世界の日本研究2021

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Japanese Studies around the World

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『世界の日本研究』2021年号は、2部からなり、合計7本の論文を収める。第Ⅰ部は、世界各地の日本研究について、国際日本文化研究センターの外国人研究員による五つのレポートを紹介する。

ケリー・フォアマン氏（Kelly M. Foreman）の“A Review of Academic Research on Butoh within the United States”は、アメリカにおける暗黒舞踏の研究が、1980年代から現在まで、日本研究（地域研究）とダンス研究の間でどのように展開してきたかをたどる。暗黒舞踏そのものがアメリカで演じられ、それが研究の方向に影響を与えていることを指摘する。

グエン・ナム氏（Nguyễn Nam）の“Traveling Knowledge: Publications from Japan and China in Early Twentieth-Century Vietnam”は、20世紀初頭の証言や国内に保存されている書籍を紹介しながら、フランス植民地下のベトナムにおける反植民地運動に日本の出版物や思想の影響があったことと、その流入の主な経路が中国語の翻訳書であったことについて論じる。

西野亮太氏（Nishino Ryōta）の“Japanese Studies from the South Pacific: Present and Future Prospects as Seen from the University of the South Pacific”は、フィジーから見た南太平洋地域における日本研究の現状と発展の可能性について、グローバルな地政学的文脈と自らの教員体験を織り交ぜながら語る。

マッシミリアーノ・トマシ氏（Massimiliano Tomasi）の“Christianity and Japanese Literature: The State of Scholarship in the Anglophone Academic Community”は、英語圏における日本の近現代キリスト教文学研究について論じる。日本文学とキリスト教の関係を軽視する傾向が強い中、プロテスタントとカトリックの思想が継続的かつ複雑な形で及ぼした影響を探ろうとする研究例を紹介する。

鄭毅氏の「日本帝国植民時代の「満洲文化遺産」――中国学界による満鉄調査研究資料の整理と利用」は、南満州鉄道株式会社が調査、収集、発行した資料（主に中国東北部に関する資料）について、成立の政治的背景、戦後の整理作業、近年の研究動向を紹介し、今後の課題を提起する。

第Ⅱ部は、若手研究者による2本の研究論文を紹介する。2020年2月13日から15日に、ニューヨークのコーネルクラブにおいて第26回日文研海外シンポジウム「On the Heritage of Postcolonial Studies: Translation of the Untranslatable」（ポストコロニアルの遺産――翻訳不可能なものの翻訳）が開かれた。「国際日本研究」コンソーシアム、翰林大学日本学研究所、酒井直樹・コーネル大学教授との共催である。翻訳論の観点から日本研究をポストコロニアル研究の文脈に置き、どのように地域研究としての日本研究を超え

ることができるかを問うた。本特集は、その中の若手研究者セッションで報告した2名の論文を収録している。

趙沼振氏（Cho So Jin）の“Japan, 1968: The Afterlives of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō”は、日本大学の全共闘運動関係者が、近年行っている記憶の記録・共有活動に注目し、自己の経験を歴史的客体として見直す挑戦について論じる。トゥールーズ＝アントニン・ロイ氏（Toulouse-Antonin Roy）の“Producing Colonial Difference at High Elevation: The Figure of the ‘Savage’ during the Late Qing and Modern Japanese Regimes in Indigenous Taiwan”は、清朝および日本の台湾統治下で、高地の先住民に対して使われた「蕃人」概念が、帝国領土の拡大と植民地の支配システム確立にどう作用したかを考察する。

最後に、本誌の体裁面の変更についても触れておきたい。前々号より紙媒体の発行を停止し、オンライン版のみの公開へと発行形態を移行したが、これに伴い、本号より判型をA5判からA4判に変更したのをはじめとして、オンライン出版に適するよう刷新をはかったものである。

本号は前号に続き、新型コロナウイルスの感染下で執筆および編集が行われた。制限の多い中、原稿を執筆して下さった著者の方々と校正・校閲作業にご尽力いただいた方々にお礼を申し上げる。この号に集まった論文は、一見、地理的、分野的にばらばらであるように見えるかもしれないが、全体を通して読んだ時に、「植民地主義」や「研究者と研究対象の関係」など、いくつかのテーマが呼応しているのがわかる。対面の行事が難しい今、本号が国際学術交流の場の一つとなれば幸いである。

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A Review of Academic Research on *Butoh* within the United States

Kelly M. FOREMAN*

This essay is an overview of the brief development of *butoh* scholarship in the United States. In the United States, academic research on *butoh* is relatively recent, spanning roughly thirty years, and both researchers and publications remain small in number. Beginning in the late 1980s, American scholars have slowly embraced *butoh* as a legitimate topic within dance studies (itself a small field in the United States), theater history, art history, and Japanese studies. A growing body of work is developing, with better ties to Japanese primary sources.

Keywords: *butoh*, dance studies, United States, Hijikata Tatsumi, Ōno Kazuo

"What we now know as butoh looks nothing like Hijikata's first dances. In the early works there was no characteristic white body paint, nor achingly intense and precise choreography."[1]

In 1959, in a small Tokyo performance space, Hijikata Tatsumi and Ōno Yoshito staged *Forbidden Colors*, now described as the first performance of *butoh*. Hijikata, joined by Ōno Kazuo (father of Yoshito), formed a troupe of dancers and created a series of performances between the 1960s and the 1980s. Several of these dancers branched off to create their own expressive versions of this new dance, and some founded companies. Two *butoh* companies, embracing very different interpretations of *butoh*, formed in the 1970s and toured the United States not long afterwards. Maro Akaji who danced with Hijikata's group formed the company Dairakudakan in 1972, and Amagatsu Ushio, a member of Dairakudakan, created the company Sankai Juku in 1975. In 1984, Sankai Juku was invited by the Olympic Arts Festival to perform in Los Angeles, afterwards staging performances in cities across the United States (including New York City, Boston, and Seattle). Although Ōno Kazuo performed at the MaMa Experimental Theater in New York City in 1981 and the Dairakudakan company at the American Dance Festival in 1982, the Sankai Juku tour served as the first real American exposure to *butoh*. Those interested but unable to attend these performances learned about *butoh* through the pens of newspaper critics, who, lacking the cultural background needed to comprehend it, influenced the American understanding of *butoh*. In July of 1984, the *New York Times* published an article on *butoh* and Sankai Juku in connection with the

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1 Bruce Baird, *Hijikata Tatsumi and Butoh: Dancing in a Pool of Gray Grits*, New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 15.

company's first American performance tour. It opened provocatively:

> Something dark and definite has stirred in the Japanese dance world and we are just beginning to feel the effect. ... A compound of the grotesque and the beautiful, the nightmarish and the poetic, the erotic and the austere, the streetwise and the spiritual ... What is Butoh? ... Certainly it means dance but it is used in opposition to another Japanese word for dance, Buyo. Butoh, significantly, derives from a word having to do with ancient ritualistic dance. And certainly the prehistoric and the ritualistic are among the prime concerns of Butoh's choreographers.[2]

Kisselgoff named Hijikata and Ōno as founders but then framed *butoh* (inferring *butoh* companies) and Pina Bausch Theater as the "new and current Expressionism in dance." A week later, dance critic Julie Dunning reviewed Sankai Juku's performance, reinforcing *butoh* to readers as both largely defined by the Sankai Juku company and tied to German Expressionist dance.[3] Sankai Juku performed to enthusiastic full audiences, but the American tour was abruptly halted in 1985 after the Seattle performance resulted in the ropes of dangling performer Takada Yoshiyuku breaking, plunging him six stories to his death. The horror of this performance witnessed by the audience was widely reported by the press and contributed to sensationalizing *butoh* to those largely lacking experiential reference to the art form or historical context. In fact, this was how I learned about *butoh*; I was in high school at the time, and my history teacher paused the usual schedule of lecture content to educate us about the "*butoh* tragedy."

American scholarship on *butoh* was non-existent until the late 1980s, and thus the American media influenced the perception of *butoh* as largely synonymous with Sankai Juku, characterized by austere, synchronized choreography, and Ōno Kazuo. However, in 1986, editors of the journal *TDR: The Drama Review* devoted half of volume 30 (2) to *butoh*, supplying some of the earliest American scholarship on the subject. Japanese dance scholar Kuniyoshi Kazuko contributed a valuable historical chronology that lists *butoh* performances as well as other important Japanese artistic events, the first of its kind in English.[4] Bonnie Sue Stein's chapter presented a history of *butoh*, attempting to contextualize it against the broader view of the postwar Japanese avant-garde.[5] Stein also contributed a transcription of an interview with Tanaka Min in which he describes his personal history with *butoh*, and Tanaka includes his own entry, a dedication to Hijikata.[6] The other three chapters are devoted to Ōno Kazuo, including an interview with performance studies

2 Anna Kisselgoff, "Japan's New Dance is Darkly Erotic," *New York Times*, July 15, 1984, sec. 2.

3 Jennifer Dunning, "Japan's Avant-Garde Sankai Juku Arrives," *New York Times*, July 23, 1984, sec. C.

4 Kuniyoshi Kazuko, "Butoh Chronology: 1959–1984," *TDR: The Drama Review* vol. 30 (2), 1986, pp. 127–141.

5 Bonnie Sue Stein, "Twenty Years Ago We Were Crazy, Dirty, and Mad," *TDR: The Drama Review* vol. 30 (2), 1986, pp. 107–126. Stein served as Program Associate of Performing Arts at The Asia Society until 1988.

6 Bonnie Sue Stein and Tanaka Min, "Min Tanaka: Farmer/Dancer or Dancer/Farmer," *TDR: The Drama Review* vol. 30 (2), 1986, pp. 142–151; Tanaka Min, "'From' I Am an Avant-Garde Who Crawls the Earth: Homage to Hijikata Tatsumi," pp. 153–155.

founder Richard Schechner.[7]

American interest in *butoh* grew throughout the 1980s following the Sankai Juku tour, and in 1987, photographers Mark Holborn and Ethan Hoffman traveled to Japan in order to interview and photograph *butoh* artists. Their collaboration resulted in the first American book on *butoh*. *Butoh: Dance of the Dark Soul* presented stunning, oversized art photographs of *butoh* artists and performances, and included short essays by dancers Ashikawa Yōko, Ōno Kazuo, Tanaka Min, and Maro Akaji. Holborn also contributed an introductory chapter on the history of *butoh*, which included details about Hijikata's *Forbidden Colors*.[8] While not a scholarly work, the jarringly beautiful photographs and short essays resulted in this book being easily accessed and embraced by non-academics, and it fortified the American fascination with *butoh* and, to some extent, widened the understanding of *butoh* in the United States beyond Sankai Juku and Ōno Kazuo.

The following year, Susan Blakeley Klein published the first American academic work on *butoh*: *Ankoku Butō: The Premodern and Postmodern Influences of the Dance of Utter Darkness,* a revision of her master's thesis.[9] This still respected small book drew from archival Japanese sources and supplied an intellectually rigorous historical context for *butoh* and of Hijikata's works, detailed biographies of Hijikata Tatsumi and Ōno Kazuo, and proposed more nuanced postmodern frames for understanding Hijikata's *butoh*. She challenged the tendency of American journalists to frame *butoh* as "post-atomic," contextualizing *butoh* more within the broader postwar avant-garde.

Following Klein, dance professor Sondra Fraleigh embraced *butoh* both as dancer and analyst, and in the late 1990s established herself as an academic *butoh* specialist. She published three *butoh* books and several academic articles on *butoh* that influenced many dancers, university students, and what came to be an increasingly growing group of American *butoh* enthusiasts.[10] A student of both Ōno Kazuo and the German expressionist dancer Mary Wigman (an influence for *butoh*), her first work *Dancing into Darkness: Butoh, Zen, and Japan* (1999) is a personal journal, chronicling her approximately twelve-year study of *butoh* and Zen (much of it in Japan).[11] In 2006 she collaborated with Tamah Nakamura and published *Hijikata Tatsumi and Ōno Kazuo*, a historical overview of Hijikata and Ōno. The authors provide biographical details about Hijikata and Ōno, discuss the nature of their working relationship, and analyze key works like *Forbidden Colors*, *La Argentina*, *Rose Colored Glasses*, and *Summer Storm*.[12] Her third book, *Butoh: Metamorphic Dance and Global Alchemy* (2010), expands discussion of *butoh* to include non-Japanese performers, and

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7 Maehata Noriko, "Selections from the Prose of Kazuo Ōno," *TDR: The Drama Review* vol. 30 (2), 1986, pp. 156–162; Richard Schechner and Ōno Kazuo, "Kazuo Ōno Doesn't Commute: An Interview," pp. 163–169; Ōno Yoshito and Ōno Kazuo, "The Dead Sea Vienna Waltz and Ghost," p. 170.

8 Mark Holborn, "Tatsumi Hijikata and the Origins of Butoh," in Ethan Hoffman et al., *Butoh: Dance of the Dark Soul*, New York, NY: Aperture Foundation, 1987, pp. 8–15.

9 Susan Blakeley Klein, *Ankoku Butō: The Premodern and Postmodern Influences of the Dance of Utter Darkness*, Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 1988 (Cornell University East Asian Papers no. 49).

10 Fraleigh is professor emeritus and former head of graduate dance studies at the State University of New York at Brockport.

11 Sondra Horton Fraleigh, *Dancing into Darkness: Butoh, Zen, and Japan*, Pittsburg, PA: University of Pittsburg Press, 1999.

12 Sondra Horton Fraleigh and Tamah Nakamura, *Hijikata Tatsumi and Ōno Kazuo*, New York, NY: Routledge, 2006.

analyzes *butoh* as a universal global dance form, framing it as shamanic, ritual "alchemy."[13] All three of Fraleigh's books contain some problematic frameworks of analysis, and at times inconsistent or inaccurate historical detail. However, they were widely available and written in an unpretentious, personal style that allowed for non-academics to access the material, and many identified with her experiences as a non-Japanese *butoh* performer.

Because of the limitations of these materials, therefore, research on *butoh* in the United States has also relied on the small handful of doctoral dissertations written within university departments of dance, theater, and Japanese studies. Joan Laage's 1993 dissertation offered a philosophical kinesthetic framework for conceptualizing the *butoh* body, based on two years of participatory field research (*butoh* training) in Japan.[14] In 1996, Kurihara Nanako's dissertation probed much more deeply into Hijikata Tatsumi and the early history of *butoh*, and this dissertation remains crucial to *butoh* studies in English. Kurihara provided detailed descriptions of works like *Forbidden Colors*, *The Story of Smallpox*, and *Hijikata Tatsumi and the Japanese People: Rebellion of the Body*, incorporating substantial Japanese-language material gleaned from firsthand accounts of rehearsals and training. She also challenged the dualistic debates common in the late 1990s on *butoh* as either a global universalist modern dance or an "indigenous" dance expression.[15] Kurt Würmli's 2008 dissertation investigated the artistic scrapbooks that Hijikata created and used in tandem with his choreographic processes.[16] This dissertation is particularly important because these scrapbooks are only accessible at the Keio University Art Center in Tokyo. Bruce Baird's influential dissertation of 2005 examined Hijikata's work within a network of aesthetic, philosophical, and historical viewpoints.[17] Tanya Calamoneri's 2012 dissertation offered philosophical insights into *butoh* training and pedagogy.[18]

In 2000, the editors of *TDR: The Drama Review* devoted volume 44 (1) to Hijikata Tatsumi, furnishing valuable translations of Hijikata's written works. Kurihara Nanako contributed a summary of Hijikata's *butoh-fu* (words used in training and rehearsals), supplied a comprehensive chronology of Hijikata's works, and provided translations of the important Hijikata essays "Inner

13 Sondra Horton Fraleigh, *Butoh: Metamorphic Dance and Global Alchemy*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010. Fraleigh discusses the work of Joan Laage (in the United States), Furukawa Anzu (Japanese, but she and her company Verwandlungsamt were based in Berlin), Denise Fujiwara (in Canada), Tamano Kōichi and Tamano Hiroko and their company Harupin-Ha (in the United States), SU-EN (in Sweden), Ledoh and his company The Salt Farm (originally from Burma, now in the United States), Marie-Gabrielle Roti (in the UK), Takenouchi Atsushi (in Europe), Yoshika Yumiko (in Germany), Frances Barbe (in Australia), Endō Tadashi (in Germany), Lani Weissbach (in the United States), Robert Bingham (in the United States), Diego Piñon (in Mexico), and Eiko and Koma (in the United States).

14 Joan Laage, "Embodying the Spirit: The Significance of the Body in the Japanese Contemporary Dance Movement of Butoh," PhD dissertation, Texas Woman's University, 1993.

15 Kurihara Nanako, "The Most Remote Thing in the Universe: Critical Analysis of Hijikata Tatsumi's Butoh Dance," PhD dissertation, New York University, 1996.

16 Kurt Würmli, "The Power of Image: Hijikata Tatsumi's Scrapbooks and the Art of Butō," PhD dissertation, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2008.

17 Bruce Baird, "Butō and the Burden of History: Hijikata Tatsumi and Nihonjin," PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2005.

18 Tanya Calamoneri, "Becoming Nothing to Become Something: Methods of Performer Training in Hijikata Tatsumi's Butō Dance," PhD dissertation, Temple University, 2012.

Material/Material," "To Prison," "Plucking Off the Darkness of the Flesh," "From Being Jealous of a Dog's Vein," "On Material II Fautrier," "Wind Daruma," and "Fragments of Glass: A Conversation Between Hijikata Tatsumi and Suzuki Tadashi." Much like the earlier issue of *TDR*, inclusion of these translations positioned them within the broader fields of American theater and performance studies to reach an academic readership beyond Japanese performing arts specialists.

Bruce Baird then expanded his dissertation and published *Hijikata Tatsumi and Butoh: Dancing in a Pool of Gray Grits* (2012). Baird worked closely with the Keio University Hijikata Tatsumi research archive, the sole repository of artifacts connected to Hijikata Tatsumi, including films, performance programs, journal-notebooks, posters, costumes, and so on. Reflecting on the two decades of discourse on Hijikata and providing evidence from archival materials and contemporaneous documents, Baird fleshed out and deconstructed what has at times been overly simplistic interpretations of Hijikata's works.[19] Baird meticulously described and contextualized Hijikata's well-known works such as *Forbidden Colors*, analyzing two separate performances of this work, *Mid-Afternoon Secret Ceremony of a Hermaphrodite: Three Chapters*, *Three Phases of Leda*, *Masseur*, *Rose-Colored Dance*, *Hijikata Tatsumi and Japanese People: Rebellion of the Body*, and *The Story of Smallpox*, but also discussed lesser known works such as *Dark Body*, *Seed*, *Instructional Illustrations for the Study of Divine Favor in Sexual Love: Tomato*, and *Metemotionalphysics*. He included highly detailed biographical material on Hijikata's life, the social and artistic contexts for Hijikata's works, quotes from audience members and critics who attended his performances, and valuable discussion of Hijikata's memoir *Ailing Terpsichore* (*Yameru Maihime*), analyzing it as a parallel artwork.

In 2016, dance scholar Rosemary Candelario published *Flowers Cracking Concrete: Eiko & Koma's Asian/American Choreographies.*[20] Eiko and Koma danced with Hijikata's company for a short time, studied with Ōno Kazuo, and then moved to the United States in the mid-1970s. Candelario's monograph filled a crucial gap in the inclusion of Eiko and Koma's contributions to *butoh*-like performance in the United States, clarifying their relationships to, and diversions from, *butoh*. In 2019, Candelario and Baird then collaborated and published the *Routledge Companion to Butoh Performance*, the single most comprehensive American academic source on *butoh* to date, filling gaps in the extant research on *butoh*, offering new insight and interpretations, challenging long-held assumptions, and expanding analysis of *butoh* to a global framework.[21] The 558-page tome contains fifty-seven chapters written by *butoh* scholars and practitioners internationally. The book is organized in six large sections. Section 1, "Butoh Instigators and Interlocutors," chronicles the foundations of *butoh*; particularly notable is Arimitsu Michio's chapter (chapter 2) because it proposes a compelling theory of blackness and the possible influences of Katherine Dunham and the African disapora on Hijikata. Section 2, "The Second Generation," discusses the processes in between the founders' *butoh* and the many dancers of Hijikata's who branched off to form their own expressions and, in the case of Sankai Juku, connected *butoh* outside of Japan. Section 3,

19 *Hijikata Tatsumi and Butoh* also contains several rare photos of Hijikata's performances, useful for those unable to journey to the Hijikata Tatsumi Archive.

20 Rosemary Candelario, *Flowers Cracking Concrete: Eiko & Koma's Asian/American Choreographies*, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2016.

21 Bruce Baird and Rosemary Candelario, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Butoh Performance*, New York: Routledge, 2019.

"New Sites for Butoh," marks the internationalization of *butoh* and traces select histories of non-Japanese *butoh*, including *butoh* in Brazil, Mexico, Germany, Italy, France, and Iraq; in particular, the opening chapter written by Rosemary Candelario provides an exploration of decades of international *butoh* and theorizing nation/place, what she coins the *butoh diaspora*. Section 4, "Politics, Gender, Identity," probes essential issues of gender and politics in *butoh*, and section 5, "Pedagogy and Practice," provides several firsthand accounts of global *butoh* practice and pedagogy. Section 6, "Beyond Butoh," looks at select cases of "fringe" *butoh* (*butoh* imported into other artforms like film, or performers like Tanaka Min who reject identifying with the term). Included are valuable translations of essays by Kuniyoshi Kazuko, Mishima Yukio, Shibusawa Tatsuhiko, Gunji Masakatsu, Uno Kuniichi, Inata Naomi, and Lucia Schwellinger.

In sum, despite a growing interest in *butoh* as a performance art and increased numbers of both publications on *butoh* and *butoh* performers, *butoh* studies have yet to become a central feature in either Japanese studies or dance studies within American academia.

米国における暗黒舞踏の学術研究

ケリー・フォアマン*

本稿では、米国における暗黒舞踏研究の発展を概観する。その歴史はおよそ 30 年と比較的短く、研究者も学術出版物の数も少ないが、1980 年代後半から、舞踏がダンス研究（それ自体が米国では研究分野として小規模である）や、演劇史、美術史、日本研究の中で正当なトピックとして徐々に受け入れられてきた。近年、特に日本語の一次資料を踏まえた研究成果が増えつつある。

キーワード：暗黒舞踏、ダンス研究、米国、土方巽、大野一雄

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Traveling Knowledge: Publications from Japan and China in Early Twentieth-Century Vietnam

NGUYỄN Nam*

This paper serves as a foundation for early twentieth-century Vietnamese conceptual history by surveying publications imported from Japan and China available to local intelligentsia at the time. It focuses on publications classified as *tan thu* in the Nguyen dynasty's royal libraries, and another type of *tan thu* circulated among small circles of Vietnamese anticolonial Confucians and often banned by the Court. Although publications imported directly from Japan also found their way to Vietnam, Vietnamese Confucian nationalists learned about the Japanese Meiji Restoration model mostly from Chinese books and periodicals secretly introduced to their country.

Keywords: Intellectual history, conceptual history, Meiji Restoration, translation, anti-colonialism

Introductory Remarks

Conceptual history reminds us of the interconnectedness of world history and the border-crossing flows of people and thoughts. In the opening chapter of their monograph, "History of Concepts and Global History," Margrit Pernau and Dominic Sachsenmaier start with "three scenes from different countries" to embark on their discussions. One of the "scenes" is set in Japan during the late nineteenth century, where Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1834–1901), one of the most influential thinkers in the nation, endeavored to support the Meiji reforms with his intriguing writings full of "concepts and topoi that, in his eyes, were drawn from works coming out of 'advanced societies.'"[1] According to the authors, assembled together, the cases indicate two foundational elements of global history: first, historical development "can no longer be explained by looking at

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1 Margrit Pernau and Dominic Sachsenmaier, eds., *Global Conceptual History: A Reader*, London & New York: Bloomsbury, 2016, p. 1. The other two "scenes" in question are a group of scholars led by Belgian Jesuit Philippe Couple and their first annotated translation, *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus*, in 1687 in Europe; and the eighteenth-century religious scholar from northern India, Shah Wali Ullah, who was one of the most influential leaders of the Islamic reform movement.

only one country or society"; and second, "Men ... and ideas had always moved across boundaries."[2] Of course, people traveled beyond their national boundaries, and often brought back home what they had learned or collected from new lands in the form of new thoughts, ideas, or printed materials (for example, books and periodicals). Moreover, diplomatic and commercial activities also created favorable conditions for printed materials to travel overseas and among nations. Thus, modern conceptual history also requires us to identify the materials available in local book markets and libraries where the locals, and especially the literati, could read.

Due to uneven development among nations around the world, critical concepts emerged that would be employed to justify the domination of the strong over the weak, and "civilization" was one of them. As Brett Bowden put it, "Many things have been done in the name of civilization; sadly, among them such grave matters as war, conquest, and colonialism."[3] The bifurcation between the "advanced" West vis-à-vis the "backward" East made the East-West encounters dramatically more challenging during the second half of the nineteenth century. The need to learn from the West for the sake of self-strengthening and sovereignty defense became more urgent for East Asian nations, among which Japan stood out as the pioneer in learning European languages and translating works of Western thought and modern science.

Once translated into Japanese, some works were re-translated into Chinese by Chinese intelligentsia who took advantage of the commonly used Chinese scripts within the Sinosphere (a.k.a. the East Asian cultural sphere)[4] to facilitate their comprehension of the Japanese translations. In both Japan and China, not only did scholars translate books from the West, but they also derived their intellectual work based on this newly acquired knowledge. Together with the translated works, these publications found their way to Vietnam.

In this context, Vietnam might be seen as the final destination of publications from Japan and China in the early twentieth century. This paper will clarify which publications came to Vietnam in the hope of contributing to the still-developing conceptual history of Vietnam that begins with an early twentieth-century reappraisal by a Vietnamese intellectual on the role of Chinese publications and the Japanese model in Vietnam. It also examines the concept of *tân thư* 新書[5] and its published holdings in private collections and in royal libraries. It will conclude with a quick survey of Japanese books and their readership in Vietnam in the early twentieth century, and finally focus on two works relevant to Japan that were particularly influential in Vietnam at the time. This history might be seen as the birth of the interest of Vietnamese intellectuals in Japan and as a prelude to Japanese studies in Vietnam which developed decades later.

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2 Ibid., p. 2.

3 Brett Bowden, "In the Name of Civilization: War, Conquest, and Colonialism," *Pléyade* no. 23, January–June 2019, p. 95.

4 This is called *Tōa bunka ken* 東亜文化圏, a term coined by Nishijima Sadao 西嶋定生 (1919–1998) of Tokyo University. *Kanji bunka ken* 漢字文化圏 is another Japanese term for this.

5 *Tân thư* may be translated as "new books" or "new writings." Some scholars have rendered it as "écrits modernes" (modern writings; see, for instance, Nguyễn Thế Anh, "Phan Bội Châu et les débuts du movement Đông Du," in Vĩnh Sính, ed., *Phan Bội Châu and the Đông Du Movement*, New Haven & Boston: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, William Joiner Center UMass, 1988, pp. 3–21). It is translated as "new publications" throughout this paper to cover both books and periodicals imported into Vietnam from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries.

An Early Twentieth-Century Reappraisal of the Roles of Chinese Publications and the Japanese Model in Vietnam

The French attacks on the harbor of Tourane (Da Nang) in 1858 may be considered the beginning of a long colonial period (lasting until 1954) in Vietnamese history, in which the country was divided into three parts: Tonkin (a protectorate), Annam (a semi-protectorate as it was still ruled by the Vietnamese Court), and Cochinchina (a colony). During the third decade of the twentieth century, some Vietnamese intellectuals educated in France returned to Saigon, and their homecoming rekindled anticolonial fervor in the nation. Among them was Phan Văn Trường 潘文長 (1876–1933), the first Vietnamese to earn a law degree from the Sorbonne, and who became Vietnam's first lawyer as well as the first Vietnamese Marxist, cofounding the two French-language newspapers *La Cloche Fêlée* (Cracked Bell) and *L'Annam* (Annam) in Saigon.[6] From October 25, 1925, to March 15, 1926, *La Cloche Fêlée* serialized Phan Văn Trường's memoirs called *Une histoire de conspirateurs annamites à Paris, ou, La vérité sur l'Indochine* (A Story of Annamese Conspirators in Paris, or, the Truth about Indochina), which would be made into a book in 1928. A few momentous passages from chapter 8 of the book, "La question épineuse de l'enseignement indigène en Indochine" (The Thorny Question of Indigenous Education in Indochina) deserves citing in full as it reflects some widely held opinions of France-trained Vietnamese elites on French politico-educational policies, the role of the Chinese language and new Chinese publications printed in the late Qing period in promoting the study of Western science, and the attraction of the Japanese model in colonial Vietnam:

> At the time of the French conquest, the country of Annam was endowed with an educational system which, like the ancient Chinese educational system, comprised exclusively literary studies. The fact that China was lagging behind in scientific progress had led to the belief that the Chinese writing system, which is much less simple than alphabetical scripts, was a serious obstacle to the study of Western science. Also, the obscurantist party, believing to find in this writing an excellent instrument for the triumph of their dark intentions which consist, in short, of diverting the attention of the Annamese from Western sciences, hastened to plead the continuance of their old system of teaching Chinese, while waiting to completely suppress all other kinds of teaching. Most of the settlers and officials expressed the opinion that the Annamese could be left temporarily to study Chinese as they had previously studied, that is to say in their old method, but that the teaching of French should be reduced to the bare minimum for the training of a few scribes, and it was important to be careful not to teach them any Western science.
>
> However, the obscurantist party remained for a long time without realizing that China had reorganized its teaching on new bases, and that it had already translated and commented in Chinese on most of the great Western authors and many Western science treatises. As a result, many Annamese literati, just by reading a few modern Chinese publications, acquire a

6 See also Pierre Brocheux, "Phan Văn Trường, 1876–1933. Acteur d'une histoire partagée," *Moussons: Recherche en sciences humaines sur l'Asie du Sud-Est* no. 24, 2014, http://journals.openedition.org/moussons/3013 (Accessed September 16, 2021).

