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Badań Japonistycznych

Analecta Nipponica

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

With volume 3 of *Analecta* we slightly departed from the formula of the journal proposed with the publication of volumes 1 and 2. It was decided that volume 3 would be dedicated to the late Professor Wiesław Kotański (1915–2005), the most outstanding figure in the field of academic-level Japanese studies in Poland and an excellent *sensei* of generations of Japanologists, from various countries in addition to Poland, in order to mark the tenth anniversary of his passing (August 8, 2005). For this purpose we chose to compile a representative selection of the late Professor's lesser-accessible works rather than a collection of articles by other authors. And it seems in fact that the Kotański volume, monographic in its nature, has been found attractive enough to perhaps encourage similar ventures in the future.

With the present volume 4, however, we come back to the initial – and planned as definitely dominating – formula, more usual and typical of academic periodicals.

In its first part, we print five papers ranging over varying topics from theater and literature, through religion and beliefs, to feminism emerging in Korea under Japanese rule, four of them are by Polish authors and one by a foreign guest author, a Kyoto-based Belgian. So far, this is only our second foreign writer but we encourage and invite further such contributors and we hope that this number will increase.

The second part includes two interviews with Japanese visitors to Warsaw University and the third part consists of a reprint of the first part of Professor Ewa Pałasz-Rutkowska's 1987 PhD dissertation in history focusing on factionalism in the Japanese army in 1932–1936, published in a limited edition in 1990.

Unfortunately, we still cannot initiate and develop a very much desired critical section to the journal and we feel that this is our serious disadvantage and in fact a failure. It is true that a general retreat from writing reviews, once the essence of academic dispute, can be observed but – it was, and still is, the leading Japanological journals that can, and should, with their expanded squib and review segments set a good example for us.



ARTICLES

DIALOG WITH A GHOST: MODERN NŌ PLAYS BY MISHIMA YUKIO ON THE STAGES OF THE POLISH THEATRE

Introduction

The Japanese medieval Nō 能 theatre – a poetic, song and dance performance, where demons, gods and ghosts dialog with humans on the border between the illusory and the real world – became an important source of inspiration for one of the greatest Japanese writers of the 20th century, Mishima Yukio 三島由紀夫 (1925–1970). In the years 1950–1962, on the basis of Nō plays, he wrote as many as nine dramas, altogether entitled “Modern Nō Plays” (*kindai nōgaku* 近代能楽)¹. They are entitled as classical Nō plays, however, their action occurs in the 20th century, and the acting characters, contrarily to the archaic and often singing language of the Nō theatre, speak a common everyday language, fully comprehensible for the contemporary spectator. Those plays gained popularity quickly not only in Japan, but abroad as well: some of them, translated into English, German, Spanish and French, have been successfully staged in the West since the 1950s. Also Polish theatre directors couldn’t resist the power of those short, one-act dramas and made Mishima’s plays appear and reappear on the stages of Polish theatres, just as ghosts in the classical Nō theatre. Already in 1965, Tadeusz Łomnicki staged three of the modern Nō plays by Mishima, and nearly 30 years later, in 1994, Andrzej Wajda directed four of the Japanese writer’s plays. The younger generation of directors became interested in Nō plays as well: in 2007, unexpectedly as many as two of them, Agnieszka Olsten and Natalia Sołtysik, presented their visions of Mishima’s Nō theatre.

¹ These plays are: *Kantan* 邯鄲 (*The Magic Pillow*, 1950), *Aya no tsuzumi* 綾の鼓 (*The Damask Drum*, 1951), *Sotoba Komachi* 卒塔婆小町 (*Komachi at the Stupa*, 1952), *Aoi no ue* 葵上 (*The Lady Aoi*, 1954), *Hanjo* 班女 (*The Waiting Lady with the Fan*, 1955), *Dōjōji* 道成寺 (*Dōjō Temple*, 1957), *Yuya* 熊野 (Yuya, 1959), *Yoroboshi* 弱法師 (*The Begging Monk*, 1960), *Genji kuyō* 源氏供養 (*Memorial Service of The Tale of Genji*, 1962). Cf. Mishima 1975h,b,l, vol. 20; Mishima 1974a,e,c vol. 21; Mishima 1975n,m vol.22; Mishima 1974 vol. 23. All these plays have been translated into English.

It is quite surprising that plays written by a Japanese playwright using means of expression and poetics seemingly different from the Western ones, have been attracting the attention of Polish stage directors, beginning from such masters of classics and theatrical art as Andrzej Wajda, and ending with the youngest creatresses such as Natalia Sołtysik. Thanks to this fact, Mishima's dialog with the classical Nō theatre has had the chance to develop into a dialog of Polish directors and actors with Mishima, and through him – with the medieval Nō theatre itself.

The traditional Nō theatre vs Mishima and his modern Nō

Fully formed at the turn of the 14th and 15th century, the Nō theatre constitutes one of the oldest Japanese theatre forms. Its great creators and codifiers were a father and a son: Kan'ami 観阿弥 (1333–1384) and Zeami 世阿弥 (1363–1443). The Nō convention was settled by the 18th century, including fixed, symbolic gestures and figures (*kata* 型). Nō is not a dramatic theatre in the Western meaning of the word. It can rather be defined as a poetic performance, where, apart from the actors (always men, regardless of the character performed), an important role was held by the orchestra (*hayashi* 囃子) and a choir composed of several people (*jiutai* 地謡). The actors appearing on the stage (*shite* シテ – the performing actor, wearing a mask, and *waki* ワキ – the secondary actor) narrate a story rather than play roles, and the text they melodiously recite is called *yōkyoku* 謡曲 (a song, a melody), which indicates its direct connection with music. The stage movement, where a significant role is held by dance (*mai* 舞) and *kata*, is performed with the accompaniment of drums, the flute and the choir. The contents of around two hundred and forty known Nō plays (of which around a hundred are staged nowadays) are composed of legends, folk tales, themes taken from classical literature and Buddhist stories. This theatre, formed in the times of long-lasting civil wars caused by a fierce struggle for power, and very popular at that time especially among the samurai aristocracy, is steeped in an atmosphere of suffering and sorrow. It is associated with Buddhist meditation on transience and the impermanence of everything in this world (the so called *mujō* 無常). In the Nō theatre, this world and the beyond coexist in a time that has nothing to do with the linear one. Usually on the stage, the ghost of a dead warrior or that of a high born woman appears, who, in the presence of a Buddhist monk, a pilgrim or an ascetic, narrates about some tragic moments from his/her life and relives unspeakable suffering. Symbolism, understatement, suggestion as well as sublimity and elegance are the values considered to be the most characteristic of the Nō theatre. They co-create the complex aesthetic category of *yūgen* (profound and mysterious beauty), finding its fullest expression precisely in theatre.

Mishima admired Nō – its formal rigor, simplicity of plot, symbolism and extremely condensed dramatic expression. He was also fond of the ancient canon

of female beauty presented in Nō plays. As he wrote in his essay *Nō – sono kokoro ni manabu* 能—その心に学ぶ (learning from Nō), this was an ideal beauty, from before the Middle Ages², represented by a high born woman, always sad and suffering, incorporating “the eternal beauty as from a dream”³. Although the Kabuki 歌舞伎 theatre was closer to his temper, the combination of poetry and drama found in Nō (and impossible to achieve in traditional Western theatre) was to him the manifestation of the highest art. He claimed that the text of Nō plays “was truly perfect as a poetic drama”, and saw the greatness of Nō theatre in an unparalleled synthesis of the word with independent dance and music⁴. Mishima had come back several years in a row to the form of Nō miniatures he was fond of, writing one of his famous plays nearly each year. He spoke jokingly about them with his characteristic irony, calling them “a strange new dish” (*kimyō na atarashii ryōri* 奇妙な新しい料理) that he had proposed to the modern Japanese theatre *shingeki* 新劇 (the new theatre)⁵. This new form of theatre, modelled on Western theatre and its psychological realism, at the same time completely departing from the popular convention of the traditional Japanese Kabuki theatre and the so called “new school” (*shinpa* 新派) derived from it, was created in Japan in the early 20th century and prevailed mostly in the years 1945–1960. In the beginning, the *shingeki* theatre showed Western works of playwrights such as Ibsen, Chekhov, Gorky or O’Neill, then later – Japanese authors. The theatres Bungakuza 文学座 (the literary theatre) and Haiyūza 俳優座 (the actor theatre), where Mishima staged his modern Nō plays, were counted among the most important post-war *shingeki* theatres.

As for his “new dish”, i.e. Nō plays *à la* Mishima, the author wrote them in the following way: from the classical Nō theatre, he took over the stories from the plays in the most superficial way, and he used the atmosphere of the border of sleep and wakefulness so characteristic of Nō, along with the way of joining the scenes; but he dressed his characters in entirely modern costumes⁶.

It is worth stressing that for Mishima, a born playwright and an unfulfilled poet, the most important was, above all, the text of the play, where the classical literary theme taken from Nō harmonizes with extremely condensed words, bringing to mind the famous tirades by Racine. Each of Mishima’s Nō plays, before it was staged, was first published in a literary paper. In the rather brief stage directions of his plays, Mishima sporadically gives hints about stage movement, limiting

² The writer meant the ideal of female beauty represented by the ladies of the imperial court from the Heian 平安 period (8th–12th centuries), when a beautiful woman had to have spotless white skin, tiny red lips, thick eyebrows painted high on her forehead, as well as beautiful black hair reaching the ground.

³ See Mishima 1976j, vol. 35: 274–275.

⁴ See Mishima 1975f, vol. 27: 532–537.

⁵ Mishima 1975g, vol. 27: 25–26.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 25–26.

himself to simple remarks concerning actors' moving on the stage, the character of costumes or the type of music. In no way does he refer to the element of dance, so important in the Nō theatre.

It is with the example of *Aoi no ue* 葵上 (*The Lady Aoi*), a play belonging to Mishima's classical Nō repertory, that we can observe what constituted Mishima's "modernization" of the classical Nō theatre. The play's original version, due to its simplicity and perfect construction, was one of the writer's favourites.

The authorship of the classical *The Lady Aoi* is not entirely certain: it is attributed to Zeami or to his son-in-law, Konparu Zenchiku 金春禅竹 (1405–1471). The story of Lady Aoi (the beautiful young wife of prince Genji known from his love conquests) and her torments by the ghost of the jealous Lady Rokujō 六条, was inspired for the purpose of Nō from the famous *Tale of Genji* (*Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語, XI) by Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部. In this story, Lady Rokujō's pain, suffering and jealousy, after being left by Genji 源氏 for Lady Aoi, lead to the materialization of all her negative feelings in the form of a so-called "living ghost" (*ikiryō* 生霊)⁷. A ghost that once set free from Lady Rokujō's body, haunted the pregnant Aoi, causing her long-term illness and finally, death. The plot of the Nō play focuses on the scene of performing exorcisms by a shaman and an ascetic in order to chase away the revengeful ghost. At the same time, the playwright accentuated compassion for the unhappy Lady Rokujō, condemned due to jealousy to terrible suffering and asking revenge for her pain. In a fragment of the play, Lady Rokujō's ghost approaches an article of clothing laying on the stage, representing the sick Lady Aoi, and in order to cause pain to her rival, she strikes her with a fan. At that time, the *shite* actor is still wearing the mask of a beautiful woman, but he will soon change it, thus fully showing the nature of the revengeful demon. The stage assistant (*kōken* 後見) will help the actor change from Lady Rokujō into a terrible demon. In front of the audience, hidden behind a piece of clothing thrown over the actor's head, the mask of a woman will be swapped for the mask of a demon (*hannya* 般若), and the actor will be given, to his right hand, a small hammer (*uchizue* 打杖), the attribute of an angry ghost. Until that time, neither the high ranked priests nor the shaman could chase the demon away. Only the ascetic who fights with the ghost using a Buddhist rosary and reciting a prayer from the *Heart Sutra* is able to vanquish it.

Buddhist mercy and compassion, so characteristic of the medieval Nō theatre, are completely absent in *The Lady Aoi* by Mishima. The eponymous Aoi 葵, the

⁷ Since the ancient times, it was believed that *ikiryō* 生霊 (also called *seirei* 生霊, *shōryō* 精霊 or *ikisudama* 生き霊/生き魑魅) – the ghost of a living person – could leave the body and without the person's knowledge, it could torment hated people. *Ikiryō* belongs, next to *shiryō* 死霊 (the ghost of a dead person), to so-called *mononoke* 物の怪: revengeful ghosts. The belief in ghosts, demons and all kinds of supernatural creatures is traditionally very strong in Japan.

wife of Hikaru Wakabayashi 光若林⁸, is not lying in the residence of the Left Side Minister, as it happens in the original play, but in a modern hospital. She shakes in her sleep, sighs, rolls over – she clearly suffers. The cause of her illness was diagnosed as sexual complexes. Before the start of psychoanalytic treatment, Aoi is subjected to sleep therapy. And it is precisely during that sleep that every night, an extremely elegant lady comes to her, just as a frivolous nurse informs her visiting husband. It turns out that it's the living ghost of Yasuko Rokujō 康子六条 who recounts the details of their love affair to Hikaru, and by finally seducing the weak man, she makes Aoi die⁹.

In one of his essays, Mishima wrote that the main theme of both the classical *The Lady Aoi* and his own version of this play was jealousy. He stated that it was the less philosophical theme among his modern Nō plays, which made it easy to understand by the audience. He saw in this play also some elements of a thriller, which was supposed to make it attractive to modern spectators. Mishima saw difficulties in staging *The Lady Aoi*, mainly in the skilful presentation by the actors of precisely this “thriller” motif, i.e. the moment when the voice of Rokujō's ghost in the hospital mixes and superimposes with the voice of the woman sleeping in her apartment and unaware of anything¹⁰.

As in the case of *The Lady Aoi*, the action of Mishima's other modern Nō plays occurs in ordinary places: a park (*Komachi at the Stupa*), a fashion salon (*The Damask Drum*), an apartment (*The Waiting Lady with the Fan*), etc. The protagonists speak in modern Japanese and though it is the literary register, distinguished by its elegance, it isn't styled on the archaic Japanese so characteristic of traditional Nō plays. They do not wear masks either, nor exquisite, rich costumes: they are ordinary, modern people. However, the Japanese spectator sees in the modern Aoi a court lady from the classical Nō theatre, and her husband Hikaru Wakabayashi evokes the image of the famous Prince Genji from the Heian period. At the same time, a less experienced spectator, for example a foreigner unfamiliar with Japanese culture and unable to taste the intertextuality of modern Nō plays, will have no difficulties in understanding Mishima's works. This is due to the skilfully orchestrated action and authentic protagonists, entangled in universal problems of love, jealousy and loneliness. Due to this, Mishima's Nō plays became popular not only in Japan, but also after being translated in 1957 (only a year after the publishing of the Japanese collective edition), they were successfully staged in the West.

⁸ Hikaru, which means “Shining”, is also Prince Genji's nickname in the *Tale of Genji*.

⁹ For Polish translation of this drama see Mishima 1998k: 15-25.

¹⁰ See Mishima 1975g, vol. 27: 25. Mishima meant here the last scene of the play, where Hikaru calls Yasuko Rokujō and he learns that while he was convinced he was talking to her by the side of his sick wife, Rokujō actually was sleeping tightly in her apartment. In the same moment, Hikaru hears Rokujō's voice coming from behind the hospital room's door (it's the ghost's voice) and becomes totally puzzled.

The writer was present at several foreign premieres of his modern Nō plays, and though it may seem surprising, he considered foreign actresses playing the main characters more reliable than their Japanese counterparts¹¹.

Modern Nō plays in adaptations by Tadeusz Łomnicki and Andrzej Wajda

The premiere of Mishima's modern Nō plays directed by Tadeusz Łomnicki took place on 9 March 1965 at the Small Stage of the Teatr Współczesny (Contemporary Theatre). The spectacle consisted of three plays: *The Damask Drum*¹², *Komachi at the Stupa*¹³ and *The Waiting Lady with the Fan*¹⁴. In the traditional Nō theatre, the first play narrates the sad story of an old gardener in love with a beautiful young girl. In Mishima's play, he was replaced by a seventy-year-old concierge of a law office, and his loved one was a beautiful client from a fashion salon nearby. The concierge expresses his great love towards a woman he knows only by sight in letters he is ashamed to send her. Only the hundredth letter with a love confession and a request for one kiss comes to her hands. But the woman turns out to be vain and wicked. Despising the concierge's feelings, she presents him with a damask drum that emits no sound, and she promises the man that she will kiss him as soon as she hears the sound of the drum. When the old man, trying hopelessly to play the drum, realises that his pure love was tricked, he takes his own life, jumping from the office window.

The common motif of both plays is the damask drum given by a woman to a man in love with her, but the topics of the plays are different. Whilst in the classical Nō theatre, it is the cruelty of love's deception – a theme well known in classical Japanese literature – in Mishima's work, it is about a clear opposition between what is right and true and what is wrong and false¹⁵.

As for the play *Komachi at the Stupa*, it was based on a story known from the Nō theatre, about the famous ancient poetess Ono no Komachi 小野小町 who enamoured men and even drove one of them to his death with her cruelty¹⁶. In Mishima's work, it was transformed into a story about eternal and imperishable beauty. A poor poet, unmindful of warnings against imminent death, recognises

¹¹ See Mishima 1975i, vol. 30: 217. For more about modern Nō plays in Mishima's Works see Kubiak Ho-Chi 1995a: 129-155.

¹² Its author is Kan'ami.

¹³ Łomnicki's title is *Jesteś piękna* (you are beautiful).

¹⁴ In Łomnicki's adaptation the title was *Wachlarz* (fan) and this title will be used in subsequent adaptations of the play.

¹⁵ Cf. Konishi 1975: 193.

¹⁶ The author of the medieval Nō play is unknown.

in a repulsive old beggar he met in a park a onetime beauty, and he signs his own warrant, unable to keep himself from shouting: “you are beautiful!”.

Hanako 花子 is beautiful as well. She is the heroine of *The Waiting Lady with the Fan*, the third of Mishima's plays adapted by Łomnicki. As her classical Nō counterpart¹⁷, she waits incessantly for her beloved who once promised to come back to her. As a proof of love, they exchanged their fans. In Mishima's play, Hanako is an insane geisha 芸者 who goes to the Tokyo Railway Station everyday, one day hoping to see her beloved among the travellers. There is also a very important character, i.e. an eccentric paintress who brought the geisha out of her hotel and took good care of her. One can have the impression that she draws from her charge not only artistic inspiration, but also the strength to live. The paralysing fear that she might lose Hanako is dispelled when the young woman doesn't recognise her lover, or maybe she doesn't want to recognise him, when he comes to her apartment with the intention of getting her back. The torment of waiting seems to her less painful than reality, and her ideal love (because unfulfilled), unafraid of lies and betrayal, will remain beautiful forever¹⁸.

These are precisely the three plays that Tadeusz Łomnicki chose for his debut, already being at that time a known and esteemed theatrical and film actor. When asked for the reason he made such an original choice, he named his interest in Japanese art, which began with the fascination with movies by Kurosawa Akira 黒澤明 (1910–1998). As he admitted in an interview, he was greatly impressed by *Rashomon* 羅生門 as well as every other Japanese movie he saw later on¹⁹.

The movies by Kurosawa, along with their Japanese Buddhist Zen philosophy and aesthetics, in the 1960s, constituted the main source of interest in Japan, and not only that of Polish intellectuals, but elsewhere in the world as well. We can assume that Łomnicki (though he didn't say it directly), in his adaptation of Mishima's plays, was partly inspired by Zen 禅 aesthetics with its famous simplicity and symbolism. It was best seen in the stage design, entrusted by Łomnicki to a well-known graphic designer and poster artist, professor and rector of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts, Julian Pałka (1923–2002), then working for the theatre for the first time. In a review of the show, Pałka's stage design was described as extremely frugal, and even “a bit too grey in its austerity and briefness”²⁰.

The director tried to get away from an excessive realism and too obvious associations with Japan not only in stage design:

As for the ‘Japaneserie’ – he says in an interview – we avoided it in this literal meaning. Plastic, make-up, gesture, and even voice intonation in traditional Japanese

¹⁷ Its authorship is attributed to Zeami.

¹⁸ In the classical Nō play, the girl waiting for her beloved finally sees him coming back.

¹⁹ See Strzemińska 1965.03.05 (consulted: 2012.07.03).

²⁰ Przewoska 1964.04.04 (consulted: 2012.07.10).

theatre are a bit like conventional signs between the actor and the spectator. We do not use this here. Mishima doesn't require it. The whole is conceived according to the European poetic theatre, where we have to agree for a certain convention. At the same time, in order to achieve the pure functionality of particular elements in the spectacle, we introduced, at the beginning of each act, descriptions of the decoration and topography, pronounced by the actor²¹.

Łomnicki, undoubtedly aware of the importance of music in Japanese theatre, asked the well-known composer and conductor Zbigniew Turski (1908–1979), gold medallist of the Olympic Competition of Art and Literature at the Summer Olympic Games in 1948, to compose music especially for this performance. The music was supposed to have a dramaturgic function and constitute an element closely connected with the action²².

In the three plays staged by Łomnicki, next to the director himself (already known for his ability to create outstanding theatrical roles), the main protagonists were played by young actors whose talent was to be confirmed in the future: Marta Lipińska and Damian Damiński. But the main star of the show, being at the same time Łomnicki's muse in that performance, was undoubtedly the great Irena Eichlerówna (1908–1990), considered to be the greatest Polish dramatic actress of that time. This is how the director spoke of his choice of Mishima's plays and Eichlerówna's part in his show:

I chose those three one-act pieces among six of his plays, because it seemed to me that they formed some sort of entity. What unites them, in my opinion, is the motive of love, giving to each of those plays an individual shape and character. There is some lyricism in those plays, and at the same time, a noticeable stylistic distinctiveness and poetical climate. But this wouldn't be all. In each of those one-act plays, there is a woman character. They are performed by Irena Eichlerówna who will appear on the stage in three different roles during the evening. I wish to stress that Mrs Eichlerówna's interest in those plays brought extremely valuable points to the performance. Our cooperation consists of exchanging ideas concerning the whole matter and in continuous joint discussion. I am happy, while directing in the theatre for the first time, that I have the opportunity of working with such a great actress²³.

Łomnicki considered love and at the same time the woman character as leading themes in Mishima's plays that he chose. He perfectly felt the poetical atmosphere of the plays and their moving lyricism. In reviews, he was praised for his successful debut as a stage director and for the excellent three leading men he himself

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

performed. But it was not the director, and event not Mishima, who became the main character of the modern Nō plays' Polish staging. The greatest merit was attributed to Irena Eichlerówna, who, as it was written in reviews, performed "in a way that amazed with the greatness of her mastery"²⁴, and "her extraordinary personality (...) conferred its character to the whole performance"²⁵.

An actress who can be compared with Eichlerówna is Anna Polony, who excellently performed the leading women in Andrzej Wajda's *Mishima*. This is the common title given by the director to four of Mishima's modern Nō plays which he staged nearly thirty years later on the occasion of the opening of the Manggha Centre of Japanese Art and Technology in Cracow²⁶. These plays were *The Damask Drum*, *The Lady Aoi*, *The Waiting Lady with the Fan* and *Dōjō Temple*²⁷, and their premiere took place in the Old Theatre in Cracow on 23 November 1994. *Dōjō Temple* was then shown for the first time, a play that, in the traditional Nō theatre, is about the history of an ancient bell at the Dōjō temple and the unfulfilled love related to it. A young monk once hid under the bell, seeking refuge from a girl who was madly in love with him. She transformed into a snake in order to pass a rapid river in the pursuit of her beloved, who chose service for Buddha instead of her. The snake coiled firmly around the bell which, becoming red hot, burned with the monk inside. The temple remained without a bell for many years, and when somebody tried to hang a new one, history repeated itself: a great snake made the bell fall. It was only after incantations of sutras and the monks' fervent prayers that the snake left the bell alone.

