states, the melting point of wüstite ferrous oxide FeO is 1377°C; magnetite ferrous-ferric oxide Fe_3O_4 , 1538°C; haematite ferric oxide Fe_2O_3 , 1550°C. However, ores contain mixtures and impurities, which in practice alters the order of their melting points: limonite the lowest, followed by haematite, then magnetite.

²⁹ Mayumi 1993, 10–11.

³⁰ Mayumi 1993, 13.

³¹ Asai 2008, 101.

³² See Aston 1896, 44.

³³ Katō and Hoshino 1926. <http://sacred-texts.com/shi/kgsh/index.htm>.

³⁴ Mayumi 1993, 13–15; 2012, 54, 57.

³⁵ Mayumi 1993, 18.

³⁶ Mayumi 2010, 60, 64.

It is attested that place names in Okayama Prefecture that include elements such as *suga* and *suge* 菅, *ashi* 芦 and *kusa* 草,—all species of waterside plants—are indicative of places connected with early iron production and they have been presumed to be connected with iron sand.³⁷ However, it is more likely that, as noted above, the connection is with bog iron rather than with iron sand.

If bronze bells were offered to relevant deities, either to pray for the finding of good nodules of bog iron, or to thank the same deity or deities once they had been discovered, it stands to reason that such rituals would have been conducted near the search site: on hillsides near bogs and streams where limonite nodules form. If this were the specific purpose of burying bronze bells, it persuasively explains why they turn up in small numbers in such locations but not elsewhere as, for example, grave goods or in contemporaneous dwelling areas.

Senda (2002) notes a close association in what he calls ‘taboos concerning iron’ (*tekki shinkō* 鉄忌信仰) between water/rivers and iron/swords. Pertinent to the discussion at this point is his observation that in continental Daoist thought associated with the Five Elements (*gogyō sōshō* 五行相生): “When metal is buried in the earth, it works to promote the cycle of regeneration, since Earth begets Metal, and Metal begets Water.”³⁸ He adds parenthetically that the burial of bronze bells may have been for “pacifying *something* [my emphasis].” In addition to reasons such as those above, I suggest that the burial of bronze bells on hillsides was to induce the production of bog iron nodules in stream beds ‘alchemically’ or through Daoist prayer.

Mayumi further observes that the *makura kotoba* 枕詞 (so-called “pillow word,” kenning or epithet) representing the ancient province of Shinano (信濃・科野) is *misuzukaru* (水簀刈る・三簀刈る), comprising the honorific *mi* (御)—indicating here sacredness—followed by “reaping [wetland] grasses”. To be sure, the nodules of bog iron might more easily be revealed by cutting the wetland plants to find them among the roots; but I suspect that an alternative mental association with *karu* 刈る (to cut, reap) could have been *karu* 狩る (to search/hunt on the mountains to collect [grasses/bog iron]). Such wetland plants still grow in abundance around Lake Suwa in Shinano Province (Nagano Prefecture). The limonite nodules could also become exposed after the wetland grass had died back—another meaning of *karu* 枯る (to wither). The multiple meanings of this *makura kotoba* therefore include 簀枯り (wetland grasses wither), in addition to 簀刈り (reaping wetland grasses), 簀狩り (hunting for wetland grasses), and 鈴狩り (hunting for bog iron).

Moreover, Lake Suwa was an early source of limonite. The prime shrine of Shinano Province was (and is) Suwa Grand Shrine 諏訪大社, where the Kanayako no kami 金屋子神, the deity of *tatara* furnaces, was worshipped. Mayumi posits that worship of this deity at Lake Suwa lasted longer than elsewhere because the lake shore produced lots of limonite, and because it was a remote (“backward”) district.³⁹ Hence, the epithetic *makura kotoba* for this district retained oblique reference to the search for limonite nodules, long after bog iron had been replaced by iron sand in importance.

Nagano (2015) notes that various iron grave goods dating from around the first century CE in Shinano Province have no correspondence elsewhere except in northern Kyushu, and posits the

³⁷ Urakami Hiroshi, “Okayamaken-nai no tatara chimei,” [http://miwa1929.mond.jp/index.php?岡山県内の製鉄\(たたら\)地名](http://miwa1929.mond.jp/index.php?岡山県内の製鉄(たたら)地名). Accessed 15 November 2016. I am indebted to Dr. Kazuhiko Seki 関和彦 of Nihon Chimei Kenkyūsho 日本地名研究所 for pointing out this reference.

³⁸ Senda 2002, 171 (my translation).

³⁹ Mayumi 1993, 17.

possibility that they are traces of where an early wave of refugees from the Korean Peninsula settled via the Japan Sea coast. Further, he argues that these people established small-scale ironworks.⁴⁰

An observation by Asai (2008) is also suggestive. With reference to early bog iron extraction in Scandinavia, he notes that when wetlands began to freeze over towards the end of autumn, searchers would probe through the thin ice with long poles and ascertain the location of nodules of limonite by feel and sound. They would insert marker posts, both to stake their prior claim to the find and so that they could locate it in future. Now, we do not know quite how bog iron was recovered in Japan some two thousand years ago, but it is eminently plausible that marker posts (杭 *kui*) would have been driven into the wetland close to the find for similar reasons. If so, Suzukui-oka 鈴喰岡 (Bell-swallowing Hill) is homophonous with Suzukui-oka 鈴杭岡 “Bog iron nodule stake”.⁴¹ Perhaps we see here a case of the original meaning being lost once the activity ceased, then the place name origin myth arising as a result of punning, followed by scribes of the early eighth century recording the myth with *kanji* applicable to their interpretation of the tale.

The Falcon Motif

As I have stressed in my previous analyses of *Fudoki* tales—influenced by Lévi-Strauss—all elements must be carefully considered as potentially being of significance. In the entry for Suzukui-oka, the bell is specified as belonging to a *taka* 鷹, meaning a smallish bird of prey such as a hawk or falcon. In the Suzuhori-yama tale, the meaning is perhaps implied.

One of the words for a bloomery is 高殿, which may be glossed as either *tatara* or *takadono*. In other words, the expression *taka no suzu* could be heard as 鷹の鈴 “the falcon’s bell” or, through punning thought-association, as 高(殿)の鈴 “the bog iron in the furnace”, and could be taken to mean either. It is unclear from when exactly *tatara* furnaces were referred to as *taka(dono)*; but Asai cites an instructive tale related to the founding of the first and ancient Usa Hachiman Shrine, in present-day Usa-shi, Ōita Prefecture, allegedly enshrining Hachiman Ōkami: none other than Homuda/Ōjin, the king named in both of our *Fudoki* entries. Once upon a time, an elderly iron worker lived here beside a diamond-shaped pond. One day he turned into a golden hawk. In his anger he killed three out of five, and five out of ten passers-by. A shaman called Ōkami (or Ōgami) no Higi 大神比義 and a shamaness called Karashima no Suguri-otome 辛島勝乙女 made offerings of the “five cereals” (*gokoku* 五穀) for three years, and succeeded in appeasing him. The shaman asked the deity his identity, upon which he turned into a three-year-old boy and replied that he was “King Ōjin.”⁴²

Firstly, it is noteworthy that the old ironsmith lived beside a pond, where presumably waterside plants grew. Secondly, he turned into a “golden hawk (*taka*).” Of course, when the bloomery (*taka*) is stoked and fired, the spyhole glows gold. Thirdly, I previously analyzed a number of myths in the various *Fudoki* pertaining to deities that are said to kill a proportion of the passers-by, and who are eventually appeased (= enshrined) by ‘immigrant’ families.⁴³ I argued that these were female deities of rivers or water courses. The wrathful deity of the furnace in this tale is unnamed, but we know

⁴⁰ Nagano 2015, 86–92.

⁴¹ Asai 2008, 101.

⁴² Asai 2008, 136.

⁴³ Palmer 2001a.

that the deity of the furnace, who was often called Kanayago, was deemed to be a jealous goddess, and was worshipped by *toraisha* (Korean immigrant) iron workers.⁴⁴ The name Karashima, including as it does *kara*, a designation for the Korean Peninsula, suggests immigrant intervention. Moreover, washed out slag and tailings from ironworks were inevitably a source of despoliation of waterways: through weakening of cliffs along the banks, causing landslides into the river; through causing silting downstream, making the river more flood-prone; and through contamination from washed out minerals. Such environmental hazards would indeed have put nearby residents at risk until the immigrant iron workers got their operations under proper control.

Fourthly, it is surely beyond sheer coincidence that the “king” (Pomuda/Homuda, aka Ōjin) specified in the *Harima fudoki* entries above is the very same as that identified by the shaman in the case of the Usa Hachiman myth. Homuda is thought to have been an early fifth century ruler, and is the ‘heavenly sovereign’ most frequently referred to in *Harima fudoki*. He is purported to be the king buried in the Konda Gobyōyama Kofun in Habikino-shi, Ōsaka Prefecture, which is the second largest keyhole-shaped tumulus in Japan, and it dates from the early fifth century. In other words, Homuda/Ōjin has some particular, albeit obscure, connection with the early search for deposits of iron. Nagano (2015) claims that Homuda was descendant of a powerful family (*gōzoku* 豪族) based at Tsuruga 敦賀 on the Japan Sea coast that had risen to power by the third century CE through engaging in iron trade with a trading network on the Korean Peninsula.⁴⁵ This hypothesis merits further investigation; Senda (2002) observes that iron was the equivalent of currency on the Korean Peninsula in the third century, and was likely so in parts of Japan too at that time.⁴⁶ This is perhaps indicative of the importance of acquiring iron by any means available. It also accounts for the association of Homuda with iron in the collective memory even in the early eighth century when extant records commence.

Depiction of Deer

It was noted above that bronze bell decorations frequently depict bucolic scenes including deer, and that these depictions have spawned the view that bronze bells were perhaps utilized in agricultural rites of supplication for bountiful harvests. However, as I argue above, it is more plausible that they were used in seeking for deposits of limonite. The two passages in question about disappearing bells in *Harima fudoki* make no allusion to deer, but deer are mentioned in several other entries in the same document. What then is the connection between bronze bells and deer? If indeed bronze bells were votive offerings in the search for bog iron, where do deer plausibly fit into the overall picture?

The answer appears to lie in the fact that bellows for heating the furnace were made from deerskin.⁴⁷ In the well-known myth of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu’s retreat into the Rock Cave of Heaven, the blacksmith deity Ishikoridome is commanded to make bellows using the whole hide of a deer.⁴⁸ Deer, often considered as a deity or familiar of the spirit of the mountain in Japanese myths,

⁴⁴ Toba 1997a, 10; Senda 2002, 177.

⁴⁵ Nagano 2015, 121ff.

⁴⁶ Senda 2002, 182.

⁴⁷ Toba 1997a, 3; Nagafuji 2006, 180–81, 207.

⁴⁸ Aston 1896, 47.

likely have nothing to do with agriculture in their depiction on bronze bells, but more plausibly represent the spirit of the mountain and its earth that may yield valuable deposits of iron.⁴⁹ They are central to the smelting process in a practical sense too, insofar as they provide suitable leather for the bellows that are so essential for success in controlling the temperature of the furnace.

Conclusion

The above analysis of two passages in *Harima fudoki* referring to the disappearance of crotal bells into mountains reveals an interrelated suite of cryptic word play. This suite of puns includes at least *suzu* (tin, bell, wetland grasses), *taka* (falcon, bloomery), *kui* (swallowing, stake), *naru* (ring, form, grow), and *karu* (wither, reap, hunt). Decoded holistically, they support the theory that increasingly impractical bronze bells in the Yayoi Period were used as votive items in rituals associated with the search for nodules of limonite (bog iron), either in prayer to the deities for their future discovery or in gratitude for having provided finds. Since bog iron nodules are formed among the roots of wetland plants (*suzu*), it stands to reason that the votive bells would have been deposited where finds had occurred or were likely to occur: primarily where springs arose or streams passed through poorly drained boggy uplands. These nodules of limonite rattled like clay crotal bells (*suzu*), and thought association and concepts of sympathetic magic called for the substitution of the valuable nodule of iron with a similar but less valuable bell—a bronze bell—which necessarily contained a different kind of *suzu*, tin.

The above words—and perhaps others as yet unidentified—were associated through punning with the metal smelting process to produce a complex trope. *Naru* meant “to ring, sound, rattle” [of bells] or “to grow” [of wetland grasses], or “to form, become, grow” [of both]. *Taka*, “bloomery, furnace,” called to mind *taka*, meaning a hawk or falcon. Hence, the passages in *Harima fudoki* that refer to the disappearance of the *suzu* bell of a *taka* falcon on a hillside may be regarded as cryptic references to the search for and discovery of nodules of bog iron.

This ritual practice presumably began at a time prior to the development of techniques for building furnaces sufficiently hot for smelting and casting iron sand. Once such advances became widespread in the late Yayoi to early Kofun periods around 300 CE, the need to search for bog iron would have been superseded by this new technology that could employ abundant and more easily extracted iron sand, so that the ritual burial of bronze bells abruptly drew to a close.

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⁴⁹ Nagafuji 2006, 180.

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〈妊娠小説〉としてのブツダ伝

——日本古典文学のひながたをさぐる

荒木 浩

1 「妊娠小説」という定義と『源氏物語』

『妊娠小説』（筑摩書房、1994年）¹という快著がある。文藝評論家・斎藤美奈子の単著デビュー作である。斎藤は、一風変わったこのタイトルについて、「「妊娠小説」とは「望まない妊娠」を搭載した小説のことである」と端的に定義し、冒頭で、次のように述べている。

小説のなかで、ヒロインが「赤ちゃんができたらしいの」とこれ見よがしに宣告するシーンを、そしてそのためにヒーローが青くなってあわてふためくシーンを、あなたも目撃したことがあるでしょう。〔……〕「妊娠小説」とは、いわば、かかる「受胎告知」によって涙と感動の物語空間を出現せしめるような小説のこと、であります。しかしながら、旧来の文学史や文学研究、文学批評はこのジャンルを今日まで頑として黙殺しつづけてきました。まったく遺憾なことである、といわなければなりません。

ここで提示される「受胎告知」は、聖者の annunciation とあえて同じコトバを用いつつ、狙いはその真裏にある、といえるだろう。斎藤は、この基準から、森鷗外の『舞姫』（1890）を「わが国最初の「近代妊娠小説」だ」と看破する。そして島崎藤村の『新生』を「今日に残る「出産系」の名作」と規定し、両作を「妊娠小説」の「父」と「母」だと呼ぶ。このように、本書は、近代文学のしかつめらしい構図と歴史をシニカルに茶化しながら、これまでのカノンを転覆し、新しい小説史へと刺激的なパースペクティブを提供する。

しかし、私にとってより興味深いのは、本書が展開する「妊娠小説」論の叙述を参照することで、日本古典文学の構図といくつかの情景が、別の光で照らし出されることである。たとえば『源氏物語』にも、「赤ちゃんができたらしいの」という「受胎告知」を想起させる、「妊娠小説」顔負けの著名な二つの場面がある。しかもそれは、遠く離れた場面に配置され、時間も状況も異にするエピソードながら、それぞれ密接に呼応し合って、物語の基軸を支えているのである。

2 『源氏物語』の妊娠小説——その1 桐壺帝・光源氏・藤壺

その一つは、第一部の若紫の巻にある。若紫巻は、その始まりに、まだ十代の光源氏が「^{とを}十ばかりにやあらむと見え」る紫の上を垣間見て、初々しい恋心を抱く場面を描く²。多くの「源

¹ 引用は1997年刊のちくま文庫版より。

² 以下、『源氏物語』の引用は『新潮日本古典集成』（石田稷二・清水好子校注）による。

氏絵」が残されていることから知られるように、それは『源氏物語』の中で、もっとも人気のあるシーンの一つである。その時光源氏は、愛らしい少女の面ざしに、父桐壺帝の後妻・藤壺の面影を透かし、義母へのあこがれをあらためて強く喚起される。藤壺は、じつは紫の上の叔母にあたり、その類似には根拠があった。そして若紫巻は、紫の上への純情な思いと裏腹に、光源氏が藤壺に対して抱き続けた、あやにくな積年の思いを果たす場面を続けて描くことになるのである。

「藤壺の宮、なやみたまふことありて」、宮中を退出した時のことだ。光源氏は、「かかるをりだにと」気もそぞろ、「昼はつれづれとながめ暮らして、暮るれば、王命婦を責めありきたまふ」。この王命婦という女房が手はずを付け、「いかがたばかりけむ、いとわりなくて見たてまつる」。光源氏は強引に藤壺と逢瀬を果たした。ただし藤壺の心内語に「あさましかりしをおぼしいづるだに、世ととの御もの思ひなるを」とあるので、どうやら初めてのことでなかったらしい。

しかし物語は、その初会ではなく、この「あやにくな^{みじかよ}短夜」についての^{じょうじょう}み翺々と叙述する。それには理由があった。藤壺はこのあと、「なやましさもまさりたまひて」体調の異変に気付く、妊娠を覚知するからである。彼女は「人知れずおぼすこともありければ、心憂く、いかならむとのみおぼし乱」れ、とうとう「三月になりたまへば、いとしるきほどにて、人々見たてまつりとがむる」。藤壺はこの夜、夫である帝ではなく、その子光源氏の子を宿してしまったのである。

ヒーロー光源氏への「受胎告知」は、「これ見よがし」の「宣告」ではなかった。それは、ブッダや聖徳太子が母に受胎した時のように、「夢」で果たされる。ただし母への告知ではない。父の夢であった³。その意味で、母にもたらされる *annunciation* とはより対比的である。物語は「中将の君 [= 光源氏] も、おどろおどろしうさま異なる夢を見たまひて、合はする者を召して問はせたまへば、及びなうおぼしもかけぬ筋のことを合はせけり」と語る。そして彼は、夢合わせによって、その恐ろしい妊娠を知るのである。

この驚嘆すべき姦通によって「青くなってあわてふためく」のは、ヒーローだけではない。秘密を共有するヒロイン、藤壺の方がより深刻である。生まれる子の認知をめぐる、父・桐壺帝は自分の子であると疑いもしない。その美しさが光源氏にそっくりだと、当の光源氏と藤壺に自慢して、真実を隠す二人を^{きょうく}恐懼させる。

例の、中将の君 [= 宮中に参上した光源氏]、こなたにて御遊び [= 音楽] などしたまふに、抱き出でたてまつらせたまひて、「御子^{みこ}たちあまたあれど、そこをのみなむ、かかるほどより明け暮れ見し。されば思ひわたさるるにやあらむ、いとよくこそおぼえたれ。いとちひさ

³ 藤井由紀子「〈懐妊をめぐる夢〉の諸相——説話と物語のあいだ」（荒木編『夢見る日本文化のパラダイム』法蔵館、2015年所収）は、懐妊譚の夢について、古代・中世の説話と物語について広範かつ詳細な調査を行い、「本朝の説話集に見られる懐妊譚の霊夢は、基本的には、聖なるものと母との、他者を介さないダイレクトな交渉を示すもの」であり、「聖母マリアの処女受胎に代表される、「より広い「感精譚」と呼ぶ話型」 [= 河東仁『日本の夢信仰——宗教学から見た日本精神史』玉川大学出版部、2002年]の系譜に連なる」ことを指摘し、原則は母の夢として果たされる受胎告知が、『源氏物語』を契機として「父の夢」に変わってしまうこと、そして「それは、〈密通〉による懐妊を示す夢なのである」と論ずるなど、すぐれた史的考察を行っており、本稿の以下の考察に示唆的である。

きほどは、皆かくのみあるわざにやあらむ」とて、いみじくうつくしと思ひきこえさせたまへり。中将の君、面^{おもて}の色かはるこちして、恐ろしうも、かたじけなくも、うれしくも、あはれにも、かたがたうつろふこちして、涙おちぬべし。物語などして、うち笑^{あは}みたまへるが、いとゆゆしううつくしきに、わが身ながら、これに似たらむはいみじういたはしうおぼえたまふぞ、あながちなるや。宮は、わりなくかたはらいたきに、汗も流れてぞおはしける。中将は、なかなかなるこちの、かき乱るやうなれば、まかでたまひぬ。(紅葉賀巻)

下線部の光源氏の動揺を、Royall Tyler は「go pale」と訳しており、光源氏は文字通り「青くなってあわてふため」いて描かれる。

3 『源氏物語』の妊娠小説——その2 光源氏・柏木・女三の宮

それから20年以上が過ぎ、「赤ちゃんができたらしい」という告知の恐怖⁴が、引き写しのようになり返された。今度は、立場を変え、取り残されるのは光源氏のほうである。かつて頭中将と呼ばれた光源氏のライバルの息子・柏木が、源氏の兄・朱雀院から賜った後妻の女三の宮と密通をして、妊娠させてしまうのである。

女三の宮もまた(紫の上のように)藤壺の姪である。それ故に、当初は、光源氏にも結婚を望む気持ちがあった。しかしいざ迎えてみれば、若々しいだけのその様子に、彼はつとに失望していた。ところが柏木もまた、ひそかに女三の宮の降嫁を願っていたらしい。柏木は、すでに四十の賀を終えた初老の光源氏へ彼女がわたることを悔しく思い、依然、思いを強く潜在させ続けていたのである。

折しも光源氏の大邸宅・六条院で行われた蹴鞠の折、格好の機会が訪れた。猫のいたずらである。「唐猫^{からねこ}のいと小さくをかしげなるを、すこし大きな猫追ひ続き、にはかに御簾^{みす}のつまより走り出づるに」、「猫は、まだよく人にもなつかぬにや、綱いと長く付きたりけるを」、その綱が引っかけかかって、「逃げむとひこしろふほどに、御簾^{みす}のそばいとあらはに引きあけられ」、すっかり中が見えてしまう。柏木は、部屋の中に「几帳^{きは}の際すこし入りたるほどに、桂姿^{うつき}にて立ちたまへる」女三の宮の姿を、「姿つき、髪のかかりたまへる側目^{そばめ}」まで、「夕影なればさやかならず」も、垣間見てしまった。そして彼は、一目惚れして本当の恋に落ち、病いのように、思いを募らせていくのである(若菜上巻)。

柏木は、小侍従という女房を責め、光源氏不在の折に「何心もなく大殿籠^{おほのごも}りにける」女三の宮の居所に忍び込んで近づき、光源氏の来訪かと目覚めた彼女を抱きしめる。柏木は篤く口説いて思いを伝え、「なかなかかけかけしきこと〔=好色めいたこと〕はなくて止みなむ、と思ひしかど」、その激情を抑えることはできなかった。彼は女三の宮の高貴な美しさに魅せられ、「さかしく思ひしづむる心も失せて、いづちもいづちも率^おて隠したてまつりて、わが身も世に経るさまならず、跡^{あと}絶えて止みなばや、とまで思ひ乱れぬ」。とうとう思いを遂げ、そしてあの有名な猫の夢を見る。

⁴ 拙著『かくして『源氏物語』が誕生する——物語が流動する現場にどう立ち会うか』『はじめに——源氏物語論へのいざない』(笠間書院、2014年)、拙稿「日本古典文学の夢と幻視——『源氏物語』読解のために」(前掲『夢見る日本文化のパラダイム』所収)参照。

「ただいささかまどろむともなき夢に、この手馴らしし猫の、いとらうたげにうち鳴きて来たるを、この宮にたてまつらむとて、わが率て来たるとおぼしきを、何しにたてまつらむと思ふほどに、おどろきて、いかに見えつるならむと思ふ」。このいささか曖昧な猫の「夢」こそが、光源氏がかつて藤壺の時に見たような、「受胎告知」の夢であったと後にわかる。

密通を犯した柏木は、「青くなってあわてふためく」。それは帝より怖い、光源氏への恐れであった。「帝の御妻をも取りあやまちて、ことの聞こえあらむに、かばかりおぼえむことゆゑは、身のいたづらにならむ、苦しくおぼゆまじ。しかいぢるき罪にはあたらずとも、この院に目をそばめられたてまつらむことは、いと恐ろしくはづかしくおぼゆ」。そうして女三の宮は妊娠した。彼女がルーズに措き散らかした柏木からの恋文を見てその不貞を知った光源氏は、六条院の試楽に訪れた二十代の柏木を「さしわきて、空酔ひをしつつ」、自らの老いを茶化しながら諷して見やった。すでに深く恐れを抱いていた柏木は、「たはぶれのやうなれど、いとど胸つぶれて」、やがて重病を患い(以上の引用は若菜下巻)、ついに死んでしまうのである(柏木巻)。

やがて薫が生まれた。五十日の祝いの時、光源氏は、薫をその手に抱きながら、結句同じ立場となった、父桐壺帝へと思いを馳せる。あの時、父も知らず顔を作りつつ、すべてを見据えて、我が裏切りを呑み込んでくれていたのではなかったか。光源氏は、深い懷疑と懺悔にさいなまれ、「おまえの父と同じ轍を踏まぬように」という白居易の「自嘲」を口ずさむ⁵。近時、その書き換えが話題になった⁶、『源氏物語絵巻』柏木巻の著名な場面である。

＊

こうして光源氏物語の中核には「妊娠小説」的プロットが重要な意味を持って存していた。密通で生まれた不義の子の懐妊が、母のみならず、本当の父にも夢告の形で知らされる、という新しいプロットである。それはまさしく物語史における創出であり、また新たなひながた——文学伝統となった。

さて、少し突飛に聞こえるかも知れないが、私見では、この二つの光源氏譚造形の中核に、結婚と出家をめぐる、ブツダ伝の参照があると考えている。すなわち、ほとんど注意されないことだが、ブツダの伝記にも、重大な「妊娠小説」的要素が潜在していたのである。以下にそのことを確認していこう。

4 ブツダ伝と光源氏

光のように美しい皇子・光源氏の造形には、金色に光る美しい王子であったブツダ(仏に就いては、出家前を含め、以下この呼称を用いる)の伝記が深く関係している。その詳細は、旧稿で論じたが⁷、とりわけその影響は、『源氏物語』第一部で、光源氏が栄華の象徴として築き上げる六条院に象徴される。皮肉なことに、柏木が女三の宮を垣間見、また破滅の死へ向けて、

⁵ この場面についても、前掲注4の拙著と拙稿で言及した。

⁶ 徳川美術館特別展「全点一挙公開 国宝 源氏物語絵巻」(2015年11月)図録など。

⁷ 荒木注4前掲書「かくして『源氏物語』が誕生する」第6章「〈非在〉する仏伝——光源氏物語の構造」。なお丘山万里子『ブツダはなぜ女嫌いになったのか』(幻冬舎新書154、2010年)は、独自の視点で仏伝を読み解き、『源氏物語』との類似点に言及している。

光源氏に擲掬されて睨まれたのも、この邸宅であった。

ブツダと光源氏との相即を、旧稿を敷衍しつつ述べれば、以下の通りである。

六条院は、4町にわたる寝殿の集合体として構築された。4ブロックの右下・東南を春の町の館とし、以下時計回りに、西南の秋の町、西北の冬の町、そして東北の夏の町と配置される。それぞれの館には、季節を象徴した光源氏ゆかりの女性が住んでいる。春は最愛の紫の上と明石姫君（光源氏の娘）、のちに女三の宮が降嫁する。秋は秋好中宮（六条御息所の娘、光源氏の実子冷泉帝の中宮）、冬は明石の君（光源氏の愛人で明石姫君の母）とその母尼君、そして夏には花散里（光源氏の側室、父桐壺帝の妃・麗景殿女御の妹）、夕霧（光源氏の長男）、のちに玉鬘（光源氏の愛人夕顔の娘）が加わる。

光源氏は春の町に住み、そこは「生ける仏の御国」と呼ばれた（初音巻）。野分巻では、春の館を出て、春→秋→冬→夏とめぐって秋の大風（野分）の被害を見舞う。つまり物語の文言は、光源氏を生けるブツダ（Tyler 訳では文字通り「the land of a living buddha」と記す）と描き、ブツダたる光源氏の「春夏秋冬」という、奇妙な四季循環（春夏秋冬でも東西南北〔春夏秋冬〕でもなく）を表現する。それはまた、光源氏の愛する女性達と一体的な時空であった。

こうした四季の邸と女性の配置は、ブツダ伝を応用してはじめて、全的に解明できる。たとえば12世紀の『今昔物語集』は、『過去現在因果経』などに遡る漢訳仏典⁸をふまえつつ、冒頭の3巻で、日本で初めての組織的なブツダの伝記を描き出す。『今昔』の描く出家前のブツダは、女性を厭い、正妻のヤショードラー（漢訳や『今昔』では耶輸陀羅）さえも十分に愛することができず、厭世の思いを固め、いつしか出家を欣求する。巻一―四では、ブツダはその夜、三つの不吉な夢（月が地に墮ちた夢、牙齒が抜け落ちた夢、右の臂を失った夢）を見て不安を訴える妻・ヤショードラーをなだめ、ひそかに城を出て、修行の旅に出発した。

ところがその『今昔』の巻一―四の説話では、出家前夜の逸話に直続して、彼には3人の妻がおり、それぞれを、季節ごとの「三時殿」に住ませたという、相矛盾するような別系列の内容を併記する。ブツダのポリガミーを語るこの後半の逸話は、私たちの常識的なブツダイメージからは違和感があるかも知れないが、伝承自体はめずらしいものではない。『ジャータカ』因縁物語にも遡源するものである。「三時殿」は〈温（暖）／涼・寒・暑〉という三季⁹、すなわち雨季のような（温かい、もしくは涼しい）時期、寒い冬、暑い夏をそれぞれ快適に過ごせるような、三つの住まいであると説明される。三時は、東アジアの四季から見れば、温＝春、涼＝秋、寒＝冬、暑＝夏と引き当てられる。実際に一部の漢訳經典は「春・秋・冬・夏」の「四時殿」だったと説く。それは、春から秋、冬から夏、そしてまた春へ戻るという、六条院の奇妙な循環と合致する。ただし春秋一体の三時殿には、季節ごとにブツダの妻が配されるが、春秋分離して対比する六条院では、秋のみ光源氏の妻妾ではない、ということも示唆的である。

こうして、春夏秋冬という季節循環と、四季の館ごとの女性の帯同という『源氏物語』六条院の主眼が、ブツダ伝の援用によって、唯一・全的に説明される。

ブツダは、三時殿と妻とを捨てて出家し、悟りを求めて完遂する。しかし『源氏物語』第一

⁸ 以下に引用される漢訳仏典は、特に注意しない限り大正新脩大蔵經によるが、諸本により本文批判を加えたり、稿者の翻訳によって示したりする場合がある。

⁹ 『大唐西域記』は「如来の聖教」（仏陀の説く経文）では、インドの1年は三時に季節を分かち描かれると説明する。このあたり前掲注4の拙著参照。

部は、六条院を、俗人・光源氏の人生の栄華の完成に位置づけた。光源氏は、最初の正妻・葵の上を失ってから、永遠に出家を願望しつつ（物語の表舞台では）果たされない。むしろその未完成を主題として物語を生きる。そして第一部のハッピーエンドの構築において『源氏物語』は、四季の邸宅とすべての愛する女性達をブッダのように捨てるのではなく、その反対に、あらたに作り、集約する俗人としての光源氏を描く。あべこべである。本質において双子のようなブッダと光源氏には、そういう逆さまの照応がある。

5 ブッダ伝と「妊娠小説」

こうした照応が、逆に、ブッダ伝の陥穽を写し出す。「妊娠小説」というプロットの潜在である。ブッダは、ヤショーダラーとの間に、ラーフラ（漢訳では羅睺羅）という一子をなした。しかし、仏典を見ると、その出生には衝撃的な噂があった。ラーフラは、不倫によって懐妊した、という懷疑である。

日本で尊重された『大智度論』は、『羅睺羅母本生経』を引いて次のように説明する。太子時代のブッダには二人の夫人がいた。耶輸陀羅（＝ヤショーダラー）はその内の一人で、羅睺羅（＝ラーフラ）の母であった。菩薩（＝ブッダ）が出家した夜、彼女は妊娠を自覚する（自覚妊身）。ところがブッダは出家してしまい、6年間の苦行に入っていた。不思議なことに、ヤショーダラーもまた、その6年間、懐妊したまま「不産」であったという。釈迦族の人々は、「菩薩は出家したのに、なぜ妊娠をしたのか」と詰問した。ヤショーダラーは、「私は何の罪も犯していない。私が孕んだこの子は、間違いなく太子の子です」と反論する。人々が「ではなぜいつまでも産まれないのだ」と追って詰ると、ヤショーダラーは「私には分かりません!」と応えた。そしてブッダの苦行が終わり、出家後6年を経たブッダが成仏（＝成道）した夜、ようやく一子・ラーフラが生まれたという。

人々の疑いは無理もなかった。出家前、ブッダの道心ぶりは「不能男」のようであったと漢訳仏典は説明する。たとえば、先に引いた『今昔物語集』など、日本でブッダ伝形成の基礎ともなった重要経典『過去現在因果経』（奈良時代の『絵因果経』がよく知られるだろう）によれば、太子（＝ブッダ）は、妻との「夫婦道」が不在で妓女に近づくこともなく、ただ世を厭うばかりだったという。そんな太子を憂え、せめて国のために跡継ぎの一子を残してくれと願う父王の言葉とその気持ちに答え、太子は、仰せの如くとその場で妃の腹を左手で指し、懐妊が果たされた¹⁰。

『過去現在因果経』の異訳とされる『太子瑞應本起経』の伝えるところでは、太子はヤショーダラーを近づけず、「不能男」ではないか、という疑いが持たれていた。そんな中で太子は、妻の腹を指し、この子は6年後に生まれるだろうと预言する。そして妻は妊娠した。日本中世の仏伝資料『教児伝』¹¹（14世紀成立）によれば、かつて太子を愛して戯れた女房たちは、彼の「御隠所ニハ」「白蓮花コソイツクシク出生」していたとはやし立て、子供の父が太子だなんて

¹⁰ なお日本の中世仏伝『釈迦如来八相次第』（14世紀成立、真福寺善本叢刊）では「右ノ御手」で腹を指す。「左手」とする『過去現在因果経』以下と異なるが、「太子即以右手指其妃腹。便覺有娠」とする『仏祖統記』巻二「出父家」の所説に従っている（巻三十四にも略述）。

¹¹ 『天野山金剛寺善本叢刊第一期 第二巻 因縁・教化』（後藤昭雄監修、荒木浩・近本謙介編集、勉誠出版、2017年）に金剛寺本の翻刻と解題を付した。

ことはあり得ないと非難したという。漢訳仏典『雜寶藏經』(道世『法苑珠林』にも引く)によれば、ヤショードラーの妊娠を知った宮中の侍女たちは、一斉に口を極めて彼女を辱め、「怪哉大悪耶輪陀羅」となじった。電光という、ヤショードラーの叔母の娘は、彼女の不貞は親の家を辱め台無しにする行為だと罵った^{ののし}という。

さて『大智度論』所引説話には続きがあり、ヤショードラー不貞の批判に反論し、父王に進言する女性が描かれる。ブッダのもう一人の妻クビヤである。クビヤは、自分はずっとヤショードラーの側におり、彼女の無実を知っている。子供が生まれるのを待って、その子が父ブッダに似ているかどうかを見てから判断しても遅くない(願寛恕之。我常与耶輪陀羅共住、我為其証、知其無罪。待其子生、知似父不、治之無晚)とクビヤは王に助言する。王はその意見を容れ、寛容に結論を待つことになった。そして六年が経ち、ラーフラが生まれた。彼がブッダにそっくりだったので、父王は安堵し、群臣にその旨を語った(王見其似父、愛樂忘憂。語群臣言、我兒雖去、今得其子、与兒在無異)という。

不義を疑われた子ラーフラと本当の父?ブッダとの類似をその父王が納得し、ブッダ父子の实在を証すこの構造は、再び『源氏物語』を引き寄せる。自分の子供として生まれたと信じる父桐壺帝が、光源氏と藤壺との実子(のちの冷泉帝)を抱き上げて愛でる紅葉賀巻の場面である。

四月に内裏^{うち}へ参りたまふ。ほどよりは大きにおよすけたまひて、やうやう起きかへりなどしたまふ。あさましきまで、まぎれどころなき御顔つきを、おぼし寄らぬことにしあれば、またならびなきどちは、げにかよひたまへるにこそはと思ほしけり。[……]かうやむごとなき御腹に、同じ光にてさし出でたまへれば、疵^{きず}なき玉と思ほしかしづくに、宮〔=藤壺〕はいかなるにつけても、胸のひまなく、やすからずものを思ほす。

それは、自分の子であると信じて疑わない父・桐壺帝が、ほら、おまえにそっくりだろうと光源氏と藤壺に自慢して、密通した二人が「青くなってあわてふためく」先引場面へと接続する。

〔帝は〕「御子^{みこ}たちあまたあれど、そこをのみなむ、かかるほどより明け暮れ見し。されば思ひわたさるるにやあらむ、いとよくこそおぼえたれ。いとちひさきほどは、皆かくのみあるわざにやあらむ」とて、いみじくうつくしと思ひきこえさせたまへり。中將の君、面^{おもて}の色かはるこちして[……]わが身ながら、これに似たらむはいみじういたはしうおぼえたまふぞ、あながちなるや。(紅葉賀巻)

こう並べると、『源氏』の叙述は、ブッダの父が、ようやく生まれたヤショードラーの子供を、ブッダとそっくりの容姿だから、その実子と認めたというエピソードのパロディのようにさえ見えてくる。しかし『源氏物語』におけるその類似は、関係する人々すべてにおいて、より大きな悩みの始まりであった。

じつは、ブッダの場合も親子の類似は本当の解決にはならなかった。『大智度論』所引説話では、父の王は、生まれたラーフラがブッダに似ていたことをもって我が孫と認め、ヤショードラーはひとまず罪を免れた。しかし依然「悪声満国」だったという。王のいささか甘い認定

だけでは、彼女の不義の噂を絶やすことはできなかったのである。

その噂の背景に、ブッダの従兄弟と所伝する（ヤショードラーの兄弟ともいう）デーヴァダッタが、ブッダ成道後、ヤショードラーを誘惑し、彼女はこれを拒絶した、との伝承もある¹²。前に引いた『雑宝蔵経』は、より烈しい説話を記す。ヤショードラーとその子の処罰のために、人々は、穴を掘って火を燃やし、母子ともにその火坑に投げ入れてしまえ、と決議した。悲嘆したヤショードラーは、「この子は、決して他の男との子ではない。6年間私の胎内に留まっていた。私のいうことが嘘であれば、炎が私の身を焦がし、もし正しければ、この火は消滅するだろう」、そう言って子を抱いて火中に入ると、火はたちまち清らかな池に変じ、母子はその蓮の上にいた。そしてようやく彼女は、その不倫の疑いを晴らしたと伝えている。

『大智度論』所引説話の展開は違う。ヤショードラーの「悪声」が払拭されるのは、ラーフラが七歳になり、ブッダが母国カピラヴァストゥに戻ってきた時のことである。親子の証明のため、母に命じられたラーフラが「歓喜丸」を持って父に近づく。ところがブッダは、他の五百羅漢と同じ姿に変じて紛れていた。そんなブッダをラーフラは見事に発見して、歓喜丸を捧げることができた。それが親子の証明であった。

このように、ブッダの子ラーフラの出生は、ヤショードラーの不倫をめぐる「妊娠小説」の要素を根深く潜在させ、しかもそれは、ほとんど『源氏物語』の先蹤^{せんしょう}であった。もちろんブッダの「妊娠小説」的問題は、母子ともに厳しいイニシエーションを経て、聖的なやり方で解消された。多くの仏伝經典が説くように、ブッダは、その名のとおりに、最高の悟りを得べき存在だったからである。彼が生まれた時、バラモンやアシダ仙人によって予言がなされた。彼には、在家として理想の王となるか、それとも出家して悟りを得るか、二つの可能性が開けていたという。しかしいずれの予言者も、彼は疑いなくブッダになるべき人だと断じた。ブッダは、運命付けられた教祖であった。対する光源氏は、幼子の時、高麗の相人によって、あたかもブッダの占いを裏返すかのような予言が与えられた。王の上無き位に就けば国を揺るがし、臣下となって王を補弼しても相応しからぬ、というのである。それは究極の二重否定・ダブルバインドの謎かけで、ブッダの占いの反転であることを共示すると私は考えるが、その占いには、結句、出家という選択自体が描かれない。そうして物語上の彼は、出家を希求して果たされない、裏返し^{うり返し}のブッダとして生きることになる¹³。光源氏が受け止めたブッダ「妊娠小説」の独自展開も、このコンテキストから理解される。

6 『源氏物語』と^{ラーフラ}羅睺羅の懐胎との直接的関連

ところで『源氏物語』の読者には、はたしてこの構図は伝わっていたのだろうか。現代の研究者も読者も、こうしたブッダ伝の「妊娠小説」を前提に『源氏』を読解することはないようだが、しかし、中世には、両者について、明確ななぞらえがある。

たとえば、藤壺と光源氏の間に出来た皇子（後の冷泉帝）の出生（紅葉賀巻）について、ブッダ伝の妊娠が引き合いに出されることがあった。『源氏物語』に関する河内方の所説をまとめ

¹² 『根本説一切有部毘奈耶破僧事』巻第十。

¹³ 前掲注4拙著『かくして『源氏物語』が誕生する』第6章参照。

た『原中最秘抄』（1364年成立）という注釈である。『原中最秘抄』は、『源氏物語』紅葉賀巻の「二月十よ日の程におとこ宮生まれ給ぬ」（二月十余日に男の御子が生まれた）という本文について解釈し、若紫巻の光源氏・藤壺の密通と妊娠から、この出産まで、「然間彼懷孕の始と皇誕生のいまを勘にとしは三ヶ年月は廿六月なり」と計算する¹⁴。冷泉は、足かけ3年の懐妊で、26ヶ月経って生まれた、というのである。この奇妙な計算は、次のような巻の年時を追いかけた結果らしい。

- ・若紫巻春の末（中略）三月はかりになれは…
- ・末摘花巻にそのとしくれ歩春になりぬ。
- ・紅葉賀の行幸は神な月なり其年くれ春たちて源氏君朝拝に〔……〕
- ・この月〈正月也〉はさりとともと待につれなくてたちぬといひて同二月十余日のほとに〔……〕

↑↓ 1年
↑↓ 1年
↑↓ 2ヶ月

平井仁子は、巻ごとの関係をこのように図示し、「この各巻にある年の代わり目に関する叙述を物語の順に忠実に追うと、冷泉院は懐妊後2年2ヶ月にして生まれたということになるのである」と説明した¹⁵。

『原中最秘抄』の編集者・行阿は自慢げに述べる。この驚くべき事実はこれまで誰も気付かなかった。自分が初めて見つけた事実である。私は七十になるまでいくどもこの物語を読み享受してきたが、この発見が一番のものだ。そう矜持を示して彼は、「和漢先例条々」を次のように挙げている。

応神天皇御母神功皇后御懐妊八ヶ年〔……〕

聖徳太子母后経_{ニテ}御懐妊十二月〔……〕

武内大臣〔……〕被_{ニテ}懐妊_{ニテ}こと六十年〔……〕

昔時瞿夷今日耶輸乃是天女也耶輸陀羅之子羅喉尊者は仏出家之後六年而誕生大臣等疑_レ之一日耶輸多羅懷_レ子_ヲ投_レ火_ニ全不_レ焼_テ

最後に挙げられた前例が、ブッダの子ラーフラの六年懐胎説である¹⁶。ただし、このように巻序の時間をそのまま年月に置き換える年数計算の方法は、一条兼良（1402-1481）によって完璧に否定された。兼良は『源氏物語年立』（1453年成立）を著し、序で次のように述べている。

¹⁴ 『原中最秘抄』の引用は源氏物語大成による。なお以下本第6節の分析については、拙稿「出産の遅延と二人の父——『原中最秘抄』から観る『源氏物語』の仏伝依拠」（『国語と国文学』2018年2月号）で別の観点から詳述したことに関わる。併せ参照されたい。

¹⁵ 平井仁子「『源氏物語』の時間——「花鳥余情」以前」『実践国文学』第9号、1976年2月。

¹⁶ この言及は、先引『雑宝藏経』もしくは同経を引く『法苑珠林』に重なり、『教児伝』にも類似した一節があるが、注意すべき相違点もある。注14所掲の拙稿参照。

漢家の詩文には、年譜目録といふものありて、所作の前後昇進の年月をかうがへみるに、その便をえたり。しかるに源氏物語五十四帖において、諸家の注釈これおほしといへども、いまだ一部のとしだちをみず。

これによりて、冷泉院の御誕生、つねの人にかはる事なしといへども、旧説に三年胎内にましますといへり。

又かほる大将の昇進、たけ河紅梅よりのち宇治の巻のうつりに、相違のことおほし。水原河海の諸抄にも、筆をさしをき侍り。いま愚意のおよぶところ、いさゝか詩文の例になぞらへて、五十四帖のとしだちをしるす。

そのうちきりつばよりまほろしの巻までは、光君の年齢をもて巻をさため、匂ふの巻より宇治十帖にいたりては、薫大将の昇進をもて段々をわかつてり。¹⁷

一条兼良は、物語の構造を読みとり、主人公の年齢に着眼して、巻ごとの年数の重複を把握して理解する。それが「年立（としだて／としだち）」という考え方の提案である。今日の物語読解の基礎となったものだが、兼良が従来誤った年数計算のやり方の象徴として取り上げたのが、冷泉院の三年懐胎説であった。『源氏物語年立』紅葉賀の当該部では次のように記している。

・二月十余日藤壺女御御産男子事　／冷泉院是也

／去年四月、藤壺里居之比、与源氏有蜜通事、則懐妊乃事あり。それよりことしの二月までは十ヶ月満也。然を原中秘抄に、横豎の年紀を知らずして、冷泉院は、三年胎内におはしますと思ひて、羅睺羅尊者、六年耶輸陀羅の腹に有し事を例にいだせり。大あやまれる事也。

ここでは、冷泉帝の三年懐胎説が、ヤショーダラーのラーフラ懐胎説との類比に集約して批判されている。この点に注目したい。物語の叙述の理解としては兼良の述べる通りであろう。しかし、一方で、兼良が目撃の敵にしなければならなかったほど、冷泉院の生誕とブツダの子ラーフラの誕生とが並び語られた背景を、この言述は物語る。平井はそのことを次のように評価する。

〔行阿は〕藤壺の御産（冷泉院誕生）の際二十六か月を費やしているとみて、古来この不思議を誰も指摘しなかったことを非難し、歴史上の先例を引用して神秘的な出産であると解釈している。この説は、やがて兼良によって徹底的に論破され、通常の一年余の出産とされるわけだが、「源氏物語」をこう読んでいたという史的証拠としては意義深い。巻序のとおり素直に並べて、年月もそれと同じく進行すると考えたこの「原中最秘抄」を一笑に付してしまうのは、早計ではないか。¹⁸

敷衍すればそれは、『源氏物語』の根幹をなす「妊娠小説」のプロットの把握に、中世の『源

¹⁷ 『源氏物語年立』の引用は国立歴史民俗博物館蔵貴重典籍叢書による。

¹⁸ 平井仁子前掲論文。

氏』読者がブッダ伝を意識し、「こう読んでいたという史的証拠」ともなる。

薫の場合はより直接的だ。光源氏の死を暗示する雲隠巻に続く匂部卿巻で、薫は、「幼ご
 こちにほの聞きたまひしこと」(＝子供の頃、ほのかに自分の父が光源氏ではなく、柏木である
 という噂)について、「をりをりいぶかしう、おぼつかなく思ひわたれど、問ふべき人もなし」。
 とはいえ、母の女三の宮には問いただすべきことのできない「かたはらい^{すぢ}たき筋なれば」、ずっ
 と自分の心のうちで、出生の秘密を心にかけていた。そうして薫は「いかなりけることにかは。
 何の契りにて、かうやすからぬ思ひ添ひたる身にしもなり出でけむ。善巧^{ぜんげう}太子の、わが身に問
 ひけむ^{さと}悟りをも得てしがな」と「ひとりごたれたまひける」(匂部卿巻)。

この独り言の「ぜんげう(善巧)太子」(河内本では「くいたいし[＝瞿夷太子]」)が誰を指すか。
 古来難読箇所であるが、中世の古注釈では、この太子を「羅睺^{らごう}羅」と解し、例の六年懐胎説と、
 大臣等がこれを疑ったこと、そして疑いはらすためにヤショーダラーが子を抱いて火中に投
 げ入れ、無実の誓いを証明した、という説話を引く¹⁹。薫の出生とラーフラ、そしてヤショー
 ダラー不貞説とを重ね併せて読むことは、むしろ普通の読解であった。

こうした痕跡は、ブッダ伝と『源氏物語』の関係の解明に、大事な史的意味を持つ。

7 南伝の伝承が示唆すること——ブッダ伝に秘められたもう一つの「妊娠小説」

『源氏』読者が意識したブッダの「妊娠小説」の側にも、興味深い異伝があった。ジャータ
 カなど、南伝仏教においては、ブッダが出家する1週間前に、すでにラーフラが生まれていた
 とする伝承が一般的であることだ。出生を喜ぶ父の王からその誕生を聞いたブッダが、「ラー
 フラ」(＝障碍・束縛)が生じたと叫んで、それが命名の由来になったという。

「〈ラーフラの母〉が男子を出産された」ということを聞いて、スッドーダナ大王が、
 「息子(ボーディサッタ)にわしの喜びを伝えよ」と使いをやった。ボーディサッタはそれを
 聞いて、
 「ラーフラが生まれた。束縛が生じた」と言われた。王は、
 「わしの息子は何と言ったか」とたずね、そのことばを聞くと、
 「これからのちは、わしの孫をラーフラ王子という名にしよう」といった。(『ジャータカ全集』)

この南伝のブッダは、出家の当日、もう一度だけ我が子の顔を見ようと寝室に戻る。だが、
 子の頭をなでて熟睡する妻・ヤショーダラーの様子を見て、子を起こせば妻もめざめ、出家の
 妨げになる……。そう考えてあきらめ、ブッダはそっと城を出た。

2016年にしばらく滞在したタイのチェンマイやバンコクで、この図像をいくつか見た(一例を
 後掲する)。当地では一般的だが、逆に、東アジアでは、およそ見られない画像であるらしい²⁰。

出家前に、すでにラーフラは生まれていた。これならヤショーダラーは無実だ。何の疑いも

¹⁹ このことについては、前掲注4の拙著『かくして『源氏物語』が誕生する』第6章、304-5頁に言及し、そ
 の後注14所掲の拙稿で一連の資料を参照して詳論した。なお後掲の注22拙稿も参照されたい。

²⁰ 伝承としては、ブッダチャリタの漢訳『仏所行讃』や『仏本行集経』第55巻の「或説」に出家時にすでに羅
 睺羅は生まれていたとの説が記される。東アジアにおいても未知の説ではない。

発生しない、ようにみえる。敬虔な仏教国であるタイで話を聞いても、ブッダとヤショーダラーの関係にいささかの疑念を抱く人もいないだろう……。ところが並川孝儀は、この背後に、次のような興味深い事情がありうることを示している。

ラーフラが「日食と月食のラーフという悪魔性を有した者」という語義を持ち、太陽と月を呑み込む悪魔であることを考える時〔……〕ラーフラという名は釈迦族の先祖である太陽神を呑み込む悪魔であり、釈迦族の家系を断ち切る悪魔性を有した者ということになる。ラーフラの出生にこの名が付けられたことは、この出生自体に釈迦続の家系を断ち切るほどの、或いは汚すという常識では到底考えられない事情が背景にあったと見做すべきであろう。〔……〕ラーフラの出生が釈尊の出家前の説の場合、この命名は釈尊の出家と関連したものであるという意義を有することになる。即ち、この立場はラーフラの命名に纏わる事情が釈尊の出家を促したのではないかという解釈を生む。〔……〕ここで、この命名の背後にある真意が何であったのかを探る一つの手掛かりを与えてくれるのが釈尊の成道時におけるラーフラ出生説での物語である。それは既述したように、ラーフラが釈尊の実子であることへの疑惑という驚くべき伝承の存在である。ヤショーダラーの釈明によって疑惑が晴れたと結ばれているものの、そこには実子ではないとの疑惑の伝承が間違いなく存在していたことだけは事実である。成道が出家後六年であると考えたら、常識的にラーフラは釈尊の実子であると理解することのほうが問題である。この成道時のラーフラ出生説が実子の疑惑を伝えることを勘案する時、もう一つの伝承である出家前のラーフラ出生説の背後にある深刻な事情もこれと同質の問題として理解できるかもしれない。いずれにしても、ラーフラの出生が釈尊の出家前であったとしたなら、実子でないという可能性を孕んだ、このような事情を背景とした出生が出家の原因になったものと考えられる。²¹

いささか臆化した表現で叙述されているが、つまりはブッダがなぜ出家したか。そのモチベーションを論じて、出家前に生まれたラーフラに、ブッダは、自分の子ではないと疑念を抱き、家の断絶やケガレの現実に厭世して出家した、という可能性を論じている。並川は、この論文を単著『ゴータマ・ブッダ考』（大蔵出版、2005年）に収録する際、ラーフラの出生がブッダの出家前だと伝える「南伝には実子でないことを疑う伝承はなく、上で論じた推測は成り立ちにくい」という注記を付加しつつも、上記の「実子でないことを疑う伝承」の「流布」が「間違いのない事実であり」、「ラーフラの出生とゴータマ・ブッダの出家との間に、何らかの関連があったのではないかという推測だけは依然として可能であるように思う」と述べた。確かにこの解釈は、ブッダの、いや仏教誕生の根幹を揺るがすパラダイムチェンジを内包する、大問題である。私はその語源論（ラーフラの語義をめぐる）や教学論争に参画する素養もゆとりもないが、しかし、並川がひとたび仏典の文献学によってたどりついた上記の解釈自体は、ブッダ伝というテキストの読みの可能性として、きわめて示唆的かつ有意義である。

ブッダの子とされるその男子は、不貞の子として唾棄すべきもの（ラーフラは束縛し、^{しょうがい}障碍する者、あるいは悪魔の子）であった。そしてその子を抱きしめて目を閉じる妻……。あの子は本当に私の

²¹ 並川孝儀「ラーフラ（羅睺羅）の命名と釈尊の出家」『佛教大学総合研究所紀要』第4号、1997年。

子なのか？ この図像学を少し工夫して『源氏物語』に落とし込めば、『源氏物語絵巻』柏木巻、実子ならざる薫を抱きしめる光源氏が形象される。

手塚治虫は漫画『ブッダ』の中でこのエピソードを描き、子を抱きながら、次のように祈りをこめるヤショードラーを描いた。

シッダルタ
あなたがこの子を見て
この国を出て
いってしまうなんて心が
どうぞ どうぞ
消えますように……²²



タイ・チェンマイの Wat Phra That Doi Suthep にて撮影。

あえて文脈を取り違え、妻は、「この子を見て、この国を出ていってしまうなんて心」を持つブッダを危惧していると、このセリフを読んでみよう。チェンマイで見た画像では、ベッドでラーフラを抱きながら眠るヤショードラーを、遠くから、不安そうに眺めるブッダを描く。

その子は、オレにとって何なのか。もちろん愛子であり、^{ほだ}絆しであり、障碍であり……。いや、自分を裏切った女が生んだ不義の子、悪魔の子？ こうした創造的誤読は自然である。

漢訳仏典の読者は、ヤショードラーにかけられた不貞の噂（6年の懐妊）とともに、『仏所行讃』や『仏本行集経』に記述された、出家時にはすでにラーフラが生まれ、それを見届けてブッダが出家の旅に出る、という逸話（注20参照）とを併せ読む僥倖に恵まれていた。日本の思想風土の中で、ブッダ伝を相対化して読むことのできる批判的読者なら、その二つを併せて、並川が推定するようなコンテクストを紡ぎ出すことはたやすい。

出家の夜、妻が抱く我が子は実子ではない、という確信を抱くブッダの姿。それは露骨なほど、冷泉帝を抱く桐壺帝、そして薫を抱いて「自嘲」を呟く光源氏とオーバーラップする。たとえ南伝のような逸話を『源氏物語』作者が読んでいなかったとしても、すでに根強い不貞・出産説に彩られたブッダ伝の愛読者が、生まれ抱かれた我が子が、じつは実子ではないという物語の核心となる種・シーズを、ブッダ伝から汲み取ることはさほど難しいことではないはずだ。日本の古代・中世社会において、根幹的な役割を果たした宗教である仏教の教祖・ブッダの伝記の影響は、これまで以上に強調すべきである。そしてその内実については、物語の想像力を踏まえて、従来の枠組みに囚われない、多様で幅広い読み取りが必要であらう。そのことを確認して本稿を閉じたい²³。

²² 引用は潮ビジュアル文庫（全12巻、1992-93年）による。

²³ 本稿は、拙稿「出家譚と妻と子と——仏伝の日本化と中世説話の形象をめぐる」（小峯和明編『東アジアの仏伝文学』勉誠出版、2017年）とも問題意識と対象文献において関連する部分がある。併せ参照されたい。

II The Society and Culture of the Edo Period

『訓蒙図彙』 考序論

——絵入百科事典データベース構築とともに

石上 阿希

はじめに

近年、日本の古典籍をめぐるデジタルアーカイブがめまぐるしい展開をみせている。2000年代半ば以降、早稲田大学図書館、国立国会図書館などが所蔵資料のデジタルアーカイブを本格的に始動させ、2014年からは国文学研究資料館が10年間で約30万点の画像データ化を目標とした「日本語の歴史的典籍の国際共同研究ネットワーク」を開始した。古典籍画像へのアクセス環境は飛躍的に整いつつある。

では、それによってどのような研究が可能となるだろうか。稿者は、2015年より国際日本文化研究センターにおいて古典籍のイメージに特化したデータベースとして「近世期絵入百科事典データベース」の構築を進めている¹。江戸時代に出版された「絵」と「言葉」を併録した書物を検索することができれば、様々な分野の研究者にとって有用なツールとなるのではないかとこの着想による。本データベースの核となるのが日本で最初の絵入百科事典とされる中村惕斎編『訓蒙図彙』である。

寛文6年(1666)の序文をもつ『訓蒙図彙』²は、20冊14巻から成り、事物を17の部門に分けてその形状と名称を絵と言葉によって明示している。採録された事物の総数は1484にのぼる。本書以降、絵と語が一对になった様々な事典類が刊行され、その形式をもじったパロディが作られるなど、本書から派生した書物は多岐にわたる。また、『訓蒙図彙』自体も、元禄8年(1695)刊『頭書増補訓蒙図彙』、寛政元年(1789)刊『頭書増補訓蒙図彙大成』と2度にわたって増補改訂版が作られており、時代の要求に応じながら多くの読者を啓蒙し続けた。

さらにその影響は日本のみに限らない。例えば、ドイツ人ケンペル(1651-1716)の『日本誌(*Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan*)』や『廻国奇覧(*Amoenitatum Exoticarum Politico-physico-medicearum*)』における動植物の記述・図版には、寛文8年(1668)版の『訓蒙図彙』の影響が十分にみとめられる³。

しかし、当然ながら『訓蒙図彙』も部門の構成や図版、言葉の選定など多くの先行する書物を参考にしている。本書は、古今東西の書物から知識だけでなく事典を編む方法論も学びつつ絵入百科事典という一つのスタイルを生み出し、後続の書物へとつなげていった書として位置づけることができるだろう。

¹ 2017年7月に「近世期絵入百科事典(試作版)」を公開。

² 本書には刊年が明記されていないが、小林祥次郎は序年誌および、寛文8年刊の『訓蒙図彙』との関係から寛文6年版と称して大過ないであろうとする(小林祥次郎編『江戸のイラスト辞典 訓蒙図彙』勉誠出版、2012年、969頁)。

³ 日本学士院日本科学史刊行会編『新訂版 明治前日本生物史』第1巻、臨川書店、1980年、北村四郎「ケンペルの『日本植物記』について」『植物と文化』第13号、1975年、2-13頁。

『訓蒙図彙』の研究は、辞書学、近世文学、書誌学など多様な視点から行われてきた⁴。また、『訓蒙図彙』に連なる書物 29 種を一括収録した『訓蒙図彙集成』(全 25 巻、大空社、1998-2002 年)も刊行されている。しかし、これらの「訓蒙図彙もの」を通史的に捉える研究、あるいは個別の事象、表象の伝播・展開について『訓蒙図彙』を踏まえた研究は未だ十分になされてはいない。

そこで、本論では『訓蒙図彙』の系譜とその展開を明らかにする序論として『訓蒙図彙』の成立から「訓蒙図彙もの」の派生までを述べ、「人物図」という切り口から近世中期の出版物における『訓蒙図彙』の位置を考えたい。

一 『訓蒙図彙』

本書は天文・地理・居所・人物・身体・衣服・宝貨・器用(1~4)・畜獸・禽鳥・龍魚・虫介・米穀・菜蔬・果蓏・樹竹・草花、の 17 部の分類で構成されている。見開き 1 丁ごとに四つの事物を配し、漢字・ひらがなで名称を記し、形状を図画で表している(図 1)。書型は大本で、十分に詳細まで描くことが可能な大きさである⁵。項目は 1484 個であるが、それぞれに俗称や異称も記載されているため、合計で 5 千語ほどが収録されている⁶。

惕斎がどのように編集を進めたのか。『訓蒙図彙』の冒頭に書かれた「凡例」からその編集方針を知ることが出来る。

凡此編は事物の名称、皆漢字を以て、之に題すと雖も、而も実は和名を以て主となす。

事物の名称については主に和名を用い、漢字で表記するという態度である。本書が児童の初学書を目指している以上、当然の方針といえる。また、「其和名も亦俗呼有る時は、即ち必ず之を採て鄙俚猥雑を避けず」との考えから、一つの事物に対して、正名、異名、俗称など複数の名前を記している。

また、図については下記のようにある。

諸品の形状並に茲邦の風俗土産に象る。凡て目撃する所の者は便筆して之を模す。或は画家の写する所に拠り、或は審に識者に問ひ、然して後工に命じて之を描成す。

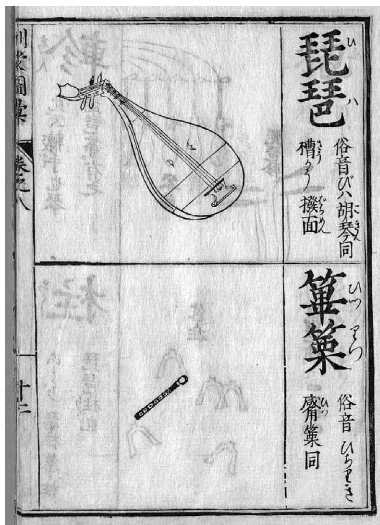


図 1 『訓蒙図彙』、国立国会図書館蔵

⁴ 『訓蒙図彙』の内容、成立背景や諸本については、前掲注 2、杉本つとむ『訓蒙図彙』(早稲田大学出版部、1975 年)、勝又基「江戸の百科事典を読む」(『月刊しにか』11-3 号、2000 年、65-71 頁)、勝又基「解題」(『訓蒙図彙集成・別巻 江戸時代図説百科 訓蒙図彙の世界』大空社、2002 年、24-26、32-34、40-42 頁)などに詳しい。

⁵ 例えば国立公文書館内閣文庫所蔵本は、縦 27.0×横 19.3cm である(前掲注 4 杉本つとむ、例言 vii 頁)。

⁶ 前掲注 4 杉本つとむ、266 頁。

現物をもってその形状を確認することを基本とし、難しい場合は「識者」にたずねて正しい情報を得るようにしている。また、国内にないもの、有無が不明なものについては「異邦の風物を以て」補う、と明記している。

当然ながら、これらの作業には様々な参考文献が必要となる。凡例には引証書物として中国の書物では『三才図会』（万暦 35 年 [1607]）、『農政全書』（崇禎 12 年 [1639]）の他「諸家の本草の図説」を挙げ、国内の書物では源順『和名類聚抄』、林羅山『多識論』、『字鏡』、『璫囊抄』、『下学集』、『節用集』などの辞書類が挙げられている。

（一）作者中村惕斎

本書の著者である中村惕斎（1629–1702）は、江戸時代前期に京都で活動した朱子学者である。寛永 6 年（1629）に京都の商家に生まれる。幼少より優れた学才をみせ、独学で朱子学を修め、同時代の伊藤仁斎（1627–1705）と並び称された。25 歳で家業を継ぐも生来商売を好まず、30 歳の時に学問に専心するため「断然トシテ俗交ヲ辞シ」た⁷。人柄は穏健、篤実と評されることが多く、喧騒を避けて京都中心部から僻地に居を移した。

惕斎の門人である増謙益夫が記録した『惕斎先生行状』などから惕斎の主な動向についてまとめると下記ようになる。

寛永 6 年（1629）	1 歳	室町通街二条第一間生まれる
明暦元年（1655）	27 歳	衣店街二条第一間西畔に転居
万治元年（1658）	30 歳	長男清平誕生
寛文 6 年（1666）	38 歳	『訓蒙図彙』叙
延宝 6 年（1677）	49 歳	小川街二条第三間西畔に転居
貞享元年（1684）	56 歳	伏見郷京町南八間へ転居
元禄 11 年（1698）	70 歳	東九条宇賀辻村へ転居

傍線箇所をたどれば、惕斎が生まれてから 56 歳で伏見へ転居するまで、二条通を徐々に西へ居を移しながら暮らしていたことがわかる。東西の距離にして約 350m、徒歩にすれば 5 分程度である。惕斎の生まれ育った二条界限は儒学者の町でもあった。松永尺五（1529–1657）が寛永 5 年（1628）に西洞院二条南に春秋館を建てて以降、儒学の私塾が次々と創設される⁸。二条堀川近辺は、山崎闇斎の講席が開かれたり、伊藤仁斎の古義堂が開設された場所でもある。周辺には本屋も多い。町には儒学を学ぶ場があり、そこに通う学者がいる。そのような環境で惕斎は儒学の学びを深めていった。

（二）制作動機

書名に「訓蒙」とある通り、本書の目的は児童の啓蒙にある。その意図は惕斎自身が記した

⁷ 増謙益夫『惕斎先生行状』（五弓雪窓編『関西大学東西学術研究所資料集刊十一 二 事実文編二』関西大学出版・広報部、1979 年、213 頁）。

⁸ 衣笠安喜「元禄の文化第 2 節 学問と思想」（京都市編『新装版京都の歴史 5 近世の展開』京都市史編さん所、1979 年、419–442 頁）。

「叙」を読んでも明確である⁹。

吾が家に児女有り。皆方に垂髫、内に姉の従ふべき無く、外に傳の就くべき無し。乃ち対照の制に倣ひて四言千字を連綴し、副ふるに国字を以てし、傍るに画象を以てして之を授く。

家内の児女には乳母も学問の師もない。そのため、自ら『四言』や『千字文』を連ねて国字を添え、そこに画図も付けたという。叙が記された寛文6年には惕斎の長男清平が9歳となっていた。惕斎には10歳年下の妻との間に二男・一女に加えて庶子があった。長女の生まれが長男より先なのかは記録に残っていないが、『訓蒙図彙』成立当時に惕斎の家に幼童がいたことは確かである。自分の子どもの教育のため、様々な事物を図解した書物を作る。それが本書の制作動機であった。

惕斎が著した子ども向けの啓蒙書は本書だけではない。娘のために女性向けの教訓書『比売鑑^{ひかみ}』も作っている。同書は、朱子の門人が編集した初学者用教科書である『小学』を基として、和漢の貞女を紹介しながら女性として身につけるべき礼儀作法や心得などを説いたものである。延宝元年(1673)に記された序文には「家なる女の童に『小学』教えんことをあらましけるに」漢文で記された書物しかなく、自ら仮名文字にして和漢の故事を編集した旨が述べられている。事物の名称・形状を学ぶことができる『訓蒙図彙』、礼儀や古今の故事来歴を知ることができる『比売鑑』と、惕斎は子どもの成長に合わせるように啓蒙書・教訓書を著しており、子どもに対する教育に重きを置いていたことがわかる。

しかし、惕斎が自ら書物を作る必要があったほど、当時の子ども向け書物は充実していなかったのだろうか。確かに、儒学を学ぶ場合、用いるテキストは『大学』、『論語』などの経書であり、初学者向け、学問を大成した学者向けの区別はなく全て同じものである¹⁰。一方、読み書きを中心とした教育施設である手習所(寺子屋)ではどのような教材が用いられていたのだろうか。手習所(寺子屋)は室町末期より存在していたが、盛んになるのは近世期に入ってからである。何を学ばせていたのかは、地域や通う子どもの身分によっても異なるが、いずれにせよ読み書きが基本である。教材として用いられる往来物の内容は教訓、語彙、歴史、地理など多岐にわたる。石川謙は、慶長から万治(1596-1660)にかけて新たに作られた往来物として83点を挙げている¹¹。最も多いものは教訓科の25点であり、語彙科は10点ほどである。語彙科の往来物は、単語短句などの練習を目的としたものであり、惕斎が求めた辞典・事典類とは異なるものであった。

また、近世期に入り教育論も新たな展開をみせていた。その主導者は主に儒学者であった。中江藤樹や山鹿素行などがその著作物のなかで、儒学思想に基づいた教訓や具体的方法などについて述べている¹²。家の存続のため、家主など一部の人間のみに向けた教育ではなく、社会全体に目を向けた教育論が展開するようになる。しかし、それらはあくまでも「大人」を対象とした書物のなかで語られたものである点に留意したい。

⁹ 原文漢文。送り仮名は適宜補った。

¹⁰ 辻本雅史『「学び」の復権——模倣と習熟』岩波書店、2012年、56-57頁。

¹¹ 石川謙『寺子屋』、至文堂、1966年、214頁。

¹² 山住正巳・中江和江編『子育ての書1』東洋文庫285、平凡社、1976年、18-22頁。

子どもへの教育環境や意識が徐々に整いつつあるなかで、しかし儒学思想に基づいた実用的な図解事典も女兒向けに編集された『小学』も存在しておらず、その点で惕斎の子ども向け書物は必要性和新奇性を備えたものであったといえる。

(三)『訓蒙図彙』の出版と読者

惕斎の著作は少なくないが、生前それらが刊行されることはほとんどなかった。例えば『比売鑑』も出版物として刊行されたのは惕斎の没後のことである。『比売鑑』は写本として成立したものであり、後年それを基に刊本が作られた¹³。成立当初は、家内の娘、あるいはその周辺の教育に用いられたのみであった。

しかし、例外的に『訓蒙図彙』は叙が記されてからすぐに出版されている。『訓蒙図彙』の諸本研究を行った小林祥次郎によれば、本書には書肆名のない版と巻末に「書肆 山形屋」と刻している版があり、印刷や装幀の状態から「初刷を美しく装幀して貴人に献上し」、次に市販するために書肆名を埋木したものが刷られた¹⁴。ただし、巻末の「山形屋」がいずれの山形屋を指すのかは特定できていない¹⁵。広範的な人的交流を好まなかった惕斎の性質を考えれば、江戸の版元は想定の外に置いた方がよいだろう。江戸初期に京都で営業をしていた「山形屋」は4軒あるが¹⁶、いずれも惕斎の居住地近辺であり、内3軒は二条通り沿いにある。衣棚二条の山形屋善兵衛、衣棚竹屋町の山形屋清兵衛は唐本屋であり、日頃から惕斎とやりとりがあったことも想定でき、二条界隈のネットワークから出版へと繋がっていったと考えられる。

では本書はどのように読まれていたのだろうか。惕斎は序文で、本書を自分の子どもに与えたところ、後日自ら物を見てその名前を呼び、その名前を聞いて物を指すことができるようになったと述べている。本書が教育用書物として優れていることについては、後年の学者、教育者も認めるところであり、例えば貝原益軒は『和俗童子訓』（宝永7年〔1710〕刊）の中で「世間通用の文字を知るべし。〔……〕近年印行せし訓蒙図彙、和爾雅、和字通例書などをえらび用ゆべし」と評している¹⁷。

このように子どもの教育用に用いられる一方で、多様な書物を典拠とし、異名・俗名を詳細に記録した本書の内容は、大人の知的好奇心をも十分に満たすものであった。故に貴人に献上される書物として板行されたのであろう。本書が二代尾張徳川光友（1625-1700）の蔵書に含まれているという一例をとっても、読者層の広さをうかがい知ることができる¹⁸。『訓蒙図彙』は、身分や年代を超えて広く読まれていた書物であった。

¹³ 勝又基「『比売鑑』の写本と刊本」『近世文藝』第70号、1999年、1-10頁。

¹⁴ 前掲注2、971-972頁。

¹⁵ 杉本つとむは「山形屋市郎右衛門」とするが根拠は明示されていない（前掲注4杉本つとむ、例言、vii頁）。

¹⁶ 井上隆明『日本書誌学大系 改訂増補 76 近世書林板元総覧』青裳堂書店、1998年、749-750頁。

¹⁷ 貝原益軒『和俗童子訓』巻之四（静岡県立図書館蔵）。句読点、濁点などは適宜補った。この他の例として、倉島利仁は江村北海『授業編』（天明3年〔1783〕刊）や湯浅常山『文会雜記』（天明2年〔1782〕序）の評価を挙げている（解説『江戸時代図説百科 訓蒙図彙の世界』大空社、2002年、7頁）。

¹⁸ 『瑞龍院様御隠居以後従表御寄 御逝去後迎涼閣御文庫江入御書籍（寛保三年目録 巻四）一冊』名古屋市蓬左文庫蔵（『書誌書目シリーズ 49 尾張徳川家蔵書目録』第2巻、ゆまに書房、1999年、36頁）。

二 『訓蒙図彙』以降

(一) 増補改訂版

『訓蒙図彙』の刊行後、元禄期と寛政期にそれぞれ増補改訂版が作られている（以降「寛文版」、「元禄版」、「寛政版」と記す）¹⁹。元禄版は、『頭書増補訓蒙図彙』という書名の通り、各図の上部に注釈が加えられ、項目も増補された（図2）。注釈文は漢字ひらがな交じりで記され、より平易な書物となっている。本書の編集に惕斎は関わっていないこともあってか、寛文版にあった学術性は薄れ「通俗化」された事典となった。寛文版から約30年経っており、時代や読者に応じた改変といえるだろう。

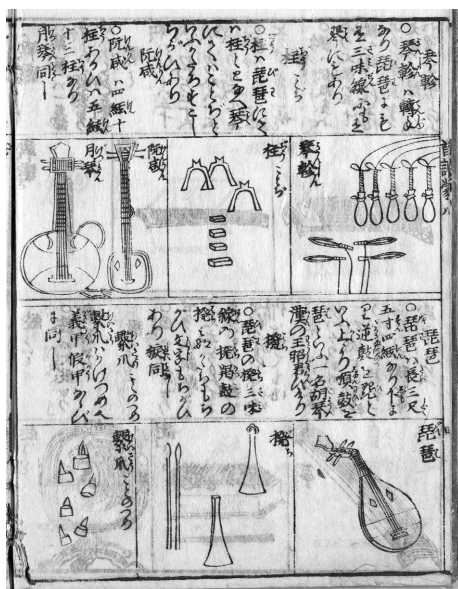


図2 『頭書増補訓蒙図彙』、国立国会図書館蔵

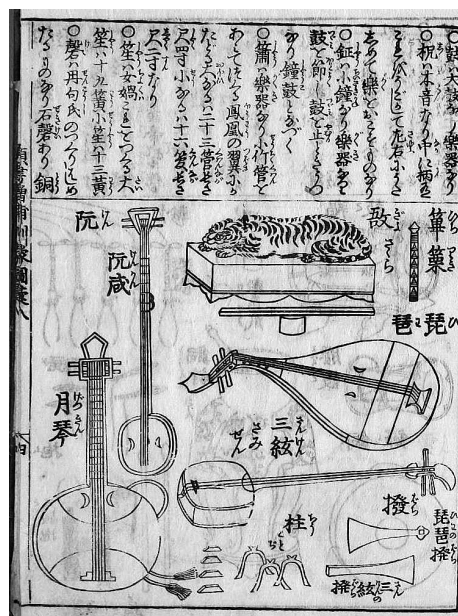


図3 『頭書増補訓蒙図彙大成』、早稲田大学図書館蔵

寛政版はその元禄版を基にしている。初めて絵師の名前が明記された本書は、図を大きく配置する構成に変え、個別に書かれていた事物の図を一図の中に組み合わせるなど視覚的な面を強調したものとなっている（図3）。本書は元禄版から約100年後の刊行であるが、その間に発展した博物学・本草学・医学などの影響を踏まえ、情報が更新されている項目もある²⁰。1666年に成立した百科事典が、様々な版元、作者、絵師による改変を加えられながら120年以上も命脈を保ち、それぞれの時代に読者を開拓していった。

