

The 23rd Nichibunken International Symposium  
The Humanities Division, University of Otago,  
New Zealand

Japanese Studies Down Under:  
History, Politics, Literature and Art  
南太平洋から見る日本研究：歴史、政治、文学、芸術

予稿集

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Moderators and Commentators:

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PATRICIA FISTER		(Nichibunken)
NANYAN GUO	郭南燕	(Nichibunken)
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HIDETO TSUBOI	坪井秀人	(Nichibunken)

Wednesday, 23 November, 2016

Pre-symposium Lecture (Venue: Burns 2 Lecture Theatre, Otago University)

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

**Thursday, 24 November**

8:30-9:00      Registration

9:00-9:15      Opening, chaired by Takashi Shogimen

**9:15-10:00      Keynote Speech**

小松和彦      ミクロネシアの離島で日本文化を考える—妖怪譚を中心に— (p. 5)

Moderator      Takashi Shogimen

**10:30~12:00      Session 1: Japan's Ancient History and Literature**

Moderator      John Breen

Glenn Summerhayes      An Austronesian Presence in the Sakashima Islands: an  
Archaeological Update (p. 13)

Edwina Palmer      Bronze Bells in Early Japan: "Swallowed" by the Mountains?  
A New Interpretation of Their Ritual Purpose (p. 26)

Hiroshi Araki      〈妊娠小説〉としてのブツダ伝—日本古典文学のひながたをさぐる  
(p.42)

Commentators      Penny Shino, Shoichi Inoue

**13:15~15:15      Session 2 : The Society and Culture of the Edo Period**

Moderator      Patricia Fister

Aki Ishigami      出版物にみる知識の収集と展開—絵入百科事典を中心に (p. 53)

John Breen      Ise's Modern Transformations or the Pleasures of Pilgrimage in 19<sup>th</sup>  
Century Japan (p. 61)

Ellen Nakamura      Yamawaki Takako's Bittersweet Memories of Uwajima Castle.  
1864-1865 (p. 70)

Takeshi Moriyama      19世紀前半の社会変化と辺境への知の流れ—佐渡人柴田収蔵の読書  
と遊学、地図製作 (p. 82)

Commentators      David Bell, Mayuko Sano

**15:45~17:45      Session 3: Modern Japan's Politics and Thought**

Moderator      Mark Mullins

Frederick Dickinson      "Nanyō" in the Rise of a Global Japan, 1919 -1931 (p. 99)

Takashi Shogimen      Debating Japanese Patriotism in the Global Context: Alfred  
Ligneul and the Controversy on *The Clash between Education and Religion* (p. 118)

Sandra Wilson      What Difference Did the Second World War Make to Japanese  
Nationalism? (p.127)

Vanessa Ward      Taking the Ordinary People Seriously: the Institute for the Science  
of Thought and Democracy in Early Postwar Japan (p. 138)

Commentators Kazuhiro Takii, Mark Mullins

### **Friday, 25 November**

#### **9:00~9:45 Keynote Speech:**

Mark Mullins Public Intellectuals, Neo-nationalism, and the Politics of Yasukuni Shrine (p. 149)

Moderator Shigemi Inaga

#### **10:15~12:15 Session 4: The Pacific Islands and Japan**

Moderator Hideto Tsuboi

Judy Bennett After the Plane Crashed: Reactions to the Deaths of Japanese World War II Internees at Whenuapai, New Zealand (p. 165)

Ryota Nishino Toward a Future of Travel Writing and History: Collecting, Researching and Reflecting on Southwestern Pacific Islanders' Experiences of the Pacific War (p. 175)

Alexander Bennett A Study of Japanese Martial Arts in New Zealand up to the Second World War (p. 187)

Henry Johnson Japan in New Zealand: *Taiko* and Identity in Transcultural Context (p. 207)

Commentators Shigemi Inaga, Nanyan Guo

#### **13:30~15:30 Session 5: Modern Japanese Literature and Society**

Moderator Nanyan Guo

Mats Karlsson The Noble Art of Procrastination: Writer's Block as a Motif in *Watakushi shōsetsu* (p. 218)

Susan Bouterey Okinawa's Fictional Landscapes: A Reading of Medoruma Shun's *Suiteki* (Droplets) (p. 228)

Helen Kilpatrick Animating the Animal in Post – 3.11 for Young People: *Kibō no Bokujō* (The Farm of Hope) (p. 239)

Shoichi Inoue 現代風俗に見るキリスト教 (p. 253)

Commentators Lawrence Marceau, Hideto Tsuboi

#### **16:00~18:00 Session 6: Japanese TV, Cinema, and Popular Culture**

Moderator Shoichi Inoue

Hiroyuki Kitaura 草創期の日本のテレビ・ドラマ制作：映画との比較の中で (p. 259)

Alistair Swale Shinkai Makoto—the “New Miyazaki” or a New Voice in Cinematic Anime? (p. 267)

Yuko Shibata 開放後中国と戦後日本の、甘美でほろ苦い追憶—『非誠勿擾』と「知床旅情」 (p. 277)

Emerald King “And I’ll Form the Head!” Cosplay as an Adaptive Process (p. 285)

Commentators Mats Karlsson, Hiroshi Araki

18:00~18:15 Closing speech: Shigemi Inaga

### 中央カロリン諸島の生活文化調査

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

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

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

本格的な調査を行ったのは、ポンナップ環礁である。ポンナップ環礁は、トラック（チューク）環礁の西方約26km、北緯7度33分、東経149度25分に位置する環礁で、環礁島はポンナップ、タマタム、ファナリックの三つであるが、ファナリックは無人島で、ポンナップの首長が所有し、かつてはポンナップ島民の埋葬地であった。私が調査していたころの環礁へのアクセスは、トラック諸島から、年に数度の不定期連絡船を利用するか、大金を叩いて漁船をチャーターするしかなかった。所用時間は直行で約半日。

ポンナップの主食は、タロイモとパンの実、現在は購入した米も食べる。これに海から獲ってきた業貝類が副食となる。豚や鶏、犬もときどき食べる。ポンナップとは、「ポ」（カヌーの航海術伝承・伝授者、師匠）＋「ナップ」（偉大な）、つまり「偉大なポ」の島という意味である。この地域の伝承によれば、中央カロリンの島々のカヌー航海術には、「ウッリエン」と「ファンウール」という二つの流派があり、ポンナップはウッリエン派の発祥の地で、かつては「ウッリエン」（語義は「風を見る」）という航海の神を祀る祠があったという。ポンナップでの調査では、とくに伝説や昔話の採集に力を入れた。

## 伝説・昔話の採集の前提：母系出自・妻方居住集団

異文化の伝説・昔話を研究することは、自文化の伝説・昔話を研究するのとは違って多くの困難が伴っている。その前提として現地の文化の理解が必要だからである。例えば、ウリシーであれ、ポンナップであれ、昔話のなかに登場する親子は、「昔々、誰それという娘が、お母さんとどこそこに住んでいました」というふうに、母と子として語られることが多いのだが、これはこの地域の社会が伝統的には母系で母方居住が一般的であったことを反映している。また、昔話のなかの主人公は、次々に出会った女（男）と遊ぶ（セックスする）が、その話をなんの説明もすることなしに日本語訳にすると、なんとというプレーボーイ、プレーガールということになってしまうが、ポンナップでは、キリスト教に改宗するまでは、生涯一人の夫、一人の妻をもつのが好ましいといった考え方はなく、次々に夫（妻）を変えていた。この社会では、夫婦の絆は淡いものであって、社会を構成する単位にはならなかったのである。例えば、ポンナップには「結婚」と言う用語も、「家族」に相当する用語もなかった。現在は結婚については「アブップル」、家族については「ファミリー」と表現するが、これはトラック本島から戦後になって入って来た概念で、この「アブップル」は「カップル」がなまったものだと考えられている。夫婦のことを「プップル」というが、これも同様であろう。

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

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

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

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

この社会では、セックスをととても大事する。最大の快樂だと思っている。しかし、恋愛は熱しやすく冷めやすいことも知っており、戦後島をあげてキリスト教に改宗してからは持続する一夫一婦制が奨励されるようになったが、以前は、同棲していても、その男(女)が嫌になったらすぐに別れてしまった。

この社会では、セックスでつながっている男女の関係よりも、アイナンの女が子どもを産むことが重視される。それがアイナンの存続・繁栄を保証するからで、このため、女が子どもを産んだとき(とくに初児を産んだとき)は、一族を挙げて大きな祝宴「ウームウイナウナウ」(ナウとは出産すること、ウームとは祝宴用の大きな食器を意味する)を開く。このとき、産婦の同棲者(夫)側の一族(アイナン)は、その子どもに、自分たちの土地の一部を贈与する。この土地は、女と同棲者(夫)が別の女のところに去ってしまったとしても返却されることがない。したがって、この夫側からの妻側への贈与が、男のプレーボーイ化をある程度制御しているとも言えるだろう。次から次に別の同棲する女に子どもが生まれたら、男のアイナンの財産が流失してしまうからだ。また、父方のアイナンから土地を分与された子ども(アフアクルと呼ばれる人たち)は、さまざまなかたちで父方のアイナンに奉仕することが義務づけている。

#### ポンナップの親族名称

こうしたアイナン中心の社会編成は、親族の関係を示す名称にも現れている。この社会の親族名称は、日本のそれとは著しく異なっている。ポンナップの親族名称は、人類学でいうクロウ型で、アイナンと性別、世代を基礎に作られている。「お母さん」とか「お父さん」といった呼びかけの名称(親族呼称)はない。

図1～図5(図は発表当日に別紙で配布予定)によりながら説明すると、男から見た場合、自分が属するアイナンの男のメンバーは、世代に関係なく、「プウィ」(兄弟)という。奇妙に思うかもしれないが、私たちの社会ではオジやマゴにあたる者たちも「プウィ」なのである。また、女性同士の「姉妹」も互いに「プウィ」という。男の立場からみて、女の「姉妹」は、同世代の女と下の世代のすべてを「ハキ」といい、女の立場からみて、男の「兄弟」は「モワンガイ」という。さらに、男の立場からみて、自分が属するアイナンの女のメンバーのうち、上の世代の女はすべて世代に関係なく「イネイ」(母)という。この社会では、自分を産んでくれた「イネイ」の同棲者を「ヘメイ」(父)と呼ぶが、同じアイナンのなかには、「ヘメイ」(父)も、「ネイ」(子)もない。

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

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

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

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

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

このようなポンナップをはじめとする中央カロリンの社会集団の編成の仕方を調べていくと、私のなかに、日本の社会集団すなわち「家」という集団の特徴も次第に浮かび上がってくる。

#### ポンナップのシャーマニズム：改宗以前の伝統的神観念

戦後、米国の統治下に入ったとき、島民はカトリックに改宗し、その結果それ以前の伝統的な宗教(アニミズム・シャーマニズム)を放棄し、それに関連する祭祀施設も破壊し

た。しかし、宣教師たちも口頭伝承の類いを廃棄・忘却させることはできず、たくさんの伝説・昔話が現在でも伝えられている。

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

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

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

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

例えば、事例1（詳細は別紙で配布予定）の話は、イケラムというシャーマンの妻が、タロイモ畑でホーマに魂を奪われ病気になった。そこで、彼はそのホーマを探して捕まえ、妻の魂をはき出させて病気を治した、という話である。

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

ヤニュー・ヤラマあるいは境界的・両義的存在

ポンナップでは、こうした宗教者に対応する「説話上の宗教者」を、「ヤニュー・ヤラマ」という。「ヤニュー」とは「神」、「ヤラマ」とは「人間」を意味するので、これは「半神半人」あるいは「双方の属性をもった者」ということを意味する。ヤニュー・ヤラマは

人間世界と「神」「妖怪」の世界の双方を行き来し、人間の世界では人間の姿になり、「神」や「妖怪」の世界では、「神」や「妖怪」の姿になるといわれており、あるときには人間の味方になり、あるときは「神」や「妖怪」の側に立つといわれている。ようするに、両義的・境界的な存在である。

例えば、事例2は、村はずれの木の洞に住んでいたヤニュー・ヤラマが、ホームに追いかけられている人がいるのに気づき、助けるためにその者を洞のなかに招き入れるとともに、洞を覗き込んだホームを捕まえたところ、そのホームが女だったので、妻にしてしまった、という話である。この話は、ヤニュー・ヤラマの境界性・両義性をよく表している話であろう。

日本文化的な脈絡では、ポンナップの「レワル」に相当する領域は、「山」であり、「モホール」に相当するのは「人里、ムラ」である。そしてポンナップの場合はこの「レワル」（森）と「モホール」（村、人里）の境界は「村はずれ」であり、日本の「山」と「人里」の境界は、「辻」や「峠」「川」などである。

「ホーム」は「化け物」「鬼」「妖怪」と訳せばさほど問題はないが、日本の説話的形象のなかから、ヤニュー・ヤラマに相当するような存在をすぐに想起することは難しい。しかし、自然的・文化的環境の違いを考慮しつつ伝説や昔話を検討していくと、同様の存在を探し出すことができる。例えば、ポンナップに事例3のような話は、このことを考える手掛かりとなるだろう。

暴れん坊のタウスという男の扱いに困った島民たちは、相談の末に、彼を捕まえ縛り上げて重りをつけて海に沈めた。ところが、タウスは死なずに海の底のホームの家に着いた。そこには、「おじいさん」（ヤニュー・ヤラマ）が一人いて、ここはホーム（鬼）の家なので帰れと警告したが、タウスが事情を説明したところ、同情して、縛っていた綱をほどいて家の中に招き入れ、食べ物を与えてくれた。おじいさんは男に「ホームたちは今、食べる人間を捜しに海の上の陸（人間の世界）に出かけている。夜（地上の昼）になったら戻ってくる。そのときには、家の隅に置いてある家財道具の陰に隠れていなさい」と教えてくれた。夜になり、ホームたちが戻ってきた。家に入るとホームたちは、「人臭い、人臭い」と言った。ところが、その老人は「ここには人間はいない。きっとあなたたちがさっき人間の世界に行って、捕まえて食べた人間の肉のおいが残っているのだ」となだめて寝かしつけた。翌朝、ホームたちがまた人間の世界に出かけると、老人は家財道具の陰に隠れていた男を招き呼び、「ホームはもういないよ」と言って、食べ物を与えてくれたあと、「私の知っているホーム（鬼）の「ロン」（秘密の知識、魚を獲る呪術や魚のいる場所など）を伝えよう」と一つ授けてくれた。そして何日もそこにいてたくさんの「ロン」を習得しやがて島に戻ってきて、「ロン」のおかげで島のハモール（首長）になった。

この話を、「ポンナップ」→「ある海辺の村」→「ある村」、「タウス」→「ある男」、「海に重りをつけて沈める」→「村を追放する」、「海の底のカヌーハウス」→→「山のなかの一軒家」、「ホーム」→「鬼」、「ロン」→「打出の小槌」、「男を助けるおじいさん」→「老婆」に変えると、日本で語られているような昔話になるだろう（事例4）。

このような変換作業によって、中央カロリン手的自然・文化環境と日本の自然・文化の環境の違いが明らかになってくる。と同時に、物語構造の類似もまた明らかになってくる。そして、この変換作業が、日本文化を、日本の伝説・昔話の特徴を浮かび上がらせているはずである。すなわち、日本では、ヤニュー・ヤラマの相当する説話的形象は、「山姥的存在」が圧倒的に多いことがわかる。もっとも、中央カロリンでは、ヤニュー・ヤラマは「おじいさん」とは限らない。「おばあさん」でもまったく問題はない。その一例は、かつて私はウルシー環礁で採集した「鉄の歯をもったヴァギナ」の話（事例5）のなかに登場する「老婆」によって示されている。

この話は、化物が出る島に化け物退治に出かけた一番上の兄が、その島に着くと、どこから現れたのかわからない「老婆」（ヤニュー・ヤラマ）に「化物に捕まって食べられてしまうので帰れ」との忠告を受けるが、それを無視して歩き回っていたところ、美しい女に化けた化物の誘惑に負けて食べられてしまい、兄を探しにやってきた二番目の兄も一番目の兄と同様に化物の誘惑に負けて食べられてしまう。ところが三番目の弟は賢かったので誘惑に負けずに化物を退治する、という話である。

興味深いのは、この話は、ウリシーでは化物の「鉄のように固い歯をもったヴァギナで男性器を食いちぎられて死ぬのだが、ポンナップでは「鮫の歯のような歯をもったヴァギナ」をもった化物に殺されたと語られている。

ポンナップでは、二人の兄弟の場合、「ロンゴ・ラップ」と「ロンゴ・リック」という兄弟として語られることが多い。ロンゴ・ラップとは「たくさん聞く」（たくさん話さなければ理解できない者）という原義で「愚かな兄」を、ロンゴ・ロックは「少し聞く」（少し話ただけで理解できる者）という原義で「賢い弟」を意味する。三人兄弟の場合は、アウティ・ラップ（親指）、アウティ・ティーク（人差し指）、アウティ・リック（小指）という名の三人の兄弟の話となっている。

日本にもこの話と物語の構造がよく似た、「二人兄弟化物退治」あるいは「三兄弟化物退治」と名づけられている昔話群がある（事例6）。ところが、日本では、中央カロリンのようなセクシャルな要素が消え失せており、美しい女に化けた大蛇の誘いに乗って気を許した隙（一人で休息をとっていたとき）に食べられてしまうという話になっている。このあたりにも文化の違いが現れている。

#### ポンナップの怪談：愛する妻が怨霊となる

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

しかしながら、次に紹介する事例7の幽霊譚の結末や島民たちのコメントを聞くと、日本人としては当惑せざるをえないだろう。

この話は、妻を深く愛していた男がいて、生前に妻に「もしあなたが先に死んだら、私は生きていけない、自殺する、新しい妻を探さない」と口癖のように言っていた。その妻が病気になって亡くなった。夫は大いに嘆き悲しんだ。ところが、男は、埋葬が終わって数日後、まだ喪明けの催しが終わっていないのに、女のもとに忍んでいったのである。この様子を見ていた妻の霊が見ていた。そして新しい女と逢い引きすることを知った妻の霊は、新しい女に化けて現れ、夫に恨み言を述べる、という話である。

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

そこで、私はいつまでも「東海道四谷怪談」のお岩さんの話をしてみた。すると、ポンナップの人（男）のコメントは、お岩さんの恨みが深すぎるといい、伊右衛門に同情的なのである。「伊右衛門が妻を殺したのはいただけない。そんなことをしないで、さっさと古い妻と別ればよかったのだ」。

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

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

## An Austronesian Presence in the Sakishima Islands: an Archaeological Update

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### *Abstract*

Archaeologists and linguistics have modelled the expansion of Neolithic Austronesian speaking peoples out of Taiwan by focussing on a southerly route into the Philippines and Southeast Asia, entering the western Pacific by 3,300 years ago and finally New Zealand by 800 years ago. Yet, just to the east of Taiwan lies the islands of Yonaguni and Yaeyama. A recent paper by Summerhayes and Anderson suggest that occupation on these islands by 4000 years ago were by these Austronesian speaking peoples. This paper will review this model and outline future plans to test it by archaeological fieldwork on Yonaguni Island.

### *Introduction*

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

### *Shimotabaru Phase*

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

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

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

#### *Re-assessment of timing.*

Radiocarbon age estimates were recalibrated using updated  $\delta^{13}$  corrections, some of which were over 50 years old (Summerhayes and Anderson 2009:80). After calibration it was determined that Shimotabaru occupation was from 4500 to 3500 years ago. Time depth in occupation was also observed by the identification of decorative changes over time (Ishigaki City Education Board 1997; Kishimoto 2004).

#### *Nature exchange/interaction*

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

Unfortunately as most Shimotabaru sites, with the single exception of the Shimotabaru type

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

Stone adzes were found in all sites. Adzes with step butts, and trapezoidal cross sections, some slightly polished were found. These were made from a variety of rocks, with most made from metamorphic greenschists which is found in Ishigaki next to the Otobaru site (the Tumuru Geological Formation – Foster 1965) and on the eastern coast of Iriomote (Summerhayes and Anderson 2009: 86-7). From Hateruma, adzes made from gabbro, with dolerite, amphibolite were also found (Okinawa Prefertural Education Board 1986). These rocks are found on Ishigaki.

#### *Where did these colonisers originate from?*

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

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

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

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

seen in the evidence below.

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

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

"The precise origin of both of these cultures is unknown but is possibly to be found in the

Philippines or neighbouring areas of island Southeast Asia” (Hudson 2007: see also 2015).

#### *No connection with Taiwan?*

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

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

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

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

This is based on similarities between *Tridacna* shell adzes found in Sakishima and those found in a burial in Duyong Cave Palawan. The problem here is that these shell adzes from Palawan date to early to 3000-4500BC (5000-6500 BP), a point Pearson notes in a subsequent publication (2013). While noting some similarities, Pearson also questions the lack of shared cultural forms between these two areas. That is there is too much not shared to suggest a connection Pearson (2009:98-99). Here he refers to items found in Taiwan yet absent in Shimotabaru culture: bark cloth beaters, pottery spindle whorls, earrings.

#### *Lack of Similarity*

Pearson (2013:78) asks that we need to explain these absences. I will now address this point.

Firstly, the lack of agriculture in Yaeyama. Domesticated introduced pig (*Sus scrofa/verrucosus*) is found in the northern Philippines in 4000 year old contexts (Piper et al. 2009:691) after the Yaeyama's were colonised. No domesticated pig was found in the Yaeyama although as noted above wild boar (*Sus scrofa riukiuanus*) was found and would have been translocated to Hateruma island. As noted by Summerhayes and Anderson (2009:79) there has been no intensive study into early agriculture in this region. Arguments by some archaeologists that these people from the Shimotabaru phase lived a hunting and gathering existence is unfortunately based on negative evidence. The Neolithic settlement of Taiwan was for example based on pottery, polished adzes and horticulture of tubers (taro and yams) and not cereals (rice and millet) (see Hung and Carson 2014). The identification of these tubers need starch and phytolith analyses on stone tools and pottery and surrounding soils. This has been lacking to date. Furthermore, as noted above, the Shimotabaru sites, with the exception of the type sites, were all located on red acidic volcanic soils where no organics survived.

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

Thirdly, as argued by Hudson (2012:261) and Summerhayes and Anderson (2009), the Sakishima Islands were culturally isolated once colonised. Uncertainty exists as to the nature of any interaction (see Yamagiwa 2015, 2016). Whatever the nature of interaction that occurred between Taiwan and the Yaeyamas, it is of a different nature to that which occurred between Taiwan and the Philippines. We must recognise as noted above that not all colonising groups were successful, and this would affect the trajectory of that group.

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

This leads to an interesting debate on whether the material culture of colonising groups should imitate or be identical to the areas they left behind. There is no reason for this to happen with pottery technology. With regards to pottery manufacture, the pots of any new location made use of existing clay and filler. The latter can be made up of beach sands,

rocks, and added to the clay fabric to counter any shrinkage during the drying phase of manufacture. There is no need for new colonies to imitate the exact fabric groups of the areas they left behind – they make do with what they had at hand.

What about the absence of fine made wares, and the variety of vessel pedestal and ring footed bowls found in Taiwan and also to the Philippines to the south? It must be noted that from Fushan, Eastern Taiwan, the site was dominated by red slipped or plain pottery, and contains a pot form similar to Shimotabaru pottery. This plain pottery was utilitarian ware and different from the fine made red slipped pedestal bowls and ring footed vessels which were more social ware and not used for cooking food. In the early Yaeyama assemblages the pottery was rather mundane and clumsily made. One model to account for any lack of social ware and only basic cooking pottery would argue that with few colonists and no prior populations evident there was not a need to signal or reinforce their own identity through the production of socially mediated pottery. A similar argument was put forward to account for the loss of the elaborate Lapita dentate-stamped decorated pottery in Remote Oceania soon after colonisation (see Summerhayes 2000 a and b).

#### *The elaboration of material culture by colonising groups*

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

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

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

### *Where to from here?*

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

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

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

This is where attention must be focussed.

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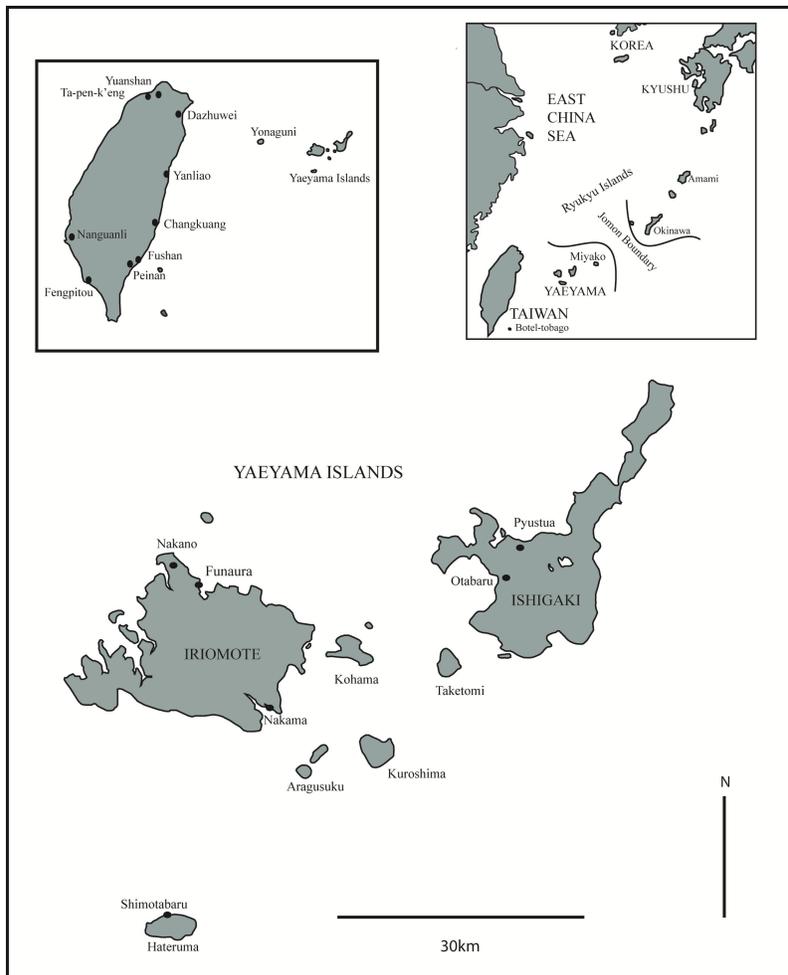
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## FIGURE CAPTIONS

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



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

Edwina Palmer

**Abstract**

It is well known that continental-style bronze bells, unlike other bronze objects in early Japan, were rarely buried as grave goods but were buried separately, seemingly deliberately, either singly or in caches on hillsides. The accepted explanation is that they were ritual objects buried for the propitiation of bountiful harvests of game and crops. This paper challenges this view, and presents evidence to corroborate a lesser known hypothesis. It is argued that their burial, albeit for ritual purposes, was more likely connected to the discovery of iron in the form of limonite (bog iron). Inspiration for this hypothesis is derived from selected passages of *Harima no Kuni Fudoki* (ca. 714 CE).

**Introduction**

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

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

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

deposits.

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

## Harima Fudoki

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

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

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

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

In both of the above passages, the word for 'bell' is 鈴, glossed *suzu*. *Suzu* refers to a crotal bell, which is to say, a 'jingle bell'—the type of spherical bell in which a ball moves freely when shaken, without the ball falling out. Metal ones jingle, but they may also be made of clay, in which case they rattle. In both passages, the bell disappears while a king is

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

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

out hunting with a falcon on a hillside, and a search for the missing bell ensues. In the first entry, the inference appears to be that the hill (Suzukui-oka) itself has ‘swallowed’ the bell. In the second (Suzuhori-yama), those present dig but fail to find it. Either way, the consequence is that the bell is left *in* the hillside.

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

### **Bronze bells (*dōtaku*)**

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

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

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<sup>4</sup> Kamei, in Mori (ed), 1983, 314.

<sup>5</sup> Tanaka, 1970, 1.

<sup>6</sup> In 2003, AMS carbon dating placed the start of the Yayoi Period at around 1000 BCE. (Morioka Hideto 森岡秀人 in Harimagaku Kenkyūsho 播磨学研究所 (ed), 2010, 90.)

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

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

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

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

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

As the Wikipedia website points out, all of the above attract refutations.<sup>13</sup> It is not the purpose of this article to evaluate these theories, which I also regard as largely unconvincing, but to consider the plausibility of a lesser known theory: that the ritual usage

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<sup>9</sup> Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan 大阪府立弥生文化博物館, 1991, 48.

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

<sup>11</sup> Imori, 2010, 235 and 251–252.

<sup>12</sup> Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan 大阪府立弥生文化博物館, 1991, 49.

<sup>13</sup> <https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/銅鐸>. Accessed 7 June 2016.

of bronze bells was related to the search for *iron* deposits.

### **The beginnings of iron use in early Japan**

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

Suffice it to understand that copper melts at a temperature of around 1100°C, whereas the melting point of iron is around 1528°C. These are the temperatures required for *casting* the metal into the desired shape, by pouring the hot molten metal into a mould. Needing hotter temperatures, it took the development of more sophisticated furnaces to be able to cast iron than bronze. Nevertheless, at 700–800°C iron becomes sufficiently malleable that it can be tempered and forged.<sup>15</sup>

Iron deposits appear in several forms. It is generally thought that iron working commenced in the region of Anatolia (Turkey), and that the most readily accessible sources were of magnetite, Fe<sub>3</sub>O<sub>4</sub>, which is to say, iron contained in fallen meteors. It is often claimed that there is no evidence of iron production in Japan in the Yayoi Period, but use of iron objects and their manufacture started in the first century BCE. For Japan’s earliest efforts at iron working, evidence in Northern Kyūshū indicates that the source was imported pig iron or scrap iron from China or the Korean Peninsula.<sup>16</sup> For example, iron bars (*tettei* or *kanateko* 鉄挺) imported from China and the Korean Peninsula have been found as grave goods in mid-Kofun Period graves. But there is increasing evidence of small

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

<sup>15</sup> See for example, Ōsaka Furitsu Yayoi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 1991, 21; Mayumi, 1993, 13; Asai, 2008, 31; Mayumi, 2012, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Asai, 2008, 109; Morioka, in Harimagaku Kenkyūsho, 2010, 89.

ironworks dating from the mid-Yayoi Period onwards.<sup>17</sup>

However, warfare, both on the continent and within the Japanese archipelago seems to have blocked the route through the Inland Sea in the late second century, such that the main points of entry were via the Japan Sea and the districts of Izumo, Hōki, Inaba, Tajima and Tango. Indeed, some scholars posit that this period of warfare in Eastern Asia, including the so-called second century Wakoku Tairan 倭国大乱 strife in Japan, was primarily a power struggle for the control of sources of iron.<sup>18</sup> Once peace resumed, the Inland Sea again dominated, including the Harima coast, and from then on the Kinki hegemony started to control the production and shipment of iron.<sup>19</sup> Pertinent to the present study is that the province of Harima was from early times an important source of iron.<sup>20</sup>

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

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<sup>17</sup> Asai, 2008, 92–110.

<sup>18</sup> Morioka, in Harimagaku Kenkyūsho, 2010, 108.

<sup>19</sup> Asai, 2008, 48–92; Morioka, in Harimagaku Kenkyūsho, 2010, 94.

<sup>20</sup> See for example, Kometani, 1967; Chikusa-chō Tataru Hakkutsu Chōsandan, 1968; Oda, 1981; Toba, 1997; Tosa in Mori Kōichi (ed.), 1999.

## Bog iron and “*suzu*”

However, it has become increasingly evident that even in the Yayoi Period, Japanese in western and central Japan were aware of another domestic source of iron, in the form of limonite or “bog iron.” Streams bring down dissolved iron, and particles containing iron are trapped among the roots of aquatic plants in wetlands with sluggish water flow, such as upland bogs, lakesides, riversides, watermeadows, marshes and swamps. The actions of the water and the bacteria cause the iron both to oxydize and hydrate into a lumpy mass (nodule) of hydrous ferric oxides ( $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3 \cdot n\text{H}_2\text{O}$ ). The iron concentrates and agglomerates, forming a nodule, while in due course the plants die. The outer clayey surface of the nodule dries and hardens to a crust, while the heavier iron-containing matter within also dries and shrinks but at a differential rate. This eventually breaks away from the outer crust, so that the nodule rattles when shaken—just like a crotal bell. In Japan, this is known variously as *kattekkō* (褐鉄鉱) or *koshōtetsu* (湖沼鉄 “bog iron”), *nariwa* or *nariwa* (鳴石 “sounding stone”), *tsuboishi* (壺石 “pot stone”, since the crusts could be used as containers), or *Takashi Kozō* (高師小僧 “Little Boy Takashi”)—and, not unsurprisingly—*suzuishi* (鈴石 “crotal bell stone”).<sup>21</sup>

In size, nodules of limonite vary from 5 mm to a few metres in diameter.<sup>22</sup> A noteworthy example was discovered at the Karako-Kagi Site (Tawaramoto-chō, Nara Prefecture) in 2000. Its dimensions were 14.5 cm x 13.2 cm x 6.9 cm. That it had been used as a precious ritual object was obvious from the fact that it had been broken open, the limonite extracted and substituted with two jade comma-shaped beads (*magatama*), then the crust receptacle “jewel box” capped with a clay lid.<sup>23</sup> It dated from the mid-Yayoi Period.

Moreover, the inclusion of 6% ferrous phosphate (*kurotsuchi* 黒土  $\text{Fe}_3[\text{PO}_4]_2$ ) as a catalyst in the furnace lowers the temperature for making wrought iron (e.g., magnetite from 1130°C to 950°C), and since limonite naturally contains ferrous phosphate from decomposed organic matter, it produces malleable iron at temperatures even lower than the normal range of 700–800°C.<sup>24</sup> Experiments were conducted in 1991 at Namiai-mura in

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<sup>21</sup> Mayumi, 1993, 11; Mayumi, 2012, 58–60.

<sup>22</sup> Mayumi, 1993, 11; Karako-Kagi Kōkogaku Museum, Collection Data No.2, undated.

<sup>23</sup> Karako-Kagi Kōkogaku Museum, Collection Data No.2, undated; Karako-Kagi Kōkogaku Museum (ed.), 2004, 45.

<sup>24</sup> Asai, 2008, 33, 103–108. In their pure states, the melting point of wüstite ferrous oxide  $\text{FeO}$  is 1377°C; magnetite ferrous-ferric oxide  $\text{Fe}_3\text{O}_4$ , 1538°C; haematite ferric oxide  $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ , 1550°C. However, ores contain mixtures and impurities, which in practice alters the order of their melting points: limonite the lowest, followed by haematite, then magnetite.

Nagano Prefecture to verify the feasibility of whether local bog iron could have been refined using only Yayoi Period technology, and the results were successful.<sup>25</sup>

Mayumi (1993 and 2012) argues that limonite (bog iron) was the raw material for iron working in Yayoi Japan. He suggests that nodules would have been regarded as mysterious and awesome, because of their deposition within a crusty case and because they rattled.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, once harvested, they might potentially regrow within a matter of three or four years—almost as though they were themselves alive.<sup>27</sup>

Mayumi hypothesizes that through the use of sympathetic or homeopathic magic, similar, but less valuable, bronze bells, were buried in places near where nodules were likely to form: on hillsides, overlooking boggy ground and streams. He believes that the religious act of shaking bells was to propagate the formation of limonites, and that small bronze bells were at first used for such purposes: he suggests that this ceremony developed into the ritual *kagura* dance performed by the deity Ame no Uzume to entice the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Ōmikami out from the Rock Cave of Heaven. Notably, Ame no Uzume shakes a spear which is wrapped in cogon grass (*chi* 茅) (*Nihon Shoki*: 720 CE)<sup>28</sup> or has jingle bells attached (*Kogo Shūi*: 807 CE).<sup>29</sup> Later, as the search for usable iron sources became ever more urgent, the bronze bells for offering to the gods in return for bog iron nodules were enlarged.<sup>30</sup> The abrupt disappearance of bronze bells around the beginning of the fourth century is explained by improvements in furnaces and firing techniques to higher temperatures, facilitating the use of more widespread and accessible iron sands as ore from then on.

Mayumi marshals a good deal of indirect evidence to support his theory. As I have demonstrated repeatedly elsewhere, plays on words were considered to have apotropaic effects in ancient Japan; and often they were employed in multiples. It is no surprise, then, that *suzu* (tin) is homonymous with *suzu* (crotal), as noted above. Moreover, Mayumi points out that a generic word for aquatic plants was *suzu* (簍), (which is nowadays more commonly glossed as *komo*),<sup>31</sup> and included grasses, sedges, reeds and bamboos. Hence, the expression *suzu ga naru* (鈴が鳴る “the bell tinkles”) could call to mind *suzu ga naru* (簍が生る “grasses grow”). Both phrases were evocative of *suzuishi* 鈴石 or *nariishi* 鳴

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<sup>25</sup> Mayumi, 1993, 10–11.

<sup>26</sup> Mayumi, 1993, 13.

<sup>27</sup> Asai, 2008, 101.

<sup>28</sup> See Aston, 1896, 44.

<sup>29</sup> Katō and Hoshino (trans), 1926. <http://sacred-texts.com/shi/kgsh/index.htm>

<sup>30</sup> Mayumi, 1993, 13–15; 2012, 54, 57.

<sup>31</sup> Mayumi, 1993, 18;

石: nodules of bog iron. In ancient times, then, nodules may well have been called *suzu* 鈴 too, since they in turn evoked *suzu ga naru* (鈴が生る “bog iron forms”).<sup>32</sup>

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

Mayumi further observes that the *makura kotoba* (枕詞, so-called “pillow word,” kenning or epithet) representing the ancient province of Shinano (信濃・科野) is *misuzukaru* (水簞刈る・三簞刈る), comprising the honorific *mi* (御)—indicating here sacredness—followed by “reaping [wetland] grasses”. To be sure, the wetland plants had to be cut in order to find the nodules of bog iron among their roots; but I suspect that an alternative association with *karu* (刈る “to cut, reap”) could have been *karu* 狩る “to search/hunt on the mountains to collect [grasses/bog iron]”. Such wetland plants still grow in abundance around Lake Suwa in Shinano Province (Nagano Prefecture). The limonite nodules could also become exposed after the wetland grass had died back—another meaning of *karu* (枯る “to wither”). The multiple meanings of this *makura kotoba* therefore include “wetland grasses wither”, in addition to “reaping wetland grasses,” “hunting for wetland grasses,” and “hunting for bog iron.”

Moreover, Lake Suwa was an early source of limonite. The prime shrine of Shinano Province was (and is) Suwa Grand Shrine 諏訪大社, where the Kanayako no kami 金屋子神, the deity of *tatara* furnaces, was worshipped. Mayumi posits that worship of this deity at Lake Suwa lasted longer than elsewhere because the lake shore produced lots of limonite, and because it was a remote (“backward”) district.<sup>33</sup> Hence, the epithetic *makura kotoba* for this district retained oblique reference to the search for limonite nodules, long after bog iron had ceased to be important.

An observation by Asai (2008) is also suggestive. With reference to early bog iron extraction in Scandinavia, he notes that when wetlands began to freeze over towards the end of autumn, searchers would probe through the thin ice with long poles and ascertain the location of nodules of limonite by feel and sound. They would insert marker posts, both to stake their prior claim to the find and so that they could locate it in future. Now, we do not know quite how bog iron was recovered in Japan some two thousand years ago, but it is

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<sup>32</sup> Mayumi, 2010, 60, 64.

<sup>33</sup> Mayumi, 1993, 17.

eminently plausible that marker posts (杭 *kui*) would have been driven into the wetland close to the find for similar reasons. If so, Suzukui-oka 鈴喰岡 “Bell-swallowing Hill” is homophonous with Suzukui-oka 鈴杭岡 “Bog iron nodule stake”.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps we see here a case of the original meaning being lost once the activity ceased, then the place name origin myth arising as a result of punning, followed by scribes of the early eighth century recording the myth with *kanji* applicable to the meaning of the myth.

### The falcon motif

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

One of the words for a bloomery is 高殿, which may be glossed as either *tatara* or *takadono*. In other words, the expression *taka no suzu* could be heard as “the falcon’s bell” or, through punning thought-association, as “the bog iron in the furnace”, and could be taken to mean either. It is unclear from when exactly *tatara* furnaces were referred to as *taka(dono)*; but Asai cites an instructive tale related to the founding of the first and ancient Usa Hachiman Shrine, in present-day Usa-shi, Ōita Prefecture, allegedly enshrining Hachiman Ōkami, none other than Homuda/Ōjin. Once upon a time, an elderly iron worker lived here beside a diamond-shaped pond. One day he turned into a golden hawk. In his anger he killed three out of five, and five out of ten passers-by. A shaman called Ōkami (or Ōga) no Higi 大神比義 and shamaness called Karashima no Suguri-otome 辛島勝乙目 made offerings of the ‘five cereals’ (五穀) for three years, and succeeded in appeasing him. The shaman asked the deity his identity, upon which he turned into a three-year-old boy and replied that he was “King Ōjin.”<sup>35</sup>

Firstly, it is noteworthy that the old ironsmith turned into a “golden hawk (*taka*).” Of course, when the bloomery (*taka*) is stoked and fired, the spyhole glows gold. Previously I analyzed a number of myths in the various *Fudoki* pertaining to deities that are said to kill a proportion of the passers-by, and who are eventually appeased (= enshrined) by ‘immigrant’ families.<sup>36</sup> I argued that these were female deities of rivers or water courses. The wrathful

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<sup>34</sup> Asai, 2008, 101.

<sup>35</sup> Asai, 2008, 136.

<sup>36</sup> Palmer, Edwina. “Calming the Killing Kami: The Supernatural, Nature and Culture in *Fudoki*.” *Nichibunken Japan Review* 13 (2001): 3–31.

deity of the furnace in this tale is unnamed, but we know that the deity of the furnace, who was often called Kanayago, was deemed to be a jealous goddess, and was worshipped by *toraisha* (Korean immigrant) iron workers.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, washed out slag and tailings from ironworks were inevitably a source of despoliation of waterways: through weakening of cliffs along the banks, causing landslides into the river; through causing silting downstream, making the river more flood-prone; and through actual contamination from washed out minerals. Such environmental hazards would indeed have put nearby residents at risk until the immigrant iron workers got their operations under proper control.

Secondly, it is surely beyond sheer coincidence that the “king” (Pomuda/Homuda, aka Ōjin) specified in the *Harima Fudoki* entries above is the very same as that identified by the shaman in the case of the Usa Hachiman myth. Homuda is thought to have been an early fifth century ruler, and is the ‘heavenly sovereign’ most frequently referred to in *Harima Fudoki*.

### Depiction of deer

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

The answer appears to lie in the fact that bellows for heating the furnace were made from deerskin.<sup>38</sup> In the well-known myth of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu’s retreat into the Rock Cave of Heaven, the blacksmith deity Ishikoridome is commanded to make bellows using the whole hide of a deer.<sup>39</sup> Deer, often considered as a deity or familiar of the spirit of the mountain in Japanese myths, have nothing to do with agriculture in their depiction on bronze bells, but more plausibly represent the spirit of the mountain and its earth that may

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<sup>37</sup> Toba, 1997, 10.

<sup>38</sup> Toba, 1997, 3; Nagafuji, 2006, 180–181, 207.

<sup>39</sup> Aston, 1896, 47.

yield valuable iron.<sup>40</sup> They are central to the smelting process in a practical sense too, insofar as they provide suitable leather for the bellows that are so essential for controlling the temperature of the furnace.

## Conclusion

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

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

This ritual practice presumably began at a time prior to the development of techniques for building furnaces sufficiently hot for smelting iron sand. Once such

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<sup>40</sup> Nagafuji, 2006, 180.

advances became widespread in the late Yayoi to early Kofun periods around 300 CE, the need to search for bog iron would have been superseded by this new technology and the abundance of iron sand, so that the ritual burial of bronze bells abruptly drew to a close.

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## 〈妊娠小説〉としてのブツダ伝—日本古典文学のひながたをさぐる

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### 1. 「妊娠小説」という定義と『源氏物語』

『妊娠小説』という快著がある。文藝評論家・斎藤美奈子の単著デビュー作である。斎藤は、この一風変わったタイトルについて、「「妊娠小説」とは「望まない妊娠」を搭載した小説のことである」と端的に定義し、冒頭で、次のように述べている。

小説のなかで、ヒロインが「赤ちゃんができたらしいの」とこれ見よがしに宣告するシーンを、そしてそのためにヒーローが青くなってあわてふためくシーンを、あなたも目撃したことがあるでしょう。(中略)「妊娠小説」とは、いわば、かかる「受胎告知」によって涙と感動の物語空間を出現せしめるような小説のこと、であります。しかしながら、旧来の文学史や文学研究、文学批評はこのジャンルを今日まで頑として黙殺しつづけてきました。まったく遺憾なことである、といわなければなりません。(中略)(筑摩書房、1994、引用は1997のちくま文庫本)

ここで問われる「受胎告知」は、あえて同じ言葉を使いつつ、聖者の *annunciation* の真裏にある。斎藤は、この基準から、森鷗外の『舞姫』(1890)を「わが国最初の「近代妊娠小説」だと看破し、さらに島崎藤村の『新生』を「今日に残る「出産系」の名作」と規定する。たとえばこのように、本書は、近代文学のしかつめらしい構図と歴史をシニカルに茶化しながらこれまでのカノンを転覆し、新しい小説史へと、刺激的なパースペクティブを提供する。

しかし私にとってより興味深いのは、本書が展開する「妊娠小説」論の叙述を参照することで、日本古典文学の構図といくつかの情景が、別の光で照らし出されることだ。たとえば『源氏物語』には、「赤ちゃんができたらしいの」という「受胎告知」について、「妊娠小説」ばりの著名な二つの場面がある。しかもそれは、遠く離れた状況・場面ながら、密接に呼応し合って、物語の基軸を支えているのである。

一つは、第一部の若紫の巻である。若紫巻は、その始まりに、まだ十代の光源氏が「<sup>とぎ</sup>ばかりにやあらむと見え」る紫の上を垣間見て、初々しい恋心を抱く場面を描く。その時光源氏は、幼女の面ざしに、父桐壺帝の後妻・藤壺の面影を透かし、彼女へのあこがれを再び強く喚起された。藤壺は、じつは紫の上の叔母にあたる。その類似には根拠があった。そして若紫巻は、紫の上への純情な思いと裏腹に、光

源氏が藤壺に対して、あやにくな積年の思いを果たす場面を続けて描くことになる。

「藤壺の宮、なやみたまふことありて」、宮中を退出した時のことだ。光源氏は、「かかりをりだにも」と気もそぞろ、「昼はつれづれとながめ暮らして、暮るれば、王命婦を責めありきたまふ」。この王命婦という女房が手はずを付け、「いかがたばかりけむ、いとわりなくて見たてまつる」。光源氏は強引に藤壺と逢瀬を果たした。ただし藤壺の心内語に「あさましかりしをおぼしいづるだに、世ととも御もの思ひなるを」とあるので、どうやら初めてのことではなかったらしい。しかし物語は、その初会ではなく、この「あやになる短夜」についてのみ丁寧に叙述する。それには理由があった。藤壺はこのあと、「なやましきもまさりたまひて」体調の異変に気づき、妊娠を覚知するからである。彼女は「人知れずおぼすこともありければ、心憂く、いかならむとのみおぼし乱」れ、とうとう「三月になりたまへば、いとるきほどにて、人々見たてまつりとがむる」。藤壺はこの夜、夫である帝ではなく、その子光源氏の子を宿してしまったのである。

ヒーロー光源氏への「受胎告知」は、「これ見よがし」の「宣告」ではなかった。それは、ブッダや聖徳太子が母に受胎した時のように、「夢」で果たされる。ただし母への告知ではない。父の夢であった\*1。その意味で、母にもたらされる **annunciation** とはより対比的である。物語は「中将の君（＝光源氏）も、おどろおどろしうさま異なる夢を見たまひて、合はする者を召して問はせたまへば、及びなうおぼしもかけぬ筋のことを合はせけり」と語る。そして彼は、夢合わせによって、その恐ろしい妊娠を知るのである。

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

例の、中将の君（＝宮中に参上した光源氏）、こなたにて御遊び（音楽）などしたまふに、抱き出でたてまつらせたまひて、「御子たちあまたあれど、そこをのみなむ、かかるほどより明け暮れ見し。されば思ひわたさるるにやあらむ、いとよくこそおぼえたれ。いとちひさきほどは、皆かくのみあるわざにやあらむ」とて、いみじくうつくしと思ひきこえさせたまへり。中将の君、面の色かはるこちして、恐ろしうも、かたじけなくも、うれしくも、あはれにも、かたが

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\*1藤井由紀子「〈懐妊をめぐる夢〉の諸相—説話と物語のあいだ—」（荒木編『夢見る日本文化のパラダイム』法蔵館、2015所収）は、懐妊譚の夢について、古代・中世の説話と物語について広範かつ詳細な調査を行い、「本朝の説話集に見られる懐妊譚の霊夢は、基本的には、聖なるものと母との、他者を介さないダイレクトな交渉を示すものであり、「聖母マリアの処女受胎に代表される、「より広い「感精譚」と呼ぶ話型」（＝河東仁『日本の夢信仰—宗教学から見た日本精神史—』玉川大学出版部、2002）の系譜に連なる」ことを論じ、原則は母の夢として果たされる受胎告知が、『源氏物語』を契機として「父の夢」に変わってしまうこと、そして「それは、〈密通〉による懐妊を示す夢なのである」と論ずるなど、すぐれた史的考察を行っており、示唆的である。

たうつろふこちして、涙おちぬべし。物語などして、うち笑<sup>ま</sup>みたまへるが、いとゆゆしうつくしきに、わが身ながら、これに似たらむはいみじういたはしうおぼえたまふぞ、あながちなるや。宮は、わりなくかたはらいたきに、汗も流れてぞおはしける。中将は、なかなかなるこちの、かき乱るやうなれば、まかでたまひぬ。(紅葉賀巻\*2)

それから二十年以上が過ぎ、「赤ちゃんができたらしい」という告知の恐怖が、引き写しのように繰り返される。今度は、立場を変え、取り残されるのは光源氏のほうである。かつて頭中将と呼ばれたライバルの息子柏木が、兄朱雀院から賜った後妻の女三の宮と密通をして、妊娠させてしまうのである。

女三の宮は、やはり藤壺の姪である。それ故に、光源氏にも結婚を望む気持ちはあった。しかしいざ迎えてみれば、若々しいだけのその様に、彼はつとに失望していた。ところが柏木もまた、ひそかに女三の宮の降嫁を願っていた。すでに四十の賀を終えた初老の光源氏へ彼女がわたることを悔しく思い、気持ちは強く続いていたのである。折しも光源氏の大邸宅・六条院で行われた蹴鞠の折、「唐猫のいと小さくをかしげなるを、すこし大きなる猫追ひ続き、にはかに御簾のつまより走り出づるに」、「猫は、まだよく人にもなつかぬにや、綱いと長く付きたりけるを」、その綱が引っかかって、「逃げむとひこしろふほどに、御簾のそばいとあらはに引きあけられ」、柏木は、部屋の中に「几帳の際すこし入りたるほどに、桂姿にて立ちたまへる」女三の宮の姿を、「姿つき、髪のかかりたまへる側目」まで、「夕影なればさやかならず」も、垣間見てしまう。そして彼は、長い恋煩いになった(若菜上巻)。

柏木は、小侍従という女房を責め、光源氏不在の折に「何心もなく大殿籠りにける」女三の宮に近づき、光源氏の来訪かと目覚めた彼女を抱きしめる。彼は篤く口説いて思いを伝え、「なかなかかけかけしきことはなくて止みなむ、と思ひしかど」、その高貴な美しさに魅せられ、「さかしく思ひしづむる心も失せて、いづちもいづちも率て隠したてまつりて、わが身も世に経るさまならず、跡絶えて止みなばや、とまで思ひ乱れぬ」。とうとう柏木は思いを遂げ、そしてあの有名な猫の夢を見る。「ただいささかまどろむともなき夢に、この手馴らしし猫の、いとらうたげにうち鳴きて来たるを、この宮にたてまつらむとて、わが率て来たるとおぼしきを、何しにたてまつらむと思ふほどに、おどろきて、いかに見えつるならむと思ふ」。この「夢」こそが「受胎告知」であったと後にわかる。

密通を犯した柏木は、「青くなってあわてふためく」。それは帝より怖い、光源氏への恐れであった。「帝の御妻をも取りあやまちて、ことの聞こえあらむに、かばかりおぼえむことゆゑは、身のいたづらにならむ、苦しくおぼゆまじ。しかいちじ

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\*2拙著『かくして『源氏物語』が誕生する—物語が流動する現場にどう立ち会うか—』(笠間書院、2014年)、拙稿「日本古典文学の夢と幻視—『源氏物語』読解のために—」(前掲『夢見る日本文化のパラダイム』法蔵館)参照。

るき罪にはあたらずとも、この院に目をそばめられたてまつらむことは、いと恐ろしくはづかしくおぼゆ」。女三の宮は妊娠し、光源氏は、彼女がルーズに措き散らかした柏木からの恋文を見て、その不貞を知った。そして光源氏は、六条院の試楽に訪れた二十代の柏木を「さしわきて、空酔ひをしつつ」、自らの老いを茶化しながら諷して見やる。すでに深く恐れを抱いていた柏木は、「たはぶれのやうなれど、いとど胸つぶれて」、やがて重病をわずらい（以上若菜下巻）、ついに死んでしまうのである（柏木巻）。

そして薫が生まれた。五十日の祝いの時、光源氏は、薫をその手に抱きながら、結句同じ立場となった、父桐壺帝へと思いを馳せる。あの時、父も知らず顔を作りつつ、すべてを見据えて、我が裏切りを呑み込んでくれていたのではなかったか。光源氏は、深い懷疑と懺悔にさいなまれ、「おまえの父と同じ轍を踏まぬように」という白居易の「自嘲」を口ずさむ<sup>\*3</sup>。近時、その書き換えが話題になった、『源氏物語絵巻』柏木巻の著名な場面である。

こうして光源氏物語の中核には「妊娠小説」的プロットが重要な意味を持って存していた。それは、密通で生まれた不義の子の懐妊が、本当の父に夢告の形で知らされる、という新しいプロットであり、それはまさしく物語史における創出であり、そしてまた新たなひながた一文学伝統となった<sup>\*4</sup>。

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

## 2. ブツダ伝と光源氏

光るように美しい王子・光源氏の造形には、金色に光る美しい王子であったブツダ（出家前を含め、以下この呼称を用いる）の伝記が深く関係している。その詳細は、旧稿で論じたが<sup>\*5</sup>、とりわけその影響は、『源氏物語』第一部で、光源氏が栄華の象徴として築き上げる六条院に象徴される。皮肉なことに、柏木が女三の宮を垣間見、また破滅の死へ向けて、光源氏に耶輸されて睨まれたのも、この邸宅であった。

六条院は、四町にわたる邸宅の集合体として構築された。四ブロックの右下・東南を春の町の館とし、以下時計回りに、西南の秋の町、西北の冬の町、そして東北の夏の町と配置される。それぞれの邸宅には、季節を象徴した光源氏ゆかりの女性が住んでいる。春は最愛の紫の上と明石姫君（光源氏の娘）、のちに女三の宮が降

\*3この場面についても、前掲の拙著と拙稿で言及した。

\*4藤井注1 前掲論文参照。

\*5荒木「〈非在〉する仏伝—光源氏物語の構造」（拙著『かくして『源氏物語』が誕生する 物語が流動する現場にどう立ち会うか』第六章、笠間書院、2014）。なお丘山万里子『ブツダはなぜ女嫌いになったのか』（幻冬舎新書 154、2010）は、独自の視点で仏伝を読み解き、『源氏物語』との類似点に言及している。

嫁する。秋は秋好中宮（六条御息所の娘、光源氏の実子冷泉帝の中宮）、冬は明石の君（光源氏の愛人で明石姫君の母）とその母尼君、そして夏には花散里（光源氏の側室、父桐壺帝の妃・麗景殿女御の妹）、夕霧（光源氏の長男）、のちに玉鬘（光源氏の愛人夕顔の娘）が加わる。

光源氏は春の町に住み、そこは「生ける仏の御国」と呼ばれた（初音巻）。野分巻では、春の館を出て、春→秋→冬→夏とめぐって秋の大風（野分）の被害を見舞う。つまり物語の文言は、光源氏を生けるブツダと描き、ブツダ・光源氏の「春夏秋冬夏」という、奇妙な四季循環を体現する。それは、光源氏の愛する女性達と一体的な時空であった。

こうした四季の邸と女性の配置は、ブツダ伝を応用してはじめて、全的に解明できる。たとえば十二世紀の『今昔物語集』は、『過去現在因果経』などに遡及する漢訳仏典を踏まえつつ、冒頭の三巻で、日本で初めての組織的なブツダの伝記を描き出す。出家前のブツダは、女性を厭い、正妻のヤショーダラーさえも十分に愛することができず、厭世の思いを固め、いつしか出家を欣求する。彼はその夜、三つの不吉な夢（月が地に墮ちた夢、牙齒が抜け落ちた夢、右の臂を失った夢）を見て不安を訴える妻をなだめ、ひそかに城を出て、修行の旅に出発する。ところが『今昔』は、出家前夜の逸話に直続して、彼には三人の妻がおり、それぞれを、季節ごとの「三時殿」に住ませたという、相矛盾するような別系列の内容を併記する（巻一―四）。この逸話は、私たちの常識的なブツダイメージからは違和感があるかも知れないが、伝承自体はめずらしいものではない。『ジャータカ』因縁物語にも遡源するものである。「三時殿」は「温（暖）・涼・不寒・不暑」のためと説明されるが、一部の漢訳経典は「春・秋・冬・夏」の四時殿だったと、東アジアの四季に合わせて説明する。ここに、春夏秋冬という六条院の季節循環と、四季の館ごとの女性の帯同が、唯一・全的に説明されるのである。

ブツダは、三時殿と妻を捨てて出家して、悟りを求めて完遂する。しかし『源氏物語』は、六条院を、第一部の俗人・光源氏の人生の栄華の完成に位置づけた。光源氏は、最初の正妻葵の上を失ってから、永遠に出家を願望しつつ（物語の舞台では）果たされない。むしろその未完成を主題として物語を生きる。双子のようなブツダと光源氏には、そういう逆さまの照応がある。

### 3. ブツダ伝と「妊娠小説」

こうした照応が、逆に、ブツダ伝の陥穽を写し出す。「妊娠小説」というプロットの潜在である。ブツダは、ヤショーダラーとの間に、ラーフラという一子をなした。しかし、仏典を見ると、その出生に衝撃的な噂があったことがわかる。日本でも尊重された『大智度論』は、『羅睺羅母本生経』を引いて次のように説明する。太子・ブツダには二人の夫人がいた。耶輸陀羅（＝ヤショーダラー）はその内の一人で、羅睺羅（＝ラーフラ）の母であった。菩薩（＝ブツダ）が出家した夜、彼女は妊娠を自覚する（自覚二妊身一）。ところがブツダは出家してしまい、六年間の

苦行に入っていた。不思議なことに、ヤショーダラーもまた、その六年間、懐妊したまま「不産」であったという。釈迦族の人々は、「菩薩は出家したのに、なぜ妊娠をしたのか」と詰問し、ヤショーダラーは、「私は何の罪も犯していない。私が孕んだこの子は、間違いなく太子の子です」と反論する。人々が「ではなぜいつまでも産まれないのだ」と詰問すると、ヤショーダラーは「私には分かりません！」と応えた。そしてブッダの苦行が終わり、出家後六年を経たブッダの成仏(=成道)の夜、ようやく一子・ラーフラが生まれたという。

人々の疑いは無理もなかった。出家前、彼の道心ぶりは「不能男」のようであったと、漢訳仏典は説明する。たとえば先に引いた『今昔』他、日本でのブッダ伝形成の基礎となった『過去現在因果経』によれば、太子(=ブッダ)は、妻との「夫婦道」が不在で妓女に近づくこともなく、ただ世を厭うばかり。そんな太子を憂え、せめて国のために跡継ぎの一子を残してくれと願う父王に伝え、太子は、父の言葉と気持ちを理解し、仰せの如くと、その場で妃の腹を左手で指し、懐妊が果たされる\*6。『過去現在因果経』の異訳とされる『太子瑞応本起経』でも、太子はヤショーダラーを近づけず、「不能男」ではないか、という疑いが持たれていた。そんな中で太子は妻の腹を指し、この子は六年後に生まれるだろうと予言して、ようやく妊娠が果たされたと語る。日本中世の仏伝資料『教員伝』によれば、かつて太子を愛し戯れた女房たちは、彼の「御隠所ニハ」「白蓮花コソイツクシク出生」していたとはやし立て、子供の父が太子なんてことはあり得ないと非難したという。『雑宝蔵経』(『法苑珠林』にも引く)によれば、ヤショーダラーの妊娠を知った宮中の侍女たちは、一斉に口を極めて彼女を辱め、「怪哉大悪耶輸陀羅」となじった。電光という、ヤショーダラーの叔母の娘は、彼女の不貞は親の家を辱め台無しにする行為だと罵ったという。

『大智度論』では、不貞の批判に反論し、父王に進言するのが、ブッダのもう一人の妻クビヤであった。クビヤは、自分はずっとヤショーダラーの側におり、彼女の無実を知っている。クビヤは、子供が生まれるのを待って、その子が父ブッダに似ているかどうかを見てから判断しても遅くない(願口二怨之一。我常与二耶輸陀羅一共住、我為二其証一、知二其無一罪。待二其子生一、知二似レ父不一、治レ之無レ晩)と王に助言し、王は寛容に結論を待つことになる。そして六年が経ち、ラーフラが生まれた。彼がブッダにそっくりだったので、父王は安堵し、群臣にその旨を語った(王見二其似一レ父、愛樂忘レ憂。語二群臣一言、我兒雖レ去、今得二其子一、与レ兒在レ無レ異)という。

この不義の子と本当の父との類似が証す真実は、再び『源氏物語』を引き寄せる。自分の子供として生まれたと信じる父桐壺帝が、光源氏と藤壺との実子(のちの冷泉帝)を抱き上げて愛でる紅葉賀巻の場面だ。そしてそれは、自分の子であると信じて疑わない父・桐壺帝が、ほら、おまえにそっくりだろうと、光源氏と藤壺に自慢して、密通した二人が「青くなってあわてふためく」先引場面へと接続する。

四月に内裏<sup>うち</sup>へ参りたまふ。ほどよりは大きにおよすけたまひて、やうやう起きかへりなどしたまふ。あさましきまで、まぎれどころなき御顔つきを、おぼし寄らぬことにしあれば、またならびなきどちは、げにかよひたまへるにこそはと思ほしけり。……かうやむごとな

\*6『釈迦如来八相次第』では「右ノ御手」で腹を指す。「左手」とする『過去現在因果経』以下と異なるが、「太子即以二右手一指二其妃腹一。便覺レ有レ娠」とする『仏祖統記』巻二「出家家」の所説に従っている(巻三十四にも略述)。

き御腹に、同じ光にてさし出でたまへれば、疵なき玉と思ほしかしづくに、宮（＝藤壺）はいかなるにつけても、胸のひまなく、やすからずものを思はず。（中略）

…「御子たちあまたあれど、そこをのみなむ、かかるほどより明け暮れ見し。されば思ひわたさるるにやあらむ、いとよくこそおぼえたれ。いとちひさきほどは、皆かくのみあるわざにやあらむ」とて、いみじくうつくしと思ひきこえさせたまへり。中将の君、面の色かはるこちして、恐ろしうも、かたじけなくも、うれしくも、あはれにも、かたがたうつろふこちして、涙おちぬべし。物語などして、うち笑みたまへるがいとゆゆううつくしきに、わが身ながら、これに似たらむはいみじういたはしうおぼえたまふぞ、あながちなるや。宮は、わりなくかたはらいたきに、汗も流れてぞおはしける。中将は、なかなかなるこちの、かき乱るやうなれば、まかでたまひぬ。（紅葉賀巻）

こう並べると、ブッダの父が、ヤショーダラーが六年後に生んだ子供を見て、よく似ているので、ブッダの実子と認めた、というエピソードは、パロディ化されているかのようにみえる。

さて『大智度論』では、父の王は、ラーフラを我が孫と認め、ヤショーダラーはひとまず罪を免れたが、依然「悪声満レ国」だったとある。彼女の不義の噂は絶えることはなかったらしい。根強い噂の一つに、ブッダの従兄弟と所伝する（ヤショーダーの兄ともいう）ディーバダッタが、ブッダ成道後、ヤショーダラーを誘惑し、彼女はこれを拒絶した、との伝承もある\*7。前引『雑宝蔵経』は、より烈しい説話を記す。ヤショーダラーとその子の処罰のために、穴を掘って火を燃やし、母子ともにその火坑に投げ入れてしまえ、と決議された。悲嘆したヤショーダラーは、「この子は、決して他の男との子ではない。六年間私の胎内に留まっていた。私のいうことが嘘であれば、炎が私の身を焦がし、もし正しければ、この火は消滅するだろう」、そう言って子を抱いて火中に入ると、火はたちまち清らかな池に変じ、母子はその蓮の上にあった。ようやく彼女はその不倫の疑いを晴らしたという。

『大智度論』（『仏本行集経』にも略述）によれば、彼女の不義の噂が真実晴らされるのは、ラーフラが七歳になり、ブッダが母国カピラヴァストゥに戻ってきた時のことである。親子の証明のため、母に命じられたラーフラが「歓喜丸」を持って父に近づき、他の五百羅漢と同じ姿に変じて紛れていたブッダを彼は見事に発見して、捧げることができたからだ。

このように、ブッダの子ラーフラの出生は、ヤショーダラーの不倫をめぐる、「妊娠小説」の要素を根深く潜在させる。しかもそれは、ほとんど『源氏物語』の先蹤であった。もちろんブッダの「妊娠小説」的問題は、母子ともに厳しいイニシエーションを経て、聖的なやり方で解消された。多くのブッダ伝が説くように、ブッダは、最高の悟りを得べき存在だったからである。彼が生まれた時、バラモンやアシダ仙人によって予言を施され、この優れたブッダには、在家として理想の王となるか、それとも出家して悟りを得るか、二つの可能性が開けていた。しかしいずれの予言者も、彼は疑いなくブッダになるべき人だと断じた。運命付けられた教祖であった。しかし、光源氏は、幼子の時、高麗の相人によって、まるでブッダの占いを引き返すかのように、王の上無き位に就けば国を揺るがし、臣下となって王を補弼しても相応しから

\*7『根本説一切有部毘奈耶破僧事』卷第十。

ぬ、という、究極の二重否定・ダブルバインドの謎かけの占いが設定された。そこには出家の選択自体が描かれない。彼は、裏返しのブツダとして出発する\*8。光源氏が受け止めたブツダの「妊娠小説」の独自展開も、このコンテキストから理解される。

#### 4. 『源氏物語』と羅睺羅の懐胎との直接的関連

ところで『源氏物語』の読者には、はたしてこの構図は伝わっていたのだろうか。私の見る限り、現代の研究者も読者も、こうしたブツダ伝を前提に『源氏』を読解することはないようだ。しかし、藤壺と光源氏の間に来た後の冷泉帝の出生（紅葉賀巻）について、中世にはブツダ伝の妊娠が引き合いに出されることがあった。『源氏物語』に関する河内方の所説をまとめた『原中最秘抄』（1364）という注釈は、紅葉賀巻の「二月十ヨ日ノホトニオトコ宮ムマレ給ヌ」とある本文について解釈し、若紫巻の妊娠から、この出産まで、「然間彼懐孕ノ始ト皇誕生ノ今ヲ勘二年ハ三ヶ年月ハ廿六月ナリ」と計算する。冷泉は、足かけ三年の懐妊で、二十六ヶ月で生まれた、という。この奇妙な計算は、次のような巻の年時を追いかけた結果らしい。

- ・若紫巻春の末（中略）三月はかりになれは…ミツキ} 1年
- ・末摘花巻にそのとしくれ歩春になりぬ。ウツリテ} 1年
- ・紅葉賀の行幸は神な月なり其年くれ春たちて源氏君朝拝に…} 2ヶ月
- ・この月〈正月也〉はさりともと待につれなくてたちぬといひて同二月十余日のほとに…この各巻にある年の代わり目に関する叙述を物語の順に忠実に追うと、冷泉院は懐妊後二年二ヶ月にして生まれたということになるのである。（平井仁子「『源氏物語』の時間―「花鳥余情」以前―」『実践国文学』9、1976年2月）

行阿は、この驚くべき事実はこれまで誰も気付かなかった。自分が初めての見つけた事実だ。私は七十になるまでいくどもこの物語を読み享受してきたが、この発見が一番のものだとして、「和漢先例条々」を次のように挙げている。

応神天皇御母神功皇后御懐妊八年…  
聖徳太子母后経二御懐妊十二月…  
武内大臣…被二懐妊一事六十年…  
昔時瞿夷今日耶輸乃是天女也耶輸陀羅之子羅睺尊者ハ佛出家之後六年而誕生大臣等疑之  
一日耶輸陀羅懐レ子投レ火ニ全不レ焼

最後に挙げられたのがブツダの六年懐胎説である\*9。ただし、このように巻序をそのまま年月に置き換える物語の年数計算の方法は、一条兼良（1402～1481）によって完璧に否定された。兼良は『源氏物語年立』（1453）を表し、序で次のように述べる。

\*8前掲拙著参照。

\*9先引『雑宝蔵経』もしくは同経を引く『法苑珠林』によると思しい。『教児伝』にも類似した一節がある。

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

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

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

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

物語の構造を読みとり、主人公の年齢に着眼して、巻ごとの年数の重複を把握して理解する。「年立」という考え方の提案である。兼良が従来の誤った年数計算のやり方の象徴として取り上げたのが、冷泉院の三年懐胎説であった。『源氏物語年立』紅葉賀の当該部では次のように記している。

・二月十余日藤壺女御御産男子事 \ 冷泉院是也

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

このように、冷泉帝懐胎説は、ヤショーダラーのラーフラ懐胎説に集約して批判されている。この点に注目したい。物語の叙述としては兼良の述べる通りであろう。しかし次のような評価もある。

(行阿は) 藤壺の御産 (冷泉院誕生) の際二十六か月を費やしているとみて、古来この不思議を誰も指摘しなかったことを非難し、歴史上の先例を引用して神秘的な出産であると解釈している。この説は、やがて兼良によって徹底的に論破され、通常的一年余の出産とされるわけだが、「源氏物語」をこう読んでいたという史的証拠としては意義深い。巻序のとおり素直に並べて、年月もそれと同じく進行すると考えたこの「原中最秘抄」を一笑に付してしまうのは、早計ではないか。(平井仁子前掲論文)

『源氏物語』根幹の「妊娠小説」の把握に、中世の人々がブツダ伝を掲げ、「こう読んでいたという史的証拠」となる。この理解の存在は、単に「年立」の理解に留まらない。ブツダ伝と『源氏物語』の関係の解明に、重要な意味を持つと思う。

## 5. 南伝の伝承が示唆すること—ブツダ伝の重要性

一方、ジャータカなど、南伝仏教においては、ブツダが出家する一週間前に、すでにラーフラが生まれている。出生を喜ぶ父からその誕生を聞いたブツダが、「ラーフラ」 (= 障碍) が生じたと叫んで、それが命名の由来になったという。

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

ブッダは、出家の当日、もう一度我が子の顔を見ようと寝室に戻るのだが、子の頭をなでて熟睡する妻・ヤショーダラーの様子を見て、子を起こせば妻もめざめ、出家の妨げになるとあきらめて、そっと城を出た。タイのチェンマイで、この図像をいくどか見た。東アジアでは全く見られない画像であるという\*10。

こちらには、ヤショーダラーをめぐる何の疑いも発生しない、ようにみえる。タイなどで話しを聞いても、ブッダとヤショーダラーの関係にいささかの疑念もない。ところが並川孝儀は、かつてこの背後に、次のような興味深い事情がありうることを提示したことがあった。

ラーフラの命名が「日食と月食のラーフという悪魔性を有した者」という語義を持ち、太陽と月を呑み込む悪魔であることを考える時……ラーフラという名は釈迦族の家系を断ち切る悪魔性を有した者ということになる。ラーフラの出生にこの名が付けられたことは、この出生自体に釈迦続の家系を断ち切るほどの、或いは汚すという常識では到底考えられない事情が背景にあったと見做すべきであろう。（中略）ラーフラの出生が釈尊の出家前の説の場合、この命名は釈尊の出家と関連したものであるという意義を有することになる。即ち、この立場はラーフラの命名にまつわる事情が釈尊の出家を促したのではないかという解釈を生む。（中略）ここで、この命名の背後にある真意が何であったのかを探る一つの手掛かりを与えてくれるのが釈尊の成道時におけるラーフラ出生説での物語である。それは既述したように、ラーフラが釈尊の実子であることへの疑惑という驚くべき伝承の存在である。（中略）成道が出家後六年であると考えれば、常識的にラーフラは釈尊の実子であると理解することのほうが問題である。この成道時のラーフラ出生説が実施の疑惑を伝えることを勘案する時、もう一つの伝承である出家前のラーフラ出生説の背後にある深刻な事情もこれと同質の問題として理解できるかもしれない。いずれにしても、ラーフラの出生が釈尊の出家前であったとしたなら、実子でないという可能性を孕んだ、このような事情を背景とした出生が出家の原因になったものと考えられる。（並川孝儀「ラーフラ（羅睺羅）の命名と釈尊の出家」『佛教大学総合研究所紀要』4、1997）

つまり、ブッダの出家のモチベーションを論じて、出家前に生まれたラーフラに、ブッダは、自分の子ではないと疑念を抱き、家の断絶やケガレの現実に厭世して出家した、という可能性を示唆するのであろう。並川はこの論文を単著『ゴータマ・ブッダ考』（大蔵出版、2005）に収録する際、「ラーフラの出生が釈尊の出家前であったとしたなら、実子でないという可能性を孕んだ、このような事情」という部分は改稿され、顕在化していない。しかし、並川がひとたび仏典の文献学によってたどりついた右の解釈自体は、読みの可能性としてとても示唆的である。

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\*10伝承としては、ブッダチャリタの漢訳『仏所行讚』や『仏本行集経』五五の「或説」に出家時にすでに羅睺羅は生まれていたとの説が記される。東アジアにおいても未知の説ではない。

出家の夜、妻が抱く我が子が実子ではない、という確信をブッダが抱いていた、という物語。それは再び、冷泉帝を抱く桐壺帝、そして薫を抱いて「自嘲」を吟く光源氏とオーバーラップする。出家の時、すでにラーフラが生まれていた、という伝承は、漢訳ではごくわずかな資料に限られるが、読めなかったわけではない（注10参照）。ヤショーダラー不貞説自体は、もとより周知のプロットであった。たとえこの逸話を『源氏物語』作者が読んでいなかったとしても、生まれてしまって抱かれた我が子が、じつは実子ではない、という物語の核心となるシーズを、ブッダ伝から汲み取ることはさほど難しいことではない。ブッダ伝の重要性をあらためて知らしめるエピソードではないか。日本の古代・中世社会において、きわめて根幹的な役割を果たした宗教である仏教の教祖・ブッダの伝記の影響はこれまで以上に強調すべきである。そしてその内実については、従来の枠組みに囚われない、多様で広い読み取りが必要である。そのことを確認して本稿を閉じたい\*11。