In Mishima's version of the play, we also have the history of a great passion and unfulfilled love; however, the main theme here seems to be beauty. The main protagonist of *Dōjō Temple*, a young dancer known for her beauty, Kiyoko 清子, was betrayed by her beloved who didn't choose Buddhist belief in this case, but life with an older married woman, much uglier than Kiyoko. He stayed hidden everyday in a large antique wardrobe in his lover's room, waiting for her call. One day, the husband of the unfaithful woman heard a noise coming from the wardrobe; he took a gun and kept shooting until blood began to flow. Kiyoko told this story to people at an auction, during which the wardrobe was supposed to be sold. When she didn't manage to lower the price of the expensive piece of furniture she wanted to buy, she locked herself inside. Convinced that beauty was her curse, she decided to disfigure her face by pouring hydrochloric acid on it. However, when she

²⁴ Zagórski 1965.03.11 (consulted: 2012.07.03).

²⁵ Przewoska 1964.04.04 (consulted: 2012.07.10).

²⁶ Presently – the Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology. It was created on the initiative of Andrzej Wajda, with the money he collected for the Centre construction.

²⁷ The classical *Dōjō Temple*'s authorship is not definitely certain; usually this play is attributed to Kanze Nobumitsu 観世信光. In Wajda's adaptation the title was *Szafa* (wardrobe) and this title will be used in subsequent adaptations of the play.

saw her beautiful appearance in the mirror inside the wardrobe, she gave up this idea. She realised that if the loss of the greatest love in her life couldn't destroy her beauty, only the ugliness of her soul would be able to do so. Mysteriousness and ambiguity, characteristic of Nō aesthetics, were clearly exposed at the end of this play, along with the motif of immaculate beauty, so close to Mishima.

In his staging of Mishima's plays, Andrzej Wajda remained extremely faithful to the author as well as to the psychological realism of the Japanese *shingeki* theatre. The lines spoken by the actors correspond almost word for word to the expanded text of Mishima's plays, and the stage movement as well as musical dramaturgy faithfully execute the instructions from the stage directions. At the same time, the intended interpenetration of the classical Nō theatre's tradition and the modern Nō's novelty in Mishima's dramas, was exposed due to the stage design and the costumes designed by Krystyna Zachwatowicz, as well as the music composed by Stanisław Radwan, discrete and perfectly fitting to the play's dramaturgy.

During the showing of Wajda's *Mishima* in Warsaw, as part of the Warsaw Theatre Meetings, two months after its premiere in Cracow, the great hall at the Dramatic Theatre was full to bursting, and after the end of the performance, the audience rewarded the "Japanising" stage director with endless applause. The show was impressing, although apart from the excellent Anna Polony, the performance of most of the actors left much to be desired²⁸. The same show, and to be more exact: its TV variant, is a bit disappointing when watched many years later in the form of a digital recording. It seems that Wajda's staging did not resist the passage of time. The protagonists' acting, subject to a certain manner, makes the whole performance a bit fusty, and the imperishable actuality of Mishima's Nō plays, possible thanks to the great themes the writer took on, is clearly weakened.

Mishima's Nō in the eyes of Agnieszka Olsten and Natalia Sołtysik

However, one cannot deny the poignancy of the modern Nō in the adaptation by Agnieszka Olsten and the youngest stage director tempted by Mishima's plays, Natalia Sołtysik.

The performance by Agnieszka Olsten, belonging to the middle generation of directors, was entitled: *Lincz: Pani Aoi, Wachlarz i Szafa* (Lynch: *The Lady Aoi, The Waiting Lady with the Fan and Dōjō Temple*), and its premiere took place on 10 February 2007 at Teatr Polski in Wrocław, on the Świebodzki Train Station Stage. The show was presented successfully during the III International Theatre Festival "Premieres" in Strasburg. The director's inspiration for the work on Mishima's texts was taken from the mysterious and dark movies by David Lynch, such as *The Lost*

²⁸ Cf. Reviews of this performance by Kubiak Ho-Chi 1995b: 142-144 Wolska 1995: 144-145.

Highway or *Mulholland Drive*²⁹. This atmosphere of unreality and dreamlike hallucinations unites all the plays, presented as individual stories:

The almost empty stage is either bathed in semi-darkness or there is an image of tree branches swinging slowly, played from the projector. Black and white dominate, here and there varied by a vivid, gaudy colour: a violet couch, a red wig. The action develops unhurriedly, to the rhythm of gently pulsating music. The actors speak quietly, the time between words is filled with long moments of silence, sometimes interrupted by eruptions of violent emotions. Each of Mishima's three one-act plays composing Agnieszka Olsten's show constitutes a distinct staging entity – and the intensive, hypnotic atmosphere cements the whole performance³⁰.

Marzena Sadocha, responsible for the show's dramaturgy, when asked if she tried to preserve the spirit of Mishima in *Lincz*, denied, clearly explaining the primary assumptions of the staging and text interpretation:

We didn't think about the spirit of Mishima. Apart from the *Forefathers' Eve*, I guess theatre shouldn't actually think of spirits at all. I prefer to search for something living. Instead of preserving the spirit, we began to search for people. Conversations during rehearsals gave a chance to find the characters the actors wanted to speak through. What does it mean, "preserve the spirit of a text"? I guess it means to find a similarity – in oneself. A reconstruction of something external is not possible. We tried to run as far as we could from the Japanese "folk art", and at the end it turned out that Mishima is really close to it. *Lincz* is the condensation of Mishima, an extract of him. And I guess this is true faithfulness. Instead of invoking a ghost, reaching the essence³¹.

According to those assumptions, the text of Mishima's plays was treated very freely – cut and completed with new lines constituting variations or developments of motifs from Mishima's plays. The modernisation of the staging, putting it at the borders of tradition and pop-cultural reality of the 21st century, was marked in Olsten's performance by the language, some of the costumes³², as well as aesthetics expressed through the categories of vehemence, concreteness and corporeality. In order for the audience not to have doubts that the strong emotions overfilling Mishima's plays are still invariably present in the modern world dominated

²⁹ See Matuszewska 2007.02.08 (consulted: 2012.10.07) and 2012. Kyzioł 2009.08.12 (consulted: 2012.07.10).

³⁰ Kościelniak 2007.02.20 (consulted: 2012.07.10).

³¹ Bryś 2007.11.10 (consulted: 2012.07.12).

³² As a theatre critic wrote, "Bartosz Porczyk, with long hair and in white tight-fitting pants, resembled a character from Japanese cartoons. As for Ewa Skibińska, with her black wig and latex gloves, she looked like the personage from the Asian horror *Ring*." See Kopeć 2007.02.06 (consulted: 2012.07.10).

by popular culture, in the spectacle program, the story of *The Lady Aoi* was presented in the form of manga.

As for Natalia Sołtysik, she definitely cut off from direct associations with modern popular culture, and her *Szafa* (*Wachlarz, Pani Aoi, Szafa*) (wardrobe: *The Waiting Lady with the Fan, The Lady Aoi* and *Dōjō Temple*), as this was the title of her diploma performance based on modern Mishima's Nō plays in Teatr Współczesny (contemporary theatre) in Warsaw, was an exceptionally successful directing debut. After that, Natalia Sołtysik was recognised as one of the most promising young stage directors in Poland³³. The choice of the same plays as Olsten and staging them only ten months later, on 29 December 2007, was a complete coincidence. Natalia Sołtysik, originating from Cracow, already began to know Japan in her early youth, mainly thanks to Andrzej Wajda who, fascinated with Japanese art, very actively promoted knowledge about it in Cracow³⁴. As Natalia Sołtysik admits in an interview with the author of the present article, Japanese culture touched her mostly with its "aesthetics, beauty, and condensation of this beauty in small elements, in items of everyday use, in art."³⁵ Later on, during her directing studies at the Warsaw Theatre Academy, she found herself in workshops conducted by the Japanese master Kanze Hideo 観世 栄夫 (1927–2007), who made her discover the world of the Nō theatre's convention and extremely codified language³⁶. And when she searched for a text for her diploma performance, her choice fell on the Nō dramas of Mishima, whose short stories and novels she had already read earlier. And then it turned out that precisely in those one-act plays, especially in *The Waiting Lady with the Fan* and *The Lady Aoi*, the very spirit of Mishima was present, the one that she felt so strong in his prose. This spirit manifests itself in the omnipresent theme of death:

What is terribly acute to me in Mishima's works, which I think is also the expression of Japanese culture in general, is death: death present since the moment of birth. There is something in this culture that we can call a "celebration of transience". Death and melancholy related to passing, and the celebration of that passing, have been very acute to me. Love passes away and there begins a new one. And it's not the fact that love ends that is terrible, but that a new love will appear just a while later, making us forget the previous one. (...) I think that in his one-act plays, to this cruel reality unfavourable to men, Mishima opposes a dream. In this dream, he seeks defence against the inevitability of passing, protects us against

³³ See interviews with Natalia Sołtysik and reviews from the spectacle *Wardrobe*, e.g. Bator 2008.12.08 (consulted: 2012.07.12), Mościcki 2008.01.07 (consulted: 2012.07.12).

³⁴ Sołtysik writes on the subject of her encounters with Japan and work on Mishima's plays in her essay "Peruka Mishimy – szkice z pracy nad przedstawieniem *Szafa* według jednoaktówek Mishimy Yukio" (Mishima's wig: sketches of working on the performance of *The Wardrobe*, a compilation piece based on the one-act plays of Mishima Yukio). See Sołtysik 2012b: 69–76.

³⁵ Sołtysik 2012.07.26a.

³⁶ See Sołtysik 2012b: 72.

it. And at the same time, what fascinates me in Mishima's dramas is the lack of unambiguous answers, non-obviousness. This is the kind of texts I'm looking for, without a ready-made recipe, without answers³⁷.

The texts of Mishima's plays were truncated a bit by the director, as she claims that the words in the Japanese writer's dramas are too condensed³⁸. At the same time, Mishima's original text and the poetic atmosphere it creates still remains important in Natalia Sołtysik's adaptation. Contrary to the modern Nō plays directed by Agnieszka Olsten, nothing was added in everyday language going beyond Mishima's original plays. At the same time, in Sołtysik's show, movement similar to dance, as well as music, hold a vital role. Dramaturgic love triangles translate into triangular *mise-en-scenes*, *kata* movements so specific to Nō pulsate in an alternation of movement and motionlessness. Unfulfilled love, transient love, painful love is spoken of with fine words, completed with rhythmical movement and Paweł Szymański's penetrating music keeping emotional tension at the breaking point. Elegant and sophisticated costumes designed by Julia Skrzynecka, on the background of her ascetic stage design, are an inseparable element of this picture.

A feature particularly striking and intensifying the force of artistic expression in Natalia Sołtysik's show is formal rigour handled by the director with a, so to say, "Mishima ease". The Japanese writer was well known for his love of form, enabling him to master strong passions and what he called his "romantic sensitivity". So, violent love passions tormenting the protagonists of modern Nō plays are, in Sołtysik's performance, hidden behind formalised gesture, elegant and moderate movement, and precise words. As wrote one of the critics charmed by her adaptation, "the young director came back to what is the essence of theatricality. She embraced human passions with a clearly specified convention, she constructed a world governed by its own rules, a world that you believe in."³⁹

Indeed, thanks to such a thoughtful and conscious approach to Japanese plays, searching for sense and meanings through symbols, events and people's behaviours towards each other, Natalia Sołtysik made Mishima's plays in her adaptation breathe not only with freshness, but also with truth.

Conclusion

Mishima drew inspiration for his plays from the classical Nō theatre, completed with realistic means of expression borrowed from the western stages. From Nō, he took storylines and the atmosphere of uncommonness, illusion and transience,

³⁷ Sołtysik 2012.07.26a.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Mościcki 2008.01.07 (consulted: 2012.07.12).

full of mysterious and sublime beauty, *yūgen*. However, in the place of slow, hieratic movements and pauses so characteristic of Nō, Mishima introduced – in the Western fashion – a dramatic sequence of tensions and emotions provided by precise words and emotional reactions. All of this – plus the themes of love, death, truth, and beauty contained in Mishima's modern Nō plays, also present in nearly every other of his works and having a universal character – make Polish stage directors fall under the spell of his dramas. On the one hand, they breathe with sophisticated Japanese aesthetics, and on the other hand, they bear contents close to Western sensitivity. At the same time, it is surprising that in spite of such an internationalisation of art during the last three decades and despite the existence of many valuable playwrights in Japan, Mishima seems to be the only Japanese author staged by Polish theatre directors. One of the reasons is certainly the relatively low number of translations of Japanese dramas into Polish, and also the distance between Japan and Poland – not only cultural, but geographical as well.

Returning to Mishima's modern Nō plays and their four different adaptations on Polish stages: if the mysterious beauty, *yūgen*, was adopted as the main criterion of their evaluation (on the model of the classical Nō theatre), then it seems that among all Polish stagings, the equivalent of that beauty is most complete in the performance directed by Natalia Sołtysik.

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論文概要

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ベアタ・クビアク・ホ＝チ

霊魂との会話、ポーランドの劇場における三島由紀夫の近代能楽

20世紀の日本の偉大な作家の一人である三島由紀夫(1925-1970)にとって、中世の能は重要な靈感の源であった。1950年から1962年にかけて、彼は九つの能作品を書き、これらを「近代能楽集」と名付けた。能と呼ばれるものの、舞台は20世紀であり、登場人物は古典的な作品とは対照的に現代の話し言葉を用い、現代の観客が無理なく理解できるものとなっている。これらの作品は、日本のみならず、海外でも瞬く間に人気を得た。幾つかの作品は英語、ドイツ語、スペイン語、フランス語、そしてポーランド語にも翻訳され、1950年代からはアメリカおよびヨーロッパの舞台で成功を収めた。ポーランドの演出家もこれらの短い劇作品に魅せられ、幾度もポーランドの劇場で上演してきた。既に1965年に、タデウシュ・ウォムニツキは三島由紀夫の三作品の近代能楽を演出し、それからおよそ30年後、1994年にアンジェイ・ワイダは四作品の舞台化を実現した。若い演出家達は、それによって能に興味を示すようになった。2007年には、アグニエシカ・オルステンとナタリア・ソウティシクの二人の演出家が、三島の能に対する彼女らの解釈を示した。

筆者はこの論文で二つの問題に取り組みたい。第一には、日本の劇作家によって書かれ、西洋とは異なるとされる表現や詩情に満ちた作品が、どのようにポーランドの重鎮とも言える演出家達や若手の関心をひいたのか。第二に、三島由紀夫はどのように中世の能の世界を自身の作品の中に反映させたのか。そしてポーランドの演出家達はこれらの三島作品をどのようにポーランドの文脈の中で発展させていったのかを考察したい。

Keywords: Mishima Yukio, Tadeusz Łomnicki, Andrzej Wajda, Agnieszka Olsten, Natalia Sołtysik, Nō theatre, modern Nō plays, Polish theatre, *shingeki*

CUTTING SERPENTS: ESOTERIC BUDDHIST DIMENSIONS OF THE CLASSICAL MARTIAL ART OF DRAWING THE SWORD

1. Introduction

Japanese classical martial arts (*bujutsu* 武術, or *bugei* 武芸), such as archery (*kyūjutsu* 弓術) and swordsmanship (*kenjutsu* 剣術), were established in the ancient and feudal era as part of the combat skills of warriors¹. In the course of time, many of these skills were codified into formal practices within various martial schools or lineages (*ryū* 流), some of which are still transmitted today. These classical lineages mostly involved the instruction of various practical combat methods and techniques, but they were also often embedded with a certain religious or ideological rationale providing meaning to the forms. Since the time of their foundation the arts naturally absorbed various beliefs, the beliefs of those who practiced and transmitted the techniques.

In modern books on martial arts dealing with such beliefs one often finds reference to Zen Buddhism. This is no doubt due to the influence of Daisetsu T. Suzuki's essay on Zen and swordsmanship included in his *Zen and Japanese Culture* (1938), a work which inspired many an author discussing samurai culture, such as Eugen Herrigel (1884–1955), the writer of the well-known *Zen in the Art of Archery* (1953). Historically, the connection between *bugei* and Zen can be traced back to the writings of the Zen priest Takuan Sōhō 沢庵宗彭 (1573–1646) and Yagyū Munenori 柳生宗矩 (1571–1646), founder of the prestigious sword lineage Yagyū Shinkage-ryū 柳生新陰流. Takuan, in his *Fudōchi shinmyōroku* 不動智神妙録 (Mysterious Record of Unmovable Wisdom) explains that the ideal mind of a swordsman is one that is on par with the Buddhist mind of “unmovable wisdom”. This is a mind that is at all times non-attached and unmovable, i.e.,

¹ The classical martial arts as a distinctive body of combat techniques are usually designated with the term “*bujutsu*”, modern martial arts as a way to cultivate the self with “*budō*” 武道, and martial arts incorporating both aspects with “*bugei*”. However, the arts designated today as “*bujutsu*” were in fact also composite structures combining martial, moral, and spiritual aspects. On this, see Friday 1997, 6-8.

not affected by disorder or instability, which is obviously an important advantage in sword combat. Munenori, who received instructions from Takuan, equally recognizes the compatibility of Zen and swordsmanship in his *Heihō kadensho* 兵法家伝書 (Book of Clan Traditions on the Martial Arts, 1632)². Like Takuan, the Yagyū-ryū master values the notion of non-attachment, and in particular employs the Buddhist term “Emptiness” (*kū* 空) as a secret word for the mind or the intentions of an opponent³.

Besides Zen, however, the various classical *bugei* lineages established in feudal and Edo-period (1603–1868) Japan naturally adopted many other different ideas, both of a religious and a non-religious nature. Among the non-religious lines of thought one may count Neo-Confucianism, which is gaining attention today as an important factor in the formation of the ideological framework of Edo-period martial arts. Among the religious sources of thought, then, there is Esoteric Buddhism (Mikkyō 密教), which brings us to the main topic of this article.

As scholars of martial arts such as Friday (1997) have already indicated, Mikkyō is another form of Buddhism that had a substantial impact on classical *bugei*. To give one example, the “unmovable wisdom” emphasized by Takuan is in fact none other than the wisdom of the wrathful sword-bearing Fudō Myōō 不動明王 (Unmovable Wisdom King), a well-known esoteric Buddhist deity. Additionally, in the texts related to Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū 天真正伝香取神道流, the oldest martial lineage still transmitted today, or Kashima Shinryū 鹿島神流, Mikkyō is also often mentioned (Imamura 1982; Friday 1997).

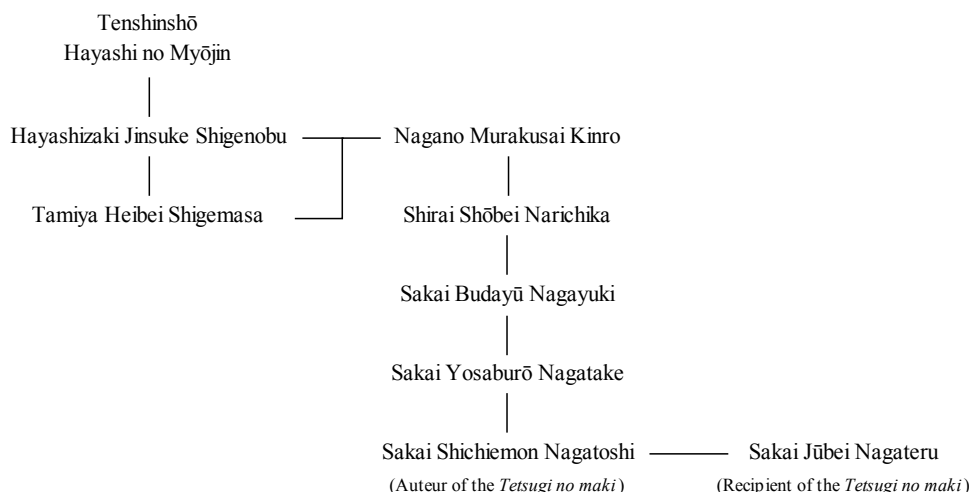
To be sure, the references to Esoteric Buddhism in pre-modern *bugei* texts are a major point of interest, but the fact is that they are mostly rather succinct or superficial. They simply concern the invocation of a divinity, the implementation of a charm, or the adoption of a symbol related to Mikkyō. Although these features show a great interest of the classical martial specialist in Mikkyō, they do not per se reveal a spiritual dimension of the practice of the arts. In this article, however, an early Edo-period document pertaining to the art of drawing the sword (*iaijutsu* 居合術) will be introduced which espouses esoteric Buddhist principles in a rather profound way, a way which suggests a relatively deep impact of these principles not only on the general mentality of the *bugei* master but also on the very nature of the practice of the combat techniques. The purpose of this article is to make the contents of this document known and to discuss its significance to the history of the art.

² Watanabe 1985, 111: “There are many aspects of martial arts which conform to the Buddhist Law and which can be found in Zen Buddhism.”

³ *Ibid.*, 87-88: “With Emptiness, we mean the mind or intentions of the opponent. (...) The mind of the opponent manifests itself in his hands that are holding the sword. One has to strike the opponent’s hands, as they are, when they have not yet started to move (*teki no nigittaru kobushi no imada ugokazaru tokoro wo sono mama utsu nari*).”

The document in question is called “*Tetsugi no maki*” 手次之巻 (Scroll of Transmission). It is one of the oldest extant documents pertaining to the *iai*jutsu style established by a man named Hayashizaki Jinsuke Shigenobu 林崎甚助重信 (1542?–1621?)⁴. Dated 1706, the scroll was written by Sakai Shichiemon Nagatake 酒井七右衛門長利, who handed it on to his son Sakai Jūbei Nagateru 酒井十平長照 together with other texts containing various instructions⁵.

The Sakai clan served the Tokugawa shogunate as the samurai ruling elite of the Shōnai 庄内 domain, in the western part of present-day Yamagata Prefecture. The domain itself was not far removed from the area where Hayashizaki Jinsuke founded his *iai*jutsu style, which was near present-day Murayama 村山 City in the east of Yamagata Prefecture. The style had been transmitted to a member of the Sakai clan by Shirai Shōbei Narichika 白井荘兵衛成近, a disciple of Nagano Murakusai Kinro 長野無楽斎権露. The latter received instruction from Hayashizaki Jinsuke and from Tamiya Heibei Shigemasa 田宮平兵衛重正, another disciple of the founder of the style⁶.



⁴ The *iai*jutsu style of Hayashizaki Jinsuke, later referred to as Shinmusō Hayashizaki-ryū 神夢想林崎流, or simply Hayashizaki-ryū, is just one of the many *iai*jutsu ryū that developed during the late feudal period in Japan. For a short overview of the history of *iai*jutsu schools, see Taniguchi 1997, 38-53.

⁵ The texts are assembled under the title *Hayashizaki ryūke gabutsu* 林崎流家画物 (Illustrated Documents of the Hayashizaki-ryū) and are kept at the city library of Tsuruoka. The *Tetsugi no maki* itself is partly reproduced in HSKI 1991, 61-65. In this paper, the entire text is included. I would like to thank the city library of Tsuruoka for sending me digital photographs of the text, without which it would have been difficult to make the transcription.

⁶ See HSKI 1991, 34, and Imamura 1982, 449, 493. The *iai*jutsu lineage transmitted at the Shōnai domain itself was referred to as “Hayashizaki Tamiya-ryū” 林崎田宮流.