(二) 様々な「訓蒙図彙もの」

『訓蒙図彙』自体の増補・改訂版に加え、事物を絵と言葉で列記するという趣向の書物が次々

¹⁹ これ以外に寛文8年（1668）に図を縮小した縮刷廉価版、享保17年（1732）に図を縮小し、配列を若干変えた版がある。

²⁰ 前掲注4 勝又基、70頁。

を刊行された²¹。多くは書名に「訓蒙図彙」という語を含み、楊斎の書物に連なる企画であることを表明している。

最初の「訓蒙図彙もの」は貞享元年（1684）の『武具訓蒙図彙』である。甲、具足など、武具ごとに分類し、多様な種類を個別に解説している。作者は京都に住む和算学者の湯浅得之で、京都と大坂の版元から刊行された。

これ以降の「訓蒙図彙もの」は、性道具や階級毎の性風俗を分類した『好色訓蒙図彙』（貞享3年〔1686〕刊、京都）、着物や髪型、道具類など女にまつわる風俗をとりあげた『女用訓蒙図彙』（貞享4年〔1687〕刊、江戸）、故事や世話字などを扱った『難字訓蒙図彙』（貞享2年〔1685〕刊、江戸／同4年刊、大坂）、舞台や面、衣装、小道具の他、役者なども記載した『能之訓蒙図彙』（同年刊、京都）、階級や職業で分類した『人倫訓蒙図彙』（元禄3年〔1690〕刊、京都・大坂・江戸）、仏像や仏具などを詳細に分類した『仏像図彙』（同年刊、大坂・江戸・京都）、抛入花や調度品を扱った『立花訓蒙図彙』（元禄9年〔1696〕刊、大坂）、中国の事物にのみ特化した『唐土訓蒙図彙』（享保4年〔1719〕刊、大坂・江戸）などが続いていく。

事物を属性ごとに分類し、その形態・容姿を図解して名称を付すという『訓蒙図彙』のスタイルは、子どもに限らず初学者にとって便利な書物であった。そのため、『武具訓蒙図彙』以降は、『難字訓蒙図彙』をのぞけば各分野に関心のある大人の初学者を読者として想定している。森羅万象を扱った『訓蒙図彙』から、細分化された「訓蒙図彙」が派生していき、それに合わせて読者層も広がっていったといえる。

また、正徳から享保の間（1711～1736）には『三才図会』を基にした『和漢三才図会』が刊行される。105巻81冊にわたる大部であり、絵入百科事典はいよいよ充実した局面を迎える。

そのような盛行に応じるように、吉原に関する事物を分類した見立絵本『新造図彙』（山東京伝、天明9年〔1789〕）といった『訓蒙図彙』、『三才図会』を模した書物も登場する。

子どもへの啓蒙書として成立した『訓蒙図彙』の流れは、江戸中期以降読者層を広げながら様々な分野の図解百科事典と展開していき、初学者向けの外国語教科書として翻訳・編集された明治4年（1871）の『泰西訓蒙図解』にまでつながっていく。

三 『訓蒙図彙』の前後——人物図

これまでみてきたように、『訓蒙図彙』は多様な書物を渉猟して一書を成し、その後時代を超えて広範囲に様々な書物を生み出した。その流れを微視的に捉えようとしたとき、どのような様相が浮かび上がるのだろうか。ここでは「人物図」に限って『訓蒙図彙』の前後について考えてみたい。

²¹ 『訓蒙図彙集成』（大空社、1998～2002年）では、訓蒙図彙ものとして下記30点の書物を収録している。立花訓蒙図彙、謡曲画誌、歳旦訓蒙図彙、暗夜訓蒙図彙、外科訓蒙図彙、陰兼陽珍紋図彙、増訓画引和玉図彙、新造図彙、奇妙図彙、戯場楽屋図会、楽屋図会拾遺、戯場訓蒙図彙、花鳥写真図彙、璣訓蒙鏡草、機巧図彙、泰西訓蒙図解、能之訓蒙図彙、改正能訓蒙図彙、好色訓蒙図彙、武具訓蒙図彙、頭書増補訓蒙図彙、女用訓蒙図彙、人倫訓蒙図彙、難字訓蒙図彙、立花訓蒙図彙、仏像図彙、増補仏像図彙、唐土訓蒙図彙、訓蒙図彙、訓蒙図彙大成。

(一) 世界図、万国人物図、三才図会

『訓蒙図彙』の「人物」部門には80種の人物図が掲載されている。そのうち、異国、あるいは異界の人物については18種が立項されている。惕斎は、国内でないもの、その存在の有無が不明なものについては「異邦の風物」で情報を補った。異界の人物図について、その多くは『三才図会』に典拠を求めることができるが、なかには凡例で触れていない書物に拠っている図もある。海野一隆は18種の内「南蛮」「呂宋」「暹羅」「東番」「小人」は正保2年(1645)刊『万国総図・万国人物図』と共通する絵柄だと指摘する²²。『万国総図・万国人物図』は世界図と世界人物図を対にして制作されたもので、世界図はイエズス会宣教師マテオ・リッチ(利瑪竇)が中国(明)で1602年に刊行した『坤輿万国全図』をもとにしている。つまり、惕斎の人物図には中国を源流とするものと、中国を経由して西洋からもたらされた情報をもとにしたものの2種類が混在しているのである。

ただし、典拠となった図をそのまま写している図もあれば、一部を改変している図もみられる。例えば「呂宋」の場合、『万国総図・万国人物図』では男女二人を一組で描いているのに対し、『訓蒙図彙』は男のみを描き出している。



図4 『頭書増補訓蒙図彙大成』、早稲田大学図書館蔵

また、手長の「長臂」は『三才図会』では長い腕を天に伸ばしているが、『訓蒙図彙』では片腕をもう一方の腕に添えている。おそらく画面の構成などに併せてこのような改変が行われたのだろう²³。

これらの人物図、あるいは「編集」は元禄版にそのまま引き継がれていくが、寛政版で変更される。特に「長臂」や「占城」「長人」など異界の人物の描かれ方は、それぞれの特徴がわかりやすく図示されたものとなる(図4)。一方、「中国」「琉球」「朝鮮」などの実在する異国人は装束の描かれ方がより詳細にはなっているものの、基本的な情報は寛文版から大きく変わっていない。前述したように、寛政版では本草学や医学などの情報が最新のものを踏まえていたことと対照的といえる。

享保5年(1720)には洋書の輸入制限が緩和されているが、異国人物図についてはその影響を受けていない。全ての項目において等しく情報の更新が行われているのではなく、その差異を考察することで寛政版の編集方針、あるいは編纂者の性質を明らかにすることが可能といえる。

²² 海野一隆「江戸時代刊行の東洋系民族図譜の嚆矢」『日本古書通信』第896号、2004年、6頁。

²³ 勝又基「絵入り百科事典の工夫——『訓蒙図彙』と『和漢三才図会』」(鈴木健一編『浸透する教養』勉誠出版、2013年、133頁)。

(二) 人物を分類するということ——西川祐信の雛形本まで

一方、異国人以外の図は「職業人物図」の性質を有している。「公家」「卿」から始まり、医者や巫女、遊女、職人などが52種立項されている。人物を職業や身分など属性ごとに分類するというこの方法は、その後『人倫訓蒙図彙』に引き継がれる。同書の多様な人物の所作や来由を人に尋ね、あるいは和漢の書に求めるという姿勢は、『訓蒙図彙』の方針と重なるものであり、そのように情報収集された約500種の職業が収録されている。

同書以降、特に女性の職業に特化したものとして享保元年(1716)『女大学宝箱』がある。女性向け教訓書の本文上部3分の1に差し込まれた挿絵には糸引屋や扇屋、汐汲みなど43種の職業が描かれている。

西川祐信(1671-1750)は、女性の職業をさらに拡充し、享保8年(1723)『百人女郎品定』(京都・八文字屋版)で100種を挙げた。横山冬彦は、同書が『人倫訓蒙図彙』の女性職種と分類を継承しているとした上で『人倫訓蒙図彙』で入り交じっていた売色類の再整理を行い、さらにその職業を増補したと指摘する²⁴。

ただし、祐信が八文字屋と組んで人物を分類し、網羅的に描いた書物は『百人女郎品定』だけではない²⁵。同書に先行して多様な人物を描き分けた艶本を手がけている。その最も早いものが宝永8年(1711)の『色ひいな形』で、人物を公家、武家、農民、町人、商人の五つに分けてそれぞれの性生活を描いた。さらに売色風俗を細目化して、描写した『情ひいな形』(正徳2年[1712]刊)、『妻愛色双六』(享保4年[1719]刊)があり、微に入り細にわたって職業を描



図5 『正徳ひな形』、東京藝術大学附属図書館蔵

²⁴ 横田冬彦『「女大学」再考——日本近世における女性労働』(『ジェンダーの日本史』下巻、東京大学出版会、1995年、372-373頁)。

²⁵ 拙稿『訓蒙図彙と祐信春本・絵本——『色ひいな形』から『百人女郎品定』まで』(石上阿希編『祐信を読む』立命館大学アート・リサーチセンター、2013年、71-85頁)。

き分けた絵師といえるだろう。これらの艶本はいずれも八文字屋から刊行されたものである。

祐信と八文字屋は身分ごとに人物を分類するという編集方法をさらに雛形本へと展開していく。正徳3年(1713)に刊行された『正徳ひな形』は、公家、武家、町人、傾城、若衆、野郎の別に、「着物」を分類した。従来の雛形本は、背面小袖図に模様や色を指示する実用的な書物であったが、そこに身分・職業という配列の方針を加えて編集したのである(図5)。

『訓蒙図彙』の追随作は特に京都・大坂で発展をみせたが、多様に派生していく流れの末尾の一つには、「訓蒙図彙」を冠しないこのような書物があった。

おわりに

はじめにで述べたように、本論は『訓蒙図彙』の系譜やその展開を考察するための序論であり、最後に今後の研究課題を挙げてまとめとしたい。

はじめにで述べたように、これまで「訓蒙図彙もの」を通史的に捉えた研究はなされていない。江戸初期から明治初期まで、あるいは訓蒙図彙以前も含めてこれらの書物をながめることで、古今東西の知識・情報が書物という経路によってどのように浸透していったのかを考察することができるだろう。

また、特定のテーマで「訓蒙図彙」を追いかけたときに何が見えてくるのかという問題もある。今回は「人物図」と江戸中期の上方における出版について論じたが、様々な切り口から「訓蒙図彙もの」を辿っていけば、さらに豊かな展開図がみえてくるのではないだろうか。

これらの研究と平行して、「近世絵入百科事典データベース」の拡充を進める。例えば、データベースを用いることで、異なる三版の『訓蒙図彙』の画像と翻刻を項目毎に見比べることが容易になれば、情報更新の傾向や編纂者の編集方針をつかむ手立てとなるだろう。あるいは、各画像に対するタグ付けを充実させることで、おもわぬ情報の連鎖や共通点がみえてくるかもしれない。

また、このデータベースを『訓蒙図彙』に連なる展開の一つとして考えるならば、「訓蒙図彙もの」がもたらす現在進行形の文化的展開をおうことも可能となる。それらの事象が顕在化するまでには時間が必要となるが、そのような可能性を含めてこれらの問題について考えていきたい。

Yamawaki Taka's Bittersweet Memories of Uwajima Castle, 1864–1865

Ellen NAKAMURA

It was common practice for many nineteenth-century Japanese families to send their daughters away for a period of work or education before marriage. This paper examines the case of Yamawaki Taka 山脇たか (later Takako 高子 1851–1938), who left her home in Nagasaki to be employed as a palace servant at the residence of Lord Date Munenari 伊達宗成, daimyo of Uwajima 宇和島 domain, when she was thirteen years old. The purpose of this practice differed according to the families' status and financial means. In poorer families, daughters might be sent out for a period of indentured labour because their basic needs would be cared for and their families could benefit from the income which they brought in through their contracts. In wealthier families, daughters were also sent out for employment, but the intention was less for monetary gain than for an education in manners, deportment and the feminine arts. Samurai and commoner families alike sought positions for their daughters in the hope of preparing them for marriage.¹ The idea was that after receiving such an education women would be more socially mobile and able to form better matches when they married. From the perspective of the young women themselves, while the work itself was not always pleasant, going into service offered them the opportunity to experience life beyond the confines of their own households and neighbourhoods, and in some cases, to mingle with members of the elite.

Such was the case for Taka, who, although of commoner origins found herself suddenly propelled into the company of the lord and his wife. While the circumstances of her employment were so extraordinary that one must wonder whether they were unique, her experiences are interesting for several reasons. First, they offer a rare and personal glimpse into the work of palace maids. Second, they raise intriguing questions about the continuing use of women as a living form of collateral late into the Edo period. Evidence suggests that Taka went into service not for the sake of her own edification, nor to obtain a marriage partner but rather as a family hostage in order to guarantee a political favour from the lord. Finally, Taka's experience is suggestive of a further need to research the scope of women's geographical movements and their social and political impact in Tokugawa society.

Interpreting Taka's Personal Narrative

This study is based primarily on a collection of five letters that Taka wrote in 1935, in which she recalled her experiences as a maid at the castle.² It is only recently that these letters have gained any attention from historians, in part perhaps because researchers have been more interested in Taka's famous mother, Kusumoto Ine 楠本稲 (1827–1903).³ So far, no one has considered the curious

¹ Historians who have contributed to this topic include Mitamura 1956; Takeuchi 1993; Ōguchi 1995; Walthall 2005; Walthall 2008; Hata 2008; and Fukuda 2010.

² The letters are held by the Sentetsu Kinenkan in Uwamachi. Recently, they have been transcribed and published in *Mise Morofuchi: Siboruto saigo no monjin: Tokubetsuten zuroku*, published by the Museum of Ehime History and Culture. I have relied on the transcriptions of Taka's letters for the purposes of this paper.

³ On Kusumoto Ine, see Nakamura 2008; Orita 2015; Orita 2016.

nature of Taka's employment and the fact that she described herself in the letters as a "hostage" *hitojichi* ひとじち. Some historians have pointed to the unreliability of Taka's testimonies, noting that she made errors and exaggerated when compared with the information we have from other written sources. Here, I follow the feminist theoretical stance that an objective reliability is not what should be sought in Taka's letters. Rather, I seek to interpret the "truth of her experience," paying attention to the context and world view that helped to shape her narrative.⁴ Taka's letters were addressed to Nagai Otojirō 長井音次郎, a local historian who had been writing a biography of her first husband,—the man who was at the centre of the circumstances leading to Taka's employment.⁵ Many of the matters she wrote about appear to be prompted by specific questions that he asked her, but she also offered her own spontaneous recollections. Certainly her memories are made hazy by the seventy odd years which separated the events and the time when she recalled them. She herself notes that she just cannot remember some things. However, her letters are written in her own hand and offer a personal version of what she remembered about her work at the castle as well as insight into how she wanted herself remembered. Being a written account rather than a verbal interview, they represent a considered response to the questions asked of her.

Taka, Mise Morofuchi, and the Reasons for her Appointment

Taka was born in Nagasaki in 1851 as the only child of Kusumoto Ine, one of Japan's first female doctors of Western medicine. Her mother Ine was born of a relationship between Philipp Franz von Siebold, a naturalised Dutch citizen who came to work as a medical doctor to the Dutch factory in Nagasaki in 1823, and his Japanese concubine, Taki. According to Taka's own oral testimony, the circumstances of her birth were unhappy: her mother had been raped by her teacher of obstetrics and found herself pregnant. Filled with detest for her teacher, she left her place of study in Okayama and went back to Nagasaki where she raised her daughter with the help of her mother. Ine named her daughter Tada, meaning something like "for free," as a way of coming to terms with her fate.⁶ It was not until Taka went to work in the castle at Uwajima that she eventually received a new, and arguably more auspicious name.

Since Taka's employment in Uwajima came about through a series of extraordinary events involving her future husband, Mise Morofuchi (Shūzō 周三), it will be useful to first explain his part in the story. Mise was born in 1839 as the son of a salt merchant in Ōzu 大洲, the domain that neighboured Uwajima. His connection with Taka's family came about through his uncle Ninomiya Keisaku 二宮敬作 (1804–1862), a doctor of Western medicine who in his youth had studied with Siebold in Nagasaki. Ninomiya eventually settled in the town of Unomachi 卯之町 (in Uwajima domain) to quietly teach and practise medicine. Mise began studying Western medicine with his uncle in 1855, around the same time that Ine chose to leave little Tada in the care of her grandmother and continue her medical education with Ninomiya, her father's trusted student. As they lived and

⁴ The Personal Narratives Group 1989, pp. 261–264.

⁵ Nagai 1928.

⁶ This account was recorded as part of a number of oral interviews with Taka made by the Nagasaki historian Koga Jūjirō in 1924. It is preserved in the Nagasaki Museum of History as *Yamawaki Takako dan*.

studied together, Mise and Ninomiya and Ine became like family. Though it is unclear exactly when they were betrothed, Mise was the natural choice as a husband for Tada.

In the winter of 1855, Ninomiya suffered some kind of partial paralysis (possibly a stroke) and was prompted to seek treatment in Nagasaki. Mise and Ine went with him to Nagasaki the following year, where they continued their work and study. They were all still in Nagasaki when they learned that Siebold had been permitted to return to Nagasaki, thirty years after his departure. He was accompanied by his son Alexander, and came with the intention of contributing to diplomatic relations. On Ninomiya's recommendation, Mise was appointed translator and assistant to Siebold, and also was charged with teaching Alexander Japanese.

When Siebold and Alexander moved to Edo in the third month of 1861, Mise accompanied them as their translator. His linguistic skills were apparently excellent. Taka proudly recalled in her letters that "My grandfather Siebold taught Mise Morofuchi to interpret so well he was the best in Japan. His pronunciation was not in the least different from my grandfather Siebold."⁷ While Siebold's role in Mise's linguistic training was probably less important than Taka suggests, it was indeed Mise's proficiency in the Dutch language that led him into political difficulty not long after their arrival in Edo.

In Edo, Mise assisted Siebold with his translations, working on a Dutch-Japanese-English-French dictionary, and essays on the history of Japan and on the establishment of the *bakufu*. He was also called upon by Siebold to assist in his dealings with the Japanese in Edo, sometimes in an official capacity: a situation which seems to have raised the ire of the official translators. According to Ninomiya Tokinosuke 二宮時之助 (the *rusui* 留守居 of the Ōzu domain residence in Edo), "depending on the content they were sometimes unable to translate and Shūzō [Mise] was often called upon. The interpreters were. . . unhappy because since Shūzō arrived what had been managed well without him now became the source of some embarrassment. They planned to get rid of him at all costs and he was confined to the domain residence . . ." ⁸

This turn of events took place in the ninth month of 1861. Mise was apprehended in Yokohama before being placed under house arrest in the Ōzu domain residence in Edo. Initially, Mise seems to have thought that he was being detained because of his connection to Siebold. In a letter to Siebold explaining what had happened, he stated that the intention of the officials was to separate him from his master until an investigation was conducted. He was optimistic about the prospect of being released shortly.⁹ Before long, however, it was his status that was being questioned. He was accused of impersonating a samurai by the wearing of swords and his use of the surname Ninomiya. Moreover, it was not clear to which domain—Uwajima or Ōzu—he belonged, and in the circumstances neither domain was in a hurry to claim him. After being detained for some time in the Ōzu domain residence in Edo, he was sent to prison in Tsukudajima 佃島 and remained there (apart from a period when he was ill and returned to the Ōzu domain compound) until the eighth month of 1865.

Taka's mother Ine was one of the many supporters who helped to campaign for Mise's release. It was through this activity that Taka came to be employed at Uwajima castle. Lord Munenari, who

⁷ Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojirō, 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi*, p. 124.

⁸ Letter from Ninomiya Tokinosuke to Fumotoya Kikusaburō, cited in *Mise Morofuchi*, p. 114. The original is held in the Ōzu Municipal Museum.

⁹ Letter from Mise to Siebold. 10.17. 1861, cited in *Mise Morofuchi*, p. 110. The original is held by the Siebold Memorial Museum.

ruled from 1844–1858, was particularly interested in Western learning and technology – an interest which encouraged him to elevate Ninomiya Keisaku in 1855 by granting him permission first to wear a sword and later *omemie* status, as well as protecting the *rangaku* scholar Takano Chōei 高野長英 when he was on the run from the Shogunate in 1848. He also supported quite a number of other *rangaku* scholars. Munenari retired from official duties after the Ansei purge of 1855, but continued to influence political matters from behind the scenes. It was Lord Munenari to whom Ine turned for help with Mise's release. Taka describes the events in one of her letters:

As soon as my mother Ine heard of it, she used her connection to Ninomiya Keisaku-sensei in Unomachi to ask the Uwajima lord for his help. The Lord ordered that if she had a daughter he would send officials for her to come immediately from Nagasaki to have her serve in the castle. So without ado I came to serve Princess Naohime as a maid in the detached palace of the castle.¹⁰

From Uwajima domain records, it is also known that Ine brought gifts to Lord Munenari and his son on the 23.3 Genji 1 (1864), including boxed imported cookies, sugar, coffee, and pickles. In return, Ine's medical skills were recognised and she received a stipend and the expectation that she might serve as a doctor in the women's quarters in the future. Historians have therefore suggested that Ine's gifts to the lord were a part of her job-seeking activity.¹¹ Is it not possible, however, that this was rather part of the bargain for assistance with Mise Morofuchi's release? Although the precise timing is unknown, 1864 was the year in which Mise was returned to prison after having spent some time in the Ōzu domain compound recovering from illness, therefore dashing hopes that he might be released. Domain records note that Ine arrived in Uwajima with Taka and a maid-servant on 7.11. of that same year.¹² This would fit in with the idea that Taka began her work in the castle shortly afterwards in the autumn.

Life as a Palace Maid

The fact that Taka was a political hostage and quite far away from her hometown made her route to employment rather unusual. The fact that she was a commoner rather than a samurai was not in itself surprising. According to research by Fukuda Chizuru 福田千鶴, many commoners were employed as palace maids, but they were usually in lower ranking positions where they were not entitled to have direct contact with the lord or his wife. Such appointments were often made by introduction whereby women already working in the palace would introduce their nieces or other relatives. There was a variety of such positions, which included work as maids-in-waiting (waitresses), cooks, tea servers, messengers, drudges, and wet-nurses.¹³ The daughters of samurai retainers might also be recommended or called up to serve in the palace. These women of good birth generally were appointed to higher positions in the palace.

¹⁰ Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojirō, 4 October 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi*, pp. 125–126.

¹¹ *Mise Morofuchi*, p. 50.

¹² Orita 2015, p. 106.

¹³ Fukuda 2010, pp. 169–170.

Despite her commoner status, Taka was employed as a lady's maid or page to Lord Munenari's wife Naohime 猶姫. Her place of work was the Betsu goten 別御殿, or detached palace, which was the residence of retired lord Munenari and his wife. She was well suited to the work and soon received a promotion, according to a letter that her mother Ine wrote to a friend in the fifth month of Keiō 1 (1865): "As you know, since the autumn of last year, my daughter Taka has been up at the palace where she is working as a page (*koshō* 小姓). Since she worked so satisfactorily, she was quite unexpectedly ordered to become a true page (*koshō honyaku* 小姓本役), so her rank has increased and I am very thankful."¹⁴

While the rankings and offices of palace maids differed among domains, they can generally be divided into three types: administrative staff, personal attendants, and servants. Moreover, the maids could be assigned to either the lord or his wife. The administrative staff were the highest ranking, and they managed all of the affairs of the interior quarters. Such women needed to be highly educated, not only in writing, but also the abacus, flower arrangement, incense and poetry, and were expected to be of impeccable character.¹⁵ Personal attendants consisted mainly of pages, who were under the command of more high ranking attendants called *chūrō* 中老. It was their job to take care of the personal needs of the lord or his wife, to act as companions and take part in their retinues when they went outside. According to Fukuda, they received an additional clothing allowance and were treated quite well.¹⁶ The women selected for this position were talented and beautiful women who were considered appropriate to serve the lord directly. Sometimes they would advance to become concubines and bear the lord's children.¹⁷

It is interesting that Taka advanced to the position of *koshō honyaku* because this would normally imply that she had moved from a fixed term contract position (*yatoi* 雇) to a permanent one (*honyaku* 本役), with the expectation that she would be employed for life. Taka's letters are also suggestive of some confusion over the matter, at least in the eyes of Date Mune'e 伊達宗徳, the ruling lord at the time, who seems to have been exceptionally fond of her:

[Lord Mune'e] often used to visit Naohime-sama at the detached palace where I was working. From the time I became a page, he would call me "Taka, Taka," and call me over to talk, and he was fond of me. He told me I should stay and always serve Naohime-sama in the palace. He praised me for coming alone so far away from my mother in Nagasaki, and it is difficult to describe how kind his words were. The thought brings me unexpectedly to tears of gratitude. It seems he had not yet heard from Munenari-sama that I had come to serve in the palace because of Mise Morofuchi, and thought that I would be working there for life.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Kyōu shoya shozō shokanshū* 1, p. 92.

¹⁵ Fukuda 2010, p. 166.

¹⁶ It is not known how much (if anything) Taka received in wages. According to documents cited by Fukuda 2010, *koshō* in Tottori domain received a three-person stipend, 25 bales of rice, and pocket money of 8 *monme* and 3 *bu* in silver. However, as Leupp notes in his study of servants, shophands, and laborers, many child servants were not paid. Leupp 1992, pp. 60–61.

¹⁷ Fukuda 2010, p. 168.

¹⁸ Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojirō, 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi*, letter 45 p. 127.

Indeed, according to Taka's account, it was Lord Mune'e who helped to give Taka her new name. As noted at the beginning of this essay, she had been "Tada" until she began to work at the palace. It was normal to take a new name, for many palace maids took names from *The Tale of Genji* when they went to work in the palace.¹⁹ There is no record of Taka having used such a name, but instead she received the honour of being named Taka, which (unbeknown to her at first) had been the name of Lord Mune'e's first wife, who died not long after they were married.²⁰

What kinds of duties did Taka perform in the palace? While this is not entirely clear, she describes herself in her letters as doing lots of "busy errands," of a nature which required her to wear a simple kimono—with sleeves just slightly longer than usual—rather than the *furisode* 振袖 that was worn on special occasions. While many of her reminiscences evoke images of a luxurious and leisured lifestyle, she still described her work there as "hard work" (*tsurai tsutome* づらいとめ). On occasions when she was required to accompany the lord's wife on her duties, she wore a silk crepe *furisode* embroidered with varieties of flowers, and her obi tied in a *yanoji* knot. It was the duty of the pages to carry a sword to protect the lord's wife when necessary, to carry silver tobacco trays by her side, to fetch her palanquin, carry parasols to hide her noble person from view, and to carry her various items. Taka was particularly impressed with her mistresses' palanquin. Naohime came from the Nabeshima 鍋島 family of Saga domain, but her palanquin had apparently once come from her mother's family, who had married into the Nabeshima from the Shogun's family. Her palanquin was "patterned all over with gold leaf and the [Tokugawa] hollyhock crest, and scrollwork as well. It was so beautiful everyone was amazed when they saw it."²¹

It is also clear from Taka's letters that although she was an attendant to Naohime, she was sometimes employed to be a companion and serve drinks to the various Uwajima lords and their guests. On one occasion, she recalls that lord Munenari himself poured her a drink and put snacks into her mouth with his own chopsticks.²² She also recalls an embarrassing moment when they visited the Southern palace, occupied by the retired lord Munetada 宗紀 (Shunzan 春山, Munenari's adoptive father):

Shunzan-sama called me over and said that he had heard I came from Nagasaki and played the koto. Which style of koto did I play? I said I didn't know and at that he laughed heartily and everyone else laughed too. He then said that was understandable for a child, and I was relieved.

This anecdote also shows that Taka's mistress took an interest in her training, for upon their return to the detached palace, Naohime took Taka aside and told her that a koto teacher from Tokyo [Edo] had said that her style of koto was called Ikeda-ryū. She would make arrangements for him to come and teach her in Uwajima, and would herself teach her the Yamada-ryū. "Even after I married Mise Morofuchi I continued to study both Ikeda-ryū and Yamada-ryū," Taka recalls.²³ Later in life, when Taka had been widowed twice, it was her talent with the koto that helped her to make a living, and she continued throughout her life to play in both styles, as well as being able to play the shamisen and erhu.²⁴

¹⁹ Fukuda 2010, p. 167. Hata suggests that the taking of a name was essential. Hata 2008, p. 183.

²⁰ Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojirō, 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi*, letter 45, p. 127.

²¹ Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojirō, 10 October 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi*, letter 46, p. 128.

²² Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojirō, 10 October 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi*, letter 46, p. 128.

²³ Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojirō, 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi*, letter 44 p. 126.

Historian Takeuchi Makoto 竹内誠 has described how wealthy townspeople in nineteenth century Edo—anxious to make good matches for their daughters—attempted to obtain positions for them in the residences of samurai. The increasing competition for such positions, however, meant that those women with a better education or special skill were more likely to obtain such an appointment. Takeuchi cites the example of the retired lord of Yamato Kōriyama 大和郡山 domain, who interviewed the young women himself so that he might assess their talents.²⁵ Parents were therefore obliged to invest in their educations and send them to lessons in dance, singing, koto, shamisen, and so on. Hata has noted that an interview was fairly standard procedure when making appointments to palace positions, and was followed by an “inspection of the woman’s residence, the presentation of family documentation, a move to the inner quarters, and the receipt of an appointment letter from the elder listing salary, name, and position.”²⁶ It is not known how many of these procedures Taka went through before her employment. Clearly, however, Ine had provided her daughter with a good level of education in the feminine arts that allowed her to not only make her way in samurai society, but to endear herself to her employers. It might incidentally be mentioned here that Ine, too, was able to play the shamisen.²⁷

Aftermath

In the eighth month of Keiō 1, Mise Morofuchi was at last released from prison and Taka was given permission to leave the palace and go into town to meet him at a relative’s home. In another example of her mistresses’ special affection for her, Taka claims that Naohime-sama did her face and makeup with her own hands and dressed her in a silk crepe kimono embroidered with flowers for the occasion. Moreover, Taka travelled in a palanquin with three attendants. This is the way she recalls their reunion:

At that time, my grandmother who had raised me since childhood was visiting Tanigawa 谷川 from Nagasaki. When I went to her, she was surprised at how I had changed into the palace style and she said “is it really Tada?” and everyone was astonished. Mise seemed to be incomparably happy at first but seeing everyone after such a long time he didn’t seem to know whether to be happy or sad and he was speechless with emotion. Mise Morofuchi had worked as a pharmacist to the sick people in the Tsukudajima prison and his hands and arms were burned black. It is difficult to find words to describe his appearance just after he came out of Tsukudajima. My sadness at seeing him the way he was made me reflect on the hard work in the palace I had done for him: there would be no happier thing or sadder thing in my life. . . . Mise Morofuchi loved me his whole life and treasured me and I was very happy and grateful for this.²⁸

²⁴ Tsukizawa 1992, p. 313.

²⁵ Takeuchi 1993, p. 13.

²⁶ Hata 2008, p. 183.

²⁷ According to a record left by Uwajima retainer Maehara Kōzan (1812–1892) he was entertained at a lively New Year’s gathering in 1858, where Ine played shamisen and Taka the koto. See *Maehara Kōzan ichidaihanashi*, p. 37.

²⁸ Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojirō, 10 October 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi*, letter 46, p. 129.

Thus it was not in order to make an advantageous marriage that Taka embarked on a period of employment in Uwajima castle, but rather to rescue her betrothed from a desperate situation. Luckily, her future husband's talents in Dutch and English studies, as well as her mother's medical skills in Dutch-style medicine, were considered important enough to matter. Surely this is part of the reason for Taka's extraordinary treatment during her time at the castle. The other element in her success was probably her feminine artistic and musical talents that made her shine as a companion to the elite. Throughout the letters, she emphasises her gratitude: for Mise's affections, and for the kind treatment she received from the Uwajima lord and his wife. It is easy to think of a hostage as being a powerless political pawn, and perhaps young Taka was one. But as far as her letters reveal, she seems to have appreciated, rather than regretted the experience, and she looked back upon this time with nostalgia, tears, love, and gratitude.

Taka's reminiscences serve as a hazy but highly significant personal record of a woman working in the service of a daimyo's wife in late Edo-period Japan. As a child on the verge of womanhood sent to a castle far away from her home town, Taka was introduced to a new world: the elegant hairstyles, clothes and arts of the castle as well as the hard work and isolation that her new position entailed. While she describes herself as having been pawned as a "hostage," who was sent to work in the castle for political rather than educational or economic reasons, her letters show that she eventually came to appreciate the opportunities that the experience gave her. There is still much to be learned about the kinds of education women received as they worked in service in the homes of the elite, but a study of Taka's memories of castle life offers a rich and important example of how one woman remembered her transformation from Nagasaki commoner to palace maid.

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島から世界へ

——幕末地理学者柴田収蔵の知のあゆみ

森山 武

はじめに

柴田（新発田）収蔵（1820–1859）は、佐渡の小港・漁村に四十物屋（小魚加工業）の息子として生まれながら、三度に渡る江戸遊学を経て、漢方そして蘭方の医師となり、さらに地理学の専門家として幕府天文方蕃書和解御用、そして蕃書調所絵図調書役に採用された人物である。主な業績としては、世界地図『新訂坤輿略全図』（1852年、図1）と北方図『蝦夷接壤図』（1854年）の刊行、また官撰の『重訂万国全図』（山路諧孝編 1855年刊）への作図担当としての貢献が知られている¹。彼のこの辺境から中央への進出、職業的・身分的「変身」は、徳川後期社会における在方知識層の成長と、彼らの中央の「知」との交流を支える社会的仕組みの充実、そして西洋列強との接触によって喚起された19世紀日本の知的社会的変動を象徴するものと言える。

柴田収蔵をいわゆる地方文人の典型として取り上げたのは塚本学である。「烏賊と地球図」という見出しで、居村で生業に携わりながらも広い知を求めてやまない在方知識人の一例を収蔵に見出している²。また、赤木昭夫は伊東玄朴の蘭学塾生のひとりとして収蔵の行動を取り上げ、速水健児は在村医としての収蔵を例に佐渡における書籍の貸借のネットワークを分析している³。英語では筆者前作が収蔵の江戸遊学の分析を行い、幕末期の教育機会、蘭学生生活を多面的に描いた⁴。これらの研究に史料を提供したのが収蔵の日記で、残存する7年分が翻刻刊行されており、付随する成田美紀子の収蔵伝記と田中圭一の解説がその理解を助けてきた⁵。

これらの先行研究に示唆されているように、歴史研究における柴田収蔵の生の重要性は、徳川後期において地方がいかに知のネットワークにつながっていたかを考える材料をわれわれに提供することにある。収蔵の知的・文化的活動には、居村ベースのつながりと、それを越えた

¹ 三好唯義編『世界古地図コレクション』（河出書房新社、1999年）、122、128頁参照。

² 塚本学『地方文人』（教育社、1977年）、184–187頁参照。

³ 赤木昭夫『蘭学の時代』（中央公論社、1980年）、40–55頁参照。速水健児「近世佐渡における書籍を巡るネットワークと医師・海運業者——柴田収蔵日記を中心として」『東北大学国史談話会』第47号（2006年）、29–55頁。

⁴ Takeshi Moriyama, “Study in Edo: Shibata Shūzō (1820–59) and Student Life in Late-Tokugawa Japan,” *East Asian History*, no. 40 (2016): 27–50.

⁵ 田中圭一編『柴田収蔵日記』全2巻（上下）（新潟県佐渡郡小木町町史刊行委員会、1971年、以下上下巻をそれぞれ日記A1、A2とする）。成田美紀子「柴田収蔵について」日記A2、333–376頁。田中圭一編『柴田収蔵日記——村の洋学者』全2巻（平凡社、1996年、以下第1巻、第2巻をそれぞれ日記B1、B2とする）。田中圭一「解説柴田収蔵の生きた時代」日記B1、11–34頁。この小論では広く普及している平凡社版の日記B1、B2をなるべく用い、そこに含まれていない史料を日記A1、A2から採るものとする。また、引用文中、句読点・「」・『』の使用、（ ）内の送り仮名や人名の補足は引用書によるもの、〔 〕による補足は筆者によるものである。

佐渡各地とりわけ中心地相川町の役人・医師・文化人とのネットワーク、さらに江戸遊学で形成された師弟・学友関係という三層のサークルがある。私の興味は、この重層する文化的構造、そしてそれを部分的に結合させる仕掛け、そのネットワーク上での人と情報の移動に影響を与える歴史的社会的変動、これら三点にある。そこで、この小論では、収蔵の世界地理への関心に焦点を当て、それが彼の生を取り巻くどのような人的・社会的・歴史的環境の中で育まれ、そして江戸での世界地図の出版にまでつながったのかを考えたい。

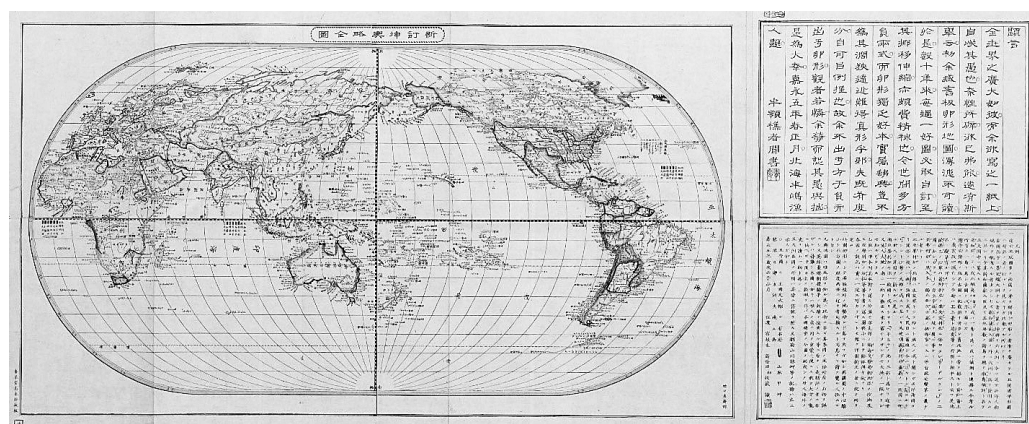


図1 新発田収蔵『新訂坤輿全図』江戸：春草堂、嘉永5年(1852)(早稲田大学図書館古典籍総合データベースより)

1 佐渡奉行所と世界地理

収蔵の「天保十三年〔1842〕年中出府雑録」⁶に1月18日付で「自分用向覚」と題したメモがある。この年、収蔵は23歳。自分の住む宿根木村でおそらくは父親の代理として村行政に携わっていたらしく、村人やその廻船の出国許可申請、また宗門人別帳の提出などの公用で、佐渡奉行所のある相川へ12回も出張している。その第一回出張の際の書留と日記に挿入された私用の「やることリスト」である。その冒頭に収蔵の地理的関心が明らかに見え、そしてそれがどういう人物とのつながりの中で触発されたかのヒントがある。

一、石井氏江御年始御礼。彩助子へ「分間道里之図」相頼(み)置(き)候も相聞合(せ)、外に「蝦夷国之図」を借(り)る事。

一、同人の「オロシヤ通船之図」並(に)川路(聖謨)様「地球図」之写を借(り)而写す事。外に北見氏「天球之図」同所並(に)当国之度数を写す事。是は伊能勘解由(忠敬)之測量有り。……。⁷

ここにあがっている数種の「図」が具体的に何を指すのか特定は難しいが、蝦夷、ロシア船、

⁶ 日記 B1、39-134 頁。

⁷ 日記 B1、43 頁。

地球、天球といったことばが収蔵の関心の広がりを示し、また「分間道里」「度数」という用語から彼の地図製作への意欲もわかる。別のページには「毛引」「コンパス」などの言葉や「縮図尺之図」「山の高さを計る術」「紙に経を引く具」などの挿画も見える。収蔵には「金毘羅詣船路之記」⁸という天保10年(1839)の旅日記があるが、それとこのメモを比べれば、この佐渡の青年の地理的認識が3年の間にいかに変貌したかに驚く。

収蔵の知的地平の変革は、冒頭の「石井氏」、佐渡奉行所地方付絵図師を務める石井夏海(1783-1848)からの刺激と指導、そして江戸への遊学を起爆剤とする。天保10年夏からの約2年間、収蔵は江戸で越後高田藩の儒官、中根半仙の下で書と篆刻を学んだとされる。この遊学も石井夏海が収蔵の才能を見出し、村の寺院の和尚とともに勤めて実現したらしい⁹。石井は地元相川出身の地方文人の筆頭と言っていい人物で、江戸遊学も行い、狂歌や戯作で鹿都部真顔、曲亭馬琴、式亭三馬などと交流があった。また、絵画は谷文晁、測量・油絵は司馬江漢に学んだとされる¹⁰。収蔵の地図・地理への関心は遊学前に石井によって引き出されたのか、あるいは江戸での見聞が導いたのかははっきりしないが、帰国後の1842年には石井を師とし地理学へ傾倒していく。夏海は蔵書も多く、「地球図」「天球図」を自作している。

夏海の長男が「彩助」、石井文海(1804-1849)(別号九淵など)、父同様、奉行所の絵図師を務める。収蔵は文海から絵地図製作の実技的な訓練も受けている。石井家は収蔵にとっての第一の学校として機能した。1842年日記より例を見よう。「[10月]五日 石井氏へ行(き)男九淵子に逢(い)て、同人より地球図及び八線を見せ下され[……]」「六日 セツ過より石井氏へ[……]男九淵子在宅にて画図御取調(べ)に付手伝いたし[……]夏海君と話などいたし九ツ時寝る。[……]今夜御奉行御所持の奇石を見る」「七日 今日は父子共に御在宅にて、拙子は九淵子御絵図取調(べ)の手伝いたすつもり所、伊能(忠敬)氏の絵図色々間違等あって九淵子の測量と不相合ゆへ止る」¹¹。石井父子は奉行所の仕事として佐渡絵地図の改訂作業中であつた。参考にするのは1803年測量の伊能図「佐渡国沿海全図」だが、文海自身の測量と合わないところが多々あつて作業が進まない。伊能図批判を見守る収蔵。この瞬間においては日本で最高の地理学演習を受けていたのではないだろうか。

この伊能図も含め、注目すべきは収蔵が石井父子との関係を通じて奉行所経由の情報を入手していることである。先にあげた「川路様地球図」とは、奉行として1840年から1年間在島した川路聖謨(1801-1868)が江戸から持ち込んだものと思われる¹²。日記には「[夏海]より御役所地球図を借りて写」したという記述もある¹³。佐渡は徳川期を通じ一国が幕領で、行政と金銀山を統括する佐渡奉行所では、江戸から派遣される奉行と組頭の下で、世襲の地役人が行

⁸ 日記 B2、341-357 頁。

⁹ 成田「柴田収蔵について」337-339 頁。

¹⁰ 石井夏海の江戸遊学は1804年から約2年とされる。「石井夏海・文海年譜」、佐渡博物館編刊『昭和54年度特別展石井夏海・文海展図録』(頁なし)。ほかに相川町史編纂委員会編『佐渡相川郷土史事典』(相川町、2002年)、66-67頁、成田「柴田収蔵について」、335-336頁、山本修之助「石井夏海宛江戸文人の書簡」『越佐研究』24号(1966年)、42-51頁を参照。

¹¹ 日記 B1、100-101 頁。「八線」は三角関数表。

¹² 川路の佐渡赴任は自身の道中日記在勤日記がある。川路聖謨(川田貞夫校注)『島根のすさみ——佐渡奉行在勤日記』(平凡社、1973年)。但し、石井父子や収蔵の名は登場しない。

¹³ 日記 B1、119 頁。

政実務を担当、さらに「絵図師」や「山師」などの技能職を町人から「雇」として採用していた¹⁴。夏海を介してか、収蔵は地役人筆頭の「広間役永井氏」と懇意にしており、また「北見氏」「露木氏」などとも書籍の貸借をしている。さらに主要港小木に駐在する役人「畠山氏」「西川氏」、そして自村宿根木にある「浦目付所」の「坪井氏」などという地役人連中とも交流があった。佐渡奉行所はまた「江戸旅宿」を本郷に持っており、地役人はここをベースにして江戸出張をしている。江戸から来る奉行や組頭とは別に、地役人は地役人で中央に結びついていた。また本郷の出張所は江戸遊学中の佐渡人にとっても国元の情報センターだったようだ。収蔵ものちに頻繁に訪れている¹⁵。

収蔵が奉行所地役人ルートで入手した地図・地理書のひとつに「(司馬) 江漢先生銅板の地球図」がある。天保14年(1843)6月6日、夏海が「露木氏」より借りたものを収蔵に見せてくれた。二日後に貸してもらい、自宅に帰ると憑かれたように複製を始める。日記に「写す」とあるのが28日にも渡る。7月22日に「写し終」わり、23日から27日まで「彩色」、「裏打ちす」「表紙を拵る」と進み、完成するのが8月4日である¹⁶。上杉和央が明らかにした18世紀知識人の間にはじまる地図収集のネットワーク¹⁷は、19世紀半ばには佐渡にも、そして世界地図をも対象にして広がっている。

地図以外には大黒屋光太夫とロシア情報が収蔵の関心を引いている。夏海所蔵の「寛政丑年〔1793〕 亜魯齋亜国漂流人口書写」、そして役人永井氏より「勢州幸太夫始乗組之者漂流之記」を借りることに記載している¹⁸。しかし、江漢の『地球全図』(1792年刊)も光太夫一件も50年近く前のものであり、時事的な問題とはまだ結びついていないと言える。

2 村人と世界地図

収蔵の知的世界は石井夏海・文海父子を得て佐渡奉行所の役人ネットワークにつながっていったと言える。しかし、居村ではそれはどういうつながり、広がりの中にあったのだろうか。収蔵の村、宿根木は狭い入り江に百姓家77軒、寺院4(時宗の称光寺とその三支院)神社1が密集する小さいコミュニティである¹⁹。例として、まず上の司馬江漢の地球図について見てみたい。天保14年8月4日、収蔵は複製品が完成すると自分の読み書き師匠であった「終平様」に見せに行っている。次に見せたのが「抱雲師」。そのあとは、近村の医師「周徳子」の弟が見せて欲しいと訪問して来たり(8月14日)、また村の「与一左衛門殿」「孫四郎殿」などに見せたりしている(9月15日)。使われている敬称にも留意しながらこれを見てみると、「終平様」こと、高津終平は261石積の船を持つ海運業者で村の知識人。敬称「様」が柴田家(屋号「長五郎」)より格上であることを示している。宿根木村には終平のような廻船持ち11名が計13艘を操り、

¹⁴ 『新潟県史通史編』(新潟県、1988年)第3巻57-59頁及び第4巻72頁参照。

¹⁵ 日記B2、215、294、298頁など参照。

¹⁶ 日記B1、214-241頁。

¹⁷ 上杉和央『江戸知識人と地図』(京都大学学術出版会、2010年)。

¹⁸ 日記B1、45、127頁。

¹⁹ 宿根木本村に隣接する新田村などを入れると百姓家は合計120軒。日記B1、5頁参照。

主に大坂への年貢米輸送を請け負っていた。終平は収蔵の手習い師匠でもあった²⁰。一方「殿」が使われている与一左衛門などは、同格の家の主人であろう。つまり、少なくとも村の有力者の中には収蔵の世界地理への興味がある程度は共有されていたと言える。指摘されているように、海運業という外につながる生業が地理への興味の土壌であろう²¹。収蔵日記の備忘録には「赤泊村吉兵衛子所持」として「蝦夷松前並エトロフ唐太クナシリ諸島全図」「朝鮮之図」「琉球三省並三十六島之図」「仙台林子平撰『三国通覧地略程全図』」などがあげてある²²。伝手を求めて借り受けるつもりだったのだろう。赤泊も北前船が寄港する佐渡の代表的な港である。また1843年の日記には「権兵衛隠居製したる松前の大坂迄之図を縮図」したともあり、船乗りと絵地図作製の親近性を想像させもする²³。

僧侶と医師も村に居ながらも外のネットワークにつながる存在であった。抱雲は江戸から来ていた時宗の僧で、この時は村の称光寺の支院に滞在中。また本寺筋にあたる四日町大願寺でも収蔵と交流している²⁴。収蔵は数か月後の第二回の江戸遊学の際には、本寺にもどる抱雲と同道し、浅草日輪寺の支院安称院を宿にする²⁵。日輪寺は時宗の江戸「触頭」だから、明らかに檀那寺称光寺からの人的ネットワークが収蔵の遊学を助けているのがわかる。

収蔵の日記は村における日常的な文化的集いをはっきりと描写している点で興味深い。一例を示そう。

〔1843年2月〕十一日 家厳、家弟等たかり場へ行（く）。昼後雪時々降る。朝遅く起（き）終平様へ行（く）。相川を送りたる書画帳、料紙持参頼（み）置（く）。孫兵衛殿に而（高）藤彦国君及長松院様と飲酒。歓喜院へ行（き）大順様を被頼たる弘法大師執筆の絵を写し初（る）。后大順様と飲酒、日暮に同所を出、藤八どのへ寄（る）。夜五ツ頃帰宅。酒に酔たれば直に寝る。²⁶

時々雪の舞う2月、父と弟は魚の加工のため浜の仕事場に行くが、長男収蔵は遅く起きてから、高津終平を訪れ、書画を依頼。次に、これも村の有力者である「孫兵衛殿」宅に行き、息子で友人の「彦国君」を訪ねると「長松院」（称光寺の三支院のひとつ）の和尚も来ていて一緒に飲酒。次に「歓喜院」（もうひとつの支院）へ行き、ここの僧大順に頼まれた写画を始める。大順と飲酒後、もう一軒の有力者「藤八〔高藤八右衛門か〕どの」宅へ……。このような記述が頻繁に現れることをどう理解するべきか。収蔵やここに集う仲間の個人的な性向もあろうが、農村とは異質の漁労・海運業村落の文化が背景にあるのではないか。日々勤勉を旨とする農業生産地域では、朝から酒を飲んで仲間と遊ぶことは祝祭日以外には社会的に許されないだろう。しかし、海で生計を立てるものには別の尺度があり、漁村・港には「遊民」を受け入れやすい素

²⁰ 田中「解説」14-19頁参照。

²¹ 速水「近世佐渡における書籍を巡るネットワーク」44-47頁参照。

²² 「天保十三年年中出府雑録」、日記B1、42頁。

²³ 日記B1、146頁。

²⁴ 日記B1、211-216、247-254頁参照。

²⁵ 日記B1、286-326頁参照。

²⁶ 日記B1、151頁。

地があるのではないだろうか。このような村の文化サロンづくりに寺院と僧侶が大きな役割を果たしていることも注意したい。

3 地図製作の試み

収蔵の世界地図製作の企てはいつ始まったのだろうか。日記上では天保14年（1843）の正月に「武右衛門殿と地球之図を仕立等に取り掛る」「補いに掛る」「彩色」という記事が見られる²⁷。「武右衛門」は近くに住む同好の人物か、あるいは収蔵に世界地図を依頼したのか。その後6月から8月に上で述べた司馬江漢図の複製作業が出てくる。そしてこの時期こそが、塚本が地方文人の日常の例として切り取った収蔵の「烏賊とりの作業と地球図写しを一日に両立させる生活」である²⁸。父祖から続く家業をこなしつつ、余技として学芸を修める。多くの在方知識人はこの「業余風雅論」を戒めとし家業を優先させたが²⁹、収蔵は自らの家業を変えることで知への志向をさらに進めようとする。すなわち、医師への「改業」である。古来、百姓身分からでも条件が許せば医師と僧侶・神官になることはあったから、これはある意味既存の価値体系内での企てであった。

天保14年の8月25日、収蔵は初めて父に江戸への医学修行を相談。家族・親戚の承諾、そして佐渡奉行所の出国許可を得て、9月22日収蔵は第2回の江戸遊学へ旅立つ。天候が許さず33日も「日和待ち」をするというアクシデントもあったが、閏9月をはさんで10月25日より高田藩儒中根半仙に再入門を果たしている³⁰。その後、日記には中根塾で漢方医学の基本テキスト『医方大成論』の講義を受けていることが出てくるが、一方で街の本屋では『解体新書』なども手に入れていることが載り、蘭方にも興味を持っていることがわかる³¹。そして地図については、やや唐突に次の記事がある。「〔12月〕四日〔……〕今日書肆南苑閣主人来り、地球図板行之事聞合せたれば、草稿致（し）相談可致由被申。則同人へ銅板を出し而一覽に入（れ）る」³²。つまり、収蔵はこの時点ですでに江戸で世界地図を出版することに意欲をもっていたことが判明する。しかしこの後、この件は触れられずに1843年日記は終わり、残念ながら翌2年間の日記は散逸してしまっている。残存する収蔵の書簡手控によると、収蔵は天保15年（1844）9月には中根半仙宅から出て寺に下宿、そこから伊東玄朴の象先堂に通っている³³。蘭学塾に籍を置くことで新たな材料も手に入れたのではないかと考えられる。

この第2回江戸遊学後、収蔵は宿根木に戻り村の寺院の一室を借りて医院を開業し、今度は佐渡在島の医師の知的ネットワークにもつながっていく³⁴。「弘化三年丙午〔1846〕日記」「弘化

²⁷ 日記 B1、141–145 頁。

²⁸ 塚本『地方文人』185 頁。

²⁹ 地方文人の「業余風雅論」については、高橋敏『日本民衆教育史研究』（未来社、1978 年）、194–195 頁、杉仁『近世の地域と在村文化——技術と商品と風雅の交流』（吉川弘文館、2001 年）、46 頁、Takeshi Moriyama, *Crossing Boundaries in Tokugawa Society: Suzuki Bokushi, a Rural Elite Commoner* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 85–86 等を参照。

³⁰ 日記 B1、256–328 頁参照。

³¹ 日記 B1、338–360 頁参照。

³² 日記 B1、352 頁。

³³ 「書翰類」日記 A2、308–310 頁。

³⁴ 収蔵の医師ネットワークは速水「近世佐渡における書籍を巡るネットワーク」、34–43 頁に詳しい。

四年丁未〔1847〕日記」「弘化五年嘉永元年戊申〔1848〕日記」には、収蔵が自村で新米医師として村人の診療に励みながら、世界地図製作にも意欲を燃やしていることが出てくる。自作の世界地図は二つ作られたようだ。まずは弘化3年（1846）の1月から「彩色」（1月21日～2月23日）「縮図」（3月18日～21日）「草稿」（3月26日～4月3日）「裏打ち」（4月3日）「校合」（4月4日）という作業が記録されている。この間には診療に来た患者「彦兵衛」「勘二郎」に作品を見せたりもしている³⁵。そして1年半後、バージョンアップされたものだろうか、「自製の地球図を写し始める」（弘化4年11月20日）という記述があり、今度は「楢円地球図」と「両円地球図」、二つのタイプの世界地図が製作される（完成12月15日）³⁶。「両円地球図」について言えば、おそらくそのベースは幕府天文方高橋景保編の『新訂萬国全図』（1810年刊）だろう。「高橋之地図」を「甚七郎様に見せる」「坪井様に見せる」などという記事がある³⁷。収蔵はこの官版地球図を江戸遊学で入手してきたのか、あるいは佐渡奉行所から石井家経由で写しを手に入れたものか。後者の方が可能性が高いと思われる³⁸。

収蔵が後年出版する『蝦夷接壤図』もその草稿らしき地図が弘化3年（1846）11月27日から翌年3月24日の間に製作されている³⁹。ベースにした地図はよくわからないが、1843年日記に「蝦夷之図」「松前蝦夷地之図」などの貸借が記録されており、また1846年日記では赤泊の吉三郎に「蝦夷地之図」の借用を頼んでいる⁴⁰。地名などで参照したと思われる資料として、「蝦夷略記」「魯西亞国一件」「蝦夷俗談」「北夷紀事」などの読書や貸借、写本が記載されているが、筆者はそれらを特定することができない。地図以外にも収蔵は『各国所領萬国地名捷覧』という世界各国の地名ハンドブックを嘉永6年（1853）に出版するが、この草稿も1846年4月に編まれている。この種本はおそらく箕作省吾の『坤輿図識』（1845年刊）かと思われる。草稿の執筆の直前、収蔵はこの新刊本を4日にわたり読んでいる⁴¹。

第2回遊学後の日記には、収蔵の地図・地理書の出版の企てを後押ししたと考えられる時事的背景が所々に現れる。風雲急を告げる幕末外交、そしてその情報を受ける知的アンテナ、人的ネットワークがこの遊学を通して収蔵に備わったということであろう。例えば、弘化3年（1846）9月20日の記事では伊東玄朴塾の学友「栗田氏」から受け取った手紙を、「琉球へ仏蘭西船三艘、英吉利船一艘何れも軍艦渡来致、右に付薩州侯にも帰国」、「長崎へも仏蘭西船三艘」、「浦賀港へも北亞墨利加〔……〕兵艦二艘来着」、「実に方今可憂之一大事なり」などと書き写している⁴²。これは順に、琉球来着のフランス船（1844年3月）、イギリス船サラマン号（1845年5月）、長崎へのフランス艦隊セシユ来航（1846年6月）、そしていわゆる浦賀ビッド

³⁵ 日記 A1、263–287 頁参照。

³⁶ 日記 A1、473–479 頁参照。

³⁷ 日記 A1、263、478 頁。

³⁸ 佐渡博物館編「石井夏海・文海年譜」に「1841 年 文海 川路奉行所蔵の官板地球輿地全図を写す」とあるから、これが「高橋之図」かもしれない。

³⁹ 日記 A1、369–402 頁参照。

⁴⁰ 日記 B1、137、156 頁。日記 A1、258 頁。

⁴¹ 日記 A1、286、289–294 頁参照。

⁴² 日記 A1、352–353 頁。ただし「栗田氏」は象先堂門人録では確認できなかった。伊東栄『伊東玄朴伝』（玄文社、1916 年）。

ル事件（1846年閏5月）を指しているものと思われる⁴³。

佐渡にも緊張が走っている。嘉永元年（1848）4月の記事。19日、「当節異国船〔佐渡最北端の〕鷺崎之洋中三里許近く来り、丹後八之助船出会（う）由」との話を聞いたので、翌日「御役家へ行（き）異国（船）渡来之事話」したところ、浦目付の「坪井様」より「三月十五日奥州三厩へ一艘渡来、〔……〕追払（い）たるに〔……〕大砲を発し」などというニュースも聞く。宿根本近くの沢崎（佐渡の最西端）でも「夫々相備へたる」態勢とのこと。さらに23日にまた浦目付役所に行くと、坪井は上司に「若異国船渡来之節は〔収蔵を〕携え船へ」乗り込めと「指図」されたと言う⁴⁴。この時点での収蔵の蘭語能力は非常に限られたものだったと思われるが、それでも江戸帰りの蘭学者として役人から頼られていたのだろう。4月28日には、「異国船〔……〕酒田洋中に而虚砲三発」発射、このため鶴岡藩より新発田藩、そして新発田藩より佐渡奉行所へ人員の派遣の可否を聞いてきたという記事も載る⁴⁵。北辺も騒がしくなっている。

収蔵が手にしている書籍にも変化が見られる。1840年から始まったアヘン戦争の顛末を伝える「阿片始末」（斎藤竹堂著、1843年）。これは写本を作って医師仲間へ送ったり、師の高津終平に貸したりしている⁴⁶。「去年浦賀へ入津のアメリカ船の一件書」というのは、まさしくビッドル事件のレポートであろう。小木港の役人より借りている⁴⁷。同様に小木の役人から借りて写したと思われるのが「甲辰年長崎へ入津蘭船一件書」。これは1844年7月のオランダ王の開国勧告書に関する文書と考えられる⁴⁸。志筑忠雄の「鎖国論」もこういう文脈で読んだり貸したりしていると思われる⁴⁹。しかしながら、収蔵日記には、異国船の接近やそれに対する幕府の外交政策について感情的な記述や意見の表明がほとんど見られない。残り2冊の日記、「嘉永三年庚戌日記」（1850年）、「安政三年江戸日記」（1856年）、なканずく開国後となる後者の日記においてもそうである。

4 江戸の「知」との対話

嘉永3年（1850）3月26日、収蔵は3回目となる江戸遊学に向かう。伊東玄朴に再入門、4月20日より象先堂での学生生活が始まる。正式な目的は蘭方医学の習得であり、収蔵は名目上佐渡奉行所詰医師という身分を得ての修行であった⁵⁰。しかし、収蔵の興味は最初から医学に止まっていたはいなかった。収蔵は日記の他にこの年の金銭出納帳「嘉永三年諸雑費」⁵¹を残してくれていて、それを使い江戸到着後年末までの9か月間に購入した書籍や絵図を分類してみ

⁴³ 藤田覚『近世後期政治史と対外関係』（東京大学出版会、2005年）、280–281頁、上白石実『幕末期対外関係の研究』（吉川弘文館、2011年）、85–91頁参照。

⁴⁴ 日記 B2、57–58頁。

⁴⁵ 日記 B2、60頁。

⁴⁶ 日記 A1、271–273、288頁。

⁴⁷ 日記 A1、400頁。

⁴⁸ 日記 A1、430頁。

⁴⁹ 日記 A1、402頁。

⁵⁰ 日記 B2、172頁。

⁵¹ 「嘉永三年諸雑費」、日記 B2、257–80頁

表 1

書および漢詩	17 点	支出計 9,785 文
世界地理	7 点	3,510 文
医学	6 点	2,287 文
絵図	14 点	1,763 文
科学	4 点	1,728 文
* 蘭語	3 点	510 文 *
兵学	1 点	200 文
雑類	22 点	3,121 文
計	74 点	22,905 文

金額は、収蔵がこの年の日記に記録している両替例を用い金 1 両＝銀 62.02 匁＝銭 6,192 文とし、すべてを文換算で集計した。*「蘭語」にはテキスト『和蘭文典後編』(セインタキス)の価格が抜けている。

ると表 1 のようになる（別表に書名・購入書店・価格などの詳細を記載）⁵²。

表中まず書および漢詩関係が多く金額も高いことに目が行くが、これは収蔵の興味がまだ篆刻や書にあったと同時に、おそらく法帖などの資産価値という面、そして芸術的な要素があるものは写本では意味がないということも考慮しなければならない。世界地理・海外事情の分野では、次のような書籍が江戸到着早々に購入されている。4 月 15 日、山村才助による新井白石の世界地理書の大改訂版「訂正増訳采覧異言」（1802 年成立）。5 月には、英国のアジア侵略を概説する嶺田楓江『海外新話』（1849 年刊）。6 月、司馬江漢の自作世界地図の解説本『地球全図略説』（1793 年刊）。7 月、斎藤拙堂の海外雄飛日本人伝記である『海外異傳』（1850 年刊）。また、世界各国地理歴史ガイドの最新版である安積良斎「洋外紀略」（1848 年序）は、塾の助教である伊東玄桂（玄朴の甥）より借り、それを写本業者に頼んで複製を作っている⁵³。

情報や書籍があふれかえる江戸の中で収蔵がぜひやりたいと思っていたことのひとつは、佐渡で自作した地図が出版に値するものか確かめることだっただろう。チャンスは思いがけなく早く訪れた。入塾し幹部や寄宿生に挨拶を済ませた三日後、すなわち嘉永 3 年 4 月 23 日の夕方、塾頭の池田洞雲が古賀謹一郎（1816–1884）のもとに連れて行ってくれた。古賀家は祖父精里（1750–1817）以来、幕府昌平黉儒者を務めてきたが、父の侗庵（1788–1847）が海外事情にも興味を持ちだし、それをついで謹一郎も西洋通の儒官として見られるようになっていた。洞雲は古賀の勉強会に参加していたらしい⁵⁴。洞雲に紹介してもらった収蔵は早速「古賀謹一郎先生へ〔……〕自製する処の楕円の地球図を示して検討を」お願いしたという。「古賀氏地理に詳に原書□□□の極精密の図を出して示さる。亦『武備志』等の図を蘭書と比較せしものを見る」とあり、謹一郎が収蔵にヨーロッパ製の地図を見せてくれたことがわかる。「夜洞雲と和泉橋□□□に飲みて帰る」⁵⁵。江戸の第一人者と面談した後の興奮が伝わってくる。

⁵² 書籍以外の費用の分析は次を参照。Moriyama, “Study in Edo,” pp. 41–48. 佐渡出発以後の年末までの 9 か月間で合計 120,713 文相当の支出が認められる。書籍費用より多額なのが飲食代で 38,469 文、全体の 31.9% を占める。

⁵³ 日記 B2、274、275 頁。写本料金は 2 回に分けて 210 文と 288 文。後者は 28 枚分とある。

⁵⁴ 小野寺龍太『古賀謹一郎』（ミネルヴァ書房、2006 年）。洋学への接近、洞雲らとの会合は 26–43 頁参照。

⁵⁵ 日記 B2、189 頁。

この後、収蔵は謹一郎に急接近し、事実上の弟子となる。5月7日、謹一郎より洞雲に手紙が来て、前回受け取っておいた収蔵の地図を精査したから来るようにと言われる。

午後古賀へ行(き)先生より予が地球図に不審なる所に印し紙を付(け)て示す。[……] 千八百四十五年の原図に南亜墨利加大地の南方に地を見出したるあり。又北亜墨利加州の北方も漸く開けし地を図す。地球図及琉球図、朝鮮図、満州の精図、大清会典の図、龍州□□□図等の図数十種を見る⁵⁶。

謹一郎は親切にも収蔵の地図に付箋を貼り問題点を指摘、そして参照すべき多くの地図を「数十種」も見せてくれたのである。さらに6月10日「古賀先生より他より地図」をもっと入手したので「来りて見給へ」という伝言が入る。今度はドイツ製の世界地図だった。二人で上述の1845年版の地図(オランダ製)と比較。結局、収蔵はオランダ版から南米大陸の南方部分、北米大陸の北辺などを写す。夕食もごちそうになり、また「先生が写せし南亜墨利加之総図[……]及オーストラリー之図を借りて帰る」。収蔵はその夜も翌日も自作の世界地図を修正している(「古賀より借りたる和蘭刻之図を以て楕円図之稿を改正す」)⁵⁷。収蔵の草稿図上の問題は現在のカナダ北部からグリーンランド、南米の南端から南極半島の部位、そしてオーストラリアの形状にあったらしい。

「嘉永三年庚戌日記」は、その後も古賀のもとでの収蔵の学習と世界地図の修正を記録している。「古賀へ行き先生より地球図を借りて楕円図之稿をなす」(7月23日)。同様の記載が翌日と翌々日も。「先生地名を読みて予を助く」(7月25日)という記述は古賀の親密な指導を想像させる⁵⁸。当時、自分が所属する塾の先生以外の学者からも指導を受けたりすることは珍しくはなかったと報告されている⁵⁹。しかし、古賀へのこれほどの傾倒は収蔵自身で気にするものがあったようで、「毎日至るも外聞如何(わ)しき故暫く古賀に至る事を休む」と自制の文を書いている⁶⁰。日記はその年末までの古賀との交流を記録するが、残念ながら収蔵の世界地図がどのようにして完成し、嘉永5年(1852)の序をもって『新訂坤輿略全図』と題し刊行されたかを語る史料は発見されていない。成田は出版費用が12両3分と5匁だったとするがその典拠を示していない⁶¹。

おわりに

上で述べた嘉永3年(1850)の柴田収蔵と古賀謹一郎との接触が語るものは大きい。離島佐渡から上って来た地図愛好家は、中央学府の第一人者に面談し、彼が持つ資料と知識を見て二人の間にある差に愕然としただろう。しかし、古賀が門前払いをしないどころか、懇切丁寧に

⁵⁶ 日記 B2、192 頁。

⁵⁷ 日記 B2、200–201 頁。

⁵⁸ 日記 B2、212 頁。

⁵⁹ 海原徹『近世私塾の研究』(思文閣出版、1983 年)、259 頁参照。

⁶⁰ 日記 B2、212 頁。

⁶¹ 成田「柴田収蔵について」、366 頁。

指導をしたのはなぜか。それはやはり二人の間に学問的対話が成立するだけの知の共有があったからではないか。差は存在した、しかし、それは近づき得る範囲のもの、古賀から見れば指導の手を差し伸べたくなるものだったからであろう。

収蔵をその地点まで連れて行ったのは何か。これまで見たように収蔵のこの知的な歩みは、徳川後期にある程度広く観察できる社会的文化的発達を背景にしている。すなわち、生家の地位を基盤とする居住コミュニティでの社会的つながりとサポート、手習いから始まり江戸などへの遊学を頂点とする庶民教育システム、さらに学問・文芸各分野において師とする人間を得て学習する機会とそこから広がる知的ネットワークへの参加などである。しかし同時に、地理学・地図製作に向かった収蔵の事例は、徳川期の百姓身分地方在住者の学問への関わりとしては、やはり特殊と言わざるを得ない。

この特殊事例を成り立たせた要因のひとつとして佐渡の環境がある。離島ながらも、佐渡奉行所という幕府出先機関によって中央行政とはひとと情報の流れがあり、武士の代わりを務める地役人を介して収蔵は情報や地図などを手に入れている。また、民間の北前船がつなぐ各地からの情報もあり、地理・地図は廻船問屋にとって身近な関心だったと思われる。もうひとつの収蔵の特殊事情は、まさに日本において世界地理・地図に更新が求められる時期に生きたことである。伝統的に許容された医学修行を名目にはしているが、江戸で世界地理の最新知識を求め、地図の出版を目指す行為は 19 世紀半ばの歴史の変動期を鮮やかに反映していると言えるだろう。

謝辞：シンポジウム企画運営・参加各位、特に発表にコメントをいただいた佐野真由子氏、出版関連情報をご教示くださった石上阿希氏、またオーガナイザーの将基面貴巳氏に感謝申し上げます。

別表：柴田収蔵嘉永3年(1850)江戸での書籍・絵図関係購入リスト

日付	場所	店	題	分野	値段*
04/09	蔵前	屋台	『古今奇事一覽』『朝鮮征伐』 『江戸町尽』	雑類	48 文
04/12	浅草	文淵堂	『囊中錦心』2冊	漢詩	252 文
			林則徐『太上感應篇』	雑類	200 文
	上野	屋台	『成親王百家姓』	書	150 文
04/14	浅草	須原屋伊八	『改正蛮語箋』二	蘭語	10 文
	池之端	岡村庄助	『(九成宮) 醴泉銘』一	書	300 文
04/15	浅草	朝倉久兵衛	『増訳采覧異言』1-9	地理学	2,048 文
04/17	池之端	岡村庄助	『朱柏廬治家格言』1	雑類	172 文
04/21	浅草	朝倉久兵衛	『快雪堂法帖』	書	3,246 文
04/23	日本橋	須原屋茂兵衛	『欧陽詢楷書千字文』	書	12 文
04/25	池之端	岡村庄助	『清枕志祖楷書千字文』	書	998 文
05/02	柳原	(一) **	『当世(名家?) 評判記』	雑類	72 文
05/05	池之端	住吉屋茂兵衛	「豊公信長公焼香之図」3枚	絵図	100 文
05/06		学友藤田弘庵	『掌中和漢年代記(集成)』	雑類	80 文
05/15	池之端	岡村庄助	『夢英大師碑』	書	1,935 文
05/23		学友池田洞雲	『海外新話』	地理学	初回支払い分 774 文
	池之端	岡村庄助	『米庵行書臨本』一帖	書	549 文
			『江戸下谷辺切図』	絵図	120 文
06/02	池之端	岡村庄助	『清猗詠隸書千字文』	書	520 文
			『江戸切絵図』	絵図	132 文
			「世の中あんど」の摺物	絵図	32 文
06/08	両国	(一)	『日本橋南切図』	絵図	132 文
06/09	池之端	岡村庄助	『虚字解』二	雑類	300 文
			『(古今) 図書集成坤輿典』	雑類	300 文
			『薩州漂客見聞録』一／ 『求竜説一求言録』一	雑類	48 文
06/12	池之端	岡村庄助	『(古今) 図書集成初篇』一	雑類	150 文
06/13	御成道	英文蔵	(伊豆?) 七島方角絵図	地理学	72 文
06/21	昌平坂	(一)	『地球全図略説』(司馬江漢)	地理学	132 文
			『七島日記』(欠本)	地理学	180 文
	池之端	(一)	『日本橋北切図』	絵図	132 文
	池之端	岡村庄助	『菱湖麴生帖』	書	572 文
06/27		学友上村周聘	『病学通論』	医学	566 文
	両国	玉巖堂	『開卷百笑』	雑類	238 文
07/02	蔵前	屋台	『絵本万国新語』	雑類	38 文
07/03	下谷	朝倉屋喜助	『天民』臨本	書	549 文
07/05	蔵前	田中長蔵	『植学啓原』	科学(植物学)	599 文
07/09	蔵前	田中長蔵	『病名彙解』五	医学	774 文
07/16	池之端	岡村庄助	『薬品手引草』	医学	649 文

07/21	池之端	岡村庄助	『海外異伝』	地理学	180 文
			絵本横山本	雑類	64 文
08/09	(一)	(一)	難病療治錦画 6 枚	絵図	148 文
08/12	池之端	岡村庄助	『方円星図』	科学 (天文学)	300 文
08/24	上野	(一)	『詩文千字文』 一	書	200 文
			『上うけ用文』 一	書	16 文
09/01	池之端	(一)	当時流行三幅対	書	48 文
			摺物「骨折鋸鋔療治」	医学	48 文
09/10	池之端	岡村庄助	『地球小図』 一	地理学	124 文
09/12	両国	屋台	『柳樽』 2 冊	雑類	32 文
		(一)	欲と云ふ獣の図	絵図	28 文
09/15	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『妙々奇 (談)』 前後篇 4 冊	雑類	300 文
			『砲術語匠』	軍事	200 文
09/19	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『和蘭天説』 「天球図」	科学 (天文学)	649 文
09/26	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『客杭日記』	書	90 文
10/09	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『江戸人名録』	雑類	164 文
10/10	田原町	(一)	『篆書千字文』	書	48 文
	浅草	朝倉屋	『外科要寸』	医学	150 文
			『医原枢要』	医学	100 文
			『和蘭語注解』	蘭語	500 文
	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『雲庵將軍碑』	書	300 文
10/17	浅草	朝倉久兵衛	「平賀実記」	雑類	200 文
10/18	広小路	屋台	『奇事拾記』	雑類	32 文
10/26	湯島	(一)	『諸役大概順』	雑類	72 文
	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	亥年之曆	雑類	48 文
10/28	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	江戸絵図	絵図	200 文
	蔵前	田中長蔵	『天之柱』 一	雑類	250 文
10/29	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『セインタキス』	蘭語	(一)
11/01		友人高木玄仲	「東岳鶏之画」 一	絵図	499 文
11/04	広小路	(一)	餅搗絵 2 枚	絵図	40 文
			膝栗毛絵 4 枚	絵図	124 文
11/09	両国	屋台	笑本及欲之画	絵図	32 文
11/16	(一)	(一)	「大小児及琉球人来朝行列之図」	絵図	44 文
12/17	御成道	英文蔵	『菌譜』 2 冊	科学	180 文
12/28	日本橋	屋台	『煎茶小述』	雑類	64 文
	御成道	英文蔵	『しりふごと』 2 冊	雑類	250 文
			合計		22,905 文

「嘉永三年諸雑費」(『柴田収蔵日記 2』東洋文庫、257-280 頁) より作成。

* 値段は文換算。 ** (一) は記載なし。

III Modern Japan's Politics and Thought

First World War as Global War: Japan, New Zealand, and the Dawn of an Asia/Pacific World

Frederick R. DICKINSON

“The first salvo greeted the men at the Oval, and the western enclosure at the Octagon was filled with children (in charge of their teachers), who waved flags and cheered enthusiastically. The regimental brass band and the pipe band played at intervals, and added to the attractiveness of the march.”