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\*11本稿は、拙稿「出家譚と妻と子と一仏伝の日本化と中世説話の形象をめぐって―」（小峯和明編『東アジアの仏伝文学』勉誠出版、2017刊行予定）と問題意識と対象文献において関連する部分がある。併せ参照されたい。

## はじめに

寛文六年（一六六六）、日本で最初の絵入百科事典とされる『訓蒙図彙（きんもうずい）』が刊行された<sup>1</sup>。一〇冊二三巻から成り、事物を一七の部門に分けてその形状と名称を絵と言葉によって明示している。採録された事物の総数は一四八四にのぼる。本書以降、絵と語が一对になった様々な事典類が刊行され、その形式をもじったパロディが作られるなど、本書から派生した書物は多岐にわたる。また、『訓蒙図彙』自体も、元禄八年（一六九五）刊『頭書増補訓蒙図彙』、寛政元年（一七八九）刊『頭書増補訓蒙図彙大成』と二度にわたって増補改訂版が作られており、時代の要求に応じながら多くの読者を啓蒙し続けた。

さらにその影響は日本のみに限らない。例えば、ドイツ人ケンペル（一六五一一—一七一六）の『日本誌（Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan）』や『廻国奇覽（Amoenitatum Exoticarum）』における動植物の記述・図版には、寛文八年（一六六八）版の『訓蒙図彙』の影響が十分にみとめられる<sup>2</sup>。

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

『訓蒙図彙』の研究は、辞書学、近世文学、書誌学など多様な視点から行われてきた<sup>3</sup>。また、『訓蒙図彙』に連なる書物二九種を一括収録した『訓蒙図彙集成』（全二五巻、大空社、一九九八-二〇〇二年）も刊行されている。しかし、これらの「訓蒙図彙もの」を通史的に捉える研究、あるいは個別の事象、表象の伝播・展開について『訓蒙図彙』を踏まえた研究は未だ十分になされてはいない。

そこで、本発表では『訓蒙図彙』の成立から「訓蒙図彙もの」の派生までを述べ、「人物図」という切り口から近世中期の出版物における『訓蒙図彙』の位置を考える。最後に、発表者が現在構築中の近世期の絵入百科事典に関するデータベースに

<sup>1</sup>本書には刊年が明記されていないが、小林祥次郎は序年誌および、寛文八年刊の『訓蒙図彙』との関係から寛文六年版と称して大過ないであろうとする。（小林祥次郎編『江戸のイラスト辞典 訓蒙図彙』勉誠出版、二〇一二年、九六九頁）

<sup>2</sup> 日本学士院日本科学史刊行会編『新訂版 明治前日本生物史』第一巻、臨川書店、一九八〇年、北村二郎「ケンペルの『日本植物記』について」『植物と文化』一三号、一九七五年、二・一三頁。

<sup>3</sup> 『訓蒙図彙』の内容、成立背景や諸本については、前掲注 1、杉本つとむ『訓蒙図彙』早稲田大学出版部、一九七五年、勝又基「江戸の百科事典を読む」『月刊しにか』一一・三号、二〇〇〇年、六五・七一頁、勝又基「解説」『訓蒙図彙集成』全二五巻、大空社、一九九八年などに詳しい。

ついで言及したい。

## 一 『訓蒙図彙』

本書は天文・地理・居所・人物・身体・衣服・宝貨・器用（一～四）・畜獣・禽鳥・龍魚・虫介・米穀・菜蔬・果蓏・樹竹・草花、の一七部の分類で構成されている。見開き一丁毎に四つの事物を配し、漢字・ひらがなで名称を記し、形状を図画で表している（図1）。書型は大本で、十分に詳細まで描くことが可能な大きさである<sup>4</sup>。項目は一四八四個であるが、それぞれに俗称や異称も記載されているため、合計で五千語ほどが収録されている<sup>5</sup>。

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

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

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

また、図については下記のようにある。

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

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

当然ながら、これらの作業には様々な参考文献が必要となる。凡例には引証書物として中国の書物では『三才図会』（万暦三五年〔一六〇九〕）、『農政全書』（崇禎一二年〔一六三九〕）の他「諸家の本草の図説」を挙げ、国内の書物では源順『和名類聚抄』、林羅山『多識論』、『字鏡』、『壘囊抄』、『下学集』、『節用集』などの辞書類が挙げられている。

### （一）作者中村惕斎（なかむらてきさい）

本書の著者である中村惕斎（一六二九—一七〇二）は、江戸時代前期に京都で活

<sup>4</sup> 例えば国立公文書館内閣文庫所蔵本は、縦 27.0×横 19.3cm である（前掲注 3 杉本つとむ、例言 xii 頁）。

<sup>5</sup> 前掲注 3、二六六頁。

動した朱子学者である。寛永六年（一六二九）に京都の商家に生まれる。幼少より優れた学才をみせ、独学で朱子学を修め、同時代の伊藤仁斎（一六二七—一七〇五）と並び称された。二五歳で家業を継ぐも生来商売を好まず、三〇歳の時に学問に専心するため「断然トシテ俗交ヲ辞シ」た<sup>6</sup>。人柄は穩健、篤実と評されることが多く、喧騒を避けて京都中心部から僻地に居を移した。

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

寛永六年（一六二九）一歳 室町通街二条第一間に生まれる  
明暦元年（一六五五）二七歳 衣店街二条第一間西畔に転居  
万治元年（一六五八）三〇歳 長男清平誕生  
寛文六年（一六六六）三八歳 『訓蒙図彙』叙  
延宝五年（一六七七）四九歳 小川街二条第三間西畔に転居  
貞享元年（一六八四）五六歳 伏見郷京町南八間へ転居  
元禄十一年（一六九八）七〇歳 東九条宇賀辻村へ転居

惕斎の生まれ育った二条界限は儒学者の町でもあった。松永尺五（一五二九—一六五七）が寛永五年（一六二八）に西洞院二条南に春秋館を建てて以降、儒学の私塾が次々と創設される<sup>7</sup>。二条堀川近辺は、山崎闇斎の講席が開かれたり、伊藤仁斎の古義堂が開設された場所でもある。そのような環境で惕斎は儒学の学びを深めていった。

## （二）制作動機

書名に「訓蒙」とある通り、本書の目的は児童の啓蒙にある。その意図は惕斎自身が記した「叙」を読んでも明確である<sup>8</sup>。

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

家内の儿女には乳母も学問の師もいない。そのため、自ら『四言』や『千字文』を連ねて国字を添え、そこに画図も付けたという。叙が記された寛文六年には惕斎の長男清平が九歳となっていた。惕斎には一〇歳年下の妻との間に二男・一女に加えて庶子があつた。長女の生まれが長男より先なのかは記録に残っていないが、『訓

<sup>6</sup> 増謙益夫『惕斎先生行状』五弓雪窓『関西大学東西学術研究所資料集刊十一二 事実文編二』関西大学出版・広報部、一九七九年、二一三頁。

<sup>7</sup> 衣笠安喜「元禄の文化第二節 学問と思想」京都市編『新装版京都の歴史 5 近世の展開』京都市史編さん所、一九七九年、四一九 - 四四二頁。

<sup>8</sup> 原文漢文。送り仮名は適宜補った。

蒙図彙』成立当時に惕斎の家に幼童がいたことは確かである。自分の子どもの教育のため、様々な事物を図解した書物を作る。それが本書の制作動機であった。

惕斎が著した子ども向けの啓蒙書は本書だけではない。娘のために女性向けの教訓書『比売鑑（ひめかがみ）』も作っている。同書は、朱子の門人が編集した初学者用教科書である『小学』を基として、和漢の貞女を紹介しながら女性として身につけるべき礼儀作法や心得などを説いたものである。延宝元年（一六七三）に記された序文には「家なる女の童に『小学』教えんことをあらましけるに」漢文で記された書物しかなく、自ら仮名文字にして和漢の故事を編集した旨が述べられている。事物の名称・形状を学ぶことができる『訓蒙図彙』、礼儀や古今の故事来歴を知ることができる『比売鑑』と、惕斎は子どもの成長に合わせるように啓蒙書・教訓書を著しており、子どもに対する慈しみの深さを知ることができるといえるのではないだろうか。

ただし、『比売鑑』が出版物として刊行されたのは惕斎の没後のことである。『比売鑑』は写本として成立したものであり、後年それを基に刊本が作られたのである<sup>9</sup>成立当初は、家内の娘、あるいはその周辺の教育に用いられたのみであった。

惕斎の著作は少なくないが、『比売鑑』のように生前それらが刊行されることはほとんどなかった。しかし、例外的に『訓蒙図彙』は叙が記されてからすぐに出版されている。『訓蒙図彙』の諸本研究を行った小林祥次郎によれば、本書には書肆名のない版と巻末に「書肆 山形屋」と刻している版があり、印刷や装幀の状態から「初刷を美しく装幀して貴人に献上し」、次に市販するために書肆名を埋木したものが刷られた<sup>10</sup>。ただし、巻末の「山形屋」がいずれの山形屋を指すのかは特定できていない<sup>11</sup>。広範的な人的交流を好まなかった惕斎の性質を考えれば、江戸の版元は想定の外に置いた方がよいだろう。江戸初期に京都で営業をしていた「山形屋」は四軒あるが<sup>12</sup>、いずれも惕斎の居住地近辺であり、内三軒は二条通り沿いにある。衣棚二条の山形屋善兵衛、衣棚竹屋町の山形屋清兵衛は唐本屋であり、日頃から惕斎とやりとりがあったことも想定でき、二条界限のネットワークから出版へと繋がっていったと考えられる。

## 二 『訓蒙図彙』以降

### （一）増補改訂版

『訓蒙図彙』の刊行後、元禄期と寛政期にそれぞれ増補改訂版が作られている（以降「寛文版」、「元禄版」、「寛政版」と記す）<sup>13</sup>。元禄版は、『頭書増補訓蒙図彙』と

<sup>9</sup> 勝又基「『比売鑑』の写本と刊本」『近世文藝』七〇号、一九九九年、一一〇頁。

<sup>10</sup> 前掲注1、九七一-九七二頁。

<sup>11</sup> 杉本つとむは「」とするが

<sup>12</sup> 井上隆明『日本書誌学大系 改訂増補 76 近世書林板元総覧』青裳堂書店、一九九八年、七四九-七五〇頁。

<sup>13</sup> これ以外に寛文八年（一六六八）に図を縮小した縮刷廉価版、享保一七年（一七三二）に図を縮小し、配列を若干変えた版がある。

いう書名の通り、各図の上部に注釈が加えられ(図2)、項目も増補された。注釈文は漢字ひらがな交じりで記され、より平易な書物となっている。本書の編集に惕斎は関わっていないこともあってか、寛文版にあった学術性は薄れ「通俗化」された事典となった。寛文版から約三〇年経っており、時代や読者に応じた改変といえるだろう。

寛政版はその元禄版を基にしている。初めて絵師の名前が明記された本書は、図を大きく配置する構成に変え、個別に書かれていた事物の図を一図の中に組み合わせるなど視覚的な面を強調したものとなっている(図3)。本書は元禄版から約一〇〇年後の刊行であるが、その間に発展した博物学・本草学・医学などの影響を踏まえ、情報が更新されている項目もある<sup>14</sup>。一六六六年に成立した百科事典が、様々な版元、作者、絵師による改変を加えられながら一二〇年以上も命脈を保ち、それぞれの時代に読者を開拓していった。その過程を追うことは、惕斎の編集した古今東西の書物による知識が事典という形でながく浸透していった形跡を知ることにつながるだろう。

## (二) 様々な「訓蒙図彙もの」

『訓蒙図彙』自体の増補・改訂版に加え、事物を絵と言葉で列記するという趣向の書物が次々を刊行された。多くは書名に「訓蒙図彙」という語を含み、惕斎の書物に連なる企画であることを表明している。

最初の「訓蒙図彙もの」は貞享元年(一六八四)の『武具訓蒙図彙』である。甲、具足など、武具毎に分類し、多様な種類を個別に解説している。作者は京都に住む和算学者の湯浅得之で、京都と大坂の版元から刊行された。これ以降の「訓蒙図彙もの」も多くは上方で作られたものである。貞享三年(一六八六)『好色訓蒙図彙』(京都)、貞享四年(一六八七)『女用訓蒙図彙』(江戸)、同年『難字訓蒙図彙』(大坂)、同年『能之訓蒙図彙』(京都)、元禄三年(一六九〇)『人倫訓蒙図彙』(京都・大坂・江戸)、同年『仏像図彙』(大坂)、元禄九年(一六九六)『立花訓蒙図彙』(大坂)、享保四年(一七一九)『唐土訓蒙図彙』(大坂・江戸)などが続いていく。

また、正徳から享保の間(一七一―一七三六)には『三才図会』を基にした『和漢三才図会』が刊行される。一〇五卷八一冊にわたる大部であり、絵入百科事典はいよいよ充実した局面を迎える。

そのような盛行に応じるように、吉原に関する事物を分類した見立絵本『新造図彙』(山東京伝、天明九年[一七八九])といった『訓蒙図彙』、『三才図会』を模した書物も登場する。

子どもへの啓蒙書として成立した『訓蒙図彙』の流れは、初学者向けの外国語教科書として翻訳・編集された明治四年(一八七一)の『泰西訓蒙図解』にまでつながっていく。

<sup>14</sup> 前掲注3勝又基、七〇頁。

### 三 『訓蒙図彙』の前後一人物図

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

#### (一) 世界図、万国人物図、三才図会

『訓蒙図彙』の「人物」部門には八〇種の人物図が掲載されている。その内、異国、あるいは異界の人物については一八種が立項されている。惕斎が凡例で述べているように、国内でないもの、その存在の有無が不明なものについては「異邦の風物」で補われている。多くは『三才図会』に典拠を求めることができるが、中には凡例で触れていない書物に拠っている図もある。海野一隆は十八種の内「南蛮」「呂宋」「暹羅」「東番」「小人」は正保二年（一六四五）刊『万国総図・万国人物図』と共通する絵柄だと指摘する<sup>15</sup>。『万国総図・万国人物図』は世界図と世界人物図を対にして制作されたもので、世界図はイエズス会宣教師マテオ・リッチ（利瑪竇）が中国（明）で一六〇二年に刊行した「坤輿万国全図」をもとにしている。つまり、惕斎の人物図には中国を源流とするものと、西洋からもたらされた情報をもとにしたものの二種類が混在しているのである。

ただし、典拠となった図をそのまま写している図もあれば、一部を改変している図もみられる。例えば「呂宋」の場合、『万国総図・万国人物図』では男女二人を一組で描いているのに対し、『訓蒙図彙』は男のみを描き出している。また、手長の「長臂」は『三才図会』では長い腕を天に伸ばしているが、『訓蒙図彙』では片腕をもう一方の腕に添えている。おそらく画面の構成などに併せてこのような改変が行われたのだろう<sup>16</sup>。

これらの人物図、あるいは「編集」は元禄版にそのまま引き継がれていくが、寛政版で変更される。特に「長臂」や「占城」、「長人」など異界の人物の描かれ方は、それぞれの特徴がわかりやすく図示されたものとなる（図4）。一方、「中国」「琉球」「朝鮮」などの実在する異国人は装束の描かれ方がより詳細にはなっているものの、基本的な情報は寛文版から大きく変わっていない。前述したように、寛政版では本草学や医学などの情報が最新のものを踏まえていたことと対照的といえる。享保五年（一七二〇）には洋書の輸入制限が緩和されているが、異国人物図についてはその影響を受けなかったといえるだろう。

#### (二) 人物を分類すること—西川祐信の雛形本まで

一方、異国人以外の図は「職業人物図」の性質を有している。「公家」「卿」から

<sup>15</sup> 海野一隆「江戸時代刊行の東洋系民族図譜の嚆矢」『日本古書通信』八九六号、二〇〇四年、六頁。

<sup>16</sup> 勝又基「絵入り百科事典の工夫—『訓蒙図彙』と『和漢三才図会』—」鈴木健一編『浸透する教養』勉誠出版、二〇一三年、一三三頁。

始まり、医者や巫女、遊女、職人などが立項されている。人物を職業や身分など属性ごと分類するという方法は、その後『人倫訓蒙図彙』に引き継がれる。多様な人物の所作や来由を人に尋ね、あるいは和漢の書に求めるという姿勢は、『訓蒙図彙』の方針と重なるものであり、そのように情報収集された約五百種の職業が収録されている。同書以降、特に女性の職業に特化したものとして享保元年（一七一六）『女大学宝箱』がある。女性向け教訓書の本文上部三分の一に差し込まれた挿絵には四十三種の職業が描かれている。西川祐信（一六七一 - 一七五〇）は、女性の職業をさらに拡充し、享保八年（一七二三）『百人女郎品定』（京都・八文字屋版）で百種を挙げた。横山冬彦は、同書が『人倫訓蒙図彙』の女性職種と分類を継承しているとした上で『人倫訓蒙図彙』で入り交じっていた売色類の再整理を行い、さらにその職業を増補したと指摘する<sup>17</sup>。

ただし、祐信が八文字屋と組んで人物を分類し、網羅的に描いた書物は『百人女郎品定』だけではない<sup>18</sup>。同書に先行して実に様々な「人物図」絵本を手がけている。その最も早いものが宝永八年（一七一〇）の『色ひいな形』で、人物を公家、武家、農民、町人、商人の五つに分けてそれぞれの性生活を描いた。さらに売色風俗を細目化して、描写した『情ひいな形』（正徳二年〔一七一二〕）、『妻愛色双六』（享保四年〔一七一九〕）があり、微に入り細にわたって職業を描き分けた絵師といえるだろう。

身分毎に人物を分類するという編集方法は、祐信と八文字屋によって新たな展開をみせる。正徳三年（一七一三）に刊行された『正徳ひいな形』は、公家、武家、町人、傾城、若衆、野郎の別に、「着物」を分類した。従来 of 雛形本は、背面小袖図に模様や色を指示する実用的な書物であったが、そこに身分・職業という配列の方針を加えて編集したのである（図 5）。『訓蒙図彙』の追随作は特に京都・大坂で発展をみせたが、多様に派生していく流れの末尾の一つには、このような書物があった。「人物図」だけではなく、様々な切り口から『訓蒙図彙』をおっていけば、さらに豊かな展開図がみえてくるのではないだろうか。

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<sup>17</sup> 横田冬彦「『女大学』再考—日本近世における女性労働—」『ジェンダーの日本史』下巻、東京大学出版会、一九九五年。

<sup>18</sup> 拙稿「訓蒙図彙と祐信春本・絵本—『色ひいな形』から『百人女郎品定』まで」石上阿希編『祐信を読む』立命館大学アート・リサーチセンター、二〇一三年、七一 - 八五頁。

#### 四 「近世期絵入百科事典」データベース

最後に、発表者が現在構築作業を進めている「近世期絵入百科事典データベース」について述べたい。本データベースは『訓蒙図彙』を中心として、図と言葉を備えた書物の画像と翻刻を検索できるイメージデータベースである。二〇一六年度中に日文研サイト上での公開を目指し、メタデータの入力と画像処理作業を行っている。江戸時代の図像や名称を検索できるデータベースは、視覚文化、文学、博物学など様々な分野の研究者に有用なツールとなるだろう。

ただし、利用者層を研究者のみに限るのではなく、初学者の啓蒙書という『訓蒙図彙』の方針を踏まえ、江戸文化に対する初学者も対象としたい。江戸時代の事物に与えられた形と言葉を知る手がかりとなるようなデータベースを目指すところである。

##### 【図版キャプション】

- (図1) 『訓蒙図彙』、国立国会図書館蔵
- (図2) 『頭書増補訓蒙図彙』、国立国会図書館蔵
- (図3) 『頭書増補訓蒙図彙大成』、早稲田大学図書館蔵
- (図4) 『頭書増補訓蒙図彙大成』、早稲田大学図書館蔵
- (図5) 『正徳ひな形』、東京藝術大学附属図書館蔵

## Ise's modern transformations or the pleasures of pilgrimage in 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan

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In 1830, 5 million people from all over Japan - men, women and children – left their homes and set off for Ise. This number amounts to fully one sixth of the Japanese population. Never before in Japanese history had so many people been on the move at the same time. And of course, there was never before a year when so many people had visited Ise. The next time Ise witnessed similar numbers was in 1942, more than a century later, when Japan was waging total war, and travellers came by steam train. So let us be clear: 1830 was a quite extraordinary year in Ise's history, but even in regular years – at least for the duration of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries - annual pilgrim numbers perhaps averaged as many as 400,000. These statistics – for all their imprecision - help make the point that Ise was without rival as a destination for travelers in early modern and modern Japan. These travelers were pilgrims, for they headed for Ise's sacred sites – foremost among them the Outer and Inner Shrines; but they were tourists, too, since sensory pleasures pre-occupied them en route and, indeed, on arrival. We should probably think of them as “pilgrim-tourists” to reflect their hybrid nature. Typical of travellers to sacred sites everywhere, they slipped effortlessly from one identity to another.

This talk engages, then, with Ise's 19<sup>th</sup> century pilgrim-tourists. They feature prominently here as one of several agents of change. The point I want to stress throughout is that Ise during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was in a constant state of change: its spaces were being imagined and then re-imagined; made and re-made. And much of this dynamism is to be explained by priests and entrepreneurs responding to pilgrim-tourists' demands for pleasures of one sort or another. The pursuit of pleasure was, of course, not all that drove change in 19<sup>th</sup> century Ise. The Meiji Revolution of 1868 and the political crises that prompted it inspired entirely new imaginings of Ise and its place in the realm. It is, anyway, this dynamic making and remaking of Ise that I wish to focus on here.

There is, of course, a theoretical issue at stake here. To this day, we labour under the legacy of Mircea Eliade for whom sacred spaces were “only ever *experienced* by humans, and never *constructed* by them.” Eliade was persuaded that “the sacred place is never chosen by man; it is merely discovered by him; [it] reveals itself to him.” This entirely a-historical view of Eliade's has proved remarkably durable, and it surely helps to explain why there are still so few *historical* studies, so few *social histories*, of specific sacred sites - in Japan or anywhere else. This talk is a modest attempt to “historicise” and to “socialize” our understanding of Ise. I first explore the mosaic of sites, sacred and secular, that made up Ise prior to the revolution; I sketch in the genealogies of those sites and then I demonstrate how they were transformed. It is only by focusing on change that we can we understand Ise in all its complexity.

## Part 1

Tenaka Toshikage was a typical pilgrim. At least, he was male and he was young. A carpenter by trade, and the son of a village official, Tenaka arrived in Ise from Sagami Province with ten companions in early spring 1841. To get a clear idea of Ise's distinctive spaces, I propose we plot Tenaka's movements through Ise with the help of his diary - and of this map. Maps of this sort were, incidentally, printed in great numbers, and Tenaka undoubtedly used something similar to orientate himself. Tenaka tells his diary how he and his party crossed the Miyagawa River by ferry on the fourteenth day of the second month 1841. They headed east along the Pilgrims' Road into Yamada, and then on through the Furuichi pleasure quarters to Futami on the coast. In Futami, they purified themselves in the waters of Ise Bay. They backtracked to Yamada to check in at their inn. The innkeeper, Kameda Dayū, served them up a feast. The next day they set off for the nearby Outer Shrine, where they worshipped. They then climbed Takakurayama (and ambled about the site of the Heavenly Rock-Cave); they took in the stunning vistas before returning to the inn where Kameda Dayū served a second feast and hosted a solemn performance of sacred *kagura* dance. For Kameda, was both inn-keeper and priest. The next day, after yet another sumptuous meal, Tenaka and his party walked the Pilgrims' Road through Furuichi to the Inner Shrine. They worshipped, before ascending Mount Asama. At the Kongōshōji temple on the flank of the mountain, they worshipped once more and enjoyed the spectacular view of Ise Bay from one of Asama's viewing platforms. They then backtracked along the Pilgrims Path to Furuichi. And here, in the Bizen'ya brothel, they spent the night. Tenaka confessed to his diary that words were inadequate to describe the pleasures of that night. This was not the end of Tenaka's Ise sojourn: he and his companions returned for a second night in the Bizenya. But we have spent long enough in his company to identify what was distinctive about Ise and its early modern spaces.

- A. First of all, Ise comprised two sacred centers, the Outer Shrine and the Inner Shrine. They were located in two towns, Yamada and Uji, set some 5.5 kilometres apart. Pilgrimage theory leads us to expect a single center, with a single focus of worship and a single, coherent narrative linking the site to the sacred. But Ise had two such centres, with different kami, and distinctive, competing narratives. Each centre was served, moreover, by quite independent communities of priests. It is evident neither from Tenaka's diary nor, of course, from the map, but the priests who served the Outer and Inner Shrines were locked in a permanent state of conflict. Ise was distinctive then as a sacred site divided against itself.
- B. A second spatial feature of note concerns Furuichi, the pleasure quarters. Other sacred sites had pleasure quarters attached to them, but Furuichi is striking because it occupies Ise's epicenter. It straddles the Pilgrims' Path that links the Outer to the Inner Shrine; pilgrims have no choice but to negotiate it to get from one site to the other. Furuichi was probably the third largest pleasure quarters in the land. At its height, it was surpassed in scale only by Yoshiwara in Edo, and Shinmachi in Osaka. After the Meiji Revolution, Outer Shrine priest, Matsuki Tokihiko, wrote a fascinating book full of longing for pre-Meiji Ise. In it, he has a section on Furuichi where he offers this reflection on the place of Furuichi in pre-Meiji Ise pilgrimage:

All pilgrims associated Ise with Furuichi. Thousands upon thousands [of them] spent vast quantities of cash in Ise, but they poured almost all of it into Furuichi... The point of Ise

pilgrimage for young men was never to offer thanks to the kami, nor to recite prayers for family wellbeing. Pilgrims' sole purpose was to squander their fortunes on a night in the Ox-cart palace.<sup>1</sup>

Now, the “Ox-cart palace” was a reference to the Bizenya, the brothel where Tenaka Toshikage had spent the night; it was the greatest of all Furuichi's brothels. Outer Shrine priest Matsuki Tokihiko is insisting here that pilgrims came to Ise for sex. He implies that what we like to call “Ise pilgrimage” might be better understood as early modern “sex-tourism”. Even allowing for some exaggeration, we should not dismiss his assertion lightly.

It is worth emphasising that Furuichi was not the only provider of pleasure to Ise's pilgrim-tourists. There were the stunning views to behold at different locations in Ise's hilly topography; there were the sprawling inns that hosted pilgrim-tourists with sumptuous feasts and vast quantities of alcohol, providing the sort of luxury that most had never before experienced. I wish I had more time to tell you about the owners of these inns, like Kameda. They doubled up as priests, a particular type of pilgrim-oriented priest known as *oshi*. They specialized in the performance of kagura dance and purifications and they distributed shrine talismans as well. They functioned, further, as travel agents. Every year, they dispatched associates the length and breadth of Japan, stirring and sustaining regional interest in Ise, and soliciting custom for Ise pilgrimage. The wealthiest of these “inn-owner priests” had hundreds of thousands of clients on their books. The point is that these men played a pivotal role in shaping the pilgrim-tourists' experience of Ise.

To return to Ise's early modern spaces: we must resist the temptation to see the sacred spaces of the Outer and Inner Shrines or the secular spaces dominated by Furuichi as somehow stable or constant. Rather, they were all subject to processes of construction, contestation and transformation; they each have their own “genealogies,” that is. The briefest genealogy of Furuichi might run something like this.

Furuichi first appears in the historical record in the 1670s. By the turn of the century, it features in the fiction of Ihara Saikaku and the drama of Chikamatsu Monzaemon. Its renown is spreading now to the great cities of Edo and Osaka. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, there are fifty brothels and two kabuki theatres in Furuichi. By 1732 the Bizen'ya has accumulated sufficient capital to open a branch-brothel in the castle town of Nagoya. Notwithstanding frequent fires, Furuichi goes from strength to strength. By mid century, Furuichi kabuki is acknowledged as the finest rural kabuki in the land; an outstanding performance by an actor here can launch his career in Edo or Osaka. By the 1780s, Furuichi has found space for seventy-four brothels, employing a thousand prostitutes.

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<sup>1</sup> Matsuki, *Shinto hyaku monogatari*, pp.3-4.

Two events at the turn of the century help fix the association in the popular mind between Ise pilgrimage and the pleasure-quarters. The first is a mass murder that takes place in the Aburaya brothel in 1796. The incident is written up by Chikamatsu Tokuzō into the kabuki play *Ise ondo koi no netaba*, which within weeks is being performed to great acclaim on the stage in Osaka, and then Kyoto and Edo. A second ‘incident’ is the publication of Jippensha Ikku’s massively popular novel *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* in 1805. Its most engaging scenes have protagonists, Kita and Yaji, cavorting in Furuichi’s brothels. You can see them here. Furuichi, its brothels and theatres flourish as never before and then, in the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a new and puzzling phenomenon emerges. We find evidence, scattered though it is, of women pilgrims frequenting Furuichi.

Shortly, we must pursue Furuichi’s fortunes beyond the Meiji Revolution of 1868, but I want first to sketch the briefest genealogies of the Outer and Inner Shrines. The point I want to stress here is that they, too, are subject to a constant process of making and remaking. The origins of what became known as the Inner Shrine date back to the 7<sup>th</sup> century; the Outer Shrine was born a century later. Tensions between the two sites quickly surface. In the middle ages, Outer and Inner shrine priests are literally at war with one another. In the early modern period, tensions endure but legal challenges replace armed assault. The reason for the conflict? Priests fight over the relative virtues of their kami: Outer Shrine kami versus Inner Shrine kami. The virtues of the kami relate to priests’ ability to attract pilgrims and other forms of patronage, which in turn directly affects the economic fortunes of the shrines, their priests and the towns of Yamada and Uji. The fact is that the Outer Shrine attracts many more pilgrims than the Inner Shrine, and Yamada - where the shrine is situated - is a much larger and more vibrant town. It has many more inns, and its community of *oshi*, or pilgrim-dedicated priests, is twice as numerous as that in Uji. So, it would seem that Outer Shrine priests have the upper-hand in the perennial conflict between the two sites. But the situation is more complex, not least because the Outer Shrine suffers a perpetual crisis of identity.

We need to step back a few decades to get a clear perspective on this. Guidebooks for pilgrims help us make sense of what is going on. Take, for example, the *Ise sangū annaiki* published by Outer Shrine priests in 1739; this is the first ever pilgrim guide to Ise. Its authors introduce the Outer Shrine kami as “Amaterasu Toyouke Sue Ōnkami”. This is an entirely new name which combines the traditional Outer Shrine kami name “Toyouke” with the Inner Shrine kami name “Amaterasu”; and it embellishes them with the new honorific coinage, “Ōnkami”. The Outer Shrine kami is clearly unrivalled in its virtue. Just a generation later, the Outer Shrine priests switch the identity of their kami. The authors of the *Ise sangū saiken taizen*, a guidebook published in 1766, introduce the kami to pilgrims as Kunitokotachi no mikoto and Ame no minaka nushi. You have probably heard of these kami, for they feature as creator kami in the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* myths respectively. They created the cosmos and all living things and are, by definition, infinitely superior to Amaterasu. Then, there is a third guidebook, published a generation later in the 1790s. *Ise sangū meisho zue* was the most widely read of all the pre-modern Ise guidebooks. It makes

no reference at all to Amaterasu Toyouke, or Kunitokotatchi, or Amenominakanushi. It introduces the Outer Shrine kami as Toyouke Kōtaijin, where Kōtaijin means “Imperial Great kami” – a status that was previously the preserve of Amaterasu.

In the last decades before the 1868 revolution, there emerges a consensus among shrine priests and intellectuals that the Outer Shrine kami is, after all, Toyouke Kōtaijin by name, but what, indeed, is the nature of this kami? Is he a cosmic deity of equal virtue to Amaterasu, or merely, as some now argue, a servant kami who exists to provide Amaterasu with nourishment?

The extent to which pilgrims are aware of these tensions and the countless lawsuits they generate is far from clear; how all this impinges – if at all - on pilgrims’ experience of Ise in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries is unknowable. But to the priests, and some at least of their patrons, issues of identity seem a matter of life and death.

I think we have now identified the key features of the Ise shrine-scape on the eve of the Meiji Revolution: two sacred centres, locked in dispute over their kami’s virtues, competing for pilgrims’ patronage; the ever-vibrant pleasure quarters, offering pilgrims sex and kabuki; the multiple sightseeing spots that afford stunning views of Ise Bay, and the unrivalled luxury of the *oshi* inns in Yamada and Uji. It is this mosaic of spaces, sacred and secular, that attracts pilgrim-tourists to early modern Ise in their 100s of 1000s.

On the eve of the revolution, however, intellectuals, activists and priests begin to imagine Ise in an entirely new way. And their imaginings have a profound impact. From 1854, Emperor Komei dispatches envoys to Ise on behalf of the imperial court in Kyoto and the Tokugawa bakufu in Edo. (As you know, the bakufu and the court are the two interlocking components of the early modern state.) The emperor’s purpose is to seek divine help in expelling the foreign barbarians, whose ships are anchored now in Japanese ports. In 1858, the bakufu signs trade treaties with the foreign powers, against Emperor Komei’s express wishes. The emperor vents his anger by sending personal envoys to Ise without bakufu sanction. This action is without precedent, and there is to the emperor’s actions in 1858 a distinctly anti-bakufu dimension. So, Ise is being drawn into issues of diplomacy and domestic politics as never before. Then, in 1863, radical royalists from Chōshū domain tender to the court an astonishing proposal: that the emperor should progress in person to Ise. He should make an imperial progress to Nara, there to convene a military council to determine strategy for barbarian expulsion; he should then lead his army of loyal vassals to Ise to seek the sanction of his great ancestress, Amaterasu. The emperor responds by issuing a rescript declaring his intention to do just that. But in the end he does not. Fearful of the consequences, he stays put in Kyoto, inside the imperial palace. But the point is that men of influence – not the least the emperor himself - are beginning to imagine Ise anew as a public, imperial site, integral to the meaning of the realm.

Part 2

It is the Meiji Revolution of 1868 that triggers the most dramatic transformation in Ise's long history. The Meiji period artist Goseida Hōryū captures a critical moment in this painting. It is spring 1869, the year after the revolution, and the 17 year-old Meiji emperor is on his way back to Tokyo. He has just performed rites in Kyoto to mark the second anniversary of his father's death. He detours to Ise. Here the emperor is poised to enter Ise's Inner Shrine. This is a moment of real drama: never before in Japanese history has an emperor set foot in the Ise Shrines. Meiji is the first emperor ever to worship here, and Ise becomes, overnight, the modern state's most sacred of sacred sites. The emperor is in Ise to perform an act of filial piety: to honour Amaterasu as his ancestress, and report to her the fact of the Meiji revolution. His ritual actions reveal to the realm that Amaterasu is, indeed, his great ancestress, and that he is her direct descendant. The historic moment captured here by Goseida is the prompt for a whole raft of reforms that transform the Ise shrines once and for all.

One aspect of Ise's transformation can be grasped visually. Here is an image of the Inner Shrine compound as it was captured *before* the revolution. It appeared in the *Ise sangū meisho zue* guide book of the 1790s. This is a depiction of the same Inner Shrine compound as it was reconstructed *after* the revolution; this image appeared in *Shinto meishōshi*, the first modern guidebook for pilgrims published by the Ise shrine. Both images are accurate, as far as they go. What is striking about the first image is the pilgrims' presence. There are pilgrims everywhere; there is a sense in which the shrine belongs to them. The second image is altogether more forbidding, not least since there are no pilgrims in sight. The most important feature to notice here is perhaps that the modern Inner Shrine is wrapped now in a new four-fold fence. Modern pilgrims can no longer access parts of the shrine that were open to them before the revolution.

This seems to suggest the common pilgrim is no longer welcome in Ise, perhaps, but this is not quite the case. This new arrangement of fences and gates serves rather to "discipline" the pilgrim. Here I can only hint at how this works. For example, this is the inner *tamagaki* gate, and the government has stipulated that imperial family members worship under the gate, while leaders of the Upper and Lower Houses of the Diet worship from outside that gate. This is the *nakanoe* gate from within which members of the two Houses of the Diet may worship. Heads of towns, villages and wards worship meanwhile under the *tamagaki* gate. Common pilgrims worship outside the *tamagaki* gate. As for the emperor, well, he worships here at the foot of the stairs that ascend to the Main Sanctuary. These new spatial arrangements discipline the modern pilgrim, and they replicate in Ise the key power relationships that structure the modern Japanese state.

This re-imagining of the Inner Shrine is accompanied by a raft of reforms that transform Ise's meanings once and for all. It is no real exaggeration to say that all reforms can be traced back to one man. This is he: Urata Nagatami. Urata is an Inner Shrine priest, driven, partly at least, by a deep resentment towards the Outer Shrine and its community of priests. He drafts one proposal after another, and submits them all to the Council of State in Tokyo.

With one exception, all his proposals are enacted. The one exception is his radical plan to demolish the Outer Shrine, and rebuild it within the Inner Shrine compound. Only thus, he believes, might the Outer Shrine's claims to supremacy be refuted and the incessant conflict between the shrines stopped. The Council of State does, though, create a new administrative office, the Jingu Shichō, charging it with overseeing the administration of both sites; it locates the Jingu Shichō within the Inner Shrine compound – where it remains to this day. The Council of State also acts on Urata's suggestion to strip the Outer Shrine kami of all imperial pretensions, and fix its name once and for all as Toyouke Daijin.

The Buddhist presence in Ise is a first priority for Urata. It matters to him because Buddhism is a reminder of the fact that Japanese emperors – including Meiji's father – were devout Buddhist adherents, who entrusted to Buddhist monks the performance of their ancestral rites. Buddhism questions the imperial myth and poses a threat to the very legitimacy of the new sovereign. There are in and around Yamada and Uji some 250 Buddhist temples. With government approval, Urata has more than 180 of them closed down or destroyed. The Meiji emperor's historic visit is the prompt for the violence. There is a process of re-naming too, as he has place names that 'stink of Buddhism' like Jizō Machi, Jōmyōji Monzenmachi, and Myōken Machi wiped from the map. Thanks to Urata, Ise remains to this day a largely Buddha-free zone.

Urata's next target is the *oshi*. You will remember the *oshi* as the priests who doubled up as inn-keepers, and who served as travel agents, too. There were some 600 *oshi* families serving the Outer and Inner shrines. For Urata, these men are an affront to the dignity of the imperial site that is Ise; what motivates them is simply a desire for personal profit. Urata proposes they and their activities be banned. In 1871, the government takes heed and issues a ban. Some of the *oshi* become regular inn-keepers – the government allows them that option - but the vast majority face ruin. One immediate outcome of the *oshi* ban is a drastic fall in pilgrim numbers. The modern state assumes the burden of funding the Ise shrines, their new, non-hereditary priests and their new, modern ritual performances. But they leave the towns of Yamada and Uji to their own devices and, as pilgrim numbers fall, so Yamada and Uji and - of course - Furuichi struggle. Ise's prospects in the 1870s and 1880s look truly bleak.

It is to address this new situation that a group of local Ise entrepreneurs form a charitable organisation called the Shin'enkai or Sacred Garden Society. The Shin'enkai's leading light is this man: Ōta Kosaburō. What is interesting about him is that he is the owner of the Bizenya brothel, to which I have referred several times. Later he founds Yamada bank; he is the president of the Ise paper-mill; he is chairman of the Ise railway and president of the Ise electric company, which runs Ise's trams. Anyway, Ōta creates the Shin'enkai in 1886 specifically to effect the sort of physical transformation on Ise that – he imagines - will bring pilgrims back in pre-Meiji numbers. Ōta and his associates raise funds in Ise, then Tokyo and other cities. They eventually gain the support of central government and of the imperial family, and their legacy proves to have been immense. They reimagine Ise's

spaces, and re-construct the pilgrimage experience. It is easiest to grasp the Shin'enkai legacy visually. This print was produced for pilgrims in 1911, the year in which the Shin'enkai was disbanded, and it can serve our purpose. It will be immediately clear that it offers the most striking of contrasts to the map I showed you at the start of this talk.

No longer do pilgrims cross the Miyagawa River by ferry; they use the steam-train, brought to Yamada after a Shin'enkai-led campaign in the 1890s. The Inner Shrine is to the right and the Outer Shrine to the left in this print, but note the space adjacent to the Inner Shrine. You can see the famous Uji Bridge here. Across the bridge there used to be a town, known as Tachimachi: where there were houses and inns and restaurants. The Shin'enkai bought up the land, and swept all the buildings away to create the modern manicured space you can see here: a sacred garden with trees and shrubs, and lawns shaped by pebbled paths. You get a better view of what it was like perhaps from this postcard.

Anyway, back to our print. Look next at the expanse of space between the shrines: this site is Kuratayama. The Shin'enkai bought up a stretch of land here, and developed it: into an extraordinary museum site. Here is the Chōkokan, Japan's first ever history museum, built of stone in Western-style with a garden inspired by Versailles; here is the wooden Nōgyōkan, inspired in its design by the Byōdōin in Kyoto; it was Japan's first agricultural museum. Here, there was a gallery displaying the Ise shrines' most sacred treasures. This is an image of Kuratayama showing what it looked like when it was completed in 1912. It remains to this day an extraordinary site, well worth a visit.

Note next the streetcars, another Shin'enkai achievement. They run alongside a new road (just visible), also built by the Shin'enkai, called the Miyuki dōro or Imperial Road. The road links the Outer Shrine to the Inner Shrine via the new museum complex in Kuratayama. The old pilgrims' path that threaded through Furuichi was narrow and steep, and the new road means easier access from Yamada to Uji. But more than that, it means that the emperor - and all other pilgrim-tourists, too - are spared the need to negotiate the Furuichi pleasure quarters. By the way, Furuichi - which to my mind was the defining space of pre-Meiji Ise - survived the revolution of 1868, but suffered greatly from the crash in pilgrim numbers. Furuichi then had to compete with new pleasure quarters that grew up around Yamada Station after the railway arrived in the 1890s. This Miyuki dōro functions effectively as a Furuichi by-pass. After its completion, one establishment after another goes out of business, as pilgrim-tourists are diverted away from Furuichi, its brothels and theatres to the more edifying pleasures of Kuratayama's museums and gallery. But Furuichi endured - until it was bombed by the Americans in July 1945. Today just one establishment remains in Furuichi, and it is well worth a visit.

Some of these changes - notably the more public, political rendering of Ise's social role - were forecast in the years before the revolution, to be sure, but it took the revolution itself, and Meiji's epoch-making visit in 1869, for Ise's early modern spaces and their meanings to be swept aside. As I said at the outset, we have known too little about, and shown too

little interest in change in Ise of the 19<sup>th</sup> - or any other century. This is one part of the more general problem of there being too little attention paid to processes by which sacred sites are made and re-made. We have assumed too readily with Eliade that sacred sites are “experienced” but never “constructed”. This talk is an attempt to shed some light on the very real and dramatic processes of construction and re-construction as they unfolded in nineteenth century Ise. It goes without saying that they continue to this day.

## **Yamawaki Taka's Bittersweet Memories of Uwajima Castle, 1864-1865**

Ellen Nakamura, University of Auckland

It was common practice for many nineteenth-century Japanese families to send their daughters away for a period of work or education before marriage. This paper examines the case of Yamawaki Taka 山脇たか (later Takako 高子 1851-1938), who left her home in Nagasaki to be employed as a palace servant at the residence of Lord Date Munenari 伊達宗成, daimyo of Uwajima 宇和島 domain, when she was thirteen years old. The purpose of this practice differed according to the families' status and financial means. In poorer families, daughters might be sent out for a period of indentured labour because their basic needs would be cared for and their families could benefit from the income which they brought in through their contracts. In wealthier families, daughters were also sent out for employment, but the intention was less for monetary gain than for an education in manners, deportment and the feminine arts. Samurai and commoner families alike sought positions for their daughters in the hope of preparing them for marriage.<sup>2</sup> The idea was that after receiving such an education women would be more socially mobile and able to form better matches when they married. From the perspective of the young women themselves, while the work itself was not always pleasant, going into service offered them the opportunity to experience life beyond the confines of their own households and neighbourhoods, and in some cases, such to mingle with members of the elite.

This was certainly the case for Taka, who, although of commoner origins found herself suddenly propelled into the company of the lord and his wife. While the circumstances of her employment were so extraordinary that one must wonder whether they were unique, her experiences are interesting for two reasons: first, because they offer a personal glimpse into the work of palace maids, and second, because they raise intriguing questions about the continuing use of women as a living form of collateral late into the Edo period. Evidence suggests that Taka went into service not for the sake of her own edification, nor to obtain a marriage partner but rather as a family hostage in order to guarantee a political favour from the lord.

### **Interpreting Taka's personal narrative**

This study is based primarily on a collection of five letters that Taka wrote in 1935,

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<sup>2</sup> Historians who have contributed to this topic include for example Mitamura 1956; Takeuchi 1993, Ōguchi 1995; Walthall 2005, Walthall 2008; Hata 2008; and Fukuda 2010.

in which she recalled her experiences as a maid at the castle.<sup>3</sup> It is only recently that these letters have gained any attention from historians, in part perhaps because researchers have been more interested in Taka's famous mother, Kusumoto Ine 楠本稲 (1827-1903).<sup>4</sup> So far, no one has considered the curious nature of Taka's employment and the fact that she described herself in the letters as a "hostage" *hitojichi* ひとぢし. Some historians have pointed to the unreliability of Taka's testimonies, noting that she made errors and exaggerated when compared with the information we have from other written sources. Here, I follow the feminist theoretical stance that an objective reliability is not what should be sought in Taka's letters. Rather, I seek to interpret the "truth of her experience," paying attention to the context and world view that helped to shape her narrative.<sup>5</sup> Taka's letters were addressed to Nagai Otojirō 長井音次郎, a local historian who had been writing a biography of her first husband, — the man who was at the centre of the circumstances leading to Taka's employment.<sup>6</sup> Many of the matters she wrote about appear to be prompted by specific questions that he asked her, but she also offered her own spontaneous recollections. Certainly her memories are made hazy by the seventy odd years which separated the events and the time when she recalled them. She herself notes that she just cannot remember some things. However, her letters are written in her own hand and offer a personal version of what she remembered about her work at the castle as well as insight into how she wanted herself remembered. Being a written account rather than a verbal interview, they represent a considered response to the questions asked of her.

### **Taka, Mise Morofuchi, and the reasons for her appointment**

Taka was born in Nagasaki in 1851 as the only child of Kusumoto Ine, one of Japan's first female doctors of Western medicine. Her mother Ine was born of a relationship between Philipp Franz von Siebold, a naturalised Dutch citizen who came to work as a medical doctor to the Dutch factory in Nagasaki in 1823, and his Japanese concubine, Taki. According to Taka's own oral testimony, the circumstances of her birth were unhappy: her mother had been raped by her teacher of obstetrics and found herself pregnant. Filled with detest for her teacher, she left her place of study in Okayama and went back to Nagasaki where she raised her daughter with the help of her mother. Ine named her daughter Tada, meaning something like "for free," as a way of coming to terms with her

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<sup>3</sup> The letters are held by the Sentetsu Kinenkan in Uwamachi. Recently, they have been transcribed and published in *Tokubetsuten zuroku Mise Morofuchi: Siebold saigo no monjin*, published by the Museum of Ehime History and Culture. I have relied on the transcriptions of Taka's letters for the purposes of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> On Kusumoto Ine see Nakamura 2008; Orita 2015; Orita 2016.

<sup>5</sup> The Personal Narratives Group 1989, pp. 261-264.

<sup>6</sup> Nagai 1928.

fate.<sup>7</sup> It was not until Taka went to work in the castle at Uwajima that she eventually received a new, and arguably more auspicious name.

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

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

When Siebold and Alexander moved to Edo in the third month of 1861, Mise accompanied them as their translator. His linguistic skills were apparently excellent. Taka proudly recalled in her letters that "My grandfather Siebold taught Mise Morofuchi to interpret so well he was the best in Japan. His pronunciation was not in the least different from my grandfather Siebold."<sup>8</sup> While Siebold's role in Mise's linguistic training was probably less important than Taka suggests, it was indeed Mise's proficiency in the Dutch language that led him into political difficulty not long after their arrival in Edo.

In Edo, Mise assisted Siebold with his translations, working on a Dutch-Japanese-English-French dictionary, and essays on the history of Japan and on the establishment of the *bakufu*. He was also called upon by Siebold to assist in his dealings with the Japanese in Edo, sometimes in an official capacity: a situation which seems to have raised the ire of the official translators. According to Ninomiya Tokinosuke 二宮時

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<sup>7</sup> This account was recorded as part of a number of oral interviews with Taka made by the Nagasaki historian Koga Jūjirō in 1924. It is preserved in the Nagasaki Museum of History as *Yamawaki Takako dan*.

<sup>8</sup> Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojiro, 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, p. 124.

之助 (the *rusui* of the Ōzu domain residence in Edo), “depending on the content they were sometimes unable to translate and Shūzō [ie Mise] was often called upon. The interpreters were...unhappy because since Shūzō arrived what had been managed well without him now became the source of some embarrassment. They planned to get rid of him at all costs and he was confined to the domain residence...”<sup>9</sup>

This turn of events took place in the ninth month of 1861. Mise was apprehended in Yokohama before being placed under house arrest in the Ōzu domain residence in Edo. Initially, Mise seems to have thought that he was being detained because of his connection to Siebold. In a letter to Siebold explaining what had happened, he stated that the intention of the officials was to separate him from his master until an investigation was conducted. He was optimistic about the prospect of being released shortly.<sup>10</sup> Before long, however, it was his status that was being questioned. He was accused of impersonating a samurai by the wearing of swords and his use of the surname Ninomiya. Moreover, it was not clear to which domain —Uwajima or Ōzu— he belonged, and in the circumstances neither domain was in a hurry to claim him. After being detained for some time in the Ōzu domain residence in Edo, he was sent to prison in Tsukudajima 佃島 and remained there (apart from a period when he was ill and returned to the Ōzu domain compound) until the eighth month of 1865.

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

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

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<sup>9</sup> Letter from Ninomiya Tokinosuke to Fumotoya Kikusaburō, cited in *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, p. 114. The original is held in the Ōzu Municipal Museum.

<sup>10</sup> Letter from Mise to Siebold. 10.17. 1861, cited in *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, p. 110. The original is held by the Siebold Memorial Museum.

Naohime as a maid in the detached palace of the castle.<sup>11</sup>

From Uwajima domain records, it is also known that Ine brought gifts to Lord Munenari and his son on the 23.3 Ganji 1 (1864), including boxed imported cookies, sugar, coffee, and pickles. In return, Ine's medical skills were recognised and she received a stipend and the expectation that she might serve as a doctor in the women's quarters in the future. Historians have therefore suggested that Ine's gifts to the lord were a part of her job-seeking activity.<sup>12</sup> Is it not possible, however, that this was rather part of the bargain for assistance with Mise Morofuchi's release? Although the precise timing is unknown, 1864 was the year in which Mise was returned to prison after having spent some time in the Ōzu domain compound recovering from illness, therefore dashing hopes that he might be released. Domain records note that Ine arrived in Uwajima with Taka and a maid-servant on 7.11. of that same year.<sup>13</sup> This would fit in with the idea that Taka began her work in the castle shortly afterwards in the autumn.

### **Life as a palace maid**

The fact that Taka was a political hostage and quite far away from her hometown made her route to employment rather unusual. The fact that she was a commoner rather than a samurai was not in itself surprising. According to research by Fukuda Chizuru 福田千鶴, many commoners were employed as palace maids, but they were usually in lower ranking positions where they were not entitled to have direct contact with the lord or his wife. Such appointments were often made by introduction whereby women already working in the palace would introduce their nieces or other relatives. There was a variety of such positions, which included work as maids-in-waiting (waitresses), cooks, tea servers, messengers, drudges and wet-nurses.<sup>14</sup> The daughters of samurai retainers might also be recommended or called up to serve in the palace. These women of good birth generally took higher positions in the palace.

Despite her commoner status, Taka was employed as a lady's maid or page to Lord Munenari's wife Naohime 猶姫. Her place of work was the Betsu goten 別御殿, or detached palace, which was the residence of retired lord Munenari and his wife. She was well suited to the work and soon received a promotion, according to a letter that her mother Ine wrote to a friend in the fifth month of Keiō 1 (1865): "As you know, since the autumn of last year, my daughter Taka has been up at the palace where she is working as a page

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<sup>11</sup> Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojiro, 4 October 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, p. 125-126.

<sup>12</sup> *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, p. 50.

<sup>13</sup> Orita 2015, p. 106.

<sup>14</sup> Fukuda 2010, pp. 169-170.

(*koshō* 小姓). Since she worked so satisfactorily, she was quite unexpectedly ordered to become a true page (*koshō honyaku* 小姓本役), so her rank has increased and I am very thankful.”<sup>15</sup>

While the rankings and offices of palace maids differed among domains, they can generally be divided into three types: administrative staff, personal attendants, and servants. Moreover, the maids could be assigned to either the lord or his wife. The administrative staff were the highest ranking, and they managed all of the affairs of the interior quarters. Such women needed to be highly educated, not only in writing, but also the abacus, flower arrangement, incense and poetry, and were expected to be of impeccable character.<sup>16</sup> Personal attendants consisted mainly of pages, who were under the command of more high ranking attendants called *chūrō* 中老. It was their job to take care of the personal needs of the lord or his wife, to act as companions and take part in their retinues when they went outside. According to Fukuda, they received an additional clothing allowance and were treated quite well.<sup>17</sup> The women selected for this position were talented and beautiful women who were thought appropriate to serve the lord directly. Sometimes they would advance to become concubines and bear the lord’s children.<sup>18</sup>

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

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

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<sup>15</sup> *Kyōu shoya shozō shokanshū* 1, p. 92.

<sup>16</sup> Fukuda 2010, p. 166.

<sup>17</sup> It is not known how much (if anything) Taka received in wages. According to documents cited by Fukuda 2010, *koshō* in Tottori domain received a three-person stipend, 25 bales of rice, and pocket money of 8 *monme* and 3 *bu* in silver. However, as Leupp notes in his study of servants, shophands, and laborers, many child servants were not paid. Leupp 1992, pp. 60-61.

<sup>18</sup> Fukuda 2010, p. 168.

Munenari-sama that I had come to serve in the palace because of Mise Morofuchi, and thought that I would be working there for life.<sup>19</sup>

Indeed, according to Taka's account, it was Lord Mune-e who helped to give Taka her new name. As noted at the beginning of this essay, she had been "Tada" until she began to work at the palace. It was normal to take a new name, for many palace maids took names from the Tale of Genji when they went to work in the palace.<sup>20</sup> There is no record of Taka having used such a name, but instead she received the honour of being named Taka, which (unbeknown to her at first) had been the name of Lord Mune-e's first wife, who died not long after they were married.<sup>21</sup>

What kinds of duties did Taka work at in the palace? While this is not entirely clear, she describes herself in her letters as doing lots of "busy errands," of a nature which required her to wear a simple kimono — with sleeves just slightly longer than usual — rather than the *furisode* 振袖 that was worn on special occasions. While many of her reminiscences evoke images of a luxurious and leisured lifestyle, she still described her work there as "hard work" (*tsurai tsutome* つらいつとめ). On occasions when she was required to accompany the lord's wife on her duties, she wore a silk crepe *furisode* embroidered with varieties of flowers, and her obi tied in a *yanoji* knot. It was the duty of the pages to carry a sword to protect the lord's wife when necessary, to carry silver tobacco trays by her side, to fetch her palanquin, carry parasols to hide her noble person from view, and to carry her various items. Taka was particularly impressed with her mistresses' palanquin. Naohime came from the Nabeshima 鍋島 family of Saga domain, but her palanquin had apparently once come from her mother's family, who had married into the Nabeshima from the Shogun's family. Her palanquin was "patterned all over with gold leaf and the [Tokugawa] hollyhock crest, and scrollwork as well. It was so beautiful everyone was amazed when they saw it."<sup>22</sup>

It is also clear from Taka's letters that although she was an attendant to Naohime, she was sometimes employed to be a companion and serve drinks to the various Uwajima lords and their guests. On one occasion, she recalls that lord Munenari himself poured her a

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<sup>19</sup> Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojiro, 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, letter 45 p. 127.

<sup>20</sup> Fukuda 2010, p. 167. Hata suggests that the taking of a name was essential. Hata 2008, p. 183.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojiro, 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, letter 45, p. 127.

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojiro, 10 October 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, letter 46, p. 128.

drink and put snacks into her mouth with his own chopsticks.<sup>23</sup> She also recalls an embarrassing moment when they visited the Southern palace, occupied by the retired lord Munetada 宗紀(Shunzan 春山, Munenari's adoptive father):

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

This anecdote also shows that Taka's mistress took an interest in her training, for upon their return to the detached palace, Naohime took Taka aside and told her that a koto teacher from Tokyo [Edo] had said that her style of koto was called Ikeda-ryū. She would make arrangements for him to come and teach her in Uwajima, and would herself teach her the Yamada-ryū. "Even after I married Mise Morofuchi I continued to study both Ikeda-ryū and Yamada-ryū," Taka recalls.<sup>24</sup> Later in life, when Taka had been widowed twice, it was her talent with the koto that helped her to make a living, and she continued throughout her life to play in both styles, as well as being able to play the shamisen and erhu.<sup>25</sup>

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

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<sup>23</sup> Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojiro, 10 October 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, letter 46, p. 128.

<sup>24</sup> Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojiro, 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, letter 44 p. 126.

<sup>25</sup> Tsukizawa 1992, p. 313.

<sup>26</sup> Takeuchi 1993, p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> Hata 2008, p. 183.

feminine arts that allowed her to not only make her way in samurai society, but to endear herself to her employers. It might incidentally be mentioned here that Ine, too, was able to play the shamisen.<sup>28</sup>

### Aftermath

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

At that time, my grandmother who had raised me since childhood was visiting Tanigawa 谷川 from Nagasaki. When I went to her, she was surprised at how I had changed into the palace style and she said “is it really Tada?” and everyone was astonished. Mise seemed to be incomparably happy at first but seeing everyone after such a long time he didn't seem to know whether to be happy or sad and he was speechless with emotion. Mise Morofuchi had worked as a pharmacist to the sick people in the Tsukudajima prison and his hands and arms were burned black. It is difficult to find words to describe his appearance just after he came out of Tsukudajima. My sadness at seeing him the way he was made me reflect on the hard work in the palace I had done for him: there would be no happier thing or sadder thing in my life.... Mise Morofuchi loved me his whole life and treasured me and I was very happy and grateful for this.<sup>29</sup>

Thus it was not in order to make an advantageous marriage that Taka embarked on a period of employment in Uwajima castle, but rather to rescue her betrothed from a desperate situation. Luckily, her future husband's talents in Dutch and English studies, as well as her mother's medical skills in Dutch-style medicine, were considered important enough to matter. Surely this is part of the reason for Taka's extraordinary treatment during

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<sup>28</sup> According to a record left by Uwajima retainer Maehara Kōzan (1812-1892) he was entertained at a lively New Year's gathering in 1858, where Ine played shamisen and Taka the koto. See *Maehara Kōzan Ichidaihanashi*, p. 37.

<sup>29</sup> Letter from Otaka to Nagai Otojiro, 10 October 1935, cited in *Mise Morofuchi Siebold saigo no monjin*, letter 46, p. 129.

her time at the castle. The other element in her success was probably her feminine artistic and musical talents that made her shine as a companion to the elite. Throughout the letters, she emphasises her gratitude: for Mise's affections, and for the kind treatment she received from the Uwajima lord and his wife. It is easy to think of a hostage as being a powerless political pawn, and perhaps young Taka was one. But as far as her letters reveal, she seems to have appreciated, rather than regretted the experience.

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19 世紀前半の社会変化と辺境への知の流れ：  
佐渡人柴田収蔵の読書と遊学、地図製作

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はじめに

柴田収蔵（1820-1859）は、佐渡の小港・漁村に四十物屋（小魚加工業）の息子として生まれながら、三度に渡る江戸遊学を経て、漢方そして蘭方の医師となり、さらに地理学の専門家として幕府天文方蕃書和解御用、そして蕃書調所絵図調書役に採用された人物である。主な業績としては、世界地図

『新訂坤輿略全図』（1852 年、図 1）と北方図『蝦夷接壤図』（1854 年）の刊行、また官撰の『重訂萬国全図』（山路諧孝編 1855 年刊）への作図担当としての貢献が知られている<sup>1</sup>。彼のこの辺境から中央への進出、職業的身分的「変身」は、徳川後期社会の在方知識層の成長と、彼らの中央の「知」との交流、そして西洋列強との接触によって喚起された 19 世紀日本の知的社会的変動を象徴するものと言える。

柴田収蔵をいわゆる地方文人の典型として取り上げたのは塚本学である。「烏賊と地球図」という見出しで、居村で生業に携わりながらも広い知を求めてやまない在方知識人の一例を収蔵に見出している<sup>2</sup>。また、赤木昭夫は伊東玄朴の蘭学塾生のひとりとして収蔵の行動を取り上げ、速水健二は在村医としての収蔵を例に佐渡における書籍の貸借のネットワークを分析している<sup>3</sup>。英語では筆者前作が収蔵の江戸遊学の分析を行い、幕末期の教育機会、蘭学生の生活を多面的に描いた<sup>4</sup>。これらの研究に史料を提供したのが収蔵の日記で、残存する 7 年分が翻刻刊行されて

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

<sup>2</sup> 塚本学『地方文人』（教育社 1977 年）、184-187 頁参照。

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

<sup>4</sup> Takeshi Moriyama, 'Study in Edo: Shibata Shūzō (1820–59) and Student Life in Late-Tokugawa Japan', *East Asian History*, No. 40 (2016): 27-50

おり、付随する成田美紀子の収蔵伝記と田中圭一の解説がその理解を助けてきた<sup>5</sup>。

これらの先行研究に示唆されているように、歴史研究における柴田収蔵の生の重要性は、徳川後期において辺境がいかにかのネットワークにつながっていたかを考える材料をわれわれに提供することにある。収蔵の知的・文化的活動には、居村ベースのつながりと、それを越えた佐渡各地の医師・文化人とのネットワーク、さらに江戸遊学で形成された師弟・学友関係という三層のサークルがある。私の興味は、この重層する文化的構造、そしてそれを部分的に結合させる仕掛け、そのネットワーク上での人と情報の移動に影響を与える歴史的社会的変動、これら三点にある。そこで、この小論では、収蔵の世界地理への関心に焦点を当て、それが彼の生を取り巻くどのような人的・社会的・歴史的環境の中で生まれ、そして江戸での世界地図の出版にまでつながったのかを考えたい。

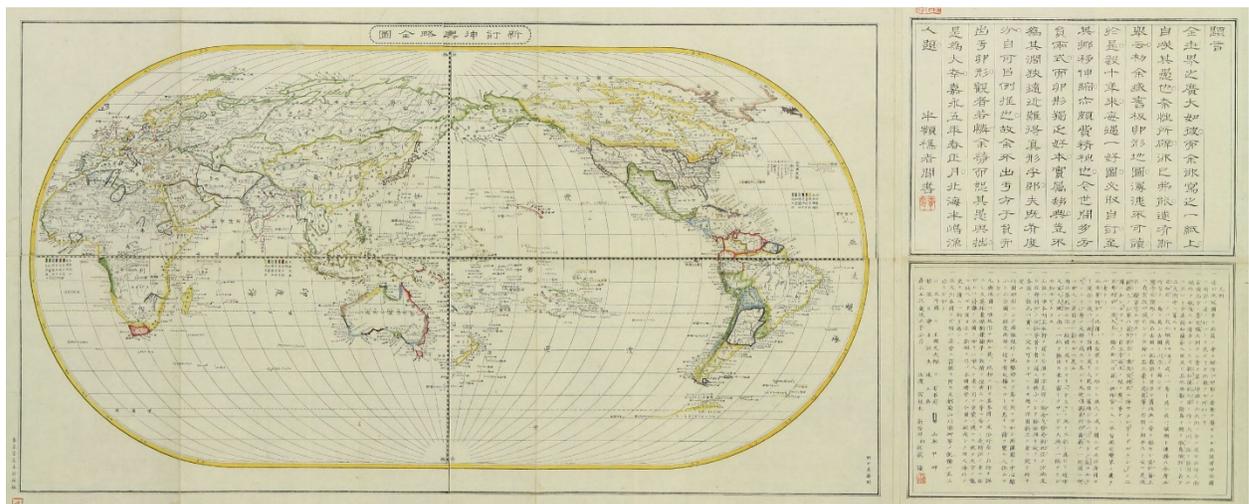


図1：新発田耘収蔵『新訂坤輿略全図』江戸：春草堂、嘉永5年（1852）（早稲田大学図書館古典籍総合データベースより）

<sup>5</sup> 柴田収蔵（田中圭一編）『柴田収蔵日記』全2巻（上下）（新潟県佐渡郡小木町町史刊行委員会1971年、以下上下巻をそれぞれ日記A1、A2とする）。成田美紀子「柴田収蔵について」日記A2、333-376頁。柴田収蔵（田中圭一編注）『柴田収蔵日記～村の洋学者』全2巻（平凡社1996年、以下第1巻、第2巻をそれぞれ日記B1、B2とする）。田中圭一「解説柴田収蔵の生きた時代」日記B1、11-34頁。この小論では広く普及している平凡社版の日記B1、B2をなるべく用い、そこに含まれていない史料を日記A1、A2から取るものとする。

## 1. 佐渡奉行所と世界地理

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

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

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

ここにあげられている数種の「図」が具体的に何を指すのか特定は難しいが、蝦夷、ロシア船、地球、天球といったことばが収蔵の関心の広がりを示し、また「分間道里」「度数」という用語から彼の地図製作への意欲もわかる。別のページには「毛引」「コンパス」などの言葉や「縮図尺之図」「山の高さを計る術」「紙に経を引く具」などの挿画も見える。収蔵には「金毘羅詣船路之記<sup>8</sup>」という天保10年（1839）の旅日記があるが、それとこのメモを比べれば、この佐渡の青年の地理的認識が3年の間にいかに変貌したかに驚く。

収蔵の知的地平の変革は、冒頭の「石井氏」、佐渡奉行所地方付絵図師を務める石井夏海（1783-1848）からの刺激と指導、そして江戸への遊学を起爆剤とする。天保10年夏からの約二年間、収蔵は江戸で越後高田藩の儒官、中根半仙の下で書

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<sup>6</sup> 日記 B1、39-134 頁。

<sup>7</sup> 日記 B1、43 頁。

<sup>8</sup> 日記 B2、341-357 頁。

と篆刻を学んだとされる。この遊学も石井夏海が収蔵の才能を見出し、村の寺院の和尚とともに勧めて実現したらしい<sup>9</sup>。石井は地元相川出身の地方文人の筆頭と言っている人物で、狂歌や戯作で江戸文人鹿都部真顔、曲亭馬琴、式亭三馬などとの交流があった<sup>10</sup>。また、絵画は谷文晁、測量・油絵は司馬江漢に学んだとされる<sup>11</sup>。収蔵の地図・地理への関心は遊学前に石井によって引き出されたのか、あるいは江戸での見聞が導いたのかははっきりしないが、帰国後の1842年には石井を師とし地理学へ傾倒していく。夏海は蔵書も多く、「地球図」「天球図」を自作している。

夏海の長男が「彩助」、石井文海（1804-1849）（別号九淵など）、父同様、奉行所の絵図師を務める。収蔵は文海から絵地図製作の実技的な訓練も受けている。石井家は収蔵にとっての第一の学校として機能した。1842年日記より例を見よう。「(十月)五日 石井氏へ行(き)男九淵子に逢(い)て、同人より地球図及び八線を見せ下され・・・」「六日 七ツ過より石井氏へ・・・男九淵子在宅にて画図御取調(べ)に付手伝いたし・・・夏海君と話などいたし九ツ時寝る。但九淵子居間に寝る。今夜御奉行御所持の奇石を見る」「七日 今日父子共に御在宅にて、拙子は九淵子御絵図取調(べ)の手伝いたすつもり所、伊能(忠敬)氏の絵図色々間違等あって九淵子の測量と不相合ゆへ止る」<sup>12</sup>。石井父子は奉行所の仕事として佐渡絵地図の改訂作業中であつた。参考にするのは1803年測量の伊能図「佐渡国沿海全図」だが、文海自身の測量と合わないところが多々あつて作業が進まない。伊能図批判を見守る収蔵。この瞬間においては日本で最高の地理学演習を受けていたのではないだろうか。

この伊能図も含め、注目すべきは収蔵が石井父子との関係を通じて奉行所経由の情報を入手していることである。先にあげた「川路様地球図」とは、奉行として1840

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<sup>9</sup> 成田「柴田収蔵について」337-339頁。

<sup>10</sup> 山本修之助「石井夏海宛江戸文人の書簡」『越佐研究』24号(1966年)42-51頁。

<sup>11</sup> 成田「柴田収蔵について」335-336頁。田中「解説」19-20頁。

<sup>12</sup> 日記B1、100-101頁。

年から1年間在島した川路聖謨(1801-68)が江戸から持ち込んだものだろう<sup>13</sup>。日記には「(夏海)より御役所地球図を借りて写」したという記述もある<sup>14</sup>。幕領佐渡とその金山を統括する佐渡奉行所では、江戸から派遣される奉行と組頭の下で、世襲の地役人が行政実務を担当、さらに「絵図師」や「山師」などの技能職を町人から「雇」として採用していた<sup>15</sup>。夏海を通じてだろう、収蔵は地役人筆頭の「広間役永井氏」と懇意にしており、また「北見氏」「露木氏」などとも書籍の貸借をしている。さらに主要港小木に駐在する役人「畠山氏」「西川氏」、そして自村宿根本にある「浦目付所」の「坪井氏」などという地役人連中とも交流があった。佐渡奉行所はまた「江戸旅宿」を本郷に持っており、地役人はここをベースにして江戸出張をしている。江戸から来る奉行や組頭とは別に、地役人は地役人で中央に結びついてきた。また本郷の出張所は江戸遊学中の佐渡人にとっても国元の情報センターだったようだ。収蔵ものちに頻繁に訪れている<sup>16</sup>。

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

地図以外には大黒屋光太夫とロシア情報が収蔵の関心を引いている。夏海所蔵の

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<sup>13</sup> 川路の佐渡赴任は自身の道中日記在勤日記がある。川路聖謨(川田貞夫校注)『島根のすさみ〜佐渡奉行在勤日記』(平凡社1973年)。但し、石井父子や収蔵の名は登場しない。

<sup>14</sup> 日記B1、119頁。

<sup>15</sup> 『新潟県史通史編』(新潟県1988年)第3巻57-59頁及び第4巻72頁参照。

<sup>16</sup> 日記B2、215、294、298頁など参照。

<sup>17</sup> 日記B1、214-241頁。

<sup>18</sup> 上杉和央『江戸知識人と地図』(京都大学学術出版会2010年)。

「寛政丑年（1793）垂魯齋垂国漂流人口書写」、そして役人永井氏より「勢州幸太夫始乗組之者漂流之記」を借りることと記載している<sup>19</sup>。しかし、江漢の『地球全図』（1792年刊）も光太夫一件も50年近く前のものであり、時事的な問題とはまだ結びついていないと言える。

## 2. 村人と世界地図

収蔵の知的世界は石井夏海・文海父子を得て佐渡奉行所の役人ネットワークにつながっていったと言える。しかし、居村ではそれはどういうつながり、広がりの中にあっただろうか。収蔵の村、宿根木は狭い入り江に百姓家120軒、寺院4（時宗称光寺とその三支院）神社1が密集するという小さいコミュニティである<sup>20</sup>。例として、まず上の司馬江漢の地球図を見てみたい。天保14年8月4日、収蔵は複製品が完成すると自分の読み書き師匠であった「終平様」に見せに行っている。次に見せたのが「抱雲師」。そのあとは、近村の医師「周徳子」の弟が見せて欲しいと訪問して来たり（8月14日）、また村の「与一左衛門殿」「孫四郎殿」などに見せたりしている（9月15日）。使われている敬称にも留意しながらこれを見てみると、「終平様」こと、高津終平は261石積の船を持つ海運業者で村の知識人。敬称「様」が柴田家（屋号「長五郎」）より格上であることを示している。一方「殿」が使われている与一左衛門などは、同格の家の主人。つまり、少なくとも村の有力者の中には収蔵の世界地理への興味がある程度は共有されていたのではないか。指摘されているように、海運業という外につながる生業が地理への興味の土壌かもしれない<sup>21</sup>。収蔵日記の備忘録には「赤泊村吉兵衛子所持」として「蝦夷松前並エトロフ唐太クナシリ諸島全図」「朝鮮之図」「琉球三省並三十六島之図」「仙台林子平撰『三国通覧地略程全図』」などがあげてある<sup>22</sup>。伝手を求めて借り受けるつもりだ

<sup>19</sup> 日記 B1、45、127 頁。

<sup>20</sup> 日記 B1、5 頁参照。

<sup>21</sup> 速水「近世佐渡における書籍を巡るネットワーク」44-47 頁参照。

<sup>22</sup> 「天保十三年年中出府雑録」、日記 B1、42 頁。

ったのだろう。赤泊も北前船が寄港する佐渡の代表的な港である。また 1843 年の日記には「権兵衛隠居製したる松前方大坂迄之図を縮図」したともあり、船乗りと絵地図作製の親近性を想像させもする<sup>23</sup>。

僧侶と医師も村に居ながらも外のネットワークにつながる存在であった。抱雲は江戸から来ていた時宗の僧で、この時は村の称光寺の支院に滞在中。また本寺筋にあたる四日町大願寺でも収蔵と交流している<sup>24</sup>。収蔵は第二回遊学の際、江戸にもどる抱雲と同道し、浅草日輪寺の支院安称院を宿にする<sup>25</sup>。日輪寺は時宗の江戸「触頭」だから、明らかに檀那寺称光寺からの人的ネットワークが収蔵の遊学を助けているのがわかる。第二回遊学後、収蔵は宿根木に戻り歎喜院の一室を借りて医院を開業。今度は佐渡在島の医師ネットワークにもつながることになる。<sup>26</sup>

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

(1843年2月)十一日 家厳、家弟等たかり場へ行(く)。昼後雪時々降る。朝遅く起(き)終平様へ行(く)。相川方送りたる書画帳、料紙持参相頼(み)置(く)。孫兵衛殿に而(高)藤彦国君及長松院様と飲酒。歎喜院へ行(き)大順様方被頼たる弘法大師執筆の絵を写し初(る)。后大順様と飲酒、日暮に同所を出、藤八どのへ寄(る)。夜五ツ頃帰宅。酒に酔たれば直に寝る<sup>27</sup>。

時々雪の舞う二月、父と弟は魚の加工のため仕事場に行くが、長男収蔵は遅く起きてから、高津終平を訪れ、書画を依頼。次に、これも村の有力者である「孫兵衛殿」宅に行き、息子で友人の「彦国君」を訪ねると「長松院」(称光寺の三支院のひとつ)の和尚も来ていて一緒に飲酒。次に「歎喜院」(もうひとつの支院)行き、ここの僧大順に頼まれた写画を始める。大順と飲酒後、もう一軒の有力者「藤八(高