> good general knowledge of the sciences and the arts, geography, and the history of the five parts of the world, while their compatriots trained in Franco-Annamese schools do not know anything about it, except those among them who have had the curiosity to teach themselves through books. In Hanoi, there was an old Annamese literatus who, after studying physics and chemistry on his own in a few small Chinese books, could carry out interesting applications from them. Even today we meet Annamese literati who do not understand a word of French but know the stories of France and Europe much better than many of their compatriots trained in French schools.
>
> But it took the worldwide glow of Japan's overwhelming victory in the war against Russia (1904–1905) to convince Europeans that the Chinese language, studied methodically, is hardly more difficult than other languages and is in no way an obstacle to the study of Western science. As regards language, Japan finds itself in a situation analogous to that of Annam before the French conquest: it has a spoken language as in Annam, but the written language is also Chinese. Even today, in Japan, official acts, journals, major newspapers, and schoolbooks are written in Chinese, which is the main compulsory language at various stages of Japanese education.
>
> The Japanese guns, which sprayed the Russian armies on land and sea, awoke the yellow world like a thunderbolt to put it face to face with the white peril. Despite the extremely severe measures taken by the French government of Indochina to prevent the entry into the country of Chinese and Japanese magazines and newspapers of this period, the war nevertheless had its repercussions in the country of Annam. Courageous Annamese, braving official prohibitions and the dangers of evasion, stealthily crossed the border, went to China, and ran to Japan, going everywhere in search of schools they could not find at home.[7]

What Phan Văn Trường did not discuss in the above passages was that the exemplary model of Japan reached Vietnam through books and periodicals from China. Not only did those newly published works expose Vietnamese readers to modern Western science and technology, but they also elicited their curiosity of new sociopolitical values and concepts, such as "civilization," "freedom," "democracy," "citizen," and "national independence." Moreover, not only did the Japanese model come to the awareness of the Vietnamese, but Japanese publications also landed in the Southeast Asian country, although in much smaller numbers in comparison to those from China.

Understanding *Tân Thư*

Despite its crucial role in Vietnam's conceptual history, the question of *tân thư* in Vietnam was not fully considered until the last few years of the twentieth century. In July 1996 and January 1997, two conferences sharing the same title, "Tân thư và xã hội Việt Nam cuối thế kỷ XIX đầu thế kỷ XX" (*Tân thư* and Vietnamese Society from the Late Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century) took place at the University of Social Sciences and Humanities in Hanoi, followed by forty-two

7 Phan Văn Trường, *Une histoire de conspirateurs annamites à Paris, ou, La vérité sur l'Indochine*, Montreuil: L'Insomniaque, 2003, pp. 59–61. All translations are by the author unless indicated.

selected proceedings published in mid-1997, bearing the full title of the two events.[8] The book's introduction describes *tân thư* as follows:

> *Tân thư* is a general term for books, newspapers, or magazines that emerged in Japan, China, and Vietnam from the last decades of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, whose contents introduced new American-European thought. People called them *tân thư* [new publications] in order to distinguish them from *cổ thư* [古書, old writings] whose content belongs to traditional feudal culture and education.[9]

This working definition may sound ambiguous since it does not consider several historical circumstances of colonial Vietnam, in which this specific term took root, and blurs the intellectual interconnection of the three nations in question. Hence, before suggesting another definition of *tân thư*, one should quickly review what was happening in Vietnam in relation to Japan and China during that time.

The time from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century was a crucial period in the modern intellectual history of Vietnam. During that period, confronted with French colonialism, and to broaden their knowledge of East Asia and especially of the American and European world, local Confucian literati stepped beyond their national boundaries literally and figuratively in order to find a way out of their national predicament. Their encounters with "the West" could be directly or indirectly realized through their often-secretive travels under the prohibition of the French colonial government, or through the travels of new thought that materialized in border-crossing traveling publications, reaching Vietnam either directly from "the West" (mainly from France), or indirectly from intermediary countries, either Japan or China. Partitioned into two (semi-)protectorates (Annam and Tonkin) and one colony (Cochinchina) by the French colonialists, the divided colonial Vietnam could obtain French publications sanctioned and imported directly from the French metropole as part of the *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission). They arrived mainly through official governmental and unofficial personal channels.

However, there were also numerous paths for alternative publications from East Asia to reach Vietnam. The Nguyễn dynasty imported newly published books and periodicals from China and Japan, labeling them as *tân thư* and preserving them in its dynastic libraries in Huế, the capital of Annam. The imported publications principally served the needs of governance and defense as well as of the modernization of the nation. Besides those imported by the Nguyễn Court, another category of "new publications" by "progressive" Western and East Asian authors like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927), and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929), was clandestinely introduced into Vietnam from China and Japan and circulated within small circles of Vietnamese anti-French reformists who wanted more sociopolitical changes to strengthen the nation and to foster its aspiration of independence from the French colonial government.

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8 Đinh Xuân Lâm et al., *Tân thư và xã hội Việt Nam cuối thế kỷ XIX đầu thế kỷ XX-Tan Thu and Vietnamese Society in the Period of the Late Nineteenth Century to the Early Twentieth Century*, Hanoi: Chính Trị Quốc Gia, 1997.

9 Ibid., p. 6.

Court-Approved vs. Court-Banned "New Publications"

Understandably, "progressive" publications were banned by both the monarchy and the colonialist authority. The *Đại Nam Thực lục Chính biên Đệ lục kỷ* 大南寔錄正編第六紀 (Principal Veritable Records of Đại Nam: The Sixth Annals) registers an account that can help to better understand the Nguyễn Court's attitude toward *tân thư*. In the fourth month of the fifth year of the reign of Duy Tân 維新 (1911), a memorial from the Department for Rectitude 輔政府 was submitted to the Throne, petitioning that,

> Among *new publications* there exist books by Chinese authors, such as *Việt Nam Vong quốc sử* 越南亡國史 [A History of the Loss of Vietnam],[10] together with *Phổ cáo Lục tỉnh văn* 普告六省文 [Proclamation to the Six Provinces of the Far-end South Vietnam],[11] *Việt Nam Quốc sử khảo* 越南國史考 [A Study on Vietnam's National History],[12] *Tân Việt Nam* 新越南 [New Vietnam],[13] *Viễn hải quy hồng* 遠海歸鴻 [Wild Swan Returning from Distant Oceans],[14] and *Lusuo hun* 盧梭魂 [The Ghost of Rousseau],[15] that wrongly create baseless, unruly stories to comment on current affairs; many teenagers of our nation clandestinely read and circulate them, getting enchanted or becoming agitated to commit malfeasance. Without any

10 Written by Phan Bội Châu 潘佩珠, this seminal work was introduced to Liang Qichao by the author when he first arrived in Japan in 1905. See Phan Bội Châu, *Vuetonamu bōkoku-shi: Hoka* ヴェトナム亡国史：他, translated into Japanese and annotated by Nagaoka Shinjirō 長岡新次郎 and Kawamoto Kunie 川本邦衛, Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1966.

11 Phan Bội Châu composed this mobilizing work in 1906 during his stay in Japan as suggested by Prince Cường Để 彊槥 (1882–1951). See Chương Thâu et al., eds., *Vụ án Phan Bội Châu năm 1925: Hồ sơ thẩm vấn, Văn bản tiếng Pháp lưu tại CAOM–Aix-en Provence* (The Legal Case of Phan Bội Châu in 1925: Investigatory Dossier; French Documents Preserved in CAOM, Aix-en-Provence), Hanoi: Thanh Niên, 2017, p. 450.

12 According to Chương Thâu, Phan Bội Châu finished the manuscript in 1908 and had it printed by Shōransha 翔鸞社 in Tokyo in 1909. See Chương Thâu, ed., *Phan Bội Châu Toàn tập* (The Complete Works of Phan Bội Châu), 10 vols., Huế: Thuận Hoá & Trung tâm Văn hoá Ngôn ngữ Đông Tây, 2000, vol. 3, p. 7.

13 Phan Bội Châu wrote *Tân Việt Nam* around 1906–1907. See Chương Thâu, ed., *Phan Bội Châu Toàn tập* vol. 2, p. 171.

14 This work was composed by Nguyễn Thượng Hiền 阮尚賢 in 1908 in Japan. See Imai Akio 今井昭夫, "Betonamu 20 seiki hajime no shishi Gen Shōken no chosaku 'Enkaikikō' (1908 nen): Hon'yaku to sono kaidai" ベトナム 20 世紀初の志士阮尚賢の著作『遠海帰鴻』(1908 年)：翻訳とその解題, *Tōkyō Gaidai Tōnan Ajia gaku* 東京外大東南アジア学 no. 10, 2005, pp. 122–137.

15 *Lusuo hun* is a novel by Huai Ren 懷仁, published in the thirty-first year of the reign of Guangxu (1905): "In *The Ghost of Rousseau* (*Lusuo hun*), the French thinker teams up with the Ming loyalist Huang Zongxi to overthrow the tyrannical rule of Hell" (Kang-I Sun Chang and Stephen Owen, eds., *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, 2 vols., Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, vol. 2, p. 449. "Huai Ren" has been identified as the pen name of Zhang Shutong 張樹桐 (1872–1957); see Song Qingyang 宋慶陽, "*Lusuo hun* zuozhe kaobian"《盧梭魂》作者考辯 (On the Author of *The Ghost of Rousseau*), *Shinmatsu Shōsetsu* 清末小説 no. 35, 2012, pp. 158–164. See also Việt Anh, "Hình bóng Lư Thoa [Rousseau, 1712–1778] trong nhận thức của Nho sĩ Việt Nam: Một góc nhìn từ tư liệu Hán Văn" (Rousseau's Image in Vietnamese Confucians' Knowledge: A Viewpoint from Documents Composed in Literary Chinese), *Tạp chí Nghiên cứu và Phát triển* no. 1/155, 2020, pp. 143–152.

> proactive prohibition, we are afraid that they will ignite the rise of corrupt practices. We petition the Court for an announcement to literati and commoners in the capital and in provinces that, aside from works on *cách trí* 格致 [natural sciences], *vệ sinh* 衛生 [hygiene], *địa dư* 地輿 [geography], *sử ký* 史記 [history], and *chính trị* 政治 [politics] of Đông Dương 東洋 [Asia], which have been approved by Hanoi Committee, introduced into the school curricula and must be studied for examinations, all other books must be banned to calm people's minds and stop rumors and comments.[16]

From this informative account, one can learn quite a few noteworthy features of the "new publications" and the Court's reaction toward them. First, there was the Court's division of "new publications" into two distinctive categories: educational and public-security threats. Second, imported textbooks on the natural and social sciences (including politics) needed the Court's approval to disseminate Western knowledge in the new school system as long as they did not cause any social instability. Third, except for the novel *Lusuo hun*, all of the listed exemplary cases were works written by Vietnamese Confucian patriotic reformists during their stay in Japan, which had become a cradle for anti-French, revolutionary, and democratic "new publications" to grow and travel from there back to Vietnam. Fourth, their authorship apparently remained unknown to the Court, or more precisely, the Court was confused with identifying the authors of some of those works as they were printed overseas (in Japan and China) and imported into Vietnam from there. Lastly, the impact of the new publications was recognized as dangerous by the Court as they presented a serious threat to it, and consequently, these types of new publications composed by Vietnamese authors and sent back home from overseas (particularly from Japan and China) were banned by both the Court and the French government. However, how did the Vietnamese reformists come to settle in Japan at that time? To answer this question, we need to travel back to the late nineteenth century to see how the first waves of "new publications" from East Asia reached the shores of colonial Vietnam and triggered several local Confucian literati to think of new solutions for the liberation of their nation from French colonialism.

Revolutionary "New Publications" from Japan and China

Two key figures in early-twentieth-century-Vietnam's patriotic movements, Phan Bội Châu (1867–1940) and Phan Châu Trinh 潘周楨 (1871–1926), were exposed to "new publications" when in Huế, the royal capital of Annam, around the time of a series of critical military and political events. These were the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), the Chinese coup of the year of Wuxu 戊戌 (1898), and the Boxer Rebellion (1900). Thanks to the Court officials Thân Trọng Huề 申仲憲 (1869–1925) and Đào Nguyên Phổ 陶元溥 (1861–1908), Phan Châu Trinh had access to Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao's writings, to learn about "the people's rights, liberty,

16 Quốc sử quán Triều Nguyễn (Academia Historica of the Nguyễn Dynasty), *Đại Nam Thực lục Chính biên Đệ lục kỷ Phụ biên* (Principal Veritable Records of Đại Nam: The Sixth Annals Appendix), translated into Vietnamese and introduced by Cao Tự Thanh, Ho Chi Minh City: Văn hoá-Văn nghệ, 2011, entry 1731, p. 547.

appreciably recognizing the nature of Western European civilization."[17] Similarly, the mandarin Nguyễn Thượng Hiền introduced Phan Bội Châu to the seminal essay "Thiên hạ Đại thế luận" 天下大勢論 (On the Dominant Trends in the World) by the Catholic scholar Nguyễn Trường Tộ 阮長祚 (1828–1871), which broadened Phan's view of the world. Nguyễn Thượng Hiền also lent Phan a number of "new publications," such as Young John Allen's *Zhong Dong zhanji* 中東戰紀 (History of the Sino-Japanese War, 1895), Wang Tao's *Pu Fa zhanji* 普法戰紀 (A Record of the Franco-Prussian War, 1870–1871), and Xu Jiyu's 徐繼畬 *Yinghuan zhilue* 瀛寰志略 (Brief Record of the Ocean Circuit, 1849). In Phan's words, "Having read those books, I roughly understood the competitive circumstances in the world, and miserable conditions of the loss of a country and the extinction of a human race. My heart and mind was more stimulated by reading the books."[18] Huỳnh Thúc Kháng 黃叔抗 (1876–1947), a contemporary and a friend of Phan Châu Trinh, also happened to find himself in Huế in 1904 as a successful candidate earning the designation of "Associate Presented Scholars" (*đồng tiến sĩ xuất thân* 同進士出身). In his chronological biography, Huỳnh recalled how he and Phan Châu Trinh encountered "new publications," and for them, the year of 1903 was a landmark in their revolutionary life:

> That time, in China, after the Coup of the year Wuxu [1898] and the incident of the military alliance in the year of Gengzi 庚子 [1900], the scholar-gentry were awakened, and movements that welcomed European studies arose nationwide; publications by Kang Youwei, or Liang Qichao (leaders of the reformist school) were gradually reaching our country. News on the Russo-Japanese War could come to us, unlike the earlier period of obstruction. The year before that year [1903], Vice Minister Thân Trọng Huề (who used to study in France) submitted a memorial requesting the abolition of the civil service examination; in the capital, Đào Tào Pha (that is, Đào Nguyên Phổ) successfully purchased several new publications, such as *Wuxu zhengbian* 戊戌政變 [The Wuxu Coup],[19] *Zhongguo hun* 中國魂 [The Soul of China],[20] *Riben weixin shi* 日本維新史 [History of Japanese

17 Huỳnh Thúc Kháng, *Phan Tây Hồ Tiên sinh Lịch sử* (A Biography of Phan Tây Hồ), Huế: Anh Minh, 1959, p. 14.

18 Phan Bội Châu, *Phan Bội Châu Niên biểu* (A Chronological Biography of Phan Bội Châu), translated from Chinese into Vietnamese by Phạm Trọng Điềm and Tôn Quang Phiệt, Hanoi: Văn Sử Địa, 1957, p. 32.

19 The full title is *Wuxu zhengbian ji* 戊戌政變記 (Record on the Wuxu Coup) by Liang Qichao. This work was first serialized in *Qingyi bao* 清議報 and later published in book format between 1899 and 1903; see Hazama Naoki 狹間直樹, "Liang Qichao *Wuxu zhengbian ji* chengshu kao" 梁啟超《戊戌政變記》成書考 (A Research on the Completion Time of Liang Qichao's *Record on the Wuxu Coup*), *Jindaishi yanjiu* 近代史研究 no. 4, 1997, pp. 230–239.

20 After the essay titled "Zhongguo hun anzai hu" 中國魂安在乎 ("Where is the soul of China?," 1899), Liang Qichao published *Zhongguo hun* in 1902, which was a collection of essays previously written; see Hazama Naoki, "*Xinmin shuo* luelun"《新民說》略論 (A Brief Discussion on "Discourse on the New Citizen") *Liang Qichao, Mingzhi Riben, Xifang* 梁啟超・明治日本・西方 (Liang Qichao, Meiji Japan and the West), Beijing: Shehui Kexue Wenxian Chubanshe, 2001, p. 83. As Vietnamese Marxist historian Trần Huy Liệu (1901–1969) recalled, although only a child, he sobbed when he read *Zhongguo hun* on a stormy evening; see Phạm Như Thơm, ed., *Hồi ký Trần Huy Liệu*, p. 33.

> Restoration],[21] and *Xinmin congbao* 新民叢報 [New Citizen Journal], together with European books translated into French. Among us, Phan Tây Hồ [that is, Phan Châu Trinh] (who served as an imperial administrator of the Ministry of Rites) was the most enthusiastic person in discussing Western studies. Since I did not take the civil examination that year, I often accompanied Tây Hồ to Đào's house and read all the "new publications" available there. Our humble understanding of changes in the world truly started from that year.[22]

The impact of Liang Qichao's writings, including the abovementioned *Zhongguo hun*, had a great impact on generations of Vietnamese anticolonial revolutionaries during the first half of the twentieth century.[23] Moreover, with the importation of *Xinmin congbao* and other writings by Chinese reformists like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, several important Japanese thinkers, such as Saigō Takamori 西鄉隆盛 (1828–1877) and Fukuzawa Yukichi, must have been known to Vietnamese elites. Liang Qichao's 1902 essay "Lun xueshu zhi shili zuoyou shijie" 論學術之勢力左右世界 (On the World's Power of Knowledge) cites Fukuzawa along with the most influential Western scientists, explorers, politicians, and thinkers.[24] In the same year, under the title "Riben weixin er weiren" 日本維新二偉人 (Two Great Figures of Japan's Reforms), *Xinmin congbao* presented two portraits of Saigō and Fukuzawa together with their short biographies. As for Fukuzawa, his biography clearly identifies him as the advocator of Western studies, and the founder of Keiō Gijuku 慶應義塾, which was at that time, "the top among private schools in Japan" (no. 7, p. 15).

As an obituary composed for the passing of Herbert Spencer, the article "Dazhe Sibinsai luezhuan" 大哲斯賓塞略傳 (A Short Biography of the Great Philosopher Spencer) indicates that even though Darwin initiated the theory of evolution, it was fully developed by Spencer.[25] In the early twentieth century, introductory research on Spencer by Japanese scholar Aruga Nagao 有賀長雄 (1860–1921) was translated into Chinese, which identified Spencer with the theory

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21 This may be a shorter title of *Riben weixin sanshinian shi* 日本維新三十年史 (History of Thirty Years of Japanese Restoration) published by Guangzhi Shuju in 1903; see Zou Zhenhuan, "Evolution of the Late Qing Historical Writing on the Decline of Poland," in Iwo Amelung, ed., *Discourses of Weakness in Modern China: Historical Diagnoses of the "Sick Man of East Asia*," Frankfurt & New York: Campus, 2018, p. 393.

22 Huỳnh Thúc Kháng, *Huỳnh Thúc Kháng Niên phổ (Huỳnh Thúc Kháng Tự truyện) & Thư gởi Kỳ Ngoại Hầu Cường Để* (The Chronological Biography or Autobiography of Huỳnh Thúc Kháng & Letters to External Marquis Cường Để), translated from literary Chinese into Vietnamese by Anh Minh, Hanoi: Văn hoá Thông tin, 2000, p. 33.

23 Well-received by enthusiastic Vietnamese reformist literati during the first decade of the twentieth century, Liang Qichao's *Zhongguo hun* was continuously read, and served as great inspiration for national independence and social reforms. After Vietnam's Declaration of Independence in September 1945, a Vietnamese translation of selected excerpts from Liang's work titled *Trung Quốc hồn trích diễm* (Selections from *Zhongguo hun*) by Học Năng 學能 was published during the first year of the new Democratic Republic of Vietnam in October 1945 (Hanoi: Tân Việt).

24 "Lun xueshu zhi shili zuoyou shijie" 論學術之勢力左右世界, Weiji Wenku 維基文庫, https://zh.m.wikisource.org/zh-hant/%E8%AB%96%E5%AD%B8%E8%A1%93%E4%B9%8B%E5%8B%A2%E5%8A%9B%E5%B7%A6%E5%8F%B3%E4%B8%96%E7%95%8C (Accessed September 18, 2021).

25 *Xinmin congbao*, "Huibian" 彙編, 1903, p. 447.

of evolution.[26]

As for Montesquieu, the citation reminds us of a record named "Donghaigong lai jian" 東海公來簡 (A Memorandum from Mr. Donghai, a.k.a. Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲), published in *Xinmin congbao* vol. 13, 1902. It reports that, "Around the twelfth or thirteenth year of the Meiji reign [1879 or 1880], the theory of people's rights reached its zenith. I was quite surprised when first hearing about it. Having chosen Rousseau and Montesquieu's theories to read, my mind changed immediately" (p. 1).

The great success of the Meiji reforms, the settlement of Liang Qichao in Japan after the Wuxu coup, and the victory of Japan over Russia in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 turned Japan into an attractive revolutionary destination for Vietnamese patriots. Aware of those events thanks to new informative and inspirational writings published in China and later imported to Vietnam in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, people like Phan Bội Châu fled to Japan to meet like-minded friends (such as Liang Qichao), and thanks to the assistance of those Chinese and Japanese comrades, they promoted democracy, constitutional monarchism, and anti-colonialism through their new writings, printed either in China or Japan, and sent back to their home country as "new publications." Of course, their works were smuggled back into a divided Vietnam, and secretly read within small circles of comrades when other purely scientific and politically harmless "new publications" approved by the Court were used in schools and preserved in the royal libraries.

Japanese Books and Their Readership in Vietnam in the Early Twentieth Century

Undeniably, Japanese military victories and reform successes brought great hope to early twentieth-century Vietnam seeking to escape the domination of French colonialism. Naturally, one can expect that books, journals, and newspapers should have been imported from Japan to Vietnam in a significant number to nurture and raise such significant public interest. However, what actually happened was very different from what had been expected.

The Library of Viện Thông tin Khoa học Xã hội (Institute of Social Sciences Information, Hanoi) can now proudly claim that it "has preserved the greatest, precious and rare source of materials in Southeast Asia, collected or composed at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth century, on Oriental studies" in various languages, such as French, English, Japanese, and Chinese. In terms of Japanese publications, it currently holds 11,223 books inherited from the École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO, or French School of the Far East) in 1957.[27]

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26 For instance, *Renjun jinhua lun* 人群進化論 (Theory of Evolution for the Common Herd), translated by Shunde Mai Zhonghua 順德麥仲華, Shanghai: Guangzhi shuju 廣智書局, 1903. See also Han Chenghua 韓承樺, "Sibinsai dao Zhongguo: Yige fanyishi de taolun" 斯賓塞到中國一個翻譯史的討論 (Spencer Reaching China: A Historical Translation Discussion), *Bianyi luncong* 編譯論叢 vol. 3, no. 2, September 2010, p. 42.

27 Created in Saigon in 1898, the French Archaeological Mission in Indochina was the premise for the establishment of the École française d'Extrême-Orient there in 1900. In 1902, the school was transferred to Hanoi and remained there until 1957; see Philippe Le Failler, ed., *L'École française d'Extrême-Orient au Vietnam: 1900–2000; Regards croisés sur un siècle de curiosité scientifique*, Hanoi: Văn hoá Thông Tin, 2000, p. 3.

A quick survey of its online catalogue yields a few significant titles, such as *Meiji shiyō* 明治史要 (1876) by Shūshikyoku 修史局 (History Compilation Bureau), *Meiji shoshū kōyō* 明治諸宗綱要 (1890) by Yoshitani Kakuju 吉谷覚寿, *Meiji seishi* 明治政史 (1892–1893) by Sashihara Yasuzō 指原安三, *Meiji rekishi* 明治歴史 (1894) by Tsuboya Zenshirō 坪谷善四郎, *Meiji seichoku shū* 明治聖勅集 (1895) by Samura Hachirō 佐村八郎, *Meiji meika kashū* 明治名家家集 (1899–1900) by Sasaki Nobutsuna 佐々木信綱, *Fukuzawa zenshū* 福沢全集, and *Takayama Chogyū zenshū* 高山樗牛全集 (1904–1908).[28] The titles selectively quoted here may give readers an impression that Vietnamese Confucian literati around that time could learn about Japan in general, and about Meiji Restoration and thought in particular, directly from those Japanese sources. However, one should not forget that although founded in Saigon in 1898, the EFEO did not move to Hanoi until 1900, and as a research institution, its library was not open to the public. Additionally, Vietnam's sociohistorical and cultural conditions also left some linguistic barriers that prevented the Vietnamese intelligentsia from having direct access to publications in Japanese.

Despite growing up in a time of dramatic encounters between East and West, the Vietnamese Confucian literati did not prepare themselves well enough in the unique multilingual environment of their time. Analyzing Vietnamese Confucians' foreign-language ability in the early twentieth century, Nguyễn Thị Việt Thanh also points out their limited knowledge of Japanese when learning new Japanese thought:

> [Since] most Confucian literati did not know any other foreign languages, except written Chinese, the only materials they could read were books written in Chinese clandestinely introduced to Vietnam around that time, and those were mainly *tân thư*. A quite similar situation even applied to Phan Bội Châu's Đông Du 東遊 [that is, "Going East"] team: although living in Japan but without understanding its language, they could learn about Japan and the rest of the world only from Chinese publications published or circulated in Japan.[29]

As it happened, neither did Phan's generation even read French, the language of the colonialists in colonial Vietnam.

In commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the death of Phan Châu Trinh, there was a printed article titled "Cụ Tây Hồ với việc Tây học: Chuyện dật sử trong khoảng Đông học" (Mr. Tây Hồ and Western Learning: Anecdotes within Eastern Learning) by Huỳnh Thúc Kháng, published in the newspaper *Tiếng Dân* (People's Voices) on March 24, 1936. In the article, Huỳnh recounted Phan Châu Trinh's first days in Japan.

> There is no rush to listen about external affairs [that is, "Going East" stories], but first things first, there is the need to learn foreign languages. I traveled to Japan, and wherever I went I depended on Sào Nam 巢南 [that is, Phan Bội Châu] speaking little Japanese; when meeting Japanese people who were literate in Chinese, I could borrow a writing brush to communicate

28 The library catalogue is accessible online at http://opac.issi.vass.gov.vn/*eng (Accessed June 23, 2021).

29 Nguyễn Thị Việt Thanh, "Nhật Bản: Nhịp cầu chuyển tải tư tưởng và văn minh phương Tây vào phương Đông" (Japan: A Bridge for the Transmission of Thought from the West to the East), in Đinh Xuân Lâm et al., *Tân thư và xã hội Việt Nam cuối thế kỷ XIX đầu thế kỷ XX*, p. 22.

> with them on a few issues; otherwise, I would sit still facing them like a dumb person. If they served tea in front of me, then cursed or scolded me, I would still take the cup of tea and drink it up, and even thank them for that. You could imagine how inexpressible the anguish of not knowing a foreign language is.

Furthermore, Huỳnh reported another story told by Phan Châu Trinh about a meeting between the Japanese Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi 犬養毅 (1855–1932) and Phan Bội Châu, who was accompanied by a group of Vietnamese youth studying in Japan. After learning that those Vietnamese did not yet know French, Inukai responded, possibly by means of "brush talk" (*hitsu-dan* 筆談),

> You have been cohabiting with the French for half a century, and France is a renowned civilized country in the world, why don't you learn their language? That is a serious shortcoming. For us Japanese, when the British came, we learned English; when the Russians, French, and Germans came, we also learned Russian, French, and German. We also send our teenagers to those countries to study. For only if we understand their languages and scripts, and can read their books, can we comprehend their circumstances, systems of government, and their affairs to imitate their outstanding achievements. You [that is, Phan Bội Châu] are too old to learn it, but why don't these young men learn French?

He concluded that,

> Vietnam has been under French protection for a few decades, and you are the first Vietnamese people coming to our country with whom we meet. So, it is obvious that rarely do your people step out of your national boundaries. Without traveling overseas, and remaining in the country without learning French, a thousand-mile gap exists in between the two sides. You have gotten sick from asphyxia. Studying French is the first and foremost medicine to cure your asphyxia.[30]

Setting aside any personal or national embarrassments, the anecdotes in the article are told obviously to trigger learning, especially foreign language learning, among its readers to better understand the world and to strengthen the nation. Equally important is the article's reconfirmation of the limited readership of Japanese materials in Vietnam at that time. In addition to the pressure of Confucian civil service examinations conducted completely in literary Chinese, easy access to Chinese books (including Chinese translations of Japanese works) imported to Vietnam through various channels made the Vietnamese literati heavily dependent on them and feeling no need to find alternative sources or to learn any other new languages.