Otago Witness, 23 Sept. 1914 ¹

“The convoy and escort makes a great show...”

Gordon Gerald Harper, Canterbury Mounted Rifles, 25 Nov. 1914 ²

The joyous expressions above echo scenes of exultation throughout Europe that greeted the outbreak of general war in August 1914. Responding to the assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Polish countess Misia Sert exclaimed in Paris, “What luck! Oh God, if only there really is a war.”³ In Germany, Bonn University Rector Aloys Schulte rejoiced that “the grand spirit of the wars of liberation is renewing itself in us and around us.”⁴ In London, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George hailed the chance to rediscover “the great peaks we had forgotten, of Honour, Duty, Patriotism.”⁵

Historians of the First World War have long questioned the pervasiveness of such enthusiasm.⁶ In fact, while the *Otago Witness* of September 1914 quoted above chronicled the fervor of local children viewing the “very impressive” spectacle of 1,000 marching men on 21 September, it also noted a “diffidence” among adult observers, “disposed to feel ashamed of making a demonstration.”⁷ The following day was “wet and dismal overhead and underfoot,” and, despite the revelry of 21

¹ Expeditionary Force,” *Otago Witness*, issue 3158, 23 Sept. 1914, p. 27. Courtesy of National Library of New Zealand, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW19140923.2.54.1> (Accessed 21 Dec. 2016). The article is describing an event on 21 September 1914.

² Describing the convoy of New Zealand troop ships and escorts as they arrived in Albany, Australia. Gordon Gerald Harper letter to brother Eric Harper, 25 November 1914; Reprinted in Glyn Harper, ed., *Letters from Gallipoli: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2011), p. 43.

³ John Baxter, *Paris at the End of the World* (New York: HarperCollins, 2014), p. 33.

⁴ Quoted in Konrad H. Jarausch, “German Students in the First World War,” *Central European History* 17, no. 4 (Dec. 1984), p. 310.

⁵ Quoted in Marc Ferro, *The Great War, 1914–1918* (London: Routledge, 1973), pp. 20–21.

⁶ See, for example, Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War: Explaining World War I* (London: Penguin, 1998), chap. 7; Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Leonard V. Smith, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, and Annette Becker, *France and the Great War, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). As indicated by Niall Ferguson’s chapter title (“Days of August: The Myth of War Enthusiasm”), this excitement is now routinely referred to as the “myth of war enthusiasm.”

⁷ “Expeditionary Force,” p. 27.

September, “the departure of the troops was, to all intents and purposes, officially ignored.”⁸ This episode confirms, in other words, the need to take account of a host of variables—age, class, gender, timing, region, etc.—in discussing responses to the outbreak of war in August 1914.⁹

World War I Centennial

Given the centennial anniversary, these and similar observations of the First World War have increasingly made global headlines since 2014. While Google registers only 6.35 million World War I-related articles in the ten-year period from 2004 through 2013, 87.6 million stories about the Great War made the headlines from 2014 through 2016.¹⁰ And the past three years have been very good for special exhibits on the First World War. America’s National World War I Museum and Memorial in Kansas City broke annual attendance records for two years in a row in 2014 and 2015.¹¹ In July 2016, an all-time high number of guests visited the Memorial in a single month.¹² In New Zealand, celebrated producer and director of *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Hobbit* film trilogies, Sir Peter Jackson, fashioned a \$10 million Great War Exhibit in April 2015 in the former Dominion Museum in central Wellington. Complete with full color photographs, and recreations of the sights, sounds, and smells of pre-war European streets and wartime battle scenes, the exhibit attracted over 140,000 visitors in its first eight months, and more than 1,000 guests a day during the busy summer months.¹³

Discussions of the First World War have taken much longer to gather momentum in Japan. Unlike in the territories of the principal belligerents, there are very few memorials to the Great War in Japan. This largely reflects the relatively small number of Japanese casualties during the war—just slightly more than 2,000, less than four percent of New Zealand’s wartime casualties.¹⁴ Understandably, one of the few Japanese monuments to the war is associated with an institution that suffered significant wartime losses. In its valiant effort to transport troops and goods for the Allies, the Japan Mail Shipping Line (NYK) lost five ships between 1914 and 1918. In 1919, NYK erected a cenotaph in honor of its martyred sailors at Sōjiji Temple in Yokohama Prefecture.¹⁵

⁸ “The Empire’s Call,” *Otago Witness*, issue 3159, 30 Sept. 1914, p. 28. Courtesy of National Library of New Zealand, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/OW19140930.2.54> (Accessed 22 Dec. 2016).

⁹ As appropriately noted in Wayne Thorpe, “The European Syndicalists and War, 1914–1918,” *Contemporary European History* 10, no. 1 (Mar. 2001), p. 1.

¹⁰ Google search, 22 December 2016.

¹¹ Through the third week in November, 2015, the memorial recorded 257,830 visitors. The record for 2014 was 235,271. “World War I Museum Breaks Attendance Record,” *The Kansas City Star*, 25 Nov. 2015, <http://www.kansascity.com/news/local/article46446915.html> (Accessed 22 Dec. 2016).

¹² Over 28,000 guests visited the Memorial in July 2016. Mike Vietti, “National World War I Museum and Memorial Breaks All-Time Monthly Attendance Record in July,” *National World War I Museum and Memorial News Release*, 1 Aug. 2016, https://theworldwar-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/prod/s3fs-public/8-1-16_July_Attendance_Record.pdf (Accessed 22 Dec. 2016).

¹³ “Cash Needed to Keep Exhibit Free,” *The Dominion Post*, 18 Jan. 2016, p. 9.

¹⁴ Frederick R. Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 17.

¹⁵ Although the cenotaph was destroyed in the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, it was reestablished in 1927. “Lest We Forget,” *Travel Bulletin*, Nov. 1927. Courtesy of Waseda University Library, <http://www.nyk.com/yusen/697/> (Accessed 22 Dec. 2016).

Given the profound impact of both the Russo-Japanese and Second World Wars in Japan, Japanese scholars have understandably spent more energy analyzing the 1904–5 and 1931–45 years than developments between 1914 and 1918. The first Japanese scholarly analysis of the Great War after 1945 did not appear until 1963, in a special issue of the foreign affairs journal, *Kokusai seiji* (International Politics).¹⁶ But the centennial commemoration of the Great War has had a profound effect upon Japanese academe. More volumes on the First World War have been published in Japanese in the last five years than in the 67 years between 1945 and 2012 combined.¹⁷

Globalization of the Study of World War I

Just as exciting as the new wave of Japanese-language analyses has been the increasing globalization of World War I coverage in the English-speaking world. A special exhibit titled “Sand to Snow” about the global reach of the war was, in part, responsible for the high attendance numbers at the National World War I Museum and Memorial in Kansas City in 2015.¹⁸ More importantly, we now have a growing body of English-language literature on the Great War that highlights the impact of the conflagration far from the Western Front. From Portugal to Syria to Japan to China, we have a sense today of a war that, for the first time in recorded history, truly transformed the entire globe.¹⁹

Among this newer scholarship, the increased attention to the Asia/Pacific region is striking. In the last four years, at least five major titles on the First World War have appeared in English focusing exclusively on this region.²⁰ One might argue that analyses of the Asia/Pacific are the most important new frontier in the study of the Great War. Developments in the region, after all, offer more than just a glimpse of the global reach of the conflict. They provide a powerful means to challenge the Euro-centrism that continues to define intellectual life in the twenty-first century.

¹⁶ Nihon kokusai seiji gakkai, ed., *Kokusai seiji: Daiichiji sekai taisen*, 1962, no. 3.4 (no. 23) (Oct. 1963).

¹⁷ In just the last two years, see Naraoka Sōchi, *Taika nijūikkajō yōkyū to wa nan datta no ka: Daiichiji sekai taisen to Nitchū tairitsu no genten* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2015); Gunji shigakkai, ed., *Gunji shigaku: Daiichiji sekai taisen to sono eikyō* 50, no. 3.4 (Mar. 2015); Yang Haicheng, *Nitchū seiji gaikō kankeishi no kenkyū: Daiichiji sekai taisenki o chūshin ni* (Tokyo: Fuyōshobō Shuppan, 2015); Fujihara Tatsushi, ed., *Daiichiji sekai taisen o kangaeru* (Higashikurume: Kyōwakoku, 2016); Matoba Tetsurō, ed., *Daiichiji sekai taisen to gendai* (Tokyo: Maruzen Shuppan, 2016); Iikura Akira, *Daiichiji sekai taisenshi: fūshiga to tomo ni miru shidōshatachi* (Tokyo: Chūkō Shinsho, 2016).

¹⁸ “World War I Museum Breaks Attendance Record.”

¹⁹ See, for example, James L. Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Frederick R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999); Xu Guoqi, *China and the Great War: China's Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Filipe Ribeiro de Menezes, *Portugal 1914–1926: From the First World War to Military Dictatorship* (Bristol: University of Bristol, 2004).

²⁰ See Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919–1930*; Nicholas Tarling, *Asia and the First World War: Involvement and Aftermath* (Auckland: NZ Asia Institute, 2014); Oliviero Frattolillo and Antony Best, eds., *Japan and the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Heather Streets-Salter, *Southeast Asia and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Xu Guoqi, *Asia and the Great War: A Shared History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Importance of the Asia/Pacific Theater

We get a vivid sense of the importance of the Asia/Pacific theater of the Great War from the two epigrams above. As already noted, scenes of jubilation over displays of power were common throughout Europe in the fall of 1914. Such enthusiasm was also tempered in communities throughout Europe, depending on age, class, gender, timing, and location. What is most striking about the scenes introduced above, however, is that, while they strongly confirm developments in Europe in the fall of 1914, they took place thousands of miles away, in Dunedin, New Zealand and Albany, Australia.

The most important lesson of these scenes from Dunedin and Albany, in other words, is the powerful impact they reveal of the First World War as far from the Western Front as one might travel. While the parade of soldiers that marched through the Octagon in central Dunedin on 21 September 1914 numbered only 1,000, these men were part of a larger force of 8,500, plus almost 4,000 horses, that set sail from New Zealand to Europe in October 1914. And the convoy and escort described by Canterbury gunner Gordon Harper in November 1914 included ten troopships and several British and Japanese naval escorts.²¹

The most dramatic discussion of the First World War as global engagement is usually a reference to the enormous power of the United States, which ultimately crossed the Atlantic Ocean to help win the Allied cause. The United States drafted 2.8 million men and supplied the Entente with a battleship group, destroyers, and submarines.²² But it is worth remembering that Washington did not declare war on Germany until over two and a half years after the initial British declaration—in April 1917. And American troops did not appear in force on the continent until the spring of 1918, just six months before the end of the conflict.²³ By contrast, New Zealand responded immediately to the 4 August 1914 British declaration of war, mobilizing four expeditionary forces by the end of August. Likewise, Japan issued an ultimatum to Germany on 15 August, 1914, just eight days after ally Britain formally requested aid. Tokyo formally declared war on Germany on 23 August 1914.²⁴

The swiftness with which New Zealand and Japan joined the allied cause in August 1914 accentuates the pivotal importance of the Asia/Pacific region to the war. New Zealand troops were, of course, part of a larger contingent of British dominion forces, all of which responded eagerly to London's initial call for help. And New Zealand's contribution was small relative to that of other imperial forces, such as those from India, Canada, even Australia.²⁵ But one could argue that New Zealand sacrificed even more than that of its immediate neighbor, Australia. After all, while the Australian contingent remained an all-volunteer force, New Zealand introduced conscription in

²¹ Matthew Tonks, "The New Zealand Expeditionary Force Sets Forth," *New Zealand WW100*, <http://ww100.govt.nz/the-new-zealand-expeditionary-force-sets-forth> (Accessed 24 Dec., 2016).

²² For a convenient overview, see Hew Strachan, *The First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), chap. 7.

²³ Although one million American soldiers had arrived on the continent by May 1918, there were only 14,000 yanks in Europe in June 1917.

²⁴ For details of the Japanese decision for war, see Frederick R. Dickinson, "Japan," in *World War I: The Origins*, eds. Richard Hamilton and Holger Herwig (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 300–36.

²⁵ For relative numbers, see Stephen Garton, "The Dominions, Ireland, and India," in *Empires at War, 1911–1923*, eds. Robert Gerwarth and Erez Manela (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 155.

November 1916.²⁶ As a consequence, New Zealand suffered a higher rate of death as a percentage of the total national population—1.5%—compared to that of Australia, which registered 1.2%.²⁷

As for Japan, although more details follow, it is worth noting here that four divisions of New Zealand troops were ready to embark for Europe by 28 August 1914. They were unable to depart, however, until British and Japanese naval escorts arrived two months later. The enthusiastic description of the majestic naval convoy by New Zealand gunner Harper above would not have been possible without Japanese naval aid. One cannot underestimate, in other words, the importance of swift action by both New Zealand and Japan in building critical early momentum for the Allied cause.

Japan in World War I

Early action by New Zealand and Japan together offer a dramatic glimpse of the global reach of the First World War. And the full story of Japanese belligerence accentuates the importance of the Asia/Pacific theater. Even before the Japanese Navy began escorting dominion troops to the Arabian Sea, two naval task forces ejected the German East Asiatic Squadron from the Marshall, Mariana, and Caroline Islands in the South Pacific (September 1914). This mirrored similar action by the New Zealand and Australian navies, which occupied German Samoa and German New Guinea in August and September, respectively. By November 1914, 29,000 Japanese and 2,800 British imperial troops vanquished the German fortress at Qingdao, China.²⁸

The Battle of the Marne is typically hailed as the first great Allied victory of the Great War. After the swift capitulation of Belgium, French and British troops finally halted German momentum and spared France from total conquest in September 1914.²⁹ As important as the Marne was, however, it was less a clear Allied “victory” than a narrow escape from annihilation. By contrast, developments in the Asia/Pacific region pointed to a decisive win for the Entente. By November 1914, Japanese, New Zealand, Australian, and British forces had eliminated German power in the region.

Despite this decisive early victory, Japan continued to contribute significantly to the Allied war effort through 1918. A four-ship battle flotilla of Japan’s First Squadron protected navigation routes in the Pacific Ocean from September 1914.³⁰ A separate three-ship flotilla joined a Royal Navy battle group patrolling the American west coast from the Panama Canal to Canada through the spring of 1915.³¹ Ships from Japan’s Third Fleet escorted Australian and New Zealand troops from the Pacific Ocean to the Arabian Sea from October 1914. In February 1915, Japanese marines joined British and French marines to suppress an uprising of Indian soldiers in Singapore.³² Following attacks on

²⁶ Philippa Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 138.

²⁷ Calculated from figures from the Australian War Memorial and the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

²⁸ Troop numbers from Eguchi Keiichi, *Futatsu no taishen* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1989), p. 20.

²⁹ Most recently, Holger Herwig has accentuated the significance of the Marne. See Holger H. Herwig, *The Marne, 1914: The Opening of World War I and the Battle That Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2011).

³⁰ Hashiguchi Jihei, “Japan’s Share in the Naval Operations of the Great War,” Japan Dept. of the Navy, 8 Dec. 1918, p. 4. National Archives, Washington, D.C., Record Group 165, Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs: Military Intelligence Division Files, Japan, Folder: 003011-026-0568.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³² See Streets-Salter, *Southeast Asia and the First World War*, chap. 1, 2.

Japanese merchant vessels, three Japanese destroyer divisions and one cruiser joined the allied fight against German submarines in the Mediterranean in February 1917.³³

Where Japanese military power was not directly involved, substantial Japanese aid flowed. Several Japanese Red Cross units operated in allied capitals during the war.³⁴ Japanese cargo ships plied European waters, reaching 200,000 tons between 1914 and 1918.³⁵ In April 1917, Europeans chartered 311 Japanese vessels to aid with the general war trade.³⁶ And 100,000 tons of chartered ships from Japan carried coal and supplies between Britain and France during the war.³⁷ Japan supplied badly needed copper and currency to the allies, including 640 million yen in loans.³⁸ To Russia, Japan transferred three Japanese cruisers and sold 600,000 rifles.³⁹ For France, Japan built twelve destroyers, delivered directly to the Mediterranean.⁴⁰ In August 1918, Japan joined an international expedition to Siberia, eventually dispatching 72,000 troops—the largest Allied contribution—to help check the expansion of Bolshevik power to the Russian Far East.⁴¹

World War I in Japan

As important as Japan's contributions were to the Allied war effort, the First World War had a pivotal impact on the development of modern Japan, as well. Since the arrival of Commodore Matthew Perry in Uraga Bay in July 1853, Japanese statesmen had scrambled to join the ranks of "civilized" powers. By the end of the nineteenth century, they had replaced all feudal institutions with the infrastructure of a modern state and had even begun building a modern empire—in Taiwan and Korea. It was not until the First World War, however, that Japan acquired all the trappings of a distinguished twentieth century polity.

³³ Letter from Secretary of the Navy Edwin Denby to American Secretary of State, 23 September 1921. Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers, Box 255, "Japan: War Costs and Contributions" File, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford, CA.

³⁴ Araki Eiko, *Naichingêru no matsuei tachi: "Kango" kara yominaosu daiichiji sekai taisen* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2014).

³⁵ M. Togo, "Japan and Ships," *The North American Review* 207, no. 748 (Mar. 1918), p. 373.

³⁶ "Shipping and Shipbuilding Industry of Japan," 19 Mar. 1918, p. 8. National Archives, Washington, D.C., Record Group 165, Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs: Military Intelligence Division Files, Japan, Folder: 003011-026-0568-0001.

³⁷ Togo, "Japan and Ships," p. 373.

³⁸ Major K. F. Baldwin, Office of the Chief of Staff, War Department, Military Intelligence Division, "A Brief Account of Japan's Part in the World War," 16 September 1921, p. 6, Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers, Box 255, "Japan: War Costs and Contributions" file, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford, CA. If loans to China are counted, the sum approaches one billion yen. Between 1916 and 1918, Japan lent 280 million yen of public and private loans to China. David Asher, "Convergence and its Costs: The Failure of Japanese Economic Reform and the Breakdown of the Washington System, 1918–1932," PhD dissertation, St. Antony's College: Trinity, 2002, p. 73.

³⁹ Japan had originally captured the cruisers from Russia in the Russo-Japanese War: the Sagami (originally, the Peresviet), the Tango (Poltava), and the Sōya (Varyag). See Shibusawa Eiichi, ed., Theodore Roosevelt, *What the Japanese Stood for in the World War*, pamphlet (1918), p. 25. Information about rifles from Baldwin, "A Brief Account of Japan's Part in the World War," p. 6.

⁴⁰ Hashiguchi Jihei, "Japan's Share in the Naval Operations of the Great War," p. 1.

⁴¹ The 72,000 figure from Baldwin, "A Brief Account of Japan's Part in the World War," p. 5.

First, the Great War marked a pivotal transition from agricultural to primarily industrial state. Japan's sizeable contribution to the Allied war effort had an enormous impact upon the domestic economy. Between 1910–14 and 1920–4, Japanese exports tripled.⁴² From 1913 to 1922, the Japanese economy expanded by 5.21 percent, significantly higher than the international standard at the time.⁴³ By the 1920–24 years, manufactured goods comprised over 90 percent of Japanese exports.⁴⁴ By 1926, Japan produced double the value of manufactured goods as in the primary sectors of agriculture, forestry and fisheries.⁴⁵ In 1925, the population of Japan proper stood at 60.74 million, the fifth largest behind China, the United States, Russia and Germany.⁴⁶

Just as important as this economic transformation was a dramatic change in Japanese global status. With its military victories against China in 1895 and Imperial Russia in 1905, Japan had become a major regional power. But Tokyo's pivotal contributions to the Allies between 1914 and 1918 catapulted Japan, for the first time in history, to the status of world power.

This status was apparent first in the degree to which belligerents on both sides of the conflict scrambled for Japanese aid and support. After formally requesting Japanese aid in Asia in early August 1914, Britain petitioned in September for troops from Japan to the Western front.⁴⁷ German and Austrian representatives approached Japanese diplomats in European capitals several times in the first two years of the war over the possibility of a separate peace.⁴⁸ With the fall of Qingdao, China, Allied requests for aid soared. On 6 November 1914, British Foreign Secretary Edward Grey urged that Britain's ambassador to Tokyo request a Japanese force "take part in the main operations of war in France, Belgium and Germany in the same way as our Army is doing, and to fight alongside of our soldiers on the continent of Europe."⁴⁹ Soon after, French newspapers reported informal French requests for 500,000 Japanese troops to join Serbia in operations in the Balkans.⁵⁰ As late as July 1918, the U.S. Navy declared it a "matter of vital necessity" that Japanese battle cruisers help protect U.S. troop transports across the Atlantic.⁵¹

⁴² W. G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 126, table 2.

⁴³ According to the Ōkawa Kazushi project. Ōkawa Kazushi, Takamatsu Nobukiyo, and Yamamoto Yūzō, *Kokumin shotoku* (Tōyō keizai shinpō, 1974); cited in Takemura Tamio, *Taishō bunka teikoku no yūtopia* (Tokyo: Sangensha, 2004), p. 13.

⁴⁴ Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894–1945*, p. 126, table 2.

⁴⁵ Hayami Akira and Kojima Miyoko, *Taishō demogurafi: Rekishi jinkōgaku de mita hazama no jidai* (Tokyo: Bunshun Shinsho, 2004), p. 19.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 238–39.

⁴⁷ Sir Edward Grey to Japanese Ambassador to Britain, Inoue Katsunosuke, 2 Nov. 1914. Japanese Foreign Ministry archives, File 5-2-2-51 "Papers related to Appeals for a Japanese Expedition on the Occasion of the European War," Tokyo.

⁴⁸ Frank Iklé, "Japanese-German Peace Negotiations During World War I," *American History Review*, no. 71 (Oct. 1965), pp. 62–76.

⁴⁹ Sir Edward Grey to British embassy, Tokyo, 6 Nov. 1914. Japanese Foreign Ministry archives, File 5-2-2-51 "Papers related to Appeals for a Japanese Expedition on the Occasion of the European War," Tokyo.

⁵⁰ Payson Jackson Treat, "Japan, America and the Great War," *A League of Nations*, 1/8 (Dec. 1918), p. 8.

⁵¹ Letter from Secretary of the Navy, Edwin Denby to American Secretary of State, 23 Sept. 1921. Stanley K. Hornbeck Papers, Box 255, 'Japan: War Costs and Contributions' file, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

Although Tokyo ultimately refused all requests for a Japanese troop presence in Europe, the Allies clearly understood the importance of Japanese support. As Stanford history professor Payson Jackson Treat declared in 1918, had Japan decided to join Germany and Austria instead of the Entente, “Russia would have had to mobilize a large army in the Far East, the British colonials would hardly have dared leave their own lands, and the commerce of the Pacific would have passed out of the control of the Allies.”⁵² In return for her abiding loyalty to the Allied cause, Japan in 1919 was bestowed the ultimate reward: the right for her plenipotentiaries to sit with representatives of the four other victorious powers at the Paris Peace Conference. The significance of the moment was not lost in Tokyo. As Prime Minister Hara Takashi declared in January 1920, at Paris, “as one of five great powers, the empire [Japan] contributed to the recovery of world peace. With this, the empire’s status has gained all the more authority, and her responsibility to the world has become increasingly weighty.”⁵³

Global Implications of World War I

Historians have long identified one of the most striking global ramifications of the First World War as the decline of European power. Indeed, the brunt of the 14 million deaths and \$180 million in indirect costs were born by the principal European belligerents. In the early 1990s, Harvard University professor of history David Blackbourn regularly ended the first of a two-semester sequence on modern European history with the celebrated quotation from British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey at the outbreak of war in Europe. Writing to the editor of the *Westminster Gazette*, John Alfred Spender, on 3 August 1914, Grey perceptively declared that “The lamps are going out all over Europe, we shall not see them lit again in our life-time.”⁵⁴

Second only to evidence of a declining Europe in the tale of global reverberations of World War I is the discussion of the rise of an “American Century.” Indeed, the U.S. tipped the balance of the conflict in its April 1917 declaration of war and played a decisive role in fashioning the postwar peace. Economically, the United States replaced Western Europe as the principal locus of world industry, finance, and trade, following a near-tripling of manufacturing production between 1914 and 1919.⁵⁵ In 1913, the combined production of Germany, Britain, France, and Belgium substantially outpaced that of the United States. By the late 1920s, the U.S. surpassed the total output of these countries by nearly a half. From 1914 to 1919, the U.S. transformed from being the world’s greatest debtor to its greatest creditor nation.⁵⁶

What receives less attention in discussions of the global consequences of World War I are developments in the Asia/Pacific region. When Asia does merit mention, analyses tend to highlight

⁵² Treat “Japan, America and the Great War,” p. 7.

⁵³ Hara, “Hara shushō no tsūchō” (Jan. 1920); cited in Kawada Minoru, *Hara Takashi: Tenkanki no kōsō* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1995), p. 150.

⁵⁴ Viscount Grey of Fallodon, *Twenty-Five Years 1892–1916*, 2 vols. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1925), vol. 1, p. 20.

⁵⁵ From \$23 billion to \$60 billion. See Jeffrey A. Frieden, *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), p. 132.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

the rise of “nationalism.” According to Xu Guoqi, the Great War spurred powerful movements for self-determination in China, India, Korea, and Vietnam, ultimately leading to political independence in these states.⁵⁷ Erez Manela makes a similar argument about China and India during the 1914 to 1919 years.⁵⁸

It should be noted, however, that none of these states achieved full independence until long after the end of the First World War. Despite ubiquitous references to “self-determination” in 1919, imperial territories expanded, rather than contract, following the Great War. Former territories of vanquished empires—Imperial Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire—were bequeathed to victorious states after the war, many in the form of new League of Nations “mandates.” The true global significance of the Asian theater of the Great War, in other words, must lie elsewhere.

Conclusion

Early action by both New Zealand and Japan at the outset of World War I vividly illustrates the importance of the Asia/Pacific theater in the ultimate defeat of Imperial Germany and Austria-Hungary in 1918. More dramatically, Japan’s extraordinary political, military, and economic contributions during the war raise serious questions about the viability of the Entente in the absence of Japanese support. While some locate in World War I-era Asia the seeds of liberation movements across the globe, those movements do not gain momentum until after 1945. And one can locate similar seeds in World War I-era Africa and the Middle East, not just in Asia.

The most powerful lesson of the history of New Zealand and Japan in the First World War lies, rather, in the glimpse that we get of a new Asia/Pacific-centered world. As in colonial territories India, Korea, and Vietnam, citizens of New Zealand tackled weighty issues of national identity between 1914 and 1919. Although full independence did not arrive until after 1945, a new national consciousness clearly emerged by 1919. New Zealand mobilized in 1914 as a loyal dominion of the British Empire.⁵⁹ Fighting with Australia in Gallipoli as part of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) and digging in the trenches of France, Australian and New Zealand troops by 1915 acquired an identity distinct from their British counterparts, as Anzacs and “Diggers.” By 1917, New Zealand diggers had another moniker, this time distinct from even their Australian mates: “kiwis.”⁶⁰

The transition from dominion troops to kiwis in wartime New Zealand is more than a tale of the rise of “nationalism” in Oceania. It is a glimpse of the concrete ways in which the Asia/Pacific region began to exercise a distinct voice in international affairs. Even more dramatic between 1914 and 1918 was the rise of Imperial Japan as an industrial state and world power. World War I did not immediately generate an Asia/Pacific world. But the Allied victory depended in large part on Japanese

⁵⁷ Xu, *Asia and the Great War*.

⁵⁸ Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁵⁹ Britain formally conferred dominion status on New Zealand in 1907, granting it the privilege of self-government, like the other three White Dominions, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, p. 124.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 132.

naval power and shipping. And the new American Century, in turn, relied on the willingness of the new world power and now third largest naval power, Japan, to help fashion the infrastructure of a new, peaceful, multi-national order—the Treaty of Versailles, League of Nations Covenant, Five-Power Treaty, Nine-Power Treaty, Four-Power Treaty, Kellogg-Briand Pact, London Naval Treaty, etc.⁶¹

The American Century grew from sprouts of peace and security in the Pacific during the Great War and came of age through America's own management of Asia/Pacific security in World War II. It is fitting now in the twenty-first century, as the American Century draws to a close, that an important voice from the World War I-era Asia/Pacific has emerged more forcefully than ever before. In light of certain refusal by the Trump administration to ratify the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement, New Zealand Prime Minister John Key forecasted at the Asia Pacific Economic Conference (APEC) in Peru in November 2016 a momentous transfer of leadership from the U.S. to the Asia-Pacific region. Although America should remain a party to TPP, Key declared, the free trade agreement would bring substantial benefits to the eleven other member states—with or without Washington's participation.⁶²

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⁶¹ For more on Japanese participation in the institutional foundations of post-Versailles multilateralism, see Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan*.

⁶² Patrick O'Meara, "NZ still keen for TPP without US, Key tells APEC," *Radio New Zealand*, 22 Nov. 2016, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/business/318478/nz-still-keen-for-tpp-without-us-key-tells-apec> (Accessed 27 Dec., 2016).

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“Nanyō” in the Rise of a Global Japan, 1919–1931

Frederick R. DICKINSON

“The history of world civilization, which began in the Mediterranean and passed through an Atlantic era is now moving to a Pacific Age (*Taiheiyō jidai*).”

—Kiyosawa Kiyoshi, 1928¹

Monday, April 16, 1923, marked a giant step for Japan’s imperial family. After four days of rough seas, Crown Prince Hirohito disembarked into the comfortable 75-degree climate of the “land of perpetual summer.”² Although Taiwan had been incorporated in 1895, this was the first time that an heir to the Japanese throne had set foot in the southernmost reaches of the formal Japanese empire. Befitting the magnitude of the occasion, the prince was welcomed by a 21-gun salute, a hundred fully dressed ships and a throng of native peoples.³ From April 16 to 27, Hirohito visited schools, factories, military installations, and shrines throughout the island. On April 18, he met with over 500 aborigines, including 45 tribal leaders, and enjoyed an animated display of native dance.⁴ As the headline of the pictorial coverage in Japan’s most popular bi-weekly, *The Sun* (*Taiyō*), read, “Taiwan Overjoyed.”⁵

Just four years earlier, Japanese delegates had sat at the victors’ table at the Paris Peace Conference, an irrefutable affirmation of Japan’s rise, for the first time in history, to the rank of world power. At the same time, Japan had been entrusted with the Marshall, Mariana, and Caroline Islands in the South Pacific as League of Nations mandates for its robust support of the Allied cause during the First World War. The new status as world power and Pacific empire had a significant impact on Japan’s previously unwavering attention to the Asian continent. Some statesmen even came to consider the southern reaches as Japan’s natural arena of association. Accompanying Hirohito on his tour, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Makino Nobuaki highlighted the remarkable similarities between native dances in Taiwan and Japan. Women’s steps in Taipei resembled those in Japan’s *obon* dances, and the men’s movements reminded Makino of Kagoshima dances. “I cannot but feel,” declared the lord keeper, “that some of our ancestors shared their origins with the people of this solitary island.”⁶

¹ Kiyosawa Kiyoshi, “Taiheiyō mondai,” *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, Feb. 3, 1928, p. 6.

² Hatano Sumio, et al., eds., *Jijū bukanchō Nara Takeji nikki kaisōroku*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 342–43 (diary entries of Apr. 12–16, 1923). “Sassōtaru goeishi o haishite kanki ni moyuru zentōmin,” *Ōsaka asahi shinbun*, Apr. 17, 1923; reprinted in Katō Hidetoshi et al., ed., *Shinbun shūroku Taishōshi*, 15 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō Shuppan, 1978), vol. 11, p. 140.

³ “Sassōtaru goeishi o haishite kanki ni moyuru zentōmin,” p. 140.

⁴ “Prince Regent,” *The Japan Weekly Chronicle*, Apr. 19, 1923, p. 551.

⁵ “Kanki afururu Taiwan,” *Taiyō* 29, no. 7 (June 1, 1923), front.

⁶ Itō Takashi and Hirose Yoshihiro, eds., *Makino Nobuaki nikki* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1990), p. 75 (diary entry of Apr. 18, 1923).

Changing Standards of Empire in Japan

Mark Peattie and Komatsu Kazuhiko have vividly described the long tradition of Japanese individuals who turned their attention to the South Seas from the latter nineteenth century.⁷ But the powerful feeling of affinity with southern peoples articulated by a man of Makino's stature—at the center of Japan's ruling circle—was no more possible before the Great War than Japanese visions of a modern empire in Asia before the latter nineteenth century. The arrival of great power imperialism had, in the latter nineteenth century, produced an entirely new conception of foreign affairs in Japan—a vision of modern conquest on the Asian continent. Similarly, the First World War dramatically transformed conceptions of Japan's place in the world.

The First World War did not intrude directly on Japanese shores as had American Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853. But the war, like Perry, marked a fundamental repositioning. The founders of Imperial Japan had pursued continental empire as an expression of Japanese “wealth and strength.” Similarly, Japanese statesmen after World War I revised their notion of empire to conform to the new post-Versailles vogue of economic expansion and peace. As Prime Minister Hara Takashi declared in 1920, “it goes without saying that, from now on, there is no alternative but to rely upon international trade to promote our national strength.”⁸

The Japanese empire clearly assumed a new character in the decade following the First World War. By 1922, the empire retracted for the first time in history with the withdrawal of troops from Shandong (China) and Siberia. Between 1919 and 1936, civilian administrators replaced military authorities in the administration of Japan's first formal colony, Taiwan. By 1923, strategic attention shifted from the continent to the oceans; the United States replaced Russia as the principal potential enemy in the Basic Plan of National Defense. The cabinets of the Kenseikai and its successor Minseitō followed an unmistakable path of non-intervention in China in the latter half of the decade (1924–1927, 1929–1931). Japanese trade more than quadrupled between 1910 and 1929. And the United States far outstripped China as Japan's principal trading partner throughout the 1920s.⁹

Pacific Islands and a New Imperial Japan

The most fundamental shift in the Japanese empire in the interwar era was a dramatic redirection of geographic attention in Tokyo. In 1853, Commodore Perry had compelled Japanese statesmen

⁷ Peattie names Minister of Communications (1885–1889) Enomoto Takeaki, co-founder of the South Seas Assembly Yoko'o Tōsaku 横尾東作, writer Shiga Shigetaka, Tosa journalist Hattori Tōru, Foreign Ministry employee Suzuki Tsunenori, farmer and trader Mizutani Shinroku, journalist and politician Taguchi Ukichi and trader Mori Koben. See Mark R. Peattie, *Nanyō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885–1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988), chap. 1. For more recent coverage, with special attention to Mori Koben, see Komatsu Kazuhiko, “Nanyō ni watatta sōshi Mori Koben ‘Nanyō guntō’ izen no Nihon mikuroneshia kōryūshi no ichidanmen,” in *Kindai Nihon no tashazō to jigazō*, ed. Shinohara Tōru (Tokyo: Kashiwa shobō, 2001), pp. 195–233.

⁸ “Rikken Seiyūkai Tōkai taikai ni okeru enzetsu (Dec. 5, 1920),” in *Hara Takashi zenshū*, 2 vols., ed. Hara Takashi Jisshū Kankōkai (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1969), vol. 2, p. 931; quoted in Kawada Minoru, *Hara Takashi: Tenkanki no kōsō* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1995), p. 174.

⁹ For in-depth coverage of these developments, see Frederick R. Dickinson, *World War I and the Triumph of a New Japan, 1919–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), chap. 6.

to replace their vision of a Japan-centric trade regime with a continental empire based on European models of expansion. As foreign minister in the 1880s, Inoue Kaoru had declared that Japan aimed to “establish a new, European-style empire on the edge of Asia.”¹⁰ Similarly, the First World War redirected Japan’s focus from the Asian continent to the globe. No longer did Tokyo aspire simply to be the “leader of civilization in East Asia,” as proclaimed by celebrated man of letters Fukuzawa Yukichi in 1882.¹¹ “Isn’t there a need,” Yoshino Sakuzō observed in 1919, “to revise the Japanese peoples’ ideal of continental development?”¹² Future Japanese Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro, who accompanied the Japanese delegation to Paris in 1919, described a new Japanese responsibility to “look out for countries without any shared interests (with ourselves).”¹³

Japan amply lived up to this new spirit of internationalism by fully participating in the array of treaties concluded in the 1920s aimed to preserve the postwar peace: the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations Covenant, the Four-Power Treaty, the Five-Power Treaty, the Nine-Power Treaty, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact, to name a few. Konoe and his peers willingly supported this change of focus because it was the key to unprecedented lofty status on the international stage. A Japanese hand in constructing the new global infrastructure of peace after 1918 was the surest way to maintain Japan’s newfound status as world power. As plenipotentiary to Paris Saionji Kinmochi noted in 1919, “at the Peace Conference, our country did not simply preserve good relations with the powers. The conference was an opportunity to noticeably raise the international status of the Empire.”¹⁴

But the redirection of geographic attention in Tokyo also had a more tangible, local impulse. In the brief military engagement against Imperial Germany at the outset of the Great War, Japan had acquired territory in an area far from her traditional continental focus: the South Pacific. A new national discussion on Pacific affairs was a natural outgrowth of Japan’s new physical presence in the Marshall, Mariana, and Caroline Islands after September 1914. And it offers one of the most concrete demonstrations of a change of imperial focus in interwar Japan.

The Asia/Pacific at Paris and Washington

The shift of priorities from the Asian continent to the Pacific is vividly illustrated in the change in focus of discussions on Asia at the Paris (1919) and Washington Conferences (1921–22). The disposition of Shandong province, China, loomed large in discussions between the United States and Japan in 1919. Bilateral wrangling over Shandong, in fact, played a decisive role in U.S. Senate

¹⁰ Quoted in Marius B. Jansen, “Modernization and Foreign Policy in Meiji Japan,” in *Political Development in Modern Japan: Studies in the Modernization of Japan*, ed. Robert E. Ward (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 175.

¹¹ Quoted in Miwa Kimitada, “Fukuzawa Yukichi’s ‘Departure from Asia:’ A Prelude to the Sino-Japanese War,” in *Japan’s Modern Century*, ed. Edmund Skrzypczak (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1968), p. 12.

¹² Yoshino Sakuzō, “Jinshuteki sabetsu teppei undōsha ni atau,” *Chūō kōron* 34, no. 3 (Mch. 1919), p. 72.

¹³ Konoe Fumimaro, *Sengo Ōbei kenbunroku* (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1981), p. 48.

¹⁴ Speech of September 8, 1919. Quoted in Ritsumeikan Daigaku Saionji Kinmochi den Hensan Iinkai, ed., *Saionji Kinmochi den*, 6 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), vol. 3, p. 321.

rejection of the Treaty of Versailles, and it is frequently described as a prelude to subsequent bilateral tensions over China.¹⁵

Shandong appeared on the agenda again at Washington in 1921. But Tokyo and Beijing quickly came to terms over the territory when Japanese plenipotentiary Shidehara Kijūrō formally pledged to withdraw Japanese troops. As Kenseikai party orator Ozaki Yukio observed on the eve of the naval conference, Shandong was a “minor concern” (*sho mondai*) in 1921 in the context of the many issues that now loomed in the Pacific.¹⁶

For many contemporaries, the Washington Conference represented the ascendance of the Pacific in world affairs. Although he had led the movement against the League of Nations in the U.S. Senate in 1919, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge enthusiastically promoted the Four-Power Pact at Washington because it would form the foundation of a “Pan-Pacific League of Nations.” As he had informed director of the Pan-Pacific Union Alexander Hume Ford three years prior, a truly effective League of Nations would have to begin in the Pacific, “where the traditions are traditions of peace. Europe is not the place for the start to be made.”¹⁷ In 1927, British civil servant Sir Frederick Whyte confirmed that “it has become a commonplace in recent times to say that the future of peace and war lies in the Pacific.”¹⁸

Talking Pacific in Imperial Japan

While the Washington Conference turned the eyes of the world ever eastward, a new vogue for all things Pacific consumed life in Tokyo. Three private organizations dedicated to matters of the Pacific emerged in Tokyo in the early 1920s: the Pacific League (*Taiheiyō renmei*) under Prince Tokugawa Iesato, the Pacific Club (*Taiheiyō kurabu*) led by Viscount Inoue, and the Japanese Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (*Taiheiyō mondai chōsakai*), headed by financier Inoue Junnosuke.¹⁹ While the first two of these were principally local assemblies for periodic discussions of Pacific affairs, the Japanese Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations was, as the title indicates, the Japanese branch of a major new international organization. As such, it accentuates Japan’s serious commitment to the new postwar infrastructure of peace.

To celebrate the new era of peace, Tokyo hosted a massive Peace Exposition in Ueno Park from March through July 1922. Beginning the day of the Japanese delegates’ return from the Washington Conference, the four-month extravaganza was the largest Japanese expo to date, featuring fifty pavilions, a 110,000 square meter natural lake, a “peace tower” and a “peace bell.”²⁰ According to the

¹⁵ See, for example, Russell H. Fifield, *Woodrow Wilson and the Far East: The Diplomacy of the Shantung Question* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1965).

¹⁶ Ozaki, “Gunbi shukushō kaigi ni saishi Nihon kokumin no kakusei o unagasu,” *Kokusai renmei* 1, no. 7 (Oct. 1921), p. 4.

¹⁷ “Four-Power Pact Foundation of Pan-Pacific League,” *The Japan Times & Mail*, Feb. 10, 1922, p. 7.

¹⁸ Sir Frederick Whyte, “Opening Statement for the British Group,” in *Problems of the Pacific: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Hawaii, July 15 to 29, 1927*, ed. John B. Condliffe (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), pp. 23–9. Quoted in Pekka Korhonen, “The Pacific Age in World History,” *Journal of World History* 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1996), p. 61.

¹⁹ Kiyosawa Kiyoshi makes special mention of these three organizations in Kiyosawa, “Taiheiyō mondai,” p. 6.

²⁰ “Kazoeikirenai fushimatsu: hanashi no hazure no heiwhaku,” *Hōchi shinbun*, Mch. 16, 1923; reprinted in Katō et al., ed., *Shinbun shūroku Taishōshi*, vol. 10, p. 112.

monthly, *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, the face of a New Japan (*atarashii Nihon*) was evident in the names of the geographically disparate pavilions on display—a Hokkaido Pavilion, Karafuto Pavilion, Korea Pavilion, Taiwan Pavilion, even a South Seas Pavilion.²¹

Visitors to the Peace Exposition encountered a Japan like never before. The South Seas Pavilion was decorated inside and out with palm trees, and guests marveled at the live gorilla and two peacocks on display.²² They also enjoyed dances performed by island natives. These performances were so popular that they appeared in Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's novel, *Chijin no ai* (A Fool's Love), serialized in the *Ōsaka asahi shinbun* between March 1924 and July 1925. At one point, the novel's heroine, Naomi, proposes to her friends to "do 'honika ua wiki wiki,'" the "Hawaiian hip dance." Naomi's companion, Seki, is best at the dance because, he boasts, he had been to the "International Pavilion" at the Ueno Peace Exposition ten days in a row.²³

If the Peace Exposition brought a flavor of the Pacific to Japan, the Third Pan-Pacific Science Congress invited an international discussion of the Pacific in Tokyo. The idea for a Pan-Pacific Science Congress had originated with two Americans in Hawaii: director of the Pan-Pacific Union Alexander Hume Ford and Yale geologist Herbert E. Gregory, who had assumed the directorship of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu in 1919. Both men viewed the Pacific as the ideal arena for the United States to establish scientific credentials distinct from the centers of world scientific culture in Europe. But following the first congress in Honolulu in August 1920, the association assumed a life of its own.

Each new venue imprinted its own stamp on the new congress. The second assembly took place in Melbourne and Sydney in August 1923 and led to the permanent establishment of a Pacific Science Association. The 1923 Congress also aided Australia's efforts to establish a national identity distinct from the British empire.²⁴ Similarly, the third congress had a dramatic effect on Japan's international position and standing. Between October 30 and November 11, 1926, over four hundred Japanese academics welcomed one hundred and fifty foreign scholars from the United States, Britain, France, Holland, Russia, Peru, Chile and China in the halls of the Lower House in Tokyo.²⁵ As Prime Minister Wakatsuki Reijirō declared at the opening banquet on October 31, given Japan's important contributions to both the advance of science and to the peace of the Pacific, it was a great honor for Japan to now host the assembly. "The countries of the Pacific are now so intimate," he proclaimed, "that one country's advantage is the advantage of all."²⁶

Japan's centrality in the construction of a new Pacific era was confirmed when, just three years later, another Japanese city played host to another major international conference. Between October 28 and November 9, 1929, the third international assembly of the Institute of Pacific Relations took place in Kyōto. Like the Pan-Pacific Science Congress, the IPR was originally founded in Honolulu in

²¹ Kei Senshō, "Hakurankai shuppin ni arawaretaru shin Nihon no shokuminchi," *Jitsugyō no Nihon* 25, no. 7 (Apr. 1, 1922), p. 33.

²² "Yokyō daininki: Nanyōkan de settai no kōcha wa tachimachi ni urikire," *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, Mch. 3, 1922, evening edition, p. 2. "Heihaku samazama," *Yomiuri shinbun*, Mch. 23, 1922, p. 5.

²³ Anthony H. Chambers, trans., *Naomi*, by Jun'ichirō Tanizaki (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990), pp. 141–42.

²⁴ Roy Macleod and Philip F. Rehbock, "Developing a Sense of the Pacific: The 1923 Pan-Pacific Science Congress in Australia," *Pacific Science* 54, no. 3 (2000), pp. 209–25.

²⁵ "Kyō kara iyoiyo hon butai ni hairu, han Taiheiyō gakujutsu kaigi," *Ōsaka asahi shinbun*, Nov. 1, 1926, p. 1.

²⁶ "Kagaku saishū no mokuteki wa jinrui seikatsu kaizen ni ari," *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, Oct. 31, 1926, p. 2.

1925, this time to foster a “Pacific community” of equals. But as the Japanese host in Kyōto, former undersecretary general of the League of Nations Nitobe Inazō noted in his opening address, Japan was delighted in 1929 to take center stage yet again in this Pacific project. “The thalassic civilization which blossomed on the borders of the Mediterranean, long ago gave place to the oceanic civilization of the Atlantic coasts. Now the Pacific lands are to be the stage where shall meet all the races and cultures of the world.”²⁷

Japanese in the South Pacific

The acquisition of new territories naturally led to a steady stream of Japanese nationals to the South Pacific. Naval commanders had moved swiftly after the German defeat at Qingdao, China in November 1914 to establish a permanent presence in German Micronesia.²⁸ And two Japanese cruisers, the *Tsushima* and *Otowa*, helped ally Britain quell the Sepoy Mutiny in Singapore in February 1915.²⁹ But Japan’s presence in the Pacific was still so new during the Great War that, from December 1917, the Japanese government leased a Chinese steamship, the *Hwa Ping*, to operate the sole regular passenger service from Japan to the southern territories.³⁰ Tokyo subsequently contracted with Japanese shipping giant NYK (Japan Mail Steamship Company) to service regular routes to Micronesia.³¹

Thanks to NYK, a succession of dignitaries made their way to the Marshall, Mariana and Caroline Islands after 1917. This included members of the imperial family, military aides to the emperor, Japanese nobility, Japanese MPs, and naval officers.³² In 1922, Japanese entrepreneur Matsue Haruji founded the South Seas Development Company (*Nanyō kōhatsu*, or *Nankō*) and began developing the sugar industry in Micronesia. Thanks in large part to *Nankō*, 7,000 Japanese lived in the southern territories by 1925. Five years later, 20,000 Japanese occupied the islands.³³ “It seems,” observed the journal of the Japanese League of Nations Association in December 1926, “that there was a slogan for Japanese overseas development twenty some odd years ago directing attention northward to Manchuria/Mongolia...we have not heard this in recent years.”³⁴

South Pacific and the Pacific War

Historians typically describe early Japanese interest in Pacific affairs as a prelude to the Pacific War. Japan-Hawaii linkages in the nineteenth century, John Stephan suggests, constitute an important

²⁷ Nitobe Inazō, “Opening Address at Kyoto,” *Pacific Affairs* 2, no. 11 (Nov. 1929), p. 685.

²⁸ Francis X. Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press), chap. 4.

²⁹ See Heather Streets-Salter, *Southeast Asia and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), chap. 2.

³⁰ Shikama Kōsuke, *Jijū bukan nikki* (Tokyo: Fuyō Shobō, 1980), p. 123 (diary entry for Apr. 29, 1919).

³¹ Peattie, *Nanyō*, pp. 120–21.

³² Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land*, p. 153.

³³ Peattie, *Nanyō*, p. 155.

³⁴ “Minami e chakumoku seyo,” *Kokusai chishiki* 6, no. 12 (Dec. 1926), p. 1.

backdrop for Japanese plans to conquer Hawaii in 1941.³⁵ Tōmatsu Haruo's meticulous recent study features Japan's South Pacific Mandate as a perpetual arena of great power rivalry from the First through the Second World Wars.³⁶ Indeed, as we have seen, by 1923, Japanese military planners replaced Russia with the United States as Japan's greatest military threat.³⁷

It is tempting to see a direct link between this 1923 revision of the Basic Plan of National Defense and Pearl Harbor. But the shift in strategic priorities was less a harbinger of future international conflict than source for new turbulence in Japanese domestic politics. The 1923 revision strongly affected the precarious political balance between the Imperial Army and Navy. Despite initially targeting Imperial Navy ships and budgets, the disarmament craze after World War I dealt a particularly devastating blow to the army. Just four days before Japanese delegates signed the Washington Naval Treaty (Five-Power Treaty) in February 1922, Kokumintō Party president Inukai Tsuyoshi submitted a resolution in the Imperial Diet demanding a halving of the Imperial Army's standing division strength.³⁸ As journalist cum politician Tagawa Daikichirō wryly observed, "army reductions have now become a type of craze (*ryūkō*). Even cats and wooden ladles call for army reductions."³⁹

The most serious problem for the Imperial Army, however, was the destruction of service parity, which had been institutionalized in the 1907 Basic Plan of National Defense. Despite characterizing national defense as a "joint" army-navy effort, by defining the United States as Japan's principal military threat, the 1923 revision of the Basic Plan signaled a bold new priority toward the Imperial Navy. And such challenges became increasingly common in the public debate. Former Army First Lieutenant Matsushita Yoshio argued in April 1923 that the army could be pared to half of its size. In an age where foreign intervention was no longer permissible, Matsushita argued, Japanese military capabilities could be confined purely to self-defense. And to protect its territories in Korea, Taiwan, and the South Pacific, Japan needed only a navy and six army divisions.⁴⁰ By May 1925, Tokyo pared the Imperial Army by four complete infantry divisions.⁴¹

Growing Japanese interest in the Pacific in the 1920s, in other words, marks less a prelude to the Pacific War than an interwar departure from continental empire. Indeed, Japanese statesmen most wedded to continental expansion viewed the turn to the Pacific with alarm. In 1929, respected man of letters Tokutomi Iichirō decried the number of Japanese "who have completely lost sight of the Japanese empire (*Nihon teikoku*)."⁴²

³⁵ John Stephan, *Hawaii under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest after Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985), chap. 1.

³⁶ Tōmatsu Haruo, *Nihon teikoku to inin tōchi: Nanyō guntō o meguru kokusai seiji, 1914–1947* (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2011).

³⁷ Shimanuki Takeji, "Dai-ichiji sekai taishen igo no kokubō hōshin, shōyō heiryoku, yōhei kōryō no hensen," *Gunji shigaku* 9, no. 1 (June 1973), pp. 65–67.

³⁸ "Renshi hekichō," *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, no. 828 (Feb. 1, 1922), p. 133.

³⁹ In an April 14 speech. Tagawa Daikichirō, "Kokusai kyōchō no kokoro," *Kokusai renmei* 2, no. 6 (June 1, 1922), p. 4.

⁴⁰ Matsushita Yoshio, "Gunshuku ni taisuru rikugun tōkyoku no taido," *Kokusai chishiki* 3, no. 4 (April 1923) p. 88.

⁴¹ Leonard A. Humphreys, *The Way of the Heavenly Sword: The Japanese Army in the 1920s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 89–95.

⁴² Tokutomi Iichirō, "Nihon teikoku ni kaere," *Kingu* 6, no. 1 (Jan. 1930), p. 102.

Japanese Trade in the South Pacific

While Japan's new global posture appeared most conspicuously in a redirection of official attention from the continent to the South Pacific, it was also evident in an enormous shift in trade patterns following the First World War. The sheer volume of new trade transformed the structure of the Japanese economy. Between 1910–14 and 1920–24, Japanese exports tripled. And in the 1920–24 interval, manufactured goods came to comprise over 90 percent of Japanese exports.⁴³ Japan underwent a demographic transition from high birth and death rates to low birth and death rates during the Great War, indicating movement from a pre-industrial to an industrial economy.⁴⁴ By 1925, the population of Japan proper stood at 60.74 million, the fifth largest behind China, the United States, Russia and Germany.⁴⁵

Equally important was the direction of trade. A fundamental legacy of the Great War was the displacement of Europe by the United States as the vanguard of global leadership. Pivotal to this shift was a new American centrality in world trade. Until 1914, Japan had relied upon Britain for the majority of its machinery and consumer goods. From 1914 to 1939, Uncle Sam claimed the top spot among Japanese suppliers.⁴⁶ In exports, while the United States had already taken the lead with silk purchases in the 1890s, the world war opened new markets for Japanese textiles and small consumer goods in European colonies in Asia and beyond.⁴⁷ Trade with the U.S. continued to dwarf that with China throughout the 1920s.⁴⁸

Tōyō keizai shinpō editor Ishibashi Tanzan is often celebrated for his public renunciation of empire in 1921. In place of territorial gains in Asia, he envisioned a nation thriving through trade with Britain and the United States and global moral authority garnered for respecting the rights of the weak.⁴⁹ Such a dramatic rethinking of empire rested in large part on the practical observation that Japan traded more with Great Britain than with either Korea, Taiwan or Guandong. Japan's commerce with the United States outstripped that with all of these territories combined.⁵⁰ *Japan Weekly Chronicle* editor A. Morgan Young captured the remarkable new global scale of Japanese trade after the war by observing that, for the first time, Japanese goods “were in the most eager demand in every country in the world.”⁵¹

Trade was, in fact, everyone's concern following the Great War. As the president of the monthly *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, Masuda Giichi, informed his readers in April 1922, in addition to commemorating peace, the principal aim of the Peace Exposition just opened in Tokyo was “to advance national culture (*kokumin bunka*) by promoting industry and spreading practical knowledge.” It was particularly

⁴³ W. G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 126, table 2.

⁴⁴ Hayami Akira and Kojima Miyoko, *Taishō demogurafi: Rekishi jinkōgaku de mita hazama no jidai* (Tokyo: Bunshun Shinsho, 2004), pp. 226–33.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 238–39.

⁴⁶ Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, pp. 127, 211, tables 3, 9, respectively.

⁴⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 127, table 3 for export figures to the United States.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127, table 3.

⁴⁹ Editorial, “Issai o sutsuru no kakugo: Taiheiyō kaigi ni taisuru waga taido,” *Tōyō keizai shinpō*, July 23, 1921; reprinted in Matsuo Takayoshi, ed., *Ishibashi Tanzan hyōronshū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), pp. 101–21.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁵¹ A. Morgan Young, *Japan under Taishō Tenno 1912–1926* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928), p. 16.

important that Japanese products have a distinct identity across the globe.⁵² According to Japanese MP and Waseda University professor Uchigasaki Sakusaburō, “the most important thing in today’s society is economic life. And because economic life requires multiple and subtle relationships with the world’s powers, we cannot disturb these (relationships).”⁵³ In 1926, the Wakatsuki cabinet sponsored a South Seas Trade Conference committed to facilitating both official and private trade with the South Pacific and India. At the opening convocation, Foreign Minister Shidehara proclaimed international trade and Japanese foreign investment as “today’s urgent business (*kokka no kyūmu*).”⁵⁴ The editors of the Japanese League of Nations Association journal, *Kokusai chishiki*, argued that if Japan invested one tenth of the money in South Seas trade that it had sunk into the Siberian Intervention, “the effect would ultimately be many times that of the intervention.”⁵⁵

Conclusion

The history of the Pacific War has had an enormous effect on our perception of the Japanese empire in the early twentieth century. Looking back from the Manchurian Incident (1931), scholars focus on Japanese policy in China to locate hints of aggressive future continentalism. They agree that the tenor of Japan’s China policy may have changed following the Washington Conference. But, they argue, discrimination and oppression of Chinese subjects persisted.⁵⁶

China, however, attracted only a limited part of Japanese attention between the wars. From 1919 to 1931, the Japanese empire underwent three fundamental changes that reoriented what had defined the national trajectory through the First World War. First, for the first time since the latter nineteenth century, Japan *withdrew* a substantial military and political presence from the continent—from Shandong province and Siberia in 1922. Second, administrative changes from 1919 significantly enhanced the civilian character of the formal empire. Third, in diplomatic, strategic and economic terms, Japanese attention turned decisively away from the Asian continent outward toward the Pacific and beyond.

The shifting geographic attention of Japanese subjects after World War I had a profound impact on the imagined character of the Japanese nation. Best known is Ishibashi’s complete renunciation of empire in 1921. But more representative of the general mood was Waseda Professor Uchigasaki’s idea of a Japanese “maritime culture.” “Japan’s mission,” declared Uchigasaki in July 1926, “lies in sufficient recognition of our distinctiveness as a maritime nation—in our privileged island-nation culture.” This pedigree ensured the “perpetual vigor of the progressive and innovative spirit of the Japanese.” In an age of vibrant international intercourse and respect for foreign nations, Japan could “contribute to world culture by constructing an ideal national culture. . . We must protect and guide this island

⁵² Masuda Gi’ichi, “Hakurankai no mikata,” *Jitsugyō no Nihon* 25, no. 7 (Apr. 1, 1922), p. 2. For Masuda’s comments on developing a distinctive Japanese identity, see p. 4.

⁵³ Uchigasaki Sakusaburō, “Kaiyō bunkakoku toshite no Nihon,” *Kingu* 2, no. 7 (July 1926), p. 87.

⁵⁴ “Kanmin nihyaku yomei o tsurane: Nanyō bōeki kaigi kaikai,” *Hōchi shinbun*, Sept. 14, 1926; reprinted in Katō et al., ed., *Shinbun shūroku Taishōshi*, vol. 14, p. 320.

⁵⁵ “Minami e chakumoku seyo,” p. 1.

⁵⁶ This is the argument, for example, in Inoue Kiyoshi’s classic, *Shinpan, Nihon no gunkoku shugi*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Gendai Hyōronsha, 1975), vol. 3, pp. 217–18.

culture and fashion a superior maritime cultural nation.”⁵⁷ Japan’s new presence in Nanyō after the Great War, in other words, played a pivotal role in fashioning the Pacific state and global power with which we are very familiar today.

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Debating Japanese Patriotism in the Global Context: Alfred Ligneul and the Controversy on *The Clash between Education and Religion*

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In November 1892, an interview of Inoue Tetsujirō, the first professor of philosophy at the Imperial University of Tokyo, was published in *Kyōiku jiron*, a journal on education.¹ The journal asked for his views on the relationship between education and religion, Christianity in particular. In essence he made a general point that Christian faith and the spirit underpinning the Imperial Rescript on Education were potentially in conflict with each other.

Inoue's remarks triggered immediate responses from Christians. Leading Protestant thinkers of the time including Yokoi Tokio and Uemura Masahisa among many others published their views in defence of Christianity. In reply, Inoue published a booklet entitled *Kyōiku to shūkyō no shōtotsu* (*The Clash between Education and Religion*) in April 1893.² In that book, Inoue referred to a number of recent incidents involving Christians. One such incident occurred almost two years earlier: Uchimura Kanzō's *lèse majesté* Incident. On 9 January 1891, Uchimura, who was then a teacher at the First High School in Tokyo, allegedly failed to bow properly at the ceremony of the reading of the Imperial Rescript of Education. This caught the attention of some nationalist students and teachers, who condemned Uchimura instantly. Consequently, he was forced to resign from the school. Inoue argued that the *lèse majesté* incident was the tip of the iceberg; many Christians, he claimed, behaved in disrespectful ways to the Japanese emperor. The debate simmered intensely and generated, according to one count, 21 books and 220 articles³ and, according to another, 76 books and 493 articles.⁴ The articles first appeared in journals on education (*Kyōiku jiron*), Christianity (*Rikugō zasshi*), academic research (*Tōyō gakugei zasshi*) and current affairs (*Kokumin no tomo*, *Nippon hyōron*). Journals for women (*Jogaku zasshi*) and a Buddhist publication (*Bukkyō*) among others later published commentaries on the controversy, and were followed by reports in newspapers.⁵

While this debate is certainly one of the best known controversies in Meiji Japan, perhaps less known is that contributors to the debate were not limited to Japanese authors. One non-Japanese author is Alfred Ligneul (1847–1922), a French Catholic missionary. Ligneul arrived in Japan as a member of the Paris Foreign Mission Society in 1880. Before moving to Hong Kong towards the end of his life, he lived in Japan for thirty years. He published over fifty books in Japanese, typically with

¹ Seki Kōsaku, ed., *Inoue hakase to kirisuto kyōto*, 3 vols. (Tokyo: Tetsugaku Shoin, 1893), 1: 1–9.

² Inoue Tetsujirō, *Kyōiku to shūkyō no shōtotsu*, in Seki, *Inoue hakase to kirisuto kyōto*, 1: 48–115. This article first appeared in a journal *Tensoku* and reprinted in many others. A slightly extended version was subsequently published as a book under the same title by Keigyōsha in April 1893. The book's text is reproduced in *Kindai Nippon Kirisutokyō meicho senshū dai IV ki: kirisutokyō to shakai kokka hen*, ed. Suzuki Norihisa, vol. 25 (Tokyo: Nippon Toshō Center, 2004), pp. 1–183. The following citations are from the Seki edition.

³ John F. Howes, *Japan's Modern Prophet: Uchimura Kanzō, 1861–1930* (Vancouver: UBC press, 2005), p. 80.

⁴ Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 133.

⁵ A number of these articles are collected in Seki's anthology with his editorial remarks that are heavily partial to Inoue.

the aid of his collaborator Maeda Chōta, on a wide range of topics from theology to current affairs.⁶

Ligneul's work, written in response to the debate on Inoue's *The Clash between Education and Religion*, is entitled *Shūkyō to kokka* (Religion and the State). It was published at the final stage of the debate in September 1893.⁷ It was clearly intended as the first of two or more volumes; however, the first volume was banned from circulation immediately, so no subsequent volumes appeared. Ligneul's *Religion and the State* was intended as a point-by-point rebuttal of Inoue's *The Clash between Education and Religion*. Had the work been completed and published, it would have constituted a comprehensive critique of Inoue's argument. After the debate was over in late 1893, however, Ligneul returned to the issues discussed in the controversy especially in the book *Aikoku no shinri* (The Truth of Patriotism) published in 1896.⁸

As a number of commentators have already pointed out, a key issue of the debate on Inoue's *Clash between Education and Religion* was whether Christian faith could be in conflict with the spirit underpinning the Imperial Rescript on Education. Thus much of the Japanese Christian effort was devoted to the demonstration of compatibility between Christian faith and the spirit underlying the Imperial Rescript on Education. Much ink had been spilt in the decade prior to the proclamation of the Imperial Rescript on the potential danger of Christianity to the Japanese state and society. Inoue reframed the threat of Christianity as a potential risk to the new fundamental norm of morality and education, as defined by the Imperial Rescript on Education. He thereby put in a sharp relief that the ongoing debate on Christianity's potential danger to the Japanese state was about the alleged conflict between two canonical texts. An overwhelming majority of contemporary Christian responses addressed this point. The proclamation of the Imperial Rescript on Education thus constituted a very important context of the debate. I shall not elaborate on this further, suffice to note that existing scholarship has typically underscored this aspect of the controversy.

While the potential conflict between Christian faith and the spirit underpinning the Imperial Rescript on Education was a key issue, the controversy over Inoue's *Clash between Education and Religion* was far more complicated and multifaceted than that. The purpose of this paper is to highlight some hitherto underappreciated aspects of Inoue's claims and their intellectual context in view of Ligneul's critique. I single out two aspects that have not been fully appreciated in previous scholarship. One is that the controversy was also about Japanese patriotism, and the other is that controversy's intellectual context was not entirely Japanese. These two points become clear when we view the controversy from the standpoint of Alfred Ligneul. Indeed, Ligneul was aware that the conflict between Christianity and the Imperial Rescript on Education was a key issue; however, he also identified patriotism as another important issue. That explains why he wrote *The Truth of Patriotism* when he revisited some of the issues he discussed in *Religion and the State*. As for the intellectual context of the controversy, the plain fact that Ligneul was French, not Japanese, helps us appreciate his distinctive viewpoint: Ligneul criticised the 'materialism' he perceived to be the basis of Inoue's standpoint. The reference to 'materialism' is quite unusual in view of responses from other—

⁶ For a concise but wide-ranging survey of Ligneul's work and his influence, see Yamanashi Jun, "Kindai nippon ni okeru Rigyōru (Ligneul) shinpu no shuppan katsudō to sono hankyō," *Katorikku kenkyū* 79 (2010): 39–73.

⁷ Rigiyōru [Alfred Ligneul], *Shūkyō to kokka* (Tokyo: Fukyūsha, 1893).

⁸ Rigiyōru [Alfred Ligneul], *Aikoku no shinri* (Tokyo: Bunkaidō, 1896).

predominantly Japanese—Christian commentators. I shall expand these two points in turn.

First, in response to Inoue's claim that Christianity undermines patriotism, Ligneul insisted that, on the contrary, Christianity reinforces patriotism. This outright rejection of Inoue's claim has not been viewed favourably by historians. Ikumatsu Keizō, for instance, noted rather critically that a majority of Christian responses including Ligneul's was 'merely apologetic about Christianity that is not non-nationalist but strengthens loyalty and filial piety as well as patriotism'.⁹ Ikumatsu compared and contrasted the majority views with the 'magnificent' writings by Uemura Masahisa and Kashiwagi Gien, the two Protestant leaders who criticised the type of patriotism that Inoue was promoting. Uemura and Kashiwagi's responses were undoubtedly polemically skilful, as the two Protestant thinkers shifted the focus of debate to the question of the types of patriotism. But I do not think that Ikumatsu's negative appraisal of the majority's responses especially that of Ligneul's pays due attention to Inoue's polemical stance, to which Ligneul and others were responding.

Inoue's claim of incompatibility between Christianity and patriotism derived largely from European sources, in part from a recent historical work by W. E. H. Lecky (1838–1903). Lecky was a prominent Irish historian, political theorist and later politician. Today he is best remembered for his historical scholarship including a gigantic *History of England during the Eighteenth Century*.¹⁰ In the *History of European Morals*, Lecky insisted that patriotism was 'a moral duty . . . habitually discouraged'¹¹ by the Christian Church. According to Lecky 'patriotism itself, as a duty, has never found any place in Christian ethics, and strong theological feeling has usually been directly hostile to its growth'.¹² Lecky noted three reasons might be assigned to the 'repugnance' between Christianity and patriotism:

The first is that tendency of strong religious feeling to divert the mind from all terrestrial cares and passions, of which the ascetic life was the extreme expression, but which has always, under different forms, been manifested in the Church. The second arises from the fact that each form of theological opinion embodies itself in a visible and organized church, with a government, interest, and policy of its own, and a frontier often intersecting rather than following national boundaries; and these churches attract to themselves the attachment and devotion that would naturally be bestowed upon the country and its rulers. The third reason is, that the saintly and the heroic characters, which represent the ideals of religion and of patriotism, are generically different for although they have no doubt many common elements of virtue, the distinctive excellence of each is derives from a proportion or disposition of qualities altogether different from that of the other.¹³

Christian fathers such as Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine, Lecky maintained, did not develop

⁹ Ikumatsu Keizō, "Kyōiku to shukyō no shōtotsu ronsō," in *Kindai Nippon shisō ronsō*, eds. T. Miyagawa, Y. Nakamura and H. Furuta (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1963), pp. 234–61.

¹⁰ For his life and thought, see Donal McCarthy, *W. E. H. Lecky: Historian and Politician, 1838–1903* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1994).

¹¹ W. E. H. Lecky, *The History of European Morals*, 2 vols, seventh revised edition (New York: D. Appleton, 1921), 2: 144.

¹² *Ibid.*, 2: 145.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 2: 145–46.

any significant idea about the this-worldly state; they were instead preoccupied with an imaginary kingdom in the next world. The passage on the Church Fathers' indifference to this worldly state was precisely what Inoue cited.¹⁴ Lecky was only one of many European intellectual authorities Inoue relied on, but Lecky's view was particularly useful for Inoue as it made a historical claim that Christianity undermined patriotism.

Inoue's recourse to Lecky's historical claim about the relationship between Christianity and patriotism explains why Ligneul persistently made the point that Christianity solidified and enhanced patriotism. Ligneul was not a historian, so he countered Inoue's historical claim by another historian's view: François-René Chateaubriand (1768–1848). Drawing on Chateaubriand's account, Ligneul painted a portrait of the French army officer Louis-Gaston de Sonis as a Christian patriot who fought the Battle of Loigny in the French-Prussian War.¹⁵ Ligneul's notion of patriotism was best exemplified by the manifestation of a martial spirit of self-sacrifice in a military context.¹⁶ His point was to show a recent French example of the marriage of Christian faith and patriotism *in action*, thereby highlighting the mere words of self-claimed patriots such as Inoue constituted a less authentic and perhaps flawed patriotism.

Patriotism was thus a crucial issue in the controversy as Ligneul observed it; however, the relationship between Christianity and patriotism was, for him, only part of a larger question about the relationship between Christianity and morality. At the conclusion of his discussion of Louis-Gaston de Sonis, Ligneul wrote: 'If Japan faces no choice but to enter a war on another country in the future, what enables Japan to produce loyal and brave soldiers, who fight for their own country, is never materialism that Dr Inoue preaches'.¹⁷ Ligneul sparingly criticized 'materialism' in his *Religion and the State* as he observed it was the basis of Inoue's philosophical stance. He did not expand on what he meant by 'materialism' in *Religion and the State*; it is suffice to say that according to Ligneul, materialism rejected the existence of the soul and enshrines the material wellbeing of individuals. What follows from this is, for him, 'not to sacrifice oneself for the country but to sacrifice the country for oneself'.¹⁸ Thus, the proliferation of materialism meant the decline of patriotism.

As far as I can determine, no other Christian critics attacked Inoue's 'materialism' to the same extent as Ligneul. In order to understand this, we need to turn again to Inoue's polemics. While it has been noted that Inoue did not oppose Christian ethics altogether (as he recognized the utility of Christianity for private virtues),¹⁹ Inoue's attack may also be understood as an attempt to sever the link between morality and Christianity. He underlined the fact that Christianity was no longer widely practiced by leading intellectuals in Europe and America.²⁰ This observation was a fruit of his six-year study in Germany.

In order to argue for the passing of Christianity in the Euro-American world, Inoue drew on a wide range of remarks from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Arthur Schopenhauer, Ernest Renan and Herbert

¹⁴ Inoue, *Kyōiku to shūkyō no shōtotsu*, p. 74.

¹⁵ Rigiyōru [Ligneul], *Shūkyō to kokka*, pp. 122–44.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 103–104.

¹⁹ Maekawa Michiko, *Kindai Nippon no shūkyōron to kokka* (University of Tokyo Press, 2015), pp. 34–35.

²⁰ Inoue, *Kyōiku to shūkyō no shōtotsu*, pp. 72–91.

Spencer. However, one should not overlook that Inoue relied no less heavily on a number of less known thinkers of his own time. Among the most frequently cited was Georg von Gizycki (1851–1895), a philosopher at the University of Berlin.²¹ He was one of the leaders of the Ethical Culture movement in Germany; indeed, he contributed to the formation of the German Society for Ethical Culture (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für ethische Kultur*)²² in October 1892. The Ethical Culture movement was initiated and led by Felix Adler. Its objective was to work towards the independence of ethics from any religious—Christian in particular—foundations, and the movement expanded internationally before World War I. In the Anglophone world, Stanton Coit (1857–1944) and William Mackintire Salter (1853–1931) led the Ethical Culture movements in Britain and the United States respectively.²³ Among the founders of the German Society for Ethical Culture was Ludwig Büchner (1824–1899), who, in 1881, had founded the German Freethinkers League (*Deutscher Freidenkerbund*), the first German organization dedicated to promoting a scientific ethics.²⁴ The participants of the Ethical Culture and the Freethought movements subsequently joined the zoologist Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919)’s monist movement, the organizational base of which was the German Monists League (*Deutschen Monistenbund*), founded in 1906.²⁵ And importantly, those Freethinkers and the members of the Ethical Culture and Monist associations operated mutually interconnected movements. It is acknowledged that they largely shared materialism as their fundamental philosophical principle.²⁶

Incidentally, Lecky, whom I mentioned earlier, may not be categorized often as one of those who were committed to the Ethical Culture movement; however, given his anti-Christian ideological stance, Inoue’s reliance on Lecky is consistent with his appeal to the intellectual authority of the Ethical Culture movement. J. M. Robertson viewed Lecky as part of the Freethought movement in the nineteenth century.²⁷ Just as the intellectuals of the Ethical Culture Movement attempted to disengage morality from religion (Christianity in particular), so Lecky’s historical narrative severed patriotism from Christianity.

Strikingly, Inoue’s observation about the decline of Christianity among Euro-American intellectuals drew repeatedly on von Gizycki, Büchner, Coit, Salter, and Haeckel among others. This is indicative of Inoue’s affinity with their intellectual movements. Inoue made his polemics personal when he

²¹ On Georg von Gizycki, see for instance Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and a World Without War: The Peace Movement and German Society, 1892–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1975), pp. 124, 126; Jean H. Quataert, *Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885–1917* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 78; Tracie Matysik, *Reforming the Moral Subject: Ethics and Sexuality in Central Europe, 1890–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); Todd Weir, *Secularism and Religion in Nineteenth-Century Germany: The Rise of the Fourth Confession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 243.

²² On the German Society for Ethical Culture, see Tracie Matysik, *Reforming the Moral Subject: Ethics and Sexuality in Central Europe, 1890–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

²³ On the Ethical Culture movement in Britain, see G. Spiller, *The Ethical Movement in Great Britain: A Documentary History* (London: Farleigh Press, 1934).

²⁴ Chickering, *Imperial Germany and a World Without War*, p. 124.

²⁵ Satō Keiko, *Hekkeru to shinka no yume* [Haeckel and the Dream of Evolution] (Tokyo: Kōsakusha, 2015), pp. 245–64.

²⁶ Matysik, *Reforming the Moral Subject*, p. 19.