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<sup>23</sup> 日記 B1、146 頁。

<sup>24</sup> 日記 B1、211-216、247-254 頁参照。

<sup>25</sup> 日記 B1、286-326 頁参照。

<sup>26</sup> 収蔵の医師ネットワークは速水「近世佐渡における書籍を巡るネットワーク」34-43 頁に詳しい。

<sup>27</sup> 日記 B1、151 頁。

藤八右衛門か) どの」宅へ……。このような記述が頻繁に現れることをどう理解すべきか。収蔵やここに集う仲間の個人的な性向もあろうが、農村とは異質の漁労・海運業村落の文化があるような気がする。日々勤勉を旨とする農業生産地域では、朝から酒を飲んで仲間と遊ぶことは祝祭日以外には社会的に許されないだろう。しかし、海で生計を立てるものには別の尺度があるのではないか。推測ではあるが、漁村・港には「遊民」を受け入れやすい素地があるのではないだろうか。このような村の文化サロンづくりに寺院と僧侶が大きな役割を果たしていることも注意したい。

### 3. 地図製作の試み

収蔵の世界地図製作の企てはいつ始まったのだろうか。日記上では天保 14 年 (1843) の正月に「武右衛門殿と地球之図を仕立等に取り掛る」「補いに掛る」「彩色」という記事が見られる<sup>28</sup>。「武右衛門」は近くに住む同好の人物か、あるいは収蔵に世界地図を依頼したのか。その後 6 月から 8 月に上で述べた司馬江漢図の複製作業が出てくる。そして、収蔵は第二回遊学が許可され江戸へ、10 月より高田藩儒中根半仙に再入門。目的は「医学修行」である。日記には漢方の基本テキスト『医方大成論』の講義を受ける一方で、街の本屋で『解体新書』なども手に入れ蘭方にも興味を持っていることが出てくる<sup>29</sup>。そしてやや唐突に次の記事がある。「(十二月) 四日 … 付り 今日書肆南苑閣主人来り、地球図板行之事聞合せたれば、草稿致(し)相談可致由被申。則同人へ銅板を出し而一覽に入(れ)る」<sup>30</sup>。つまり、収蔵はこの時点で江戸での世界地図出版に意欲をもっていたことがわかるが、しかし、既に「銅板」印刷をした作品を持っていたとは考えにくい。この後、この件は触れられずに 1843 年日記は終わり、残念ながら翌 2 年間の日記は散逸してしまっている。残存する収蔵の書簡手控によると、収蔵は天保 15 年 (1844) 9 月には中根半

<sup>28</sup> 日記 B1、141-145 頁。

<sup>29</sup> 日記 B1、264-266、315-360 頁参照。

<sup>30</sup> 日記 B1、352 頁。

仙宅から出て寺に下宿、そこから伊東玄朴の象先堂に通っている<sup>31</sup>。蘭学塾に籍を置くことで新たな材料も手に入れたのだろう。

「弘化三年丙午（1846）日記」「弘化四年丁未（1847）日記」「弘化五年嘉永元年戊申（1848）日記」には、収蔵が自村で新米医師として村人の診療に励みながら、世界地図製作にも意欲を燃やしていることが出てくる。自作の世界地図は二つ作られたようだ。まずは弘化3年（1846）の1月から「彩色」（1月21日～2月23日）「縮図」（3月18日～21日）「草稿」（3月26日～4月3日）「裏打ち」（4月3日）「校合」（4月4日）という作業が記録されている。この間には診療に来た患者「彦兵衛」「勘二郎」に作品を見せたりもしている<sup>32</sup>（注）。そして一年半後、バージョンアップされたものだろうか、「自製の地球図を写し始める」（弘化4年11月20日）という記述があり、今度は「楕円地球図」と「両円地球図」、二つのタイプの世界地図が製作される（完成12月15日）<sup>33</sup>。「両円地球図」について言えば、おそらくそのベースは幕府天文方高橋景安編の『新訂萬国全図』（1810年刊）だろう。江戸遊学で入手してきたのだろうか、「高橋之地図」を「甚七郎様に見せる」「坪井様に見せる」などという記事がある<sup>34</sup>。収蔵が後年出版する『蝦夷接壤図』もその草稿らしき地図が弘化3年（1846）11月27日から翌年3月24日の間に製作されている<sup>35</sup>。ベースにした地図はよくわからないが、1843年日記に「蝦夷之図」「松前蝦夷地之図」などの貸借が記録されており、また1846年日記では赤泊の吉三郎に「蝦夷地之図」の借用を頼んでいる<sup>36</sup>。地名などで参照したと思われる資料として、「蝦夷略記」「魯西亜国一件」「蝦夷俗談」「北夷紀事」などの読書や貸借、写本が記載されているが、筆者はそれらを特定することができない。地図以外にも収蔵は『萬国地名捷覧』という世界各国の地名ハンドブックを嘉永6年（1853）に出版

<sup>31</sup> 「書翰類」、日記 A2、308-310 頁。

<sup>32</sup> 日記 A1、263-287 頁参照。

<sup>33</sup> 日記 A1、473-479 頁参照。

<sup>34</sup> 日記 A1、263、478 頁。

<sup>35</sup> 日記 A1、369-402 頁参照。

<sup>36</sup> 日記 B1、137、156 頁。日記 A1、258 頁。

するが、この草稿も 1846 年 4 月に編まれている。この種本はおそらく箕作省吾の『坤輿図識』（1845 年刊）ではないだろうか。草稿の執筆の直前、収蔵はこの新刊本を 4 日に渡り読んでいる<sup>37</sup>。

第二回遊学後の日記には、収蔵の地図・地理書の出版の企てを後押ししたと考えられる時事的背景が所々に現れる。風雲急を告げる幕末外交、そしてその情報を受ける知的アンテナ、人的ネットワークがこの遊学を通して収蔵に備わったということであろう。例えば、弘化 3 年（1846）9 月 20 日の記事では伊東玄朴塾の学友「栗田氏」から受け取った手紙を、「琉球へ仏蘭西船三艘、英吉利船一艘何れも軍艦渡来致、右に付薩州侯にも帰国」、「長崎へも仏蘭西船三艘」、「浦賀港へも北亜墨利加・・・兵艦二艘来着」、「実に方今可憂之一大事なり」などと書き写している<sup>38</sup>。これは順に、琉球来着のフランス船（1844 年 3 月）、イギリス船サラマン号（1845 年 5 月）、長崎へのフランス艦隊セシーユ来航（1846 年 6 月）、そしていわゆる浦賀ビッドル事件（1846 年閏 5 月）を指しているものと思われる<sup>39</sup>。

佐渡にも緊張が走っている。嘉永元年（1848）4 月の記事。19 日、「当節異国船鷺崎（佐渡最北端）之洋中三里許近く来り、丹後八之助船出会（う）由」との話聞いたので、翌日「御役家へ行（き）異国（船）渡来之事話」したところ、浦目付の「坪井様」より「三月十五日奥州三厩へ一艘渡来、・・・追払（い）たるに・・・大砲を発し」などというニュースも聞く。宿根木近くの沢崎（佐渡の最西端）でも「夫々相備へたる」態勢とのこと。さらに 23 日にまた浦目付役所に行くと、坪井は上司に「若異国船渡来之節は予（収蔵）を携え船へ」乗り込めと「指図」されたと言う<sup>40</sup>。この時点での収蔵の蘭語能力は非常に限られたものだったと思われるが、それでも江戸帰りの蘭学者として役人から頼られていたのだろう。4 月 28 日には、「異

<sup>37</sup> 日記 A1、286、289-294 頁参照。

<sup>38</sup> 日記 A1、352-353 頁。但し「栗田氏」は象先堂門人録では確認できなかった。伊東栄『伊東玄朴伝』（玄文社 1916 年）。

<sup>39</sup> 藤田覚『近世後期政治史と対外関係』（東京大学出版会 2005 年）280-281 頁、上白石実『幕末期対外関係の研究』（吉川弘文館 2011 年）85-91 頁参照。

<sup>40</sup> 日記 B2、57-58 頁。

国船・・・酒田洋中に而虚砲三発」発射、このため鶴岡藩より新発田藩、そして新発田藩より佐渡奉行所へ人員の派遣の可否を聞いてきたという記事も載る<sup>41</sup>。北辺も騒がしくなっている。

収蔵が手にしている書籍にも変化が見られる。1840年から始まったアヘン戦争の顛末を伝える「阿片始末」（1843年斎藤竹堂著）。これは写本を作って医師仲間へ送ったり、師の高津終平に貸したりしている<sup>42</sup>。「去年浦賀へ入津のアメリカ船の一件書」というのは、まさしくビッドル事件のレポートであろう。小木港の役人より借りている<sup>43</sup>。同様に小木の役人から借りて写したと思われるのが「甲辰年長崎へ入津蘭船一件書」。これは1844年7月のオランダ王の開国勸告書に関する文書と考えられる<sup>44</sup>。志筑忠雄の「鎖国論」もこういう文脈で読んだり貸したりしていると思われる<sup>45</sup>。しかしながら、収蔵日記には、異国船の接近やそれに対する幕府の外交政策について感情的な記述や意見の表明がほとんど見られない。残り二冊の日記、「嘉永三年庚戌日記（1850年）」「安政三年江戸日記（1856年）」、なかんずく開国後となる後者の日記においてもそうである。

#### 4. 江戸の「知」との対話

嘉永3年（1850）3月26日、収蔵は三回目となる江戸遊学に向かう。伊東玄朴に再入門、4月20日より象先堂での学生生活が始まる。正式な目的は蘭方医学の習得であり、収蔵は名目上奉行所詰医師という身分を以ての修行であった<sup>46</sup>。しかし、収蔵の興味は最初から医学に止まっていなかった。収蔵は日記の他にこの年の金銭出納帳「嘉永三年諸雑費<sup>47</sup>」を残してくれていて、それを使い江戸到着後年

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<sup>41</sup> 日記 B2、60 頁。

<sup>42</sup> 日記 A1、271-273、288 頁。

<sup>43</sup> 日記 A1、400 頁。

<sup>44</sup> 日記 A1、430 頁。

<sup>45</sup> 日記 A1、402 頁。

<sup>46</sup> 日記 B2、172 頁。

<sup>47</sup> 「嘉永三年諸雑費」、日記 B2、257-80 頁

未までの9か月間に購入した書籍や絵図を分類してみると次の表のようになる（別表に書名・購入書店・価格などの詳細を記載）。

書および漢詩	17 点	支出計 9785 文
世界地理	7 点	3510 文
医学	6 点	2287 文
絵図	14 点	1763 文
科学	4 点	1728 文
*蘭語	3 点	510 文*
兵学	1 点	200 文
雑類	22 点	3121 文
合計	74 点	22,905 文

金額は、収蔵がこの年の日記に記録している両替例を用い金1両＝銀62.02匁＝銭6192文とし、すべてを文換算で集計した。\*「蘭語」にはテキスト『和蘭文典後編』（セインタキス）の価格が抜けている。

表中まず書および漢詩関係が多く金額も高いことに目が行くが、これは収蔵の興味がまだ篆刻や書にあったと同時に、おそらく法帖などの資産価値という面、そして芸術的な要素があるものは写本では意味がないということも考慮しなければならないであろう。世界地理・海外事情の分野では、次のような書籍が江戸到着早々に購入されている。4月15日、山村才助による新井白石の世界地理書の大改訂版「訂正増訳采覧異言」（1802年成立）。5月には、英国のアジア侵略を概説する嶺田楓江『海外新話』（1849年刊）。6月、司馬江漢の自作世界地図の解説本『地球全図略説』（1793年刊）。7月、斎藤拙堂の海外雄飛日本人伝記である『海外異傳』（1850年刊）。また、世界各国地理歴史ガイドの最新版である安積良斎「洋外紀略」（1848序）は、塾の助教である伊東玄桂（玄朴の甥）より借り、それを写本業者に頼んで複製を作っている<sup>48</sup>。

情報や書籍があふれかえる江戸の中で収蔵がぜひやりたいと思っていたことのひとつは、佐渡で自作した地図が出版に値するものか確かめることだっただろう。チャンスは思いがけなく早く訪れたようだ。入塾し幹部や寄宿生に挨拶を済ませた

<sup>48</sup> 日記 B2、274、275 頁。写本料金は二回に分けて 210 文と 288 文。後者は 28 枚分とある。

三日後、すなわち嘉永 3 年 4 月 23 日の夕方、塾頭の池田洞雲が古賀謹一郎（1816-1884）のもとに連れて行ってくれた。古賀家は祖父精里（1750-1817）以来、幕府昌平黌儒者を務めてきたが、父の侗庵（1788-1847）が海外事情にも興味を持ちだし、それをついで謹一郎も西洋通の儒官として見られるようになっていた。洞雲は古賀の勉強会に参加していたらしい<sup>49</sup>。洞雲に紹介してもらった収蔵は早速「古賀謹一郎先生へ・・・自製する処の楕円の地球図を示して検討を」お願いしたという。「古賀氏地理に詳に原書（不明）の極精密の図を出して示さる。亦『武備志』等の図を蘭書と比較せしものを見る」とあり、謹一郎が収蔵にヨーロッパ製の地図を見せてくれたことがわかる。「夜洞雲と和泉橋（店名不明）に飲みて帰る」<sup>50</sup>。江戸の第一人者と面談した後の興奮が伝わってくる。

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

午後古賀へ行（き）先生より予が地球図に不審なる所に印し紙を付（け）て示す。（不明）。千八百四十五年の原図に南亜墨利加大地の南方に地を見出したるあり。又北亜墨利加州の北方も漸く開けし地を図す。地球図及琉球図、朝鮮図、満州の精図、大清会典の図、龍州（不明）図等の図数十種を見る<sup>51</sup>。

謹一郎は親切にも収蔵の地図に付箋を貼り問題点を指摘、そして参照すべき多くの地図を「数十種」も見せてくれたのである。さらに 6 月 10 日「古賀先生より他より地図」をもっと入手したので「来りて見給へ」という伝言が入る。今度はドイツ製の世界地図だった。二人で上述の 1845 年版の地図（オランダ製）と比較。結局、収蔵はオランダ版から南米大陸の南方部分、北米大陸の北辺などを写す。夕食もごちそうになり、また「先生が写せし南亜墨利加之総図・・・及オースタラリー之図を借りて帰る」。収蔵はその夜も翌日も自作の世界地図を修正している（「古賀

<sup>49</sup> 小野寺龍太『古賀謹一郎』（京都：ミネルヴァ書房 2006 年）。？

<sup>50</sup> 日記 B2、189 頁。

<sup>51</sup> 日記 B2、192 頁。

より借りたる和蘭刻之図を以て楢田図之稿を改正す」<sup>52</sup>。収蔵の草稿図上の問題は現在のカナダ北部からグリーンランド、南米の南端から南極半島の部位、そしてオーストラリアの形状にあったらしい。

「嘉永三年庚戌日記」は、その後も古賀のもとでの収蔵の学習と世界地図の修正を記録している。「古賀へ行き先生より地球図を借りて楢田図之稿をなす」(7月23日)。同様の記載が翌日と翌々日も。「先生地名を読みて予を助く」(7月25日)という記述は古賀の親密な指導を想像させる<sup>53</sup>。当時、自分が所属する塾の先生以外の学者からも指導を受けたりすることは珍しくはなかったらしい<sup>54</sup>。しかし、古賀へのこれほどの傾倒は収蔵自身で気にするものがあつたようで、「毎日至るも外聞如何(わ)しき故暫く古賀に至る事を休む」と自制の文を書いている<sup>55</sup>。日記はその年末までの古賀との交流を記録するが、残念ながら収蔵の世界地図がどのようにして完成し、嘉永5年(1852)の序をもって『新訂坤輿略全図』と題し刊行されたかを語る史料は発見されていない。成田は出版費用が12両3分と5匁だったとするがその典拠を示していない<sup>56</sup>。

おわりに

上で述べた嘉永3年(1850)の柴田収蔵と古賀謹一郎との接触が語るものは大きい。離島佐渡から上って来た地図愛好家は、中央学府の第一人者に面談し、彼が持つ資料と知識を見て二人の間にある差に愕然としただろう。しかし、古賀が門前払いをしないどころか、懇切丁寧に指導をしたのはなぜか。収蔵の熱意や人当たりのよさもあつただろうが、それはやはり二人の間に学問的対話が成立するだけの知の共有があつたからではないか。差は存在した、しかし、それは近づき得る範囲のもの、古賀から見れば指導の手を差し伸べたくなるものだったからであろう。

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<sup>52</sup> 日記 B2、200-201 頁。

<sup>53</sup> 日記 B2、212 頁。

<sup>54</sup> 海原亮『江戸時代の医師修行～学問・学統・遊学』(吉川弘文館 2014 年) 参照。

<sup>55</sup> 日記 B2、212 頁。

<sup>56</sup> 成田「柴田収蔵について」366 頁。

収蔵をその地点まで連れて行ったのは、これまで見たように、居村の文化環境、生家の地位を基盤とする社会的つながり、師とする人間を得てそこから広がる学習の機会と知的ネットワーク、さらに手習いから始まり江戸遊学を頂点とする庶民教育システムであった。三回も江戸に遊学した収蔵は特殊事例と言えるだろう。しかし、19世紀半ばに向かって、それが許されるような社会的歴史的変化が佐渡という辺地にも起きていたことを収蔵の事例は示している。

別表：柴田収蔵嘉永三年（1850）江戸での書籍・絵図関係購入リスト

「嘉永三年諸雑費」（東洋文庫『柴田収蔵日記2』所収257-80頁）より作成

日付	場所	店	題	分野	値段（文換算）
04/09	蔵前	屋台	『古今奇事一覽』『朝鮮征伐』『江戸町尽』	雑類	48文
04/12	浅草	文淵堂	『囊中錦心』2冊	漢詩	252文
			林則徐『太上感応篇』	雑類	200文
	上野	屋台	『成親王百家姓』	書	150文
04/14	浅草	須原屋伊八	『改正蛮語箋』二	蘭語	10文
	池之端	岡村庄助	『(九成宮) 醴泉銘』一	書	300文
04/15	浅草	朝倉久兵衛	『増訳采覧異言』1-9	地理学	2048文
04/17	池之端	岡村庄助	『朱柏廬治家格言』1	雑類	172文
04/21	浅草	朝倉久兵衛	『快雪堂法帖』	書	3246文
04/23	日本橋	須原屋茂兵衛	『欧陽詢楷書千字文』	書	12文
04/25	池之端	岡村庄助	『清枕志祖楷書千字文』	書	998文
05/02	柳原	(記載なし)	『当世(名家?)評判記』	雑類	72文
05/05	池之端	住吉屋茂兵衛	「豊公信長公焼香之図」3枚	絵図	100文
05/06		学友藤田弘庵	『掌中和漢年代記(集成)』	雑類	80文
05/15	池之端	岡村庄助	『夢英大師碑』	書	1935文
05/23		学友池田洞雲	『海外新話』	地理学	初回支払い分 774文
	池之端	岡村庄助	『米庵行書臨本』一帖 『江戸下谷辺切図』	書 絵図	549文 120文
06/02	池之端	岡村庄助	『清禱詠隸書千字文』	書	520文
			『江戸切絵図』	絵図	132文
			「世の中あんど」の摺物	絵図	32文
06/08	両国	(記載なし)	『日本橋南切図』	絵図	132文
06/09	池之端	岡村庄助	『虚字解』二	雑類	300文
			『(古今) 図書集成坤輿典』	雑類	300文
			『薩州漂客見聞録』一・『求竜説一求言録』一	雑類	48文

06/12	池之端	岡村庄助	『(古今) 図書集成初篇』一	雑類	150 文
06/13	御成道	英文蔵	(伊豆?) 七島方角絵図	地理学	72 文
06/21	昌平坂	(記載なし)	『地球全図略説』(司馬江漢)	地理学	132 文
			『七島日記』(欠本)	地理学	180 文
	池之端	(記載なし)	『日本橋北切図』	絵図	132 文
	池之端	岡村庄助	『菱湖麴生帖』	書	572 文
06/27		学友上村周聘	『病学通論』	医学	566 文
	両国	玉巖堂	『開卷百笑』	雑類	238 文
07/02	蔵前	屋台	『絵本万国新語』	雑類	38 文
07/03	下谷	朝倉屋喜助	『天民』臨本	書	549 文
07/05	蔵前	田中長蔵	『植学啓原』	科学(植物学)	599 文
07/09	蔵前	田中長蔵	『病名彙解』五	医学	774 文
07/16	池之端	岡村庄助	『薬品手引草』	医学	649 文
07/21	池之端	岡村庄助	『海外異伝』	地理学	180 文
			絵本横山本	雑類	64 文
08/09	(記載なし)	(記載なし)	難病療治錦画 6 枚	絵図	148 文
08/12	池之端	岡村庄助	『方円星図』	科学(天文学)	300 文
08/24	上野	(記載なし)	『詩文千字文』一	書	200 文
			『上うけ用文』一	書	16 文
09/01	池之端	(記載なし)	当時流行三幅対	書	48 文
			摺物「骨折鋸鏝療治」	医学	48 文
09/10	池之端	岡村庄助	『地球小図』一	地理学	124 文
09/12	両国	屋台	『柳樽』2 冊	雑類	32 文
		(記載なし)	欲と云ふ獣の図	絵図	28 文
09/15	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『妙々奇(談)』前後篇 4 冊	雑類	300 文
			『砲術語匠』	軍事	200 文
09/19	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『和蘭天説』「天球図」	科学(天文学)	649 文
09/26	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『客杭日記』	書	90 文
10/09	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『江戸人名録』	雑類	164 文
10/10	田原町	(記載なし)	『篆書千字文』	書	48 文
	浅草	朝倉屋	『外科要寸』	医学	150 文
			『医原枢要』	医学	100 文
			『和蘭語注解』	蘭語	500 文
池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『雲庵將軍碑』	書	300 文	
10/17	浅草	朝倉久兵衛	「平賀実記」	雑類	200 文
10/18	広小路	屋台	『奇事拾記』	雑類	32 文
10/26	湯島	(記載なし)	『諸役大概順』	雑類	72 文
	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	亥年之曆	雑類	48 文
10/28	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	江戸絵図	絵図	200 文

	蔵前	田中長蔵	『天之柱』一	雑類	250 文
10/29	池之端仲町	岡村庄助	『セインタキス』	蘭語	記載なし
11/01		友人高木玄仲	「東岳鶏之画」一	絵図	499 文
11/04	広小路	(記載なし)	餅搗絵 2 枚	絵図	40 文
			膝栗毛絵 4 枚	絵図	124 文
11/09	両国	屋台	笑本及欲之画	絵図	32 文
11/16	(記載なし)	(記載なし)	「大小児及琉球人来朝行列之図」	絵図	44 文
12/17	御成道	英文蔵	『菌譜』2 冊	science	180 文
12/28	日本橋	屋台	『煎茶小述』	雑類	64 文
	御成道	英文蔵	『しりふごと』2 冊	雑類	250 文
			合計		22,905 文

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“Nanyo” in the Rise of a Global Japan, 1919-1931

Frederick R. Dickinson, University of Pennsylvania

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

-Kiyosawa Kiyoshi, 1928<sup>1</sup>

“(Japan can) contribute to world culture by constructing an ideal national culture...We must protect and guide this island culture and fashion a superior maritime cultural nation.”

-Uchiuchigasaki Sakusaburō, 1926<sup>2</sup>

On a beautiful Monday afternoon in April, 1923, Crown Prince Hirohito, now regent, took a momentous step. After a rough four days at sea, the prince disembarked into the comfortable 75-degree warmth of the “land of perpetual summer.”<sup>3</sup> Welcoming Hirohito was a 21-gun salute, a hundred fully dressed ships and a throng of smiling native faces.<sup>4</sup> Although Taiwan had been incorporated in 1895, this was the first time that an heir to the Japanese throne had set foot in the southernmost reaches of the Japanese empire. Given the acquisition of the Marshall, Mariana and Caroline Islands in the South Pacific in 1919, plus Japan’s new status as a world power, the First World War had

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

<sup>2</sup> Uchiuchigasaki Sakusaburō, “Kaiyō bunkakoku toshite no Nihon,” *Kingu*, vol. 2, no. 7 (July 1926), pp. 86-7.

<sup>3</sup> See the diary of Chief Aide de Camp Nara Takeji for a description of the turbulence of the trip and temperatures upon arrival in Taiwan. Hatano, et al., eds., *Jijū bukanchō Nara Takeji nikki kaisōroku*, vol. 1, pp. 342-3 (diary entries of Apr. 12 – 16, 1923). The reference to “perpetual summer” appeared in the caption under an image of the crown prince’s arrival in the *Asahi shinbun*. “Sassōtaru goeishi o haishite kanki ni moyuru zentōmin,” *Ōsaka asahi shinbun*, Apr. 17, 1923; reprinted in Watanabe, comp., *Shinbun shūroku Taishōshi*, vol. 11, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> “Sassōtaru goeishi o haishite kanki ni moyuru zentōmin,” p. 140.

understandably swayed the previously unwavering Japanese focus upon the Asian continent southward. Some influential statesmen, in fact, came to think seriously about a long-term Japanese connection away from the Asian mainland. Accompanying Hirohito on his tour, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Makino Nobuaki noted the remarkable similarities between the native dances of Taiwan and those back home. The women's steps resembled those in Japan's obon dances and the men's moves reminded Makino of local dances in Kagoshima. "I cannot but feel," remarked the lord keeper, "that some of our ancestors shared their origins with the people of this solitary island."<sup>5</sup>

### Changing Standards of Empire

While Mark Peattie has vividly portrayed a handful of Japanese who turned their attention southward from the latter nineteenth century,<sup>6</sup> such a powerful association with lands beyond the Asian continent within the heart of Japan's ruling circle was no more possible before the Great War than visions of a modern empire in Asia before the latter nineteenth century. Just as the arrival of great power imperialism had, in the latter nineteenth century, spawned an entirely new vision of foreign affairs in Japan — an image of modern conquest on the Asian continent — the First World War dramatically transformed conceptions of Japan's place in the world.

Japan was not as directly involved in World War I as it had been with the arrival of American Commodore Perry in 1853. But the war, like Perry, marked a fundamental global repositioning. While the founders of Imperial Japan had chosen to follow the "trends of the world" to preserve Japanese "wealth and strength," the architects of a New Japan revised their notion of empire to conform to the new post-Versailles vogue of economic expansion and peace. This change came less from fear of isolation than recognition of a bankrupt old order and understanding of important new opportunities. In particular, participation in the new post-Versailles world was seen as the nation's ticket, for the first time, to *world* power status. Although skeptics of this new order worried about the effect of Japanese participation on the country's autonomy, as Yoshino Sakuzō observed in 1919, "they do not know

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<sup>5</sup> Itō and Hirose, eds., *Makino Nobuaki nikki*, p. 75 (diary entry of Apr. 18, 1923).

<sup>6</sup> For example, Minister of Communications (1885-9) Enomoto Takeaki, co-founder of the South Seas Assembly Yokō Tōsaku, writer Shiga Shigetaka, Tosa journalist Hattori Tōru, Foreign Ministry employee Suzuki Tsunenori, farmer and trader Mizutani Shinroku, journalist and politician Taguchi Ukichi and trader Mori Koben. See Peattie, *Nanyō*, chp. 1.

that world trends are, in a sense, ours to shape autonomously.”<sup>7</sup>

What type of trends were Japanese policy-makers poised to shape in the early 1920s? Most fundamentally, the First World War transformed a devotion to military might and territorial expansion into the pursuit of economic power. As Prime Minister Hara Takashi declared in 1920, “it goes without saying that, from now on, there is no alternative but to rely upon international trade to promote our national strength.”<sup>8</sup> Even members of the military establishment understood the difficult position of military might after the Great War. According to the Army General Staff’s Ugaki Kazushige, Germany’s occupation of Belgium, Russia and Rome clearly demonstrated the problem of military invasion and occupation of territories.<sup>9</sup> In 1921, Major General Tanaka Giichi, the champion of Japanese continental intrigue during the First World War,<sup>10</sup> promoted a new vision of empire to a gathering of the Army Reserve Association. “Recent world trends,” noted Tanaka, “no longer permit imperialist development as in the old days—the new acquisition of territory or the expansion of spheres of influence. We must be prepared to achieve our object through the different peaceful means of pure economic development.”<sup>11</sup>

As prime minister, Tanaka would, of course, sponsor several military expeditions to China in the latter 1920s. But neither those nor the Manchurian Incident and its aftermath should obscure the tangible institutional changes that swept the Japanese empire in the interwar period. In 1922, Japan’s imperial reach retracted for the first time in history with the withdrawal of troops from Shandong, China, and Siberia; between 1919 and 1936, Taiwan was governed by a series of civilian administrators; by 1923, national defense planning shifted from the continent to the oceans—the United States replaced Russia as the principal potential enemy in the Basic Plan of National Defense; the Kenseikai/Minseitō cabinets (1924 - 1927, 1929 - 1931)

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<sup>7</sup> Yoshino Sakuzō, “Taigai seron no shoha,” *Chūō kōron*, vol. 34, no. 12 (Dec. 1919), p. 97.

<sup>8</sup> “Rikken Seiyūkai Tōkai taikai ni okeru enzetsu (Dec. 5, 1920)” Hara Takashi jisshū kankōkai, *Hara Takashi zenshū*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1969), vol. 2, p. 931; quoted in Kawada, *Hara Takashi: Tenkanki no kōsō*, p. 174.

<sup>9</sup> Tsunoda, comp., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, vol. 1, p. 303 (diary entry of June, 1920).

<sup>10</sup> See Frederick R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), chp. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Tanaka Giichi, “Sekai no taisei to Nihon kokumin no kakugo o nobete zaigo gunjin no funki o unagasu” (1921), Tanaka Giichi kankei monjo, no. 92; quoted in Kawada, *Hara Takashi: Tenkanki no kōsō*, p. 175.

adhered to an unmistakable path of non-intervention in China; Japanese trade more than quadrupled between 1910 and 1929; and the United States far outstripped China as Japan's principal trading partner throughout the decade.

### **Retraction of empire**

As Yoshino Sakuzō appropriately argued in 1919, Wilsonian idealism was not at all detached from reality. A “scientific attitude” (*kagakuteki taido*) would ensure that that idealism would have very practical implications in the real world.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the most fundamental implication was the effect on the size of the Japanese empire. Japanese economic and political influence had expanded inexorably outward from the early nineteenth century: from formal administrative control of Hokkaidō in 1807 to incorporation of the southern Kurile Islands (1855), the Bonin (*Ogasawara*) Islands (1866), the entire Kurile chain (1875), Tsushima Island and the Ryūkyūs (1879). Japan became a formal colonial power after acquiring Taiwan and the Pescadore Islands in the Sino-Japanese War (1895). She established a presence on the Asian continent with a leasehold in South Manchuria following the Russo-Japanese War (1905). In the same year, Tokyo received full title to southern Sakhalin Island and preponderant political and economic influence in Korea, which it annexed in 1910. With the outbreak of World War I, Japan established a military, political and economic presence in former German territories of Micronesia (the Marshal, Mariana and Caroline Islands) and Shandong province, China. In 1918, 70,000 Japanese troops joined allied forces in an international expedition to Siberia.

In this context, the retraction of Japanese military presence from Shandong and Siberia following the First World War is striking. Japan's advance into both territories had been hailed during the war as powerful evidence of a new Japanese leadership role in Asia. According to the daily *Ōsaka mainichi*, intervention in Siberia offered a “chance for the Japanese army to sufficiently demonstrate the swift use of its power to aid civilization.”<sup>13</sup>

But by 1922, it was imperial withdrawal, not expansion, that garnered attention on the international stage. As former Japanese delegate to the

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<sup>12</sup> Yoshino, “Taigai seron no shoha,” pp. 96, 98.

<sup>13</sup> “Shuppei mondai ikan,” *Ōsaka mainichi shinbun*, July 14, 1918; quoted in Paul E. Dunscomb, “‘A Great Disobedience Against the People’: Popular Press Criticism of Japan's Siberian Intervention, 1918–22,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 32, no. 1 (2006), p. 64.

Council of the League of Nations, Ishii Kikujirō, noted, the most striking impression of his work on the Council was the unexpected sympathy regularly shown the weak party in international disputes. This marked a “completely transformed atmosphere” (*zenzen ippen shita kūki*) from a few years earlier. “To resort to aggression (*shinryakuteki kōdō*) is now for that country to fall into isolation.”<sup>14</sup>

Under these circumstances, withdrawal, not expansion, came to define Japan as a great power. As another member of the Japanese delegation to the League of Nations, Sawada Setsuzō, noted, a mutually satisfactory agreement on China demonstrated that the new international framework to which Japan had now staked its global reputation actually worked. The agreement with China was “none other than a gift (*tamamono*) of the extraordinary spirit of compromise and reconciliation (*gojō wakai*)” expressed by the powers at Washington.<sup>15</sup> And it had a noticeable effect upon Japan’s international standing. Japanese plenipotentiary to Washington, Shidehara Kijūrō, later observed that the American public had shown more interest during the conference in Japanese discussions with China over Shandong than had Tokyo. From the vantage point of Washington, Sino-Japanese tensions seemed the most probable cause of a future war. Americans greeted the conclusion of a bilateral treaty, therefore, with great fanfare.<sup>16</sup>

While a withdrawal of troops from China validated the new internationalist global order *and* Japan’s distinguished standing within that order, retraction from Siberia sprang from evidence of a clear drain on Japanese resources and the new disarmament fever at home. The presence of Imperial Army troops in Siberia had, in 1918, represented Japanese regional leadership. By 1922, however, the same troops had become the most palpable symbol of the adverse consequences of Japanese “militarism.” As the journal of the Japanese League of Nations Association wryly noted in May, while Tokyo celebrated the end of war with a massive Peace Exposition in Ueno Park, Japanese forces showed off their glorious accomplishments—enemy dead—in Siberian fields.<sup>17</sup> Even editors of the conservative biweekly *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin* described Siberia as the greatest failure of the Foreign Policy Research Council. Try

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<sup>14</sup> Ishii Kikujirō, “Sekai heiwa no kōki aru kikan,” *Kokusai chishiki*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Jan. 1923), pp. 8-9.

<sup>15</sup> Sawada, “Washinton kaigi to sono go,” p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Shidehara, *Gaikō gojūnen*, p. 89.

<sup>17</sup> “Shiberiya gassen,” *Kokusai renmei*, vol. 2, no. 5 (May 1922), p. 121.

listing the intervention's accomplishments, they challenged, "aside from the reduction of Japanese blood, flesh and wealth." Japanese entrepreneurs were, likewise, victims of the "purposeless vanity of the military clique" (*muigi naru gunbatsu kyoeishin*), with absolutely no results to show for their efforts.<sup>18</sup> The withdrawal of Japanese forces from Siberia spurred a cottage industry of books declaring the venture one of the greatest failures of Japanese diplomacy.<sup>19</sup> And, like Japan's position in Shandong, retraction from the Russian Far East ensured a favorable reception abroad. With the official announcement of an eventual withdrawal, Lieutenant General Ugaki Kazushige noted in March 1920, "the empire has, just barely, maintained its dignity (*taimen*)."<sup>20</sup>

Like the withdrawal of military power, a policy of neutrality toward continuing turmoil in China became the new norm for Japan's stance vis-à-vis the continent in the early 1920s. The symbol of this new policy was, of course, Baron Shidehara Kijūrō, career bureaucrat and foreign minister for the Kensai/Minseitō cabinets of Katō Takaaki (1924 - 1926), Wakatsuki Reijirō (1926 - 1927) and Hamaguchi Osachi (1929 - 1931). Shidehara set the tone for his hands-off approach toward China when, in his first comprehensive statement of foreign policy goals to the Lower House in July 1924, he declared that "We must offer friendly cooperation to China as much as possible, if she seeks it. At the same time, however, we should not interfere in her domestic affairs."<sup>21</sup> Far from empty rhetoric, Shidehara's new tactic of restraint had an immediate payoff in the May Thirtieth Movement of 1925. As Japanese minister to China, Yoshizawa Ken'ichi, observed, while Chinese displeasure had originally erupted in a Japanese textile factory on that date, Japanese neutrality ensured that large subsequent demonstrations in Shanghai and Hankow were "directed solely against British residents."<sup>22</sup> Like Japan's

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<sup>18</sup> "Renshi hekichō," *Nihon oyobi Nihonjin*, no. 846, p. 140. For detailed coverage of changing Japanese attitudes toward the Siberian Intervention, see Dunscomb, "A Great Disobedience Against the People."

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Yamanouchi Hōsuke, *Shiberiya hishi: shuppei yori teppei made* (Tokyo: Nihon hyōronsha, 1923). According to advanced publicity, Yamanouchi considered the Siberian Intervention "a rare failed foreign campaign in our nation's history." "Yamanouchi Hōsuke chō, Shiberiya hishi," *Kokusai chishiki*, vol. 3, no. 6 (June, 1923), p. 81.

<sup>20</sup> Tsunoda, comp., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, vol. 1, p. 272 (diary entry of Mch., 1920).

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Klaus Schlichtmann, *Japan in the World: Shidehara Kijuro, Pacifism, and the Abolition of War* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> Yoshizawa to Shidehara, June 16, 1925, in *Nihon gaikō bunsho*, 1925, vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 94. Cited in Banno Junji, "Japanese Industrialists and Merchants and the Anti-Japanese Boycotts in China, 1919-1928," in Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peatties, eds., *The*

military withdrawal from Shandong and Siberia, Japan's new posture toward China received rave reviews in foreign capitals. According to the diary of former British language officer in Japan, Captain Malcolm Kennedy, Shidehara's "firm stand for non-intervention" in China was "much praised" in London.<sup>23</sup> It was, likewise, well received at home. Kennedy noted with some astonishment how the Japanese press had not clamored for immediate Japanese action when hostilities broke out between Chinese warlords Feng Yuxiang and Duan Qirui near Tianjin in March 1926. As the Foreign Ministry's Komura Kin'ichi assured Kennedy, the unusual restraint by the media "is due entirely to the changed attitude of the Japanese people as a whole towards China in the last few years."<sup>24</sup>

While recognizing these shifts, orthodox analyses typically stress continuity over change in Japanese imperial presence between the wars. Despite his celebrated espousal of "international cooperation" (*kokusai kyōchōshugi*), Shidehara Kijūrō, argues Nishida Toshihiro, had a strong sense of Japan's special position in East Asia and "had difficulties with the determination to build international stability in East Asia upon universal principals."<sup>25</sup> Likewise, in focusing upon shifting Japanese attitudes toward the Siberian Intervention, Paul Dunscomb highlights not a dramatic new vision of empire in 1922 but of party politics. Whereas the Japanese debate over Siberia in 1918 revealed hope for party government to decorously end the intervention, by the time of Japan's withdrawal, hope had turned to complete disillusionment with both party politics and the military. "The impotence of democratic government and the inability of Japanese civil society to compel meaningful change disheartened democratic advocates and alienated the people from the political parties."<sup>26</sup>

But no amount of projecting back from the calamity of 1931 can obscure the palpable concern felt by supporters of robust expansion for the dramatic interwar turn in popular attitudes toward empire. Already in 1919, Lieutenant General Ugaki Kazushige lamented the extraordinary tendency of

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*Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895-1937* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 322.

<sup>23</sup> Kennedy, "The Diaries of Captain Malcolm Duncan Kennedy, 1917-1946," diary entry of Oct. 28, 1924.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, diary entry of Mch. 18, 1926.

<sup>25</sup> Nishida Toshihiro, "Washinton taisei to Shidehara gaikō," in Itō Yukio, Kawada Minoru, eds., *Nijū seiki Nichi-Bei kankei to higashi Ajia* (Tokyo: Fūbōsha, 2002), p. 90.

<sup>26</sup> Dunscomb, "A Great Disobedience Against the People," p. 81.

public opinion “to view the Siberian problem and the China problem as nuisances (*yakkaishi shite iru*).”<sup>27</sup> As home minister in 1917, Gotō Shinpei had called for one million Japanese troops to Siberia at a cost of five billion yen a year.<sup>28</sup> But to the great consternation of kingmaker Yamagata Aritomo, by early 1920, Gotō formally urged cabinet members to withdraw from the Russian Far East. Yamagata challenged Gotō’s proposal and scrambled to get associate and political heavyweight Den Kenjirō to quash the initiative.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, he urged Prime Minister Hara to maintain defense spending. Following the Sino-Japanese War, he told Hara, he had made the same plea to Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi. To defeat a country like China militarily did little for the development of the empire. There were “much, much greater powers” to engage.<sup>30</sup>

Concerns for the fate of empire were not confined to the early 1920s. Tanaka Giichi’s three consecutive troop dispatches to Shandong, China between May 1927 and May 1928 focused national and international attention again upon Japanese continental activities. But not in the manner usually stressed by historians. Far from the beginning of a new long-term commitment to continental empire, these initiatives, rather, highlighted the impressive movement of public sentiment away from aggrandizement in China. As Kiyosawa Kiyoshi noted soon after the first mobilization, Tanaka’s policy represented a “sudden” (*totsuzen*) change from the era of his predecessor, Shidehara. “Shidehara diplomacy,” Kiyosawa observed, had received “the support of the entire nation” (*waga kuni chōya no shiji*), without much opposition from either political circles or the media. But the general outcry following Tanaka’s initial dispatch of troops made it seem like a “different world” (*kakusei*).<sup>31</sup> Following Tanaka’s third troop intervention, the daily *Kokumin shinbun*’s Aizawa Hiroshi remarked that, “at this point, there is an overwhelming (*ippan ni minagiri*) sense of nostalgia (*tsuibo suru*) for Shidehara diplomacy.”<sup>32</sup> Regarding the possibility of future continental expansion, daily *Tokyo asahi* journalist Maida Minoru declared in 1929 that “the Japanese,

<sup>27</sup> Tsunoda, comp., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, vol. 1, p. 235 (diary entry of Dec., 1919).

<sup>28</sup> See Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention*, p. 190.

<sup>29</sup> Oka, *Taishō demokurashii no seiji: Matsumoto Gokichi seiji nisshi*, p. 44 (Feb. 1, 1920 diary entry).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63 (Apr. 5, 1921 diary entry).

<sup>31</sup> Kiyosawa Kiyoshi, “Tanaka gaikō no bunmeishiteki hihan,” *Chūō kōron*, vol. 474, no. 7 (July 1927), pp. 78-9.

<sup>32</sup> Itō and Hirose, eds., *Makino Nobuaki nikki*, p. 313 (diary entry of May 12, 1928).

themselves, have already completely abandoned their aggressive tendencies.”<sup>33</sup> Such realities drove veteran man of letters Tokutomi Iichirō to lament in the same year that “among our countrymen, there are those who have completely lost sight of the Japanese empire (*Nihon teikoku*).”<sup>34</sup>

### **Civilian character of empire**

While the most tangible effect of postwar internationalism on the Japanese empire came in widespread acceptance of imperial retraction, equally important was the growing civilian character of Japan’s territories. Echoing Ishii Kikujirō’s observation about the dramatic new standing of the weak in international disputes after the war, journalist Tagawa Daikichirō in 1921 noted that the new system of colonial governance could best be described as “guardianship toward the weak and young (*jakumono yōnen ni taisuru gōken seido*).” It was like projecting to the international stage the kindness shown to the elderly when yielding seats on a train. “We should,” urged Tagawa, “increasingly (display the kindness) that we express among ourselves as citizens toward the Koreans, Taiwanese and foreigners.”<sup>35</sup>

This new kindness materialized early in dramatic administrative reform. Anticipating the 1922 elimination of the active duty rule for service ministers, the Hara cabinet in 1919 abolished, for the first time in the history of the empire, the service requirement for governors general in Taiwan, Korea and Guandong. Responding to the change in Guandong, Yoshino Sakuzō expressed astonishment at the acquiescence of the Yamagata Aritomo-controlled Privy Council. The reform, after all, effectively transferred administrative control of these territories from the military to the civilian cabinet. “In destroying a corner of the military clique’s extraterritoriality, which has been the greatest long term obstacle to Japan’s China diplomacy and the greatest source of trouble (*ichidai heikon*) in Japan’s colonial policy,” declared Yoshino, “we must say that this reform is of critical significance (*jūyō na igi*).”<sup>36</sup> Indeed, the separation of civilian and military powers remained clear in Guandong until the

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<sup>33</sup> Maida, “Shōwa yonen no hekitō ni tachite,” *Kokusai chishiki*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Jan. 1929), p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> Tokutomi Iichirō, “Nihon teikoku ni kaere,” *Kingū*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Jan. 1930), p. 102.

<sup>35</sup> Tagawa, “Sekai no dai-ichi ishin,” pp. 10-11.

<sup>36</sup> Yoshino Sakuzō, “Kantōshū gyōsei kaikaku no uramen ni hisomeru jūyō igi,” *Chūō kōron*, vol. 34, no. 5 (May 1919), p. 93.

establishment of Manchukuo in 1932.<sup>37</sup> And civilian administrators governed Taiwan between 1919 and 1936.

Korea, of course, continued to be directed by a military governor general until liberation in 1945. But Premier Hara entrusted the governance of Korea in 1919 for the first time not to an army but naval leader—Admiral Saitō Makoto, who would preside in Seoul through most of the 1920s. And a new attitude pervaded Japanese governance in all of its formal territories, even on the Korean peninsula — “cultural rule” (*bunka seiji*). Orthodox histories characterize *bunka seiji* as a cunning effort to accentuate colonial inequities under the guise of liberal reform.<sup>38</sup> Any discussion of colonial reform must, of course, acknowledge the subjugation endemic to all colonial regimes. But the record of war in the 1930s has turned the spotlight on abuses to the exclusion of all else. From the vantage point of 1919, transformations in the structure of empire were real. As Yoshino Sakuzō asserted at the beginning of the year, new postwar conceptions of empire would “definitely unsettle previous colonial policy from the foundations.”<sup>39</sup> Prime Minister Hara declared in 1921 that “it is the ultimate purpose of the Japanese government in due course to treat Koreans, in all respects, on the same footing with Japanese.”<sup>40</sup>

No one would argue that Hara and his successors lived up to their lofty pronouncements. But the record of change in Japan’s colonial territories is clear. In both Taiwan and Korea, civilian police replaced gendarmes; the imperial bureaucracy permitted vernacular newspapers and meetings; teachers and officials abandoned wearing swords; educational and employment opportunities for the local population increased; flogging was outlawed, and rules governing indigenous cultural practices were relaxed.<sup>41</sup> Just as he recognized the undesirability of military invasion after 1919, Lieutenant General Ugaki Kazushige in 1920 noted the accentuated importance of

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<sup>37</sup> For in-depth coverage of political, administrative and economic changes in early twentieth century Guandong, see Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka, *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904-1932* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001).

<sup>38</sup> Mark Peattie argues that the sub-slogan “co-existence and co-prosperity” (*kyōzon kyōei*) “came to mean economic development of Korea largely to promote Japanese interest.” Mark R. Peattie, “Japanese Attitudes Toward Colonialism, 1895-1945,” in Myers and Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, p. 81.

<sup>39</sup> Yoshino Sakuzō, “Kōwa kaigi ni teigen subeki wagakuni no nanyō shotō shobunan,” p. 146.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in David Brudnoy, “Japan's Experiment in Korea,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 25, No. 1/2 (1970), p. 173, footnote #90.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 172-9.

non-military issues in colonial affairs. Colonial rule, he affirmed, included political, military, economic and cultural facets. But social and economic concerns were particularly suited to advancing the enterprise.<sup>42</sup>

Orthodox coverage describes the new humanitarian face of Japanese colonies, in the main, as a reaction to the violent anti-colonial outbursts of 1919.<sup>43</sup> Such demonstrations undoubtedly contributed to the urgency of reform. But to consider reform simply a defensive response to “crisis” is, again, to misconstrue the general tenor of change in interwar Japan. Even Ugaki acknowledged that the March 1 movement was not the greatest calamity befalling Japan. It “cannot be considered an emergency (*shōbi no kyū*),” he observed almost a year after the fact.<sup>44</sup> The primary impulse for reform in the colonies, rather, came from the prospect of real rewards. Echoing new trends in multilateralism, democracy and disarmament after the war, Japanese statesmen clearly understood that a new attitude toward the colonies was integral to Japan’s new status as a world power. As Yoshino Sakuzō observed, “Japan and other countries are, in their capacity as great powers, entrusted with the education of native peoples.”<sup>45</sup> Enlightened colonial rule was a critical aspect of Japan’s obligation to lift the fortunes of the world’s less advantaged. It was, in fact, viewed that way from abroad. As American observer H.B. Drake wrote of Japanese rule in Korea in 1930, “Japan is striving...to lift the country to the level of a modern nation.”<sup>46</sup> The greatest difficulty of the March 1 movement in Korea was not the challenge that it posed Japanese authority. It was the sullying of Japan’s “reputation as an advanced Asian nation.”<sup>47</sup>

Just as Japan’s established colonies assumed a new civilian character, so, too, did her new acquisitions of the Great War. Conventional treatments of Japan’s new territories in German Micronesia (the Marshall, Mariana and Caroline Islands) follow the general pattern of coverage of the new postwar internationalism. Historians recognize the lofty new standards but invariably stress the gulf between theory and reality. Under the new principle of self-determination, colonial acquisitions after the Great War were designated

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<sup>42</sup> Tsunoda, comp., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, vol. 1, p. 312 (diary entry of July, 1920).

<sup>43</sup> In particular, the March 1 movement in Korea.

<sup>44</sup> Tsunoda, comp., *Ugaki Kazushige nikki*, vol. 1, p. 257 (diary entry of Feb., 1920).

<sup>45</sup> Yoshino Sakuzō, “Kōwa kaigi ni teigen subeki wagakuni no nanyō shotō shobunan,” p. 146.

<sup>46</sup> Quoted in Brudnoy, “Japan's Experiment in Korea,” p. 178.

<sup>47</sup> Yoshino Sakuzō, “Chōsen bōdō zengosaku,” *Chūō kōron*, vol. 34, no. 4 (Apr. 1919), p. 121.

League of Nations mandates and were required to follow guidelines demonstrating sensitivity to the interests of the colonized. But, according to Mark Peattie, “whatever noble task of advancing the interests of the indigenes may have been assigned to Japan by the League of Nations, it was Japanese interests...which remained the paramount objectives.”<sup>48</sup>

That colonial administrations continued to govern in the interests of the colonizers goes without saying. More useful than measuring reality against abstract theory, however, might be to note the degree to which contemporaries discerned change in colonial governance. In the nineteenth century, observed Yoshino Sakuzō in 1919, international relations “stood outside the sway of morality.” Japan did not pay any heed to the interests of its subject peoples. “Now the situation is undergoing a complete transformation (*ippen sento shitsutsu aru*).”<sup>49</sup> In the Marshall, Mariana and Caroline Islands, occupied by the Japanese navy in September 1914, administrative authority transferred to civilian hands by 1921.<sup>50</sup> And the numerous social and political reforms that swept Japan’s formal colonies were also introduced in the islands. Writer Sawada Ken in 1921 confirmed the novelty of the League mandate system, which, he insisted, had “absolutely no precedent in international law.”<sup>51</sup>

### **From Continental to Global, Maritime Empire**

Perhaps the most fundamental transformation of Japanese visions of empire in the interwar period was the dramatic redirection of geographic attention in Tokyo. Just as Commodore Perry in 1853 compelled Japanese statesmen to replace their vision of a Japan-centric Asian order with one of a European-style empire on the edge of Asia, the First World War redirected Japan’s focus from the Asian continent to the globe. This was, indeed, the most literal meaning of Japan as a global power. No longer did Tokyo aspire simply to be the “leader of Asia.”<sup>52</sup> “Isn’t there a need,” Yoshino Sakuzō observed in

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<sup>48</sup> See Mark R. Peattie, “The Nan’yō: Japan in the South Pacific, 1885-1945,” in Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 190.

<sup>49</sup> Yoshino Sakuzō, “Taigaiteki ryōshin no hakki,” *Chūō kōron*, vol. 34, no. 4 (Apr. 1919), p. 103.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>51</sup> Sawada Ken, “Innin tōchiron,” *Kokusai renmei*, vol. 1, no. 9 (Dec. 1921), p. 73.

<sup>52</sup> To borrow Fukuzawa Yukichi’s formulation in 1882. See Miwa Kimitada, “Fukuzawa Yukichi’s ‘Departure from Asia’: A Prelude to the Sino-Japanese War,” in Edmund Skrzypczak, ed., *Japan’s Modern Century* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1968), pp. 1-26.

1919, “to revise the Japanese peoples’ ideal of continental development?”<sup>53</sup> Japanese statesmen, as we have seen, felt a new responsibility to “look out for countries without any shared interests (with ourselves).”<sup>54</sup>

In her membership in the Council of the League of Nations and League-affiliated organizations, and in her participation in numerous multi-lateral treaties, Japan amply lived up to Konoe Fumimaro’s spirited appeal to act globally. The prince and his peers willingly supported this change of focus, we know, because it was the key to unprecedented lofty status on the international stage. But the redirection of geographic attention in Tokyo also had a concrete impulse. In the brief military engagement against Imperial Germany at the outset of the Great War, Japan had acquired territory in an area far from her traditional continental focus: the South Pacific. The new national discussion on Pacific affairs offers one of the most concrete and pervasive demonstrations of a change of imperial focus in interwar Japan.

The movement from the Asian continent to the Pacific is exemplified vividly in a shift of priorities between the Paris and Washington Conferences. For Japan and the United States, the Shandong problem loomed large in 1919. Bilateral wrangling over Japanese possession of the territory, after all, is said to have played a decisive role in U.S. Senate rejection of the Versailles Treaty and is seen as a prelude to subsequent bilateral tensions over China.<sup>55</sup> As we have seen, Tokyo and Beijing finally came to agreement on Shandong at Washington. But, as Ozaki Yukio appropriately observed on the eve of the naval conference, Shandong was a “minor concern” (*sho mondai*) in 1921 in the context of the numerous issues that now loomed in the Pacific.<sup>56</sup> American observers, likewise, viewed the Washington Conference as a clear sign of the ascendance of the Pacific in world affairs. By dividing sea power between the British Empire and the United States, the conference, declared *New Republic* editor Herbert Croly, “destroyed the physical basis of the traditional conception of the Atlantic Ocean as a liquid extension of Europe” and set the stage for a “new conception of

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<sup>53</sup> Yoshino Sakuzō, “Jinshūteki sabetsu teppei undōsha ni atau,” *Chūō kōron*, vol. 34, no. 3 (Mch. 1919), p. 72.

<sup>54</sup> Konoe, *Sengo Ōbei kenbunroku*, p. 48.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, Russell H. Fifield, *Woodrow Wilson and the Far East: The Diplomacy of the Shantung Question* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1965).

<sup>56</sup> Ozaki, “Gunbi shukushō kaigi ni saishi Nihon kokumin no kakusei o unagasu,” p. 4.

the Pacific.”<sup>57</sup>

While questions concerning the fortification of islands in the Pacific animated discussions in Washington, a new vogue for all things Pacific consumed life in Tokyo. Three prominent private organizations dedicated to matters of the Pacific were founded in Tokyo in the early 1920s: the Pacific League (*Taiheiyō renmei*) under Prince Tokugawa Iesato, the Pacific Club (*Taiheiyō kurabu*) led by Viscount Inoue, and the Japanese Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations (*Taiheiyō mondai chōsakai*), headed by financier Inoue Junnosuke.<sup>58</sup> In September 1920, Tokyo University geography professor Yamazaki Naokata lectured Crown Prince Hirohito on the eruption of Mt. Kilauea in Hawaii.<sup>59</sup> From March through July 1922, Ueno Park played host to a massive Peace Exposition dedicated to the values of the new world order. According to the monthly, *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, the face of a New Japan (*atarashii Nihon*) was evident in the names of the geographically disparate pavilions—including one decorated inside and out with palm trees and dedicated to the South Seas, where South Pacific peoples delighted audiences with native dances.<sup>60</sup> From October 30 to November 11, 1926, over four hundred Japanese and one hundred and fifty foreign scholars from the United States, Britain, France, Holland, Russia, Peru, Chile and China assembled within the halls of the Lower House in Tokyo for the Third Pan-Pacific Science Congress.<sup>61</sup> As Prime Minister Wakatsuki Reijirō declared at the opening banquet on October 31, “the countries of the Pacific are now so intimate that

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<sup>57</sup> Herbert Croly, “The Human Potential in Pacific Politics,” in John B. Condliffe, ed., *Problems of the Pacific: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations*, Honolulu, Hawaii, July 15 to 29, 1927 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928), pp. 580-1. Quoted in Akami, *Internationalizing the Pacific*, p. 39.

<sup>58</sup> Kiyosawa Kiyoshi makes special mention of these three organizations in Kiyosawa, “*Taiheiyō mondai*,” p. 6. For details of the Japanese Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, see chapter three herein.

<sup>59</sup> Hatano, et al., eds., *Jijū bukanchō Nara Takeji nikki kaisōroku*, vol. 1, p. 44 (diary entry of Sept. 15, 1920).

<sup>60</sup> Kei Senshō, “Hakurankai shuppin ni arawaretaru shin Nihon no shokuminchi, *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, vol. 25, no. 7 (Apr. 1, 1922), p. 33. This was not, it should be noted, the first official display of Pacific peoples in Japan. On the eve of the First World War, the Taishō Exposition featured a group of twenty-four Southeast Asian natives. They did not, however, have their own exhibition hall, but were, rather, housed in a general “Colonial Pavilion” (*takushoku kan*). “Tennō gyōkō, kakukan o gojunran,” *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, June 18, 1914. Reprinted in Uchikawa comp., *Taishō nyūsu jiten*, vol. I, p. 471.

<sup>61</sup> “Kyō kara iyoiyo hon butai ni hairu, han Taiheiyō gakujuitsu kaigi,” *Ōsaka asahi shinbun*, Nov. 1, 1926, p. 1.

one country's advantage is the advantage of all."<sup>62</sup>

Naval commanders had moved swiftly after the defeat of German forces at Qingdao in November 1914 to establish a permanent imprint in German Micronesia.<sup>63</sup> And two Japanese cruisers, *Tsushima* and *Otowa*, helped ally Britain quell the Sepoy Mutiny in Singapore in February 1915.<sup>64</sup> But an official Japanese presence in the South Pacific was still so new during the Great War that, from December 1917, the Japanese government had to lease a steamship from China, the *Hwa Ping*, to serve as the sole regular passenger service from Japan to the new southern territories.<sup>65</sup> Thanks to the *Hwa Ping*, however, a steady stream of dignitaries, including members of the imperial family and military aides to the emperor, Japanese nobility, Japanese MPs, and naval officers, made their way to the Marshall, Mariana and Caroline Islands after 1917.<sup>66</sup> By 1926 the South Pacific had become a focus of such intense official interest that, in September of that year, the Wakatsuki cabinet sponsored a South Seas Trade Conference, committed to facilitating both official and private trade with the South Pacific and India. "It seems," observed the journal of the Japanese League of Nations Association in December, "that there was a slogan for Japanese overseas development twenty some odd years ago directing attention northward to Manchuria/Mongolia...we have not heard this in recent years." Commenting on the South Seas conference, the editors argued that if Japan invested one tenth of the money it had sunk into the Siberian Intervention, "the effect would ultimately be many times that of the intervention."<sup>67</sup>

Historians typically examine early Japanese interest in Pacific affairs for clues about the road to war in the Pacific. For John Stephan, Japan-Hawaii linkages going back to the nineteenth century comprise an important backdrop

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<sup>62</sup> "Kagaku saishū no mokuteki wa jinrui seikatsu kaizen ni ari," *Tōkyō asahi shinbun*, Oct. 31, 1926, p. 2. The presence at this conference of scholars from Britain, France, and Holland, of course, reflected the fact that these states were Pacific powers by virtue of their colonial empires in the Pacific.

<sup>63</sup> For details, see Francis X. Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), chp. 4.

<sup>64</sup> See Heather Streets-Salter, *Southeast Asia and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), chp. 2.

<sup>65</sup> Shikama Kōsuke, *Jijū bukan nikki* (Tokyo: Fuyō shobō, 1980), p. 123 (diary entry for Apr. 29, 1919).

<sup>66</sup> Hezel, *Strangers in Their Own Land*, p. 153. For an account of Aide-de-Camp Shikama Kōsuke's Apr. 29- July 13, 1919 tour of the islands, see Shikama, *Jijū bukan nikki*, pp. 123-44.

<sup>67</sup> "Minami e chakume seyo," *Kokusai chishiki*, vol. 6, no. 12 (Dec. 1926), p. 1.

for plans for the conquest of Hawaii in 1941.<sup>68</sup> It is true, as well, that Japanese defense planning went through an important transformation following the Great War. The Basic Plan of National Defense, originally drafted in 1907, had named Russia as Japan's number one potential adversary. By 1923, however, the United States officially became Japan's greatest military threat.<sup>69</sup>

It is difficult not to presume a link between this 1923 revision of the Basic Plan of National Defense and Pearl Harbor. But if we pay attention to the voices of contemporaries, we see that the shift in strategic priorities is less important in the early 1920s for hints of future international conflict than for its effect on immediate domestic politics. In particular, the change had profound consequences for the precarious political balance between the Imperial Army and Navy. Despite first targeting Imperial Naval ships and budgets, the disarmament craze following the Great War dealt a particularly devastating blow to the army. In an age of dramatic cuts, serious questions were raised about the feasibility of service parity, which had been institutionalized in the 1907 Basic Plan of National Defense. Despite characterizing national defense as a "joint" army-navy effort, the 1923 revision of the Basic Plan represented a significant challenge to original ideas of parity. And such challenges became increasingly common in the public debate. Former member of the Imperial Army, First Lieutenant Matsushita Yoshio, argued in April 1923 that the army could be pared to half of its size. In an age where foreign intervention was no longer permissible, Japanese military capabilities could be confined purely to self-defense. And all that was needed to protect Japanese possessions in Korea, Taiwan and the South Pacific was a navy and six army divisions.<sup>70</sup>

Growing Japanese interest in the Pacific in the 1920s, in other words, belongs less within the narrative of the Pacific War than in the important tale of the interwar departure from continental empire. Indeed, Japanese conservatives most wedded to continental expansion viewed the turn toward the Pacific with alarm. For the journal of the Greater East Association, the

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<sup>68</sup> See John Stephan, *Hawaii under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest after Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), chp. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Shimanuki, "Dai-ichiji sekai taisen igo no kokubō hōshin, shoyō heiryoku, yōhei kōryō no hensen," pp. 65-7.

<sup>70</sup> Matsushita, "Gunshuku ni taisuru rikugun tōkyoku no taido," p. 88. Matsushita had gained notoriety as the "socialist first lieutenant" for an article published in the June 28, 1920 *Tokyo nichinichi shinbun* in which he condemned the military and praised socialist precepts. He was subsequently discharged for his breach of discipline. See Nakajima Kinya, *Ginga no michi: "shakai shugi chūi" Matsushita Yoshio no seishō* (Tokyo: Kōbunshakan, 1989).

dreadful liberal political turn of interwar Japan went hand in hand with the questionable new geographic focus. “As long as women resembling prostitutes to the Southern Seas, in Western dress with white radish legs, remain among the ranks of (Japan’s) women suffragists,” it exclaimed (and desperately hoped) in September 1925, “no one will pay heed.”<sup>71</sup>

While Japan’s new global posture appeared most conspicuously in a redirection of official attention from the continent to the South Pacific, it was clear, more broadly, in an enormous shift in trade patterns following the First World War. The sheer volume of new trade spurred by the war transformed the structure of the Japanese economy. Equally important was the direction of that trade. A fundamental legacy of the Great War was the displacement of Europe by the United States at the vanguard of global affairs. Pivotal to this shift was a new American centrality in world trade. Until 1914, Japan had relied upon Britain for the majority of its machinery and consumer goods. From 1914 to 1939, Uncle Sam claimed the top spot among Japanese suppliers.<sup>72</sup> In exports, while the United States had already taken the lead with silk purchases in the 1890s, the world war opened new markets for Japanese textiles and small consumer goods in European colonies in Asia and beyond.<sup>73</sup> China trade continued to be dwarfed by trade with the United States throughout the 1920s.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, Ishibashi Tanzan’s celebrated renunciation of empire in 1921 rested in large part on the practical observation that Japan traded more with Great Britain than with either Korea, Taiwan or Guandong and that her commerce with the United States outstripped that with all of these territories combined.<sup>75</sup> *Japan Chronicle* editor A. Morgan Young captured the remarkable new global scale of Japanese trade after the war by noting that, for the first time, Japanese goods “were in the most eager demand in every country in the world.”<sup>76</sup>

Indeed, trade became everyone’s concern following the Great War. As the president of the monthly *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, Masuda Giichi, informed his readers in April 1922, in addition to commemorating peace, the principal aim of

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<sup>71</sup> “Usagi no mimi,” *Daitō bunka*, vol. 2, no. 9 (Sept. 1925), p. 111.

<sup>72</sup> Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism*, pp. 127, 211, tables 3, 9, respectively.

<sup>73</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 127, table 3 for export figures to the United States.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127, table 3.

<sup>75</sup> Editorial, “Issai o suturu no kakugo: Taiheiyō kaigi ni taisuru waga taido,” *Tōyō keizai shinpō*, July 23, 1921; reprinted in Matsuo, ed., *Ishibashi Tanzan hyōronshū*, p. 103.

<sup>76</sup> Young, *Japan under Taisho Tenno*, p. 16.

the Peace Exposition just opened in Tokyo was “to advance national culture (*kokumin bunka*) by promoting industry and spreading practical knowledge.” It was particularly important that Japanese products have a distinct identity across the globe.<sup>77</sup> According to Japanese MP and Waseda University professor Uchigasaki Sakusaburō, “the most important thing in today’s society is economic life. And because economic life requires multiple and subtle relationships with the world’s powers, we cannot disturb these (relationships).”<sup>78</sup> The new postwar attention to the Pacific described above bore a clear commercial bent. The South Seas Conference of 1926 was a trade conference. And Foreign Minister Shidehara at the opening convocation proclaimed international trade and Japanese foreign investment as “today’s urgent business (*kokka no kyūmu*).”<sup>79</sup>

The shifting geographic attention of Japanese subjects following the First World War had an important effect on the imagined character of the Japanese nation. Best known is Ishibashi’s complete renunciation of empire in 1921. In place of territorial acquisition in Asia, the editor of *Tōyō keizai shinpō* envisioned a nation thriving through trade with Britain and the United States and global moral authority garnered for respecting the rights of the weak.<sup>80</sup> But most vividly symbolic of the new age was Professor Uchigasaki’s idea of a Japanese “maritime culture.” “Japan’s mission,” declared Uchigasaki in July 1926, “lies in sufficient recognition of our distinctiveness as a maritime nation—in our privileged island-nation culture.” This pedigree ensured the “perpetual vigor of the progressive and innovative spirit of the Japanese.” In an age when vibrant international intercourse and respect for foreign nations was critical, Japan could “contribute to world culture by constructing an ideal national culture...We must protect and guide this island culture and fashion a superior maritime cultural nation.”<sup>81</sup>

Even those affiliated with central pillars of Japan’s continental presence could not in the interwar era avoid the new expansive language of the post-Versailles world. In a 91-page pamphlet urging the “solidarity” of Japan

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<sup>77</sup> Masuda Giichi, “Hakurankai no mikata,” *Jitsugyō no Nihon*, vol. 25, no. 7 (Apr. 1, 1922), p. 2. For Masuda’s comments on developing a distinctive Japanese identity, see p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> Uchigasaki, “Kaiyō bunkakoku toshite no Nihon,” p. 87.

<sup>79</sup> “Kanmin nihyaku yomei o tsurane: Nanyō bōeki kaigi kaikai,” *Hōchi shinbun*, Sept. 14, 1926; reprinted in Watanabe, comp., *Shinbun shūroku Taishōshi*, vol. 14, p. 320.

<sup>80</sup> Editorial, “Issai o sutsuru no kakugo: Taiheiyō kaigi ni taisuru waga taido,” *Tōyō keizai shinpō*, July 23, 1921; reprinted in Matsuo, ed., *Ishibashi Tanzan hyōronshū*, pp. 101-21.

<sup>81</sup> Uchigasaki, “Kaiyō bunkakoku toshite no Nihon,” pp. 85-7.

and China, Head of the South Manchuria Railway Research Section Sata Kōjirō could not in 1929 be content simply with the conventional insular appeal of intimate bilateral ties as critical for “peace in the far east” (*Tōyō heiwa*). Sino-Japanese harmony was, rather, most fundamentally “an obligation of humanity” (*jinrui toshite no gimu*).<sup>82</sup>

## Conclusion

The history of the Pacific War has had an enormous affect on our perception of the Japanese empire in the early twentieth century. Looking back from the Manchurian Incident of 1931, scholars focus on Japanese policy in China to locate hints of aggressive future continentalism. While the tenor of Japan’s China policy may have changed following the Washington Conference, they note, discrimination and oppression of Chinese subjects persisted.<sup>83</sup>

But China policy is only a small part of the story of change in Japanese empire building between the wars. From 1919 to 1931, the Japanese empire underwent three fundamental changes that reoriented the course of national growth through the First World War. First, for the first time since the founding of the empire, Japan *withdrew* a substantial military and political presence from the continent—from Shandong province and Siberia in 1922. Second, fundamental administrative changes from 1919 significantly heightened the civilian character of the formal empire. Third, in diplomatic, strategic and economic terms, Japanese attention turned decisively away from the Asian continent outward toward the Pacific and beyond. The Japanese empire in the interwar period, in other words, truly became a global concern.

What was the principal impetus for this leap from a continental to global empire? It was less a defensive reaction to crisis than part of an enthusiastic embrace of new opportunities. Global empire offered prospects for Japanese power and influence far beyond the Meiji idea of a “European empire on the edge of Asia.” Together with a new Japanese multilateralism, democracy and disarmament regime, the transformed conception of empire formed the foundation of a robust new “peace culture” in interwar Japan.

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<sup>82</sup> Sata Kōjirō, “Nisshi kankei no shinriteki kenkyū” (Tokyo: Sino-Japanese Cultural Society [Chūnichī bunka kyōkai] pamphlet, Oct. 25, 1929), p. 2. Harvard-Yenching Library, Cambridge, MA.

<sup>83</sup> This is the argument, for example, in Inoue Kiyoshi’s classic, *Shinpan, Nihon no gunkoku shugi*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Gendai hyōronsha, 1975), vol. 3, pp. 217-8.

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

Inoue's remarks triggered immediate responses from Christians. Leading Protestant thinkers of the time including Yokoi Tokio and Uemura Masahisa among many others published their views in defence of Christianity. In reply, Inoue published a booklet entitled *The Clash between Education and Religion* in April 1893.<sup>2</sup> In that book, Inoue referred to a number of recent incidents involving Christians. One such incident occurred almost two years earlier: Uchimura Kanzō's *lèse majesté* Incident. On 9 January 1891, Uchimura, who was then a teacher at the First High School in Tokyo, allegedly failed to bow properly at the ceremony of the reading of the Imperial Rescript of Education. This caught the attention of some nationalist students and teachers, who condemned Uchimura instantly. Consequently, he was forced to resign from the school. Inoue argued that the *lèse majesté* incident was the tip of the iceberg: many Christians, he claimed, behaved in disrespectful ways to the Japanese emperor. The debate simmered intensely and generated, according to one count, 21 books and 220 articles<sup>3</sup> and, according to another, 76 books and 493 articles.<sup>4</sup> The articles first appeared in journals on education (*Kyōiku Jiron*), Christianity (*Rikugō Zasshi*), academic research (*Tōyō Gakugei Zasshi*) and current affairs (*Kokumin no Tomo*, *Nippon Hyōron*). Journals for women (*Jogaku Zasshi*) and a Buddhist publication (*Bukkyō*) among others later published commentaries on the controversy, and were followed by reports in

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<sup>1</sup> Seki Kōsaku, ed., *Inoue hakase to kirisuto kuōto*, 3 vols (Tokyo: Tetsugaku Shoin, 1893), 1: 1-9.

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

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

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

newspapers.<sup>5</sup>

While this debate is certainly one of the best known controversies in Meiji Japan, perhaps less known is that contributors to the debate were not limited to Japanese authors. One non-Japanese author is Alfred Ligneul (1847-1922), a French Catholic missionary. Ligneul arrived in Japan as a member of the Paris Foreign Mission Society in 1880. Before moving to Hong Kong towards the end of his life, he lived in Japan for thirty years. He published over fifty books in Japanese, typically with the aid of his collaborator Maeda Chōta, on a wide range of topics from theology to current affairs.<sup>6</sup>

Ligneul's work, written in response to the debate on Inoue's *The Clash between Education and Religion*, is entitled *Religion and the State* (Shūkyō to kokka). It was published at the final stage of the debate in September 1893.<sup>7</sup> It was clearly intended as the first of two or more volumes; however, the first volume was banned from circulation immediately, so no subsequent volumes appeared. Ligneul's *Religion and the State* was intended as a point-by-point rebuttal of Inoue's *The Clash between Education and Religion*. Had the work been completed and published, it would have constituted a comprehensive critique of Inoue's argument. After the debate was over in late 1893, however, Ligneul returned to the issues discussed in the controversy especially in the book *The Truth of Patriotism* (Aikoku no shinri) published in 1896.<sup>8</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> Alfred Ligneul, *Shūkyō to kokka* (Tokyo: Fukyūsha, 1893).

<sup>8</sup> Alfred Ligneul, *Aikoku no shinri* (Tokyo: Bunkaidō, 1896).

of the controversy.

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

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

Inoue's claim of incompatibility between Christianity and patriotism derived largely from European sources, in part from a recent historical work by W. E. H. Lecky (1838-1903). Lecky was a prominent Irish historian, political theorist and later politician. Today he is best remembered for his historical scholarship including a gigantic *History of*

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<sup>9</sup> Ikumatsu Keizō, 'Kyōiku to shukyō no shōtotsu ronsō', T. Miyagawa, Y. Nakamura and H. Furuta, eds., *Kindai nippon shisō ronsō* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1963), pp. 234-261.

*England during the Eighteenth Century*.<sup>10</sup> In the *History of European Morals*, Lecky insisted that patriotism was ‘a moral duty ... habitually discouraged’<sup>11</sup> by the Christian Church. According to Lecky ‘patriotism itself, as a duty, has never found any place in Christian ethics, and strong theological feeling has usually been directly hostile to its growth’.<sup>12</sup> Lecky noted three reasons might be assigned to the ‘repugnance’ between Christianity and patriotism:

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

Christian fathers such as Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine did not develop any significant idea about the this-worldly state; they were instead preoccupied with an imaginary kingdom in the next world. The passage on the Church Fathers’ indifference to this worldly state is precisely what Inoue cited.<sup>14</sup> Lecky was only one of many European intellectual authorities Inoue relied on, but Lecky’s view was particularly useful for Inoue as it made a historical claim that Christianity undermined patriotism.