As can be gleaned from the contents of the scroll, the *Tetsugi no maki* was probably a text given by an *iai*jutsu master to a disciple when the latter had received full transmission of the art. The scroll is still transmitted today in certain schools. For example, it is still passed on in Musō Jikiden Eishin-ryū 無双直伝英信流, a branch lineage of the Hayashizaki-ryū, under the title of “*Kongen no maki*” 根元之巻 (Scroll of the Source).

The *Kongen no maki* lists a samurai called Momo Gunbei no Jō Mitsushige 百々軍兵衛尉光重 after the name of Nagano Murakusai Kinro in the line of transmission, instead of Shirai Shōbei Narichika. This fact shows that the contents of the scroll were known to Nagano Murakusai and that he had passed it on to at least two of his disciples, Momo Gunbei no Jō and Shirai Shōbei. It further suggests that the core instructions of the scroll stem from the founder of the art himself: Hayashizaki Jinsuke.

It would be useful to elaborate more on the history of the scroll, but such details will be dealt with elsewhere⁷. Instead, let us look now through the scroll’s contents and examine its characteristics.

2. The *Tetsugi no maki*

Note of the translator: The first part of the Sino-Japanese text below corresponds to the main body of the scroll, the second part to the notes (numbered from *a* to *s*) which Sakai Jūbei Nagateru—they are probably his—left in the spaces between the vertical lines of the original text. In order to facilitate reading, I have decided to separate the notes from the main text. It is the notes that make the document rather interesting, although some of them, especially the ones related to technical details, are elliptical and therefore difficult to interpret. They are mostly translated literally with only a minimum of interpretational additions. Also, a few Sino-Japanese characters in the notes could not be transcribed (they are indicated with a square), despite the invaluable help of my colleagues at Kyoto University, to whom I express my sincerest gratitude. Needless to say, all mistakes or misinterpretations in the translation are mine.

抑居合者、奥州林之明神夢想傳之、

夫兵法者、上古中居雖有數多、此居合末世相應之太刀、手近ノ勝負一命之有無極此居合、恐於粟散邊土之境不審之儀不可有之、依唯靈夢処也、尋此始、或時奥州林崎甚助云者、依望兵法、林明神百ヶ日參籠、滿曉夢中告曰、汝以此太刀常胸中憶持、怨敵勝事得云々、則如靈夢成得大利^a、腰刀之三寸三寸^b

⁷ The author is currently working on a French monograph concerned with esoteric Buddhist influences on the *iai*jutsu lineage established by Hayashizaki Jinsuke, in which the history of the scroll will be discussed in more detail.

以九寸五分^c勝事、柄口六寸^d勝之妙不思〔議〕極意、一国一人^e相傳也、腰刀三尺三寸三毒^f則三部^g現、脇指九寸五分九曜^h五古ⁱ之内證也、敵味方成事又前生之業感也、生死一體^k戰場浄土^l也、如此現則現世蒙摩利支天^m加護、来生成佛之縁成事無疑、此居合、雖出千金ⁿ、非眞實之人^o輒不可授、天罰^p有恐、志之人^q傳之、古語曰、百棟構在則如茅茨之莊鄙^r、兵利心懸者、晝夜思之、祈神明忽得利方見、依心濟身耳、默然、

天真正^s

林明神

林崎甚助重信

宝永三歳

酒井七右衛門

戌八月十二日 長利〔花押〕

酒井十平長照

	金剛部	フトウ・イタ〔テ〕ン・マ リシテン、トウシ諸佛ノ事
三部	佛部	アマタハシメ 諸佛ヲノ事
	蓮華部	如来ハシメ諸佛ヲ 申、□ハキヨキナリ
	貪	ムサホル、ヨ クヲモウス
三毒	瞋	イカル、マコトナ ラサルマコト也
	痴	オロカ、シヤ 知ヲ申ナリ

- 一心悟ナリ、言〔重〕信サトリタナリ、
- 「五尺二・三寸ノ」〔見せ消し〕ツウレイノ人ハ三尺三寸迄ハ実ノ所ヌカルゝ也、
- 九寸五分ハ九寸五分ノ間合ナケレハヌケ不申トノ事、
- ウケ處ヨリ六寸ハナレ柄手出サル處、則九寸五分ニ勝ナリ、
- トハ重信ヲ云ナリ、
- ナメクシリ・ヒツキ・ヘミ也、又曰、「ウタカイハ」〔見せ消し〕マヨウハ酒色ヨクノミツ成、又イロゝノモウネ念ヲサレト也、三毒ノアラソ〔イ〕ニタトエ、ニクムナナカレトノヲシヘナリ、
- 佛金蓮ノ事ナリ、キヨキヲ申ナリ、三毒ヲサツテ無形ニ至ナリ、
- 星ナリ、

- i. シン□天タイニ有、ソウレイノ致ニ付、コレヲナラス、死ヲイサキヨクチウフツセトナリ、一心ノケツタンノ事ナリ、九寸五分ニ至本也、
- j. 無ヨリ出テ無ニカエテ生死大ニタイナリコトヲサトリ、
- k. 死スルハ我一人ノケツタンセト也、為儀与志死ネト申ナリ、
- l. 生テ人前ニ顔ノムケラレヌヨリハシタテコクラクト思ヘト也、
- m. 如此ノ志テコソ神佛モカコアルヘシナリ、生ヲウル事アルヘシトノ事ナリ、
- n. 得タル処千金ニモトメタトイハレテモユルスヘキヨウナキナリ、
- o. 儀を不知、先ノ趣ニ不合ニ、三毒ノ道理ヲワキマエヌ者ニ免スナトナリ、
- p. 其人悪ヲナセハ我モハチナリ、天ハツト知ヘシ、
- q. 前條ノ趣ヨクソナハリタル人ヲ云、
- r. 明心ヲウルノトコロニテ筆紙ノヘカ[タ]シ、
- s. 不義ヲニクミ悪ヲ恥ル物之我ニ有ヲ天真ト云、是ヲ主人公友云、天真ヲ正スル之林明神ニ而マシマス也、

To begin with, *iai[jutsu]* is an art transmitted in a dream by the kami (deity) called Hayashi no myōjin⁸ of the Ōshū region⁹. Although many different martial arts have been established since ancient times, this art is particular as it is like a sword that perfectly fits this degenerate age¹⁰. In this art, in which one faces an opponent at close distance, there is only one outcome: life or death. In this small and remote country that is like one of the grains of millet scattered about (*zokusan hendo*)¹¹ there should be no dubious matters. One should with confidence have faith in what the kami said in the dream.

The origin of the art is as follows. One time, there was a man named Hayashizaki Jinsuke of the Ōshū region, who, desiring to discover a secret martial art technique, prayed for a hundred days to Hayashi no myōjin. In the morning following the completion of his prayers, the kami appeared to him in a dream saying: “If you hold this sword in your heart at all times, you shall certainly defeat

⁸ “Hayashi no myōjin”, literally translated “the sublime kami (deity) of the wood”, actually refers to the kami of Kumano (see *infra*). Note that, at the time, the term *myōjin* often implied that the kami designated was seen as the manifestation of one or more Buddhist deities.

⁹ “Ōshū” refers to the ancient province of Mutsu 陸奥, the north-eastern part of the modern Tōhoku region.

¹⁰ The word used in the text is “*masse*” 末世, which means “degenerate age”, but which may also refer to “*mappō*” 末法, the “Age of the End of the Buddhist Law”. As is well known, the duration of the effectiveness of the Buddha’s teachings is marked by three periods, one in which the teachings bear fruit (*shōbō* 正法), one during which the effects are variable (*zōhō* 像法), and a final cycle, two thousand or a thousand five hundred years later after the passing of the Buddha, in which there are no more benefits (*mappō*). The latter period is said to last for ten thousand years.

¹¹ “*Zokusan hendo*” 粟散辺土 is a term indicating a small state, more precisely, one of the more than two hundred kingdoms that existed during one time in ancient India. The image stems from a man dispersing grains of millet on a plate, the grains scattering to all corners. In Japan, the term was often used to denote the smallness or insignificance of the country vis-à-vis India or China.

your worst enemy (*onteki*)¹².” As the divine dream predicted, Hayashizaki Jinsuke obtained a great victory^a. And so it was that the kami, regarding the question of how to win with a sword measuring three *shaku* and three *sun*^b (approx. 1m) against a [*wakizashi*] measuring nine *sun* and five *bu*^{13c} (approx. 28.5cm), taught the marvelous secret called “victory of *tsukaguchi rokusun*”^{14d} to that one man of the country^e. However, at the inner level of concentration, the long sword of three *shaku* and three *sun* long and the *wakizashi* with a length of nine *sun* and five *bu* refer respectively to “the transformation of the Three Poisons^{15f} into the Three Sections^{16g}” and to the “Nine Luminaries^{17h} and a five-pronged Vajra [Bell]”¹⁸ⁱ. Enemies and friends are made as the result of past actions in former lives^j. Truly, life and death are one^k, and the battlefield is no different from the Pure Land^{19l}. If one sees things in this way, how can there be doubt about Marishiten’s^{20m} protection in this life and the promise of Buddhahood in the next?

¹² The term *onteki* 怨敵 naturally means “enemy”, but it should be noted that in pre-modern Japanese religious contexts such as Esoteric Buddhism it was often taken in the meaning of “delusions” or “passions” (*bonnō* 煩惱), the obstacles to awakening. As the scroll clearly plays on the double meaning of the word “victory” (in the sense of winning against a real opponent and in the sense of being victorious against the foes of awakening), it is likely the term *onteki* as well was interpreted as having a double connotation.

¹³ According to the *Wada-ryū iai seigo* 和田流居合正誤 (Correction of Erroneous Iai Traditions within the Wada-ryū, 1725), Hayashizaki Jinsuke would have tried to find a way to block an attack from someone carrying a *wakizashi* of about 28cm with a sword measuring about one meter. Not being able to block the attack, he would have decided to pray for inspiration to the kami (HSKI 1991, 35). Whether this was the real reason for Jinsuke to pray to the kami can of course not be ascertained.

¹⁴ The term *tsukaguchi* 柄口 indicates the opening in the hilt in which the tang of the sword is inserted. *Rokusun* 六寸 means “six *sun*”, or about 18cm. Following the note left by Sakai Nagateru (note *d*), the technique called “victory of *tsukaguchi rokusun*” would involve cutting at a point about six *sun* away from the opponent’s body before he has started to move out the right hand to draw his sword.

¹⁵ The Three Poisons (*sandoku* 三毒) are the three most important obstacles to awakening according to the esoteric Buddhist tradition. They are Desire, Anger, and Ignorance.

¹⁶ The Three Sections, as is also explained in the *Tetsugi no maki* itself, are the Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra sections of the esoteric Buddhist tradition.

¹⁷ I.e., Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rahu (a deity representing solar and lunar eclipses), and Ketu (a comet deity). It was commonly believed that heavenly bodies represent the root of human life and that their movements reflect or impact human fate.

¹⁸ A *vajra* (J. *kongō*), sometimes translated as “diamond club”, and originally an ancient Indian weapon, is used by esoteric Buddhist priests in ritual as the symbol of the imperishable wisdom of the Buddhas. There are various types and forms of *vajra*. The Vajra Bell (*kongō-rei*) consists of a bell and a handle ending in a five-pronged *vajra*. The five points usually represent the Five Buddhas (Five Wisdoms) of Esoteric Buddhism. The Vajra Bell itself used to be rung during funeral ceremonies.

¹⁹ The saying that life and death, or *samsāra* (cycle of birth, life and death) and *nirvāna* (extinction of karmic bonds), are one is an often recurring refrain in Mahāyāna and Esoteric Buddhism and is closely related to the notion of Emptiness.

²⁰ Marishiten, the deification of mirages, was a deity popular among warriors in feudal Japan. For a study of this deity in relation to *bugei*, see Hall 1997, 87-116.

One should not transmit this art to someone who is not a “true person”^o, even if one is given a thousand pieces of gold for it²¹ⁿ. If one does, one should fear divine punishment^p. One should only transmit to someone who has the right mind for it^q.

According to an old saying, if one continuously strives to gain an advantage in martial arts while residing in a small village of no more than one hundred houses^r, praying day and night to the kami, one will obtain the advantage. It is with the mind that one saves the body. Silence.

[Transmitted by] Tenshinshō^{22s}, Hayashi no myōjin, and Hayashizaki Jinsuke Shigenobu.

Conferred in the third year of Hōei (1706), the twelfth day of the eighth month, by Sakai Shichiemon Nagatoshi {seal} to Sakai Jūbei Nagateru.

The Three Sections: Vajra Section {this section regroups martial Buddhas such as Fudō, Idaten²³, and Marishiten}; Buddha Section {this section regroups Buddhas such as Amida}; Lotus Section {in here are regrouped the Nyorai Buddhas; [they represent] purity}.

The Three Poisons: Desire {or greed}; Anger {or passing off lies as truth}; Ignorance {or using knowledge for wrong purposes}.

- a. “Victory” should be understood as “awakening to the One Mind (*isshin*)²⁴”. Shigenobu, in other words, attained awakening.
- b. A man of average height, about 160cm tall, should be able to draw a sword measuring three *shaku* and three *sun*.²⁵
- c. “Nine *sun* and five *bu*” refers to an interval. If there is no interval of nine *sun* and five *bu*, one does not draw the sword.

²¹ Since medieval times, “esoteric knowledge” such as secret rituals and initiations was often passed on in exchange for coin.

²² Tenshinshō is the appellation used to denote the kami of the Katori and Kashima shrines, located on the border of present-day Chiba and Ibaraki prefectures (Imamura 1982, 8). The fact that the name appears here in a scroll of a lineage established by a samurai who founded his art at a different shrine is rather significant. It suggests that Hayashizaki Jinsuke had entertained some connection with the two celebrated shrines, or that “Tenshinshō” and “Hayashi no myōjin” are two names for the same deity. In fact, the latter conclusion can be sustained by the contents of note s.

²³ Idaten 韋駄天 is one of those armor-clad Buddhist deities prized by warriors at the time. According to a popular Buddhist tale, Idaten was agile enough to capture demons who had stolen the relics of the Buddha.

²⁴ *Isshin* is a term with extensive meaning in the context of pre-modern Japanese religions. Simply speaking, it is a term indicating a human person’s mind in perfect union with the mind of the kami and the Buddhas.

²⁵ Hence, a sword measuring about one meter is the longest sword that a man 160cm tall is able to unsheathe.

- d. A point six *sun* away from the opponent's body; when his right hand has not moved out yet; in other words, one should obtain victory against "nine *sun* and five *bu*".²⁶
- e. "One man of the country" refers to Shigenobu.
- f. The "Three Poisons" [also] refer to mollusks, toads and serpents. Furthermore, it is said that an unstable, wavering mind falls into the three poisons of alcoholism, licentiousness, and greed. One has to overcome the various delusions. Comparing it to a struggle against the Three Poisons, the principle teaches us not to bear feelings of hatred.
- g. The Three Sections are the Buddha, Lotus, and Vajra Sections. They represent purity. One has to overcome the Three Poisons (i.e., Desire, Anger, and Ignorance) and reduce them to a state where they have no longer any fixed form.
- h. The Nine Luminaries are planets and stars.
- i. [Human?] are in heavenly bodies. During a funeral, one rings it [i.e., the five-pronged Diamond-Bell]. The ringing indicates the idea of letting [the deceased enter] death peacefully and become a Buddha. It also refers to the determination to realize awakening to the One Mind. This aspect constitutes the basis [to understand the principle of] nine *sun* and five *bu*.
- j. One has to realize that all things arise from Emptiness and return to it, and that life and death form one large unity.
- k. It means that dying should be one's own resolve. One has [to be prepared] to die for *gi* 儀 (propriety) and for *shi* 志 (personal volition).
- l. Rather than continuing living while not being able to show one's face to others [because of shame], one should choose death and think of it as paradise.
- m. The kami and the Buddhas also had the same determination in the past. One has to realize that one will receive life after this one.
- n. One should not transmit the art to a person who says he wants it in exchange for a thousand coins of gold (i.e., a great amount of money).
- o. This refers to a person who does not know *gi* 儀 (propriety), who does not understand what is mentioned here, and who does not know the principles of the Three Poisons.
- p. If the person to whom you transmitted this art commits evil, you will incur shame, and you will receive divine punishment.
- q. It refers to a person who is fully endowed with the qualities described in this scroll.

²⁶ It is interesting to note the peculiar similarity with the Yagyū-ryū instruction mentioned in footnote 3. Both Yagyū-ryū and Hayashizaki-ryū instruct that the sword strike should be initiated when the opponent has not yet begun moving his hands. This probably involves reading the mind or intentions of the opponent and initiating the strike exactly at that subtle moment between immobility and action of the hands.

- r. In other words, a place where one can obtain a serene mind (*myōshin*). It is difficult to express on paper.
- s. “Tenshin” is the name given to that particular aspect in our mind which detests unrighteousness (*fugi* 不義) and brings forth the feeling of shame for wrongdoings. It is also called “the heroic friend”. [Tenshinshō] is [equal to] Hayashi no myōjin who redresses “Tenshin” in our mind.

3. The esoteric Buddhist flavor of the *Tetsugi no maki*

The *Tetsugi no maki* is a text with some rather peculiar content, for reasons that should be clear if one reads through the translation. The contents convey a number of features that may be considered significant to the study of Edo-period *bugei*, religion, and samurai culture. For a full comprehensive understanding of these features, however, one would have to elaborate at length on each of them through various explanations, but as there is no room for such extensive commentary, the discussion below will limit itself to indicating the esoteric Buddhist flavor of the scroll.

The influence of Esoteric Buddhism in the scroll is most manifest in the line which explains that the three *shaku* and three *sun* long sword with which one faces a *wakizashi* of nine *sun* and five *bu* long—one of the key formal techniques of classical Hayashizaki-ryū—should be associated with the principle of “transforming the Three Poisons (*sandoku*) into the Three Sections (*sanbu*)”. The scroll clarifies that the Three Poisons are Desire (*ton* 貪), Anger (*jin* 瞋), and Ignorance (*chi* 痴), and that the Three Sections are the Buddha (*butsu* 仏), Lotus (*ren* 蓮), and Vajra (*kon* 金) sections of esoteric Buddhist tradition.

The scroll explains this Buddhist principle to be the inner characteristic of the long sword. Naturally, this is probably not just the characteristic of the long sword, but also of the mind of the person grasping it. The scroll thus suggests that while outwardly executing the secret sword technique of the kami, one is inwardly activating at the same time a form of mind produced when the Three Poisons are transformed into the Three Sections.

The reference to the Three Poisons and the Three Sections is remarkable, for if one were to define the essence of pre-modern Japanese Esoteric Buddhism, one could come up with the same notion. In fact, the concentration involving the transformation of the Three Passions into the Three Sections is a most fundamental practice in Esoteric Buddhism or other pre-modern form of Japanese religion incorporating this type of Buddhism.

Basically, Esoteric Buddhism, brought to Japan in the early ninth century, emphasizes that a human being can reach Buddhahood in this very lifetime. This goes directly against the traditional Buddhist doctrine that it is impossible to

become a Buddha without going through three *kalpa* (J. *kō* 劫), or three immeasurable eons of time. Esoteric Buddhist priests, however, explain that behind the Sanskrit word “*kalpa*” is hidden the meaning of “*vikalpa*”, which means “delusion”. Hence, one has to overcome not three eons of time but three forms of delusions (*sanmōjū* 三妄執) to become a Buddha. These three delusions are of course associated with the Three Poisons, which lie at the basis of all other forms of passions and delusions.²⁷

The secret way to overcome the Three Poisons is by using the method of the Three Mysteries (*sanmitsu* 三密), i.e., hand gestures (*mudra*), incantations (*mantra*), and visualizations, with which one transforms one’s three basic actions of body (Desire), speech (Anger) and mind (Ignorance) into awakened forms of action. Concretely, through the practice of *mudra* one transforms the poison of Desire into the great concentration of the Buddha, with incantations one alters Anger into the compassion of the Lotus, and through visualizations one transforms Ignorance into the imperishable wisdom of the Vajra. The result of such a concentration is Buddhahood in this lifetime, and that is what Esoteric Buddhism is all about.

Desire (body)	→ <i>mudra</i>	→ Buddha (concentration)
Anger (speech)	→ <i>mantra</i>	→ Lotus (compassion)
Ignorance (mind)	→ visualization	→ Vajra (wisdom)

In pre-modern times in Japan, the above principles were often associated with various symbolic ideas and practices related to serpents, dragons, and swords. There are many reasons for that, the most fundamental reason being the obvious analogy between the poisonous nature of the passions (*bonnō*) and the venom of serpents or dragons. Buddhist discourses regarding the path to awakening indeed often employ the metaphor of subduing serpents lying dormant in the mind. A Buddha, as one influential Mahāyāna scripture puts it, is “someone who subdued the serpent-passions²⁸”.

Esoteric Buddhism, with its emphasis on the Three Poisons, naturally adopted the same principle. For example, one concentration practice which used to be performed every day in the early morning by medieval Shingon 真言 esoteric Buddhist priests includes the following symbolic notions.

²⁷ The teaching that the term *kalpa* includes the meaning of “delusion” is stated in the *Commentary to the Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Dari jingshu*, T no. 1796, 39.600c19-29). The association of the three delusions with the Three Poisons is mentioned in the same *Commentary* (601a2-3) and in the *Hizōki* (SZ vol. 9, p. 23b). Both texts were considered essential in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism.

²⁸ The *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* (*Da banniepan jing*) says: “An awakened person is someone who has cut off the four serpent-passions. He who has cut off the passions is a truly awakened one. A truly awakened one is a Tathāgata (Buddha).” (T no. 374, 12.395b6-7)

The meaning of the “ritual of subduing the serpents” (*byakuja-hō*) relates to the placation of the Three Poisons. It is about forming the sword mudra of Fudō with both hands and inserting [the erect index and middle fingers of] one hand into [the circle formed by thumb, little finger and ring finger of] the other hand. “Subduing the serpents” means “understanding the interdependence between passions and awakening” (*bonnō soku bodai* 煩惱即菩提). The fruit of awakening is never without its cause, the passions. That is why one should realize that with “subduing the serpents” is understood the “arrest of the thought of attachment to the passions”. Following the principle of the “interdependence between passions and awakening”, it is taught that one inserts the sword of wisdom into the scabbard of the passions. One inserts the object with which one cuts into the very object that one desires to cut off. The scabbard is the necessary ornament of the sword. The plane of ordinary living beings and the plane of the Buddhas are one and the same. That is why one forms the sword mudra with both hands, one expressing the Vajra Realm (plane of the Buddhas) and the other the Womb Realm (plane of ordinary living beings), and inserts [the erect fingers of] one hand into the [finger circle of the] other hand²⁹.

The concentration practice itself is called “*byakuja-hō*”, which, depending on what characters are used to express the term “*byakuja*” 百蛇, 避蛇, 避邪, means “ritual of the white serpent”, “ritual of subduing the serpents”, or “ritual of subduing defilement”. Basically, it is a concentration on the sword-mudra of Fudō Myōō—a mudra obtained by stretching index and middle fingers and connecting the tip of the thumb with the tip of the little and ring fingers—with the purpose of subduing the Three Poisons. In fact, it is a concentration on the image of the sword and the serpent, which coils around the blade and intends to swallow the tip, an image which is better known as the dragon Kurikara 倶利伽羅, the alternative form of Fudō. The objective of the meditational practice seems not to simply cut off the serpent-passions but to annihilate any form of attachment to the thought of the existence of the passions (and thus, of awakening as well). For that reason, one inserts the index and middle fingers of one hand into the circle formed by thumb, little finger and ring finger of the other hand, which is the symbolical expression of the union of the Vajra Realm (J. *Kongōkai* 金剛界), or the plane of the Buddhas, and the Womb Realm (*Taizōkai* 胎藏界), or the plane of living beings ordinarily subject to various passions³⁰.