In the catalogues, we can find only a small number of fourteen titles whose authors are clearly listed as Japanese, and all of them are from the library of the Institute of Classical Studies.[31] They

30 Chương Thâu, ed., *Phan Châu Trinh Toàn tập* (The Complete Works of Phan Châu Trinh), 3 vols., Da Nang: Đà Nẵng Publishing House, 2005, vol. 2, pp. 47–48.

31 Institute of Classical Studies (Cổ học viện 古學院) is an institution of the Nguyễn Court.

are textbooks on physics, zoology, history, mathematics, maritime self-defense, calligraphy, ethics, physiological hygiene, history-accounting maps, psychology, and education. The listed textbooks surely contributed to the establishment of new sciences and scientific vocabulary in Vietnam but did not directly touch on the issues of anti-colonialism, democracy, or sociopolitical reforms. From the list, one may also conclude that lessons from the Meiji Restoration might not have been the dynasty's great concerns or interests. However, if we move beyond the royal libraries' catalogues, we can find a few seminal Japanese works that had a profound impact on Vietnamese intellectuals of the time.

The list of fourteen Japanese textbooks listed in the Nguyễn dynasty's Institute of Classical Studies catalogue

No.	Title in Chinese Characters as Recorded in the Catalogue and its Vietnamese Pronunciation	Author	Catalogue number	Japanese Original Title as Recorded in the Japanese National Diet Library and its publication year (Meiji era and Christian Era)
1	物理學教科書 / *Vật lý học giáo khoa thư*	Nishi Moromoto 西師意	20b	Not found
2	物理學教科書 / *Vật lý học giáo khoa thư*	Honda Kōtarō 本多光太郎	23a	*Shinsen butsurigaku* 新撰物理學 (Meiji 34/1901)
3	動物學教科書 / *Động vật học giáo khoa thư*	Oka Asajirō 丘浅治郎	21b	*Kinsei dōbutsugaku kyōkasho* 近世動物学教科書 (Meiji 32/1899)
4	希臘史 / *Hy Lạp sử*	Kuwabara Kei[ichi] 桑原啓［一］	12a	*Shinpen Girisha rekishi* 新編希臘歷史 (Meiji 26/1893)
5	筆算教法本 / *Bút toán giáo pháp bản*	Sawada Goichi 澤田吾一	18b	*Kōtō shōgaku hissan kyōhon: Seitoyō* 高等小學筆算教本：生徒用 (Meiji 32/1899)
6	海防臆測 / *Hải phòng ức trắc*	Koga Dōan 古賀侗庵	40a	*Kaibō okusoku* 海防臆測, Hidaka Nobuzane 日高誠実 (Meiji 13/1880)
7	高等毛筆習畫帖 / *Cao đẳng mao bút tập hoạ thiếp*	Otake Chikuha 尾竹竹坡	30b	Not found
8	無機化學 / *Vô cơ hoá học*	Tanba Keizō 丹波敬三	27a	*Muki kagaku* 無機化學 (2 vols.) (Meiji 11/1878)
9	羅馬史 / *La Mã sử*	Uzurahama Gyoshi 鶉濱漁史	12a	Not found
10	倫理學綱要 / *Luân lý học cương yếu*	Tobari Yasushi 十張彌 (?)	28a	Not found
11	最新生理衛生教科書 / *Tối tân sinh lý vệ sinh giáo khoa thư*	Komatsu Teiho 小松定甫 (?)	24b	*Seiri eisei gaku kōgi* 生理衛生学講義 by Komatsu Teiichi 小松定市 (Meiji 37/1904)
12	世界讀史地圖 / *Thế giới độc sử địa đồ*	Yoda Yūho 依田雄甫	37b	*Sekai dokushi chizu* 世界讀史地圖 (Meiji 31/1898)
13	心理學講義 / *Tâm lý học giảng nghĩa*	Hattori Unokichi 服部宇之吉	25a	*Shinrigaku kōgi* 心理學講義 (Meiji 38/1905)
14	新體歐洲教育史略 / *Tân thể Âu châu giáo dục sử lược*	Tanimoto Tomeri 谷本富	13b	*Shintai Ōshū kyōiku shiyō* 新体欧洲教育史要 (Meiji 32/1899)

Based on *Cổ học viện thư tịch thủ sách* 古學院書籍守冊 (The Institute of Classical Studies' Librarian Catalog), part "Tân thư thủ sách 新書守冊 " (New Publication Catalogue), A.2601 (1-11), preserved in the Han-Nom Research Institute (Hanoi, Vietnam)

Two Seminal Works Introducing the Japanese Model to the Vietnamese Literati

In terms of news sources on and Vietnamese public interest in the Russo-Japanese War, the story of the high-ranking official Thân Trọng Huề provides rich information. Fascinated by the Meiji reforms, Thân often discussed the possibility of applying it in Vietnam with his mandarin peers. In August 1906, Thân encountered a provincial commander of the troops of Quảng Nam 廣南 Province in Tourane (Đà Nẵng), who came to see him and requested his assistance in acquiring a copy of a Chinese book called *Nhật Nga chiến kỷ* (*Ri E zhanji* 日俄戰紀, Russo-Japanese War Records), advertised by the bookstore Quảng Hưng Long 廣興隆 in Hanoi. Since the book was sold out, Thân sent the military head four other Chinese books instead: one on the contemporary history of Europe, one on geography, yet another on Japan's modern history, and lastly, Liang Qichao's *Yinbingshi wenji* 飲冰室文集 (Prose Collection of Yinbingshi). Thân explained why he purchased and sent those books to the military commander: "I believed that the books I bought and sent him were advantageous for those who had no knowledge of French but wanted to know contemporary affairs." Due to the book on the history of the Meiji reforms, Thân was accused by the superior resident in Annam of making himself the instrument of "Japanophile" propaganda.[32]

Thân's account reveals several notable issues. First, the widespread advertising and selling of "new publications" from a bookstore in Hanoi show that they were available to certain specific readers. Second, after the victory of Japan over Russia, the title *Ri E zhanji* was highly in demand in Vietnam, although it remains unclear whether it was a serialized multi-issue publication of Shangwu Publishing House in Shanghai, or a single book printed from *Xinmin congbao*, or both. The Japanese triumph remained a great source of encouragement for the Vietnamese for a long time, as it would resurface during the 1930s when the Second World War was about to erupt. Third, "new publications" from China opened a window for the Vietnamese intelligentsia to the rest of the world, helping them better understand contemporary international affairs. And finally, those publications served as a vehicle to bring the Japanese model to Vietnamese readers. The book on Japan's modern history in question might have been the *Riben weixin shi* 日本維新史 (History of Japanese Restoration) heretofore cited in Huỳnh Thúc Kháng's report.

The achievements of and experience from Meiji Reforms undeniably triggered radical thoughts in Vietnamese Confucian reformists. A passage in the *Văn minh tân học sách* 文明新學策 (New Learning Strategies for the Advancement of Civilization, 1904, now preserved in the Han-Nom Research Institute) dealing with the needs of "civilizing" the nation to gain back its sovereignty from French colonialists frankly pointed out the uselessness of superficial changes in this crucial enterprise:

Mending (sackcloth) and rectifying, adorning and exaggerating, appear insufficient to be

32 Emmanuel Poisson, *Mandarins et subalternes au nord du Viêt Nam: Une bureaucratie à l'épreuve, 1820–1918*, Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2004, p. 190; see also *Quan và lại ở miền Bắc Việt Nam: Một bộ máy hành chính trước thử thách (1820–1918)*, translated into Vietnamese from French by Đào Hùng and Nguyễn Văn Sự, Da Nang: Đà Nẵng Publishing House, 2006, pp. 315–316.

> identified as "civilization," but it seems that when the lute and the harp are out of tune, in extreme cases, one must release their strings and re-stretch them;[33] or as if when there exists a thousand-year-old house, people must first put it through renovation, to make it inhabitable (Liang Qichao's words).[34] Our current circumstances certainly must be the same. Haven't you heard about Japan yet? Within more than thirty years of importing European civilization, it has now attained its goals.[35]

Having read the statement "more than thirty years of importing European civilization" in the above citation, readers can easily associate it with Takayama Rinjirō's 高山林次郎 (1871–1902) *Tento sanjūnen*.[36] Based on these facts, in his supplementary essay titled "*Văn Minh Tân Học Sách* to *Riben weixin sanshinian shi*"『文明新学策』と『日本維新三十年史』(*New Learning Strategies for Civilization* and *Japan's Reforms Thirty Years*), Hashimoto Kazutaka 橋本和孝 tries to prove the connection between the two works.[37] Takayama's book was first translated into Chinese under the new title *Riben weixin sanshinian shi* 日本維新三十年史 and published by Guangzhi shuju 廣智書局 in Shanghai in 1902, and became accessible to a Vietnamese readership as seen in the stories told by Huỳnh Thúc Kháng and Thân Trọng Huề.

In his essay on Takayama Chogyū and other *Meiji sanjūnenshi* and their impact on the modern Asian world, Satō Atsushi 佐藤厚 also cites Huỳnh Thúc Kháng's account and other contemporary scholars, such as Chương Thâu 章収, Nguyễn Tiến Lực 阮進力, or Luo Jingwen 羅景文, to show the crucial role of this work in the formation of Phan Bội Châu's faith in the Japanese model of reforms.[38] Also noteworthy is Shiraishi Masaya's 白石昌也 discovery of a file

33 Those lines are from the biography of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BC) recorded in *Hanshu* 漢書 (Han Documents). See Anthony E. Clark, "Han Shu, Chapter 56: Biography of Dong Zhongshu," Whitworth University (2005), *History Faculty Scholarship*, Paper 26, p. 16.

34 The sentence in question is modeled after a statement asserted by Liang Qichao. In an essay written in 1901, titled "Guodu shidai lun 過渡時代論" (On the age of transition), Liang wrote that, "Like a thousand-year-old house that is unrenovatable and uninhabitable, but people still wish to renovate it, they must first abandon its old stuff."

35 Anonymous, *Văn minh tân học sách*, pp. 14b–15a.

36 Hakubunkan 博文館, *Tento sanjūnen: Meiji sanjūnenshi, Meiji sanjūnenkan kokusei ichiran* 奠都三十年：明治三十年史・明治卅年間国勢一覧 (Tento Thirty Years: History of Meiji's Thirty-year Reform; An Overview of Meiji's Situations during Thirty Years), Tokyo: Hakubunkan 博文館, 1898.

37 Hashimoto Kazutaka, *Ushinawareru shikuro no shita de: Betonamu no shakai to rekishi* 失われるシクロの下で：ベトナムの社会と歴史 (Lost Under the Cyclo: Vietnam's Society and History), Tokyo: Hābesuto-sha, 2017, pp. 183–194.

38 Satō Atsushi, "Takayama Rinjirō (Chogyū)-tō-cho *Meiji sanjūnenshi* to kindai Ajia sekai ni ataeta eikyō" 高山林次郎（樗牛）等著『明治三十年史』と近代アジア世界に与えた影響 (History of the Thirty Years of the Meiji Era by Takayama Chogyū and Others and Its Influence on the Modern Asian World), *Senshū jinbun ronshū* 専修人文論集 no. 95, 2015, pp. 410–412.

archived in France's National Archives–Annex of the Former Colonies,[39] in which "the originals seized by the French Indochina authorities are kept." This evidence helps to reconfirm the circulation of the translation in Vietnam by 1907.[40] Japan's thirty-year reforms continued to serve as a great model for Vietnam even in the next few decades. In the foreword to his book *Nước Nhựt Bổn ba mươi năm duy tân* (Japan's Thirty Years of Reform) printed in Hue in 1936, Đào Trinh Nhất 陶貞一 (1900–1951) concludes,

> Where there's a will, there's a way. That was true as when the Japanese recognized their need of becoming civilized, and determined to strengthen themselves, they could successfully obtain the civilization and self-strengthening they wished. The willpower and perseverance of human beings has been exposed at a very high level. They have hung up an exemplary mirror of "self-determination of life or death" for all declining or backward nations in the world to look at themselves in the mirror together, and they should do that. Hence, this book is a work that must be written; and as it has been published, it should not be useless to its compatriot-citizens.[41]

As expected, in the list of references printed at the end of the book, one can easily find a book called *Riben sanshinian weixin shi* cited.[42]

Conclusions

It is clearly impossible to discuss the development of intellectual history in Vietnam at the beginning of the twentieth century without considering the great contribution of Japan. New knowledge from the West were first translated into Japanese and later from there into Chinese, reformist examples and thoughts from Japan (especially from Fukuzawa Yukichi) were introduced to

39 According to Shiraishi, the document is catalogued under the call number IC-GG20225, and titled "Saisie de 3 brochures sur la Guerre russo-japonaise chez la négotiant chinois M.Ap-Seng, 1907" (Seizure of Three Brochures on the Russo-Japanese War at a Chinese Merchant M. Ap-Seng, 1907). In terms of the institution where the document is preserved, Shiraishi informs that it is "Furansu kokuritsu monjokan kyū shokuminchi-shō bunkan" フランス国立文書館旧植民地省分館. It is unclear what the institution's name in French is, but it might refer to the Archives Nationales d'Outre-mer (ANOM) in Aix-en-Provence, France.

40 Shiraishi Masaya, *Betonamu minzoku undō to Nihon, Ajia: Fan Boi Chau no kakumei shisō to taigai ninshiki* ベトナム民族運動と日本・アジア：ファン・ボイ・チャウの革命思想と対外認識 (Vietnam's National Movement and Japan, Asia, Phan Boi Chau's Revolutionary Thought and External Recognition), Tokyo: Gannandō Shoten, 1993, p. 137, n. 12.

41 Đào Trinh Nhất, *Nước Nhựt Bổn – 30 năm Duy Tân*, Hue: Đắc Lập, 1936, "Vài lời nói trước," https://www.erct.com/2-ThoVan/0-NBDuyTan/00-Mo_dau.htm (Accessed June 21, 2021).

42 Moreover, the first five entries in the bibliographical list are also worth noting: *Riben kaiguo wushinian shi* 日本開國五十年史 by Ōkuma Shigenobu 大隈重信 et al. (translated into Chinese by Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1929), *Riben jinshi haojie xiaoshi* 日本近世豪傑小史 by Shangwu Yinshuguan (translated into Chinese by Lin Qi 林棨, 1903), *Mingzhi zhengdang xiaoshi* 明治政黨小史 by Mainichi shinbun 每日新聞 (translated into Chinese by Nanhai Chen Chao 陳超, Shanghai: Guangzhi shuju, 1902), and *Ri E zhanji* by Shangwu Yinshuguan, already discussed above.

Vietnam through various channels and in different publication formats trigged Vietnamese nationalist movements, and inspired socio-educational reforms among which the Tonkin Free School (1907) modeled after the Japanese Keiō Gijuku stood out as a case in point. However, the conceptual history of this historical period has regretfully remained under-researched both inside and outside Vietnam, and as a result, one does not know much about the "border-crossing traveling knowledge" through the vehicle of books and periodicals that helped to spread out new insights from Japan. With all the findings presented above, this paper is an endeavor in bridging that intellectual gap by surveying the availability of printed sources from overseas that were within reach of Vietnamese literati in the arduous context of colonial Vietnam.

During a few decades from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, colonial Vietnam was the destination of a great number of new non-Confucian publications coming mainly from China. Commonly known as *tân thư* in Vietnam, many of them were Chinese translations of Western works from a wide array of natural and social sciences (within this scope, translations from Shanghai Kiangnan Arsenal occupied a significant number in the extant library catalogues).

"New publications" traveled to Vietnam through both official and unofficial channels: consequently, some of them got approved, while others were banned by the court. For those that were approved and even preserved in royal libraries, they could be classified into the general categories of *tân thư*. For those that were banned, in the views of the Court and the French colonialist government, they obviously posed serious threats to dynastic governance and the colonial systems. Interestingly, the banned books were works by Chinese reformists (like Liang Qichao) or Vietnamese anti-colonialist Confucians (like Phan Boi Chau) sent to Vietnam from Japan as a result of the "Going East" movement and Sino-Vietnamese collaborations carried out there. Generally speaking, as members of the Sinosphere, the Vietnamese elite could absorb new concepts from those works written in Chinese without any need of translation.

Despite the great success of the Meiji reforms, due to unfavorable conditions partly resulting from Vietnam's civil service examination system based on Confucian classics, and because of almost no connection with Japan, Vietnamese Confucians were not ready to import and read Japanese works in the Japanese language, and as a result, had to rely heavily on Chinese translations to learn about Japan. Even though only a few Japanese books are listed in the royal libraries' catalogues, the EFEO brought to Vietnam a great number of Japanese works and stored them in their research library that was almost closed to the public. Although having almost no direct access to Japanese books, the Vietnamese elite of the time were still able to learn about and be inspired by the Japanese model and Japanese thinkers thanks to books and periodicals unofficially imported from China.

旅する知識
――20 世紀初頭のベトナムにおける日本と中国からの出版物の影響――

グエン・ナム*

本稿では、20 世紀初頭のベトナムにおいて、知識人が入手できた日本と中国の出版物を調査し、当時のベトナム概念史を概観する。グエン王朝王立図書館で「新書」に分類された出版物と、反植民地派儒教徒の小サークル間で流通し、しばしば宮廷によって禁書とされた別のタイプの「新書」に焦点を当てる。直輸入された日本の出版物もあったが、ベトナムの国家主義儒学者たちは主に、密輸入された中国の本や定期刊行物から日本の明治維新モデルについて学んだ。

キーワード：思想史、概念史、明治維新、翻訳、反植民地主義

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Japanese Studies from the South Pacific: Present and Future Prospects as Seen from the University of the South Pacific

NISHINO Ryōta*

This essay discusses the current status and future prospects of Japanese studies in the Pacific Island countries with a special focus on the University of the South Pacific (USP), the largest tertiary institution in the region. At present, there is no provision for Japanese-language tuition or Japanese studies at degree level or by a dedicated department. However, Japan has had a well-established presence in the region over the years at the governmental and grassroots levels, including USP. This could potentially be a foundation for the future development of Japanese as well as Asian studies.

Keywords: The University of the South Pacific, the Pacific Islands, Kuranai Doctrine, diplomacy, youth exchange

In the late 1970s, the travel writer Muro Kenji visited Suva, the capital of Fiji. Muro took a special liking to the main campus of the University of the South Pacific (hereafter USP). He visited the campus twice on his return journey. He declared: "The University of the South Pacific is the most attractive university of all universities I know. First, the name is cool."[1] Mura sensed that the campus was filled with an energy and optimism directed at creating new knowledge for and by the Pacific Islanders. This endeavor had the clear political purpose of dispelling the centuries-old legacy of colonialism in the wake of decolonization across the Pacific nations.[2] Nearly thirty years later, shortly after I arrived at the university in 2012 to take up a lectureship in history, I was reading Muro's travelogue to glean any useful ideas about Fiji. Unsurprisingly, what got me excited even more was Muro's views on the university. Muro's brief impressions led me to wonder about the creation of knowledge that binds the South Pacific to the whole of the Asia-Pacific Rim, including Japan. In this essay, I will outline the unique nature of USP and the state of Japanese studies and then turn to potential opportunities for Japanese studies at USP. Some contents draw on my

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1 Muro Kenji 室謙二, *Kaeranai tabi: Supein, Morokko, Fiji* 帰らない旅：スペイン、モロッコ、フィジー, Tokyo: Kyōiku Kenkyūsha, 1980, p. 152.

2 Ibid., pp. 154–155.

experience of working at the university from 2012 to 2021.

A recent visit to USP by Japan's foreign minister, Kōno Tarō, in August 2019, was a significant moment in his tour of the Pacific nations. In his speech, Kōno was conscious that his tour, the first in thirty-two years since his predecessor, Kuranari Tadashi (1918–1996), could reinforce and reinvigorate the continuing relations between the Pacific Island nations and Japan. Kuranari's visit was, in a few crucial respects, a product of his time. He served under the third cabinet of Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro (22 July 1986 to 6 November 1987).[3] By the time Kuranari became the foreign minister, Nakasone had developed an interest in the Pacific Island nations as diplomatic partners and set his sight on curbing the presence of the Soviet Union in the Pacific. After touring the Pacific in 1987, Kuranari saw that Japan had established its presence in the Pacific as an overseas development assistance (ODA) donor in previous decades, and believed that the time was ripe for a clear guideline for Japan's Pacific policy.[4]

Kōno emphasized the mutual oceanic Pacific connections between the Pacific Island nations and Japan and reiterated the Kuranari Doctrine, which is known as Japan's diplomatic stance towards the Pacific Island nations:

1) respect for independence and autonomy;
2) support for regional cooperation;
3) ensuring political stability;
4) assistance for economic development; and
5) promoting people-to-people exchange.[5]

Kōno went on to list the achievements of Japan's Pacific diplomacy through multiple projects at both the governmental and grassroots levels to strengthen ties between Japan and the Pacific region. In particular, Japan emphasizes dispatching volunteers to offer technical assistance and boost education in the primary and secondary sectors. While paying homage to Kuranari, Kōno was ambitious to make his own mark. He envisioned an "Active, Opportunities-filled and Innovative" program to promote a future for the people of the Pacific nations that make up part of the Indo-Pacific region. Kōno saw the Japanese and Pacific Island people work together towards building capacity in maritime issues, climate change, disaster management, and infrastructure development across the Pacific. Furthermore, he pledged an increase in people-to-people exchanges, which entailed the launch of preliminary Japanese-language courses at USP on a trial basis.[6]

Kōno's Pacific plan shows traces of evolving geopolitical dynamics surrounding the Pacific Islands between the 1980s and the 2010s. The Cold War dominated the Western diplomatic

3 Nakasone Yasuhiro (1918–2019) was prime minister of Japan from 1982 to 1987.

4 H. D. P. Envall, "The Pacific Islands in Japan's 'Free and Open Indo-Pacific': From 'Slow and Steady' Strategic Engagement?," *Security Challenges* vol. 16, no. 1, 2020, p. 66; Kobayashi Izumi, "Japan's Diplomacy Towards Member Countries of Pacific Islands Forum: Significance of Pacific Islands Leaders Meeting (PALM)," *Asia-Pacific Review* vol. 25, no. 2, 2018, pp. 91–93; William J. Long, "Nonproliferation as a Goal of Japanese Foreign Assistance," *Asian Security* vol. 39, no. 2, 1999, pp. 331–332.

5 Kōno Tarō, "Three Pillars for We the People of the Pacific to Build an Active, Opportunity-filled and Innovative (AOI) Future," speech given at the University of the South Pacific, 5 August 2019, https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000504747.pdf.

6 Ibid.

agenda in the Pacific. Japan under Nakasone pursued a pro-American stance. What followed was the Free and Open Indo-Pacific in response to the more assertive stance that China has taken in the region, particularly in the past decade or so. Kōno's Pacific plan falls in line with Japan's strategic concerns and commitment to its allies, most notably the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Weighing the similarities and the differences between Kuranari and Kōno raises many questions about the future prospects of Pacific-Japan relations, such as "To what extent does Kōno's Pacific diplomacy replicate or depart from the Kuranari Doctrine?" and "How do Pacific Island nations respond to Kōno's overture?" These are the questions international relations and political science specialists can better address. A more pointed question about the state of Japanese studies is, will Kōno bring any tangible and consequential results for the development of Japanese studies in the Pacific Islands, and more specifically at USP? This is one "litmus test" issue that shows the results of Japan's commitment to the Pacific Island nations with wide-ranging ramifications.

Before elaborating on the state of Japanese studies, I wish to explain the unique nature of USP.[7] One rare distinction USP can claim is its regional orientation. USP is one of two regional universities in the world (the other is the University of the West Indies). Established in 1968, departing colonial powers anticipated the need for developing the young and the able in post-independence Pacific nations. The total landmass of the twelve member states is close to the size of Denmark, but the total area including the ocean is 33 million sq. km, roughly three times the size of Europe. The total population of the USP region stands at around 1.3 million—ranging from Fiji, with nearly 900,000 people, to Tokelau, with 1,600 people.[8] Today, USP has grown to around twenty thousand students enrolled in diploma, undergraduate, and postgraduate degree programs at fourteen campuses in twelve Pacific Island nations.[9] The largest campus is in Suva, the capital city of Fiji. Students study on campus and by distance—the latter has grown as the university has made a greater commitment to online teaching. Just as the composition of the students reflects regional diversity, the academic staff come from not only the Pacific Islands but also many other countries. The university, its academics, and students are strongly committed to cultivating what they call "Pacific consciousness" to counter the profound legacy of colonialism and even neo-colonialism. There are also several colleges and private and national universities elsewhere in the Pacific. Furthermore, Papua New Guinea, West Papua, and U.S. territories operate their own education systems. The French territories of New Caledonia and French Polynesia run their own tertiary education institutions: Université de la Polynésie Française, in Tahiti, and Université de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, in New Caledonia. The former offers a preliminary course in Japanese. The latter offers a Bachelor's degree program in the Japanese language.[10]

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7 This description of the university comes from Nishino Ryōta, "Taiheiyō sensō no kioku to rekishi o kashika suru: Minami Taiheiyō kara miru Higashi Ajia" 太平洋戦争の記憶と歴史を可視化する：南太平洋から見る東アジア, in Araki Hiroshi 荒木浩 et al., eds., *Japanese Studies: Perspectives from the Pacific Rim* 環太平洋から「日本研究」を考える, Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2021, pp. 101–106.

8 The University of the South Pacific, "The USP Region," https://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=usp_introduction.

9 The member states are the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.

10 http://www.upf.pf/fr/formations/preparation-lexpression-orale-et-ecrite-en-japonais-0; https://unc.nc/en/formations/bachelor-of-applied-foreign-languages-degree-lea/.

In addition to Japan's overseas development assistance to the Pacific Islands, Japan has had a long association with USP in the provision of infrastructure and opportunities for aspiring students. Since 1988 the Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund Scholarship has offered Masters and PhD scholarships to suitably qualified candidates in the social sciences and humanities.[11] The Japanese financial commitment to the university accelerated in the 2010s. The Japanese Grant Aid Project provided 3,133 million yen (about US$28.4 million as of July 2021) to build the ICT Centre with the satellite and internet infrastructure to support online learning across all the member nations of USP and its campuses. Adjacent to the ICT Centre is a multi-purpose four-hundred-seat lecture theater.[12] During the 2010s USP launched youth-oriented initiatives such as study tours named Kizuna and JENESYS programs.[13] Political scientist and President of Japan Society for Pacific Island Studies (Taiheiyō Shotō Gakkai 太平洋諸島学会) Kobayashi Izumi believes that the expansion of these programs is "a countermeasure against China" who was flexing its diplomatic muscle in the Pacific region in the 2000s.[14] Suffice to say that the Confucius Institute opened its door on the Suva campus in 2012 and is now offering a minor program in Mandarin and setting up satellite centers on USP campuses outside Fiji.[15] Nevertheless, despite the steady people-to-people initiatives, or to put it more bluntly, measures to "win the hearts and the minds" of the Pacific people, teaching about Asia is still lagging behind.

The abovementioned context paints a picture of the macro-level partnership between the university, the region, and Japan occurring at the infrastructural and grassroots levels. Indeed, Japan's material presence across the Pacific Islands today is ubiquitous at schools and the university. But this raises questions: Does the university teach anything about Japan or Asia? What is the state of Japanese and Asian studies at USP? The short answer is that it is still in its infancy. The absence of a dedicated department or center for Japanese or East Asian languages and studies means that there is an unfortunate lack of focus for Asia-oriented researchers and students, with the notable exception of the Confucius Institute founded by the Chinese government that opened in 2012. The university currently offers two undergraduate courses on East Asia: one on post-1945 international relations of East Asia in political science; the other, which I created and coordinated, is a history of East Asia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Part of my role at USP was to create a history course on East Asia to enhance students' "Asia literacy." A critical and historical awareness of East Asia, as I envisaged, would enable the graduates to better engage with people of East Asia.

The shortage of academic staff with the requisite expertise in Asia presents challenges in producing undergraduates who will pursue further studies or professional careers in Asia-related

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11 "The Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund [Sylff] Scholarships," https://www.sylff.org/institutions/the-university-of-the-south-pacific/.

12 "Japan Pacific ICT Centre–Multipurpose Theatre–Laucala Campus," https://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=11599. It is significant and symbolic that Kōno delivered his speech in this lecture theater.

13 "The JENESYS Programme," https://international.usp.ac.fj/programs/jenesys/.
Both Kizuna and JENESYS programs are Japanese government initiatives with the view to promote mutual friendship and understanding between Japan and the participating nations in East Asia, Oceania, and North America.

14 Kobayashi, "Japan's Diplomacy towards Member Countries of the Pacific Islands Forum," p. 99. Envall agrees with Kobayashi's assessment. Envall, "'Free and Open Indo-Pacific,'" p. 67.

15 "Confucius Institute at the University of the South Pacific," https://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=10988.

fields. Despite the lack of opportunities to study about Asia, the Pacific Islanders know much about Asia through sustained contact with itinerant and permanent migrants and business. Today, ports dock vessels from Asia; streets are awash with Japanese and Korean cars; Tonga exports pumpkins to Japan; and some students study on scholarships at tertiary institutions and gain work experience in East Asia. Furthermore, rugby players from Tonga and Fiji on Japanese teams make part of global athlete migration. The trades stand in contrast to the shortage of "Asia experts" in the Pacific. This is a sobering indication of the economic power between metropolitan nations and developing nations.