²⁷ J. M. Robertson, *A History of Freethought in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2001 [originally published by London: Watts & Co. in 1929]), 1: 263–65.

noted: 'Mr Gizycki is Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Berlin and is also one of my dear friends'.²⁸ Inoue's personal connection with von Gizycki is symptomatic of Inoue's sympathy with the Ethical Culture movement, although Inoue was not committed to it. Inoue's affinity to the Ethical Culture movement was confined to the anti-Christian aspect of it; indeed, on the issue of German nationalism, for example, Haeckel embraced nationalistic sentiments while the founders of the German Society for Ethical Culture were critical of the 'excesses of patriotism [and] nationalism'.²⁹ Inoue's well-known nationalistic tendencies were obviously not indebted to the German Ethical Culture movement. Despite the diversity of viewpoints among the Ethical Movement, Freethought, and Monist movements, however, it is important to note that they were largely united on the philosophical basis of materialism.

Against this backdrop, it becomes easy to see that Inoue was introducing a perspective shared by the members of Ethical Culture, Freethought and Monists societies in contemporary Europe and America: that is, the separation of ethics from religion, Christianity in particular. Inoue thereby highlighted another problem around Christianity: not only the religion's harmfulness to the Japanese state, which had been noted by a number of commentators for some time, but now its 'superstitious' and 'irrational' nature, which makes the religion out of date in view of the course of human progress. This polemical strategy undermined the standing of Christianity in the Euro-American civilization that the Meiji Japanese society was assimilating. Inoue introduced a new perspective: Christianity is no longer an indispensable foundation of the Euro-American moral thought and, at the same time, he also promoted a range of what Ligneul regarded as 'materialist' ideas, although his anchoring in materialism was by no means explicit.

Inoue's recourse to the views represented by leaders of the Ethical Culture movement and the Freethought movement was, however, rarely acknowledged, let alone reinforced, by contemporary Japanese commentators who were sympathetic to his view, perhaps the only exception being Okazaki Tōmitsu (1869–1913), who would later study for a doctorate in philosophy and economics in Leipzig and, after return to Japan, enjoyed a successful career as an entrepreneur. In August 1893—at a late stage of the *Clash* controversy—Okazaki published a book *Yasokyō no kiki* (The Crisis of Christianity); in it, Okazaki outlines the general decline of Christianity in European intellectual history before noting that 'in the nineteenth century the so-called anti-Christian view conquered the European continent'.³⁰ After observing that the attack on Christianity by Ernst Haeckel, John Tyndall (1820–93) and Robert Ingersoll (1833–1899) was even more bitter than Inoue's, Okazaki asserted that his own rejection of Christianity derived from this legacy of European predecessors, not merely reiterating the traditional anti-Christian views of Tokugawa Japanese thinkers such as Arai Hakuseki and Yasui Sokken. Thus Okazaki was quite conscious of his intellectual indebtedness to anti-Christian movements in the contemporary Euro-American world.

While Japanese Christians reacted fiercely to Inoue's claim about the opposition between Christianity and the principles found in the Imperial Rescript on Education, they responded less forcefully to his remarks about the declining influence of Christianity among Euro-American

²⁸ Inoue, *Kyōiku to shūkyō no shōtotsu*, p. 87.

²⁹ Matysik, *Reforming the Moral Subject*, pp. 46–47.

³⁰ Okazaki Tōmitsu, *Yasokyō no kiki* (Tokyo: Tetsugaku Shokan, 1893), p. 19.

intellectuals. Uchimura Kanzō warned Inoue for ‘introducing to our country something far more harmful than Christianity: Atheism and Agnosticism’.³¹ However, Uchimura noted that Inoue relied on Herbert Spencer without mentioning other authors Inoue referred to more often, such as von Gizycki, Lecky and Renan. The theologian of the Orthodox Church, Ishikawa Kisaburō (1864–1932), made a Humean point that it is groundless to infer from the fact that some Euro-American philosophers do not subscribe to Christian faith that one ought not to believe in Christianity.³² Apart from these rather brief remarks, there was hardly any critical response from Japanese Christians on Inoue’s attempt to downplay the importance of Christianity in the European culture of his day. Neither Uemura nor Kashiwagi made any remarks on this point.

Those who problematized Inoue’s attempt to sever morality from Christianity were, as far as I can determine, Ligneul and Takahashi Gorō (1856–1935) alone. The Christian intellectual Takahashi turned out to be a notorious polemicist in the second half of the series of debates because of his use of aggressive language. In an essay entitled ‘A remorseful philosopher’,³³ Takahashi repeatedly criticized, for instance, Inoue’s partiality to Ernest Renan’s *Life of Jesus* (1863) as he claims that Renan is less reliable than contemporary theologians who wrote on the life of Jesus Christ such as Karl Theodore Keim, Johannes Weiss, Augustus Neander, and Heinrich Ewald among many others.³⁴ Likewise, Takahashi claims that Inoue misunderstood William Lecky’s discussion of Christianity as the main cause of the fall of the Roman Empire.³⁵ Takahashi deployed his erudition solely for the purpose of undermining Inoue’s scholarly credibility.

Ligneul’s attack on Inoue forms a sharp contrast with Takahashi’s. Instead of merely discrediting Inoue’s scholarship, Ligneul identified the ‘materialistic’ standpoint, which was inspired by the Ethical Culture movement during his studies in Europe. Ligneul was thus cognizant of the European intellectual context in which Inoue operated. However, this is not to suggest that he was well versed in the literature of free thinkers that Inoue relied on. Indeed, Ligneul did not comment on any of the German thinkers of the Ethical Culture and other movements who inspired Inoue. Nonetheless, Ligneul’s critical references to Inoue’s ‘materialism’ clearly suggests his sensibilities of the ‘materialist’ orientation of various authors in the Ethical Culture, Freethought and Monist movements, which Inoue had recourse to as intellectual authorities.

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Prompted by Ligneul’s extensive discussion of patriotism and his repeated criticisms of materialism, the present paper has argued that the controversy over Inoue’s *Clash between Education and Religion* entailed two important aspects: one is that it was also a series of debates on patriotism or, more specifically, whether or not Christianity undermines patriotism in the Japanese context. The other is that the controversy was, in an important aspect, a ramification of the new Euro-American

³¹ Uchimura Kanzō, “Bungaku hakase Inoue Tetsujirō kun ni teisuru Kōkaijyō,” *Uchimura Kanzō Zenshū*, 40 vols. (Tokyo Iwanami Shoten, 1980–84), 2: 131.

³² Ishikawa Kisaburō, “Inoue Tetsujirō shi no kyōiku to shūkyō no rhōtotsu ron wo yomu,” in Seki, *Inoue hakase to Kirisuto kyōto*, p. 238.

³³ Takahashi Gorō, “Kaigo no tetsugakusha,” in *Hai gi-tetugaku ron* (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1893), pp. 15–110.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 89.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 100–106.

intellectual trend. The rise of the Ethical Culture movement in particular exerted a significant influence on Inoue, who studied in Germany; Inoue thus introduced the anti-Christian perspective of the movement to bolster his criticism of Christianity. Thus Ligneul's works serve as a mirror that reflects intellectual contexts of which contemporary Japanese Christians were not necessarily aware.

The recovery of the two contexts also entails an irony. Obviously Inoue desired to show the potential danger of Christianity to what he viewed as patriotic education. His argument was framed as a defence of the Japanese moral tradition of loyalty and filial piety that the Imperial Rescript on Education affirmed. But his defence of the Japanese moral tradition from the alleged Christian threat required a non-Japanese justification: one of the reasons why Japanese public education and morality should exclude Christianity was that, as Inoue observed, the European intellectuals of his day no longer subscribed to Christian faith. What does the fact—or the *alleged* fact—of the European loss of Christian faith have anything to do with a Japanese philosopher's vindication of the Japanese moral tradition? Clearly Inoue attempted to model Japan on what he observed to be the European reality. Inoue's nationalistic defence of the distinctively Japanese moral tradition was paradoxically what one might today describe as a 'Eurocentric' project.

What Difference Did the War Make to Japanese Nationalism?

Sandra WILSON

Japanese nationalism was widely blamed as the explanation for and cause of the war in the Pacific, in a way that does not apply to Germany and the war in Europe. Notions of German nationalism were significantly qualified by the idea that Hitler as a monstrous individual and the Nazi Party as an evil group, rather than all Germans or German society broadly, were responsible for the war. But in Japan there was no party or group that could be identified as the source of militarism, other than the military itself. Hirohito as emperor and Tōjō as prime minister were reviled by Japan's enemies, but they were not seen as the equivalent of Hitler or Mussolini as leaders. After the war ended, politicians and the public in some countries feared a resurgence of Japanese nationalism, probably more than a resurgence of German nationalism was feared in Europe: the forces which were blamed for nationalism in Germany, that is, Hitler and the Nazi Party, had been destroyed, but in Japan some of them continued in power, including Hirohito, who remained on the throne. Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines remained explicitly concerned about a resurgence of Japanese nationalism well after 1945. Britain and the US were far removed from the Pacific and preoccupied with their own regions. China and Korea were immersed in civil war, while Indonesians felt in some degree positively towards Japan because of its contribution to struggles for independence from the Dutch. For a number of years, politicians and the press in Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines continued to voice concern that Japanese militarists were just waiting for their chance to come back. The assumption was that nothing much had changed about Japanese nationalism; only external factors would keep it at bay.

In reality, however, the war changed Japanese nationalism radically. In this paper I address the question of what did change. I define nationalism simply as discourses that give primacy to the nation above any other form of collective identity. I identify three major strands in pre-war discourses of nationalism, and trace what happened to them, in order to assess the effect on them of the Second World War.

1. Japan as a 'Great Nation'

The idea that Japan was a 'great nation' was elaborated from about 1890 onwards.¹ It was a counterpoint to earlier concerns about Japan's weakness and vulnerability in the face of Western imperialism, and it continued to develop despite residual insecurities of various kinds. It was evident in the press, in political pronouncements, in self-presentation at museums and in industrial expositions, and in substantial written works by Japanese intellectuals. It called attention to Japan's rapid modernisation, establishment of the first parliament and constitution in Asia, unusual status as an independent Asian nation rather than a European colony, victory over China in war in the mid-

¹ See Sandra Wilson, "The Discourse of National Greatness in Japan, 1890–1919," *Japanese Studies* 25, no. 1 (May 2005): 35–51.

1890s and over Russia ten years later, status as a victor nation in the First World War, and acquisition of Taiwan as a colony in 1895 and of Korea in 1910. In the 1930s the idea of national greatness was joined by a public elaboration of the idea that Japan had a unique national essence (*kokutai*). This was a supremely vague doctrine, but it basically claimed an unmatched connection between the people and the state, usually through devotion to the emperor, and therefore a unique national identity. By the late 1930s the discourse of Japan as the great nation had expanded to the point where the nation-state was portrayed as the natural leader of Asia and the necessary agent to conquer European imperialism in the region.

The old discourse of national greatness was fatally undermined by defeat in war. In the circumstances of 1945, with people hungry, cities in ruins, the military defeated, and about 2.7 million servicemen and civilians dead, or 3–4% of the 1941 population,² it was impossible to claim that Japan was a great nation. Not only that, but Japan had lost its empire overnight, and was itself under occupation by foreign powers. General Douglas MacArthur told the press in September 1945 that ‘Confinement of Japan to the four main home islands would prevent the reconstitution of the nation as a leading world power,’ adding that ‘Japan would be reduced to a fourth-rate nation.’³ In May 1951 he told a joint session of the US Senate that if Anglo-Saxons, including the recently defeated Germans, were considered in terms of their development as a race to be the equivalent of a 45-year-old person, then the Japanese would be ‘like a boy of twelve.’⁴ These remarks were very much taken to heart in Japan, and are still remembered today.

Not everything about the old discourse of the great nation was abandoned. Most fundamentally, the idea of nation itself survived. The nation was still a very real presence in people’s lives. Everyone had in common the recent experience of a long and terrible war. In wartime more than any other time, nationalism had become everyone’s business. It had not been possible to ignore the things that were done and the sacrifices that were called for in the name of the nation, and after defeat, these habitual categories of thought were not easily abandoned.⁵ Now, with Japan under occupation by foreign troops for the first time in its history, and with privation and poverty still a daily experience, questions about what sort of a nation Japan was and what its future role could be continued to have an immediacy that would be lost in more normal times. Moreover, occupied Japan still was a unified nation, unlike Germany and Austria, which had been partitioned by the victorious Allies. In Japan as elsewhere, leftover wartime issues also presented constant reminders of common membership of the nation: the return of Japanese servicemen and civilians stranded overseas, for instance, remained a political and social issue for years after the end of the war. One of the most striking things about nationalist discourses in the first years of the Occupation is that they survived in such recognisable form. The terrible experience of war did not lead to any widespread rejection of the idea of the nation-state or of the key concepts associated with it. Most commentators implicitly accepted that the nation would and should continue to be the primary unit of organisation, and energetically set about

² John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York, W.W. Norton/New Press, 1999), p. 45.

³ “Japan Will Be Fourth-Rate Power—General MacArthur,” *Argus* (Melbourne), 13 September 1945, p. 20.

⁴ Quoted in Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, p. 550.

⁵ On this point see *ibid.*, ch. 5 and Oguma Eiji, *‘Minshu’ to aikoku: Sengo Nihon no nashonzarizumu to kōkyōsei* (Tokyo, Shin’yōsha, 2002), ch. 2, 3.

to redefine and refashion the idea of the Japanese nation, of national mission and of the Japanese ethnic group.

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, there was confusion about what Japan's role in the world should be, and whether it was right or permissible to be patriotic or not, and if it was permissible, what it would mean to be patriotic in the post-war world. Again, habitual categories of thought were not easily abandoned. It is often stated that Japan took on the role of the model of pacifism, finding its identity in rejecting war and embracing peace. But although the highbrow journals began to espouse this idea straight away, the grassroots pacifist movement did not get going until well after the end of the Occupation, and in any case, pacifism was not universally embraced. In 1948 about 500 young, mostly rural women working at cotton spinning mills responded to a survey. 22% of the respondents actually favoured another war, because they saw it as the best way to restore Japan to the powerful position it had enjoyed in the past, but had since lost.⁶

Effect of the Korean War

But by the time the Occupation ended in 1952, the dominant discourses about Japan's role in the world and what sort of nation it should be were much more settled than they had been in the early years after defeat. The major reason for this was the Korean War of 1950–52. The literature on Japan and the Korean War establishes several things: the crucial economic boost provided by the war, the impetus to an early peace settlement, and the alteration in the relationship between the Japanese government and the Occupation authorities as the Americans became more involved in events in Korea than in Japan. In addition, however, the Korean War played a crucial role in clarifying questions about Japan's post-war identity and role. For a start, it resolved any lingering tensions within the Occupation machinery and authorities in Washington about what should happen in Japan. Briefly, the disagreement between those who wanted fundamental reform in Japan and those who wanted to incorporate Japan immediately into the non-Communist camp, and therefore were prepared to scale back reform, was resolved in favour of the latter.

Within Japan itself, three effects of the Korean War on discourses of nation can be identified. First, it legitimised the Occupation, and eventually, the military alliance signed in 1952 with the United States, because it seemed obvious that Japan's region was a dangerous place and that Japan needed the United States as a powerful ally. So the possibilities for Japan's future role were significantly reduced: criticism of the US alliance was greatly undermined. Ultimately, any frustration and discontent with the Occupation were defused, and 'the Occupation came to be seen as necessary'.⁷ Second, the Korean War cast doubt upon a connection that had come to seem automatic—the equation between pacifism and prosperity. It had appeared as though prosperity required peace and that war brought ruin, at least to Japan. Though Japan did not fight in this new war, it was heavily involved as a supplier of goods and services, and it was evident from the start that the war was providing substantial stimulus to Japan's struggling economy: in Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru's famous phrase, the war was the 'gift from the gods.' So war did not have to make you poor. This was pointed out very clearly by a young farmer

⁶ "Heiwa no tame no kyōiku: Zadankai," *Sekai*, no. 43 (July 1949): 35–36.

⁷ Comment by Iguchi Takeo, in William F. Nimmo, ed., *The Occupation of Japan: The Impact of the Korean War* (General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, 1990), pp. 24–25.

in Nagano Prefecture, who said in 1952: 'America blew up power stations in Korea and the price for this year's spring silkworms was good. I wonder if they'd do it again when the summer silkworms are ready?'⁸ Third, the Korean War placed discussions of Japanese national identity unequivocally in an international context. Now, the broadest international issues were seen as critical for Japan. In public debate there was still confusion about what Japan's new role in the world could or should be, but at the same time there was a new appreciation from the early 1950s onwards that it could only be understood in a wider context. It might have been partly a matter of pride. No longer international outcasts, the Japanese people were now necessary to the United States and the so-called 'free world'.⁹

At the same time, growing awareness of the implications of the Cold War brought many new questions about what might happen in a third world war, which seemed a real possibility, and what exactly a constitutional peace clause meant in practice. Discussions of national identity over the next few years were marked by a distinct sense of Japan's vulnerability in the face of these new conditions, but also by an acknowledgement that Japan's role in the world could not be understood outside the framework of the Cold War. The Cold War continued to provide one of the main anchors of perceived national identity until it ended in 1989, and the debate about national identity after 1989 in some ways resembles the early post-war period with its confusion and lack of certainty.

National Identity

Expansionist versions of Japanese culture evaporated after 1945, and very rapidly, Japanese culture began to be constructed as a matter of blood ties and common language. At the same time, this version of Japanese culture was projected backwards, so that memories of the more inclusive, pre-war versions of Japanese identity, which had accommodated the idea that Chinese and Koreans could and should become 'Japanese', were quickly forgotten.¹⁰ One residual element of the discourse about Japan as a great nation, however, was the attachment to the idea of a national essence. Hardly anyone any longer believed in the old rhetoric of *kokutai*, but many commentators felt there must still be some sort of a 'national essence', and showed a continuing propensity to believe that the Japanese were a completely distinct ethnic group. There was also a continuing interest in patriotism and loyalty, but confusion about where such feelings ought to be directed, now that the old targets, like the state and the emperor, were damaged or less credible. As one academic asserted, all peoples needed a sense of continuity, or they died out. Formerly the Japanese self-image had been based on military activity, and now there had to be something else to replace that, he believed. No-one could quite decide what should take its place, and his only suggestion in this particular press discussion was that perhaps the Japanese could base a new morality around their national attachment to miso soup.¹¹ Ultimately, the lack of other credible symbols and targets of national loyalty may have paved the way for the rise of *Nihonjinron*, or theories of the Japanese as a unique people, which were such a feature of standard

⁸ "Sōsenkyo no shiori sono ni: Nōson no seinen wa nani o kangaeteiruka," *Shūkan asahi*, vol. 57 (7 September 1952), p. 6.

⁹ John Bowen, *The Gift of the Gods: the Impact of the Korean War on Japan* (Norfolk, VA: Old Dominion Graphics Consultants, 1984), p. 3.

¹⁰ Oguma Eiji, *Tan'itsu minzoku shinwa no kigen: 'Nihonjin' no jigazō no keifu* (Tokyo: Shin'yōsha, 1995).

¹¹ Nakaya Ukichirō, in "Nihon no bakkubōn: Nihon no atarashii aikoku dokuritsu no seishin wa nanika (zadankai)," *Bungei shunju*, vol. 29 (March 1951): 45, 54.

nationalist discourses from about the 1970s onwards.¹² The rise of Japan as an economic superpower after the late 1960s also enabled the return of a new version of the discourse of Japan as a great nation, a discourse that had been notably absent since Japan's defeat in 1945.

2. The Military as Representative of National Values

A second strand of the dominant version of pre-war nationalism was the idea that the military best represented Japan's national values. Military success was very important to mainstream Japanese self-images from the 1890s onwards. Not only had Japan beaten China and Russia by 1905, but it had also had a positive and profitable experience on the Allied side in the First World War.¹³ Japan was formally allied with Britain but did almost no fighting. On the other hand it profited by trading with Asian nations that were cut off from their European imperial masters from 1914 to 1918, expanded its own imperialist privileges in China while the European powers were otherwise occupied, and sat as a victor at Versailles. Of all the major nations, Japan alone went in to the 1930s with a positive assessment of war as a national instrument, because only Japan (and perhaps America to some extent) had such a minimal sense of the costs of the First World War. The huge costs of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, moreover, were long since forgotten.

The Japanese military was thoroughly discredited by defeat in the Second World War, at least at first. Returning soldiers were heckled and treated with disgust. It was not just that they had lost the war: by 1946, the Japanese public had begun to find out about atrocities in China and Southeast Asia, and often assumed that returning veterans must have done terrible things.¹⁴ No-one any longer wanted to argue that the military represented the national virtues. But change was evident by the early 1950s.¹⁵ Former members of both the army and the navy resumed activity in politics at local, regional and national levels. Some were elected to the national parliament with record numbers of votes. Former colonel Tsuji Masanobu, architect of the 1942 Japanese conquest of Singapore, was elected to the Diet in 1952 and again in 1953, 1955 and 1958, with large numbers of votes. Other prominent military men followed him into politics. The apparent electoral appeal of candidates who were former military officers does not mean that the public was militarist. The ex-soldier candidates usually took care to distance themselves from pre-war jingoism, concentrating instead on 'restoring traditional national virtues, pride in one's country, and respect for established social patterns.'¹⁶ Many emphasised democracy and people's rights for good measure. What seems to have attracted voters is the former military men's continuity with the past, and their perceived embodiment of admirable personal qualities. Although voters may have despised the actions of the old military as a whole, they

¹² Harumi Befu, *Hegemony of Homogeneity: An Anthropological Analysis of Nihonjinron* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2001), ch. 5.

¹³ Frederick R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999).

¹⁴ Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, pp. 58–61.

¹⁵ This section draws on Sandra Wilson, "War, Soldier and Nation in 1950s Japan," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 5, no. 2 (July 2008): 187–218.

¹⁶ Ivan Morris, *Nationalism and the Right Wing in Japan: a Study of Post-War Trends* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 230.

trusted some former soldiers as individuals. Certain military men still appeared to represent qualities such as sacrifice, loyalty and bravery, and these remained important values in the 1950s, in Japan as elsewhere. In fact it is hardly surprising. If military men had vacated politics, their absence would have left a considerable void, in terms of people with experience of politics and of leadership. Military men still represented leadership and service as few others did, and such perceptions did not vanish overnight.

There are also other indications that attitudes to the military changed in the 1950s. An ex-servicemen's association was formed in 1956, with a stated initial membership of over 800,000. Its inauguration ceremony began with a requiem service for the war dead. By 1958 the reorganised association, with membership over one million, was one of the biggest political pressure groups in Japan, agitating on matters like pensions for former soldiers and revision of the 1946 constitution to allow for military action.¹⁷ Blockbuster movies about the war appeared and were seen by very large audiences. People wanted to see movies about the war for much the same reasons as they did in other countries: because they were exciting and spectacular, and presented dashing leading men. The large audiences for war films also offer evidence that nostalgia for the war was already manifest in the 1950s. Social researchers noted that viewers applauded when kamikaze pilots appeared, urging them on to hit their targets. They also applauded just at the sound of certain words not heard since the end of the war, like '*Zerosen*' (the Zero fighter).¹⁸ Two very popular movies were made in the 1950s about Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, architect of both Pearl Harbor and the Battle of Midway¹⁹ (and two more have been made since). Yamamoto was a particularly good candidate for a popular treatment of the war. It was well known that he had advised against going to war with the US, so he was not stupid, and he was not a warmonger; but once the war started, he fought bravely and well, so he was patriotic; and he was fortuitously shot down by the Americans in an ambush in 1943, so he did not have to face a war crimes trial. Attitudes to convicted war criminals, too, were changing by the early 1950s. Although all war crimes suspects had initially been despised, there was a growing tendency to separate out the trials of major leaders, the Tokyo trials, from the much more numerous trials of ordinary Japanese soldiers which had taken place all over Asia and the Pacific in the post-war years. By 1952, a major public campaign had begun on behalf of ordinary soldiers convicted by the Allied powers, to get them sent back to Japan if they were still in foreign jails, and eventually to get them released from prison. The basic contention of participants in this campaign was that ordinary soldiers, in contrast with political and military leaders, had simply been doing their jobs in extraordinarily difficult circumstances, and should not be punished further.²⁰

None of this means, however, that any mainstream nationalist discourses advocated returning the military to a central place in perceptions of Japanese identity. People elected military men to

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 238–40, 243; "Ikiteiru rōhei" (cover story), *Shūkan asahi*, 16 December 1956, pp. 6–7; "Zadankai: Sayonara 1958 nen: Koroshi wa konna toshi deshita . . ." *Shūkan asahi*, 28 December 1958, p. 34.

¹⁸ "Sensō eiga to taishū," *Shūkan asahi*, 26 July 1953, p. 14; "Eiga 'Nihon kaku tatakaeri' o mite," *Shūkan asahi*, 16 September 1956, pp. 4–5.

¹⁹ *Taiheiyō no washi*, dir. Honda Ishirō, 1953; *Gunshin Yamamoto gensui to Rengō kantai*, dir. Tazaki Jun, 1957.

²⁰ Sandra Wilson, "The Shifting Politics of Guilt: the Campaign for the Release of Japanese War Criminals," in *The Dismantling of Japan's Empire in East Asia: De-imperialization, Postwar Legitimation and Imperial Afterlife*, eds. Barak Kushner and Sherzod Muminov (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 87–106.

politics for their personal qualities, which they had proved in war, and when that generation passed, no equivalent people took their place. Audiences watched war movies because they were nostalgic about a past experience, not because they wanted to resurrect a Japanese empire. In fact, viewers often commented that the movies had reminded them how horrible war was. People campaigned for convicted war criminals because they thought they were getting a rough deal. Once the war criminals were released from prison, they were largely forgotten. Article 9 of the Japanese constitution technically forbids Japan to go to war or even to maintain a military. This constitution was written secretly by the American occupiers and forced on Japanese politicians, but the majority of the Japanese public has become very attached to it. Even those who do want to change Article 9 are usually motivated by a desire to enable the Japanese military to take part in peace-keeping operations like the military forces of most other advanced countries.²¹

3. Faith in the Japanese State

Defeat in the Second World War drastically undermined people's faith in the Japanese state as representative of the nation. The state had got the people into a terrible war and had been responsible for defeat as well, and then had been unable to forestall foreign occupation and the loss of Okinawa to American administration. In many people's eyes, the Japanese state was more or less a failure. Ever since the middle of the 19th century, the state had been the major agent of nationalist discourses in Japan, and it is very difficult at any time in the next few decades to identify the points of separation between conceptions of nation and conceptions of state. Perhaps it is in the immediate post-war period that nationalist discourses came closest to separating nation and state, with continuing faith in the idea of a distinct ethnic identity but great loss of faith in the state as its representative.

The prestige of the state took another major blow in 1960, with the massive civil campaign against the renewal of Japan's security treaty with the United States.²² Only after that did the public renovation of the state begin. Economic growth was one of the main drivers. Macroeconomic growth was a 'national project' in Japan, as Scott O'Bryan has pointed out. It required national leadership and in turn it strengthened national leadership. Major policies, including the income-doubling plan announced by Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato in 1960, required intervention by the central state in regional economies, and were successful. However uneven its effects, economic growth was evident to everyone by the 1960s, and most people approved of it and associated it, correctly, with the central state.²³ Not to be underestimated, also, is the role of public spectacle. The Japanese government staged a very successful Olympic Games in 1964, which was followed six years later by Expo '70 in Osaka. They were the most self-conscious displays of 'nation' in Japan since the Second World War. The great majority of Japanese households watched the opening ceremony and other popular parts

²¹ Keiichi Tsunekawa, "Dependent Nationalism in Contemporary Japan and its Implications for the Regional Order in the Asia Pacific," Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Working Paper No. 133 (August 2006).

²² George R. Packard II, *Protest in Tokyo: the Security Treaty Crisis of 1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966); Wesley Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001).

²³ Scott O'Bryan, *The Growth Idea: Purpose and Prosperity in Postwar Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), pp. 178–79.

of the Olympic Games on television, and an astonishing 50% of the population is estimated to have travelled to Osaka to see Expo '70.²⁴ These spectacular events helped to rehabilitate the post-war Japanese state, making it seem as though the state was good for something after all. It became easier to see it as a benign entity dedicated to the people's welfare and the national interest, rather than a coercive entity that sent people to war and then signed them up to dangerous military agreements afterwards.

War and defeat changed Japanese nationalism. The discourse of the great nation was radically challenged, and did not return until the 1970s. When it did reappear, it was based on economic success and presumed ethnic homogeneity; very few claims were made to power on the world stage. Though military men returned to national life, the military path to national identity was unequivocally closed, and has never again been advocated in any serious way. Faith in the state was badly dented. Subsequent events, especially the Security Treaty crisis of 1960, exacerbated the perceived gap between state and nation, and it took 20 years for the state to re-establish its credibility with the Japanese people.

²⁴ Christopher Brasher, *Tokyo 1964: A Diary of the XVIIIth Olympiad* (London: Paul, 1964), p. 17; H. Katō, "Japan," in *Television: An International History*, ed. Anthony Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 295; Kobayashi Kazuo, "Tōkyō Orinpikku," in *Sengoshi daijiten*, eds. Sasaki Takeshi et al. (Tokyo, Sanseidō, 1991), p. 651; Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945–70* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 143; Handō Kazutoshi, *Shōwashi: Sengohen 1945–89* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2006), p. 523; Yoshimi Shun'ya, *Banpaku gensō: Sengo seiji no jubaku* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 2005), p. 84.

Public Intellectuals, Neonationalism, and the Politics of Yasukuni Shrine

Mark R. MULLINS

Introduction

Yasukuni Shrine remains a controversial site in contemporary Japan. In spite of its name, “peaceful country,” it has been associated with war, militarism, and social conflict throughout much of its history. Established initially to memorialize those soldiers who gave their lives in the battles fought for the restoration of imperial rule, it became the site to enshrine all of those who perished in Japan’s wars of imperial expansion from the late nineteenth century until 1945. During this period, the shrine was under the administrative control of the Ministries of Army and Navy, and financially supported by the government. Shinto priests were employed to conduct the services, but it is worth noting that the chief priest was often a military man. Although the rituals conducted at the shrine followed Shinto protocol, the government regarded them as “non-religious” ceremonies that were necessary to provide official recognition for those who sacrificed their life for the nation and Emperor. The annual events held at the shrine were used to inspire and mobilize the Japanese for war, celebrate military victories, and memorialize the war dead.

Following Japan’s surrender in August 1945, the Allied Occupation rapidly transformed the status of the shrine. In response to the Shinto Directive (15 December 1945) issued by the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers, all shrines were “disestablished” and separated from government support and control. In order to survive in the new legal-political environment, Shinto shrines were forced to embrace a “religious” identity and required to register as religious corporations (*shūkyō hōjin*). Yasukuni Shrine priests completed this process in September 1946. This new legal status as voluntary religious organization is what constitutes the source of the multiple conflicts that have surrounded the shrine throughout the postwar period. The strict separation of religion and state required by the Shinto Directive was incorporated into the postwar Constitution (1947) in Articles 20 and 89, and these have provided the legal framework for the debates surrounding Yasukuni Shrine for some seventy years.

Since the end of the Occupation, public debate and legal battles have erupted around a number of issues related to the shrine. One of these is related to the efforts of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to pass legislation (*Yasukuni Jinja hōan* 靖国神社法案) to restore government support of the shrine. Although LDP leaders presented six bills to the Diet between 1969 and 1974, these were all defeated. A second issue surrounds the constitutionality of official visits to the shrine (*kōshiki sanpai* 公式参拜) by prime ministers and cabinet members, and whether participation in ceremonies at Yasukuni Shrine in an official capacity violates the principle of religion-state separation. A third issue is related to the continued enshrinement of the war dead by Yasukuni Shrine priests in the postwar period. These enshrinements were facilitated by information provided by the government’s Ministry of Health and Welfare and without the permission of the bereaved families concerned. In recent decades, Japanese Buddhists and Christians, as well as some foreigners (citizens of Taiwan and South Korea), have launched lawsuits against both Yasukuni Shrine and the Japanese government for alleged violation of Articles 20 and 89, and appealed to have the names of their family dead removed from

the shrine register (*gōshi torikeshi* 合祀取り消し). All three issues highlighted here are interrelated and draw our attention to the conflict over how religious freedom and religion-state separation should be interpreted and practiced in contemporary Japan.

In this essay, I focus on the second issue in connection with Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro's "official visit" on 15 August 1985, a highly symbolic act, and examine the response of two public intellectuals, Umehara Takeshi (1925–) and Sono Ayako (1931–). Although these two prominent figures are often regarded as "conservative" or "nationalistic," they both critically engaged the pro-Yasukuni Shrine position advanced by Prime Minister Nakasone's administration in the mid-1980s.¹ The positions of Umehara and Sono represented "minority opinions" at the time, but the concerns they raised have become a part of the public discourse in the debates surrounding Yasukuni Shrine over the past several decades.

Umehara, a graduate of Kyoto University, is a well-known Buddhist philosopher who has had a distinguished academic career, which has included faculty appointments at Ritsumeikan University and Kyoto City University of Arts, where he also served as president in the mid-1970s. He was the founding Director of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, a position he held from 1987 to 1995. His collected works were published by Shōgakukan (2002–2003) in a series of twenty volumes. His influence extends beyond the academic world. Many of his books are popular volumes aimed at a wider audience, and his public role is also evident from his numerous essays and editorials published in newspapers and magazines, and through his involvement as a leader in the Article 9 Association (Kyū Jō no Kai 九条の会), which he and some other prominent intellectuals organized in 2004.

The second figure, Sono Ayako, is a Roman Catholic and graduate of Sacred Heart University in Tokyo. She is widely known as the author of best-selling novels and volumes of essay collections, and as a regular columnist for conservative magazines and newspapers (such as *Sankei shinbun*). From 1996–2005 she served as chairperson of the Nippon Foundation, a philanthropic organization established by Sasakawa Ryōichi in 1962 to support a range of domestic and international humanitarian activities. She has had a close association with the Liberal Democratic Party as an advisor for many years and served on the Ad Hoc Educational Committee of the Japanese Ministry of Education, and most recently on the education reform panel organized by Prime Minister Abe's administration in 2013.²

Background to Nakasone's "Official Visit" to Yasukuni

Prime Ministerial visits to Yasukuni Shrine resumed shortly after the Treaty of Peace with Japan was signed in San Francisco (8 September 1951). Yoshida Shigeru, in fact, visited on 19 October 1951,

¹ Carol Gluck (1993, p. 72), for example, observes the close relationship between Umehara and former Prime Minister Nakasone, whose vision for "internationalization" was linked to "the revival of a cultural nationalism unencumbered by remembrance of the wartime past." Similarly, Margaret Sleeboon's treatment of the founding of Nichibun in *Academic Nations in China and Japan* (2004, p.114), includes a quotation from the co-authored work by Nakasone and Umehara (1996, p. 80), in which Umehara acknowledges that his critics on the left viewed him to be an "ultranationalist" like Nakasone and regarded Nichibun as "an organ of nationalist propaganda."

² Sono's close association with the government and ruling Liberal Democratic Party is apparent from the personal information provided on the government site: <http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/m-magazine/backnumber/2002/sono.html>.

almost six months before the Occupation officially ended. While many prime ministers visited over the following decades, they usually explained that their visits were conducted in a “private” capacity (*shijin no shikaku* 私人の資格) or avoided clearly indicating whether the visits had been personal or official. Conservative leaders within the Liberal Democratic Party, however, were adamant that official visits be resumed and fully recognized as such. This issue was finally addressed head on during the period Nakasone served as the Prime Minister (1982–1987). Prime Minister Nakasone visited the shrine on 15 August 1983 and the following year, but whether these visits were made as a “private citizen” or as a “public official” remained ambiguous (although he did sign the shrine’s registry as Prime Minister).

It was in this context that in August 1984, Chief Cabinet Secretary Fujinami Takao convened a private Advisory Committee (“Kakuryō no Yasukuni Jinja sanpai mondai ni kannsuru kondankai” 閣僚の靖国神社公式参拝に関する懇談会) to gather information from a range of experts on how Japanese people viewed the shrine and to address the lingering problem of whether or not official shrine visits by the Prime Minister and Cabinet members constituted a violation of the Constitution.³ The composition of the fifteen-member advisory committee was diverse and included public intellectuals, a company president, lawyers, a former Supreme Court judge, professors of constitutional law and philosophy, a literary critic, and a novelist.

The committee met some twenty-one times over the course of a year to deliberate these issues. Given the make-up of the committee, it is not surprising that a consensus was never reached. While some firmly argued that “official visits” by the prime minister would be a violation of religion-state separation and offered other reasons why they were inadvisable, the majority opinion submitted to Fujinami in the final report endorsed the view that these visits constituted legitimate behavior on the part of government representatives.⁴ On 14 August 1985, Fujinami issued a public statement that presented the majority opinion—and the government’s preferred view—that paying homage at the shrine would not constitute a violation of the constitutional separation of religion and state if Prime Ministers and Cabinet members made it clear that their actions were simply expressions of respect toward the war dead and without religious significance. This could be achieved, he explained, by avoiding the Shinto rituals usually performed on such occasions.⁵

The majority position and final recommendation of Fujinami’s committee was based in part on a consideration of the 1977 Supreme Court Decision (13 July) on whether the use of municipal funds for the Tsu City *Jichinsai* (grounds purification rite) in 1965 constituted a violation of Article 20 of the Constitution. The Supreme Court ruled that if the purpose of the activity (*kōi no mokuteki*

³ The record of these meetings and the materials reviewed by the advisory committee in 1984–1985 are available online, and a part of the larger collection of Yasukuni Shrine-related documents in the National Diet Library (第四期 昭和五〇(一九七五)年から平成一二(二〇〇〇)年まで (三)「閣僚の靖国神社参拝に関する懇談会」関係資料); see: http://dl.ndl.go.jp/view/download/digidepo_999337_po_1027-1126.pdf?contentNo=34.

⁴ On the divided opinions of the committee, see Hardacre (1989, p. 151), and Reid (1991, p. 50, n. 31).

⁵ In this statement, Fujinami recognized the concerns of some critics who claimed that shrine visits by officials will lead to a “revival of prewar State Shintō and militarism” (*senzen no Kokka Shintō oyobi gunkoku shugi no fukkatsu* 戦前の国家神道及び軍国主義の復活). He indicated that care would be taken so that does not happen, but made no reference to the recommendation that a religiously “neutral” memorial site be created as an alternative to Yasukuni Shrine. His statement is available online: http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/tuitou/dai2/siryō1_7.html (last accessed 2 October 2015).

行為の目的) was not religious, and the action did not aim to support or promote one particular religion (*shūkyō ni taisuru enjō, jochō, sokushin* 宗教に対する援助、助長、促進) or involve coercion or interference (*appaku, kanshō nado* 圧迫、干渉等) in the free practice of another religion, then the activity would not constitute a violation of Article 20. In short, the majority opinion and recommendation to Fujinami was based on the expansion of this judicial interpretation from *jichinsai* to include *kōshiki sanpai*.⁶

On 15 August, Prime Minister Nakasone visited Yasukuni Shrine and closely followed the approach recommended by Fujinami. He went directly to the main hall, bowed once (本殿において一礼する方式), but did not observe the traditional Shintō protocol, which normally includes a purification ritual, an offering a sprig of the sakaki 榊 tree, and the usual ritual process of two bows, clapping of the hands twice, and a final bow (*nirei, nihakushu, ichirei* 二礼二拍手一礼). Rather than making a direct financial donation, Nakasone simply used public funds to purchase the flowers that were offered on the occasion of his visit. The general public may have been oblivious to these fine distinctions between “religious” and “non-religious” observances and simply regarded Nakasone as a “pro-Yasukuni” nationalist when he made the visit accompanied by most of his Cabinet members. The head priest, Matsudaira Nagayoshi, however, was incensed that the traditional rites had been abandoned and regarded Nakasone’s visit as a sign of disrespect to the kami enshrined there.⁷

In spite of the efforts by Fujinami and Nakasone to redefine “official visits” as civic and non-religious and therefore constitutional, critics were hardly persuaded given the fact that the ritual respect accorded the war dead occurred in an institution registered with the government as a religious corporation (*shūkyō hōjin*). Within Japan many intellectuals and religious leaders expressed their strong opposition to the Prime Minister’s initiative, and domestic lawsuits were launched against Nakasone and the government for violating the constitutional separation of religion and state.⁸ International criticism also appeared in newspapers and media reports in China, North Korea, South Korea, Singapore, and the Soviet Union.⁹ The negative press and reaction was such that Nakasone canceled his planned visit to the shrine the following year. As a result, “official” prime ministerial visits to the shrine were avoided for over a decade and the debate subsided.

⁶ This explanation is found on p. 98 of the final report: <http://www.ndl.go.jp/jp/diet/publication/document/2007/200704/1027-1126.pdf>.

⁷ More details about this incident and Matsudaira’s response may be found in *Yasukuni Jinja sengo hishi: A-kyū senpan o gōshi shita otoko* 靖国神社戦後秘史: A級戦犯を合祀した男, Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 2007, pp. 76–78. NHK News coverage of the 15 August 1989 visit is available at the following site, which includes Nakasone’s clear explanation to reporters that he was engaging in an “official” (*kōshiki sanpai*) visit as Prime Minister and it was an appropriate action for Cabinet members: http://cgi2.nhk.or.jp/archives/tv60bin/detail/index.cgi?das_id=D0009030198_00000.

⁸ As it turns out, the two courts adjudicating these cases followed the reasoning of the justices in the 1977 Supreme Court Decision regarding the Tsu City *jichinsai* case mentioned above and ruled against the plaintiffs. In the decisions of both the Osaka District Court (November 1989) and the Fukuoka Court (December 1989) it was determined that Nakasone’s actions had not violated Article 20 since the religious freedom of the plaintiffs had not be infringed upon in any way. As David Reid has noted, these rulings indicate “that ‘separation issues’ have been reduced to ‘religious freedom’ issues. Unless coercion can be proved, there is no religious freedom issue, and if there is no religious freedom issue, there is no separation issue” (see David Reid 1991, p. 51).

⁹ See Breen (2010, pp. 284–86) for more detailed discussion of the negative international reaction to Nakasone’s visit.

Critical Perspectives on “Official Visits”

Several months after Prime Minister Nakasone’s controversial visit, the “minority” perspectives of some advisory committee members were published in the November 1985 issue of *Jurist*, which was devoted to the problem of “official visits to Yasukuni Shrine.” While their alternative views had been referred to in the report submitted to Chief Cabinet Secretary Fujinami, this publication provided a fuller treatment of their arguments against the “majority” recommendation that official visits to Yasukuni be resumed. This special issue contained articles by both Umehara and Sono, which explained their concerns about Yasukuni Shrine and government support for “official visits.”¹⁰ Here I provide a brief synopsis of their positions.

Umehara Takeshi’s Perspective

In his article entitled “The Merits and Demerits of Official Visits to Yasukuni Shrine,” Umehara offered a pragmatic approach to the issue and identified some key problems associated with shrine visits by government representatives.¹¹ His essay begins with the acknowledgement that he and some of the other members of the Advisory Committee—along with most constitutional scholars—regarded “official visits” to Yasukuni Shrine as a clear violation of the separation of religion and state. One member of the committee, however, opposed the strong focus on the current Constitution—seen as a foreign imposition by General MacArthur—and argued that it should not be regarded as the basis for final arbitration of the issue; rather, in his view, the Constitution needed to be revised as soon as possible.¹² Umehara, however, expressed appreciation for the postwar Constitution—regardless of its “foreign” connections—since it brought about significant democratic reforms and helped to liberate Japan from a misguided nationalism. After expressing his opposition to any hasty revision of the Constitution, he focuses his attention on other reasons why official visits should either be “promoted” or “avoided,” and argues that the “merits” and “demerits” for such visits should be reviewed and a decision made after the sum total is calculated. Although this was the approach he proposed to the Advisory Committee, the majority were not persuaded and the Committee’s final recommendation, he explains, was based on the “mood” among the members after a rather “heated discussion.”¹³

Umehara highlights two potential “merits” of prime ministerial visits to Yasukuni. Firstly, if such visits were resumed it would satisfy the longing of many bereaved families (*Nihon izokukai*) for proper recognition of their deceased family members by the government. While Yasukuni has memorialized

¹⁰ This special issue also contained essays by some of the others who served on the advisory committee as well as Murakami Shigeyoshi, a well-known historian and critic of Yasukuni Shrine and the system of State Shinto.

¹¹ “Kōshiki sanpai no meritto to demeritto” 公式参拝のメリットとデメリット. *Jurist* ジュリスト 848 (1985), pp. 10–16.

¹² Umehara (1985, p.10). Although Umehara does not refer to this committee member by name, I suspect that it was Etō Jun (1932–1999), a “pro-Yasukuni” literary critic who until his death provided intellectual support for those in the government promoting Yasukuni Shrine and the particular “memory” of the war as represented by Yūshūkan. Ann Sherif (2007, p. 141) has noted Etō’s disappointment with what he felt was an over-emphasis on the legal and constitutional dimension of the Yasukuni issue and lack of attention to “cultural issues” in the Committee’s deliberations.

¹³ The Japanese here is: *Nihon de wa, sanseiba to hantaiha ga gekiron shita sue ni nantonaku mu-do ni yotte kimatte shimau koto ga ōi* 日本では、賛成派と反対派が 激論した末に何となくムードによってきまってしまうことが多い (Umehara 1985, p. 11).

them as heroic spirits (*eirei* 英霊), the fact the prime ministers in the postwar period have often been willing to visit the shrine only in a “private capacity” is regarded as a slight by bereaved families who lost a family member in wars fought on behalf of the Emperor and nation. Umehara recalls that during the months the Committee was deliberating these issues, he received many thousands of cards from individuals and families expressing their hope that the meaning of their deaths and the deep loss they experienced would be fully understood and officially recognized. After the Committee’s recommendation that “official visits” be resumed was made public, he then received many cards expressing appreciation. In light of this kind of popular response, he concludes that by addressing the felt needs of the bereaved families is clearly one “merit” in favor of the majority position on official visits.

Umehara also acknowledged a second possible merit—emphasized by a number of those on the Committee—which is that national defense would be enhanced if official visits were resumed. If the government does not show proper respect, honor, and gratitude toward those who sacrificed their lives for the nation in the past, it would be unreasonable to expect citizens to willingly offer their lives for their country in a future time of national emergency. While Umehara suggests that there are probably counter arguments that could be made against this line of reasoning, he concedes that many would likely regard this as a “merit” and an additional reason to support official visits to Yasukuni.

In Umehara’s view, these “merits” are outnumbered by the “demerits,” which he gives more detailed treatment. The first problem is the potential impact of official shrine visits on Japan’s international relations. Writing at a time when Japan was in the midst of difficult trade negotiations and conflict with the United States and Europe, Umehara felt that maintaining friendly relations with Japan’s closest neighbors—Korea and China—would be vitally important for economic stability in the future. Although one or two members of the committee shared his concerns, most were “utterly indifferent” to the possibility that prime ministerial visits would damage Japan’s international relations. Given what Yasukuni Shrine represents to China and Korea, however, Umehara anticipated that official visits by prime ministers would lead to the negative reactions and diplomatic problems, which, in fact, did occur following Nakasone’s August visit.

The second problem or demerit has to do with the particular form of Shinto institutionalized by Yasukuni Shrine, which he regards as a distortion of authentic Japanese tradition. Umehara confesses that for several decades he struggled with the question of whether the ultranationalism of the wartime period was a natural and inevitable expression of Japan’s spiritual heritage or based upon a misunderstanding of that spiritual tradition by right-wing thinkers. If it does in fact represent authentic Japanese tradition, then he worries whether it is possible to derive spiritual principles from this tradition that can provide the foundation for Japan to maintain a peaceful existence in the international world today.¹⁴

Umehara explains that after three decades of research, he reached the conclusion that Yasukuni Shrine—its beliefs and practices—deviates from Japanese tradition in significant ways. For example, the exclusive memorialization of the war dead by Yasukuni Shrine—and only those who died on behalf of Japan—he views as a post-Meiji development that departs significantly from ancient Japanese tradition and practice. Prior to the formation of State Shinto under the influence of the

¹⁴ Umehara 1985, p. 12.

Hirata School of Shinto, he argues, traditional care of the dead included both Shinto and Buddhist rites, the latter closely associated with both the care of the ancestors (*shirei no chinkon* 死霊の鎮魂) and the pacification of dangerous spirits (*onryō shizume* 怨霊鎮め).¹⁵

While he acknowledges that Yasukuni Shrine provides some traditional Shinto rites for the care of the dead, its monopoly over the war dead—which eliminates Buddhist ritual care—constitutes an abandonment of authentic Japanese tradition. He goes on to explain that the development of State Shinto from the early Meiji period was due to the influence of the Hirata School and its concern to purify native traditions from foreign influences. This shaped the government policies that abolished the place of Buddhism and led to the disintegration of the natural co-existence and reverence for both kami and buddhas, which he claims characterized life in pre-modern Japan.

According to Umehara, the development of State Shinto from the Meiji period not only damaged Buddhism, but also had negative repercussions for the Shinto tradition. The authority and control over shrines by priestly families was replaced by government administration. Furthermore, many local traditions and practices were often eliminated as Shinto was reorganized around Ise Jingū and the ancestral deities of the Imperial household, Meiji Shrine and the kami of the Meiji Emperor, and Yasukuni Shrine, which enshrined the deified soldiers who gave their lives for the emperor and nation. Umehara argues that this *was not the structure of traditional Shinto*, but a new form reconstructed (*kaizō* 改造) in relation to nationalism. The key “demerit” of *kōshiki sanpai*, in short, is that it represents a tacit approval of a distorted version of Japanese tradition that will give people both inside and outside Japan the impression that the government is seeking to revive or resurrect the old wartime nationalism that was supported by State Shinto. The narrow nationalism supported by official visits to Yasukuni Shrine, he concludes, is misguided and inappropriate for Japan to function as a member of international society today.¹⁶

Given that Yasukuni Shrine represents a distortion of authentic Japanese spiritual tradition, Umehara proposed that a new memorial site (*matsuri no basho* 祭りの場所) be established to honor the war dead as an alternative to Yasukuni Shrine. This would be a site where people of any religious affiliation could conduct memorial services according to their own faith tradition, and it would *exclude the war criminals* that Yasukuni Shrine “arbitrarily enshrined” (*katte ni gōshi shita* 勝手に合祀した).¹⁷ He suggests that it could also serve as a memorial site for others who gave their lives in public service in the postwar period, including, for example, members of the Self-Defense Force (*Jieitai*).¹⁸ While some might suggest that reform of the current war memorial site are possible, Umehara quotes a well-known biblical text—“new wine is put into fresh wineskins” (Matthew 9:17)—to conclude his argument that only an entirely new site unencumbered by the problems associated with Yasukuni Shrine will ever be regarded as an acceptable and legitimate memorial institution by the larger Japanese public and Japan’s neighbors in Asia.

¹⁵ Umehara 1985, pp. 14–15.

¹⁶ Umehara 1985, p. 15.

¹⁷ It should be noted that Yasukuni conducted these enshrinements under pressure from the government and with a sense of responsibility to fulfill the promises made to the soldiers when they departed for war.

¹⁸ Umehara 1985, p. 16.

Sono Ayako's Perspective

Sono similarly argues that a new religiously neutral memorial site needs to be established as an alternative to Yasukuni, but for some other reasons not addressed by Umehara.¹⁹ At the outset, Sono makes it clear that she regards “official visits” by prime ministers and cabinet members to be a clear violation of the Constitution. Given that Yasukuni was registered as a religious corporation (*shūkyō hōjin*) in 1946, and conducts its rituals according to Shinto tradition, it is impossible to argue that it is a religiously neutral site that simply observes the ancient Japanese custom of spirit pacification (*irei* 慰霊). In her view, the notion that what goes on in the shrine precincts is either non-religious or religiously neutral is something that will never be accepted from the international commonsense point of view.²⁰

Sono notes the argument made by some—that the only reason Yasukuni became a *shūkyō hōjin* and was clearly identified as a Shinto institution—was simply as a strategy to survive the particular circumstances of the Occupation. Sono reasons that if that is, in fact, the case, the shrine administrators could end the Shinto monopoly and make arrangements so that all religions could conduct their own services within precincts. If arrangements for equal access were guaranteed, she would not be opposed to the preservation of the sanctuary (*shinden* 神殿), or Great Torii, as it stands nor to the continued management of the facility by Shinto priests. The fact that this kind of change would never be accepted is clear evidence that the shrine is biased toward one particular religion (*akirana ni tokutei shūkyō ni katayotteiru* 明らかに特定宗教に偏っている), which means that “official visits” to the shrine as it operates today would violate the Constitution by giving support or endorsement to one particular religious tradition.²¹

The normalization of such “official visits,” she also fears, could lead to restrictions on religious freedom or the freedom to oppose participation in rites of any kind. If “official visits” are defined as the duty of all those holding public office, it could lead to situations of coercion in which individuals with other religious convictions are required to participate in Shinto rites.²² While she believes that prime ministers and government officials should express their gratitude and remember those who gave their lives for the nation, Yasukuni Shrine remains a problematic site for this to be a duty of those holding public office.

¹⁹ Sono 1985, pp. 32–34. My analysis of Sono’s changing views of Yasukuni Shrine here overlaps with John Breen’s earlier treatment; see his “The Danger is Ever Present: Catholic Critiques of the Yasukuni Shrine in Postwar Japan,” *Japan Mission Journal* 63:2 (2009), pp. 111–22; “Popes, Bishops and War Criminals: Reflections on Catholics and Yasukuni in Postwar Japan,” *Asia-Pacific Journal* 9-3-10 (1 March 2010), online at: <http://www.japanfocus.org/-John-Breen/3312>; and “Voices of Rage: Six Paths to the Problem of Yasukuni,” in *Politics and Religion in Modern Japan: Red Sun, Shite Lotus*, ed. Roy Starrs (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Sono is, of course, just one well-known Catholic example. For consideration of the Yasukuni stances of other Catholics, including Fr. Bruno Bitter, former Prime Minister Asō Tarō, Fr. Nishiyama Toshihiko, and Kevin Doak, see Breen’s studies cited above and Mullins (2010, 2013).

²⁰ The Japanese here is “*kokusaiteki jōshiki kara ittemo fukanō to omowaremasu*” 国際的常識から言っても不可能と思われ (Sono 1985, p. 32).

²¹ Sono 1985, p. 32.

²² The Japanese here is “*Shinkyō no jiyū no shingai ni naru ke-su o hikiokoshikanenai to omowaremasu*” 信教の自由の侵害になるケースを引き起こしかねないと思われ (Sono 1985, p. 32); on this point, see also Breen (2010, p. 6).

To avoid these potential problems, Sono concludes that it is necessary to construct a new memorial site or *kinenbyō* (記念廟) for the war dead. This would need to be a religiously neutral space where people and religious organizations could freely conduct memorial services according to their own tradition. It is only in such a place that government officials will be able to participate in official visits without impediments or controversy.

Post-Nakasone Developments: Conciliatory Efforts and Resurgent Neonationalism

Given the domestic and international reaction to his 1985 Yasukuni Shrine visit, Nakasone avoided making another visit while in office. It would be eleven years before another Prime Minister would visit the shrine, and it was during this moratorium period that some political leaders made significant efforts to actually improve diplomatic relations through the public acknowledgment of Japan's imperial past. It was in the short three-year interlude (1993–1996) to the postwar domination by the Liberal Democratic Party that several leaders of the coalition government initiated “apology diplomacy.” Chief Cabinet Secretary Kōno Yōhei made a statement and apology in response to the study on the “comfort women” issue (4 August 1993), and both Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro (23 August 1993) and Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi (15 August 1995) made apologies for the pain and suffering caused by Japan's military aggression and colonial rule.²³

This public recognition of responsibility of Japan as the aggressor (*kagaisha*) towards its neighbors in Asia represented a significant shift in orientation among some political leaders. This admission clearly challenged the revisionist narrative of Japan's imperial past celebrated at Yasukuni Shrine and promoted by Yūshūkan, the shrine's war museum, as a glorious effort to “liberate Asia” from Western imperialism. It is not surprising that these public admissions of guilt generated a critical response from the far right. Reflecting on these official apologies, for example, Ishihara Shintarō, the ardent nationalist and Governor of Tokyo, stated how appalled he was by Hosokawa's “ignorance of history that allowed him to declare that our war in the Pacific was a war of aggression,” and stated that “Murayama's sentimentalism about ‘painful repentance and heartfelt apologies,’ amounted to a desecration of our nation's history.”²⁴

Murayama's resignation and Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryūtarō's visit to Yasukuni Shrine on his birthday in late July 1996—some eleven years since Nakasone's controversial visit—clearly marked the end to this brief conciliatory period and the beginning of a new period of nationalism. Elsewhere I have analyzed in some detail the significant surge in a range of neonationalistic initiatives over the past two decades, which were facilitated by the widespread sense of social crisis that followed the 1995

²³ These statements are available on the official sites below: Chief Cabinet Secretary Kono Yohei's statement on the result of the study on the issue of “comfort women” (4 August 4 1993), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/women/fund/state9308.html>; Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro's Policy Speech to the 127th Session of the National Diet (23 August 1993), <http://japan.kantei.go.jp/127.html>; and Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi's Statement “On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the war's end” (15 August 1995), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press/pm/murayama/9508.html>.

²⁴ Ishihara made this statement following a visit to Yasukuni Shrine in August 2001. Quoted in John Nathan, *Japan Unbound* (2004), p.170.

and 2011 disaster years.²⁵ These include the renewed efforts by LDP leadership to promote official Yasukuni Shrine visits, to restore and strengthen patriotic education, and their plans to revise the Constitution. These are all related to a larger “restorationist vision” embraced by the far right of the LDP and its affiliated groups, such as Shinto Seiji Renmei and Nippon Kaigi, and the movement to “recover” what was destroyed by the reforms enacted during the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945–52).

Official visits to Yasukuni Shrine by Prime Ministers, Cabinet members, and Diet members have increased markedly over the past two decades. This significant surge is closely related to the leadership of Prime Minister Koizumi Jun’ichirō, who visited a number of times between 2001 and 2006, and that of Prime Minister Abe Shinzō, who visited on 26 December 2013. There was considerable domestic opposition to these visits and court cases were launched against both Koizumi and Abe. In the cases brought against Koizumi, the Fukuoka District Court in April 2004 and the Osaka High Court in September 2005 ruled that the plaintiffs’ legal interests had not been infringed upon by the Prime Minister’s visits; however, the two judges involved in these cases did offer their opinions—*obiter dictum*—that the Prime Minister’s patronage of Yasukuni Shrine had violated Article 20 of the Constitution. Their additional statements were “non-binding,” as John Breen points out, but the media coverage of these rulings generated some misunderstanding among the public.²⁶ The two cases against Prime Minister Abe are still in process.

These prime ministerial visits—as in the case of Nakasone—have again been followed by strong condemnations from South Korea and China, and even a public expression of disappointment was made by the United States in response to Abe’s most recent visit. Although Prime Minister Abe has restrained himself from making another official visit, he continues to make offerings to the shrine—as recently as the fall festival in October 2016—and even though these offerings are made with “personal” funds (*shibi* 私費), Foreign Ministry officials from China and Korea have still responded critically and repeatedly to urge Japanese leaders to reflect deeply on the history Japan’s aggression and make a clear break from this militaristic past.

Resisting and Riding the Wave of Neonationalism: Some Concluding Comparative Observations

Japan appears to be stuck where it was three decades ago when Nakasone made his controversial visit to Yasukuni Shrine. History is now repeating itself and a resolution to the conflict over Yasukuni Shrine remains unlikely for the foreseeable future. The proposal by Umehara and Sono to build an alternative site to memorialize the war dead has never gained much public support. It did receive some serious attention from scholars,²⁷ and in 2009 Prime Minister Hatoyama Yukio indicated that he was in favor of restarting discussions about this possibility, but his time in office was too short

²⁵ Here I am referring to the “double disaster” of 1995—the Awaji-Hanshin earthquake in January and the Aum Shinrikyō subway sarin gas attack in March—and the 11 March 2011 “triple disaster” of the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear meltdown at the Fukushima Daiichi plant. See Mullins (2012, 2015a, 2015b).

²⁶ See Breen (2011, pp. 282–283) for a more detailed discussion of the *obiter dictum* following the Osaka and Fukuoka Court decisions.

²⁷ For example, see the collection of essays edited by the International Institute for the Study of Religion, *Atarashii tsuitō shisetsu wa hitsuyō ka* 新しい追悼施設は必要か (2004).

to pursue it.²⁸ Preparing an alternative and religiously neutral memorial site might rationally solve the constitutional issues surrounding religion-state separation and the international foreign relations nightmare associated with “official visits” to a shrine that memorializes war criminals and maintains an affiliated war museum (Yūshūkan) that celebrates a revisionist history. Some have proposed that the nearby Chidorigafuchi National Cemetery, which memorializes over three hundred thousand unidentified war dead, be expanded as an alternative.²⁹ The fact remains, however, that the majority of Japanese expressing concern about the proper remembrance of the war dead are emotionally attached to Yasukuni Shrine and regard it as the only legitimate site for spiritual communion with deceased family members and fallen comrades.

Over the course of three decades, Umehara has maintained his critical stance and continued to express opposition to government support for Yasukuni Shrine. In 2004, for example, in response to Prime Minister Koizumi’s persistence in visiting Yasukuni Shrine, Umehara published an editorial in *Asahi shinbun* (20 April 2004), criticizing the Prime Minister for his refusal to “listen to the opinions of experts and to reflect seriously upon his own biases.” “It is deplorable,” he continued, “that Prime Minister Koizumi seems bent on repeating the example of Prime Minister Tōjō, a man devoid of reason, who with no small amount of bravado launched a reckless war and refused to end it even after defeat had become all but certain, bringing untold suffering upon the Japanese people.”³⁰

In *Kami goroshi no Nihon* (2006) and *Nihon no dentō to wa nani ka* (2010), Umehara provided a more detailed treatment of his criticism that Yasukuni Shrine represents a distortion of authentic Japanese tradition, an argument he expands to include the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku chokugo*, 1890). In his view, misguided leaders have idealized this document as the basis for educational reform and the promotion of patriotism in contemporary Japan. Umehara rejects these attempts to revive key elements of what he refers to as *Tennōkyō*, which characterized wartime Japan. He argues that all of this was part of a manufactured system rooted in the narrow-minded and intolerant orientation of the Kokugaku movement that influenced the reshaping of Japanese tradition from the Meiji period.³¹ In developing his alternative moral vision, Umehara draws on Buddhist ethical teachings and the Shinto traditions that pre-dated *Tennōkyō* (i.e., State Shinto).

Umehara has been very critical of the more recent movement to revise the Fundamental Education Law (*Kyōiku kihon hō*) and signed a joint declaration to that effect on 18 July 2002. This statement asserted that the law in its current form, in fact, provided the ideals appropriate to nurture individuals for the twenty-first century.³² The revisions proposed by Abe’s government were seen to be a reversion to the wartime education system that diminished individual rights and involved various forms of coercion. Abe succeeded in passing the legislation to revise the Fundamental Education Law

²⁸ Reported in the *Asahi shinbun*, 11 August 2009.

²⁹ Since Chidorigafuchi has no official religious affiliation it would pass the test of “neutrality,” but Sono (1985, pp. 32–33) suggested in her earlier statement that it was too small to serve as an adequate alternative site.

³⁰ The English version of Umehara’s piece was published as “Official Visit to Yasukuni Shrine Invite the Revenge of Reason,” trans. Steven Platzer, *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 2, issue 4, 2004.

³¹ Umehara 2006, pp. 33–34.

³² The declaration (*seimei* 声明), was entitled “Kyōiku to bunka o sekai ni hirakareta mono ni: Kyōiku kihonhō ‘kaiaku’ ni hantai suru yobikake” (教育と文化を世界に開かれたものに: 教育基本法「改悪」に反対する呼びかけ); available online: http://www.ne.jp/asahi/kyokasho/net21/gyoji_020718kihonhou.htm.

in 2006, and coercion has returned to public schools as a result. Today the use of the the Kimigayo (national anthem) and Hinomaru (national flag) are no longer voluntary, and teaching staff face disciplinary action if they fail to comply with the directives from the government and local school principals to lead students in singing the anthem for official school ceremonies.

Umehara was a founding member of the Article 9 Association—along with Ōe Kenzaburō and several other intellectuals—and he has opposed the current government’s “reinterpretation” of the “Peace” Constitution and its plans for revision. His editorial in the *Kyōto shinbun*, “Itsuka kita michi” (いつか来た道), revealed a broader concern that the orientation and direction of the Abe government will lead Japan to repeat the mistakes that took the nation on the path of militarism and war from the late nineteenth century until 1945.³³ It is his generation—those who actually experienced the war—who seem most concerned to preserve the postwar Constitution, and Umehara fears many younger Japanese lack the historical understanding needed to resist the agenda being advanced by the Abe government.

In stark contrast to Umehara’s critical stance, Sono has apparently had a conversion (*tenkō* 転向) of sorts and has fully embraced the neonationalistic agenda. Her new perspective was made public in her 2005 article, “I will visit Yasukuni Shrine” (Yasukuni ni mairimasu).³⁴ In this piece, there is no mention of her earlier proposal for an alternative site; rather, she emphasizes how important it is to remember those who sacrificed themselves for the nation at Yasukuni Shrine. She also expresses her view that foreign governments should not play role in deciding on whether or not one visits Yasukuni Shrine (i.e., Japan should not “be bullied by China’s interference in domestic affairs”). The proposal that Class A war criminals be removed from the Shrine is also rejected by Sono as this would be tantamount “to setting oneself up as a human to pass judgment just like God,” something she regards as a “frightening position.”³⁵

In this article and, again, in her book, *Kokka no toku*, Sono reports that she now visits Yasukuni annually with her husband, Miura Shumon, who felt compelled to return on account of the two classmates he lost during the war. The promise many soldiers made before departing to the frontlines of battle, “*Shindara Yasukuni de aou*” (死んだら靖国で会おう), is regarded by Miura and many other veterans as a binding covenant between the living and the dead. Sono’s empathy for these veterans feelings and experiences moved her to embrace a positive view of the shrine, which she now believes must be preserved (“*Yasukuni wa hitsuyō nano da*” 靖国は必要なのだ).³⁶

She also attributes her change in perspective to be based in part on the religious teaching she received in Catholic schools. As she explained in the earlier 2005 article: “On August 15 this year, my husband and I will visit Yasukuni Shrine. Some say that it is not right for me, as a Catholic, to do so. My reply is that one of the things I learned from the British and German nuns at the convent

³³ Umehara Takeshi 梅原猛, “Itsuka kita michi” いつか来た道, *Kyōto shinbun*, 5 January 2014.

³⁴ Sono Ayako, “I Will Visit Yasukuni,” *Japan Echo*, December 2005, pp. 51–54, translated and abridged from “Yasukuni ni mairimasu,” *Shokun!*, September 2005 (Bungei Shunjūsha), pp. 36–41. See Breen (2009, pp. 114–16) for another discussion of the shift in Sono’s perspective and the pro-Yasukuni views of her husband, Miura Shumon, another Catholic intellectual.

³⁵ Sono 2005b, p. 53.

³⁶ Sono 2012, pp. 228–30. Breen (2009, p. 115) has also noted the impact of this veteran’s personal story on the change in Sono’s position.

school I attended was, ‘If you can, fulfill other people’s wishes.’ The thinking behind this precept can be found in the epistles of Saint Paul.”³⁷ In this case, Sono has clearly prioritized the “wishes” of veterans and members of the Bereaved Families Association. But one can legitimately inquire why this empathetic approach is not extended to her neighbors in Korea and China, who find Yasukuni Shrine’s memorialization of Class A war criminals as offensive, or to those Buddhist and Christian Japanese who are deeply troubled by the enshrinement of their family members without permission.³⁸

Turning to the issue of patriotic education, Sono, along with her husband, Miura, are clearly among the LDP’s strongest supporters. Part 1 of her 2011 book—*Kyōiku wa kyōsei kara hajimaru*—that is, “education starts with coercion,” certainly reflects her strong support for the education policies and reforms that have accompanied the revision of the Fundamental Education Law in 2006.³⁹ In this section of *Tamashii o yashinau kyōiku, aku kara manabu kyōiku* 魂を養う教育 悪から学ぶ教育, Sono criticizes the postwar education system for over-emphasizing the cultivation of individuality and exercise of individual rights and freedoms. This perspective clearly draws on her husband’s views and his earlier book, *Nihonjin o dame ni shita kyōiku: Kodomo ni waga shinnen o kyōsei subeshi*, in which he argues that the postwar system imposed by the American Occupation was a form of brainwashing and based on a rejection of Japanese values.⁴⁰ Given the excessive individualism and loss of Japanese values apparent today, Sono and Miura provide strong support of the education reforms now being advanced by the LDP government—even if coercion is required and individual rights are diminished.

This brief review of the responses of Umehara and Sono to the Yasukuni Shrine issue and more recent initiatives aimed at reshaping public life and institutions indicates that our categories of “conservative” and “nationalistic” have been misleading and inadequate. More refined categories are clearly needed to make sense of how individuals, groups, and political parties actually line-up and, in some cases, change their positions on a range of controversial issues. Umehara and Sono are still both widely viewed as conservative public intellectuals, but on many key issues they are clearly poles apart and represent very different visions for the future of Japan.

³⁷ Sono 2005b, p. 54.

³⁸ The disregard for the feelings of these Asian neighbors appears to be related to a deeper disdain for things foreign and a concern to maintain the “purity” of the Japanese people. One of her more recent editorials in the conservative *Sankei shinbun* on “The Labor Shortage and Immigrants,” for example, advocated that Japan adopt an apartheid system of separate residential areas for foreign workers who come to Japan to meet the labor shortage. This was a lesson she thought could be learned from the experience of South Africa, a proposal that attracted widespread attention and criticism. See “Rōdōryoku fusoku to imin” 労働力不足と移民, *Sankei shinbun*, 11 February 2015.

³⁹ Sono 2011, p. 12.

⁴⁰ Miura 1998, pp. 82–98. It is worth noting that Sono is essentially repeating a line from this earlier book by her husband: “*Subete no kyōiku wa tsutaerubeki mono o oshieru kyōsei kara hajimaru* すべての教育は伝えるべきものを教える強制から始まる (p. 233).

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IV The Pacific Islands and Japan

After the Plane Crashed: Reactions to the Deaths of Japanese World War Two Internees at Whenuapai, New Zealand

Judith A. BENNETT

During World War Two, on a foggy, rainy night at 2.30 a.m. on 2 August 1943, a US Navy airplane, a C-87 Liberator began its take-off from Whenuapai air base, north of Auckland, New Zealand. On board there were 22 Japanese and three Thai civilian nationals, including five women and ten children, along with a United States crew of five. The plane, heading for Australia, crashed three minutes after take-off, killing eight Japanese, the three Thais and three of the crew, including the pilot. Witnesses were told to “forget everything” as were the medical personnel and the undertakers who cremated the dead internees on the 5th August.¹ With two subsequent deaths from injuries sustained, sixteen people were dead but because of the secrecy, few in New Zealand knew of it, not even after the war ended in 1945.² Silence prevailed until the early 2000s.

I aim to discuss the fate of the survivors and another group of Japanese internees who were supposed to fly out to Australia on the 3rd August 1943. I also intend to examine why the silence was so long lasting and this terrible tragedy of war has been almost forgotten.

After its invasion of China the Japanese government notified its nationals in the Pacific, beyond the Japanese mandate in Micronesia, to return home but, if this reached the south Pacific, it was ignored.³ When the war with Japan began with the bombing of Pearl harbour, Honolulu on 7 December 1941, colonial governments in the southern Pacific already had Japanese civilians under surveillance because of events in China. They rapidly took them into custody first in the islands then shipped them to either Australia or New Zealand where they joined German and Italian internees.⁴ Australia held the greater number from New Guinea, the New Hebrides and New Caledonia. Thirty-one men from Fiji and fourteen men from Tonga were taken to New Zealand to be interned at Somes (Matiu) Island in Wellington harbor, under the supervision of the New Zealand Army. Most from

¹ David Lomas, “Secret Deaths,” *The Listener*, 10 April 2010, 24.

² Secretary, Dept. of External Affairs to Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, 12 September 1943, List of dead and injured, c. 17 September 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand (hereinafter ANZ), Wellington.

³ Horomitsu Iwamoto, *Nanshin: Japanese Settlers in Papua and New Guinea, 1890–1949* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1999), 124–25; Tadao Kobayashi, *Les Japonais en Nouvelle Calédonie: histoires des émigrés sous contrat* (Noumea: Société d’études historiques de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, c.1992)

⁴ Iwamoto, *Nanshin*, 125–26; Blandy, Summary of events of the War, 1 January to 31 December 1941, New Hebrides, British series (NHBS) 19/111, 7/20, WPHC, Western Pacific Archives (hereinafter WPA), University of Auckland, New Zealand; Japanese internees from BSIP and New Hebrides, 11 December 1941, and enclosures, MP 1049/5, 1877/13/296, National Archives of Australia (hereinafter NAA), Melbourne; Meyer, Passage Money for 3 Japanese, December 1941, MP508/1, 1/701/607, NAA; Kobayashi, *Les Japonais*; French High Commissioner to Prime Minister, 13 January 1942, EA 1, 89/3/14, ANZ.

Fiji were fishermen or farmers while in Tonga most worked for Banno Brothers, a trading company.⁵ Seven of their wives and several children from Tonga were also interned but housed separately in a small town south of Auckland and watched over by a kindly policewoman, Edna Pierce.⁶ One woman, Jessie Banno, part Tongan and part Scottish, played a major role in helping the rest of the Japanese women because she was fluent in Japanese and English.⁷ The island wives of mainly the men from Fiji and a few from Tonga remained with any part-Japanese children in the islands.⁸

Living in New Zealand there were eleven Japanese men, most were very old and married into communities and were known to have no active connections with Japan. These were allowed to remain at their homes under house arrest. About three other Japanese were interned on Somes Island, with one of mixed ancestry being released after a few months.⁹ Here, the Swiss Consul, on behalf of the Government of Japan regularly assisted and inspected the internees to see they were cared for and the International Red Cross acted in a welfare capacity on their behalf. Perhaps one of the most challenging changes was the daily food as it was based on the rations of the New Zealand Army and lacked much rice, a scarce commodity in New Zealand. The men on Somes Island were allowed to fish and made productive vegetable gardens which helped their dietary needs. The Japanese women also made gardens where they were based.¹⁰ Overall, the neutral Swiss consul and go-between regarded the treatment of all the internees as being “very good”—all were fed, clothed and sheltered as well as getting medical treatment when needed.¹¹

As the War progressed, the Japanese interned thousands of British, US and allied civilians in Japan or the lands under their control. In 1942, international negotiations led to plans for the

⁵ Assistant High Commissioner to HBM's Consul, 25 Oct. 1944, BTC 7/1, MP 74/1943, Tonga Series, WPA; Luke to Prime Minister, 8 December 1941, AD 1, 336/1/27, ANZ; Commandant, Memo, 14 January 1942, WA II 2, Box 31, ANZ; Morel, Report on Visit paid to Civil Internment Camp, Somes Island, 9 June 1942, Report of visit to internment camp, 21 January 1943, EA 1, 89/3/13, ANZ EA 1, 89/3/13, ANZ. See also AD 1, 336/2/124, 336/2/125, 336/2/126, 336/2/127, 336/2/130, 336/2/131, 336/2/132, 336/2/133, 336/2/135, 336/2/136, 336/2/137, ANZ.