Inoue’s recourse to Lecky’s historical claim about the relationship between Christianity and patriotism explains why Ligneul persistently made the point that Christianity solidified and enhanced patriotism. Ligneul was not a historian, so he countered Inoue’s historical claim by another historian’s view: François-René Chateaubriand (1768-1848). Drawing on Chateaubriand’s account, Ligneul painted a portrait of the French army officer Louis-Gaston de Sonis as a Christian patriot who fought the Battle of Loigny in the French-Prussian War.<sup>15</sup> Ligneul’s notion of patriotism was best

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

<sup>11</sup> W. E. H. Lecky, *The History of European Morals*, 2 vols, seventh revised edition (New York: D. Appleton, 1921), 2: 44.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 2: 145.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 2: 145-146.

<sup>14</sup> Inoue, *Kyōiku to shūkyō no shōtotsu*, p. 74.

<sup>15</sup> Ligneul, *Shūkyō to kokka*, pp. 122-144.

exemplified by the manifestation of a martial spirit of self-sacrifice in a military context.<sup>16</sup> His point was to show a recent French example of the marriage of Christian faith and patriotism *in action*, thereby highlighting the mere words of self-claimed patriots such as Inoue constituted a less authentic and perhaps flawed patriotism.

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

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

In order to argue for the passing of Christianity in the Euro-American world, Inoue drew on a wide range of remarks from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Arthur Schopenhauer, Ernest Renan and Herbert Spencer. However, one should not overlook that Inoue relied no less heavily on a number of less known thinkers of his own time. Among the most frequently cited was Georg von Gizycki (1851-1895), a philosopher at the University of Berlin.<sup>21</sup> He was one of the leaders of the Ethical Culture movement in Germany; indeed,

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 129.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 103-104.

<sup>19</sup> Maekawa Michiko, *Kindai nippon no shūkyoron to kokka* (University of Tokyo Press, 2015), pp. 34-5.

<sup>20</sup> Inoue, *Kyōiku to shūkyō no shōtotsu*, pp. 72-91.

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

he contributed to the formation of the German Society for Ethical Culture (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für ethische Kultur*)<sup>22</sup> in October 1892. The Ethical Culture movement was initiated and led by Felix Adler. Its objective was to work towards the independence of ethics from any religious—Christian in particular—foundations, and the movement expanded internationally before World War I. In the Anglophone world, Stanton Coit (1857-1944) and William Mackintire Salter (1853-1931) led the Ethical Culture movements in Britain and the United States respectively.<sup>23</sup> Among the founders of the German Society for Ethical Culture was Ludwig Büchner (1824-1899), who, in 1881, had founded the German Freethinkers League (*Deutscher Friedenkerbund*), the first German organization dedicated to promoting a scientific ethics.<sup>24</sup> The participants of the Ethical Culture and the Freethinkers movements subsequently joined the zoologist Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919)'s monist movement, the organizational base of which was the German Monists League (*Deutschen Monistenbund*), founded in 1906.<sup>25</sup> And importantly, those Freethinkers and the members of the Ethical Culture and Monist associations operated mutually interconnected movements. It is acknowledged that they largely shared materialism as their fundamental philosophical principle.<sup>26</sup>

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

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

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*Nineteenth-Century Germany: The Rise of the Fourth Confession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 243.

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

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

<sup>24</sup> Chickering, *Imperial Germany and a World Without War*, p. 124.

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

<sup>26</sup> Matysik, *Reforming the Moral Subject*, p. 19.

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

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

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

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

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<sup>28</sup> Inoue, *Kyōiku to shūkyō no shōtotsu*, p. 87

<sup>29</sup> Matysik, *Reforming the Moral Subject*, pp. 46-47.

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

Japanese thinkers such as Arai Hakuseki and Yasui Sokken. Thus Okazaki was quite conscious of his intellectual indebtedness to anti-Christian movements in the contemporary Euro-American world.

While Japanese Christians reacted fiercely to Inoue's claim about the opposition between Christianity and the principles found in the Imperial Rescript on Education, they responded less forcefully to his remarks about the declining influence of Christianity among Euro-American intellectuals. Uchimura Kanzō warned Inoue for 'introducing to our country something far more harmful than Christianity: Atheism and Agnosticism'.<sup>31</sup> However, Uchimura notes that Inoue relies on Herbert Spencer without mentioning other authors Inoue referred to more often, such as von Gizycki, Lecky and Renan. The theologian of the Orthodox Church, Ishikawa Kisaburō (1864-1932), made a Humean point that it is groundless to infer from the fact that some Euro-American philosophers do not subscribe to Christian faith that one ought not to believe in Christianity.<sup>32</sup> Apart from these rather brief remarks, there was hardly any critical response from Japanese Christians on Inoue's attempt to downplay the importance of Christianity in the European culture of his day. Neither Uemura nor Kashiwagi made any remarks on this point.

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

Ligneul's attack on Inoue forms a sharp contrast with Takahashi's. Instead of merely discrediting Inoue's scholarship, Ligneul identified the materialistic standpoint, which was inspired by the Ethical Culture movement during his studies in Europe. Ligneul was thus cognizant of the European intellectual context in which Inoue operated. However, this is not to suggest that he was well versed in the literature of free thinkers that Inoue relied on.

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<sup>31</sup> Uchimura Kanzō, 'Bungaku hakase Inoue Tetsujirō kun ni teisuru Kōkaijyō', Uchimura Kanzō Zenshū, 40 vols (Iwanami Shoten, 1980-84), 2: 131.

<sup>32</sup> Ishikawa Kisaburō, 'Inoue Tetsujirō shi no kyōiku to shūkyō no rhōtotsu ron wo yomu', Seki, *Inoue hakase to kirisuto kuōto*, p. 238.

<sup>33</sup> Takahashi Gorō, 'Kaigo no tetsugakusha' in *Hai gi-tetugaku ron* (Tokyo: Minyūsha, 1893), 15-110.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 100-106.

Indeed, Ligneul did not comment on any of the German free thinkers who inspired Inoue. Nonetheless, Ligneul's critical references to Inoue's 'materialism' clearly suggests his sensibilities of the materialist orientation of various authors in the Ethical Culture, Free Thought and Monist movements, which Inoue had recourse to as intellectual authorities.

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Prompted by Ligneul's extensive discussion of patriotism and his repeated criticisms of materialism, the present paper has argued that the controversy over Inoue's *Clash between Education and Religion* entailed two important aspects: one is that it was also a series of debates on patriotism or, more specifically, whether or not Christianity undermines patriotism in the Japanese context. The other is that the controversy was, in an important aspect, a ramification of the new Euro-American intellectual trend. The rise of the Ethical Culture movement in particular exerted a significant influence on Inoue, who studied in Germany; Inoue thus introduced the anti-Christian perspective of the movement to bolster his criticism of Christianity. Thus Ligneul's works serve as a mirror that reflects intellectual contexts of which contemporary Japanese Christians were not necessarily aware.

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

## WHAT DIFFERENCE DID THE WAR MAKE TO JAPANESE NATIONALISM?

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Japanese nationalism was widely blamed as the explanation for and cause of the war in the Pacific, in a way that does not apply to Germany and the war in Europe. Notions of German nationalism were significantly qualified by the idea that Hitler as a monstrous individual and the Nazi Party as an evil group, rather than all Germans or German society broadly, were responsible for the war. But in Japan there was no party or group that could be identified as the source of militarism, other than the military itself. Hirohito as emperor was reviled by Japan's enemies, but he was never seen as the equivalent of Hitler or Mussolini as a leader. After the war ended, politicians and the public in some countries feared a resurgence of Japanese nationalism, probably more than a resurgence of German nationalism was feared in Europe: the forces which were blamed for nationalism in Germany, that is, Hitler and the Nazi Party, had been destroyed, but those in Japan continued in power, including Hirohito, who remained on the throne. Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines were the countries that remained explicitly concerned about a resurgence of Japanese nationalism well after 1945. Britain and the US were far removed from the Pacific and preoccupied with their own regions. China and Korea were immersed in civil war, while Indonesians felt in some degree positively towards Japan because of its contribution to struggles for independence from the Dutch. For a number of years, politicians and the press in Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines continued to voice concern that Japanese militarists were just waiting for their chance to come back. The assumption was that nothing much had changed about Japanese nationalism; only external factors would keep it at bay.

In reality, however, the war changed Japanese nationalism radically. In this paper I address the question of what did change. I define nationalism simply as discourses that give primacy to the nation above any other form of collective identity. I will identify three major strands in pre-war discourses of nationalism, and trace what happened to them, with the aim of assessing the effect on them of the Second World War. They are the discourse of Japan as a great nation, the primacy of the military, and the identification of nation with

state.

The idea that Japan was a 'great nation' was elaborated from about 1890 onwards. It was a counterpoint to earlier concerns about Japan's weakness and vulnerability in the face of Western imperialism, and it continued to develop despite residual insecurities of various kinds. It was evident in the press, in political pronouncements, in self-presentation at museums and in industrial expositions, and in substantial written works by Japanese intellectuals. It called attention to Japan's rapid modernisation, establishment of the first parliament and constitution in Asia, unusual status as an independent Asian nation rather than a European colony, victory over China in war in the mid-1890s and over Russia ten years later, status as a victor nation in the First World War, and acquisition of Taiwan as a colony in 1895 and of Korea in 1910. In the 1930s the idea of national greatness was joined by a public elaboration of the idea that Japan had a unique national essence (*kokutai*). This was a supremely vague doctrine, but it basically claimed an unmatched connection between the people and the state, usually through devotion to the emperor, and therefore a unique national identity. By the late 1930s the discourse of Japan as the great nation had expanded to the point where the nation-state was portrayed as the natural leader of Asia and the necessary agent to conquer European imperialism in the region.

The old discourse of national greatness was fatally undermined by defeat in war. In the circumstances of 1945, with people hungry, cities in ruins, the military defeated, and about 2.7 million servicemen and civilians dead, or 3-4% of the 1941 population,<sup>1</sup> it was impossible to claim that Japan was a great nation. Not only that, but Japan had lost its empire overnight, and was itself under occupation by foreign powers. General Douglas MacArthur told the press in September 1945 that 'Confinement of Japan to the four main home islands would prevent the reconstitution of the nation as a leading world power', adding that 'Japan would be reduced to a fourth-rate nation'.<sup>2</sup> <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/captchaForm?target=ocr&t=1377494969339> In May 1951 he told a joint session of the US Senate that if Anglo-Saxons, including the recently defeated Germans, were considered in terms of their development as a race to be the equivalent of a 45-year-old person, then the

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<sup>1</sup> John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, New York, W.W. Norton/New Press, 1999, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Argus* (Melbourne), 13 September 1945, p. 20.

Japanese would be 'like a boy of twelve'.<sup>3</sup> These remarks were very much taken to heart in Japan, and are still remembered today.

Not everything about the old discourse of the great nation was abandoned. Most fundamentally, the idea of nation itself survived. The nation was still a very real presence in people's lives. Everyone had in common the recent experience of a long and terrible war. In wartime more than any other time, nationalism had become everyone's business. It had not been possible to ignore the things that were done and the sacrifices that were called for in the name of the nation, and after defeat, these habitual categories of thought were not easily abandoned.<sup>4</sup> Now, with Japan under occupation by foreign troops for the first time in its history, and with privation and poverty still a daily experience, questions about what sort of a nation Japan was and what its future role could be continued to have an immediacy that would be lost in more normal times. Moreover, occupied Japan still was a unified nation, unlike Germany and Austria, which had been partitioned by the victorious Allies. In Japan as elsewhere, leftover wartime issues also presented constant reminders of common membership of the nation: the return of Japanese servicemen and civilians stranded overseas, for instance, was a political and social issue for years after the end of the war. One of the most striking things about nationalist discourses in the first years of the Occupation is that they survived in such recognisable form. The terrible experience of war did not lead to any widespread rejection of the idea of the nation-state or of the key concepts associated with it. Most commentators implicitly accepted that the nation would and should continue to be the primary unit of organisation, and energetically set about to redefine and refashion the idea of the nation, of national mission and of the Japanese ethnic group.

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, there was confusion about what Japan's role in the world should be, and whether it was right or permissible to be patriotic or not, and if it was permissible, what it would mean to be patriotic in the post-war world. Again, habitual categories of thought were not easily abandoned. It is often stated that Japan took on the role of the model of pacifism, finding its identity in rejecting war and embracing pacifism. But although the highbrow journals began to espouse this idea

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, p. 550.

<sup>4</sup> On this point see *ibid.*, ch. 5 and Oguma Eiji, *'Minshu' to aikoku: sengo Nihon no nashonzarizumu to kōkyōsei*, Tokyo, Shin'yōsha, 2002, ch. 2, 3.

straight away, the grassroots pacifist movement did not get going until well after the end of the Occupation, and in any case, pacifism was not universally embraced. In 1948 about 500 young, mostly rural women working at cotton spinning mills responded to a survey. 22% of the respondents actually favoured another war, because they saw it as the best way to restore Japan to the powerful position it had enjoyed in the past, but had since lost.<sup>5</sup>

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

Within Japan itself, three effects of the Korean War can be identified. First, it legitimised the Occupation, and eventually, the military alliance signed in 1952 with the USA, because it seemed obvious that Japan's region was a dangerous place and that Japan needed the US as a powerful ally. So the possibilities for Japan's future role were significantly reduced: critics of the US alliance were greatly undermined. Ultimately, any frustration and discontent with the Occupation were defused, and 'the Occupation came to be seen as necessary'.<sup>6</sup> Second, the Korean War undermined a connection that had come to seem automatic - the equation between pacifism and prosperity. It had appeared as though prosperity required peace and that war brought ruin, at least to Japan. Though Japan did not fight in this new war, it was heavily

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<sup>5</sup> 'Heiwa no tame no kyōiku: zadankai', *Sekai*, no. 43, July 1949, pp. 35-36.

<sup>6</sup> Comment by Iguchi Takeo, in William F. Nimmo (ed.), *The Occupation of Japan: the Impact of the Korean War*, General Douglas MacArthur Foundation, 1990, pp. 24-25.

involved as a supplier of goods and services, and it was evident from the start that the war was providing substantial stimulus to Japan's struggling economy: in Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru's famous phrase, the war was the 'gift from the gods'. So war did not have to make you poor. This was pointed out very clearly by a young farmer in Nagano Prefecture, who said in 1952: 'America blew up power stations in Korea and the price for this year's spring silkworms was good. I wonder if they'd do it again when the summer silkworms are ready?'.<sup>7</sup> Third, the Korean War placed discussions of Japanese national identity unequivocally in an international context. Now, the broadest international issues were seen as critical. In public debate there was still confusion about what Japan's new role in the world could or should be, but at the same time there was a new appreciation from the early 1950s onwards that it could only be understood in a wider context. It might have been partly a matter of pride. No longer international outcasts, the Japanese people were now necessary to the USA and the so-called 'free world'.<sup>8</sup>

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

Expansionist versions of Japanese culture evaporated after 1945, and very rapidly, Japanese culture began to be constructed as a matter of blood ties and common language. At the same time, this version of Japanese culture was projected backwards, so that memories of the more inclusive, pre-war versions of Japanese identity, which had accommodated the idea that Chinese and Koreans could and should become 'Japanese', were quickly forgotten.<sup>9</sup> One

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<sup>7</sup> Sōsenkyo no shiori sono ni: "Nōson no seinen wa nani o kangaetiruka", *Shūkan asahi*, Vol. 57, 7 September 1952, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> John Bowen, *The Gift of the Gods: the Impact of the Korean War on Japan*, 1984, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Oguma Eiji, *Tan'itsu minzoku shinwa no kigen: 'Nihonjin' no jigazō no keifu*, Tokyo, Shin'yōsha, 1995.

residual element of the discourse about Japan as a great nation, however, was the attachment to the idea of a national essence. Hardly anyone any longer believed in the old rhetoric of *kokutai*, but many commentators felt there must still be some sort of a 'national essence', and showed a continuing propensity to believe that the Japanese were a completely distinct ethnic group. There was also a continuing interest in patriotism and loyalty, but confusion about where such feelings ought to be directed, now that the old targets, like the state and the emperor, were damaged or less credible. As one academic wrote, all peoples needed a sense of continuity, or they died out. Formerly the Japanese self-image had been based on military activity, and now there had to be something else to replace that. No-one could quite figure out what should take its place, and his only suggestion in this particular press discussion was that perhaps the Japanese could base a new morality around their national attachment to miso soup.<sup>10</sup> Ultimately, the lack of other credible symbols and targets of national loyalty may have paved the way for the rise of *Nihonjinron*, or theories of the Japanese as a unique people, which were such a feature of standard nationalist discourses from about the 1970s onwards.<sup>11</sup> The rise of Japan as an economic superpower from the 1970s also enabled the return of a new version of the discourse of Japan as a great nation, a discourse that had been notably absent since Japan's defeat in 1945.

The second strand of the dominant version of pre-war nationalism that I want to examine is the idea that the military best represented Japan's national values. Military success was very important to mainstream Japanese self-images from the 1890s onwards. Not only had Japan beaten China and Russia by 1905, but it had also had a positive and profitable experience on the Allied side in the First World War.<sup>12</sup> Japan was formally allied with Britain but did almost no fighting. On the other hand it profited by trading with Asian nations that were cut off from their European imperial masters from 1914 to 1918, expanded its own imperialist privileges in China while the European powers were otherwise occupied, and sat as a victor at Versailles. Of all the major nations, Japan alone went in to the 1930s with a positive assessment of war as a national instrument, because only Japan (and perhaps America to

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<sup>10</sup> Nakaya Ukichirō, in 'Nihon no bakkubōn: Nihon no atarashii aikoku dokuritsu no seishin wa nanika (zadankai)', *Bungei shunju*, Vol. 29, March 1951, pp. 45, 54.

<sup>11</sup> See Harumi Befu on this point.

<sup>12</sup> Frederick R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Asia Center, 1999.

some extent) had such a minimal sense of the costs of the First World War. The huge costs of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, moreover, were long since forgotten.

The Japanese military was thoroughly discredited by defeat in the Second World War, at least at first. Returning soldiers were heckled and treated with disgust. It was not just that they had lost the war: by 1946, the Japanese public was starting to find out about atrocities in China and Southeast Asia, and often assumed that returning veterans must have done terrible things.<sup>13</sup> No-one any longer wanted to argue that the military represented the national virtues. But things began to change by the early 1950s. Former members of both the army and the navy resumed activity in politics at local, regional and national levels. Some were elected to the national parliament with record numbers of votes. Former colonel Tsuji Masanobu, architect of the 1942 Japanese conquest of Singapore, was elected to the Diet in 1952 and again in 1953, 1955 and 1958, with large numbers of votes. Other prominent military men followed him into politics. The apparent electoral appeal of candidates who were former military officers does not mean that the public was militarist. The ex-soldier candidates usually took care to distance themselves from pre-war jingoism, concentrating instead on 'restoring traditional national virtues, pride in one's country, and respect for established social patterns'.<sup>14</sup> Many emphasised democracy and people's rights for good measure. What seems to have attracted voters is the former military men's continuity with the past, and their perceived embodiment of admirable personal qualities. Although voters may have despised the actions of the old military as a whole, they trusted some former soldiers as individuals. Certain military men still appeared to represent qualities such as sacrifice, loyalty and bravery, and these remained important values in the 1950s, in Japan as elsewhere. In fact it is hardly surprising. If military men had vacated politics, their absence would have left a considerable void, in terms of people with experience of politics and of leadership. Military men still represented leadership and service as few others did, and such perceptions did not vanish overnight.

There are also other indications that attitudes to the military changed in the 1950s. An ex-servicemen's association was formed in 1956, with a stated

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<sup>13</sup> Dower, *Embracing Defeat*, pp. 58-61.

<sup>14</sup> Ivan Morris, *Nationalism and the Right Wing in Japan: a Study of Post-War Trends*, London, Oxford University Press, 1960, p. 230.

initial membership of over 800,000. Its inauguration ceremony began with a requiem service for the war dead. By 1958 the reorganised association, with membership over one million, was one of the biggest political pressure groups in Japan, agitating on matters like pensions for former soldiers and revision of the 1946 constitution to allow for military action.<sup>15</sup> Blockbuster movies about the war were appearing and were seen by very large audiences. People wanted to see movies about the war for much the same reasons as they did in other countries: because they were exciting and spectacular, and presented dashing leading men. The large audiences for war films are testimony to the fact that nostalgia for the war was already evident in the 1950s. Social researchers noted that viewers applauded when kamikaze pilots appeared, urging them on to hit their targets. They also applauded just at the sound of certain words not heard since the end of the war, like '*Zerosen*' (the Zero fighter).<sup>16</sup> Two very popular movies were made in the 1950s about Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, architect of both Pearl Harbor and the Battle of Midway<sup>17</sup> (and two more have been made since). Yamamoto was a particularly good candidate for a popular treatment of the war. It was well known that he had advised against going to war with the US, so he was not stupid, and he was not a warmonger; but once the war started, he fought bravely and well, so he was patriotic; and he was fortuitously shot down by the Americans in an ambush in 1943, so he did not have to face a war crimes trial. Attitudes to convicted war criminals, too, were changing by the early 1950s. Although all war crimes suspects had initially been despised, there was a growing tendency to separate out the trials of major leaders, the Tokyo trials, from the much more numerous trials of ordinary Japanese soldiers which had taken place all over Asia and the Pacific in the post-war years. By 1952, a major public campaign had begun on behalf of ordinary soldiers convicted by the Allied powers, to get them sent back to Japan if they were still in foreign gaols, and eventually to get them released from prison. The basic contention of participants in this campaign was that ordinary soldiers, in contrast with political and military leaders, had simply

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 238-240, 243; 'Ikiteiru rōhei' (cover story), *Shūkan asahi*, 16 December 1956, pp. 6-7; 'Zadankai: sayonara 1958 nen. Kotoshi wa konna toshi deshita...', *Shūkan asahi*, 28 December 1958, p. 34.

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

<sup>17</sup> *Taiheiyō no washi*, dir. Honda Ishirō, 1953; *Gunshin Yamamoto gensui to Rengō kantai*, dir. Tazaki Jun, 1957.

been doing their jobs in extraordinarily difficult circumstances, and should not be punished further.<sup>18</sup>

None of this means, however, that any mainstream nationalist discourses advocated returning the military to a central place in perceptions of Japanese identity. People elected military men to politics for their personal qualities, which they had proved in war, and when that generation passed, no equivalent people took their place. Audiences watched war movies because they were nostalgic about a past experience, not because they wanted to resurrect a Japanese empire. In fact, viewers often commented that the movies had reminded them how horrible war was. People campaigned for convicted war criminals because they thought they were getting a rough deal. Once the war criminals were released from prison, they were largely forgotten. Article 9 of the Japanese constitution technically forbids Japan to go to war or even to maintain a military. This constitution was written secretly by the American occupiers and forced on Japanese politicians, but the great majority of the Japanese public has become very attached to it. Even those who do want to change Article 9 want to do so in order to enable the Japanese military to take part in peace-keeping operations like the military forces of most other advanced countries.<sup>19</sup>

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

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<sup>18</sup> Sandra Wilson, 'The Shifting Politics of Guilt: the Campaign for the Release of Japanese War Criminals', in Barak Kushner and Sherzod Muminov (eds), *The Dismantling of Japan's Empire in East Asia: De-imperialization, Postwar Legitimation and Imperial Afterlife*, London, Routledge, 2017.

<sup>19</sup> Keiichi Tsunekawa, 'Dependent Nationalism in Contemporary Japan and its Implications for the Regional Order in the Asia Pacific', Asia Research Centre, Murdoch University, Working Paper No. 133 (August 2006).

separating nation and state, with continuing faith in the one but great loss of faith in the other. There may have been uncertainty about what constituted Japanese national identity, but nationalist discourse still assumed that the people did have a distinct ethnic identity, as I mentioned before.

The prestige of the state took another major blow in 1960, with the massive civil campaign against the renewal of Japan's security treaty with the US.<sup>20</sup> Only after that did the public renovation of the state begin. Economic growth was one of the main drivers. Macroeconomic growth was a 'national project' in Japan, as Scott O'Bryan has pointed out. It required national leadership and in turn it strengthened national leadership. Major policies, including the income-doubling plan announced by Prime Minister Ikeda Hayato in 1960, required intervention by the central state in regional economies, and were successful. However uneven its effects, economic growth was evident to everyone by the 1960s, and most people approved of it and associated it, correctly, with the central state.<sup>21</sup> Not to be underestimated, also, is the role of public spectacle. The Japanese government pulled off a very successful Olympic Games in 1964, which was followed six years later by Expo '70 in Osaka. They were the most self-conscious displays of 'nation' in Japan since the Second World War. The great majority of Japanese households watched the opening ceremony and other popular parts of the Olympic Games on television, and an astonishing 50% of the population is estimated to have travelled to Osaka to see Expo '70. These spectacular events helped to rehabilitate the post-war Japanese state, making it seem as though the state was good for something after all. It became easier to see it as a benign entity dedicated to the people's welfare and the national interest, rather than a coercive entity that sent people to war and then signed them up to dangerous military agreements afterwards.<sup>22</sup>

War and defeat changed Japanese nationalism. The discourse of the great nation was radically challenged, and did not return until the 1970s. When it did reappear, it was based on economic success and presumed ethnic

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<sup>20</sup> George R. Packard II, *Protest in Tokyo: the Security Treaty Crisis of 1960*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1966; Wesley Sasaki-Uemura, *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.

<sup>21</sup> Scott O'Bryan, *The Growth Idea: Purpose and Prosperity in Postwar Japan*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2009, pp. 178-179.

<sup>22</sup> Sandra Wilson, 'Exhibiting a New Japan: the Tokyo Olympics of 1964 and Expo '70 in Osaka', *Historical Research*, Vol. 85, no. 227 (2012), pp. 159-178.

homogeneity; very few claims were made to power on the world stage. Though military men returned to national life, the military path to national identity was unequivocally closed, and has never again been advocated in any serious way. Faith in the state was badly dented. Subsequent events, especially the Security Treaty crisis of 1960, exacerbated the perceived gap between state and nation, and it took 20 years for the state to re-establish its credibility with the Japanese people.

Taking the Ordinary People Seriously:  
the Institute for the Science of Thought and Democracy in Early Postwar Japan

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As the antithesis of militarism, and base-note of the Allied Occupation, “democracy” was a dominant theme of early postwar Japan. The postwar Constitution legislated democratic systems, institutions, and structures into being. Other reforms implemented by SCAP GHQ were intended to embed democracy as an ethos and a way-of-life. SCAP GHQ made it clear that the people were the focus of the new democratic Japan, and the Constitution stipulated that they were the sovereign source of authority.

Most intellectuals, regardless of their ideological affiliation, regarded the Occupiers’ democratisation project favourably. The removal of many fetters on the freedom of expression and association revived intellectual discourse, and many intellectuals embraced politics as an opportunity to influence change. A central focus of discussion among cultural and social critics was the desirable nature of postwar democratic reconstruction, and their role in it. “Democracy” meant more than institutions or structures of democracy, ‘a constitutional order based on the sovereignty of the people, representative institutions, civil liberties, free and competitive elections, and the other aspects of political pluralism’<sup>1</sup>; it also comprised ideas about political culture, and cultural attitudes about the rights of the individual and their place in the national polity, as well as individual consciousness.

It was also apparent that the new situation required a new self-consciousness *vis-à-vis* not only intellectuals’ own agency, but also that of ordinary Japanese.<sup>2</sup> This new role for the intellectual was envisioned differently by different groups.

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<sup>1</sup> Takeshi Ishida and Ellis S. Krauss, ‘Japanese Democracy in Perspective’, in *Democracy in Japan*, edited by Takeshi Ishida and Ellis S. Krauss (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990), pp. 327-339, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> Intellectuals’ interrogation of their own agency was partially inspired by remorse at not having prevented the rise of militarism in the 1930s. Maruyama Masao would refer to the widespread nature of this sentiment as a “community of contrition” (Andrew Barshay, ‘Imagining Democracy in Postwar Japan: Reflections on Maruyama Masao and Modernism’, *Journal of Japanese Studies* 18:2 (Summer 1992), pp. 365-407, p. 398).

For those committed to Marxism and aligned with the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), it meant identifying the subject of the democratic revolution, and excoriating any trace of the bourgeois within. For progressive intellectuals dedicated to liberal democracy, it meant destroying the prewar institutions of the emperor system and combatting the mythology of the national community (*kokumin kyōdōtai*) that negated individual consciousness and subsumed all resistance.

Inherent in the conceptualisations of their role was a vision of their relationship to the people. The terms used for the “people” or “public” were suggestive in this regard; for example, intellectuals aligned with the JCP typically referred to the “*jinmin*” (proletariat), which they would work alongside to achieve the democratic revolution.<sup>3</sup> Intellectuals associated with the Institute, used various terms in their exploration of popular thought. Tsurumi Shunsuke referred variously to the individual constituents of the ethnic nation (*minzoku*), the populace (“*minshu*”), the Japanese (“*Nihonjin*”) and the wisdom of the common folk (“*shomin*”). Other progressive intellectuals such as the folklorist Kurata Ichirō wrote of the eternal folk (“*jōmin*”), and Shimizu Ikutarō urged intellectuals to take seriously the thought of the nation (“*kokumin*”).<sup>4</sup>

Other thinkers associated with *Shisō no Kagaku*—the focus of this essay—chose the term “*hitobito*” to emphasise the dignity of the autonomous individual as the basis of the national community (“*minzoku*”), rather than a “mass” implied by other terms such as “*jinmin*”, “*taishū*” and “*kokumin*”. Also in the context of their circle activism (see below), they adopted the term “*seikatsusha*”, which highlighted the creative potential of reflection on the experience of everyday life.<sup>5</sup> As will be discussed below, their research on the thought of the “*hitobito*” suggested that they conceived of themselves as being in dialogue with ordinary people as more-or-less their equals.<sup>6</sup> For example, in the context of her engagement with the Life Composition Movement (see below), Tsurumi Kazuko saw herself as one of the individuals who made up the writing groups.

In the complex intellectual landscape of the immediate postwar years, a small

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<sup>3</sup> For other terms, see Simon Avenell, *Making Japanese Citizens: Civil Society and the Mythology of the Shimin in Postwar Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> See Avenell, *Making Japanese Citizens*, pp. 38-40.

<sup>5</sup> See Amano Masako (Leonie R. Strickland, trans.), *In Pursuit of the Seikatsusha: A Genealogy of the Autonomous Citizen in Japan* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2011), pp. 66-68.

<sup>6</sup> This belied their relatively superior educational background and more cosmopolitan outlook compare to the average Japanese person.

group associated with the journal *Shisō no Kagaku*, founded in May 1946,<sup>7</sup> focussed on exploring thought traditions that had been neglected during the militarist era. In so doing, it sought to combat what it perceived to be the negative impact of the dominance of German-style doctrinarism over the field of philosophy in particular, and scholarly discourse more generally. It sought to refocus attention from the abstract, theoretical and universal to the individual particularity of the everyday experience of daily life (*seikatsu*). Postwar democratic reconstruction required a reconstruction of adult values based on a reflection not only of wartime experience but also of ordinary daily life in the community, and beyond, in broader society. The quotidian in daily life could provide the basis for ordinary people being citizens and participants in civic and social groups. The group took seriously the thought of ordinary people, and sought, thereby, to “democratise” philosophy and academic scholarship.

The Institute’s explicit intention that its journal be accessible to ordinary people, and its scholarly engagement with popular thought and culture more generally make it a potentially useful lens through which to explore intellectuals’ engagement with the idea of “democracy” in early postwar Japan. This essay introduces the contributions of the *Shisō no Kagaku* group to the re-conceptualisation of the relationship between the intellectual and ordinary people that occurred as intellectuals engaged in the reconstruction of Japan. First, it outlines the group’s “Common Man’s Thought” project; then explores the conceptualisations of participatory democracy in the thought and activity of two of its founding members: Tsurumi Kazuko’s participation in the Life Composition movement, and more briefly, Tsurumi Shunsuke’s later leadership of the anti-Vietnam War movement. Throughout, it highlights the influence of the American tradition of pragmatism.

The Institute for the Science of Thought, the organisation established in 1949 to support the publication of *Shisō no Kagaku* and the group’s research projects

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<sup>7</sup> These were the pro-American intellectuals, Maruyama Masao, Takeda Kiyoko, Taketani Mitsuo, Tsuru Shigeto, Tsurumi Kazuko, Tsurumi Shunsuke and Watanabe Satori, who met at the ‘America Office’ in the Taiheiyō Kyōkai (The Institute of the Pacific), a forum established in 1938 by Tsurumi Yūsuke. At the end of the Second World War, Taiheiyō Kyōkai divided into two. One group gathered in February 1946, and launched *Shisō no kagaku* the following May. *Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai* was officially established as an incorporated association in July 1949 (it is referred to as the “Institute” below).

(hereafter, the “Institute”), was dedicated to disciplinary impartiality and methodological pluralism. It aligned itself with no one particular discipline or specialisation—it was suspicious of ‘systems of thought’ *per se*—and distinguished itself from other groups by its receptive attitude towards diversity of outlook and ideology. Its core membership consisted predominantly of moderate progressive scholars (from all branches of the social sciences, the natural sciences, the humanities and the arts), critics (*hyōronka*) and writers, but also included Communist Party members and staunch Marxists.<sup>8</sup> Its seven founders included a core of four men and women who had studied in the United States of America and one who was deeply familiar with European culture; in other words, they were familiar with, and receptive of, Western thought traditions.<sup>9</sup>

The *Shisō no Kagaku* project was heavily influenced by the interdisciplinary approach to inquiry that was at the core of pragmatism. Its receptive stance towards diverse methodology and focus on experience was in stark contrast to the narrow specialism that dominated academia. Pragmatism was a central influence in the thinking of Tsurumi Kazuko and her younger brother, Shunsuke.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> While the name that would come to be most frequently associated with the group was that of Tsurumi Shunsuke, many other prominent intellectuals would contribute to the research programme in its first two decades. They included Kuno Osamu—later *Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai*’s director and the first president of its publishing company *Shisō no kagakusha*—as well as Hani Gorō, Inoue Kiyoshi, Kuwabara Takeo, Maruyama Masao, Shimizu Ikutarō, Ueyama Shunpei, Takeuchi Yoshimi, Tada Michitarō, Takeda Kiyoko and Tsurumi Kazuko. Notably for the times, among the group’s core members were three women, founding members Tsurumi Kazuko and Takeda Kiyoko, and Tamba Yoshiko. Like many other members, they were from privileged backgrounds, highly educated, and cosmopolitan in outlook. According to Olson, not only did Tsurumi Kazuko support her younger brother Shunsuke through illness and depression early in his career, she was also instrumental in bringing the members of the group together (‘Tsurumi Shunsuke in Two Worlds’, in Lawrence Olson, *Ambivalent Moderns: portraits of Japanese cultural identity* (Savage: Rowman & Littlefield, 1992), pp. xxx-yyy, p. 130).

<sup>9</sup> {this footnote not here} American thought featured prominently in the list of works edited by *Shisō no Kagaku Kenkyūkai*; two early examples are *Amerika shisōshi* (American Intellectual History) (Nihon Hyōronsha, 1950–1951) and *Dyūi kenkyū* (Dewey Studies) (Shungasha, 1952). It was not exclusively concerned with American scholarship; scholarship of all nationalities was introduced by way of expository articles and book reviews.

<sup>10</sup> Several early essays in *Shisō no Kagaku* introduced different strains of pragmatism. List these, including Tsurumi Shunsuke’s essay on Otto. The Institute’s research did not rely on

The multiple strains and ambiguities of pragmatism made it useful in many ways. Members could select from it elements that fit their vision of postwar democracy and their desire to "reform" the academic study of philosophy. They appreciated its emphasis on practicality; the notion that action/doing was at least as important as thinking in encouraging social change. They were inspired by Dewey's "philosophy of the common man" and his ideas about the task of philosophy ('the business of philosophy is to help people in their workaday problems and pursuits—their jobs, arts, religion, community interests'). The value that pragmatism accorded to experience was also useful to the notion that to reconstruct Japanese society and encourage a change in values, reflection on experience was important.

The Institute's project to democratise "philosophy" and academic thought led it to focus on the thought of ordinary people in everyday life, a research project called "Common Man's Philosophy". The "Common Man's Philosophy" research project, and the later conceptualisations of participatory democracy in the thought of several of the Institute's founding members, suggest that there is an important connection between ordinary people's thought and their role in democracy, albeit one not explicitly articulated at the time.

#### "Common Man's Philosophy"

The "Common Man's Philosophy" (*Hitobito no tetsugaku*) project began as research on popular entertainment in December 1946. A concerted focus emerged in 1948–1949 in journal issues entitled "Common Man's Philosophy".<sup>11</sup> These issues analyzed expressions of ordinary people's thought, values and attitudes in forms of mass communication.<sup>12</sup> The "Common Man's Philosophy"

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pragmatism; rather it set pragmatism against different strains of thought in order to strengthen them.

<sup>11</sup> Four such issues appeared between January 1948 and May 1949. The February 1948 issue carried the results of collaborative research on the popular novel. In the June issue that year, a special section on "the things people see and hear" presented analyses of popular forms of mass entertainment and the oral performance traditions, *rakugo* and *naniwabushi*. The following month a special issue on film research methodology appeared. The May 1949 issue collected together essays on a variety of topics from communication research, the psychology of journalistic prose, advances in popular literature, to notes on a sixth-generation kabuki actor. Later that year, an issue was dedicated to the thinking and language of soldiers. A report on collaborative research on Japanese popular songs was a centerpiece in the April 1950 issue.

<sup>12</sup> Themed issues in the first half of the 1950s included one on Life Advice (*Minoue sōdan*), Contemporary Thought (*Konnichi no shisō*), Life composition (*Seikatsu tsuzurikata*), Biographies (*Denki o minaosu*), and the relationship between Common Sense and Science

project brought together Tsurumi Shunsuke's desire to rehabilitate "philosophy" into something useful along the lines of American pragmatism, and the effort to stimulate problem-solving consciousness and critical thinking capacity at the grass-roots by encouraging ordinary people to think through the problems of daily life. Such a consciousness was vital to engagement in broader political spheres and, it was thought, would ultimately result in a polity less susceptible to the distortionary effects of monopoly capitalism and reactionary state authority. While the term "democracy" appeared infrequently in the co-founders's contributions to the journal,<sup>13</sup> the concept was an important element in the Anglo-American intellectual traditions that they critically introduced. Simon Avenell observes that *Shisō no Kagaku* intellectuals hoped to find in the project expression of 'autonomous and democratic subjectivity'.<sup>14</sup> This search was very rewarding to some of its members, leading, in Tsurumi Kazuko's case, to involvement with grass-roots movements such as the life-composition movement.

#### Tsurumi Kazuko and Life Composition Movement

Trying to turn democracy from an ideal into an accessible practice was one of the goals of postwar cultural circles, particularly writing circles associated with the Life Composition Movement (*Seikatsu tsuzurikata undo*).<sup>15</sup> This movement had its origins in a compilation of the writings of rural students, published by their teacher Muchaku Seikyō in 1951 as *Yamabiko Gakkō* [Echoes From a Mountain School]. This publication marked the postwar revivification of a pre-war pedagogical movement. In the early 1950s provided the inspiration for

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(*Jōshiki yori kagaku e*). Interviews with individuals of different occupations published in two volumes of the Common Man's Philosophy Library series (*Hitobito Tetsugaku Sōsho*) by the publisher Chūō Kōronsha in 1950 reflected the centrality of the interview in the Institute's research methodology.

<sup>13</sup> When it did, it was usually in the titles of the foreign books reviewed. Full consideration of the genealogy of the early post-war discourse on democracy is beyond the scope of this discussion. For broader analyses of this discourse, see Rikki Kersten, *Democracy in Postwar Japan, Maruyama Masao and the search for autonomy* (London: Routledge, 1996); J. Victor Koschmann (ed.), *Authority and the Individual in Japan* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1978); and J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

<sup>14</sup> Avenell, *Making Japanese Citizens*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>15</sup> Kazuko Tsurumi, *Social Change and the Individual: Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 214. Amano translates "Seikatsu tsuzurika" as "life-writing" and the broader "seikatsu kiroku" movement "life recording" movement (*In Pursuit of the Seikatsusha*, p. 66).

young women factory workers to write frankly about their own situations.<sup>16</sup> It also inspired the adult writing circles that comprised the postwar Life Composition Movement, in which ordinary people gathered ‘to discuss and write about their lives’.<sup>17</sup> The term “*seikatsu*” in the movement’s name emphasised the lived experience of everyday life, and foreshadowed the subjectivity of the citizen which emerged more fulsomely in popular movements of the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>18</sup>

Tsurumi Kazuko discovered in the movement a means of fostering a critical consciousness in adults that could be applied to solving problems in their everyday lives by enabling them to identify what did not fit with the rhetoric of authority.<sup>19</sup> In it, she saw the opportunity for empowerment, the capacity to make independent decisions and take independent action.<sup>20</sup> The purpose of this movement, Tsurumi related, was to explore how values in Japanese society could change, not with the imposition of ideas from above, but through shifts in the thought of ordinary individuals (“*seikatsusha*”) going about their daily affairs.

Tsurumi’s involvement led her to adopt the more humble role of a collaborator

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<sup>16</sup> Tsurumi, *Social Change and the Individual*, p. 234.

<sup>17</sup> Avenell, *Making Japanese Citizens*, p. 49.

<sup>18</sup> Amano notes that members of the Beheiren movement (see below) ‘not infrequently referred themselves within their movement simultaneously as ‘citizens (*shimin*)’ and ‘seikatsujin’ (seikatsu people)’ (*In Pursuit of the Seikatsusha*, p. 122).

<sup>19</sup> For an account of the pre-war movement, see Tsurumi, *Social Change and the Individual*, 216-223.

<sup>20</sup> Tsurumi details her involvement with a textile factory writing circle in chapter 6 of *Social Change and the Individual* (‘The Circle: A Writing Group among Textile Workers’, pp. 213-247). Her account describes how engagement with writing circle activities can lead to development of empathy and desire to work collectively to identify and effect a solution to a problem or an improvement of condition, which in turn prompts a shift in value orientation and a re-definition of roles (for example, within the family, vis-à-vis fellow workers, a labour union, management, and society more broader). She cites examples of actions taken by female factory workers who participated in writing circles that demonstrated independence of judgement in relation to labour union practices, and emphasises that such a trait was fostered by activities of the circle. The examples include a young female factory worker speaking up against the failure of a scheduled vote of no-confidence in a union chairman to be taken in a meeting; and attendance, against the advice of a superior, at a union meeting to formulate policy decision. (Tsurumi, *Social Change and the Individual*, pp. 240-241) Tsurumi also traces the legacy that their involvement had in terms of the changing pattern of their marriages and spousal relationships, and their commitment to pursuing activities outside of their marital homes, something that was impossible for their mothers’ generation.

rather than the didactic stance of an intellectual.<sup>21</sup> While intellectuals conceived of cultural circles as a possible forum for discovering individual subjectivity and releasing a political consciousness, submerged during militarism, participants in the writing circles that were at the core of the Life Composition Movement did not always see the link between the problems of daily life and those of broader political, economic and social realms; such that the relationship between independent grassroots activism, and democratic consciousness was not always apparent.<sup>22</sup> For Tsurumi, the Movement offered the possibility of broader human education, and the potential for human change, both at the individual and broader social level; it was a method of socialisation capable of not only of inspiring individual growth, but also embedding democracy in everyday life. Her involvement with the movement can be seen as an attempt to encourage a capacity to engage in democracy among ordinary Japanese, especially women.<sup>23</sup>

Tsurumi Kazuko did not clearly articulate the relationship between pragmatism and the involvement of ordinary people in the democratic reconstruction of Japan, but the connection is apparent in her engagement in the Life Composition Movement.<sup>24</sup> Comparing the pragmatist theory of history and social change to that of Marxism, she argued that the former's indeterminacy enabled consideration of the psychological and inner dimensions of individual change (everyday thoughts and habits, for example), which was an indispensable element of social change.<sup>25</sup> In contemplating processes of social

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<sup>21</sup> Sawachi Hisae, 'Tenma Jizai no hito', in *Tsurumi Kazuko no Sekai*. Edited by Kawai Hayao *et al.* (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 1999), pp. 27-38, p. 31.

<sup>22</sup> These cultural circles as distinct from workplace cultural circles used by the JCP to mobilise factory workers.

<sup>23</sup> Tsurumi equates the post-war movement with "adult self re-education" (*otona jiko saikyōiku*) on page 308 of *Hito no kan: Nihonjin no raifu hisutorī* [Korekushon Tsurumi Kazuko Mandala, Volume 2] (Fujiwara Shoten, 1997).

<sup>24</sup> It also underpinned her early contributions to *Shisō no Kagaku*. Give example of these and note attraction of Dewey's ideas. The inclusion of an essay by Gertrude Jaeger critical of the optimism underlying Dewey's political philosophy in the inaugural issue was also likely Tsurumi's doing as her own critique of Dewey aligned closely with it.

<sup>25</sup> Tsurumi Kazuko's own journey from Marxism to pragmatism is interesting. A committed Marxist in the immediate postwar period; building on her attraction to the neat formulae of Marxism as a student in the United States, Kazuko joined the Association of Democratic Scientists (Minshushugi Kagakusha Kyōkai), an organisation that brought together intellectuals and cultural figures dedicated to the dissemination and implementation of Marxist ideology. She soon came to see, however, that this group exuded an authoritarianism as detestable as the authority of the pre-war emperor system. In the context of the Institute of

change in early 1950s Japan, she argued, it was vital simultaneously to grasp the rules of historical development and the principle of whole person change at the level of the individual.<sup>26</sup>

If the Left saw popular involvement in cultural circles as training for the political consciousness and subjectivity needed for participatory democracy, for Institute members, they revealed ‘the silent masses acting and speaking for themselves’.<sup>27</sup> Tsurumi Shunsuke’s later involvement in the Ampo struggle represented a less didactic stance in which intellectuals came together with ordinary citizens. In 1960, he formed, with the assistance of other Institute members, the Voices of the Voiceless Association in response to Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke’s arrogant response to popular demonstrations against the forced ratification of the US.-Japan Security Treaty. This group, which embodied the potential for citizen political activism of earlier cultural circles, was the antecedent of the Citizen's League for Peace in Vietnam (hereafter “Beheiren”).<sup>28</sup>

### **Tsurumi Shunsuke and Beheiren.**

Tsurumi Shunsuke emerged as a key figure in the opposition movements of the 1960s and 1970s that incorporated many diverse civic groups, and came to be identified with the New Left—movements that engaged with key concepts of democracy, and were involved in more directly political issues. Their

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Science of Thought, and the *Science of Thought* journal, she compared Marxism and pragmatism, and came to appreciate the indeterminism that characterised the latter, and developed an increasing distaste for the imposition of authority inherent in Marxist programmes for change and organisations. Specifically, she came to think that the deterministic position of Marxism was not useful in drawing out thought in everyday life, for exploring the possibilities of self-empowerment in small group discussions such as those that took place in the Life Composition Movement. Marxism entailed the imposition of an external ideology, not the discovery of thought as the basis for action by ordinary people.

<sup>26</sup> ‘Puragumatizumu no Rekishi Riron: kojiri rekishisei ni tsuite’, *Shisō* 300 (February 1951), 102-115. In this essay, Tsurumi cited the scholarship on pragmatism by leading American philosophers and social scientists such as Chester McArthur Destler, Sidney Hook, Arthur O. Lovejoy, George H. Mead, Maurice Mendelbaum, and John Herman Randall Jr., as well John Dewey’s own essays.)

<sup>27</sup> Avenell, *Making Japanese Citizens*, p. 44. The New Left contrasted “Cultural circles” with the workplace “circles” defined (and used) by the Left as organs to promote socialism and Communist Party control.

<sup>28</sup> Thomas Havens links the Institute with Beheiren via Voiceless Voices, calling it a ‘direct antecedent’ (*Fire across the sea: the Vietnam War and Japan, 1965-1975* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 54).

‘extra-parliamentary activities represented a new kind of grass-roots democracy.’<sup>29</sup>

Specifically, he sought to draw the same people that were the focus of the “Common Man’s Philosophy” project into a movement to oppose Japan’s involvement in the Vietnam War. Tsurumi Shunsuke saw Beheiren as a step towards “participatory democracy”.<sup>30</sup> ‘Under the influence of the New Left, the anti-Vietnam War movement introduced a more radical anti-imperialist critique to the discourse on peace and democracy.’<sup>31</sup> John W. Dower observes that the characteristics of the ‘broad-based and charismatic [Beheiren] were eclecticism, populism, humanitarianism and radicalism, nonviolence, internationalist and individualist in outlook’.<sup>32</sup> It also eschewed a ‘collective ideology’, rejecting the authoritarianism of organisations affiliated with the old Left.<sup>33</sup>

## Conclusion

*Shisō no Kagaku* emphasised the importance of the independent and critically-aware individual to society. Its engagement with pragmatism, which prioritised the individual, supported its vision of postwar democracy. Institutional reforms and laws had extended political rights to more Japanese and abolished institutions and systems that suppressed the exercise of political rights but these rights could not be exercised without broader social change based on a shift in values and consciousness. Learning democratic practices was key to such change; such practices were not limited to the formal realm of electoral politics, but also included the capacity to formulate and articulate an opinion, to work with others to resolve problems in everyday life, to appreciate how one’s own situation and social conditions might not fit with the policies articulated by officials and bureaucrats, and to organise with others to effect

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<sup>29</sup> John Dower considers the massive involvement of ordinary citizens in the Aomori protests as “baptism” in the practice of democratic expression (John W. Dower, ‘Peace and Democracy in Two Systems: External Policy and Internal Conflict’, in *Postwar Japan as History*, edited by Andrew Gordon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 3-33, p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Olson, 145.

<sup>31</sup> Dower, ‘Peace and Democracy in Two Systems’, p. 21.

<sup>32</sup> Dower, ‘Peace and Democracy in Two Systems’, p. 28.

<sup>33</sup> Havens, *Fire across the sea*, p. 55. I have the Association of Democratic Scientists in mind here.

change. The “Common Man’s Philosophy” alerted intellectuals to the rich potential of everyday life, and cultural circles and citizen activism provided fora for development of the above-mentioned capacity.

The Institute for the Science of Thought and *Shisō no Kagaku* have not featured prominently in discussions of postwar intellectual culture.<sup>34</sup> Their flexibility and embrace of circle activism in the 1950s and civic activism in the 1960s and 1970s,<sup>35</sup> suggest that it is more useful to conceive of the Institute and the journal as a non-aligned thought movement rather than a static organisation with an official periodical—but this is a topic for another paper.

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<sup>34</sup> Avenell’s work is the exception.

<sup>35</sup> According to Andrew Barshay, the Institute ‘helped to establish a model of the “citizen-intellectual”—it drew both ‘independent and academic intellectuals together as citizens, to act with other citizens’—and ‘provided the prototype for an alternative style of intellectual work’ (‘Postwar Social and Political Thought, 1945-1990’, in *Modern Japanese Thought*, edited by Bob T. Wakabayashi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 273-355, pp. 306-307).

## Public Intellectuals, Neo-nationalism, and the Politics of Yasukuni Shrine

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### *Introduction*

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

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

Since the end of the Occupation, public debate and legal battles have erupted around a number of issues related to the shrine. One of these is related to the efforts of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to pass legislation (*Yasukuni Jinja hōan*, 靖国神社法案) to restore government support of the shrine. Although LDP leaders presented six bills to the Diet between 1969 and 1974, these were all defeated. A second issue surrounds the constitutionality of official visits to the shrine (*kōshiki sanpai*, 公式参拜) by prime ministers and cabinet members, and whether participation in ceremonies at Yasukuni Shrine in an official capacity violates the principle of religion-state separation. A third issue

is related to the continued enshrinement of the war dead by Yasukuni Shrine priests in the postwar period. These enshrinements were facilitated by information provided by the government's Ministry of Health and Welfare and without the permission of the bereaved families concerned. In recent decades, Japanese Buddhists and Christians, as well as some foreigners (citizens of Taiwan and South Korea), have launched lawsuits against both Yasukuni Shrine and the Japanese government for alleged violation of Articles 20 and 89, and appealed to have the names of their family dead removed from the shrine register (*gōshi torikeshi*, 合祀取り消し). All three issues highlighted here are interrelated and draw our attention to the conflict over how religious freedom and religion-state separation should be interpreted and practiced in contemporary Japan.

In this essay, I focus on the second issue in connection with Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro's "official visit" on 15 August 1985, a highly symbolic act, and examine the response of two public intellectuals, Umehara Takeshi (1925-) and Sono Ayako (1931-). Although these two prominent figures are often regarded as "conservative" or "nationalistic," they both critically engaged the pro-Yasukuni Shrine position advanced by Prime Minister Nakasone's administration in the mid-1980s.<sup>1</sup> The positions of Umehara and Sono represented "minority opinions" at the time, but the concerns they raised have become a part of the public discourse in the debates surrounding Yasukuni Shrine over the past several decades.

Umehara, a graduate of Kyoto University, is a well-known Buddhist philosopher who has had a distinguished academic career, which has included faculty appointments at Ritsumeikan University and Kyoto City University of Arts, where he also served as president in the mid-1970s. He was the founding Director of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, a position he held from 1987 to 1995. His collected works were published by Shogakkan (2002-2003) in a series of twenty volumes. His influence extends beyond the academic world. Many of his books are popular volumes aimed at a wider audience, and his public role is also evident from his numerous essays and editorials published in newspapers and magazines, and through his involvement as a leader in the Article 9 Association (*Kyū jō no kai* 九条の会), which he and some other prominent intellectuals organized in 2004.

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<sup>1</sup> Carol Gluck (1993, p. 72), for example, observes the close relationship between Umehara and former Prime Minister Nakasone, whose vision for "internationalization" was linked to "the revival of a cultural nationalism unencumbered by remembrance of the wartime past." Similarly, Margaret Sleeboon's treatment of the founding of Nichibunken in *Academic Nations in China and Japan* (2004, 114), includes a quotation from the co-authored work by Nakasone and Umehara (1996, p. 80), in which Umehara acknowledges that his critics on the left viewed him to be an "ultranationalist" like Nakasone and regarded Nichibunken as "an organ of nationalist propaganda."

The second figure, Sono Ayako, is a Roman Catholic and graduate of Sacred Heart University in Tokyo. She is widely known as the author of best-selling novels and volumes of essay collections, and as a regular columnist for conservative magazines and newspapers (such as *Sankei Shimbun*). From 1996-2005 she served as chairperson of the Nippon Foundation, a philanthropic organization established by Sasakawa Ryōichi in 1962 to support a range of domestic and international humanitarian activities. She has had a close association with the Liberal Democratic Party as an advisor for many years and served on the Ad Hoc Educational Committee of the Japanese Ministry of Education, and most recently on the education reform panel organized by Prime Minister Abe's administration in 2013.<sup>2</sup>

### **Background to Nakasone's "Official Visit" to Yasukuni**

Prime Ministerial visits to Yasukuni Shrine resumed shortly after the Treaty of Peace with Japan was signed in San Francisco (8 September 1951). Yoshida Shigeru, in fact, visited on 19 October 1951, almost six months before the Occupation officially ended. While many prime ministers visited over the following decades, they usually explained that their visits were conducted in a "private" capacity (*shijin no shikaku* 私人の資格) or avoided clearly indicating whether the visits had been personal or official. Conservative leaders within the Liberal Democratic Party, however, were adamant that official visits be resumed and fully recognized as such. This issue was finally addressed head on during the period Nakasone served as the Prime Minister (1982-1987). Prime Minister Nakasone visited the shrine on 15 August 1983 and the following year, but whether these visits were made as a "private citizen" or as a "public official" remained ambiguous (although he did sign the shrine's registry as Prime Minister).

It was in this context that in August 1984 Chief Cabinet Secretary Fujinami Takao convened a private Advisory Committee ("Kakuryō no Yasukuni Jinja sanpai mondai ni kannsuru kondankai," 閣僚の靖国神社公式参拝に関する懇談会) to gather information from a range of experts on how Japanese people viewed the shrine and to address the lingering problem of whether or not official shrine visits by the Prime Minister and Cabinet members constituted a violation of the Constitution.<sup>3</sup> The composition of the

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<sup>2</sup> Sono's close association with the government and ruling Liberal Democratic Party is apparent from the personal information provided on the government site:  
<http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/m-magazine/backnumber/2002/sono.html>

<sup>3</sup> The record of these meetings and the materials reviewed by the advisory committee in 1984-1985 are available online, and a part of the larger collection of Yasukuni Shrine-related documents in the National Diet Library (第四期 昭和五〇(一九七五)年から平成一二(二〇〇〇)年まで (三)「閣僚の靖国神社参拝に関する懇談会」関係資料); see:  
<http://www.ndl.go.jp/jp/diet/publication/document/2007/200704/1027-1126.pdf>

fifteen-member advisory committee was diverse and included public intellectuals, a company president, lawyers, a former Supreme Court judge, professors of constitutional law and philosophy, a literary critic, and a novelist.

The committee met some twenty-one times over the course of a year to deliberate these issues. Given the make-up of the committee, it is not surprising that a consensus was never reached. While some firmly argued that such “official visits” would be a violation of religion-state separation and offered other reasons why such visits were inadvisable, the majority opinion submitted to Fujinami in the final report endorsed the view that these visits constituted legitimate behavior on the part of government representatives.<sup>4</sup> On 14 August 1985, Fujinami issued a public statement that presented the majority opinion—and the government’s preferred view—that visits to the shrine by Prime Ministers and Cabinet members would not constitute a violation of the constitutional separation of religion and state if these visits were simply to pay respect to the war dead and without religious significance. This could be achieved, he explained, by avoiding the Shinto rituals usually performed on such visits.<sup>5</sup>

The majority position and final recommendation of Fujinami’s committee was based in part on a consideration of the 1977 Supreme Court Decision (13 July) on whether the use of municipal funds for the Tsu City *Jichinsai* (grounds purification rite) in 1965 constituted a violation of Article 20 of the Constitution. The Supreme Court ruled that if the purpose of the activity (*kōi no mokuteki* 行為の目的) was not religious, and the action did not aim to support or promote one particular religion (*shūkyō ni taisuru enjo, jochō, sokushin* 宗教に対する援助、助長、促進) or involve coercion or interference (*appaku, kanshō nado*, 圧迫、干渉等) in the free practice of another religion, then the activity would not constitute a violation of Article 20. In short, the majority opinion and recommendation to Fujinami was based on the expansion of this judicial interpretation from *jichinsai* to include *kōshiki sanpai*.<sup>6</sup>

On 15 August, Prime Minister Nakasone visited Yasukuni Shrine and closely followed the approach recommended by Fujinami. He went directly to the main hall, bowed once (本殿において一礼する方式), but did not observe the traditional Shintō protocol,

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<sup>4</sup> On the divided opinions of the committee, see Hardacre (1989, 151), and Reid (1991, 50 n. 31).

<sup>5</sup> In this statement, Fujinami recognized the concerns of some critics who claimed that shrine visits by officials will lead to a “revival of prewar State Shintō and militarism” (*senzen no Kokka Shintō oyobi gunkoku shugi no fukkatsu* 戦前の国家神道及び軍国主義の復活). He indicated that care would be taken so that does not happen, but made no reference to the recommendation that a religiously “neutral” memorial site be created as an alternative to Yasukuni Shrine. His statement is available online: [http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/tuitou/dai2/siryoy1\\_7.html](http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/tuitou/dai2/siryoy1_7.html) (last accessed 2 October 2015).

<sup>6</sup> This explanation is found on p. 98 of the final report: <http://www.ndl.go.jp/jp/diet/publication/document/2007/200704/1027-1126.pdf>.

which normally includes a purification ritual, an offering a sprig of the sasaki tree, and the usual ritual process of two bows, clapping of the hands twice, and a final bow (*nirei, nihakushu, ichirei* 二礼二拍手一礼). Rather than making a direct financial donation, Nakasone simply used public funds to purchase the flowers that were offered on the occasion of his visit. The general public may have been oblivious to these fine distinctions between “religious” and “non-religious” observances and simply regarded Nakasone as a “pro-Yasukuni” nationalist when he made the visit accompanied by most of his Cabinet members. The head priest, Matsudaira Nagayoshi, however, was incensed that the traditional rites had been abandoned and regarded Nakasone’s visit as a sign of disrespect to the kami enshrined there.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of the efforts by Fujinami and Nakasone to redefine “official visits” as civic and non-religious and therefore constitutional, critics were hardly persuaded given the fact that the ritual respect accorded the war dead occurred in an institution registered with the government as a religious corporation (*shūkyō hōjin*). Within Japan many intellectuals and religious leaders expressed their strong opposition to the Prime Minister’s initiative, and domestic lawsuits were launched against Nakasone and the government for violating the constitutional separation of religion and state.<sup>8</sup> International criticism also appeared in newspapers and media reports in China, North Korea, South Korea, Singapore, and the Soviet Union. The negative press and reaction was such that Nakasone canceled his planned visit to the shrine the following year. As a result, “official” prime ministerial visits to the shrine were avoided for over a decade and the debate subsided.

### **Critical Perspectives on “Official Visits”**

Several months after Prime Minister Nakasone’s controversial visit, the “minority” perspectives of some advisory committee members were published in the November 1985 issue of *Jurist*, which was devoted to the problem of “official visits to Yasukuni Shrine.” While their alternative views had been referred to in the report submitted to Chief Cabinet Secretary Fujinami, this publication provided a fuller treatment of their arguments against

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<sup>7</sup> More details about this incident and Matsudaira’s response may be found in *Yasukuni Jinja Sengo Hishi: A-Kyū Senpan o gōshishita otoko* 靖国神社戦後秘史：A 級戦犯を合祀した男. Tokyo: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 2007, 76-78. NHK News coverage of the 15 August 1989 visit is available at the following site, which includes Nakasone’s clear explanation to reporters that he was engaging in an “official” (*kōshiki sanpai*) visit as Prime Minister and it was an appropriate action for Cabinet members: [http://cgi2.nhk.or.jp/archives/tv60bin/detail/index.cgi?das\\_id=D0009030198\\_00000](http://cgi2.nhk.or.jp/archives/tv60bin/detail/index.cgi?das_id=D0009030198_00000)

<sup>8</sup> As it turns out, the two courts adjudicating these cases followed the reasoning of the justices in the 1977 Supreme Court Decision regarding the Tsu City *Jichinsai* case mentioned above and ruled against the plaintiffs. In the decisions of both the Osaka District Court (November 1989) and the Fukuoka Court (December 1989) it was determined that Nakasone’s actions had not violated Article 20 since the religious freedom of the plaintiffs had not be infringed upon in any way. As David Reid has noted, these rulings indicate “that ‘separation issues’ have been reduced to ‘religious freedom’ issues. Unless coercion can be proved, there is no religious freedom issue, and if there is no religious freedom issue, there is no separation issue” (see David Reid, 1991, p. 51).

the “majority” recommendation that official visits to Yasukuni be resumed. This special issue contained articles by both Umehara and Sono, which explained their concerns about Yasukuni Shrine and government support for “official visits.”<sup>9</sup> Here I provide a brief synopsis of their positions.

*Umehara Takeshi’s Perspective:* In his article entitled “The Merits and Demerits of Official Visits to Yasukuni Shrine,” Umehara offered a pragmatic approach to the issue and identified some key problems associated with shrine visits by government representatives.<sup>10</sup> His essay begins with the acknowledgement that he and some of the other members of the Advisory Committee—along with most constitutional scholars—regarded “official visits” to Yasukuni Shrine as a clear violation of the separation of religion and state. One member of the committee, however, opposed the strong focus on the current Constitution—seen as a foreign imposition by General MacArthur—and argued that it should not be regarded as the basis for final arbitration of the issue; rather, in his view, the Constitution needed to be revised as soon as possible.<sup>11</sup> Umehara, however, expressed appreciation for the postwar Constitution—regardless of its “foreign” connections—since it brought about significant democratic reforms and helped to liberate Japan from a misguided nationalism. After expressing his opposition to any hasty revision of the Constitution, he focuses his attention on other reasons why official visits should either be “promoted” or “avoided,” and argues that the “merits” and “demerits” for such visits should be reviewed and a decision made after the sum total is calculated. Although this was the approach he proposed to the Advisory Committee, the majority were not persuaded and the Committee’s final recommendation, he explains, was based on the “mood” among the members after a rather “heated discussion.”<sup>12</sup>

Umehara highlights two potential “merits” of prime ministerial visits to Yasukuni. Firstly, if such visits were resumed it would satisfy the longing of many bereaved families (*Nihon izokukai*) for proper recognition of their deceased family members by the

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<sup>9</sup> This special issue also contained essays by some of the others who served on the advisory committee as well as Murakami Shigeyoshi, a well-known historian and critic of Yasukuni Shrine and the system of State Shinto.

<sup>10</sup> “Kōshiki sanpai no merito to demerito” 公式参拝のメリットとデメリット. *Jurist* ジュリスト, No. 848, 1985, 10-16.

<sup>11</sup> Umehara (1985, p.10). Although Umehara does not refer to this committee member by name, I suspect that it was Etō Jun (1932-1999), a “pro-Yasukuni” literary critic who until his death provided intellectual support for those in the government promoting Yasukuni Shrine and the particular “memory” of the war as represented by Yūshūkan. Ann Sherif (2007, p. 141) has noted Etō’s disappointment with what he felt was an over-emphasis on the legal and constitutional dimension of the Yasukuni issue and lack of attention to “cultural issues” in the Committee’s deliberations.

<sup>12</sup> The Japanese here is: *Nihon de wa, sanseiha to hantaiha ga gekiron shita sue ni natonaku mu-do ni yotte kimatteshimau koto ga oi*, 日本では、賛成派と反対派が 激論した末に何となくムードによってきまってしまうことが多い (Umehara 1985, p. 11).

government. While Yasukuni Shrine has memorialized them as heroes (*eirei*, 英靈), the fact the prime ministers in the postwar period have only been willing to visit the shrine in their “private capacity” is regarded as a slight by bereaved families who lost a family member in wars fought on behalf of the Emperor and nation. Umehara recalls that during the months the Committee was deliberating these issues, he received many thousands of cards from individuals and families expressing their hope that the meaning of their deaths and the deep loss they experienced would be fully understood and officially recognized. After the Committee’s recommendation that “official visits” be resumed was made public, he then received many cards expressing appreciation. In light of this kind of popular response, he concludes that by addressing the felt needs of the bereaved families is clearly one “merit” in favor of the majority position on official visits.

Umehara also acknowledged a second possible merit—emphasized by a number of those on the Committee—which is that national defense would be enhanced if official visits were resumed. If the government does not show proper respect, honor, and gratitude toward those who sacrificed their lives for the nation in the past, it would be unreasonable to expect citizens to willingly offer their lives for their country in a future time of national emergency. While Umehara suggests that there are probably counter arguments that could be made against this line of reasoning, he concedes that many would likely regard this as a “merit” and an additional reason to support official visits to Yasukuni.

In Umehara’s view, these “merits” are outnumbered by the “demerits,” which he gives more detailed treatment. The first problem is the potential impact of official shrine visits on Japan’s international relations. Writing at a time when Japan was in the midst of difficult trade negotiations and conflict with the United States and Europe, Umehara felt that maintaining friendly relations with Japan’s closest neighbors—Korea and China—would be vitally important for economic stability in the future. Although one or two members of the committee shared his concerns, most were “utterly indifferent” to the possibility that prime ministerial visits would damage Japan’s international relations. Given what Yasukuni Shrine represents to China and Korea, however, Umehara anticipated that official visits by prime ministers would lead to the negative reactions and diplomatic problems, which, in fact, did occur following Nakasone’s August visit.

The second problem or demerit has to do with the particular form of Shinto institutionalized by Yasukuni Shrine, which he regards as a distortion of authentic Japanese tradition. Umehara confesses that for several decades he struggled with the question of whether the ultranationalism of the wartime period was a natural and inevitable expression of Japan’s spiritual heritage or based upon a misunderstanding of that spiritual tradition by right-wing thinkers. If it does in fact represent authentic Japanese tradition, then he worries whether it is possible to derive spiritual principles from this tradition that can provide the

foundation for Japan to maintain a peaceful existence in the international world today.<sup>13</sup>

Umehara explains that after three decades of research, he reached the conclusion that Yasukuni Shrine—its beliefs and practices—deviates from Japanese tradition in significant ways. For example, the exclusive memorialization of the war dead by Yasukuni Shrine—and only those who died on behalf of Japan—he views as a post-Meiji development that departs significantly from ancient Japanese tradition and practice. Prior to the formation of State Shinto under the influence of the Hirata School of Shinto, he argues, traditional care of the dead included both Shinto and Buddhist rites, the latter closely associated with both the care of the ancestors (*shirei no chinkon*, 死霊の鎮魂) and the pacification of dangerous spirits (*onryō osame* 怨霊鎮め).

While he acknowledges that Yasukuni Shrine provides some traditional Shinto rites for care of the dead, its monopoly over the war dead—which eliminates Buddhist ritual care—constitutes an abandonment of authentic Japanese tradition. He goes on to explain that the development of State Shinto from the early Meiji period was due to the influence of the Hirata School and its concern to purify native traditions from foreign influences. This shaped the government policies that abolished the place of Buddhism and led to the disintegration of the natural co-existence and reverence for both kami and buddhas, which he claims characterized life in pre-modern Japan.

According to Umehara, the development of State Shinto from the Meiji period not only damaged Buddhism, but also had negative repercussions for the Shinto tradition. The authority and control over shrines by priestly families was replaced by government administration. Furthermore, many local traditions and practices were often eliminated as Shinto was reorganized around Ise Jingu and the ancestral deities of the Imperial household, Meiji Shrine and the kami of the Meiji Emperor, and Yasukuni Shrine, which enshrined the deified soldiers who gave their lives for the emperor and nation. Umehara argues that this *was not the structure of traditional Shinto*, but a new form reconstructed (改造) in relation to nationalism. The key “demerit” of *kōshiki sanpai*, in short, is that it represents a tacit approval of a distorted version of Japanese tradition that will give people both inside and outside Japan the impression that the government is seeking to revive or resurrect the old wartime nationalism that was supported by State Shinto. The narrow nationalism supported by official visits to Yasukuni Shrine, he concludes, is misguided and inappropriate for Japan to function as a member of international society today.<sup>14</sup>

Given that Yasukuni Shrine represents a distortion of authentic Japanese spiritual tradition, Umehara proposed that a new memorial site (*matsuri no basho*, 祭りの場所) be established to honor the war dead as an alternative to Yasukuni Shrine. This would be a

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<sup>13</sup> Umehara (1985, p. 12).

<sup>14</sup> Umehara (1985, p. 15).

site where people of any religious affiliation could conduct memorial services according to their own faith tradition, and it would *exclude the war criminals* that Yasukuni Shrine arbitrarily enshrined (*katte ni gōshi shita* 勝手に合祀した). He suggests that it could also serve as a memorial site for others who gave their lives in public service in the postwar period, including, for example, members of the Self-Defense Force (*Jieitai*).<sup>15</sup> While some might suggest that reform of the current war memorial site are possible, Umehara quotes a well-known biblical text—“new wine is put into fresh wineskins” (Matthew 9:17)—to conclude his argument that only an entirely new site unencumbered by the problems associated with Yasukuni Shrine will ever be regarded as an acceptable and legitimate memorial institution by the larger Japanese public and Japan’s neighbors in Asia.

#### *Sono Ayako’s Perspective*

Sono similarly argues that a new religiously neutral memorial site needs to be established as an alternative to Yasukuni, but for some other reasons not addressed by Umehara.<sup>16</sup> At the outset, Sono makes it clear that she regards “official visits” by prime ministers and cabinet members to be a clear violation of the Constitution. Given that Yasukuni was registered as a religious corporation (*shūkyō hōjin*) in 1946, and conducts its rituals according to Shinto tradition, it is impossible to argue that it is a religiously neutral site that simply observes the ancient Japanese custom of spirit pacification (*irei* 慰霊). In her view, the notion that what goes on in the shrine precincts is either non-religious or religiously neutral is something that will never be accepted from the international commonsense point of view.<sup>17</sup>

Sono notes the argument made by some—that the only reason Yasukuni became a *shūkyō hōjin* and was clearly identified as a Shinto institution—was simply as a strategy to survive the particular circumstances of the Occupation. Sono reasons that if that is, in fact, the case, the shrine administrators could end the Shinto monopoly and make arrangements so that all religions could conduct their own services within precincts. If arrangements for equal access were guaranteed, she would not be opposed to the preservation of the sanctuary (*shinden* 神殿), or Great Torii, as it stands nor to the continued management of the facility by Shinto priests. The fact that this kind of change would never be accepted is clear evidence that the shrine is biased toward one particular religion (*akirana ni tokutei shūkyō ni katayotteiru* 明らかに特定宗教に偏っている), which means that “official visits” to the shrine as it operates today would violate the Constitution by giving support or

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<sup>15</sup> Umehara (1985, p. 16).

<sup>16</sup> Sono (1985, pp. 32-34).

<sup>17</sup> The Japanese here is “*kokusaiteki jōshiki kara ittemo fukanō to omowaremasu*” 国際的常識から言っても不可能と思われま (Sono 1985, p. 32).

endorsement to one particular religious tradition.<sup>18</sup>

The normalization of such “official visits,” she also fears, could lead to restrictions on religious freedom or the freedom to oppose participation in rites of any kind. If “official visits” are defined as the duty of all those holding public office, it could lead to situations of coercion in which individuals with other religious convictions are required to participate in Shinto rites.<sup>19</sup> While she believes that prime ministers and government officials should express their gratitude and remember those who gave their lives for the nation, Yasukuni Shrine remains a problematic site for this to be a duty of those holding public office.

To avoid these potential problems, Sono concludes that it is necessary to construct a new memorial site or Kinenbyo (記念廟) for the war dead. This would need to be a religiously neutral space where people and religious organizations could freely conduct memorial services according to their own tradition. It is only in such a place that government officials will be able to participate in official visits without impediments or controversy.<sup>20</sup>

#### **Post-Nakasone Developments: Conciliatory Efforts and Resurgent Neonationalism**

Given the domestic and international reaction to his 1985 Yasukuni Shrine visit, Nakasone avoided making another visit while in office. It would be eleven years before another Prime Minister would visit the shrine, and it was during this moratorium period that some political leaders made significant efforts to actually improve diplomatic relations through the public acknowledgment of Japan’s imperial past. It was in the short three-year interlude (1993-1996) to the postwar domination by the Liberal Democratic Party that several leaders of the coalition government initiated “apology diplomacy.” Chief Cabinet Secretary Kono Yohei made a statement and apology in response to the study on the “comfort women” issue (4 August 1993), and both Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro (23 August 1993) and Prime Minister Murayama Tomoichi (15 August 1995) made apologies for the pain and suffering caused by Japan’s military aggression and colonial rule.<sup>21</sup>

This public recognition of responsibility of Japan as the aggressor (*kagaisha*)

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<sup>18</sup> Sono (1985, p. 32).

<sup>19</sup>The Japanese here is “*Shinkyō no jiyū no shingai ni naru ke-su o hikiokoshikanenai to omowaremasu*” 信教の自由の侵害になるケースを引き起こしかねないと思われます(Sono 1985, p. 32).