The absence of dedicated Japanese studies or East Asian departments does not mean a complete absence of Asia- or Japan-minded researchers.[16] One of the most dedicated researchers on Pacific-Japan relations is political scientist Sandra Tarte whose expertise is in the international relations of Pacific Island nations and East Asia. Tarte's *Japan's Aid Diplomacy and the Pacific Islands* looks into the rise of Japan as an aid donor nation to the Pacific Islands during the 1980s. She demonstrates how Japan's long-standing interests in fisheries—tuna in particular—underpinned Japan's policy. In the mid-1980s Japan aligned its aid policies with the United States to contain the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, Pacific Island nations have found themselves having to balance how best to enhance national self-interest and regional interest. The Pacific Island nations' negotiations with Japan's fishing quota is one example of this tension between the national, regional, and international domains.[17]

Following Tarte, a former professor of Pacific studies at USP, Ron Crocombe (1929–2009), turned his attention to Pacific-Asia relations towards the end of his decades-long academic career. In *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West* (2007), Crocombe argues that the growing presence of Asians in the Pacific suggests that the Western powers can no longer assume dominance in strategic and economic spheres as a historical continuation of the colonial era.[18] The changing circumstances led Crocombe to call on Pacific Islanders to plan for a future in which relationships with Asian states gain more significance. He is quick to point out that the relationships rest on a centuries-long trajectory. Crocombe distinguishes four major waves of historical connections between the Pacific Islands and Asia. The first is the migration of the original Pacific Islanders from Taiwan. The second is a small number of migrant laborers from Asia after the eighteenth century that came with the Western colonial powers. From the vantage point of the mid-2000s, at the time of writing, Crocombe recognizes that the Pacific Islands were on the cusp between the third and the fourth waves. In the preceding forty years, low- to semi-skilled workers from Asia came to the Pacific to work in primary and service industries. The fourth and current wave of informal and mostly unquantified migrants fall through the cracks of formal systems of migration and governance and engage in the extraction of natural resources—both on land, such as forestry and minerals, and marine resources in the vast Pacific Ocean.

Then, as if to pick up where Tarte left off, Crocombe outlines the Asian states' overtures over the Pacific Island countries through aid and loans. In particular, the checkbook diplomacy of

16 Nishino, "Taiheiyō sensō no kioku," p. 102.

17 Sandra Tarte, *Japan's Aid Diplomacy and the Pacific Islands*, Canberra: Australian National University, 1998.

18 Ron Crocombe, *Asia in the Pacific Islands: Replacing the West*, Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies Publications, 2007.

Taiwan and China, as he observes, reflects the intense rivalry between the two nations and their desire to gain diplomatic and economic advantages. Crocombe further cautions against a new Cold War emerging between China and the United States, which possesses military bases and strategic interests in the region. Crocombe's words turned out prescient as the Pacific Island nations have found themselves embroiled in the intensifying geopolitical rivalry. The imbalance in scale between Asian states and Pacific Island states can even accentuate the facile assumption of fragile, vulnerable Pacific Island states, much to the detriment of the political agency that Pacific Island nations can exercise individually or as a collective.[19]

The Pacific region's quiet turn to Asia proves Crocombe's forecast to be prescient. However, the recent situation does not instantly remove the legacy of colonialism that took root in local societies, such as the use of the English language and Christianity. Indeed, years of independence may have fostered local as well as regional Pacific identities. Encapsulating the desire for the Pacific Islands to be united was the famous assertion by another former academic at USP, Epeli Hau'ofa (1939–2009). Following decades of independence of a number of Pacific countries up to the 1980s, Hau'ofa called for a renaissance in the mindset of the Pacific Islanders away from the Western legacy of geographical divisions of the Pacific Islands into Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia and urged us to think of Oceania as a more holistic alternative. This is no mere name change. He considers the ocean to be the waterway that connects the islands.[20] In retrospect, Hau'ofa recalled that his reorientation was a reaction to the stereotypical assumptions steeped in the colonial and imperial imagination of the Pacific as "too small, too poorly endowed with resources, and too isolated from the centres of economic growth for their inhabitants ever to be able to rise above their present condition of dependence on the largesse of wealthy nations."[21] Hau'ofa inspires a regional Oceania but, as with all grand political projects, it is a work in progress. Meanwhile, imagining meaningful engagement with the "big neighbors" may be the next step as sustained interactions between the Pacific and Asia continue.

The USP scholars are well aware that geopolitics and the economy of scale are key determiners in the Pacific-Asia and Japan relationships. The Pacific-Japan relationships at governmental level and the people-to-people interactions mean that given the opportunity, Japanese studies, or Asian studies for that matter, has the potential to flourish. Of a plethora of potential suggestions and strategies, one possibility lies in forging institutional connections between USP and Japanese institutions and academics, and a sizable number of Japanese scholars have conducted studies on the Pacific Islands. For instance, Japan has academic associations dedicated to the study of the Pacific Islands, especially in fields such as anthropology, development studies, and political science,[22] and these strengths are reflected, for example, in the publication of three reader-friendly

19 Two recent documentaries that most clearly illustrate the conditions of the Pacific Island nations and the people are journalist John Pilger's *The Coming War on China* (2015), http://johnpilger.com/videos/the-coming-war-on-china, and filmmaker Nathan Fitch's *Island Soldier* (2017), https://www.islandsoldiermovie.com/.

20 Epeli Hau'ofa, *We are the Ocean: Selected Works*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008, p. 32.

21 Ibid., p. 29.

22 Examples of these are associations are the Taiheiyō Shotō Gakkai 太平洋諸島学会 (Japan Society for Pacific Island Studies) and Nihon Oseania Gakkai 日本オセアニア学会 (Japan Society for Oceanic Studies).

anthologies on the Pacific Islands.[23] Despite the valuable work of these scholars, the audience is limited to Japanese-speaking scholars at the expense of those who lack the requisite proficiency in Japanese to appreciate how the Japanese scholarly community "do" Pacific studies. So, what can we do?

If past scholarly endeavors can be of any useful indication, a collective report published in 1991, "Prospect for Demilitarization and Autonomy in the South Pacific," could provide inspiration to the present and future generations of scholars in Japan and the Pacific region to work together towards productive ends. At the center of the initiative was Satow Yukio at Hiroshima University. The project arose out of mutual interest and concern that the Pacific Island countries and Japan unfortunately bear the brunt of nuclear weapons and pollution and have developed strong anti-nuclear sentiments. In Japan, the memories of the atomic bombs galvanized pacifist sentiments bolstered by an anti-nuclear stance—the latter was reinforced by the Lucky Dragon incident in 1954.[24] The escalation of the Cold War and nuclear weapons testing in the Pacific beset the Pacific Island countries with anxiety over the health and welfare of their populations. Such concerns grew into the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty in 1985. Of the six contributors to the report, Vijay Naidu and Satendra Prasad were from USP, and the other four (Satow Yukio, Katsumata Makoto, Ronni Alexander, and Sato Motohiko) from Japanese universities. The report is a testament to the multiple challenges the issue of nuclear weapons has created.[25]

In today's globalizing and highly integrated world, the imminent and tangible threats of climate change and increased vulnerability to natural disasters demand concerted action and the pooling of collective wisdom. Rising sea levels across the Pacific Islands pose serious threats to the livelihood of the people, as nuclear testing and its ongoing legacy cast a long shadow over the islands today. Japan also faces a similar combination of environmental hazards and nuclear radiation. The triple disaster that devastated the Tōhoku region on 11 March 2011, cast grave doubt on the nuclear power plants that had oiled the cogs of the global economic system that ultimately contributed to climate change. The common problems both Japan and the Pacific Islands face today demonstrate the insidious political economy of nuclear energy. Addressing the double perils of climate change and the nuclear legacy deserves solutions based on global cooperation.

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23 The following three volumes are part of the Area Studies Series by Akashi Shoten 明石書店: Ishimori Daichi 石森大知 and Niwa Norio 丹羽典生, eds., *Taiheiyō shotō no rekishi o shirutame no 60-shō* 太平洋諸島の歴史を知るための 60 章, 2019; Intō Michiko 印東道子, ed., *Mikuroneshia o shirutame no 60-shō* ミクロネシアを知るための 60 章, 2nd ed., Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2015 [2005]; and Yoshioka Masanori 吉岡政徳 and Ishimori Daichi 石森大知, eds., *Minami Taiheiyō o shirutame no 58-shō: Meraneshia Porineshia* 南太平洋を知るための 58 章：メラネシア ポリネシア, Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2010.

24 In March 1954, a Japanese fishing vessel named *Daigo Fukuryūmaru* 第五福竜丸 ("Lucky Dragon no. 5") was sailing near the Marshall Islands at the time of the Castle Bravo nuclear weapon test conducted on Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands. All twenty-three crew members on *Daigo Fukuryūmaru* were exposed to and suffered from the nuclear fallout. See, for instance, Ōishi Matashichi and Richard Falk, "The day the Sun Rose West: Bikini, the Lucky Dragon and I," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* vol. 9, issue 29, no. 3, 19 July 2011, https://apjjf.org/2011/9/29/Richard-Falk/3566/article.html.

25 Satow Yukio, ed., "Prospect for Demilitarization and Autonomy in the South Pacific," *IPSHU Research Report Series* 16, Hiroshima: Institute for Peace Science Hiroshima University, 1991. The second report published in 1994 and also edited by Satow Yukio has only one contributor from USP, Satendra Prasad. To the best of my knowledge no subsequent report has been published.

What, then, could I do? What did I do? In 2012, a Japanese organization asked me to form a delegation of Pacific Island students to attend a youth exchange conference in Japan. Initially I was skeptical that it might be a mere window dressing exercise in which "the rich nation" plays generous host to garner support from small and poor island nations. However, I took it as an opportunity to put Hau′ofa's ethos into practice and sharpen the students' awareness of soft power diplomacy. In one pre-trip meeting, one student then told me, "We get a lot of things from the West and Japan, but what we need are more opportunities to study." Certainly, I was delighted to assist the students to expand their horizons and to hear of the success of the conference. However, I could not help feeling woeful about being party to a paradox. I was instrumental in arranging this rare opportunity for a few select students at the expense of many others who probably needed similar, if not the same, experience. The lesson for me was that such interactions are not or should not be the end point; it made me more motivated to prepare students to gain a more sophisticated "Asia literacy" to build human capacity and the skill base of the Pacific nations. This helps bridge not just the psychological distance but also enables the Pacific nations and people to engage in dialogue less as unequal economic powers, but as equal partners to think about a common and shared future with Asia. When we see graduates from USP with the linguistic and cultural capability to interact with the people of East Asia with confidence, we can see a closing of the gap between the outer and the inner circles of the Asia-Pacific Rim.

南太平洋地域における日本学の現状と展望
――南太平洋大学を中心に――

西 野 亮 太*

本稿では南太平洋地域で最大規模の高等教育機関、南太平洋大学（The University of the South Pacific, USP）を中心に日本研究の現状と将来の展望を述べる。現在の南太平洋大学では日本語教育や日本研究が学部・学科単位で行われていない。しかし、日本と南太平洋地域間の政府レベルと USP を含む草の根レベルで交流が長年にわたり維持されていることを考慮すれば、将来の日本およびアジア研究へ可能性が見込めるであろう。

キーワード：南太平洋大学、太平洋諸島、倉成ドクトリン、外交、青年交流

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Christianity and Japanese Literature: The State of Scholarship in the Anglophone Academic Community

Massimiliano TOMASI*

Christianity played an important role in the literary developments that followed Japan's reopening to the Western world. A significant number of Meiji writers converted to the faith, mostly to Protestantism; and a similar surge of conversions took place after the end of the Pacific War, this time mainly to Catholicism. Japanese studies around the world has lagged behind in the study of these events. This article provides an overview of the state of scholarship in the Anglophone academic community, calling for a clear distinction between the individual contributions of Protestantism and Catholicism to developments in Japanese literature across the WWII divide.

Keywords: Christianity, Japanese literature, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Dazai Osamu, Endō Shūsaku

In 1982, in his seminal essay, "Voices in the Wilderness: Japanese Christian Authors," scholar of Japanese literature Van Gessel wrote:

> The phenomenon of writers who are Christians has reached epic—some might say "epidemic" proportions—in the postwar period, and it is time to strike a balance between the Christian critics who laud these writers to an embarrassing degree and the conventional literary analysts who pass over them as fleeting aberrations. With more than a score of Christians now actively working and extremely influential on the Japanese literary scene, the time seems ripe to begin dealing with the literature of these individuals neither as religious wolves in literary sheep's clothing, nor as gems of virtue immune to criticism because they have donned

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> the heavy vestments of religious privilege.[1]

Gessel's ensuing analysis tackled the truism that had affected the reception of Christian thought among Japanese intellectuals ever since the deliberations of Christian leader, Uchimura Kanzō 内村鑑三 (1861–1930): namely, the irreconcilability of literature and religion. The works of several postwar authors and the way that they, unlike their Meiji colleagues, grappled with the theological implications of Christianity were for Gessel a testament to the fallacy of that truism, warranting the need to reassess the merits and literary implications of their attempt to "transform the experience of Christian conversion into literary materials accessible to the uninitiated Japanese reader."[2] "Voices in the Wilderness" examined for this purpose three contemporary novelists, Shiina Rinzō 椎名麟三 (1911–1973), Endō Shūsaku 遠藤周作 (1923–1996) and Shimao Toshio 島尾敏雄 (1917–1986), highlighting in the process developments in recent Japanese literary history not yet fully acknowledged in Western academic circles: namely, that not only had the number of writers of Christian persuasion dramatically increased during the immediate postwar period—so much so as to assume almost "epidemic" proportions—but also that Christianity had left an indelible mark on Japanese literature during the interactions of the Meiji years. Although Gessel did not discuss the details of that earlier experience, his characterization of the modalities with which it had unfolded struck at the heart of the phenomenon. The writers of that earlier period, he wrote in the concluding section of his piece, had seen

> Christianity as a mirror of their own egos: once that mirror stopped offering them mute images of their own individuality upon which to rhapsodize, and began spewing back 'thou shalt nots' as if to mock the independence of the reflected self, Meiji intellectuals [had] either turned their back to that mirror or smashed it to pieces.[3]

The end result had been a collective relinquishment of Christian ethics, which continued nonetheless to exert influence upon them and their *oeuvre*.

Gessel published his essay at a time of increased interest among Japanese scholars in the significance of these newly acknowledged intersections between faith and narrative, and also in a reassessment of the role that the Christian faith had played in the formation of the Meiji literary canon. The extraordinary number of studies that appeared in Japan during the late 1960s and 70s, including the publication of the two series *Gendai Nihon Kirisutokyō bungaku zenshū* 現代日本

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1 Van C. Gessel, "Voices in the Wilderness: Japanese Christian Authors," *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 37, no. 4, 1982, p. 473. Gessel has continued to write extensively on the theme of Christianity in Japanese literature, especially on the literary production of Endō Shūsaku. See, for example, his "Endō Shūsaku: His Position(s) in Postwar Japanese Literature," *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* vol. 27, no. 1, April 1993, pp. 67–74; "The Road to the River: The Fiction of Endō Shūsaku," in Stephen Snyder and Philip Gabriel, eds., *Ōe and Beyond: Fiction in Contemporary Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999, pp. 36–57; and "*Silence* on Opposite Shores: Critical Reactions to the Novel in Japan and the West," in Darren J.N. Middleton and Mark Dennis, eds., *Approaching Silence: New Perspectives on Shusaku Endo's Classic Novel*, New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2015, pp. 25–41.

2 Van C. Gessel, "Voices in the Wilderness: Japanese Christian Authors," pp. 456–457.

3 Ibid., p. 456.

キリスト教文学全集 (The Collected Works of Contemporary Japanese Christian Literature, Kyōbunkan, 1973) and *Kindai Nihon Kirisutokyō bungaku zenshū* 近代日本キリスト教文学全集 (The Collected Works of Modern Japanese Christian Literature, Kyōbunkan, 1975), were clear evidence of the unprecedented attention that was now being paid to these areas of literary discourse.[4] Very little research had however been published on these topics outside Japan. A handful of studies of Meiji writers—Francis Mathy's essays on Kitamura Tōkoku 北村透谷 (1868–1894) and Janet Walker's study of both Tōkoku and Shimazaki Tōson 島崎藤村 (1872–1943), to cite a couple—had to an extent suggested the prominent role Christianity had played in the formation of these and other writers, but very few scholars in the West had until then seriously considered the impact of Christian thought and faith on the literary developments of Japan's modern and postwar periods.[5] Gessel's 1982 essay was thus in many respects ground-breaking, and its purported goal to "strike a balance between the Christian critics who laud these writers to an embarrassing degree and the conventional literary analysts who pass over them as fleeting aberrations" raised awareness in Western academic circles, where the issue of Christianity in Japanese literature was still arguably receiving a very tepid, if not entirely cold, response. In 1971, for example, Donald Keene, who had already translated both *Shayō* 斜陽 (The Setting Sun, 1947) and *Ningen Shikkaku* 人間失格 (No Longer Human, 1948) had written of Dazai Osamu 太宰治 (1909–1948)'s extensive reliance on the Bible in these terms:

> The innumerable references to Christianity in Dazai's works are another source of difficulty for the Western reader. Christianity seems at times to have filled a spiritual vacuum in Dazai's life, and some think that at the end he genuinely considered himself to be a Christian. But the mentions of Christianity are hardly more convincing than an American beatnik's references to Zen. In the *Setting Sun* especially there is such excessive quotation of the Bible that this was the one place where I felt it necessary to abridge in making a translation. The quotations and frequent references to Christianity at no point suggest sincere belief or even desire to believe. Dazai is intrigued by Christianity, and he is delighted to discover appropriate passages to insert in his books, but whatever degree of faith he may have attained in his private life, in his writings Christianity is a disconcerting and not very important factor. It failed to give his works the additional depth he sought.[6]

Only a few years later, in 1974, Masao Miyoshi had stated in a similar vein that "Dazai was very

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4 See, for example, the special issues of *Bungaku* 文学 vol. 30, no. 6, 1962; *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* 国文学解釈と鑑賞 vol. 32, no. 7, 1967; *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kanshō* vol. 39, no. 8, 1974; *Bungaku* vol. 47, no. 3, 1979; and *Bungaku* vol. 47, no. 4, 1979.

5 See Francis Mathy, "Kitamura Tōkoku: The Early Years," *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 18, no. 1, 1963, pp. 1–44; and "Kitamura Tōkoku: Essays on the Inner Life," *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 19, no. 1/2, 1964, pp. 66–110. See also Janet Walker, *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979. Other monographs that similarly suggested the importance of Christianity in Meiji literature include Robert Rolf, *Masamune Hakuchō*, Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979; and Leith Morton, *Divided Self: A Biography of Arishima Takeo*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988.

6 Donald Keene, *Landscapes and Portraits: Appreciations of Japanese Culture*, Kodansha International, 1971, pp. 198–199.

fond of quoting from the Bible. But it is a mistake to take his Christianity seriously. Sako Jun'ichirō 佐古純一郎, for instance, is much too eager to read a Christian saint into Dazai's histrionic utterances."[7] In important essays that appeared over the following years neither Makoto Ueda nor Thomas Rimer significantly explored this topic.[8] It would take at least a decade after Gessel's essay for another scholar, Mark Williams, to acknowledge in his own seminal piece that

> to dismiss entirely the importance of Biblical motifs in Dazai's oeuvre is ... to belittle the continuous soul-searching evidenced in his literature—as suggested by the following comment in 'HUMAN LOST:' 'By one book, the Bible, the history of Japanese literature was clearly divided into two parts, with such a distinction as was impossible in the past.'[9]

Dazai's famous statement, written during his life-changing experience in the "human warehouse" of Tokyo Musashino Hospital, warranted a deeper look into the Christian experience of each of these authors, and Williams's attempt "to assess the extent to which Japanese literature has been influenced by Christianity over the past century and, in so doing, to explore several possible explanations for this apparently disproportionate influence" was consistent with that view.[10] His identification of four distinct stages in the interface of Christianity and Japanese literature—a first phase from the Meiji Restoration to 1890, a second one that began with the writings of Kitamura Tōkoku and ended towards the end of the Taishō era, a third following thereafter and lasting until the end of the Pacific War, and a fourth period that unfolded during the postwar years—spoke of a diverse, complex, and fluid literary landscape in which the place of Christianity had yet to be fully assessed. Williams' important monograph, *Endō Shūsaku: A Literature of Reconciliation* (1999), brought to fruition these and other research endeavors, and located Endō's narrative squarely within the borders of the evolving literary and spiritual landscape, spurring new inquiries into this writer's work and its relationship to the Christian faith.[11]

Williams made further critical contributions to the field when in a subsequent essay of 2003 he advanced two other important notions: that "the literature to emerge in the [postwar] ensuing

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7 See Masao Miyoshi, *Accomplices of Silence: The Modern Japanese Novel*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974, pp. 187–188.

8 Makoto Ueda, *Modern Japanese Writers*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976, pp. 145–172; and J. Thomas Rimer, *Modern Japanese Fiction and Its Traditions: An Introduction*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978, pp. 182–199.

9 Mark Williams, "From Out of the Depths: The Japanese Literary Response to Christianity," in John Breen and Mark Williams, eds., *Japan and Christianity: Impacts and Responses*, Houndmills, England: Macmillan Press, 1996, p. 166.

10 Mark Williams, "From Out of the Depths: The Japanese Literary Response to Christianity," p. 156.

11 Mark Williams, *Endō Shūsaku: A Literature of Reconciliation*, London and New York: Routledge, 1999. Later scholarship on Endō includes, for example, Emi Mase-Hasegawa, *Christ in Japanese Culture: Theological Themes in Shusaku Endo's Works*, Leiden: Brill, 2008; Adelino Ascenso, *Transcultural Theodicy in the Fiction of Shūsaku Endō*, Rome: Gregorian University Press, 2009; Darren J.N. Middleton and Mark Dennis, eds., *Approaching Silence: New Perspectives on Shusaku Endo's Classic Novel*, New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2015; Justyna Weronika Kasza, *Hermeneutics of Evil in the Works of Endō Shūsaku*, Oxford and New York: Peter Lang, 2016; and Darren J.N. Middleton and Mark Dennis, eds., *Navigating Deep River: New Perspectives on Shūsaku Endō's Final Novel*, Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2020.

decades can be depicted ... as continuing where their predecessors in the Meiji and Taishō eras had left off," and that one of the most significant traits of the Meiji experience had been the "emphasis on the harsh, paternal God of the Old Testament."[12] The first observation was extremely significant because it suggested the possibility of meaningful intersections between the deliberations of the Meiji period and the literary discourse of the following years, especially during the least studied of these phases, that between the end of the Taishō era and the Pacific War. The second consideration was also consequential, as Endō Shūsaku would significantly capitalize on this image of a stern God, calling it an unfortunate and enduring legacy of Meiji Christianity, and using it as a dialectical foil against which to develop his literary motif of a "motherly religion" (母の宗教). The two notions advanced by Williams unequivocally confirmed the necessity of interpreting the Christian discourse of the postwar period *vis-à-vis* the deliberations of the earlier years.

Indeed, the influence of the Meiji Christian experience can be detected across a large segment of postwar spiritual discourse, not only in the perpetuation of the religion versus literature paradigm—which Gessel moved to debunk in his pioneering essay—but also in the connections that can be discovered in the narrative developments that followed. The protagonists of Akutagawa's novel *Haguruma* 歯車 (Spinning Gears, 1927) and Dazai Osamu's *Ningen shikkaku* epitomize in many respects the depth of those connections. Both characters fear God and are terrified by his anger; both of them believe in hell and are uncapable of believing in God's love; and both of them cry to him in protest as a last resort to find a way out of their predicament.

In spite of the consequentiality of these connections, research on the linkage between Christianity and Japanese literature continued to lag behind. Philip Gabriel confirmed this paucity of scholarship in his book, *Spirit Matters: The Transcendent in Japanese Literature* (2006), when he noted that, "With the possible exception of some studies of the novelist Endō Shūsaku, as well as studies of Shiga and Kawabata, the connection between literature and the spiritual in the field of modern Japanese literary studies in English has largely been left untouched."[13] In *Spirit Matters*, Gabriel sought to explore "in what ways, contemporary Japanese novelists have dealt with a variety of spiritual questions, including the existence of a soul or inner being of an afterlife, of a god or spiritual forces beyond the everyday; and the possibilities of the supernatural and the miraculous."[14] He engages in a rare discussion of Miura Ayako 三浦綾子 (1922–1999) and Sono Ayako 曽野綾子 (1931–), two extremely popular Christian authors, whose works had been almost entirely unexplored in English. To be precise, the focus of Gabriel's interest was not necessarily confined to the realm of the Christian faith, as the title of his monograph implicitly suggests. As he insightfully

12 Mark Williams, "Bridging the Divide: Writing Christian Faith (and Doubt) in Modern Japan," in Mark R. Mullins, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in Japan*, Leiden: Brill, 2003, p. 312 and p. 309. Other publications by Williams include important essays on Shiina Rinzō. See, for example, "Free to Write: Confronting the Present, and the Past, in Shiina Rinzō's Beautiful Woman," in Rachael Hutchinson and Mark Williams, eds., *Representing the Other in Modern Japanese Literature: A Critical Approach*, New York and London: Routledge, 2007; and "Writing the Traumatized Self: Tenkō in the Literature of Shiina Rinzō," in David Stahl and Mark Williams, eds., *Imag(in)ing the War in Japan: Representing and Responding to Trauma in Postwar Literature and Film*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010.

13 Philip Gabriel, *Spirit Matters: The Transcendent in Modern Japanese Literature*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006, pp. 3–4.

14 Ibid., p. 2.

points out in the conclusion of his study, most of the authors of the postwar period who garnered the attention of critics and readers because of their Christian persuasion—Shimao Toshio, Shiina Rinzō, Miura Shumon 三浦朱門 (1926–2017), Miura Ayako, Sono Ayako, Takahashi Takako 高橋たか子 (1932–2013) and Ogawa Kunio 小川国夫 (1927–2008)—are no longer as widely read, and yet the search for the spiritual continues in other literary domains that are not necessarily of Christian belief. Gabriel does acknowledge, however, the important place of these Christian writers in contemporary Japanese literature, citing their contribution of such motifs as "original sin, martyrdom, and the possibilities of the miraculous," as well as the crucial role they played in "delineating in personal terms what it means to be both Japanese and Christian."[15] It should be noted, however, that these and other motifs had already been explored by previous generations of literati, and that a vocabulary of faith already existed before the postwar years. The case of Miura Ayako could be considered emblematic. Her focus on the theme of sin and the multiple references to Dazai in some of her writings suggest the possibilities of important connections between these and other authors that should be further investigated.

Overall, the links between contemporary Christian discourse and the deliberations of the earlier periods—which are key to a correct assessment and interpretation of the place of Christianity in modern and contemporary Japanese literature—have remained elusive. This is even more so with respect to the role played by Catholicism. As is well known, a significant number of writers converted to Catholicism after the war, and this raises important questions as to the existence of possible links between this phenomenon, the Meiji Christian experience, and the literary developments of the interwar years. Kevin Doak's edited volume *Xavier's Legacies: Catholicism in Modern Japanese Culture* (2011) revisited in part the modalities of those relationships, reclaiming the relevance of Catholicism in the intellectual landscape of the modern era. Disapproving of historians' tendency to identify Catholicism exclusively with the so-called Christian century and of the resulting unbalanced narrative in which "Christianity in modern Japan is largely told as a story of the advent of Protestantism," Doak has called for a reexamination of the contributions of Catholic thought, arguing that because of its established roots in Japan's past, it was better positioned than the newly introduced Protestantism to negotiate the arrival of modernity.[16] As Doak later pointed out in another essay, the dangers of identifying Catholicism "with the *kirishitan* risks a kind of familiar Protestant historical narrative that sees all this as the 'superstitions' of the pre-modern era." His point—namely, that forces other than the unequivocal impact of Protestant ethics and faith may have determined the trajectory of intellectual discourse at critical junctures of the twentieth century—is intriguing.[17] There are indeed equally compelling narratives that situate Catholicism squarely within the developments of the interwar years, and Doak's annotated translation of a piece by philosopher Yoshimitsu Yoshihiko 吉満義彦 (1904–1945), who was involved in the famous 1942 debate on "Overcoming Modernity" (近代の超克) should be read within the perimeters of this endeavor. Yoshimitsu—a Catholic—played an important role in Endō Shūsaku's

15 Ibid., p. 173.

16 Kevin Doak, *Xavier's Legacies: Catholicism in Modern Japanese Culture*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012, p. 2.