²⁹ *Himitsu kudenshō*, by Hōkyō, fl. 1270 (Kanazawa Bunko archives 82.5). The contents of the original text have been simplified to facilitate reading. See also *Kakugenshō* (SZ vol. 36, p. 364), a later version of the same text which conveys a similar but slightly different instruction.

³⁰ The Vajra-realm mandala and the Womb mandala are the two fundamental mandalas of Japanese esoteric Buddhist tradition. The former is the expression of awakened Buddha-mind, said to have unfolded itself at the highest heaven in the Buddhist cosmos, the latter, which is constructed around a large eight-petalled lotus (the human heart), the expression of awakened human mind. At the center of both mandalas is the cosmic Buddha Dainichi 大日 (Mahāvairocana),

To be true, the details mentioned above were perhaps strictly speaking only part of the secret knowledge of medieval esoteric Buddhist priests. But the *Tetsugi no maki* talks about the Three Poisons and the Three Sections, and mentions Fudō among the Buddhas representing the Vajra Section. It even mentions, in one interesting note, mollusks, toads, and serpents—hence, vile, venomous creatures—as alternate forms of the Three Poisons. The scroll, furthermore, specifies that the Three Poisons have to be reduced to a state where they no longer have any form when executing the secret sword technique of the kami, an instruction which resonates well with the abovementioned teaching that, not simply the passions, but the attachment to their existence has to be cut off.

All these indications show that early Hayashizaki-ryū masters had likely been influenced by traditional symbolic esoteric Buddhist notions regarding passions, serpents, and swords. In fact, the *Tetsugi no maki* is not the only textual source indicating esoteric Buddhist influence on the martial lineage. Tamiya Heibei Shigemasa, a disciple of Hayashizaki Jinsuke, is accredited with having created a series of “secret poems” (*hika* 秘歌) regarding the art, and in one of them the following message can be read:

金胎の両部の二つ見へにけり、兵法あれハ居合はしまる

*I have seen the two mandalas of the Vajra and Womb realms. When there is [such a] martial art, Iai truly begins*³¹.

Although it is clear that early masters of Hayashizaki-ryū absorbed esoteric Buddhist principles into the art, one may wonder why this came about and whence they got their inspiration from. To answer that question, it is necessary to have a clearer picture of the cult of the deity said to be the source of the lineage: Hayashi no myōjin.

The “kami of the wood”, which is the literal translation of “Hayashi no myōjin”, was the name of the kami worshiped at the local shrine of the Hayashizaki village (Jinsuke probably acquired his family name from the title of the village)³². The shrine was attached to a Buddhist temple and administered by ascetic monks (*shugenja* 修験者) who traditionally seemed to have adhered to Tendai 天台 Buddhism, which is a form of Buddhism espousing esoteric Buddhism among its various teachings.

thus showing that both realms are two manifestations of the same principle.

³¹ *Tōda-ryū tachi narabi ni iai/bō gokui no maki* (dated 1778), 101. The *iaijutsu* style transmitted in the Hirosaki 弘前 domain was known as Hayashizaki Shinmusō-ryū 林崎新夢想流. The style was founded by Ichinomiya Sadayu Terunobu 一宮左大夫照信 (?–1600), a disciple of Nagano Murakusai, and later incorporated in the Tōda-ryū of the Hirosaki domain. Within the styles derived from Ichinomiya Terunobu the scroll was also passed on. However, instead of esoteric Buddhist terms, the scrolls of these styles show notions typical of Sōtō 曹洞 Zen Buddhism.

³² The information on the history of the shrine is taken from HSKI 1991, 2-10, 12-29.

“Hayashi no myōjin” is not the name of a specific deity, in fact, but merely the local appellation of a kami called Kumano myōjin 熊野明神. The mountains eastward from the Hayashizaki Shrine had been, since fairly ancient times, the abode of ascetic monks who venerated the kami of Kumano, the cult of which originally developed in the area called Kumano, in the south of present-day Wakayama Prefecture. In the course of time, the kami of Kumano came to be enshrined in a wood located in the village of Hayashizaki, where it was henceforth locally referred to as “the kami of the wood”. It is not clear from what period exactly the kami had been enshrined there, but there are indications that the Kumano deity had been worshiped at Hayashizaki from as early as the fourteenth century.

The cult of the Kumano deity is a rather rich and complex belief system, the details of which cannot be entirely discussed here in this article. To make a long explanation short, the Kumano deity, as it was worshiped at Kumano in Wakayama Prefecture, regroups three divinities: Ketsumiko, the main kami, Fusumi (Musumi), and Hayatama. The origin of these three kami is rather obscure, but from ancient times onward, they were often respectively associated with Susanoo, Izanami and Hayatama-no-o (or Izanagi) of classical Shinto mythology.³³ One of the central kami in the cult was thus identified with Susanoo, the fierce deity who according to Shinto mythology found the Sacred Imperial Sword in the body of the Great Serpent, who initially ruled over the land and the ocean plain, but who eventually became lord of the Nether Land, the land of the dead.

The cult, however, did not merely build on Shinto deities. Since the late Heian period, the area of Kumano came under the supervision of esoteric Buddhist priests, and as a result, the Kumano kami was reframed in an esoteric Buddhist context. Concretely, Ketsumiko was commonly connected to the Buddha Amida 阿弥陀, Fusumi to the Bodhisattva Kannon 観音 (mostly, the Thousand-armed Kannon), and Hayatama to the medicine Buddha Yakushi 薬師. The whole area of Kumano, moreover, was mostly identified with the Womb realm.

Although the above applies to the cult of Kumano in Wakayama Prefecture, we may assume that the Kumano beliefs transmitted in and around the village of Hayashizaki inherited some of its features. When the monk-priests of the Hayashizaki Shrine were asked in the beginning of the Meiji period (1868–1912) to specify the nature of the deities worshipped at the shrine, they reported on different occasions either the name of Susanoo, Izanami, or Izanagi. This fact suggests that these were the deities originally enshrined at the shrine as the result of the influence of the Kumano cult.

Thus, although we have no ancient documents on the nature of the beliefs surrounding “Hayashi no myōjin”, we may be fairly certain that the deity was endowed

³³ The explanations on the Kumano cult in this article are based on Gorai 1990, 33-57, and Gorai 1976, 155-178.

with various Shinto as well as esoteric Buddhist features deriving from the Kumano cult. Hayashizaki Jinsuke, the founder of the art, when praying at the local village shrine for divine inspiration, must have been instructed on these features by religious specialists of various kinds operating in and near the shrine.

The divine source behind the secret methods of the Hayashizaki-ryū, however, was not only Hayashi no myōjin. Although the *Tetsugi no maki* underscores Hayashi no myōjin as the deity who passed on the secrets in the main body of the text, in the line of transmission mentioned at the end of the scroll Tenshinshō is placed first before the latter deity. This shows that, ultimately, the teachings of the art were believed to go back to Tenshinshō.

“Tenshinshō” is strictly speaking an appellation used to indicate the martial deities of the Kashima 鹿島 and Katori 香取 shrines (located at the border of Chiba and Ibaraki prefectures; Imamura 1982, 8). The deities are respectively Takemikazuchi and Futsunushi, two heavenly kami who according to Shinto mythology pacified the land by subduing the violent earthly kami. However, in pre-modern times the two shrines were set in a much larger religious framework of symbolic imagery. Indeed, an important determining factor in the formation of the Tenshinshō cult is the nearby presence of Mount Tsukuba 筑波山, which holds a central position in pre-modern Japanese religion. According to Shinto mythology, Izanagi and Izanami lowered the Jeweled Spear from Mount Tsukuba into the ocean to create land and earthly life. Naturally, the area was given extensive meaning by religious practitioners and administrators alike, both near to and far from that sacred locality.

The pre-modern Tenshinshō cult thus naturally included the figures of Izanagi and Izanami, but besides these two kami there were probably many other deities that had a place in the belief system. This fact is illustrated by a medieval Shinto text, the *Nihongi Miwa-ryū* 日本紀三輪流 (*Miwa Traditions of the Nihongi*), which includes a section discussing the secrets of the Kashima and Katori shrines. The text itself belongs to a Shinto lineage not directly related to Kashima and Katori, but may be considered useful for having a better idea of the larger religious web spun around the two shrines in pre-modern times.

The text specifies that the area of Kashima and Katori is the exact place where the tip of the spear held by Izanagi and Izanami touched the ocean and from which were born all kami and Buddhas. It is also the place where the two mandalas of Esoteric Buddhism (the two shrines) come together to form a dual and yet non-dual universe. Interestingly, the text further mentions the following details:

The kami of Katori, in fact, is Susanoo. Susanoo takes note of all good and evil actions of human beings. He is the king of hell, Enma 閻魔. (...) This kami is the source of righteousness. That is why it is capable of destroying any evil person immediately. (...). The kami are the divine in us, human beings. There is not

a single difference [between us and the kami]. When one is blinded, one is just an ordinary human being. When one is awakened, one is a kami. Human beings and kami form one body and not two. This principle stems from the teaching of the “One Mind” (*isshin*). It is this Mind that creates everything. All religious schools are based on this fundamental teaching. (*Nihongi Miwa-ryū*, 479)

According to the text, the kami of Katori (Tenshinshō) is none other than Susanoo, another form of King Enma, the Buddhist lord and judge of hell, and the source of righteousness.

It can thus be observed that in certain religious circles Tenshinshō was seen as a religious principle uniting Izanagi, Izanami, and Susanoo. As we have seen, these three kami are also the deities forming the core structure of the cult of Hayashi no myōjin (Kumano). Therefore, concerning the question why Tenshinshō precedes Hayashi no myōjin in the *Tetsugi no maki*, one possible reason might be because the two cults share the same core triad of deities. In fact, the *Tetsugi no maki* mentions that Tenshinshō is “Hayashi no myōjin who redresses Tenshin in our mind”, thereby suggesting that the two deities were indeed considered similar or equal. Since they are similar, Tenshinshō could have been added to the scroll to elevate the luster of the relatively unknown Hayashi no myōjin. Of course, another reason why Tenshinshō appears in the scroll might simply be that Hayashizaki Jinsuke Shigenobu had received initiation into the martial art lineage associated with Kashima and Katori prior to establishing his own style.³⁴

Due to the lack of sources, it is not possible to determine to what extent sword masters of Hayashizaki-ryū knew the religious details of the cult of Tenshinshō. However, since they placed Tenshinshō at the very pinnacle of the art, they must have picked up some notions of the larger religious tradition built around the deity. That tradition at the time was almost certainly of a Shinto-esoteric Buddhist nature.

For this reason, it can be argued that the references to Esoteric Buddhism in the *Tetsugi no maki* have roots not only in the beliefs surrounding Hayashi no myōjin but also in the cult of Tenshinshō. At least, it is tempting to assume that the reference to Tenshinshō as a kami “detesting unrighteousness” stems from the larger tradition developed around Tenshinshō that associates the latter deity with the judge of hell, Susanoo, alias King Enma. Besides that, the idea of “awakening to the One Mind” also, which Hayashizaki Jinsuke is said to have realized through the guidance of Hayashi no myōjin, might derive from that same tradition.

³⁴ This possibility is argued in more detail in HSKI 1991, 170-171.

4. The significance of the *Tetsugi no maki*

Hayashizaki Jinsuke founded his art in an area that was heavily influenced by Shinto-esoteric Buddhist beliefs. Moreover, before creating his style, he had in all likelihood practiced martial skills near the Kashima and Katori shrines, which at the time attracted many religious practitioners sharing a rich variety of Shinto and esoteric Buddhist imagery. The fact that the *Tetsugi no maki* refers to esoteric Buddhist principles is therefore in itself not surprising. They are the echoes of the voices of the people worshipping the cultic deities from which the art is said to originate.

However, the echoes do not just reflect the personal religious convictions of the founders of the martial art. What is surprising is that the religious terms in the *Tetsugi no maki* touch upon the essence of the techniques and the practice of the art. Indeed, the religious tone of the scroll is to such an extent that it raises important questions as to the exact nature of the practice of classical *iaijutsu*.

The scroll says that Hayashizaki Jinsuke received a “sword” (*tachi*) from the kami with which he was able to overcome his “worst enemy”. One would immediately assume that it is about a wondrous, technical skill that allows any swordsman to beat an opponent in flesh and blood. It is hard to imagine that this was not the principle message of the phrase. However, a note in the scroll specifies that the “victory” achieved by Jinsuke was the “awakening to the One Mind”, and that the “worst opponent” is therefore not to be exclusively interpreted as a person of flesh and blood but also, in addition, as an obstacle in the mind. A little further in the scroll the text mentions that the kami gave Hayashizaki Jinsuke the secret technique called “victory of *tsukaguchi rokusun*”. This is without doubt a technical form, but it should be noted that it is a form intrinsically tied to the esoteric Buddhist meditational practice of subduing the Three Poisons in the mind. The “sword” given by the kami is not simply a martial technique, it is additionally, or one should say ideally, a mental skill (*shinpō* 心法).

Needless to say, the combat techniques and methods of the art established by Hayashizaki Jinsuke served practical purposes suitable for warriors. However, as the scroll suggests, it would not be right to separate these methods from a state of mind that is undeniably of a Buddhist nature. As the scroll says, the techniques have to be carried out with a mind in which the Three Poisons are transformed into the Three Sections. In order to obtain “a great victory”, like Hayashizaki Jinsuke, one has to attain this state, which is alternatively defined as the “One Mind”, a term indicating perfect union of the human mind with that of all the kami and all the Buddhas.

In other words, the art devised by Hayashizaki Jinsuke had a double nature, an external and internal, or an obvious and a hidden nature. In fact, this kind of double nature was a feature shared by many other pre-modern Japanese religious traditions. Another well-known example of a traditional art that possesses

such a double nature is *ikebana* (flower arrangement). In this art, one outwardly cuts branches and flowers from the roots that channels life force into them, but also, inwardly, cuts the thought of attachment to enable the flower and one's own inner self to live "authentically" in the present.³⁵ In a similar way, in *iaijutsu* one outwardly performs sword techniques, but inwardly, at the same time, a Buddhist concentration with which one transforms deluded mind into awakened mind to allow that mind to achieve its most authentic potential.

It is of course impossible to fully understand with what kind of mindset exactly samurai like Hayashizaki Jinsuke or Sakai Nagateru were practicing and transmitting such an art. Nevertheless, the *Tetsugi no maki* gives us a glimpse of the peculiar world they were living in. The scroll captures a moment in the past and reflects that past, like a picture of a long gone-by mindscape, in which are shape-shifting various apparitions of Buddhas, kami, serpents, swords, human weaknesses, real and mental foes, toads, rice wine cups, flashes of awakening, and effective sword techniques, a fantastic kaleidoscope of images joined together through irrational thinking of the finest sort. And yet, this seems to have been the world samurai like Hayashizaki Jinsuke and Sakai Nagateru were living in. For them, the notion of *iaijutsu* as an art with a double nature must not have been irrational. They probably thought it only natural that techniques such as the one called "victory of *tsukaguchi rokusun*"—which seems to involve cutting toward the area around the sword hilt right before the opponent starts moving his hands—when executed effectively, is not merely a human act but a marvel accomplished through union with the mind of the kami and the Buddhas.

Still, it is questionable whether masters of the art, even in the early phases of its history, actually understood the deeper meaning of the Buddhist principles. Perhaps they only knew them vaguely. It is also doubtful whether the Buddhist dimension of the art had always been valued and appreciated with the same degree of importance throughout the Edo period. Maybe it is true that throughout most of its history, the message of the scroll was simply seen as an "ideal world" hardly ever emphasized by the masters practicing and transmitting the art.

Even though that may be so, it does not take away the fact that during the early phase of development the art of drawing the sword founded by Hayashizaki Jinsuke Shigenobu had been regarded as a "spiritual art" in the sense that the practice of the forms and techniques were seen as having both a martial and a religious dimension. The *Tetsugi no maki* is the testament of that fact. Even though perhaps the double nature of the art has long since been forgotten, it is still there, like an insect fossil trapped in hardened resin, in the words of that peculiar scroll.

³⁵ On this, see Carter 2007, 103-108.

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Abbreviations

SZ *Shingonshū zensho* 真言宗全書, 44 vols. Kōyasan: Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai, 1933–1939.

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, 85 vols. Takakusu Junjiro 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡辺海旭 (eds. and comps.). Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934.

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論文概要

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煩惱の蛇を断つ — 古武道、居合術の密教的側面 —

本論では、林崎甚助重信 (1542?-1621?) により大成された日本の古武道、居合術における密教の影響を論述する。封建時代に成立した武道の理論的根拠が仏教の枠組みに求められることはよく知られている。特に禅はこの分野において重要な位置を占めているように思われるが、実は他の仏教の形態、すなわち密教も、古武道の身体と関わりがあるのである。本論では、庄内 (山形県西部) に伝わる林崎田宮流が所蔵し、成立初期の時代を偲ばせる、1706年奥書の『手次之巻』に焦点を当てる。型の伝承を認定するため書かれたこの書物は、古武道の全般的な思考方法のみならず、技術の修練の本質にも密教の深い影響があることを示すものとして、特に注目に値する。具体的に、当資料は武術の本質が密教の集中状態と関係するとし、修行の最終目標の一つは悟りを得ることであると説明する。それゆえ、武道に関する現代以前の数々の資料に様々な密教の要素が見られる中でも、当資料はそれがはっきりと抜刀術の修行における二つの本質、すなわち実践的・精神的本質を示すという事実から特別であると言える。論文の中で述べられるように、この二つの本質はおそらく、密教と神道の思想が混交した修行の、長く豊かな伝統を持つことで知られるこの地域において、この武術が大成した結果だったのだろう。このようにして、本論では居合術の歴史と本質に更なる光を当てる。

Keywords: *iaijutsu*, Hayashizaki Jinsuke Shigenobu, Esoteric Buddhism, *Tetsugi no maki*, *Kongen no maki*, Tenshinshō, Hayashi no myōjin

SETSUWA AS A UNIQUE GENRE OF JAPANESE LITERATURE IN CONNECTION TO TACHIBANA NARISUE'S *KOKONCHOMONJŪ*

Introduction

The Setsuwa genre was defined by one Polish scholar as follows:

Setsuwa (fiction, story, fairy tale, fable) is a short tale, often anecdotic, with a moral lesson, conveying heard stories – unusual, surprising and entertaining. *Setsuwa* can be described as old parables, fairy tales, legends, hagiographies and other stories. (...) Most fiction of this genre was considered one of the sources of storytelling and was preserved among relics of literary productions from the 8th century. Later in the 9th century *setsuwa* collections began to be created. *Setsuwa* motives in a changed form appear in novellas as well as in novels, poetry and drama¹. (Melanowicz 1994: 57-8).

Setsuwa tales were presented not only in the events from the daily lives of eminent figures of past epochs, but anecdotes and interesting details from the quotidian lives of various classes, religious practices, bygone customs and rituals – in short, everything that was considered to be worth preserving for generations to come.

Several research studies have singled out *Anthology of Tales from the Past* (Jpn. *Konjaku Monogatarishū*, c. 1120)², emphasizing at the same time that it had become a model for posterior compilers.

The high level of education of *setsuwa* authors must be noted for their erudition and knowledge of history gained through access to archives and above all, interest in contemporary phenomena and daily life of various social classes.

¹ The order of Japanese and European names and surnames that appear in this article complies with the traditional Japanese notation – surname first. For details see: Melanowicz 1994: 57-8.

² Abbreviation Jpn=Japanese. *Konjaku monogatarishū* (c.1120) is a collection of over one thousand tales compiled in 31 volumes and divided into three parts according to the source of origin: Indian, Chinese and Japanese. The collection covers both secular and religious tales and paints daily life of peasantry, fishermen, merchants, craftsmen, monks and warriors.

See: Melanowicz 1994: 171-2.

The state of research in Japan

For many years Japanese researchers have been trying to define and systematize the *setsuwa* genre, which was not an easy task. Although many compilations and essays were written on characteristics of that genre, the research is even now being continued. In Japanese literature, *setsuwa* is treated as a separate literary genre. *Set-suwa* started to be used in the both the Taishō and Shōwa period and in 1993 the first definition of *setsuwa* was formed. The author, Shimazu Hisamoto (1891–1949) was a literature buff, and the definition was published in the *Encyclopedia of Japanese Literature* (Jpn. *Nihonbungaku daijiten*). It still functions as a standard and according to this definition, *setsuwa* were literary forms (myths, legends, tales) based upon oral tales, which incorporated many attributes of oral transmission and were gathered in compilations with commentaries. The attempts at systematizing *setsuwa* by other researchers were also recognized. Nishio Kōichi stated that *setsuwa* as a genre covers other forms of literature like myths (Jpn. *shinwa*), legends (Jpn. *densetsu*), fairytales (Jpn. *mukashibanshi*), folk tales (Jpn. *sekenwa*), anecdotes (Jpn. *itsuwa*), heard stories (Jpn. *uchigikibanashi*), memoirs (Jpn. *omoidebanashi*), historical tales (Jpn. *rekishibanashi*), Buddhist tales (Jpn. *bukkyōwa*), art tales (Jpn. *geinōwa*), children stories (Jpn. *dōwa*), which were present for a long time in oral and written tradition and gathered compilations.

The oldest *setsuwa* literature, considered as such by Nishio Kōichi, are myths and legends from *Records of Ancient Matters* (Jpn. *Kojiki*, c.712)³, *Japanese Chronicles* (Jpn. *Nihonshoki*, 720)⁴ and *Records of Earth and Soil* (Jpn. *Fudoki*)⁵. At the beginning of the Heian period, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition* (Jpn. *Nihonryōiki*)⁶, the first *setsuwa* compilation was created and then similar

³ *Kojiki* is a Japanese chronicle and collection of myths, dated from the beginning of 8th century and composed by a courtier, Ono no Yasumaro (?-723) at the request of empress Gemmei. It was completed in 712. The work is divided in three volumes and covers the matter of former chronicles. It was translated into Polish by Wiesław Kotański, *Kojiki czyli Księga dawnych wydarzeń*, PIW, Warszawa 1986.

⁴ *Nihonshoki* is the historiography work of Japanese literature, known also as *Nihongi*. It was completed in 720 at the imperial request. The works were carried under the editorial supervision of Prince Toneri (676-735). In order to compile such a rich material, many former works were used: court chronicles from 6th and 7th century, the records of *shintō* shrines and Buddhist temples as well as various documents of the relations with the continent. Because the gathered material is so vast, there are many versions of the same myths in *Nihonshoki*.

⁵ *Fudoki* are the descriptions of Japanese provinces, their geography and agriculture, natural resources, culture and folklore. They contain a number of ancient poems and tales. They were written in the form of reports covering the etymology of names, resources for the central administration (the request was issued in 713). *Fudoki* are the copious source for research of literary forms and threads, used also by historical geography, ethnography and linguistic. See: Melanowicz 1994: 98.