<sup>20</sup> Some might regard Chidorigafuji—not far from Yasukuni Shrine—as an appropriate memorial site since it is regarded as a sacred space but with no official religious affiliation, Sono suggests it is probably too small to serve as an adequate alternative.

<sup>21</sup> These statements are available on the official sites below:

Chief Cabinet Secretary Kono Yohei’s statement on the result of the study on the issue of “comfort women” (4 August 4 1993), [<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/women/fund/state9308.html>]; Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro’s Policy Speech to the 127th Session of the National Diet (23 August 1993), [<http://japan.kantei.go.jp/127.html>]; and Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi’s Statement “On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the war’s end” (15 August 1995), [<http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press/pm/murayama/9508.html>].

towards its neighbors in Asia represented a significant shift in orientation among some political leaders. This admission clearly challenged the revisionist narrative of Japan's imperial past celebrated at Yasukuni Shrine and promoted by Yūshūkan, the shrine's military museum, as a glorious effort to "liberate Asia" from Western imperialism. It is not surprising that these public admissions of guilt generated a critical response from the far right. Reflecting on these official apologies, for example, Ishihara Shintarō, the ardent nationalist and Governor of Tokyo, stated how appalled he was by Hosokawa's "ignorance of history that allowed him to declare that our war in the Pacific was a war of aggression," and stated that "Murayama's sentimentalism about 'painful repentance and heartfelt apologies,' amounted to a desecration of our nation's history."<sup>22</sup>

Murayama's resignation and the official visit to Yasukuni Shrine by the LDP Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryūtarō in 1996 clearly marked the end to this brief conciliatory period and the beginning of a new period of nationalism. Elsewhere I have analyzed in some detail the significant surge in a range of neonationalistic initiatives over the past two decades, which were facilitated by the widespread sense of social crisis that followed the 1995 and 2011 disaster years.<sup>23</sup> These include the renewed efforts by LDP leadership to promote official Yasukuni Shrine visits, to restore and strengthen patriotic education, and their plans to revise the Constitution. These are all related to a larger "restorationist vision" embraced by the far right of the LDP and its affiliated groups, such as Shinto Seiji Renmei and Nippon Kaigi, and the movement to "recover" what was destroyed by the reforms enacted during the Allied Occupation of Japan (1945-52).

Official visits to Yasukuni Shrine by Prime Ministers, Cabinet members, and Diet members have increased markedly over the past two decades. This significant surge is closely related to the leadership of Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichirō, who visited a number of times between 2001 and 2006, and that of Prime Minister Abe Shinzō, who visited on 26 December 2013. There was considerable domestic opposition to these visits and court cases were launched against both Koizumi and Abe. In the case of Koizumi, at least two courts ruled that his visit did violate the Constitution (the Fukuoka District Court in April 2004 and the Osaka High Court in September 2005). The two cases against Abe are still in process.

These prime ministerial visits—as in the case of Nakasone—have again been followed by strong condemnations from South Korea and China, and even a public expression of disappointment was made by the United States in response to Abe's most

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<sup>22</sup> Ishihara made this statement following a visit to Yasukuni Shrine in August 2001. Quoted in John Nathan, *Japan Unbound* (2004, 170).

<sup>23</sup> Here I am referring to the "double disaster" of 1995—the Awaji-Hanshin earthquake in January and the Aum Shinrikyō subway sarin gas attack in March—and the 11 March 2011 "triple disaster" of the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear meltdown at the Fukushima Daiichi plant. See Mullins (2012; 2015a; 2015b).

recent visit. Although Prime Minister Abe has restrained himself from making another official visit, he continues to make offerings to the shrine—as recently as the fall festival in October 2016—and even though these offerings are made with “personal” (*shihi* 私費) funds, Foreign Ministry officials from China and Korea have still responded critically and repeatedly to urge Japanese leaders to reflect deeply on the history Japan’s aggression and make a clear break from this militaristic past.

### **Conclusion**

Japan appears to be stuck where it was three decades ago when Nakasone made his controversial visit to Yasukuni Shrine. History is now repeating itself and a resolution to the conflict over Yasukuni Shrine remains unlikely for the foreseeable future. The proposal by Umehara and Sono to build an alternative site to memorialize the war dead has never gained much public support. It did receive some serious attention from scholars,<sup>24</sup> and in 2009 Prime Minister Hatoyama Yukio indicated that he was in favor of restarting discussions about this possibility, but his time in office was too short to pursue it.<sup>25</sup> Preparing an alternative and religiously neutral memorial site might rationally solve the constitutional issues surrounding religion-state separation and the international foreign relations nightmare associated with “official visits” to a shrine that memorializes war criminals and maintains an affiliated war museum (*Yūshūkan*) that celebrates a revisionist history. The fact remains, however, that the majority of Japanese expressing concern about the proper remembrance of the war dead are emotionally attached to Yasukuni Shrine and regard it as the only legitimate site for spiritual communion with deceased family members and fallen comrades.

By way of conclusion, it is important to note how differently Umehara and Sono have responded to the issue of Yasukuni Shrine and more recent initiatives related to patriotic education and constitutional revision. Umehara has maintained his critical stance, continued to express opposition to government support for Yasukuni, and extended his criticism to include these other initiatives. He was a founding member of the Article 9 Association—along with Ōe Kenzaburo and several other intellectuals—and he has opposed the current government’s “reinterpretation” of the “Peace” Constitution and its plans for revision. In stark contrast to Umehara, Sono has apparently had a conversion (*tenkō* 転向) of sorts and has fully embraced the neonationalistic agenda. Her new perspective was made public in her 2005 article, “I will visit Yasukuni Shrine” (*Yasukuni ni mairimasu*),<sup>26</sup> and her new support for Yasukuni and patriotic education have been

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<sup>24</sup> For example, see the collection of essays edited by the International Institute for the Study of Religion, *Atarashii tsuitō shisetsu wa hitsuyō ka* 新しい追悼施設は必要か (2004).

<sup>25</sup> Reported in the *Asahi Shimbun* 11 August 2009.

<sup>26</sup> Sono Ayako, “I Will Visit Yasukuni,” *Japan Echo*, December 2005, 51-54 [translated and abridged from “Yasukuni ni mairimasu,” *Shokun*, September 2005, 36-41, *Bungei Shunjū*].

elaborated in subsequent publications. Both of their more recent responses are another fascinating chapter deserving more detailed comparative study. Umehara and Sono are still both widely regarded as conservative public intellectuals, but they are clearly poles apart on many key issues and represent very different visions for the future of Japan, which suggests that our categories of “conservative” and “nationalistic” need to be critically reexamined.

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### **After the plane crashed: Reactions to the Deaths of Japanese World War Two internees at Whenuapai, New Zealand**

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During World War Two, on a foggy, rainy night at 2.30 a.m. on 2 August 1943, a US Navy airplane, a B-87 Liberator began its take-off from Whenuapai air base, north of Auckland, New Zealand. On board there were 22 Japanese and 3 Thai civilian nationals, including 5 women and 10 children, along with a United States crew of five. The plane, heading for Australia, crashed three minutes after take-off, killing eight Japanese, the three Thais and three of the crew, including the pilot. Witnesses were told to ‘forget everything’ as were the medical personnel and the undertakers who cremated the dead internees on the 5<sup>th</sup> August.<sup>1</sup> With two subsequent deaths from injuries sustained, sixteen people were dead but because of the secrecy, few in New Zealand knew of it, not even after the war ended in 1945.<sup>2</sup> Silence prevailed until the early 2000s.

I aim to discuss the fate of the survivors and another group of Japanese internees who were supposed to fly out to Australia on the 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1943. I also intend to examine why the silence was so long lasting and this terrible tragedy of war has been almost forgotten.

After its invasion of China the Japanese government notified its nationals in the Pacific, beyond the Japanese mandate in Micronesia, to return home but, if this reached the south Pacific, it was ignored.<sup>3</sup> When the war with Japan began with the bombing of Pearl harbour, Honolulu on 7 December 1942, colonial governments in the southern Pacific already had Japanese civilians surveillance because of events in China. They rapidly took them into custody first in the islands then shipped them to either Australia or New Zealand where they joined German and Italian internees.<sup>4</sup> Australia held the greater number from

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<sup>1</sup> David Lomas, Secret Deaths, *The Listener*, 10 April 2010, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Secretary, Dept of External Affairs to Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, 12 September 1943, List of dead and injured, c. 17 September 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, Part 1, National Archives of New Zealand, Wellington.

<sup>3</sup> Horomitsu Iwamoto, *Nanshin: Japanese settlers in Papua and New Guinea* (Canberra 1999), 124-5; Tadao Kobayashi, *Les Japonais en Nouvelle Calédonie: histoires des émigrés sous contrat* (Noumea c.1992)

<sup>4</sup> Iwamoto, *Nanshin*, 125-6; Blandy, Summary of events of the War, 1 January to 31 December 1941, New Hebrides, British series (NHBS) 19/111, 7/20, WPHC, Western Pacific Archives (WPA), University of Auckland, New Zealand; Japanese internees from BSIP and New Hebrides, 11 December 1941, and

New Guinea, the New Hebrides and New Caledonia. Thirty-one men from Fiji and fourteen men from Tonga were taken to New Zealand to be interned at Somes (Matiu) Island in Wellington harbor, under the supervision of the New Zealand Army. Most from Fiji were fishermen or farmers while in Tonga most worked for Banno Brothers, a trading company.<sup>5</sup> Seven of their wives and several children from Tonga were also interned but housed separately in a small town south of Auckland and watched over by a kindly policewoman, Edna Pierce.<sup>6</sup> One woman, Jessie Banno, part Tongan and part Scottish, played a major role in helping the rest of the Japanese women because she was fluent in Japanese and English.<sup>7</sup> The island wives of mainly the men from Fiji and a few from Tonga remained with any part-Japanese children in the islands.<sup>8</sup>

Living in New Zealand there were eleven Japanese men, most were very old and married into communities and were known to have no active connections with Japan. These were allowed to remain at their homes under house arrest. About three other Japanese were interned on Somes Island, with one of mixed ancestry being released after a few months.<sup>9</sup> Here, the Swiss Consul, on behalf of the Government of Japan regularly assisted and inspected the internees to see they were cared for and the International Red Cross acted in a welfare capacity on their behalf. Perhaps one of the most challenging changes was the daily food as it was based on the rations of the New Zealand Army and lacked much rice, a

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enclosures, MP 1049/5, 1877/13/296, National Archives of Australia (NAA), Melbourne; Meyer, Passage Money for 3 Japanese, December 1941, MP508/1, 1/701/607, NAA; Kobayashi, *Les Japonais*; French High Commissioner to Prime Minister, 13 January 1942, EA 1, 89/3/14, Archives New Zealand (ANZ), Wellington

<sup>5</sup> Assistant High Commissioner to HBM's Consul, 25 Oct. 1944, BTC 7/1, MP 74/1943, Tonga Series, WPA; Luke to Prime Minister, 8 December 1941, AD 1, 336/1/27, ANZ; Commandant, Memo, 14 January 1942, WA II 2, Box 31, ANZ; Morel, Report on Visit paid to Civil Internment Camp, Somes Island, 9 June 1942, Report of visit to internment camp, 21 Jan. 1943, EA 1, 89/3/13, ANZ EA 1, 89/3/13, ANZ. See also AD 1, 336/2/124, 336/2/125, 336/2/126, 336/2/127, 336/2/130, 336/2/131, 336/2/132, 336/2/133, 336/2/135, 336/2/136, 336/2/137, ANZ.

<sup>6</sup> Shanahan to Commander of Police, 9 Jan 1942, EA 1, 89/5/2 Part 1, ANZ; Stephens to Secretary, 20 January 1942, Stephens, Notes Concerning Alienage of German and Japanese women, 31 December 1941, EA 1, 98/5/1, Pt 1, ANZ;

<sup>7</sup> Stephens to Secretary, 20 January 1942, Stephens, Notes Concerning Alienage of German and Japanese women, 31 December 1941, EA 1, 98/5/1, Pt 1, ANZ; Shanahan to Hamilton, 24 December 1942; Shanahan to Commander of Police, 9 January 1942, and enclosures, EA 1, 89/5/2, Part I, ANZ; Valerie P. Redshaw, *Tact and Tenacity: New Zealand Women in Policing* (Wellington 2006), 57.

<sup>8</sup> Luke to Prime Minister, 8 December 1941, AD 1, 336/1/27, ANZ; Enclosures, F115/59/2, National Archives of Fiji (NAF).

<sup>9</sup> Graeme Dunstall, *A Policeman's Paradise: Policing a Stable Society, 1918-1945: History of Policing in New Zealand*, Vol. Four (Palmerston North, New Zealand 1999), footnote 64, 474; C. R. Bradwell, 'Tsukigawa, Kazuyuki Kiyoei' in *New Zealand Dictionary of Biography*, [www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/Japanese/1/ENZ-Resources/Biography/1/mi](http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealanders/NewZealandPeoples/Japanese/1/ENZ-Resources/Biography/1/mi). Accessed 15 August 2016; Steven Oliver, 'Noda Asajiro', [http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/Find\\_Quick.asp?PersonEssay=2N17](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/Find_Quick.asp?PersonEssay=2N17), (accessed 17 August 2016); AD 1, 336/2/22, ANZ.

scarce commodity in New Zealand. The men on Somes Island were allowed to fish and made productive vegetable gardens which helped their dietary needs. The Japanese women also made gardens where they were based.<sup>10</sup> Overall, the neutral Swiss consul and go-between regarded the treatment of all the internees as being ‘very good’—all were fed, clothed and sheltered as well as getting medical treatment when needed.<sup>11</sup>

As the War progressed, the Japanese interned thousands of British, US and allied civilians in Japan or the lands under their control. In 1942, international negotiations led to plans for the exchange of civilians to occur in some neutral country, such as Portugal’s Goa on the west coast of India. Each protagonist wanted to get back their own people, preferably ones who might be able to add to intelligence about the enemy or contribute to industry or commerce.<sup>12</sup> Banno traders were in this commercial category and were prioritized. Both parties realised the problems and dangers facing ocean shipping to reach the neutral country. Although Japan was not a signatory to the 1929 Geneva Convention which laid out how prisoners of war (POWs) were to be treated, its government indicated it would follow these recommendations, so the Allies tried to act accordingly. The Allies too were aware that if they did not abide by the convention their internees and POWs might face retribution from the Japanese because it was not legally bound by the international convention.<sup>13</sup>

In the second half of 1943 Australia planned to send a ship load of internees to Goa, for exchange. All the Japanese internees in New Zealand were to join them at Tatura camp in Australia, if they were willing to go to Japan, though there is some doubt that those with families in the islands really wanted to go.<sup>14</sup> The original plan of the New Zealand government was for the internees to go by a US vessel to Australia but ships were difficult to get, so the Commanding Officer of the US Naval Operating base, Captain Jupp, suggested the transfer by Navy plane to Sydney, as flights to US installations in Australia were common.<sup>15</sup> By this time, the Japanese men had been moved to Pahiatua in Hawkes

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<sup>10</sup> Morel, Visits paid to Civil Internment Camp, Somes Island, 9 June, 4 July 1942, 21 January 1943, Bossard to Red Cross, Geneva, 18 December 1942, EA 1, 89/3/13, ANZ; Bossard, Visit paid to Civil Internment Camp, Somes Island, September-October 1944, EA 1, 89/3/13, ANZ; Redshaw, *Tact and Tenacity*, 56. The daily rice ration for New Zealand Army personnel at the time was about 0.5 ounces each.

<sup>11</sup> Boussard, Report of Inspection of camp, 24 September 1945, EA 1, 89/3/13, ANZ

<sup>12</sup> Sinclair to Secretary, Dept of External Affairs, 18 June 1942 and enclosures, MP 508/1, Item 255/102/2102, NAA, Melbourne; Sec of State to Prime Minister, 28 June 1942, and enclosures, MP 508/1/0, Item 225/702/2102, NAA, Melbourne. See also Iwamoto, *Nanshin*, 137-139. Iwamoto appears to have made an error with the dates as he states the negotiations were held a year later.

<sup>13</sup> Mason W. Wynne, *Prisoners of War* (Wellington 1954), 185-86.

<sup>14</sup> Judith A Bennett, Japanese Wartime Internees in New Zealand; Fragmenting Pacific Families, *Journal of Pacific History*, 44 (1), 2009, 61-76.

<sup>15</sup> Assistant Secretary, War Cabinet to Consul for Switzerland, 15 September, 1943; Testimony of Mr Foss Shanahan 13 August 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

Bay as Somes Island had been fortified and was considered unsafe for them and the Germans and Italians.<sup>16</sup> In late July, all the Japanese except three, too ill to travel, were brought in to Whenuapai airfield where several family members were re-united. There were to be two flights across to Australia, one on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the other on the 3<sup>rd</sup> August.<sup>17</sup>

The Liberator air plane took off in secret at night when the visibility was very poor. After about three minutes in the air, it turned left as planned but was too low and crashed. A subsequent report by the New Zealand Air Force considered possible causes and found there was a likely error re the state of the direction of the wind and the effect of topography.<sup>18</sup> Decades later, other reasons emerged. The crew, including the pilot, had been flying for 26 days ferrying US pilots to Guadalcanal from New Zealand and they were exhausted. The surviving co-pilot, John Winda indicated that the experienced pilot, Herschel V. Laughlin failed to adjust the gyroscope and must have thought the plane had gained altitude when it had not.<sup>19</sup>

< Insert: Figure. 1 Details of crash site Whenuapai, August 1943. Bulk of fuselage located at bottom right of image. End of runway is at bottom left. File EAI675 record no 81/3/10, Archives New Zealand.>

The survivors were treated at the Air Force base hospital and later at Auckland hospital. All the dead were collected and cremated, many identified by the Banno couple who with their son survived the crash.<sup>20</sup> The planned second flight was cancelled. In November 1943 almost all the internees were taken on the ship *Wahine* to Australia but the planned exchange and repatriation never occurred because of delays: The Australian government requested people the Japanese would not or could not hand over, and the Japanese wanted theirs who had strategic knowledge and Australia would not let them go. Soon too, the Japanese, with heavy losses at sea, could spare no ships to collect them.<sup>21</sup> Subsequently

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<sup>16</sup> Boussard, Report on Internment Camp at Pahiatua, 25-26 March 1943, EA I, 89/3/13, ANZ

<sup>17</sup> Schmidt, Consul to Shanahan, 15 September 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

<sup>18</sup> Parry, report on evidence, Liberator (C-87) crash-Whenuapai, 2 August 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

<sup>19</sup> David Lomas, Secret Deaths, *The Listener*, 10 April 2010, 24; Bob Livingstone, *Under the Southern Cross: The B-24 Liberator in the South Pacific* (Paducah, Kentucky 1998), 115. Livingstone incorrectly states the plane was headed for New Guinea, highly unlikely considering it was a front-line combat area. Herschel Laughlin's death was recorded in a US newspaper, as killed in an air crash without any details. *Medford Mail Tribune* (Oregon), 17 August 1943, 7.

<sup>20</sup> Schmidt to War Cabinet Secretary, 13 August 1943, Telegram 23 August 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ; David Lomas, Secret Deaths, *The Listener*, 10 April 2010, 24; Redshaw, *Tact and Tenacity*, 58.

<sup>21</sup> Thompson, Memo, Japanese Internees-Repatriation, 6 October 1943, and enclosures, WA II, 2 Box 29, INT/12, ANZ; Memo, 24 June 1946, [illegible] to Central government, 10 March 1944, AD I, 336/1/27, ANZ; Johnson to Premier, 18 Feb. 1946, BCT 7/1, MP 74/1943, Tonga Series, WPA; Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, 96-102.

with peace, all the internees were sent to Japan when the POWs were shipped, to face the harsh reality of a heavily depleted homeland and people. Except for the New Zealand Japanese who had British nationality anyway, those who had indicated they wanted to go back to the islands to re-join families or stay either in New Zealand or Australia were refused.<sup>22</sup>

Wartime of itself enjoins secrecy. Movement of planes and ships, if widely known, could mean an enemy with advance information could attack and destroy. Any information regarding the internees was tightly controlled because there was much fear and anti-Japanese feeling in the country. The last thing the New Zealand government wanted was attacks by the public on Japanese civilians under their care.

Underlying this, the New Zealand government remained concerned about how the Japanese government would treat allied citizens interned by the Japanese as well as allied prisoners of war because Japan was not a signatory to the Geneva convention. So the desire to avoid any perceived deliberate action to hurt Japanese internees or prisoners was foremost in the minds of the New Zealand government and more so, as already there had been one incident that threatened the welfare of captured enemy aliens.

New Zealand concern had become a fear in February 1943 when a major confrontation and riot had occurred in the POW camp at Featherston, North Island which housed over 850 Japanese prisoners captured by US forces in Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands. Some 200 Japanese went on a sit-in strike and refused to work in the camp. Inexperienced guards, ignorant of the Japanese language, opened fire when one defied the guards and the Japanese responded with rock throwing, resulting in the deaths of 48 Japanese men, the wounding of 74, the death of one guard and six others hurt. The official inquiry by the New Zealand government, put the blame on mutual 'cultural misunderstanding' and that under the Geneva convention the prisoners could be required to work. By implication, this laid some of the responsibility on the guards, an admission the Dominion Office in London required New Zealand to change, so that all blame fell on the prisoners. The original New Zealand report lay hidden for 30 years. Although the people of the town of Featherston helped the wounded and felt their shooting was cruel, the incident did little to change feeling towards the Japanese among the wider public, but removed capability from the New Zealand guards. Under the Geneva convention the report of inquiry into the incident, revised version, was sent by the neutral Swiss consul to Japan. The Japanese authorities, however, remained

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<sup>22</sup> Bennett, Japanese Wartime Internees, 72-75.

very sceptical of its findings.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of the worry in August 1943 that the loss of the plane and the deaths and injuries of the Japanese internees aboard would further inflame the Japanese and cause them to ill-treat allied prisoners and civilians under their control, the New Zealand government quickly notified the Swiss consul and kept up an intense correspondence for some months. The consul already knew all about the transfer process because he had been in touch with the Swiss legation in London to pass on details to the Japanese government because this all related to the major planned exchange of people for repatriation. In fact, on 31 July he had sent on the names of three Japanese - two men and one woman - who could not go out on the plane to Australia due to illness. On the same day as the crash, the New Zealand government notified the consul by telephone which was confirmed in writing in a letter sent on the 3<sup>rd</sup> August. He also received a copy of a telegram from the New Zealand Army Commander to the Red Cross in Geneva with a detailed list of the dead and injured. The consul continued to receive and pass on follow-up information from New Zealand, such as cremation arrangements and, in due course, details, for example on replacement clothing and personal effects of the Japanese and claims for destroyed valuables that were replaced or paid for. In turn, he also conveyed messages from the Japanese government to the New Zealand government. Almost all correspondence went via the Swiss legation, London while New Zealand copied most of its to the British Dominions office in London.<sup>24</sup>

There were two issues for the Japanese government. Firstly, they wanted to know the cause of the crash. The New Zealand Air force quickly prepared a report on the probable cause. The US authorities also held a Court of Inquiry into the crash, and presumably obtained testimony from the two remaining crew, including John Wisda, the co-pilot, a copy of which went to New Zealand. New Zealand Air force report could only be based on what was seen by witnesses not in the plane, such as the flight control traffic officer. The Japanese government wanted the US Court of Inquiry report from New Zealand. US Admiral Halsey, Commander of the fleet in the South Pacific when sending it to the Prime Minister of New Zealand made it clear, 'that the contents of said report will not be communicated to other agencies'.<sup>25</sup> The New Zealand government advised the Japanese to seek the report via the US state department, not New Zealand. Yet the New Zealand government believed this US report 'would take very many months' to get to the Japanese

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<sup>23</sup> Yasuhiro Ota, Shooting and Friendship over Japanese prisoners of war. MA thesis, Massey University, 2013, 18-44.

<sup>24</sup> Aircraft accident, enclosures, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

<sup>25</sup> Halsey to Fraser, 7 September 1943, enclosure, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

government.<sup>26</sup> To try to facilitate this process New Zealand authorities instructed their legation in Washington make a direct approach to the US state department to press the US report to the Japanese government as quickly as possible.<sup>27</sup>

Another issue for the Japanese government in relation to the victims of the crash was the question of compensation. While the Japanese accepted that New Zealand's ex-gratia payments for loss of personal effects of the living survivors was to their satisfaction, they pressed further for compensation for the loss of life. The New Zealand government refused and based this on the fact that once the internees went aboard the US plane, they were no longer responsible for them, particularly as there was no error or failure on New Zealand's part regarding the condition of the airplane or events on board.<sup>28</sup> The only other concern was the ashes of the dead. New Zealand made sure each urn had details of the deceased inscribed on it. The urns were given to K. Nagashima, the leader of the Japanese internees to take with him to Japan when the repatriation occurred.<sup>29</sup> Since the exchange failed to eventuate, it can only be assumed he took these back after the war when all the Japanese were shipped to Japan from Australia.

From the records, there is no evidence of the New Zealand government was trying to keep any of the events from the Japanese, though later information suggests some of the less pleasant aspects of the state of the bodies and parts of the dead were not detailed. So while the Japanese government and the allied authorities knew much of what happened, why was news of the crash kept so secret? The common interpretation from more general accounts ignores the careful and lengthy procedures evident in the records of the events. They speak of a 'cover-up' and a 'closely guarded secret'.<sup>30</sup> At one level yes, there was initial secrecy but the main reason for this seems to be that public discussion of it may well have inflamed the situation while the four months of communication and negotiation went on from early August until late November 1943. By then, the internees were in Australia and the two surviving US personnel almost certainly back in the US recuperating from their injuries. So, except for the witnesses, few of the wider public knew anything and the story basically was not revealed once the rapidly changing war situation dominated the media.

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<sup>26</sup> Shanahan to Stevens, 18 September 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

<sup>27</sup> [Shanahan] to Halsey, 18 September 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

<sup>28</sup> Minute for file, 5 October 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

<sup>29</sup> Assistant Secretary to the war cabinet to Commissioner of police, 16 September 1943, EA1 675, 89/3/19, ANZ.

<sup>30</sup> Today in History, Archives New Zealand, 2 August.

<http://i.stuff.co.nz/national/today-in-history/10332332/Today-in-History-2-August> (accessed 20 August 2016); David Lomas, Secret Deaths, *The Listener*, 10 April 2010, 24

After the war, for a year or so, there were many accounts of internees in newspapers but these referred to allied ones and their experiences with the Japanese captors, none of which was favourable. Both in New Zealand and Australia there were very bitter feelings towards the Japanese although political leaders, looking to the future, attempted to normalise relations. Japan itself was occupied and trying to recover from the war. The story of the internees basically died as thoughts turned to peace and reconstruction.

In 1958 the parents of the co-pilot, John Winda, came to New Zealand to visit the site of the crash. It was clear even from what they told newspaper reporters that they had a limited knowledge of the event other than their son was hurt but survived. They believed there were only 16 people on the plane, including the crew. There was no mention of the identity of the people. So secrecy still masked the details or Winda had told his parent very little.<sup>31</sup>

Under the 30-year rule, the New Zealand's government's records did not become available until the 1970s, but lay unread.<sup>32</sup> Some drew attention to the crash of the Liberator, beginning in the late 1980s when another airman commented that he has seen the scene of the crash soon after it happened and gradually more details became public.<sup>33</sup> In 2003, a TV documentary called 'Secret New Zealand' revealed the story and soon, the co-pilot John Winda in the US was interviewed and more detailed information came forward. Another instance of the secrecy at the time involved who was on the plane. Until he was told by the interviewer, Winda had no idea there had been women and children on board and was upset to learn this.<sup>34</sup>

In the war with Japan in 1943-1944 more pressing events had overtaken public interest and took attention away from this very sad event in New Zealand. Release of the details would not have served any purpose and could have undermined the plan for the exchanges. And there is little now to remind both former protagonists of this great loss, except a list of the dead in the cemetery record book held by Waitakere city council. There is no memorial to this tragedy of innocent people who perished and suffered far away from the battle field, but who, like so many civilians across the world, paid very dearly for a war their leaders

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<sup>31</sup> Undated newspaper cutting, 'Where a miracle happened', c. 1958

<sup>32</sup> The main file at the National Archives of New Zealand is open to all. Files relating to each of the internees require permission to access because there are personal details that may hurt the living. For example, some of the Fiji-based Japanese had a legal wife in Japan and a de facto one and children in Fiji. This is in no way connected to the details of the airplane crash. See Bennett, 2009.

<sup>33</sup> J. W. Sim, Liberator Crash memories, *New Zealand Wings*, November 1988.

<sup>34</sup> David Lomas, Secret Deaths, *The Listener*, 10 April 2010, 24-25. This would also explain why Winda's parents knew so little—he seems to have not know all the details himself.

believed would benefit their peoples and their countries.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> A novel for young adults, *The Swap* (Melbourne 2004) by Wendy Catran deals with the event from the point of view of Japanese families from Tonga and a young New Zealand girl who saw a little girl like herself but who was Japanese. Their lives come together as adults.



## Toward a Future of Travel Writing and History: Collecting, Researching and Reflecting on Southwestern Pacific Islanders' Experiences of the Pacific War

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### **Abstract**

This essay follows wide definitions of travel and travelers, and explores the potential of travel writing as a medium of historical information. The travelers surveyed have acted as historians who collected and researched during and after their journeys. Yet, these accounts draw attention to two issues: the roles of interviewees, and the travelers' own development of historical consciousness. The writing on southwestern Pacific Islands show the interviewees acted as historians and storytellers. The travel writers drew inspiration from their journeys and applied their understanding of war history to better make sense of the present and articulate ideal visions of the future.

### **Keywords**

Japan, the Pacific War (1941-1945), Solomon Islands, New Guinea, travel writing, journalism, oral history, historical consciousness.

### **Introduction**

This essay explores the process in which travel writers form their historical consciousness as a result of journeys to places of historical significance. In the process travel writers play the role of historians: they collect and reproduce historical information taken from numerous sources. This essay contends that travel writing can contribute to the growing literature on commemorating the Pacific War, because travel writing illuminates the dynamic between personal and inter-personal levels that render travelers into historians-in-making.<sup>1</sup> Arguably what makes travel writing distinct from other genres is the travel writers have visited the locations and absorbed the atmosphere, and even spoken with the local people who shared their memories. Travel writing shows the authors' views of the past, present and future. These views, in turn, present opportunities for the travel writers to negotiate and shape their values. This essay analyses a sample of three works of Japanese travel writing from the southwestern Pacific Island nations of Papua New Guinea (hereafter PNG) and the Solomon Islands, where Japanese fought the Allied forces in the Asia-Pacific

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<sup>1</sup> See Seaton, 2007, for a comprehensive survey of controversy over Japan's wartime memory and commemoration.

War.<sup>2</sup> These Pacific Island nations are marginal destinations for mainstream Japanese, but have attracted veterans and families of deceased soldiers on pilgrimage.<sup>3</sup> While the pilgrims tend not to publish their travelogues as commercial publications, the authors of commercially available travel writing tend to travel independently from veterans and bereaved families associations. Thus, travel writing has the potential to be a medium that illuminates the process where relative outsiders to war history gain an understanding of that history through the journeys they make and the process of writing.

In this essay I follow a definition of travel writing as a non-fiction genre in which the traveler's journey serves as the vehicle for meditation on various subjects including history. This definition makes travel writing a highly eclectic genre that can accommodate a wide range of authors and styles of travel.<sup>4</sup> Following this definition, this essay presents case studies of three Japanese travelers who visited numerous battle sites in the southwestern region of the Pacific Islands: PNG and Solomon Islands: a *saraiiman* (office-worker) Kawaguchi Kizuki (male), a television documentary producer Watanabe Kō (male), and a nun Shimizu Yasuko (female). The sample is deliberately small to allow for in-depth analysis. Other scholars may consult a greater number of travel writing documents and expand to other regions of the Asia-Pacific War. I chose the southwestern Pacific because the New Guinea campaign remains in relative obscurity in the mainstream Japanese consciousness. Historian Okumura Shōji attributes this to the military ban on real-time reporting, the very few soldiers returning alive to tell their experiences, and absence of well-known battles.<sup>5</sup> Thus, if used well, travel writing can shed light on aspects of war history facing the dim prospect of falling into further obscurity. Yet, no historical knowledge is without value. Here I draw on the notion of history-as-performance advocated by Pacific Island scholars Greg Denning, Christopher Ballard and Greg Dvorak. These scholars remind us about the centrality of history in human activity, even in seemingly trivial and mundane acts.<sup>6</sup> This notion can help explain the roles the traveler plays regarding travel and writing. It also implies travel writing textually represents both historical knowledge and the traveler's performance of history. Travel writing tells us how the authors have gained and renegotiated their historical consciousness, and pledges to practice it in their post-journey lives.

Travel writing draws attention to the writers' personal inner reflections and interpersonal activity. In the personal realm, the journeys travelers make and history they

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<sup>2</sup> Until 1949 Papua New Guinea were two separate foreign-administered territories of Papua and New Guinea. Here I refer to Papua New Guinea as a collective term for both territories, but distinguish Papua and New Guinea where appropriate.

<sup>3</sup> For detailed analyses of pilgrimage to Pacific Islands see Yamashita 2009.

<sup>4</sup> Thompson 2011, pp. 25–27; Youngs 2013, pp. 3–4.

<sup>5</sup> Okumura 1993, pp. 20–26.

<sup>6</sup> Denning 1996; Ballard 2014; Dvorak 2014

research and collect stimulates historical consciousness that influences their outlook on the past and the present, and their aspirations for the future. Thus, historical consciousness informs how individuals cultivate sensibilities towards the past and shape our individual and collective identities. The extent of historical consciousness is not limited to the past or present. It offers the individual the opportunity to reflect on their historically-informed values that are dear to their identity, and enact on those values in their daily life.<sup>7</sup>

In the inter-personal realm, a travelers' identity and sentiment towards the war can elicit different responses from the local residents. In considering oral history in travel writing, I draw on the insight from anthropologists Marty Zelenietz and Masafumi Saito who conducted interviews with the residents of Kilenge village of New Britain, and collected their memories of the Pacific War. Zelenietz and Saito found that the interviewees study the interviewer and tailor the narrative to the interviewers' nationality and sentiments towards the war. The outcome thus "reflects a dialectical process between the storyteller and the listener".<sup>8</sup> Zelenietz and Saito further note that the role of the storyteller thus extends to historian and educator, conveying didactic messages from war memories.<sup>9</sup> If the dialectical process affects the storyteller's role as historians, then similarly the impact the travel has had on the traveler also deserves consideration.

### **Travelers as oral historians: Interviewees as storytellers**

Shimizu Yasuko (b. 1937) is a Catholic sister who joined the Japanese branch of Catholic mission, Misioneras Mercedarias de Bériz in 1961. While teaching at a high school in Guam in the 1980s she became involved in activism. She campaigned against the Japanese discarding nuclear waste off the shores of Guam in exchange for overseas development assistance (ODA) to purchase forestry. Her passion to trace the use of ODA led to forestry and fishery industries in Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Her book, *Mori to sakana to gekisenchi* (Forest, fish and battlefields) (1997) derived from her six years of travel between Japan and PNG and the Solomon Islands. Her intention was to investigate the extent of environmental destruction. However, she discovered that the people trusted her enough to share their memories of the wartime, and gradually grew compelled to collect wartime stories as well as environmental destruction.<sup>10</sup>

At the outset of the book she states the idea of development and international aid replaced the defunct wartime doctrine of the Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Yet, it is the politicians and corporations in Japan who reap the benefit of the continual structure

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<sup>7</sup> Rösen 2012, pp. 45–47; Clark 2016, p. 12; Seixas 2006, pp. 3–24

<sup>8</sup> Zelenietz and Saito 1989, p. 181.

<sup>9</sup> Zelenietz and Saito 1989, p. 182.

<sup>10</sup> Shimizu 1994.

and practice of violence and exploitation.<sup>11</sup> Shimizu relates Islanders' testimonies of the frequent and brutal punishment by the Japanese officers for any form of complaint, disobedience and refusal, and worst of all, tipping information off to the Allied forces. She felt distressed to hear these stories and compelled to apologize to the Islanders. At the same time she wonders what brought such cruelty out of the Japanese troops.<sup>12</sup>

In Guadalcanal Shimizu meets Bruno Nana, a 66-year old village chief, through the introduction of a local environmental activist, Abraham Baeania, whom Shimizu knows. In July 1942 the Japanese made Nana, then 15-years old, and other villagers construct an airfield. Nana recalls whipping was a common method of enforcing discipline, and the Japanese paid little regard for his welfare. He injured his foot in an accident while working, but persevered for a month. Finally he requested medical treatment but the Japanese denied it.<sup>13</sup> In August 1942 the Japanese captured Nana and his friends on the way to their village after rescuing an American pilot. The Japanese tied the hands and feet of Nana and his friends and left them on the ground without food or water. On the fourth day, Nana was at his wits' end and shouted "Water!" A Japanese **guard** gave Nana an empty tin filled with urine. This gesture evoked in him an episode in the Bible: in his last days on a cross Jesus received wine mixed with vinegar.<sup>14</sup> Nana drank the urine and his friends followed. Later at night, Nana found the ropes on his and his friends' wrists loosened. He does not tell or seem to know who loosened the ropes. It could have been the Japanese guard or someone else in the Japanese army. Yet, if one follows Nana's Biblical allusion, it is possible to interpret the loosening of the rope as a miracle performed by God after Nana had drunken the urine.<sup>15</sup> He persuaded his friends to flee. One followed Nana. They walked through fields with dead Japanese soldiers and eventually reached a remote settlement where many Islanders and missionaries had fled. Baeania, who introduced Shimizu to Nana, Nana's story astounding. This was the first time Nana told the story outside his immediate family. Baeania asked why Nana had not told him before. Shimizu ended the chapter by stating Nana only smiled.<sup>16</sup>

Nana's tales attest to the Japanese brutal treatment and punishment of the men of Guadalcanal. The narrative focus of Nana's first tale was Japanese brutality; his second tale

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<sup>11</sup> Shimizu 1997, p. 15

<sup>12</sup> Shimizu 1997, p. 58. I use the term 'Islander' as an umbrella term for both Papua New Guineans and Solomon Islanders.

<sup>13</sup> Shimizu 1997, p. 114.

<sup>14</sup> Matthew, 15: 23 and Mark, 27: 34 (New English Bible (NEB)).

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful for an anonymous reader to make this observation.

<sup>16</sup> Shimizu 1997, pp. 114–19. Baeania is a co-founder of Solomon Islands Development Trust, founded in 1982. Its aim is to use traditional knowledge and customs to pursue self-sufficiency amongst the residents without resorting to the sale of forestry and fishery resources to foreign corporations. See Shimizu 1997, Chapter 8, for Baeania's activism.

of his escape, adds themes such as courage and, potentially, a rare display of humanity by the Japanese officer. The escape tale highlights the characteristics of the Kilenge people's storytelling that Zelenietz and Saito identified. Nana opened his heart to Shimizu because he trusted her enough – as a mutual acquaintance of the activist. Nana's biblical reference highlights Zelenietz and Saito's points about the storyteller's multiple roles, and his ability to present his story in a biblical framework with which Shimizu is familiar.

Compare the testimonies Shimizu has collected with what a television documentary producer Watanabe Kō (b. 1965) has in the early 2000s. His book derived from his journeys in 2002. He filmed a series of documentaries featuring a novelist Shigematsu Kiyoshi. Shigematsu read out deceased soldiers' diaries at battle sites where the soldiers died, and interviewed families of those soldiers. Watanabe's book describes Shigematsu's observations; Watanabe's personal comments and Islanders' wartime history do not feature much.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the little amount Watanabe discusses stands out in the book.

In Guadalcanal, Watanabe met two local residents. The first is Michel Bain, the 45 year old chief of a village near Honiara. Bain grew up listening to his father frequently recounting his wartime experiences. Watanabe found Bain regards himself as the torchbearer of wartime history. Bain spoke about the cruel treatment the Japanese gave local men laboring on construction work, and added that some died of starvation because the Japanese did not give food.<sup>18</sup> Watanabe recalls Bain's forceful tone of voice and his demanding that the Japanese government pay proper compensation.<sup>19</sup> Later Watanabe visits another village and speaks with Bruno Nana whom Shimizu spoke to some 12 years previously. Nana, now 77 years old, tells Watanabe about working under the Japanese and recalls his involvement in building an airfield for them. He recollects receiving cigarettes on ration and three regular meals and Watanabe finds Nana held no bitter feelings towards the Japanese: "The Japanese are our friends. I never had any bad experience. The Japanese treated us very well."<sup>20</sup> Watanabe believed that the testimonies by both men were "probably true" and sensed that the varied sentiments of Bain and Nana revealed "the duplicitous nature of war."<sup>21</sup>

Comparing the testimonies Shimizu and Watanabe elicited, (especially the apparent discrepancy in Nana's recollections) seems to validate Zelenietz and Saito's observations. Indeed, Nana may have perceived Shimizu and Watanabe differently, and chose to trust Shimizu, a sister and an acquaintance of his friend, more than a television documentary

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<sup>17</sup> Shigematsu and Watanabe 2007 [2004]. Shigematsu wrote the prologue and epilogue. Watanabe wrote all other chapters. Subsequent citations to this book come from the chapters by Watanabe, and therefore cite his name only.

<sup>18</sup> Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 150.

<sup>19</sup> Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 150.

<sup>20</sup> Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 151.

<sup>21</sup> Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 151.

producer. While Nana may have reconciled his grievances in the intervening twelve years, it is possible that he may have played a diplomat in front of Watanabe. Unwittingly, Nana's amicable recollection contrasts to the resentment Bain inherited from his father. Bain may have regarded the interview with Watanabe as an opportunity to air the grievance of his father's generation. Watanabe is sensitive enough to notice the divergent experiences and memories the war left in Guadalcanal. While the testimonies make useful historical information, these examples underline the kaleidoscopic nature of oral history, and demand a more nuanced reading into the 'dialectic process' between the traveler and the local informants.

### **From curiosity to serious interest**

The third travel writer, a *sarariiman* (office-worker) Kawaguchi Kizuki (b. 1958), has developed a keen interest in New Guineans' wartime experience quite coincidentally. Kawaguchi travelled to PNG for the first time in January 1993 to satisfy his wanderlust for the exotic. In PNG he became aware the prominence of the memories of the Japanese occupation among the New Guineans. He met senior citizens who speak broken Japanese they learnt while working under the Japanese. Kawaguchi saw war museums which displayed disused military vehicles and ordnance on village greens. Kawaguchi quickly realized PNG had more to teach him than the exotic culture, and he repeatedly urges the reader to learn more about the war.

Kawaguchi's interest takes another turn when he visits a Japanese memorial in Rabaul, on New Britain Island. He lingered at the memorial at twilight and cast his eye down at the ocean. He found himself putting his hands together in prayer and imagined how this foreign climate and scenery might have made soldiers feel alienated, anxious, scared and averse to fighting in a war.<sup>22</sup> His thoughts stretched beyond the Japanese soldiers and he urges the reader to imagine how the local residents would have felt toward the succession of foreigners: the German and Australian colonialists, and the Japanese troops.<sup>23</sup> He quotes the memorial inscription that reads: "We commemorate the deaths of those who died in battles on Southern Pacific Islands and the adjacent seas in the Second World War. We erect this monument with the hope for peace."<sup>24</sup> Kawaguchi found the memorial text lacking in sensitivity to the suffering inflicted on the local population. Such

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<sup>22</sup> Kawaguchi 1996, p. 134.

<sup>23</sup> Kawaguchi 1996, p. 134.

<sup>24</sup> Kawaguchi 1996, p. 133. This is my translation of the Japanese text. Kawaguchi noted that the inscription was written in two other languages: English and Pidgin, but has not offered the translations. さきの大戦において南太平洋諸島及び海戦で戦没した人々をしのび平和への思いをこめてこの碑を建立する。

disregard, to him, represents “the imperialist tradition that does not care for the others”.<sup>25</sup> Kawaguchi’s critique departs from the discourse which focuses on Japanese suffering, and instead places the Japanese as one of the imperialist nations that reduced New Guineans to playing unwitting hosts to occupying troops.

Kawaguchi’s reflection marks a transition from an ignorant traveler to a concerned citizen. This realization propelled him to research the Japanese military campaign in PNG. He relates an episode about a chief named Karao who acted on his sympathy for starving Japanese soldiers. After the war, the Australians, who resumed civil administration of PNG, sentenced him to death for assisting the enemy combatants, and executed his wife and two sons. Karao was released three years later on account of his ill health. Karao’s poignant “life of regret” made Kawaguchi realize how little modern history, especially war history, was taught in Japanese schools. He stresses the Japanese should learn more history of wartime aggression as well as victimhood.<sup>26</sup> Kawaguchi assumes the role of a historian who reminds the readers of the little-known episodes of war history. This fulfills his wish for his reader while redeeming his own ignorance. However, the Karao episode may backfire as it highlights the cruelty of the Australians and can assuage the responsibility the Japanese have towards him and many others who suffered under the Japanese. Such a reading misplaces Kawaguchi’s intention and replicates “the imperial tradition that does not care for the others”. Rather, Karao represents the unnecessary irony and bathos that war has created.

### **Developing historical consciousness**

Each writer articulates how their understanding of the past informed historical consciousness and personal values. For instance, Watanabe finds how his personal and professional lives coalesce. Kawaguchi and Shimizu resolve to engage in volunteering to rectify the imbalance of power they perceive as rooted in history.

While Watanabe usually restrains himself from making personal comments, in the epilogue he relates how his historical consciousness evolved: “I thought that I knew a few things about the war. But the small amount of time in New Guinea taught me that there was a big wall that I cannot climb.”<sup>27</sup> Watanabe admits to his limitations in empathizing with the soldiers’ sentiments. However, this awareness does not deter him from trying; he has made new documentaries in 2004 and 2005 in which he interviewed members of a veterans’ association. He travels to the southwestern Pacific with them to film the memorial services and their search for their comrades’ remains. Watanabe’s second book details those two

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<sup>25</sup> Kawaguchi 1996, p. 134.

<sup>26</sup> Kawaguchi 1996, p. 200. Kawaguchi lists a number of sources he consulted. Two of them discuss Karao: Okumura 1993, p.142, and Ogawa, 2002 [1993], p. 232.

<sup>27</sup> Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 216.

journeys and reveals more of his own impressions than his first. He reflects he initially understood the war as history. Only after he saw the bones on these two later trips did his “vague imagination turn into sharp horror.”<sup>28</sup>

Watanabe’s journeys with the veterans developed his disavowal to be in a position in which he has to kill someone or to have someone kill him.<sup>29</sup> He found his pacifist desire extending to others in a moment he least expected. One day the sight of his three-year old daughter playing made him swear, “no matter how difficult it is, we must keep on saying ‘no’ to war”.<sup>30</sup> He concedes that his answer is too idealistic, as he acknowledges that human history is replete with wars – a subtle reference to the invasion of Iraq by ‘Coalition of the Willing’ in March 2003 and subsequent armed conflict raging at the time of Watanabe’s writing. His pledge underlines self-awareness that his domestic bliss is both precious and fragile. In 2015 he reflected on more than a decade of war-related work, concluding that many soldiers privately do not agree with the virtue of a war the nation extolled. He hopes to convey this message saying, “an individual who hopes Japan to be a good country”.<sup>31</sup> Watanabe’s long-term commitment has shaped him into a travelling journalist-cum-historian. He gained a powerful realization that his personal and professional lives are inseparable, just as the past, the present and the future are enmeshed.

Shimizu’s understanding of history leads her to place the contemporary fishery and forestry industries in PNG and the Solomon Islands on a continuum dating back to the wartime. She observes that the Japanese benefited from exploitation of natural resources and the local people across PNG and the Solomon Islands.<sup>32</sup> She asserts, “Before tanks; now bulldozers. We the Japanese keep on invading their forests. This is very embarrassing.”<sup>33</sup> One question that stimulated Shimizu’s historical vision came from an Islander: “Why are there so many Komatsu bulldozers? Japanese and Malaysian logging companies use Komatsu”.<sup>34</sup> Though she was unable to answer immediately, she later learnt that companies such as Komatsu and Mitsubishi supplied military vehicles and ammunition during the war. She realized that tanks and bulldozers share the same principles in design and technology: both tanks and bulldozers use the caterpillar chassis. One simple question triggered Shimizu to probe the contemporary Japanese defense industry in which the Japanese government uses tax funds and national bonds to award manufacturers of military apparatus and equipment. Shimizu states she does not want to pay taxes towards such ends. She then quotes a Japanese veteran who has criticized Japanese industrial conglomerates

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<sup>28</sup> Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 262.

<sup>29</sup> Watanabe 2007 [2004], p. 263.

<sup>30</sup> Watanabe 2005, p. 262.

<sup>31</sup> Watanabe 2015, p. 338.

<sup>32</sup> Shimizu 1997, p. 48, p. 141, p. 246, p. 257

<sup>33</sup> Shimizu 1997, p. 157.

<sup>34</sup> Shimizu 1997, p. 50.

(*zaibatsu*) who have benefitted from successive wars and from postwar economic recovery, without being held responsible for their involvement in the wars. Together with the veteran's words and her own research, Shimizu perceives a complementary relationship between war and military industry. This connection continues to this day in the allegiance between the manufacturers of defense equipment and Japanese corporations' international presence.<sup>35</sup>

Notwithstanding her empathy towards the Islanders and criticism of the Japanese corporations and government, Shimizu refuses to portray the Islanders as passive victims and the Japanese as the sole author of the exploitation. She identifies a neo-colonial mechanism in which the male-dominated local political clique pursued their self-interest and neglected the welfare of the majority.<sup>36</sup> Shimizu has supported the causes of the Islander women, and dedicated herself to a non-governmental organization that calls for the conservation of the forest in PNG and the Solomon Islands.<sup>37</sup> Thus, Shimizu's treatment of the Islanders' wartime experience functions as an historical precedent for the ongoing collaboration between the Japanese and the local elite that adversely affected the livelihood of the ordinary Islanders.

In a similar vein, Kawaguchi laments the state of the contemporary Japan–PNG relationship. He finds it disturbing that the postwar Japanese businesses regard PNG as a territory of natural resources for the Japanese to exploit. He contends this attitude stemmed from the Japanese wartime occupation of PNG, and political and economic ties Japan cultivated with PNG in the postwar era. He feels it is a “duty” for the Japanese to learn about the Japanese wartime involvement in PNG in order to think of it differently.<sup>38</sup> His historical consciousness has compelled him to join a non-governmental organization, ‘Friends of PNG in Japan,’ which aims to foster greater connections with and understanding of PNG. Kawaguchi paid another visit to PNG in August 1997 on a housing project that the NGO coordinated.<sup>39</sup> Kawaguchi's first journey to PNG made such a profound impact; his words and deeds reflect his strong awareness about the iniquitous relationship between PNG and Japan, which he strongly identified as rooted in history.

All three travel writers developed aspirations for the future, spurred from their understanding of wartime history, gathered from their journeys and the process of writing. Shimizu understands the relationship between Japan and the southwestern Pacific Islands

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<sup>35</sup> Shimizu 1997, p. 51. In 1996 Komatsu ranked 9<sup>th</sup> out of 20 largest military contractors. Komatsu has consistently ranked in top ten contractors to the defense ministry's manufacturing orders. Asagumo Shimbunsha Shuppan Gyōmubu 2015, p. 513.

<sup>36</sup> Shimizu 1997, p. 156.

<sup>37</sup> PNG to Solomon Shotō no mori o mamoru kai (Association to Protect Forests of PNG and the Solomon Islands) 2016. Shimizu's name appears as a committee member.

<sup>38</sup> Kawaguchi 1996, p. 201.

<sup>39</sup> Kawaguchi 2000, pp. 7–8.

share the common attribute of exploitation and violence even though the methods have changed over the decades. Her awareness of historical continuity has consolidated her commitment to environmental issues. Kawaguchi's realization of his ignorance is so profound that he joined a non-governmental organization and wrote a book that, among other things, reveals the perils that historical amnesia brings to the contemporary relationship between PNG and Japan. Watanabe is the subtlest of the three, perhaps because he may have chosen to withhold his opinions. However, his long-term commitment to war-themed journalistic work testifies to him finding *raison d'être* that forms his visions as a journalist, a citizen and also a father of a young child.

### **Conclusions**

This essay has shown the role travel writers play as historians-in-making. Despite the small number of sampled works, the writing exhibits diversity in purpose and styles of travel, the histories collected and researched. More crucially, the writing exhibits different ways in which travel writers develop their historical consciousness and self-reflexivity. Travel writing has much to tell us about how travelers' performance of history aids in making sense of the past and the present, and forming a vision for the future. The small sample of Japanese travel writing from the southwestern Pacific Islands has given voice to the Islanders' experiences and shared this with a Japanese audience. These samples show us how their journeys inspired the travelers.

We have seen travelers acting as historians and obtaining oral history from the Islanders. The Islanders spoke about violence the Japanese inflicted upon them. That the Islanders still recall these events is testament to the psychological wounds they carry. However, in appraising oral history, we need to be mindful of multiple roles the interviewees play vis-à-vis the interviewer. We can achieve greater appreciation of travel writers' roles as historians when we consider extraneous matters such as the identity of the traveler and the ways the traveler appeared to the interviewees and interacted with them. Bruno Nana's statements offer the most arresting example of this. His varying statements, or more precisely the travel writers' use of his statements, provide contrasting effects on the writers' presentation of history. Historical accounts that the traveler researches and writes after the journey can also reflect the process in which the traveler develops and articulates their historical consciousness which influenced their values and subsequent actions.

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## A Study of Japanese Martial Arts in New Zealand up to the Second World War

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### Introduction

Like in most countries around the world, Japanese martial arts have become an integral part of New Zealand's contemporary cultural and sports scene. New Zealand boasts its own hand-to-hand martial arts heritage—that which was developed by the Maori long before European settlement—but it is the Asian influence (Japan, Korea, China, Thailand, Philippines) that is predominant in the martial arts seen and studied today. In fact, it could be argued that it was Asian martial arts that sparked a renaissance in the reformulation and promotion of indigenous martial arts. This trend is by no means limited to New Zealand.

Japanese martial arts are practised by people from all walks of life, and all ages in New Zealand. Currently, the most predominant discipline in terms of numbers is karate, followed by judo and aikido. Other disciplines such as kendo and most other mainstream modern Japanese budo are also present, but are very much a minority. There are also a number of arcane *kobudō* styles studied in New Zealand, but the lineage and legitimacy of most is questionable. Similarly, there are numerous hybrid styles of martial art that claim spurious links with Japanese traditions. Legitimacy aside, they are heavily influenced by Japanese culture; or more accurately, a longing to be somehow affiliated with the samurai culture of feudal Japan, fantastical as it often is. Again, such an attraction to, and distortion of “samurai culture” through pseudo-traditional martial arts is certainly not restricted to the New Zealand experience; it is a common trend throughout the world, and even in Japan itself.

In spite of the well established presence of Japanese martial arts (pseudo ones included) in New Zealand, there has been little scholastic endeavour to plot its development or social significance in this country to date. This paper will be a part of an ongoing investigation into the process of assimilation of Japanese martial arts into New Zealand society. Primarily using early New Zealand newspapers, this paper will investigate significant trends in the first half of the twentieth century to establish the course of entry of Japanese martial arts into New Zealand.

### Contextual Information on the Evolution of Modern Japanese Martial Arts

It is important to note here the difference between pre-modern and modern Japanese martial arts. The various modern budo disciplines (*gendai budō*) were developed during and after the Meiji period (1868–1912). Those already in existence before this are now referred to as *kobudō* (old=classical *budō*), *koryū* (old styles), or simply as *bujutsu*. Although modern *budō* traces its philosophical and technical roots to the classical traditions, the current forms, rules, protocols of etiquette, pedagogical methodologies, and objectives were developed in the Meiji era and beyond as vehicles for physical and moral education.

During the Tokugawa period (1603–1868), the military arts evolved into cultural pursuits rich in ritualistic symbolism and spiritualism, but were not going to be enough to defend the country from foreign incursion. Consequently, *bujutsu* fell into disfavour following the Imperial Restoration of 1868 due to lack of perceived practical application in the modern theatre of battle. Guns, cannons, and a new conscript army were the order of the day, and *bujutsu* was but a relic of an outdated feudal past that was best forgotten if Japan was to modernise successfully.

In the late 1870s, however, there was a groundswell of government officials and educators who voiced their inhibitions about totally ‘Westernising’ the education system, and who wanted to at least retain certain aspects of ‘Japaneseness’ in the curriculum. This was especially the case with physical education, which was centred on Western gymnastics. Some raised the question of why it was not possible to develop a PE curriculum based on the traditional Japanese *bujutsu* arts. But first they had to be modernised—that is, nationally standardised, made safe and hygienic, and systemised to enable group teaching.

Kanō Jigorō was particularly active in adapting *jūjutsu* to overcome the educational problems identified by the government. Greatly influenced by the educational ideals of Herbert Spencer regarding moral, intellectual, and physical education, Kanō essentially provided a blueprint with his “judo” innovations for the modernisation of the other budo arts. He studied the *jūjutsu* schools of Tenjin Shin’yō-ryū and Kitō-ryū, and discovered that his physical and mental strength vastly improved, not to mention his ability to fight off the bullies who teased him for his superior intellect and inferior size. He also realised that with fine-tuning, combat principles could be employed to enhance intellectual, moral, and physical education. To this end, he systemised techniques into logical categories for teaching and learning safely through sparring (*randori*). He did away with overtly dangerous techniques in *randori*, preserving them instead as *kata* forms. He formed the Kōdōkan in 1882 as a school for teaching academic subjects and his new style of *jūjutsu*, which he called *jūdō* (the gentle “Way”) to differentiate his style from the typical *jūjutsu* mostly associated with brawling and unsavoury characters, and emphasise its educational significance. It is now an Olympic sport with as many as 199 countries and regions affiliated to the International Judo Federation, and must be considered one of Japan’s most successful cultural exports.

In spite of the efforts of Kanō’s Kōdōkan and other groups such as the Dai-Nippon Butokukai—formed in 1895 as the gatekeeper of traditional martial and innovator for the transition into modern forms—it was not until 1911 that the Ministry of Education acquiesced and allowed the martial arts to become established as officially indorsed subjects in the modern education system. Objectives for teaching *budō*<sup>1</sup> have changed with the times, and it was utilised as an

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<sup>1</sup> In 1919, Nishikubo Hiromichi, a former Tokyo City mayor who served as vice president of the Dai-Nippon Butokukai, and also the principal of the Butokukai’s specialist training school (Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō), changed the suffix ‘-jutsu’ for ‘-dō’ in the martial arts. The impetus was to accentuate the educational qualities of the martial arts as a ‘Way’ of life (*dō*), rather than just a quest technical proficiency. ‘*Jūjutsu*’, ‘*kenjutsu*’ and ‘*kyūjutsu*’ became ‘*kendō*’, ‘*jūdō*’ (different to Kanō Jigorō’s Kōdōkan judo), and ‘*kyūdō*’ respectively, and the collective term ‘*bujutsu*’ became ‘*budō*.’ Nishikubo was not the only educator to take this viewpoint, and a similar stance was taken by others to emphasise “mental discipline” in rival schools such as the Tokyo Higher Normal School (Tōkyō Kōtō Shihan Gakkō) which changed the name of its fencing club

important component of the militarist agenda during war years, but is now taught in schools to educating Japanese children about traditional values and respect.<sup>2</sup>

In terms of migration to the West, apart from *jūjutsu* and Kanō's judo, Japanese martial arts never really took root in Europe until after the Second World War. The history of Japanese martial arts former colonies such as Korea and Taiwan and in the Americas is more substantial. In the colonies, martial arts were a compulsory part of the school system from the 1930s, as it was in Japan. In the Americas, it flourished primarily due to two factors: widespread participation by Japanese immigrants (Nikkei)<sup>3</sup> throughout North and South America; and, the establishment of Dai-Nippon Butokukai branches in the region in the 1930s. As New Zealand did not have much interaction with Japan on any level in the early twentieth century, and Japanese immigrants were too sparse to count as a community, the martial arts, both modern and pre-modern, never flourished *per se*. Still, certainly “jiu-jitsu” was to become a household word. What were reasons for this?

### The Arrival of ‘Jiu-jitsu’ in New Zealand

The effective unarmed fighting system of ‘Jiu-jitsu’ (*jūjutsu*)<sup>4</sup> predated other Japanese martial arts to the West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Jūjutsu* involves hand-to-hand combat with the execution of throws, locks, and strikes to subdue an opponent into submission. Japanese *jūjutsu* exponents enthralled audiences in European and American music halls as they demonstrated their efficacy against much larger, physically stronger Western wrestlers. It was more than a curious sight to see such “small yellow men” placing a wrestling champion in an ignoble and painful hold. It was this idea of “weak overcoming strong” that led to *jūjutsu* being recognised in the West as a highly effective means for self-defence, and the New Zealand experience with Japanese martial arts started with this trickledown from Europe and the United States. *Jūjutsu* became established to varying degrees in New Zealand more than five decades before any other Japanese martial art, but none of the post-Meiji modern *budō* disciplines (*kendō*, *kyūdō*, *naginata*, *sumō*, Kanō's judo etc.) did.

The first recorded “Jiu-jitsu” club in Australasia started in Melbourne in 1896. The earliest references that I can find to the art of Jiu-jitsu in New Zealand is in a number of book reviews about H. Irving Hancock's now classic book *Japanese Physical Training* (1904). The timing coincides with the Russo-Japanese war, an event in history which solidified Japan's status on the world stage, and in the eyes of many observers, made Japan a country worthy of emulating to remedy the social woes prevalent in their own ‘advanced’ white nations. The reviews are in fact direct replications

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from *gekiken* to *kendō*. I believe that Kanō Jigorō's ideals underpinned this adaptation, but this is open to speculation. The MOE officially changed its terminology from *jutsu* to *dō* much later in 1926.

<sup>2</sup> As of 2012, *budō* became a compulsory subject in Japanese junior high schools. For an in-depth analysis of the role of *budō* in the Japanese education system refer to Bennett's *Kendo: Culture of the Sword*.

<sup>3</sup> “Nikkei” is the generic term for people with Japanese heritage who reside overseas. The terms “Issei”, “Nisei” and “Sansei” refer to first, second, and third generations of Nikkei respectively.

<sup>4</sup> The term *jūjutsu* (柔術) is spelled several different ways depending on the period in question typically without a macron or italics, and with varied usage of capital letters and hyphens (Jiu-jitsu, ju-jitsu, jujutsu etc.). Apart from when quoting sources, I will write it as “*jūjutsu*”.

from British or American newspapers. As one review begins, Irving “describes the Japs as the hardest people in the world.” He explains “jiu-jitsu” as an “elaborate and scientific method, some of the particulars of which are rather gruesome, but with these the seeker after greater physical strength, with its greater personal activity, need not concern himself unless he chooses, for the simple exercise will prove sufficient to attain this end.” (*Southland Times*, April 23, 1904). A slightly earlier article in the same newspaper (March 25, 1904) under the section “Topical Notes” states,

“White people sometimes go so far as to condescendingly admit that ‘the little yellow man’ has considerable powers of imitation, and is richly endowed with a faculty for assimilation. A shallow remark of this nature entirely ignores the literature of Japan, which scholars say is both valuable and original, and there is certainly nothing imitative in the system of Jiu-jitsu under which the Japanese youths have been trained to such a pitch of physical perfection that investigators have declared the race to ‘possess, although diminutive, the greatest endurance of any people on earth.’”

In *Manawatu Evening Standard* (June 2, 1904), there is mention of a raging debate about the poor state of physical culture in New Zealand schools. “Three-fourths of the children in some of the schools give themselves little or no physical exercise. They spend their leisure in hanging around listlessly, chatting or playing little games which have no effect in developing the human frame.” Japan is viewed as providing some viable answers.

“The women as well as the men of Japan are ardent disciples of ‘jiu-jitsu.’ The Japanese have found out for themselves that by practising moderation in food and drink, by attending scrupulously to cleanliness, and by going through certain prescribed physical, exercises, for a short time in each day, they can build up the body to such an extent that the amount of strain which it will bear without any injurious consequence is simply marvellous.”

The implied extent of *jūjutsu* participation in Japan in this period is grossly overstated in many such articles, but the art was capturing the imagination of the West. In the “News in Brief” section of the *Waihi Daily Telegraph* (August 11, 1904), a note from New York further augments the reputation of *jūjutsu*. “The Japanese system of physical training, has ‘caught on’ in the United States. So impressed is President Roosevelt with the Japanese science of self-defence that he has recommended that it be taught at West Point and Annapolis.”<sup>5</sup> In Wellington’s *Evening Post* (May 23, 1904) the question is posed, “Is water the secret of Japan’s success? The Japanese themselves attribute their high average of physical strength to a plain and frugal diet, and the system of

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<sup>5</sup> Roosevelt made a personal request to Kanō Jigorō for a teacher of judo to come to the United States. To this end, one of Kanō’s top students, Yamashita Yamatsugu, taught judo at such hallowed institutions as West Point, and even to the president himself in the White House. Roosevelt was also an enthusiastic advocate of Nitobe Inazō’s book *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (1900).

gymnastics called jiu-jitsu. Now, by those who go in for jiu-jitsu an average of one gallon of water a day is drunk.” Clearly, the world was besotted by the Japanese taking on such a formidable foe as the Russians, and started taking notice of “Japanese virtues” which could somehow be used to great advantage elsewhere. The international community was looking for explanations for Japan’s sudden rise to “greatness” in such a short time since the feudal era ended. “Jiu-jitsu” and the nebulous spiritual tenets of “Bushido” were thrust into the limelight, even more so when the Japanese ended up victorious in 1905.

As far as the New Zealand experience is concerned, the first proof that I can find of actual practitioners is in an advertisement for lessons in Christchurch’s *Press* (November 28, 1904).

“Mr. Tankard having received instruction in this remarkable system from a Japanese teacher in London, is now holding classes for children and adults. A weak heart and poor lungs safely and surely strengthened by this system. Specialist for spinal curvature. Medical cases. Send for prospectus. The school, corner of Gloucester street and Oxford-terrace.”<sup>6</sup>

Also in located in Christchurch was Hornibrook’s Physical Culture Institute situated in Cathedral Square, which taught “jiu-jitsu” from 1909 along with various wrestling styles. Interestingly, Christchurch was the city in which the first fulltime Japanese teacher of *jūjutsu*, Fukushima Ryūgorō (Ray Shima), eventually settled down. He came to New Zealand around 1906, and travelled Australasia with vaudeville groups as a *jūjutsu* exponent until 1914. He moved to Sydney and taught *jūjutsu* there until 1923, returned to Japan, and then “attracted by a wrestling boom”, he came back to Christchurch for the rest of his days in the 1930s. It was there that established his own gym and taught members of the local police.<sup>7</sup>

Another Japanese, Kiyo Kameda, arrived in New Zealand in 1912. Kameda was a fascinating character in his own right with regard to New Zealand-Japan relations. He arrived in New Zealand in 1912 as a part of a *jūjutsu*-vaudeville group from Australia. Both he and Shima were eventually to become members of a tiny group of Japanese-born naturalised New Zealand citizens, but not without undergoing a degree of prejudice. Still, their skill in *jūjutsu* garnered them considerable respect from the locals. Kameda and Hakuichi (Harold) Kunioka, another *jūjutsu* exponent who arrived in 1907 and settled in Ruatoria, were the only naturalised Japanese settlers who were

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<sup>6</sup> Although difficult to substantiate, if in fact Tankard had studied under Japanese *jūjutsu* instructors in London, it could quite possibly have been Tani Yukio and/or Uenishi Sadakazu (usually written as Uyenishi). Both men, considered pioneers of Japanese martial arts in Britain, travelled to London in 1900 at the invitation of Edward William Barton-Wright, the founder of “Baritsu” (studied by Sherlock Holmes) and the “Baritsu School of Arms and Physical Culture”. They taught *jūjutsu* for Barton-Wright, and both made names for themselves as successful fighters. After parting ways with Barton-Wright in 1903, Uenishi established his own dojo that year near Picadilly Circus, the “School of Japanese Self Defence”. In 1904, Tani and a newcomer from Japan, Miyake Tarō, opened the “Japanese School of Jujutsu” in London.

<sup>7</sup> Ken McNeil, “Encounters, 1860 to 1940s” in Roger Peren (ed.), *Japan and New Zealand :150 Years*, p. 33

interned during the Second World War along, with hundreds of Germans and Italians living in New Zealand.<sup>8</sup>

In any case, although Kunioka was never active as a professional fighter in New Zealand (he ran a grocery store), Kameda and Shima often featured in the sports sections of newspapers throughout the country (and Australia).

“The turn which delighted most the large audience at the Opera House last night for the promised change of programme was the demonstration of ju-jitsu wrestling by Ryugoro Shima and Kiyo Kameda, two remarkably agile Japanese. Their clever tactics of attack and defence were a revelation, and when pitted against each other in a final trial of strength they provided an exciting item.” (Auckland Star, March 26, 1912)

An observer wrote in in the NZ Truth “If this scribe knew as much about the noble art of jiu-jitsu as Ryugoro Shima and Kiyo Kameda, at present throwing one another about at the Opera House, he wouldn’t be afraid of the largest ‘John’ in New Zealand.” (March 30, 1912). Kameda was lauded as a genuine giant killer in numerous articles, and became somewhat a local hero.

“There was a large attendance at the Excelsior Hall last night when Donald Tweedie, New Zealand’s champion wrestler, was matched in a jiu-jitsu contest against Kiyo Kameda, a Japanese expert. Tweedie’s weight was given at 12st 6lb, and Kameda’s at 9st 11lb. It was announced that five bouts would be held. The first bout lasted for eleven minutes, and the second for six and a half, Tweedie’s superior weight being no match for the Jap’s cleverness. In the third round, Tweedie found that his opponent was too clever for him and cried enough. ‘It’s no good my going on wrestling,’ he said. ‘If the Jap. is willing to meet me in the catch-as-catch-can style, I shall only be too pleased to have a go with him. No more jiu-jitsu.’ It was accordingly arranged that the two men should meet in three bouts of catch-as-catch-can wrestling in Christchurch on a future date.” (*Press*, July 24, 1913)

Kameda was known to invite members of the public to test their mettle against him, but challengers were ill-advised to do so as one local man called Mathias soon discovered. “It was Mathias who was thrown, and, unfortunately hurt. Dr. Simpson, who was present, attended him, and found that he had dislocated his leg just above the ankle and broken a small bone.” (*Press*, July 24, 1913). He also featured in high profile wrestling matches as an extra attraction. “An innovation will be an exhibition Jiu-jitsu match between Miss Doris Chaplin and Kameda. A gold medal will be given to the amateur making the best showing against Kameda.” (*Press*, 16 August, 1913). In a follow up article in the *Press* the next day, it is reported that a “jiu-jitsu tournament for amateurs was won by McAllum, a pupil of Kameda’s.” This suggests that Kameda was running classes by this stage, too.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 50

It is possible that other *jūjutsu* clubs were running in other centres as early as 1904, or earlier. In Wellington's *Evening Post* (October 4, 1905), for example, there was an advertisement for a "gymnastic carnival" and "assault-at-arms" to be conducted by students of Harrison and Juriss's Gymnasium on November 7 and 8, 1905. The show included an array of combat arts including, among other things, "up-to-date sword exercise", "battle-axe swinging", "lady fencers", and "Jiu-jitsu". In 1906, the *Evening Post* reported on a special *jūjutsu*-only exhibition convened at Mr. Royd Garlick's school in Panama-street, Wellington. The demonstrators were R. Parker and W. G. Talbot who showed the interested onlookers some of the "principal grips and breaks, in slow time, so as to give the spectator a good idea of the system." The article concludes with the observation, "Judging from the large attendance [of men and women] and the interest taken in the proceedings jiu-jitsu promises to become very popular in Wellington." (March 13, 1906).

Indeed, apart from Garlick's School of Physical Culture, there were other early clubs in and around Wellington such as the Belvedere Club, taught by Clarence Stevens from 1908. The Wellington Athletic Club opened in June 1911, and in addition to boxing under the "very capable instructors Messrs Sandow and McGibbon", the club also offered "wrestling, jiu-jitsu, massage, in fact every branch of physical culture." (*NZ Truth*, June 3, 1911). Harry Sandow was a well-known "strongman and wrestler" in New Zealand. A match he had with Japanese *jūjutsu* exponent, the aforementioned Shima, was reported as a "stirring jiu-jitsu contest" in the *Colonist* a few years before in 1909. After four matches, it was Sandow who came off second best.

"While Sandow had Shima's collar gripped tightly the Japanese got well under him, and with a powerful body hold, hurled the big fellow another somersault. Shima strained at Sandow's collar, and Sandow, very red in the face, gasped, 'De clothes settles me.' Some finesse followed, until Shima managed to get his 'choke' grip on once more. Sandow, now in desperate straits, battled hard to free himself, but it was no use. The Japanese smiled as he increased the pressure, until the big man cried enough in 3 min. 10 sec. This gave the match to Shima, whose fine skill won him rounds of applause." (June 29, 1909)

The Wellington YMCA offered *jūjutsu* from 1912 until around 1940. The club was first taught by P. H. Heward (*Dominion*, 9 March 1912), and later on by brothers Maurice and Tim Tracey who reputedly trained under Tani Yukio and Miyake Tarō in London. Garnet Sims also taught in Wellington from 1913(?), as did Fritz Holland's gymnasium on Willis Street from 1921 (*Evening Post*, January 15, 1921). There is a down-to-business advertisement by Garnet Sims in the *Evening Post*. "You will meet the unexpected situation with confidence and success, if you learn Jiu-Jitsu from me. No fancy costumes, but effective locks and breaks are thoroughly and intelligently taught. You have this knowledge and skill with you always, ready for instant use. Let's talk it over and then get to business." (May 24, 1922). Earlier advertisements include a series run in the *Taranaki Daily News* (June 25, 1906) for specialist *jūjutsu* instruction by Professor J. J. Stagpoole. "Boxing, Wrestling, Jiu-jitsu—Deep breathing exercises and a course of physical training in four lessons, at Mr Taylor's Central School Gymnasium, Mondays and Wednesdays, at 7:30 p.m."

### **The Route to National Dissemination**

*Jūjutsu* gained a following in a most unlikely quarter. Lieutenant Colonel David Cossgrove served with the New Zealand Army in the Second Boer War. As chance would have it, he fought together with Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Scouts and Guides movement in Britain. Upon returning to Christchurch, and with Baden-Powell's consent, Cossgrove established similar programmes for youth—Dominion Boy Scouts in 1908, and Girl Peace Scouts in 1909.<sup>9</sup> Cossgrove included *jūjutsu* instruction for both girls and boys. Curiously though, an article in the *Press* in 1926, six years after Cossgrove's death, announces the removal of *jūjutsu* in the Boy Scouts.