17 Kevin Doak, "Toward a Globalized Japanese Studies: What We Need to Learn from Modern Catholic Japan," in Nanyan Guo, ed. *Sekai no nihon kenkyū* 世界の日本研究 2017, p. 16.

formation, a point duly noted by Doak at the onset of his translation, but what is not as widely acknowledged, at least overseas, is that behind their relationship hid the important literary figure of Endō's mentor, Hori Tatsuo 堀辰雄 (1904–1953). Crucially influenced by Akutagawa and his very last work *Seihō no hito* 西方の人 (The Man from the West, 1927), Hori repeatedly explored the intersections between Catholicism and Japan's ancestral world, doing so mostly *vis-à-vis* the legacy of Meiji Protestantism. The dichotomies of East versus West and monotheism versus pantheism were constant motifs in his *oeuvre*, and it was in tackling Hori's religious sensibilities that a young Endō first made a name for himself in the literary world with debut essays that were the direct outcome of his negotiations with his mentor's ideas.[18]

The interface between Christianity and literature is therefore one area of modern intellectual discourse where the examination of the dialectical relationship between Catholicism and Protestantism promises to reveal the true role that faith and religion have played in the developments of the twentieth century. Featuring important essays on writers Endō Shūsaku and Sono Ayako and other influential figures like Fathers Iwashita Sōichi 岩下壮一 (1889–1940) and Inoue Yōji 井上洋治 (1927–2014), *Xavier's Legacies* has added significantly to our understanding of that interface. Equally important has been Doak's own annotated translation of Akutagawa's last work *Seihō no hito*, only tangentially discussed by Anglophone scholars thus far.[19] Comprising a total of fifty-nine fragments, *Seihō no hito* and its sequel *Zoku Seihō no hito* 続西方の人 are two of the most consequential of Akutagawa's works that reveal not only the author's view of Christianity during the last weeks of his life, but also the evolution of the conflict between art and faith throughout the Meiji and Taishō years. As I have stated elsewhere, the breakdown in communication that occurred between the protagonist and the Christian old man in the attic in Akutagawa's novel *Haguruma* symbolized the collapse of any possible dialectic between the modern intellectual and Christianity, sanctioning the inevitability of a separation and the consequent demise of Protestantism among members of the literary world.[20] In *Seihō no hito*, the epilogue of that conflictive relationship, Akutagawa made a last attempt at reconciliation by relying on his long-standing investment in Catholicism. Far from being a mere fascination of his younger years, Catholicism remained in fact a significant trait of his thought throughout, allowing him to revisit, with an incisive and effective tone, the truisms of Meiji Protestantism. Akutagawa stood at the forefront of a new paradigm in Christian discourse, and the influence he exerted on Hori Tatsuo and Dazai Osamu suggests the existence of critical intersections between the Meiji experience and the postwar years that should be further investigated.[21] Doak's annotated English translation of *Seihō no hito* is a meaningful achievement in that direction.

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18 Those essays were "Kamigami to kami to" 神々と神と (God and the Gods) of December 1947 and "Hori Tatsuo ron oboegaki" 堀辰雄論覚書 (A Memorandum on Hori Tatsuo), published between March and October 1948.

19 See Kevin Doak, "The Last Word?: Akutagawa Ryūnosuke's 'The Man from the West,'" *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 66, no. 2, 2011, pp. 247–255; and Kevin Doak and J. Scott Matthews, "'The Man from the West' and 'The Man from the West: The Sequel,'" *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 66, no. 2, 2011, pp. 257–280.

20 See Massimiliano Tomasi, *The Dilemma of Faith in Modern Japanese Literature: Metaphors of Christianity*, London and New York: Routledge, 2018.

21 Sako Junichirō was among the first to note the importance of this influence. See *Shiina Rinzō to Endō Shūsaku* 椎名麟三と遠藤周作, Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan Shuppan, 1977, p. 12.

My own monograph, *The Dilemma of Faith in Modern Japanese Literature: Metaphors of Christianity* (2018), draws on all these important research developments and deliberations. Analyzing the process of conversion of several Meiji and Taishō authors, *The Dilemma of Faith in Modern Japanese Literature* unveils the significant influence that Christianity exerted on their self-construction, their *oeuvre* and, ultimately, the trajectory of modern Japanese literature. The volume also provides critical evidence that these authors' decision to renounce their faith was ultimately not driven by a superficial understanding of its tenets, but was rather the outcome of a complex process of introspection that was intrinsically tied to the pursuit of a spiritualized dimension of life. At the roots of the Christian experience of Meiji and Taishō authors was first and foremost a shared romantic desire to transcend their historicity that was deeply inspired by Protestantism's heightened sense of self. This dream of self-transcendence found however an ironic foe not in the dichotomies that frustrated its aspirations on the surface—such as the conflicts between art and faith and nature and society—but rather in the deterministic view of fate, and by extension salvation, that Meiji Protestantism itself seemed to propound. Most negotiations between faith and skepticism in literature occurred within the perimeters of this confrontation, engendering a religious space that fostered a meaningful discursive continuum of faith and salvation. This notion of a shared religious space and discursive continuum is consistent with Mark Williams's view that "the literature to emerge in the [postwar] ensuing decades can be depicted ... as continuing where their predecessors in the Meiji and Taisho eras had left off," and as such should be considered an important methodological premise for future investigations into the relationship between art and faith in twentieth century Japan. After all, much of Endō's salvific discourse was constructed against the tenets of Protestantism, and Dazai's Christian experience can be said to have fluctuated between the fixed dogmas of Meiji Christianity on one side and the more fluid contours of postwar Christian (and more specifically Catholic) discourse on the other. Both writers ultimately revealed an interdependence of themes and motifs between the two periods that should not be dismissed.

This realization prompts the necessity to revisit the viability of the term "Christianity." The term has been used loosely by scholars thus far, especially outside Japan. However, the type of Christianity to which most Meiji and Taishō intellectuals were exposed was almost exclusively Protestant and mainly of Calvinist derivation, and it is therefore against that eschatology that the relationship between Christianity and modern Japanese literature ought to be assessed. A realization of the primacy of Protestantism in the cultural and literary developments of the modern period is essential not only because it is key to a correct interpretation of the nature of the Meiji Christian experience, but also because it helps highlight, by contrast, the role played by Catholicism during the decades that followed. It is likely within the dialectical relationship between these two religious systems that one can fully capture the true place of Christianity in Japanese literature.

日本文学とキリスト教の問題の研究史
――英語圏の日本研究を中心に――

マッシミリアーノ・トマシ*

明治維新後、再び日本に到来したキリスト教（主にプロテスタント）は、文壇で大きな反響を呼び、受洗する文学者が数多く出現した。戦後になるとまたも注目を浴びたが、今度はカトリックが中心であった。この歴史的な流れは日本近現代文学を特徴づけたものであるが、海外では、つい最近までそれほど注目されてこなかった。この小論文では英語圏のこれまでの主な研究動向を紹介し、日本近現代文学におけるプロテスタントとカトリックのそれぞれの位置付けを再確認する必要性を述べる。

キーワード：キリスト教、日本文学、芥川龍之介、太宰治、遠藤周作

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日本帝国植民時代の「満洲文化遺産」
――中国学界による満鉄調査研究資料の整理と利用――

鄭　毅*

「満鉄調査研究資料」は、南満洲鉄道株式会社が、中国東北部を対象に行った長期的かつ大規模な調査の成果であり、日本植民地時代の「満洲文化遺産」として極めて重要な資料である。こうした資料が蓄積された背景として、「調査」「学術」「帝国」という三つの視座の存在を指摘することができるだろう。現在ではそのほとんどが中国の図書館と公文書館に所蔵されている。1950 年代から中国の研究者たちはその価値を認め、整理と研究に取りくみ、実りの多い成果を成し遂げた。

キーワード：満州、植民地遺産、南満洲鉄道、帝国主義

はじめに

東アジアの新興帝国である日本にとって、台湾、朝鮮半島、中国東北部（満洲地域）という三つの地域が、植民地帝国の構築で最も重要な要素であり、台湾の植民地管理と韓国併合に基づいて大陸で帝国領土を拡大するのに、満洲は極めて重要な地域であった。日露戦争後の 1905 年から 1945 年 8 月 15 日まで、「満洲問題」は近代日本が植民地帝国を構築するうえでの中心的な課題だった。朝鮮半島から中国東北部へと進出するにつれて、その影響範囲を内モンゴル東部まで拡大したそのアプローチにおいて、日本が中国ですでに取得した特殊権益を固めるために、「満洲国」という空虚な独立国を人工的に作り上げた。その後、中国華北部を経て中国全土、さらに東南アジア、太平洋まで侵略を拡大した。

満洲国[1] は 13 年 5 ヶ月続き、大日本帝国の崩壊とともに消滅した。満洲国は、日本が日露戦争後満洲を経営した 40 年間の究極の製造物だといえ、新京（現在の長春）にある満洲国皇宮も、短期に終わった幻の帝国の存在を証す歴史遺産となった。一方で、日本が満洲国管理の証拠として残した厖大な調査資料や報告書は、帝国日本が中国東北部を植民地化した文化遺産とみなすことができる。これは歴史の証拠であり、また同時代に再創造され

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1 中国ではその政権を認めていないため、「偽満州国」と呼ぶ。

た歴史という「描きもの」でもあった。高い価値をもつこれらの資料を対象とした整理と研究について、中国の学者たちが近年多くの経験を積んできた。本稿ではそれらを紹介することで、日本や他国の研究者の参考となれば幸いである。

日露戦争後の1905年から、第二次世界大戦が終戦した1945年8月までの40年間、日本による帝国の構築と中国大陸における植民地拡大のアプローチには二つの歴史が重なっていることがみられる。一つは、政治、軍事、経済などの物理的な植民地拡大の歴史であり、もう一つは、言語、文化、宗教、民族心理などの分野で中国を解読し精神的に解剖する歴史である。この二つの歴史のプロセスが、一連の事件を捏造し満洲国を作り上げた。中国を解剖していくなかで、「満鮮学」「満蒙学」などの言説と、それらを提唱した研究者が現れた。それにとどまらず、「満洲学知」と呼ばれた、満洲と朝鮮を対象とした調査報告書や研究資料が、南満洲鉄道株式会社調査部（満鉄調査部）を中心とした個人と団体によって作成され文化遺産として残されている。これらが中国東北部の被植民地の歴史を研究するための重要な資料であることはいうまでもない。他国の特定地域を研究対象とし、永続的な植民統治を目的とした研究・調査報告は、その学術的価値をどのように実現しえたのか。この厖大な報告書は現在どのような価値と意義をもっているのか。これらの報告書と文献資料の位置付けが、近代日中関係史、近代中国東北史を研究するうえで避けられない課題になっている。

1. 満洲研究が帝国政治と国策学問の対象となった経緯

いわゆる満洲問題は近代日本の植民地構築において、極めて重要である。言い換えれば、近代日本が植民地帝国を構築するアプローチは満洲をめぐって展開していった。1905年から1945年の大日本帝国40年間の歴史には、その背景につねに満洲問題があった。

近代から、中国の東北部は満洲語に由来した「満洲（州）」と呼ばれていた。かつて清政府はJ. B. Régis、P. Jartoux などのフランス人の宣教師に中国東北部の地図（後に『皇輿全図・盛京全図』と呼ばれる）を描くよう依頼した。いくつかの地図の原稿は、1730年から1740年の間に密かにヨーロッパに送り返された。これらの原稿では、この地域はla Tartarie orientale（東タタール）またはLeaotong（遼東）と呼ばれているが、宣教師の間では満洲語の音訳であるMantcheou（満洲）が使われていた。当時、地図の製作技術が最も発達していたオランダのハーグとは、徳川将軍時代の日本が往来を保っていたので、蘭学がヨーロッパから入る主なルートとなった。日本語の「満洲（まんしゅう）」という言葉は、日本の蘭学者によるその地図の音訳に由来するもので、黒竜江省の下流も含めた地域を指す。

なお、もともと満洲語におけるmanju（満洲）は地名ではなく民族名であるが、俗語では満洲民族の勢力圏を指すのに使用されることもある。例えば、康熙帝期間（1661～1722年）の辞典である《御製五體清文鑑》「manju」の項には、「（前略）ウスリー、興堪、琿春、クヤラ（庫雅喇）などの領地が征服され、すべてを満洲にする」とある。しかしながら、満洲語の発展とともに、満洲語「manju（翻字）」に対応した漢字「満洲」が、地理名

称には使われず、民族の名称だけに限定されるようになった。乾隆帝の勅撰した《満洲源流考》には「現在満洲とする。『洲』という字は地名に近いので、そこから借り、使用しつづけてきた。実際には、それは民族名であり地名ではない。」[2] と強調されている。

漢字の「満洲」が中国東北地方を指すようになったのは、近代に入ってから日本人が使いはじめたためである。とはいえ、もともと、この名称は康熙・乾隆時代の清政府が使用したもので、植民地主義的な意味合いをもつものではなかった。当初はロシアの極東が含まれていたが、満洲国の成立に伴い、矢野仁一ら一部の日本人学者が、満蒙が独立して発展してきたことを熱心に実証したり、中原王朝の脱離傾向を積極的に強調したりした[3]。そこから、「満洲」は東北部が中国から独立するという政治的意味合いを帯びるようになった。

以上の歴史から、「満洲」「満蒙」といった言葉は、日本によって侵略政策のための言語ツールに変貌し、特定の政治的意味をもつ言葉になってしまった。日本人がこの植民地主義的政治用語を恣意的に推し進めたばかりの頃すでに、中国の知識人はこのことに気づいていた。教育者である范源濂は次のように指摘した。

> 关于满蒙问题，蒙、满二字，本甚含胡，地域若何？面积若何？“满”究自何处至何处，“蒙”究自何处至何处，自缔交以来，迄未分析，实一大憾事。乃日本至今利用，一尽其侵略之野心。昔者蒙满交涉，尚尊重吾国，蒙分内外，满有南北，辽河以西，亦不强横干涉。今则一无忌惮，俨若已有矣。一切行动，任意施行，如西比利亚进兵，日兵最多，此其明证。
>
> （満州と蒙古の問題について、「蒙」「満」という語は「胡」に類似しており、その地域や範囲はいかなるものであるのか。どこからどこまでが「満州」で、どこからどこまでが「蒙古」であるのかは、国交樹立以来分析されておらず遺憾なことである。それは日本によるこれらの語の使用が、侵略という野心の表れであることに尽きる。かつて、蒙古と満州と交易していた頃は、やはり我が国を尊重し、モンゴルは内と外、満州は北と南、遼河の西と分けて、無理に干渉はしなかった。しかし、今日ではそうしたことはすでになくなった。すべての行動は恣意的に行われており、例えば、シベリア出兵において日本兵の数が最も多いことなどはその明確な証拠である。）[4]

范だけでなく、南開大学教授の傅恩齢が主催した満洲研究会は、「満洲」や「満蒙」といった言葉が植民地主義の政治的意味合いを帯びているとして、1928 年 10 月に「東北研究会」と改名した。このように、「満洲」や「満蒙」という言葉は近代に入ってから徐々に植

2　（原文）今汉字作满洲，盖因洲字义近地名，假借用之，遂相沿耳。实则部族，非地名。

3　矢野仁一「支那無国境論」（『近代支那論』弘文堂書房、1923 年、1 ～ 8 頁）、「支那の共和は帝政の遺物――支那人の領土観念」（『近代支那の政治及文化』イデア書院、1926 年、205 ～ 217 頁）、『近代支那史』（弘文堂書房、1926 年、17 ～ 64 頁）など。

4　範源濂〈職教員時事討論会演講録：日本對華之態度〉、《南開思潮》南開思潮報社経理部、1920 年第 5 期、31 頁。

民地主義的な意味を与えられ、意識されてきたのである。

満洲の社会調査活動は、満洲の独占を目指す満蒙政策の背景のもと、西洋近代の歴史学、社会学などの理論と科学技術の方法を利用し、大日本帝国政府による強力な支援と奨励に後押しされながら行われた。そのため、他の国や社会に対してさまざまな分野で大規模かつ体系的に実施された総合的な情報収集活動は、情報そのものや情報の完全性、科学性、正確性の点で、かけがえのない学術的価値をもっている。

しかし、このような社会調査の本当の目的は、中国東北部の歴史を再創出することにある。つまり、帝国日本による満洲の植民地化というあらかじめ設定された政治的目標である。中国本土において歴史的、文化的特殊性を脱構築するために、「満蒙」に焦点が当てられた。日本が満蒙を独占するのに歴史的な根拠が必要なため、満蒙を独占する行為が歴史的必然であるという言説を確立しようとしたのである。

さて、大日本帝国下における「満蒙」認識には、筆者が作成した図１のように、三つの異なりつつ密接に関連している視座が存在すると思われる。一つ目の「調査」の視座では、近代科学理論と方法を使用して社会、経済、産業、史跡などを対象とした調査が行われた。その結果として、比較的客観的な満蒙地域の全体像が形成された。例えば、モンゴルや満洲で何度もフィールドワークを実施した鳥居龍蔵の報告書[5]がある。

二つ目の視座は「学術」であり、そのような社会調査に基づいて、満蒙問題が形成された経緯や、歴史上の満蒙について説明したものである。そこには政治に沿って構築する傾向が隠されており、国策学術の指向を帯びている。例えば、鳥居龍蔵による「日鮮同祖論」や「満鮮同源説」[6]、矢野仁一による「満蒙蔵は支那本来の領土に非る論」[7]はもはや純粋な学術的史学研究ではなくなり、帝国政治の野望が潜んでいることがうかがえる。

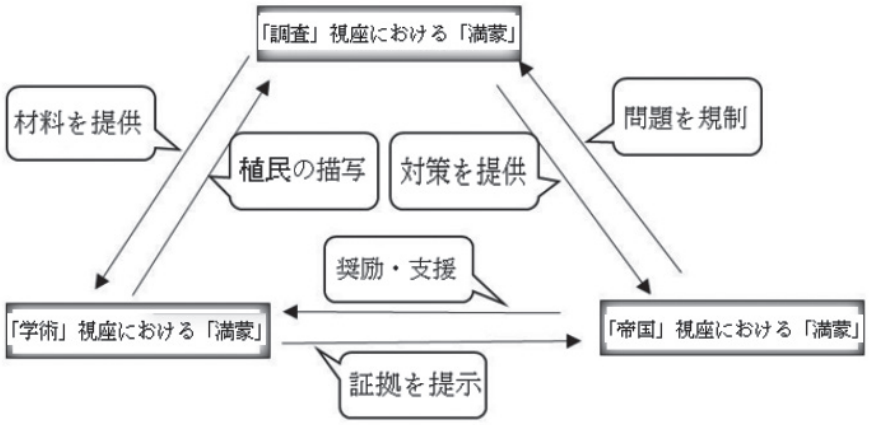

図１

5　鳥居龍蔵「蒙古旅行」「満蒙の探査」「満蒙を再び探る」『鳥居龍蔵全集　第九巻』朝日新聞社、1975年。

6　鳥居龍蔵「満洲の石器時代遺跡と朝鮮の石器時代遺跡との関係に就いて」『鳥居龍蔵全集　第八巻』朝日新聞社、1975年、546頁～551頁。「朝鮮・満洲の磨製石器に就いて」同書、643頁～645頁。

7　矢野仁一「満蒙蔵は支那本来の領土に非る論」『外交時報』1922年1月。翌年に矢野仁一『近代支那論』（弘文堂書房、1923年）に収録された。

三つ目は「帝国」の視座である。満蒙は台湾と朝鮮に次いで、日本帝国を構築するための重要な地域とされ、日本帝国が拡大していくなかで欠かせない生命線とみなされた。「満蒙特殊権益論」[8]などがこのような視座においての発言である。

近世以来、日本による中国への関心には、情報収集の目的と政治的な意図があった。江戸時代に中国情報を主な内容とした風説書が現れたが、当時の日本による中国の情報収集は、まだ社会調査とまではいえないだろう。明治維新以降、日本は次第に中国をライバル視し、さらには分割併合しようとするために中国の情報を収集するようになった。これらを背景に近代日本が実施した満蒙の社会調査には、当初から国策の特殊性と政治目的が潜んでいる。

日本による中国東北地域の社会調査は、厳密にいえば、1894 年から 1895 年の日清戦争前後に軍部と外務省が先導して始まった。そして 1905 年に日露戦争が終結した後、日本はロシアから関東州の租借権と南満洲鉄道および関連会社を運営する権利を獲得した。その時、満蒙は日本帝国が日清・日露戦争を通じて「十万の英霊と二十億の国帑」によって購われた大地とし、他国からの干渉を排除しようとした。

そこで、日本政府が調査活動にさらなる関与と制御を行おうとし、国策傾向が強まった。白鳥庫吉が主催した『満鮮地理歴史研究報告』（第 1 ～ 16、東京帝国大学文学部、1915 ～ 1941 年）[9]、福昌公司による『満蒙通覧』（上・中・下編、福昌公司調査部編、大阪屋号書店、1918 年）、東京商科大学（現・一橋大学）根岸佶ゼミによる満蒙経済調査[10]をみれば、満蒙への調査の国策指向がうかがえる。

これらの調査と研究は、確かに近代科学的方法が使用されている一方、結論には明らかな政治的意図がみられる。雑誌《禹貢》の編集長である馮家昇は、1930 年代に次のような感想を述べている。

> 东北四省，就历史上，地理上，法律上说，明明是中国的领土，而日本人为了伸展领土的野心，早几年前就在国际间宣传他们的‘满蒙非支那论’，可怜我国学者没有一个能起来加以有力的反驳的。同时日本人为了实现此种基调起见，就雇用了大批学人专门致力于“满鲜学”或“满蒙学”。
>
> （東北四省は、歴史、地理、法律上でいえば、中国の領土であるが、日本人が野望を拡大するために、何年も前から世界でその「満蒙非支那論」を拡散していた。残念なことに、我が国の学者には有力な反論をできる者がいないのだ。日本人はこの論調を実現するために、多くの学者を「満鮮学」や「満蒙学」に専念させている。）[11]

日本が実施した社会調査は、日本が満蒙問題へさらに関与するための理由を作る一方、文化調査は、中国の歴史・地理から満蒙を人為的に分離することを目的とした。日本語教

8　信夫淳平『満蒙特殊権益論』日本評論社、1932 年。
9　『満鮮地理歴史研究報告』全 16 巻、太學社、1978 ～ 1979 年。
10　根岸佶著、三好章編・解説『根岸佶著作集』全 5 巻、不二出版、2017 年。
11　馮家昇《东北史地研究之已有成绩》、《禹贡》第 2 卷第 10 期、1935 年 1 月、2 頁。

育、「満洲文学」などの文化植民地政策と相まって、究極の目標は、満蒙における日本の支配的地位を確保し、日本の助けで満蒙独立を実現させることであった。

2. 満鉄調査研究資料の行方

満鉄調査研究資料とは、広義には南満洲鉄道株式会社（満鉄）が発行、または社内印刷した書籍、調査報告書、専門資料、説明資料、資料集、各種刊行物、新聞の切り抜きなどを指し、その多くが活字本である。満鉄調査研究資料は、20 世紀前半における世界最大の情報文献データベースの一つともいえ、中国東北部の近代史だけでなく、中国近代史や近代日中関係を研究するための貴重な文献資料が含まれている。

国策会社として、南満洲鉄道株式会社は 1906 年 6 月 7 日の勅令第 142 号を受けて同年 11 月 26 日に設立された。1906 年から 1945 年までの 40 年間、その巨大な調査機関――本社にある四つの調査室に加え、北支部（天津）経済研究所、上海事務所、北満（ハルビン）経済研究所、奉天（瀋陽）鉄道総局調査局、張家口経済研究所、新京奉天支部、東京支部、満洲東亜経済調査支部――に、常に千人以上の調査員を維持し、30 万件近くの調査報告書、書籍、文書が形成された。

満鉄の設立後、社内に調査機関が設置された。この調査部門とその支部には 40 年間に延べ数千人もの調査員が所属し、中国をはじめ、アジアさらに世界各国について調査を行った。とくに満洲に対しては、大規模な調査を行い、世界で唯一ともいえる報告書と研究成果（満鉄調査研究資料）を残した。アメリカの学者 John Young は、8 年間で日本とアメリカの 33 の図書館に所蔵されている満鉄の調査資料を調査し、『1907 年から 1945 年までの満鉄の研究活動――歴史と文献』[12] を編集した。John Young の調査結果から、満鉄調査部は 40 年間で 6284 冊もの調査報告書を作り、5 万点の情報文書、書籍、雑誌、新聞の切り抜きなどを収集していたことがわかった。これらの文書は「20 世紀のアジア知識宝庫」[13] として認められている。

1945 年 8 月 15 日、大日本帝国が崩壊した後、中国東北部は戦後の秩序回復という特別な時期を経験した。ソ連の赤軍、中国国民党軍、中国共産党軍は次々と東北部に入った。満洲国の遺産の保存・管理は、政策と方法によって大きく異なった。

赤軍の激しい攻撃で関東軍が急速に崩され、満洲国の支配システムが崩壊したため、満鉄の調査資料は中国に残されることになった。ソ連赤軍が中国東北部に進出した際、極東における領土拡大目標を達成する一方で、この地域の資源と産業インフラにも強い関心を寄せ、略奪の重点を、工業機械や穀物などの物資に置いていたため、文献資料への注目度は低く、満鉄調査研究資料の押収は少なかっただろう。

赤軍が 1946 年 5 月に中国東北部から撤退した後、中国東北部は国民党と共産党の闘争の舞台となった。両党による満洲国の遺産の取り扱いは、戦略的需要に対応するため、資源

12　John Young, *The Research Activities of the South Manchurian Railway Company, 1907–1945: A History and Bibliography*, New York: East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1966.

13　草柳大藏著、刘耀武・凌云・舟徒ら訳《満铁调查部内幕》黒竜江人民出版社、1982 年、13 頁。

やインフラ設備に重点が置かれ、法律制度、倫理などのイデオロギー的なものは圧倒的に否定的な処理が施された。

1970年代になって、中国とソ連の関係に緊張が走った時、満鉄調査研究資料は領土的最前線に位置している中国東北部から、国立図書館（当時の北京図書館）、北京大学図書館、南開大学図書館など、50以上の図書館に運ばれ保護された。しかし、長期間の放置により現在では破損が目立ち、価値を認めなおすためには、資料の保存だけでなく、分類と整理が急務となっている[14]。

また、満鉄調査研究資料は日本にも散在していた。アメリカの占領期間中に、連合国軍最高司令官総司令部（GHQ / SCAP）により一部がアメリカに輸送され、スタンフォード大学、コロンビア大学、カリフォルニア大学、ハーバード大学などに分かれて保管されている。日本では、国立国会図書館、アジア経済研究所、東洋文庫、東京大学、名古屋商工会議所など数多くの大学・研究機関に所蔵されている。

満鉄調査研究資料の戦後の所蔵と流出先からみれば、日本とアメリカにあるのは満鉄調査研究資料の一部に過ぎず、そのほとんどは中国に残されていることがわかる。そして、日本が中国を植民地化したルートは、今の大連、瀋陽から長春へと移っていったので、現在、満鉄調査研究資料は主に吉林省と遼寧省の図書館と公文書館に所蔵されている。

南満洲鉄道本部の資料は遼寧省資料館に保管されており、合計で1万3千冊を超え、鉄道部門と調査部門の資料を除きほぼ無傷である。撫順鉱物資源局資料館は、撫順炭素鉱山（1939～45年）の資料を保管している。

中国の満鉄調査研究資料のほとんどは、遼寧省公文書館、中国社会科学院図書館、大連市立図書館、吉林省社会科学院図書館、吉林大学図書館、吉林省図書館、東北師範大学図書館に所蔵されている。そのうち、遼寧省公文書館だけでも数万点にのぼり、満鉄が収集した日本語の資料と合わせて、4万点以上に達する。吉林省社会科学院は、同様に所蔵を調査した結果として、中国に残された「満洲鉄道の調査報告書は1万3千冊以上にのぼり、John Youngによるデータをはるかに上回っている」[15]と主張している。中国国内ではほかにも地方の公文書館に満鉄調査研究資料が散在している。

3. 中国学界による満鉄調査研究資料の整理と利用

満鉄調査研究資料の整理と利用については、中国の建国以来、中国国内でさまざまな分野の学者たちの注目を集めている。というのは、数千人の日本人研究者や調査者が40年間にわたり、中国東北部社会に対して長期的かつ専門的な調査を行ってきた記録であるこれらの資料は、近代の中国東北部社会を理解し研究するために不可欠で重要な資料であり、後世の人が当時の東北部社会の実情を捉える視点も提供してくれるからである。この厖大かつ学術レベルの高い調査報告書は、現代中国東北部の歴史、日中関係、そして日本によ

14　褚赣生《〈中国馆藏满铁资料联合目录〉编撰始末》、《中国索引》2007年第3期、41～42頁。

15　李娜《满铁情报调查在九一八事变前后的战略性演变》、《社会科学战线》2014年第10号、131～136頁。

る東北部侵略の歴史を研究するための重要な一次資料である。また、この地域の今後の経済的・社会的発展にとっても重要な価値があると思われる。

中国学界における満鉄調査研究資料の整理作業は1950年代から始まった。1956年に吉林大学と吉林省社会科学院が満鉄調査研究資料の図書と文書の編集・出版を行い、当時約130万字の原稿が完成し、1～5巻を印刷した。しかし、その後政治運動により、仕上げ作業はいったん停止することを余儀なくされた。

1972年になって吉林大学と吉林省社会科学院は満鉄調査研究資料の編集作業を再開することを決定し、1000万字の満鉄調査研究資料を全8巻に編集して出版する作業が進められた。《満铁史资料》第1巻「総合篇」、第2巻「路権篇」、第3巻「交通運送篇」、第4巻「石炭篇」、第5巻「農工商篇」、第6巻「華北篇」、第7巻「附属地・調査篇」、第8巻「資金篇」に加えて、別巻として満鉄年表や、主な株主名簿、満鉄主幹紹介、満鉄の雑誌などの内容が計画された。

1991年、遼寧省公文書館と遼寧省社会科学院歴史研究所が共編した《满铁秘档选编・「九・一八」事変前后的日本与中国东北》（満鉄秘密文書選編・満洲事変前後の日本と中国東北）が遼寧人民出版社によって出版された。第二次世界大戦終戦50周年にあたる1995年には、日中戦争の歴史をより深く研究するために、独自の歴史的価値をもつ満鉄調査研究資料の整理と研究に学術的価値と時代性を見出した季羨林、李新、戴逸など、中国の有名な学者が一斉に満鉄調査研究資料の整理と研究をしようと提案した。