⁶ *Nihonryōiki* is the oldest *setsuwa* tales collection written by monk Kyokai from 812-822. It was based on the Chinese Buddhist tales rooted in India. It was written in Chinese and most of

ones or simply compilations, of which *setsuwa* was a part, such as: chronicles (Jpn. *ki*), legends (Jpn. *den*), records (Jpn. *roku*), anthologies (Jpn. *shū*), compilations (Jpn. *shō*), stories (Jpn. *go*), dialogues (Jpn. *dan*), fiction tales (Jpn. *monogatari*), 'mirrors' (Jpn. *kagami*), and essays (Jpn. *zuihitsu*). Nishio Kōichi proclaimed these genres formed the very base of *setsuwa*. In the 10th century it was written for example in the *Illustrated Legends of Three Treasures* (Jpn. *Sambō ekotoba*)⁷, however records of rebirths in Pure Land such as *Japanese Records of Births into Paradise* (Jpn. *Nihon ōjō gokurakuki*)⁸, *Miraculous Tales of Lotus Sutra* (Jpn. *Hokke genki*)⁹, war stories (Jpn. *gunki*), where *setsuwa* appear (Jpn. *Heike monogatari*)¹⁰ along with other works like *Essays in Idleness* (Jpn. *Tsurezuregusa*)¹¹ or *The Great Mirror* (Jpn. *Ōkagami*)¹² is mentioned thoroughly.

Setsuwa collections can be divided into four groups, which differ distinctively. The first group contains works that can be recognized as collections of ancient sermons and recitations derived from oral tradition – *A Collection Written While Listening* (Jpn. *Uchigikishū*)¹³. The second one is collections with secular *setsuwa* written in ideograms and with an interesting plot, called *setsuwa*

the tales were based on the oral versions of tales present in Japan. *Nihonryōiki* started a new form of *setsuwa* collections describing supernatural and unusual events, written in simple and understandable style and portraying the basic Buddhist indications and truths. For details see: Melanowicz 1994: 58.

⁷ The collection contains Buddhist *setsuwa*, stories about the birth of Buddha, development of Buddhism in Japan, numerous temples, celebrations and ceremonies. The collection was written in a form of comprehensive lecture on Buddhist doctrine, prepared for the daughter of Emperor Reizei (950–1011, on the throne: 967–969). The collection contains sixty two tales divided into three volumes. See: Melanowicz 1994: 58.

⁸ One of the collections of tales concerning rebirths in Pure Land, dated on the middle of 10th century.

⁹ The collection of one hundred and twenty nine Buddhist didactic tales extolling the karmic benefits that accrue to those who uphold the Buddhist teachings from Lotus Sutra. The collection comes from 1041 and was written in Chinese.

¹⁰ The Japanese medieval epos gathered in twelve volumes. It comes from circa 1221 and depicts ninety years of the rise and fall of Taira family and it is a parabolic story of transience of human existence. The first chapter opens with the tolling of the bell in India and the last one closes with the tolling of the bell from Jakkōin Temple near Kyoto. The work is filled with the feeling of helplessness and upcoming fall.

¹¹ *Tsurezuregusa* is a collection of Japanese essays written by the monk and poet Kenkō between 1330–1331. The work has not one, definitive theme nor one uniform theme; however some essays are devoted to impermanence, Buddhist truths or the beauty of nature. See: Melanowicz 2003: 119–120.

¹² *Ōkagami* is a historical tale from circa 1094 and the most interesting among the historical tales in regard of literary and historical value. It comprises of six chapters built on the concept of questions and answers, *id est* dialogue between a young warrior and two older men.

¹³ *Uchigikishū* consists of twenty seven Buddhist tales. It was written before 1134. The author remains unknown.

novels – *The Tale of Yamato* (*Yamato monogatari*)¹⁴, *Konjaku monogatarishū*, *Collection of Old Tales* (Jpn. *Kobonsetsuwashū*)¹⁵, and *Collection of Tales from Uji* (Jpn. *Ujishūi monogatari*)¹⁶. To the third group belong the compilations about imperial court traditions or describing various society phenomena – *The Oe Conversations* (Jpn. *Gōdanshō*)¹⁷, *The Old Matters Conversations* (Jpn. *Kojidan*)¹⁸, *The Collection of Heard Tales Old and New* (Jpn. *Kokonchomonjū*)¹⁹, and *The Miscellany of Ten Maxims* (Jpn. *Jikkinshō*)²⁰. The last, fourth group is characterized by typical Buddhist *setsuwa* like *The Collection of Sand and Pebbles* (Jpn. *Shasekishū*)²¹.

Furthermore, Nishio Kōichi distinguished the six following points that define the *setsuwa* genre²²:

1. It is a literature that originates in oral tradition and was transmitted over decades before being written down in the form of collections, therefore a particular author cannot be named. It deals with the events, which took place in reality and in such a manner that it is different from multi-thread tale *monogatari*, dominated by fiction. Nowadays, many *setsuwa* of that kind are being treated as fairy tales, although once it was clearly non-fiction. Despite the developed form, it contains many characteristic features of oral transmission.
2. *Setsuwa* tales are collected in volumes, where the length of a story not a matter. There is no fictional continuity as in novels or eposes. The story revolves around

¹⁴ This is a collection of one hundred and seventy three anecdotic tales of various lengths. It contains as well the elements of 'songs about songs' (Jpn. *uta monogatari*). For details see: Melanowicz 1994: 59.

¹⁵ The author of this collection is unknown and the collection itself was discovered in 1943. The commentary was written in 1967. Probably it is dated on the end of Heian period or the beginning of Kamakura period. It consists of mainly Japanese tales with Buddhist themes, but also Japanese poems with the opening line similar to *Konjaku monogatari*: *Ima wa mukashi...* „Long time ago...” See: Melanowicz 1994: 60.

¹⁶ *Ujishūi monogatari* is dated on c. 1218–1221 and compriss of one hundred and ninty seven short tales dividen into volumes. The compiler remains unknown; however it can be deducted from the matter of the work, that the aim was not strictly didactic, but rather entertaining (there are many tales of the monks' attachment to worldly pleasures).

¹⁷ A collection od *setsuwa* from Insei period written by Oe no Masafusa (1041–1111). It contains tales of poetry and Chinese music.

¹⁸ A collection from ca. 1212–1215 comprises of tales portraying the daily life of courtiers, monks and warriors.

¹⁹ A collection of *setsuwa* tales from 1254. The compiler was Tachibana Narisue, a talented courtier and official. It consists of over seven hundred tales divided into twenty volumes of various themes.

²⁰ *Jikkinshō* is a collection from 1252 roku comprises of two hundred and eighty *setsuwa* tales organised by the ten indications and rules of conduct. There are tales of moral life, purity, fidelity, righteousness, the necessity of abandoning conceit, patience, the harmfulness of gossiping, prudence etc.

²¹ *Shasekishū* is a collection of Buddhist parables, divided into five volumes and written by the Japanese monk, Mujū in 1283.

²² For details see: Ichiko 1985 vol.3: 624–25.

- one person or a group of people and describes events, which occurred in reality, in a particular time and it concentrates on one thread only.
3. An interesting narrative, and the way of describing events and characters is linked with intentional expression of the elements of the supernatural. It may be said it is connected with the knowledge that such features draw the reader's attention and generate the reader's pursuit of unusualness. It is best shown in *Konjaku monogatari* and *Ujishūi monogatari*. The characters that appeared there are particularly colourful.
 4. In *setsuwa* the elements of a subtle psychological character's analysis in the background of society predispositions can be marked out. In particular those elements cover problems of human nature. In collections there are many tales, which were popular in ancient and medieval times. In every society such tales were created, however most of them were forgotten.
 5. In many *setsuwa*, religious motives can be identified and almost half of them belong to Buddhist tales, which today play an important role in Japanese religious literature. They were mentioned in sermons, therefore must have played role of an explanation and lecture.
 6. *Setsuwa* have a didactic part to play. Originally, a *setsuwa* tale was told as a one-thread story, without a distinctive moral, but often the criticism or praise was hidden there. At the end of some *setsuwa* afterthoughts, additional explanations, moral lectures and commentaries were added.

Nishio Kōichi stressed that *setsuwa* did not have a didactic character, but acquired it with time. He also emphasized that *setsuwa* as a literature genre can be seen as indigent when it comes to the means of expression. Nevertheless, this genre cannot be compared with clear-cut, vigorous descriptions of human behaviour and events against the background of changing epochs. Here, for the first time, the characters of warriors, monks, provincial governors, court officials and peasants emerged. All of them were painted with an unusual expression. The novelty of *setsuwa* is placed in the variety of its characters and the authors of *setsuwa* stayed faithful to the traditional court culture.

"*Setsuwa* is a treasury of knowledge pertaining to tradition and contemporary society rules. Nonetheless the narrative tone is rather common, and a buoyant mood accompanies sometimes even an open cheerfulness and what the literature of past epochs lack. (...) Based on the analysis of the composition, and the personal effort of the compiler is noted. *Setsuwa* literature has such features as lyricalness, reflection, and the elements of aristocratic culture, and symbolism. On the other hand its narrative is strongly connected to the detail. (...) The very subtle expression when it comes to presenting the true human nature renders an undisputable value of *setsuwa* genre"²³.

²³ See: Ichiko 1985: 624-25.

It is advisable that the term *setsuwa* should be examined and its ideograms thought over. *Setsu* 説 means 'to explain, to convince, to enjoy', and *wa* 話 implies 'the correct words, to carry a conversation'²⁴. It is without doubt that the term very capaciously can be translated into a number of ways, like: 'a delightful conversation', 'right words, which bring delight', 'gossip' or 'tattle'.

The purpose of literature

Every literary work however impassive it might be carried with itself an educative role. It has the ability to affect the readers' opinions and attitude. Such didacticism may be sententious or moralistic and the *setsuwa* genre is considered to represent the second tendency. The moral lessons that can be noted here, take the form of moral general opinion, universal and practical in character, and contain the estimation of aspects of human nature, certain types and actions. All literary work is a social fact, because it is a creation of a certain culture circle, which decides on its genesis, structure and reception. The creator always belongs to a social circle which is on certain level of mental and technical development. Therefore, *setsuwa* can be named as a public welfare, because it is an achievement of a certain social group, transmitted orally from generation to generation. It can be also be treated as a creation of many creators, transformed, enriched or impoverished in the process. The compilers of collections are not their authors, however they do have their own individual contribution in the process of compiling, which is considered an edition and fixation of literary material²⁵. More importantly the compilers did not use the whole text, but only motives and threads. For the motive is the most mobile part of the tale and may appear in many different contexts. Some motives and threads, *id est*. 'errant motives', which appear in the folk literature of various countries²⁶. The separate matter is a question of aesthetic role of *setsuwa* literature. In the beginning European literature consisted of two main aspects that determined its role that were both pleasurable and useful (Lat. *dulce et utile*)²⁷. The most desirable state is achieved when the two unite. In practice, literature may replace many things such as journeys, the direct experience or even actual life that the reader would like to live. For some recipients, it can be a medium conveying them in a long gone world of medieval Japan, which they can see through the eyes of Tachibana Narisue, the narrator. For the others, *Kokonchomonjū* may turn into a sociological document or even a historical one. It is known that every

²⁴ See: Ozaki 1992: 1638, 1641.

²⁵ See: Głowiński, Okopień-Sławińska, Sławiński 1986: 442-43.

²⁶ See: Głowiński, Okopień-Sławińska, Sławiński 1986: 453.

²⁷ See: Wellek, Warren 1975: 32.

writer, and Tachibana Narisue himself was not an exception, wished to gain the reader's approval for his opinions, theories or statements. The proof can be found in the epilogue of *Kokonchomonjū* – Narisue desired a high appraisal of his work to such extent that he asked his family deity for protection. The next matter is the purpose for which the work was created. Again it is clearly stated – the compilation must evoke the feeling of longing and nostalgia for erstwhile times and customs. The point is that the recipient in question should experience the feeling of longing and is also supposed to experience *catharsis* too. The subject was widely discussed in Europe since antiquity. According to Aristotle, literature was supposed to purge the human soul of its excessive passions; the recipient was to be relieved, cured and given peace of mind. However, it was indicated that Tachibana Narisue while calling forth among the readers the feeling of longing, he first of all stirred their imagination, evoked empathy and encouraged them to cultivate traditions.

The subject area in *setsuwa* literature

The subject area in *setsuwa* literature is greatly varied. The 'heard stories' *setsuwa* or anecdotes, often concluded with a moral lesson, were one of the literary genres that were evolving in Japan during the Middle Ages (9th to 14th century). *Setsuwa* literature became so popular during this period that The Middle Ages were called 'the epoch of *setsuwa*' (Jpn. *setsuwa no jidai*)²⁸. *Setsuwa* is divided in regard to chronology into two types of collections. The first one includes works created from the 9th to 12th centuries and exists under the eminent influence of Buddhism (*Konjaku monogatari*shū). The second group encompasses relatively secular works such as *The Old Matters Conversations*, *The Collection of Tales from Uji*. The various anecdotes were classified to various literary sections and some collections as *The Miscellany of Ten Maxims* were particularly given a coherent composition²⁹.

Among the subject area of *setsuwa* the most noticeable group archives Buddhist stories (Jpn. *bukkyō setsuwa*), which Kinoshita Motoichi classified into the following subjects³⁰:

1. Stories of Buddha Śākyamuni (Jpn. *butsuden setsuwa*) and biographies of famous monks.
2. Stories of rebirth in Buddhist paradise (Jpn. *ōjōden*). The most popular paradise was the Pure Land of Buddha Amida, thus different were Tosotsuten

²⁸ For details see: Miki 1985: 175.

²⁹ For details see: Ōzumi 1976: 251.

³⁰ See: Kojima 1995 (ed.): 122.

Heaven (Skt. Tuṣita)³¹, wherein resides Bodhisattva Maitreya³², Fudaraku (Skt. Potalaka)³³, the dominion of Bodhisattva Kannon³⁴, the paradise of Buddha Ashuku, Myōkikoku (Skt. Abhirati)³⁵ and the paradise of Buddha Śākyamuni, Ryōzen Jōdo³⁶. In such stories, the fact that all men, even a sinner, by faith in the grace of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas could be reborn in a paradise was often accentuated.

3. Stories of the origins of temples, Buddhist statues and ceremonies (Jpn. *engi*).
4. Stories of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and miracles caused by the sacred texts and this world's benefits (Jpn. *reigentan*).
5. Stories of goblins and other demonic beings that bring harm to Buddhism.
6. Stories that explain the Buddhist doctrine through metaphors.

Notwithstanding, one must remember that the compilers of religious stories, of which some are only linked to the text of chronicles or sutras, first of all wished to prove their school's superiority or were trying to find arguments which would sustain promises or warnings included in the sacred texts that were still valid.

³¹ The Paradise of The Buddha of The Future, Miroku. It is placed among the six heavens of the lust world, but it is also a place of bodhisattvas, before their birth into the world and achieving the enlightenment. In the past was there Śākyamuni and now is the kingdom of Miroku. For details see: Sadakata 1973, s. 134.

³² Bodhisattva Maitreya (Skt. (Sanskrit) Maitreya, Jpn. Miroku bosatsu) is called The Buddha of The Future. He resides in Tusita Heaven (Skt. Tuṣita, Jpn. Tosotsuten). In Japan mountain Kimpusen in Yoshino was considered to be his paradise as well. Miroku was known in Japan before 7th century and was placed among the most important deities of earlier Buddhism. He was highly popular in China and Korea. By 9th century he became especially popular among the followers of *Shingon* school. When later in Japan the faith in three periods of Buddhist law was in favour, the Japanese were convinced that the last period belongs to Miroku, who would appear and turn the wheel of law once again. The images were portraying him descending on Earth in order to take his faithful followers to Tusita Heaven. See: Nakamura (ed.) 2002: 976-77.

³³ That land (the Sanskrit term is translated as 'the mountain of white flower') is supposed to be on the sea, at the south of India, however it is only a indication. The general description of that land is in Flower Garland Sutra.

³⁴ Bodhisattva Kannon (Skt. Avalokiteśvara) is known in Japan as Kanzeon bosatsu, what means 'observing the sounds of the world'. She was known in India and later her cult spread in China and Japan through such sutras as The Golden Light and Unbeaten Kings Sutra (Jpn. *Konkōmyōsaishōkyō*), The Sutra of Contemplation of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life (Jpn. *Kammuryōjūkyō*) i Flower Garland Sutra (Jpn. *Kegonkyō*). She is seen as a personification of unending compassion and aid. In Japanese iconography is presented as a female. She has many forms: Thousand Armed Kannon (Skt. Sahasrabhuja, Jpn. Senjū Kannon), Just Kannon (Skt. Ārya-avalokiteśvara, Jpn. Shō Kannon), Eleven Faced Kannon (Skt. Ekādaśamukha, Jpn. Jūichimen Kannon), Omnipotent Kannon (Skt. Cakravarti-cintāmaṇi, Jpn. Nyoirin Kannon), Never Empty Lasso Kannon (Skt. Amoghapāśā, Jpn. Fukūkenjaku Kannon), Horse Headed Kannon (Skt. Hayagrīva, Jpn. Batō Kannon), Salvation Kannon (Jpn. Kuse Kannon).

³⁵ The Land of Great Joy was a paradise of Buddha Ashuku (Skt. Akṣobhya, Jpn. Ashuku), placed in the east. Those, who were reborn there, knew no lust and birth-giving was free of pain.

³⁶ The land of Śākyamuni was placed above Magadha in central India. It was supposed to be a perfect image of Vulture Peak, where Śākyamuni spoke of Lotus Sutra.

The subsequent category belongs to the stories of deities' force and the benefits that can be brought about by worship (Jpn. *shimmei setsuwa*). This may serve as an example: stories connected with the theory of original reality and manifested traces (Jpn. *honjisuijakusetsu*) from *Kokonchomonjū*, in which the theory is the very base for the syncretism of Buddhism and *Shintō* (Jpn. *shimbutsu shūgō*). They describe how the Japanese deities engaged in spreading the Buddhist religion in Japan³⁷.

Next, the stories of gratitude (Jpn. *hōontan*), for the good done towards human beings and animals. The recipient usually repays his benefactor by succoring him and never forgetting the benefit received. In many stories the main characters are played not only by humans, but also deities, foxes, tigers, dogs, cranes, pheasants or bees. As Itō Tamami pointed out, the motif of gratitude was not completely unknown in Japan and could have been seen in the *Shintō* religion long before Buddhism³⁸.

An entirely separate group forms the secular *setsuwa* (Jpn. *sezoku setsuwa*), where the influence of Buddhism or *Shintō* is meager. Its subject area is quite broad and, as it can be seen in the example of *Kokonchomonjū*, encompasses such fields as literary forms, music, calligraphy, martial arts, botany and love affairs. Another significant category involves *setsuwa* affiliated with Japanese poems (Jpn. *waka setsuwa*). The authors' names, poem's matter and circumstances in which the poem had been written are given here. In addition, a motif that was received from gods' blessings and worldly benefits through the poem's recitation, treated as a form of prayer, often appears.

The last group concentrates around *setsuwa* focused on the nobility's daily life as well as the origins of former customs, ceremonies and principles (Jpn. *kojitsu setsuwa*). It is said that usually the source of a ceremony is explained along with how authorities procured it for the first time. The equally popular subjects are numerous aspects of the nobility's everyday existence and its system of values. Some stories associate the fragments of the family saga transmitted through generations. These contents are an extremely important source of information for various house's history research and ceremonies still conducted in the imperial court.

The problem of fiction

At first *setsuwa* stories were passed down orally and later were written down. The presentation of every particular step of genre development is not a simple matter; in fact it was a very complex process. The requirements of oral transmission must have been adapted to the needs of the written word³⁹. Thus, the problem of literary fiction is also inevitably connected with *setsuwa* literature. Fiction had

³⁷ See: Kojima (ed.) 1995: 123.

³⁸ See: Kojima (ed) 1995: 126.

³⁹ See: Tada 1995: 12.

drawn the attention of research for a long time and the question of its value caused disputes in the literary circle. Fiction is without a doubt an inherent part of *ars litteralis* and cannot be omitted while rethinking *setsuwa* literature. It was treated either as false or as a creative force. One must remember that in the European circle of literary scholarship rooted in antique philosophy, Hermes, the trickster god, and Apollo, the bard god, held the double patronage. The symbolism clearly represents the character of literature.

There are many ideas on how to define the term of fiction. In the literary field, fiction was understood as a fabrication, a discrepancy with reality or an art of creating, yet, a comprehensive notion cannot be narrowed down to such a short term⁴⁰.

There is no consistent rule that would describe how the relation of literary works to how an objective reality should be understood. The only accessible hints would be the commentaries of the author that can be found in the work, outside it, or in the rules followed by a certain literary society. Most of the commentaries only prove that a certain author desired his work to be represented in reality or if the goal was achieved. Japanese researchers also presented their opinions on fiction. *Inter alia*, Sukeno Ryūzō marked that *setsuwa* stories cannot be treated as fiction, simply because its authors believed that they were giving an account of real events. Tada Kazuomi thought that the most essential motif of *setsuwa* is the supernatural contact made by the characters⁴¹. It was firmly held that even religious *setsuwa*, where Buddhas or Bodhisattvas appear were true to the core⁴², which is why considering it as fiction is a modern classification. The religious tales, first of all, are the record of communication between human beings and a hereafter, such as the Buddhist hell or the Pure Land⁴³.

In the times they were created, *setsuwa* were specific nonfiction⁴⁴. Many tales contribute to a source of information on life and traditions of contemporary people, not available anywhere else. The compilers were spreading the knowledge that they

⁴⁰ According to Manfred Kridl, fiction (Lat. *fictio*) is a formation, creating, invention and the creation of imagination. This term is being used in a different meaning, in colloquial language as: pretending, falsehood; in methodology as a false hypothesis. For details see: Markiewicz 1980: 120.

⁴¹ See: Tada 1995: 12.

⁴² In *Mahāyāna* Buddhism means the ideal of the enlightenment being (Jpn. *bosatsu*), who above his own salvation values the salvation of other sentient beings.

⁴³ The paradise of Buddha Amida (Skt. Sukhavati, Jpn. Gokuraku jōdo) is generally called the Pure Land. It is an especially beautiful realm, where there is neither pain nor suffering. Everything is adorned with precious jewels: gold, silver, lapis lazuli and crystal. In the middle there is the lake of seven jewels (gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, mother of pearl, coral and agate), the bottom is covered in golden sand and the lake filled with water of eight virtues. Lotus flowers of blue, yellow, red and white colour and of beautiful scent grow there. The air is filled with music. Animals, which exist there chant the Buddha's teachings. Amida dwells there together with Kannon and Seishi. The followers are reborn there only as males.

⁴⁴ See: Sukeno 1995: 96.

themselves acquired from chronicles and archives⁴⁵. Nishio Kōichi stressed that *set-suwa* provide a highly valuable factual material, used later in other literary genres. In such sense, *setsuwa* can be regarded as a foundation for other genres and a font of raw literary material⁴⁶. Most likely, along with other examples, Nishio Kōichi had the *setsuwa* motives from the stories of Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892–1927) in mind⁴⁷.

The links with *monogatari*

In the opinion of some research, the *setsuwa* genre is related to a multi-thread tale *monogatari* (Jpn. *monogatari*). It is thought to be an artistic prose genre, similar to a novel or a story. It developed in the 10th century and withal was used mainly in the Heian and Kamakura periods. *Monogatari* had taken many forms and types, altogether short and long. It is noted that the main source of the original *monogatari* was a native oral tradition encompassing myths, legends and past tales. In the next phase, *monogatari* were written down and, along with the development of the writing system, adapted to Japanese language. Hence, the ‘written tales’ were created and in time became a source of orally transmitted tales for and by the illiterates. As a collective genre trait, named the hero, who is the main element binding the cohesion of composition, the interest of the narrator concentrates on events connected to both foreground and background characters. Furthermore, a fictional reality is created by motives from myths, legends and authentic events. The narrative of *monogatari* dominates the form of relation in the past tense. Multi-thread and multi-plane is distinctive, and together with the changing perspective of the narrator, it leaves the reader space for thoughts and suggestions.