⁶ Shanahan to Commander of Police, 9 January 1942, EA 1, 89/5/2, Part 1, ANZ; Stephens to Secretary, 20 January 1942, Stephens, Notes Concerning Alienage of German and Japanese women, 31 December 1941, EA 1, 98/5/1, Pt 1, ANZ.

⁷ Stephens to Secretary, 20 January 1942, Stephens, Notes Concerning Alienage of German and Japanese women, 31 December 1941, EA 1, 98/5/1, Part 1, ANZ; Shanahan to Hamilton, 24 December 1942; Shanahan to Commander of Police, 9 January 1942, and enclosures, EA 1, 89/5/2, Part 1, ANZ; Valerie P. Redshaw, *Tact and Tenacity: New Zealand Women in Policing* (Wellington: Grantham House, 2006), 57.

⁸ Luke to Prime Minister, 8 December 1941, AD 1, 336/1/27, ANZ; Enclosures, F115/59/2, National Archives of Fiji (NAF).

⁹ Graeme Dunstall, *A Policeman's Paradise? Policing a Stable Society, 1918–1945: History of Policing in New Zealand*, vol. 4 (Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press?, 1999), footnote 64, 474; C. R. Bradwell, “Tsukigawa, Kazuyuki Kiyohci,” in *New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*, www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/Japanese/1/ENZ-Resources/Biography/1/mi (accessed 15 August 2016); Steven Oliver, “Noda Asajiro,” http://www.dnz.govt.nz/dnz/Find_Quick.asp?PersonEssay=2N17 (accessed 17 August 2016); AD 1, 336/2/22, ANZ.

¹⁰ Morel, Report on Visits paid to Civil Internment Camp, Somes Island, 9 June, 4 July 1942, 21 January 1943, Bossard to Red Cross, Geneva, 18 December 1942, EA 1, 89/3/13, ANZ; Bossard, Visit paid to Civil Internment Camp, Somes Island, September–October 1944, EA 1, 89/3/13, ANZ; Redshaw, *Tact and Tenacity*, 56. The daily rice ration for New Zealand Army personnel at the time was about 0.5 ounces each.

¹¹ Boussard, Report of Inspection of Camp, 24 September 1945, EA 1, 89/3/13, ANZ.

exchange of civilians to occur in some neutral country, such as Portugal's Goa on the west coast of India. Each protagonist wanted to get back their own people, preferably ones who might be able to add to intelligence about the enemy or contribute to industry or commerce.¹² Banno traders were in this commercial category and were prioritized. Both parties realised the problems and dangers facing ocean shipping to reach the neutral country. Although Japan was not a signatory to the 1929 Geneva Convention which laid out how prisoners of war (POWs) were to be treated, its government indicated it would follow these recommendations, so the Allies tried to act accordingly. The Allies too were aware that if they did not abide by the convention their internees and POWs might face retribution from the Japanese because it was not legally bound by the international convention.¹³

In the second half of 1943 Australia planned to send a ship load of internees to Goa, for exchange. All the Japanese internees in New Zealand were to join them at Tatura camp in Australia, if they were willing to go to Japan, though there is some doubt that those with families in the islands really wanted to go.¹⁴ The original plan of the New Zealand government was for the internees to go by a US vessel to Australia but ships were difficult to get, so the Commanding Officer of the US Naval Operating base, Captain Jupp, suggested the transfer by Navy plane to Sydney, as flights to US installations in Australia were common.¹⁵ By this time, the Japanese men had been moved to Pahiatua in Hawkes Bay as Somes Island had been fortified and was considered unsafe for them and the Germans and Italians.¹⁶ In late July, all the Japanese except three, too ill to travel, were brought in to the New Zealand Air Force base, Whenuapai airfield where several family members were re-united. There were to be two flights across to Australia, one on the 2nd and the other on the 3rd August.¹⁷

The Liberator airplane took off in secret at night when the visibility was very poor. After about three minutes in the air, it turned left as planned but was too low and crashed. A subsequent report by the New Zealand Air Force considered possible causes and found there was a likely error regarding the state of the direction of the wind and the effect of topography.¹⁸ Decades later, other reasons emerged. The crew, including the pilot, had been flying for 26 days ferrying US pilots to Guadalcanal from New Zealand and they were exhausted. The surviving co-pilot, John Wisda indicated that the experienced pilot, Herschel V. Laughlin failed to adjust the gyroscope and must have thought the plane had gained altitude when it had not.¹⁹

¹² Sinclair to Secretary, Dept. of External Affairs, 18 June 1942 and enclosures, MP 508/1, Item 255/102/2102, NAA, Melbourne; Sec of State to Prime Minister, 28 June 1942, and enclosures, MP 508/1/0, Item 225/702/2102, NAA, Melbourne. See also Iwamoto, Nanshin, 137–39. Iwamoto appears to have made an error with the dates as he states the negotiations were held a year later.

¹³ Mason W. Wynne, *Prisoners of War* (Wellington: Government printer, 1954), 185–86.

¹⁴ Judith A. Bennett, "Japanese Wartime Internees in New Zealand: Fragmenting Pacific Families," *Journal of Pacific History* 44, no. 1 (2009), 61–76.

¹⁵ Assistant Secretary, War Cabinet to Consul for Switzerland, 15 September, 1943; Testimony of Mr Foss Shanahan 13 August 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

¹⁶ Boussard, Report on Internment Camp at Pahiatua, 25–26 March 1943, EA I, 89/3/13, ANZ.

¹⁷ Schmidt, Consul to Shanahan, 15 September 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

¹⁸ Parry, Report on Evidence, Liberator (C-87) crash-Whenuapai, 2 August 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

¹⁹ David Lomas, "Secret Deaths", *The Listener*, 10 April 2010, 24; Bob Livingstone, *Under the Southern Cross: The B-24 Liberator in the South Pacific* (Paducah, KY: Turner Pub., 1998), 115. Livingstone incorrectly states the plane was headed for New Guinea, highly unlikely, considering it was a front-line combat area. Herschel Laughlin's

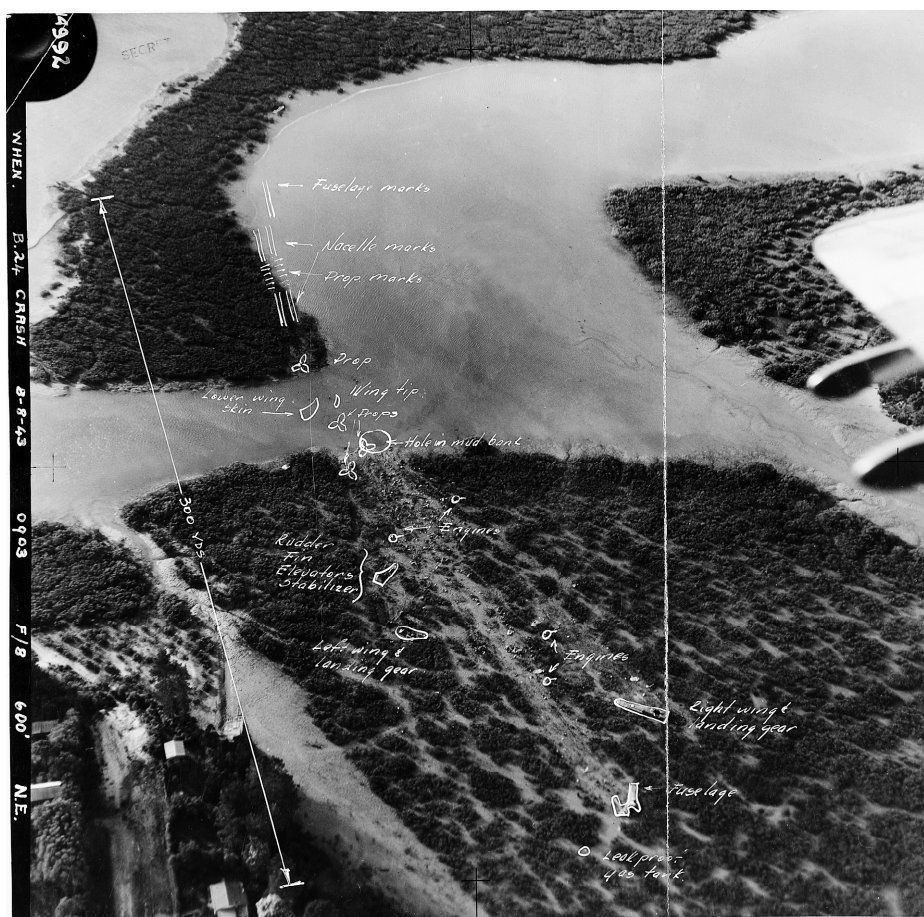


Figure 1. Details of crash site Whenuapai, August 1943. Bulk of fuselage located at bottom right of image. End of runway is at bottom left. File EAI675 record no 81/3/10, Archives New Zealand.

The survivors were treated at the Air Force base hospital and later at Auckland hospital. All the dead were collected and cremated, many identified by the Banno couple who with their son survived the crash.²⁰ The planned second flight was cancelled. In November 1943 almost all the internees were taken on the ship *Wahine* to Australia but the planned exchange and repatriation never occurred because of delays: The Australian government requested people the Japanese would not or could not hand over, and the Japanese wanted theirs who had strategic knowledge and Australia would not let them go. Soon too, the Japanese, with heavy losses at sea, could spare no ships to collect them.²¹

death was recorded in a US newspaper, as killed in an air crash without any details. *Medford Mail Tribune* (Oregon), 17 August 1943, 7.

²⁰ Schmidt to War Cabinet Secretary, 13 August 1943, Telegram 23 August 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ; David Lomas, "Secret Deaths," *The Listener*, 10 April 2010, 24; Redshaw, *Tact and Tenacity*, 58.

²¹ Thompson, Memo, Japanese Internees-Repatriation, 6 October 1943, and enclosures, WA II, 2 Box 29, INT/12, ANZ; Memo, 24 June 1946, [illegible] to Central government, 10 March 1944, AD I, 336/1/27, ANZ; Johnson to Premier, 18 February 1946, BCT 7/1, MP 74/1943, Tonga Series, WPA; Yuriko Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens: Japanese Internment in Australia*, Gōshū Nikkeijin kyōsei shūyō (St. Lucia, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1996), 96–102.

Subsequently with peace, all the internees were sent to Japan when the POWs were shipped, to face the harsh reality of a heavily depleted homeland and people. Except for the New Zealand Japanese who had British nationality anyway, those who had indicated they wanted to go back to the islands to re-join families or stay either in New Zealand or Australia were refused.²²

Wartime of itself enjoins secrecy. Movement of planes and ships, if widely known, could mean an enemy with advance information could attack and destroy. Any information regarding the internees was tightly controlled because there was much fear and anti-Japanese feeling in the country. The last thing the New Zealand government wanted was attacks by the public on Japanese civilians under their care.

Underlying this, the New Zealand government remained concerned about how the Japanese government would treat allied citizens interned by the Japanese as well as allied prisoners of war because Japan was not a signatory to the Geneva convention. So the desire to avoid any perceived deliberate action to hurt Japanese internees or prisoners was foremost in the minds of the New Zealand government and more so, as already there had been one incident that threatened the welfare of captured enemy aliens.

New Zealand concern had become a fear in February 1943 when a major confrontation and riot had occurred in the POW camp at Featherston, North Island which housed over 850 Japanese prisoners captured by US forces in Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands. Some 200 Japanese went on a sit-in strike and refused to work in the camp. Inexperienced guards, ignorant of the Japanese language, opened fire when one defied the guards. The Japanese responded with rock throwing, resulting in the deaths of 48 Japanese men, the wounding of 74, the death of one guard and six others hurt. The official inquiry by the New Zealand government put the blame on mutual 'cultural misunderstanding' and that under the Geneva Convention the prisoners could be required to work. By implication, this laid some of the responsibility on the guards, an admission the Dominion Office in London required New Zealand to change, since the British wanted the blame to fall on the prisoners. The original New Zealand report lay hidden for 30 years. Although the people of the town of Featherston helped the wounded and felt their shooting was cruel, the incident did little to change feeling towards the Japanese among the wider public, but removed culpability from the New Zealand guards. Under the Geneva Convention the report of inquiry into the incident, revised version, was sent by the neutral Swiss consul to Japan. The Japanese authorities, however, remained very sceptical of its findings.²³

In spite of the worry in August 1943 that the loss of the plane and the deaths and injuries of the Japanese internees aboard would further inflame the Japanese and cause them to ill-treat allied prisoners and civilians under their control, the New Zealand government quickly notified the Swiss consul and kept up an intense correspondence for some months. The consul already knew all about the transfer process because he had been in contact with the Swiss legation in London to pass on details to the Japanese government because this all related to the major planned exchange of people for repatriation. In fact, on 31 July he had sent on the names of three Japanese—two men and one woman—who could not go out on the plane to Australia due to illness. On the same day as the crash, the New Zealand government notified the consul by telephone which was confirmed in writing in

²² Bennett, "Japanese Wartime Internees," 72–75.

²³ Yasuhiro Ota, "Shooting and Friendship over Japanese Prisoners of War," MA thesis, Massey University, 2013, 18–44.

a letter sent on the 3rd August. He also received a copy of a telegram from the New Zealand Army Commander to the Red Cross in Geneva with a detailed list of the dead and injured. The consul continued to receive and pass on follow-up information from New Zealand, such as cremation arrangements and, in due course, details, for example on replacement clothing and personal effects of the Japanese and claims for destroyed valuables that were replaced or paid for. In turn, he also conveyed messages from the Japanese government to the New Zealand government. Almost all correspondence went via the Swiss legation, London while New Zealand copied most of its to the British Dominions office in London.²⁴

There were two issues for the Japanese government. Firstly, they wanted to know the cause of the crash. The New Zealand Air force quickly prepared a report on the probable cause. The US authorities also held a Court of Inquiry into the crash, and presumably obtained testimony from the two remaining crew, including John Wisda, the co-pilot, a copy of which went to New Zealand. The New Zealand Air force report could only be based on what was seen by witnesses not in the plane, such as the flight control traffic officer. The Japanese government wanted the US Court of Inquiry report from New Zealand. US Admiral Halsey, Commander of the fleet in the South Pacific when sending it to the Prime Minister of New Zealand made it clear, "that the contents of said report will not be communicated to other agencies."²⁵ The New Zealand government advised the Japanese to seek the report via the US state department, not New Zealand. Yet the New Zealand government believed this US report "would take very many months" to get to the Japanese government.²⁶ To try to facilitate this process New Zealand authorities instructed their legation in Washington to make a direct approach to the US state department to pass the US report to the Japanese government as quickly as possible.²⁷

Another issue for the Japanese government in relation to the victims of the crash was the question of compensation. While the Japanese accepted that New Zealand's ex-gratia payments for loss of personal effects of the living survivors was to their satisfaction, they pressed further for compensation for the loss of life. The New Zealand government refused and based this on the fact that once the internees went aboard the US plane, they were no longer responsible for them, particularly as there was no error or failure on New Zealand's part regarding the condition of the airplane or events on board.²⁸ The only other concern was the ashes of the dead. New Zealand made sure each urn had details of the deceased inscribed on it. The urns were given to K. Nagashima, the leader of the Japanese internees to take with him to Japan when the repatriation occurred.²⁹ Since the exchange failed to eventuate, it can only be assumed he took these back after the war when all the Japanese were shipped to Japan from Australia.

From the records, there is no evidence that the New Zealand government was trying to keep any of the events from the Japanese, though later information suggests some of the less pleasant aspects of the state of the bodies and parts of the dead were not detailed. So while the Japanese government and the allied authorities knew much of what happened, why was news of the crash kept so secret?

²⁴ Aircraft accident, enclosures, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

²⁵ Halsey to Fraser, 7 September 1943, enclosure, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

²⁶ Shanahan to Stevens, 18 September 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

²⁷ [Shanahan] to Halsey, 18 September 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

²⁸ Minute for file, 5 October 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

²⁹ Assistant Secretary to the war cabinet to Commissioner of police, 16 September 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

The common interpretation from more general accounts ignores the careful and lengthy procedures evident in the records of the events. They speak of a 'cover-up' and a 'closely guarded secret.'³⁰ At one level yes, there was initial secrecy but the main reason for this seems to be that public discussion of it may well have inflamed the situation while the four months of detailed communication and negotiation went on from early August until late November 1943. By then, the internees were in Australia and the two surviving US personnel almost certainly back in the US recuperating from their injuries. So, except for the witnesses, few of the wider public knew anything and the story basically was not revealed once the rapidly changing war situation dominated the media.

After the war, for a year or so, there were many accounts of internees as well as prisoners of war in New Zealand newspapers but these referred to wartime allies and their experiences with the Japanese captors, none of which was favourable. Soon after the Japanese surrendered, prisoners of war returning to New Zealand. Ironically, the first group arrived at Whenuapai in late September 1945 and soon their accounts of 'Jap brutality' and 'fiendish cruelty' by their captors emerged, to the disgust and horror of the New Zealand public.³¹ Both in New Zealand and Australia there were very bitter feelings towards the Japanese that took years to change although political leaders, looking to the future, attempted to normalise relations. Japan itself was occupied and trying to recover from the war. The story of the internees basically died as thoughts turned to peace and reconstruction.

In 1958 the parents of the co-pilot, John Wisda, came to New Zealand to visit the site of the crash. It was clear even from what they told newspaper reporters that they had a limited knowledge of the event other than their son was hurt but survived. They believed there were only 16 people on the plane, including the crew. There was no mention of the identity of the people. So secrecy still masked the details or Wisda had told his parent very little.³²

Under the 30-year rule, the New Zealand's government's records of the incident did not become available until the 1970s, but lay unread.³³ Some drew attention to the crash of the *Liberator*, beginning in the late 1980s when another airman commented that he has seen the scene of the crash soon after it happened and gradually more details became public.³⁴ In 2003, a TV documentary called 'Secret New Zealand' revealed the story, and soon the co-pilot John Wisda in the United States was interviewed and more detailed information came forward. Another instance of the intense secrecy at the time involved who was on the plane. Until he was told by the interviewer, Wisda had no idea there had been women and children on board and was upset to learn this.³⁵

³⁰ Today in History, Archives New Zealand, 2 August, <http://i.stuff.co.nz/national/today-in-history/10332332/Today-in-History-2-August> (accessed 20 August 2016); David Lomas, "Secret Deaths," *The Listener*, 10 April 2010, 24

³¹ *Auckland Star*, 21 September 1945, 4. See also *New Zealand Herald*, 7 September 1945, 7; *Evening Post*, 11 September 1945 7; 19 September 1945, 8; 21 September 1945, 8.

³² Undated newspaper cutting, "Where a miracle happened", c. 1958

³³ The main file at the National Archives of New Zealand is open to all. Files relating to each of the internees require permission to access because there are personal details that may hurt the living. For example, some of the Fiji-based Japanese had a legal wife in Japan and a de facto one and children in Fiji. This is in no way connected to the details of the airplane crash. See Bennett, "Japanese Wartime Internees."

³⁴ J. W. Sim, *Liberator Crash memories*, *New Zealand Wings*, November 1988.

³⁵ David Lomas, "Secret Deaths," *The Listener*, 10 April 2010, 24–25. This would also explain why Wisda's parents knew so little—he seems to have not known all the details himself.

In the war with Japan in 1943–1944 more pressing events had overtaken public interest and took attention away from this very sad event in New Zealand. At the time, secrecy was just as important to the Japanese side of the proposed exchanges, as it was to the Allies. The complex exchange arrangements could have so easily been hindered by public opinion and questioning. Release of the details of the crash at the time would not have served any purpose and could have undermined the careful diplomatic planning for future exchanges that were still thought to be possible. Understandably, wartime attitudes of the public towards the enemy in New Zealand were not positive. Moreover, post-war revelations of the Japanese treatment of Allied prisoners of war and civilian internees did nothing to change this feeling. The events surrounding the crashed plane almost faded into oblivion. And there is little of permanence now to remind both former protagonists of this planned ‘swap’ and the subsequent great loss, except a novel about a New Zealand child who had seen interned Japanese children and the list of the cremated dead in the cemetery record book held by Waitakere city council, near the site of the crash. There is no memorial to this tragedy of innocent people who perished and suffered far away from the battle field, but who, like so many civilians across the world, paid very dearly for a war their leaders believed would benefit their peoples and their countries.³⁶

³⁶ A novel for young adults, *The Swap* (Melbourne: Hachette Australia, 2004) by Wendy Catran deals with the event from the point of view of Japanese families from Tonga and a young New Zealand girl who saw a little girl like herself but who was Japanese. Their lives come together as adults.

Toward a Future of Travel Writing and History: Collecting, Researching, and Reflecting on Southwestern Pacific Islanders' Experiences of the Pacific War

Ryota NISHINO

Abstract

This essay follows wide definitions of travel and travelers, and explores the potential of travel writing as a medium of historical information. The travelers surveyed have acted as historians who collected and researched during and after their journeys. Yet, these accounts draw attention to two issues: the roles of interviewees, and the travelers' own development of historical consciousness. The writing on southwestern Pacific Islands shows the interviewees acted as historians and storytellers. The travel writers drew inspiration from their journeys and applied their understanding of war history to make better sense of the present and articulate ideal visions of the future.

Keywords: Japan, the Pacific War (1941–1945), Solomon Islands, New Guinea, travel writing, journalism, oral history, historical consciousness.

Introduction

This essay explores the process in which travel writers form their historical consciousness as a result of journeys to places of historical significance. In the process travel writers play the role of historians: they collect and reproduce historical information taken from numerous sources. This essay contends that travel writing can contribute to the growing literature on commemorating the Pacific War, because travel writing illuminates the dynamic between personal and inter-personal levels that render travelers into historians-in-the-making.¹ Arguably what makes travel writing distinct from other genres is the travel writers have visited the locations and absorbed the atmosphere, and even spoken with the local people who shared their memories. Travel writing shows the authors' views of the past, present and future. These views, in turn, present opportunities for the travel writers to negotiate and shape their values. This essay analyses a sample of three works of Japanese travel writing from the southwestern Pacific Island nations of Papua New Guinea (hereafter PNG) and the Solomon Islands, where Japanese fought the Allied forces in the Asia-Pacific War.² These Pacific Island nations are marginal destinations for mainstream Japanese, but have attracted veterans and families of deceased soldiers on pilgrimage.³ While the pilgrims tend not to publish their travelogues as commercial publications, the authors of commercially available travel writing tend to travel independently of veterans and bereaved families associations. Thus, travel writing has the potential to be a medium that

¹ See Seaton, 2007, for a comprehensive survey of controversy over Japan's wartime memory and commemoration.

² Until 1949 Papua New Guinea comprised two separate foreign-administered territories of Papua and New Guinea. Here I refer to Papua New Guinea as a collective term for both territories, but distinguish Papua and New Guinea where appropriate.

³ For detailed analyses of pilgrimage to Pacific Islands see Yamashita 2009.

illuminates the process where relative outsiders to war history gain an understanding of that history through the journeys they make and the process of writing.

In this essay I follow a definition of travel writing as a non-fiction genre in which the traveler's journey serves as the vehicle for meditation on various subjects including history. This definition makes travel writing a highly eclectic genre that can accommodate a wide range of authors and styles of travel.⁴ Following this definition, this essay presents case studies of three Japanese travelers who visited numerous battle sites in the southwestern region of the Pacific Islands, namely PNG and Solomon Islands: a *sarariman* (office-worker) Kawaguchi Kizuki (male), a television documentary producer Watanabe Kō (male), and a nun Shimizu Yasuko (female). The sample is deliberately small to allow for in-depth analysis. Other scholars may consult a greater number of travel writing documents and expand to other regions of the Asia-Pacific War. I chose the New Guinea campaign because its relative obscurity in today's mainstream Japanese consciousness gives rise to a sharp contrast to the excitement it generated in wartime Japan, and the intense emotions and the mythologized status the campaign has earned in Papua New Guinea and Australia. This does not, however, mean that all the Japanese chose to forget. Historian Iwamoto Hiromitsu has counted over 1,100 commercially available accounts by Japanese veterans on the New Guinea front.⁵ Thus, if used well, travel writing can shed light on aspects of war history facing the dim prospect of falling into total oblivion. Yet, no historical knowledge is without value. Here I draw on the notion of history-as-performance advocated by Pacific Island scholars Greg Denning, Christopher Ballard and Greg Dvorak. These scholars remind us about the centrality of history in human activity, even in seemingly trivial and mundane acts.⁶ This notion can help explain the roles the traveler plays regarding travel and writing. It also implies travel writing textually represents both historical knowledge and the travelers' performance of history. Travel writing tells us how the authors have gained and renegotiated their historical consciousness, and pledge to practice it in their post-journey lives.

Travel writing draws attention to the writers' personal inner reflections and interpersonal activity. In the personal realm, the journeys travelers make and history they research and collect stimulates historical consciousness that influences their outlook on the past and the present, and their aspirations for the future. Thus, historical consciousness informs how individuals cultivate sensibilities towards the past, and how individuals shape personal and collective identities. The extent of historical consciousness is not limited to the past or present. It offers the individuals the opportunity to reflect on their historically-informed values that are dear to their identity, and enact on those values in their daily life.⁷

In the inter-personal realm, a traveler's identity and sentiment towards the war can evoke different responses from the local residents. In considering oral history in travel writing, I draw on the insight from anthropologists Marty Zelenietz and Masafumi Saito who conducted interviews with the residents of Kilenge village of New Britain, and collected their memories of the Pacific War. Zelenietz

⁴ Thompson 2011, pp. 25–27; Youngs 2013, pp. 3–4.

⁵ He counted in the late 1990s. Iwamoto 2006, p. 50. However, historian Okumura Shōji attributes the obscurity to the military ban on real-time reporting, the very few soldiers returning alive to tell their experiences, and absence of well-known battles. Okumura 1993, pp. 20–26.

⁶ Denning 1996; Ballard 2014; Dvorak 2014.

⁷ Rüsen 2012, pp. 45–47; Clark 2016, p. 12; Seixas 2006, pp. 3–24.

and Saito found that the interviewees study the interviewer and tailor the narrative to the interviewers' nationality and sentiments towards the war. The outcome thus "reflects a dialectical process between the storyteller and the listener".⁸ Zelenietz and Saito further note that the role of the storyteller thus extends to historian and educator, conveying didactic messages from war memories.⁹ If the dialectical process affects the storyteller's role as historian, then similarly the impact the travel has had on the traveler also deserves consideration.

Travelers as Oral Historians: Interviewees as Storytellers

Shimizu Yasuko (b. 1937) is a Catholic sister who joined the Japanese branch of Catholic mission, Misioneras Mercedarias de Bériz in 1961. She is a long-standing activist in raising the awareness of Japan's overseas development aid and environmental issues affecting PNG and Solomon Islands.¹⁰ Her book, *Mori to sakana to gekisenchi* (Forest, fish and battlefields) (1997) derived from her six years of travel between Japan and PNG and Solomon Islands, and her collecting of oral history from many islanders and Japanese veterans. At the outset of the book she asserts that the idea of development and international aid replaced the defunct wartime doctrine of the Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Yet, it is the politicians and corporations in Japan who reap the benefit of the continual structure and practice of violence and exploitation.¹¹ Shimizu relates Islanders' testimonies of the frequent and brutal punishment by the Japanese officers for any form of complaint, disobedience and refusal, and worst of all, tipping information off to the Allied forces. She felt distressed to hear these stories and compelled to apologize to the Islanders. At the same time she wonders what elicited such cruelty in the Japanese troops.¹²

In Guadalcanal, Shimizu meets Bruno Nana, a 66-year-old village chief, through the introduction of a local environmental activist. In July 1942, the Japanese made Nana, then 15 years old, and other villagers construct an airfield. Nana recalls whipping was a common method of enforcing discipline, and the Japanese paid little regard for his welfare. He injured his foot in an accident while working, but persevered for a month. Finally he requested medical treatment but the Japanese denied it.¹³ In August 1942, the Japanese captured Nana and his friends on the way to their village after rescuing an American pilot. The Japanese tied the hands and feet of Nana and his friends and left them on the ground without food or water. On the fourth day, Nana was at his wits' end and shouted "Water!" A Japanese officer gave Nana an empty tin filled with urine. This gesture evoked in him an episode in the Bible in which Jesus, in his last days on a cross was offered wine mixed with vinegar.¹⁴ Nana drank the urine and his friends followed. Later at night, Nana found the ropes on his and his friends' wrists loosened. He does not know who loosened the ropes but considers the Japanese officer might have

⁸ Zelenietz and Saito 1989, p. 181.

⁹ Zelenietz and Saito 1989, p. 182.

¹⁰ Shimizu 1994.

¹¹ Shimizu 1997, p. 15.

¹² Shimizu 1997, p. 58. I use the term 'Islander' as an umbrella term for both Papua New Guineans and Solomon Islanders.

¹³ Shimizu 1997, p. 114.

¹⁴ Matthew, 15: 23 and Mark, 27: 34 (New English Bible (NEB)).

acted out of respect for Nana swallowing his pride. Nana then loosened the ropes on his friends' wrists and feet as well and persuaded them to flee. The local activist found Nana's story astounding and asked why Nana had not told him before. Shimizu ended the chapter by stating Nana only smiled in reply.¹⁵

Nana's tales attest to the Japanese brutal treatment and punishment of the men of Guadalcanal. The narrative focus of Nana's first tale was Japanese brutality; his second tale of his escape. He then adds themes such as courage and, potentially, a rare display of humanity by the Japanese officer. The escape tale highlights the characteristics of the Kilenge people's storytelling that Zelenietz and Saito identified. Nana opened his heart to Shimizu because he trusted her enough—as a mutual acquaintance of the activist. Nana's biblical reference highlights Zelenietz and Saito's points about the storyteller's multiple roles, and his ability to present his story in a biblical framework with which Shimizu is familiar.

Compare the testimonies Shimizu has collected with what a television documentary producer Watanabe Kō (b. 1965) has in the early 2000s. His book derived from his journeys in 2002. He filmed a series of documentaries featuring a novelist Shigematsu Kiyoshi. Shigematsu read out deceased soldiers' diaries at battle sites where the soldiers died, and interviewed families of those soldiers. Watanabe's book describes Shigematsu's observations; Watanabe's personal comments and Islanders' wartime history do not feature much.¹⁶ Thus, the small amount Watanabe discusses stands out in the book.

In Guadalcanal, Watanabe met two local residents. The first is Michel Bain, the 45 year old chief of a village near Honiara. Bain grew up listening to his father frequently recounting his wartime experiences. Watanabe found Bain regards himself as the torchbearer of wartime history. Bain spoke about the cruel treatment the Japanese gave local men laboring on construction work, and added that some died of starvation because the Japanese did not give food.¹⁷ Watanabe recalls Bain's forceful tone of voice and his demanding that the Japanese government pay proper compensation.¹⁸ Later Watanabe visits another village and speaks with Bruno Nana whom Shimizu had spoken to some 12 years previously. Nana, now 77 years old, tells Watanabe about working under the Japanese and recalls his involvement in building an airfield for them. He recollects receiving cigarette ration and three regular meals and Watanabe finds Nana held no bitter feelings towards the Japanese: "The Japanese are our friends. I never had any bad experience. The Japanese treated us very well."¹⁹ Watanabe believed that the testimonies by both men were "probably true" and sensed that the varied sentiments of Bain and Nana revealed "the duplicitous nature of war."²⁰

Comparing the testimonies Shimizu and Watanabe elicited, the apparent discrepancy in Nana's recollections seems to validate Zelenietz and Saito's observations. Indeed, Nana may have perceived Shimizu and Watanabe differently, and chose to trust Shimizu, a sister and an acquaintance of his

¹⁵ Shimizu 1997, pp. 114–19.

¹⁶ Shigematsu and Watanabe 2007 [2004]. Shigematsu wrote the prologue and epilogue. Watanabe wrote all other chapters. Subsequent citations to this book come from the chapters by Watanabe, and therefore cite his name only.

¹⁷ Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 150.

¹⁸ Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 150.

¹⁹ Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 151.

²⁰ Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 151.

friend, more than a television documentary producer. While Nana may have reconciled his grievances in the intervening twelve years, it is possible that he may have played a diplomat in front of Watanabe. Unwittingly, Nana's amicable recollection contrasts to the resentment Bain inherited from his father. Bain may have regarded the interview with Watanabe as an opportunity to air the grievance of his father's generation. Watanabe is sensitive enough to notice the divergent experiences and memories the war left in Guadalcanal. While the testimonies make useful historical information, these examples underline the kaleidoscopic nature of oral history, and demand a more nuanced reading into the 'dialectic process' between the traveler and the local informants.

From Curiosity to Serious Interest

The third travel writer, a *sararīman* (office-worker) Kawaguchi Kizuki (b. 1958), has developed a keen interest in New Guineans' wartime experience quite coincidentally. Kawaguchi travelled to PNG for the first time in January 1993 to satisfy his wanderlust. In PNG he became aware of the prominence of memories of the Japanese occupation among New Guineans. He met senior citizens who spoke broken Japanese they learnt while working under the Japanese. Kawaguchi saw war museums which displayed disused military vehicles and ordnance on village greens. Kawaguchi quickly realized PNG had more to teach him than the exotic culture, and he repeatedly urges the reader to learn more about the war.

Kawaguchi's interest takes another turn when he visits a Japanese memorial in Rabaul, on New Britain Island. He lingered at the memorial at twilight and cast his eye down at the ocean. He found himself putting his hands together in prayer and imagined how this foreign climate and scenery might have made soldiers feel alienated, anxious, scared and averse to fighting in a war.²¹ His thoughts stretched beyond the Japanese soldiers and he urges the reader to imagine how the local residents would have felt toward the succession of foreigners: the German and Australian colonialists, and the Japanese troops.²² He quotes the memorial inscription that reads: "We commemorate the deaths of those who died in battles on Southern Pacific Islands and the adjacent seas in the Second World War. We erect this monument with the hope for peace."²³ Kawaguchi found the memorial text lacking in sensitivity to the suffering inflicted on the local population. Such disregard, to him, represents "the imperialist tradition that does not care for the others."²⁴ Kawaguchi's critique departs from the discourse which focuses on Japanese suffering, and instead places the Japanese as one of the imperialist nations that reduced New Guineans to playing unwitting hosts to occupying troops.

Kawaguchi's reflection marks a transition from an ignorant traveler to a concerned citizen. This realization propelled him to research the Japanese military campaign in PNG. He relates an episode about a chief named Karao who acted on his sympathy for starving Japanese soldiers. After the war, the Australians, who resumed civil administration of PNG, sentenced him to death for assisting

²¹ Kawaguchi 1996, p. 134.

²² Kawaguchi 1996, p. 134.

²³ Kawaguchi 1996, p. 133. This is my translation of the Japanese text. Kawaguchi noted that the inscription was written in two other languages: English and Pidgin, but has not offered the translations. さきの大戦において南太平洋諸島及び海戦で戦没した人々をしのび平和への思いをこめてこの碑を建立する。

²⁴ Kawaguchi 1996, p. 134.

the enemy combatants, and executed his wife and two sons. Karao was released three years later on account of his ill health. Karao's poignant "life of regret" made Kawaguchi realize how little modern history, especially war history, was taught in Japanese schools. He stresses the Japanese should learn more history of wartime aggression as well as victimhood.²⁵ Kawaguchi assumes the role of a historian who reminds the readers of the little-known episodes of war history. This fulfills his wish for his readers while redeeming his own ignorance. However, the Karao episode may backfire as it highlights the cruelty of the Australians and can assuage the sense of responsibility the Japanese should have towards him and many others who suffered under the Japanese. Such a reading misplaces Kawaguchi's intention and replicates "the imperial tradition that does not care for the others." Rather, Karao represents the unnecessary irony that for Karao and many more Islanders, the nationality of the perpetrators was a less significant concern.

Developing Historical Consciousness

Each writer articulates how their understanding of the past informed historical consciousness and personal values. For instance, Watanabe finds how his personal and professional lives coalesce. Kawaguchi and Shimizu resolve to engage in volunteering to rectify the imbalance of power they perceive as rooted in history.

While Watanabe is usually reticent in making personal comments, in the epilogue he relates how his historical consciousness evolved: "I thought that I knew a few things about the war. But the small amount of time in New Guinea taught me that there was a big wall that I cannot climb."²⁶ Watanabe admits to his limitations in empathizing with the soldiers' sentiments. However, this awareness does not deter him from trying; he has made new documentaries in 2004 and 2005 in which he interviewed members of a veterans' association. He travels to the southwestern Pacific with them to film the memorial services and their search for their comrades' remains. Watanabe's second book details those two journeys and reveals more of his own impressions than his first. He reflects he initially understood the war as history. Only after he saw the bones on these two later trips did his "vague imagination turn into sharp horror."²⁷

Watanabe's journeys with the veterans developed his determination to never be in a position in which he has to kill someone or to have someone kill him.²⁸ His found his pacifist desire extending to others in a moment he least expected. One day the sight of his three-year old daughter playing made him swear, "no matter how difficult it is, we must keep on saying 'no' to war."²⁹ He concedes that his answer is too idealistic, as he acknowledges that human history is replete with wars—a subtle reference to the invasion of Iraq by 'Coalition of the Willing' in March 2003 and subsequent armed conflict raging at the time of Watanabe's writing. His pledge underlines self-awareness that his domestic bliss is both precious and fragile. In 2015 he reflected on more than a decade of war-related work,

²⁵ Kawaguchi 1996, p. 200. Kawaguchi lists a number of sources he consulted. Two of them discuss Karao: Okumura 1993, p.142, and Ogawa, 2002 [1993], p. 232.

²⁶ Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 216.

²⁷ Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 262.

²⁸ Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 263.

²⁹ Watanabe 2005, p. 262.

concluding that many soldiers privately do not agree with the virtue of a war the nation extolled. He hopes to convey this message saying, “an individual who hopes Japan to be a good country.”³⁰ Watanabe’s long-term commitment has shaped him into a travelling journalist-cum-historian. He gained a powerful realization that his personal and professional lives are inseparable, just as the past, the present and the future are enmeshed.

Shimizu’s understanding of history leads her to place the contemporary fishery and forestry industries in PNG and Solomon Islands on a continuum dating back to the wartime. She observes that the Japanese benefited from exploitation of natural resources and the local people.³¹ She asserts, “Before tanks; now bulldozers. We the Japanese keep on invading their forests. This is very embarrassing.”³² One question that stimulated Shimizu’s historical vision came from an Islander: “Why are there so many Komatsu bulldozers? Japanese and Malaysian logging companies use Komatsu.”³³ Though she was unable to answer immediately, she later learnt that companies such as Komatsu and Mitsubishi supplied military vehicles and ammunition during the war. She realized that tanks and bulldozers share the same principles in design and technology: both tanks and bulldozers use the caterpillar chassis. One simple question triggered Shimizu to probe the contemporary Japanese defense industry in which the Japanese government uses tax funds and national bonds to award contracts to manufacturers of military apparatus and equipment. Shimizu states she does not want to pay taxes towards such ends. She then quotes a Japanese veteran who has criticized Japanese industrial conglomerates (*zaibatsu*) who have benefitted from successive wars and from postwar economic recovery, without being held responsible for their involvement in the wars. Together with the veteran’s words and her own research, Shimizu perceives a complementary relationship between war and military industry. This connection continues to this day in the allegiance between the manufacturers of defense equipment and Japanese corporations’ international presence.³⁴

Her empathy towards the Islanders and criticism of the Japanese corporations and government takes a firm stand against portraying the Islanders as passive victims and the Japanese as the sole author of the exploitation. She identifies a neo-colonial mechanism in which the male-dominated local political clique pursued their self-interest and neglected the welfare of the majority.³⁵ Shimizu has supported the causes of the Islander women, and dedicated herself to a non-governmental organization that calls for the conservation of the forest in PNG and Solomon Islands.³⁶ However, Shimizu’s empathetic treatment can highlight a murky boundary between history and politics and can invite criticism for sensationalizing the Japanese exploitation and cruelty. One could read more into Shimizu’s ‘performance’ as a chronicler of oral history and the Islanders’ reciprocal performance as

³⁰ Watanabe 2015, p. 338.

³¹ Shimizu 1997, p. 48, p. 141, p. 246, p. 257.

³² Shimizu 1997, p. 157.

³³ Shimizu 1997, p. 50.

³⁴ Shimizu 1997, p. 51. In 1996 Komatsu ranked 9th out of 20 largest military contractors. Komatsu has consistently ranked in the top ten contractors to the defense ministry’s manufacturing orders. Asagumo Shinbunsha Shuppan Gyōmubu 2015, p. 513.

³⁵ Shimizu 1997, p. 156.

³⁶ PNG Forest 2016. Shimizu’s name appears as a committee member.

storytellers. Their interaction and the intertextuality between written and oral history can illuminate the potential contribution travel writing can make toward historical scholarship.

In a similar vein, Kawaguchi draws on history to raise concerns about the state of the contemporary Japan–PNG relationship. He finds it disturbing that postwar Japanese businesses regard PNG as a territory of natural resources for the Japanese to exploit. He contends this attitude stemmed from the Japanese wartime occupation of PNG, and political and economic ties Japan cultivated with PNG in the postwar era. He feels it is a “duty” for the Japanese to learn about the Japanese wartime involvement in PNG in order to think about it differently.³⁷ His historical consciousness has compelled him to join a non-governmental organization, ‘Friends of PNG in Japan,’ which aims to foster greater connections with and understanding of PNG. Kawaguchi paid another visit to PNG in August 1997 to a housing project that the NGO coordinated.³⁸ Kawaguchi’s first journey to PNG had such a profound impact; his words and deeds reflect his strong awareness about the iniquitous relationship between PNG and Japan, which he strongly identified as rooted in history.

All three travel writers developed aspirations for the future, spurred by their understanding of wartime history, gathered from their journeys and the process of writing. Shimizu understands that the relationship between Japan and the southwestern Pacific Islands shares the common attribute of exploitation and violence even though the methods have changed over the decades. Her awareness of historical continuity has consolidated her commitment to environmental issues. Kawaguchi’s realization of his ignorance is so profound that he joined a non-governmental organization and wrote a book that, among other things, reveals the perils that historical amnesia brings to the contemporary relationship between PNG and Japan. Watanabe is the subtlest of the three, perhaps because he may have chosen to withhold his opinions. However, his long-term commitment to war-themed journalistic work testifies to his having found a *raison d’être* that forms his visions as a journalist, a citizen and also a father of a young child.

Conclusions

This essay has shown the role travel writers play as historians-in-the-making. Despite the small number of sampled works, the writing exhibits diversity in purpose and styles of travel, the histories collected and researched. More crucially, the writing exhibits different ways in which travel writers develop their historical consciousness and self-reflexivity. Travel writing has much to tell us about how travelers’ performance of history aids in making sense of the past and the present, and forming a vision for the future. The small sample of Japanese travel writing from the southwestern Pacific Islands has given voice to the Islanders’ experiences and shared this with a Japanese audience. These samples show us how their journeys inspired the travelers.

We have seen travelers acting as historians and obtaining oral history from the Islanders. The Islanders spoke about violence the Japanese inflicted upon them. That the Islanders still recall these events is testament to the psychological wounds they carry. However, in appraising oral history, we need to be mindful of multiple roles the interviewees play vis-à-vis the interviewer. We can achieve

³⁷ Kawaguchi 1996, p. 201.

³⁸ Kawaguchi 2000, pp. 7–8.

greater appreciation of travel writers' roles as historians when we consider extraneous matters such as the identity of the traveler and the ways the traveler appeared to the interviewees and interacted with them. Bruno Nana's varying statements offer the most arresting example of contrasting effects on the eventual presentation of history. Historical accounts that the traveler researches and writes after the journey can also reflect the process in which the traveler develops and articulates their historical consciousness which influenced their values and subsequent actions.

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Japanese Martial Arts in Early Twentieth-Century New Zealand: A Story of Multipronged Cultural Migration

Alexander BENNETT

Introduction

Japanese martial arts have become an integral part of New Zealand's contemporary cultural and sports scene. New Zealand boasts its own hand-to-hand martial arts heritage—that which was developed by the Maori long before European settlement—but it is the Asian influence (Japan, Korea, China, Thailand, Philippines) that is predominant in the martial arts seen and studied today. In fact, it could be argued that Asian martial arts, in particular the Japanese ones, sparked a renaissance in the reformulation and promotion of indigenous varieties. This trend is by no means limited to New Zealand.

Japanese martial arts (*budō*) are practised by people from all walks of life, and all ages in New Zealand. Currently, the most popular discipline in terms of numbers is karate, followed by judo and aikido. Disciplines such as kendo and most other mainstream modern Japanese *budō* are also present, but are very much a minority. Arcane *kobudō* (classical martial traditions) styles are also found in New Zealand, but the lineage and legitimacy of many such groups is questionable. Similarly, there are numerous hybrid martial arts that claim spurious links with Japan. Historical validity aside, they are heavily influenced by Japanese culture; or more specifically, a longing to somehow be affiliated with the samurai culture of feudal Japan, fantastical as such aspirations are. Again, such an attraction to, and distortion of “samurai culture” through patronising pseudo-traditional martial arts is certainly not restricted to the New Zealand experience; it is a common trend throughout the world, and even in Japan itself.

Despite the well-established presence of Japanese *budō* (pseudo ones included) in New Zealand, there has been little scholastic endeavour to plot their development or social significance in this country to date. Primarily using early newspapers, this paper investigates noteworthy trends in the first half of the twentieth century to establish the course of entry of Japanese martial arts into New Zealand.

Contextual Information on the Evolution of Modern Japanese Martial Arts

It is important to note here the difference between pre-modern and modern Japanese martial arts. The various modern *budō* disciplines (*gendai budō*) were developed during and after the Meiji period (1868–1912). Those already in existence before this are now referred to as *kobudō* (old=classical *budō*), *koryū* (old styles), or simply as *bujutsu*. Although modern *budō* traces its philosophical and technical roots to the classical traditions, the current forms, rules, protocols of etiquette, pedagogical methodologies, and objectives were developed in the Meiji era and beyond as vehicles for physical and moral education.

Over the course of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868), the military arts evolved into cultural pursuits rich in ritualistic symbolism and spiritualism. Towards the end of the bakufu regime,

however, it was clear that the now elegant, highly ceremonial martial traditions were hardly going to match Western firepower if it came to defending the country from foreign incursion. Consequently, *bujutsu* fell into disfavour following the Imperial Restoration of 1868 due to lack of perceived practical application in the modern theatre of battle. Guns, cannons, and a new conscript army were the order of the day, and *bujutsu* was viewed as a relic of an outdated feudal past that was best forgotten if Japan was to modernise successfully.

In the late 1870s, however, there emerged a groundswell of government officials and educators who voiced their inhibitions about totally ‘Westernising’ the education system. They wanted to at least retain certain aspects of ‘Japaneseness’ in the newly established curriculum, especially in physical education, which was constructed around Western callisthenics. Lobbyists raised the question of why it was not possible to develop a PE curriculum based on *bujutsu*. After all, *bujutsu* was a comprehensive form of indigenous athletic culture, with the added advantages of fostering military-style discipline, and connecting Japanese youth with their traditional heritage as the state sought to craft a modern national identity. To meet the Ministry of Education’s requirements for inclusion in the national curriculum, however, *bujutsu* first had to be modernised itself—that is, nationally standardised, purged of esoteric teachings and *ryūha* affiliations, made safe and hygienic, and systemised to enable group teaching.

Kanō Jigorō (1860–1938) was particularly active in adapting *jūjutsu* to clear the various educational hurdles identified by the government. Greatly influenced by the ideals of Herbert Spencer regarding moral, intellectual, and physical education, Kanō essentially provided a blueprint for the modernisation of the other martial arts with his innovations in creating a new martial art—judo. He studied the classical schools of Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū and Kitō-ryū *jūjutsu*, and discovered that his physical and mental strength vastly improved because of it. His original motivation, however, was to learn fighting skills to fend off bullies who teased him for his superior intellect and inferior size.

He had an epiphany that, with fine-tuning, combat principles could be employed to enhance intellectual, moral, and physical learning. To this end, he systemised techniques into rational categories for teaching and practising safely through free-sparring (*randori*). He did away with overtly dangerous techniques in *randori*-style competitions, preserving them instead as *kata* forms. He launched the Kōdōkan in 1882 as a school for teaching academic subjects concurrently with his new style of *jūjutsu*. He called it *jūdō* (the gentle “Way”) to differentiate it from *jūjutsu* which was typically associated with brawling and ruffians, and to emphasise its educational objectives of character development for the greater good. Now an Olympic sport (since 1964) with as many as 199 countries and regions affiliated to the International Judo Federation, it must be considered one of Japan’s most successful cultural exports.¹

In spite of the efforts of Kanō, and other groups such as the Dai-Nippon Butokukai—formed in 1895 as the self-appointed gatekeeper of traditional martial arts, and innovator for their transition into modern forms—it was not until 1911 that the MOE acquiesced and allowed martial arts to become officially endorsed subjects in schools. Objectives for teaching *budō*² in schools has

¹ Interestingly, although Kanō Jigorō spent his entire career promoting judo in Japan and around the world, it did not become established in New Zealand until long after other forms of *jūjutsu* had taken root. The first “judo” club (Judokwai) was not launched until 1948 by Dutch immigrant brothers.

continually changed with the times since then. It was utilised as an important component of the militarist agenda during 1930s and war years to instil nationalistic fervour and combat effectiveness, but is now taught in schools to educate Japanese children about traditional values and respect.³

In terms of migration to the West, apart from *jūjutsu* and Kanō's judo, Japanese martial arts never really took root in Europe until after the Second World War. The history of Japanese martial arts in former colonies such as Korea and Taiwan, and in the Americas, is more substantial. In the colonies, for example, *budō* was a compulsory part of the school system during the 1930s, as it was in Japan. In the Americas, *budō* disciplines such as kendo, judo, and sumo flourished primarily due to two factors: widespread participation by Japanese immigrants (Nikkei)⁴ throughout North and South America; and, the establishment of Dai-Nippon Butokukai (Greater Japan Society of Martial Virtue) branches in North America in the 1930s. As New Zealand had little interaction with Japan to speak of in the early twentieth century, and Japanese immigrants were too sparse to count as an established community, the martial arts never thrived in the same way.

Nevertheless, “jiu-jitsu”⁵ was to become a household word in New Zealand parlance, and certainly garnered a dedicated following in the first half of the twentieth century. Its migration to this part of the world was a multipronged affair, and barring the celebrity status of several Japanese *jūjutsu* exponents and some high profile Japanese naval visits, Japan's involvement in *jūjutsu*'s popularity in New Zealand was, for the most part, only peripheral.

The Arrival of ‘Jiu-jitsu’ in New Zealand

As Japan opened its doors to the West and began to assert its “uniqueness”, a new nationalistic education regime popularised the idea that the Japanese people were the inheritors of samurai culture, even though samurai only made up 5–6% of Japan's total population before class distinctions were abolished in 1869. As Befu points out, “Japan's modernization coincided with the samuraization process—the spread of the ideology of the ruling warrior class.”⁶

Newly created notions of *bushidō* and of a glorious warrior past were propagated vigorously from the 1890s onwards. To apply Eric Hobsbawm's term, the modern versions of traditional martial

² In 1919, Nishikubo Hiromichi, a former Tokyo City mayor who served as vice president of the Dai-Nippon Butokukai, and also the principal of the Butokukai's specialist training school (Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō), changed the suffix ‘-jutsu’ for ‘-dō’ in the martial arts. The impetus was to accentuate the educational qualities of the martial arts as a ‘Way’ of life (*dō*), rather than just a quest technical proficiency. ‘*jūjutsu*,’ ‘*kenjutsu*’ and ‘*kyūjutsu*’ became ‘*kendō*,’ ‘*jūdō*’ (different to Kanō Jigorō's Kōdōkan judo), and ‘*kyūdō*’ respectively, and the collective term ‘*bujutsu*’ became ‘*budō*.’ I believe that Kanō Jigorō's ideals clearly catalysed this adaptation, but it is open to speculation. The MOE officially changed its terminology from *jutsu* to *dō* later in 1926.

³ As of 2012, *budō* became a compulsory subject in Japanese junior high schools. For an in-depth analysis of the role of *budō* in the Japanese education system refer to Bennett's *Kendo: Culture of the Sword*.

⁴ ‘Nikkei’ is the generic term for people of Japanese heritage who reside overseas. The terms ‘Issei,’ ‘Nisei’ and ‘Sansei’ refer to first, second, and third generations of Nikkei respectively.

⁵ The term *jūjutsu* (柔術) is spelled several different ways (depending on the period in question) typically without a macron or italics, and with varied usage of capital letters and hyphens (Jiu-jitsu, ju-jitsu, jujutsu etc.). Apart from when quoting sources, I will refer to it as “*jūjutsu*.”

⁶ H. Befu, *Japan: An Anthropological Introduction*, pp. 50–52.

arts provide a fine example of “invented tradition”⁷ which was incorporated into Japanese political machinations during the period of modernisation to cultivate a strong sense of national identity. This process was indicative of what Levinger and Lytle describe as “nostalgic nationalism”. In other words, a “triadic structure of nationalistic rhetoric” is evident in which martial arts connect a “glorious past”, with the “degraded present” and ultimately the “utopian future.”⁸

This may have been the case in Japan, but Japanese martial arts took on a different meaning in the West. Nevertheless, they were still closely related to nationalism and a utopian outlook because of the growing infatuation with seeking perfection through physical activity, and the quest for national efficiency. According to Budd, “physical culture was an inheritor of a predominant Western martial ethos in its linking of functional activity—health or character improving—with a decorative or aesthetic ideal.”⁹ An ever-present concern addressed by the consumerisation of physical culture was training men in mind and muscle for war, trade, exploration, and any other activity to bolster the supremacy of the nation.

By the turn of the twentieth century, athleticism and the Muscular Christianity movement based on “the devout Christian, the earnest philanthropist, the enthusiastic athlete”¹⁰ had a massive following in Britain and America. Alluding to the ideas of Michel Foucault, Martschukat states, “sports and physical culture mixed with numerous other cultural fields and meshed with processes of social stratification. As such, they were part of an evolving bio-political order at the turn of the century, revolving around a culturally and biologically defined urge for a perfection of efficient individuals and the enhancement of the community at large.”¹¹

American president Theodore Roosevelt was brought up in a family that followed the philosophy, and he was a fervent advocate of the ideal that sport augmented physical and moral wellbeing. Roosevelt was one of many powerful and vociferous proponents of employing physical activity to mitigate the dangerous emasculating trends stemming from the urbanisation of society and modern technology.¹² One such trend was a well-publicised medical condition known as “neurasthenia”—fatigue of the central nervous system. Such concerns, and the desire to strengthen national power, gave rise to various “physical culture” systems in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, and the USA from the mid-nineteenth century. Athleticism was touted as the antidote for many modern social ills.

As these schools of physical training gained in popularity and profitability, the agents of the systems became embroiled in intense international rivalry arguing the benefits and superiority of their method of physical training. Often promoting strength and perfection in mind and body in the White European sense, the Japanese martial arts were a surprise addition to the commercialised

⁷ Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 1.

⁸ M. Levinger and P. Lytle, “Myth and Mobilisation: The Triadic Structure of Nationalistic Rhetoric,” *Nations and Nationalism* 7:2, pp. 175–94.

⁹ Michael Budd, *The Sculpture Machine*, p. 104.

¹⁰ Anonymous (1895), “Rob Roy’ MacGregor,” *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review* 84: 71–86, (retrieved 22 March 2017).

¹¹ J. Martschukat, “‘The Necessity for Better Bodies to Perpetuate Our Institutions, Insure a Higher Development of the Individual, and Advance the Conditions of the Race.’ Physical Culture and the Formation of the Self in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century USA,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 24:4 (December 2011), p. 473.

¹² See Clifford Putney’s *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920*.

physical culture systems, but as Budd points out, “In terms of the physical culturalists’ egalitarian conception of the body, it made perfect sense.”¹³

As was the case with other physical culture systems, the growing popularity of Japanese martial arts undermined issues of class; but they also served to debase entrenched racial assumptions at a time when New Zealand (and other British colonies) had introduced prejudicial policies to thwart Asian immigration. Anti-Japanese sentiment with regards to immigration was never as high in New Zealand as it was in the United States, but even there, the Japanese had their high-powered admirers partially thanks to the martial arts. In the “News in Brief” section of the *Waihi Daily Telegraph* (August 11, 1904), a note from New York reports on the glowing reputation of *jūjutsu*. “The Japanese system of physical training, has ‘caught on’ in the United States. So impressed is President Roosevelt with the Japanese science of self-defence that he has recommended that it be taught at West Point and Annapolis.”¹⁴ A reputable pugilist himself, Roosevelt even took lessons in the Japanese martial system three or four times a week in a room at the Whitehouse.

Although far removed from Britain and America geographically, and even though the same degree of urbanisation and industrialisation was not seen here, New Zealand was certainly not immune to worries of neurasthenia and the depleting physical and moral welfare of the nation. According to Daley, “The South African war had pointed to the lack of physical preparedness amongst even the nation’s finest young men. High rates of infant mortality in the warm summer months were a continuing worry.”¹⁵ Health and wellbeing was a major concern in the Dominion, and *jūjutsu* was imported mainly from Europe as one means to satiate the desire for bodily empowerment.

The migration of *jūjutsu* to the West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries predated other Japanese martial arts. *Jūjutsu* involves hand-to-hand combat with the execution of throws, locks, and strikes to subdue an opponent into submission. Japanese *jūjutsu* exponents enthralled audiences in European and American music halls as they demonstrated their efficacy against much larger, physically stronger Western wrestlers. It must have been a curious sight for many to see such “small yellow men” placing a wrestling champion in an ignoble and painful hold. It was this idea of “weak overcoming strong” that led to *jūjutsu* being recognised in the West as an effective means for self-defence, and the New Zealand experience with Japanese martial arts started with a trickle down from Europe and the United States. *Jūjutsu* arrived to New Zealand at least five decades before any of the post-Meiji modern *budō* disciplines (*kendō*, *kyūdō*, karate, *naginata*, *sumō*, Kanō’s Kōdōkan judo etc.) did.

An early and ongoing channel through which martial arts were showcased to New Zealanders was the 13 Japanese naval visits to New Zealand ports between 1882 and 1935.¹⁶ As McNeil notes, “these introduced far more New Zealanders to Japanese—and vice versa—than any other type of

¹³ Michael Budd, *The Sculpture Machine*, p. 88.

¹⁴ Roosevelt made a personal request to Kanō Jigorō for a teacher of judo to come to the United States. To this end, one of Kanō’s top students, Yamashita Yamatsugu, taught judo at such hallowed institutions as West Point, and even to the president himself in the White House. Roosevelt was also an enthusiastic advocate of Nitobe Inazō’s book *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (1900).

¹⁵ C. Daley, “Selling Sandow Modernity and Leisure in Early Twentieth-Century New Zealand,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 34:2 (2000), p. 241.

¹⁶ 1882, 1883, 1884, 1886, 1902, 1907, 1912, 1916, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1932, and 1935.

encounter, and were always a great success.”¹⁷ The visiting seamen were welcomed with much pomp and ceremony, and from the visit to Waitemata by HIJMS Hiei and HIJMS Kongō in 1902 onwards, it appears that crews put on displays of martial arts, among other things, to entertain their hosts with forms of Japanese culture. “An entertainment was given which evinced considerable interest, consisting of wrestling, fencing, and musical selections” (*New Zealand Herald*, June 26, 1902). I believe that this may have been the first-ever official display of Japanese martial arts in New Zealand.

An earlier visit by the HIJMS Tsukuba to Auckland in 1884 is thought to be the first meeting between Maori and Japanese in any official capacity. The crew was welcomed by the Ngati Whatua people, and by the Maori king, Tawhio, who was gifted a set of samurai armour. The Maori people were quite amused at the small stature of the Japanese visitors, and the *Star* ran an article that points to the first-ever sumo bout between the two nations.

The Maoris are greatly tickled at their diminutiveness, calling them tamaitis (children). Some of the Maoris had a bout of wrestling with one or two of them, but after kissing the dust for their pains, went away with a much higher opinion of the physical strength of the tamaitis than they had at first entertained. (*Star*, April 18, 1884)

Sumo was demonstrated in a more formal way by crewmen of the HIJMS Azuma and Iwate in Wellington in 1916, and ensuing visits almost always featured popular displays of martial arts until visitations ceased after 1935. For example, the *Auckland Star* reports on hundreds of schoolboys who “invaded the Japanese mercantile training ship Shintoku Maru when the vessel was specially thrown open for their inspection” in 1933.

Exhibitions of kendo (Japanese fencing) and judo¹⁸ (jiu-jitsu) were given on the King’s wharf, where the training ship is berthed, and the spectators applauded heartily. In kendo the contestants, heavily padded and wearing metal masks, and black hoods and gowns, revived memories of the most virulent days of the Ku Klux Klan. At times they emitted strange noises that resembled the bark of a dog, but it was not difficult to judge from their utterances and actions when points had been scored. (*Auckland Star*, August 1933)

¹⁷ Ken McNeil, “Encounters, 1860 to 1940s,” in *Japan and New Zealand: 150 Years*, ed. Roger Peren, p. 42.

¹⁸ Given Kanō’s network of students in the Imperial Navy, I suspect that the style of ‘jiu-jitsu’ being shown here was in fact Kōdōkan judo.

The *New Zealand Herald* ran photos of the event.



POPULAR EASTERN SPORTS DEMONSTRATED BY CADETS FROM THE JAPANESE TRAINING SHIP SHINTOKU MARU Exhibitions of jiu-jitsu and Japanese fencing were given before an interested crowd of Aucklanders on King's Wharf yesterday morning by men from the Japanese barquentine Shintoku Maru. Left: Judo (jiu-jitsu, or Japanese wrestling) matches in progress. Right: Contestants ready to give an exhibition of kendo (ancient Japanese fencing). They are heavily padded and are wearing metal masks to prevent serious injury from blows given with the heavy sticks. (*New Zealand Herald*, August 30, 1933)

Exhibitions aside, the earliest detailed references to Japanese martial arts in New Zealand can be found in several reviews (replications from British or American newspapers) of H. Irving Hancock's now classic book *Japanese Physical Training* (1904). The timing coincides with the Russo-Japanese war, an event in history which solidified Japan's political status on the world stage, and in the eyes of many observers, made Japan a country worthy of emulating in the quest to remedy social woes prevalent in their own 'advanced' white nations. As one review begins, Irving "describes the Japs as the hardest people in the world." He explains "jiu-jitsu" as an "elaborate and scientific method, some of the particulars of which are rather gruesome, but with these the seeker after greater physical strength, with its greater personal activity, need not concern himself unless he chooses, for the simple exercise will prove sufficient to attain this end" (*Southland Times*, April 23, 1904). A slightly earlier article in the same newspaper (March 25, 1904) under the section "Topical Notes" states;

White people sometimes go so far as to condescendingly admit that 'the little yellow man' has considerable powers of imitation, and is richly endowed with a faculty for assimilation. A shallow remark of this nature entirely ignores the literature of Japan, which scholars say is both valuable and original, and there is certainly nothing imitative in the system of Jiu-jitsu under which the Japanese youths have been trained to such a pitch of physical perfection that investigators have declared the race to "possess, although diminutive, the greatest endurance of any people on earth."

Although not neurasthenia, youth ennui toward exercise was identified as a problem in New Zealand. In *Manawatu Evening Standard* (June 2, 1904), for example, there is mention of a raging debate over the poor state of physical culture in New Zealand schools. In this remarkably familiar, seemingly timeless observation, "Three-fourths of the children in some of the schools give themselves little or no

physical exercise. They spend their leisure in hanging around listlessly, chatting or playing little games which have no effect in developing the human frame.” Japan is viewed as providing some viable answers.

The women as well as the men of Japan are ardent disciples of ‘jiu-jitsu.’ The Japanese have found out for themselves that by practising moderation in food and drink, by attending scrupulously to cleanliness, and by going through certain prescribed physical exercises, for a short time in each day, they can build up the body to such an extent that the amount of strain which it will bear without any injurious consequence is simply marvellous.

The implied extent of *jūjutsu* participation in Japan in this period is grossly overstated in many such articles—it had not yet been introduced into the school system, and very few women, comparatively speaking, were students of the art.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the idea of *jūjutsu* and Japanese wisdom was certainly capturing peoples’ imaginations. In Wellington’s *Evening Post* (May 23, 1904) the question is posed, “Is water the secret of Japan’s success?” The article continues, “The Japanese themselves attribute their high average of physical strength to a plain and frugal diet, and the system of gymnastics called jiu-jitsu. Now, by those who go in for jiu-jitsu an average of one gallon of water a day is drunk.”

Clearly, the world was besotted by the Japanese taking on such a formidable foe as the Russians, and started taking notice of “Japanese virtues” which could somehow be used to great advantage elsewhere. As Budd indicates, this Western fascination with Japanese success signified “further evidence of a harkening back to a romanticized idea of feudal man-to-man combat.”²⁰ The international community was looking for clues to Japan’s sudden rise to “greatness” in such a short time since the backward feudal era. “Jiu-jitsu”—the mysterious physical culture system of Japan—and the nebulous spiritual tenets of “Bushido” were thrust into the limelight, even more so when the Japanese exceeded all expectations with their victory in 1905.

As far as hands-on participation in New Zealand is concerned, the first proof of actual practitioners is in an advertisement for lessons in Christchurch’s *Press* (November 28, 1904).

Mr. Tankard having received instruction in this remarkable system from a Japanese teacher in London, is now holding classes for children and adults. A weak heart and poor lungs safely and surely strengthened by this system. Specialist for spinal curvature. Medical cases. Send for prospectus. The school, corner of Gloucester street and Oxford-terrace.²¹

¹⁹ Kanō Jigorō started teaching women in judo from the 1890s. However, women or girls would typically be encouraged to train in the art of the glaive (*naginata*) if anything at all in this era.

²⁰ Michael Budd, *The Sculpture Machine*, p. 88.

²¹ Although difficult to substantiate, if in fact Tankard had studied under Japanese *jūjutsu* instructors in London, it could quite possibly have been Tani Yukio and/or Uenishi Sadakazu (usually written as Uyenishi). Both men, considered pioneers of Japanese martial arts in Britain, travelled to London in 1900 at the invitation of Edward William Barton-Wright, the founder of “Baritsu” (studied by Sherlock Holmes) and the “Baritsu School of Arms and Physical Culture”. They taught *jūjutsu* for Barton-Wright, and both made names for themselves as successful prize fighters. After parting ways with Barton-Wright in 1903, Uenishi established his own dojo that year near Piccadilly Circus, the “School of Japanese Self Defence.” In 1904, Tani and a newcomer from Japan, Miyake Tarō, opened the “Japanese School of Jujutsu” in London.

Also located in Christchurch was Hornibrook's Physical Culture Institute situated in Cathedral Square, which taught "jiu-jitsu" from 1909 along with various wrestling styles. Interestingly, Christchurch was the city in which the first fulltime Japanese teacher of *jūjutsu*, Fukushima Ryūgorō (Ray Shima), eventually settled down. He came to New Zealand around 1906, and travelled Australasia with vaudeville groups as a *jūjutsu* performer until 1914. He moved to Sydney and taught *jūjutsu* there until 1923, returned to Japan, and then "attracted by a wrestling boom" he came back to Christchurch in the 1930s and successfully naturalised in 1939. It was there that he established his own gym (Shima Gym) and taught members of the local community and the police until his passing in 1958.²²

Another Japanese, Kiyo Kameda, was a fascinating character in his own right with regard to New Zealand-Japan relations. He arrived in New Zealand in 1912 as a part of a *jūjutsu*-vaudeville group from Australia. Like Shima, he was eventually to become a member of a tiny group of Japanese-born naturalised New Zealand citizens, but not without undergoing a degree of prejudice. Although *jūjutsu* garnered them considerable respect among sports-loving locals, Kameda and Hakuichi (Harold) Kunioka, another *jūjutsu* exponent who arrived in 1907 and settled in Ruatoria, were the only naturalised Japanese settlers who were interned during the Second World War along with hundreds of Germans and Italians living in New Zealand.²³

Although Kunioka never took his skills into the realm of professional fighting (he managed a grocery store), Kameda and Shima often featured in the sports sections of newspapers throughout New Zealand and Australia. For example;

The turn which delighted most the large audience at the Opera House last night for the promised change of programme was the demonstration of ju-jitsu wrestling by Ryugoro Shima and Kiyo Kameda, two remarkably agile Japanese. Their clever tactics of attack and defence were a revelation, and when pitted against each other in a final trial of strength they provided an exciting item. (*Auckland Star*, March 26, 1912)

An observer wrote in the *NZ Truth* "If this scribe knew as much about the noble art of jiu-jitsu as Ryugoro Shima and Kiyo Kameda, at present throwing one another about at the Opera House, he wouldn't be afraid of the largest 'John' in New Zealand" (March 30, 1912). Perhaps this was an orchestrated performance, but both were lauded as genuine giant killers in numerous articles, and became quite the heroes.

There was a large attendance at the Excelsior Hall last night when Donald Tweedie, New Zealand's champion wrestler, was matched in a jiu-jitsu contest against Kiyo Kameda, a Japanese expert. Tweedie's weight was given at 12st 6lb, and Kameda's at 9st 11lb. It was announced that five bouts would be held. The first bout lasted for eleven minutes, and the second for six and a half. Tweedie's superior weight being no match for the Jap's cleverness. In the third round, Tweedie found that his opponent was too clever for him and cried enough. 'It's no good my

²² McNeil, "Encounters, 1860 to 1940s," p. 33.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

going on wrestling,' he said. 'If the Jap. is willing to meet me in the catch-as-catch-can style, I shall only be too pleased to have a go with him. No more jiu-jitsu.' It was accordingly arranged that the two men should meet in three bouts of catch-as-catch-can wrestling in Christchurch on a future date. (*Press*, July 24, 1913)

Kameda sometimes invited members of the audience to test their mettle against him, but challengers were ill-advised to do so as one man called Mathias was to discover. "It was Mathias who was thrown, and, unfortunately hurt. Dr. Simpson, who was present, attended him, and found that he had dislocated his leg just above the ankle and broken a small bone" (*Press*, July 24, 1913). Kameda also featured in high profile wrestling matches as an extra attraction. "An innovation will be an exhibition Jiu-jitsu match between Miss Doris Chaplin and Kameda. A gold medal will be given to the amateur making the best showing against Kameda" (*Press*, 16 August, 1913). In a follow-up article in the *Press* the next day, it is reported that a "jiu-jitsu tournament for amateurs was won by McAllum, a pupil of Kameda's." This suggests that Kameda was running classes by this stage.

It is possible that other *jūjutsu* clubs were running in other centres as early as 1904, or earlier. In Wellington's *Evening Post* (October 4, 1905), for example, there was an advertisement for a "gymnastic carnival" and "assault-at-arms" to be conducted by students of Harrison and Juriss's Gymnasium on November 7 and 8, 1905. The show included an array of combat arts including, among other things, "up-to-date sword exercise", "battle-axe swinging", "lady fencers", and "Jiu-jitsu". In 1906, *Evening Post* reported on a special *jūjutsu*-only exhibition convened at Mr. Royd Garlick's school in Panamastreet, Wellington. The demonstrators were R. Parker and W. G. Talbot who showed interested onlookers some of the "principal grips and breaks, in slow time, so as to give the spectator a good idea of the system." The article concludes with the observation, "Judging from the large attendance and the interest taken in the proceedings jiu-jitsu promises to become very popular in Wellington" (March 13, 1906).

Indeed, in addition to Garlick's School of Physical Culture, there were other early clubs in and around Wellington such as the Belvedere Club, taught by Clarence Stevens from 1908. The Wellington Athletic Club opened in June 1911, and along with boxing taught by the "very capable instructors Messrs Sandow and McGibbon", the club also offered "wrestling, jiu-jitsu, massage, in fact every branch of physical culture" (*NZ Truth*, June 3, 1911). German-born Herman Henry Ratter (aka Harry Sandow) was a well-known "strongman and wrestler" in New Zealand.²⁴ A match he had with Japanese *jūjutsu* exponent, the aforementioned Shima, was reported as a "stirring jiu-jitsu contest" in the *Colonist* a few years before in 1909. After four matches, it was Sandow who came off second best.

While Sandow had Shima's collar gripped tightly, the Japanese got well under him, and with a powerful body hold, hurled the big fellow another somersault. Shima strained at Sandow's collar, and Sandow, very red in the face, gasped, 'De clothes settles me.' Some finesse followed, until Shima managed to get his 'choke' grip on once more. Sandow, now in desperate straits, battled

²⁴ Harry Sandow is, as far as I can work out, no relation to the famous Eugen Sandow. Eugen Sandow is widely considered to be the founder of bodybuilding. He was also of German birth, and toured New Zealand showing his near-naked body off to thousands of patrons to much acclaim in 1903 as a part of a vaudeville show. It is possible that Harry was nicknamed Sandow because of their shared country of birth.

hard to free himself, but it was no use. The Japanese smiled as he increased the pressure, until the big man cried enough in 3 min. 10 sec. This gave the match to Shima, whose fine skill won him rounds of applause. (June 29, 1909)

The Wellington YMCA offered *jūjutsu* courses from 1912 until around 1940. The club was first taught by P. H. Heward (*Dominion*, 9 March 1912), and later on by brothers Maurice and Tim Tracey who reputedly trained under Tani Yukio and Miyake Tarō in London. Garnet Sims also taught in Wellington from 1913(?), as did Fritz Holland's gymnasium on Willis Street from 1921 (*Evening Post*, January 15, 1921). There is a down-to-business advertisement placed by Garnet Sims in the *Evening Post*. "You will meet the unexpected situation with confidence and success, if you learn Jiu-Jitsu from me. No fancy costumes, but effective locks and breaks are thoroughly and intelligently taught. You have this knowledge and skill with you always, ready for instant use. Let's talk it over and then get to business." (May 24, 1922). Harry Baldock started teaching *jūjutsu* in Dunedin in 1927, and opened the Baldock Institute which is still in operation today teaching various arts for self-defence. Earlier advertisements in other parts of the country include a series run in the *Taranaki Daily News* (June 25, 1906) for specialist *jūjutsu* instruction by Professor J. J. Stagpoole. "Boxing, Wrestling, Jiu-jitsu—Deep breathing exercises and a course of physical training in four lessons, at Mr. Taylor's Central School Gymnasium, Mondays and Wednesdays, at 7:30 p.m."

The Route to National Dissemination

Jūjutsu was taking root in the first decade of the twentieth century in private salons and in the entertainment and professional fighting circuit. There were three individuals in particular, however, who stood out for their contributions to promoting the art to the masses.

Jūjutsu gained a following in a most unlikely quarter. Lieutenant Colonel David Cossgrove served with the New Zealand Army in the Second Boer War. As chance would have it, he fought alongside Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Scouts and Guides movement in Britain. Upon returning to Christchurch, and with Baden-Powell's consent, Cossgrove established similar programmes for youth—Dominion Boy Scouts in 1908, and Girl Peace Scouts in 1909.²⁵ Cossgrove included *jūjutsu* instruction for both girls and boys. Curiously though, an article in the *Press* in 1926, six years after Cossgrove's death, announces the abolishment of *jūjutsu* in the Boy Scouts.

Jiu-jitsu is no longer to be practised by Boy Scouts. At a meeting of the Dominion Executive Committee of the Boy Scouts' Association on Thursday night it was unanimously decided: 'That in view of the recommendation of the Dominion Chief Scout, the training and practising of jiu-jitsu be prohibited amongst Boy Scouts.' Further, it was unanimously agreed that the following notification be inserted in this month's extracts from the Dominion Headquarters: —That jiu-jitsu is not recognised as part of the training of Boy Scouts, and all Scout officers and Troup Committees are directed to see that it is not practised. (*Press*, May 22, 1926)

²⁵ It was his wife, Selina Cossgrove, who urged him to make Girl Peace Scouts' Association to appease their youngest daughter, Muriel.