1996年7月8日、李新が議長、季羨林が顧問になり、旧国家教育委員会の承認を得て中国近代史史料学会満洲資料研究分会が成立した。1997年、満洲鉄道研究部門が研究テーマを提案し、1998年9月に「満鉄資料整理研究」が第9次5カ年計画に国家社会科学基金の重大プロジェクト（No.05BZS003）として始まった。このプロジェクトは、全国の50以上の図書館と公文書館が協力して、8年間で、「削除しない、変更しない」と「古いものそのままにする」という方針を採り、現在中国国内に残されている合計28万件を超える資料と書籍文献のカタログを形成した。中国語、日本語のものが22万件以上、スペイン語、ロシア語とその他の言語のものが5万件あまり、約2500万字、計30巻もある。このプロジェクトの成果は中国出版集団、東方出版中心から2006年10月に出版、公開された。

解学詩による《满铁调查报告目录》（吉林人民出版社、2004年）、《满铁调查期刊载文目录》（吉林文史出版社、2004年）は、現在中国国内ではもっとも完全な整理成果として評価され、満鉄調査研究資料整理において画期的な意味をもっているといえよう。

最近では、分野ごとに満鉄調査研究資料を分類して整理する動きがみられる。華中師範大学中国農村研究院が2006年から満鉄調査研究資料の中の農村調査資料を整理しはじめ、2010年に中国語に翻訳するという大きなプロジェクトを始動した。2015年に、華中師範大学中国農村研究院と黒竜江資料館が共編した《满铁调查》が中国社会科学出版社によって刊行され、内容は1000万字を超えた。2018年には、《满铁农村调查》が広西師範大学出版社によって刊行された。これは各国の学者が中国農村の社会研究をするうえで価値のある重要な学術資料である。

中国国家哲学社会科学基金による科学研究費プロジェクト採択のテーマからも、満鉄調

査研究資料が重要視されていることがわかる。2015 年から 2020 年の「十三五」（第 13 次 5 カ年計画）期間に行われた日本研究の八つの重大課題には満鉄調査研究資料に関連したものが三つあり、それは「亚细亚文库文献整理研究（亜細亜文庫の文献整理と研究）」（王剣、2017 年）、「近代日本在华资源“调查”及盗绘图表整理与研究（1868–1945）（近代日本が中国で行った資源の「調査」及び盗作した図表の整理と研究（1868 ～ 1945 年））」（武向平、2018 年）、「近现代日本对“满蒙”的社会文化调查书写暨文化殖民史料文献的整理研究（1905–1945）（近現代日本の『満蒙』をめぐる社会文化調査と描写：文化植民の史料文献の整理と研究（1905 ～ 1945 年））」（郑毅、2019 年）である。

ところが、中国における満鉄調査研究資料の保存と整理の現状をみれば、いくつか問題視すべきことが残されている。第一に、満鉄調査研究資料は完全なものではないということだ。南満洲鉄道株式会社には定期的に文献、文書を廃棄する制度があったので、当時多くの調査報告が廃棄されてしまった。それに加えて、日本軍の敗戦時に、軍部の命令によって大規模な廃棄が行われた。また、戦後になってからも、ソ連の赤軍から共産党、国民党へと支配党の変遷により多くの資料が紛失した。とくにソ連が秘密裏に輸送した資料はいまだにその所蔵場所が明らかになっていない。このような歴史的変遷のために、残念ながら、中国に残されている資料も一部にすぎず、満鉄調査研究資料の完全性はすでに失われてしまっているのだ。

第二に、現在のところ、アメリカにせよ、日本にせよ、中国にせよ、満鉄調査研究資料の整理作業はカタログの整理にとどまっている。無論、カタログの整理自体、非常に人力や費用がかかることはいうまでもない。日本のアジア経済研究所、国立国会図書館、そして John Young、解学詩など諸研究機関と研究者が大いに努力したからこそ、満鉄調査研究資料の整理はこのような成果を成し遂げ、後輩の我々がそれらの研究をするために、一次資料の面で大変助けられている。そして、広西師範大学出版社から刊行された《满铁农村调查》や、日本の不二出版が復刻した『満鉄調査時報』『満鉄調査月報』『満蒙』などは、世間がこれらの資料を使用するにあって便宜を提供してくれている。

第三に、満鉄調査研究資料は規模が巨大で、あらゆる方面を網羅しているので、歴史を専門とする研究者だけで完成できるものではない。その内容は経済、文化、自然資源、民族、宗教、哲学、軍事など数多くの分野にわたる。中国で最初にこれらの資料に目を向けたのは経済学の研究者たちだった。それから、社会学分野における関心度が高まったのに伴い、1990 年代から歴史学者が徐々に満鉄調査研究資料の整理・研究の中心となった。とはいえ、満鉄調査研究資料に潜んだ学術的価値を十分に掘り下げることは、歴史学だけではとてもできないのが実情であり、多分野の研究者たちの協力が必要である。

第四に、これらの満鉄調査研究資料を解読する態度と立場についてである。日本が植民地を拡大していく過程でこのような厖大な資料が蓄積されたことから、資料自体も植民地化の侵略的意味を帯びていることは間違いない。現在まで、中国における資料の解読は、ほとんど、中国東北部を侵略する歴史的根拠としようとした日本の帝国主義を指摘するもので、研究も被植民史の視点からの考察にとどまっている。例えば、《民国档案》の中に公

開された「南京大虐殺」の史料を調査した研究成果として、多数の著書[16]が挙げられ、近代日本の植民史については大いに研究されていることがわかる。しかし、日本の植民史を中心とした近代史の研究は、それ以上の新たな研究視野を見出すことこそが、今後これらの資料を「満洲文化遺産」として発展させていく道だと思われる。資料の背後に潜んだ政治的要因はさておき、調査報告が蓄積してきた経緯と結果からいえば、近代の先端的な学術訓練をうけた学者たちにより行われた調査であり、確実なフィールドワークに基づいて完成した報告書でもある以上、当時の中国東北部社会を認識するのに欠かせない重要な文献資料であり、とくに、東北地域の自然資源、農村社会、宗教民族など多分野にわたる専門的な調査報告書は学術的価値を看過できない。その学術的価値と社会的価値を生かすために、客観的、科学的な立場から研究に従事すべきである。日中両国の学界が協力して整理・研究してこそ、はじめてこのような研究の立場と主旨が成り立つのである。

“Manchurian Cultural Heritage” of the Japanese Colonial Era: Collation and Usage of Manchuria Railway Materials by Chinese Academia

ZHENG Yi*

The “Manchuria Railway Material,” the result of a long-term large-scale survey conducted by the South Manchuria Railway Company in the northeastern part of China, is an extremely valuable “Manchurian Cultural Heritage” resource of the Japanese colonial era. Most of the Manchuria Railway survey materials, obtained through a three-pronged survey approach of “investigation,” “academic,” and “empire,” are currently housed in the Chinese libraries and archives. From the 1950s, Chinese scholars recognized its material’s value, and collated them and began researching, achieving fruitful results.

Keywords: Manchuria, colonial heritage, Manchuria Railway, Imperialism

16　解学詩・姜念東ほか共著《偽滿洲国史》（吉林人民出版社、1980 年）、宓汝成著《帝国主义与中国铁路》（上海人民出版社、1980 年）、解学詩・張克良合編《鞍钢史：1909–1948 年》（冶金工業出版社、1984 年）、杜恂誠著《日本在旧中国的投資》（上海社会科学院出版社、1986 年）、陳本善ほか編《日本侵略中国东北史》（吉林大学出版、1989 年）、蘇崇民著《滿铁史》（中華書局、1990 年）、顧明義ほか編《日本侵占旅大四十年史》（遼寧人民出版社、1991 年）など。

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Japan, 1968: The Afterlives of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō

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This paper examines the Nihon University 930 reunion and Nichidai-Zenkyōtō organizations that were involved in campus-related activism in 1968. Furthermore, the paper reviews the pattern and significance of activities illuminated during a roundtable discussion during this reunion and records their experiences. The alumni association published the book series, *A Record of Activism of Nihon University: Unforgettable Moments*, and asked alumni to document their memories of the struggle. They have continued to devote themselves as activists to recordkeeping in order to objectively examine themselves as objects of history.

Keywords: Nihon University, campus demonstrations, student movements, recording activity, oral history

Introduction

The tumultuous year of 1968 is considered to be revolutionary not only in Japan but worldwide and is important when discussing Japan's postwar history. After the 1960 protests against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, the New Left Movement, including Zengaku Kyōtō Kaigi 全学共闘会議 ("All-Campus Joint Struggle Committees"; from hereon in, Zenkyōtō 全共闘), became the focus of a hegemonic struggle, realizing a new counterculture against the norms of mainstream ideology.

Throughout the late 1960s, Zenkyōtō protests nationwide against authoritative power and the Vietnam War started in universities through the promotion of solidarity among all students in Japan. The main purpose for organizing Zenkyōtō was to oppose the university authorities while promoting the slogan "dismantle Imperial [Tokyo] University." During the rapid economic growth of the postwar period in the late 1960s, universities were effectively converted into institutions for producing a labor force rather than existing as higher educational institutions.

These struggles, which began to break down the class structure that existed within the university system, developed a universal ideology of self-negation as a form of sincere self-expression. Accordingly, the New Left and Zenkyōtō Movements organized the anti-Vietnam War Movement,

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the Haneda struggle[1] in 1967, and college demonstrations all over the country.

Nihon University, or Nichidai, was the largest private university in Japan, and its board of directors used sports organizations to suppress and censor various student activities. In 1968, when the National Tax Service exposed the fact that this same board of directors had amassed a slush fund worth some two billion yen, students formed the Nichidai-Zenkyōtō organization, built barricades, and began their struggle to dismantle the university system (figure 1).[2]

Figure 1: Mass bargaining at the Nichidai auditorium, September 30, 1968. Nichidai-Zenkyōtō in 1968. Courtesy of Nihon University 930 reunion.

Fifty years later, in 2018, an illegal tackle was carried out by a player of Nihon University's American football team. This case—considered a vicious foul—became a social issue. This incident led to suspicion that the team coaches forced their players to commit foul play, which led to controversy over institutional issues at Nihon University. In short, it revealed various problems within the organizational structure of the athletic department as well as of the whole university. A statement was then made by the members of the Nihon University 930 reunion (Nichidai Kyūsanmaru no Kai 日大 930 の会) on the occasion of the party commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō (figure 2). As Nichidai-Zenkyōtō had struggled against the corruption of the board of directors and that of the monitoring system for physical violence by sports club members, the alumni members deplored that the university still uses its sports associations to violently suppress students and raised questions about the university system, which has not changed for fifty years.

1 The Haneda struggle occurred on October 8 and November 12, 1967, when the New Left parties clashed with riot police defending Tokyo International Airport (Haneda Airport) to stop Prime Minister Satō Eisaku from visiting South Vietnam. After this incident, armed struggles using helmets and lengths of wood became a fixture in the student movement.

2 Cho Sojin 趙沼振, "1960 nendai kōhan no gakuentōsō o kangaeru: *Asahi Jānaru* de tadoru Nichidai Zenkyōtō" 1960 年代後半の学園闘争を考える：『朝日ジャーナル』でたどる日大全共闘 [The Review of Student Movements in the late 1960s: Focused on NichidaiZenkyoutou in *'Asahi Journal'*], *Journal for Japanese Studies* (International Center for Japanese Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) no. 8, 2018, pp. 91–116.

Figure 2: Party commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō, June 10, 2018. Photo by author.

In this regard, the activities of the Nihon University 930 reunion are worth studying. At this reunion, named after the date of an important victory for mass bargaining,[3] the members devote themselves as activists and keep historical records in order to examine themselves as objects of history. Their activities have been important for improving the constitution of the university. They have also made a conscious effort to record the genealogy of the Nichidai Movement and shared their experiences with their old university peers, to understand the differences with their own memories.

This paper traces how the Nihon University 930 reunion has enabled its members to write the history of the Nichidai-Zenkyōtō and its campus-related activism of the late 1960s. The expression "afterlives" in the title refers to Kristin Ross's *May'68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). The book recaptures the memory of May 1968 in France, and Ross states that the May 1968 story and images have been transformed and coded as official stories by the media and people in a society which tends to be neoliberal. This means that this process leads to social oblivion depending on how it will be interpreted in the media in the future. Japan's 1968 and its afterlives will be coded by the media and also by those who were involved in the struggle. Associations such as the Nihon University 930 reunion are working on keeping their memories on record by organizing the narratives of when they fought together in the 1960s and 1970s. My research attempts to consider what "collective memories" the reunion people form of the Nichidai struggle and the form that each narrative takes. Based on interviews with reunion participants, this paper reviews the significance of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō.

1. Previous Research on Zenkyōtō

Research on Zenkyōtō is often organized as one-sided leftist radicalism, highlighting ostensible ferocity and militancy. Previous studies I will discuss later on in this chapter evaluated Zenkyōtō as containing a horizontal organizational structure in contrast to the old left of the Japanese Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party of Japan. Zenkyōtō, especially Nihon University and Tokyo University, showed the political potential to mobilize mass supporters from

3 On September 30, 1968, about thirty-five thousand students attended a twelve-hour public meeting in the Nichidai auditorium, and executives of the board, including Chairman Furuta Jūjiro, fully acknowledged Nichidai-Zenkyōtō's requirements.

the new movement even though it was bound by traditional partisanship. In short, Zenkyōtō was regarded as a process of breaking away from the old left's vertical structure.[4]

In order to make it easier to construct the story of the Zenkyōtō generation, Oguma Eiji (2009)[5] used various materials, such as leaflets, to illustrate the situation of Japan in 1968. By pointing out the subjectivity that may lurk in people's memories, and in order to be free from prejudice against the established image of Zenkyōtō, Oguma did not interview those who were involved in the student movement of the 1960s. He showed that it was possible to describe the Zenkyōtō Movement by using abundant materials, for those who did not directly experience it. Nevertheless, Oguma's work illustrates the risk of adding a descriptive discourse when recalling that time in 1968.

On the other hand, there are two earlier studies that present a different image of Zenkyōtō from the above research: Arakawa Shoji's[6] research on the materials donated by Nichidai-Zenkyōtō to the National Museum of Japanese History, and Kosugi Ryoko's[7] research based on interviews with forty-four former student activists of the 1960s, including former members of Tōdai-Zenkyōtō (All-Campus Joint Struggle Committees of Tokyo University). Arakawa and Kosugi carefully verified facts based on their own survey data of interviews and Zenkyōtō materials. These can be seen as studies that examined the Zenkyōtō of the late 1960s from the hindsight and wisdom of historical distance.

Even today, half a century after the Nichidai struggle, the alumni of Nihon University 930 continue to record their struggle. In accordance with Arakawa and Kosugi's research methods, I myself was involved in Nichidai-Zenkyōtō's recent activity and conducted a review based on participant observation. Next, this paper will focus on how the activists continue to record their Nichidai-Zenkyōtō experiences at alumni meetings.

2. The Afterlives of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō: Archival Activism

In 1968, in each faculty of Nihon University, some students formed a struggle committee spontaneously, and they decided to call themselves Nichidai-Zenkyōtō. In the case of the other

4 This had come out of the New Social Movement that emerged in the 1970s. Japan's new social movements contained aspects of feminism and environmentalism such as the Women's Liberation Movement and the Anti-Pollution Movement.

5 Oguma Eiji 小熊英二, *1968 Wakamonotachi no hanran to sono haikei* 1968〈上〉若者たちの叛乱とその背景 [1968, Vol. 1: The Youth Revolts and Their Background]; *1968 Hanran no shūen to sono isan* 1968〈下〉叛乱の終焉とその遺産 [1968, Vol. 2: The End of the Youth Revolts and its Legacy], Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2009.

6 Arakawa Shoji 荒川章二, "1968 nen Daigaku Tōsō ga toutamono: Nichidai Tōsō no Jirei ni sokushite" 1968 年大学闘争が問うたもの：日大闘争の事例に即して [What University Student Movements in 1968 Entailed: The Case of Nihon University], *The Journal of Ohara Institute for Social Research* (Hosei University) no. 698, 2016, pp. 1–24; "Nichidai Tōsō: 9.30 Taishūdankō igo" 日大闘争：9.30 大衆団交以後 [Nihon University Struggle: The Aftermath of the 9/30 Mass Bargaining], *Bulletin of the National Museum of Japanese History* (The National Museum of Japanese History) no. 216, 2019, pp. 213–242.

7 Kosugi Ryoko 小杉亮子, *Tōdai Tōsō no Katari: Shakai Undō no Yoji to Senryaku* 東大闘争の語り：社会運動の予示と戦略 [Life Histories of Japanese Student Activists in the 1960s: Prefiguration and Strategy in the Campus Protest of the University of Tokyo], Tokyo: Shinyōsha, 2018.

Zenkyōtōs, executives such as the president, vice president, and secretary were selected from among the students belonging to the student council, and the organization was formed around them. Therefore, most of the college struggle began with an awareness of the executives, and their policy was smoothly determined in macroscopic terms. The case of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō was different because President Akita Akehiro was the sole figure frequently reported on in the mass media, and the faces of other executives were rarely known throughout the school.[8] Nichidai-Zenkyōtō did not have a vertical leadership system because the members gathered freely. For this reason, Nichidai students may have had very different ideas, and started an uprising despite holding different political views. Nonetheless, Nichidai-Zenkyōtō played a pivotal role in gathering all students. The reason was that Nichidai-Zenkyōtō students had defined the existence of right-wing organizations and sports clubs that were mobilized for the oppressive governance of universities as "organized violence."

So, what kind of activities are the students who participated in the Nichidai struggle still doing today? Nichidai-Zenkyōtō was formed autonomously by gathering individual students to object to the corruption of the university authorities in 1968. Half a century later, Nichidai-Zenkyōtō is recording its memories of the Nichidai struggle under the name The Nihon University 930 reunion.

The reunion was initially formed as a general alumni association on September 30, 1995. However, fewer people participated in its activities during the following ten years. It was only after the current bureau members[9] joined the alumni meeting that the activities of the reunion were put on track.[10]

With what ideas do they participate in the reunion? Also, how does the position of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō in 1968 and the 930 reunion members differ? Through interviews with members of the reunion, I quote the answers to the questions below.

> Mihashi: At first, I started to participate in this reunion of Nihon University 930, keeping my distance from alumni parties. I participated as an editor of the documentary records (the journal series, *A Record of Activism of Nihon University: Unforgettable Moments*), but I did not make the series or write papers on behalf of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō. I used to mention the name of this reunion, but I was not conscious of myself as a member of this group. The current reunion can be said to still be a group (Nichidai-Zenkyōtō) in which individuals freely participate, just like in the Nichidai struggle.
>
> Yazaki: I think it is necessary to say that rather than thinking from the position of a 930 reunion member, it is now simply fifty years later. The people who created this alumni association would have pushed for a simple meeting and thought, well, the Nichidai

8 Mihashi Toshiaki 三橋俊明, *Zenkyōtō, 1968 nen no yukaina hanran* 全共闘、1968 年の愉快な叛乱 [Zenkyōtō: 1968's Pleasant Revolts], Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 2018, p. 81.

9 The current members are Yazaki Kaoru 矢崎薫, Mihashi Toshiaki, Ōba Hisaaki 大場久昭, Nakamura Jun 中村順, Okamoto Tatsushi 岡本達思, Aoki Masami 青木正巳, Matake Yoshiyuki 真武善行, Shigaguchi Hiroto 志賀口博人, Tomizawa Rikurō 富澤陸郎, Kobayashi Kazuhiro 小林一博, Kiyonaga Hiroshi 清永博, Yamamura Takateru 山村貴輝, Okusumi Yoshio 奥住好雄, and Kurigami Mitsuyuki 操上光行.

10 Interview conducted by email with Kawana Kazuo 川名和夫 on February 5, 2019. As an early member of the Nihon University 930 reunion, Kawana gave me information on former members.

struggle was great, the 9/30 mass bargaining was also great, so yes, why don't we gather at the reunion, or something like that. They didn't have the sense to record Nichidai-Zenkyōtō properly, unlike us who are gathered here now.

Ōba: No, they wanted to make some kind of documentary records, too. But the plan they were thinking of did not go well, and eventually it didn't go this way or that. No plans can proceed unless someone initially puts it all down on paper. As Yazaki participated in this meeting, he held an annual alumni party that was divided into a symposium in the morning and a social gathering in the afternoon. The number of participants increased because the vice president of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō, Yazaki, was at the center.

Yazaki: When I held the first symposium, someone told me to stop this kind of assembly. I was told to stop holding symposiums and social gatherings separately. It meant that everybody could drink and enjoy the party from the beginning. Some people came all the way from the countryside to Tokyo, so they wanted to talk about the old days while drinking with their friends. I was surprised that even if I was a Nichidai student like them, and my goal was to record the Nichidai struggle, our experiences were so different. All the Nichidai students were and are different. So, the 930 reunion members are also different. Not all one hundred thousand students were the same just because they were Nichidai-Zenkyōtō. Everybody's motives for participating in the Nichidai struggle were different, every Nichidai-Zenkyōtō person was born and raised differently and in different places, the reasons for entering Nihon University were different, and the time spent by grade was different. Since such people made Nichidai-Zenkyōtō, even after fifty years, their feelings about Nichidai-Zenkyōtō will still be different.[11]

From the outset, and despite holding different views, the reunion members aimed to record their experiences at Nichidai-Zenkyōtō. Their goal was to write down their own experiences to check each other's disparate memories of the Nichidai struggle. For this reason, their record-keeping activities were certainly not meant to be read by others first. To start restructuring the collective memories of the Nichidai struggle, the reunion members focused on their own efforts to discuss their student movement as history.

As a result, they were able to collect material amounting to about forty boxes containing fifteen thousand documents on Nichidai-Zenkyōtō. However, it was not easy to keep this vast amount of material and use all of these data for their recording activities. Thus, the reunion decided to donate all of their material on Nichidai-Zenkyōtō to the National Museum of Japanese History, and the records serve as evidence describing a social movement in contemporary Japan.[12] The donated data was comprised of about fifteen thousand documents.[13] This was a big step for-

11 I interviewed a few members of the Nihon University 930 reunion (Yazaki Kaoru, Mihashi Toshiaki, Ōba Hisaaki, Nakamura Jun, Kobayashi Kazuhiro, and Mori Yūichi 森雄一) at the Café Renoir in Shinjuku Sanchome BYGS building on January 6, 2019.

12 The National Museum of Japan History held the special exhibition "1968" from October 11 to December 10, 2017. Nichidai-Zenkyōtō's materials were also exhibited.

13 Mihashi Toshiaki, *Nichidai tōsō to Zenkyōtō undō: Nichidai tōsō kōkaizadankai no kiroku* 日大闘争と全共闘運動：日大闘争公開座談会の記録 [Nichidai Struggle and the Zenkyōtō Movement: The Record of the Roundtable Talk on the Nichidai Struggle], Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 2018, p. 14.

ward because the history of student activism in the 1960s can be factually reconstructed. While physical material is of course significant, the reflective content of the activists' remarks is also important. It is only recently that they have begun to discuss the struggle of Nihon University although many of them have published their own recollections of the late 1960s. The vice president of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō, Yazaki Kaoru, has led many recent activities of the alumni association in order to compile numerous materials into archival records.

3. Sharing the Memories of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō: Recording

The Nihon University 930 reunion finally published the first issue of its journal series, *A Record of Activism of Nihon University: Unforgettable Moments*, on February 15, 2011. The members ask alumni to participate in order to document a vast amount of memories from the late 1960s. This work is to reflect on those who had not been able to talk about the Nichidai-Zenkyōtō, and to understand the significance of recording these memories while reminiscing about the Nichidai struggle.

This book series ended with the ninth edition published on January 30, 2019. The published records have been sent to six hundred and fifty readers and are preserved as research material, including donations to public libraries and major university libraries in Japan (figures 3 and 4). Nihon University graduates who were student activists spontaneously organized the Nihon University 930 reunion as an alumni association. In principle, it is not necessary to pay membership fees because the members have indicated their willingness to cooperate with each other in their recording activities. Accordingly, the voluntary gathering enabled lively discussions and allowed the compilation of the journal's themes and special features for public consumption to be planned. Although the publication has been completed, if there are any members who wish to document their experiences, it is likely that another issue of the journal will be published.[14]

Figures 3 and 4: The reunion members work to prepare delivery of the final edition, no. 9, on January 29, 2019 (photo by author).

14 Nihon University 930 reunion 日大 930 の会, *Nichidai tōsō no kiroku: Wasurezaru hibi* 日大闘争の記録——忘れざる日々 [A Record of Activism of Nihon University: Unforgettable Moments], vol. 9, Tokyo: Nichidai tōsō o kirokusuru kai 日大闘争を記録する会 [The Group to Record the Nichidai Struggle], 2019, pp. 5–7.

In the final edition, Yazaki finally explained why he had not been able to write about Nichidai-Zenkyōtō so far, even though he is a former vice president. He could not write why he was at the scene of the student uprising, what he was going to do with his thoughts, and what happened as a result. All he could think of was simply a question mark. At this point, he realized that the Nichidai Movement became a movement for all Nichidai students, and not his own, even though he participated in the college struggle out of his own free will. He became aware that each student involved in Nichidai-Zenkyōtō actually had a wide range of experiences, recognizing the importance of recording the struggle as "a chronological timeline."[15] The members of the Nihon University 930 reunion devoted themselves to publishing the journal nine times from the first to the final issues and put the facts in chronological order; this process led them to share their memories and perspectives.

The reunion was formed as a common space where various opinions and information were exchanged and voluntarily shared. For the participants in Zenkyōtō, it was a chance to form ideas by repeating the process of producing, transmitting, and absorbing knowledge independently. Through the record-keeping activities of this reunion, the members are able to continue to judge and act on themselves as Zenkyōtō. Therefore, Yazaki attempted to understand the big picture of the Nichidai struggle through alumni meetings. Through interviews with the reunion members, I quote Yazaki's thoughts on Nihon Univeristy 930 reunion below.

> Yazaki: When I go to the alumni party, I hear lots of good stories all the time. Even though I don't have any great purpose as such, I have held reunions for the sub-committee of each faculty. I also held a memorial service when my Nichidai colleague died. So, I made a list of 670 Nichidai alumni. At first, I didn't have the idea to make a book, I just wanted to meet everyone. As I heard interesting stories at the reunion, I wanted to record them. I wanted to record the Nichidai struggle of others. Hosting an alumni meeting was one way of knowing why I fought in Nichdai-Zenkyōtō. Listening to other people's stories of the Nichdai struggle, I was able to have the time to learn about Nichdai-Zenkyōtō.[16]

Conclusion

This research uses interviews not simply to examine the background of a university reform movement led by Nichdai-Zenkyōtō, but to study how the Nihon University 930 reunion has fostered its own intellect during its documentation activities. The reunion was and is a space for exchanging opinions and information and then sharing and spreading knowledge voluntarily. Any members of Nichidai-Zenkyōtō are able to deliver their thoughts by producing, transmitting, and absorbing "intelligence" on their own. Thus, they again lived and judged themselves and acted as student activists through their activities. They have also continued to record the background and the purpose of the struggle, which is not easily integrated into previous studies on Japan of 1968. In short,

15 Ibid., pp. 154–158.

16 I interviewed two members of the Nihon University 930 reunion (Yazaki Kaoru, Mihashi Toshiaki) at the Café Renoir in Kichijoji on December 22, 2018.

it is essential to consider Nichidai-Zenkyōtō as a subject of history. Their work is an attempt to break away from the cliché of the historical context by rewriting their own stories. All the protests that occurred in the late 1960s are apt to converge on 1968.

For the generations who did not experience 1968, the Nichidai struggle should be presented as a historical issue. In order to deal with what happened in 1968, it needs to be recognized as a problem of Zenkyōto's afterlives that still continues rather than described as a tale of heroism.

日本の「1968 年」――日大全共闘とその後――

趙　沼振*

本稿では、1968 年に日大全共闘に結集した仲間たちで成り立つ同窓会組織「日大 930 の会」に着目し、彼らに行ったインタビュー調査の内容を通じて、日大闘争の経験を言語化して記録することの意義について考察する。日大 930 の会は、『日大闘争の記録――忘れざる日々』と題する書籍をシリーズで発行し、当事者へ、各自の体験を記録するよう呼びかけた。彼らは今日もなお、日大全共闘としての自らを、歴史の対象として客観的に考察するための記録作業に取り組み続けている。

キーワード：日本大学、大学闘争、学生運動、記録活動、オーラル・ヒストリー

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Producing Colonial Difference at High Elevation: The Figure of the "Savage" during the Late Qing and Modern Japanese Regimes in Indigenous Taiwan

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Beginning in the 1870s, Taiwan's mountain forests became a contested battleground between indigenous peoples and colonizers. At issue was the production of camphor, a crystalline substance derived from the *cinnamomum camphora* tree. Central to the expansion of imperial control in this strategic zone of resource extraction was the concept of indigenous Taiwanese as "savage." Both Qing and Japanese colonizers employed this concept at great lengths to craft assimilation programs, and to carry out punishing military assaults. This essay revisits the figure of the savage and how it shaped the structures of late Qing and Japanese colonial governance in the Taiwan highlands. In doing so, it showcases not only how dehumanizing constructs shape the actions of colonizers, but also how these evolve across multiple empires.