Among the researchers who agree with such an opinion, is Masuda Katsumi. He pointed out that ‘heard stories’ *setsuwa* do have a lot in common with the multi-thread *monogatari* genre. The definition of the term ‘story’ was changing constantly with time and that is why one general definition cannot be established. Komine Kazuaki also dedicated his studies to connect *setsuwa* with *monogatari*. He conceived that setting one uniform pattern of *monogatari* genre is impossible, for the pattern was going through transformations depending on the period while still preserving some unchanged features. One could of course reconsider the genesis of this term, however it would not remove the doubts completely⁴⁸. In one of his monographs Komine states:

⁴⁵ See: Ichiko 1985: 622-4.

⁴⁶ The thought of Nishio Kōichi cited in: Sukeno 1995: 96.

⁴⁷ Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892–1927) was Japanese poet and write. He wrote short stories, in which he used motives from *Konjaku monogatari* and *Ujishui monogatari*; while the action took place in Heian and Edo periods, for example *The Nose* (Jpn. *Hana*, 1916) or *Hell Screen* (Jpn. *Jigokuhen*, 1918).

⁴⁸ See: Komine 2001: 302-3.

What is *setsuwa*? Every time I feel moved by it, tales of old intermingle in a strange manner, radiating an unusual energy and vitality. It is not only a matter of being brought back to the past, because the past interacts in the reverse process, pushing us as it would embrace the future⁴⁹.

Komine reckoned likewise that *setsuwa* definitely differ from a novel and fiction because shown within one collection there are shown a society's cross-section of various epochs and circles.

In addition, Hans Eckardt mentioned that among the multi-thread tale *monogatari*, there are works relating with historical events, for example 'war tales' (Jpn. *gunki monogatari*)⁵⁰, and that is why that genre cannot be simply reduced to fiction. Many such tales do not have an author, for they were created in the process of compiling the works of many different writers; often of different periods and may be seen in the example of *Heike monogatari*⁵¹. Some *monogatari* have a clear didactic character like *Taiheiki*, where one can see a specific historical reality, and the author, by setting an example with battles, attempts to show that no one can escape punishment for one's evil deeds⁵².

Komine Kazuaki maintained that *setsuwa* tales could be classified into the sub-genre of the multi-thread tale *monogatari*, because it is impossible to tell the two literary genres apart. It can be said that *setsuwa* is something like a condensed one-thread, terse form of *monogatari*⁵³. *Setsuwa* provide valuable information, some of them end in a moral lesson, and the others can be described as allegories. Komine, similarly to another researcher, called attention to the most distinguished feature of *setsuwa* and that is making the place of action the borderline of the human and the other world – the world of deities, Buddhas, ghosts and messengers of hell. The motif of the supernatural presence along with its assemblage is a considerably crucial factor in the presented world of *setsuwa*. For an observant reader, *setsuwa*

⁴⁹ See: Komine 2001: 2.

⁵⁰ War tales (Jpn. *gunki monogatari*) is a category of Japanese literature formed in 13th century. Initially, the stories were told by travelling story tellers with the accompaniment of the lute *biwa*. They were using an uncomplicated and understandable language and a rhythmic form of prose. Apart from the descriptions of events, they mentioned the thoughts of fate's changeability, the impermanence of human life, what agreed with Buddhist philosophy. The main themes were: the fates of great families and military alliances. The authors of the stories engaged the material from historical chronicles. A great attention was aimed towards the descriptions of battles, weapons and armour, although were not interested in person's drama. The main examples of war tales are: *The Tale of Hōgen* (Jpn. *Hōgen monogatari*, 1220), *The Tale of Heiji* (Jpn. *Heiji monogatari*, 1220), the famous *The Tale of Heike* (Jpn. *Heike monogatari*, 1219) and *A Chronicle of Medieval Japan* (Jpn. *Taiheiki*, 1345–1371). For details see: Melanowicz 1994: 214–5.

⁵¹ The author or the authors could have been probably a courtier, a monk or a professional storyteller. At present, it is thought that it could have been as well as monk-musician with the lute *biwa* (Jpn. *biwa hōshi*).

⁵² See: Eckardt 1956: 3.

⁵³ See: Komine 1995: 42.

may be equal to a metaphor, which can be helpful in understanding the complexity of the world⁵⁴.

Hiroko Kobayashi singled out the imitative role of the compilers who wrote down tales they had heard or read in other sources and did not create an original literary world. They do however decide on the form and composition. In very rare cases, the process of making the tale can be reinvented, because it is highly probable that during the oral transmission the tale itself was changed, extended or shortened and its original author forgotten. The ultimate compiler could at least have added his own commentary or introduction. Special attention must be paid to the fact that many tales from very different compilations are extraordinarily similar to each other and it can serve as proof that the compilers were conversant with collections and derived material from it. Such a method may be described as inter-textual reference⁵⁵, which is always deliberate and employed with full awareness (however the level of such can be different), addressed to the reader, who should be witting that the compiler speaks in someone else's words⁵⁶. Many compilations contain 'errant motives', similar plots or the same historical figures. It does not necessarily mean that the compilers or the authors plagiarized a rather visited repository, which was a public welfare, or changed *setsuwa's* form or elements of the storyline while adding their own commentaries.

The characters in *setsuwa* tales

Another intriguing matter is that the world of *setsuwa* differs from the world of Heian period works that was dominated by sublime figures of courtiers and addressed to a narrow circle of recipients. The Medieval Ages in Japan was an uncommonly disturbed period and it was mirrored in literature⁵⁷. The court culture of the Heian period, which reached the highest point of sophistication, started to degrade and did not stand a chance with the samurai culture and invasion of peasantry. It was truly a battle of forces. The centre of power moved from the

⁵⁴ See: Komine 995: 42.

⁵⁵ The term intertextuality (fr. *intertextualité*) was coined by Julia Kristeva in 1966 and appeared in her book published in 1969. In general meaning, the term means certain references linking one text with another. A researcher, who studies intertextuality is interested in the meaning of borrowed elements and the place it holds in the structure of analyzed literary text. According to Michał Głowiński, Anne Chevalier defined that term with precision: 'All the specific work on the intertextual relations in reality goes through the stage of research the sources; what has changed is the purpose'. Thus, the important are relations with other texts, which became a structural element, the meant relations, seen one way or another and reserved for the reader. For details see: Głowiński 2000: 7.

⁵⁶ See: Głowiński 2000: 18.

⁵⁷ See: Mashimo 1990: 60.

narrow circle of nobility to the warriors. In *setsuwa* there are characters represented by not only historical personages but also the vibrant figures of monks, warriors, artists, serfs and thieves.

Such inevitable changes were the gauntlet thrown down to the court nobility as it slowly descended to a lower position. It was the time of emerging new Buddhist schools, and a time of one of the very best of literary works written by the people who were under the influence of the Buddhist religion⁵⁸. The compilers of *setsuwa* collections, read also by the lower classes, were monks, hermits and talented courtiers of lower rank. However, it can be seen within the example of the *Kokonchomonjū*, between the lines there is a feeling of melancholy and longing for the *ancient régime*, traditional values and the high culture of times past.

Still, there are collections like *Ujishūi monogatari* and *Kojidan*, where the mood of euphoric affirmation of reality is omnipresent. These two opposite compilers' attitude had with no doubt a significant influence on the multidimensional narrative in this genre⁵⁹.

Some research regards the style of *setsuwa* as laconic and not sophisticated enough. Miki Sumoto however did not agree with such an overly general opinion, because from his point of view, many tales have an undisputed literary value⁶⁰.

Tachibana Narisue – the man unknown

Tachibana Narisue, the author of *Kokonchomonjū*, today remains one of the most enigmatic figures in the history of Japanese literature. The exact dates of his birth and death are still not known. It can be stated that he lived in the 13th century, when the power was in the hands of the Hōjō – the family of regents, who followed after Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199)⁶¹. There is no doubt that Tachibana Narisue must have lived in interesting times – judging by his commentaries in *Kokonchomonjū*, he could have been a witness of the first Mongol invasion in 1274. It was likely during his lifetime that the power was held by two Emperors: Gotoba (1180–1239, reigned: 1183–1198) and Gofukakusa (1243–1304, reigned: 1246–1259). Without fail, he was aware of drastic changes that occurred in the cultural and political world⁶². During that period in Japan, the Chinese style of writing was resigned and the mixed style was taken on, based on ideograms and the syllabic writing system *kana*, which would express the emotions more freely

⁵⁸ See: Mashimo 1990: 60.

⁵⁹ See: Kobayashi 1979: 3-16.

⁶⁰ See: Miki 1995: 6.

⁶¹ Minamoto Yoritomo was related to Hōjō through the marriage with Hōjō Masako (1157–1225).

⁶² See: Nagazumi 1953: 102-3.

and dynamically – it was in such a style that the most considerable works of the Kamakura period (12th to 14th century) were written.

It was a period when the new epic form emerged, the *setsuwa* tale, which can be thought of as a type of anecdote⁶³.

Narisue remains the only compiler of *setsuwa* tales with a completely separate chapter dedicated to the court music and the art of dance, and thus the author himself must have been a courtier. The only literary document that can deliver any information about Narisue is *The Record of Clear Moon* (Jpn. *Meigetsuki*), written by Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241)⁶⁴. It covers years 1180–1235 and is counted as an important historical document. In Fujiwara Teika's work, under the date of the twenty-fourth of the fourth month of the second year of the Kanki era (1230), there is a notion concerning Tachibana Narisue. It states that he served as a commander of guards⁶⁵ in the records of the Tachibana family⁶⁶ Narisue is mentioned as a son of Tachibana Mitsusue and a brother of Tachibana Kiyonari, which proves the information written down in *Meigetsuki*:

Narisue, with whom no one could have been compared in regard of talents, serving in the retinue of the regent Fujiwara Michiie⁶⁷, adopted son of the late Tachibana Mitsusue, a younger brother of Tachibana Monotari and Tachibana Kiyonari⁶⁸.

In another entry from the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the third year of the same era (1231), Narisue was mentioned as a lifeguard member and an excellent, successful equestrian⁶⁹. In *The Record of Clear Moon* it is also written about

⁶³ Such term to describe *setsuwa* proposed Eckardt. For details see: Eckardt 1956: 3.

⁶⁴ Son of the poet and literature theorist Fujiwara Shunzei (1114–1204). Teika was a talented poet, critic, calligrapher and scholar of Heian and Kamakura periods. He is considered a master of the Japanese poem *waka* and included among the greatest Japanese poets.

⁶⁵ Literally it means 'a commander of the gate guard of the right side (Jpn. *u emon no jō*).

⁶⁶ Tachibana house was one of the oldest noble families of Nara period, descending in the straight line from the descendant of Emperor Bidatsu (538–585, on the throne: 572–585), that is Tachibana Moroe (684–757). The biological father of Narisue was probably Tachibana Kiyonori, the governor of Dewa province. Among his ancestors were: scholar Tachibana Hiromi (837–890) and a courtier Tachibana Norimitsu (965–?), mentioned in *Konjaku monogatari*, *Ujishūi monogatari* and *Makura no sōshi*.

⁶⁷ Fujiwara Michiie (1193–1252) called also Kujō Michiie, served as a regent *sesshō*. He was a grandson of Kujō Kanezane (1149–1207) and the father of Kujō Yoritune (1218–1256), the fourth shogun of Kamakura *bakufu*.

⁶⁸ See: Nakajima 1942: 86–7.

⁶⁹ According to the research of Fujisaki Toshishige, Narisue (considering contemporary customary promotion) in 1230 was *circa* twenty six years old, hence it could be expected that he was born *circa* 1205. It can be deducted as well that twenty five years before finishing *Kokonchomonjū*, Narisue was a one of the guard commanders and subsequently promoted to six lower rank of higher grade (Jpn. *jūrokuijō*).

him that in spite of his lower rank in the court hierarchy he served as a companion to the regent Fujiwara Michiie. Over and above that, such a well-known figure as Fujiwara Teika portrayed him as ‘incomparable’ (Jpn. *musō*) so he must have been especially gifted even in his younger days. In *Kokonchomonjū*’s epilogue, one can trace a term, which Tachibana Narisue used to point to himself – *chōsei no daibu*, which is the Chinese equivalent of the Japanese lower fifth court rank of higher grade (Jpn. *jūgoijō*). This rank was equal to the position of the superior commander of the unit in one of eight resorts, but the governor of a small province as well. It is probable that for some time he had not held any post, because in the foreword from 1254 to *The Collection of Heard Tales Old and New*, he borrowed a term from Confucian philosophy: *sambokushi* or ‘a tree of a person, who is not useful’. It meant an official with no fixed duties (Jpn. *sankan*). Likewise, from the information in the work of monk Ryūen⁷⁰, *The Literary Conversations at the table* (Jpn. *Bunkidan*)⁷¹, it can be understood that Narisue, the governor of Iga province, studied the *biwa* lute under the lute master Fujiwara Takatoki (c.1189–1266)⁷². It is possible that it pointed to the author of *Kokonchomonjū*, because Tachibana mentioned Takatoki, his lute tutor in the prologue to *Kokonchomonjū* and besides, among his own ancestors were many who served as provincial governors. In the biography of Tachibana Narisue there are many more blank spots, but there can be no doubt he was a nobleman in the imperial court in the 13th century, well educated, and musically and literary talented.

The Collection of Heard Tales Old and New is divided into twenty volumes (Jpn. *maki*) and thirty chapters (Jpn. *hen*); at the beginning of each there is a summary. Truth be told, in most *setsuwa* collections, tales are organized, but nowhere as in the *Kokonchomonjū* is the division so detailed and pedantic. The work structure embodies the prologue in ideograms, the complete catalogue (with thirty topics), twenty volumes divided into thirty chapters (every one with a foreword⁷³, tales are organized chronographically) as well as the epilogue in *kana* syllabary. Furthermore, in entry heading (Jpn. *hyōmoku*) there are singled out topics parallel to topics from the collections compiled on imperial order⁷⁴.

⁷⁰ Ryūen (lived in the middle of 13th century) was born in Mikawa (nowadays Aichi), took Buddhist vows when he was fourteen years old and since 1248 was studying the lute with Fujiwara Takatoki.

⁷¹ This work was written between 1272 and 1283 and dedicated to the art of music.

⁷² The members of that line of Fujiwara family were famous for the mastery of song and the lute: Fujiwara Takamichi (1166–1238), the father of Takatoki, his grandson Fujiwara Takayori and grandgrandson Fujiwara Takahide. For details see: Picken 1990: 16.

⁷³ The introduction was written in Chinese (Jpn. *kanbun*) and Japanese, from time to time the mixed style was used as well.

⁷⁴ *A New Anthology Surpassing Clouds* (Jpn. *Ryōunshū*, 814) covers themes as: excursions, banquets, partings, emotions, love, Buddhism etc. In *An Anthology of Good and Beautiful Poems* (Jpn. *Bunkashūreishū*, 818) and *An Anthology of Ruling the Country* (Jpn. *Keikokushū*, 827) similar

In the appendix there is a description of the banquet given to crown the compilation, the impressions Tachibana had, the date of the compilation's completion and the author's name. Customarily, the formal ceremonies were held in the imperial palace due to the completion of the compilation (Jpn. *kyōen*). Narisue covered such a banquet as follows:

On the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the sixth year of the Kenchō Era [1254], following the predecessors footsteps, during the ceremonial banquet on the completion of my collection of poetry or prose, I held a musical and poetical concert. Because in my collection I gathered *setsuwa* relating to poetry, songs and music, in front of the portraits of Haku Rakuten⁷⁵, Hitomaro⁷⁶ and Renshōbu⁷⁷ were placed, and offerings were made from, wine, dried meat and fruits. Then, the topics of the thirty chapters and the fragments of every tale were read⁷⁸.

In the epilogue Narisue stressed that he gathered magnificent tales covering the arts of poetry, song, wind and string instruments and presented them so as to resemble paintings and to evoke the feeling of longing for tradition⁷⁹. Despite that Narisue wrote in this context about the art of music, it can be stated that nostalgia and longing for traditional values of past epochs had accompanied him during writing down most of the tales from this very collection.

Much Japanese research stresses the undoubted eruditeness and education of Narisue himself as well as the mood of nostalgia and lyricism in his collection⁸⁰. On the other hand, Suzuki Sadami emphasized that the encyclopedic character of *The Collection of Heard Stories Old and New* is truly unique and other collections lack it⁸¹.

order can be found. Some themes are corresponding with *A Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (Jpn. *Kokinshū*, 905): love affairs, court matters, journeys etc as well as *A New Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (Jpn. *Shinkokinwakashū*, 1205): gods of heaven and earth, Buddhism, court affairs, love and journeys.

⁷⁵ Haku Rakuten (Chin. Bai Juyi, 772-846) was a famous Chinese poet of Tang dynasty. He left around three thousand poems.

⁷⁶ Kakinomoto Hitomaro (c. 660-710) was a gifted poet from the times of *Manyōshū* collection. He served at court of Empress Jitō (645-702, on the throne: 690-697) and Emperor Mommu (683-707, on the throne: 697-707). Famous for elegies, *chōka* and *tanka poems*. In Japan there are few shrines dedicated to him.

⁷⁷ Ren Shōbu (chín. Lián Chéngwǔ) was a Chinese musician and minstrel of the *biwa* lute. The Japanese envoy Fujiwara Sadatoshi (807-867) was studying the lute under his guidance.

⁷⁸ See: Tachibana 1983 vol. 2: 412.

⁷⁹ See: Tachibana 1983 vol. 2: 411-2.

⁸⁰ See: Akiyama, Ōkubo, Kubota (eds.) 1978 vol. 3: 54-157.

⁸¹ See: Suzuki 2006: 66.

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論文概要

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日本文学の独特のジャンルとしての説話 — 橘成季の『古今著聞集』を中心に —

本論では説話ジャンルおよび、研究と体系化を困難にしているその幅広い領域に焦点を当てる。西尾光一氏など日本のわずかな研究者が、説話を定義する本質的な特色を識別しようと試みた。結果、この特異なジャンルを理解する一助となる、簡明で首尾一貫したものとなった。第一の目立った特徴は、説話は口承を起源とする文学であることで、数十年にも渡って伝承され、はっきりとした作家がいないということ。第二に、説話の本質がどうあれ、様々な伝説を集めた形をとる傾向が見られること。その他の説話の特徴としては、文学・音楽・慣習・植物・情事・日常生活といった世俗的な物語から、倫理的教訓のみならず仏教や神道から影響を受けた宗教的な内容のものまで、広範な主題を扱うことなどが挙げられる。

筆者は特に中世の教養ある廷臣、橘成季が著した『古今著聞集』に着目する。これは、神々や鬼、帝、貴族、侍女、騎士、僧侶、村人そして超自然的な性質に結びついた動物など、種々雑多なものからなる特異な説話集として扱われるのにふさわしい。これに加えて、『古今著聞集』は序に続き20巻30篇と適切にまとめられた書物としての一面も持っている。こうした学術的で演出的な細部は、他の説話集には見られない特徴として注目すべきである。

Keywords: setsuwa, tale, literature, Buddhism, Buddha, Tachibana Narisue, Kokonchomonju, monogatari, genre, fiction

THE EMERGENCE OF THE NEW WOMAN IN KOREA UNDER THE JAPANESE RULE

I. Introduction

A growing number of interdisciplinary studies have been recently devoted to the phenomenon of the “New Woman” in colonial Korea under the Japanese rule (1910–1945), also referred to as the Japanese Imperial Period *Ilje shidae* (일제시대 日帝時代)¹. Similar studies have been conducted on the New Woman in Japan and China². In this paper, the emergence of the New Woman *shinyŏsŏng* (신여성 新女性) in colonial Korea with a particular emphasis on her appearance in literature has been examined. The New Woman became a social, literary and cultural phenomenon in the 1920s and 1930s and marked a significant departure from traditional gender roles in Korea under the influence of modernisation *kaehwagi* (개화기 開化期)³ that came directly from Japan and indirectly from the Western countries, as a small number of young Koreans gained education at Japanese universities, and after returning to Korea, they tried to incorporate progressive ideas in their own country. It should be emphasised that in Korea numerous enlightened intelligentsia, including some women, and officials had made attempts to modernise the country⁴. However, due to the opposition of conservative forces, interventions by the world powers, corruption among local officials and peasant unrests, reforms were implemented very slowly⁵.

At the outset, the origins of the New Woman in Western culture at the turn of the 19th century and the subsequent manifestations of the New Woman in Japan and China in the early 20th century have been traced. Next, the conditions

¹ See e.g.: Mun (ed.) 2003; Pak 2001; Kim Yung-Chung (ed.) 1977; Choi Hyaewol 2013; Kim Yung-Hee 2010.

² See e.g.: Beahan 1975; Sato 2003; Mackie 2003; Bardsley 2007; Lowy 2007; Hu 2000; Feng 2004; Ma 2010; Gulliver 2012.

³ *Kaehwagi* (개화기 開化期), literally flowering season, refers to the enlightenment and modernisation of Korea during the period of 1876–1910 and social changes of Korean society.

⁴ Chŏn (ed.), 2004: 248–252.

⁵ Kim Kyŏng-t'ae 1994: 209–214.

of women in premodern Korea are briefly described, with focus on the cultural and literary ferment in colonial Korea in the 1920s which gave rise to the emergence of the New Woman in Korean literature and culture. In the final part of the paper, a brief overview of the achievement of three Korean New Woman writers, Kim Myŏng-sun (김명순 金明淳 1896–1951), Na Hye-sŏk (나혜석 羅蕙錫 1896–1948) and Kim Wŏn-ju (김원주 金元周 1896–1971), who expressed in their works concerns about gender inequality and introduced the genuine feminine voice to modern Korean literature has been made. This paper does not aim to provide a comprehensive analysis of the New Woman phenomenon in colonial Korea but rather serves as an introductory survey, with emphasis on the contribution of the three outstanding Korean New Women writers.

2. The New Woman phenomenon in Western Europe, Japan and China

The final two decades of the Victorian era were marked by a gradual transition from patriarchal society and female dependence towards a greater gender equality. One of the manifestations of this movement was the emergence of the New Woman in the public sphere in England, and the United States. The term New Women was introduced in public by the English writer and public speaker Sarah Grand (1854–1943) in the magazine *North American Review* in 1894, and it referred to young, educated English and American women “who struggled against the constraints of Victorian norms of femininity” in their pursuit of an alternative life⁶. The New Woman soon became a symbol of modernity and change in gender relations in Europe, America and Asia.

In Japan, the term New Woman was introduced for the first time in July 1910 by Tsubouchi Shōyō (坪内逍遙 1859–1935), Professor of Literature at Waseda University, in his lecture *Kinseigeki ni mietaru atarashiki onna* (近世劇に見えたる新しき女, ‘a New Woman seen in the theatre of the new times’), when he discussed women characters such as Nora in Henrik Ibsen’s *A Doll’s House* (1879), Magda in Hermann Sudermann’s *Magda* (1896), and Vivie in George Bernard Shaw’s *Mrs Warren’s Profession* (1893). In 1911, the label New Woman became better known in Japan thanks to the actress Matsui Sumako⁷, who introduced Ibsen’s Nora and Wilde’s Salome to

⁶ Choi Hyaewol 2013: 145.