It is unclear why boys were no longer to be taught *jūjutsu* in the Scouts. Maybe it had something to do with the total restructuring of the Dominion Boy Scouts in 1923 when they became a branch of the Boy Scouts Association of the United Kingdom. Or, perhaps it was related to the inherent danger of teaching young lads how to employ potentially hazardous fighting techniques. *Jūjutsu* featured in New Zealand newspapers a lot, but not always for good reasons. For example, the following incident occurred at a bakery in Cossgrove's hometown of Christchurch;

Two men began performing jiu-jitsu acts, and one succeeded in throwing his companion into a soporific state. The victim fell to the floor and began writhing in agony. Luckily one of the bakers who happened to be fairly skilled in jiu-jitsu took the unfortunate man in hand, and after a few minutes' patient handling succeeded in restoring consciousness. Had not immediate assistance available the happening would almost certainly have been attended by fatal results. (*Star*, July 4, 1915)

How fortuitous that there was a random baker also evidently proficient in *jūjutsu* there to save the day! Cossgrove initially came under fire for his efforts because his Scout movement was in direct competition with the more established Army-backed School Cadets. Furthermore, the necessity of a scouting group for girls was also questioned. In a letter printed in the *Dominion* (August 22, 1910), Cossgrove clarifies that the Peace Scouting for Girls movement was started by him as "a scheme for the moral, mental, and physical training of girls and young women. It aims at true and peaceful citizenship, and its object is preparedness for any situation or emergency that may occur in life."²⁶ Girls would be taught "practical rules for the care of her own health, ju-jitsu, self-defence tricks, home-nursing, care and management of infants, and invalids' cookery."

He published *Peace Scouting for Girls* in 1910 in which he extols the benefits of "jiu-jitsu" as an exceptional means of self-defence for girls. "One great advantage of the Japanese method of training is that no apparatus is required, nor any special room for the practices. Once the muscles have been formed they do not disappear again when you give up the practices" (p. 81). Interestingly, he also discourages girls from wearing restrictive corsets as they are uncondusive to participation in exercise.²⁷ The book was popular in New Zealand, and sold relatively well in the United States. In fact, the Girl Peace Scouts may well have been the first national organisation in any country to officially introduce Japanese self-defence techniques specifically for girls, and in this sense was quite a ground-breaking addition to the growing body of literature on *jūjutsu* in the West.

Where and when Cossgrove learned the techniques of *jūjutsu*, if he did at all, is unknown. He may have picked up some "tricks" during his time in the military, but it is just as plausible that he became aware of the usefulness of *jūjutsu* through the hype and massive following it was gaining in Britain. In the *Press* (July 8, 1905) it is reported that the "jiu-jitsu girl" had already become "an established type" of the English leisured class. It had a cross-gender appeal that the other physical culture systems of centred on body sculpturing did not offer.

²⁶ Almost identical rhetoric could be heard in Japan at the same time about the educational value of martial arts.

²⁷ This coincides with the growing influence of traditional Japanese kimono (hung from the shoulders) in Western fashion circles which helped guide a move away from the hourglass body shape that was seen as the ideal in women's fashion throughout the nineteenth century.

In London the numerous clubs for women have helped to bring this method of physical culture rapidly into fashion, and as its best features are a combination of ancient and well-tried hygienic rules, it is standing the test of experience much better than several of the other newly introduced systems which pay more attention to the development of flesh and muscle than to the strengthening of the general health.

Also, in the *Auckland Star*;

The Japanese 'art' of jiu-jitsu, or self-defence, has become the rage in London, and elderly ladies attired in 'physical culture' dress wrestle with each other instead of going to the countless massage establishments. Spinsters living in lonely suburbs are learning the art, so that they can tackle 'hooligans' in cases of necessity, where small Skye terriers afford little protection. Young men and old men have put themselves in the hands of Japanese professors, and the result of the boom has been an influx of little, yellow men into London, many of whom are very indifferent teachers. There are now over forty schools of jiu-jitsu in London, and the physical culture people, and those who run gymnasiums are doing all they can to pour cold water on the Japanese fad as being extremely dangerous and joint-dislocating. (June 28, 1905)

Fad or not, it was the "joint-dislocating" potential of *jūjutsu* that made it a very attractive tool for the Suffragette movement in Britain. Members were being physically harassed by "rowdies" and policemen at their meetings, and some of the leaders even feared for their lives. What better way to nullify the physical strength of male aggressors than with the science of *jūjutsu*?

A student of the famous Uenishi Sadakazu (resident in London) helped promote this social phenomenon. Uenishi taught William Garrud, the author of popular book *The Complete Jujitsu* (1914). Garrud's wife Edith led the movement to establish *jūjitsu* classes for Suffragettes. Her initiative is reported in the *Poverty Bay Herald* (July 7, 1909) concerning a public display put on by 30 Suffragette *jūjutsu* exponents at The Prince's Skating Rink in Knightbridge. Three acts were staged in which an uncooperative policeman was given his comeuppance. Shouting "The biggest policeman in London wouldn't get away now!," Edith Garrud took three curtains to rapturous applause.

A year later, the "jiu-jitsu" bodyguard movement was still gaining momentum with the Women's Freedom League organising a "Women's Athletic Society to provide jiu-jitsu experts to eject 'rowdies' at Suffragette meetings" (*Mataura Ensign*, June 22, 1910).

A woman's athletic society, the latest adjunct of the Women's Freedom League, has been organised by Mrs Garrud, a jiu-jitsu expert, and Miss Kelly, one of the hunger strikers, who entered a Dundee meeting by way of the fanlights. Mrs Garrud is not an inch taller than 5ft. She has already enjoyed the pleasure of throwing a 6ft policeman over her shoulder. 'I have already had the pleasure of ejecting one youth from a woman's franchise meeting, and after we have had our new society in full swing for some months we hope to have a regular band of jiu-jitsu officers who will be able to deal with all the male rowdies who dare to bother us. (*Marlborough Express*, August 10, 1910)

Their exploits attracted considerable interest in New Zealand even though women had already been granted the right to vote decades before. Keeping with the subject of women participation in *jūjutsu* and the theme of feminism, one of the most colourful exponents in New Zealand was Florence (Flossie) Le Mar (1889–1951), “The only lady jiu-jitsu expert in the Southern Hemisphere” (*Fielding Star*, July 20, 1912). She and her husband, Joe Gardiner, wrote *The Life and Adventures of Miss Florence Le Mar, the World’s Famous Ju-Jitsu Girl*, in Wellington in 1913.

In the book, Le Mar takes on all manner of criminally-minded men and ultimately subdues them all thanks to her mastery of *jūjutsu*. Although there are few details regarding her history learning the art, she does allude to having studied it in her country of birth (Nelson, New Zealand) from a very young age. Joe Gardiner (1886–?), originally a wrestler, was also a *jūjutsu* practitioner of some skill who, it is claimed in the book, studied under “several Japanese experts” (p. 10). Born August Joseph Gertenheyer in Sobernheim, Germany, he could have studied under any number of Japanese experts in Germany or Britain, and it is most likely that it was he who taught Flossie.

From 1909, Le Mar and Gardiner toured Australasia with their popular vaudeville show “The Hooligan and the Lady”. Their son, Ronnie (1911–2005), “the youngest Ju-jitsu exponent in the world” (p. 15) accompanied them on tour as they thrilled audiences with their deft skills. “Our great ambition” according to Le Mar, “is to arouse the public to the extreme value of Ju-jitsu as a means of self-defence” (p. 10). She was a staunch advocate for the plight of women against violent men, a role that Gardiner played with aplomb in the shows. “It is a melancholy truth” Le Mar lamented, “that one can rarely pick up a newspaper nowadays without reading an account of some dangerous assault upon timid and unoffending young women and girls” (p. 7). Their show was a veritable hit.

Gardiner and Le Mar, jiu-jitsu experts, direct from Messrs J. Fuller and Son’s, have secured a stand in the Winter Show Building, and will, with their complete company of vaudeville artists, present an entertainment during the four days of the Show. The outstanding feature of the performance will be an exceedingly clever display of jiu-jitsu, of which the members of the company are expert exponents. (*Hawera & Normanby Star*, June 10, 1912)

As verification of Le Mar’s genuine ability in *jūjutsu* as opposed to just being a good performer, the same newspaper followed up with an acclamation of her feats a few days later.

On Friday evening a spectator wagered that if he were allowed to first obtain a hold, Miss Le Mar would not be able to throw him inside 10 seconds. The condition was agreed to, and on the signal being given, Miss Le Mar tossed the venturesome spectator on to his back with about 9½ seconds to spare. (*Hawera & Normanby Star*, June 15, 1912)

In addition to their acclaimed performances on stage, they also taught *jūjutsu* to the public wherever they went. Le Mar wanted to show her “fellow men and women how easily they may put themselves on a perfect physical equality with persons possessed of twice their strength, by a careful and practical study of this fascinating art” (p. 7). Following the various fictional stories and anecdotes of how *jūjutsu* saved the day many times in the face of danger, the second part of her book provides detailed photographs and explanations for the mechanics of *jūjutsu*. It explains how to execute the techniques,

the theory that underlies them, and how the philosophy of *jūjutsu* can be applied to enhance all facets of one's daily life.

It is one of the earliest books on martial arts in the world that amalgamates the technique, philosophy, and holistic benefits of *jūjutsu* with feminist ideology. In many ways, the book is quite ground-breaking, and her contribution to the early spread of *jūjutsu* in New Zealand cannot be overstated. Although long forgotten (she ended her career selling confectionary in a movie theatre), in recent years she has attracted somewhat of a revived cult following. A play about her called "The Hooligan and the Lady" premiered at the 2011 New Zealand Fringe Festival, and she is also depicted as one of the secret bodyguards protecting the leaders of the Suffragettes in the graphic novel trilogy titled *Suffrajitsu: Mrs. Pankhurst's Amazons* (2015).

Around the time when Flossie Le Mar was entertaining audiences, Europe was embroiled in the "war to end all wars". It is here that yet another fascinating character makes his name selling *jūjutsu* as a combat method par excellence, and one that has considerable application, as he supposedly proved in the theatre of modern warfare. Perhaps more influential than Le Mar in the popularisation of *jūjutsu* in New Zealand, and certainly more controversial, was the enigmatic Brit, Captain Sydney Temple Leopold McLaglen, "Jiu-jitsu Champion of the World".

Leopold McLaglen first appears in New Zealand around 1915, and seems to have endeared himself to the locals rather quickly. In Christchurch, for example, he is credited for creating "something of a craze" following his *jūjutsu* demonstrations there. He was always keen for opportunities to promote *jūjutsu* at event such as the "monster patriotic entertainment in the Town Hall" organised by the Railway Service in Wellington, which included "a grand assault-at-arms" and "exhibition of jiu-jitsu" interspersed with "patriotic music." This event was planned to raise money for "starving Belgians," victims of the raging hostilities in Europe. An article introducing the event states that "Jiu-jitsu, as applied in modern warfare, is now being taught to the [NZ] troops in camp at Trentham" by "Captain Leopold McLaglen, the jiu-jitsu champion of the world, who has been supervising the training of the men in the science" (*Dominion*, March 5, 1915).

He is introduced in the *Otago Daily Times* (April 10, 1915) promoting a display by Otago Boys' High School Old Boys who will "present a programme that will prove quite novel to a Dunedin audience. Arrangements have been made with Captain Leopold McLaglen, who is at present Dunedin instructing the Territorial officers in bayonet exercises and jiu-jitsu to give an exhibition of his work." According to his profile, he had "the honour of winning in Japan the jiu-jitsu championship of the world." What is interesting here is that he appears to have found an inroad to teach bayonet practice and *jūjutsu* in New Zealand schools, which was undoubtedly a first. Incidentally, McLaglen was also referred to as the instructor of *jūjutsu* for the Girl Guides in New Zealand in 1926, so he most likely crossed paths with Cossgrave in his travels. Before then, however, his contribution to the cause in preparing Kiwi males to fight for King and country was timely and true.

The High School cadets gave a fine display of the new bayonet drill, exemplifying the use of the butt and several new parries and guards. This item, in which the boys have considerably improved since their display at the High School Fete, was loudly applauded. The jiu-jitsu exhibition was also most instructive, and was well done." (*Oamaru Mail*, April 5, 1915)

And;

The military display and jiu-jitsu exhibition to be held at His Majesty's Theatre on Wednesday evening promises to be one of the most interesting entertainments yet held in Dunedin. Squads of thoroughly trained Territorials and High School boys will give exhibitions of bayonet fighting, and Captain McLaglen, the jiu-jitsu champion of the world, will give jiu-jitsu exhibitions, and will, moreover, defy the efforts of two draught horses to separate his grip. (*Otago Daily Times*, April 17, 1915)

In Christchurch, he collaborated with the Canterbury Regiment to hold another assault-at-arms tournament touted to be “one of the most interesting events ever held in New Zealand.” As the director of events, he is hyped in the article as the “inventor of the new system of bayonet fighting used by British troops in the present war,”²⁸ and had conducted similar displays in “Australia, South Africa, India, and England.” The article promised performances of him “cutting down sheep whilst going at full gallop,”²⁹ and “defying the united efforts of two draught horses to pull his arms apart,” as well as a “display of jiu-jitsu, at which science he is said to be the champion of the world.” He was also going to demonstrate “the wonderful Japanese sleep-producing system” where a “well-known local gentleman” would be rendered unconscious, and then miraculously revived again in front of a military officer to verify it was not a stunt. Again, the proceeds were to be donated to those unfortunate souls suffering deprivation in the war in Europe (*Press*, July 10, 1915).

There was a number of secondary schools throughout the country that taught *jūjutsu* to both girls and boys in the 1920s and 30s. It is arguable that McLaglen's legacy lived on long after he departed the country in that he pioneered the way for future instructors of the art to youth. J. B. Adams, for example, although not a student of McLaglen, followed his example and conducted classes for hundreds of pupils at the Auckland Grammar School, Mount Albert Grammar School, Auckland Girls' Grammar School, Seddon Memorial Technical College, and Otahuhu Technical High School, as well as for the Y.W.C.A. and the Defence Department. He even made an application to the Minister of Education, Hon. P. Fraser to have “jiu-jitsu instruction included in the school curriculum” (*New Zealand Herald*, January 27, 1936).

²⁸ On the cover of his book, *McLaglen System of Bayonet Fighting* (1916), he claims to have “influenced 30,000 Australian and New Zealand troops” with his innovative system of using a bayonet with *jūjutsu* techniques.

²⁹ A display that surely contravened the ideals of the New Zealand SPCA (Society of the Prevention and Care for Animals), which had already been established by British immigrants in 1882.



BECOMING EXPERTS.—Learning the art of jiu-jitsu has been taken up enthusiastically by girls of Seddon Memorial Technical College. (*Auckland Star*, August 15, 1935)



JIU-JITSU FOR GIRLS: A pupil of the Seddon Memorial Technical College taking part in yesterday's display in the school gymnasium. (*New Zealand Herald*, December 10, 1941)



Blind students of jiu-jitsu and physical training receiving practical instruction in the various holds at the New Zealand Institute of the Blind. (*Auckland Star*, September 12, 1933)

It is quite remarkable that he was so readily employed by the New Zealand military and some of the country's finest secondary schools to teach *jūjutsu* and bayonet practice when his credentials, upon close inspection, seem to be questionable. What little research that has been done into his career tends to lead to the conclusion that he was little more than a "showman," and although domineering in a physical sense, he was not endowed with any genuine fighting skill. Many of his self-proclaimed exploits in the ring were dubious, and he most certainly was never the *jūjutsu* champion of the world in any recognised arena. For example, following his match with the Japanese T. H. Kanada in front

**You Can Learn
JIU-JITSU
at Home from the
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JIU-JITSU is a gentle art. You don't have to be a brute to defeat your adversary. Skilled victory in this highly-skilled sport can be obtained without the disfigurement or injury common in boxing or wrestling. There is no danger of hurting oneself in learning JIU-JITSU under the expert tuition of CAPTAIN McLAGLAN.

CAPTAIN LEO McLAGLAN, undefeated World's Champion, will teach you JIU-JITSU by post, in an entirely new and most fascinating, easy way. YOU LEARN AS YOU LOGIC—every movement is shown by photograph—a minimum of effort for a maximum of effect.

The new postal training in JIU-JITSU develops agility, quickness of mind and eye, and flexibility of muscles. It is a means of attack and defence, whereby the small and apparently weak may prevail against the strong. It gives confidence in a tight place. It gives you an advantage over an adversary who may greatly insult or attempt to rob or assault you.

CAPTAIN McLAGLAN has defeated the Japanese Champions and has an unassailable record. Post the coupon below. You will receive full particulars, FREE, of his most unique world-famous Jiu-Jitsu Course by return. SEND NO MONEY!

**This Free Coupon
is for You!**

Captain Leo McLaglan,
London Post Champion,
Martin Flee, SYDNEY.

Please forward, without obligation, and by return post, your free particulars on "How to Learn Jiu-Jitsu." Enclose 3d. in stamps for postage.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

(New Zealand Herald, September 11, 1928)

of what McLaglen boasted was “15,000 spectators” to claim the title of “Champion of the World,” the *Vancouver Daily Province* reported, “There was little, if any, jiu-jitsu to the performance. . . It was apparent to everyone that McLaglen’s knowledge of the game could be covered with a pinhead” (October 5, 1907).

Irrespective of whether history has been fair to him as a martial artist or not, he obviously had a highly charismatic disposition. His influence in New Zealand is indisputable.³⁰ He wrote several books on combat related topics in New Zealand such as the *McLaglen System of Bayonet Fighting* (1916), *Bayonet Fighting for War* (1916) and *Jiu Jitsu: A Manual of the Science* (1918). In the foreword for *Jiu Jitsu: A Manual of the Science*, the principal of Waitaki Boy’s High

School, F. Milner, is generous in his praise of McLaglen.

This is to certify that Captain Leopold McLaglen trained the whole of the boys at this school (260 in number) in Jiu Jitsu. I have carefully watched Captain McLaglen’s work. He is a fine disciplinarian. The boys have benefited greatly from his tuition, and he has enlisted their enthusiastic admiration. (p. 10)

He left New Zealand sometime after the War, but made frequent visits back. McLaglen was based in Australia between 1928–1930, and several advertisements appear in New Zealand newspapers during this period pushing his latest innovation: a *jūjutsu* course by correspondence, complete with a free coupon! Although the American wrestler Martin Burns is recorded as having developed a mail order enterprise to teach wrestling in the early part of the twentieth century,³¹ maybe this was a world’s first for *jūjutsu*.

As an aside, the twilight years of his life were even more curious. According to the American newspaper, *The Independent* (October 27, 1937), while teaching *jūjutsu* at the Los Angeles Police Department, Leopold, the 49-year-old “burly brother” of Hollywood screen star, Victor McLaglen, was arrested on the charge of perjury and commissioning a crime—extortion of a wealthy

³⁰ English compatriots William E. Fairbairn (1885–1960) and Eric A. Sykes (1883–1945) developed “Defendu”, a hand-to-hand combat system based on *jūjutsu* techniques, knife fighting, bayonet combat and boxing. Apparently, Fairbairn had spent time in Tokyo where he studied at Kanō Jigorō’s Kōdōkan. He wrote a book called *Defendu* in 1926 in which his system is introduced. Fairbairn and Sykes’ system was taught to British commandos and other Allied special forces during the Second World War. The appellation “Defendu” obviously derives from the English word “defence”. The “-du” could possibly be a mispronunciation of “-dō,” the suffix meaning “Way” in Japanese *budō*. The reason I mention it here is because records suggest that McLaglen taught Fairbairn *jūjutsu* and bayonet practice in 1914 at the Shanghai Municipal Police.

³¹ M. DeMarco, ed., *Judo and American Culture*, p. 6.

sportsman.³² He defended himself by claiming to be a British secret agent whose mission it was to spread anti-semitic propaganda and to gather intelligence on communists. Years later in 1948, he visited an old wrestling foe in South Africa, Tromp Van Diggellen, but was very ill and hardly able to talk. According to Van Diggellen's account of the meeting, McLaglen claimed that his inability to converse coherently was due to his tongue having been partially removed when taken prisoner by the Japanese.³³ In a War Office file about "Leo the Great" is a rather sad summation of the man. "The best thing they [the Americans] can say in his favour is that he is probably a little mad."³⁴ He died in 1951, possibly in Kenya.

Conclusion

Jūjutsu was one of the most recognisable Japanese words in everyday New Zealand parlance in the early twentieth century. Its introduction and establishment in New Zealand was greatly assisted by certain political and social trends happening in the 'home country' (Great Britain). Namely, the growing popularity of *jūjutsu* among men and women as veritable form of self-defence, and later as an aid in the plight of the Suffragettes. Japan's success in the Russo-Japanese war, an event that took the world by surprise, also helped to highlight *jūjutsu*, as did popular naval visits to New Zealand's ports. Vaudeville shows that featured intriguing demonstrations of *jūjutsu* alongside dancers and other forms of entertainment, as well as well-publicised *jūjutsu* matches at wrestling contests, made local and Japanese *jūjutsu* exponents minor celebrities on the professional fighting circuit.

Following these often unrelated activities by Japanese and non-Japanese groups and individuals, not to mention the interest garnered through trends and happenings far away from New Zealand, *jūjutsu* became established as a system of self-defence and health maintenance. It was taught to girls and boys in youth groups and schools, at community clubs, in the military, to prison guards, and to the police. When women were admitted into the police force in 1941, the first ten recruits were instructed in *jūjutsu* to ensure they could apprehend criminals and defend themselves in the case of retaliation (*Listener*, July 4, 1941). It is rumoured that Flossie Le Mar was involved in some capacity.

The science of *jūjutsu* certainly originated in Japan, but by the Second World War it had well and truly evolved into a form of global culture. It had become ubiquitous, and was deemed to be so useful, that few took issue with its Japanese roots even during the hostilities of the Second World War. The April 1943 issue of the RNZAF's in-house magazine, *Contact*, contains a feature article with photographs of trainees learning *jūjutsu*.³⁵ It was no secret that New Zealand's military, as with other Allied armies, made *jūjutsu* a regular part of their training regime. As Leopold McLaglan so prophetically stated in the introduction of his Christchurch-published book, *The McLaglan System of Bayonet Fighting* (1916), "a knowledge of jiu-jitsu will soon become an integral part of the training we give to our soldiers before they go to the front." (p. 10). He probably never thought at the time

³² Leopold McLaglen himself appeared in a film called *The Bars of Iron* (1920). Apart from Victor, his four other brothers, Arthur, Clifford, Cyril, and Kenneth were also actors.

³³ Graham Noble, "Early Ju-jitsu: The Challenges," *Dragon Times Online*.

³⁴ J. Svinth, "The Science of Jiu-jitsu," *Journal of Non-lethal Combatives*, http://ejmas.com/jnc/jncart_McLaglan_1202.htm (accessed 22 March 2017).

³⁵ Diana Looser, "The Development and Characteristics of the Martial Arts Experience in New Zealand," p. 40

that they would eventually be going to the front against the Japanese. Probably, the Japanese never envisaged this reality either.

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Japan in New Zealand: Taiko, Authenticity, and Identity in Transcultural Context

Henry JOHNSON

Introduction

New Zealand has a number of active taiko (drumming) groups, each of which has distinct links to Japan. This article introduces taiko in New Zealand in connection with the notions of authenticity and identity construction in transcultural context (i.e., connecting with two or more cultures – e.g., Kostogriz and Tsolidis 2008; Pratt 1992), for both Japanese and non-Japanese. The taiko settings under study are transcultural in that they are in New Zealand on the one hand yet inseparable from taiko's real or imagined homeland of Japan on the other. The research focuses on the creative settings of musical performance and explores the various ensemble taiko groups that are especially active in New Zealand. While investigating the ways identity is constructed for players, questions are asked about the local setting and the context of migration, and how these factors might influence the construction of transcultural identity in New Zealand. A range of social and cultural influences offer a number of examples that show cultural flows, musical adoption, and identity construction for different reasons and in diverse case-study settings.

As traditional Japanese musical instruments, Japanese drums (*wadaiko*) have been explored in various ways in Japanese scholarship, especially in connection with their supporting role in music, theatre, and other performing arts. The contemporary phenomenon of ensemble taiko performance (*kumidaiko*), however, has received some attention in Japan (e.g., Oguchi 1987; 1993), but in non-Japanese scholarly thought there is much work that covers diverse topics, including gender, identity, ethnicity, and tradition (e.g., de Ferranti 2006; Fujie 2001; Hennessy 2005; Izumi 2001; Johnson 2008; 2011; 2012; Tsuda 2016; Wong 2004; 2005; Yoon 2001). In this paper, I draw on ideas from some of this literature, and bring together some of the various strands of my own research on taiko in New Zealand (e.g., 2008; 2011; 2012).

The theoretical influences in this paper are from global cultural flows (e.g., Appadurai 1996), musical adoption (e.g., Eisentraut 2001), and identity construction (e.g., Hall 2003). In this context, the notions of authenticity and identity are interconnected in terms of perceptual tensions between tradition and change. That is, in a context where a real or imaginary taiko community may share culture and identity (Anderson 1983), “cultural identities come from somewhere, [and] have histories. But, like everything that is historical, they undergo constant transformation” (Hall 2003, 225). It is here that the connection between global taiko performance and the idea of authenticity demands further inquiry. For instance, in a recent book on Japanese American ethnicity, Tsuda (2016) includes a discussion of ethnic heritage, performance, and diasporicity with a focus on taiko in the United States with the embracing of homeland culture in the diaspora setting aimed at recovering ethnic heritage in an age of globalization. While focusing on the notion of “performance authenticity” (Tsuda 2016, 231), Tsuda notes that “if traditions never remain the same but are always in flux, the issue of cultural authenticity arises” (2016, 225), but, he asks, “are certain taiko traditions more authentic

than others?” (2016, 225). If one considers “authenticity as genuineness or realness of artifacts or events” (Steiner and Reisinger 2006, 299; see also Erickson 1995), and “always defined in the present” (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 286), then, as noted by one US taiko player, modern-day taiko groups give “the *illusion* of getting in touch with your roots” (Tsuda 2016, 226), and such performance practices are in fact recently invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). In New Zealand, taiko groups are a recently invented tradition that create culture and identity for their performers and audiences alike. In the present day, they offer representative and significant sites for the study of authenticity and identity in transcultural context.

For the purposes of this paper, the discussion is structured around three key themes: cultural flows; musical adoption; and identity construction. The first of the themes looks at the flows of taiko performance within and from Japan, where it has been part of a process of cultural and social dissemination and reveals diverse forms. The second part explores taiko in New Zealand in terms of musical adoption. Over the past three decades a number of taiko groups have been established and the adoption of this performance art form is studied with regard to Japanese, global, and local factors. The last part of the article concerns identity construction. Having been a part of global cultural flows and adopted in New Zealand, taiko is shown to help construct a musical identity for its players who transmit and create culture in social groups that have a distinct local purpose.

Cultural Flows

The term taiko means “drum”. More specifically the two *kanji* used for the term mean literally “fat drum”. There are other terms used for drums, such as *tsuzumi*, and numerous local and regional names for specific types of drum. Traditional Japanese drums (*wadaiko*) are made in many shapes and sizes, and used in a variety of sacred and secular settings. In Shintō and Buddhist ritual, drums are sometimes used as sound-producing tools or as instruments to accompany chant. In traditional performance settings, drums are found in the theatrical performing arts such as *noh* and *kabuki*, and in numerous festival contexts. There are also a number of drums used in arts connected with the Imperial Court, such as in court music (*gagaku*) where they range from small hand-held drums to gigantic drums that tower above the other instruments and adorned with spectacular designs.

Ensemble taiko performance consisting of a number of drums and sometimes two or more drums played by the same player is a more recent Japanese phenomenon. Sometimes referred to as *kumidaiko*, this style of drumming entered a period of innovation and growth from the 1950s and especially after a 1964 performance at the arts festival at the Tokyo Olympics by taiko drummer Oguchi Daihachi (1924–2008). A new type of performance that utilized traditional drums and sometimes other traditional instruments was created. Oguchi formed the taiko group Osuwa Daiko in 1951 and by the end of the 1960s several other inspirational groups were formed, including Sukeroku Daiko and Ondekoza (splitting in 1981 to form Kodō).

Nowadays, there are thousands of similar taiko groups all over Japan. They are found in all levels of schooling, universities, communities, and as professional groups who tour nationally and internationally. Taiko making has expanded to other countries in Asia and also to locations such as the US, Australia, and New Zealand. But what is important to note is that there are many different types of drum and types of performance practice. Some groups focus on preserving the drum styles of

local performing arts, while others are influenced by such ideas as choreography, African rhythms, and new music. When referring to taiko groups, therefore, it is essential to remember that they come in all shapes and sizes, but share a commonality of ensemble performance using traditional Japanese drums and sometimes other traditional instruments such as flutes, *shamisen* (lute), and other percussion.

As well as social flows in terms of the movement of people, there are cultural flows that have much global influence. Appadurai (1996) notes of five dimensions of global cultural flows: ethnoscapescapes; mediascapescapes; financescapescapes; technoscapescapes; and ideoscapescapes. While the first of these involves primarily the movement of people, the others might include people or other influences. The dimension of mediascapescapes in particular is one that has had much influence in terms of the cultural flows of taiko. For example, the world music industry has included taiko as a part of its cannon of global musical consumption for several decades; taiko groups such as Kodō spend much time touring the world and promoting their music to new audiences; and visual media such as movies or pictorial imagery might include taiko as a way of presenting an authentic type of Japan through stereotypical images. Within such spheres, taiko is further disseminated to Japanese and non-Japanese consumers who may come to see such imagery as representative of Japan and inspire an interest in taiko as a part of global culture more broadly.

In this context, taiko performance is both an ancient and a new tradition of cultural performance (Japanese and non-Japanese). With the new tradition, however, the use of traditional drums and cultural attire gives the impression that it is an old tradition, when in actual fact it is a recently invented tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). As Tsuda notes, in the U.S., taiko “appears to be so quintessentially traditional” (2016, 208). Further, with such a new tradition, which has an array of different types of groups and music, drums are often placed in performance settings where they are framed or staged as a performance event that foregrounds the drums in ways that are far removed from their more traditional accompanying role. As Tsuda has commented in connection with his experience of taiko in the U.S.: “For me, taiko was associated with traditional Japanese festivals and ceremonial rituals, and I had never heard taiko performed in concert halls, and especially not in the United States” (2016, 198).

Taiko was transmitted to New Zealand with the establishment of its first taiko group in 1990. The group, Kodama, was established at the International Pacific College (IPC)¹ in Palmerston North as a result of a Japanese student studying there who brought with him knowledge of taiko performance and was supported by the college (Johnson 2011). Kodama has had much influence on taiko performance in New Zealand, having taught members of other groups some of their repertoire and with several former players continuing to play in other groups (e.g., Narukami Taiko). At the time Kodama was established (initially calling itself Korejji [“College”]), IPC was a tertiary institution solely for visiting Japanese students. However, the college later began to accept other international students as well as New Zealand students. The emphasis on Japan, however, continues as part of the college’s international network to this day, which has meant that Kodama was a taiko group made up of Japanese students in New Zealand, but later was able to include non-Japanese. For Kodama, members are able to stay connected to Japan in the New Zealand setting. While some students may have prior knowledge of taiko, most have first learned the performing art when in New Zealand

¹ In 2015, IPC changed its name to IPU New Zealand Tertiary Institute (IPU stands for Institute of the Pacific United).

during their studies. Members continue a taiko tradition in an educational context outside Japan and offer cultural authenticity in terms of the Japanese links that some other taiko groups in New Zealand, who are mainly non-Japanese, have looked to when establishing their own repertory of pieces. After Kodama, other taiko groups were formed in various locations around New Zealand, each with different influences and circumstances (table 1; fig. 1).

Group	Location	Year Established
Kodama	Palmerston North	1990
Taikoza	Wellington	1991
Mukume	Kapiti Coast (Wellington)	1995
Wai Taiko	Hamilton	2000
Haere Mai	Auckland	2004
Rotorua Racco	Rotorua	2005
Raijin	Nelson	2007
Tamashii	Auckland	2007
Takumi	Christchurch	2008
Narukami Taiko	Wellington	2014
O-Taiko	Dunedin	2010
Kagutai Taiko	Edgecumbe	2013
Kumo Taiko	Auckland	2016

Table 1. New Zealand's taiko groups.

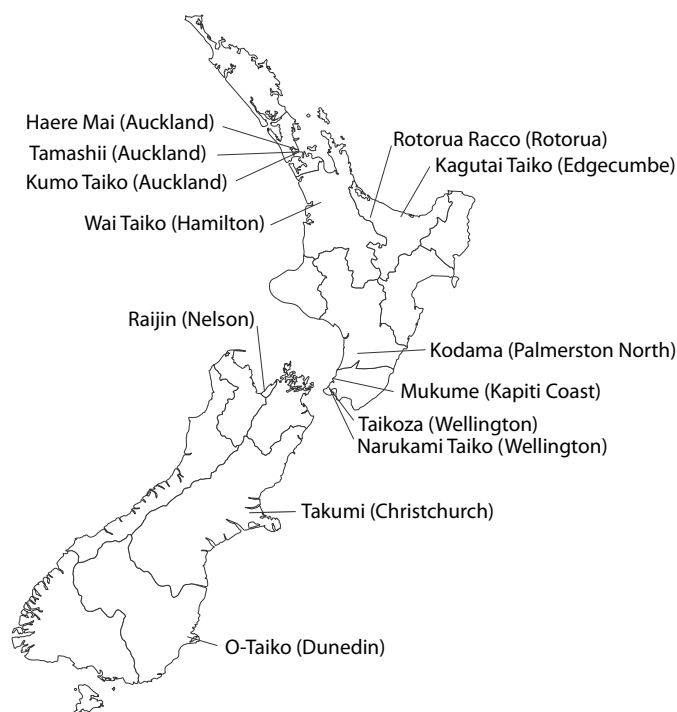


Figure 1. Geographic location of New Zealand's taiko groups. Modified version of a map by FreeVectorMaps.com.

Musical Adoption

The process of musical adoption might be the result of a number of social or cultural influences. Eisentraut (2001) offers a distinct example with a study of samba in Wales “in which members of a particular community adopt a musical style with which they have apparently no historical connection whatever” (p. 85). Central to Eisentraut’s discussion is that by playing samba in Wales a community is formed that has special meaning in the Welsh setting. For taiko in New Zealand, the various groups certainly establish musical communities that offer a sense of identity both as a group and as a focal point to which players will relate. There is also a sense of being a part of a New Zealand taiko community in that there have been two New Zealand taiko festivals (2008 and 2015) and some collaboration amongst groups for inviting Japanese taiko players for workshops. For New Zealand, one difference to Eisentraut’s point is that amongst the taiko groups there are varying degrees of connectedness to Japan, or rather taiko playing in Japan. In this context, therefore, musical adoption might take several forms: adoption through the process of Japanese or non-Japanese establishing groups in New Zealand, and each having a different *raison d’être* in terms of how and why they were formed in the first place.

While taiko in the United States has been influenced by drum groups comprising Japanese Americans as a result of migrants or their descendants being able to form their own taiko groups, where taiko has been described as being “everywhere in the Japanese American community” (Tsuda 2016, 200), in New Zealand, migration has had a degree of influence in slightly different ways. Undoubtedly, there are some taiko groups in New Zealand that have Japanese migration at their core, and others that include Japanese players as a result of migration to New Zealand. For example, as well as the Japanese roots of Kodama as discussed above, the taiko group Takumi comprises mostly Japanese or Japanese-related players, and the group itself was founded in a Japanese supplementary school in Christchurch by one of the short-term Japanese teachers who was on placement in New Zealand and brought knowledge of taiko with him.

There are a number of other taiko groups in New Zealand that were either founded by Japanese or include Japanese players who have migrated to New Zealand, either as short-term students or long-term residents, although these groups do not have Japanese as the majority of players. Indeed, with such groups, members have been inspired to play taiko in one way or another, and some Japanese and non-Japanese players have only ever played taiko in New Zealand.

In an age where travel is very much part of rapid cultural flows, some taiko groups in New Zealand have been established as a result of their founders or members having travelled to Japan and learned or experienced taiko in its “home” culture and have been inspired to continue playing taiko in New Zealand. For example, the group Wai Taiko was established in 2000 as a result of its two founding members being short-term exchange high-school students in Kyoto, Japan, at Tachibana Girls’ High School, where they joined the school taiko group. On return to New Zealand they formed Wai Taiko and started out playing on drums made by one of their fathers out of old wine barrels.

Identity Construction

For taiko players in New Zealand, musical identity is influenced by such factors as authenticity, ethnicity, and creative practice. With the international cultural flows of taiko from Japan from the

1960s in the form of localized ensemble performance in the United States, and to New Zealand from the 1990s, the notion of authenticity might be considered in terms of the nexus between what is performed outside Japan and what is performed inside Japan. Such a concept, although subjective and based on a perspective from the present day, brings to the foreground a sense of taiko in Japan being a true representation of the style. In this context, authenticity generates a politics of national, cultural, and ethnic connection, which serves to create a centre—periphery model that operates in a mode of cultural comparison. The existence of taiko groups all over the world is testament to the nature of contemporary global flows that help shape modern-day culture in many locations. When taiko groups are compared, it would be very difficult to refute the theme of relating to a Japanese home culture that permeates the ontological foundation of such ensembles. From using the term “taiko” in the name of a group to such attributes as music, performance practice, or attire, the phenomenon of taiko performance in many locations exhibits inherent traits that are emblems of (“traditional”) Japanese culture.

Across national and cultural borders, taiko groups belong to an imagined community (Anderson 1983), both in the sense of transcultural identity and in local, regional, or national connections. The indexing of Japan through cultural practice establishes a sense of the home culture as the authentic, the one that offers the true ideal of taiko performance. While such links might be helpful when replicating cultural performance, where one taiko group wishes to represent Japanese culture as accurately as possible, it equally points to less localization of creative practice and instead to cultural simulacra. That is, cultural replication serves as a type of hyperreality that presents culture as though it were real, or in this sense authentically Japanese (Baudrillard 1994). On the one hand the performance is real, but on the other it is hyperreality in that it offers an imagined Japan that is removed from its authentic home, paradoxically the one that it strives to represent.

In 2013, there were 14,118 people in New Zealand who self-identified as Japanese (Statistics New Zealand 2013). This number represents less than one percent of the total population of the nation, although increasing by 18.6 percent on the 2006 census (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Of this number, nearly half live in Auckland, and 29 percent on the South Island (Statistics New Zealand 2013). As noted above, the connection with taiko and diaspora has been the topic of scholarly discourse in the North American setting where performance has been shown as an expression of transnational or diaspora identity. In New Zealand, however, there have been some similar influences in the establishment of taiko groups, although there are other influences too, such as in the mediascape (Appadurai 1996).

Within taiko performance, creativity is practised in several ways. While the notion of authenticity has much to do with the presentation and representation of the musical artefact, which might be determined according to ethnicity or cultural context, within the musical process there is much creativity that contributes to any particular taiko group’s identity. Well-known pieces in the taiko repertoire are interpreted by groups so that any given performance will undoubtedly offer a distinct interpretation vis-à-vis that of other groups. While some famous taiko groups may offer a standard of musicianship or performance practice to which other groups aspire, creativity can nevertheless be a distinguishing factor of any performance. Taiko groups may offer new pieces of music composed by group members or others. Such music adds to the international repertory of taiko music and contributes to a global dynamic of creative practice. For example, the O-Taiko in Dunedin

plays several original pieces of music that were composed especially for the group by players who first learned taiko in Dunedin. A similar situation exists for several other New Zealand taiko groups.

With global taiko groups, there is a dichotomy between Japanese and non-Japanese. This might be perceived as a home culture (i.e., Japan) versus other culture (i.e., non-Japanese) division, or viewed through the lens of home representing an authentic culture to which other taiko groups may aspire. While such divisions are undoubtedly a part of the epistemology of many global taiko groups, it should be remembered that in Japan there are in actual fact many different styles of drumming. Even the ensemble style (*kumidaiko*) that is part of world of neo-traditional Japanese drumming is replicated in many ways the world over, and more specific to Japan one can find many differences in performance practice, instrumentation, and context of performance. Likewise, authenticity in creative practice in global taiko performance can be identified in many ways.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed Japan in New Zealand through the perspective of the impact that taiko has had over the past three decades. Focusing on authenticity and identity in transcultural context, I have discussed the impact of taiko on New Zealand in three spheres of thought: cultural flows; musical adoption; and identity construction. While such a performance phenomenon might be approached in a number of different ways, by highlighting these areas I have been able to show some of the distinct ways that interconnect Japan and New Zealand. In this paper, such connections are through transculturalism and are realized through social and cultural flows that are localized in the New Zealand setting.

The process of global cultural flows has been the starting point for the localization of taiko in New Zealand. Japanese influences on New Zealand have been shown to be inherent in taiko performance in several ways, through people, culture, and media. Taiko has been adopted in New Zealand by a range of different people with an array of backgrounds, influences, and objectives, each operating in a transcultural perspective of one type or another. Within this real and sometimes imagined community within and across national borders, identity is constructed through music and creative performance practices. In New Zealand, therefore, taiko groups have inherent transcultural parameters; they create culture in local settings; and they offer a performance phenomenon where the notion of authenticity can have multiple interpretations.

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V Modern Japanese Literature, Film, and Popular Culture

The Noble Art of Procrastination: Writer's Block as a Motif in *Watakushi Shōsetsu*

Mats KARLSSON

Introduction

As any avid reader of the so-called *watakushi shōsetsu* genre of I-fiction will have noticed, the protagonist's inability to write is subject matter that features often within the genre. Such subject matter may take various shapes and perform different functions, ranging from supplying a leitmotif for a certain work to constituting the very theme of another. This essay aims to highlight the motif of *writer's block* as it appears in a range of selected I-fictional works in order to delineate a few of its functions. Needless to say, depiction of this phenomenon is by no means restricted to the genre of *watakushi shōsetsu*—in fact, many a writer across time and space has dabbled with the theme—but it seems that it came to the fore in this genre which held sway for a couple of decades in early twentieth century Japan. Of this phenomenon Tanizaki Seiji has pertinently noted that, “The Taishō period was a curious age in which a story about writer's block was perfectly acceptable. The image of an author bewailing his loss of creativity appealed to readers . . . *Bundan* [literary circles] writers actually gained popularity by revealing how difficult it was for them to write.”¹ According to Hirano Ken's typology, I-fiction writers may broadly be divided into a self-destructive type (*hametsu gata*), representative of *watakushi shōsetsu*, or conversely, into a harmonious type (*chōwa gata*), typically found in the so-called *shinkyō shōsetsu* type of novel.² This essay opposes the quintessential self-destructive writer Kasai Zenzō (1887–1928) with the harmonious type par excellence, Shiga Naoya (1883–1971), in order to illustrate a few literary approaches to the predicament. My aim is to steer clear of ontological questions about the ‘I’ of I-fiction—much has already been written on this theme—and instead highlight how different approaches to writer's block function to shape the image of the persona behind the pen.

The Case of Kasai Zenzō: Self-Vilification as Creative Impulse

Tanizaki Seiji has further noted that while there is virtually no Taishō era author who has never written a self-referential novel (*jiko shōsetsu*), Kasai Zenzō stands out as a radical I-novelist in that his works are all based on himself and his surroundings, with the exception of two or three pieces.³ In the words of Odagiri Hideo, furthermore, Kasai is the author of the “most watakushishōsetsu-like watakushishōsetsu.”⁴ Reflective of his self-destructive leaning, Kasai's manifold, often rambling, explorations of his inability to compose appear on the page in the overall context of his paranoia and persecution complex, spurred on by a chaotic life situation. As has been observed, unless Kasai

¹ Quoted in Fowler, 264.

² Hirano, 25–26.

³ Tanizaki, 376.

⁴ Odagiri, 24.

inflicted pain upon himself to the utmost degree in real life, the creative impulse would simply not stir in him.⁵ Interestingly, though, this tormented mental state neither reflects nor generates self-contempt; on the contrary, Kasai often shows signs of great self-confidence. Despite the agonies he purportedly goes through, the tone of voice is not infrequently cheerful, bordering on the hilarious. One example of this is the short story “Furō” 浮浪 (Adrift) published in 1921, a work in which the inability to write triggers the entire narration. In the opening, the I-narrator declares to his younger brother that he is going away somewhere to write (*doko ka ni itte kaite kuru tsumori da*, 131), in order to escape loans incurred in his Kamakura neighborhood. The brother, though, who knows only too well that similar attempts in the past have ended in failure, cannot conceal signs of unease as he wishes him good luck (*umaku kakeru to ii desu ga nē*. . ., 132). Incidentally, the brother’s unease is shared by any experienced reader of Kasai’s works. Leaving his son in the care of a maid, the protagonist sets out for the ocean resort of Ōarai to stay at an inn where he has previously spent half a year.

The piece that Kasai has set his heart on writing is to deal with a recently deceased cousin, intended as a sequel to an unnamed previously published unfinished manuscript. As we learn, he has completely lost the urge to write it, but now he has compelling (read financial) reasons for not prevaricating any further; no matter what, he must return from his sojourn with twenty or thirty pages of manuscript (*kondo wa donna koto o shite mo, nijūmai demo sanjūmai demo kaite kaeraneba naranai to omotta*, 135). On the evening of the third day he finally resolves to set aside his habitual drinking to face the writing desk until after two at night, producing six or seven pages. The reader, however, cannot dispel doubts about this newfound energy. In Kasai there are thus always plot elements designed to derail the hero’s creative activity. The narration of these plot elements detailing what keeps him from writing then becomes the text we are holding in our hands. And sure enough, when the landlady brings his breakfast on the following morning she begs him to settle the bill, today being the last day of the year according to the lunar calendar. The hero, who is out of money, as usual in Kasai, is left with no choice but to bargain with the woman for a respite of five or six days until he has finished his work. As the innkeepers persist the hero pleads with an acquaintance living nearby to intervene on his behalf, assuring him that he will definitely make rapid headway with the manuscript from now on. The respite is granted and the narrator continues unhampered on the manuscript until the fifteenth page during two all-night sessions, until the pen abruptly stops (*pattari to fude ga susumanakunatta*, 138). Not accustomed to setting aside the nightly drinking habit to work into the wee hours instead, his mental and physical states have fallen into turmoil. After gazing at the writing desk absentmindedly for a couple of days the hero tears the manuscript to pieces in disgust! Once again he now has to assure his supportive friend that, although he is thoroughly fed up with the present manuscript, there is no

⁵ Tanizaki, 378. On this point, Kasai is reminiscent of August Strindberg (1849–1912), whom Kasai had read and apparently been inspired by. According to one view, Strindberg purposely staged his own life crises in order to obtain material for writing. See, for instance, Evert Sprinchorn: “Strindberg created his experiences in order to write about them. Interested in exploring the frontier where jealousy encroaches on madness, he set up a model of the terrain in his own home. . . But Strindberg could not step out of his role without being called a fraud. He had to play the game for real even if it meant injuring himself and others.” (xiv). Moreover, Kasai’s persecution complex is a literary theme that appears as strikingly *Strindbergesque*. At one point, in “Adrift” for instance, we read: “it also felt like an admonition of the Gods to sink lower into the depths” (*yahari motto soko made ochikome to no kami no imashime ka to mo omowareta*, 157). This line could have been drawn from Strindberg’s novel *Inferno* (1896–1897).

need to worry: as he cannot return empty-handed he will most definitely produce another in the next few days.

The next morning he wakes up early for a change and finds himself in the mood to confront the writing desk once more. The clear sky and sparkling blue ocean infuse him with fresh resolve to write (*Konna kimochi nara kakeru zo!* 139). He imagines the life of his unfortunate cousin who lived gratefully day-by-day and is filled with a feeling of sympathy for his humility. He has now found the right state of mind in which to honestly write the life of the cousin (*Kore de ii no da kō iu kimochi de sunao ni kakeba ii no da*, 139), and he puts down the title on a fresh sheet of writing paper. He realizes that the reason he has been unable to continue on the manuscript in the first place was not merely a matter of technique but rather his guilty conscience, a more fundamental shortcoming. He sits down to write a few pages in his newfound honest and humble attitude. But in the afternoon the friend who has negotiated with the owners of the inn returns to tell him that they refuse to extend their forbearance on the payment for nothing and are demanding that he pawns his belongings. Naturally, this course of events throws our hero off track yet again. Because this occurs precisely when he has attained a new mood of serenity, he is all the more inclined to see it as the intervention of an ironic twist of fate (*Senkoku no kōfukuna kibun no sugu ato datta dake ni, jibun ni taishite hinikuna kimochi o kanjinai wake ni ikanakatta*, 141).

In the remainder of the story the hero moves from cheap lodging to cheap lodging while bargaining to borrow money from various persons and coming up with schemes to have publishers in Tokyo transfer him advances. The one thing he cannot do is to return to Tokyo without a manuscript in hand (*kondo wa dōshitomo kakazu niwa kaerenai yōna jijō ni natte iru*, 149). At one point, while waiting eagerly for a money transfer from his brother to arrive, it seems for an instant that the much-coveted manuscript will eventually materialize. The sunny, neat and pleasant room he manages to find puts him in the mood to get on and write ten to fifteen pages worth of manuscript. But his resolve only lasts for five or six pages (*yahari gorokumai kaku to ato ga tsuzukanakatta*, 154). While deliberating whether to seek help from the police or even pawning his fountain pen as a last resort, the money transfer finally arrives. Infused with fresh courage our hero contemplates making one last try at the manuscript while wiring for more funds from elsewhere but in the end decides to return to Tokyo on the advice of the landlady. Towards the end of the story the protagonist admits defeat but immediately sets his mind on the next journey. As he tells the maid that has been looking after his son, it is now or never (*kondo koso wa kitto isshūkan gurai de kakiagete kane o motte kaette kuru kara*, 163). Incidentally, three and a half years later, Kasai published a short story with the title of “Itoko” 従弟 (Cousin).

While “Adrift” at times reads like slapstick comedy, there are also ominous, more agonizing sides to Kasai’s writer’s block. “Jakusha” 弱者 (The Oppressed One), published in 1925, is a long musing on what exactly it is that is thwarting the narrator. Here, the inability to write is inscribed in the text in a literal sense, inasmuch the narration is the product of dictation by Kasai, structured in the form of a monologue directed to an interlocutor in the second person (*kimi*).⁶ Interestingly, the text retains traces of its provenance in a monologue: ‘What on earth is it I want to say, intend to say?’

⁶ Kasai describes the chaotic circumstances under which the dictation took place in another of his dictated pieces, his 1927 “*Suikyōsha no kokuhaku*” 酔狂者の告白 (A mad drunk’s monologue), 329.

(*Jibun wa ittai nani o, shaberitai tsumori nan darō, shaberu tsumori nan darō?*, 230). Throughout the monologue he strives to set the addressee right about his state of mind defying the addressee's various past accusations against him. Due to (financial) circumstances and neuralgia he has been unable to hold a pen for over half a year. According to his established reputation, handed down by friends, he is suffering from persecution complex, but 'today' he has read in a certain journal that within the definition of paranoia there is a subdivision of depressive paranoia (*yūutsu mōsōkyō*, 227), and he believes his case to be closer to this disorder. Accordingly, while he might be subservient and passive and exaggerating his helplessness and uselessness, he is not suffering from the kind of superstition that would arise from a lack of knowledge and understanding. His greatest fear, though, is that of losing his mind (*jibun wa kichigai ni dake wa naritakunai*, 236). Yet, while exposing himself to self-accusation, he cannot resist the temptation to insert some self-irony: "Coward, weakling—in other words, the story becomes more interesting" (*Ikujinashi, jakusha,—tsumari, hanashi ga omoshiroku-naru*, 226). In interior monologue form, the protagonist oscillates between hope and resignation: 'I might still be saved. I still have something left within me. I can still go on working' (*Jibun wa mada sukuwareru kamo shirenai. Mada jibun niwa, nanimono ka ga nokotte iru. Jibun wa mada shigoto o shite ikeru*, 237). But then, only a few lines later, he relapses into resignation: "But after all I'm a weakling" (*Tokoroga, yahari boku wa yowamushi da*, 238).

Kasai's "Kohan shuki" 湖畔手記 (Lakeside Memoirs), published in 1924, is another of his pieces written under duress at the Yumoto hot-spring resort over a two-month period. Kasai here tones down his trademark eccentricity to deliver a more subdued and lyrical prose in what Tanizaki Seiji considers as the only work where he honestly lays bare his innermost feelings.⁷ As Kasai reveals in the story, he originally intended to address his words in a regretful tone to his wife—whom he invokes throughout the text—as he outlines the circumstances surrounding his lover, but that it somehow managed to turn into some sort of weird novel (*henna shōsetsu meita mono*, 156) without him noticing. Even so, he must turn the account into remuneration as soon as possible before he can descend from the mountain resort. Yet again, the narrative revolves around his deteriorating health and inability to work, a nightly drinking habit being his only relief. What is inhibiting him in this case seems to be a sense of profound regret—caused by a guilty conscience towards his wife and over squandering his life in general—that puts him in a state of self-pity: "Work, just like everything else, proves useless. Being abandoned by friends and life alike. . . you fool, fleeing from place to place as you wail miserably. I cannot stand gazing at my own miserable figure." (*Shigoto no hō mo dame, mina dame na koto ni naru no da. Kōshite subete no yūjin kara mo suterare, seikatsu kara mo suterarete . . . mijime na himē o agetsu-tsu nigemawaru odorokamono yo! Jibun wa jibun no sono, mijime na sugata o gyōshi suru ni taenai*, 122). For a while Kasai finds solace in the peaceful surroundings, but even that does not last long. Although the reader will be familiar with most features of his interior monologue from other works, his agony here leaves a sincerer impression. Rather than inflicting pain on himself so as to spark the creative impulse, the I-narrator appears genuinely resigned to his fate.

⁷ Tanizaki, 382.

The Case of Shiga Naoya: In Search of Emotional Equilibrium

Similarly to Kasai Zenzō, writer's block is a frequently occurring motif in the I-novels of Shiga Naoya. In his case, though, the motif does not belong to an overall scheme of self-inflicted pain and exploration of the self's wretchedness. As with Kasai, writers' block in Shiga is subjected to exploration of varying profundity depending on the story. In a work like the 1914 "Ko o nusumu hanashi" 児を盗む話 (A Tale of Stealing a Child), the I-protagonist's idleness provides the narrative situation for the unfolding of the (imagined) snatching away of a little girl. The narrator has fled Tokyo after falling out with his father and rents a house perched on a mountain slope facing the sea in a small town (Onomichi) along the Inland Sea coast. The change of environment initially brings him joy. After resting for some time in a settled state of mind he commences on a long work, writing through the night until dawn. In the dead of night he manages to bring his whole system to a pleasant state of excitement. At such a depiction of ease behind the pen, the experienced reader of Shiga senses a premonition of danger. Sure enough, the protagonist's 'writer's high' was not meant to last for long: "When these nights had continued for about half a month I gradually grew exhausted. I felt heavy in the head, my shoulders became stiff and a somehow disagreeable mood took hold of me. Falling into sleep at dawn I started moaning from bad dreams. I just could not get a good sleep any longer" (*Konna yoru ga hantsuki hodo tsuzuku to watashi wa dandan ni tsukarete kita. Atama ga omoku kata ga kotte nan to naku fukigen ni natte kita. Akegata no netsuki niwa yoku unasareru yō ni natta. Jukusui to iu koto ga maru de dekinakunatta*, 102). Enduring displeasure and fatigue he yet endeavors to complete the half-finished manuscript, but to no avail: "But I gradually grew dissatisfied with the result. More and more I started lying around in the room in distraction (*Shikashi sono dekitabae wa dandan ni ki ni iranai mono ni natte itta. Watashi wa bon'yari to heya no naka ni korogatte iru koto ga ōkunatta*, 104). As the pleasant excitement has now completely disappeared, the work becomes increasingly irksome. On top of it all, his vaguely unsettled mind will not permit him to sit still, forcing him to abandon writing: "In the end I decided to suspend working. After that I started spending my time aimlessly loafing about day after day" (*Watashi wa tōtō shigoto o chūshi suru koto ni shita. Sore kara wa bura bura to mui ni sono hi sono hi o sugosu yō ni natta*, 104).

It is in this listless mood that the narrator one night spots a charming six-year-old girl accompanied by family at a *rakugo* performance. His attitude starts changing after fantasies about the girl and about stalking her miraculously break his deadlock. Spotting her on a second night at the *rakugo*, the narrator's fantasies escalate to snatching her away and making her his possession. Since the girl does not appear a third time, though, he ends up snatching another girl of similar age and bringing her home with him. The narrator's reckless act creates a tension within him that he has not experienced in a long time, and this becomes a catalyst for him to start to write again:

I finally managed to do it. I managed to pull off a dreadful thing. I praised myself for having succeeded in carrying it through. Now there is no turning back anymore. Now I only have to see it through. For the moment I don't know how to go about it. But in any case, I've managed to do something that I hadn't done or wouldn't have succeeded in doing even if I tried, until now. Within me there is a far too delicate solicitude. I have now conquered that solicitude.

(*Tōtō yatte noketa. Osoroshii koto o yatte noketa. Sore no yarikireta jibun ga ureshii. Mō koto o kaesu koto wa nai. Ima wa saki e denukeru dake da. Sore wa dō sureba ii ka wa ima wa shiranai. To mo kaku mo ima made ni yatta koto, yarō toshitemo dekinakatta koto o yatte noketa. Jibun ni wa amari ni yowayowashii koryo ga aru. Sono koryo ni jibun wa uchikatta*, 115).

What this example shows us is how the imagined stealing of a child becomes a sort of displacement for the protagonist's quest to overcome his mental deadlock to start writing again.⁸

Shiga's most intriguing exploration of the *kakenai shōsetsuka* theme is undoubtedly his famous 1917 novel *Wakai* 和解 (Reconciliation). The story commences on July 31, the first anniversary of the death of the I-narrator's first child. A short while into the narrative we learn that the narrator has a manuscript to finish by August 19. He starts writing at ten o'clock on a certain night but finds the material somehow difficult to treat (*zairyō ga nandaka toriatsukainikukatta*, 327). He changes the initial title of the story from *kūsōka* to *musōka*, both words translating roughly into dreamer or daydreamer. He endeavors to write about his unhappy relationship with his father that played out around the time when he was living alone in Onomichi six years earlier. However, out of misgivings about writing down personal grudges against his father in one of his creative works, and because of his complicated state of mind, he hesitates. He tries twice but fails both times, as he understands that he lacks the ability to look at his experiences accurately and judge them impartially. As time is running out he sees he has no choice but to change subject matter. Now the writing runs surprisingly smoothly and he manages to complete the manuscript by the sixteenth.

Further along the narrative, though, he decides to give *The Daydreamer* another go. At this point the narrator gets involved in an intricate disquisition on the complexities involved in writing reality (*ijitsu o kaku*, 334). Especially when writing about the discord with his father he becomes acutely aware of these difficulties. In addition, the aforementioned reluctance to put his personal grudge down on paper hampers the flow of the pen (*fude no susumi o nakanaka ni jama o shita*, 334). The narrator is torn between conflicting emotions of grudge against and sympathy for his father, something that further complicates putting them into words. Next, the narrative takes a surprising turn when the narrator reveals that the displeasure that the father is now expressing against him has nothing to do with the old grudge that the narrator feels unable to write about (*Shikashi chichi ga ima akirasama ni jibun ni tsuite itte iru fukai wa sore de wa nakatta*, 335). Then he goes into great detail about an incident that occurred the year before last in Kyoto, when the father had visited him intending to defuse the discord that had arisen between them. The narrator obviously feels better at ease behind the pen in detailing this instance of discord with his father. Moreover, in the remainder of the narrative we find inserted various incidents from the past involving the father that have resulted in discord between the two and cast a disagreeable shadow over their relationship. In a sense, the narrator is writing down what he has just declared himself unable to write.

As the narrator famously reaches reconciliation with the father towards the end of the narrative, the impetus to treat the subject matter involving the discord with the father—although this is what

⁸ Shiga has explained that half of the novel is true but that the section about stealing the child is based on fantasies (*kūsō*), although he seriously held those fantasies. Further, even though he might have been far from carrying them out in reality he depended on such fantasies. See *Shiga Naoya zenshū*, vol. 2, pp. 632–33.

the novel is basically all about—dissolves into thin air together with the plans for *The Daydreamer* (*Jibun ni wa mō chichi to no fuwa o zairyō toshita “Musōka” o sono mama ni kakitsuzukeru ki wa nakunatta*, 413). In contrast to his original plans, the narrator by the end of the novel decides to write about the reconciliation with his father, the topic that occupies his thoughts the most at the moment (*Jibun wa yahari ima jibun no atama o ichiban shimete iru chichi to no wakai o kaku koto ni shita*, 418). This is to all appearances the novel we hold in our hands. After all, the narrator was obviously unable to write about the discord with his father—or was he?

Conclusion

Kasai Zenzō's inability to write is part and parcel of his self-destructive behavior, paranoia and urge to portray himself as a wretched, hounded creature. Given the portrait of himself that he endeavors to conjure up for the reader, he cannot possibly appear to be at ease behind the pen. If he cannot write what he wants, he can at least write about not being able to write, on those rare occasions when he is seemingly released from the block. This is the narrative situation conjured up by his stories. How are we, then, to understand Kasai's frequent adaptations of the motif? In the above, I discussed narrative elements in Kasai designed to derail the narrator and throw him off balance. Edward Fowler has discussed such derailing elements in terms of 'narrative deflections' that make out the frame of a story. By default, this frame itself becomes the story.⁹ Hence, Kasai's writer's block is akin to a sort of fictional ploy, a vehicle that carries the narration forward. This point is made eminently clear in a marginal piece like his 1922 “Asa mairi” 朝詣り (Morning Pilgrimage), where the narration is driven by the efforts of the *kakenai shōsetsuka* to evade a messenger from a publisher who is pestering the narrator to deliver a previously solicited manuscript. In this story we find inserted an account of his visit to Tokyo during the end-of-year festivities a short while earlier. Yet, returning back to the here and now of the first narrative, the narrator declares: 'I thought I would throw up a smokescreen by writing about those end-of-year incidents, but I just couldn't do it (*Sō shita toshikure no koto demo kaite ocha o nigashitai to omotta ga, dōshitomo kakenai*, 318).

Shiga Naoya's various explorations of the *kakenai shōsetsuka* predicament, on the other hand, carry different implications. Overall, Shiga's self-confidence and control behind the pen do not lend themselves to fashioning an image of the writer as wretched. Gone, too, is the impression that fictional ploys are being used to propel the narration. Although Shiga in effect wrote several works where the exploration of the inability to write becomes the story itself, the function of the motif here rather appears to lend the narration an aura of sincerity by conjuring up an image of the author struggling pen-in-hand.¹⁰ In his self-reflective oeuvre Shiga is constantly in search of mental equilibrium that will allow him to treat his subject matter in a manner that is faithful to his state

⁹ Fowler, 265.

¹⁰ Of *Reconciliation*, Fowler has observed: “In a literary culture that defined realism specifically in terms of authorial ‘presence’ rather in terms of verisimilitude, Shiga actually gained more credibility by making a show of reticence than he ever would have by making a ‘full’ confession” (212). In general, it might be argued that writer's block, in being self-reflective, serves as a metafictional device that would work against the kind of sincerity that *watakushi shōsetsu* aspires to. In this Taishō predilection for the motif, though, the irony of metafiction appears to be totally lacking.

of mind, without unnecessary embellishment. In the image of the writer that the text calls forth, it appears as though the quest for equilibrium is what matters to him while the narration itself is a mere by-product in the process. Moreover, contemporary readers would surely have been more disposed to accept Shiga's various aspirations to sincerity than today's readers. After all, the works discussed in this essay were written long before 'suspicious' reading practices became mandatory, at least in academic circles. What this initial probing of the terrain has shown us is that when the narrators are not taken as identical to their writers, their narratives open up more possibilities of interpretation. It suggests to us that the motif of writer's block was one of the vehicles used by authors to help shape their image in the eye of the reading public.

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Okinawa's Fictional Landscapes: A Reading of Medoruma Shun's "Suiteki" (Droplets)

Susan BOUTEREY

Introduction

Since winning the Akutagawa Award for "Suiteki" (Droplets) in 1997, Okinawan novelist Medoruma Shun 目取真俊 (b.1960) has received much critical acclaim in and outside of Japan. Medoruma's literary worlds typically explore weighty issues related to Okinawa's past and present, including Japan's annexation of Okinawa in 1879, the 1945 Battle of Okinawa,¹ and colonial influences on indigenous Okinawan culture and lifestyle. These themes are not necessarily new to Okinawan literature. Rather, it is Medoruma's fresh and innovative treatment of such issues and his remarkable craftsmanship that have brought him much acclaim and placed his works at the forefront of Okinawan fiction. This paper proposes to examine some of the approaches taken, and some key literary strategies employed by Medoruma to explore these themes via a close reading of the award winning work "Suiteki".

"Suiteki"

"Suiteki" (Droplets) opens with the main protagonist, Tokushō, waking from an afternoon nap to find he has been struck down by a mysterious illness: his lower right leg has "swelled to the size of an average gourd melon and turned pale green"² and although "alert and clearheaded" he has been rendered immobile and mute so that he appears comatose to onlookers. A clear, odorless liquid drips from a split at the tip of Tokushō's big toe which was rent when his wife, who puts his illness down to "gambling and carousing with women," curses the "lazy bum" for "get(ting) some weird ailment durin' the busy season" and gives his swollen foot a swift, sharp slap. From that evening, Tokushō is tormented by ghostly apparitions that appear night after night at his bedside to drink the water dripping from his toe.

Praised by critics at the time of its publication for its 'bizarre opening, its imaginative conception, and depth,'³ this blending of the fantastic with realism in "Suiteki" is a hallmark of Medoruma's writing. It makes for a gripping and humorous story but what, if anything, might these strange and mysterious happenings convey to readers about Okinawa, past and present?

¹ The Battle of Okinawa began in earnest with the landing of 20,000 American troops on Okinawa's main island on April 1, 1945 and lasted nearly three months. Arguably the deadliest battle of the Pacific War, it claimed approximately 230,000 lives in total with 147,000 Okinawans, or one quarter of the entire pre-war Okinawan population, dying as a direct result of the fighting.

² Unless otherwise indicated, all excerpts in English from "Suiteki" are quoted from Michael Molasky and Steve Rabson's translation, "Droplets" (*Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature*, ed. Michael Molasky and Steve Rabson, University of Hawai'i Press, 2000).

³ Shiraishi Ichirō 白石一郎, "Dai-nijūnana-kai Kyūshū geijyū-sai bungakushō happyō 第二十七回九州芸術祭文学賞発表, *Bungakukai* 文学界, April 1997, 160.

It is mid-June when Tokushō is struck down by illness, the time of year when Okinawans commemorate those who died in the Battle of Okinawa.⁴ Additionally, it turns out that Tokushō is a former 'soldier' of the *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai*, or 'Blood & Iron Imperial Service Corps,' and that the ghostly soldiers who appear at his bedside night after night, are fellow members of his unit. This, and other subtler signs in the work such as the image of the gourd melon and the faint taste of lime in the water dripping from Tokushō's toe all point to the illness' connection to Tokushō's experiences in, and memories of, the Battle of Okinawa.⁵ Typically, Tokushō would be visiting primary and junior high schools around this time of the year to relate his war experiences as a *kataribe* or 'storyteller' whose role it is to convey communal stories of the past to the next generation. Indeed, Tokushō has become somewhat a celebrity, visited by newspaper reporters, university research teams and occasionally interviewed on television. However, he has been tailoring his stories to "what his audience wanted to hear" even developing a knack in order "not to appear too glib." "You start fibbin' and makin' up sorry tales to profit off the war and you'll get your fair punishment in the end," his wife, Ushi, warns.

Tokushō's ailment would indeed appear to be the "comeuppance" Ushi warns of. Symptoms such as loss of movement and speech, however, suggest that his condition is rather a physical manifestation of his own subconscious resistance to the *kataribe* role and a sign of trauma or 'post-traumatic stress disorder' (PTSD). Thus, instead of going on the annual school visits to tell more of his embellished war stories, Tokushō is confined to bed where to all appearances he is in a deep sleep. Inwardly however, he is experiencing flashbacks and hallucinations related to his war-time experiences that literally bring him face-to-face with the ghosts of his past:

Now the soldiers began to appear nightly . . . they would emerge, one after another, from the wall to Tokushō's left. . . The next soldier knelt down and frantically began sucking on Tokushō's toe. A fly zoomed off the wound on the man's dented skull, buzzing around his head for a while before landing on the bed and disappearing. This soldier had also grabbed Tokushō in the cave that day, begging for water. The tall soldier standing behind him, and the Okinawan soldier hidden behind him, and the one-eyed soldier who just now appeared out of the wall—all had been in the cave, extending their arms as they pleaded for water. Tokushō felt as if he was being dragged back into the cave's shadows once again.⁶

The appearance of the phantom soldiers revives Tokushō's deeply repressed memories of the war. It is no coincidence that they come in search of water as this is something that Tokushō failed to provide his former comrades as they lay wounded and dying. Worse still, Tokushō appears to have 'robbed' his closest comrade, Ishimine, of water and left him to die when he flees to safer ground. In one of

⁴ June the 23rd or *Irei no hi* (lit. 'day to console the dead') officially marks the end of the Battle of Okinawa as the day that the top general Ushijima and his team are said to have committed suicide.

⁵ Gourd melons grew prolifically in Okinawa in the aftermath of the war nourished, it is said, by the bodies of the dead. See Medoruma's comments in "Jushō no kotoba: Medoruma Shun-shi ni kiku: Okinawa no sōtai o saraitai" 受賞の言葉: 目取真俊氏に聞く: 沖縄の総体をさらいたい (*Bungei shunjū*, September 1997, 424). Lime is likewise a subtle allusion to the limestone caves in which Okinawan civilians, like Tokushō and his comrades, took refuge during the war.

⁶ "Droplets," op. cit., 263, 273.

the novel's most dramatic scenes, Tokushō is confronted by Ishimine's ghost and seeks forgiveness. Ishimine's ghost gives a small nod of acknowledgment and departs with the words, "Thank you. At last my thirst is quenched."⁷ After that, the ghosts vanish for good and Tokushō's mysterious illness is likewise cured.

Much of the discussion of "Suiteki" by critics and literary scholars has centered on several aspects of this story. Firstly, Tokushō's actions during the war, his supposed 'betrayal' of his comrades, 'cowardice' and 'egoism' or 'self-serving wartime (in)action.'⁸ These are taken as evidence of Medoruma having posited Tokushō as 'an aggressor' in this story 'rather than another in the cast of battle victims.'⁹ Another focus has been on Tokushō's 'self-deception,' his 'dispensing of lies to school children through his artfully constructed stories of war heroism,'¹⁰ and the question as to whether or not he has 'reformed' in the end. On the face of it, it would appear that both Ishimine and Tokushō have been 'healed' and everything resolved at the close of the story. Certainly, one scholar concludes that Tokushō 'is saved as a result of his punishment (illness) from the suffering over not meeting his obligations with regard to water during the war.'¹¹ On the other hand, others have reached the opposite conclusion. Novelist, Hino Keizō for example, makes the following comment:

This is not one of those happy endings where the hero becomes conscious of crimes long buried in his subconscious, repents and is saved. Even after he fully recovers from his strange illness, Tokushō is still anxious and after once more indulging in drinking and gambling is found asleep on the ground outside the gate at home.¹²

Bhowmik likewise considers Tokushō to be 'fundamentally unchanged' and 'unwilling to reform.' She further submits that the ending of "Suiteki" could be read as 'an open rebuke of Tokushō's habits and perhaps even of Okinawans themselves, who, content in escapist pleasures such as playing the samisen and dancing the kachāshī, share his apathy.'¹³ While these issues are certainly worthy of debate and I am tempted to add a few of my own thoughts to the discussion, in overly focusing our attention on Tokushō and his actions in the war, we are in danger of measuring him by the very same yardstick that "Suiteki" clearly sets out to critique and in once more condemning him to 'silence.' Instead, this paper aims to demonstrate that Medoruma's concerns lie not so much in exposing Tokushō as a 'coward,' 'egoist,' or 'aggressor,'—indeed, I would say this is not his intention—nor in whether or not he is 'reformed' in the end, but rather in highlighting the issue of how we memorialize the war and,

⁷ The writer's translation.

⁸ See for example, Bhowmik's discussion of Tokushō in *Writing Okinawa* (New York: Routledge, 2008) and Hino Keizō's 日野啓三 comments in "Akutagawa-shō senpyō" 芥川賞選評 (*Bungei shunjū* 文藝春秋, September 1997, 426–27).

⁹ See for example, Tatematsu Wahei's 立松和平 comments in "Dai-nijūnana-kai Kyūshū geijutu-sai bungakushō happyō" (op. cit., 163), and Bhowmik (*Writing Okinawa*, 147).

¹⁰ See for example, Bhowmik (*Writing Okinawa*, 146), Hino ("Akutagawa-shō senpyō"), Kōguchi Satoshi 高口智史 ("Medoruma Shun, Okinawa-sen kara shōsha sareru 'genzai': 'Fūon' kara 'Suiteki' e" 目取真俊・沖縄戦から照射される〈現在〉:「風音」から「水滴」へ, *Shakai bungaku* 社会文学, vol. 31 (2010), 61).

¹¹ "Akutagawa-shō senpyō," 429.

¹² Ibid., 427.

¹³ Bhowmik, *Writing Okinawa*, 147–48

via Tokushō and others, in deconstructing our collective memories of the Battle of Okinawa, or the so-called 'war myths.' Additionally, I hope to reveal that though steeped in Battle of Okinawa-related issues, this novel goes beyond the Battle of Okinawa and indeed beyond the subject of war to allude to other matters relating to Okinawa's past and present.

'War Myths' and 'Yasukuni Ideology'

Tokushō's inability to assimilate his war experiences arises partly from the painful nature of those experiences and, I would argue, difficulties in reconciling them with Japan's collective war memories surrounding the Battle of Okinawa. According to Okinawan historian, Ōshiro Masayasu, the Okinawan people's contribution to the war effort is represented by the *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* ('Blood & Iron Imperial Corps') and the *Himeyuri-tai* ('Princess Lily Corps'),¹⁴ military divisions comprising young high school boys and girls sent to the battlefield to fight or, in the latter case, to serve as nurses.¹⁵ The *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* and *Himeyuri-tai* have been memorialized through books and films and, together with the *kamikaze* pilots from mainland Japan, have come to embody the Battle of Okinawa. As Ōshiro points out however, war tales that focus on the *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* and *Himeyuri-tai*, and indeed the *kamikaze* pilots, tend to valorize war and the notion of self-sacrifice for the emperor and state, or what some refer to as 'Yasukuni ideology,'¹⁶ thereby obscuring the reality of war and state responsibility.¹⁷

Tokushō's experiences as a member of the *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* present a very different picture from the stock war tales described by Ōshiro. Depictions of soldiers "drenched in urine and excrement" and Tokushō powerless to do anything other than passively watch his fellow soldiers die, or of Tokushō gulping down to the last drop the water intended for his friend Ishimine and leaving him to die after he is fatally injured are a far cry from the standard image of the young 'Blood and Iron Imperial Service Corps' soldiers typically portrayed as having fought courageously against the enemy and sacrificed their lives for their country.