“Jiu-jitsu is no longer to be practised by Boy Scouts. At a meeting of the Dominion Executive Committee of the Boy Scouts' Association on Thursday night it was unanimously decided: ‘That in view of the recommendation of the Dominion Chief Scout, the training and practising of jiu-jitsu be prohibited amongst Boy Scouts.’ Further, it was unanimously agreed that the following notification be inserted in this month's extracts from the Dominion Headquarters: —That jiu-jitsu is not recognised as part of the training of Boy Scouts, and all Scout officers and Troup Committees are directed to see that it is not practised.” (*Press*, May 22, 1926)

I have been unable to find the reason why boys were no long to be taught *jūjutsu* in the Scouts. Maybe it had something to do with the total restructuring in 1923 when they became a branch of The Boy Scouts Association of the United Kingdom as opposed to an independent entity. Or, maybe it was related to the dangers of teaching young boys potentially hazardous fighting techniques. *Jūjutsu* featured in New Zealand newspapers a lot, but not always for good reasons. For example, in Cossgrove's hometown of Christchurch, the following incident occurred:

“Two men began performing jiu-jitsu acts, and one succeeded in throwing his companion into a soporific state. The victim fell to the floor and began writhing in agony. Luckily one of the bakers who happened to be fairly skilled in jiu-jitsu took the unfortunate man in hand, and after a few minutes' patient handling succeeded in restoring consciousness. Had not immediate assistance available the happening would almost certainly have been attended by fatal results.” (*Star*, July 4, 1915)

Cossgrove was initially criticised for his efforts. The Scout movement he created was perceived as being too militaristic, and in competition with the School Cadets. The necessity of a scouting group for girls was also questioned. In a letter printed in the *Dominion* (August 22, 1910), Cossgrove clarifies that the Peace Scouting for Girls movement was started by him as “a scheme for the moral, mental, and physical training of girls and young women. It aims at true and peaceful

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<sup>9</sup> It was his wife, Selina Cossgrove, who urged him to make Girl Peace Scouts' Association to appease his youngest daughter, Muriel.

citizenship, and its object is preparedness for any situation or emergency that may occur in life.”<sup>10</sup> Girls would be taught: “practical rules for the care of her own health, ju-jitsu, self-defence tricks, home-nursing, care and management of infants, and invalids’ cookery.”

He published *Peace Scouting for Girls* in 1910. In the book, Cossgrove extols the benefits of “ju-jitsu” as a means of self-defence for girls. “One great advantage of the Japanese method of training is that no apparatus is required, nor any special room for the practices. Once the muscles have been formed they do not disappear again when you give up the practices” (p. 81). Interestingly, he also discourages girls from wearing restrictive corsets being uncondusive to participation in exercise. The book was popular in New Zealand, and also sold relatively well in the United States. In fact, the Girl Peace Scouts may well have been the first national organisation in any country to have officially introduced Japanese self-defence techniques specifically for girls, and in this sense was quite a revolutionary addition to the growing literature on *jūjutsu* in the West.

Where and when Cossgrove learned the techniques of *jūjutsu*, if he did at all, is unknown. He may have learned some “tricks” during his time in the military, but it is just as plausible that he became aware of the usefulness of *jūjutsu* by the massive following it was gaining in Britain. For example, an article in the *Press* (July 8, 1905) claims that the “ju-jitsu girl” has already become “an established type” of the English leisured class.

“In London the numerous clubs for women have helped to bring this method of physical culture rapidly into fashion, and as its best features are a combination of ancient and well-tried hygienic rules, it is standing the test of experience much better than several of the other newly introduced systems which pay more attention to the development of flesh and muscle than to the strengthening of the general health.”

Also, in the *Auckland Star*,

“The Japanese ‘art’ of ju-jitsu, or self-defence, has become the rage in London, and elderly ladies attired in ‘physical culture’ dress wrestle with each other instead of going to the countless massage establishments. Spinsters living in lonely suburbs are learning the art, so that they can tackle ‘hooligans’ in cases of necessity, where small Skye terriers afford little protection. Young men and old men have put themselves in the hands of Japanese professors, and the result of the boom has been an influx of little, yellow men into London, many of whom are very indifferent teachers. There are now over forty schools of ju-jitsu in London, and the physical culture people, and those who run gymnasiums are doing all they can to pour cold water on the Japanese fad as being extremely dangerous and joint-dislocating.” (June 28, 1905)

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<sup>10</sup> Almost identical rhetoric could be heard in Japan at the same time about the educational value of martial arts.

Fad or not, it was the “joint-dislocating” potential of *jūjutsu* that made it a very attractive tool for the Suffragette movement in Britain. Members were being physically harassed by “rowdies” and policemen at their meetings, and some of the leaders even feared for their lives. What better way to nullify the physical strength of male aggressors than with the science of *jūjutsu*?

A student of the famous Uenishi Sadakazu (resident in London) who helped promote this social phenomenon. Uenishi taught William Garrud, the author of popular book *The Complete Jujitsuan* (1914). Garrud’s wife was [Edith Garrud](#), and it was she who led the movement to establish *jūjitsu* classes for other Suffragettes. The first mention of her initiative is reported in the *Poverty Bay Herald*, (July 7, 1909) where a public display put on by 30 Suffragette *jūjutsu* exponents was held at The Prince’s Skating Rink in Knightbridge. Three acts were staged in which a policeman was given his comeuppance. Shouting “The biggest policeman in London wouldn’t get away now!”, Edith Garrud took three curtains to rapturous applause.

A year later, the “jiu-jitsu” bodyguard movement was still gaining momentum with the Women’s Freedom League organising a “Women’s Athletic Society to provide jiu-jitsu experts to eject ‘rowdies’ at Suffragette meetings. Many supporters have joined the society.” (*Mataura Ensign*, June 22, 1910). Their exploits seemed to have been quite a matter of interest in New Zealand, which had already granted women the right to vote decades before.

“A woman’s athletic society, the latest adjunct of the Women’s Freedom League, has been organised by Mrs Garrud, a jiu-jitsu expert, and Miss Kelly, one of the hunger strikers, who entered a Dundee meeting by way of the fanlights. Mrs Garrud is not an inch taller than 5ft. She has already enjoyed the pleasure of throwing a 6ft policeman over her shoulder. ‘I have already had the pleasure of ejecting one youth from a woman’s franchise meeting, and after we have had our new society in full swing for some months we hope to have a regular band of jiu-jitsu officers who will be able to deal with all the male rowdies who dare to bother us.’” (*Marlborough Express*, August 10, 1910)

Keeping with the subject of women participation in *jūjutsu*, perhaps one of the most colourful *jūjutsu* exponents in New Zealand was Florence (Flossie) Le Mar, “The only lady jiu-jitsu expert in the Southern Hemisphere” (*Fielding Star*, July 20, 1912). She and her husband, Joe Gardiner, wrote *The Life and Adventures of Miss Florence Le Mar, the World’s Famous Ju-Jitsu Girl*, in Wellington in 1913. In the book, Flossie takes on all manner of criminally-minded men and ultimately subdues them all thanks to her mastery of *jūjutsu*. Although there are few details regarding her history in learning the art, she does allude to having studied it in her country of birth from a very young age. It is not known, however, if she was born in Australia or the South Island of New Zealand (c. 1885). Gardiner, originally a wrestler, was also a *jūjutsu* practitioner of some skill who, it is claimed in the book, studied under “several Japanese experts”. (p. 10) Born in Britain, he could have studied under any number of Japanese experts, and it is most likely that it was he who taught Flossie the skills.

From 1909, Le Mar and Gardiner toured Australasia with their popular vaudeville show “The Hooligan and the Lady”. Their son, Ronnie, “the youngest Ju-jitsu exponent in the world” (p. 15)

accompanied them on tour as they thrilled audiences with their deft skills. “Our great ambition” according to Le Mar “is to arouse the public to the extreme value of Ju-jitsu as a means of self-defence.” (p. 10) In particular, she was a staunch advocate for the plight of women against violent men, a role that Gardiner played with aplomb in the shows. “It is a melancholy truth” Le Mar laments, “that one can rarely pick up a newspaper nowadays without reading an account of some dangerous assault upon timid and unoffending young women and girls.” (p. 7)

“Gardiner and Le Mar, jiu-jitsu experts, direct from Messrs J. Fuller and Son’s, have secured a stand in the Winter Show Building, and will, with their complete company of vaudeville artists, present an entertainment during the four days of the Show. The outstanding feature of the performance will be an exceedingly clever display of jiu-jitsu, of which the members of the company are expert exponents.” (*Hawera & Normanby Star*, 10 June 1912)

As verification of Le Mar’s genuine ability in *jūjutsu* as opposed to just being a good performer, the same newspaper followed up with an acclamation of her feats a few days later.

“On Friday evening a spectator wagered that if he were allowed to first obtain a hold, Miss Le Mar would not be able to throw him inside 10 seconds. The condition was agreed to, and on the signal being given, Miss Le Mar tossed the venturesome spectator on to his back with about 9½ seconds to spare.” (*Hawera & Normanby Star*, June 15, 1912)

In addition to their acclaimed performances on stage, they also taught *jūjutsu* to the general public wherever they went. Le Mar wanted to show “my fellow men and women how easily they may put themselves on a perfect physical equality with persons possessed of twice their strength, by a careful and practical study of this fascinating art.” (p. 7) Following the various stories and anecdotes of how *jūjutsu* saved the day many times in the face of danger, the second part of her book provides detailed photographs and explanations for the mechanics of *jūjutsu* techniques. It explains how to execute the techniques, the theory that underlies them, and how the philosophy of *jūjutsu* can be applied to enhance all facets of one’s daily life.

It is one of the earliest books on martial arts in the world that amalgamates the techniques, philosophy, and holistic benefits, with feminist ideology. In many ways, the book is quite revolutionary, and her contribution to the knowledge of *jūjutsu* in New Zealand cannot be overstated. Although long forgotten (she ended her career selling confectionary in movie theatres), in recent years she has attracted somewhat of a revived cult following. A play about her called “The Hooligan and the Lady” premiered at the 2011 New Zealand Fringe Festival, and she is depicted as one of the secret bodyguards protecting the leaders of the Suffragettes in the graphic novel trilogy titled *Suffrajitsu: Mrs. Pankhurst’s Amazons* (2015).

Around the time when Flossie Le Mar was entertaining audiences, Europe was embroiled in the “war to end all wars”. It is here that yet another fascinating character makes his name selling *jūjutsu* as a combat method par excellence, and one that has considerable application, as he supposedly

proved, in the theatre of modern warfare. More influential than Le Mar in the popularisation of *jūjutsu* in New Zealand was the enigmatic Brit, Captain Sydney Temple Leopold McLaglen, “Jiu-jitsu Champion of the World”. Leopold McLaglen first appears in New Zealand around 1915, and seems to have endeared himself rather quickly to the locals. In Christchurch for example, he is credited for creating “something of a craze” following his *jūjutsu* demonstrations there. He was always keen to promote *jūjutsu*, and an early example was a “monster patriotic entertainment in the Town Hall” organised by the Railway Service in Wellington, which was to comprise of “a grand assault-at-arms” and “exhibition of jiu-jitsu” interspersed with “patriotic music.” This event was planned to raise money for “starving Belgians.” An article introducing it states that “Jiu-jitsu, as applied in modern warfare, is now being taught to the [NZ] troops in camp at Trentham” by “Captain Leopold McLaglen, the jiu-jitsu champion of the world, who has been supervising the training of the men in the science.” (*Dominion*, March 5, 1915).

In Christchurch, he collaborated with the Canterbury Regiment to hold another assault-at-arms tournament touted to be “one of the most interesting events ever held in New Zealand.” As the director of events, he is hyped in the article as the “inventor of the new system of bayonet fighting used by British troops in the present war”,<sup>11</sup> and had conducted similar displays in “Australia, South Africa, India, and England.” The article promised performances of him “cutting down sheep whilst going at full gallop”, and “defying the united efforts of two draught horses to pull his arms apart”, as well as a “display of jiu-jitsu, at which science he is said to be the champion of the world.” He was also going to demonstrate “the wonderful Japanese sleep-producing system” where a “well-known local gentleman” would be rendered unconscious, and then miraculously revived again in front of a military officer to verify it was not a stunt! Again, the proceeds were to be donated to those unfortunate souls in Europe. (*Press*, July 10, 1915)

He is introduced in the *Otago Daily Times* (April 10, 1915) regarding a display by Otago Boys’ High School Old Boys who will “present a programme that will prove quite novel to a Dunedin audience. Arrangements have been made with Captain Leopold McLaglen, who is at present Dunedin instructing the Territorial officers in bayonet exercises and jiu-jitsu to give an exhibition of his work.” According to his introduction, he had “the honour of winning in Japan the jiu-jitsu championship of the world.” What is interesting here is that he appears to have found an inroad to teach bayonet practice and *jūjutsu* in New Zealand schools, which I believe to be a first.

“The High School cadets gave a fine display of the new bayonet drill, exemplifying the use of the butt and several new parrys and guards. This item, in which the boys have considerably improved since their display at the High School Fete, was loudly applauded. The jiu-jitsu exhibition was also most instructive, and was well done.” (*Oamaru Mail*, April 5, 1915)

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<sup>11</sup> On the cover of his book, *McLaglen System of Bayonet Fighting* (1916), he claims to have “influenced 30,000 Australian and New Zealand troops” with his innovative system of using a bayonet with *jūjutsu* techniques.

And,

“The military display and jiu-jitsu exhibition to be held at His Majesty’s Theatre on Wednesday evening promises to be one of the most interesting entertainments yet held in Dunedin. Squads of thoroughly trained Territorials and High School boys will give exhibitions of bayonet fighting, and Captain McLaglen, the jiu-jitsu champion of the world, will give jiu-jitsu exhibitions, and will, moreover, defy the efforts of two draught horses to separate his grip.”  
(*Otago Daily Times*, April 17, 1915)

He was also referred to as the instructor of *jūjutsu* for the Girl Guides in New Zealand in 1926. There were a number of secondary schools throughout the country that taught *jūjutsu* to both girls and boys in the 1920s and 30s, and it is arguable that McLaglen’s legacy lived on in this way long after he departed the country in that, it could be said, he pioneered the way for future instructors of the art. J. B. Adams, for example, who conducted classes for hundreds of pupils at the Auckland Grammar School, Mount Albert Grammar School, Auckland Girls’ Grammar School, Seddon Memorial Technical College, and Otahuhu Technical High School, as well as for the Y.W.C.A. and the Defence Department, even made an application to the Minister of Education, Hon. P. Eraser to have “jiu-jitsu instruction included in the school curriculum.” (*New Zealand Herald*, January 27, 1936)



**BECOMING EXPERTS.**—*Learning the art of jiu-jitsu has been taken up enthusiastically by girls of Seddon Memorial Technical College.*  
(Auckland Star, August 15, 1935)



**JIU-JITSU FOR GIRLS:** A pupil of the Seddon Memorial Technical College taking part in yesterday's display in the school gymnasium. (*New Zealand Herald*, December 10, 1941)

It is quite remarkable that he was so readily employed by the New Zealand military and some of the country's finest secondary schools to teach *jūjutsu* and bayonet practice when his credentials, upon close inspection, seem to be somewhat questionable. What little research that has been done into his career tends to lead to the conclusion that he was little more than a "showman", and although domineering in a physical sense, he was not endowed with genuine fighting skill. Many of his exploits in the ring are dubious, and he most certainly was never the *jūjutsu* champion of the world in any recognised arena. For example, following his match with the Japanese T. H. Kanada in front of what McLaglen boasted was "15,000 spectators" to claim the title of "Champion of the World", the *Vancouver Daily Province* reported, "There was little, if any, jiu-jitsu to the performance... It was apparent to everyone that McLaglen's knowledge of the game could be covered with a pinhead." (October 5, 1907).

Irrespective of whether history has been fair to him as a martial artist or not, he obviously had a highly charismatic disposition because his influence was indisputable. He published several books on combat related topics in New Zealand such as the *McLaglen System of Bayonet Fighting* (1916), *Bayonet Fighting for War* (1916) and *Ju-Jitsu: A Manual of the Science* (1918). In the foreword for

*Ju-Jitsu: A Manual of the Science*, the principal of Waitaki Boy's High School, F. Milner, is generous in his praise of McLaglen.

“This is to certify that Captain Leopold McLaglen trained the whole of the boys at this school (260 in number) in Jiu-Jitsu. I have carefully watched Captain McLaglen's work. He is a fine disciplinarian. The boys have benefited greatly from his tuition, and he has enlisted their enthusiastic admiration.” (p. 10)

He left New Zealand sometime after the War, but made frequent visits back. McLaglen was based in Australia in 1928–1930, and several advertisements appear in New Zealand newspapers during this period pushing his latest innovation, a *jūjutsu* course by correspondence, complete with a free coupon! Maybe this was a world's first as well.

**You Can Learn**  
**JIU-JITSU**  
at Home from the  
**WORLD'S CHAMPION**



JIU-JITSU is a gentle art. You don't have to be a brute to defeat your adversary. Skilled victory in this highly-skilled sport can be obtained without the disfigurement or injury common in boxing or wrestling. There is no danger of hurting oneself in learning JIU-JITSU under the expert tuition of CAPTAIN McLAGLAN.

CAPTAIN LEO. McLAGLAN, undefeated World's Champion, will teach you JIU-JITSU by post, in an entirely new and most fascinating, easy way. YOU-LEARN-AS-YOU-LOOK—every movement is shown by photograph—a minimum of effort for a maximum of effect.

This new postal training in JIU-JITSU develops agility, quickness of mind and eye, and flexibility of muscle. It is a means of attack and defence, whereby the small and apparently weak may prevail against the strong. It gives confidence in a tight place. It gives you an advantage over an adversary who may grossly insult or attempt to rob or assault you.

CAPTAIN McLAGLAN has defeated the Japanese Champions and has an unassailable record. Post the coupon below. You will receive full particulars, FREE, of his most unique world-famous Jiu-Jitsu Course by return. SEND NO MONEY!

**This Free Coupon  
is for You!**

Captain Leo. McLaglan,  
London Bank Chambers,  
Martin Place, SYDNEY.

Please forward, without obligation, and by return post, your free particulars on "How to Learn Jiu-Jitsu." I enclose 3d. in stamps for postage.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

266.

(*New Zealand Herald*, September 11, 1928)

As an aside, the twilight years of his life were even more curious. According to the American newspaper, *The Independent* (October 27, 1937), while teaching *jūjutsu* at the Los Angeles Police Department, Leopold, the 49-year-old “burly brother” of Hollywood screen star, Victor McLaglen,

was arrested on the charge of perjury and commissioning a crime—extortion of a wealthy sportsman.<sup>12</sup> He defended himself by claiming to be a British secret agent whose mission it was to spread anti-semitic propaganda and to gather intelligence on communists. Years later, he visited an old wrestling foe, Tromp Van Diggellen, in South Africa in 1948, but was very ill and hardly able to talk. He claimed his tongue had been partially removed when taken prisoner by the Japanese.<sup>13</sup> In a War Office file about “Leo the Great” was a rather sad but undoubtedly accurate summation of the man. “The best thing they [the Americans] can say in his favour is that he is probably a little mad.”<sup>14</sup> He died in 1951, in Kenya.

One more avenue in which Japanese martial arts were introduced to New Zealanders was through the 13 Japanese naval visits to New Zealand ports between 1882 and 1935.<sup>15</sup> As McNeil mentions, “these introduced far more New Zealanders to Japanese—and vice versa—than any other type of encounter, and were always a great success.”<sup>16</sup> The visiting seamen were welcomed with much pomp and ceremony by the locals, and from the visit to Waitemata by HIJMS Hiyei and HIJMS Kon-go in 1902 onwards, it appears that crews put on displays of martial arts, among other things, to showcase aspects of Japanese culture. “An entertainment was given which evinced considerable interest, consisting of wrestling, fencing, and musical selections.” (*New Zealand Herald*, June 26, 1902) I believe that this may have been the first-ever official display of Japanese martial arts in New Zealand.

An even earlier visit to New Zealand by the HIJMS Tsukuba to Auckland in 1884 is considered to be the first official meeting between Maori and Japanese in any official capacity. The crew was welcomed by the Ngati Whatua people and also by the Maori king, Tawhio, who was gifted a set of samurai armour. The Maori people were quite amused at the small stature of the Japanese visitors, and the *Star* ran an article that points to the first-ever sumo bout between the two countries.

“The Maoris are greatly tickled at their diminutiveness, calling them tamaitis (children). Some of the Maoris had a bout of wrestling with one or two of them, but after kissing the dust for their pains, went away with a much higher opinion of the physical strength of the tamaitis than they had at first entertained.” (*Star*, 18 April 1884)

Sumo was demonstrated in a more formal way by crewmen of the HIJMS Azuma and Iwate in Wellington in 1916, and ensuing visits nearly almost featured popular displays of martial arts until they stopped after 1935. For example, the *Auckland Star* reports on hundreds of schoolboys who “invaded the Japanese mercantile training ship Shintoku Maru when the vessel was specially thrown open for their inspection” in 1933.

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<sup>12</sup> Leopold McLaglen himself appeared in a film called *The Bars of Iron* (1920). Apart from Victor, his four other brothers, Arthur, Clifford, Cyril, and Kenneth were also actors.

<sup>13</sup> Graham Noble, “Early Ju-jutsu: The Challenges”, *Dragon Times Online*

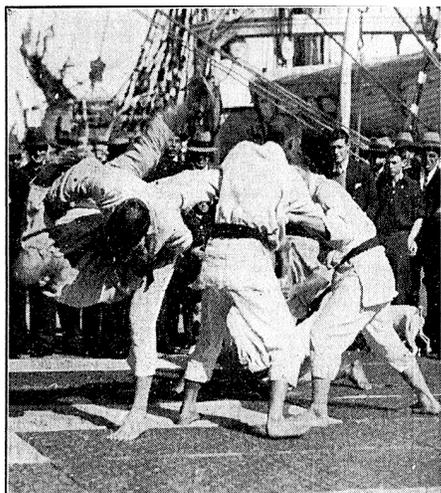
<sup>14</sup> J. Svinth, “The Science of Jiu-jitsu”, *Journal of Non-lethal Combatives*

<sup>15</sup> 1882, 1883, 1884, 1886, 1902, 1907, 1912, 1916, 1924, 1926, 1928, 1932, and 1935.

<sup>16</sup> McNeil. Op. Cit., p. 42

“Exhibitions of kendo (Japanese fencing) and judo (jiu-jitsu) were given on the King's wharf, where the training ship is berthed, and the spectators applauded heartily. In kendo the contestants, heavily padded and wearing metal masks, and black hoods and gowns, revived memories of the most virulent days of the Ku Klux Klan. At times they emitted strange noises that resembled the bark of a dog, but it was not difficult to judge from their utterances and actions when points had been scored.” (*Auckland Star*, August, 1933)

The *New Zealand Herald* ran photos of the event.



POPULAR EASTERN SPORTS DEMONSTRATED BY CADETS FROM THE JAPANESE TRAINING SHIP SHINTOKU MARU Exhibitions of jiu-jitsu and Japanese fencing were given before an interested crowd of Aucklanders on King's Wharf yesterday morning by men from the Japanese barquentine Shintoku Maru. Left: Judo (jiu-jitsu, or Japanese wrestling) matches in progress. Right: Contestants ready to give an exhibition of kendo (ancient Japanese fencing). They are heavily padded and are wearing metal masks to prevent serious injury from blows given with the heavy sticks. (*New Zealand Herald*, August 30, 1933)

After the naval visits stopped, martial arts continued in various sectors of New Zealand society. *Jūjutsu* was taught to prison guards and the police. When women were first admitted into the police in 1941, the ten recruits were also taught *jūjutsu*. (*Listener*, July 4, 1941) It is rumoured that Flossie Le Mar was involved in some capacity.



**Blind students of jiu-jitsu and physical training receiving practical instruction in the various holds at the New Zealand Institute of the Blind. (*Auckland Star*, September 12, 1933)**

Surprisingly perhaps, given that New Zealand was at war with Japan, is the April 1943 issue of the RNZAF's in-house magazine, *Contact*, which contained a feature with photographs of trainees learning *jūjutsu*.<sup>17</sup> The New Zealand military made *jūjutsu* a regular part of their training regime. As Leopold McLaglan so accurately predicted in the introduction of his Christchurch-published book, *The McLaglan System of Bayonet Fighting* (1916), “a knowledge of jiu-jitsu will soon become an integral part of the training we give to our soldiers before they go to the front.” (p. 10) He probably never thought at the time that they would be going to the front against the Japanese.

## **Conclusion**

Although Kanō Jigorō spent his entire career promoting judo in Japan and around the world, it never reached New Zealand until long after other forms of *jūjutsu* had become established through the efforts of several unrelated individuals in the early years of the twentieth century. I can find no clear connection of Kanō's influence in New Zealand until after the Second World War, when the

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<sup>17</sup> Diana Looser, “The Development and Characteristics of the Martial Arts Experience in New Zealand”, p. 40

first “judo” club was established as the Judokwai, in Auckland, in 1948. *Jūjutsu* may well have been one of the most recognisable Japanese words in everyday New Zealand parlance in the early twentieth century. Its introduction and establishment in New Zealand was greatly assisted by certain political social trends happening in the ‘home country’ (Great Britain). Namely, the growing popularity of *jūjutsu* among men and women as veritable form of self-defence, and later as an aid in the plight of the Suffragettes. Japan’s success in the Russo-Japanese war, an event that took the world by surprise, also helped to promote knowledge of, and a desire to study *jūjutsu*. Then, there were the vaudeville shows that featured intriguing demonstrations of *jūjutsu* alongside dancers and other forms of entertainment. Wrestling competitions were another form of popular entertainment that featured well-publicised *jūjutsu* matches, and made local and Japanese *jūjutsu* exponents minor celebrities on the professional fighting circuit.

There was also the connection with the Japanese military. Several well publicised visits to New Zealand harbours by Japanese warships always included displays of martial arts by the crewmen which were always well received. Also, *jūjutsu* was introduced as a means for self-defence and maintaining health and wellbeing to girls and boys in the Scout movement and in secondary schools, and to enhance combat effectiveness in the New Zealand military and the police. Although there is a degree of overlap, all of these factors seemed to contribute to a fascination with the mysterious Japanese art of *jūjutsu* for different reasons, and helped establish the “science” in New Zealand from the early 1900s.

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## Japan in New Zealand: *Taiko*, Authenticity, and Identity in Transcultural Context

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### Abstract

New Zealand has a number of active *taiko* (drumming) groups, each of which has distinct links to Japan. This paper introduces *taiko* in New Zealand in connection with the notions of authenticity and identity construction in transcultural context, for both Japanese and non-Japanese. The research focuses on the creative settings of musical performance, and explores the various ensemble *taiko* groups that are especially active in New Zealand. While investigating the ways identity is constructed for players, questions are asked about the local setting and the context of migration, and how these factors might influence the construction of a transcultural identity in New Zealand. A range of social and cultural influences offer a number of examples that show cultural flows, musical adoption, and identity construction for different reasons and in diverse case-study settings.

### Introduction

New Zealand has a number of active *taiko* (drumming) groups, each of which has distinct links to Japan. This paper introduces *taiko* in New Zealand in connection with the notions of authenticity and identity construction in transcultural context (i.e., connecting with two or more cultures – e.g., Kostogriz and Tsolidis 2008; Pratt 1992), for both Japanese and non-Japanese. The *taiko* settings under study are transcultural in that they are in New Zealand on the one hand yet inseparable from *taiko*'s real or imagined homeland of Japan on the other. The research focuses on the creative settings of musical performance and explores the various ensemble *taiko* groups that are especially active in New Zealand. While investigating the ways identity is constructed for players, questions are asked about the local setting and the context of migration, and how these factors might influence the construction of transcultural identity in New Zealand. A range of social and cultural influences offer a number of examples that show cultural flows, musical adoption, and identity construction for different reasons and in diverse case-study settings.

As traditional Japanese musical instruments, Japanese drums (*wadaiko*) have been explored in various ways in Japanese scholarship, especially in connection with their supporting role in music, theatre, and other performing arts. The contemporary phenomenon of ensemble *taiko* performance (*kumidaiko*), however, has received some attention in Japan, but in non-Japanese scholarly thought there is much work that covers diverse topics, including gender, identity, ethnicity, and tradition (e.g., de Ferranti 2006; Fujie 2001; Hennessy 2005; Izumi 2001; Johnson 2008; 2011; 2012; Tsuda 2016; Wong 2004; 2005; Yoon 2001). In this paper I draw on ideas from some of this literature, and bring together some of the various strands of my own research on

taiko in New Zealand (e.g., 2008; 2011; 2012).

The theoretical influences in this paper are from global cultural flows (e.g., Appadurai 1996), musical adoption (e.g., Eisentraut 2001), and identity construction (e.g., Hall 2003). In this context, the notions of authenticity and identity are interconnected in terms of perceptual tensions between tradition and change. That is, in a context where a real or imaginary taiko community may share culture and identity (Anderson 1983), “cultural identities come from somewhere, [and] have histories. But, like everything that is historical, they undergo constant transformation” (Hall 2003, 225). It is here that the connection between global taiko performance and the idea of authenticity demands further inquiry. For instance, in a recent book on Japanese American ethnicity, Tsuda (2016) includes a discussion of ethnic heritage, performance, and diasporicity with a focus on taiko in the US with the embracing of homeland culture in the diaspora setting aimed at recovering ethnic heritage in an age of globalization. While focusing on the notion of “performance authenticity” (Tsuda 2016, 231), Tsuda notes that “if traditions never remain the same but are always in flux, the issue of cultural authenticity arises” (2016, 225), but, he asks, “are certain taiko traditions more authentic than others?” (2016, 225). If one considers “authenticity as genuineness or realness of artifacts or events” (Steiner and Reisinger 2006, 299; see also Erickson 1995), and “always defined in the present” (Handler and Linnekin 1984, 286), then, as noted by one US taiko player, modern-day taiko groups give “the *illusion* of getting in touch with your roots” (Tsuda 2016, 226), and such performance practices are in fact recently invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). In New Zealand, taiko groups are a recently invented tradition that create culture and identity for their performers and audiences alike. In the present day they offer representative and significant sites for the study of authenticity and identity in transcultural context.

For the purposes of this paper, the discussion is structured around three key themes: cultural flows; musical adoption; and identity construction. The first of the themes looks at the flows of taiko performance within and from Japan, where it has been part of a process of cultural and social dissemination and reveals diverse forms. The second part explores taiko in New Zealand in terms of musical adoption. Over the past three decades a number of taiko groups have been established and the adoption of this performance art form is studied with regard to Japanese, global, and local factors. The last part of the article concerns identity construction. Having been a part of global cultural flows and adopted in New Zealand, taiko is shown to help construct a musical identity for its players who transmit and create culture in social groups that have a distinct local purpose.

### **Cultural Flows**

The term taiko means “drum”. More specifically the two *kanji* used for the term mean literally “fat drum”. There are other terms used for drums, such as *tsuzumi*, and numerous local and regional names for specific types of drum. Traditional Japanese

drums (*wadaiko*) are made in many shapes and sizes, and used in a variety of sacred and secular settings. In Shintō and Buddhist ritual, drums are sometimes used as sound-producing tools or as instruments to accompany chant. In traditional performance settings, drums are found in the theatrical performing arts such as *nō* and *kabuki*, and in numerous festival contexts. There are also a number of drums used in arts connected with the Imperial Court, such as in court music (*gagaku*) where they range from small hand-held drums to gigantic drums that tower above the other instruments and adorned with spectacular designs.

Ensemble taiko performance consisting of a number of drums and sometimes two or more drums played by the same player is a more recent Japanese phenomenon. Sometimes referred to as *kumidaiko*, this style of drumming entered a period of innovation and growth from the 1950s and especially after a 1964 performance at the arts festival at the Tokyo Olympics by taiko drummer Oguchi Daihachi (1924–2008). A new type of performance that utilized traditional drums and sometimes other traditional instruments was created. Oguchi formed the taiko group Osuwa Daiko in 1951 and by the end of the 1960s several other inspirational groups were formed, including Sukeroku Daiko and Ondekoza (splitting in 1981 to form Kodō).

Nowadays, there are thousands of similar taiko groups all over Japan. They are found in all levels of schooling, universities, communities, and as professional groups who tour nationally and internationally. Taiko making has expanded to other countries in Asia and also to locations such as the US, Australia, and New Zealand. But what is important to note is that there are many different types of drum and types of performance practice. Some groups focus on preserving the drum styles of local performing arts, while other are influenced by such ideas as choreography, African rhythms, and new music. When referring to taiko groups, therefore, it is essential to remember that they come in all shapes and sizes, but share a commonality of ensemble performance using traditional Japanese drums and sometimes other traditional instruments such as flutes, *shamisen* (lute), and other percussion.

As well as social flows in terms of the movement of people, there are cultural flows that have much global influence. Appadurai (1996) notes of five dimensions of global cultural flows: ethnoscaples; mediascapes; financescapes; technoscapes; and ideoscapes. While the first of these involves primarily the movement of people, the others might include people or other influences. The dimension of mediascapes in particular is one that has had much influence in terms of the cultural flows of taiko. For example, the world music industry has included taiko as a part of its cannon of global musical consumption for several decades; taiko groups such as Kodō spend much time touring the world and promoting their music to new audiences; and visual media such as movies or pictorial imagery might include taiko as a way of presenting an authentic type of Japan through stereotypical images. Within such spheres, taiko is further disseminated to Japanese and non-Japanese consumers who may come to see such imagery as representative of Japan and inspire an interest in taiko as a part of global culture more broadly.

In this context, taiko performance is both an ancient and a new tradition of cultural performance (Japanese and non-Japanese). With the new tradition, however, the use of traditional drums and cultural attire gives the impression that it is an old tradition, when in actual fact it is a recently invented tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). As Tsuda notes, in the US, taiko “appears to be so quintessentially traditional” (2016, 208). Further, with such a new tradition, which has an array of different types of groups and music, drums are often placed in performance settings where they are framed or staged as a performance event that foregrounds the drums in ways that are far removed from their more traditional accompanying role. As Tsuda has commented in connection with experience taiko in the US: “For me, taiko was associated with traditional Japanese festivals and ceremonial rituals, and I had never heard taiko performed in concert halls, and especially not in the United States” (2016, 198).

Taiko was transmitted to New Zealand with the establishment of its first taiko group in 1990. The group, Kodama, was established at the International Pacific College (IPC)<sup>18</sup> in Palmerston North as a result of a Japanese student studying there who brought with him knowledge of taiko performance and was supported by the college (Johnson 2011). Kodama has had much influence on taiko performance in New Zealand, having taught members of other groups some of their repertoire and with several former players continuing to play in other groups (e.g., Narukami Taiko). At the time Kodama was established (initially calling itself Korejji [“College”]), IPC was a tertiary institution solely for visiting Japanese students. However, the college later began to accept other international students as well as New Zealand students. The emphasis on Japan, however, continues as part of the college’s international network to this day, which has meant that Kodama was a taiko group made up of Japanese students in New Zealand, but later was able to include non-Japanese. For Kodama, members are able to stay connected to Japan in the New Zealand setting. While some students may have prior knowledge of taiko, most have first learned the performing art when in New Zealand during their studies. Members continue a taiko tradition in an educational context outside Japan and offer cultural authenticity in terms of the Japanese links that some other taiko groups in New Zealand, who are mainly non-Japanese, have looked to when establishing their own repertoire of piece. After Kodama, other taiko groups were formed in various locations around New Zealand, each with different influences and circumstances (Table 1; fig. 1).

Group	Location	Year Established
Kodama	Palmerston North	1990
Taikoza	Wellington	1991
Mukume	Wellington	1995
Wai Taiko	Hamilton	2000

<sup>18</sup> In 2015, IPC changed its name to IPU New Zealand Tertiary Institute (IPU stands for Institute of the Pacific United).

Haere Mai	Auckland	2004
Rotorua Racco	Rotorua	2005
Raijin	Nelson	2007
Tamashii	Auckland	2007
Takumi	Christchurch	2008
Narukami Taiko	Wellington	2014
O-Taiko	Dunedin	2010
Kagutai Taiko	Edgumbe	2013
Kumo Taiko	Auckland	2016

Table 1. New Zealand's taiko groups.

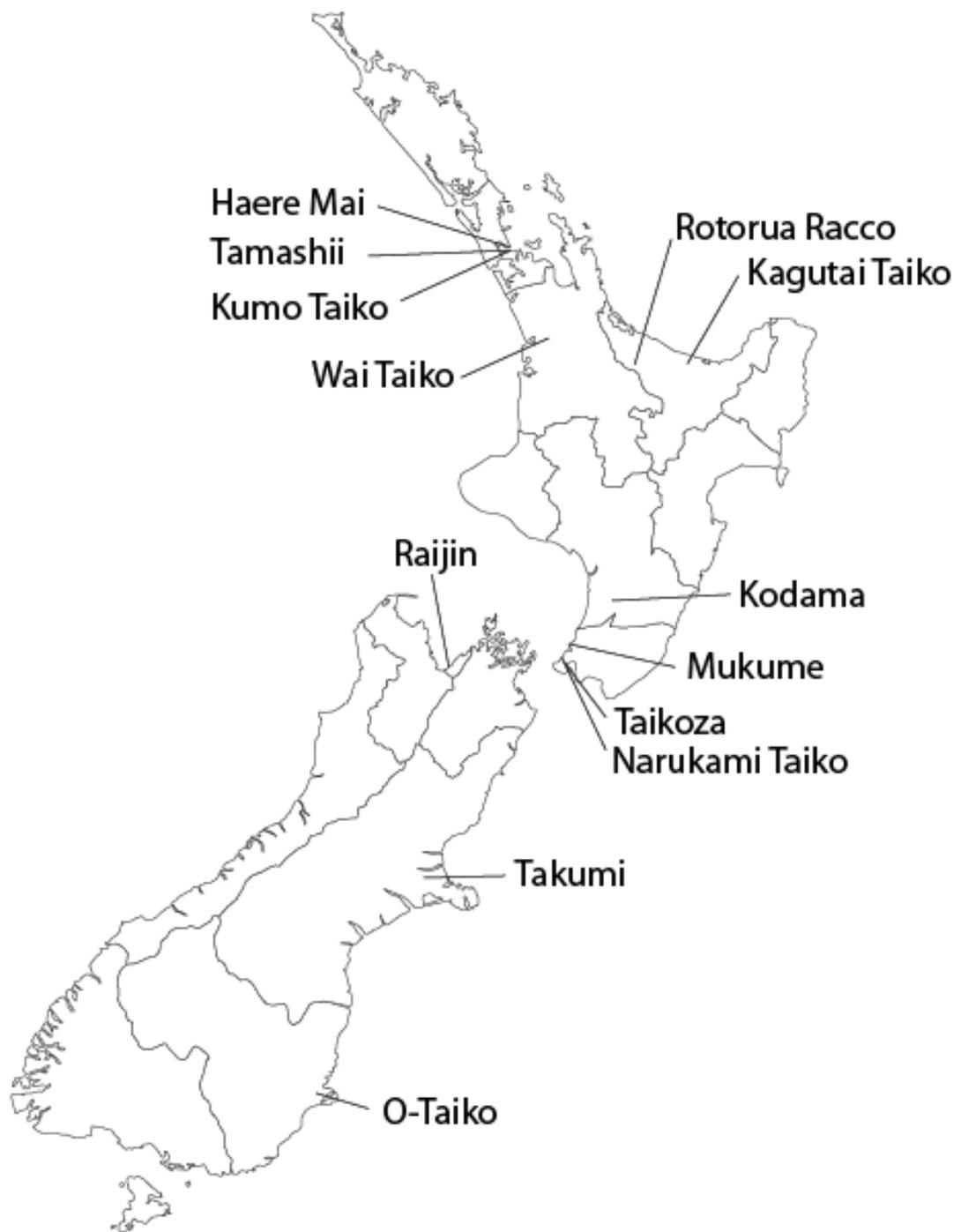


Figure 1. Geographic location of New Zealand's taiko groups. Modified version of a map by FreeVectorMaps.com.

## **Musical Adoption**

The process of musical adoption might be the result of a number of social or cultural influences. Eisentraut (2001) offers a distinct example with a study of samba in Wales “in which members of a particular community adopt a musical style with which they have apparently no historical connection whatever” (p. 85). Central to Eisentraut's discussion is that by playing samba in Wales a community is formed that has special meaning in the Welsh setting. For taiko in New Zealand, the various groups certainly establish musical communities that offer a sense of identity both as a group and as a focal point to which players will relate. There is also a sense of being a part of a New Zealand taiko community in that there have been two New Zealand taiko festivals (2008 and 2015) and some collaboration amongst groups for inviting Japanese taiko players for workshops. For New Zealand, one difference to Eisentraut's point is that amongst the taiko groups there are varying degrees of connectedness to Japan, or rather taiko playing in Japan. In this context, therefore, musical adoption might take several forms: adoption through the process of Japanese or non-Japanese establishing groups in New Zealand, and each having a different *raison d'être* in terms of how and why they were formed in the first place.

While taiko in the US has been influenced by drum groups comprising Japanese Americans as a result of migrants or their descendants being able to form their own taiko groups, where taiko has been described as being “everywhere in the Japanese American community” (Tsuda 2016, 200), in New Zealand, migration has had a degree of influence in slightly different ways. Undoubtedly, there are some taiko groups in New Zealand that have Japanese migration at their core, and others that include Japanese players as a result of migration to New Zealand. For example, as well as the Japanese roots of Kodama as discussed above, the taiko group Takumi comprises mostly Japanese or Japanese-related players, and the group itself was founded in a Japanese supplementary school in Christchurch by one of the short-term Japanese teachers who was on placement in New Zealand and brought knowledge of taiko with him.

There are a number of other taiko groups in New Zealand that were either founded by Japanese or include Japanese players who have migrated to New Zealand, either as short-term students or long-term residents, although these groups do not have Japanese as the majority of players. Indeed, with such groups, members have been inspired to play taiko in one way or another, and some Japanese and non-Japanese players have only ever played taiko in New Zealand.

In an age where travel is very much part of rapid cultural flows, some taiko groups in New Zealand have been established as a result of their founders or members having travelled to Japan and learned or experienced taiko in its “home” culture and have

been inspired to continue playing taiko in New Zealand. For example, the group Wai Taiko was established in 2000 as a result of its two founding members being short-term exchange high-school students in Kyōto, Japan, at Tachibana Girls' High School, where they joined the school taiko group. On return to New Zealand they formed Wai Taiko and started out playing on drums made by one of their fathers out of old wine barrels.

### **Identity Construction**

For taiko players in New Zealand, musical identity is influenced by such factors as authenticity, ethnicity, and creative practice. With the international cultural flows of taiko from Japan from the 1960s in the form of localized ensemble performance in the US, and to New Zealand from the 1990s, the notion of authenticity might be considered in terms of the nexus between what is performed outside Japan and what is performed inside Japan. Such a concept, although subjective and based on a perspective from the present day, brings to the foreground a sense of taiko in Japan being a true representation of the style. In this context, authenticity generates a politics of national, cultural, and ethnic connection, which serves to create a centre–periphery model that operates in a mode of cultural comparison. The existence of taiko groups the world over is testament to the nature of contemporary global flows that help shape modern-day culture in many locations. When taiko groups are compared, it would be very difficult to refute the theme of relating to a Japanese home culture that permeates the ontological foundation of such ensembles. From using the term “taiko” in the name of a group to such attributes as music, performance practice, or attire, the phenomenon of taiko performance in many locations exhibits inherent traits that are emblems of (“traditional”) Japanese culture.

Across national and cultural borders, taiko groups belong to an imagined community (Anderson 1983), both in the sense of transcultural identity and in local, regional, or national connections. The indexing of Japan through cultural practice establishes a sense of the home culture as the authentic, the one that offers the true ideal of taiko performance. While such links might be helpful when replicating cultural performance, where one taiko group wishes to represent Japanese culture as accurately as possible, it equally points to less localization of creative practice and instead to cultural simulacra. That is, cultural replication serves as a type of hyperreality that presents culture as though it were real, or in this sense authentically Japanese (Baudrillard 1994). On the one hand the performance is real, but on the other it is hypereality in that it offers an imagined Japan that is removed from its authentic home, paradoxically the one that it strives to represent.

In 2013, there were 14,118 people in New Zealand who self-identified as Japanese (Statistics New Zealand 2013). This number represents less than one percent of the total population of the nation, although increasing by 18.6 percent on the 2006 census (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Of this number, nearly half live in Auckland, and 29 percent on the South Island (Statistics New Zealand 2013). As noted above, the connection with taiko and diaspora has been the topic of scholarly discourse in the

North American setting where performance has been shown as an expression of transnational or diaspora identity. In New Zealand, however, there have been some similar influences in the establishment of taiko groups, although there are other influences too, such as in the mediascape (Appadurai 1996).

Within taiko performance, creativity is practised in several ways. While the notion of authenticity has much to do with the presentation and representation of the musical artefact, which might be determined according to ethnicity or cultural context, within the musical process there is much creativity that contributes to any particular taiko group's identity. Well-known pieces in the taiko repertoire are interpreted by groups so that any given performance will undoubtedly offer a distinct interpretation vis-à-vis that of other groups. While some famous taiko groups may offer a standard of musicianship or performance practice to which other groups aspire, creativity can nevertheless be a distinguishing factor of any performance. Taiko groups may offer new pieces of music composed by group members or others. Such music adds to the international repertory of taiko music and contributes to a global dynamic of creative practice. For example, the O-Taiko in Dunedin plays several original pieces of music that were composed especially for the group by players who first learned taiko in Dunedin. A similar situation exists for several other New Zealand taiko groups.

With global taiko groups, there is a dichotomy between Japanese and non-Japanese. This might be perceived as a home culture (i.e., Japan) versus other culture (i.e., non-Japanese) division, or viewed through the lens of home representing an authentic culture to which other taiko groups may aspire. While such divisions are undoubtedly a part of the epistemology of many global taiko groups, it should be remembered that in Japan there are in actual fact many different styles of drumming. Even the ensemble style (*kumidaiko*) that is part of world of neo-traditional Japanese drumming is replicated in many ways the world over, and more specific to Japan one can find many differences in performance practice, instrumentation, and context of performance. Likewise, authenticity in creative practice in global taiko performance can be identified in many ways.

## **Conclusion**

This paper has discussed Japan in New Zealand through the perspective of the impact that taiko has had over the past three decades. Focusing on authenticity and identity in transcultural context, I have discussed the impact of taiko on New Zealand in three spheres of thought: cultural flows; musical adoption; and identity construction. While such a performance phenomenon might be approached in a number of different ways, by highlighting these areas I have been able to show some of the distinct ways that interconnect Japan and New Zealand. In this paper, such connections are through transculturalism and are realized through social and cultural flows that are localized in the New Zealand setting.

The process of global cultural flows has been the starting point for the localization of

taiko in New Zealand. Japanese influences on New Zealand have been shown to be inherent in taiko performance in several ways, through people, culture, and media. Taiko has been adopted in New Zealand by a range of different people with an array of backgrounds, influences, and objectives, each operating in a transcultural perspective of one type or another. Within this real and sometimes imagined community within and across national borders, identity is constructed through music and creative performance practices. In New Zealand, therefore, taiko groups have inherent transcultural parameters; they create culture in local settings; and they offer a performance phenomenon where the notion of authenticity can have multiple interpretations.

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The Noble Art of Procrastination:  
Writer's Block as a Motif in *Watakushi shōsetsu*

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## Introduction

As any avid reader of the so-called *watakushi shōsetsu* genre of I-fiction will have noticed, the protagonist's inability to write is an often featured subject matter within the genre. This subject matter may take various shapes and perform different functions, ranging from providing a leitmotif for a certain work to constituting the very theme of another. This essay aims to highlight the motif of *writer's block* as it appears in a range of selected I-fictional works in order to delineate a few of its functions. Needless to say, depiction of this phenomenon is by no means restricted to the genre of *watakushi shōsetsu* – in fact many a writer across time and space has dabbled at the theme – but it seems that it came to the fore in this genre which held sway for a couple of decades in early twentieth century Japan. Of this phenomenon Tanizaki Seiji has pertinently noted that, 'The Taishō period was a curious age in which a story about writer's block was perfectly acceptable. The image of an author bewailing his loss of creativity appealed to readers ... *Bundan* [literary circles] writers actually gained in popularity by revealing how difficult it was for them to write'.<sup>1</sup> According to one typology of *watakushi shōsetsu*, writers working in the mode of narration may broadly be divided into a self-destructive type (*hametsu gata*), or conversely, into a harmonious type (*chōwa gata*). This essay opposes the quintessential self-destructive writer Kasai Zenzō (1887–1928) with the harmonious type par excellence, Shiga Naoya (1883–1971), in order to illustrate a few literary approaches to the predicament. If my account tends to confuse the narrator of the works discussed with the author behind the pen, it is only because it aims to steer clear of ontological questions about the 'I' of I-fiction. This essay will thus not delve into epistemological issues of the *watakushi shōsetsu*.

## The case of Kasai Zenzō

Tanizaki Seiji has further noted that while there is virtually no Taishō era author who has never written a self-referential novel (*jiko shōsetsu*), Kasai Zenzō stands out as a radical I-novelist in that his works are all based on himself and his surroundings, with the exception of two or three pieces.<sup>2</sup> Kasai's manifold, often rambling, explorations of his inability to compose appear on the page in the overall context of his paranoia and

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Fowler 1988: 264.

<sup>2</sup> Tanizaki, 376.

persecution complex, spurred on by a chaotic life situation. As has been observed, unless Kasai inflicted pain upon himself to the utmost degree in real life, the creative impulse would simply not spring up.<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, though, this tormented mental state does not necessarily translate into self-contempt; on the contrary Kasai often shows signs of great self-confidence. Despite the agonies he purportedly goes through the tone of voice is not infrequently in quite a cheerful mood, bordering on the hilarious. One example of this is the short story *Adrift* (*Furō*) published in 1921, a work in which the inability to write triggers the very narration. In the opening, the I-narrator declares to his younger brother that he is going away somewhere to write (*doko ka ni itte kaite kuru tsumori da*, 131), in order to escape loans incurred in his Kamakura neighborhood. The brother, though, who only knows too well about similar attempts in the past that have ended in failure, cannot help to show signs of unease when he wishes him good luck (*umaku kakeru to ii desu ga nē...*, 132). Incidentally, the brother's unease is shared by any experienced reader of Kasai's works. Leaving his son in the care of a maid, the protagonist sets out for the ocean resort of Ōarai to stay at an inn where he has previously spent half a year.

The piece that Kasai has set his mind on writing is to deal with a recently deceased cousin, intended as a sequel to an unnamed previously published unfinished manuscript. As we learn, he has completely lost the urge to write it, but now he has compelling reasons (read financial) for not neglecting it any further; no matter what he must return from his sojourn with twenty or thirty pages of manuscript (*kondo wa donna koto o shite mo, nijūmai demo sanjūmai demo kaite kaeraneba naranai to omotta*, 135). On the evening of the third day he finally resolves to set aside his habitual drinking to face the writing desk until after two at night, producing six or seven pages. The reader, however, cannot dispel doubts about this newfound energy. In Kasai there are thus always plot elements designed to carry the function of derailing the hero from creative activities. The narration of these plot elements detailing what keeps him from writing then becomes the text that we are holding in our hands. And sure enough, when the landlady brings his breakfast on the following morning she begs him to settle the bill, today being the last day of the year according to the lunar calendar. The hero, who is out of money as usual in Kasai, is left with no choice but to

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<sup>3</sup> Tanizaki, 378. On this point, Kasai reminds of August Strindberg (1849–1912), whom Kasai had read and apparently been inspired by. According to one view, Strindberg purposely staged his own life crises in order to obtain material for writing. See, for instance, Evert Sprinchorn: 'Strindberg created his experiences in order to write about them. Interested in exploring the frontier where jealousy encroaches on madness, he set up a model of the terrain in his own home... But Strindberg could not step out of his role without being called a fraud. He had to play the game for real even if it meant injuring himself and others.' (xiv). Moreover, Kasai's persecution complex is a literary theme that appears as strikingly *Strindbergesque*. At one point, in *Adrift* for instance, we read: 'it also felt like an admonition of the Gods to sink lower into the depths' (*yahari motto soko made ochikome to no kami no imashime ka to mo omowareta*, 157). This line could have been drawn from Strindberg's novel *Inferno* (1896–1897).

bargain with the woman for a respite of five or six days until he has finished his work. As the innkeepers relent the hero pleads with an acquaintance living nearby to intervene on his behalf, assuring him that he will definitely make rapid headway with the manuscript from now on. The respite is granted and the narrator continues unhampered on the manuscript until the fifteenth page during two all-night sessions, until the pen abruptly stops (*pattari to fude ga susumanakunatta*, 138). Not accustomed to cancelling the nightly drinking habit to work through the night, his mental and physical states have turned into turmoil as a result. After gazing at the writing desk absentmindedly for a couple of days the hero tears the manuscript to pieces in disgust! Once again he now has to assure his assisting friend that, although he is thoroughly fed up with the present manuscript, there is no need to worry: as he cannot return empty handed he will most definitely write up the manuscript in the next few days.

The next morning he wakes up early for a change and finds himself in the mood to yet again confront the writing desk. The clear sky and sparkling blue ocean infuse him with fresh courage to write (*Konna kimochi nara kakeru zo!*, 139). He imagines the life of his unfortunate cousin who lived gratefully day-by-day and is filled with a feeling of sympathy for his humility. He has now found the right state of mind in which to honestly write the life of the cousin (*Kore de ii no da kō iu kimochi de sunao ni kakeba ii no da*, 139), and he puts down the title on a fresh sheet of writing paper. He now realizes that the reason he has been unable to continue on the manuscript in the first place was not merely a matter of technique but rather his guilty conscience, a more fundamental shortcoming. He sets down to write a few pages in his newfound honest and humble attitude. In the afternoon the friend who has negotiated with the owners of the inn returns to tell that they refuse to prolong the respite with the payment for nothing and now demand that he pawns his belongings. Naturally, this course of events yet again throws our hero off track. All the more because this occurs exactly when he has attained his new state of blissful mood, he cannot avoid feeling the intervention of an ironic twist of fate (*Senkoku no kōfukuna kibun no sugu ato datta dake ni, jibun ni taishite hinikuna kimochi o kanjinai wake ni ikanakatta*, 141).

In the remainder of the story the hero moves from cheap lodging to cheap lodging while bargaining to loan money from various persons and conjuring up methods of having advances transferred from publishers in Tokyo. The one thing he cannot do is to return to Tokyo without a manuscript in hand (*kondo wa dōshitemo kakazu niwa kaerenai yōna jijō ni natte iru*, 149). At one point, while waiting eagerly for a money transfer from his brother to arrive, it seems for an instant that the much-coveted manuscript will eventually materialize. The sunny, neat and pleasant room he finally ends up in sets him in the mood to ultimately write down ten to fifteen pages worth of manuscript. But his resolve only lasts

for five or six pages (*yahari gorokumai kaku to ato ga tsuzukanakatta*, 154). While deliberating whether to seek help from the police or even pawning his fountain pen as a last resort, the money transfer finally arrives. Infused with fresh courage our hero contemplates making one last try at the manuscript while wiring for more funds from elsewhere but in the end decides to return to Tokyo on the advice of the landlady. Towards the end of the story the protagonist admits defeat but immediately sets his mind on the next journey. As he tells the maid that has been looking after his son, it is now or never (*kondo koso wa kitto isshūkan gurai de kakiagete kane o motte kaette kuru kara*, 163). In 1924, three and a half years later, Kasai published a short story with the title of *Cousin* (Itoko).

While *Adrift* at times reads like slapstick comedy, there are also ominous, more agonizing sides to Kasai's writer's block. *The oppressed one* (Jakusha), published in 1925, is a long musing on what exactly it is that is depriving the narrator. Here, the inability to write is inscribed in the text in a literal sense, inasmuch the narration is the product of dictation by Kasai, structured in the form of a monologue directed to the addressee in the second person (*kimi*).<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, the text retains traces of its provenance in a monologue: 'What on earth is it I want to say, intend to say?' (*Jibun wa ittai nani o, shaberitai tsumori nan darō, shaberu tsumori nan darō?*, 230). Throughout the monologue he strives to set the addressee right about his mentality, defying the addressee's various accusations of him in the past. Due to (financial) circumstances and neuralgia he has been unable to hold a pen for over half a year. According to his established reputation, handed down by friends, he is suffering from persecution complex, but 'today' he has read in a certain journal that within the definition of paranoia there is a subdivision of depressive paranoia (*yū'utsu mōsōkyō*, 227), and he believes his case to be closer to this disorder. Accordingly, while he might be subservient and passive and exaggerating his helplessness and uselessness, he is not suffering from the kind of superstition that would arise from a lack of knowledge and understanding. His greatest fear, though, is that of losing his mind (*jibun wa kichigai ni dake wa naritakunai*, 236). Yet, while exposing himself to self-accusation, he cannot resist the temptation to insert some self-irony: 'Coward, weakling – in other words, the story becomes more interesting' (Ikujinashi, jakusha, – tsumari, hanashi ga omoshirokunaru, 226). In interior monologue form, the protagonist oscillates between hope and resignation: 'I might still be saved. I still have something left within me. I can still go on working' (*Jibun wa mada sukuwareru kamo shirenai. Mada jibun niwa, nanimono ka ga nokotte iru. Jibun wa mada shigoto o shite ikeru*, 237). But then, only a few lines later, he relapses into resignation: 'But after all I'm a weakling' (*Tokoroga, yahari boku wa yowamushi da*, 238).

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<sup>4</sup> Kasai describes the chaotic situation under which the dictation obtained in another of his dictated pieces, his 1927 *A mad drunk's monologue* (Suikyōsha no kokuhaku), p. 329.

Kasai's *Lakeside memoirs* (Kohan shuki), published in 1924, is another of his pieces written down under duress at the Yumoto hot-spring resort over a two-months period. Kasai here tones down his trademark eccentricity to deliver a more subdued and lyrical prose in what Tanizaki Seiji considers as the only work where he honestly lays bare his inmost feelings.<sup>5</sup> As Kasai reveals in the story, he originally intended to address his wife – whom he invokes throughout the text – in a regretful mood as he outlines the circumstances surrounding his lover, but that it has turned into some sort of weird novel (*henna shōsetsu meita mono*, 156) before he noticed it. Even so, he must turn the account into remunerations as soon as possible before he can descend the mountain resort. Yet again, the narrative revolves around his deteriorating health and inability to work, the nightly drinking habit being his only relief. What is inhibiting him in this case seems to be a sense of profound regret – caused by a guilty conscience towards his wife and over squandering his life in general – that puts him in a state of self-pity: ‘Work, just like everything else, turns useless. Being abandoned by friends and life alike...you fool fleeing from place to place while wailing miserably. I cannot stand gazing at my own miserable figure.’ (*Shigoto no hō mo dame, mina dame na koto ni naru no da. Kōshite subete no yūjin kara mo suterare, seikatsu kara mo suterarete ... mijime na himē o agetsutsu nigemawaru odorokamono yo! Jibun wa jibun no sono, mijime na sugatat o gyōshi suru ni taenai*, 122). For a while Kasai finds solace in the peaceful surroundings but even that will not last for long. Although the reader will be familiar with most features of his interior monologue from other works, his agony here gives a sincerer impression. Rather than inflicting pain on himself to spark the creative impulse, the I-narrator appears genuinely resigned to his fate.

### **The case of Shiga Naoya**

Similarly to Kasai Zenzō, writer's block is a frequently occurring motif in the I-novels of Shiga Naoya. In this case, though, the motif does not belong to an overall scheme of self-inflicted pain and exploration of the self's wretchedness. As with Kasai, writers' block in Shiga is variously subjected to more or less profound exploration depending on the story. In a work like the 1914 *A tale of stealing a child* (Ko o nusumu hanashi), the I-protagonist's idleness provides the narrative situation for the unfolding of the (imagined) snatching away of a little girl. The narrator has fled Tokyo after falling out with his father and rents a house perched on a mountain slope facing the sea in a small town (Onomichi) along the Inland Sea coast. The change of environment initially brings him joy. After resting for some time in a settled state of mind he commences on a long work, writing through the night until dawn. In the dead of night he succeeds to immerse his whole system

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<sup>5</sup> Tanizaki, 382.

in a pleasant state of excitement. At such a depiction of ease behind the pen, the experienced reader of Shiga senses a premonition of danger. Sure enough, the protagonist's 'writer's high' was not meant to last for long: 'When these nights had continued for about half a month I gradually grew exhausted. I felt heavy in the head, my shoulders became stiff and a somehow disagreeable mood took hold of me. Falling into sleep at dawn I started moaning from bad dreams. I just could not get a good sleep any longer' (*Konna yoru ga hantsuki hodo tsuzuku to watashi wa dandan ni tsukarete kita. Atama ga omoku kata ga kotte nan to naku fukigen ni natte kita. Akegata no netsuki niwa yoku unasareru yō ni natta. Jukusui to iu koto ga maru de dekinakunatta*, 102). Enduring displeasure and fatigue he yet endeavors to complete the half-finished manuscript, but to no avail: 'But I gradually grew dissatisfied with the result. More and more I started lying around in the room absentmindedly' (*Shikashi sono dekibae wa dandan ni ki ni iranai mono ni natte itta. Watashi wa bonyari to heya no naka ni korogatte iru koto ga ōkunatta*, 104). As the pleasant excitement has now completely stopped appearing, the work becomes increasingly dull. On top of all, his vaguely unsettled mind will not permit him to sit still, forcing him to abandon writing: 'In the end I decided to suspend working. After that I started spending my time aimlessly loafing about day after day' (*Watashi wa tōtō shigoto o chūshi suru koto ni shita. Sore kara wa bura bura to mui ni sono hi sono hi o sugosu yō ni natta*, 104).

It is in this listless mood that the narrator one night spots a charming six-year old girl accompanied by family at a *rakugo* performance. His attitude starts changing after fantasies about the girl and about stalking her miraculously break his deadlock. After spotting her on a second night at the *rakugo* the narrator's fantasies escalate to snatching her away and making her his possession. Since the girl does not appear a third time, though, he ends up snatching away another girl of similar age and brings her home with him. The narrator's reckless act creates a tension within him that he has not experienced in a long time and this becomes a catalyst for him to start to write again:

I finally managed to do it. I managed to pull off a dreadful thing. I praised myself for having succeeded in carrying it through. Now there is no turning back anymore. Now I only have to see it through. At this point I don't know how to go about it. In any case, I managed doing something that I hadn't done or wouldn't have succeeded doing even if I tried, until now. Within me there is a far too delicate solicitude. I have now conquered that solicitude.

*(Tōtō yatte noketa. Osoroshii koto o yatte noketa. Sore no yarikireta jibun ga ureshii. Mō koto o kaesu koto wa nai. Ima wa saki e denukeru dake da. Sore wa dō sureba ii ka wa ima wa shiranai. To mo kaku mo ima made ni yatta koto, yarō toshitemo*

*dekinakatta koto o yatte noketa. Jibun ni wa amari ni yowayowashii koryo ga aru. Sono koryo ni jibun wa uchikatta, 115).*

What this example shows us is how the imagined stealing of a child becomes a sort of displacement for the protagonist's quest to overcome his mental deadlock to start writing again.<sup>6</sup>

Shiga's most intriguing exploration of the *kakenai shōsetsuka* theme is undoubtedly his famous 1917 novel *Reconciliation* (Wakai). The story commences on July 31, the first anniversary of the death of the I-narrator's first child. A short while into the narrative we learn that the narrator has a manuscript to finish until 19 August. He starts writing at ten o'clock on a certain night but finds the material somehow difficult to treat (*zairyō ga nandaka toriatsukainikukatta, 327*). He changes the initial title of the story from *kūsōka* to *musōka*, both words translating roughly into dreamer or daydreamer. In it he endeavors to write about his unhappy relationship with his father that played out around the time when he was living alone in Onomichi six years earlier. However, out of misgivings about writing down personal grudges against his father in one of his creative works, and because of his complicated state of mind, he hesitates. He tries twice but fails both times, as he understands that he lacks the ability to look at his experiences accurately and judge them impartially. As time is running out he sees no other solution than to change subject matter. Now the writing runs surprisingly smoothly and he manages to complete the manuscript by the sixteenth.

Further along the narrative, though, he decides to give *The daydreamer* another go. At this point the narrator gets involved in an intricate exposition on the complexities involved in writing reality (*jijitsu o kaku, 334*). Especially when writing about the discord with his father he becomes acutely aware of these difficulties. In addition, the aforementioned reluctance to put down his personal grudge on paper hampers the flow of the pen (*fude no susumi o nakanaka ni jama o shita, 334*). The narrator is torn between conflicting emotions of grudge against and sympathy for his father, something that further complicates putting words on them. Next, the narrative takes a surprising turn when the narrator reveals that the displeasure that the father is now expressing against him has nothing to do with the old grudge that the narrator feels unable to write about (*Shikashi chichi ga ima akirasama ni jibun ni tsuite itte iru fukai wa sore de wa nakatta, 335*). Then he goes into great detail about an incident that transpired the year before last in Kyoto, when the father had visited

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<sup>6</sup> Shiga has explained that half of the novel is true but that the section about stealing the child is based on fantasies (*kūsō*), although he seriously held those fantasies. Further, even though he might have been far from carrying them out in reality he depended on such fantasies. See *SNZ* Vol. 2, pp. 632–633.

him with the purpose to mitigate the discord that had arisen between them before that. The narrator obviously feels better at ease behind the pen to detail this instance of discord with his father. Moreover, in the remainder of the narrative we find inserted various incidents in the past involving the father that has resulted in discord between the two and has cast a disagreeable shadow over their relationship. In a sense, the narrator is writing down what he has just declared himself being unable to write.

As the narrator famously reaches reconciliation with the father towards the end of the narrative, the impetus to treat the subject matter involving the discord with the father – although this is what the novel is basically all about – dissolves into thin air together with the plans for *The daydreamer* (*Jibun ni wa mō chichi to no fuwa o zairyō toshita “Musōka” o sono mama ni kakitsuzukeru ki wa nakunatta*, 413). In contrast to his original plans, the narrator by the end of the novel decides to write about the reconciliation with his father, the topic that occupies his thoughts the most at the moment (*Jibun wa yahari ima jibun no atama o ichiban shimete iru chichi to no wakai o kaku koto ni shita*, 418). This is to all appearances the novel we hold in our hands. After all, the narrator was obviously unable to write about the discord with his father, or was he?

## Conclusion

Kasai Zenzō's inability to write is part and parcel of his self-destructive behavior, paranoia and urge to portray himself as a wretched, hounded creature. Given the portrait of himself that he endeavors to conjure up to the reader, he cannot possibly appear to be at ease behind the pen. If he cannot write what he wants, he can at least write about not being able to write on those rare occasions when he is seemingly released from the block. This is the narrative situation conjured up by his stories. How are we, then, ultimately to understand Kasai's frequent adaptations of the motif? In the above, I discussed narrative elements in Kasai designed to derail the narrator and cast him off balance. Edward Fowler has discussed such derailing elements in terms of 'narrative deflections' that make out the frame of a story. By default, then, this frame itself becomes the story.<sup>7</sup> Hence, his writer's block is akin to a sort of fictional ploy, a vehicle that carries the narration forward. This point is made eminently clear in a marginal piece like his 1922 *Morning pilgrimage* (*Asa mairi*), where the narration is driven by the efforts of the *kakenai shōsetsuka* to evade a messenger from a publisher who is pestering the narrator to deliver a previously solicited manuscript. In this story we find inserted an account of his visit to Tokyo during the end-of-year festivities a short while earlier. Yet, returning back to the here and now of the first narrative, the narrator declares:

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<sup>7</sup> Fowler: 265.

‘I thought I would throw up a smokescreen by writing about those end-of-year incidents, but there was no way I could write’ (*Sō shita toshikure no koto demo kaite ocha o nigashitai to omotta ga, dōshitemo kakenai*, 318).

Shiga Naoya’s various explorations of the *kakenai shōsetsuka* predicament, on the other hand, carry different implications. Overall, Shiga’s self-confidence and control behind the pen do not lend themselves to the creation of an image of the writer as wretched. Gone, also, is the impression of fictional ploys that propel the narration. Although Shiga in effect wrote several works where the exploration of the inability to write becomes the story itself, the function of the motif here rather appear to lend the narration an aura of sincerity by conjuring up an image of the author struggling behind the pen.<sup>8</sup> In his self-reflective oeuvre Shiga is constantly in search of mental equilibrium that will allow him to treat his subject matter in a manner that is faithful to his state of mind, without unnecessary embellishments. In the image of the writer, which the text calls forth, it appears as though the quest for equilibrium is what matters to him, while the narration itself appears as a mere by-product in the process. Moreover, contemporary readers would surely have been better accommodated to accept Shiga’s various aspirations to sincerity than today’s readers. After all, the works discussed in this essay were written long before ‘suspicious’ reading practices became mandatory, at least in academic circles.

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<sup>8</sup> Of *Reconciliation* Fowler has observed: ‘In a literary culture that defined realism specifically in terms of authorial “presence” rather in terms of verisimilitude, Shiga actually gained more credibility by making a show of reticence than he ever would have by making a “full” confession’ (212). In general, it might be argued that writer’s block, in being self-reflective, serves as a metafictional device that would work against the kind of sincerity that *watakushi shōsetsu* aspires to. In this Taishō predilection for the motif, though, the irony of metafiction appears to be totally lacking.

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**Okinawa's fictional landscapes:  
A reading of Medoruma Shun's "Suiteki" (Droplets)**

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**Abstract:**

Since winning the Akutagawa Award for "Suiteki" (Droplets) in 1997, Okinawan-Japanese novelist Medoruma Shun (b.1960) has received much critical acclaim in and outside of Japan. Medoruma's literary worlds typically explore issues related to Okinawa's past and present, including Japan's annexation of Okinawa in 1879, the Battle of Okinawa, and colonial influences on indigenous Okinawan culture and lifestyle. These themes are not necessarily new to Okinawan literature. Rather, it is Medoruma's fresh and innovative treatment of these issues and his remarkable craftsmanship that have brought him much acclaim and placed his works at the forefront of Okinawan fiction. This paper proposes to examine some of the approaches taken, and some key literary strategies employed by Medoruma to explore these themes via a close reading of the award winning work "Suiteki".

**"Suiteki"**

"Suiteki" (Droplets) opens with the main protagonist, Tokushō, waking from an afternoon nap to find he has been struck down by a mysterious illness: his lower right leg has "swelled to the size of an average gourd melon and turned pale green"<sup>1</sup> and although "alert and clearheaded" he has been rendered immobile and mute so that he appears comatose to onlookers. A clear, odorless liquid drips from a split at the tip of Tokushō's big toe which was rent when his wife, who puts his illness down to "gambling and carousing with women", curses the "lazy bum" for "get(ting) some weird ailment durin' the busy season" and gives his swollen foot a swift, sharp slap. From that evening, Tokushō is tormented by ghostly apparitions that appear night after night at his bedside to drink the water dripping from his toe.

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<sup>1</sup> All excerpts in English from "Suiteki" are quoted from Michael Molasky and Steve Rabson's translation, "Droplets" (*Southern Exposure: Modern Japanese Literature*, ed., Michael Molasky & Steve Rabson, University of Hawaii Press, 2000).

Praised by critics at the time of its publication for its ‘bizarre opening, its imaginative conception, and depth,’<sup>2</sup> this blending of the fantastic with realism in “Suiteki” is a hallmark of Medoruma’s writing. It makes for a gripping and humorous story but what, if anything, might these strange and mysterious happenings convey to readers about Okinawa, past and present?

It is mid-June when Tokushō is struck down by illness, the time of year when Okinawans commemorate those who died in the Battle of Okinawa.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, it turns out that Tokushō is a former ‘soldier’ of the *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai*, or ‘Blood & Iron Imperial Service Corps,’ in Okinawa and that the ghostly soldiers who appear at his bedside night after night, are fellow members of his unit. This, and other subtler signs in the work such as the image of the gourd melon and the faint taste of lime in the water dripping from Tokushō’s toe all point to the illness’ connection to Tokushō’s experiences in, and memories of, the Battle of Okinawa.<sup>4</sup> Typically, Tokushō would be visiting primary and junior high schools around this time of the year to relate his war experiences as a *kataribe* or ‘storyteller’ whose role it is to convey communal stories of the past to the next generation. Indeed, Tokushō has become somewhat a celebrity, visited by newspaper reporters, university research teams and occasionally interviewed on television. However, he has been tailoring his stories to “what his audience wanted to hear” even developing a knack in order “not to appear too glib.” “You start fibbin’ and makin’ up sorry tales to profit off the war and you’ll get your fair punishment in the end,” his wife, Ushi, warns.

Tokushō’s ailment would indeed appear to be the “comeuppance” Ushi warns of. Symptoms such as loss of movement and speech, however, suggest that his condition is rather a physical manifestation of his own subconscious resistance to the *kataribe* role and a sign of trauma or ‘post-traumatic stress disorder’ (PTSD). Thus instead of going on the annual school visits to tell more of his embellished war stories, Tokushō is confined to bed

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<sup>2</sup>白石一郎「第二十七回九州芸術祭文学賞発表」、『文学界』、1997年、4月号、160頁

<sup>3</sup> The 23 June or *Irei no hi* (lit. ‘day to console the dead’) officially marks the end of the Battle of Okinawa as it’s the day that the top general Ushijima and his team are said to have committed suicide.

<sup>4</sup> The gourd melon grew prolifically in Okinawa in the aftermath of the war nourished, it is said, by the bodies of the dead. See Medoruma’s comments in 「受賞の言葉：目取真俊<目取真俊氏に聞く>」（『文藝春秋』1997年、9月号）、424. Lime is likewise a subtle allusion to the limestone caves in which Tokushō and his comrades, like the Okinawan civilians, took refuge during the war.

where to all appearances he is in a deep sleep. Inwardly however, he is experiencing flashbacks and hallucinations related to his war-time experiences that literally bring him face-to-face with the ghosts of his past:

Now the soldiers began to appear nightly. . .they would emerge, one after another, from the wall to Tokusho's left. . .The next soldier kneeled down and frantically began sucking on Tokusho's toe. A fly zoomed off the wound on the man's dented skull, buzzing around his head for a while before landing on the bed and disappearing. This soldier had also grabbed Tokusho in the cave that day, begging for water. The tall soldier standing behind him, and the Okinawan soldier hidden behind him, and the one-eyed soldier who just now appeared out of the wall – all had been in the cave, extending their arms as they pleaded for water. Tokusho felt as if he was being dragged back into the cave's shadows once again.<sup>5</sup>

The appearance of the phantom soldiers revives Tokushō's deeply repressed memories of the war. It is no coincidence that they come in search of water as this is something that Tokushō failed to provide to his former comrades as they lay wounded and dying. Worse still, Tokushō is shown to have 'robbed' his closest comrade, Ishimine, of water and left him to die when he flees to safer ground. In one of the novel's most dramatic scenes, Tokushō is confronted by Ishimine's ghost and seeks forgiveness. Ishimine's ghost gives a small nod of acknowledgment and departs with the words, "Thank you. At last my thirst is quenched." After that, the ghosts vanish for good and Tokushō's mysterious illness is likewise cured.

Much of the discussion of "Suiteki" by critics and literary scholars has centered on several aspects of this story. Firstly, Tokusho's actions during the war, his supposed 'betrayal' of his comrades, 'cowardice' and 'egoism' or 'self-serving wartime (in)action.'<sup>6</sup> These are taken as evidence of Medoruma having posited Tokusho as 'an aggressor' in this story 'rather than another in the cast of battle victims.'<sup>7</sup> Another focus has been on Tokushō's 'self-deception,' his 'dispensing of lies to school children through his artfully constructed

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<sup>5</sup> "Droplets," op. cit., 263, 273.