⁷ Matsui Sumako (松井 須磨子 1886–1919) was a Japanese actress and singer. She became renown for her roles of Ophelia, Nora, and Salome, but was expelled from the *Bungei Kyōkai* (文芸協会, Association of Literature) in 1913 because of a romance with the literary critic and leader of *shingeki* [(新劇, literally ‘New Drama’ stands for New Theatre that performed Western or Japanese plays influenced by Naturalism and Symbolism], Shimamura Hōgetsu (島村 抱月 1871–1918). After Hōgetsu’s sudden death in November 1918, Sumako committed suicide to follow her lover.

the Japanese audiences. Finally, the term was popularised in the Japanese language as *atarashii onna* (新しい女) by Hiratsuka Raichō (平塚 らいてう 1886–1971) and the *Seitōsha* (青鞥社, Bluestockings Society)⁸. However, as Melanowicz has pointed out, the term New Woman was invented in Japan earlier, during the Rokumeikan era (鹿鳴館, 1883–1890), when in September 1888 a new periodical *Nihon Shin-fujin* (日本新婦人, ‘the new Japanese woman’) was published. The term soon went into disuse for two decades as it was contrary to emerging *kokusuishugi* (国粹主義, nationalism) and the ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* (良妻賢母, ‘good wife and mother’)⁹.

After its emergence in England and America at the turn of the 19th century, the New Woman ideal led to the redefining of gender roles and transcended the boundaries of the Western world, laying its roots in Japan, China and Korea¹⁰. The discourse on gender relations in these countries took place alongside modernisation, industrialisation, as well as developments in labour relations (increased feminisation of the labour force), emergence of education for women, better sanitation, and the rise of female consumer culture. The New Woman appeared in popular press and literature as a new and controversial female icon and as a reaction to the oppressive gender relations imposed by Buddhist and Neo-Confucian values.

Under the rule of the emperor Meiji (明治天皇 1868–1911), the traditional treatment of women did not undergo significant changes. Women were still not allowed to attend political meetings and participate in public activities. They had the right to own property, but its control was in the hands of their husbands. Adultery by women was punishable, but that by men was not. Men were still allowed to keep secretly concubines¹¹. In Japan, however, women started to contest their assigned gender roles as early as the 1870s, i.e. from the beginning of the Meiji Reforms, which were carried out under the slogan “Civilisation and Enlightenment” *bunmei kaika* (文明開化)¹². Eventually, these reforms provided women with basic human rights and free education. The status of Japanese women was dramatically affected by the westernisation processes. During the late Meiji period (1890–1912), private and governmental educational institutions were set up for both male and female students. However, the official ideology of women’s education was that women were to be taught to become a ‘good wife’ and a ‘wise mother’¹³.

⁸ Hiratsuka founded the group called *Seitōsha* and its literary magazine *Seitō* (青鞥, ‘Bluestockings’) in 1911. The association adopted the term Bluestocking, applied to intellectual women in eighteenth century England and especially to Elizabeth Montagu (1718–1800), the leader of the Bluestocking Society in England. The members of the Japanese group referred to themselves as *shinfujin* (新婦人, ‘new women’).

⁹ Melanowicz 2013: 227.

¹⁰ Kim Yōng-na 2005: 66.

¹¹ Choi Pongsun Allen 1958: 40.

¹² A term coined by Fukuzawa Yukichi (福澤諭吉 1835–1901), the most prominent educator and tireless propagator of Western knowledge in Meiji Japan.

¹³ Gössmann et al. 2004: 183.

The appearance of the first women's magazine, *Jogaku Zasshi* (女学雑誌, 'a magazine for women's education') from 1885 to 1904 contributed to the popularisation of modern education for women in Japan. Iwamoto Yoshiharu (巖本 善治 1863–1942), one of early advocates of women's education in the late Meiji period, together with the Japanese New Woman, Tsuda Umeko (津田 梅子 1864–1929) founded in 1885 the Meiji Girls' School (明治女学校), which stressed the importance of equal education for both girls and boys.

Since the emergence of the *atarashii onna* (New Woman) in Japan was associated with the feminist literary journal *Seitō* (Bluestockings), established by Hiratsuka Raichō, the journal was edited by women and its contributing writers were women, members of *Seitōsha*¹⁴. The female authors criticised the confinement of women to domestic sphere and urged them to give expression of their creative talents. The magazine *Seitō* published or reviewed the works of Western authors, such as George Bernard Shaw and Henrik Ibsen, but above all it published Western New Woman writers, such as Emma Goldmann, Ellen Key, Sonya Kovalevsky, the first Russian important female mathematician, and Olive Schreiner, the South African feminist writer, the author of *Women and Labour*.

In 1920, Hiratsuka, who was one of the major representatives of the prewar Japanese feminist movement, founded, together with the fellow women's rights activist, Fusae Ichigawa (市川 房枝 1893–1981), an organisation called *Shin Fujin* (New Woman) or *Shin Fujin Kyōkai* (New Women's Association). The Association was active from 1920 to 1922. The New Woman phenomenon grew in strength in the 1920s, when Japan enjoyed a great economic prosperity. In this decade a new mass culture began to develop in Japan. It was termed "Americanism" or "Modernism". In the sphere of gender relations it was manifested by the emergence of *moga* (モガ, 'modern girl') and *mobo* (モボ, modern boy), who shocked the traditional and conservative members of the society by their scandalous, western life-style and appearance¹⁵.

The New Woman movement started in China at the turn of the 19th century. The first women's magazines appeared in China in 1898, as a consequence of modernisation and westernisation of the country. In the early 20th century women's magazines created a powerful image of the *xin nüxing* (New Woman), which was opposed the old ideal of a woman as *liangqi xianmu* a (賢母良妻, 'good wife' and 'good mother'). The popular press, particularly illustrated magazines, and popular literature, as well as left-wing cinema of the 1930s, questioned traditional gender roles and propagated modernity together with the image of the New Woman and

¹⁴ For a comprehensive overview of the Japanese New Woman phenomenon, see Lowy 2007: 497–499.

¹⁵ Gössmann et al. 2004: 186.

modeng gou'er (摩登狗兒, 'modern girl')¹⁶. New Chinese literature, which adopted Western ideas, became a platform for disseminating the New Woman ideal. The Chinese terms *modeng nüxing* (摩登女性, 'modern woman') and *modeng guniang* (摩登姑娘, 'modern girl') were used in China until the 1930s.

The Chinese *New Woman* or *Modern Girl* wore short hair and stylish, modern Western clothes. She attended school to prepare for a professional career. She was free, independent, had a deep emotional interior, sought meaning in life, and struggled against gender inequality. She paid attention to modern technologies such as hygiene and nutrition and took care of her personal appearance¹⁷.

Ibsen's advocacy for women's independence and freedom in marriage exerted a great impact on a generation of Chinese playwrights who composed works that depicted female characters much akin to Nora in *A Doll's House*. Some of the most well-known examples of Chinese adaptation of Ibsen's Nora are Hu Shi (胡適 1891–1962)'s *Zhongshen dashi* (終身大事, 'the greatest event in life', 1919) and Tian Han (田漢, 1898–1968)'s *Kafeidian zhi yiye*, ('one night in a café, 1920')¹⁸. An important New Woman writer was Ding Ling (丁玲 1904–1986), whose early stories, such as *Shafei nüshi de riji* (莎菲女士的日記, "Miss Sophia's Diary", 1927) and *1930 Nian Chun Shanghai* (一九三零年春, 上海, "Shanghai, Spring 1930") focused on the lives of young and independent Chinese women. Due to the political situation in the late 1930s and 1940s, the New Woman in Chinese literature lost much of her early characteristics and gradually shifted towards left-wing political activism¹⁹.

The term *shinyösong* (New Woman) first appeared in Korea in the early 1920s in the magazines *Shinyösong* and *Shinyöja* (신여자 新女子, 'new women'). The concept of *Shinyösong* referred to Korean women who not only achieved education according to Western standards, but who adopted Western lifestyle. The New Woman ideal, which appeared in public discourse in the 1920s and 1930s in colonial Korea, became a powerful symbol of modernity, change in gender roles, and women's emancipation. The emergence of the New Woman contributed to the redefinition of traditional gender roles in colonial Korea.

3. Conditions of women in premodern Korea

According to many interpretations, "Confucianism had not only deprived women of their basis rights, but also promoted a strict social structure that was not conducive to the recognition of women's talents and dignity"²⁰. Although this

¹⁶ Stevens 2003: 82.

¹⁷ Ibid., 86.

¹⁸ Guo 2013: 2.

¹⁹ Stevens 2003: 95.

²⁰ Kim Youngmin 2011: 11.

view has been contested recently²¹, it is generally agreed that women in patriarchal society during the Chosŏn period (조선 朝鮮, 1392–1910) had an inferior social and family status. Before the Chosŏn rule, when Neo-Confucianism was adopted as the official ideological basis of Korean society, women enjoyed more freedom and had more rights, although they were not treated on an equal footing with men. “Under the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392), women enjoyed a great deal of social and economic freedom”²².

In the Chosŏn period, however, the freedom of women was severely limited. Men and women were separated from the age of seven years. Men lived in the outer part of the house called *sarangchae* (사랑채 舍廊房), while women remained in the inner part *anchae* (안채 上房). Based on the rigid social hierarchy, age, gender, and class, women were encouraged to follow Confucian ideals and the achievement of Confucian virtues. In the late Chosŏn society, separate male and female spheres were still recognised and undisputed. Under the strict patriarchal system, women were confined to the domestic or private sphere. Of course, Confucianism cannot be reduced merely to the idea of patriarchy²³; nevertheless, Korean women were excluded from participation in the public sphere and were considered domestic representatives of the family and home. This does not contradict the observation that diverse women in the Chosŏn era, from elite *yangban* (양반 兩班) women to enslaved women used various strategies to seek a better status, economic rights, and more comfortable existence.

In the late Chosŏn dynasty, the subordination of women to men was considered to be a natural phenomenon and elite women rarely participated in nondomestic activities. In line with traditional Confucian values, women were subordinate to men: to father, husband and the eldest son. Men could have several wives and concubines, but women were not allowed to meet with anyone outside the narrow circle of relatives. The woman did not have a voice in marriage. It was arranged by parents, and after the wedding, she became part of the family of her husband. Women did not even have a name, they were identified by their position relative to men. They could not have property or work outside home, and had to cover the face when outside home. In addition, widows could not remarry, but were expected to commit suicide to show loyalty to their husband. The distinction between primary and secondary wives contributed to the inequalities imposed on women.

The year 1894 marked a sharp turning point in the modern history of Korea, which led to the collapse of the Chosŏn dynasty, and revealed the failure of attempts to modernise the country because the Korean elites did not want to open the country to outside influences. At the turn of the 19th century, women in Korea still

²¹ Ibid., 12.

²² Deuchler 2003: 143.

²³ Ibid., 13.

remained on the margins of politics, economy, culture, and even religion. Women of the upper classes were taught proper manners, elaborate speaking skills, obedience and the native writing system *han'gŭl* (한글), which at the time was considered appropriate only for the lower classes and women. Recommended reading was the virtuous lives of women. A small number of educated women used *hanmun* (한문 漢文)²⁴, but most Korean women accepted *han'gŭl*. Of course, a certain number of women in earlier times were engaged in literary creation. They wrote, among others, long, didactic poems meant for their daughters mostly dealing with family etiquette as well as loves and sorrow within the family. But because these songs, called *kyubang kasa* (규방 가사 閨房歌辭) or *naebang kasa* (내방 가사 內房歌辭), were for the most part written in *han'gŭl*, they did not gain recognition as serious literature. Moreover, even when educated women wrote their works in *hanmun*, they usually remained anonymous because it was inappropriate for women to go beyond the realm of home. As a result, even though a lot of literature has been written by Korean women in premodern times, relatively few works have survived to the present day, and virtually almost all of them have survived as anonymous works²⁵.

At the turn of the 19th century under the influence of Western ideas, a new national consciousness began to emerge. Literature written in Chinese began to be displaced by literature written in *han'gŭl*, called *shin munhak* (신문학 新文學, New Literature). At the end of the Yi (Chosŏn period) dynasty, Western missionaries encouraged education for women. Western cultural influence and modernisation of Korea prompted king Kojong (고종 高宗 1852–1919) to issue an edict in 1882 that allowed education in state schools of children of all classes. The king stressed the importance of modern education in the following words:

When one looks at the state of affairs in the world, one finds that, in all those nations that maintain their independence through wealth and power and thus have gained ascendancy, the citizens are enlightened in their knowledge. Enlightened knowledge is attained through excellence of education, and so education truly is of fundamental importance in preserving our nation²⁶.

Yugyŏng-kongwŏn (육영공원 育英公院, Royal English School), founded in 1886, was the first school in Korea in the modern sense. It employed American missionaries as teachers who taught English. There were also schools established by Western missionaries. They contributed to the early development of modern education in Korea. In the years 1876–1910 in Korea nearly 3,000 schools were

²⁴ *Hanmun* (한문 漢文) was the koreanized form of the classical literary Chinese and the official literary language of Korea until the late 19th century.

²⁵ Fulton 1996: 65.

²⁶ Yi 1984: 331.

created by wealthy aristocrats, government officials, traders, Confucian thinkers, impoverished elite Koreans returning from abroad and Western missionaries²⁷.

In 1895, after the *Kabo* reform (갑오개혁 甲午改革), the newly formed *Mun'gyobu* (문교부 文教部, Ministry of Education) established obligatory elementary public schools for boys from all classes. Girls were still denied admission to public schools, but after the introduction of Christianity in Korea, foreign missionaries promoted education for both boys and girls. In 1886, Mary Fitch Scranton, an American Methodist missionary, established the first modern school for girls, Ewha Haktang (이화학당 梨花學堂). Girls were taught *han'gŭl*, English, and elementary understanding of western knowledge (the Bible, ethics, philosophy), as well as practical skills, such as sewing and embroidery²⁸. The aim of Christian missionaries was by no means to create New Women but creating “modern homemakers”²⁹. However, more and more Korean women from the upper classes received modern, western education and began to voice their discontent about the conditions of women in Korean society. In 1898, the first Korean women's rights organisations, *Ch'anyang-hoe* (찬양회 讚揚會, ‘praise association’)³⁰, was established, and it issued the declaration of the rights of women in Korea demanding more schools for girls in the *Hwang'sŏng Shinmun* (황성신문 皇城新聞, ‘capital gazette’) on 8 September 1898:

Why should our women live on what their husbands earn as if fools, confining themselves to their deep chambers all their lives and subjecting themselves to regulations imposed by their husbands? In enlightened countries, both men and women are equal. Women's skills and principles are equal to those possessed by their husbands... We are going to establish a girl's school with the aim of making women equal to men³¹.

Modernisation of women was crucial in the effort to modernise Korea as a nation. The purpose of *Ch'anyang-hoe* was to start schools for girls who would share in the responsibility for building a progressive society³². Members were generally housewives from wealthy upper class families in the country's capital³³,

²⁷ Yuh 2008: 217.

²⁸ Kim Ai Ra 1996: 13.

²⁹ Ibid., 14.

³⁰ *Ch'anyang-hoe* (찬양회 讚揚會) was founded in 1898 to support women's education. The organisation consisted of 304 upper-class women. The group submitted the petition to emperor Kojong to establish the first school for girls.

³¹ Tétreault 1994: 163.

³² Ch'ŏn (ed.), 2004: 181–185.

³³ The capital of Korea, Seoul, has been known in the past by the names: Wiryŏsŏng (위례성 慰禮城, Paekche era 백제 百濟), Hanju (한주 漢州, Shilla era 신라 新羅), Namkyŏng (남경 南京 Koryŏ era 고려 高麗), Hansŏng (한성 漢城 Paekche and Chosŏn era, 백제 百濟 and 조선 朝鮮), Hanyang (한양 漢陽 Chosŏn era 조선 朝鮮), and Kyŏngsŏng (경성 京城 colonial era, 1910–1945).

the men fans and some foreign missionaries. In 1908, the government established the first public girls' high school, (관립한성고등여학교 官立漢城高等女學校, Hansŏng Girls' High School). In the next two years several private schools for girls were established. Education for women was promoted because they were expected to become 'wise mothers and good wives', and that they would provide education for their children, therefore, women could contribute to the prosperity of the nation.

The development of independent modern education in Korea was interrupted by the Japanese occupation in 1910–1945. The colonial authorities introduced to Korea the Japanese model of education and banned teaching the Korean language and history. The education system imposed by the Japanese government aimed at the marginalisation of the native culture. During the Japanese occupation Korean women were allowed to pursue secondary and higher education. However, it should be noted that education opportunities for girls were limited to a small percentage of girls from the upper classes. In the 1930s, 90 percent of Korean women remained illiterate³⁴. Nevertheless, the introduction of women's education in Korea at that time was a "revolutionary" move because there was no other social structure to support women in their emancipation.

4. The origin of the Korean New Woman

The term New Woman (*shinyŏsŏng*) received a wider recognition in 1920 when Kim Wŏn-ju and a few other graduates of the Ewha Womans School started a new journal *Shinyŏja* (New Woman) with the aim of propagating enlightenment and gender equality³⁵. Another magazine *Pu'in* (부인婦人, 'Madame'), devoted to feminine issues, was also established in 1920. It was renamed in 1923 as *Shinyŏsŏng*. These magazines "promoted women's rights and also helped to make these terms more widespread"³⁶.

Like in Japan and China, the term New Woman referred to young, educated women who strongly opposed the traditional Neo-Confucian gender roles. They were, as a rule, graduates of the new girls' schools established by Christian missionaries, young female teachers, writers, and artists. Many of them studied in Japan. After the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, a number of young Korean intellectuals, both men and women, went to Japan to study. They were exposed to new literature, especially Western literature in the Japanese version. After returning to Korea, they formed literary groups, established literary journals and began

³⁴ Kim Ai Ra 1996: 15.

³⁵ Kim Yŏng-na 2005: 65.

³⁶ Hyun 2004: 44.

to write modern Korean fiction, which resembled western literature in the form and technique, but it conveyed Korean themes and mood.

The contribution of women writers to the development of modern Korean literature, however, was not regarded as equal to that of men. Women writers were called *yōryu chakka* (여류작가 女流作家, women writers), while men writers were simply called *chakka* (작가 作家, writers). Generally women writers were either rejected or downplayed by literary critics and the reading public³⁷.

The emergence of the New Woman in Korea is usually associated with the public appearance of four types of women. The first was a leader who had gone overseas to study and had returned to Korea; the second had graduated from a women's high school in Korea and had gained employment; the third had also graduated from a women's high school and had become a modern homemaker, who, for example, did not wear her hair in the traditional style; and the fourth category was a female worker who could read *han'gŭl*³⁸. In contrast to the traditional stereotype of Korean women, the Korean New Woman was single and independent economically. For her free love took on special significance. Falling in love was an expression of personal freedom and choice.

Broadly speaking, the New Woman in colonial Korea impersonated not only emancipated and educated women who fought with gender oppression, but also women whose dress and appearance imitated modern Western styles in fashion and behaviour. Examples of such New Women include Esther Pak (a.k.a. Kim Chōng-dong, 김정동 金點童 1877–1910), a graduate of Ehwa College³⁹, who later became the first and only woman physician who practised Western medicine and one of the few university graduates during her generation. The Korean New Woman, like Esther Pak, wore a Gibson hairstyle, kept a parasol and walked in high-heeled shoes. She also wore a shorter version of a traditional skirt (치마, *ch'ima*), together with a short jacket (저고리, *chōgori*)⁴⁰. The appearance and lifestyle of the New Woman became a public debate in the 1920s in Korea. The stereotypical opinion was rather negative. The *Tong-A Ilbo* (동아일보 東亞日報, 'East Asia Daily') published an article in 1925, listing and criticising the most extravagant women in the capital: "Seoul's extravagant women are first the New Women, second the bourgeois mistress, and third the *kisaeng* (기생 妓生)"⁴¹. Likewise, the *Chosŏn Ilbo* (조선

³⁷ Fulton 1996: 65.

³⁸ Kim Yōng-na 2005: 66.

³⁹ Ehwa College (이화학당 梨花學堂 Ihwa Haktang) was a mission school for girls established in 1886 by Mary F. Scranton (1832–1909). In 1945 the school became a university by the name Ehwa Womans University.

⁴⁰ Lee 2008: 204–207.

⁴¹ *Kisaeng* (기생 妓生), sometimes called Kinyō (기녀 妓女) were professional female entertainers of aristocracy and kings during the Chosŏn period (1392–1910) often highly skilled in poetry, music and dance.

일보 朝鮮日報, 'Korea Daily') wrote: "If she says free love, she is a New Woman. The woman of divorce, free love or a bob, does not of herself demand that she be called a New Woman, so why do members of our society carelessly call them a New Woman?"⁴² In the 1930s this term was gradually replaced by the "Modern Woman".

The three women writers, Kim Myŏng-sun, Na Hye-sŏk, and Kim Wŏn-ju, as well as the soprano singer Yun Sim-tŏk (윤심덕 尹心惠 1897–1927), were strongly associated with the New Woman phenomenon in Korea. They actively promoted new roles for women in literature, art and life, as well as free choice in marriage and the rights of women as individuals⁴³. Other outstanding New Women include educators Kim Hwallan (a.k.a. Helen Kim, 김활란 金活蘭 1897–1970), Kim Mirisa (a.k.a. Ch'a Mirisa, 차미리사 車美理士 1879–1955), social activists such as Hŏ Chŏng-suk (허정숙 許貞淑, 1908–1991), Chu Se-juk (주세죽 朱世竹 1901–1953), and Pak Wŏn-hŭi (박원희 朴元熙 1899–1928). In the 1920s, they broke the restrictions imposed by the traditional, patriarchal Korean society on women, and in their literary and critical works they began to express female experience.

All the three New Woman writers, Kim Myŏng-sun, Na Hye-sŏk, and Kim Wŏn-ju, were among a group of Korean students sent to study in Japan in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Their views were heavily influenced by the Japanese New Woman movement and Western writers, such as Ellen Key and Henrik Ibsen. These young Korean women promoted free decision of women in the question of marriage and formulated a new sexual morality. It is difficult to define the New Woman explicitly, but no one can deny the divide between the Old Woman and the New Woman⁴⁴. In this sense they contributed to reform Korean family system and provided women with a feeling of meaningful life.

5. The emergence of the New Woman in Korean literature

In the 1920s, the New Woman writers challenged the traditional gender roles and met with hostility from both men and women who adhered to Neo-Confucian values. These New Woman writers wanted to introduce a new feminine voice to modern Korean literature. They did not participate actively in the national independence struggle, but they used their literary skills to propagate social reforms and called for the improvement of women's position in society.

This first generation of modern Korean women writers, represented among others by Kim Myŏng-sun, Na Hye-sŏk and Kim Wŏn-ju, in fictional form expressed their thoughts and feminine sensibilities and demonstrated that women could

⁴² Kim Yŏng-na 2005: 69.

⁴³ Hyun 2004: 45.

⁴⁴ Hyun 2004: 98.

be engaged both in imaginative writing and public affairs. They expressed their views about literature and the condition of women in patriarchal society. They rejected the Neo-Confucian social values, which consigned women to the domestic sphere and believed that a reformed family system was necessary to liberate the Korean women. Thus, the emergence of the New Women was a mark of modernity in Korean history.