Collective war memories are similarly undercut by the episode in "Suiteki" about Miyagi Setsu. Setsu is a nurse in the *Himeyuri-tai* and a wartime friend like Ishimine. One day, the cave where Tokushō and his comrades are hiding is bombed and an order is issued for the soldiers to redeploy. Tokushō stays behind to keep a watch over Ishimine who has been fatally injured. Around that time, Setsu turns up and, after giving Tokushō some bread and water, clasps his shoulder and says forcefully, "We're heading to the field hospital in Itoman, so be sure to follow us!" She is clearly concerned that he survive. Tokushō does eventually flee but never catches up with Setsu as the cave where they were to meet has been bombed by the time he arrives and her group have moved on. Years later, Tokushō discovers that Setsu and her group travelled on to Mabuni, the southern-most tip of the main Okinawan island, and used a hand grenade to commit suicide there.

¹⁴ Ōshiro Masayasu 大城将保, *Okinawa-sen: Minshū no me de toraeru 'sensō'* 沖縄戦: 民衆の眼でとらえる「戦争」 (Kōbunken, 2000), 203.

¹⁵ In total 1,464 students were drafted into the *Himeyuri-tai*, *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* and other such corps. An estimated 816 of these students were killed in the Battle.

¹⁶ Yasukuni is a Shinto shrine founded by the Meiji Emperor, the first emperor of the modern Japanese State, for the purpose of commemorating those who died in the service of the Japanese Empire.

¹⁷ Ōshiro, *Okinawa-sen*, 202–3

Tokushō is filled with sadness and then “rage” over Setsu’s death. He wants to kill “those who drove Setsu to her death.” Tokushō’s rage, coupled with Setsu’s earlier words of encouragement to Tokushō, clearly convey to the reader that suicide was not an option that Setsu would have willingly chosen. So who exactly were “those who drove Setsu to her death”? Okinawan editor and free-lance writer Miyagi Harumi highlights as key factors leading to ‘mass suicides’ by Okinawans during the war, the fact that education under the imperial system was oriented to producing ‘imperial subjects’ and that militaristic ideology taught everyone that they ‘must not suffer the shame of being caught (by the enemy) alive.’¹⁸ Research revealing that mass suicides only occurred in regions where there was a Japanese army presence supports the latter point. Additionally, Okinawan critic, Nakazato Isao made the following comments after reading Kinjō Shigeaki’s testament about taking the lives of his own mother and younger sisters during the Battle of Okinawa:

The problem is the ‘camera,’ the existence of a gaze. Or to be more precise, it is the existence of a relationship between the viewer and the viewed via the ‘camera.’ We must query the form of that relationship between the ‘camera,’ the ‘gaze,’ the ‘viewer’ and the ‘viewed.’ In his testimony, Kinjō Shigeaki declares that the thoroughness of the education to turn Okinawans into imperial subjects and *kichiku beiei* (‘savage Americans’) ideology provided the context for the ‘mass suicides.’ If we take Kinjō’s point further, we come up against the issue of ‘assimilation.’ In Okinawa, education aimed at assimilation (of the Okinawans) and education to create imperial subjects were carried out together. The effect of that was, we could say, the ‘mass suicides’ as an extreme expression of the viewed subject’s self-identity intended for the gaze behind the camera.¹⁹

Needless to say, the younger generation of Okinawans who had been mobilized like Setsu and Tokushō into the *Himeyuri-tai* and *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* military units were the most heavily influenced by the education policies to bring about assimilation and create imperial subjects. As Ōshiro points out, the younger generation had an inferiority complex about being Okinawan and feared being denounced as ‘foreigners.’ They were ‘fired up with a sense of mission to prove themselves as being true imperial subjects by sacrificing their lives for the empire.’²⁰ Or perhaps closer to the truth, they felt obliged to make it appear as if they were fired up with such a sense of mission. This is what Nakazato means when he says that the ‘mass suicides’ were ‘an extreme expression of the viewed subject’s self-identity intended for the gaze behind the camera.’ Although the author, Medoruma Shun, doesn’t directly address these issues in “Suiteki,” this episode about Miyagi Setsu clearly calls into question the depiction of those who died, like Setsu, at their own hands during the Battle of Okinawa as having done so out of devotion to the emperor and empire,²¹ and raises the spectre of Japan’s colonization of Okinawa and assimilation policies in the pre-war and war-time eras.

¹⁸ Miyagi Harumi 宮城晴美, “Guntai wa ‘Josei’ no teki desu: ‘Shūdan jiketsu’, gōkan to Okinawa no josei 軍隊は「女性」の敵です:「集団自決」強姦と沖縄の女性, *Okinawa o yomu* 沖縄を読む, ed. Jōkyō Shuppan Henshūbu 情況出版編集部 (Jōkyō Shuppan, 1999), 147–48.

¹⁹ Uemura Tadao 上村忠男, ed., *Okinawa no kioku / Nihon no rekishi* 沖縄の記憶／日本の歴史, (Miraisha, 2002), 180.

²⁰ Ōshiro, *Okinawa-sen*, 203

²¹ The now widely held, but unofficial, view is that the ‘mass suicides’ were not a voluntary, spontaneous act but were the tragic results of coercion or guidance from the Japanese army.

Seiyū and the 'Miracle Water'

Running parallel to the story of the main protagonist, Tokushō, and his nightly visitations by the phantom soldiers, is a humorous subplot about Tokushō's cousin Seiyū. Seiyū is a "good for nothing," a gambler and drunkard who ekes out a living by working as a day labourer on the mainland and at home in Okinawa. When he hears of Tokushō's illness and drops in to pay his respects, Ushi takes him in for a time, in exchange for his tending for Tokushō while she works outside tilling the fields. It doesn't take Seiyū long to realize that the water dripping from Tokushō's toe is a powerful aphrodisiac and elixir of youth, and under the pretext of looking after Tokushō, he secretly siphons off the water that he then sells as 'miracle water' at the neighbouring village. For a short time, the 'miracle water' is in great demand and he makes a small fortune. When Tokushō recovers and the water dries up, Seiyū decides to skip town and use the money to visit "massage parlours (red-light districts)" all the way from southern Kyushu and up the coast to Tokyo. When, however, he arrives at the next village, intending to close up shop, an angry mob of people is waiting for him. The miraculous 'rejuvenating' effects of the water have worn off and it is now having the reverse effect; his customers, both men and women alike, "had lost their hair and with their splotches and moss-covered faces they all looked like eighty-year-olds." The angry crowd summarily subject Seiyū to a severe beating.

This humorous and somewhat fantastic episode may appear at first glance as unrelated to the tale about Tokushō. Indeed, many critics have taken it to be a comic diversion or simply as 'noise.' However, so-called 'noise' has the effect of overturning conventional values just as 'carnavalesque' and 'laughter,' in the words of Kuwano, drawing on Bakhtin's literary theories, are devices for 'touching things from all sides and directions, turning things upside down and inside out, looking at them from above and below, stripping them of their outer coats and looking inside. . . analyzing them, breaking them down and exposing them. . .'²² In short, 'carnavalesque,' 'laughter,' and 'noise' temporarily free one from existing social structures and values and lay bare a hitherto unperceived reality. What 'reality' then does 'carnavalesque' expose in "Suiteki"?

Firstly, Seiyū's actions represent a crude parody of Tokushō's. In recent years, Tokushō has been going around schools sharing his war experiences, for which he receives an honorarium. But he has been embellishing his stories, reinforcing war myths, rather than talking about his actual experiences. In this sense, Seiyū's deception of others in order to make money from the water (= Tokushō's war memories) is like a vulgar equivalent or parody of Tokushō's actions. But Seiyū is not simply a crude imitation of Tokushō. He is like a 'trickster' or someone who 'collects old images, icons, expressions of identity that people have discarded.'²³ As such, he incorporates Tokushō within what is a much broader representation of Okinawan society. The comical portrayal of Seiyū in trying to make a fast buck by selling the water thus highlights the broader issue of how the war is memorialized and indeed appropriated by some elements of Okinawan society. Likewise, his dress, "US military surplus trousers" and a "gaudy T-shirt like those hawked to tourists at the beach," captures various other

²² Kuwano Takashi 桑野隆, *Bafuchin: 'Taiwa' soshite 'kaibō no warai'* バフチン: 〈対話〉そして〈解放の笑い〉 (Iwanami Shoten, 1987), 190.

²³ Yamaguchi Masao 山口昌男, *Chi no shukusai: Bunka ni okeru chūshin to shūen* 知の祝祭: 文化における中心と周縁 (Kawade Bunko, 1988), 13.

facets of Okinawa such as the use of the U.S. Military bases for financial gain and the promotion of Okinawa as a resort destination.²⁴

Additionally, Seiyū's plan to visit all the "massage parlours (red-light districts)" and his fixation with his own "member" and virility, coupled with Tokushō's grotesquely swollen leg, reminiscent of bombs and the male organ when sexually aroused, point, through association, to male violence toward', and the degradation of, women and, in the context of the war, the issue of the so-called 'comfort woman' and 'comfort houses' of which there are said to have been over 100 set up in Okinawa, as well as rape and sexual violence committed by the American soldiers after the war. These issues were for a long time hidden under a heavy veil of silence in Japan. Although the 'comfort women' have become more visible in recent years, their stories continue nevertheless to be in constant danger of erasure from Japan's official (his)story and collective memory.

Needless to say, these are not simply historical issues. Seiyū's "US military surplus trousers" raise the spectre of the ongoing sex crimes committed by soldiers stationed at the American bases in Okinawa, an issue that came to the fore with the abduction and gang rape of a twelve-year-old Okinawan girl by U.S. servicemen in 1995, just two years before "Suiteki" was published. Nor do Okinawan males escape the author's critical gaze; the very fact that Seiyū is Okinawan raises the issue of Okinawan complicity with the army during wartime and their present-day treatment of women.²⁵

In this way, this episode about Seiyū and the miracle water is not simply a comic diversion from the main story. Rather it serves to revive some of Japan's most contentious memories surrounding the war and expose some of the more problematic aspects of contemporary Okinawan society.

Ushi

In the light of the physical effects experienced by the people who drank the water sold by Seiyū, the 'miracle water' dripping from Tokushō's foot is clearly not the water of life and regeneration but that of degeneration and death. This, and the fact that Tokushō's swollen leg is reminiscent of a bomb, suggest that Tokushō has internalized 'Yasukuni ideology,' an ideology that valorizes the notion of dying for one's country. It is now literally a part of his physical makeup. It is precisely because Tokushō's perception of the war is coloured by this ideology that he is unable to acknowledge his own war experiences that don't sit well with such notions, or having survived, affirm his own life. His lying inert much as if he were dead is a manifestation of this. An important catalyst for change is his wife, Ushi. Ushi has received scant attention from literary critics and scholars expounding on this work. It may be that they view her as little more than 'noise,' like Seiyū. I propose however that she is essential to the story and plays a vital role in Tokushō's recovery.

²⁴ In 1996, the year before "Suiteki" appeared, in an essay titled "On the Current Situation of Okinawan Culture," Medoruma was very critical of a section of the male population in Okinawa who live a lazy life indulging in drink and slot machines, as well as of Okinawa in general for showing no sign of becoming independent and instead sacrificing its people in order to acquire money from the government in the form of fees for land leased out to the U.S. Military bases.

²⁵ Medoruma explores the 'comfort women' issue in greater depth in "Gunchō no ki" 群蝶の木 ("Tree of Butterflies," 2000) which features a former 'comfort woman' (sex slave) who served Japanese military officers during the war and American occupation soldiers following the war.

Ushi, like Tokushō, is a survivor of the war but an important difference is that, as her harsh criticism of 'war myths' suggests, she is untouched by 'Yasukuni ideology.' Her use of Okinawan speech and way of life deeply rooted in indigenous Okinawan culture are further evidence of her lack of assimilation. In this sense, Ushi's world and her outlook on life are antithetical and provide an alternative to the worldview that the *Himeyuri-tai* and *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* represent. That is why she is able to draw the water (= war memories and ideology that valorizes war and death) from Tokushō's body. Ushi instinctively saw Tokushō's swollen foot as a sign of his lackadaisical attitude and way of thinking that didn't affirm their life together and instead held to a male-oriented ideology that glorifies war, and putting his illness down to "gambling and carousing with women," gave his swollen foot a swift, sharp slap.

From the next night, the phantom soldiers begin their nocturnal visits. For more than two weeks, Tokushō floats between the world of the living and that of the dead. At night, his eyes open so that he can see the soldiers and relive his war experiences. During the day, by contrast, he is 'sleeping' and forced to 'look' at the world through Ushi's eyes and 'see' things from her perspective. As he goes back and forth between these two worlds, the world of the ghosts and Ushi's world, Tokushō is gradually able to relativize and reject 'Yasukuni ideology,' thereby freeing himself from its hold. That allows him finally to accept his own personal war experiences, painful though they may be, and free himself from the bonds of the dead that have tormented him for over fifty years. The critical point at which this happens is when, after initially seeking his forgiveness, he rebuffs Ishimine with the words, "Don't you know how much I've suffered these past fifty years?" The fact that Tokushō decides, after his recovery, that he'd like to go and visit the cave where Ishimine and his other comrades died, lay flowers and look for any remaining human bones, indicates that he is now ready to literally lay his ghosts of the past to rest. That he wishes to do this with Ushi is an affirmation of their life together, and while he may appear to have returned to his old habits of drinking and gambling, the fact that he hasn't started womanizing again and his positive attitude toward working in the fields at the end likewise indicate a change in outlook.

Tokushō is thus 'reborn,' with Ushi's aid. Symbolic of his 'rebirth' is the exceptionally loud 'wail' that echoes throughout the village at dawn on the day of his recovery.

Conclusion

As can be seen from the above analysis, "Suiteki" adopts a Kafkaesque-like tale to explore issues relating to the Battle of Okinawa, the effects of which are still felt today. During the course of the story, it becomes clear that the experiences of the main protagonist, Tokushō, differ greatly from, and therefore fundamentally undermine the standard image of the *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* and *Himeyuri-tai* members as the 'pure and devoted who fell on the battlefield having sacrificed their lives for the State and their beloved homeland.' Male-oriented 'Yasukuni ideology' hidden in such war stories is exposed and subverted in this novel by the incorporation of a female 'voice' and indigenous worldview. What is also revealed with the deconstruction of these 'war myths,' are government policies in prewar and wartime Japan aimed at the assimilation of the Okinawans and creation of imperial subjects, or in other words, Japan's colonization of Okinawa.

Literary devices such as ‘carnavalesque,’ ‘noise,’ and the ‘trickster’ figure are combined with symbolically potent imagery and allusion to indirectly capture aspects of the war that have tended to be shrouded in silence and erased from collective memory, such as the ‘comfort women’ (sex slaves) and sex crimes committed by American soldiers during the U.S. occupation of Okinawa after the war.²⁶ Okinawa is not spared from Medoruma’s critical gaze and neither is this work simply about the past. As we have seen, aspects of Okinawa’s past and present interpenetrate in the figure of Seiyū the trickster and, of course, Tokushō.

In conclusion, “Suiteki” is a fine example of the remarkable skill with which Medoruma crafts his novels and some of the literary devices that he employs to do so. It highlights some of the common themes linking his works, including the Battle of Okinawa, colonial influences on indigenous Okinawan lifestyles and thought, and gender-related issues.

²⁶ Ōshiro, *Okinawa-sen*.

Animating Animal Affect in Post-3/11 Fiction for Young People: *Kibō no bokujō* (The Farm of Hope)

Helen KILPATRICK

This paper examines how affect operates cognitively in the reading of fiction to generate care and concern for non-human species. The focus is on an exceptional post-3/11 book for young people, *Kibō no Bokujō* (Farm of Hope, 2014, henceforth *Kibō*). Written by novelist, Mori Etō, and illustrated by Yoshida Hisanori,¹ *Kibō* is notable in its consideration of beef cattle left behind in the wake of the evacuation after Japan's triple disaster (earthquake, tsunami and nuclear meltdown) of March 11, 2011 (3/11). Although based on actual events, the narrative is a fictional exploration of an unnamed farmer's internal dilemmas as he keeps his cows alive after they have been rendered commercially worthless through radiation fallout from the nuclear power plant. Affective reading comes into operation under mental processing of the narrative's ironies and metaphors, and is particularly poignant under cognisance of the irony that the farmer is now tending cows which he had originally bred for slaughter. He defies authorities by remaining in the 20 kilometre nuclear exclusion zone and in refusing to let officials cull the cows. While cognitive processing is required to see his defiance as a protest against state officialdom, for example, affective processing comes into play through the feelings which are generated in relation to society's inhumane exploitation of the cows. With regard to the latter, the act of tending cows with no possibility of economic gain brings to the fore one of the most fundamental Buddhist tenets about what it is to live and to care for non-human animals, whereby all sentient beings are revered as part of an interconnected universe. The farmer's decision to keep his cows alive not only causes him economic hardship, but also presents a paradox about the meaning of care. The work/care paradox necessarily engages readers in a mental interrogation of the cultural and emotional ethics of caring for non-human beings. The book thus operates not only to expose the market economy's demarcation between human and animal (which renders non-humans invisible and lacking in intrinsic value), but also to generate affective concern for non-human animals. As an example of a 3/11 Japanese picture book which exposes humanity's neglect of non-human animals, *Kibō* offers the opportunity to examine how such a book can help shape the cognitive and emotional development of young people, especially with regard to the creation of a more post-humanist approach to co-existence with all life.

Concepts from cognitive theory provide the means to examine the way affect operates mentally in the process of reading *Kibō*. Cognitive theory, also known as cognitive poetics or narratology, especially when applied to literature, is an interdisciplinary endeavour which draws upon research in cognitive science in order to understand how behaviour operates through "active (and largely unconscious) mental processing."² With particular regard to literature or storytelling as a mode of

¹ Japanese family names precede given names throughout this article when referring to authorship in the Japanese language.

² Richardson 2004, p. 2.

representation, the theory examines “the *felt* quality of lived experience.”³ As Patrick Hogan contends, “story structures are fundamentally shaped and oriented by our emotion systems” in engagement with other neurocognitive systems or mental activities such as perception, anticipation, memory, language, reasoning, and confirmation or rejection of narrative information.⁴ Affective engagement with a fiction thus is caused by evoking emotional and cognitive responses in the brain. To be affected involves being influenced or touched or moved emotionally, including unconsciously, while cognitive activity requires the use of mental processes aimed at gaining new knowledge and understanding.⁵ As David Miall suggests, the two are intertwined as affect enables broad experiential and evaluative self-referential activities to be brought to story elements in the task of comprehension. Mental processing operates in *Kibō* through, for example, the way the book engages readers in questions about industrial society’s beef farming practices, while the processing of such questions generates evaluative self-reflection which stimulates an ethical empathy for the cows. Self-referential cognitive principles of anticipation, confirmation or rejection—of the farmer’s internal postulations as he deliberates upon his own and his cows’ future—also operate through aspects of page-turning. The generation of suspense, contrast, or completion of an idea across the turn, for example, guides new comprehension of the possible personal and social ramifications of the industrial farming of beef cattle.

In reading *Kibō* as a fiction, then, mental processing and affect come into play as various concepts and possibilities arise from the emergent narrative information. Although the book is based on an actual farmer’s actions,⁶ thus sometimes treated as non-fiction,⁷ the characterisation, events and narrative point of view signal the book as fictional.⁸ This is an important distinction partly because the verbal and pictorial discourse is dialogic, with less determined outcomes than the plethora of informational (often photographic or diagrammatic) 3/11 texts which explain, for example, scientific realities about the disaster. In other words, stories generate more mental processing because they are more fluid in their causes and outcomes than detailed expository discourse or prose.⁹ Readers need to be more mentally active in relation to uncertainties about possible narrative events. The distinction between fiction and nonfiction is also important in relation to affect because, as John Stephens suggests in relation to different types of ecological texts for children, the fictional category is likely to raise awareness of doing (in this case, caring) over simply being or knowing.¹⁰ Like all fiction for young people, *Kibō* is about subject formation and developmental transition; the awareness of self in engagement with society.¹¹ Such developmental awareness not only interacts with social and moral consciousness in the mental processing of fictional works, but also relates to affect in that much self-referential and emotional activity is generated as story events meet or reject reading expectations.

³ 1. David Herman, *Cognitive Narratology*, 2013.

⁴ Patrick Hogan, *Affective Narratology*, 2011, p. 1–5. Also see Miall 1989, pp. 57ff.

⁵ Purcell 2016, p. 1; Miall 1989, p. 61.

⁶ The actual farmer is Yoshizawa Masami, and his activism is well-known in Japan, but also internationally to some extent.

⁷ See, for instance, Sakuma 2016, p. 14.

⁸ For further discussion of what sets fictional narrative apart from expository discourse see Herman (2002, 90ff).

⁹ For more on the ambiguities of causes and goals in fiction, see Miall (1989, p. 58).

¹⁰ Stephens 2008, p. 77.

¹¹ Stephens 2008, p. 70.

Stories also provide gaps which need to be filled by readers in a process known as conceptual blending in which mind operations interact with story mapping. By necessity, all fictional works engage with cultural messages in order to be understood. As David Miall argues, readers' pre-existing cultural knowledge in the form of structures, or schemata and scripts, is mapped against emergent narrative information and expectations and linked in causal relationships.¹² A 'schema' is a cultural model derived from existing images or texts already stored in readers' memories. A 'script' is a stereotypical sequencing of actions which serves as a "mental protocol for negotiating a situation."¹³ Mental activity in reading requires negotiation between these existing schemata and narrative indeterminacies to create new meanings or scripts in a process known as conceptual blending. As Katrina Gutierrez explains: "The substantiation of schemas . . . occurs through conceptual blending, whereby the reader cognitively fuses two distinct mental categories or concepts to arrive at a new mental concept."¹⁴ An example relevant to *Kibō* is the concept 'Japanese farm'. In order to arrive at the concept (even before engaging with the book), readers need to identify points of connection between three schemata such as (farm) work, produce, and Japanese. As Fauconnier and Turner suggest, mental schemata fuse together to make up a new conceptual space, or a mental domain which is a blended space. 'Japanese farm' is imagined through this blend as a unique "emergent structure" which has a distinct meaning.¹⁵ This new structure contains aspects of each of the original schemata, but the mental integration is immediate, unconscious, and intuitive.¹⁶ In the case of *Kibō*, the verbal and visual discourse first substantiates and blends readers' pre-existing 'Japanese farm' schema to create a new blend which occurs through reading. The emergent image now not only includes Japanese farm buildings as more industrial than, for example, any image of a more rustic, thatched-roof barn, but also an image of cows as produce rather than, say, a more conventional harvest crop such as rice. This blending entails a shift away from a schema of farming as one of pastoral crops towards one of economic activity involving living beings.

Kibō's work/care paradox operates with blending in reading to expose some of Japan's more recent narratives, ideologies and images which largely conceal an anthropocentric disregard of the inequalities surrounding human-nonhuman animal coexistence.¹⁷ Thinking and caring about farm animals, for example, is an unusual activity within today's Japan, where people are more familiar with smaller domestic companion animals, such as dogs and cats, than they are with larger bovine or other species.¹⁸ Since the opening of Japan to external cultural forces in the mid-1800s, the country has gradually developed under capitalist principles which support and legitimate the economic exploitation of both the environment and animals, through industrial farming practices such as beef production. Until the nineteenth century, Japan's socio-economic systems were based on a combination of Confucianist, Shintō and Buddhist philosophies. Vegetarianism is closely associated with Buddhism in particular, which considers all sentient beings as a fundamental and equal part of an

¹² Miall 1989, pp. 56ff.

¹³ Stockwell 2002, p. 77.

¹⁴ Katrina Gutierrez 2017.

¹⁵ Fauconnier and Turner 2002, pp. 42–44, 48.

¹⁶ Katrina Gutierrez 2017.

¹⁷ For more on the anthropocentric disregard of nonhuman species, see Ralph Acampora (2016, pp. 1–2).

¹⁸ For some differences between empathy for farm and companion animals, see Kathie Jenni (2016, p. 2).

interconnected natural world. Under such principles, the hunting and killing of animals for profit or consumption and work which involved death, butchery or tannery were considered immoral, corrupt or impure.¹⁹ Because *Kibō*'s textual discourse instantiates human-animal dichotomies, this kind of deep cultural knowledge (which is still prevalent throughout much Japanese historical and literary discourse) may be triggered during reading. Whilst the farmer's dialogue is not explicitly indicative of Buddhist attitudes to animals, an already enculturated reader may access existing Buddhist knowledge to explore the philosophical questions posed. There will always be individual differences of interpretation and affective response, however.²⁰ Even though developing readers may not have yet acquired such cultural knowledge, they must nevertheless access farming schemata to mentally engage with new perspectives on farm animals and the traumata brought to them by industrial disasters such as the 3/11 nuclear catastrophe. The book's encouragement of an affect-driven abhorrence for society's neglect of the cows' trauma helps generate a new social and moral consciousness, a fresh paradigm of caring for non-humans as fellow beings with a right to life.

Stories typically initiate schemata in order to critique them or expose particular inadequacies.²¹ *Kibō*'s initial focus on farming cattle as produce for consumption introduces two dominant schemata of industrialised society in order to challenge them. Both are humanist in principle in that they privilege the concept of the human individual and individual agency. The first is a schema of economic pursuit through work as a prime purpose in human life; and the second is one of human dominance over nature and non-human species. Both of these schemata obscure the concept of animals as living, feeling beings, thus enabling various forms of human dominance and exploitation. In *Kibō*, each schema is predicated on the other. That is, the farmer's selfhood is bound to his farm work as a cowherd whose 'care' work operates towards their ultimate slaughter. His economic livelihood thus depends on the industrial, economic exploitation of his cows. Whereas these two general schemata conceal the need for any intersubjective relationship with industrially-raised animals, the farmer questions both after the disaster of 3/11: he not only interrogates his reason for being as he faces an identity crisis (about his livelihood and what it entails), but he also interrogates humanity's capacity for (nuclear) intervention in both his and the cows' lives.

Mental processing in *Kibō*, then, is produced through stimuli which first conjure then negotiate cultural schemata of industrial farmwork, farms and livestock, and human-animal dichotomies. The farmer's first-person thoughts and responses in relation to his cowherd work draw upon these schemata to pre-structure reading expectations to cast doubt upon human-animal dichotomies early in the reading process. For instance, in the establishing scene, which is unusual in that it precedes the frontispiece, the farmer immediately hails readers both visually and verbally (opening 1).²² Visually, he

¹⁹ As Niwano Nikkyō points out, Buddhist law teaches that no one should kill or hunt for a living, and even fraternisation with hunters, for example, is frowned upon on (1990, p. 135). Further, no animal should be hunted or killed unnecessarily, let alone for sport, and there is no salvation for any individual if there is even one suffering being in the world (pp.114–15). For more on Confucian ethics regarding non-human animals, see Bao-Er (2014, pp. 24, 74ff).

²⁰ Purcell 2016, p. 3.

²¹ Miall 1989, p. 58.

²² 'Opening,' 'single-', and 'double-paged spread' are terms used for pages in picture books. Many books, such as *Kibō*, are unpaginated.

hails the audience by looking out towards viewing space in what Kress and Van Leeuwen call a visual ‘demand’ for a response.²³ Verbally, he does so with a direct second-person enquiry about animal husbandry:²⁴

Naa, ushi-kai tte, shitteru ka?

Hey, do you know what a cowherd is?

The nominaliser, ‘cowherd’ (*ushi-kai*), signifies a form of work as well as the care of cows which triggers a mental blend of the concepts of employment and care. Readers need to draw upon their pre-existing schemata of farming, care, and human-animal relations in order to mentally formulate their own answers to this first question. Such answers must then be compared with the farmer’s response (in the same opening):

Bokujō de, ushi no sewa shite kurashiteru.

Sore ga ushi-kai da yo. Kantan daro?

It’s someone who lives on a farm and looks after cows.

That’s what! Simple, eh?

That is, readers need to consider the differences between the farmer’s answer and their own schema of cowherd. The concept might, for instance, evoke retellings of the famous *Cowherd and Weaver Maid* legend about a boy who earns the hand of a heavenly maiden after selflessly looking after a divine ox. Regardless, any young reader’s cowherd schema is unlikely to be related to the material production or slaughter of beef cattle. The negotiation of the differences in any existing schema and *Kibō*’s narrative schema, however, leads to comprehension of the irony embedded in the farmer’s life/work/care paradox. This paradox is raised through the farmer’s rhetorical, “Simple eh?” Readers must consider exactly what is or isn’t simple about living on a farm and caring for cows, and how this farm life is different from any existing farming image. Language processing must further register the farmer’s speech coding, such as the colloquial emphatic tag “yo” and interrogative ‘daro’ (eh?). The colloquial dialect of a ‘simple’ or unsophisticated farmer and the blend of emphasis and doubt here anticipate irony. The farmer’s questions create various levels of possibility, especially about his and the



Figure 1. Mori and Yoshida, *Kibō no Bokujō* (Iwasaki Shoten, 2014), opening 1.0.

²³ For further discussion of visual gaze as demand, see Kress and Van Leeuwen (1990, pp. 27ff).

²⁴ In Louis Althusser’s terms, such ‘hailing’ or ‘address’ is known as interpellation (into a social process or relationship with power). As Althusser puts it, “All ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects.” Ideology ‘acts’ or ‘functions’ to ‘recruit’ subjects among individuals, recruiting them all, or ‘transforms’ the individuals into subjects, trans-forming them all “by that very precise operation [. . . of] *interpellation* or hailing, . . . which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: ‘Hey, you there!’” (1970, p.55).

cows' future and his means of livelihood, to engage the audience in deep self-reflexive questions about farming, about caring for animals, and about nature and life as a whole.

The cows' visual address simultaneously generates affective concern for them by blending with the farmer's "Simple, eh?" to encourage heightened feelings about the upcoming paradox (whereby the farmer considers questions of life versus livelihood). Their gazes demand an acknowledgement, a reciprocal, thus empathetic, response to them as living feeling creatures as the text interacts with, develops, and transforms readers' pre-existing farming/production schemata. While the cows' appeals to viewers move the audience beyond mere anthropocentric consideration of the now financially-ruined farmer, the confirmation of the irony of the farmer's questions poses more deeply provocative (unanswered and unanswerable) questions as the story progresses. The visual appeals of the farmer and cow prompt audience reflection upon the incongruity of the situation, the incompatible possibilities raised by the farmer's ethical dilemmas. The industrial farm schema blends with the farmer's doubts and the cows' visual appeals to reinforce the paradox and generate a new ethical possibility of caring for non-human animals.

The rhetoric inherent in the farmer's 'Simple, eh?' is soon confirmed as the page-turning principles next register a perhaps unanticipated visual impact. The more mundane sepia tones of the first single-spread contrast dramatically with the dark yet fiery hues of industry gone wrong in the double-spread which forms the frontispiece. The image's contrasting size and colours help stimulate a sense of awe at the apparent nuclear devastation which is immediately affecting, perhaps at a pre-conscious level. The lack of human presence operates with the foregrounded row of 'glowing' red cow-silhouettes to jolt readers into cognisance of the cows' fate as sufferers of the radioactive fallout. The visually absent farmer verbally delivers an answer to his earlier question: "After the huge earthquake, things became far from simple. My farm was near the nuclear plant." The dark haze is the apparent source of the eerie radiating luminescence, while the nuclear power plant at upper left is visibly damaged. The notion of the 'simplicity' of a farmer's life work is clearly brought into doubt by the visual image of nuclear catastrophe caused by industrial production. The page-turning process confirms the prediction that, just as the farmer's life will be anything but simple from now on, so will that of the cows. The word 'hope' (*kibō*) in the large print of the title also operates in contrast with the eeriness of the image to heighten the irony. There is little hope of a good future for these irradiated cows, and the processing of verbal and visual text makes it apparent that this is due to the 'carelessness' of the industrial world. The turning of the pages thus anticipates the alienating divisions

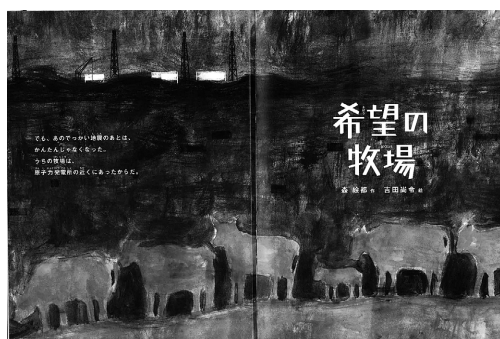


Figure 2. *Kibō no bokujō*, frontispiece.

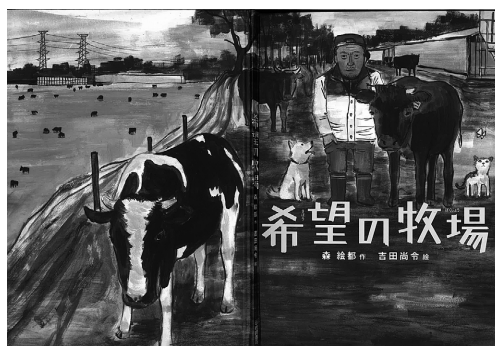


Figure 3. *Kibō no bokujō*, cover.

between culture and nature which livestock farming produces and puts the clash of human industry and the cows under affective scrutiny.

Further, the different modalities in the visuals operate to make the narrative more symbolic and dialogic, and thence affective. While these modal disparities require mental processing such as perception, memory, or reasoning to confirm or reject visual information, such processing, particularly in relation to credibility, evokes embodied responses to the cows which are depicted more saliently as creatures in nature against the industrialised world. Modality refers to the truth value or credibility of representations of the world.²⁵ Visual authority is usually measured against photographic realism which represents a higher level of truth value than more abstract forms which represent lower levels of plausibility. The normative modality for picture books, however, is generally lower than photographic representation, so the scale of realism works proportionately—with picture books operating at lower modality levels but with proportionally higher credibility values. As John Stephens asserts with regard to environmental picture books: “Lower modality underlines a contrast . . . between being and doing, and points to a more thematic, even symbolic, effect of discourse.”²⁶ The more symbolic the representation, the more active the mental processes associated with comprehension, especially in multi-modal books like *Kibō*.

The higher visual modality of the cows in *Kibō* contrasts with most 3/11 picture book fictions such as, for instance, *Tsuchi no hanashi* or *Matsu no ko Pino*. That is, *Kibō*'s visuals do not follow common conventions of anthropomorphic symbolism, where animals or plants stand as representatives for human beings, with human attributes and feelings. As Lisa Fraustino indicates, anthropomorphic narratives which employ conceptual metaphor by mapping human traits on to animals conceal the non-human aspects of those species.²⁷ *Kibō*'s avoidance of the anthropomorphic ANIMAL IS HUMAN metaphor emphasises the haecceitas of the cows, or their ‘thisness’ as ‘cow-like cows’ against the lower modality farmer (and his domestic pets). The contrast minimise the fictional quality of the cows and engages the empathic imagination.²⁸

Feelings for the more realistic cows are generated through mental processes which register them as more real and ‘natural’, especially against the farmer’s more naïve rendering as an angular or ‘blockish’ figure which aligns him with the hard lines of the buildings and industrial infrastructure. In opening 4, for example, where the farmer is depicted at work in the centre of two rows of open-mouthed cows looking towards him (and the viewer), his shovel and his more symbolic, angular depiction align with the straight lines of industrial barricades against the more ‘natural’ curves of the cows’ heads (above the linear barrier). The picture generates cognisance of them as intrinsically worthwhile beings in nature against an insensitive, or ‘careless’ industrial society, one which more normally obscures their very being. The cows’ higher modality or more natural presence as cows thus anticipates and confirms their biological worth over their value as material produce. The farmer’s lower visual modality operates with his verbalised inner doubts (which register his perplexed attitude and his difference from other farmers as he remains alone, doubtful and afraid of the radiation in the exclusion zone) to generate a

²⁵ Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006, p. 155.

²⁶ Stephens 2008, p. 77.

²⁷ Fraustino 2014, p. 155. Also see Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 1980, p. 10.

²⁸ Stephens 2011, p. 31. Conceptual metaphors are usually written in capitals.

symbolic, ethical response about human responsibility for the cows' rights as fellow feeling beings. The contrast between farmer and cows helps prompt mental processing about the psychological and social costs of materialism, industrialisation and consumption which have concealed farm animals from the human imaginary. Such processing challenges the hierarchical human non-human schema and creates a new blend which brings human responsibility for their care to the fore.

Further, the farmer's attention to the cows after the disaster here contrasts with his previous economic purposes, but also with the inhumanity of the authorities who later come wanting to cull. Visually, as the cows surround the farmer and look out at the viewer, he works at shovelling in the barn even as he grumbles about their repetitive demands for water and food and the cost of their upkeep as their numbers keep increasing in inverse proportion to their new lack of commercial value. These internal musings thus contrast profit-driven motivations with his care-driven activities to generate a new blend which comprehends human care for animals as a crucial moral value in life. At the same time as the farmer questions why he is driven to care, his industry highlights human care as his duty and their right. The cows' dependence, signified through their persistent cries, also stimulates affective processing about their rights to be 'seen and heard' as more than produce for human consumption, livelihood or profit. The pictorial contrast with the absence of humans in the two previous openings which show animals alone in housing wreckage, abandoned by humans who have fled the region, further requires processing of the farmer's active ministry to the cows as being about more than economics.

Visual affect is further generated as the creatures are brought closer to the audience and the cows become less hindered by the hard, industrial lines of barn walls. In Opening 5 (figure 5), for instance, they are witnessed contentedly munching hay in a softer, more organic circular arc to reiterate their lives as now less restrained and more 'natural' as they thrive under the farmer's more personal care. The farmer's absence in this picture also contrasts with his presence in the preceding opening (figure 4) to mark the intrinsic—as opposed to the economic—value of the cows. As a close-up of a doe-eyed cow gazes out in direct appeal at the lower right of this scene, the pathos of its personal 'demand' implores viewers to challenge, with the farmer, his own verbal musings about their "lack of value" (*kachi ga naku natta*) and the notion that their "fate" (*unmei*) is to become "tasty meat" (*umai niku*). As the traumatic consequences of the nuclear catastrophe unfold for the farmer, the cows' visual presence increases to provoke mental consideration of human hypocrisies, which in turn heightens affective engagement.

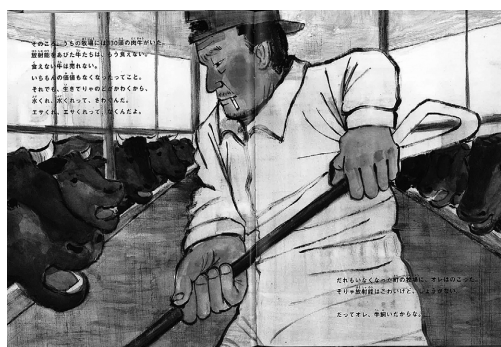


Figure 4. *Kibō no bokujō*, opening 4.

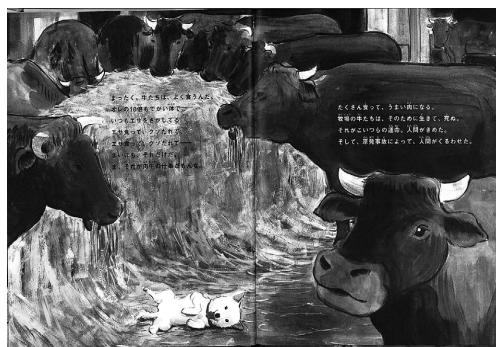


Figure 5. *Kibō no bokujō*, opening 5.

Mental activity also allows for the transferal of feelings across categories or domains, from schemata in one domain such as ‘setting’ to those in another such as ‘relationships’ in similar ways to metaphor.²⁹ Metaphor is feature of language and thought which encourages skills in decoding and creative imagining.³⁰ As such, metaphor offers a powerful method of conveying cultural ideas. As Lakoff and Johnson have propounded, the human conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. Thoughts, for example, can be categorised into groups expressed through conceptual metaphors such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY or THE MIND IS A CONTAINER which usually operate as metaphors of growth.³¹ Whereas *Kibō* rejects the conceptual metaphor of ANIMAL IS HUMAN commonly found in children’s literature, it makes use of metaphors related to ‘food’, ‘work,’ and ‘touch.’ These metaphors generate an affective transfer through visual and verbal images which require conceptual processing to recognise the intrinsic worth of the cows as living beings rather than as produce.

A conceptual metaphor in *Kibō* which stimulates affect through language shifts occurs over the first five openings as the cows are transformed from being conceptualised as ‘beef’ or ‘meat’ (nikugyū/gyūniku/niku) to living ‘cows’ (ushi). For example, the farmer moves from ruminating on the work of looking after ‘cows’, through considering the lack of viability of their being sold or eaten as ‘meat’ after their irradiation, to lamenting a humanity which allows cows to ever be raised as “tasty meat.”³² To think of cows as beef or meat, as the source of food, linguistically and conceptually distances them and disregards them as live, feeling beings.³³ These linguistic and conceptual juxtapositions encourage cognisance of how language can cloak violence to non-human animals and render them as mere ‘produce.’³⁴ Significantly, the final terminology shift occurs where the farmer is pondering the notion of humanity’s intervention in nature and in the fate of non-human species. He thereafter only ever refers to them as ‘cows’, as sentient beings. In line with his unfolding awareness of the barbarity of human intervention in animal lives, readers must adapt the industrial farming schema from one which renders them invisible (as ‘meat’) to one which recognises them as living creatures. Such cognitive processing brings affect into play as the inhumanity of the human-animal hierarchy and capitalist exploitation is rendered more apparent through the more embodied experience of, for example, the cows’ disarming appeals to the audience.

The farmer’s word-thoughts before the final language shift, further encourage conceptual blending through human-animal “work” comparisons—between the ‘work’ of the farmer and that of beef cattle. As he works, the farmer mumbles to himself about how much cows eat, drink, and defecate, but he then acknowledges that he and cows are doing just as they should when he humns: “Well, that’s the *work* of beef cattle” (opening 4, my italics). As the farmer ponders the idea of farmwork as a duty to produce “tasty meat” against the daily existential (eating, drinking and

²⁹ Miall 1989, p. 61.

³⁰ Herman 2009, p. 31.

³¹ Lakoff and Johnson 1980. See Stockwell, 2002, p. 107.

³² Opening 1: Bokujō de, *ushi* no sewa shite, kurashiteru. Opening 4: Sono koro, uchi no bokujō ni wa 330 tō no *nikugyū* ga ita. Hōshanō o abita ushi-tachi wa, mō kuenai. Opening 5: Takusan kutte, umai *niku* ni naru. My italics.

³³ As Carol Adams suggests on the linguistic distancing of animals: “Live animals are . . . the absent referents in the concept of meat” (2010, p. 304).

³⁴ Adams 2010, p. 304.

defecating) ‘work’ (shigoto) of the beef cattle (gyūniku), their daily business to become ‘meat’, it is apparent that their work as ‘meat’ has now become defunct. A new conceptual blend occurs with the idea that the purpose of the cows has changed; what the cattle do is no longer ‘work’ but ‘being’. They are no longer producing for financial return or food but rather ‘working’ at just living. The farmer’s ‘care’ of the cows for profit and consumption—as beef cattle—has similarly changed. It has turned into keeping his animals alive as a ‘duty of care’ when he ruminates, “What else can I do?” “After all, I’m a cowherd.” As his caring actions are juxtaposed against his grumbles about the cows’ worthlessness, this blend leads to the understanding that this duty is the only humane option. In the end, hope stems from the realisation of the satisfaction of caring for the cows as the farmer reassures them (and readers): “I’ll stay with you, whether there’s any meaning in it or not.” “Meaning” here has subtly shifted the meaning of life for the farmer from LIFE AS (FARM) WORK to LIFE AS CARING and, thus an affective comprehension of the cows’ right, as cows, to a comfortable life regardless of economics.

This kind of blend is operating perhaps most poignantly at two later points in the story (at openings 8 and 14) which stimulate a highly interpersonal ethos of care through the metaphor of ‘touch’. Both transactions are shown in close-up shots of a calf, with the farmer’s over-sized hand prominent. The hand can be linked back to his work as a cowherd through the conceptual metaphors of, for example, TOUCH AS OWNERSHIP or INTERVENTION and TOUCH AS CARE. At the first point, the farmer’s personal touch of the hand dramatically contrasts with the horrors of the distant, anonymous officials in the preceding dark, monotonal image of a mass of prostrate cows which have been culled (at opening 7). The disembodied, mummified officials in their protective wrappings here allude to the human TOUCH OF INTERVENTION or the lack of human TOUCH AS CARE which has brought about their grim deaths. The verbal text confirms this metaphor of pathos through the farmer’s recollection of the other farmers’ tears of despair as they ask him how he has been able to keep his cows.

After the horror of this carnage, at the next turn of the page, the farmer is visually engaged in a reciprocally affectionate gaze with a calf, so the anticipation of a reprieve from the horror is now borne out through the concept of caring (opening 8). In comparison with previous pictures of (mostly adult) cows, the modality of this calf is significantly lowered to bring it into line with the modality of the farmer. Mental activity processes their similar symbolic representation here as indicative of their equality and mutual caring, especially against the inhumanity and ruthlessness found in the



Figure 6. *Kibō no bokujō*, opening 7.



Figure 7. *Kibō no bokujō*, opening 8.

preceding culling scene. The farmer's oversized hand on the calf's cheek here is necessarily processed as TOUCH AS CARE. The intrinsic value of his heartfelt emotional bond with the calf has to be cognitively and affectively processed to understand the transfer of affection in contrast with the impersonal 'care' wrought by a de-personalised officialdom. His gesture also provokes the conceptual metaphor of TOUCH AS HEALING, as a way forward beyond the death and destruction caused by bureaucratically-sanctioned industrial violence.

The second of the affective transactions increases audience proximity to an even closer view of a weak and prone calf. Here, the farmer's inner thoughts tell of his despair when the weaker cows die (opening 14). Because the farmer's body is out of frame, with only his large, low modality hand visible against the more realistically-realised calf, the symbolic function of the hand is even more salient. The 'touch', which now acts as a conceptual metaphor for consolation and hope, has firmly shifted from the concept of farming as the individualistic TOUCH OF OWNERSHIP. It also contrasts with TOUCH AS HUMAN INTERVENTION as inflicted by other absent human 'hands' which still have a conceptual presence through their role in the calf's impending death as part of the after-effect of the nuclear catastrophe. The touch of the hand, as it hovers over the less colourful, and more realistic, upper torso and head of the pathetic calf in profile, acts as a visual gesture of hope beyond the darkness of death and despair.

Emotional affect is further generated here through the visual contrast in representation between the calf's lower and upper body highlight the calf's 'thisness' in nature. The contrast generates both the pathos of its impending death and a celebration of its return to nature, as a part of a more natural and positive cycle of life and death (or reincarnation) and interconnection among all beings. The bright flora of its lower body emphasises the joy of nature in yellow and red flora in its contrast with the higher modality browns of its head and upper body. While the calf's dark eyes are looking forlornly towards the future (in the direction of reading—left to right) without much hope, their final heart-rending appeal is also directed towards the human audience as a source of expectation and 'demand' (for action).³⁵ As the farmer determines to go on regardless (as he again asks himself what else he can do), cognitive activity works through the conceptual metaphor of touch which processes the human hand as both the source of despair and the source of hope. In other words, the new conceptual blend awakens the sense TOUCH AS CARE for non-human species (and nature more generally) as the only ethical resolution to the traumata initially brought about by the TOUCH OF HUMAN INTERVENTION.

Ultimately, an affective reading of *Kibō* poses a challenge to two humanist tropes regularly found in modern Japanese children's literature: the general preoccupation with individual agency



Figure 8. *Kibō no Bokujō*, opening 14.

³⁵ According to Kress and Van Leeuwen's (1990) theory of reading images, if reading pictures from left to right, the left-hand-side presents the given or known situation, whilst the right suggests the unknown future.

as part of the capitalist pursuit of (farm) work, and the principle of human dominance over nature. Both conceal the exploitation of non-human animals and a consequent lack of regard for them. Through dialogic narrative, symbolic pictorial elements, textual indeterminacies and the confirmation or rejection of anticipated expectations, the reading process stimulates more mental and affective activity than may be enabled by a more informational or biographical text. The book's indeterminacies open gaps for readers to forge intersubjective connections with represented participants and ask what kind of life the human industrial world has provided for non-human species. Narrative expectations of the capitalist farming schema are raised then dynamically thwarted through anticipatory engagement with the page-turning process to encourage deep philosophical questions about human responsibilities for the cows. Readers need to interrogate the anthropocentric economic schema of industrial beef farming and the ramifications of nuclear disaster on non-human animals to generate a new schema of life work as about caring for nature and non-human species. At the same time, the visuals stimulate an affective reading process which demands a response to the cows' suffering through the waves of hardship and hope which continue in their ups and downs throughout the book. The modal disparities and the page-turning process operate with conceptual metaphors to further encourage affective engagement with the farmer's developing rejection of (farm) work as an economic enterprise in favour of farm work and life as (animal) care. As the farmer's 'duty' is seen as a more compassionate caring action it counteracts the 'work-as-economic-livelihood' schema to encourage a new script of care for non-human species as an obligatory part of lifework. In other words, the blend of the farmer's duty of care, and the cows' needs and demands require the processing of a new script of care for animals as a *raison d'être* in itself. New conceptual blends of work, production and care schemata encourage an emotional response to the cows, and in turn, a greater awareness of social responsibility for non-human animals.

Affect thereby operates in conjunction with mental processing during reading of the book to shift from an economic animal farming schema to a new conceptual blend of life as about caring for non-human animals as an intrinsic part of biological life,³⁶ stimulating new concepts of a more interconnected world. The book encourages the concept of a deeper bond between human and non-human animals than, for example, the human-to-human *kizuna* (bonding), which was widely promoted after 3/11.³⁷ It prompts a shift towards the emotional and ecological rewards of greater human-animal interconnectedness in contrast with the environmental and personal emptiness of industrial and economic pursuits. Affective reading of *Kibō* thus challenges the audience to consider what it is to both live and care in a post-disaster, post-nuclear environment. The creation of concern for non-human species not only helps in "informing social action designed to foster equity and social justice."³⁸ It also creates an affective awareness of the incipient dangers which can arise from the lack of caring implicit in an (overly-) industrialised world and aids in the formation of more ecologically-aware young people on the way towards creating a more caring post-humanist society.

³⁶ For more on this distinction between livelihood (*seikatsu*) and biological life (*inochi*), see Fujiki, 2017, pp. 90–109.

³⁷ See Rebecca Suter (2016) and Tamaki Tomita (2015) for more on 'kizuna'.

³⁸ Stephens, 2011, p. 34.

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ファッション主義の精神とプロテスタンティズム

井上 章一

近代の日本社会は、けっきょくキリスト教をうけいれなかったと、よく言われる。プロテスタントとカトリックの信者は、その両者をあわせても、日本人ぜんたいの1%にみたない。半数ちかくの人々が入信しているとされる現代の韓国とくらべ、その不振ぶりはきわだつ。鈴木崇巨の『韓国はなぜキリスト教国になったか』(2012年)は、そのことを対比的にえがいている。また、日本のキリスト者は、キリスト教を歪曲してうけとめたとも、しばしば語られる。日本で信仰されているそれは、日本側の諸事情でねじまげられてきたと評されることも少なくない。佐治孝曲の『土着と挫折——近代日本キリスト教史の一断面』(1991年)は、賀川豊彦にこだわりつつ、標題からもわかるように、そうした部分へ光をあてた。マーク・R・マリンスの『メイド・イン・ジャパンのキリスト教』(高崎恵訳、2005年)は、日本におけるキリスト教の土着化を論じている。その第8章は「何がキリスト教移植を阻むのか」の分析にあてられた。

詳述はさけるが、近代日本のキリスト教受容を、キリスト教研究や宗教学の講壇学説は、否定的に論じてきた。国際日本文化研究センターの共同研究でも、この問題へ、正面からい込んだことがある。「日本人はキリスト教をどのように受容したか」(代表山折哲雄 1993年～1996年)がそれである。そして、この研究会も、日本がキリスト教になじめず、ゆがめてうけとめたことを、強調した。

だが、こうした取り組みの大半は、信仰のありかたに分析のメスをむけている。キリスト教を受容した日本社会そのものを、とらえようとはしていない。信仰心こそいだかないが、良い宗教としてうけとめている人びとからは、目をそむけがちである。

卑近な例をあげる。

日本人は、しばしば素行のおさまらないキリスト教信者を、こうなじる。「あの人は、クリスチャンなのに浮気をしている」、「毎週教会へいくような人なのに、万引きをやってしまった」、等々と。だが、仏教や神道の信者には、まずこういう物言いをぶつけないだろう。じっさい、以下のような口ぶりを聞くことは、とうていありえない。「あの人は、浄土真宗なのに不倫をはたっている」、「神社での浄めには熱心な人だが、不正に手をそめた」。

それだけ強く日本人は、キリスト教に高い倫理性を期待していることが、よくわかる。すくなくとも、仏教や神道より信頼していることは、うたがいない。その期待感は、欧米人がキリスト教によせるそれよりも、ずっと高からう。

江戸時代がおわるまでは、淫祠邪教だいんしじゃきょうとみなされてきた。そんな宗教が、百数十年ほどのあいだに、倫理的な宗教へと変貌をとげている。いかがわしい宗教だとは、もう思われなくなっているのである。

なるほど、明治以後の日本社会は新参の宗教を、しばらくけむたがったろう。弾圧をくわえたことも、なかったわけではない。その過程で歪曲を余儀なくされた。キリスト教研究の学術世界が、もっぱらそういう側面に光をあててきたことも、すでにのべたところである。

だが、この宗教が肯定的に受容されていく経緯には、あまり目がむけられない。その点で、講壇宗教学にはかたよりがある。否定面ばかりをながめすぎてきたと、そう言わざるをえない。

「学生時代」（1964年）という歌——いわゆる流行歌曲のひとつだが——を、ある世代以上の日本人はたいてい覚えている。ペギー葉山がうたって、一種の国民歌謡にもなった。小学校が、音楽の授業でこの曲をとりいれたしたのは、1980年代からである。その唄い出しは、つぎのようになっている。

へ鳶のからまるチャペルで祈りをささげた日…………。

ミッションスクール出身の女性が、学生時代を回想する。その様子が、情感をこめてうたわれる。のみならず、20世紀後半の大衆社会も、これを喝采でむかえ、もてはやした。

しかし、仏教系の学校を出た女性が、少女時代をふりかえる曲はない。たとえば、以下にするような歌詞は、流行歌曲にいったいとりいれられてこなかった。おそらく、企画の場にさえもちだされてはこなかったろう。

へお香のけぶる本堂でお経を詠じて念じた日…………。

日本の大衆社会は、ミッションスクールを出た女性に魅力を感じている。そして、仏教系の学校でまなんだ女性には、魅了されてこなかった。キリスト教のほうが、仏教よりチャーミングだとみなされている。期待が高いのは、倫理方面だけに限らない。人の心を取りこにする、ひきつけるその度合いでも、より優位におかれている。「ロザリオ」という響きには、「数珠^{じゆず}」という音のもちえない輝きがあると言わざるをえない。

京都に京都女子大という、西本願寺のかかわる仏教系の学校がある。1990年代のなかごろに、私はそこへかよう女子大生から、「3B」という言いかたをおしえられた。京都女子大へかよう学生は、自分たちの学校を「3B」と自嘲気味に評価するのだという。どうせ、自分たちは3つのB、「貧乏」「ぶさいく」「仏教」だ、と。仏教の学校だから、不美人でみすぼらしく見えるのもしかたがないというのだというのである。

そして、彼女は同じく京都にあるミッション系の同志社女子大学を、「3K」と評価した。すなわち、「金持ち」「かわいい」「キリスト教」と。仏教系へかよう女子大生たちは、キリスト教の学校にこそきらきらした美人がいると言っていたのである。

もちろん、この「3B」と「3K」が実情をそのまま反映していると言いたいわけではない。京都女子大生の「3B」という自己認識も、彼女らがそうひがんでいるだけの話だろう。ミッション系の同志社女子大生が、京都女子大生を「3B」だとあなどっているわけではあるまい。まあ、陰ではそう見下しているのかもしれないが。

ただ、仏教側の女子大生がそう想いこんでいるらしい点は、重要である。自分たちは女性としての魅力で、キリスト教の女子大生にはりあえない。そう仏教のほうをひがませる何かが、日本社会にはあることをしのばせる。

ざんねんながら、女子大生のルックスを大学ごとにくらべたデータなどというものはない。仏教校の慨歎は、それだけの嘆きにあたいる背景をもつ、そう言いきることは困難である。

すくなくとも、実証的には不可能だと言うしかない。複数の観察者が、大学の校門あたりで、「かわいい」娘の出現率をはかり、あとでその平均値をだすことも、技術的にはできる。しかし、そうした調査が、倫理的にゆるされるとは思えない。

とはいえ、間接的にならその比較をころみうる資料はある。いくつかのファッション雑誌からおしはかることは、できなくもない。

日本のファッション雑誌は、よく読者モデルとよばれる女性を、グラビアページに登場させてきた。モデルクラブに所属する職業モデルとはちがう、読者のなかからえらばれる有志の素人モデルたちを。そして、彼女たちの多くは大学にかよう女子大生たちである。さらに、雑誌は女子大生たちの所属する大学名を、しるしてきた。

こういう雑誌を見ていると、読者モデルをおおぜい輩出している大学のあることが、読みとれる。そのいっぽうで、まったくモデルをださない大学のあることも見えてくる。これを統計的に検討していけば、大学ごとのモデル出現量を、具体的な数字にうらづけられたデータを抽出することが可能になる。

さいわい、この点については毎年刊行される『大学ランキング』（朝日新聞社）が、その数字をつかんでいる。もとより、読者モデルの数だけをしらべているわけではない。研究費、競争的資金の獲得、外資系企業経営者の出身大学、等々さまざまな項目で、ランクづけをころみている。読者モデルについての調査も、それらのうちのひとつでしかないことを、ねんのためことわっておく。

モデルの数をくらべあう。『大学ランキング』は、その資料として四つの雑誌をえらんでいる。『JJ』、『CanCam』、『ViVi』、『Ray』の四誌である。一般にも四大誌としてみとめられており、読者モデルを多用することでも知られ、この選択はまず妥当であるとみなしてよい。

『大学ランキング』は、年度ごとのモデル登場数をつきとめ、ランキングとして整理した。ここでは、そのデータにもとづき、2004年度から2017年度までの集計結果を表示しておこう。この調査は、佐藤八寿子が『ミッション・スクール』（2006年）でしめした成果の延長上にある。ねんのため、ひとことのべそえる。なお、各年度の数字は、それぞれ、2年前の実績をしめしている。たとえば、2004年度の数字は、2002年度に各大学が輩出したモデルの人数をしめしている。

	大学名（2004年度）	人数	大学名（2005年度）	人数	大学名（2006年度）	人数
1	甲南女子大	379	甲南女子大	404	甲南女子大	486
2	青山学院大 m	197	慶應義塾大	298	慶應義塾大	445
3	慶應義塾大	186	立教大 m	288	立教大 m	416
4	日本女子大	158	学習院大	182	神戸女学院大 m	345
5	立教大 m	147	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	181	青山学院大 m	305
6	早稲田大	128	日本女子大	175	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	296
7	東洋英和女学院大 m	121	青山学院大 m	160	学習院大	254
8	帝塚山学院大 m	116	成城大	144	日本女子大	174
9	学習院大	95	日本大	131	明治学院大 m	170
10	神戸女学院大 m	91	明治学院大 m	124	東洋英和女学院大 m	164

	大学名（2007 年度）	人数
1	青山学院大 m	795
2	立教大 m	495
3	早稲田大	402
4	慶應義塾大	326
5	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	276
6	学習院大	244
7	日本大	196
8	神戸女学院大 m	195
9	甲南女子大	194
10	恵泉女学園大 m	175

	大学名（2008 年度）	人数
	青山学院大 m	876
	慶應義塾大	527
	立教大 m	491
	早稲田大	424
	学習院大	336
	日本女子大	334
	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	316
	日本大	231
	成蹊大	221
	恵泉女学園大 m	214

	大学名（2009 年度）	人数
	青山学院大 m	403
	慶應義塾大	374
	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	340
	立教大 m	329
	成蹊大	249
	神戸女学院大 m	286
	成城大	249
	日本女子大	244
	早稲田大	227
	学習院大	161

	大学名（2010 年度）	人数
1	神戸女学院大 m	390
2	青山学院大 m	334
3	慶應義塾大	308
4	成城大	277
5	立教大 m	256
6	成蹊大	190
7	玉川大	174
8	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	168
9	法政大	143
10	日本女子大	139

	大学名（2011 年度）	人数
	慶應義塾大	341
	青山学院大 m	300
	神戸女学院大 m	244
	立教大 m	240
	成城大	188
	大妻女子大	182
	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	140
	駒澤大 ¹	127
	明治学院大 m	116
	法政大	100

	大学名（2012 年度）	人数
	青山学院大 m	244
	大妻女子大	221
	慶應義塾大	214
	中央大	209
	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	167
	立教大 m	113
	神戸女学院大 m	105
	上智大 m ²	92
	成城大	90
	明治学院大 m	80

	大学名（2013 年度）	人数
1	青山学院大 m	277
2	中央大	238
3	大妻女子大	220
4	早稲田大	156
5	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	126
6	立教大 m	120
7	学習院大	102
8	日本大	97
9	神戸女学院大 m	74
10	成城大	73

	大学名（2014 年度）	人数
	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	181
	青山学院大 m	178
	中央大	162
	立教大 m	160
	早稲田大	150
	武庫川女子大	141
	関西学院大 m	122
	金城学院大	117
	学習院大	115
	神戸女学院大 m	107

	大学名（2015 年度）	人数
	青山学院大 m	237
	立教大 m	178
	学習院大	173
	慶應義塾大	166
	早稲田大	143
	大妻女子大	132
	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	128
	明治学院大 m	124
	フェリス女学院大 m	123
	関西学院大 m	98
	国際基督教大 m	98
	中央大	98

¹ 駒澤大学は仏教系だが、ランクイン。今回の調査では、唯一の例。

² 上智大はカトリック系。これ以後、カトリックも散見されるようになる。

	大学名（2016 年度）	人数	大学名（2017 年度）	人数
1	青山学院大 m	201	早稲田大	119
2	立教大 m	122	青山学院大 m	117
3	慶應義塾大	118	立教大 m	85
4	早稲田大	113	日本大	75
5	フェリス女学院大 m	97	学習院大	70
6	日本大	87	上智大 m	65
			フェリス女学院大 m	65
7	学習院大	72		
8	上智大 m	60	明治大	63
9	明治学院大 m	59	日本女子大	45
10	神戸松蔭女子学院大 m	54	慶應義塾大	44
	国際基督教大 m	54		

年度ごとの上位校を、人数順に十校、いわゆるベストテンを、上記の表はならべている。ミッションスクールには「m」のマークをそえておいたが、その存在感は圧倒的である。学生数の多い、いわゆるマンモス大学とも互角にわたりあっている様子が、読みとれる。じっさい、在校生の数を考えれば、神戸松蔭が早稲田や日大より上にくることは、あなどれない。在校生数を分母において、モデルの輩出率をくらべれば、ミッション系の優位は、よりいっそうきわだとう。

2010 年代なかばごろから、総モデル数が目に見えおちこみだしている。これは、ファッション雑誌というメディアじたいの低迷ともかわりあう。おそらく、遠方への取材経費もけずられていたのだろう。2017 年度のものは、関西の大学名が姿をけした。ベストテンにランクされたのはみな首都圏、東京近辺の大学になっている。

さらに、このごろは彼女たちが自分をおしだす場も、電腦化されだしている。雑誌ではなく、IT メディアに自己アピールの舞台をうつしていった。その意味で、2010 年代中葉以後のデータを、それ以前と同じようには、あつかいづらい。ファッション雑誌を、「かわいい」の資料としつづけるわけには、いかないだろう。

いずれにせよ、こういう世界におけるミッションスクールの比重は、たいそう大きい。

そして、仏教系の大学は、この 14 年間で上位十校へ、いちどしか名をつらねなかった。「3K」と「3B」の対比は、まんざらあたっていなくもないのである。

もちろん、読者モデルになることと「3K」の「かわいい」が等価であるとは、言いきれない。モデルたちのことは、「かわいい」をメディアへさらすことにためらわない女性と位置づけたほうが、いいような気もする。あるいは、自分の「かわいい」をおしころそうとはしない女性たちである、と。世俗の一般校や仏教校にも「かわいい」人はいるが、ファッション雑誌へでようとしな。そんな傾向だって、形式的にはありうることを、ないがしろにするわけにはいかないだろう。

ただ、かりにそうであっても、ミッション系に「かわいい」をおしだす強さがあることは、うけあえる。他校とくらべれば、そういう女性たちのあつま度合いが高いことは、いなめない。私は、この点に、日本的なキリスト教受容の重大な側面がひそんでいると、考える。そ

して、ざんねんながら、日本のキリスト教研究は、そこから目をそむけてきた。

ついでにのべそえるが、今回紹介した上位十校によく登場するミッションスクールは、みなプロテスタントのそれである。「かわいい」人材は、プロテスタントのミッション系に、集中しているのである。まあ、2012年度の統計からは、すこしずつカトリック校も浮上しはじめているが。

いっばんに、カトリックとプロテスタントをくらべ、前者のほうが外形に左右されやすいと、よく言われる。式典の形にこだわりやすいのは、カトリックであるとされてきた。あるいは、聖堂の建築美などにも。しかし、ファッション誌への登場をころごす女性は、はるかにプロテスタント系のほうへむらがりやすくなっている。

このことを、日本におけるキリスト教受容とからめ、どう把握したらいいのか。おそらく、カトリック系のほうが、しつけはきびしそうに見えるのだろう。修道女が尼僧姿でキャンパスをゆききする。そんな光景が、風紀取締を、受験生の女子たちに想いおこさせるのではないか。しかし、プロテスタントの学校は、自由を保障してくれそうにうつる。その差が、モデルの数に反映されているのだと考える。

いずれにせよ、日本のプロテスタント受容史研究は、こういう側面から目をそむけてきた。勤勉精神が、ほそぼそとつたえられた可能性などばかりを、論じている。この小論は、今までの研究が見すごしてきた、しかしある重大な近現代日本社会の一樣相をとらえたと、自負している。

どうして、ミッションスクールにかがやかしそうな女子が、あつまったのか。今、理にかなった読みときをほどこす準備はない。だが、ささやかな展望はもっている。ここでも、それを仮説的に提示しておこう。なお、この解釈は、さきほど紹介した佐藤八寿子のそれにもささえられていることを、ことわっておく。

近代日本の女子教育は、良妻賢母の育成をころがけた。主婦として母としてすぐれた女を、そだてようとした。フェミニズム風に言えば、女の可能性は男権社会によって、一つの枠におしこめられてきたのである。

たしかに、男社会は女にたいして、抑圧的にふるまっただろう。女子教育をうけようとする女たちは、それで良妻賢母という型にはめられたと思う。だが、彼女らをそこへおしこめた当の男社会は、そんな女に性的魅力を、あまり感じなかった。ひとこと言えば、ぬかみそくさい主婦の、その予備軍としてとらえたのである。

性的な魅力に関して、男たちは水商売の女にこれをもとめてきた。妻は良妻賢母の安全地帯に、そして情婦は花街や遊里から調達する。この状態は、遊郭が閉鎖された20世紀後半以後も、しばらくつづいたと考える。まじめな妻は女学校の卒業生から、そして遊ぶ女は夜の街にもとめるという状態が。

さて、ミッションスクールはキリスト教の精神で教育がほどこされると、考えられていた。言葉をかえれば、近代日本の良妻賢母主義はあまりおよばない学校だ、と。つまりは、ぬかみそにはなりきれない女学生がおおぜいいるところだと、みなされた。

彼女らに、大日本帝国の男たちがときめいた様子は、近代日本文学史のなかに、読みとれる。佐藤がその事例を、いくつか紹介している。ミッションスクールは、その意味で良妻賢母主義とは対立する女の魅力を、夜の街とわかちあっていたのである。

また、良妻賢母主義をつまらなるとみなす家庭は、娘を一般的な女学校におくらなかった。ミッションスクールをえらんで、娘に中等以上の教育をさずけている。そして、そこでははやかな装いも、比較的うけいれられやすかった。

具体的な検討はまだしていないが、おそらくカトリックの学校は、良妻賢母主義と妥協する度合いが強かったのであろう。もちろん、仏教校も。プロテスタントの学校は、あまりそちらへ校風を合わせなかったのだと思う。ファッションに特化した女子大生が、プロテスタントの学校にむらがりやすくなる。この現代的な趨勢は、今ざっとのべたような女子教育史に、その根があるのではないか。

テレビ草創期におけるドラマ制作の展開

——映画との交渉を通して

北浦 寛之

はじめに

日本のテレビ・ドラマは1953年のテレビ放送開始直後から、先行の映像メディアである映画との比較を強いられてきた。例えば、日本放送協会（NHK）編集の『放送文化』1953年4月号で、「テレビジョンの映像は、映画ではないけれども、カメラによって捉えられるポジションの組み合わせが第一なのだから、多量に映画的手法が行われなければならない」と言及され、テレビ・ドラマの制作に映画技法の導入が求められた。その一方で、テレビ・ドラマは映画との違いも意識された。草創期のテレビ・ドラマはスタジオでの生放送が主体であった。そのため、近年の研究において「先行するメディアであった映画との差異を求め、テレビ的な表現を模索した」という見解が示され¹、テレビ・ドラマをめぐるイデオロギー的言説の推移が整理して伝えられている。

映画とテレビは、こうした映像表現における関係だけでなく、産業的な因縁も抱えている。映画の観客動員は1950年代に上昇の一途をたどっていたが、59年に減少へと転じると、60年代には今度はその減少に歯止めが利かなくなり、60年に10億人超だった観客数が、わずか3年で半数に、70年を迎えるときには4分の1になってしまう。それに対して、テレビの台数は、ちょうど映画観客が減少し始めた1959年に急伸する。その要因としてしばしば語られるのが、当時の皇太子明仁親王と美智子妃のご成婚パレードである。1958年11月に宮内庁から婚約が発表されるや、美智子妃の出身地には1日平均500人以上もの観光客が詰めかけるといった、いわゆる「ミッチー・ブーム」が巻き起こる²。当然その熱情は、パレードを見ようとする国民のテレビ購買意欲へとつながるのであり、1958年4月には100万だったテレビ登録世帯数も、パレード一週間前の59年4月3日に200万に倍増し、さらに同年10月になると300万に達する³。こうした統計上の関係から、映画の斜陽は、テレビの普及によるものだと見なされてきたのである。

本稿では、テレビのドラマが、どのような成長を経て、以上のように映画に影響を及ぼす対象になったのかを探っていく。具体的には先行研究が指摘しているテレビ・ドラマをめぐる言説の推移と併せて、草創期のテレビ・ドラマ制作が映画との関わりでどのように実践されてきたのかを考察する。1953年のテレビ放送開始以後、生放送が主体であった50年代のテレビ・ドラマを対象に制作の推移を見ていきたい。

¹ 松山秀明「ドラマ論——“お茶の間”をめぐる葛藤」『放送研究と調査』2013年12月号、54頁。

² 志賀信夫『昭和テレビ放送史 上』（早川書房、1990年）、218–219頁。

³ 同上、220頁。

テレビの普及

テレビ・ドラマの展開を探る前に、テレビ・メディアの普及の推移をもう少し詳しく見ておきたい。日本でテレビの本放送は、1953年2月1日にNHKが開局して始まった。このとき、受信契約者数866、受信料月額200円であったが、テレビの普及という点で大きな問題になったのが、テレビ受像機の値段であった。14型テレビが17万5千円～18万円で販売され、一般のサラリーマンの月収が手取りで1万5千円～6千円、東京－大阪間の国鉄運賃が3等で680円の時代、テレビはあまりに高価な製品であった⁴。

それでも、後続の日本テレビ（NTV）は、民間放送という性質上、テレビを普及させて十分な広告収入を得なければならない。NHKに遅れること半年余り、8月に開局したこのテレビ局はテレビの魅力を浸透させるため、盛り場や駅頭などにテレビを設置する。「日本でのテレビ放送史の多くは、街頭テレビに関する記述とともに始まる」と言われるほど⁵、街頭テレビの果たした役割は大きい。なかでもプロレス中継が大衆を熱狂させる。街頭テレビの発想自体は、戦前からおこなわれてきたテレビの公開実験を日常に落とし込んだものだが、集客を臨めるプロレスなどスポーツ中継を活用し、NTV創業者の正力松太郎の興行的手腕で、街頭テレビを特別なものにした。テレビは街頭で成功し、次いで客寄せのため飲食店や商店の中に設置され、ついには家庭で受容されるものとなる。当然ながらこのプロセスにおいて、テレビが高値＝高嶺にとどまることは許されない。

テレビ放送が始まった1953年には、前述の通り14型テレビの価格が17万5千円～18万円だったが、56年5月の調査では10万円を切って8万円前後に低下する⁶。この年の1月末に、受信契約数が前年の4万4千から10万増えて、14万4千になっていた⁷。年間の受信契約増加数が、それまで8千、3万と微増で推移してただけに一気に上昇である。前年の1955年10月9日の『朝日新聞』夕刊には、もうすでに街頭テレビの全盛期が過ぎ、飲食店などがテレビを設置するようになったことでテレビの台数が10万台を突破したと紹介されている。民放連が1956年11月に東京23区内でテレビを所有する飲食店を対象にした調査によれば、テレビの所有で「客が増えた」と46.4%の店が回答し、「変化なし」45.2%、「やや減少」1.5%と比較して、テレビの設置は効果的であったと結論づけられている⁸。テレビは客寄せに有効であったと見られるが、その投資を可能にするテレビ価格の値下げが進んでいたことも背景にあったのである。

ご成婚パレードがあり一般家庭にも急速に浸透したと言われる1959年には、テレビの値段がさらに低下して6万円程度になる⁹。もっとも、当時の賃金水準が月額2万2608円であったことから¹⁰、依然としてそれは高価な代物であった。そのため、多くの消費者はメーカーや小

⁴ 日本放送出版協会編『放送の20世紀——ラジオからテレビ、そして多メディアへ』（日本放送出版協会、2002年）、116頁。

⁵ 飯田豊『テレビが見世物だったころ——初期テレビジョンの考古学』（青弓社、2016年）、344頁。

⁶ 日本放送協会放送文化研究所放送学研究室編『放送学研究9』（日本放送出版協会、1964年）、219頁。

⁷ 日本放送協会放送文化研究所放送学研究室編『放送学研究8』（日本放送出版協会、1964年）、42頁。

⁸ 日本放送協会放送文化研究所放送学研究室編『放送学研究10』（日本放送出版協会、1965年）、78頁。

⁹ 日本放送協会放送文化研究所放送学研究室編『放送学研究9』（日本放送出版協会、1964年）、219頁。

¹⁰ 経済企画庁編『国民生活白書 昭和35年版』大蔵省印刷局、42頁。

売店が推進する割賦制度を利用して購入する。1961年2月に通産省と日本機械連合が実施した割賦販売に関する調査によれば、「家庭用電気機械器具の割賦販売をおこなっている商店で、テレビの割賦販売をおこなっている商店は約97%」に上り、「テレビの年間総販売額のうち69%と過半数は割賦販売による売上げ」とされている¹¹。テレビ価格の値下げと、分割で購入するという支払い方法の定着で、テレビが高嶺の存在から、いくらか手の届く対象になってきたのである。