<sup>6</sup> See for example, Bhowmik's discussion of Tokushō in *Writing Okinawa* (NY: Routledge, 2008) and Hino Keizō's comments in 「芥川賞選評」(『文藝春秋』、1997年、第9号), 426-7

<sup>7</sup> See for example, Tatematsu Wahei's comments in 「第二十七回九州芸術祭文学賞発表」(『文学界』、1997年、4月号)、163頁, and Bhowmik (*Writing Okinawa*), 147.

stories of war heroism,’<sup>8</sup> and the question as to whether or not he has ‘reformed’ in the end. On the face of it, it would appear that both Ishimine and Tokushō have been ‘healed’ and everything is now resolved. Certainly, one scholar concludes that Tokushō ‘is saved as a result of his punishment (illness) from the suffering over not meeting his obligations with regard to water during the war.’<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, others have reached the opposite conclusion. Literary scholar, Hino Keizō for example, makes the following comment:

This is not one of those happy endings where the hero becomes conscious of crimes long buried in his subconscious, repents and is saved. Even after he fully recovers from his strange illness, Tokushō is still anxious and after once more indulging in drinking and gambling is found asleep on the ground outside the gate at home.<sup>10</sup>

Bhowmik likewise considers Tokushō to be ‘fundamentally unchanged’ and ‘unwilling to reform.’ She further submits that the ending of “Suiteki” could be read as ‘an open rebuke of Tokushō’s habits and perhaps even of Okinawans themselves, who, content in escapist pleasures such as playing the samisen and dancing the *kachāshī*, share his apathy.’<sup>11</sup> While these issues are certainly worthy of debate and I am tempted to add a few of my own thoughts to the discussion, in overly focusing our attention on Tokushō and his actions in the war, we are in danger of measuring him by the very same yardstick that “Suiteki” clearly sets out to critique and in once more condemning him to ‘silence.’ Instead, this paper aims to demonstrate that Medoruma’s concerns lie not so much in exposing Tokushō as a ‘coward,’ ‘egoist,’ or ‘aggressor,’ – indeed, I would say this is not his intention – nor in whether or not he is ‘reformed’ in the end, but rather in highlighting the issue of how we memorialize the war and, via Tokushō and others, in deconstructing our collective memories of the Battle of Okinawa, or the so-called ‘war myths.’ Additionally, I hope to reveal that though steeped in Battle of Okinawa-related issues, this novel goes beyond the Battle of Okinawa and indeed beyond the subject of war to allude to other matters relating to Okinawa’s past and present.

### ‘War myths’ and ‘Yasukuni ideology’

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<sup>8</sup> See for example, Bhowmik (*Writing Okinawa*) 146, Hino (「芥川賞選評」), Kōguchi Satoshi in 「目取真俊・沖繩戦から照射される<現在>-『風音』から『水滴』へ-」(『社会文学』、2010年、第31号), 61

<sup>9</sup> 「芥川賞選評」、『文芸春秋』、97年9月号、429頁

<sup>10</sup> Ibid、427

<sup>11</sup> Bhowmik, op.cit., 147-8

Tokushō's inability to assimilate his war experiences arises partly from the painful nature of those experiences and, I would argue, difficulties in reconciling them with Japan's collective war memories surrounding the Battle of Okinawa. According to Okinawan historian, Ōshiro Masayasu, the Okinawan people's contribution to the war effort is represented by the *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* ('Blood & Iron Imperial Corps') and the *Himeyuri-tai* ('Princess Lily Corps'),<sup>12</sup> military divisions comprising young high school boys and girls sent to the

battlefield to fight or, in the latter case, to serve as nurses.<sup>13</sup> The *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* and *Himeyuri-tai* have been memorialized through books and films and, together with the *kamikaze* pilots from mainland Japan, have come to embody the Battle of Okinawa. As Ōshiro points out however, war tales that focus on the *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* and *Himeyuri-tai*, and indeed the *kamikaze* pilots, tend to valorize war and the notion of self-sacrifice for the emperor and state, or what some refer to as 'Yasukuni ideology,'<sup>14</sup> thereby obscuring the reality of war and state responsibility.<sup>15</sup>

As we have seen, Tokushō's experiences as a member of the *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* present a very different picture from the stock war tales described by Ōshiro. Depictions of soldiers "drenched in urine and excrement" and Tokushō powerless to do anything other than passively watch his fellow soldiers die, or of Tokushō gulping down to the last drop the water intended for his friend Ishimine and leaving him to die after he is fatally injured is a far cry from the standard image of the young 'Blood and Iron Imperial Service Corps' soldiers typically portrayed as having fought courageously against the enemy and sacrificed their lives for their country.

Collective war memories are similarly undercut by the episode in "Suiteki" about Miyagi Setsu. Setsu is a nurse in the *Himeyuri-tai* and a wartime friend who, like Ishimine, was from the same cluster of villages as Tokushō. One day, the cave where Tokushō and his comrades are hiding is bombed and an order is issued for the soldiers to redeploy. Tokushō stays behind to keep a watch over Ishimine who has been fatally injured. Around that time,

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<sup>12</sup>大城将保著『沖繩戦 — 民衆の眼でとらえる「戦争」』（高文研、2000年）、203頁

<sup>13</sup> In total 1,464 students were drafted into the *Himeyuri-tai*, *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* and other such corps. An estimated 816 of them were killed in the Battle.

<sup>14</sup> Yasukuni is a Shinto shrine founded by the Meiji Emperor, the first emperor of the modern Japanese State, for the purpose of commemorating those who died in the service of the Japanese Empire.

<sup>15</sup> Ōshiro, op.cit., 202~3

Setsu turns up and, after giving Tokushō some bread and water, clasps his shoulder and says forcefully, “We’re heading to the field hospital in Itoman, so be sure to follow us!” She thus strongly urges Tokushō to follow them, clearly concerned that he survive. Tokushō does eventually flee but never catches up with Setsu as the cave where they were to meet had been bombed by the time he arrives and her group had moved on. Years later, Tokushō discovers that Setsu and her group had travelled on to Mabuni, the southern-most tip of the main Okinawan island, and used a hand grenade to commit suicide there.

Tokushō is filled with sadness and then “rage” over Setsu’s death. He wants to kill “those who drove Setsu to her death.” Tokushō’s rage, coupled with Setsu’s earlier words of encouragement to Tokushō, clearly convey to the reader that suicide was not an option that Setsu would have willingly chosen. So who exactly were “those who drove Setsu to her death”? Okinawan editor and free-lance writer Miyagi Harumi highlights as key factors leading to ‘mass suicides’ by Okinawans during the war, the fact that education under the imperial system was oriented to producing ‘imperial subjects’ and that militaristic ideology taught everyone that they ‘must not suffer the shame of being caught (by the enemy) alive.’<sup>16</sup> Research revealing that mass suicides only occurred in regions where there was a Japanese army presence supports the latter point. Additionally, Okinawan critic, Nakazato Isao made the following comments after reading Kinjō Shigeaki’s testament about taking the lives of his own mother and younger sisters during the Battle of Okinawa:

The problem is the ‘camera’, the existence of a gaze. Or to be more precise, it is the existence of a relationship between the viewer and the viewed via the ‘camera’. We must query the form of that relationship between the ‘camera’, the ‘gaze’, the ‘viewer’ and the ‘viewed’. In his testimony, Kinjō Shigeaki declares that the thoroughness of the education to turn Okinawan’s into imperial subjects and *kichiku beiei* (‘savage Americans’) ideology provided the context for the ‘mass suicides.’ If we take Kinjō’s point further, we come up against the issue of ‘assimilation.’ In Okinawa, education aimed at assimilation (of the Okinawan’s) and education to create imperial subjects were carried out together. The effect of that was, we could say, the ‘mass suicides’ as an extreme expression of the viewed subject’s self-identity intended for the gaze behind the camera. <sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> 宮城晴美「軍隊は『女性』の敵です — 『集団自決』・強姦と沖縄の女性」、『沖縄を読む』（情況出版編集部、情況出版、1999年）、147～148頁

<sup>17</sup> 上村忠男編『沖縄の記憶／日本の歴史』、未来社、2002年、180頁。Nakazato draws on Chris Michel’s explanation on viewing images of Japanese women throwing

Needless to say, the younger generation of Okinawan's who had been mobilized like Setsu and Tokushō into the *Himeyuri-tai* and *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* military units were the most heavily influenced by the education policies to bring about assimilation and create imperial subjects. As Ōshiro points out, the younger generation had an inferiority complex about being Okinawan and feared being denounced as 'foreigners.' They were 'fired up with a sense of mission to prove themselves as being true imperial subjects by sacrificing their lives for the empire.'<sup>18</sup> Or perhaps closer to the truth, they felt obliged to make it appear as if they were fired up with such a sense of mission. This is what Nakazato means when he says that the 'mass suicides' were 'an extreme expression of the viewed subject's self-identity intended for the gaze behind the camera.' Although the author, Medoruma Shun, doesn't directly address these issues in "Suiteki," this episode about Miyagi Setsu clearly calls into question the depiction of those who died, like Setsu, at their own hands during the Battle of Okinawa as having done so out of devotion to the emperor and empire,<sup>19</sup> and raises the spectre of Japan's colonization of Okinawa and assimilation policies in the pre-war and war-time eras.

### **Seiyū and the 'miracle water'**

Running parallel to the story of the main protagonist, Tokushō, and his nightly visitations by the phantom soldiers, is a humorous subplot about Tokushō's cousin Seiyū. Seiyū is a "good for nothing," a gambler and drunkard who ekes out a living by working as a day labourer on the mainland and at home in Okinawa. When he hears of Tokushō's illness and drops in to pay his respects, Ushi takes him in for a time, in exchange for his tending for Tokushō while she works outside tilling the fields. It doesn't take Seiyū long to realize that the water dripping from Tokushō's toe is a powerful aphrodisiac and elixir of youth, and under the pretext of looking after Tokushō, he secretly siphons off the water that he then sells as 'miracle water' at the neighbouring village. For a short time, the 'miracle water' is in great demand and he makes a small fortune. When Tokushō recovers and the water dries up, Seiyū decides to skip town with the money. He plans on visiting "massage parlours (red-light districts)," all the way from southern Kyushu and up the coast to Tokyo. When,

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themselves off 'Suicide Cliff' in Saipan toward the end of the war that 'they were spurred on by the camera behind them.'

<sup>18</sup> Ōshiro, op. cit., 203

<sup>19</sup> The now widely held, but unofficial, view is that the 'mass suicides' were not a voluntary, spontaneous act but were the tragic results of coercion or guidance from the Japanese army.

however, he arrives at the next village, intending to close up shop, an angry mob of people is waiting for him. The miraculous ‘rejuvenating’ effects of the water have worn off and it is now having the reverse effect; his customers, both men and women alike, “had lost their hair and with their splotches and moss-covered faces they all looked like eighty-year-olds.” The angry crowd summarily subject Seiyū to a severe beating.

This humorous and somewhat fantastic episode may appear at first glance as unrelated to the tale about Tokushō. Indeed, many critics have taken it to be a comic diversion or simply as ‘noise.’ However, so-called ‘noise’ has the effect of overturning conventional values just as ‘carnavalesque’ and ‘laughter,’ in the words of Kuwano, drawing on Bakhtin’s theories, are devices for ‘touching things from all sides and directions, turning things upside down and inside out, looking at them from above and below, stripping them of their outer coats and looking inside...analyzing them, breaking them down and exposing them...’<sup>20</sup> In other words, ‘carnavalesque,’ ‘laughter,’ and ‘noise’ temporarily free one from existing social structures and values and lay bare a hitherto unperceived reality. What ‘reality’ then does ‘carnavalesque’ expose in “Suiteki”?

Firstly, Seiyū’s actions represent a crude parody of Tokushō’s. In recent years, Tokushō has been going around schools sharing his war experiences, for which he receives an honorarium. But he has been tailoring his stories to suit the audiences’ expectations – that is reinforcing war myths – rather than telling them the truth about his real experiences. In this sense, Seiyū’s deception of others in order to make money is like a vulgar equivalent or parody of Tokushō’s actions. But Seiyū is not simply a crude imitation of Tokushō. He is like a ‘trickster’ or someone who ‘collects old images, icons, expressions of identity that people have discarded.’<sup>21</sup> As such, he incorporates Tokushō within what is a much broader representation of Okinawan society. The comical portrayal of Seiyū in trying to make a fast buck by selling the water thus highlights the broader issue of how the war is memorialized and indeed appropriated by some elements of Okinawan society. Likewise, his wearing “US military surplus trousers” and a “gaudy T-shirt like those hawked to tourists at the beach,” capture various other faces of Okinawa such as the use of the American Army bases for financial gain and the promotion of Okinawa as a resort destination.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> 桑野隆著『バフチン<対話>そして<解放の笑い>』、岩波書店、1987年、190頁

<sup>21</sup> 山口昌男著『知の祝祭 文化における中心と周縁』、河出文庫、1988年、13頁

<sup>22</sup> In 1996, the year before “Suiteki” appeared, in an essay titled “On the Current Situation of Okinawan Culture,” Medoruma was very critical of a section of the male population in Okinawa who live a lazy life indulging in drink and slot machines, as well as of Okinawa in general for showing no sign of becoming independent and instead sacrificing its people in order to acquire money from the government in the form of fees for land leased out to the American Army bases.

Additionally, Seiyū's plan to visit all the "massage parlours (red-light districts)" and his fixation with his own "member" and virility, coupled with Tokushō's grotesquely swollen leg, reminiscent of bombs and the male organ when sexually aroused, point, through association, to male violence toward and the degradation of, women, and in the context of the war, the issue of the so-called 'comfort woman' and 'comfort houses' of which there are said to have been over 100 set up in Okinawa, as well as rape and sexual violence committed by the American soldiers after the war. These issues were for a long time hidden under a heavy veil of silence in Japan. Although the 'comfort women' have become more visible in recent years, and are a factor behind strained relations between Japan and Korea, they continue nevertheless to be a taboo in Japan and erased from Japan's official histories and collective memory.

Needless to say, these are not simply historical issues. Seiyū's "US military surplus trousers" raise the spectre of the ongoing sex crimes committed by soldiers stationed at the American bases in Okinawa, an issue that came to the fore with the abduction and gang rape of a twelve-year-old Okinawan girl by American servicemen in 1995, just two years before "Suiteki" was published. Nor do Okinawan males escape the author's critical gaze; the very fact that Seiyū is Okinawan raises the issue of Okinawan complicity with the army during wartime and their present-day treatment of women.

In this way, this episode about Seiyū and the miracle water is not simply a comic diversion from the main story. Rather it serves to revive some of Japan's most contentious memories surrounding the war and some of the more problematic aspects of Okinawan society, including the ongoing issue of the American bases and sex crimes committed by the soldiers stationed there.

## **Ushi**

In the light of the physical effects experienced by the people who drank the water sold by Seiyū, the 'miracle water' dripping from Tokushō's foot is clearly not the water of life and regeneration but that of degeneration and death. This, and the fact that Tokushō's swollen leg is reminiscent of a bomb, suggest that Tokushō has internalized 'Yasukuni ideology,' an ideology that valorizes the notion of dying for one's country. It is now literally a part of his physical makeup. It is precisely because Tokushō's perception of the war is coloured by this ideology that he is unable to acknowledge his own war experiences, that don't sit well with such notions, or having survived, affirm his own life. His lying inert much as if he were dead is a manifestation of this. An important catalyst for change is his wife, Ushi.

Ushi has received scant attention from literary critics and scholars expounding on this work. It may be that they view her as little more than ‘noise,’ like Seiyū. I propose however that she is essential to the story and plays a vital role in Tokushō’s recovery.

Ushi, like Tokushō, is a survivor of the war but an important difference is that, as her harsh criticism of ‘war myths’ suggests, she is untouched by ‘Yasukuni ideology.’ Her use of Okinawan speech and way of life deeply rooted in indigenous Okinawan culture are further evidence of her lack of assimilation. In this sense, Ushi’s world and her outlook on life are antithetical and provide an alternative to the worldview that the *Himeyuri-tai* and *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* represent. That is why she is able to draw the water (= war memories and ideology that valorizes war and death) from Tokushō’s body. Ushi instinctively saw Tokushō’s swollen foot as a sign of his lackadaisical attitude and way of thinking that didn’t affirm their life together and instead held to a male-oriented ideology that glorifies war, and putting his illness down to “gambling and carousing with women,” gave his swollen foot a swift, sharp slap.

From the next night, the phantom soldiers begin their nocturnal visits. For more than two weeks, Tokushō floats between the world of the living and that of the dead. At night, his eyes open so that he can see the soldiers and relive his war experiences. During the day, by contrast, he is ‘sleeping’ and forced to ‘look’ at the world through Ushi’s eyes and ‘see’ things from her perspective. As he goes back and forth between these two worlds, the world of the ghosts and Ushi’s world, Tokushō is gradually able to relativize and reject ‘Yasukuni ideology,’ thereby freeing himself from its hold. That allows him finally to accept his own personal war experiences, painful though they may be, and free himself from the bonds of the dead that have tormented him for over fifty years. The critical point at which this happens is when, after initially asking for his forgiveness, he rebuffs Ishimine with the words, “Don’t you know how much I’ve suffered these past fifty years?” The fact that Tokushō decides, after his recovery, that he’d like to go and visit the cave where Ishimine and his other comrades died, lay flowers and look for any remaining human bones, indicates that he is now ready to literally lay his ghosts of the past to rest. That he wishes to do this with Ushi is an affirmation of their life together, and while he may appear to have returned to his old habits of drinking and gambling, the fact that he hasn’t started womanizing again and his positive attitude toward working in the fields at the end likewise indicate a change in outlook.

Tokushō is thus ‘reborn,’ with Ushi’s aid. Symbolic of his ‘rebirth’ is the exceptionally loud ‘wail’ that echoes throughout the village at dawn on the day of his recovery.

## Conclusion

As can be seen from the above analysis, “Suiteki” adopts a Kafkaesque-like tale to explore issues relating to the Battle of Okinawa, the effects of which are still felt today. During the course of the story, it becomes clear that the experiences of the main protagonist, Tokushō, differ greatly from, and therefore fundamentally undermine the standard image of the *Tekketsu Kinnō-tai* (‘Blood & Iron Imperial Corps’) and *Himeyuri-tai* (‘Princess Lily Corps’) members as the ‘pure and devoted who fell on the battlefield having sacrificed their lives for the State and their beloved homeland.’ Male-oriented ‘Yasukuni ideology’ hidden in such war stories is exposed and subverted in this novel by the incorporation of a female ‘voice’ and indigenous worldview. What is also revealed with the deconstruction of these ‘war myths,’ are government policies in prewar and wartime Japan aimed at the assimilation of the Okinawans and creation of imperial subjects, or in other words, Japan’s colonization of Okinawa.

Literary devices such as ‘carnavalesque,’ ‘noise,’ and the ‘trickster’ figure are combined with symbolically potent imagery and allusion to indirectly capture aspects of the war that have been shrouded in silence and erased from collective memory, such as the ‘comfort women’ (sex slaves) and sex crimes committed by American soldiers during the American occupation of Okinawa after the war.<sup>23</sup> Okinawa is not spared from Medoruma’s critical gaze and neither is this work simply about the past. As we have seen, aspects of Okinawa’s past and present interpenetrate in the figure of Seiyū the trickster and, of course, Tokushō.

In conclusion, “Suiteki” is a fine example of the remarkable skill with which Medoruma crafts his novels and some of the literary devices that he employs to do so. It highlights some of the common themes linking his works, including the Battle of Okinawa, colonial influences on indigenous Okinawan lifestyles and thought, and gender-related issues.

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<sup>23</sup> Ōshiro, op. cit.

## Animating the Animal in Post-3/11 Fiction for Young People:

### *Kibô no Bokujô* (The Farm of Hope)

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Within an increasingly precarious world, post 3/11 literature for young people has seen an increase in ecological narratives, as has literature for general audiences. Such literature, even though it is concerned with the fragility of the natural environment, is often more about re-instantiating nationally and internationally generated scripts of *kizuna* (bonding),<sup>1</sup> *gaman* (endurance), or *iyashi* (healing) from a human perspective. Like most environmental and trauma texts for young people, these scripts are largely anthropocentric in that they do not much reflect upon ‘deeper’ ecological issues such as the effects of disaster on nonhuman species. One notable exception to this lack of attention to the plight of animals is the picture book, *Kibô no Bokujô* (‘Farm of Hope’, 2014, henceforth *Kibô*), written by well-known novelist, Mori Etô, and illustrated by talented artist, Yoshida Hisanori. The story examines a farmer’s defiance of authorities as he stays behind in the 20 kilometre nuclear exclusion zone in order to tend his now commercially worthless cows. In its focus on human-animal relations, *Kibô* interrogates economic and anthropocentric scripts common to industrialised societies and provokes an affect-driven ecological consideration for farm animals in particular. This paper will explore how affect operates dialogically in the reading process of both the verbal and pictorial discourses. It will use concepts from cognitive poetics to examine the way affect operates conceptually in interaction with story mapping to challenge the audience to recognise, care and empathise with all life, but especially animal life.

As a fiction, *Kibô* contrasts with a plethora of ‘informational’ (often photographic or diagrammatic) texts on the triple disaster for young people. Even though the book is anthropocentric in that the verbal text is focalised entirely through the farmer, its non-anthropomorphised cows contrast with the common conventions of anthropomorphic symbolism found in other picture book narratives such as *Tsuchi no Hanashi*, *Pino no Ko*, or *Kaze Kiru Tsubasa*. Perhaps because of this and because the narrative is based on an actual farmer’s actions after the 3/11 disaster, it is sometimes treated as non-fiction,<sup>2</sup> but its

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<sup>1</sup> Suter, 2016, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Sakuma, Yumiko, 2016, p. 14.

characterisation, events and narrative point of view, for example, signal it as fictional.<sup>3</sup> As John Stephens suggests in relation to different types of ecological texts for children, the fictional category is likely to raise awareness of doing (in this case, caring) over simply being or knowing.<sup>4</sup> As fiction, *Kibô* functions more symbolically than a descriptive environmental text, so can be considered as what Stephens calls a ‘consciousness-raising’ narrative which in its creation of ecological risk consciousness, is linked with identity, social responsibility and advocacy.<sup>5</sup> Like all children’s narratives, *Kibô* is about identity formation and developmental transition, the awareness of self in intersubjective engagement with society. It serves this kind of acculturating function by promoting a deeper ecological intersubjectivity through cognisance of social responsibility in relation to their protection from human activity, and of the need for interpersonal care for oft-forgotten animals.

As a fictional discourse, *Kibô* raises consciousness of responsibility and care through the affective reading process. Affective reading requires conceptual interaction with textual indeterminacies which do not necessarily arise in descriptive discourse or photographs. This kind of multimodal picture book narrative will, for example, be shaped by verbal and visual modals which create various levels of possibility linked in causal relationships.<sup>6</sup> Although *Kibô* may seem like a simple text, this multimodality demands some highly sophisticated affective mapping strategies.

Because stories both produce and rely on metaphoric maps of how we think, reading fiction requires “mapping connections between elements according to specific rules of inference”.<sup>7</sup> This process relies on scripts and schemata, past experiences which are stored as stereotypical knowledge structures – also known as domains or mental spaces – in memory. Whereas a script is a dynamic experiential repertoire in that it refers to a stereotyped sequence of events as it is expected to unfold over time, a schema is a static ‘frame-like’ structure which refers to more general “memory patterns”.<sup>8</sup> Both are necessary to the comprehension of narrative discourse. As David Herman explains, scripts and schemata (hereafter referred to generically as ‘schemata’) are what differentiate story from descriptive or explanatory discourse – the events in stories interact with a plurality of these experiential repertoires.<sup>9</sup> These schemata not only reduce the complexity of mental

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<sup>3</sup> For further discussion of what sets fictional narrative apart from expository discourse see Herman, 2002, p. 90ff.

<sup>4</sup> Stephens, 2008, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Stephens, 2008, pp. 70-1.

<sup>6</sup> Stephens, 2008, p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> Miall, 1989, p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> Herman, 2002, pp. 85, 89. Herman is following Dennis Mercadal, 1990, here. Also see Stephens, 2011, p.13.

<sup>9</sup> Herman, 2002, p. 90.

processing tasks in the interpretation of narratives, but act as a mental reference against which emergent narrative information can be cognitively confirmed or rejected or narrative gaps filled.

Recent developments in cognitive science have shown how the embodied process of affect can control such schemata. As David Miall argues, cognitive mapping requires this affective process in order to create schemata for less determinate narrative elements or categories such as propositions, goals or plot units, with their “complex of shifting and continually developing meanings”.<sup>10</sup> In other words, the reading of fictional narratives requires “embodied cognitive acts – such as language use, memory, perception, and imaginative production – that are structured by specific cultural contexts”.<sup>11</sup> Affect actively operates in the mind during reading to generate self-referentiality, cross-domain categorisation of text elements, and anticipation according to “shifts in the relative importance of story phrases across the reading ...”.<sup>12</sup> Reading a narrative thus requires the blending of pre-stored knowledge (schemata) with emergent information that conforms to, or challenges, readers’ expectations, triggering affective responses.<sup>13</sup> The affective process in the *Kibô* text can thus generate a sense of active caring and responsibility for represented participants. Here, affect is triggered in relation to textual indeterminacies that create reader anticipation or expectation about the farmer’s economic livelihood, duties and attention to the cows. In particular, by setting up narrative expectations in regard to ecological trauma through an industrial socio-economic lens, the book moves readers towards a more affective, intersubjective eco-consciousness and ethical responsibility in relation to animals over homo-sapiens alone.

A major schematic expectation in *Kibô* will be for a resolution of hope – as per the book’s title – for the farmer, for *human* healing. *Kibô* can, for instance, be read against a common ‘healing’ script which, as suggested by Anne Sherif, will entail a traumatic experience followed by lament (for the loss of a loved one/s), reverie, then acceptance after time which often anticipates a fresh start and “the possibility of reintegration into society, even after extreme alienation or trauma”.<sup>14</sup> While *Kibô* establishes itself as a trauma narrative with this schematic potential, the narrative rejects the idea of reintegration for the human protagonist alone. It instead prompts recognition of hope for the cows and people to be able to continue living together. As a healing narrative, *Kibô*’s trauma revolves around the farmer’s loss of livelihood and identity. His lament and reverie are depicted through his

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<sup>10</sup> Miall, 1989, p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> Trites, 2012, p. 64.

<sup>12</sup> Miall, 1989, p. 55–6. “Affect may play a more productive role in cognitive processes than is generally acknowledged” p. 55.

<sup>13</sup> Barber, 2014 p. 127.

<sup>14</sup> Sherif, 1999, p. 279. Also see Karatani, ‘Sickness as Meaning’ in *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, 1993, p. 107-9.

attempts to understand what his life will now entail. Acceptance and reintegration, however, revolve around his developing realisation that industrial society has been responsible for putting him and his neighbours into this impossible situation, and finally, that caring for animals is a worthwhile pursuit in and of itself. The way the narrative trajectory transforms the farmer's attitude initiates a deep awareness of human-animal bonds, the recognition that caring for them is an ethical responsibility which can promote not only psychological resilience or 'healing' for humans, but also a deeper ecological awareness of all sentient beings.

One of the ethical and affective points that *Kibô* turns on is the contradiction between livelihood and life, between the economic production of beef cattle to cater to human needs and an intersubjective awareness of them as biological life.<sup>15</sup> Through the initial focus on animals reared as economic produce, the book introduces, then challenges, two dominant cultural schemata of industrialised society. The first is a schema of economic pursuit through work as a prime purpose in human life; and the second is of human dominance over nature, particularly non-human species. The two are interlinked in that one is predicated on the other in this story; that is, the farmer's financial livelihood has previously been dependent upon work by which the animals are mainly 'looked after' as a means to an end, thus subjugated for purposes of human consumption. Both schemata conceal the need for any intersubjective ecological relationship with animals raised industrially as produce, for example.

The farmer's trauma revolves around a crisis of identity due to both these schemata being turned upside down after the spread of nuclear fallout from 3/11. Emergent information about the devastation caused by industrial pursuits (including farming and nuclear energy production) at the expense of animal life challenges pre-stored, blended schemata about economic livelihood and human-animal hierarchies. As the accident causes the farmer to reflect upon and interrogate his now-failed economic pursuits, it and his responses prompt profoundly philosophical questions about humanity's attitude to animals, farm animals in particular.

Emergent information in *Kibô* comes about through, for example, page-turning principles of anticipation and interrogative postulations which require complex conceptual processing techniques. These mental operations interact dialogically with general schemata about economics and work and non-human species to foster a deeper consciousness of as feeling, sentient beings. The farmer's questions or final tags (such as 'kana', meaning maybe), for instance, create a subjunctive mood which interpellates readers into an intersubjective dialogue, a self-reflexive consideration of the implications of the use of animals as a form

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<sup>15</sup> For more on this distinction between livelihood (seikatsu) and biological life (inochi), see Fujiki, H. 'Problematizing Life: documentary films on the 3.11 nuclear catastrophe', in Iwata-Weickgenannt and Geilhorn, *Fukushima and the Arts: Negotiating nuclear disaster*. 2017, pp. 90–109.

of livelihood. The visual semiotics also create a similar kind of subjunctive modality which prompts audience self-reflection. While the farmer's first person direct and indirect verbal questions are at once self-questioning, they are also addressed to the audience along with the implied appeal in his and cows' gazes. Even though the farmer often answers his own questions, they first prompt a self-reflexive (affective) response from the audience. For instance, in the unusual establishing scene which precedes the frontispiece, the first line of dialogue immediately hails the reader in direct discourse, in a first-person colloquial interrogative from the (as yet unknown) farmer:

*Hey, do you know what a cowhand is?*<sup>16</sup>

Together with the establishing picture in which the farmer and cows stare out towards viewing space from an industrial/natural divide (Opening 1), his question triggers reflection upon the concepts of work and 'cowhand', a blend of the concepts of an economic work pursuit and animal care.<sup>17</sup> The possible answers which arise will then require further conceptual blending and comparison with the farmer's emphatic responses in order to comprehend the irony of the last tag question:

*It's someone who lives on a farm and looks after cows.  
That's what! Simple, eh?*

The immediate evocation of the farm as part of a work schema blends with the conceptual domain of care to set up the paradox of the farmer's final tag question, the irony of which should become readily apparent to the adept reader.

If the irony of his "Simple, eh?" is missed, the blend will soon be prompted through the impact of the visuals of the next opening, the frontispiece (Opening 2). Here, the drama of nuclear devastation is immediately visible and affecting, perhaps even at a pre-conscious level. A row of cows as translucent red silhouettes in the foreground prompts cognisance of their fate as sufferers of radioactive fallout. They are set against a dark but luminescent reddish-purplish haze as the apparent source of the eerie and sinister light. The nuclear power plant at upper left is visibly destroyed. The concept of the 'simplicity' of a cowhand's work thus soon blends with concepts of the industrial production and nuclear catastrophe to confirm, through this page-turning process, the prediction that the story will suggest that life in this kind of industrial world will be anything but simple from now on. The farmer's meditations upon his traumatic experiences brought on through the threat of

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<sup>16</sup> The verbal text at the single-paged opening (1) is as follows in Japanese:

Naa, 'ushi-kai' tte, shitteru ka?  
Bokujō de, ushi no sewa shite, kurashiteru.  
Sore ga ushi-kai da yo. Kantan daro?

<sup>17</sup> 'Opening' and single- or double-paged 'spread' are terms used for pages when discussing picture books. Many books, such as *Kibō*, are unpaginated.

radioactive contamination operate with page-turning principles to help readers cognitively reject the economic work schema and eventually encourage a new one which will recognise human alienation from animals, something which is confirmed in the visual text.

The irony of the work/care blend operates with the unfolding narrative to further challenge the second schema of hierarchical animal-human relations which also merges with the concept of neglect through industrial production. Such blending heightens the expectation of a narrative resolution through a form of human action other than economic or industrial pursuit, and directs the reader towards a more intersubjective cognition of the cows' needs. Different levels of modality in the visuals work with the dialogism and lower modality in the verbal text to drive cognition of the farmer's emerging subjectivity as interlinked with his *caring* for the cows over a more neutral sense of their worth as produce; that is, to help overturn the human-animal hierarchy. Modality refers to a scale of reality, with higher visual modality representing a higher level of photographic realism than more abstract forms which represent lower levels of modality. As John Stephens asserts with regard to environmental picture books: "Lower modality underlines a contrast ... between being and doing, and points to a more thematic, even symbolic, effect of discourse".<sup>18</sup> While Stephens is referring to mostly inanimate natural objects, *Kibô*'s lower pictorial modality of the farmer operates against the higher modality of the cows to make them particularly salient as non-human participants belonging to the natural, as opposed to cultural, world. Part of the affective processing of modality in the *Kibô* visuals also relies on the rejection of a common conceptual metaphor or blend which correlates animals with humans; that is anthropomorphism. As Lisa Fraustino indicates, following the ideas of Lakoff and Johnson about systems by which comprehension of one aspect of a concept will inevitably hide other aspects, anthropomorphic narratives which employ conceptual metaphor by mapping human traits on to animals will conceal the non-human aspects of those species.<sup>19</sup> *Kibô* avoids this anthropomorphic correlation of 'animal as human' by foregrounding the cows as cows in higher visual modality against the lower modality farmer (and his domestic pets), thus encouraging awareness of them as beings in their own right and, in turn, of a more ethical response about their well-being. This disparity in the human-cow modalities prompts a rejection of the hierarchical schema of human over animal and, for instance, of the more general schema of human to human *kizuna* (bonding). Rather, the modality contrast promotes an emergent consciousness of interpersonal care and bonding, particularly with the cows, which have higher visual modality throughout and are conveyed as animals more at home in nature.

The cover, for instance, immediately operates symbolically through a modal dichotomy which encourages an almost preconscious anticipation of the division between the

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<sup>18</sup> Stephens, 2008, p. 77.

<sup>19</sup> Fraustino, 2014, p. 155. Also see Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 1980, p. 10.

production of animals for profit and consumption and their right to a safe, comfortable life. When opened out fully, the (front and back) cover shows the green pastoral scene between the grazing cows on the left against the colourless industrial plant with the farmer nearby at right. The brown cows in the industrial quadrant at upper right have apparently come from the pastoral area (from left to right in the direction of reading) for processing. They contrast with one more colourful, thus more salient, cow which stands at left closer to the green of the pasture, head downcast, looking dolefully towards viewing space. The inside flap also presents a close-up of white cow, with both ears tagged, looking out. The higher visual modality of the cows here emphasises their *haecceitas* (thisness) in nature against the lower modality of the farmer and his domesticated pets (cat and dog) which are associated more with culture. The farmer is naïvely rendered, more angular or ‘blockish’ figure to align more with the buildings and industrial infrastructure in contrast with the curved lines of cows and other objects associated more closely with nature such as the land and distant trees or grazing cows. The cows’ very *haecceitas* in turn foregrounds them as natural beings deserving of respect for what they are. The cover’s pictorial composition and the aforementioned verbal modals in Opening 1 both anticipate the farmer’s oncoming dilemma: that caring for animals is not merely economic, that the narrative will involve a clash with an industrialised commercial world and anticipate that economic pursuits may interfere with human care for the environment and for animal life in particular.

As the farmer strives to understand his changed circumstances, the eyes of the represented participants look towards viewing space in what Kress and Van Leeuwen call a visual ‘demand’. They thus challenge the audience to acknowledge their presence in contrast with industrial society’s usual concealment of their very being and the animal-human imbalance.<sup>20</sup> Together with the irony in the text and the impossibility of any simple answer to the trauma of 3/11, the initial visual ‘appeal’ from all the participants on the cover and in the first picture encourage affective consideration of the ecological trauma and the farmer’s dilemma. The continuing ‘appeals’ from the cows supercede even the farmer’s internal meditations to drive an affective cognisance of them as living creatures. Their ‘demands’, their higher visual salience and ‘thisness’ as ‘cow-like cows’ operate together with the farmer’s profound considerations of what would happen to them without his interference or protection. Their gazes provoke consideration of their right to be seen, heard, and empathised with as more than produce for human consumption, livelihood or profit. Together with the emergent narrative, their appeals will help stimulate a more cognitive compassion which moves beyond an anthropocentric consideration for the now financially-ruined farmer.

The text and pictures of two particular openings (4 and 5) which focus on the farmer’s new

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<sup>20</sup> For further discussion of visual gaze as demand, see Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1990: pp. 27ff.

awareness of the threat of human intervention in nature raise penetrating questions about human materialism, industrialisation and consumption as a major cause of his current situation. Once the farmer's cows are threatened, thus his own livelihood, he and the audience have to consider why they should be looked after, especially as the cows' fundamental needs are juxtaposed against the more materialist (economic) human drives and neglect of nature through industry. The twist here foregrounds the animals as living beings which need to eat, but can't be eaten due to their irradiation (Opening 4). By this stage, the farmer is contrasting the cost of the upkeep for 330 now-irradiated cows with their complete lack of commercial value; the impossibility of being able to be consumed. The repetition of their need for food draws attention to the irony of the situation, but also to their need for human care in order to stay alive and, indeed, to survive the cruel fate of further possible human intervention in their lives (the official cull). As elements of the farmer's non-conformity emerge, as he defies officialdom to stay behind in the dangerous nuclear zone, readers must conceptually adjust their own understanding about what constitutes work and appropriate care of the cows, and by extension, all life for a better future in an industrialised world. The animals' new economic worthlessness thus encourages the processing of new schemata which encourages the idea of livelihood as being about caring rather than economics. The farmer's continued rhetorical questions and responses about why he is now driven to caring for now-financially unviable cows prompt cognitive interrogation of a life of caring for animals against the more generic schema of a life in an industrial world bound by economic purpose.

As the narrative unfolds, his repetitive self-interrogation and reiteration (to himself and the audience) prompt ongoing questions about (his own and humanity's) reasons for living. His reiteration that he is a cowhand, for example, keeps the work schema to the fore, fostering the expectation of a new schema of care for animals as important life work in itself. Here (in Openings 4 and 5), as the farmer is going about his daily work, he draws an implicit comparison between this work and the 'work' (shigoto) of beef cattle (gyûniku). As he mumbles to himself about how much they eat and drink, and how repetitive it and their defecating is, he then humphs: "Well, that's the *work* of beef cattle" (my italics). He asks himself, "What else can I do?" "After all, I'm [just] a cowhand" in an emphatic acknowledgement of his duty to keep them alive and well. This kind of continual emphasis draws attention to the farmer's routine feed and care for the cows, as though he is trying to come to terms with the new situation. Although he remains alone, afraid of radiation in the exclusion zone, he stays because he feels it is his only option to answer the cows' persistent cries for food and water. The 'duty' narrative rejects the general economic/work schema to direct readers' concerns away from a schema of economic livelihood towards a scenario of caring for all life – the recognition of animals' right to a comfortable life and that loyal caring for animals can provide a *raison d'être* in itself. The discursal information which

emerges in the story challenges the human-animal hierarchy by triggering the concept of active care for the cows as a priority over human economic priorities or livelihood.

This kind of acknowledgement of their mutual 'work' also brings human and animal co-existence into alignment. These existential postulations put all life under scrutiny but particularly highlight the importance of cows' lives. The farmer's humane care encourages acknowledgment of them as feeling, worthwhile beings, and the comparison of his work with that of the cows prompts the ideas that both are doing and being what they should be – farmer and cow. Both the farmer's 'duty' and the cows' right to life come together as realized through both text and picture as the farmer is developing his own sense of being through his questions and actions. The reader must consider the farmer's meditations and match new information against the economic/work schema, while also considering the cows' appealing gaze in the pictures. Doing so is likely to prompt recognition that caring for them is the only ethical thing to do.

The schemata of work and industrial farming continue to be dynamically challenged by the notion of human care for animals in the visuals of Openings 4 and 5, where several cows surround a pile of feed. As the farmer ministers to their cries for food and water in the verbal text of Opening 4, he is highly salient as an almost monumental figure at work with a spade in the middle of the open-mouthed cows looking towards him (and the viewer). His active attention here is especially apparent after the absence of humans in the two previous openings both of which depict the devastation wrought by humanity and which show animals alone, apparently abandoned by humans. While he is more symbolically depicted, the cows are again highly salient as cows to prompt cognisance of the neglect of the humans who fled the region without their animals (the previous opening mentions the cows, pigs, birds, dogs and cats who have died). This salience challenges the audience to comprehend both their basic rights and the need for human responsibility. The pictorial contrast draws attention the farmer's human action and compassion to confirm emergent textual information about the value of caring for animal life. His work and care not only dramatically contrast with the inhumanity of the authorities who later come wanting to cull the cows, but also with the human economic drive which produces excess.

The text and pictures here challenge the more customary schema which allows emotional alienation from farm animals' lives. In the next opening (5), where the economic production of animals is being confronted in the verbal text, the reading process further encourages cognisance of the cows through both their visual haecceitas and the farmer's absence from this picture. The cows are depicted eating in a circle to reiterate their constant need for sustenance (always eating, searching for food, and defecating) as emphasized verbally by the hard-working farmer. Although absent, his presence is implied through his mutterings about the cows' continuing needs in the text on one side of the double-spread (5) which are juxtaposed against his expressions of annoyance at human responsibility for

their current predicament on the other side. His absence here also marks the cows' intrinsic value as they are brought closer to the audience in this opening where a close-up of a doe-eyed cow also gazes out in direct appeal (for mercy) at the lower right of this scene. Just as the farmer's attitude is inverted here through his recognition of the cows' sudden loss of consumption value through irradiation, the visuals at this point implore readers to ignore the financial cost of keeping them alive through the pathos of their 'demand'. They are thus both visually and verbally foregrounded as animals in their own right, with an ethical right to life and human care. As the disaster and its traumatic consequences unfold for the farmer, the cows' visual demands provoke an affective recognition of them as feeling beings rather than as 'beef'.

Another way in which the human-animal hierarchy is well challenged by this point in the narrative is through language shifts in the way the cows are referred to by the farmer. The farmer's internal dialogue begins, for instance, by reflecting upon his cows as 'cows' (*ushi*), then about them as beef or meat (*nikugyû/gyûniku*).<sup>21</sup> To think of them as beef or meat in this way conceptually divorces humans from the cows as feeling beings and enables them to be consumed without any cognisance of animals as the source of the food. Within the first five openings, the farmer moves from introducing his work as about looking after 'cows' (in Opening 1), to ruminating on their numbers as now '330 head of beef cattle' (330 *tô no nikugyû*) and their inability to be eaten (in Opening 4).<sup>22</sup> He then laments on humanity's responsibility for their fate: namely, the unpleasant acknowledgement that it is humans who determine that 'farm cows' (*ushi*) will live and die in order to be produced as 'tasty meat' (*umai niku*), and it is humans who have caused the disruption to their lives with the nuclear accident (Opening 5). In line with the farmer's unfolding awareness of the ironies of human intervention in animal lives, he thereafter only ever refers to them as 'cows'. The terminology shift thus occurs at a significant point, where the farmer ponders deeply upon the notion of humanity's intervention in the fate of the life of non-human species. His thought shifts stimulate the concept of a human-animal divide to then prompt the first blend by which they can be seen as both food and animal subject to human drives. The sad irony of this inhumanity thereafter impels a deeper awareness of them as sentient beings which have not been given an equal right to life and care.

Affect is at work most poignantly with a new, much more interpersonal, schema of care which arises from the visual text and page-turning principles at another two particular points (at Openings 8 and 14). Both pictures show two close-up shots of the farmer and cow. At the first point, the farmer's caring stance is all the more poignant through its contrast with the horrors of the previous picture of mass culling by distant figures in

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<sup>21</sup> Opening 1: *Bokujô de, ushi no sewa shite, kurashiteru.* Opening 4: *Sono koro, uchi no bokujô ni wa 330 tô no nikugyû ga ita.* Opening 5: *Takusan kutte, umai niku ni naru.* My italics.

<sup>22</sup> *Hôshanô o abita ushi-tachi wa, mô kuenai.*

protective clothing (at Opening 7). With the farmer's adamant verbal refusal to cull his own cows, the conceptual prediction would likely be for some sense of better resolution after the destruction, pain and powerlessness replete in the cull scene (Opening 7). This expectation for a better resolution is borne out at the turn of the page when the monumental farmer is exchanging a look with a calf. Affect is again brought into play through predictive and symbolic aspects. The lower modality of both farmer and calf here bring them more into line as equals. The reciprocal gaze could thus be conceptualised as an affectionate, loving one which conveys all the heartfelt emotion of the human-animal relationship, particularly when pain and loss are at their height in the narrative. The prediction of a more hopeful outcome is confirmed. The farmer's personal respect and affection for the calf suggest a form of healing, especially in comparison with the distance and anonymity of the mass destruction by cullers in the previous picture; individual care and love contrasted with the impersonal 'care' wrought by human officialdom and power. In the verbal text here, the farmer is remembering the difficulty that other farmers went through as they openly cried while obeying the orders to cull, and asked him how he managed to avoid it. This picture thus reflects personal care for animals as the only form of healing available for such pain and loss. It rejects any prediction of healing through human-human bonding, but confirms hope through human-animal bonding.

While in the first of the two of these tender pictures, the modality of both the farmer and calf are low, in the second (Opening 14), a weak and dying calf is much more carefully realised against the farmer's huge hand, with his body out of frame. With only this hand visible, it can be read as symbolic of all humanity. Emotion and hope arise not only from the touch of the hand but also the bright flora of nature in yellows which highlight the calf's 'thisness' against its lesser realism. The hand also prompts a conceptual blend by acting as a bridge over the darkness of death and despair as can be interpreted through the less colourful, but more realistic upper torso and head of the calf. The bright colours contrast with the precarity of the calf's life as inflicted by other absent human 'hands' which still have a presence through their role in the calf's impending death as part of the after-effect of the nuclear explosion. While the calf's emotive dark eyes are looking into the future (in the direction of reading – left to right) without much hope, their final heart-rending appeal is also directed towards the human audience. Affect comes through the blend of text and picture with the emergent narrative information that this calf is one of the weak and dying. The farmer's words here tell of his despair when the weaker cows die. As he determines to go on regardless (what else can he do?), cognitive blending works to again suggest compassion for all life as the only ethical resolution to the traumata brought about by the nuclear catastrophe. The pictures thus postulate the concept of deeper ecological compassion and care as the only possibility amidst such physical and emotional devastation.

As the waves of suffering continue in their ups and downs, so do the readers' expectations. Emergent awareness of hardship pain and loss operate with the farmer's resoluteness of action to prompt the concept of caring as a source of emotional satisfaction. These cognitive acts work together with existing schemata and emergent narrative information to create a new schema of deeper ecological bonding between human and non-human animals. In the end, hope stems from the farmer's realisation of the worth of both his own 'being' in caring and the cows' right to a comfortable life regardless of economics as he reassures them (and the reader): "I'll stay with you, whether there's any meaning in it or not".

Because all children's literature is about the intersubjective development of the self in interaction with other people and society, 'consciousness-raising' environmental literature such as *Kibô* has an important acculturating function. Ultimately, the dialogic narrative and the symbolic pictorial elements together encourage an affective reading process which triggers a more interpersonal, intersubjective ecological risk consciousness than would be enabled by a more descriptive or biographical text.<sup>23</sup> The book's language and visual art interpellate the audience into an ethical, social and ecological interrogation of the conflict between economics and caring for non-human species. By provoking deep philosophical questions about human responsibilities towards the farmer's cows, the narrative encourages readers to a rejection of human complacency and established logocentric and anthropocentric practices. The text opens gaps for the reader to ask what kind of life humans can provide for non-human species by encouraging conceptual confirmation of the incipient dangers which can arise from a lack of caring implicit in an (overly-) industrialised world.

The combination of conceptual adjustments through the text's dialogism, indeterminacy and changing visual and verbal modalities, for example, provoke an affective consciousness of animal rights and the ecological issue of mutual co-existence. Together with the farmer's self-reflective utterances, the gazing 'demands' of non-anthropomorphised cows challenge the audience to interact with questions ideas about the environmental and emotional risks of not caring for non-human species in an over-industrialised society. While the unnamed farmer's rebellion brings him economic hardship, the dialogic modals throughout generate cognition of the broader ethical dilemma about the livelihood of animals raised for human consumption.

Ultimately, the farmer's profound meditations about why he still bothers prompt a recognition of the satisfaction attained through inner well-being and hope about life through the 'simple' act of caring. An affective awareness of animal feelings and the rewards of human non-human interconnectedness will be processed through the modification of expectations and indeterminacies in the text. As the farmer suffers from alienation from

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<sup>23</sup> Stephens, 2008, p.70.

other humans (in the form of farming neighbours who accept the cull, but also from officials, for instance), he then derives a new sense of what life is and can be through recognition his relationship with and affection towards his cows. Cognitive acknowledgement that caring is important comes through the reader's emergent awareness that the farmer's decision to continue tending his cows without ulterior (economic) motive is based on one of the most fundamental moral principles about what it is to live and care for others, but particularly for nonhuman beings. By encouraging complex conceptual blending which challenges the audience to consider what it is to both live and care in a post-disaster, post-nuclear environment, this kind of environmental literature not only helps in the formation of concern for non-human species, but also in the creation of more ecologically-aware young people on their way to adulthood.

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## ファッション主義の精神とプロテスタンティズム

井上 章一

近代の日本社会は、けっさくキリスト教をうけいれなかったと、よく言われる。プロテスタントとカトリックの信者は、その両者をあわせても、日本人ぜんたいの1%にみたない。半数ちかくの人々が入信しているとされる理伏の韓国とくらべ、その不振ぶりはきわだつ。

また、日本のキリスト者は、キリスト教を歪曲してうけとめたとも、しばしば詭られる。日本で信仰されているそれは、日本側の諸事情でねじまげられてきたと評されることも少なくない。

詳術はさけるが、近代日本のキリスト教受容を、キリスト教研究や宗教学の講壇学説は、否定的に論じてきた。国際日本文化研究センターの共同研究でも、この問題へ、正面からいどんだことがある。「日本人はなぜキリスト教を受け入れなかったのか」(代表山折哲雄 19年~19年)がそれである。

だが、こうした取り組の大半は、信仰のありがたに分析のメスをむけてきた。キリスト教を許容した日本社会そのものを、とらえようとはしていない。信仰心こそいだが、良い宗教としてうけとめていることから、目をそむけがちである。

卑近な例をあげる。

日本人は、しばしば素行のおそろないキリスト教信者を、こうなじる。「あの人は、クリスチャンなのに浮気をしている」、「毎週教会へ行くような人なのに、万引きをやってしまった」、等々。だが、仏教や神道の信者には、まずこういう物言いをぶつけないだろう。じっさい、以下のような口ひり聞くことは、とうていありえない。「あの人は、浄土真宗なのに不倫をはたらいている」、「神社での浄女には熱心な人だが、不正に手をそめた」。

それだけ強く日本人は、キリスト教に高い倫理性を期待していることが、よくわかる。すくなくとも、仏教や神道より信賴していることは、うたがえない。その期待感、欧米人がキリスト教によせるそれより、ずっと高からう。

江戸時代までは、淫祠邪教だとみなされてきた。そんな宗教が、百数十年ほどのあいだで、倫理的な宗教になっている。いかがわしい宗教だとは、もう思われなくなっているのである。

なるほど、明治以後の日本社会は新参の宗教を、しばらくは受け入れた。弾圧をくわえたことも、なかったわけではない。その過程で歪曲を余儀なくされた。キリスト教研究の学術世界が、もっぱらその側面へ光をあててきたことも、すでにのべたところである。

だが、この宗教が肯定的に受容されていく経緯には、あまり目がむけられない。その点で、講壇宗教学にはかたよりのある。否定面ばかりをながめすぎてきたと、そう言わざるをえない。

「学生時代」(1964年)という歌を、いわゆる流行歌曲のひとつだが、40歳台以上の日本人はたいていおぼえている。ペギー葉山がうたって、一種の国民歌謡ともなった。その唄い出しは、つぎのようになっている。

♪薫のからまるチャペルで祈りをささげた日……。

ミッション・スクール出身の女性が、学生時代を回想する。その様子が、情感をこめてうたわれる。のみならず、20世紀後半の大衆社会も、これを喝采でむかえてはやした。

しかし、仏教系の学校をでた女性が、少女時代をふりかえる曲はない。たとえば、以下にするすまやかな歌詞は、流行歌曲にこそさりとりにけられてこなかった。おそろく、企画の場にさえもちだされてはこなかったらう。

♪お香のけふる本堂で、お経を詠じて念じた日……。

日本の大衆社会は、ミッション・スクールを出た女性に魅力を感じている。そして、仏教系の学校をでた女性には、軽蔑されてこなかった。キリスト教のほうが、仏教よりチャームポイントとみなされている。期待が高いのは、倫理方面だけにかぎらない。人の心をとりにする、ひきつけるその度合でも、より優位におかれている。「ロザリオ」という響きには、「数珠」がもちえぬ輝きがあるとよわざるをえない。

京都に京都女子大という、西本願寺のひかわる仏教系の学校がある。1990年代のなかごろに、私はそこへかよう女子大生から、「3B」という言いがけをみしえられた。京都女子大の学生は、自分たちの学校を「3B」と自嘲気味に評価するのだという。どうせ、自分たちは3つのB。「貧乏」、「ぶさい」、そして「仏教」だ、と。仏教の学校だから、不美人でみすぼらしく見えるのもしがたがないというのである。

そして、彼女は同じく京都にあるミッション系の同志社女子大を、「3K」と評価した。すなわち、「金持ち」、「かわいい」、「キリスト教」と。仏教徒へかよう女子大生たちは、キリスト教の学校にこそきらきらした美人がいるとよわっていたのである。

もちろん、この「3B」と「3K」が実情をそのまま反映していると言いたいわけではない。京都女子大生の「3B」という自己認識も、彼女らがそうひがんでいるだけの話だろう。ミッション系の同志社女子大生が、京都女子大生を、「3B」だとあなどっているわけではあるまい。

ただ、仏教側がそう想いこんでいるらしい点は、重要である。自分たちは女性としての魅力で、キリスト教にはりみえない。そう仏教のほうをひがませる何か、日本社会にはあることをしのばせる。

ざんねんながら、女子大生のルックスを大学ごとにくらべたデータなどというものはない。仏教校の概数は、それだけの嘆きにあたいする背景とともある。そう言いきることは困難である。すくなくとも、実証的には不可能だと言うしかない。

とはいえ、間接的にはその比較をこころみうる資料はある。いくつかのファッション雑誌からみしはかることは、できなくもない。

日本のファッション雑誌は、よく読者モデルとよばれる女性を、グラビアページに登場させてきた。モデルクラブに所属する職業モデルとはちがら、読者のなかからえらばれる有志の素人モデルたちを、そして、彼女たちの多くは大学にかよふ女子大生たちである。さらに、雑誌は女子大生たちの所属する大学名を、しるしてきた。

こういう雑誌を見ていると、読者モデルをのみぎれい輩出している大学のあふることが、読みとれる。そのいっぽうで、まったくモデルをださない大学のあることも見えてくる。これを統計的に検討して行けば、大学ごとのモデル出現量を、具体的な数字にらびづけられたデータを抽出することが可能になる。

さいわい、この点については毎年刊行される『大学ランキング』が、その数字をつかんでいる。もとより、読者モデルの数だけをしらべているわけではない。研究費、競争的資金の獲得、外資系企業経営者の出身大学、等々さまざまな項目で、ランキングをそろえている。読者モデルについての調査も、それらのうちのひとつでしかないことを、ねんのためことわっておく。

モデルの数をくらべよう。『大学ランキング』は、その資料として、四つの雑誌をえらんでいる。『JJ』、『CanCam』、『Vivia』、『Ray』の四誌である。一般にも四大誌としてみとめられており、読者モデルを多用することでも知られ、この選取はまず妥当であるとみなしてよい。

『大学ランキング』は、各年度ごとのモデル登場数をつきとめ、ランキングとして整理した。ここでは、そのデータにもとづき、2004年度から2009年

度までの集計結果を表示しておこう。なお、各年度ごとの数字は、それぞれ、2年前の実情をしめしている。たとえば、2004年度にだされた数字は、2002年度に、各大学が輩出したモデルの人数を。

	大学名(2004年度)	人数
1	甲南女子大 (M)	379
2	青山学院大 (M)	197
3	慶応義塾大	186
4	日本女子大	158
5	立教大 (M)	147
6	早稲田大	128
7	東洋英和女学院大 (M)	121
8	帝塚山学院大	116
9	学習院大	95
10	神戸女学院大 (M)	91

	大学名(2005年度)	人数
	甲南女子大 (M)	404
	慶応義塾大	298
	立教大 (M)	288
	学習院大	182
	神戸松蔭女子学院大 (M)	181
	日本女子大	175
	青山学院大 (M)	160
	成城大	144
	日本大	131
	明治学院大 (M)	124

	大学名(2006年度)	人数
	甲南女子大 (M)	486
	慶応義塾大	445
	立教大 (M)	416
	神戸女学院大 (M)	345
	青山学院大 (M)	305
	神戸松蔭女子学院大 (M)	296
	学習院大	254
	日本女子大	174
	明治学院大 (M)	170
	東洋英和女学院大 (M)	164

	大学名(2007年度)	人数
1	青山学院大 (M)	795
2	立教大 (M)	495
3	早稲田大	402
4	慶応義塾大	326
5	神戸松蔭女子学院大 (M)	276
6	学習院大	244
7	日本大	196
8	神戸女学院大 (M)	195
9	甲南女子大 (M)	194
10	恵泉学園大 (M)	175

	大学名(2008年度)	人数
	青山学院大 (M)	876
	慶応義塾大	527
	立教大 (M)	491
	早稲田大	424
	学習院大	336
	日本女子大	334
	神戸松蔭女子学院大 (M)	316
	日本大	231
	成蹊大	221
	恵泉学園大 (M)	214

	大学名(2009年度)	人数
	青山学院大 (M)	403
	慶応義塾大	374
	神戸松蔭女子学院大 (M)	340
	立教大 (M)	329
	成蹊大	249
	神戸女学院大 (M)	286
	成城大	249
	日本女子大	244
	早稲田大	227
	学習院大	161

各年度ごとの上位校を、人数順に十校、いわゆるベストテンを、上記の表はならべている。ミッションスクールにはⓂのマークをさえておいたが、その存在感は圧倒的である。学生数の多い、いわゆるマンモス大学とも互角にわたりあっている様子が、読みとれる。むっさ、在校生の数を差えれば、

神戸松蔭が早稲田や日大より上にくることは、あなどれない。在校生数を分母において、モデルの輩出卒をくらべれば、ミッション系の優位は、よりいっそうきわたらう。

なお、この調査によれば、甲南女子大は2001年度のそれから教壇をおとし、その翌年度からは上位十校に名前を見せなくなった。この退潮ぶりは、2004年度の集計から3年間全国一になったことを考えると、不審感をいだかせる。じじつ、甲南女子大の学生たちはそのほかやかさで、「<sup>なんじ</sup>蔭女」の呼称とともに、関西圏では神格化もされてきた。京都女子大の学生が「3K」とよぶ同志社女子大の輝きなどを、はるかに凌駕して。

これは、学生がファッション誌へモデルとして登場することを、大学当局が規制したためであるという。学費を大学へおさめる保護者たちの、やや因習的な心配に、大学側がよりこったということだ。この措置で、モデルとなるために甲南女子大への進学をえらんだ女子大生たちは落胆をひかされたと言われている。

いずれにせよ、こういう世界におけるミッションスクールの比重は、たいそう大きい。そして、仏教系の大学は、六年間にわたり、この上位十校へ、いちども名をつらねなかった。「3K」と「3B」の対比は、まんざらあたってはいなくもないのである。

もちろん、読者モデルになることと「3K」の「かわいい」が等価であるとは、言いきれない。モデルたちのことは、「かわいい」をメディアへ与えることにためらわない女性と位置づけられたほうが、いいような気がする。あるいは、自分の「かわいい」をみしころえうとはした女性たちである、と。世俗の一般校にも「かわいい」人はいるが、ファッション雑誌へでようとしていない。そんな傾向だって、形式的にはありうることを、ないがしろにするわけにはいかならう。

ただ、かりにそうであっても、ミッション系に「かわいい」をみしだす強さがあることは、うけあえる。他校とくらべれば、そういう女性たちのあつまる度合いが高いことは、いふまでもない。私は、この点に、日本的なキリスト教受容の重大な側面がひそんでいると、巻える。そして、ざんねんながら、日本のキリスト教研究は、そこから目をそむけてきた。

ついでにのべておけるが、今回紹介した上位十校によく登場するミッションスクールは、みなプロテスタントのそれである。カトリックの大学は、ひとつもない。「かわいい」人材は、プロテスタントのミッション系に、集中しているのである。

..110ぼくに、カトリックとプロテスタントをくらべ、前者のほうが外形に左右されやすいと、よく言われる。式典の形にこだわりやすいのは、カトリックであるとされてきた。あるいは、聖堂の建築美などにも。しかし、ファッション誌への登場をこころざす女性ほど、はるかにプロテスタント系のほうへむきやすくなっている。

このことを、日本におけるキリスト教受容とからめ、どう把握したらいいのが、私にまだ、さしたる定見はない。この場で、そのセントをいただければ、ありがたく思う。

## はじめに

日本のテレビ・ドラマは 1953 年のテレビ放送開始直後から、先行の映像メディアである映画と比較を強いられてきた。例えば、日本放送協会（NHK）編集の『放送文化』1953 年 4 月号で、「テレビジョンの映像は、映画ではないけれども、カメラによって捕えられるポジションの組み合わせが第一なのだから、多量に映画的手法が行われなければならない」と言及され

1、テレビ・ドラマの制作に映画技法の導入が求められた。その一方で、テレビ・ドラマは映画との違いも意識された。草創期のテレビ・ドラマはスタジオでの生放送が主体であった。そのため、近年の研究において「先行するメディアであった映画との差異を求め、テレビ的な表現を模索した」という見解が示され<sup>2</sup>、テレビ・ドラマをめぐるイデオロギー的言説の推移が整理して伝えられている。

本発表では、先行研究が指摘しているテレビ・ドラマを巡る具体的な言説の推移と併せて、草創期のテレビ・ドラマ制作が映画との関わりでどのように実践されてきたのかを考察する。1953 年のテレビ放送開始以後、生放送が主体であった 50 年代のテレビ・ドラマを対象に制作の推移を見ていきたい。

## 1. 最初のテレビ・ドラマ『山路の笛』

本放送最初のテレビ・ドラマは、1953 年 2 月 4 日午後 8 時～8 時半に NHK で生放送された『山路の笛』である。2 月 1 日の NHK によるテレビ放送開始から、それは 3 日後のことであった。生放送であるため、この歴史的ドラマの現物を確認できないが、美術を担当した橋本潔氏に取材したところ、当時の制作の状況を知ることができた<sup>3</sup>。

『山路の笛』が具体的に始動したのが、前年の 1952 年末からで、それまで映像の技術的試験を繰り返してはいたが、実際の話の内容をどうするかは決まっていなかった。そこで慌てて橋本が妻に相談したところ、彼女がシナリオを書きそれが採用された。彼女は杉賀代子といい、その後何本もドラマの脚本を手掛けた。橋本は「テレビ・ドラマを書くということがどういうことか、そのシステムも何もかもできていなかった」と述懐している。

粗筋は次の通りである。山道の池にさしかかった若い男女が語り出すと、伝説の世界へと切替わる。山路という農夫が天女に恋をして妻にするが、美しさに惹かれて働きに出ない。そこで妻の天女は絵姿を紙に描いて彼に渡す。山路はようやく畑に出るが、そこで風のせいで絵姿が飛んで行ってしまふ。山路は絵姿を探して彷徨する。そうした中、絵姿を入手したその土地の王子が気に入り、天女を捜して王宮に連れて来る。王子は天女を妻に

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## 注

1 池田義信「ラジオ・テレビ・映画」『放送文化』1953 年 4 月号、29 頁。

2 松山秀明「ドラマ論 — “お茶の間” をめぐる葛藤」『放送研究と調査』2013 年 12 月号、54 頁。

3 橋本潔氏宅でのインタビュー。2016 年 6 月 19 日。

しようとするが、彼女は従わない。家に戻った山路は嘆き悲しんで篠笛を吹き、池に入水自殺する。帰って来た天女も、追いかけて入水する。

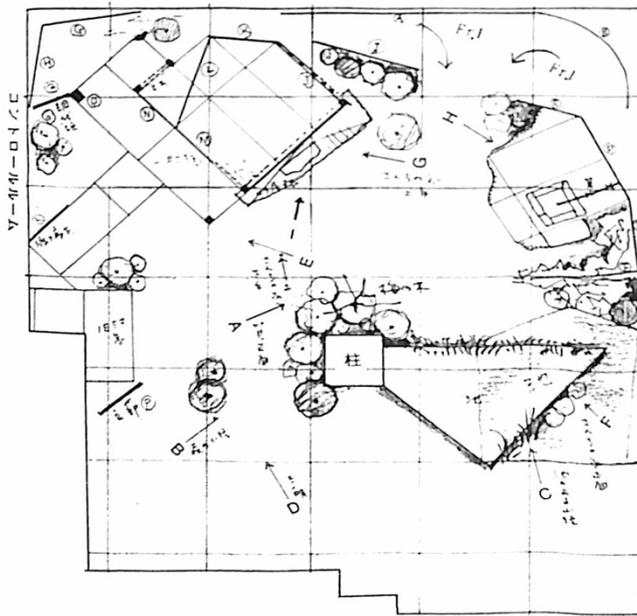


図1 『山路の笛』のセット平面図  
(橋本潔『テレビ美術』レオ企画、1996年)

以上の物語を映像化するため、若い男女が語り合う池、山路の家、王宮の一室と庭の三杯のセットが図1のようにスタジオ内に組まれた。ただしスタジオと言っても、NHKの普通の事務室を撮影用に充てられたにすぎず、図に記された「柱」はセットとして造られたものではなく、元々の建物の柱であった。いかにNHKが本放送開始を急ぎ、その結果ドラマの制作スタッフは、劣悪な環境で、制約の多い状況で仕事しなければならなかったかがわかる。

また、生放送での撮影にも大きな問題があった。セットの内側にカメラが二台用意され、スイッチ操作によってそれぞれの映像が切替えられる仕組みになっていた。長短のカットを織り交ぜて、全部で51カットで撮られたようだが<sup>4</sup>、単純に30分の放送時間をこ

のショット数で割ると、ワン・ショットあたりの平均時間 (ASL [Average Shot Length]) がおよそ35秒となる。同時代の映画においては、ASL10~15秒がスタンダードであり<sup>5</sup>、『山路の笛』のワン・ショットあたりの持続時間が一般的な映画の2倍以上長かったことになる。

なぜ本作がこのような長廻しの撮影になったかと言うと、カメラが重くて扱いにくく、編集を交えた自然な映像の流れを生み出すことが難しかったからである。生放送という特性上、二台のカメラのうち一台が場面転換やアングルの変化で移動を強いられたとき、もう一台のカメラは時間稼ぎとして映像を提示し続けなければならない。カメラは機動力に欠けるため移動に時間がかかり、映像を映し出している方のカメラは、必然的に長廻しになったのである。映画は一台のカメラで入念な照明設計でワン・ショットずつ丁寧に撮られることが多かったが、生放送のテレビ・ドラマではそういうわけにはいかず、複数台のカメラで映像を途切れないように映し出すことが先決であった。

## 2. 「同時性」という独自性

NHKによる本放送開始から半年後の1953年8月に初の民間テレビ局である日本テレビ

<sup>4</sup> 和田矩衛「テレビドラマ発達史(2) — NHK放送時代(2)」『月刊民放』1976年6月号、三三頁。

<sup>5</sup> 拙論「ワイドスクリーンと日本映画の変貌 — 変化する撮影のスタイル」塚田幸光編『映画とテクノロジー』ミネルヴァ書房、2015年、156 - 157頁。



けれども、これにも問題があった。フィルム映像とテレビ映像では画質が異なるため、組み合わせたときに違和感が生じるのである。事実、1956年度の文部省芸術祭賞を受賞したドラマ『どたんば』では、演出の永山弘が当初はフィルム使用を考えつつも美的な観点からそれを断念している<sup>8</sup>。さらに、フィルムを使用して周囲から批判を浴びたと語るのは、KRTの演出家、高橋太一郎である。彼は「テレビはフィルムを使っちゃいかん、テレビはスタジオの生放送が本道で、フィルムは邪道だ、という意向が世間になりました」と明かしている<sup>9</sup>。そうした批判の背景には、映画との違いを打ち出す意味で、「同時性」によるドラマ作りの要求があった。映画と違う生放送という物理的制約を逆手に取って、「今、ここ」で行われているドラマを見せることこそが、映画ではできないテレビの独自性だという考えであった。

ドラマの「同時性」へのこだわりは、テレビ放送元年にすでに確認できる。1953年8月28日の午後8時～8時15分にNTVが放送した『生と死の15分間』は(図3)、デパートの屋上から投身自殺を図ろうとする男の救出を描いたドラマであるが、その救出に要した時間がタイトルの通り15分であった。劇中で男が助けられるまでの時間と視聴者がそれを見ている現実の時間がちょうど重なるように演出されているのである。



図3 『生と死の15分間』の演出風景  
(『月刊民放』1976年7月号)

こうした「同時性」をめぐる表現の探究が最初に結実するのが、文部省芸術祭賞をテレビ・ドラマで初受賞した1955年11月26日放送のNHKドラマ『追跡』である。芸術祭と言えば、初期テレビ・ドラマを語る上で看過できないものであり、その存在意義、芸術的価値を高めることに貢献したとみなされる意義深いイベントであった<sup>10</sup>。ドラマの内容は東京、大阪で暗躍する密輸団を刑事たちが追跡する刑事ドラマであったが、注目すべきは東京、大阪のスタジオ撮影と、東京・月島、大阪・道頓堀のロケ撮影を融合して展開された「四元放送」という試みであった。使用カメラ11台、スタッフ295名による大規模なテレビ・ドラマで、「ことに、かくしカメラで撮影している太左衛門橋の上の捕り物を、本物の捕り物かけんかかと、繁華街の通行人が多数なだれこんできたなまの迫力は、テレビの即時性の強みを画面上に証明」したと言われている<sup>11</sup>。生放送のドラマに、一般人が知らないで入り込むとは、今ではとても考えられない出来事だが、そうしたアクシデントもテレビの「同時性」「即時性」の魅力として理解されていたのである。

<sup>8</sup> 高松二郎「テレビ芸術を創る人々」『キネマ旬報テレビ大鑑』1958年、79頁。

<sup>9</sup> 「テレビのリズム・映画のリズム」『キネマ旬報』1958年4月上旬号、164頁。

<sup>10</sup> 松山、61頁。

<sup>11</sup> 日本放送協会編『日本放送史 下巻』日本放送出版協会、1965年、534頁。

### 3. 『私は貝になりたい』におけるアクチュアリティ

現実問題として、テレビ・ドラマが発展し量産される中で、いつまでも生放送だけで押し通すわけにはいかなかった。前述したようにテレビの「同時性」と引き換えに、制作を少しでも容易にするフィルムの部分導入が進められた。それに加え、やがて主流になっていく VTR でのドラマ制作も 1958 年より部分的に実践される。そしてこの年 VTR を使用し、テレビ・ドラマ史に残る重要な作品が生み出された。1958 年 10 月 31 日放送の KRT ドラマ『私は貝になりたい』である。本作は、主人公の理髪師が戦時中、上官からアメリカ兵の捕虜殺害を命令され、殺しはしなかったものの、戦後、軍事裁判に掛けられ殺害に加担したとして処刑されてしまう話で、遺書として最後に語られた「私は貝になりたい」という台詞と共に、当時多くの感動を呼んだ。放送終了後には新聞各紙に多くの投書が寄せられ、なかでも男子中学生からの「私は貝になりたくない」という表現で反戦を訴えた投稿が注目を集めた<sup>12</sup>。予想通りこの年の芸術祭賞には本作が選ばれ、審査員からは「一瞬にして消え去るテレビ芸術が放送後世上に大きな反響を与えた」と賛辞を送られている<sup>13</sup>。まさに『私は貝になりたい』によって、テレビ・ドラマが市民権を得たと言っても過言ではない。事実、こうした反響に呼応するように、この頃より「テレビ的特性」をめぐる議論が過熱しだしたと考えられている<sup>14</sup>。

もっとも、こうした過熱ぶりはテレビ業界内だけに止まらなかった。ライバルである映画産業にも波及していった。『私は貝になりたい』が放送された 1958 年と言えば、テレビが百万台を突破した年で、この勢いに脅威を抱いた大手の映画会社 6 社がみな、自社映画をテレビ局に提供するのを止めた。こうして映画会社がテレビに敵対姿勢を見せる一方で、テレビを利用することもしたたかに行っていた。本作の人気に目をつけた大手映画会社の東宝が翌年、脚本を担当した橋本忍を監督に起用して映画化したのである。以下では『私は貝になりたい』のテレビ版と映画版を比較して、そこにどのような表現上の差異が存在するのかを見てみたい。

テレビ版『私は貝になりたい』は、主人公の理髪師が米軍に連行されるまでの前半約 30 分が VTR 放送で 131 ショットから成り、軍事裁判からの後半 1 時間ほどが生ドラマで 331 ショットを含んでいる<sup>15</sup>。ここからワン・ショットあたりの平均時間を算出すると約 10 秒となり、前述の初のテレビ・ドラマ『山路の笛』が ASL35 秒であったことを思い返せば、明らかな技術的進歩があったことが読み取れる。前半部は主人公清水豊松の地元高知での家族との生活、応召後の軍隊での生活などで構成されているが、映画では同一の構成のもとこれらの部分が、大胆なロケーションによって、空間的な広がりを見せている。例えば映画版の冒頭では海辺の綺麗な風景が描出され(図 4)、「私は貝になりたい」というラストの台詞の価値が一層高められている。テレビよりも遥かに大きい映画のスクリーンを生かしたロケ撮影が冒頭より展開されている。それはまさに、テレビでは果たせない圧巻の風景描写であり、テレビとの「違い」を印象付けるような始まりであった。

12 「“私は貝になりたい” その批評集」『調査情報』1958 年 11 月号、34 - 35 頁。

13 大木豊「審査会始末記」『キネマ旬報』1959 年 1 月下旬号、123 頁。

14 松山、58 頁。

15 佐怒賀三夫『テレビドラマ史 — 人と映像』日本放送出版協会、1978 年、14 頁。



図 4 映画版の冒頭



図 5 テレビ版の冒頭

一方のテレビ版の始まりはと言うと、東京裁判にて東條英機に死刑判決が下される実際の記録映像がはめ込まれている（図 5）。このドラマの演出家岡本愛彦の明らかな意図が感じられる始まりだ。ここで岡本が本作の演出の狙いについて語っている言葉を引用してみたい。

橋本（忍）さんと私の計算は、つまり戦争というものが、まだ拭いがたく我々国民の中にあつた。それから戦犯の裁判というものも、我々の生活と並行してあつた。処刑といったことも一緒にあつた。したがってあのドラマの進行の中で、視聴者の国民の気持ちというものが、いろいろなウェーブを描いて、直接、共に生活していたわけですね<sup>16</sup>。

言葉を慎重に選びながらも、まだ現実の問題として国民が拭えない戦争の記憶に、ドラマをなんとか絡ませていこうという岡本の思いが見て取れる。それでは、岡本が「戦争というものが、まだ拭いがたく我々国民の中にあつた」と語る 1958 年とはどういう年だったのか。放送評論家の佐怒賀三夫は以下のように指摘する。

前年 57 年に起きた「ジラード事件」に引きつづいて、米兵の日本人射殺事件「ロングプリー事件」が発生し、私たちはまだ米軍支配下であることの実感を強く味わわれた。それから、この 58 年にはまだ巣鴨拘留所に戦犯が収容されていて、その一人が首を吊って自殺するというニュースも伝えられ、巣鴨とか戦犯とかは、当時は非常にアクチュアルな問題だった<sup>17</sup>。

ここで、佐怒賀が使ったアクチュアルという表現が、当時の資料を振り返ると、『私は貝になりたい』の頃より、テレビ・ドラマをめぐる言説において盛んに用いられるようになっていた。事実、演出家の岡本も「テレビはニュースと云う強烈なアクチュアリティーを

<sup>16</sup> 同上、14 - 15 頁。

<sup>17</sup> 同上、16 頁。

視聴者夫々の家庭に流し込む窓口です」とテレビを定義し<sup>18</sup>、さらにテレビ・ドラマについては「<アクチュアリティを持つマスメディアであるところのテレビ>の中で呼吸するドラマである」と断言している<sup>19</sup>。なるほど、彼のこうした考えが、冒頭で「ニュースと云う強烈なアクチュアリティ」のごとく実際の東京裁判の記録映像を引用するに至ったのかもしれない。本作の構成を再確認すれば、VTR から生放送に切替わった後半部分の最初の場面が、主人公が連行され捕虜殺害に関係した人物たちと共に軍事裁判に掛けられるところであり、フィクションと事実の違いはあるにせよ、それは冒頭の東條に対する裁判の記録映像と対応している。ドラマの冒頭では、東條に対する裁判の部分で映像が終わるが、ドラマ後半部では冒頭の映像をあたかも引き継ぐように、主人公の理髪師が、裁判の後、巣鴨拘置所に送られて、不安な生活を送る様子が描かれていくのである。映画評論家岡田晋によれば、この後半部に当時の評価が集中している。

「私は貝になりたい」がテレビに放送された時、多くの人々が前半と後半の分裂について指摘した。事実、テレビでぼくたちに強い感動を与えたのは、動きのもつアクチュアリティを、人物から強く感じさせる法廷シーン、巣鴨プリズンのシーン、刑場のシーンであり、このアクチュアルな迫力から、見る者は作者の設定したテーマを思考することができた。これに比べて、前半の出征から戦場へかけてのシーンは、今までの映画を下手に真似たようなところがあり、むしろこの部分を切りすてて、巣鴨プリズンだけにシーンを制限し、動きをギリギリにつきつめた方がよかったのではないかと、これも多くの人々が批評したところである<sup>20</sup>。

前半が映画の真似と映り低評価であるのに対して、後半はここでもアクチュアリティという表現が使われて、視聴者に強烈な印象を残していたことがわかる。アクチュアリティを感じさせるテレビ版後半部の演出を分析すると、映画版よりも、主人公の身体とその身体を拘束する拘置所との緊密な関係が強調されている。すなわち、テレビ版後半部はスタジオでの生放送の特性でもあるだろうが、拘置所の外の景色が徹底的に排除され、主人公が閉塞的な空間に閉じ込められている印象を強く抱かせる。ときに金網や鉄格子など抑圧の象徴となっているものがクローズアップで前面を覆い、主人公が置かれている困難な状況が強調されるのである。まさに映画版が画面の大きさを活かして空間の拡大を図るならば、テレビ版は、空間を制限して主人公を徹底的に追い込むのである。テレビ版『私は貝になりたい』が特に法廷シーン以後、アクチュアリティを感じさせるとして評価されたのは、拘置所の限定的な空間で主人公の身体が文字通り／映像通り拘束される映像描写と関係していたのかもしれない。

## おわりに

『私は貝になりたい』の批評で用いられた「アクチュアリティ」という評言は、その後、

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18 岡本愛彦『テレビドラマのすべて — テレビ・テレビ局・テレビドラマ』宝文館出版、1964年、49頁。

19 同上、52頁。

20 岡田晋「映画とテレビの分岐点・交流点」『キネマ旬報』1959年5月下旬号、52頁。

多様な文脈でテレビの独自性を伝える言葉として使われるようになっていった。それは完全な生ドラマが次第に消え、フィルムや VTR がしばしば劇中に挿入されるようになる 1950 年代後半以降顕著になっていき、生ドラマだからこそ説得力を持っていた「同時性」に代わって幅を利かせた。

こうして草創期のテレビ・ドラマ制作は、映画の制作技術を継承しながらも、テレビ的表現とは何かという観点から、独自性を求めて突き進んでいった。文部省芸術祭での受賞によってテレビ・ドラマの芸術的価値を高める動きも盛んであった。映画に比べて環境や設備の面では遥かに劣る状況で制作されたテレビ・ドラマが、それでも映画には負けない芸術であることを制作者や評論家は、「同時性」や「アクチュアリティ」という言説を用いて語り、さらに作り手はドラマ制作の現場でそれを実践していった。こうして草創期のテレビ・ドラマに携わる者たちは、映画を意識しながら、言説と実践の共同作業によって、ドラマの発展に尽くしていったのである。

## Shinkai Makoto - the 'New' Miyazaki or a New Voice in Cinematic Anime?

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Shinkai Makoto has steadily consolidated a position as a distinctive and highly innovative animator in contemporary Japan. He has developed a reputation for highly idiosyncratic 'auteur' films where he is pivotal in almost every aspect of production - background layouts, character design and plot - and indeed he has been identified by some as the 'new Miyazaki'. This paper traces the rise of Shinkai as an animator examining both the evolution of his distinctive animation techniques and his recurrent concern with fundamental questions of life and nostalgia. The aim is to quite emphatically distinguish Shinkai's work from Miyazaki, and to discuss how in fact they have rather distinct animation styles and preoccupations.