Keywords: colonialism, empire, camphor, Frantz Fanon, Rosa Luxemburg

In his manifesto for decolonizing peoples, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon described how the rule of colonizers is founded upon the presumption that "the native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but the negation of values."[1] To paint the native as the antithesis of "civilized" values is not enough, however. Fanon adds that the language used to describe the colonized must be nothing short of thoroughly dehumanizing: "... [T]he terms the settler uses when he mentions the native are zoological terms. He speaks of the yellow man's reptilian motions, of the stink of the native quarter, of breeding swarms, of foulness, of spawn, of

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1 Frantz Fanon (trans. by Constance Farrington), *The Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Grove Press, 1961, p. 41.

gesticulations. When the settler seeks to describe the native fully in exact terms he constantly refers to the bestiary."[2]

Fanon wrote these observations as European empires were in the midst of collapse, but his statement applies even more to an earlier era of imperialist violence, that of the turn of the twentieth century, when colonial regimes were capturing the last holdouts of native resistance to predatory capitalist extraction around the world. Pacification campaigns or punitive expeditions were standard operating procedures during this period, as colonial troops inflicted destructive violence of genocidal proportions around the globe. This global infrastructure of violent expropriation was built on the premise that the colonized were savage or subhuman, and not worthy humane treatment, whether as subjects under occupation or as belligerents in a state of war. In Fanon though, it is not so much that the "native" fails to meet these criteria and therefore inspires revulsion; it is rather that the native's very mode of existence is anathema, and as such must be violently brought to heel by whatever means necessary. The absence of "civilized" norms is not a sufficient condition for the employment of brute force; colonizers must frame the absence as a deliberate rejection of their dominant values. In insisting on preserving their rights to communally-held lands or ancestral villages, which will inevitably entail armed resistance, colonizers become convinced that their antagonists are barbarism incarnate.

One area which experienced such patterns of dehumanizing colonial violence at the height of these global imperialist convulsions was the Taiwan highlands. Taiwan's mountain forests and hillsides, which encompass the territories of indigenous groups like the Atayal 泰雅族, Truku 太魯閣族, and Seediq 賽德克族, became a contested imperialist battleground for decades under the late Qing and modern Japanese states.[3] Citing attacks on their remote frontier encampments by indigenous warriors as a pretext, both these empires launched punishing and indiscriminate assaults using troops and cannon fire in order to bring about the "surrender" of scattered mountain village communities.[4] Both empires' objectives in capturing these mountain forests were the development of infrastructure (roads, telegraph wiring, police stations, etc.), as well as the production of camphor, a white crystalline substance derived from the vapors of cooked *cinnamomum camphora* tree wood. Camphor was a substance found in everything from basic plastics used in household objects to the first film reels ever produced. Camphor was also a vital ingredient for the manufacturing of smokeless gunpowder, which became a vital supply for troops fighting in the trenches during the First World War. Its contribution to consumer culture and the industrial age cannot be overstated. It helped fuel the growth of imperial modernities throughout the Euro-American and Japanese worlds.

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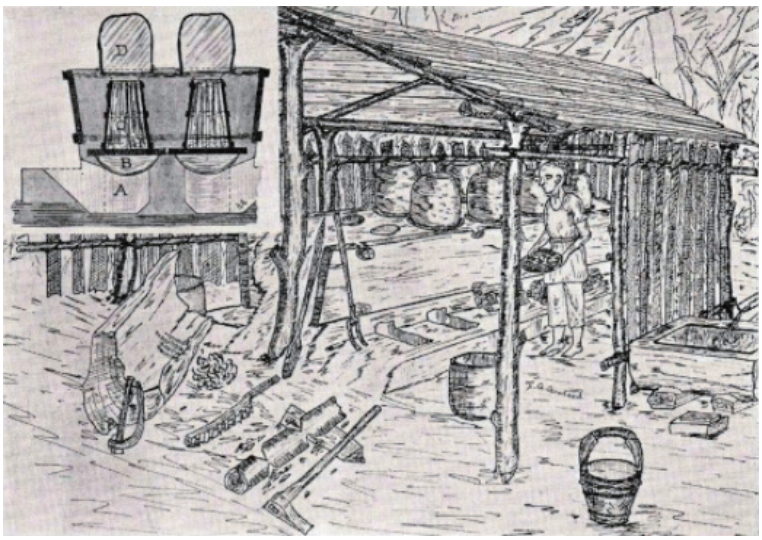
2 Ibid., p. 42.

3 Taiwan's sixteen official indigenous groups are: Amis 阿美族, Atayal 泰雅族, Paiwan 排灣族, Bunun 布農族, Puyuma 卑南族, Rukai 魯凱族, Tsou 鄒族, Saisiyat 賽夏族, Yami 達悟族, Thao 邵族, Kavalan 噶瑪蘭族, Truku 太魯閣族, Sakizaya 撒奇萊雅族, Seediq 賽德克族, Hla'alua 拉阿魯哇族 and Kanakanavu 卡那卡那富族. Of Taiwan's 546,700 aborigines, there are 14,500 within the overall aborigine population who do not recognize themselves as belonging to any of the official sixteen categories. See Executive Yuan Republic of China, *Republic of China Yearbook 2016*, Taipei: Executive Yuan Republic of China, 2016, pp. 45–46.

4 The specific term for surrender is *guihua* 歸化 or *guijun* 歸順 in Chinese, and *kijun* 帰順 in Japanese.



Camphor production manned by a Taiwanese worker. Source: Davidson, James W. *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present. History, People, Resources, and Commercial Prospects. Tea, Camphor, Sugar, Gold, Coal, Sulphur, Economical Plants, and Other Productions*, New York: Macmillan and Co, 1903, pp. 420–421.

In the lead up to these campaigns, Taiwan's indigenous inhabitants were seen as savages existing "beyond the pale" (huawai 化外) of the Sino-centric system. The entry of western capitalists hoping to cash in on camphor products, followed by Japan's punitive expedition in southeast Taiwan (1874), put pressure on the Qing to bring these mountain territories under its control. Under the short-lived Taiwan Province administration, the Qing concocted a series of paternalistic assimilation programs that fell flat, and soon gave way to violent suppression campaigns to avenge raids on lowlanders or camphor workers. The incoming Japanese soon after took a similar approach. They made initial promises to appease aborigines and promised gifts and benevolent government, only then to brutally shell and invade them in the face of endless attacks against camphor implements or other frontier installations.

For decades, both the late Qing and modern Japanese regimes inflicted brutal state repression on scores of village communities[5] under the pretext of subjugating what they deemed to be violent human beings who obstructed the progress of industries. At the heart of these policies was the

5 I use the term "village community," a translation of the Atayal word *qalang* proposed by the linguist scholar-translator of Tgadaya Seediq, Darryl Sterk, to refer to these particular highland non-state polities that dotted Taiwan's northeast and central mountains during the late Qing and Japanese period. Sterk is basing his translation on the Seediq word *galang*, which is almost identical to the Atayal word (qalang). It is important to note, though, that while they share many underlying features, Atayal and Seediq are the two distinct languages of two distinct indigenous nations.

notion of savage (*fan* 番 in Chinese and *ban* 蕃 in Japanese).[6] In the Taiwan context, the savage represented both the administrative and cultural boundaries of empire as well as the basis for its expansion. Not subject to the formal structures of governance, yet targeted by the latter due to the presence of exploitable resources, the savage allows us to grasp the modern form of the colony itself. As Fanon famously put it: "In the colonial countries ... the policeman and the soldier, by their immediate presence and their frequent and direct action maintain contact with the native and advise him by means of rifle butts and napalm not to budge."[7] The colony is a space "where the agents of government speak the language of pure force."[8] It is a space where the rules of warfare, diplomacy, and civil society are in complete suspension. Therefore, all manner of horrific treatment can be used to enforce order, or initiate the creation of capitalistic enterprises. "Savages" can be freely expropriated from their lands, have their villages or crops burned, have their identities suppressed, and experience the full weight of the state's unrestrained brutality. To put it simply, the figure of the savage allows the state to act with a level of brutality it otherwise wouldn't employ in a metropolitan context.

This essay examines how the figure of the savage under the late Qing and modern Japanese regimes gave rise to patterns of state-bureaucratic violence which brought under control native sovereignties that had remained virtually untouched by colonizers for centuries. In the Taiwan highlands the notion of the savage was not merely a racist stereotype hurled at the island's indigenous inhabitants; it served as a central organizing principle behind an entire mode of occupation. The savage provided a framework for making war upon the colonized—one that transmuted all acts of native resistance into senseless "killings" requiring brutal retaliation, no matter how real or imagined the harm done to colonizers. These relations of violence, in turn, not only helped coordinate troop and militia movements across a changing frontier, but also cemented the growth of the vital camphor industry, which was arguably one of the world's most important resources at the time.

To elucidate further the interplay of capitalist accumulation and the violence of dehumanizing ideations, I wish to invoke briefly a seminal theoretician of Marxist thought, Rosa Luxemburg, whose writings in the opening decades of the twentieth century sought to address why the West (and by extension Japan) had sought to impose its system of industrial capitalism by force of arms. In her seminal 1913 work, *The Accumulation of Capital*, she writes: "Capital needs other races to exploit territories where the white man cannot work. It must be able to mobilize world labor power

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6 I am not the first to discuss the production of the savage in a Taiwan context. Scholars like Matsuda Kyōko, Robert Tierney, and Paul Barclay have done pioneering work on how Japan's colonial rule depended on the production of a savage other across various domains (literary, popular, academic, or governmental). This article builds on their scholarship by examining the specific figure of the "savage," and its pivotal role in organizing the forms of frontier violence needed to jumpstart and expand the process of capitalist accumulation. See Matsuda Kyōko 松田京子, *Teikoku no shikō: Nihon "teikoku" to Taiwan genjūmin* 帝国の思考：日本「帝国」と台湾原住民 [Imperial Thought: Japan's 'Empire' and Taiwan's aborigines], Tokyo: Yūshisha, 2014; Robert Tierney, *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010; Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire: Japan's Rule on Taiwan's 'Savage Border,' 1874–1895*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2017.

7 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 38.

8 Ibid.

without restriction in order to utilize all productive forces of the globe."[9] In order to tap into non-capitalistic productive forces, however, capital first required the dismantlement and reconfiguration of social formations "rigidly-bound" to traditional non-capitalist forms of production, or what she called "natural economy." She wrote:

> Vast tracts of the globe's surface are in the possession of social organizations that have no desire for commodity exchange or cannot, because of the entire social structure and the forms of ownership, offer for sale the productive forces in which capital is primarily interested.[10]

This led her to her groundbreaking thesis that "accumulation, with its spasmodic expansion, can no more wait for, and be content with, a natural internal disintegration of non-capitalist formations and their transition to commodity economy ... Force is the only solution open to capital; the accumulation of capital, seen as an historical process, employs force as a permanent weapon, not only at its genesis, but further on down to the present day."[11] In the same section, she also gave crucial insight into how colonized peoples experience the violence of imperialism, noting that "permanent occupation by the military, native risings and punitive expeditions are the order of the day" when indigenous land and resources become the object of capitalist accumulation.[12] Situated on the fringes of the capitalist system, yet important for its reproduction, colonies were spaces where states were unshackled from conventional rules of war or inter-state relations, thereby allowing them to accelerate exploitation of untapped natural resources through brute extra-economic and extra-legal force. The sociologist Onur Ulas Ince, in a recent appraisal of Luxemburg's theory, made this point, noting that: "Situated 'beyond the line,' colonies represented not only the abode of the 'savage' or 'barbarian' peoples but also spaces where European colonists could confront the indigenous people and each other with a savagery and barbarism unfettered by Europe's 'civilized' manners.'"[13] Luxemburg's formulation, he noted, allows us in turn to understand "why colonial entrepreneurs had a much freer hand in establishing regimes of bonded labor, extirpating indigenous inhabitants, and wreaking havoc on the forms of land tenure they found in place."[14]

A Luxemburgian reading of colonial occupation as "permanent" and ongoing violence directed at a social formation resisting either total or partial capitalization allows us to grasp better the brutal and extra-legal methods imperial conquerors have devised to pry open new frontiers and markets. "Natural economies" directly experience unvarnished capitalist violence due to their refusal to let industries transform their lands and resources—which are indissociable from social or

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9 Rosa Luxemburg (trans. by Agnes Schwarzchild), *The Accumulation of Capital*, London: Routledge, 2003, p. 351.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., pp. 350–351.

12 Ibid.

13 Onur Ulas Ince, "Primitive Accumulation, the New Enclosures, and Global Land Grabs: A Theoretical Intervention," *Rural Sociology* vol. 79, no. 1, 2014, p. 112. The scholar of racial capitalism, Michael Dowson, invokes Ince's formulation in a similar manner. See Michael Dowson, "Hidden in Plain Sight: A Note on Legitimation Crises and the Racial Order," *Critical Historical Studies* vol. 3, no. 1, Spring 2016, pp. 143–161.

14 Onur Ulas Ince, "Primitive Accumulation, the New Enclosures, and Global Land Grabs," p. 112.

cosmological systems—into export commodities. As Fanon would point out, this act of force cannot exist without the central assumption that the native is the "quintessence of evil," who must be thoroughly reformed or simply removed.[15] Regimes of difference-making and regimes of accumulation work hand-in-glove to produce not only hyper-exploitative methods of extraction, but also an arsenal of repressive instruments. These instruments employ a kind of "surplus violence" that seems to map onto the anticipated surplus profits which colonizers hope to capture while erecting their industries on native lands. As Fanon famously put it:

> In the colonies the economic substructure is also a superstructure. The cause is the consequence, you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. This is why Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial problem.[16]

Bridging Luxemburg and Fanon's insights, this essay attempts such a "stretch" by examining the pivotal role that constructions of Taiwan indigenes as "savages" played in shaping the epistemology of indigenous dispossession across two empires.

The Late Qing and Early Japanese Colonial Period: modes of occupation and difference-making

Before Japan constructed its own savage frontier and mobilized its armies to capture indigenous forests, it was the late Qing state that first attempted this through its modernizing goals of transforming Taiwan Province into a secure commercial and military outpost. Though China was a victim of global imperialist aggression during the late nineteenth century, the Qing state itself engaged in behavior on its remote frontiers worthy of the same colonizers, who were busy carving out treaty ports and extraterritorial zones across China. With vast untapped resources in the Taiwan interior, Qing officials and their frontier garrisons set their sights on developing the booming camphor trade to finance their program of provincial "self-strengthening" during the 1870s and 1880s. indigenous groups however stood in their path. Imperial Commissioner Shen Baozhen 沈葆楨 (1820–1879), who designed this policy of "opening the mountains," put the situation at the time in rather plain language: "If we open up the mountains but do not first pacify the savages, then we will have no handle to open up the mountains; if we want to pacify the savages but do not first open up the mountains, then savage pacification will be merely empty talk."[17]

The idea of the savage in the late Qing mindset predates the camphor boom, however. Concepts of human beings inhabiting geographically-distant places and lacking proper social order have existed ever since dynastic regimes in China faced nomadic, non-sedentary peoples on their

15 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 40.

16 Ibid., p. 41.

17 Cited in Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest: Imperialism and Capitalism in the Taiwan Camphor Industry, 1800–1945," PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 2004, p. 120.

borders.[18] Taiwan was no stranger to this pattern of imperial regimes establishing hierarchic differences to distinguish Han from non-Han. Even before Taiwan came under Qing control, notions of remote "barbarian" (*yi* 夷) peoples influenced perceptions of the island. This early mode of difference-making in Taiwan was one based not on revulsion, but rather a fascination with the primitive. The earliest records of Chinese perceptions of Taiwan aborigines date back to the Ming dynasty. In 1603, general Shen Yourong 沈有容 (1557–1628) launched a punitive expedition to eradicate Japanese pirate activities. The expedition spilled over onto the Taiwan coast, leading to contact with aborigines, who entertained Shen and his men with a feast of wine and deer meat. In the process, a military advisor to Shen, Chen Di 陳第 (1541–1617) stayed on the island for twenty-one days and recorded his observations of the local population in his 1603 text, *Dongfan ji* 東番記 (Record of Formosa). *Dongfan ji* opens with a description of the Formosa natives as "the naked and rope-tying people, who have neither calendars nor officials nor chiefs."[19] Though Chen uses the term barbarian (*yi*) and mentions their headhunting activities, much of his account is largely sympathetic, attributing their difference to historical contingency, and not to any inherent backwardness.[20] This early fascination with a people lacking centralized rule and hierarchic social norms soon shifted as matters of colonial administration began taking precedence. Once Taiwan was incorporated into the empire in 1683, attempts at Sinicization quickly began to accompany land reclamation activities. An early eighteenth-century ethnography of plains aborigines in Taiwan's north by scholar-official Huang Shu-Ching 黃叔敬 (1666–1742) reveals this assimilationist drive to transform aborigines into compliant subjects:

> [T]aiwan is entirely a land of barbarians. Their foreheads tattooed, their locks shorn, [they are as hard to keep in order as] a mess of ants or a swarm of bees. For those in service overseas keeping the barbarians pacified must surely be considered difficult ... Lately, in their villages there are some who study the writings of the Four Philosophers (the Four Books of the Confucian canon), and learn one of the scriptures (the Five Classics). With encouragement and guidance can we not convert their uncouth ways to those of civilized men?[21]

By the early 1700s, indigenous peoples residing across Taiwan's western plains became the object of assimilation policies which sought to eliminate their decentralized political structures, head-taking rituals, forms of dress, and other customs. Though the Qing had not expanded into the

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18 For ancient China and the peoples around its shifting imperial borders, see Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

19 Leigh K. Jenco, "Chen Di's *Record of Formosa* (1603) and an Alternative Chinese Imaginary of Otherness," *The Historical Journal* vol. 64, Special Issue 1: Uses of the Past Between Europe and East Asia, February 2021, p. 18.

20 Ibid., pp. 18–42.

21 Cited in Thompson, Laurence. "The Earliest Chinese Eyewitness Accounts of the Formosan aborigines." *Monumenta Serica* 23 (3), 1964, pp. 48–49. Jenco also notes that Huang's ethnography gave Taiwan aborigines a largely positive treatment, with passages highlighting their shared humanity with Chinese. His text though still stressed the practical political necessities of having them acculturated into Sinic ways. See Leigh K. Jenco, "Chen Di's *Record of Formosa* (1603) and an alternative Chinese imaginary of otherness," p. 37.

mountainous interior, images of wild and untamed peoples requiring the "civilizing" influence of Sinic culture had already been internalized by Taiwan's rulers.

As settlement expanded to the foothills of the central Taiwan mountain range, skirmishes between settlers and natives on the edges of Qing-controlled areas in Taiwan forced the government to police a complex highland-lowland boundary permeated by various territorial, racial, and civilizational distinctions. In the early 1700s, the Qing government formally established a "savage boundary" (*fanjie* 番界) near the base of the foothills to prevent Han Chinese farmers from trespassing onto indigenous lands beyond Qing control. This border initially consisted of earth works and other rudimentary physical markers. Through the erection of the "savage boundary," Qing statesmen also developed a system for classifying indigenous people. Pacified aborigines who paid taxes and performed military duties became known as "cooked savages" (*shou fan* 熟番) while those beyond the reach of government authority were dubbed "raw savages" (*sheng fan* 生番).[22] Later, an intermediary category of "savages in the process of transformation" (*hua fan* 化番) appeared. The terms "raw savage" (*seiban* 生蕃) and "cooked savage" (*jukuban* 熟蕃) were later also adopted by Japanese colonists to distinguish between plains and hill aborigines. Qing maps show a distinction between these zones, with clusters of village settlements and administrative centers dotting the plains, and mountain chains in the center showing the clear demarcation not only in terms of topography, but also political geography.

Taiwan qian hou shan quan tu 台灣前後山全圖, 1875–1880, Library of Congress (https://lccn.loc.gov/gm71005066)

In the above map, Chinese names labelling the different peaks connected to mountain roads mask a fictitious sovereignty where the Qing were not often present. Only "pacified" villages who

22 For a good overview of this system of classification, see Emma Teng, *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683–1895*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004, pp. 122–149.

paid taxes and performed frontier military service were technically under the empire's jurisdiction.[23]

This however did not preclude the Qing from depicting those outside its civilizational orbit as dangerous human beings intent on killing and slaughter. An illustrated ethnography of mountain aborigines from the late Qing period, for example, features an image titled "Illustration of indigenes prostrating on precipice and getting ready to kill" (*Shenfan fuyai zhensha tushuo* 生番伏崖偵殺圖說), which showcases two aboriginal warriors atop a cliff firing at unsuspecting Chinese passers-by. The description reads: "The indigenes are addicted to slaughtering, the one who beheads Han Chinese would be granted as the tribal leader. It is usually the case that the indigenes hide in the bushes of the side cliffs, await lonely Han Chinese travelers descending into the mountain, and then attack the Han Chinese with firearms, behead and take the head away with them."[24] Images of "wild" aborigines attacking Han Chinese from hillsides or consecrating severed heads were all part of the Qing's Sino-centric cultural imaginary. Though so-called raw or transforming savages existed outside the state's assimilatory grip, their existence was still deemed a threat to those living on the remote edges of state sovereignty. Even under the Qing's "quarantine" policy of limiting contact with the mountains, various forms of land reclamation or highland-lowland commerce (acquisition of wild game, animal parts used for medicinal purposes, etc.) still contributed to frontier violence. The transition to a new regime of accumulation centered on camphor would make these pre-existing forms of ethno-culturalist essentialization more vicious in their overall application in the closing years of Qing control.

After Japan's punitive expedition against the Qing in 1874, the Qing state initiated its policy of "open the mountains, pacify the savages" (*kaishan fufan* 開山撫番).[25] At the center of this policy was the capitalist transformation of the Taiwanese camphor forests, which by the 1860s and 1870s had reached record highs in terms of production, thanks to the lifting of trade regulations following conflicts with the British.[26] After an influx of Western companies that sought to cash in on deregulated camphor markets in the interior, the Qing state began putting in place monopolistic measures to monetize camphor production. Under Taiwan's first provincial governor, the decorated military official Liu Mingchuan 劉銘傳 (1836–1896), the state began a comprehensive indigene

23 For more on this system, see Robert Shepherd, *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier 1600–1800*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993, pp. 308–362.

24 Chen Zongren 陳宗仁, ed., *Wan Qing Taiwan fan tu su* 晚清臺灣番俗圖 [Illustrations of aborigines in Late Qing Taiwan], Taipei: Academia Sinica Institute of Taiwan History, 2013, p. 102. The translation of the passage is taken from Pei-Hsi Lin, "Firearms, Technology, and Culture: Resistance of Taiwan indigenes to Chinese, European, and Japanese Encroachment in a Global Context Circa 1860–1914." PhD dissertation, Nottingham Trent University, 2016, p. 293.

25 For an overview of this incident, see Robert Eskilden, "Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan," *American Historical Review* vol. 107, no. 2, 2002, pp. 388–418.

26 For more on the *kaishan fufan* policy, see Chang Lung-chih, "From Frontier Island to Imperial Colony: Qing and Japanese Sovereignty Debates and Territorial Projects, 1874–1906." PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2003, pp. 95–101. For a source which mentions the relationship between violence and the free trade boom, see James W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Past and Present. History, People, Resources, and Commercial Prospects. Tea, Camphor, Sugar, Gold, Coal, Sulphur, Economical Plants, and Other Productions*, New York: Macmillan and Co, 1903, p. 405.

pacification program. In 1886, the government established the Pacification-Reclamation Office (*fukenju* 撫墾局), which functioned as a collection of trade posts aiming to sinicize aborigines through a patchwork of farm education programs, instruction in the Confucian classics, and distribution of supplies (munitions, food, clothing, rifles) to "loyal" elders who showed a willingness to "submit." These trade posts, combined with protective militia troops (known as *aiyong* 隘勇) clustered in camphor-rich areas, were meant to stabilize commercial forest activities and allow steady revenue streams.[27] While the Qing's approach before the 1870s was to minimize ethnic tensions in the borderlands, the "open the mountains, pacify the savages" policy redefined aborigines as potential obstacles to a late imperial state seeking to bolster its administrative control of outlying areas and increase surplus revenues.[28] The Qing state of course promised compassionate care for those who allowed camphor workers, road builders and armed guards to move into their territories. Those who refused faced an all-out assault, meaning imperial armies and auxiliaries would incinerate their villages, shell them with cannons, and force unconditional surrender.

Late Qing expansion into the mountains cemented patterns of frontier warfare and dehumanization that would endure well into the later Japanese years. Campaigns by the Qing were launched in response to a combination of attacks on camphor stoves, headhunting raids on Han villages, or attacks on government outposts. At the center of Qing expansion into the mountains was the *aiyong* line, a perimeter of armed militias garrisoned along the savage boundary who kept watch over the frontier, and who were frequently the target of attacks by indigenous groups residing in the foothills. Raids on unsuspecting Han or Qing masked the complex epistemology of how mountain peoples managed political relations among themselves and with outsiders. Violence in the Taiwan highlands between indigenous groups never aimed to assert permanent relations between ruler and ruled, as these polities recognized no supreme political authority. Rather, conflict was cyclical and horizontal in nature, as village communities in the highlands often feuded over land or hunting, but made peace once hostilities ended. The ritualized head-taking element of indigenous warfare, perhaps the supreme mark of "savagery" for both late Qing and Japanese colonizers, was itself part of a vast complex of beliefs and practices which were far-ranging in scope, and included priorities like territorial defense, disease prevention or displaying one's bravery as a rite of passage.[29]

The highpoint of Qing violence was the series of wars between 1886 and 1892, clustered in the Dakekan 大嵙崁 region (now largely Fuxing District 復興區, Taoyuan City 桃園市), an area

27 For an overview of the *fukenju* and its activities, see William Miller Speidel, "Liu Min Chu'an in Taiwan, 1884–1891," PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1967, pp. 284–288.

28 For an overview of this transformation, see Chang Lung-chih. "From Frontier Island to Imperial Colony."

29 For more on the subject of northeastern indigenous ethnography, specifically as it relates to the Seediq nation, see Scott Simon, "Politics and Headhunting among the Formosan Sejiq: Ethnohistorical Perspectives", *Oceania* vol. 82, no. 2, July 2012. See also Scott Simon, *Sadyaq Balae! L'autochtonie formosane dans tous ses états* [Sediq Bale! Formosan indigeneity in all of its forms], Laval: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2012. For Atayal practices and cosmology, I rely on Laysa Akyo 萊撒阿給佑, *Taiyaerzu chuantong wenhua: buluo, zhexue, shenhua, gushi yu xiandai yiyi* 泰雅爾族傳統文化：部落哲學, 神話故事與現代意義 [Atayal Traditional Culture: village philosophy, mythology, and present-day significance], Taipei: Xinrui wen chuang chuban, 2012. On the subject of head-taking among the Atayal, see Yamada Hitoshi 山田仁史, *Kubikari no shūkyō minzokugaku* 首狩の宗教民族学 [Religious Ethnology of Headhunting], Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 2015.

with strategic waterways that linked camphor-producing mountain forests with the port of Danshui 淡水. This region would also see heavy fighting between Japanese pacification armies and unconquered indigenes a few years later. After Liu's appointment as governor of Taiwan Province, the expansion of the camphor trade and a desire to strengthen the government presence uphill brought renewed friction on the frontier, all of which culminated in a series of frontier wars. The first of these took place between February and March 1886, when governor Liu ordered commander Liu Chaohu 劉朝祜 (1846–1888) to lead an expedition to subdue Atayal villages, who at the time had a reputation of being "fierce" peoples who resisted Han attempts to colonize their lands. Liu Chaohu assembled his forces, and descended on Dakekan villages. The chief elder of a confederation of thirteen northeastern Dakekan groups, Maray Yuri 馬來猶力, led these communities to accept surrender in February. Two communities, the Zhutoujiao 竹頭角社 and the Malikowan 馬里闊丸, continued to resist, but were attacked by troops and shelled with cannon fire until they backed down a month later.[30] Lin Zhaoming 林昭明, a descendant of the Dabao 大豹 Atayal group, recounts in an oral testimony how, when the Qing arrived in February, the Atayal had accepted surrender after the Qing promised through their interpreters what seemed like favorable peace terms. "At the time, the Atayal did not resist but were angry. The Qing sent their interpreters and said they would give them good things, so they agreed to do a surrender ceremony."[31] Historian Fujii Shizue, however, describes how official accounts by Liu paint a different picture, with the governor's report highlighting that Maray's party demanded to surrender, and then received clothes and had their hair cut in the Qing-style queue. This contrasts with Lin's oral account, which makes this humiliating exchange seem like a negotiation.[32] Qing colonizers here likely misread Atayal "surrender" as acceptance of imperial dominance, instead of recognizing that these exchanges implied horizontal forms of diplomatic reciprocity which were common throughout mountain village communities. A year later in 1887, a local epidemic that ravaged a number of village communities in the Dakekan area led to a spike in head-taking raids—a likely indication for the Qing that the "surrender" of certain groups was not a permanent affair. A Qing official described how, between May and June an epidemic outbreak had caused Dakekan's "transforming savages to come out to kill people."[33] The Qing discovered it was the Dabao that had committed the bulk of the killings, and so decided to go after them. In October, Governor Liu sent his forces to punish the seven Dabao settlements blamed for these incidents. The Qing used scorched earth attacks to incinerate their dwellings, forcing the Dabao to relocate.[34]

The final push to try and bring these mountain village communities to heel took place

30 Fujii Shizue 藤井志津枝, *Dakekan Shijian, 1900–1910* 大嵙崁事件, 1900–1910, [The Dakekan Incident, 1900–1910], Xinbeishi: Yuanzhuminzu Weiyuanhui, 2019, p. 73.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid., p. 75.