もちろん、テレビを購入しても、映らなければ意味がない。当初は街頭テレビの設置状況からもわかるように、電波の受信エリアは東京とその近郊を中心とし限定的であった。その後、1954年3月にNHK大阪と名古屋が開局し、以降、主要都市から順番にネットワークが整備されていくことで、テレビ電波の受信エリアが拡大していく。1958年2月には受信エリアのまったくない都道府県がなくなり、全国的に受信可能な地域が広がっていった¹²。その1958年にはテレビは100万台を突破するのである。

テレビの普及については、前述のように1959年のご成婚パレードとの関係で指摘される傾向にある。たしかに、その国家的イベントが多くの人にテレビ購入を決意させるきっかけになったかもしれない。ただ、そうさせる下地が整っていたことも忘れてはならない。テレビ価格の値下がりや、月賦による支払い方法の定着、視聴可能エリアの拡大など、一般家庭のテレビ購入を可能にする諸要素が普及には不可欠だったのである。

最初のテレビ・ドラマ『山路の笛』

こうしてテレビの普及の要素を挙げてきたが、やはり前提条件として、コンテンツに魅力がなければ国民にテレビを購入しようと思わせることはできない。本稿はそのコンテンツとしてドラマに焦点を当て、テレビを魅力あるものにしていこうとする、制作者たちの奮闘を解き明かしていく。それでは、その奮闘の歴史を草創期からたどっていきたい。

本放送最初のテレビ・ドラマは、1953年2月4日午後8時～8時半にNHKで生放送された『山路の笛』であった。テレビ放送が2月1日にNHKでスタートしていたので、それは3日後のことである。生放送であるため、この歴史的ドラマの現物を確認できないが、私が美術を担当した橋本潔氏に取材したところ、当時の制作の状況を知ることができた。

『山路の笛』が具体的に始動したのが、前年の1952年末からで、それまで映像の技術的試験を繰り返してはいたが、実際の話の内容をどうするかは決まっていなかった。そこで慌てて橋本が妻に相談したところ、彼女がシナリオを書きそれが採用された。彼女は杉賀代子といい、その後何本もドラマの脚本を手掛けた。橋本は「テレビ・ドラマを書くということがどういうことか、そのシステムも何もかもできていなかった」と述懐している。

粗筋は次の通りである。山道の池にさしかかった若い男女が語り出すと、伝説の世界へと切替わる。山路という農夫が天女に恋をして妻にするが、美しさに惹かれて働きに出ない。そこで妻の天女は絵姿を紙に描いて彼に渡す。山路はようやく畑に出るが、そこで風のせい

¹¹ 日本放送協会放送文化研究所放送学研究室編『放送学研究9』、242頁。

¹² 日本放送協会放送文化研究所放送学研究室編『放送学研究8』、49頁。

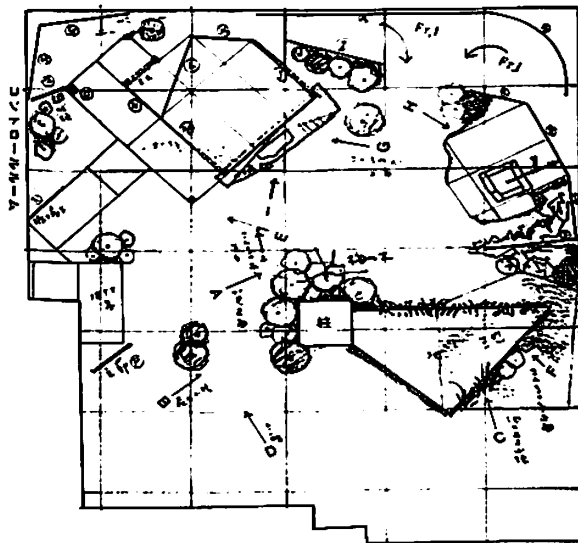


図1 『山路の笛』のセット平面図（橋本潔『テレビ美術』レオ企画、1996年）

絵姿が飛んで行ってしまう。山路は絵姿を探して彷徨する。そうした中、絵姿を入手したその土地の王子が気に入り、天女を捜して王宮に連れて来る。王子は天女を妻にしようとするが、彼女は従わない。家に戻った山路は嘆き悲しんで篠笛を吹き、池に入水自殺する。帰って来た天女も、追いかけて入水する。

以上の物語を映像化するため、若い男女が語り合う池、山路の家、王宮の一室と庭の三杯のセットが図1のようにスタジオ内に組まれた。ただしスタジオと言っても、NHKの普通の事務室を撮影用に充てられたにすぎず、図に記され

た「柱」はセットとして造られたものではなく、元々の建物の柱であった。いかにNHKが本放送開始を急ぎ、その結果ドラマの制作スタッフは、劣悪な環境で、制約の多い状況で仕事しなければならなかったかがわかる。

また、生放送での撮影にも大きな問題があった。セットの内側にカメラが2台用意され、スイッチ操作によってそれぞれの映像が切替えられる仕組みになっていた。長短のカットを織り交ぜて、全51カットで撮られたようだが¹³、単純に30分の放送時間をこのショット数で割ると、ワン・ショットあたりの平均時間（ASL [Average Shot Length]）がおおよそ35秒となる。同時代の映画においては、ASL10～15秒がスタンダードであり、単純にワン・ショットあたりの持続時間が2倍以上長かったことになる。もちろん、それは美学的な観点で試みられたわけではなく、物理的制約からそうならざるを得なかった。

と言うのも、カメラが重くて扱いにくいため、編集を交えた自然な映像の流れを生み出すことが難しかった。生放送という特性上、2台のカメラのうち1台が場面転換やアングルの変化で移動を強いられたとき、もう1台のカメラは時間稼ぎとして映像を提示し続けなければならない。カメラは機動力に欠けるため移動に時間がかかり、映像を映し出している方のカメラは、必然的に長廻しになるという状況だった。映画は1台のカメラで入念な照明設計でワン・ショットずつ丁寧に撮られることが多かったが、生放送のテレビ・ドラマではそういうわけにはいかず、複数台のカメラで映像を途切れないように映し出すことが先決であった。

¹³ 和田矩衛「テレビドラマ発達史（2）——NHK放送時代（2）」『月刊民放』1976年6月号、33頁。

「同時性」という独自性

NHKによる本放送開始から半年ほど遅れた1953年8月に初の民間テレビ局である日本テレビ（NTV）が開局し、1955年4月には現在のTBSであるラジオ東京テレビ（KRT）が放送をスタートさせる。テレビは着実に大衆化していくが、それでも、生放送が主体であったこの時代、制作上の問題がいくつも付きまっていた。そのため、事前にコンティニューティが用意され、リハーサルが重ねられた。図2は1959年4月にNTVで放送されたドラマ『脚』の冒頭部のコンテである。「カメラ」、「画面」、「音響」と3段に分かれていて、右から左にドラマが進行する中、それぞれにどのタイミングでどのようなアクションを起こす必要があるのか、整理して伝えられている。ここで「カメラ」に注目してみると、最初に数字、すなわち映像を映し出す「カメラ」の番号が記され、続けてそのカメラの動きが指示されている。本番当日、演出家はこのコンテに従って編集などの指揮を振るっただろうし、カメラマン他、撮影に関わるスタッフたちは、「カメラ」の内容からやるべき仕事を順番にこなしていったに違いない。

④ (前同)	同、CU	草壁、BS DIしてー	①	② (吹替) スエ、FF	草壁、WS PAN	窓、UP	①	Wする、 FOLLO	草壁、KS	③	カメラ
	る。	眼で見つめ	○草壁、恐怖に見開く (幻)	○ドアがギイと開いて 中年の女、内田スエが入って来る	暴風雨。	すさまじい (窓の外、)	ける。	椅子に腰か	○ずぶ濡れの草壁が帰って来る。 ガツクリと	38 研究室 夜	画面
内田、ゆっくり					S.E. ドアの音				S.E. 暴風雨		音響

図2 ドラマ『脚』の冒頭のコンテ（『シナリオ』1959年12月号）

こうしてハードワークを強いられる草創期のテレビ・ドラマ制作において、制作者たちも相応の対策を講じていた。すべてを生放送でおこなうのではなく、一部にフィルムを使用すればいいという考えである。「フィルムが出ている間に、次のカットの準備ができる。カメラは移動できるし、俳優も誰も助かる」¹⁴、その上フィルムを使うことで、スタジオの限定的空間から解放されロケ撮影がおこなえる¹⁵、などの利点があった。そのため、コストの問題ですべてをフィルム制作にすることは難しくても、部分的にフィルムを使用することは実践されていった。けれども、これにも問題があった。フィルム映像とテレビ映像では画質が異なるため、組み合わせたときに違和感が生じるのである。事実、1956年度の文部省芸術祭賞を受賞したドラマ『どたんば』では、演出の永山弘が当初はフィルム使用を考えつつも美的な観点からそれを断念し

¹⁴ 並河亮「動的画面とフィルム」『テレビドラマ』1960年9月号、47頁。

¹⁵ 映画監督でテレビ・ドラマも手掛けた若杉光夫は、ドラマでフィルムを使う際、「フィルムにするからには、ロケーションを多くして」と言われたことを明かしている（若杉光夫「テレビ劇映画の演出をめぐる」『放送文化』1962年2月号、18頁）。



図3 『生と死の十五分間』の演出風景（『月刊民放』1976年7月号）

ている¹⁶。さらに、フィルムを使用して周囲から批判を浴びたと語るのは、KRTの演出家、高橋太一郎である。彼は「テレビはフィルムを使っちゃいかん、テレビはスタジオの生放送が本道で、フィルムは邪道だ、という意向が世間にありました」と明かしている¹⁷。そうした批判の背景には、映画との違いを打ち出す意味で、「同時性」によるドラマ作りの要求があった。映画と違う生放送という物理的環境の問題を逆手に取って、「今、ここ」でおこなわれているドラマを見せることこそが、映画ではできないテレビの独自性だという考えであった。

ドラマの「同時性」へのこだわりは、テレビ放送元年にすでに確認できる。1953年8月28日の午後8時～8時15分にNTVが放送した『生と死の十五分間』は（図3）、デパートの屋上から投身自殺を図ろうとする男の救出を描いたドラマであるが、その救出に要した時間がタイトルの通り15分であった。劇中で男が助けられるまでの時間と視聴者がそれを見ている現実の時間がちょうど重なるように演出されているのである。

こうした「同時性」をめぐる表現の探究が最初に結実するのが、文部省芸術祭賞をテレビ・ドラマで初受賞した1955年11月26日放送のNHKドラマ『追跡』である。芸術祭と言えば、初期テレビ・ドラマ史を語る上で看過できない事項であり、「各局が芸術祭で競い合うことによって、テレビ的な表現の可能性が飛躍的に引き上げられた」ともみなされている意義深いものであった¹⁸。ドラマの内容は東京、大阪で暗躍する密輸団を刑事たちが追跡する刑事ドラマであったが、注目すべきは東京、大阪のスタジオ撮影と、東京・月島、大阪・道頓堀のロケ撮影を融合して展開された「四元放送」という試みであった。使用カメラ11台、スタッフ295名による大規模なテレビ・ドラマで、「ことに、隠しカメラで撮影している太左衛門橋の上の捕り物を、本物の捕り物かけんかかと繁華街の通行人が多数なだれこんできた、なまの迫力は、テレビの即時性の強みを画面上に証明」したと言われている¹⁹。生放送のドラマに、一般人が知らないで入り込むとは、今ではとても考えられない出来事だが、そうしたアクシデントもテレビの「同時性」「即時性」の魅力として理解されていたのである。

『私は貝になりたい』におけるアクチュアリティ

現実問題として、テレビ・ドラマが発展し量産される中で、いつまでも生放送だけで押し通

¹⁶ 高松二郎「テレビ芸術を創る人々」『キネマ旬報テレビ大鑑』、79頁。

¹⁷ 「テレビのリズム・映画のリズム」『キネマ旬報』1958年4月上旬号、164頁。

¹⁸ 松山「ドラマ論」前掲注1、61頁。

¹⁹ 日本放送協会編『日本放送史 下巻』（日本放送出版協会、1965年）、534頁。

すわけにはいかなかった。前述したようにテレビの「同時性」と引き換えに、制作を少しでも容易にするフィルムの部分的導入が進められた。それに加え、やがて主流になっていく VTR でのドラマ制作も 1958 年より部分的に実践される。そしてこの年 VTR を使用し、テレビ・ドラマ史に残る重要な作品が生み出された。1958 年 10 月 31 日放送の KRT ドラマ『私は貝になりたい』である。本作は、主人公の理髪師（フランキー堺）が戦時中、上官からアメリカ兵の捕虜殺害を命令され、殺しはしなかったものの、戦後、軍事裁判に掛けられ殺害に加担したとして処刑されてしまう話で、遺書として最後に語られた「私は貝になりたい」という台詞と共に、当時多くの感動を呼んだ。放送終了後には新聞各紙に多くの投書が寄せられ、なかでも男子中学生からの「私は貝になりたくない」という表現で反戦を訴えた投稿が注目を集めた²⁰。予想通りこの年の芸術祭賞には本作が選ばれ、審査員からは「一瞬にして消え去るテレビ芸術が放送後世上に大きな反響を与えた」と賛辞を送られている²¹。まさに『私は貝になりたい』によって、テレビ・ドラマが市民権を得たと言っても過言ではない。事実、こうした反響に呼応するように、この頃より「テレビ的特性」をめぐる議論が過熱しだしたと考えられている²²。

もっとも、こうした過熱ぶりはテレビ業界内だけにとどまらなかった。ライバルである映画産業にも波及していった。『私は貝になりたい』が放送された 1958 年と言えば、テレビが百万台を突破した年で、この勢いに脅威を抱いた大手の映画会社 6 社がすべて、自社映画をテレビ局に提供するのを止めた。こうして映画会社がテレビに敵対姿勢を見せる一方で、テレビを利用することにしたたかにおこなっていた。本作の人気に目をつけた大手映画会社の東宝が翌年、脚本を担当した橋本忍を監督にして映画化したのである。それでは初期テレビ・ドラマにおいて圧倒的な影響力を示した『私は貝になりたい』を、映画化作品と比較して、そこにどのような表現上の差異が存在するのかを見てみたい。

テレビ版『私は貝になりたい』は、主人公の理髪師が米軍に連行されるまでの前半約 30 分が VTR 放送で 131 ショットから成り、軍事裁判からの後半 1 時間ほどが生ドラマで 331 ショットを含んでいる²³。ここからワン・ショットあたりの平均時間を算出すると約 10 秒となり、前述の初のテレビ・ドラマ『山路の笛』が ASL35 秒であったことを思い返せば、明らかな技術的進歩があったことが読み取れる。前半部は主人公清水豊松の地元高知での家族との生活、応召後の軍隊での生活などで構成されているが、映画では同一の構成のもとこれらの部分が、大胆なロケーションによって、空間的な広がりを見せている。例えば映画版の冒頭では海辺の綺麗な風景が描出され、「私は貝になりたい」というラストの台詞の価値が一層高められている。テレビよりも遥かに大きい映画のスクリーンを生かしたロケ撮影が冒頭より展開されている。それはまさに、テレビでは果たせない圧巻の風景描写であり、テレビとの「違い」を印象付けるような始まりであった。

一方のテレビ版の始まりはというと、東京裁判にて東條英機に死刑判決が下される実際の記録映像がはめ込まれている。このドラマの演出家岡本愛彦の明らかな意図が感じられる始まりだ。ここで岡本が本作の演出の狙いについて語っている言葉を引用してみたい。

²⁰ 「“私は貝になりたい” その批評集」『調査情報』1958 年 11 月号、34-35 頁。

²¹ 大木豊「審査会始末記」『キネマ旬報』1959 年 1 月下旬号、123 頁。

²² 松山「ドラマ論」前掲注 1、58 頁。

²³ 佐怒賀三夫『テレビドラマ史——人と映像』（日本放送出版協会、1978 年）、14 頁。

橋本（忍）さんと私の計算は、つまり戦争というものが、まだ拭いがたく我々国民の中にあった。それから戦犯の裁判というものも、我々の生活と並行してあった。処刑といったことも一緒にあった。したがってあのドラマの進行の中で、視聴者の国民の気持ちというものが、いろいろなウェーブを描いて、直接、共に生活していたわけですね。²⁴

言葉を慎重に選びながらも、まだ現実の問題として国民が拭えない戦争の記憶に、ドラマをなんとか絡ませていこうという岡本の思いが見て取れる。それでは、岡本が「戦争というものが、まだ拭いがたく我々国民の中にあった」と語る 1958 年とはどういう年だったのか。放送評論家の佐怒賀三夫は以下のように指摘する。

前年 57 年に起きた「ジラード事件」に引きつづいて、米兵の日本人射殺事件「ロングブリー事件」が発生し、私たちはまだ米軍支配下であることの実感を強く味わわされた。それから、この 58 年にはまだ巣鴨拘置所に戦犯が収容されていて、その一人が首を吊って自殺するというニュースも伝えられ、巣鴨とか戦犯とかは、当時は非常にアクチュアルな問題だった。²⁵

ここで、佐怒賀が使ったアクチュアルという表現が、当時の資料を振り返ると、『私は貝になりたい』の頃より、テレビ・ドラマをめぐる言説において盛んに用いられるようになっていた。事実、演出家の岡本も「テレビはニュースと云う強烈なアクチュアリティーを視聴者夫々の家庭に流し込む窓口です」とテレビを定義し²⁶、さらにテレビ・ドラマについては「〈アクチュアリティーを持つマスメディアであるところのテレビ〉の中で呼吸するドラマである」と断言している²⁷。なるほど、彼のこうした考えが、冒頭で「ニュースと云う強烈なアクチュアリティー」のごとく実際の東京裁判の記録映像を引用するに至ったのかもしれない。本作の構成を再確認すれば、VTR から生放送に切替わった後半部分の最初の場面が、主人公が連行され捕虜殺害に関係した人物たちと共に軍事裁判に掛けられるところであり、フィクションと事実の違いはあるにせよ、それは冒頭の東條に対する裁判の記録映像と対応している。ドラマの冒頭では、東條に対する裁判の部分で映像が終わるが、ドラマ後半部では冒頭の映像をあたかも引き継ぐように、主人公の理髪師が、裁判の後、巣鴨拘置所に送られて、不安な生活を送る様子が描かれていくのである。映画評論家岡田晋によれば、この後半部に当時の評価が集中している。

『私は貝になりたい』がテレビに放送された時、多くの人々が前半と後半の分裂について指摘した。事実、テレビでほくたちに強い感動を与えたのは、動きのもつアクチュアリティーを、人物から強く感じさせる法廷シーン、巣鴨プリズンのシーン、刑場のシーンであり、このアクチュアルな迫力から、見る者は作者の設定したテーマを思考することができた。これ

²⁴ 佐怒賀『テレビドラマ史』、14-15 頁。

²⁵ 同上、16 頁。

²⁶ 岡本愛彦『テレビドラマのすべて——テレビ・テレビ局・テレビドラマ』（宝文館出版、1964 年）、49 頁。

²⁷ 同上、52 頁。

に比べて、前半の出征から戦場へかけてのシーンは、今までの映画を下手に真似たようなところがあり、むしろこの部分を切りすてて、巣鴨プリズンだけにシーンを制限し、動きをギリギリにつきつめた方がよかったのではないかと、これも多くの人々が批評したところである。²⁸

前半が映画の真似と映り低評価であるのに対して、後半はここでもアクチュアリティという表現が使われて、視聴者に強烈な印象を残していたことがわかる。アクチュアリティを感じさせるテレビ版後半部の演出を分析すると、映画版よりも、主人公の身体とその身体を拘束する拘置所との緊密な関係が強調されていると判断できる。後半部はスタジオでの生放送の特性でもあるだろうが、拘置所の外の景色が徹底的に排除され、主人公が閉塞的な空間に閉じ込められている印象を強く抱かせる。ときに金網や鉄格子など抑圧の象徴となっているものがクロースアップで前面を覆い、主人公が置かれている困難な状況が強調されるのである。まさに映画版が画面の大きさを活かして空間の拡大を図るならば、テレビ版は、空間を制限して主人公を徹底的に追い込むのである。テレビ版『私は貝になりたい』が特に法廷シーン以後、アクチュアリティを感じさせるとして評価されたのは、演出家岡本のこうした限定的な空間での主人公の身体の意味どおりの拘束に同時代の現実の戦争問題が結びついたのかもしれない。

おわりに

本稿は、テレビ・メディアが産声を上げ普及していく 1950 年代の草創期に、その魅力を支えるドラマの制作がどのように推移したのかを言説と実践の関係の中から考察するものであった。この時代を代表するドラマ『私は貝になりたい』において、「アクチュアリティ」という評言が用いられたが、以後、多様な文脈でテレビの独自性を伝える言葉として使われるようになっていった。それは、本作のように完全な生ドラマではなく、VTR やフィルムが劇中に挿入されるようになったことで有効となり、生ドラマだからこそ説得力を持っていた「同時性」に代わって幅を利かせた。

こうして草創期のテレビ・ドラマ制作は、映画の制作技術を継承しながらも、テレビ的表現とは何かという観点から、独自性を求めて突き進んでいった。文部省芸術祭での受賞によってテレビ・ドラマの芸術的価値を高める動きも盛んであった。映画に比べて環境や設備の面では遥かに劣る状況で制作されたテレビ・ドラマが、それでも映画には負けない芸術であることを制作者や評論家は、「同時性」や「アクチュアリティ」という言説を用いて語り、さらに作り手はドラマ制作の現場でそれを実践しておこなった。こうして草創期のテレビ・ドラマに携わる者たちは、映画を意識しながら、言説と実践の共同作業によって、ドラマの発展に尽くしていったのである。

²⁸ 岡田晋「映画とテレビの分岐点・交流点」『キネマ旬報』1959 年 5 月下旬号、52 頁。

Shinkai Makoto: The “New Miyazaki” or a New Voice in Cinematic Anime?

Alistair SWALE

Shinkai Makoto has steadily consolidated a position as a distinctive and highly innovative animator in contemporary Japan. He has developed a reputation for highly idiosyncratic ‘auteur’ films where he is pivotal in almost every aspect of production—background layouts, character design and plot—and indeed he has been identified by some as the “new Miyazaki”.

This paper traces the rise of Shinkai as an animator, examining both the evolution of his distinctive animation techniques and his recurrent concern with fundamental questions of life and nostalgia. The aim is to quite emphatically distinguish Shinkai’s work from Miyazaki, and to discuss how in fact they have rather distinct animation styles and preoccupations.

Introduction

Shinkai Makoto 新海誠 has emerged as one of the premier auteur animators of the last ten to fifteen years, garnering awards for his largely solo produced works that display a distinctive set of thematics, narrative devices, and visual techniques. Shinkai was born with the original family name, Niitsu, in 1973 in Minamisaku-gun, Nagano Prefecture, into a family who owned a local construction company. He was apparently fond of science fiction from an early age but otherwise followed what might seem to be a relatively conventional path of progression through the education system with incidental involvement in Volleyball and Kyudo which culminated in his entering Chuo University to major in literature in 1991. During this time he dropped sport and joined the university’s children’s literature study club, eventually finding part-time work at an emerging game design company Nihon Falcom where he ultimately found full employment after graduating in 1996.¹

There is little in this outline of his earlier experience to suggest that he was to have such prodigious abilities in animation but this talent became increasingly apparent as he was given increasing responsibility for the advertising copy and artwork, and eventually even animated sequences both within the games and to promote the corporation’s games. Initial recognition as an independent animator came with an animated short *Distant World*, which won a special prize at eAT’98, but the major breakthrough came in 2000 with the release of a short film, *She and Her Cat*, which won the grand prix at the DoGA sponsored 12th CG Anime Contest. After this success he resigned from Falcom to embark on a string of productions that have become beacons of technical innovation and visual beauty, *Voices of a Distant Star* (2002), *The Place Promised in Our Early Days* (2004), *Five Centimeters Per Second* (2007) and *Children Who Chase Lost Voices From Deep Below* (2011). At this point

¹ Details of Shinkai Makoto’s biography and awards can be obtained at his personal site, “Other Voices,” <http://shinkaimakoto.jp/profile>.

Shinkai was well and truly established as an internationally recognized animator and he has since built on this reputation through a warmly nostalgic contemporary piece, *The Garden of Words* (2013), and a return to time-warping fiction with *Your Name* (2016). Perhaps as if to seal the fact that he has ‘arrived’ as one of the heavyweights of modern Japanese animation, the literary journal *Yuriika* has just released a Shinkai Makoto themed issue which deals solely with his oeuvre and style. And it is has been indicative of his success that from the time of *Five Centimeters Per Second* (2007) a variety of commentators have suggested that in Shinkai Makoto we have found a “new Miyazaki.”

A “New Miyazaki”?

As Adam Bingham notes slightly acerbically in the opening to his important commentary on Shinkai Makoto, “Distant Voices, Still Lives: Love, Loss, and Longing in the Work of Makoto Shinkai,” it is perhaps “as dispiriting as it is predictable” that an emergent notable talent in the realm of animated cinema would be styled as the “new Miyazaki” (Bingham 2009, 217). He notes, completely to the point in my view, that there are several marked thematic differences between the two. Firstly, environmentalism in the sense that Miyazaki treats it is largely absent from Shinkai’s work. In Miyazaki there is also the routine emphasis on the central place of family and communal belonging which could not really be further Shinkai’s preoccupations. And there is the motif of the “magical childhood” which, although not altogether absent from Shinkai (see, for example, *Children Who Chase Lost Voices*, 2011), the treatment is arguably more somber and alienated.

The other major point of departure is the treatment of nostalgia in Shinkai’s work. Bingham refers to Napier’s analytical category of the “elegiac” and certainly this is not an inappropriate association to make. In my own research (Swale 2015) I have argued for a more nuanced distinction between “nostalgia as mood” and “nostalgia as mode” based on the work of Paul Grainger, the former being close to the elegiac in some authentic sense, the latter being a stylistic technique that explores nostalgic sentiments for aesthetic effect. Certainly works such as *Five Centimeters Per Second* (and most of what has followed) fall within the compass of the former category. However, as we shall go on to note, the science fiction narrative devices that Shinkai is apt to employ in his earlier works tends to place the orientation firmly in the realm of “nostalgia as mode”. Even so, there are further orders of complexity to be explored with nostalgia—to Grainger’s distinction can be added commentary based on R.G. Collingwood’s concept of “magic” to accentuate how Miyazaki amplifies the latter sense in a distinctive way, one that accentuates nostalgia as a positive aesthetic trope capable of engaging with issues of identity and community. Certainly this contrasts deeply with the more pronounced ennui that has characterized Shinkai’s earlier works, although in his latest feature, *Your Name*, fresh questions of how Shinkai treats this positive order of nostalgia can be raised (and in the ensuing discussion it is suggested that these aspects of nostalgia are woven together in a complex tapestry within this work).

The foregoing tension between ‘nostalgia as mood’ and ‘nostalgia as mode’ in Shinkai’s works could be said to parallel what Bingham describes as the “pervasive structural antinomy between recognizable human drama [viz ‘mood’] and conceptual sci-fi narrative framework [viz ‘mode’]” (Bingham, 2009, 219). This point is reinforced in Yoko Ono’s discussion of the contradictory implications of how the main protagonists in *Voices of a Distant Star* (2002), for example, technically live chronologically at the same point in time but are torn between a lived present, where acquiescence

to fate is enjoined, accentuating ‘mood’, and a nostalgic past acutely mourned by the other character in a dystopian parallel space only made possible by space travel, suggesting a closer association with nostalgia as ‘mode’ (Ono 2002, 1–2, 6).

One further distinctive trait that Bingham very astutely identifies in Shinkai’s work is the preoccupation with time and its measurement (Bingham 2009, 220). In *Voices of a Distant Star* chronological time is the unspoken thread that ties disparate experiences together—it is what makes the tragic elements more acutely accentuated. And of course in *Five Centimeters Per Second* the pivot of the narrative is, after all, about the passing of a minutely quantifiable yet inexorable time, and our incapacity to do much about it. *Your Name* takes much from this earlier oeuvre and reworks it in even more complex and resonant ways. In the first half of the film, which centers predominantly on the comic potential of an adolescent boy and girl intermittently waking up in each other’s bodies, there is at the same an intriguing narrative device generated through the two characters recording their experiences through messages left on mobile phones. This creates the parallelism of a life lived which can only be accessed after the fact. In the second half of the film, time is stretched beyond any plausible mode of reckoning—the lived experiences are transposed into the realm of the impossible as Taki discovers that the person he has been shape-shifting with is in fact dead, and has been for several years. The motif of connection and continuity that somehow becomes possible despite physical and chronological separation finds its allegorical device in the traditional ‘musubi’ braid that both protagonists possess. This is not to suggest that the manipulation of time or the employment of allegorical motifs are absent from Miyazaki Hayao’s work, indeed *Spirited Away* (2001) demonstrates that he is capable of very similar flourishes. Yet considered as part of an overall tendency or a distinctive stylistic trait, we would have to conclude that Shinkai takes innovation in narrative based on the manipulation of time to quite extraordinary lengths.²

Defining the Aesthetic Vision

Much as these narrative devices pivoting on the treatment of time intrigue and perplex, perhaps the aspect of Shinkai’s oeuvre that requires deeper treatment is that of his visual technique and style. It has been commonplace to attribute certain aspects of this style to the “seikaikei” genre, —and much has been made of the term as denoting “. . . the genre preoccupied with ‘self-absorbed visions of the world’ that posits that the private love relationship of the main character and the heroine (‘you and me exclusively’) is directly connected to the vague yet ontological issue of ‘the end of the world’ without depicting the outside/external world, or in other words, the society or nation to which these characters belong” (Ono paraphrasing Azuma 2007 in Ono 2008, 2).³

Certainly Azuma has been pivotal in associating certain themes and narrative devices in anime with otaku culture in the 90s and beyond, but as both Ono and, to a lesser extent, Bingham both acknowledge there are antecedents that are apparent before *Neon Genesis Evangelion* such as *Mobile Suit Gundam* that substantially predate what we would identify as the nascent phase of otaku culture.

² For an exegesis of the treatment of time in Shinkai’s oeuvre prior to the release of *Your Name*, see Gavin Walker’s “The Filmic Time of Coloniality: On Shinkai Makoto’s *The Place Promised in Our Early Days*” (2009, 11–14).

³ It also receives a detailed and perhaps meandering treatment at length by Shu Kuge in “In the World that is Infinitely Inclusive: Four Theses on *Voices of a Distant Star* and *Wings of Honneamie*” (Kuge 2007, 251–66).

Bingham highlights a “poetic narrative structure and *visual lexicon* [my italics]” but then proceeds to explain them as part of a deeper aesthetic tradition of “mono no aware,” followed by a digression into the significance of seasons in *The Japanese Mind*, followed yet again by a brief exposition of how a pastiche of “postmodern” reading based on Barthes and Baudrillard somehow helps us understand what makes Shinkai’s aesthetic vision more readily comprehensible (Bingham 2009, 221–223). While this commentary has merit as a contextualising exegesis it is his discussion of the “visual lexicon” that is more persuasive. He highlights, for example, the techniques of manipulating light in Shinkai’s work, which is certainly closer to achieving an analysis of the visual aesthetic. This is couched in a series of references to Ozu Yasujiro which is certainly a useful point of comparison; the use of built structures (everything from canals, to roads, to temples and even long corridors) combined with the adroit placement of shafts of light to punctuate the space, along with occasional broad panorama perspectives enhance the sense of a more cosmic perspective. These are indeed all relevant to developing a broader appreciation of what makes Shinkai’s visual lexicon work. Even so, Bingham’s references to “takes” and “camera” also suggests a line of interpretation that neglects the fact that there are no ‘takes’ or ‘cameras’ in animation design. So his comments are completely *a propo* in the sense that the manipulation of light and space is precisely one of the key elements in Shinkai’s “visual lexicon,” but otherwise the exegesis seems to drift toward the miasma of psychoanalysis or unreconstructed film theory, and we need a more appropriate aesthetic frame of analysis if we are indeed to deal with this visual lexicon more directly.

Ono, for that matter, also relies on Azuma to provide an exegesis of the distinctive anatomy of Shinkai’s art, —ultimately this means that when she is following his earlier perspective as embodied in *The Animalising Postmodern* (2001) we are presented with a surmising of what motivates young people to embrace anime based on assumptions about their collective psychology via Lyotard, or we have a more contextualised discussion of how that psychology emerges from an emergent media environment based on his latter title *The Birth of Gamic Realism* (2007). This forces her to treat the protagonists in *Voices of a Distant Star* as participating in two versions of game experience, —I would suggest Noriko “. . . fights against Tarsians as in a shooting game. In that sense both protagonists represent game players, though in different types of games” (Ono 2007, 6). It also requires us to believe that when ‘otaku’ watch this animation they project a sense of their own gaming experience into their interpretation of what is going on. It would seem to be intuitively accurate to suggest that when they watch it, they watch it as cinematic anime, and not as an interactive text (let alone a game), —there is arguably a need to be more rigorous about how we apply the premises of media experiences across different media platforms.⁴

My intention here is not to suggest that such commentaries have no merit, especially when they do serve to provide a perfectly valid exploration of issues of psychological motivation or cultural expression on a communal level, —but I would like to make it clear that these approaches have limitations with regard to analysing animation as an *aesthetic* phenomenon. And we miss out on some

⁴ There are indeed scholars who have teased the implications of interactive media experiences on the evolution of narrative, spectacle and character, but from a Cognitivist perspective it would be difficult to suggest that watching a film is psychologically akin to playing a game. See for example, Kirsten “Cinema 3.0: The Interactive-Image,” *Cinema Journal* 50.1 (2010): 81–98.

of the truly remarkable aspects of Shinkai's contribution to the evolution of Japanese animation if we do not define the brief more carefully.

Toward a Definitive "Fūkei" Style

An instance of how we might approach recent developments in Japanese animation, including Shinkai Makoto's, is provided by Sheou Hui Gan in "The Newly Developed Form of Ganime and its Relation to Selective Animation for Adults in Japan" (Gan 2008). Gan makes no bones about dispensing with the term "limited animation" and substituting the phrase "selective animation" which certainly expels some of the potentially negative connotations of 'limited' and re-orientates the attention toward the fact that certain modes of artistic expression may be deliberately adopted despite a supposed 'lack' of resonance with the visual expectations of camera-generated visual images. Hence he alights on an initiative that came out a collaboration between Tōei Animation and Gentōsha in 2006 which promoted the concept of "Ganime," a term which is produced from an amalgam of the character for picture (*ga* 画) and 'anime' (Gan 2008, 6–16).

The rationale of Ganime was to endorse a form of "slow animation"—an artistic brief to release animators from the imperatives of the commercial model and digital design to embrace a broader and in a certain sense counter-modern mode of expression. Accordingly, productions that entailed integrating 2D graphic art and even marionettes were welcomed as representative of avenues that would fulfil the vision. The examples highlighted in Gan's article reflect this—*Fantascopie - tylostoma* (2006) and *Tori no uta* (2005) by Amano Yoshitaka, a collaborator with Oshii Mamoru on *Angel's Egg* (1985), along with *The Dunwich Horror and Other Stories* (2007) by Shinagawa Ryō, the editor of *Studio Voice* magazine and a collaborator with Yamashita Shōhei. Yoshioka's works exemplify the credo of integrating graphic art with minimal movement into the flow of composition while Shinagawa's piece uses hand-molded figurines and miniature sets with again minimalistic movement and an inherent stillness. Movement is also generated through the manipulation of perspective (including with actual camera movement) combined with the adroit superimposing of layers to create a depth of field.⁵

Interestingly, Shinkai is not included in the selection of case-studies and perhaps for a number of pertinent reasons. But Gan does refer to Okada Toshio's perspective on Shinkai's contribution in providing some of the groundwork for the Ganime initiative. Okada, as a former President at Gainax and also a noted scholar of otaku culture, has been well-placed to observe the artistically constraining impact of the modern animation production system with its focus on building franchises (such as *Mobile Suit Gundam* with Tomino Yoshiyuki) or the more generalised constraint of having to adapt material to cater to particular demographics and fan-bases. He notes, however, that the arrival of Shinkai's *Voices of a Distant Star* "broke the mold" so to speak by demonstrating, first and foremost, that it was possible for an individual to produce high quality animation to almost feature length and that it could be critically well-received and successful. Shinkai made this possible by taking anime's "typical visual norms" and combining them an "atypical narrative setting" with an emphasis placed

⁵ The intrinsic propensity for "limited animation" to derive motion from the motion of layers in relation to each other on multiple planes is thoroughly covered in Thomas Lamarre's "From Animation to Anime: Drawing Movements and Moving Drawings" (2002, 329–67).

on “the inner emotions of the protagonist” (Gan 2008, 14). As such this reiterates the essence of what both Bingham and Ono have highlighted with regard to Shinkai’s combining lived worlds with dystopic parallel worlds.

More significant, however, is the manner in which Shinkai technically constructs his worlds visually. Okada notes the “careful observations and photographic-like details depicting the sights and sounds of everyday life; for example, the signal of a railroad crossing, a signboard in front of a convenience store, advertisements found in the bus station and train, hand phones and the sound of cicadas.”⁶ However, Gan concludes, appropriately one might suggest, that Shinkai’s work does not go as far as the Ganime productions he discusses earlier in greater detail—and certainly there is a case to be made that he is indeed a *sekai-kei* セカイ系 animator working in a more mainstream style of visualization, albeit with important stylistic and technical differences which set his work apart.

The analysis of such distinctive visual traits in Shinkai’s work is precisely what enables us to get to the heart of what makes his contribution to contemporary animation aesthetically ground-breaking. We can accept several aspects of Bingham and Okada’s observations that deal with that dimension of his work and perhaps we can even expand on them. As Okada notes, there is the minute detail in the drafting of environments, both interior and exterior, which distinguishes Shinkai’s style. As Bingham observes, there is also the skillful deployment of light sources to either highlight elements in the frame or, in some cases, provide shafts of colour that bind several layers within the *mise en scène* together. Another dimension that could be added is the attention that Shinkai gives to the composition of basic components in the frame as extreme foreground, middle ground and backdrop. The backdrop is typically an expansive area, often the sky, and in the middle ground there are blocks of either buildings or other structures that connect the backdrop with the foreground where more often than not the more intense engagement with the protagonists in the frame are placed. The middle ground usually entails an angle that enhances the sense of perspective, sweeping the eye toward the backdrop. Sometimes structures such as lamp posts or even power pylons can be used to literally integrate the middle ground with the sky. Other times it is enough to simply have a railway line, a road or pathway by a river to link the different components. Interiors present a different order of difficulty but this is surmounted by skillfully employing windows or doorways to evoke a space beyond—often accentuating that space by having light pour through into the interior. In the case of *The Garden of Words* (2013) the pergola is used to frame the interaction between the main characters with the angular perspective drawing the viewer to become aware of an expanse of garden beyond.

In and of themselves, these compositional traits are certainly not necessarily unique to Shinkai—indeed it is not difficult to find parallels with the compositional styles of film-makers such as Ozu Yasujiro (as Bingham elucidates) or even a key exponent of the ‘monumental style’ such as Mizoguchi Kenji. There are even notable antecedents that can be identified in terms of the design traditions of ukiyo-e, the *fūkei-ga* (landscape) works of Katsushika Hokusai and Utagawa Hiroshige which provide instructive cases in point in terms of the skillful treatment of foreground, middle ground and backdrop. None of these references are employed here to suggest that Shinkai is consciously attempting to rework these traditions in his animation—it is rather the organic working out of an

⁶ Gan (2008, 14–15), referring to Okada’s 2006 article “Nyū media kuriēshon: Ji-sedai kuriētā no tame no shinmedia ganime.”

aesthetic sensibility that now finds its expression through digital media. It is also noteworthy that the dominant theme for discussing Shinkai Makoto's work in the recently released issue of *Yuriika* is not so much the oft-quoted "sekai-kei" genre or nostalgia infused with alienation, but what I would agree is at the heart of his distinctive style—*fūkei* 風景.⁷ What makes Shinkai's work revolutionary is the manner in which he has used software such as Lightwave and Photoshop to invigorate a process of integrating compositional elements in surprisingly vivid and affective ways.

A working demonstration of Shinkai's highly evocative talent for reworking *fūkei* is provided by one of the special features included with the 2003 NHK's *Minna no uta*—containing "Egao" 笑顔 which provides highly detailed glimpses into Shinkai's production techniques as they particularly relate to the creation of backdrops from photographic templates and the integration of three dimensional assets within the compass of the ensemble environment. It would be tempting to conclude that Shinkai is in some sense merely importing photographic templates into his work, but close attention reveals the manner in which he can completely transform the mood and ambience of a backdrop image by either turning a daytime scene into twilight, or adding light sources at unusual angles to accentuate form and texture. Shinkai is in fact particularly distinct in this regard when compared with Miyazaki, —Shinkai seems to be equally at home in the contemporary urban environment as he is in a completely natural one. In *Your Name*, to refer to the most recent example, there is no strong sense that Shinkai idealises the rural world and its milieu while reviling the megalopolis—on the contrary the vast panoramas of the Tokyo morning skyline suggest something of a euphoria about the cityscape. Shinkai seems to celebrate the city we actually inhabit and not one that we would need to attempt to locate in a nebulous Mediterranean or central European setting in the past.

This celebratory nuance to Shinkai's more recent work provides another reason why we might want to reassess the *sekai-kei* association, —there is a discernible change in the treatment of nostalgia and alienation in his more recent films. If we take *Five Centimeters Per Second* as the high tide mark for what was initially considered the staple of Shinkai's somewhat pessimistic and elegiac nostalgia we find that by contrast the orientation of *The Garden of Words* and *Your Name* is arguably toward romantic attachment as possessing a more positive valence, even when things do not go as one would wish. If *Five Centimeters Per Second* might be described as an acute diagnosis of the kind of isolation and alienation that can occur despite love, *The Garden of Words* and *Your Name* suggest at the very least that such love provides a potential antidote.

Conclusion

Quite apart from the fairly obvious speciousness of suggesting that one auteur is somehow a new incarnation of a predecessor, we can still find some interesting points of contrast between Shinkai and Miyazaki. In Shinkai the treatment of the environment is rather different, and it is not that he is indifferent to such issues, but rather that he displays his concern in a different way. Shinkai displays

⁷ Regarding this point, the following contributions are noteworthy: Ishioka Yoshiharu, "Shinkai Makoto no kessetsuten/tenkaiten to shite no *Kimi no na ha*" (Ishikawa 2016) and Kōno Satoko, "Shinkai Makoto no 'fūkei' no tenkai" (Kōno 2016), both in *Yuriika*, September 2016 (Seidosha).

a strong concern for the world we currently inhabit, both visually and thematically, even when he engages in science fiction. He also, as pointed out above, Displays an equal fascination for the lived environment of the city as well as the countryside. As the recent special issue of *Yuriika* devoted to Shinkai Makoto highlights, it is this concern with landscape (風景) in the broadest sense that lies at the heart of his distinctive style and aesthetic—what Bingham so aptly refers to as his “visual lexicon.”

At the same time, there is Shinkai’s treatment of nostalgia which is also a marked point of difference, or at least it displays a rather different trajectory of development. In Shinkai’s earlier works the dominant tone is definitely closer to Grainge’s concept of nostalgia as “mood”—it is predominantly ‘elegiac.’ This, admittedly, alters and takes new forms in his latest work, particularly *Your Name*, which does suggest a move toward a conception of nostalgia that resonates more with Miyazaki’s use of nostalgic tropes to evince “magic”—an aesthetic that reconnects and re-enriches the present. At a deeper level perhaps the aspect that most fundamentally distinguishes Shinkai’s outlook from Miyazaki’s—is that Shinkai is a product of the generation and milieu that Miyazaki in some ways has been trying to ‘mend’, through a combination of stirring allegorical story-telling and an appeal to community (Sakai, 2008, 31–40). Shinkai cannot help but articulate the world he has lived, —and unsurprisingly he tells his story as part of that generation, “from the inside out.” It is also significant that while he employs sci-fi premises for a number of his narratives, there is always a constant attachment to depicting, in loving detail, the lived world, through phones, scooters, railway crossings, school uniforms, kitchen appliances and even pets. That he has chosen to let this narrative style evolve toward something more nuanced and in a sense offering hope is arguably a sign of his maturity as now a much older practitioner.

Overall, then, we find in Shinkai the emergence of a new voice, one that adopts neither Miyazaki’s concept of nostalgia nor his view of the world—much less the allegorical narratives and design traits apparent in Miyazaki’s character design. Shinkai represents a new generation that has struggled to disentangle itself from a social legacy not of its own making—that he has achieved this without an extreme or vehement rejection of earlier anime traditions but in fact through the almost gentle suffusion of a much deeper aesthetic sensibility combined with cutting edge digital effects attests to an outstanding creative talent indeed.

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対外開放後中国と戦後日本の、甘美でほろ苦い追憶

——『非誠勿擾』と「知床旅情」

柴田 優呼

対外開放後中国と戦後日本の結節点

中国の人々が今、何に興味を持ちどんな志向が強いのか、現在進行形で知ろうとする意欲が日本では近年、急速に衰えているように見える。そうした傾向は、2010年に中国のGNPが日本を上回り、経済規模が逆転したころを境にどんどん強まっているようだ。もちろん、「爆買い」観光客の誘致といった商業利益を拡大するための関心は強い。だがそれは商機をつかむためのもので、中国に対する幅広い文化社会的な関心から来るものではない。

かと言って、ではそれ以前に、中国の人々に対する関心がどの程度日本に存在していたかと考えると、それも心もとない。従来からアメリカに対する文化社会的な関心はあったし、イギリスやフランスといったヨーロッパの主要国に対する関心も、一定程度存在してきた。だが中国に限らず、アジアの社会や地域となると、はたしてどうだったのだろうか。

いささか乱暴に言ってしまうえば、同情的であるか批判的であるかの違いはあっても、アジアの文化社会の紹介や分析は往々にして、結局日本の優位を確認することに帰していなかっただろうか¹。あるいは、自己礼賛的か自嘲気味かの違いはあっても、日本の現代文化や日本製品の浸透力または日本経済の影響力の度合いを測るような、自画像チェックを超えたものではなかったのではないか。

そもそも、今やメディアで定番化している「クールジャパン」的な目線——日本の文化や伝統、社会制度が、世界でどんな高い評価を受けているか知って、自己肯定につなげたいという志向——を超えるような態度が、これまでの日本で培われてきたかどうか、はなはだ心もとないのである。

だから、中国に対する昨今の興味の低減、という言い方をすると、まるで以前はもっと関心があったかのようで、それ自体が何かの錯覚のように思えてくる。ただ、日本の大学での中国語履修者数の減少や中国観光に対する興味の喪失、何より今や日本人の大多数が中国という国を好意的にとらえていない、という世論調査の結果がよく報道される現状では、やはりある種の変化が日本人の中国観に起きている、と言えるだろう。その背景には、中国における環境汚染や人権状況の悪化、繰り返される反日キャンペーン、南シナ海での中国の領土拡張の動き、尖閣諸島周辺での日中間の小規模衝突、といった一連の出来事に対する懸念が日本側にあることは否めない。

だが一方で、日本人の中国観の変化は別のことも示唆しているのではないだろうか。つまり中国に対する文化社会的な関心の低減は、「今の新しい中国」に対する日本社会の戸惑いをも

¹ 酒井直樹は日本と他のアジア地域との間の知識の非対称性について、大日本帝国崩壊以後も継続する日本の「帝国意識」の存続という観点から論じている。酒井直樹「ポスト・コロニアルな条件と日本研究の将来」、『日本研究』53号（2016年6月）、14-16頁を参照。

反映している、ということだ。こうした戸惑いや混乱は、実は日本だけでなく、香港や台湾、シンガポールといった、中国より先に経済的成熟をみたアジアの他地域でも見られる。要はそれまで、自らの（少なくとも経済的な）優位を確認する形、あるいはそれをほとんど疑わずにすむ形で相対してきたのが、その根底があっけなく覆されてしまい、もはや今の中国に対してどう接すればいいのか、多くの人たちがわからなくなっているのだ。

よって、拙稿で私が試みたいのは、今の中国の社会文化を考える上での一つのアクセス・ポイントを提供することである。1980年代に対外開放に踏み切って以来、大規模な経済改革に邁進してきた中国の歩みは、多くの矛盾や混乱、確執と無縁ではなかった²。経済成長に伴い社会が激変していく中で、改革開放後の中国に生きた人々は、さまざまな種類の和解や問題の先送り、そして出来事の忘却を経験することになった。

私はその流れを、大日本帝国の敗退と崩壊の後、経済再建を進めた日本の戦後初期の流れと重ね合わせてみたい。「対外開放後」の中国と「戦後」の日本との間に、歴史的文脈の決定的な相違があることは言をまたない。だが、このような大きな社会変動を伴った時期、とりわけ経済成長による豊かさの到来という「かつてないポジティブな変化」を経た時期に、社会の主流に位置する構成員がどのような感慨を抱くのか、ということについて考えてみたいのである。

換言すると、激動の時代を生き残っただけでなく、その後の変化の波に乗り、現在の生活の豊かさを享受するにいたった人々が、そのようには生き残れなかった人々つまり社会的な敗者や、文字通り生きながらえなかった人々すなわち死者に対して、どのような態度を暗黙のうちに示すのか、考えたいのである。それに生き残った人々にしても、単純な勝者ではなかったことを覚えておくことは重要である。かつて抱いた夢や野望が、非情で皮肉な歴史的現実と邂逅して、あえなく潰えてしまったケースも数多くあったはずだ。にもかかわらず、そうした過去に対する失望の念を表に出すことなく生きていくことが、どのような心理的・感情的なしこりを残すものなのか、ということについても考える必要がある。

この試論で提示するのは、そうした複雑な心情を無難に表出するのに利用されてきたのが、大衆文化における「感傷的なノスタルジー」の手法だということだ。現代中国の社会文化において、こうしたノスタルジーの表れが見られるものの一つが、2008年に公開され、中国で大ヒットした馮小剛監督の映画『非誠勿擾』フエンシャオガシ フエイチエンウーラオ（邦題：狙った恋の落とし方。）である。注目すべきは、この映画のクライマックスで（日本語のまま）歌われるのが、戦後のヒット曲「知床旅情」であることだ。ここに、大躍進の失敗、文革、下放政策、天安門事件などの一連の政治的騒乱の後、未曾有の経済成長を経て現在に至る中国社会の流れと、敗戦と戦災からの復興を経て高度経済成長を果たした日本の戦後初期との結節点を見出すことができるのではないだろうか。以下、『非誠勿擾』の映画の概要と「知床旅情」の背後にある歴史的な文脈を見ながら、「知床旅情」がこの大ヒット映画で使われた意味について考えていきたい。

² 1978年に鄧小平が従来の「自力更生」から改革開放路線への政策転換を表明して以後、1980年に深圳、珠海、汕頭など沿岸部の4都市が経済特区に、1984年に大連、天津、上海、広州など14都市が沿岸開放都市に指定され、地域を限定しながら順次、市場経済が導入された。1990年以降は内陸部を含め、さらに対象地域が拡大された。

『非誠勿擾』における日本の文化資本利用

『非誠勿擾』を作った馮監督は、中国ではヒットメーカーとして知られ、文化と資本の仲立ちをするカルチュラル・ブローカーとの異名を持つ³。ハリウッドや日本、中華圏では恒例の、クリスマスや正月などの大型連休に大作をぶつける手法を中国にも導入、1997年から3年立て続けでハリウッドの大作と競い合うヒット作を生み出し、中国で「賀歳片」（正月映画）と呼ばれる新ジャンルを切り開いた。『非誠勿擾』は馮監督の作品の中でも最も興行的に成功した映画の一つで、公開してまもなく3億4千萬元（約50億円）の収益を上げ⁴、当時の国内映画の興収新記録を打ち立てた。破格の投資を受けて製作され、鳴り物入りでその数か月前に公開されたかつてない大作映画『レッド・クリフ』（ジョン・ウー監督）をも、しのぐ形となった。

『非誠勿擾』そのものは、中国の大都市や観光地の「リッチ」で「ゴージャス」なカフェやレストランや不動産物件の光景、それに北海道の鮮やかな自然の映像を散りばめたロマンチック・コメディで、特に波乱万丈のドラマがあるわけでもない。既婚男性との不倫に疲れた客室乗務員リャン・シャオシャオが、その恋人との出会いの場である北海道を再訪するというあらすじだ。彼女の旅に連れ添うのが、アメリカ留学後中国に帰国した、「海帰／海亀」組（海外からの帰国者）の熟年男性チン・フェンである。チンは結婚相手をネット広告で募集し、応募者の一人シャオシャオに一目ぼれする。北海道での珍道中の末、傷心をいやせないシャオシャオは、夜の岬から一人身投げするがちゃんと助かり、その後チンを受け入れてハッピーエンドとなるという、ややお気楽な展開だ⁵。

シャオシャオもチンも、地縁血縁にとらわれず、自由に行動する個人として描かれている。そのほか主要人物として登場するのが、彼らの道案内役として北海道での旅に同行するウー・サンである。ウーはチンの古い友人で、約20年前に日本に渡り、今は地元の女性と結婚、日本国籍も取得している⁶。二枚目だが不実なシャオシャオの恋人、不格好だが誠実なチンに続く「第三の男」の役回りである。映画の結末近くで、「知床旅情」を歌うのがこのウーである。二人と別れた後、ひとり車の中で口ずさみ、むせび泣くのだ。

彼らの旅行先が日本であることは、とりたてた感慨もなく、当たり前のように扱われている。だが映画公開時はまだ、団体旅行に参加しない限り、中国人の日本での個人旅行は難しかった。日本政府が中国人に、個人観光用のビザを発給しはじめたのは2009年になってからである。豊かになった中国の観光客にとって、日本は鼻先にあるがまだ手が届かない対象で、それが逆に好奇心を刺激したのかもしれない。今思えば『非誠勿擾』は、その後の中国人の日本旅行ブームを予見するかのような映画だった。実際この映画は、北海道が中国人の人気旅行先となるのにひと役買ったと言われている。テキストがコンテキストを創出する好個の例と言えよう。

³ Yomi Braester, "Chinese Cinema in the Age of Advertisement: The Filmmaker As a Cultural Broker," *The China Quarterly*, no. 183 (September 2005): 549–64 を参照。

⁴ Yingjin Zhang, "Transnationalism and Translocality in Chinese Cinema," *Cinema Journal* 49, no. 3 (Spring 2010): 136 を参照。

⁵ なお続編の『非誠勿擾2』（2010年）では、シャオシャオとチンの二人はお試し結婚をするが、すれ違いが続く。

⁶ ウーを演じた映像プロデューサーの宇崎逸聡自身、約20年前に中国から日本に移住しており、ウーと似た経歴の持ち主である。宇崎は『さらば、わが愛／霸王別姫』（陳凱歌監督、1993年）など中華圏の映画の日本公開に携わっており、馮監督とも親交がある。

『非誠勿擾』が公開された2008年は、北京五輪が開かれた年だった。悲願だった五輪開催を成功裏に終えるため、中国政府が国際的な友好ムードを演出した時期でもあった。日本では年初から、中国産「毒入りギョーザ」が問題になっていたが、五輪前の五月に起きた四川大地震では、日本から派遣された救援隊が中国のメディアで大々的な脚光を浴びることになった。日本に好意的なムードの余波が残る中、映画は年末に公開された。

とは言え『非誠勿擾』において、日本の風物やイメージはクローズアップされるものの、現実の日本社会への関心は希薄なままだ。登場人物と現地の日本人の実質的な交流はなく、日本人や在日外国人は、おどけたエピソードに登場するヤクザや登山客、神父などの役をあてがわれているだけだ。映画の前半には中国少数民族をピエロのように扱うシーンもあり、そこに中国版オリエンタリズムの視線を感じないでもない。だが当時、現実の日本社会（とそれに伴う日本人の対中感情）を描写するのは、エンターテインメントとしても政治的にも微妙だっただろう。むしろ『非誠勿擾』の真骨頂は、日本の文化資本を活用し、テーマにいくつかの伏線を取り入れたことにある。

その一つが、年配の着物姿の日本人ホステスたちと主人公らが浮かれて騒ぐ、ひなびたバーのシーンだ。店の雰囲気は、中国で愛されたカリスマの俳優、高倉健の主演作の一つ、『居酒屋兆治』（1983年）の主題歌「時代おくれの酒場」にヒントを得たかのようなたたずまいとなっている⁷。「時代おくれの酒場」は時代に乗り遅れ、夢に破れた熟年の男たちが集う酒場を題材にした感傷的な哀歌で、そうした情感をかもし出すドラマや映画、歌謡曲が昭和の一時期、とりわけ70年代から80年代にかけて、日本で人気を博した。

だが、どうして『非誠勿擾』に、「時代おくれの酒場」的なモチーフが使われているのだろうか。好況にわき、誰もが競って投資話をする、前半のいけいけムード全開の中国の都市住民の活写と、時代に取り残されたようなこの「北酒場」の描写は、好対照の構図を作り出している。だが、この酒場のようなうらぶれた存在は、中国でも容易に見つけられたはずだ。都市と地方の大きな格差は長年の課題であり、改革開放後も両者の溝は広がるばかりである。教育や職業選択の機会に乏しく、社会保障制度も未整備である中国の農村地域は、大きな貧困人口を抱えている⁸。にもかかわらず、中国でそのように発展に取り残された地域を、北海道のさびれた歓楽街に転移し投影するのは、どうしてなのだろうか。私の見るところ、『非誠勿擾』にはこのように、たくさんの置き換えや転移が包含されている。日本の文化資本の利用を通じて、そうした操作が巧みに行われているのだ。

そもそも、コミカルにまとめてはいるものの、旅の道すがら、寺院を目にするとお参りし、教会を見ると立ち寄って罪を告白しないではいられないチンの行動は、やや奇異に映る。シャオシャオと初めて会った日にも、チンはアメリカ滞在中、自らが犯した裏切り行為を打ち明けている。中国から団体で訪米中の既婚女性と恋仲になったが、アメリカに残りたいという彼女の願いを無視し、自殺に追いやってしまったという悔恨話である。女性は夫の家庭内暴力に脅かされていたが、最終的にはチンにも冷たいあしらいを受けただけでなく、チンの友人にも米

⁷ 「時代おくれの酒場」は加藤登紀子作詞作曲で1977年に作られ、後に映画『居酒屋兆治』の主題歌に採用された。加藤も高倉の妻の役で、映画に出演した。

⁸ 現代中国における都市と地方の格差、都市住民の消費性向、雇用、教育、医療、社会保障、年金制度については、王文亮『格差で読み解く現代中国』（ミネルヴァ書房、2006年）などを参照。

国残留の意図を訪米団体の長に密告され、前途に絶望する、というオチまでつく。この女性の逸話は、中国の政治的迫害の被害者の寓話のように受け取れないでもない。ともあれ、アップビートの展開が繰り広げられる一方で、チンが実のところ、心になみなみならぬ傷を負っていることが示唆される。

シャオシャオにしても、不倫という形に矮小化されているものの、信じていた人に裏切られて自死に至るという点では、この女性と同様である。そのような社会的敗者や死者の存在を織り込まずして、豊かになった中国人が我が世の春を謳歌するこのライトタッチの映画が成立しなかった、というのは興味深い。たとえそうした自責の念の織り込み方に、一種の自己陶醉的あるいは自己憐憫的な情感が漂っていたにしても、だ。そして私の考えでは、この悔恨と哀惜の念についての甘い追憶が、対外開放後の中国と戦後の日本をつなぐ一つの線を形成している。だからこそ、その延長線上で「知床旅情」が映画のラスト近くで歌われるのである。

「生き残り」のうさんくさを郷愁でカバーする

ここで「知床旅情」とは、そもそもどんな歌なのか見てみたい。もともと戦後の“国民的”俳優、森繁久彌が、主演映画『地の涯^{はて}に生きるもの』の主題歌として、1960年に作詞作曲したものだ。映画は、北方四島で充実した暮らしを送っていた年老いた漁師が、ソ連の侵攻により無一文で故郷の知床に引き揚げることになり、厳しい自然と戦争により3人の息子も失うという筋立てだ。森繁が私財を投げうって製作したにもかかわらず、彼の唯一ヒットしなかった作品となった。

「知床旅情」が本格的にブレイクするのは、それから10年後の1970年になってからである。東大在学中にデビューした実力派歌手、加藤登紀子がカバーしてヒットし、この曲で翌年のレコード大賞歌唱賞を受賞した。だが既にその時点では、森繁の映画が描いたような戦前戦後の過酷な現実とは、60年代の高度経済成長を経て実感が失われ、とうに「時代おくれ」になっていた。要は、この歌が広く受容されるには、それだけの月日と忘却が必要だったということではないだろうか。そうやって初めて、つまり映画の歴史的文脈から離れ、この歌に込められていた思いが希薄化し一般化してようやく、「知床旅情」の郷愁にあふれた歌詞と抒情的なメロディは大衆の支持を得たのである。その代わり、歌に込められていたもともとのおもひやメッセージは顧みられることなく、そのまま埋もれていった。

森繁が旧満州の首都だった新京（現・長春）からの引揚者であること、また加藤自身もハルピン生まれで、2歳8か月で家族とともに引き揚げていることは、知る人ぞ知る事実である。旧満州では敗戦後、ソ連兵らによる略奪や殺戮、強姦、また日本人間の密告が多発し、生き残った者も塗炭の苦しみを味わった。「知床旅情」の重層性は、そうした経歴を持つ森繁が北方領土に仮託して、20代後半から30代初めにかけての意気軒高な時期を過ごした旧満州に対する追慕の念を忍び込ませているところにある。森繁は後に自著で、心から愛した満州の“国土”に骨を埋めるつもりだった、と旧満州への強い思いをつづっている⁹。だが、日本の侵略戦争の

⁹ 森繁久彌『森繁自伝』（中央公論新社、2003年）、64頁、森繁久彌『もう一度逢いたい』（朝日新聞社、2000年）、182頁。

結果、支配に至った地をあからさまに追慕するのは、戦後の日本で社会的に受け入れられることではなかった。

演出家の鴨下信一は、森繁は戦後、「戦争をひきうけてしくじった時代の代弁者としてあらわれた」とする演劇評論家の尾崎宏次の評を紹介している。そのうえで、「その後の軍歌好きや復古調の感傷を見ると、森繁の体から戦時中の植民地主義が立ち昇ってくるようで鼻白むところがある」と、鴨下自身の森繁観を明かしている。森繁からは、戦前の「満州や蒙古」に対するノスタルジーが感じられた。だがこのいかがわしさを彼は隠すところがなかった。鴨下は「だから日本人は彼を日本の代表的スターにした。いかがわしさは日本人全体の中にあったからだ」と喝破する¹⁰。この森繁のいかがわしさは、「知床旅情」を単なる昭和の懐メロにしてしまった日本人のいかがわしさに通じるものである。まとめるなら、「知床旅情」はそうした戦後日本のいかがわしさや、うさんくさを併せ持ったまま、それを甘い郷愁のベールで覆った歌なのである。

さて、問題は『非誠勿擾』における「知床旅情」の使用である。いったい、それはどのような意味を有しているのだろうか。私の考えではここでも、歴史的、政治的、社会的にかけ離れた日本の文化資本を使っただけの転移や置き換えが行われているのではない、ということだ。直接的には語られない改革開放後の中国人の思いを、この抒情的な曲が喚起する甘美でほろ苦い追憶の中で、部分融解し、埋もれさせているのである。

チンもウーも文革期、都会から農村に送り込まれた「下放青年」の最後の世代である¹¹。長期にわたる農村生活のため、教育の機会を失ってしまった年長の世代に比べると傷は浅かったが、それでも北海道の果てしなく続く大地は、彼らにとっては中国の農村の情景、ひいては下放時代の体験を喚起する役割を果たしたのではないだろうか¹²。実際ウーは、北海道の農家という役どころとなっている。二人とも、アメリカに留学しあるいは日本に移住するという、同世代の中では一握りの「勝ち組」に属しているが、その一方で簡単には口に出せない思いを心中に抱えている世代でもあった。中国が経済発展し、そうした時代が過去のものになっても、心中のわだかまりが簡単に雲散霧消するわけではないのである。戦後初期の引揚げの過酷さを知る森繁が、豊かになったその後の日本に生きながらも、その経験を決して忘れることがなかったように。

そして、政治的激動を生き残り、現在の豊かな生活を享受するに至った今の中国の中流以上の視聴者が、チンに自らの姿を投影し、安寧な今の自分たちの日常に、何らかのうさんくささやいかがわしさを感じていても、まったく不思議ではないのである。たとえいかに屈折していても、ノスタルジーに伴って生まれる感傷という甘い蜜にひたってみせることで、かつての夢が破れた者、望みを捨てざるを得なかった者、敗残者、死者、自分が見捨てた者に、間接的に寄り添うことが可能になるのだ。『非誠勿擾』がこれだけ中国で人気を博したのは、例え一方

¹⁰ 鴨下信一「森繁久彌——戦争をしくじった世代の諦観」『文藝春秋』2013年3月号、457-58頁。

¹¹ 石原健治「アジアの夢の知床旅情」『國立公園』2011年11月号、11頁。

¹² 中国の農村と北海道の大地の連関・連想については、2016年11月の日文研海外シンポジウムにおいて当論文を口頭発表した折り、郭南燕氏と交わした会話からも意を強くした。郭氏に謝意を表したい。ところで、わずかな年の差が、歴史の転回点で運命を分けるという非情な現実、日本の学徒動員世代でも見られたことだ。当時何歳だったかによって、出征し戦死した者とその寸前で生き残った者との間で明暗が分かれた。

的であっても、そうして無意識のうちに過去と手打ちする機会を人々に提供したからではないだろうか。そのような形で、日本の戦後と中国の改革開放後も、知らない間につながっているのである。

日中経済逆転のほろ苦さ

なお、知床に一番近い北方領土の国後島が名指しで登場するこの「知床旅情」は、場合によっては国際的な波紋を生むものでもある。事実、『非誠勿擾』の中で歌われた際も、1番のさびで「クナシリ」という言葉が口にされた途端、歌声は小さくなり、しばらく途切れた後3番に移っている。さらに、この歌に日本人引揚者の旧満州への郷愁が仮託されているとしたら、中国人にとってはなおさら微妙な内容だと言えるだろう。ただ前述したとおり、日本でこの歌がヒットした時、そのような歴史的文脈は既に希薄にされていたし、そもそも私がこの歌に関してここで行ったような試み、つまりこの歌に反映されていた戦後日本の心理構造を意識化し言語化するような試み自体、これまで行われたことがなかったのである。

ここで言いたいのは、日中や兩岸、大陸と香港などの入り組んだ歴史においては、政治的余波を生むことなくいかなる地雷も避けて、多様な文化現象を語ることなど不可能であることだ。好むと好まざるにかかわらず、現代史においてそれほど密な邂逅を重ねてきたのが、この東アジアという地域なのである。『非誠勿擾』と「知床旅情」は、そのようにして絶えず歴史化と脱歴史化、政治化と脱政治化の往復を繰り返してきた日中両国の大衆文化の営みを具現している。

ここで、『居酒屋兆治』のキーとなるセリフを思い出してみよう。それは「人が心に思うことは、誰も止めることはできない」というものだった。この先には、語られることのない続きがある。それはこうした文脈で「人が心に思うこと」は、めったに口に出されることもないということだ。そうした「語られなかった思い」は、大衆歌謡が喚起するさまざまな感情の中で、甲斐なく消費されていくのである。こうした幾重もの「語られなかった思い」が東アジアのこの地域には存在している。

最後にもうひとつ、『非誠勿擾』と「知床旅情」との間の興味深い符合を指摘しておきたい。戦前の日本人の旧満州での生活は、日本本土でのそれとは異質だった。都市在住の日本家庭は、革命後のロシアの亡命貴族らとの交流を通じて、食生活、洋装、インテリアなど多彩な分野において生の形で西洋文化を吸収し、漢民族や満州民族、モンゴル人や朝鮮人と交わる多文化の日常を生きた。とりわけ戦中、本土でぜいたくがタブー化してから、本土と旧満州や中国租借地との間では、実質的な生活格差が生まれていた。敗戦前後に両者が対面した時、本土の住民が引揚者の瀟洒な持参品に目を見張ったという逸話が少なからず残っている。

だがそうした戦後の荒廃・復興期から20年余がたち、かつて森繁が作った「知床旅情」を学生運動のマドンナだった加藤登紀子が歌って流行した1970年には、日本は既に経済大国への道を歩んでおり、生活水準は旧満州時代のそれをはるかに凌駕していた。もはや日本社会は屈託なく、「知床旅情」がかもし出す北の異国情緒を消費できたのである。

一方、戦後長らく国を閉ざしていた中国では、ウーのように日本に移民できたケースは稀だった。貧困と格闘してきた中国本土の人々と比べて、ウーは経済的にははるかに恵まれた生

活を送ってきたはずだ。だが対外開放から20年余、『非誠勿擾』が作られた2008年には、日中の経済規模の逆転は目の前に迫っていた。映画の最後、チンはウーに、中国での珍妙な発明でもうけた大金の一部を餞別として渡す。ウーはそれをありがたく受け取り、ひとりになった後、車を運転しながら「知床旅情」を涙ながらに歌うのだ。この歌には、皮肉でほろ苦い、そんな時代の移り変わりも映し出されているのである。それは、映画のエンディングで中国語で歌われる「舐蜜方糖 跳進苦珈琲」（甘い角砂糖が苦いコーヒーに落ちてしまった）という歌詞に通じるほろ苦さなのである。

あとがき

郭南燕先生が「序」で述べられているように、本論文集は、2016年11月23～26日にニュージーランド・ダニーデンに所在するオタゴ大学で開催された第23回日文研海外シンポジウム「南太平洋から見る日本研究——歴史、政治、文学、芸術」での発表を収録するものである。日文研とニュージーランドとの交流は、個々の研究者のレベルでは歴史が古いが、ニュージーランドで日文研海外シンポジウムが開催されたのは今回が初めてのことだった。オタゴ大学をニュージーランドにおけるホストとして指名していただいたこと、同大学を代表して日文研の小松和彦所長をはじめとする関係各位に心より厚く御礼申し上げたい。

シンポジウムにおける発表内容は極めて多彩で、考古学的研究や中世文学から近世史や現代政治にまで及んでいる。シンポジウムの参加者も、ニュージーランドを代表する日本研究者にとどまらず、オーストラリアやフィジーといった近隣諸国、さらに日本からも日文研のスタッフに加えて、日本の大学に勤務するニュージーランド人研究者にも参加いただいた。したがって、今回のシンポジウムは「南太平洋」を中心として多岐多様に展開する日本研究の現状を再認識し、パーソナルなネットワークを構築・強化する上で絶好の機会となった。ニュージーランドおよび南太平洋諸国の日本研究者と日文研とのさらなる交流、共同研究の発展を祈念したい。

本論文集の編集方針として、査読制を導入した。匿名の査読にご協力いただいた先生方にもこの場をお借りして心より御礼申し上げる。末筆となったが、本論文集作成に際し、日文研情報広報課出版編集係の伊藤桃子さんをはじめとするスタッフの皆様に変にお世話になった。記して感謝の意を表したい。

オタゴ大学 将基面 貴巳

THE 23RD NICHIBUNKEN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
The Humanities Division, University of Otago, New Zealand /
International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Japan

Japanese Studies Down Under: History, Politics, Literature and Art

南太平洋から見る日本研究：歴史、政治、文学、芸術

24 -25 November 2016

Mark Parker Seminar Room, University College, University of Otago, 315 Leith Street, Dunedin, New Zealand

PROGRAMME

Wednesday, 23 November

17:15-18:30 PRE-SYMPOSIUM LECTURE (Burns 2 Lecture Theatre, Otago University)

Frederic Dickinson The First World War as Global War: Japan, New Zealand and the Dawn of an Asia-Pacific World

Thursday, 24 November

8:30-9:00 Registration (Mark Parker Seminar Room, University College, Otago University)

9:00-9:15 OPENING, chaired by Takashi Shogimen

9:15-10:00 KEYNOTE SPEECH

Kazuhiko Komatsu ミクロネシアからみる日本研究

10:30-12:00 SESSION 1: JAPAN'S ANCIENT HISTORY AND LITERATURE

Moderator: John Breen

Glenn Summerhayes An Austronesian Presence in the Sakashima Islands: An Archaeological Update

Edwina Palmer Bronze Bells in Early Japan: "Swallowed" by the Mountains? A New Interpretation of Their Ritual Purpose

Hiroshi Araki 〈妊娠小説〉としてのブツダ伝——日本古典文学のひながたをさぐる

Commentators: Penny Shino, Patricia Fister

13:15-15:15 SESSION 2: THE SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF THE EDO PERIOD

Moderator: Patricia Fister

Aki Ishigami 出版物にみる知識の収集と展開——絵入百科事典を中心に

John Breen Ise's Modern Transformations: A Spatial Approach

Ellen Nakamura Yamawaki Takako's Bittersweet Memories of Uwajima Castle, 1864-1865

Takeshi Moriyama 19世紀前半の社会変化と辺境への知の流れ——佐渡人柴田収蔵の読書と遊学、地図製作

Commentators: David Bell, Mayuko Sano

15:45-17:45 SESSION 3: MODERN JAPAN'S POLITICS AND THOUGHT

Moderator: Mark Mullins

- Frederic Dickinson Japan Down Under: "Nanyō" in the Rise of a Global Japan, 1919-1931
Takashi Shogimen Debating Japanese Patriotism in the Global Context: Alfred Ligneul and the Controversy on *The Clash between Education and Religion*
Sandra Wilson What Difference Did the Second World War Make to Japanese Nationalism?
Vanessa Ward Taking the Ordinary People Seriously: The Institute for the Science of Thought and Democracy in Early Postwar Japan

Commentators: Kazuhiro Takii, Mark Mullins

Friday, 25 November

9:00-9:45 KEYNOTE SPEECH:

Moderator: Shigemi Inaga

Mark Mullins Public Intellectuals, Neo-nationalism, and the Politics of Yasukuni Shrine

10:15-12:15 SESSION 4: THE PACIFIC ISLANDS AND JAPAN

Moderator: Hideto Tsuboi

- Judy Bennett After the Plane Crashed: Reactions to the Deaths of Japanese World War II Internees at Whenuapai, New Zealand
Ryota Nishino Toward a Future of Travel Writing and History: Collecting, Researching, and Reflecting on Southwestern Pacific Islanders' Experiences of the Pacific War
Alexander Bennett The History and Influences of Japanese *Budō* in New Zealand
Henry Johnson Japan in New Zealand: *Taiko* and Identity in Transcultural Context

Commentators: Shigemi Inaga, Nanyan Guo

13:30-15:30 SESSION 5: MODERN JAPANESE LITERATURE AND SOCIETY

Moderator: Nanyan Guo

- Mats Karlsson The Noble Art of Procrastination: Writer's Block as a Motif in *watakushi shōsetsu*
Susan Bouterey Okinawa's Fictional Landscapes: A Reading of Medoruma Shun's *Suiteki* (Droplets)
Helen Kilpatrick Fostering Empathy for Non-human Species in Post-3/11 Fiction for Young People
Shoichi Inoue 現代風俗に見るキリスト教

Commentators: Lawrence Marceau, Hideto Tsuboi

16:00-18:00 SESSION 6: JAPANESE TV, CINEMA, AND POPULAR CULTURE

Moderator: Nanyan Guo

- Hiroyuki Kitaura 草創期の日本のテレビ・ドラマ制作：映画との比較の中で
Alistair Swale Shinkai Makoto: The "New Miyazaki" or a New Voice in Cinematic Anime?
Yuko Shibata Floating Travelers to and from Japan in *Cape No. Seven* and *If You Are the One*
Emerald King "And I'll Form the Head!" Cosplay as a Translative Process

Commentators: Hiroshi Araki, Nanyan Guo

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