Shinkai Makoto has emerged as one of the premier auteur animators of the last ten to fifteen years, garnering awards for his largely solo produced works that display a distinctive set of thematics, narrative devices, and visual techniques. Shinkai was born with the original family name, Niitsu, in 1973 in Minamisaku-gun, Nagano Prefecture, into a family who owned a local construction company. He was apparently fond of science fiction from an early age but otherwise followed what might seem to be a relatively conventional path of progression through the education system with incidental involvement in Volleyball and Kyudo which culminated in his entering Chuo University to major in literature in 1991. During this time he dropped sport and joined the university's children's literature study club, eventually finding part-time work at an emerging game design company Nihon Falcom where he ultimately found full employment after graduating in 1996.

There is little in this outline of his earlier experience to suggest that he was to have such prodigious abilities in animation but this talent became increasingly apparent as he was given increasing responsibility for the advertising copy and artwork, and eventually even animated sequences both within the games and to promote the corporation's games. Initial recognition as an independent animator came with an animated short *Distant World*, which won a special prize at eAT'98, but the major breakthrough came in 2000 with the release of a short film, *She and Her Cat*, which won the grand prix at the DoGA sponsored 12th CG Anime Contest. After this success he resigned from Falcom to embark on a string of productions that have become beacons of technical innovation and visual beauty, *Voices of a Distant Star* (2002), *The Place Promised in Our Early Days* (2004), *Five Centimetres Per Second* (2007) and *Children Who Chase Lost Voices From Deep Below* (2011). At this point Shinkai was well and truly established as an internationally

recognized animator and he has since built on this reputation through a warmly nostalgic contemporary piece, *The Garden of Words* (2013), and a return to science fiction with *Your Name* (2016). Perhaps as if to seal the fact that he has 'arrived' as one of the heavyweights of modern Japanese animation, the literary journal *Yuriika* has just released a Shinkai Makoto themed issue which deals solely with his oeuvre and style. And it is has been part of this success that the time of *Five Centimetres Per Second* (2007) a variety of commentators have suggested that in Shinkai Makoto we have found a "new Miyazaki".

As Adam Bingham notes slightly acerbically in the opening to his important commentary on Shinkai Makoto, "Distant Voices, Still Lives: Love, Loss, and Longing in the Work of Makoto Shinkai", it is perhaps "as dispiriting as it is predictable" that an emergent notable talent in the realm of animated cinema would be styled as the "new Miyazaki" (Bingham, 2009, 217). He notes, completely to the point in my view, that there are several marked thematic differences between the two, - environmentalism in the sense that Miyazaki treats it is largely absent from Shinkai's work. In Miyazaki there is the routine emphasis on the central place of family and communal belonging which could not really be further Shinkai's preoccupations. And there is the motif of the "magical childhood" which, although not altogether absent from Shinkai (see for example *Children Who Chase Lost Voices/ 星を追う子ども*, 2011), the treatment is arguably more sombre and alienated.

The other major point of departure is the treatment of nostalgia in Shinkai's work. Bingham refers to Napier's analytical category of the "elegiac" and certainly this is not an inappropriate association to make. In my own research (Swale 2015a) I have argued for a more nuanced distinction between "nostalgia as mood" and "nostalgia as mode" based on the work of Paul Grainger, the former being close to the elegiac in some authentic sense, the latter being an stylistic technique that explores nostalgic sentiments for aesthetic effect. Certainly works such as *Five Centimetres Per Second* (and most of what has followed) falls within the compass of the former category. However, as we shall go on to note, the science fiction narrative devices that Shinkai is apt to employ in his earlier works tends to place the orientation firmly in the realm of "nostalgia as mode". Evens so, there are further orders of complexity to be explored with nostalgia - to Grainger's distinction I added commentary based on R.G. Collingwood's concept of "magic" to accentuate how Miyazaki exemplified the latter in a distinctive way, one that certainly contrasts deeply with the more sombre tenor of Shinkai's sense of nostalgia. Asking some questions of how Shinkai treats this broader order of nostalgia in terms of "magic" can lead to some useful insights.

The foregoing tension between 'nostalgia as mood' and 'nostalgia as mode' in Shinkai's

works could be said to be indirectly identified in what Bingham describes as the “pervasive structural antinomy between recognizable human drama [viz ‘mood’] and conceptual sci-fi narrative framework [viz ‘mode]” (Bingham, 2009, 219). This point is reinforced in Yoko Ono’s discussion of the contradictory implications of how the main protagonists in *Voices of a Distant Star* (2002) technically live chronologically at the same point in time but are torn between a lived present, where acquiescence to fate is enjoined, and a nostalgic past acutely mourned by the other character in a dystopian parallel space only made possible by space travel (Ono, 2002, 1-2, 6). Bingham also very astutely highlights what is in fact recurring and distinctive trait of Shinkai’s work, - the preoccupation with time and its measurement (Bingham, 2009, 220). In *Voices of a Distant Star* chronological time is the unspoken thread that ties disparate experiences together – it is what makes the tragic elements more acutely accentuated. And of course the *Five Centimetres Per Second* – it is, after all, about the passing of a minutely quantifiable yet inexorable time, and our incapacity to do much about it.

Even so, perhaps more than the foregoing themes and preoccupations, the aspect of Shinkai’s oeuvre that requires deeper treatment is that of his visual techniques and style. It has been commonplace to attribute certain aspects of this style to the “sekaikei” genre, - and much has been made of the term as denoting “...the genre preoccupied with ‘self-absorbed visions of the world’ that posits that the private love relationship of the main character and the heroine (‘you and me exclusively’) is directly connected to the vague yet ontological issue of ‘the end of the world’ without depicting the outside/external world, or in other words, the society or nation to which these characters belong” (Ono paraphrasing Azuma, 2007: Ono, 2008, 2).<sup>1</sup>

Certainly Azuma has been pivotal in associating certain themes and narrative devices in anime with otaku culture in the 90s and beyond, but as both Ono and, to a lesser extent, Bingham both acknowledge there are antecedents that are apparent before *Neon Genesis Evangelion* such as *Mobile Suit Gundam* that substantially predate what we would identify as the nascent phase of otaku culture. Bingham highlights a “poetic narrative structure and *visual lexicon* [my italics]” but then proceeds explain them as part of a deeper aesthetic tradition of “mono no aware”, followed by a digression into the significance of seasons in *The Japanese Mind*, followed by a brief exegesis of how a pastiche of ‘postmodern’

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<sup>1</sup> It also receives a detailed and perhaps meandering treatment at length by Shu Kuge in “In the World that is Infinitely Inclusive: Four Theses on *Voices of a Distant Star* and *Wings of Honneamise*” in *Mechademia 2: Networks of Desire*, F. Lunning (ed.), University of Minnesota Press, 2007, 251 – 266.

reading based on Barthes and Baudrillard somehow helps us understand what makes Shinkai's aesthetic vision more readily understood (Bingham, 2009, 221-223). He does highlight the techniques of manipulating light in Shinkai's work, which is certainly closer to achieving an analysis of the visual lexicon that he mentions, - yet it is couched in a reference to Ozu Yasujiro with, in my view, completely inappropriate references to "takes" and "camera" which suggest an interpretation that neglects the fact that there are no 'takes' or 'cameras' in animation design. His comments are completely *a propo* in the sense that the manipulation of light is precisely one of the key elements in Shinkai 'visual lexicon' - but they either drift toward the miasma of psychoanalysis or unreconstructed film theory, and we need a more appropriate aesthetic frame of analysis if we are indeed to deal with this visual lexicon more directly.

Ono also relies on Azuma to provide an exegesis of the distinctive anatomy of Shinkai's art, - unfortunately this means that when she is following his earlier perspective as embodied in *The Animalising Postmodern* (2001) we obtain a surmising of what motivates young people to embrace anime based on assumptions about their collective psychology via Lyotard, or we have a more contextualised discussion of how that psychology emerges from an emergent media environment based on his latter title *The Birth of Gamic Realism* (2007). This forces her to treat the protagonists in *Voices of a Distant Star* as participating in two versions of game experience, - Noriko "...fights against Tarsians as in a shooting game. In that sense both protagonists represent game players, though in different types of games" (Ono, 2007, 6). It also requires us to believe that when 'otaku' watch this animation they project a sense of their own gaming experience into their interpretation of what is going on. I would suggest that when they watch it, they watch it as cinematic anime, and not as an interactive text (let alone a game), - so there is a need to be more rigorous about how we apply the premises of media experiences across different media platforms.<sup>2</sup>

My intention here is not to suggest that such commentaries have no merit, especially when they do serve to provide a perfectly valid exploration of issues of psychological motivation or cultural expression on a communal level, - but I would like to make it clear that these approaches have limitations with regard to analysing animation as an *aesthetic* phenomenon. And we miss out on some of the truly remarkable aspects of Shinkai's

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<sup>2</sup> There are indeed scholars who have teased the implications of interactive media experiences on the evolution of narrative, spectacle and character, but few of them would suggest that watching a film is psychologically akin to playing a game.

contribution to the evolution of Japanese animation if we do not expand the brief further.

An instance of how we might approach recent developments in Japanese animation, including Shinkai Makoto's, is provided by Sheou Hui Gan in "The Newly Developed Form of Ganime and its Relation to Selective Animation for Adults in Japan" (Gan, 2008). Gan makes no bones about dispensing with the term "limited animation" and substituting the phrase "selective animation" which certainly expels some of the potentially negative connotations of 'limited' and reorients the attention toward the fact that certain modes of artistic expression may be deliberately adopted despite a supposed 'lack' of resonance with the visual expectations of camera-generated visual images. Hence he alights on an initiative that came out a collaboration between Toei Animation and Gentosha in 2006 which promoted the concept of "Ganime" which is produced from an amalgam of the character for picture ("ga"/画) and 'anime' (Gan, 2008, 6 – 16).

The rationale of Ganime was to endorse a form of 'slow animation' – an artistic brief to release animators from the imperatives of the commercial model and digital design to embrace a broader and in a certain sense counter-modern mode of expression. Accordingly, productions that entailed integrating 2D graphic art and even marionettes were welcomed as representative of avenues that would fulfil the vision. The examples highlighted in Gan's article reflect this – *Fantascope ~ tylostoma* (2006) and *Tori no Uta* (2005) by Amano Yoshitaka, a collaborator with Oshii Mamoru on *Angel's Egg* (1985), along with *The Dunwich Horror and Other Stories* (2007) by Shinagawa Ryo, the editor of *Studio Voice* magazine and a collaborator with Yamashita Shohei. Yoshioka's works exemplify the credo of integrating graphic art with minimal movement into the flow of composition while Shinagawa's piece uses hand-moulded figurines and miniature sets with again minimalistic movement and an inherent stillness. Movement is also generated through the manipulation of perspective (including with actual camera movement) combined with the adroit superimposing of layers to create a depth of field.<sup>3</sup>

Interestingly, Shinkai is not included in the selection of case-studies and perhaps for a number of pertinent reasons. But Gan does refer to Okada Toshio's perspective on Shinkai's contribution in providing some of the groundwork for the Ganime initiative.

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<sup>3</sup> The intrinsic propensity for 'limited animaton' to derive motion from the motion of layers in relation to each other on multiple planes is thoroughly covered in Thomas Lamarre's 'From animation to anime: drawing movements and moving drawings', *Japan Forum*, Vol. 14 (2), 2002, 329-367.

Okada, as a former President at Gainax and also a noted scholar of otaku culture, has been well-placed to observe the artistically constraining impact of the modern animation production system with its focus on building franchises (such as *Mobile Suit Gundam* with Tomino Yoshiyuki) or the more generalised constraint of having to adapt material to cater to particular demographics and fan-bases. He notes, however, that the arrival of Shinkai's *Voices of a Distant Star* 'broke the mould' so to speak by demonstrating, first and foremost, that it was possible for an individual to produce high quality animation to almost feature length and that it could be critically well-received and successful. Of significance was how Shinkai made this possible – by taking anime's "typical visual norms" and combining them an "atypical narrative setting" with an emphasis placed on "the inner emotions of the protagonist" (Gan, 2008, 14). As such this reiterates the essence of what both Bingham and Ono have highlighted with regard to Shinkai's combining lived worlds with dystopic parallel worlds.

More significant, however, is the manner in which Shinkai technically constructs his worlds visually. Okada notes the "careful observations and photographic-like details depicting the sights and sounds of everyday life; for example, the signal of a railroad crossing, a signboard in front of a convenience store, advertisements found in the bus station and train, hand phones and the sound of cicadas." (Gan, referring to Okada's 2006 article "New Media Creation – Jisedai Kurieetaa no tame no Shinmedia Ganime", 2008, 14-15) However, Gan concludes, appropriately one might suggest, that Shinkai's work does not go as far as the Ganime productions he discusses earlier in greater detail – and certainly there is a case to be made that he is indeed a *sekai-kei* animator working in a more mainstream style of visualization, albeit with important stylistic and technical differences which set his work apart.

The analysis of such distinctive visual traits in Shinkai's work is precisely what enables us to get to the heart of what makes his contribution to contemporary animation aesthetically significant. The first thing that strikes one is the minute detail in the drafting of environments, both interior and exterior. The second thing is the skilful deployment of light sources to either highlight elements in the frame or, in some cases, shafts of colour that bind several layers within the *mise en scène* together. The third is the composition of basic components in the frame as extreme foreground, middle ground and backdrop. The backdrop is typically an expansive area, often the sky, and in the middle ground there are blocks of either buildings or other structures that connect the backdrop with the foreground where more often than not the more intense engagement with the protagonists in the frame are placed. The middle ground usually entails an angle that enhances the sense of perspective, sweeping the eye toward the backdrop. Sometimes structures such as lamp

posts or even power pylons can be used to literally integrate the middle ground with the sky. Other times it is enough to simply have a railway line, a road or pathway by a river to link the different components. Interiors present a different order of difficulty but this is surmounted by skilfully employing windows or doorways to evoke a space beyond – often accentuating that space by having light pour through into the interior. In the case of *The Garden of Words* (2013) the pergola is used to frame the interaction between the main characters with the angular perspective drawing the viewer to become aware of an expanse of garden beyond.

In and of themselves, these compositional traits are certainly not unique to Shinkai – indeed it is not difficult to find parallels with the compositional styles of film-makers such as Ozu Yasujiro or a key exponent of the ‘monumental style’ such as Mizoguchi Kenji. There are even notable antecedents that can be identified in terms of the design traditions of ukiyo-e, the *fūkei-ga* works of Katsushika Hokusai and Utagawa Hiroshige in particular providing instructive cases in point in terms of the skilful treatment of foreground, middle ground and backdrop. None of these references are employed here to suggest that Shinkai is consciously attempting to rework these traditions in his animation – it is rather the organic working out of an aesthetic sensibility that now finds its expression through digital media. But it is also noteworthy that the dominant theme for discussing Shinkai Makoto’s work in the recently released issue of *Yuriika* is not so much the oft-quoted ‘sekai-kei’ genre or nostalgia infused with alienation, but what I would agree is at the heart of his distinctive style – *fūkei* (風景).<sup>4</sup> What makes Shinkai’s work revolutionary is the manner in which he has used software such as Lightwave and Photoshop to invigorate a process of integrating compositional elements in surprisingly vivid and affective ways.

Another reason why we might want to reassess the *sekaikei* association is the fact that there is a discernible change in the treatment of nostalgia and alienation in his more recent films. If we take *Five Centimetres Per Second* as the high tide mark for what was initially considered the staple of Shinkai’s somewhat pessimistic and elegiac nostalgia we find that by contrast the orientation of *The Garden of Words* an

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<sup>4</sup> Regarding this point the following contributions are noteworthy: Ishioka Yoshiharu, “Shinkai Makoto no Kessetsuten/Tenkaiten to shite no *Kimi no Na ha*” (新海誠の結節点／転回点としての『君の名は。』) and Kono Satoko, Shinkai Makoto no ‘Fūkei’ no Tenkai (新海誠の「風景」の展開), both in *Yuriika*, September Edition, Seidosha, 2016.

d *Your Name* is arguably toward romantic attachment as possessing more a positive valence, even when things do not go as one would wish. If *Five Centimetres Per Second* might be described as an acute diagnosis of the kind of isolation and alienation that can occur despite love, *The Garden of Words* and *Your Name* suggest at the very least that such love provides a potential antidote.

At a deeper level this is part of what fundamentally distinguishes Shinkai's outlook from Miyazaki's – Shinkai is a product of the generation and milieu that Miyazaki in some ways has been trying to 'mend', through a combination of stirring allegorical story-telling and an appeal to community (Sakai, 2008, 31 - 40). Shinkai cannot help but articulate the world he has lived, - and unsurprisingly he tells his story as part of that generation, 'from the inside out'. It is also significant that while he employs sci-fi premises for a number of his narratives, there is always a constant attachment to depicting, in loving detail, the lived world, through phones, scooters, railway crossings, school uniforms, kitchen appliances and even pets. That he has chosen to let this narrative style evolve toward something more nuanced and in a sense offering hope is arguably a sign of his maturity as now a much older practitioner.

Overall, then, we find in Shinkai the emergence of a new voice, one that adopts neither Miyazaki's concept of nostalgia nor his view of the world – much less the allegorical narratives and design traits apparent in Miyazaki's character design. Shinkai represents a new generation that has struggled to disentangle itself from a social legacy not of its own making – that he has achieved this without an extreme or violent rejection of earlier anime traditions – but in fact through the almost gentle suffusion of a much deeper aesthetic sensibility combined with cutting edge digital effects attests to an outstanding creative talent indeed.

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## **Filmography**

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*Voices of a Distant Star*, dir. Shinkai Makoto, CoMix Wave Inc., 2002.

*The Wind Rises*, dir. Miyazaki Hayao, Studio Ghibli Studios, 2013.

*Your Name*, dir. Shinkai Makoto, CoMix Wave Inc., 2016.

開放後中国と戦後日本の、甘美ではろ苦い追憶  
—『非誠勿擾』と「知床旅情」

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開放後中国と戦後日本の結節点

中国の人々が今、何に興味を持ちどんな志向が強いか、現在進行形で知ろうとする意欲が日本では近年、急速に衰えているように見える。そうした傾向は、中国のGNPが日本を追い越し、彼我の経済規模の差が顕著になったころから、どんどん強まっているようだ。もちろん、「爆買い」観光客の誘致といった商業利益を拡大するための関心は強い。だがそれは、うまく商機をつかむためのもので、中国に対する幅広い文化社会的な関心から来るものではない。

かと言って、ではそれ以前に、今の中国に対する文化社会的な関心がどの程度日本に存在していたかと考えると、それも心もとない。従来から日本では、アメリカに対する文化社会的な関心はあったし、イギリスやフランスといったヨーロッパの主要国に対する関心も、一定程度存在していた。だが中国に限らず、アジアの社会や地域となると、はたしてどうだったのだろうか。

いささか乱暴に言ってしまうえば、同情的であるか批判的であるかの違いはあっても、アジアの文化社会の紹介や分析、観察は結局、日本の優位を確認することに帰していなかったのだろうか。<sup>1</sup>あるいは、自己礼賛のか自嘲気味かの違いはあっても、日本の現代文化や日本製品の浸透力または日本経済の影響力の度合いを測るような、自画像チェックを超えたものにはなっていなかったのではないだろうか。

そもそも、今やメディアで定番化している「クール・ジャパン」的な目線——国外に進出した「日本の分身」的存在（現実的には、かけ離れた内容であっても）が、世界でどんな高い評価を受けているか、知って自己肯定につなげたいという志向——を超えるような態度が、戦後の高度経済成長期以降の日本で培われてきたかどうか、はなはだ心もとないのである。

だから、昨今の中国に対する興味の低減、という言い方をすると、まるで以前はもっと関心があったかのように、それ自体が何かの錯覚のように思えてくる。ただ、日本の大学での中国語履修者数の減少や中国観光に対する興味の喪失、何より今や日本人の大多数が中国という国を好意的にとらえていない、という世論調査の結果が報道される現状では、やはりある種の大きな変化が日本人の中国観に起きている、と言えるだろう。その背景には、中国の悪化する環境や人権の状況、繰り返される

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<sup>1</sup> 酒井直樹は日本と他のアジア地域との間の、互いに対する知識の非対称性について、大日本帝国崩壊以後も継続する日本の「帝国意識」の存続という観点から論じている。酒井直樹「ポスト・コロニアルな条件と日本研究の将来」、『日本研究』53号（2016年6月）、14—16頁を参照。

反日キャンペーン、南シナ海での中国の領土拡張の動き、尖閣諸島周辺での日中間の小規模衝突といった一連の出来事に対する懸念があることは否めない。

だが一方で、日本人の中国観の変化は他のことも示唆しているのではないだろうか。つまり中国に対する文化社会的な関心の低減は、「今の新しい中国」に対する日本社会の戸惑いを反映している、ということだ。こうした戸惑いや混乱は、実は日本だけでなく、香港や台湾、シンガポールといった、中国より先に経済的成熟をみたアジアの諸地域でも見られる。要はそれまで、自らの（少なくとも経済的な）優位を確認する形、あるいはそれをほとんど疑わない形で相対してきたのに、その根底があっけなく覆されたことによって、これからいったい中国に対してどう接すればいいのか、わからなくなってきたように思える。

よって、この試論的な拙稿で私が試みたいのは、今の中国の社会文化を考える上での一つのアクセス・ポイントまたは結節点を提供することである。1980年代対外開放に踏み切って以来、大規模な経済・社会改革に邁進してきた過去約三十年間の中国の歩みは、多くの矛盾や混乱、衝突と無縁ではなかった。経済成長に伴い社会が激変していく中で、対外「開放後」の中国に生きた人々は、さまざまな種類の和解や問題の糊塗、つじつま合わせ、先送り、そして出来事の忘却を経験することになった。

私はその流れを、大日本帝国の敗退と崩壊の後、経済再建を進めた日本の戦後初期の流れと重ね合わせてみたい。「開放後」の中国と「戦後」の日本との間に、決定的な歴史的文脈の相違があることは言をまたない。だが、このような大きな社会変動を伴った時期、とりわけ経済成長による豊かさの到来という「かつてないポジティブ」な変化を経た時期に、社会の主流に位置する構成員がどのような感慨を抱くのか、ということについて考えてみたいのである。

換言すると、激動の時代を生き残っただけでなく、その後の変化の波に乗り、現在の生活の豊かさを享受するにいたった人々が、そのようには生き残れなかった人々つまり社会的敗者や、文字通り生きながらえなかった人々すなわち死者に対して、どのような態度を暗黙のうちに示すのか、考えたいのである。それに生き残った人々にしても、単純な勝者ではなかったことを覚えておくことは重要である。かつて抱いた夢や野望が、非情で皮肉な歴史の転回点に邂逅して、風船が割れるようにあえなく潰えてしまったケースも数多くあったはずだ。にもかかわらず、そうした過去の経験や、現状に対するあきらめや失望を語ることなく生きていくことが、どのような心理的・感情的なしこりを残すものなのか、ということについても考える必要がある。

この小文で提示するのは、そうした複雑な心情を無難に表出するのに利用されてきたのが、大衆文化における「感傷的なノスタルジー」の手法だということだ。現代中国の社会文化において、こうしたノスタルジーの表れが見られるものの一つが、2008年に公開され中国で大ヒットした馮小剛（フォン・シャオガン）監督の映画『非誠勿擾』（フェイチェンウーラオ、邦題：『狙った恋の落とし方。』）である。注目すべきは、この映画のクライマックスで（日本語のまま）歌われるのが、戦後のヒッ

ト曲「知床旅情」であることだ。ここに、大躍進の失敗、文革、下放政策、天安門事件などの一連の政治的騒乱の後、未曾有の経済成長を経て現在に至る中国社会の流れと、敗戦と戦災からの復興を経て高度経済成長に至った日本の戦後初期との結節点を見出すことができるのではないだろうか。以下、この映画の概要と「知床旅情」の背後にある歴史的な文脈を見ながら、「知床旅情」がこの大ヒット映画で使われた意味について考えていきたい。

### 『非誠勿擾』における日本の文化資本利用

『非誠勿擾』を作った馮監督は、中国ではヒットメーカーとして知られ、文化と資本の仲立ちをするカルチュラル・ブローカーと呼ばれることもある。<sup>2</sup> ハリウッドや香港、台湾そして日本の映画界では恒例の、クリスマスや正月などの大型連休に大作をぶつける手法を中国にも取り入れ、1997年から三年立て続けでハリウッドの大作と競い合うヒット作を生み出し、中国で「賀歳片」(正月映画)と呼ばれる新ジャンルを切り開いた。『非誠勿擾』は馮監督の作品の中でも最も興行的に成功した映画の一つで、公開してまもなく3億4千萬元(約52億円)の収益を上げ、当時の国内映画の興収新記録を打ち立てた。破格の投資を受けて製作され、鳴り物入りでその数か月前に公開された大作『レッド・クリフ』(ジョン・ウー監督)をも、しのいだのである。

『非誠勿擾』の映画自体は、中国のおしゃれでリッチなレストランやゴージャスな不動産物件、それに北海道の鮮やかな自然の映像を散りばめたロマンチック・コメディで、特に波乱万丈のドラマがあるわけでもない。既婚男性との不倫関係に疲れた客室乗務員シャオシャオが、その恋人との出会いの場である北海道を再訪するというあらすじだ。彼女の旅に連れ添うのが、アメリカ留学後中国に帰国した、「海帰 / 海亀」組(海外からの帰国者)の熟年男性チン・フェンである。チンは結婚相手をネット広告で募集、応募者の一人シャオシャオに一目ぼれする。珍道中のあげく、傷心のシャオシャオは岬から一人身投げするがもちろん助かり、その後チンを受け入れハッピーエンドという、ややお気楽な展開だ。

シャオシャオもチンも、家族の干渉や地縁血縁にとらわれず、自由に行動する個人として描かれている。そのほか主要人物として登場するのが、道案内役として旅に同行するウー・サンである。ウーはチンの古い友人で、約二十年前に日本に渡り、今は地元の女性と結婚、日本国籍も取得している。二枚目だが不実なシャオシャオの恋人、不格好だが誠実なチンに続く「第三の男」の役回りである。映画の結末近くで、「知床旅情」を歌うのがこのウーである。二人と別れた後、一人車の中で口ずさみ、むせび泣くのだ。

彼らの旅行先が日本であることは、とりたてた感慨もなく、当たり前のように扱われている。だが映画公開時はまだ、団体旅行に参加しない限り、中国人の日本で

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<sup>2</sup> Yomi Braester, “Chinese Cinema in the Age of Advertisement: The Filmmaker As a Cultural Broker,” *The China Quarterly*, no. 183 (September 2005): 549-64 を参照。

の個人旅行は難しかった。日本政府が中国人に、個人観光用のビザを発給しはじめたのは2009年になってからのことである。豊かになった中国の観客にとって、日本は目先にあるがまだ手が届かない対象で、それが逆に好奇心を刺激したのかもしれない。今思えば『非誠勿擾』は、その後の中国人の日本旅行ブームを予見するような映画だった。実際、北海道が中国人の人気旅行先となるのに一役買ったと言われている。テキストがコンテキストを創出する好個の例である。

『非誠勿擾』が公開された2008年は、北京五輪が開かれた年だった。悲願だった五輪開催を成功裏に終えるため、中国政府が友好ムードを演出した時期でもあった。日本では年初から、中国産「毒入りギョーザ」が問題になっていたが、五輪前の五月に起きた四川大地震では、日本から派遣された救援隊が中国のメディアで大々的な脚光を浴びた。日本に好意的なムードの余波が続く中、映画は年末に公開された。

とは言え、『非誠勿擾』では日本の風物やイメージはクローズアップされるものの、現実の日本社会への関心は希薄である。登場人物と現地の日本人の実質的な交流はなく、日本人や在日外国人は、おどけたエピソードに登場するヤクザや登山客、神父などの役をあてがわれているだけだ。映画の前半には中国少数民族をピエロのように扱うシーンもあり、そこに中国版オリエンタリズムの視線を感じないでもない。だがもともと、現実の日本社会（とそれに伴う日本人の対中感情）を描写するのは、エンターテインメントとしても政治的にも微妙だっただろう。むしろ『非誠勿擾』の真骨頂は、日本の文化資本を利用し、テーマに幾つもの伏線を取り入れたことにある。

その一つが、年配の着物姿のホステスたちと主人公らが騒ぐひなびたバーのシーンだ。店の雰囲気は、中国で愛されたカリスマ的な俳優、高倉健の主演作の一つ、『居酒屋兆次』（1983年）の主題歌「時代おくれの酒場」にヒントを得たようなただずまいだ。<sup>3</sup>「時代おくれの酒場」は時代に乗り遅れ、夢に破れた熟年の男たちが集う酒場を題材にした感傷的な哀歌で、そうした情感をかもし出すドラマや映画、歌謡曲が昭和の一時期、とりわけ70年代から80年代初めにかけて、日本で人気を博した。

だが、どうして『非誠勿擾』のような映画に、「時代おくれの酒場」的なモチーフが使われているのだろうか。好況にわき、誰もが競って投資話をする、前半のいけいけムード全開の中国大都市の市民の活写と、時代に取り残されたようなこのバーの描写は、好対照の構図を作り出している。この酒場のようなうらぶれた存在は中国にもあったはずだ。それを北海道のさびれた歓楽街に転移し投影するのは、どうしてなのだろうか。私の見るところ、『非誠勿擾』にはこのように、たくさんの置き換えや転移が包含されている。日本の文化資本の利用を通じて、そうした操作が巧みに行われているのだ。

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<sup>3</sup> 「時代おくれの酒場」は加藤登紀子の作詞作曲で1977年に作られ、後に映画『居酒屋兆次』の主題歌に採用された。加藤も高倉の妻の役で、映画に出演した。

そもそも、コミカルにまとめてあるものの、旅の道すがら、寺院を目にするとお参りし、教会を見ると立ち寄って告白しないではいられないチンの行動は、やや奇異に映る。シャオシャオと初めて会った日にも、チンはアメリカ滞在中、自らが犯した裏切り行為を打ち明けている。中国から団体で訪米中の既婚女性と恋仲になったが、アメリカに残りたいという彼女の願いを無視し、自殺に追いやってしまったという悔恨話である。女性は夫の家庭内暴力に脅かされていたが、チンに最終的に冷たいあしらいを受けただけでなく、チンの友人にも残留の意図を団体の長に密告され、前途に絶望する、というオチまでつく。この女性の逸話は、政治的迫害の被害者の寓話のように受け取れないでもない。ともあれ、アップビートの展開が繰り広げられる一方で、チンが心になみなみならぬ傷を負っていることが示唆される。

シャオシャオにしても、不倫という形に矮小化されているが、信じていた人に裏切られ自死に至るといふ点では、この女性と同様である。そのような社会的敗者や死者の存在を織り込まずして、豊かになったその後の中国で我が世の春を謳歌するような、このライトタッチの映画が成立しなかった、というのは興味深い。たとえそうした自責の念の織り込みかたに、一種の自己陶酔的あるいは自己憐憫的な情感が、色濃く漂っていたにしても、だ。そして私の考えでは、この悔恨と哀惜の念についての甘い追憶が、開放後の中国と戦後の日本をつなぐ一つの線を形成している。だからこそ、その延長線上で「知床旅情」が映画のラストで歌われるのである。

### 「生き残り」のうさんくさを郷愁でカバーする

では「知床旅情」とは、そもそもどういう歌なのだろうか。もともと戦後の“国民的”俳優、森繁久彌が、主演作『地の涯 (はて) に生きるもの』の主題歌として、1960年に作詞作曲したものだ。映画は、北方四島で充実した暮らしを送っていた年老いた漁師が、ソ連の侵攻により無一文で故郷の知床に引き揚げることになり、厳しい自然と戦争により三人の息子も失うという筋立てだ。私財を投げうって製作したにもかかわらず、森繁の唯一ヒットしなかった映画とも言われている。

「知床旅情」が本格的にブレイクするのは、それから十年後の1970年になってからである。東大在学中にデビューした実力派歌手、加藤登紀子がカバーしてヒットし、この曲で翌年のレコード大賞歌唱賞を受賞した。だが既にその時点では、森繁の映画が描いたような戦後の過酷な現実、60年代の高度経済成長を経て実感が失われ、とうに「時代おくれ」になっていた。要は、この歌が広く受容されるには、それだけの月日と忘却が必要だったということではないだろうか。そうやって初めて、つまり映画の歴史的な脈から離れ、この歌に込められていた思いが一般化し希薄化してようやく、「知床旅情」の郷愁をテーマにした歌詞と抒情的なメロディは大衆の支持を得たのである。その代わり、歌に込められていたもともとの思いやメッセージは顧みられることなく、埋もれていった。

森繁が旧満州の首都だった新京 (現長春) からの引揚者であること、また加藤自身もハルピン生まれで、二歳八か月で家族とともに引き揚げていることは、知る人ぞ知る事実である。旧満州では敗戦後、ソ連兵らによる略奪や殺戮、強姦、また日

本人間の密告が多発し、生き残った者も塗炭の苦しみを味わった。「知床旅情」の重層性は、そうした経歴を持つ森繁が北方領土に仮託して、二十代から三十代の意気軒高な時期を過ごした旧満州に対する追慕の念を忍び込ませているところにある。心から愛した満州の国土に骨を埋めるつもりだった、と森繁は後に自著でつづっている。<sup>4</sup> だが、日本の侵略戦争の結果、支配に至った地をあからさまに追慕するのは、戦後の日本で社会的に受け入れられることではなかった。

演出家の鴨下信一は、森繁は戦後、「戦争をひきうけてしくじった時代の代弁者としてあらわれた」とする演劇評論家の尾崎宏次の評を紹介している。そのうえで、「その後の軍歌好きや復古調の感傷を見ると、森繁の体から戦時中の植民地主義が立ち昇ってくるようで鼻白むところがある」と、彼自身の森繁観を明かしている。森繁からは、戦前の「満州や蒙古」に対するノスタルジーが感じられた。だがこのいかがわしさを彼は隠すところがなかった。鴨下は「だから日本人は彼を日本の代表的スターにした。いかがわしさは日本人全体の中にあっただからだ」と喝破する。<sup>5</sup> この森繁のいかがわしさは、「知床旅情」を単なる昭和の懐メロにしてしまった日本人のいかがわしさに通じるものである。まとめるなら、「知床旅情」はそうした戦後日本のいかがわしさや、うさんくささを併せ持ったまま、甘い郷愁のベールで覆った歌なのである。

さて、問題は『非誠勿擾』における「知床旅情」の使用である。いったい、それはどのような意味を有しているのだろうか。私の考えではここでも、歴史的、政治的、社会的にかけ離れた日本の文化資本を使っての転移や置き換えが行われているのではないか、ということだ。直接的には語られない開放後の中国人の思いを、この抒情的な曲が喚起する甘美でほろ苦い追憶の中で、部分融解し、埋もれさせているのである。政治的激動を生き残り、現在の豊かな生活を享受するに至った中国の人々が、チンやその他の事業家に自らの姿を投影し、そこに何らかのうさんくささやいかがわしさを感じていても、不思議ではないのである。

そしていかに屈折していても、ノスタルジーに伴って生まれる感傷という甘い蜜にひたってみせることで、かつての夢が破れた者、望みを捨てざるを得なかった者、敗残者、死者、自分が見捨てた者に、間接的に寄り添うことが可能になるのだ。『非誠勿擾』がこれだけ中国で人気を博したのは、そのようにして無意識のうちに、過去と手打ちをする機会を人々に提供したからではないだろうか。そうした形で、日本の戦後と中国の開放後も、知らない間につながっているのである。

### 日中経済逆転のほろ苦さ

なお、知床に一番近い北方領土の国後島が名指しで登場するこの「知床旅情」は、

<sup>4</sup> 森繁久彌『森繁自伝』(中央公論新社、1977年)、64頁、森繁久彌『もう一度逢いたい』(朝日新聞社、2000年)、182頁。

<sup>5</sup> 鴨下信一「森繁久彌 戦争をしくじった世代の諦観」、『文藝春秋』(2013年3月号)、457—458頁。

場合によっては政治的な波紋を生むものでもある。事実、『非誠勿擾』で使われた際も、「クナシリ」という言葉が口にされた途端、歌唱は途絶え、やや時間をおいてからサビの部分が歌われている。さらに、この歌に日本人引揚者の旧満州への郷愁が仮託されているとしたら、中国人にとってはなおさら微妙な内容だと言えるだろう。ただ前述したとおり、日本でこの歌がヒットした時、そのような歴史的文脈は希薄にされたし、私がこの小文で指摘したような、「知床旅情」の受容にみられる戦後日本の心理構造を意識化し言語化するような試みは、ずっとされて来なかった。

また「知床旅情」は、日本、台湾、香港の歌謡界をまたがる歌姫テレサ・テンによってもカバーされており、そこでは今回『非誠勿擾』で使われた文脈とは、別の意味を中華圏で作り出してきた。テレサ・テンのカバーの背景には、この『非誠勿擾』に限らず、中華圏でしばしば行われてきた日本の文化資本の活用の長い歴史がある。

何が言いたいかと言うと、日中や兩岸、大陸と香港の間の入り組んだ歴史においては、何らかの政治的余波を生むことなく、いかなる地雷をも避けて、多様な文化現象を語ることなど不可能であることだ。好むと好まざるにかかわらず、現代史においてそれほど密な邂逅を重ねてきたのが、この東アジアという地域なのである。『非誠勿擾』と「知床旅情」は、そうした歴史化と脱歴史化、政治化と脱政治化の往復を繰り返してきた日中両国の大衆文化の営みを具現している。

ここで「時代おくれの酒場」のキーとなるセリフを、ちょっと思い出してみよう。それは「人が心に思うことは、誰も止めることができない」というものだった。しかし、このセリフには、けっして語られることのない続きがある。それは、人が心に思うことは、口に出されることがない、ということだ。その「語られなかった思い」は、大衆歌謡が喚起するさまざまな感情により、甲斐なく消費されていくのである。

最後にもうひとつ、『非誠勿擾』と「知床旅情」との間の興味深い符合を指摘しておきたい。戦前の旧満州での生活は、日本本土でのそれとは異質だった。都市在住の日本人家族は、在住ロシア人を通じて食事、洋装、インテリアなどの多彩な西洋文化を吸収し、漢民族や満州民族、モンゴル人や朝鮮人と交わる多文化の日常を生きた。とりわけ戦中、本土でぜいたくがタブー化してから、本土と旧満州との間では、生活の上で実質的な格差が生まれていた。だがそれから二十年余がたち、かつて森繁が作った「知床旅情」が流行した1970年には、日本は既に経済大国への道を歩んでおり、生活水準は旧満州時代のそれをはるかに凌駕していた。もはや日本社会は屈託なく、「知床旅情」がかもし出す北の異国情緒を消費できたのである。

一方、戦後長らく国を閉ざしていた中国では、ウーのように日本に移民できたケースは例外的だった。貧困と格闘してきた中国本土の人々と比べて、ウーは経済的にははるかに恵まれた生活を送ってきたはずだ。だが開放から二十年余、『非誠勿擾』が作られた2008年には、日中の経済規模は逆転していた。映画の最後、チンはウーに、中国での投資でもうけた大金の一部を餞別として渡す。ウーはそれをあ

りがたく受け取り、一人になった後、車を運転しながら「知床旅情」を涙ながらに歌うのだ。この歌には、皮肉でほろ苦い、そんな時代の移り変わりも映し出されているのである。それは、映画のエンディングで中国語で歌われる「舐蜜方糖 跳進苦珈琲」(甘い角砂糖が苦いコーヒーに落ちてしまった) という歌詞に通じるほろ苦さなのである。

**DRAFT ONLY – DO NOT CITE**

**‘And I’ll form ... the Head!’<sup>6</sup> Cosplay as an adaptive process**

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As cosplay gains more attention in both mainstream media and in academia, increasing attention is placed upon cosplay as a sub-cultural fan activity (see for example Craig Norris and Justin Bainbridge (2009, 2013), Nicolle Lamerichs (2011), and Theresa Winge (2006)). This research focuses on cosplay as a niche geek or nerd hobby, or as a counter culture form of escapism. Much current cosplay research also takes for granted that cosplay is the same worldwide, regardless of location, language, age or gender. This of course elides the fact that cosplayers in Singapore, for example, often place emphasis on embodying the character,<sup>7</sup> while cosplayers in New Zealand place much more importance on the construction of the garments that they wear.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, while there is a certain element of escapism – cosplay does occur in a carnivalesque atmosphere of popular culture conventions and events where the everyday constraints of 9-5 jobs, education, parenting, gender, and age are suspended – it is not the full story.

I wish to take a closer look at the costumes themselves, with particular emphasis on fan constructed costumes as an act of adaptation and translation. This paper will draw on my

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<sup>6</sup> This title and subtitles in this chapter reference the 1984-85 series *Voltron: Defender of the Universe* (a heavily edited adaption of Japanese anime series *Hyaku Juo GoRaion: Beast King GoLion* 1981-1982). This catchphrase was uttered whenever the giant lion *mecha* was formed. In 2016 American and Korean collaboration saw the title rebooted as *Voltron: Legendary Defender*. The webseries aired on Netflix in June 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Private email conversation with Australian based Singaporean cosplayer Crimotaku March 2011.

<sup>8</sup> In 2016 the Armageddon Expo hosted both a cosplay competition and a costumed skit competition – the cosplay competition had a number of prizes and fed into the national Cosplay Championship; the skit completion was ‘just for fun.’ “Cosplay Theatre”

<http://armageddonexpo.com/nz/anime-manga-cartoons/cosplay-theatre/>

own work as a practicing cosplayer<sup>9</sup> and also on the published ‘build logs’ of internationally renowned cosplayers such as Yaya Han, Kamui, and Ameno Kitarō. The making of a costume is a series of considered decisions that start with a character choice and concludes (eventually) with the act of cosplay – of wearing the costume either in public or at a photo shoot. This process of active fandom (as opposed to passively consuming premade content) can be seen as akin to other fan works such as scanlations (scanned translations).

### **Form! Feet! And! Legs! – Cosplay as an adaptive process**

A standard definition of cosplay will inevitably state that word’s origins as a Japanese language portmanteau of ‘costume’ and ‘play’ as coined by Nobu Takahashi,<sup>10</sup> however since the word entered the English lexicon in the late 1990s and became more widespread, this definition is no longer necessary. Indeed, whereas cosplay’s very ‘Japaneseness’ was once a major hallmark of the hobby,<sup>11</sup> this is no longer the case.<sup>12</sup> Likewise, where as early academic articles mistakenly linked cosplay with Japanese street fashion styles (‘cosplay Lolita’),<sup>13</sup> this definition is no longer accepted and has been widely rejected by cosplay practitioners and Lolita fashionistas.<sup>14</sup>

Nicolle Lamerichs, a prolific cosplay scholar and a cosplayer herself, offers the following definition of cosplay as: ‘a form of appropriation that transforms and actualises an existing story or game in close connection to the fan community and the fan’s own identity.’<sup>15</sup> For

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<sup>9</sup> I use the terms ‘cosplayer’ and ‘cosplay practitioner’ interchangeably. More recently, cosplayers have started to use the term ‘coser’ or the Japanese *reiya* from both ‘layer’ and ‘cosp-layer.’

<sup>10</sup> See KING, Emerald L (2013) “Explainer: What is Cosplay” *The Conversation*, <http://theconversation.com/explainer-what-is-cosplay-20759>

<sup>11</sup> See HJORTH, Larissa (2009), “Game Girl: Re-Imagining Japanese Gender and Gaming via Melbourne Female Cosplayers.” *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*, Issue 20 <<http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue20/hjorth.htm>>.

<sup>12</sup> See KING, Emerald L (2016) “Tailored Translations – Translating and Transporting Cosplay Costumes Across Texts, Cultures, and Dimensions.” *SIGNATA* forthcoming

<sup>13</sup> Whinge’s article, though widely cited, is the primary source for this confusion.

<sup>14</sup> See for example “Lolita Myths” *Lolita Fashion. Org* [http://static.lolita-fashion.org/lolita\\_myths.html](http://static.lolita-fashion.org/lolita_myths.html); “How to Avoid Being an Ita” *F Yeah Lolita* <http://fyeahlolita.blogspot.co.nz/2009/10/how-to-avoid-being-ita.html>.

<sup>15</sup> LAMERICHS, Nicolle (2013), “Cosplay: Material and Transmedia Culture in Play,” *Transactions of the Digital Games Research Association. Defragging Game Studies*. p 1

Lamerichs, cosplay is inherently linked to fan spaces and communities, rather than to an authentic Japanese-ness, or even to costuming. Sarah Gilligan, drawing on the work of Camille Bacon-Smith places cosplay within a spectrum of ‘fan dress:’

As material art, fan dress may range from elaborate masquerade dress to more subtle signifiers of fan allegiance such as badges, t-shirts or key items associated with a specific character, such as a *Doctor Who*/Tom Baker scarf or a pair of Spock’s ears ... . Costume therefore functions as a key means of defining the limits of a living community; it is both a marker of inclusion and a signifier of fan’s conflict with mainstream culture.<sup>16</sup>

which further equates fan identity to fandom spaces.

For our purposes, cosplay is both the act of dressing as a certain character (to cosplay; verb), and the costume worn by practitioners (a cosplay costume; noun). Like Lamerichs and Gilligan, I find that the act of dressing in cosplay is linked to certain fandom spaces – which, we will see, include real world physical spaces, online realms, and purely conceptual notions of place and space.

While many current academic works locate cosplay purely within the physical realm of the popular culture convention floor or competition stage (see for example Susan J Napier 2007, in addition to the work mentioned above), the liminal space in which cosplay occurs extends to the frame of a photographers lens and the online galleries in which these finished images are posted and shared. These locations occur in what can be termed the 2.5 dimension or 2.5D space. Located between the 2D realm of anime, manga, computer games, literature, and film, and the 3D real world, the 2.5D has been popularised by the Japan 2.5-Dimensional Musical Association.<sup>17</sup> The actors in these musicals, like cosplay practitioners ‘create a living and moving world in which [they] act as if they’re in a *manga*.’<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> GILLIGAN, Sarah (2011), “Having cleavages and fantastic frock coats: Gender fluidity, celebrity and tactile transmediality in contemporary costume cinema,” *Film, Fashion & Consumption*, 1: 1, DOI: 10.1386/ffc.1.1.7\_1. p 26; BACON-SMITH, Camille (1992), *Enterprising Women: Television Fandom and the Creation of Popular Myth*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. P 47.

<sup>17</sup> See the musical’s homepage <http://www.j25musical.jp/>.

<sup>18</sup> TANAKA, Nobuko (March 31<sup>st</sup> 2015) “‘Tenimyu’ 2.5-D shows net over 2 million tickets sold”, *The Japan Times*.

Lamerichs may leave costumes and costuming from her definition of cosplay, but for me the costume, that transformative garment or set of accessories, is at the very heart of the act of cosplaying. While there some distinction between fan made costumes and those bought or compiled,<sup>19</sup> all cosplay costumes are a result of an adaptive or translative process that renders the original 2D source garment as a wearable 2.5D or 3D garment.

Put simply, an adaption is:

- An acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works
- A creative and an interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging
- An extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work<sup>20</sup>

As Linda Hutcheon puts it, ‘an adaptation is a derivation that is derivative – a work that is second without being secondary. It is its own palimpsestic thing.’<sup>21</sup> Similar to other fandom acts of translation or adaptation such as scanlations or fansubs,<sup>22</sup> cosplay costumes are based on an existing character or story arc, and created by fans on the basis of their knowledge of the given language (Japanese in the case of scanlations and fansubs, costume semantics and fabrication techniques in the case of costumes) as well as that of particular media content, spurred by their substantial interest.<sup>23</sup> Walter Benjamin *The Task of the Translator* (1923) sees translation as a strategy that allows texts to survive and adapt to a new culture milieu;<sup>24</sup> something that is equally applicable to cosplay costumes as it is to other Japanese origin popular cultural goods such as anime or manga. It should be noted here that the base definition of cosplay has since expanded from the late 1990s when it referred only to Japan origin costumes and now includes western source material such as Marvel or DC comics. Indeed, some of the earliest cosplays performed in Japan were

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<sup>19</sup> For example, most cosplay competitions require that all entries be made by the wearer.

<sup>20</sup> HUTCHEON, Linda (2013), *A Theory of Adaptation*, Second Edition, New York: Routledge. p 9.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> See for example O’HAGAN, Minako (2009), “Evolution of User-generated Translation: Fansubs, Translation Hacking and Crowdsourcing,” *The Journal of Internalisation and Localisation*, 1, pp. 5-32. DOI: 10.1075/jial.1.04hag

<sup>23</sup> O’HAGAN, Minako (2009), “Evolution of User-generated Translation: Fansubs, Translation Hacking and Crowdsourcing,” *The Journal of Internalisation and Localisation*, 1, pp. 5-32. DOI: 10.1075/jial.1.04hag p 8.

<sup>24</sup> Cited in RAW, Laurence (ed. 2012), *Translation, Adaptation and Transformation*, New York: Bloomsbury p iix

reportedly *Star Trek* uniforms.<sup>25</sup> It is important to remember that not all cosplay relies on a shift of Japanese to English, but may be (US) English to Japanese, Japanese to Korean, or Korean to (NZ) English.

### **Form! Arms! And! Torso! – Case studies of build logs**

As noted previously, most current scholarship on cosplay focuses on the cosplayers themselves to the near exclusion of the costumes they are wearing. Drawing on the public build logs of ‘cosfamous’ cosplayers Yaya Han, Kamui and Ameno Kitarou, I wish to now to look at the considered process of constructing a cosplay costume.<sup>26</sup> These ‘Big Name Cosplayers’<sup>27</sup> practitioners regularly appear at different conventions world wide as invited guests, exhibitors and judges. Yaya Han is based in America. Kamui or Kamui Cosplay is based in Germany. Ameno Kitarou or Wirru is based in Australia. All three continually create innovations in costume construction, discovering new materials and techniques and then sharing them with their followers. Regardless of interconnectedness of the global cosplay community made possible by the internet, each cosplayer’s approach to cosplay is shaped by their differing ‘local’ cosplay scene. The costumes constructed by each of these ‘Big Name Cosplayers’ can be seen as translations from their original source material – when working with Japanese language source materials, these costumes take on an element of linguistic translation from a Japanese artefact into Chinese, English, German, et cetera. The innovations that these practitioners each bring to the field are akin to different innovative translation techniques introduced by those working with literature, subtitles, film or other media.

Yaya Han is one of the first cosplay practitioners to make a full time business, first with a line of Yaya Han Brand accessories and wigs, as well signed cosplay and modelling photos, then as a cosplay personality, judge, and MC – to date she has appeared as a ‘guest, panellist, judge, performer and host to over 100 conventions and events’ across the globe.<sup>28</sup> More recently she has paired with haberdashers to release a line of commercial sewing

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<sup>25</sup> Science fiction critic and first generation cosplayer Kotani Mari also states that the first cosplayers were inspired by fans of *Star Trek*. (Private conversation, Tokyo, January 18<sup>th</sup>, 2010).

<sup>26</sup> It should be noted that none of these cosplay practitioners have been approached directly. All information used in this paper is available freely online. Every effort has been made to represent their construction process faithfully.

<sup>27</sup> After the earlier term ‘Big Name Fan’ or ‘BNF’ see for example [http://fanlore.org/wiki/Big\\_Name\\_Fan](http://fanlore.org/wiki/Big_Name_Fan)

<sup>28</sup> HAN Yaya, “about” <http://yayahan.com/about> accessed September 2016

patterns with McCall's patterns and a line of special fabrics with Joannes. Since starting to cosplay in 1999/2000, Han has created over 300 personal costumes based on both anime/manga source materials and on western popular culture sources.<sup>29</sup> Her website, topped by her retro-futuristic space girl logo, houses her store, blog, and a portfolio of costumes. Each costume is accompanied by a write up that details why she chose a certain character to portray, her construction process, and her thoughts on wearing the garment. Unlike other internet personalities who routinely delete their online history, Han's gallery contains some of her earlier, arguably less accomplished costumes, alongside more recent, more complex outfits.

Han states that her earliest costumes were made with the help of a friend who taught her how to sew:

When I started cosplaying 15 years ago, the US community was so small and underground that we had no option of buying costumes, accessories or props. If you wanted to cosplay, you pretty much had to make the costume.<sup>30</sup>

One of the earliest costumes in Han's gallery is Sharon Apple from anime OVA *Macross Plus* (1994). Constructed in 2000 and then remade in 2006, Han states that this is 'the [costume] that got [her] forever hooked on cosplay!'<sup>31</sup> The outfit is relatively simple consisting of a black dress, orange wig, and hovering orange arm and calf bands. The most detailed part of the costume is the make-up: facial appliances consisting of exaggerated pipe cleaner eyebrows and a forehead gem. Han states that in the 6 years between originally wearing the costume and re-wearing it *Macross Plus* had gone from a well known title to a little known 'classic.'<sup>32</sup>

In the current era of easy access to eBay, Taobao and Etsy stores, such a simple costume would usually be purchased for less than the cost of the fabric to make it.<sup>33</sup> For Han, being

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<sup>29</sup> HAN Yaya "Yaya's Cosplay Journey"

<http://yayahan.com/about/yayas-cosplay-journey> accessed September 2016

<sup>30</sup> *ibid*

<sup>31</sup> HAN Yaya "Sharon Apple – *Macross Plus*"

<http://yayahan.com/portfolio/costumes/sharon-apple-remake-macross-plus> accessed September 2016

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>33</sup> For more on purchased costumes see LAMERICHS, Nicolle (2013), "Cosplay: The Affective Mediation of Fictional Bodies" conference paper accessed via Academia.edu. See also NORRIS, Craig and BAINBRIDGE, Jonathon (2009), "Selling *Otaku?* Mapping the Relationship between Industry and Fandom in the Australian Cosplay Scene."

a part of the US cosplay community from a time that predates these readily accessible costume ‘forced [her] to get hands on with creating costumes from scratch,’ to the point where she ‘fell in love with the craftsmanship process as much as [she] did with the characters.’<sup>34</sup>

A more recent costume is Han’s Banshee Queen Enira from the MMORPG (massive multiplayer online role-playing game) game *Lineage II* (2003).<sup>35</sup> In comparison to the Sharon Apple costume that only took her 5 hours of work, the Banshee Queen took 150 hours to complete. Worn three times during 2014, this costume was also featured on an episode of Syfy (Space) TV Network Docu-Series *Heroes of Cosplay*, on which Han was a reoccurring cosplayer/mentor figure. Consisting of a towering Rococo style wig and feather crown, bull horns, feather wings, full leg-of-mutton sleeves with fluted cuffs, corseted bodice, and layered ball gown, the Banshee Queen is the most ‘pain in the ass costume to make/transport/wear’ out of all of Han’s costumes.<sup>36</sup> In order to fully realise the complicated skirt design (bat wing like panniers, ropes of gold plaits, and a skeletal torso and skull central decal), Han decided that her own figure was too short to fit the proportions of the character. To rectify this, Han decided to add to her height with a pair of stilts which is what makes the costume so difficult, and in fact so dangerous, to wear.

Yaya Han’s costuming process is one that she has developed with no formal training, through a process of trial and error for 15 years. For Han, the first step in constructing a costume is collecting materials which she says is ‘key’ to turning ‘any cosplay wish list item to actual craftsmanship project.’<sup>37</sup> Han states that, in addition to sewing and fabricating ‘half of the work on any costume is done through research; break down of materials and techniques; and the acquisition of every bit of material you may need.’<sup>38</sup>

While Han gained recognition for her intricately constructed costumes, Kamui gained international fame for her tutorials using thermoplastics that she posted on YouTube, while Ameno Kitarō posts regular build updates on his Facebook and Instagram pages. Like Han,

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*Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific*, Issue 20,

<[http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue20/norris\\_bainbridge.htm](http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue20/norris_bainbridge.htm)>.

<sup>34</sup> HAN Yaya “Yaya’s Cosplay Journey”

<http://yayahan.com/about/yayas-cosplay-journey> accessed September 2016

<sup>35</sup> HAN Yaya “Banshee Queen Enira - Lineage 2”

<http://yayahan.com/portfolio/costumes/banshee-queen-enira> accessed September 2016

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

Kamui started as a regular convention attendee before her costumes started to gain attention. For Kamui, it was her fantasy amour costumes based on Blizzard's MMORPG *World of Warcraft*, and her readiness to share her techniques which meant that since 2013, like Han, she is able to make a living solely from cosplay related industry.<sup>39</sup>

Kamui started cosplaying in around 2003, eventually focusing her own Druid class avatars or 'toon,' from *World of Warcraft*: 'when I started to play *World of Warcraft*, I just fell in love with all these wonderful pauldrons, helmets, bracers, swords and staves.'<sup>40</sup> Many of Kamui's early costumes, those that she is most well known for, consist mainly of amour components as she 'discovered pretty quickly that [she's more] of a crafter than a tailor.' Her more recent outfits have become material based as Kamui feels fatigued with armour costumes and is trying to 'find things that [she] can't do well and try to get better at them.'<sup>41</sup>

Renowned for her generosity, Kamui was one of the first cosplay practitioners to freely share her armouring techniques in extensive, step-by-step YouTube videos. These were first released in German with English subtitles, but have shifted to English as Kamui's confidence has improved - or rather as her English language following has grown. Because of this mix of languages, the videos are, intentionally or not, endearingly humorous at times – particularly Kamui's referring to armour bra cups as 'boobie bags.' Kamui's videos have become primers for many new and aspiring cosplayers using thermoplastics such as Worbla and Wonderflex<sup>42</sup> or heat forming EVA foam to make armour for the first time. These techniques have seen been collected in a series of self published guides that include cosplay armour making, painting effects, prop making, working with LED lighting, and a collection of armour patterns for both men and women.<sup>43</sup>

Kamui's build logs are picture heavy, showing her process step by step in a manner that is easy for her fans to replicate her techniques for their own projects. One such log is one of

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<sup>39</sup> KAMUI Cosplay "About Us" (2016) <https://www.kamuicosplay.com/aboutus/> accessed September 2016

<sup>40</sup> Part of the *World of Warcraft* gameplay allows each player to customise their own character based on class, gender, and race.

<sup>41</sup> KAMUI Cosplay "About Us" (2016) <https://www.kamuicosplay.com/aboutus/> accessed September 2016

<sup>42</sup> Plastics that can be shaped using a heat gun which hold their shape when cooled. When these products first appeared on the cosplay scene, they were much cheaper to attain in European countries than in the US or Australasia.

<sup>43</sup> KAMUI Cosplay "Tutorial Books,": <https://www.kamuicosplay.com/tutorial-books/> accessed September 2016

her early Druid costumes.<sup>44</sup> This costume epitomizes Kamui's earlier cosplay costumes with a robe constructed of faux leather and fur that, while incredibly detailed and embellished, is mostly glued together rather than sewn,<sup>45</sup> and detailed armour pieces including a headdress, shoulder pauldrons, and two large pole weapons. For this costume, rather than using the thermal plastics she is well known for, Kamui constructed all of her accessories out of carved expanding foam covered in papier maché and then painted to look like bone and leather.

The Druid Tier 6 costume and props took Kamui over half a year to complete. Looking back, Kamui notes that she 'did not use the right technique' for these weapons due to a lack of experience.<sup>46</sup> More recently, Kamui's Vault Dweller from console game *Fallout 4* (2015) relied on more conventional sewing techniques, while her props, a huge shoulder cannon constructed from EVA foam, utilised some of the latest techniques that have been adopted by the cosplay scene such as laser cutting and 3D printing.<sup>47</sup> *Fallout 4* is post apocalyptic game set in the year 2287. Part of the game's look is a heavily weathered, heavily deteriorated environment. In order to achieve this look, Kamui, along with her husband Benni who takes on the painting side of prop construction, experimented with airbrushing techniques as well as chemical oxidising to create the corroded feel that is central to the game's look. As with her *World of Warcraft* characters, the character that Kamui cosplayed from *Fallout 4* is a customisable avatar. The constructing of a personal avatar in a real world space adds an added level to the customisable and personal nature of in game character construction.

Unlike Yaya Han and Kamui Cosplay who have dedicated websites, Ameno Kitarō (AK, AK Wirru, Wirru) shares his work on Facebook, Instagram and Deviant Art. AK divides his content across these sites, sharing most of his work on Facebook, daily life on Instagram, and high quality images on Deviant Art. A cosplay practitioner for 10 years, AK gained recognition for his high quality cosplay images and collaborations with Australian photographers such as Fiathriel,<sup>48</sup> rising to prominence when he represented Australia in the World Cosplay Summit (WCS)<sup>49</sup> in 2012.<sup>50</sup> Rather than a curated collection of build

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<sup>44</sup> KAMUI Cosplay "Druid Tier 6: *World of Warcraft*" <http://www.kamuicosplay.com/project/druid-t6-wow/> accessed September 2016

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.kamuicosplay.com/2009/12/08/druid-tier-6-robe-making-of/>

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.kamuicosplay.com/2009/12/10/journeys-end-making-of/>

<sup>47</sup> <https://www.kamuicosplay.com/project/fallout4/>

<sup>48</sup> See <http://www.facebook.com/fiathriel>

<sup>49</sup> See <http://www.worldcosplaysummit.jp/en/about/>

<sup>50</sup> See <https://www.facebook.com/AmenoKitarou>

logs, AK has what I like to term a ‘Build-Along Blog.’ Without a strict posting schedule, AK nevertheless posts regular Tuesday Tutorials on Facebook in the form of annotated progress pictures. It is in these tutorials that AK’s sense of humour shines through. His tutorials, which he warns ‘may contain choice words,’<sup>51</sup> are often phrased: ‘(verb) the bitches,’ (ie ‘cut the bitches’) and frequently end with the direction to ‘repeat until cry.’

Specialising in ‘speed builds,’ AK recently set himself the challenge to create both Sailor Neptune and Sailor Uranus from *Pretty Soldier Sailor Moon Crystal* (2015) in 24 hours. The entire ‘build’ was filmed and then made available to fee paying sponsors on Patreon. Like Yaya Han, AK recommends assembling all materials before attempting a speed build. AK also recommends drawing out a detailed plan, including technical drawings, and a list of things that need to be made in order to ‘achieve a costume speedily and efficiently while under time constraints without sacrificing quality!’<sup>52</sup> To speed his construction of the two Sailor Scouts, AK designed his costume so that as many elements as possible could be used for both characters meaning that, of the 20 components that he identified in his schematic, he only had to make one base leotard and one pair of gloves. The distinctive sailor collars and pleated skirts of Neptune (sea green) and Uranus (yellow and navy blue) as well as their glove cuffs, chokers and tiaras can be easily swapped out depending on which character AK might chose to wear.<sup>53</sup>

In contrast, on his most recent costume AK has logged over 180 hours making Tsumugi from the manga and anime series *Knights of Sidonia* (Shidonia no Kishi, 2009-2015). In contrast to the straight sewing and fairly simple foam prop construction employed in his *Sailor Moon* speed build, AK’s construction of Tsumugi was largely constructed from latex fabric. For the under garment, AK made a canvas toile which he then used to sculpt each

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<sup>51</sup> AMENO Kitaro “Tutorials”

[https://web.facebook.com/AmenoKitarou/photos/?tab=album&album\\_id=589374454483634](https://web.facebook.com/AmenoKitarou/photos/?tab=album&album_id=589374454483634) Accessed September 2016

<sup>52</sup> AMENO Kitaro “May 14” [https://scontent.fwlg1-1.fna.fbcdn.net/v/t1.0-9/13232973\\_1019094694844939\\_8588568327779552106\\_n.jpg?oh=e0e28ae0dc813c4b5e1e87d93bcdc506&oe=58852E56](https://scontent.fwlg1-1.fna.fbcdn.net/v/t1.0-9/13232973_1019094694844939_8588568327779552106_n.jpg?oh=e0e28ae0dc813c4b5e1e87d93bcdc506&oe=58852E56) accessed September 2016

<sup>53</sup> Ameno Kitaro’s crossplaying is offered here without comment as the focus of this article is the way in which cosplayers construct their costumes. He predominately cosplays male characters, many of which take advantage of his karate skills. It is of note, however, that neither Yaya Han nor Kamui engage in crossplay. Indeed, Yaya has stated that she prefers to dress as empowered, kick-ass female characters that suit her curvaceous body type see “Cosplay Queen Yaya Han Busts Myths and Tells Us How She Really Feels About Sexy Cosplay” <http://www.playboy.com/articles/yaya-han-cosplay-playboy>

pattern piece out of clay before creating plaster moulds which he used to cast latex panels. Each panel was reinforced with a stretch mesh fabric which made it possible for the delicate sculpted pieces to be treated like fabric and assembled on a sewing machine.<sup>54</sup> AK used this technique to construct a sleeved bodice, layered skirts and leggings. In addition, Tsumugi has a helmet and spinal column, both constructed from thermal plastics that were heat sculpted and then painted to match the latex gown, as well as a cowl and tail covered in hand-cast latex ‘flaps,’ and a large pole weapon/appendage constructed from carved expanding foam. Part of the success of the Tsumugi costume was the alien nature of the latex material – when completed, the costume looked and moved like a lurching *kaiju* from a professional *Tokusatsu* film franchise.

Social media allows ‘Big Name Cosplayers’ to interact freely with their fans and followers in a way that gives an immediacy and authenticity that can be lost when communicating via email and other ‘official’ forms of correspondence. Unfortunately, the familiarity that comes with this kind of contact also as its drawbacks. Tired of receiving ‘comments’ on her large breasts, Yaya Han once made her chest its own Facebook page as part of an April Fool’s prank. Only up for a day, the page received a huge number of followers in a matter of hours. Likewise, when AK was posting his progress of Tsumugi he was effectively accused of being a ‘fake geek’ by a fan who did not believe he was a ‘really loved’ the character or *Knights of Sidonia*.<sup>55</sup>

The cry of ‘fake geek’ is one that is usually levelled at women in fandom spaces, so it is of note that AK was the recipient of this message. First appearing in an article posted on Forbes by Tara Tiger Brown in March 2012 (“Dear Fake Geek Girls: Please Go Away”),<sup>56</sup> the term is a pejorative that refers to ‘allegedly women who show up at geek events, possibly while hot, with not enough geek cred for you.’<sup>57</sup> It is essentially a form of

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<sup>54</sup> AMENO Kitarou “Tutorial Tuesday: July 19”  
<https://web.facebook.com/AmenoKitarou/photos/a.589374454483634.1073741861.145482782206139/1061067537314321/?type=3&theater> Accessed September 2016

<sup>55</sup> Ameno Kitarou posted the conversation between himself and his fan on his Instagram feed with the caption ‘FYI – How not to interact with me’  
<https://www.instagram.com/p/BKdnp0thWPy/>

<sup>56</sup> Accessible at  
[www.forbes.com/sites/tarabrown/2012/03/26/dear-fake-geek-girls-please-go-away/#611fb1572afb](http://www.forbes.com/sites/tarabrown/2012/03/26/dear-fake-geek-girls-please-go-away/#611fb1572afb)

<sup>57</sup> Definition from the Geek Feminism Wikia  
[http://geekfeminism.wikia.com/wiki/Fake\\_geek\\_girls](http://geekfeminism.wikia.com/wiki/Fake_geek_girls)

gatekeeping that dictates who can, and cannot, engage in fandom activities such as cosplay. Unfortunately, a more detailed exploration of who can and cannot enter geek and fandom spaces is outside the scope of this paper.<sup>58</sup>

### **Form Voltron! – Conclusion**

This paper has very briefly looked at the ways in which cosplayers construct the costumes that they wear as part of the act of ‘cosplay.’ A brief survey only, this piece nevertheless shows that cosplay construction is a deliberate series of choices similar to those that must be made when translating or adapting any other text. Each of the three cosplayers examined in this piece have different materials that they prefer to use, but each approach the challenge of creating amateur costumes in a similar fashion. Once the source material is decided upon, a process of research (extant garments, historical patterning, materials) is undertaken to determine how to best bring the costume into being. For some cosplayers, like Yaya Han, it may be that assembling the materials is half of the battle. Given the affective and representative nature of textiles, fabric choice is key to the success of a costume.<sup>59</sup> In this way, cosplay costumes can be seen as yet another form of transmedia translation or adaptation, no different to scanlations, fan subbing or even film or inter language translations.

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<sup>58</sup> See my forthcoming book chapter on Cosplay and Gender

<sup>59</sup> See KING, Emerald L (2016) “Tailored Translations – Translating and Transporting Cosplay Costumes Across Texts, Cultures, and Dimensions.” *SIGNATA* forthcoming

AMENO Kitaro “May 14” [https://scontent.fwlg1-1.fna.fbcdn.net/v/t1.0-9/13232973\\_1019094694844939\\_8588568327779552106\\_n.jpg?oh=e0e28ae0dc813c4b5e1e87d93bc506&oe=58852E56](https://scontent.fwlg1-1.fna.fbcdn.net/v/t1.0-9/13232973_1019094694844939_8588568327779552106_n.jpg?oh=e0e28ae0dc813c4b5e1e87d93bc506&oe=58852E56) accessed September 2016

AMENO Kitaro “Tutorials”  
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