34 Ibid.

between 1891–1892, following a succession of head-taking raids on the expanding *aiyong* line.[35] Between April and May of 1891 groups ranging from one to ten individuals were killed in head-taking attacks perpetrated by members of Masu village.[36] Shortly after, a militia force of *aiyong* paramilitaries sought revenge. They sent a force to deal with attackers, but it was routed. Twenty had their heads taken, along with a cache of guns and ammo. In response, the local Qing commander placed a bounty on every killed savage belonging to Masu village. This led Han Chinese to target innocent aborigines who had no connection to Masu village. Eventually the local garrison commander took charge of the mission to capture those responsible. When Masu village refused to hand over the perpetrators, Qing forces razed the village to the ground.[37] This spate of localized frontier violence expanded, and by 1892, the Qing had managed to extend their garrisons a little further, but not without "considerable loss of life."[38] The Qing ultimately gave up on the idea of subduing Dakekan. The Japanese would complete that task close to two decades later.

As Qing troops vacated the mountains, the new Japanese colonial state and its leaders set their sights on this region and its vast, untapped forest resources. Initially, the Japanese hoped to distinguish themselves from the Qing by meeting with aboriginal elders and securing their loyalty to the newly-formed Taiwan Government-General. In the early years of their rule, Japanese colonizers were busy subjugating anti-Japanese guerilla forces in the plains. Of course, the primary focus of Japanese colonization efforts were Han Chinese people, who included sub-ethnic groups like the Hakka and Hoklo. Throughout the colonial period, Japanese rulers designed educational, hygiene, and security mechanisms to administer these populations, train up local elites, and also mobilize labor for production of such key agricultural crops as rice, and sugar.[39] Aboriginal peoples were treated as distinct from the Han population, especially given that the bulk of their territories remained unconquered when the Japanese took the island. Their territories over time would come under the control of police and indigenous affairs bureaucracies. During the initial years of Japanese rule, though, colonial officials reached out to prominent indigenous chiefs in order to secure access to strategic mountain districts, as well as to avoid a possible two-front war in the plains and in the mountains. These moments of first contact between Taiwan's new rulers and indigenes were typically marked by Japanese officials reading proclamations aloud to via interpreters, announcing that the island had been taken over by a new imperial government, and that henceforth all aborigines would be governed in benevolent fashion. Strongly worded injunctions to obey the new government's commands or face dire consequences accompanied these statements.

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35 Xu Yunliang 許毓良, *Guangxu shisinian (1888) Taiwan nei shan fan she di yu quan tu suo jian de xinbei shanqu: yi duan qing mo kaishan fufan de lishi zhuixun* 光緒十四年（1888）臺灣內山番社地輿全圖所見的新北山區：一段清末開山撫番的歷史追尋 [The Fourteenth Year of Guangxu (1888): A complete picture of New Taipei's mountainous districts and Taiwan's savage villages in the interior—the search for one story of the late Qing history of opening the mountains and pacifying the savages], New Taipei City: Yuanzu Wenhua, 2019, p. 111.

36 Fujii Shizue, *Dakekan Shijian*, p. 78.

37 Ibid., pp. 78–80. See also Xu Yunliang, *Guangxu shisinian (1888)*, p. 111.

38 William Miller Speidel, "Liu Min Chu'an in Taiwan, 1884–1891," pp. 299–303.

39 For an overview of Japan's colonial statecraft in Taiwan as it applied to Han people, a pioneering work is Hui-yu Caroline Ts'ai, *Taiwan in Japan's Empire Building: an institutional approach to colonial engineering*, New York: Routledge, 2009.

Feasts and the exchange of gifts usually followed these declarations, acts that consecrated all forms of peace-making in northeast Taiwanese indigenous forms of diplomacy.[40] These symbolic meetings largely set the tone for the early Japanese period, as officials combined assimilatory programs with threats of punitive violence. However, large-scale military expeditions were not possible at this point given the lingering presence of armed partisans in the plains.

Within less than a year, the proclamations read aloud to elders were formalized into a new institutional structure designed to win the loyalty of village communities and gain their acceptance of Japan's new colonial government. In March 1896, Civilian Affairs Director Mizuno Jun 水野遵 (1850–1900), the second most senior position after the Governor-General, announced that the government would set up "offices of Pacification and Reclamation" (*bukonsho* 撫墾署) like Liu had done with the Qing-era *fukenju*. These offices were to "assemble the savage chiefs to give them wine, cloth, and other products, all while striving to educate them."[41] However, given the Japanese state's overarching goals of developing forest industries, Mizuno never left out the possibility of using force of arms against those resisting Japan's presence: "The promotion of [camphor, forestry, etc.] involves making the savages submit to our government, having them acquire proper living conditions, and have them emerge from their barbaric state. In order to conquer the savages, force as well as benevolent care must be practiced at the same time."[42] By the summer, multiple *bukonsho* stations and substations were created with the above mandate in mind. Early Japanese governance under the *bukonsho* was marked by piecemeal attempts at assimilation that largely failed. Even though the government explicitly designed a program that stressed peaceful transformation through paternalistic "benevolence," the new Japanese regime in Taiwan made the use of colonial brute force a core part of its approach. In a series of guidelines issued to *bukonsho* personnel, the colonial state instructed frontier officers to convey to indigenes that, "Our imperial government will reward those who uphold the principle of cultivating the land. Those who oppose this, and engage in killings, will receive severe punishments."[43]

Much like the Qing, who devised plans to violently suppress savages just as forestry industries were expanding, the Japanese began shelving slow-moving assimilation policies just as camphor production resumed in the interior. In many ways, the rush to resume camphor production and deal with native insurgents perfectly captures Luxemburg's observation that "accumulation, with its spasmodic expansion, can no more wait for, and be content with, a natural internal disintegration of non-capitalist formations."[44] How could a strategy of cultural assimilation across Taiwan's remote mountain forests keep pace with the development of forest industries, which were tied to

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40 Inō Kanori 伊能嘉矩, ed., *Riban shikō dai ichi-ni hen* 理蕃誌稿第１・２編 [A Record of aborigines Administration Volume One-Two], Taipei: Taiwan Keimukyoku, 1918, pp. 4–5. For a more detailed summary of these encounters, see Paul Barclay, *Outcasts of Empire*, pp. 82–88. See also Namikoshi Shigeyuki 波越重之, Takahashi Masakichi 高橋政吉, Matsumuro Kentarō 松室謙太郎, eds., *Taihokushū ribanshi* 臺北州理蕃誌 [The History of Savage Administration in Taihoku Prefecture], Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu Keimukyoku, 1924, pp. 1–2.

41 Inō Kanori, ed., *Riban shikō dai ichi-ni hen*, pp. 3–4. See also Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Fores," p. 181.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., pp. 14–15.

44 Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, p. 351.

the fast-moving pressures of global markets? This fundamental contradiction quickly surfaced as colonial officials hoped to cash in rapidly on export industries to overcome deficits accrued from the costly wars to subdue Qing forces. Camphor, an industry with a solid foundation from the late Qing years, was well suited to supply the government with steady revenue. The government took its first decisive step to jumpstart this pivotal industry on 31 October 1895, when it passed a series of camphor production regulations. Under these regulations, all "undeclared" aboriginal forestland without a valid certificate of ownership would become government property. While land could not be arbitrarily seized from aborigines, the resources on the land itself could be monetized by private companies. Given that camphor producers sought out the dense forests surrounding Taiwan's indigenous foothills, permits could be issued to loggers for designated areas where they could fell trees, harvest camphor, and then sell it to wholesalers. (Starting in 1899 a Japanese monopoly collected all the camphor and revenues.) By the early 1900s, only a handful of Japanese-run camphor corporations could secure these permits. Camphor producers were encouraged to "make peace" with the groups whose land they were on by carrying large quantities of rice, liquor, and other supplies to give as offerings.[45] However, this hardly served as a recognition of aboriginal sovereignty; it was more an expedient measure to assuage hostilities inevitably provoked by the presence of loggers and armed security guards.

The destruction of camphor stills was often the prism through which the Government-General constructed its image of aborigines as either destructive vandals or cold-blooded killers. Given that aborigines were usually the first to strike, the colonial government found itself within its "rights" to retaliate with whatever measures it saw fit. Of course, at no point did it factor in indigenous motivations. As if to further decontextualize these attacks, most indigene raids on Japanese or Chinese are euphemistically referred to as *bangai* 蕃害 (lit. damage caused by savages). Instances of *bangai* began to climb around 1897 and 1898, just as the *bukonsho* was slipping in irrelevance and camphor operations were beginning to resume. While aboriginal attacks in 1896 killed sixty-three and injured sixteen, the following year aborigines killed 151 and injured fifteen. In 1898, those numbers rose sharply to 557 killed and 134 injured, in some 303 individual assaults.[46] In response, the Government-General initiated a slow process of criminalizing aboriginal resistance to logging. While the *bukonsho* lacked effective policing powers, the agency did put in place legal measures that would later prove beneficial to Japanese security forces. Some of the more notable measures included the application of collective punishments in the event that a single member of a village community attacked lowlanders or destroyed camphor-producing equipment.[47] At this stage, full-scale military or police actions were rare; the cessation of trade and the termination of gifts to indigenes were typical responses.[48] The legal doctrine of collective responsibility became one of the core principles behind later Japanese military strategy, as pacification

45 Saitō Kenji 斉藤賢治, "Taiwan no shōnō seizō" 台湾の樟脳製造 [Camphor Production in Taiwan], *Taiwan kyōkai kaihō* 台湾協会会報 3, December 1899, p. 32.

46 Fujii Shizue, *Li fan: Riben zhili Taiwan de jice* 理蕃：日本治理台灣的計策 [Savage Administration: Japan's Policy of Governing Taiwan], Taipei: Wenyingtang chubanshe, 2001, p. 97. Davidson mentions 635 casualties for 1898, with 303 individually reported assaults. See James Wheeler Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, p. 428.

47 Inō Kanori, ed., *Riban shikō*, pp. 62–63.

48 Ibid., pp. 56–57.

troops used the actions of a single tribe member as a justification to invade, shell, or set fire to an entire village.

The early Japanese colonial period was characterized not merely by frontier officials' production of reports detailing indigenous savagery, but also by the proliferation of ethnographic and anthropological research on Taiwan aborigines. Inō Kanori 伊能嘉矩 (1867–1925), an amateur ethno-historian trained in classical Chinese learning, was the first to put together a systematic taxonomy of Taiwan's aboriginal populations during the Japanese era. Inō's major contributions to the Japanese anthropological project was his *Taiwan banjin jijō* 台湾蕃人事情 (Conditions among Taiwan's Savages), a report published in conjunction with the Bureau of Industrial Development. Inō's *Taiwan banjin jijō* produced a system that internally differentiated the socio-cultural traits of each aboriginal group based on historical interactions with Han-Chinese settlers. The lowest rung, according to the text, was occupied by the Atayal, which Inō claimed were the most hostile and war-like due to their isolation from Han influences and their persistent use of head-taking customs.[49] Like the Qing-era literati and travelers who produced ethnographic accounts of Taiwan's first peoples, Japanese survey anthropologists in Taiwan were interested primarily in investigating physical or ethno-cultural markers of difference, headhunting customs, as well as acephalic political structures. They also maintained a somewhat sympathetic stance, through their exhaustive documenting of aboriginal social, cultural and religious life, as well as their contextualization of head-taking activities.[50] These images of native savages, though having a different lineage than those working along the savage boundary, would later find traction among colonial politicians, who singled out Atayal and other northeastern populations as completely uncivilized peoples, who could only be pacified through sustained military or police violence.

Within a brief span of time, late Qing and early Japanese constructions of "savagery" had created what the feminist scholar Silvia Federici calls an "accumulation of differences and divisions" across a contested imperial frontier.[51] Taiwan's foothills and highlands were traversed by distinctions between "cooked," "transforming" and "raw" indigenes—all of which highlighted

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49 Inō Kanori 伊能嘉矩 and Awano Dennojō 粟野伝之丞, *Taiwan banjin jijō* 台湾蕃人事情 [Conditions among Taiwan's Savages], Taipei: Ministry of Civil Affairs Division, 1900, p. 102. See also Paul Barclay, "Contending Centres of Calculation in Colonial Taiwan: The Rhetorics of Vindicationism and Privation in Japan's 'aboriginal Policy'", *Humanities Research* vol. 14, no. 1, 2007, p. 72.

50 Anthropological knowledge production in the Japanese empire, especially as it pertains to Japan's governing of its colonies, is beyond the scope of this paper. In Taiwan, voluminous reports compiled over decades have classified every major native group and their respective subdivisions. The ethnic labels used today come mainly from Japanese researchers. For representative works written by these researchers see Torii Ryūzō 鳥居龍蔵, *Torii Ryūzō zenshū* 鳥居龍蔵全集 [The Complete works of Torii Ryūzō], vol. 5, Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1975. For government-sponsored anthropologists, see Taiwan Sōtokufu Banzoku Chōsakai 臺灣總督府蕃族調查會, *Banzoku kanshū chōsa hōkokusho* 番族慣習調查報告書, Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu Banzoku Chōsakai, 1920–1922. For secondary scholarship which addresses the relationship between anthropology and colonialism in the Japanese empire, see Sakano Tōru 坂野徹, *Teikoku Nihon to jinrui gakusha 1884–1952 nen* 帝国日本と人類学者 1884–1952年 [Imperial Japan and anthropologists, 1884–1952], Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 2005.

51 See Sylvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation*, New York: Autonomedia, 2004, pp. 63–64. The full quote is "... [A]ccumulation of divisions and differences within the working class, whereby hierarchies built upon gender, as well as 'race' and age, became constitutive of class rule and the formation of the modern proletariat."

varying degrees of "submission" to surplus-seeking regimes of extraction. Though the addition of social-scientific taxonomies supplemented the old Qing cultural markers of difference, the Japanese still maintained a colonial system which rewarded loyalty as well as a willingness to assimilate and shed ancestral practices. At every step, though, expansion of this system relied on the positing of its inhuman "other." That "other" was represented by the figure of the shadowy match-lock and blade-wielding "raw" aborigine, who attacked unsuspecting camphor workers, militia guards, or lowlanders. Such a figure enabled both late Qing and Japanese colonizers to unleash the full weight of the state's destructive power in response to attacks. While the Qing had engaged in this pattern of behavior during the early 1890s, the Japanese entered its own particular phase of brutal suppression by 1900, just as their colonial state camphor monopoly began eyeing new tracts of camphor forests with potentially high yields deep in indigenous territory.

Benevolence in the South, Suppression in the North: The Mochiji Doctrine and the Figure of the Savage during the Conquest Years

In June of 1900, a major uprising by Atayal in the Dakekan region prompted Japanese forces to launch a major punitive expedition. This was the second time a colonial empire aimed to conquer this stretch of mountains and hillsides. This would be one of two major insurrections in the opening years of the twentieth century, which lead the Japanese Government-General to emphasize an increasingly militarized approach in its handling of the "indigene question." Like the Qing who had preceded them, Japanese colonizers wanted to capture this camphor-rich region to boost its monopoly's growing profits. Production quotas from this particular locale indicate that the year 1900 had projected figures of over one million *kin* of camphor.[52] Camphor production in the preceding years had fallen increasingly into the hands of Japanese capitalists, especially the trading company Suzuki Shōten, which held a great deal of the permits in areas not yet fully conquered.[53] Here, concentrations of capital helped tip the scales in favor of a more interventionist strategy, as rampant attacks on isolated production outposts along the interstices of Japanese and aboriginal zones provided the colonial state with useful grounds for retaliation. Under these new conditions, "raw savages" were increasingly less the potential recipients of paternalistic benevolence, and more the targets of campaigns of terror meant to obliterate their village structures and induce their unconditional surrender.

In June of 1900, a string of attacks by Atayal warriors at Dakekan resulted in the cessation of production and the withdrawal of workers, prompting the government to assemble a pacification force, and attempt an invasion of the lands surrounding two of the Dakekan region's major groups, the Dabao and Mawudu. Prior to the uprising, these two groups had also forged an alliance in

52 The year 1900 had 1,268,000 *kin* of anticipated total output for camphor listed in the Taipei region. This was in contrast to other regions that only had projected outputs in the six figures, the closest being Taizhong with 962,012 *kin*. See Taiwan shōnō kyoku 臺灣樟腦局, *Moto Taiwan shōnō senbai kyoku jigyō daini nenpō* 元臺灣樟腦專売局事業第二年報 [Second-Year Report of the former Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau], Taipei: Taiwan shōnō kyoku, 1906, p. 4.

53 For more on Suzuki's dominance of the camphor trade, see Saitō Naofumi 齋藤尚文, *Suzuki Shōten to Taiwan: Shōnō, satō o meguru hito to jigyō* 鈴木商店と台湾：樟脳・砂糖をめぐる人と事業 [Suzuki Shōten and Taiwan: A look at the people and industries surrounding camphor and sugar], Kyoto: Kōyō Shobō, 2017.

response to the presence of camphor workers.[54] Village leagues for mutual defense were a staple among Atayal peoples, who often formed close military and economic relations with one another to ward off threats from rival groups. However, the official government account takes none of these arrangements into consideration, treating the uprising as a "rebellion" against Japanese authorities, and not a defense of traditional territories.[55] Combat operations at Dakekan officially began on 30 August, 1900, but aboriginal warriors quickly repelled Japanese forces using superior guerilla tactics.

Fighting in Dakekan lasted for approximately two months, until Japanese forces found themselves unable to break through the Atayal's defenses. This prompted the Taipei prefect to institute a blockade on these territories, depriving the aborigines of vital supplies like salt (used to preserve meat), rifles, and ammunition.[56]

As the fighting at Dakekan dwindled, the government faced another large-scale insurrection. In the frontier town of Nanzhuang 南庄, in the mountains of Miaoli 苗栗, a multi-ethnic coalition of Saisiyat 賽夏族 aborigines together with members of the Atayal and some local Taiwanese, fought the Japanese state and encroaching capitalists. This revolt was quickly suppressed, but the possibility of new anti-Japanese movements forming across ethnic lines and disrupting the camphor industry frightened an expanding frontier state.[57] With these concerns in mind, colonial leaders turned to the senior-ranking bureaucrat, Councilor Mochiji Rokusaburō 持地六三郎 (1867–1923), for a comprehensive new pacification strategy. Following a late 1902 tour of the guardline (*aiyūsen* 隘勇線, the Japanese version of the *aiyong*), Mochiji published a policy paper, "Regarding the handling of the savage question," in December. His paper set the tone for the remainder of the pacification era. It also enshrined at the level of policy-making the assumed sub-humanity of aborigines, and the perceived necessity of systematic guidelines for the continued use of long-range shelling of indigenous settlements and troop invasions. At its core, the "Mochiji plan" called for "benevolence in the south, suppression in the north" (*nanbu hokutō* 南撫北討).[58] This strategy advocated targeted raids on aboriginal groups situated in the camphor beltway, while reinforcing assimilatory programs for indigenous groups south of Nantou.

In the opening pages of his plan, Mochiji warned that Japanese armies on the frontier faced an enemy whose ambiguous legal status placed them beyond the reach of the prevailing norms pertaining to warfare: "[T]he suppression of raw savages from the standpoint of international law cannot be called a war. As a result, although from a sociological point of view the savages are human, from the point of view of international law, they are much closer to animals."[59] Mochiji believed the absence of anything resembling a modern nation-state or a system of law among the aborigines not only reduced them to the status of "animals," but also exempted them from the regular modes of conduct that belligerents were expected to adhere to when military hostilities are

54 For a complete overview of the Dakekan war see Fujii Shizue, *Dakekan shijian*, pp. 91–93.

55 Inō Kanori, ed., *Riban shikō*, p. 160.

56 Ibid., pp. 163–164.

57 For an authoritative overview of the Nanzhuang Incident and its ties to camphor, see Antonio Tavares, "Crystals from the Savage Forest."

58 Paul Barclay in his *Outcasts of Empire* uses the term "Mochiji plan."

59 Mochiji Rokusaburō 持地六三郎, *Bansei mondai ni kansuru torishirabe sho* 蕃政問題に関する取調書 [Report Concerning the Problem of Governing Savages], Taiwan Government-General, 1903, pp. 4–5.

exchanged.[60] Here, Mochiji parroted the theories of legal expert Okamatsu Santarō 岡松参太郎 (1871–1921), a Tokyo Imperial University graduate who worked for Gotō's Investigative Committee for the Study of Old Customs, tasked with compiling Taiwan's pre-Japanese customary laws to facilitate governance over the island's Han population. Okamatsu based his interpretation of indigenes' ambiguous status on the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895), which gave clear guidelines for handling the island's Qing subjects, but little in terms of what to do with unincorporated indigenes. The treaty gave Chinese subjects of the Qing a two-year period of grace in which they could abandon their property and return to the mainland and remain a part of the Qing empire should they choose to. Those who would not move to the mainland would automatically become subjects of imperial Japan thereafter. Of course, aborigines did not have this option, given that they were never subject to the Qing, and were considered "beyond the pale" (*kegai* 化外) of its civilizational reach. Japan therefore could not use its own national laws to clarify the legal status of peoples who had no rights under preceding imperial formation. Conquest therefore was the only option that would allow Japan to bring a "non-national" people into its orbit, and eventually assimilate them into the Japanese imperial order. Affirming the view that all colonization is a violent struggle for supremacy, Mochiji appealed to the "laws" of history and its logic of "might makes right": "When an inferior race encounters a superior one, a struggle for survival ensues, and history has demonstrated that the result is the superior overtaking or eradicating the inferior."[61] For Mochiji, "savages" knew only intense competition in a state of nature, and therefore lacked the ability to build complex societies fit for existence in a modern industrialized setting. All they knew, Mochiji insisted, was violence, and so colonizers should respond accordingly.

Invoking international norms governing relations between "sovereign" nations, Mochiji stressed that "to be considered and recognized as a nation, there must be a fixed governing body, that is a society that possesses political organizations. Given that none of the *seiban* villages are of this order, we cannot recognize them as nations from the standpoint of international law."[62] With the geopolitical mapping of the globe by nation-states and their colonies, there was little room for the fissured and dispersed mechanisms used by aboriginal Taiwanese highlanders to assert control over their lands. Taiwan's northeastern mountain valleys and hillsides were traversed by scores of *qalang* (village communities), all of which asserted control over hunting grounds and cultivated fields using ritualized violence, oral traditions of peace-making, the organizing of village confederacies, and fluctuating alliances. In his *Bansei mondai*, Mochiji not only deprived the indigene of all legal protections from violence, but imposed the bounded form of territorial nation upon them, thereby denying them the ability to define in their own terms a viable system of politics, law, and inter-state relations.

In the years that followed the publication of the Mochiji report, campaigns to bring the

60 This is not an unusual situation for colonial warfare involving confrontations with indigenous peoples. For a comparative piece which highlights these dynamics in different contexts, see Benjamin Madley, "Tactics of Nineteenth Century Massacre: Tasmania, California, and Beyond" in Philp Dwyer and Lyndall Ryan, eds., *Theatres of Violence: Massacre, Mass Killing, and Atrocity in History*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2012, pp. 110–123.

61 Mochiji Rokusaburō, *Bansei mondai ni kansuru torishirabe sho*, p. 2.

62 Ibid.

interior under Japanese control only intensified. These targeted mainly northeastern Atayalic groups like the Mnibu 渓頭, Nan'ao 南澳, Gaogan ガオガン, as well as the Truku and Seediq peoples. These campaigns resulted in the incineration of village structures, the mass confiscation of weapons, and forced relocation. Between 1910 and 1915, fighting reached a crescendo with Governor-General Sakuma Samata's 佐久間左馬太 (1844–1915) "Five-Year Plan of Savage Administration" 五年理蕃計画, a plan which aimed to conquer the last remaining strongholds of indigenous defense. These campaigns had a stabilizing effect overall on the frontier. For example, the total number of deaths due to "damage inflicted by savages" declined steadily, with 531 in 1899 and only forty-two in 1910, just as Governor Sakuma's five-year plan was underway.[63] The militarization of the guardline and its militia forces proceeded apace. In 1899, there were 774 guards stationed along the revamped "savage boundary."[64] By 1910, there were 4,502 guards along the line.[65] This roving perimeter of guard stations—linked by barbed wire fencing, the telegraph, and laid with mines and guarded by sentries—was meant to absorb indigenous territory slowly, not "defend" against it. Over time, the politics of "submission" shifted to that of permanent occupation, as virtually all indigenous areas were under Japanese rule by 1914. Though the government gradually moved away from violent suppression campaigns and began implementing assimilation programs, indigenous areas remained heavily policed enclaves that resembled more "protected villages" in the midst of a counter-insurgent operation than conventional native "reserves." Violent repression was never abandoned, only postponed until the next major instance of native insubordination, a fact evidenced by the brutal suppression of the Sediq people following the rebellion at Musha in October 1930. Meanwhile, camphor profits remained steady in the years ahead, enduring as an important industry even though, over time, camphor was partially eclipsed by the growth of artificially-produced camphor.[66]

Concluding remarks

In this essay, I have traced the ways in which patterns of dehumanization and subjugation by the late Qing and Japanese regimes were grounded in various constructions of indigenous aborigines as primitive or violent "savages." This history teaches us that colonial dominance requires the multiplication of racial, ethnic, or civilizational differences at every step. Racism is not merely supplementary or subsidiary to other productive forces, nor does it conceal the colonizer's "naked" interests and intentions. If colonial encounters aim to capture labor, land and resources as part of an unequal system of economic exchange, then we must examine the reality that its epistemological premise is not only "derivative," but directly productive of this larger apparatus of control. This

63 Taiwan sōtokufu 臺灣總督府, *Taiwan tōkei yōran* 臺灣統計要覽 [Handbook of Taiwan Statistics], Taipei: Taiwan Government-General, 1916, p. 186.

64 Taiwan sōtokufu senbaikyoku 臺灣總督府專賣局, *Taiwan shōnō kyōku jigyō dai ichi nenpō* 臺灣樟腦局事業第一年報 [The Taiwan Camphor Bureau's First Year Report on Production], Taipei: Taiwan Camphor Monopoly Bureau, 1903, p. 18. See also Matsushita Yosaburō, *Taiwan shōnō senbaishi*, p. 162.

65 Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan tōkei yōran*, p. 185.

66 Walter Grunge, "Japanese Camphor and the American Market," *Far Eastern Survey* vol. 8, no. 19, 27 September 1939, pp. 229–230.

means that “savagery,” whether in the aborigine case or elsewhere, can no longer be viewed as mere “justification” for plunder, but as the machinery of occupation in and of itself, with its own social relations, ideological framing, productive arrangements, and logic. This essay has sought to map out this particular machinery, and the ways in which it evolved across two empires. The earlier insights of Luxemburg and Fanon showcase the fact that at the heart of the capitalist system exists an inherent drive to produce unevenness, and the necessity of imposing upon the world new partitions and classifications that discipline and police individuals into accepting the regime of commodity production. That process of “naturalizing” and cultivating acceptance of capital’s expropriatory tendencies, of course, varies across time and space, but takes on its most overt brutality and nakedness in colonial settings. Perhaps here it may be wise to end with the thoughts of the Martiniquean poet and Négritude thinker, Aimé Césaire, in his *Discourse on Colonialism*. For Césaire, regardless of the rhetoric of the colonizers, their relations with the colonized are always those of “forced labor, intimidation, pressure, the police, taxation, theft, rape, compulsory crops, contempt, mistrust, arrogance, self-complacency, swinishness, brainless elites, degraded masses.”[67] Discussing the colonization and plunder of non-Western societies, a process he describes as “thingification,” Césaire makes clear precisely what is at stake when Europeans colonizers invoke the inferiority of the colonized: “I am talking about natural economies that have been disrupted—harmonious and economies adapted to the indigenous population—about food crops destroyed, malnutrition permanently introduced, agricultural development solely oriented towards the benefit of the metropolitan countries, about the looting of products, the looting of raw materials.”[68] As Césaire’s powerful words remind us, the study of imperial formations is first and foremost the study of a particular type of *relation*, one grounded in an uneven distribution of power aiming to entrench the economic, legal, social, and cultural superiority of one group over another. The horrors of colonialism, as the rich legacy of postcolonial thought teaches us, begins with a process of dehumanization. This process varies in accordance with productive regimes, degrees of resistance, pre-existing social relations, and a host of other overdetermined elements. As scholars of colonial (or postcolonial) history, thought, or culture, we should not lose sight of this complex interplay of forces.

高地で植民地の違いを生み出す
――清末と日本統治期の台湾原住民政策における「蕃人」の表象――

トゥールーズ＝アントニン・ロイ*

台湾の山林は、クスノキから採れる結晶性物質である樟脳の生産をめぐっ

67　Aimé Césaire (trans. by Joan Pinkham), *Discourse on Colonialism*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001, p. 42.

68　Ibid., p. 43.

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て1870年代から先住民と植民者の間の戦場になった。天然資源の出るこの戦略的地域における帝国支配の拡大の鍵は、台湾先住民族を「蕃人」とする概念だった。清と日本の植民者はどちらも、同化プログラム作成や懲罰的軍事攻撃のために、この概念を長期的に利用した。このエッセイでは、台湾の高地における「蕃人」の概念が、清末と日本の植民地統治の構造にどのように寄与したかを論じ、この非人間的構造が植民者の行為をいかに方向づけ、複数の帝国間で発展したか、その過程を示す。

キーワード：植民地主義、帝国、樟脳、フランツ・ファノン、ローザ・ルクセンブルク

表紙図版

一魁齋芳年画「豪傑奇術競」明治 2［1869］
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（https://shinku.nichibun.ac.jp/esoshi/）より

表紙デザイン

完倉正師

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