When in March 1920 Kim Wŏn-ju established the *Shinyŏja* magazine, which became a good platform to disseminate feminist views. The emancipated Korean New Women could then express quite freely their feminist beliefs and opinions. In the first issue of the magazine, Kim Wŏn-ju published Kim Myŏng-sun's second short story, *Chŏnyŏ ūi kanŭn kil* (處女의 가는 길, 'a maiden's path'), and her own first short story, *Kyeshi* (계시 啓示, 'revelation'). The next issue contained Kim Wŏn-ju's article "Uri shinyŏja ūi yogu wa chujang" (우리 신여자 의 요구 와 주장, 'our demands and claims as new women'), which attacked female oppression in Korean society. It also contained her second short story, *Ōnŭ sonyŏ ūi sa* (어느 소녀의 사, 'death of a girl'), which recounted the suicide of a young girl whose parents tried to force her to become a concubine of a wealthy profligate. Na Hye-sŏk, another founding member of *Shinyŏja*, contributed a cartoon illustrating the contrast between a modern Korean woman and two old-fashioned Korean men. Na Hye-sŏk's other contributions to the magazine included a short diary titled *Sanyŏn chŏn ūi ilgi chung'esŏ* (4년 전의 일기 중에서, 'from my diary four years ago') and another cartoon depicting Kim Wŏn-ju's daily routine as both the editor of the magazine and a wife.

The remaining part of this essay outlines briefly the turbulent lives of these three Korean New Women writers, who were the most prolific of the first group of the New Woman writers and advocates of extensive reforms to improve women's right. Being members of wealthy families and elites, they felt morally obliged to enlighten Korean women humiliated by the Confucian ideology. Thus, their efforts and writings about dignity for women as human beings strongly deserve serious consideration. As Choi (2009: 165) has written, Kim Myŏng-sun, Na Hye-sŏk and Kim Wŏn-ju:

popularized the image of the New Women in the 1920s print media. They were the symbol of educated, talented females. At the same time, they posed a serious threat to the stability of gender morality and the family. They challenged the oppressive nature of Confucian gender ideology and the double-standard that had been applied to women and men. Their scandalous love affairs fundamentally defied the ideal of chastity. They even questioned the sanctity of motherhood that had been the centerpiece of patriarchal social arrangements⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Choi 2009: 165.

Although the Korean women intellectuals of the 1920s gained excellent modern education, they had no choice but to marry and become “a good wife and wise mother”. Otherwise, they had to meet with social ostracism and criticism by society stunned by their ideas of women’s liberation.

5.1. Kim Myŏng-sun – a New Woman in the colonial period

Kim Myŏng-sun, pen name T’anshil (탄실 彈實 ‘berry seed’), or Mangyangchŏ (망양초 望洋草 ‘nostalgic grass’), was born in Yungdŏk village in the P’yŏngyang district. Her father was Kim Hŭi-kyŏng (김희경 金義庚), a wealthy merchant, and her mother was a concubine who had been previously a *kisaeng*. Kim was an intelligent girl endowed with literary skills, but the fact that she was the illegitimate daughter left a scar on her. In 1903, she began to attend the Namsanhyŏn school (남산현 학교 南山峴學校) in P’yŏngyang and in 1905 she continued her education in a Christian missionary school. Next in 1908, she went to a school for girls, Chinmyŏng (진명여자고등학교 進明女子高等學校) in Kyŏngsŏng⁴⁶, and graduated in 1911. As a schoolgirl, Kim revealed her versatile talents. In 1910, she wrote a poem about the tragic fate of the country under the Japanese rule. At school she also suffered insults as an illegitimate daughter. After graduation, she went in 1913 to Tokyo to study at the literary department of a women’s college. While studying in Japan, Kim Myŏng-sun became interested in feminist ideas and had a negative opinion about traditional marriage in Korea. She did not finish her college studies and entered a language institute, where she learned English and French and eagerly read literary works⁴⁷.

Kim Myŏng-sun returned home in 1916 and continued her studies at Sungmyŏngyŏja *kodŭnghakkyo* (숙명여자고등학교 淑明女子高等學校, Sungmyŏng Girls’ High School). In 1917, she began her literary career taking part in a literary competition announced by the influential magazine *Chŏngch’un* (청춘 青春, ‘youth’), which appeared from 1914 to 1918. The jury, which included the well-known writer of the enlightenment literature, Yi Kwang-su (이광수 李光洙 1892–1950), highly appreciated Kim Myŏng-sun’s short story *Ŭishim ŭi sonyŏ* (의심의 소녀, “A Girl of Mystery”), in which she described in a realistic and unsentimental way the tragic life of a woman. Her short story received the second prize in the competition. It was praised for its realism and lack of moralism which was characteristic of traditional novels.

Ŭishim ŭi sonyŏ is a tragic story about the beautiful young girl Pŏmne, her grandfather and her dead mother. The true identity of Pŏmne and her family is

⁴⁶ For the old names of Seoul see footnote 33.

⁴⁷ Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 279.

recounted in an aura of mystery until the epilogue. The most moving parts of the story reveal a dark and sad side of the girl's memories. After visiting her mother's grave, who committed a suicide because of her husband's infidelity, Pömné and her grandfather walk back to the village along a moonlit road. The atmosphere in the story emphasises abandonment and the desolate existence of the girl and her grandfather, who live alone far away from the rest of the village. The story reaches its climax when Pömné recalls a sad goodbye to T'ükshil on the banks of the River Taedong. Kim Myöng-sun's short story had a simple plot and unembellished depiction of the story. *Üishim üi sonyö* is a forerunner of modern realistic Korean literature with a distinct female voice⁴⁸.

In 1918, Kim went back to Japan and joined the Tokyo Women's College, where she studied literature and music. She also participated in the meetings of Korean students studying in Japan. There she met the writer Chön Yöng-t'aek (전영택 田榮澤 1894–1968). Thanks to him she started to contribute to the influential literary magazine, *Changjo* (창조 創造, 'creation')⁴⁹. In 1920, Kim Myöng-sun published her first poem, "Choro üi hwamong" (조로의 화몽, 'the dream of a flower on a dewy morning') in *Changjo*. She also worked as a reporter for the newspaper *Maeil Shinbo* (매일신보 每日申報) and even starred in a movie called *Kkot changsa* (꽃장사, "The Florist")⁵⁰ which brought her popularity as an actress. Since then, Kim Myöng-sun also published poems, essays and short stories in the student journal *Yöjagye* (여자계 女子界, 'the world of women') in Tokyo. In 1924, her autobiographical novel, *T'ansiriwa Chuyöng'i* (탄실이와 주영이, 'tanshil and chuyöng') was published. It expressed her tribulations as a victim of prejudice and discrimination based on her low origin and family status. She also denounced exaggerated rumours about her private life in Japan. The year 1925 marked a peak of Kim Myöng-sun's literary career. She published her collected works, *Saengmyöng üi kwashil* (생명의 과실, 'fruits of life'). It was the first publication of the collected works by a female writer in Korea.

In the years 1927–1930, Kim played major roles in at least five films⁵¹. However, the film career slowed her literary work. At the same time she began to have financial problems. As an unmarried woman with no special skills besides writing, she

⁴⁸ Ibid., 280.

⁴⁹ *Changjo* (창조 創造, 'creation') was a first purely literary magazine founded by the writer Kim Tongin (김동인 金東仁 1900–1951) and started to appear in 1919.

⁵⁰ *Kkot changsa* (꽃장사, "The Florist" 1930) was a drama film directed by Ahn Jong-hwa (안중화 安鍾和 1902–1966) in which Kim Myöng-sun played a leading role.

⁵¹ Among others, she played in *Kwangnang* (광랑 狂浪, 'wild waves' 1927) directed by I Kyöng-son (이경손 李慶孫 1905–1977), melodrama *Naüi ch'inguyö* (나의 친구여, "My Dear Friend" 1928) directed by Yu Chang-an (유장안 柳長安), historical film *Sugyöngnangjajön* (숙영낭자전, "The Story of Lady Suk-yöng", 1928), directed by I Kyöng-son, drama *Chölmün-i-üi norae* (절문의이노래, 'the song of a young man' 1930) directed by Kim Yöng-hwan (김영환 金英煥 1898–?).

struggled with everyday problems. Little is known about her activities and whereabouts in the years 1932–1935, but reportedly, she returned to Tokyo and studied music and the French language. She returned to Korea in 1936, where she tried to revive her literary career by publishing fables for children and confessional poems that reflected her years of suffering and despair of social ostracism. Her poem *Kūmūm pam* (그믐밤, ‘the last night of the month’), published in the January 1939 issue of *Samchōlli* (삼천리 三千里, ‘Korea’) marked the end of her literary career. Soon she disappeared from the literary world. There were unconfirmed rumours that Kim Myōng-sun returned to Japan in 1939 and lived in extreme poverty until her presumed death in 1951 in a mental hospital in Tokyo.

T’anshil was a prolific writer. She published approximately 170 pieces, which heralded the beginning of modern Korean women’s literature. Theresa Hyun writes that the views on sex, love, marriage and morality of the Swedish feminist and educator Ellen Key exerted a big impact on the work of Kim Myōng-sun⁵². Among the first generation of the Korean female writers, Kim Myōng-sun’s life and works may be regarded as an expression of the struggle for the equality and freedom of contemporary Korean women. Thus, she has proven pivotal in the New Women’s attempt to overthrow the patriarchal nature of Korean society.

5.2. Na Hye-sōk – in search of identity of the New Woman

Na Hye-sōk is considered as the first female modern painter in Korea and an original writer. She published her works not only in the women’s magazines like *Yōjagye*, *Shinyōsōng* (신여성, ‘the new lady’), and *Shinyōja* (신여자, ‘new women’) but also *P’yehō* (폐허 廢墟, ‘ruins’), a pure literary magazine established in 1920 and *Samchōlli*, a monthly magazine established in 1929 focusing on politics, history, culture and arts.

Na Hye-sōk was born in Suwōn. She was the fourth child of a wealthy family. She attended the Samil Girls’ School (삼일여학교 三一女學校) for elementary education, founded by Mary Scranton, and next Chimmyōng High School for Girls, where her exceptional intelligence and artistic talent was noticed. Her elder brother, who was educated in Japan, encouraged her to go to Tokyo to study at the Private School of Fine Arts for Women (동경미술학교 東京美術學校). In Japan, under the strong influence of the *Seitō* movement, Na Hye-sōk became a keen enthusiast of the feminist movement, which is reflected in her works and life. During her studies in Tokyo she was one of the founders of the Association of Korean Students in Japan and contributed articles to the magazine *Yōjagye*.

⁵² Hyun 2004: 53.

It was in Tokyo, which was the scene of the emergence of the New Woman movement, that Na Hye-sök learnt about Ellen Key's concept of ethical marriage which was based on mutual love of both spouses. In Tokyo, Na Hye-sök became involved in the New Woman debate. In *Isangjök puin* (이상적 부인 理想的 婦人, 'perfect wife'), her first essay published at the age of eighteen years in the journal *Hakchigwang*⁵³ (학지광 學之光, 'light of learning') in 1914, she presented a new woman's voice that looked out to the world for its inspiration of an ideal new womanhood, while looking at the hypocrisy and tyranny of traditional gender relations⁵⁴. Na Hye-sök described qualities which an ideal woman, i.e. the New Woman, should acquire:

[These women are]: Katusha [Katerina Maslova], who embraced revolution as her ideal; Magda, who upheld egoism as her dream; Nora, who pursued genuine love as her ideal; Mrs. Stowe, who held equality derived from religious belief as her ideal; Mrs. Raicho who believed in women's genius, and Mrs. Yosano, who had dreams for a harmonious home... We cannot regard a woman as an ideal simply because she has fulfilled the role of a conventionally moral wife, that is, when she has carried out her socially expected roles. We have to equip ourselves with qualities that go beyond such expectations by improving ourselves in whatever we do; and we should not simply accept the motto of "good wife and wise mother" as our ideal, either. Then how can we become real women? It goes without saying that we have to acquire knowledge and skills. We need to develop our abilities to take care of worldly matters with common sense, no matter what befalls us. We need to become women who possess a clear sense of purpose and a consciousness to live up to their full individual potentials. We should become pioneers of our age in terms of understanding modern philosophies, knowledge, and character. We ought to be ideal women ourselves, who are true and powerful sources of a mysterious inner light that brightens interpersonal relationships⁵⁵.

Na Hye-sök's early essay is recognised as the first Korean feminist manifesto⁵⁶. It was a critique of the patriarchal system and marginalisation of women in Korea. She criticised patriarchal constraints on women that had suppressed selfhood and glorified women's role in the family as wife and mother. In both her writings and her life, she resisted the prevailing notion of 'wise mother, good wife' rooted in Confucian gender ethics, Japan's Meiji gender ideology (*ryōsai kenbo*), as well as in American missionaries' Victorian notions of domesticity⁵⁷.

⁵³ *Hakchigwang* (학지광 學之光, 'light of learning') a magazine founded in 1914 in Tokyo delivered news about academic matters, literature and modern trends. It was an organ publication of *Chae Ilbon tonggyōng Chosŏn yuhaksaeng haguho* (재일본동경조선유학생학우회 在日本朝鮮留學生學友會, The Association of Korean Students Studying in Tokyo).

⁵⁴ Choi Hyaewol 2009: 167.

⁵⁵ Kim Yung-Hee 2002: 8-9.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Choi Hyaewol 2009: 170.

In 1917, Na Hye-sŏk published her second feminist essay, *Chapkam* (잡감 雜感, ‘miscellaneous thoughts’) in *Hakchigwang*. Her essay, written in an epistolary form, appealed to Korean women to follow the path of liberated women in Western countries.

In my dormitory room, I once said to you, older sister, “Isn’t it time for Korean women to be truly human beings? Shouldn’t we become real women? In America women are in a true sense women because they exercise reason and have philosophy; French women are the same because of their science and arts; and German women, for their courage and hard work. Then, isn’t it long past time for us now to take our first step as real women? Our misfortune is too harsh”⁵⁸.

In the first issue of *P’yehŏ* in 1920, Na Hye-sŏk published her essay on art under the title *Yangghwa-wa shiga* (양화와 시가, ‘leather shoes and poetry’), in which she compared forms of expression in painting and in poetry. Her essay proved that she was competent both in art and literature. In the same year, she married Kim U-yŏng (김우영 金雨英 1886–1958), a widower and lawyer educated in Japan who had courted her from his student days in Japan. At the end of 1920, Na Hye-sŏk returned briefly to Japan to continue her study of painting. In Korea, she organised in March 1921 in the capital an exhibition of paintings, which became a sensational social and artistic event attracting crowds of people and bringing fame to the artist. As the first Korean she began to paint pictures in the western style. For example, her *Self-Portrait* reminds of the portrait of Gertrude Stein by Pablo Picasso.

Na Hye-sŏk made her literary debut in February 1918 with the novella *Kyŏnghŭi* (경희, the name of the protagonist), which appeared in *Yŏjagye*, a magazine published in Tokyo. Her most important story recounts a woman’s self-discovery on the threshold of period modernisation and her subsequent quest for meaning in life as a New Woman. The author deals with the issue of inequality between the sexes, relationships in patriarchal marriage and the new identity of women. The heroine of the story is looking for the new meaning of life and tries to redefine her identity as the New Woman. Critics have recognised *Kyŏnghŭi* as the first feminist work in Korean literature. As Choi (2009: 172) asserts:

Her novella, *Kyŏnghŭi* (1918), brilliantly captures the birth of selfhood inspired by a feminist vision that questions the patriarchal order that determines the “proper” space for women in the domestic sphere. Na frankly scrutinizes the bodily constraints caused by pregnancy and motherhood and recognizes that they could hinder women’s pursuit of self and creative work. Therefore, those keenly interested in self-realization might not be interested in marrying or getting pregnant⁵⁹.

⁵⁸ Kim Yung-Hee 2002: 10.

⁵⁹ Choi Hyae-weol 2009: 172.

In September that year, she published in *Yöjagye*, her second short story, *Hoesaeng'han sonnyö ege* (회생한 손녀에게, 'to a granddaughter who revived'). In spite of her strong criticism of the traditional notions of marriage and motherhood Na Hye-sök was a wife of a prominent political figure, Kim U-yöng, who was a vice consul in Manchuria. During her marriage she travelled with her diplomat husband on several tours sponsored by the Japanese government. Among others, they visited Paris, Warsaw and New York. She became an eager observer of Western culture, art and family life. Soon after returning from the world tour, she held an art show in Suwön, her home-town in September 1929. Unfortunately, the prestigious marriage ended in divorce in 1930 after she had revealed an extra-marital affair with Chöe Rin (최린 崔麟 1878–1958), the leader of Chöndogyo (천도교 天道教, Religion of the Heavenly Way) during her brief stay in Paris. What is more, she announced her divorce in public and was ostracised by the Korean society. The harrowing ordeal shaped her later tragic life. In 1934, she published an article entitled *Ihon kobaekchang* (이혼고백장, 'confession about divorce'), which referred to her former husband. She pleaded with him to forgive her in order to protect their four children. In order to revive their marriage, she had even promised to become a *hyönchö yangmo* (현처양모 賢妻良母, 'wise wife, and good mother'), the very ideal she had criticised earlier in her writings. However, she still upheld her views on the double moral standards in Korean society. She wrote in her essay:

The mind of the Korean man is strange. They do not embrace the idea of chastity for men. But they demand chastity of their wives and all other women. Worse, they try to violate other women's bodies. In the case of people in the West or in Tokyo, if they do not cherish the idea of chastity, they understand and respect the view of others who do not hold the idea of faithfulness. [...]

I also feel pity for the women of the educated class, the so-called new women. They still spend their childhood and marriage within the feudal family system so that their lives are incredibly complex and chaotic. Half-baked knowledge does not help them strike the necessary balance between the old and the new, and it only provokes a depressing temper. They learn a philosophy of life in college and have the opportunity to observe family life in the West or Tokyo, don't they? They have ideals and will as high as the sky, but their bodies and work are on earth, aren't they? They marry based on sweet love, but husband and wife follow their own separate ways so that they do not find any meaning in life⁶⁰.

Five years later, in 1935, Na wrote another essay, *Shin saenghwal e tülmyönsö* (신생활에 들면서, 'beginning a new life') in which she recalled her affair in Paris. She felt alienated and isolated in colonial Korea and wanted to go back to Paris,

⁶⁰ Quoted after Choi Hyaewool 2009: 173.

where she hoped to revive as an artist and woman. As a New Woman, she presented her unorthodox view of chastity, which reflected the modern ideas.

Chastity is neither morality nor law. It is only a taste. Just as we eat rice when we want to eat rice, and we eat rice cake when we want to eat rice cake, chastity depends on our will and usage. We should not be constrained... In order to keep chastity, we often suppress our natural desire, our irresistible passion and our point of view. How ironic is it? Therefore, our liberation begins with our liberation from chastity. I believe that we have to look to a reality where sexual anarchy makes some people want to keep chastity. In Paris, where sexual anarchy prevails, there are men and women who keep chastity. They do so after they have already experienced everything and return to the old fashioned ways. Like Parisians, we also need to experience everything and then choose whichever. That is a less dangerous and more proper way⁶¹.

After Na Hye-sök's divorce, she could not sell her paintings or find employment abandoned by her relatives and friends. In 1948, she was found dead on the street. Her body was stored in a hospital morgue until her identity was determined.

5.3. Kim Wŏn-ju – fight against patriarchal and national oppression

The third notable New Woman writer Kim Wŏn-ju, better known under her pen name Kim Ilyŏp (김일엽 金一葉), was a founder of the first feminist magazine *Shinyŏja*. Yi Kwang-su (1892–1950), the author of the first Korean modern novel *Mujŏng* (무정 無情, 'heartless'), appreciated the literary output of Kim Wŏn-ju and gave her the pen name Ilyŏp ('one leaf') in recognition of her unique literary talent.

Kim Wŏn-ju was born in P'yŏngyang in the family of a Methodist pastor. As she wrote in her diary, her mother was a very active woman, who did not recognise the traditional roles assigned to women, such as cooking and sewing. She encouraged her daughter to learn, as if she were a boy. Her mother and four sisters died during the epidemic.

Kim Wŏn-ju was brought up by her grandmother. As a young girl Wŏn-ju revealed a literary talent. At the age of eleven she published her first poem, *Tongsaeng ŭi chugŭm* (동생의 죽음, 'death of a sister'). She attended the high school for girls Ewha between 1913–1918, and then studied at the Ewha College. She was married to an older businessman. Then she continued her studies, by the year 1921, at a film school in Tokyo. After returning home, she actively participated in the feminist movement, which was supported by the young and educated women

⁶¹ Ibid., 175.

and men, and was opposed to Neo-Confucian values. Kim Wŏn-ju was already a well-known, outspoken feminist who advocated freedom, independence, and “free love” *chayu yŏnae* (자유 연애), and criticised the absurdity of the ideology of chastity, which had been imposed only on women⁶².

Kim Ilyŏp’s private life was scandalous in the eyes of her contemporaries. Her first marriage failed, and next she was involved in a few extramarital love affairs. In 1928, she abandoned her life of the New Woman and became a Buddhist nun and for the rest of her life she lived in the Sudŏksa temple (수덕사 修德寺). Thereafter, she did not write much on women’s issues.

The most important period in her literary activity was 1920, when she started a feminist magazine, *Shinyŏja* with a financial help of the Ewha College. The magazine had only four issues from March to June 1920, but it exerted a great influence on the budding feminist movement and women’s writing in Korea.

In the first issue Kim Ilyŏp published her first short story, *Kyeshi* (게시 啓示, ‘revelation’). The next issue contained her article *Uri shinyŏja ūi yogu wa chujang*, which criticised stereotypical attitudes to women in Korean society, and her second short story, *Ōnŭ sonyŏ ūi sa* (어느 소녀의사, ‘death of a girl’), which recounts the tragedy of a young girl who commits a suicide because she refuses to become a concubine of a wealthy profligate. Altogether Kim Ilyŏp published one novel, 58 poems, 16 short stories, including *Kyeshi*, *Ōnŭ sonyŏ ūi sa*, and *Nanŭn kayo* (나는 가요, ‘I am leaving’), and two random thought pieces. The three short stories deal with women’s struggle against victimisation in an abusive patriarchal system⁶³. She called for the liberation of women through self-awakening, independence, education, love and marriage without submission, breaking away from the old family system and oppressive Neo-Confucian values.

Kim Ilyŏp’s novel, *Chagak* (자각 自覺, ‘awakening’) was published in the newspaper, *Tong-A Ilbo* in 1926. It propounded the idea of women’s self-awakening and liberation from the oppressive submission to men. The novel dealt with ethical problems, but it did not convey a moral lesson⁶⁴. After the magazine *Shinyŏja* was closed, she published in daily newspapers, such as the *Tong-A Ilbo* and the *Chosŏn Ilbo* and in literary magazines, such as *Chosŏn Mundan* (조선 문단 朝鮮文壇, ‘literary world of Korea’) and *Kaebŏk* (개벽 開闢, ‘creation’).

Kim Ilyŏp’s literary works reflect the situation of Korea in the 1920s. Like two other New Woman writers, Kim Myŏng-sun and Na Hye-sŏk, she tried to avoid direct confrontation with the Japanese occupation authorities and mainly focused on social reforms and the creation of a new identity of Korean women. Her works also expressed a sense of utter despair and resignation due to her personal

⁶² Choi Hyaewool 2009: 166.

⁶³ Cho 1996: 9-30.

⁶⁴ Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 282.

experience and the tragic fate her beloved homeland. In the introductory essay to the first issue of *Shinyöja*, Kim Ilyöp wrote:

What should we rebuild? We should rebuild the whole society. If we want to rebuild society we need to restructure the family which is the basic unit of society. If we want to reorganize the family, we need to liberate women. If we [Koreans] want to live like other people in the world, if we don't want to be defeated by other powerful people, we need to rebuild all aspects of society. In order to do this, we must liberate women⁶⁵.

In the second issue of *Shinyöja*, Kim Ilyöp published another feminist essay, *Uri shinyöjaüi yoguwa chujang*, in which she calls for self-awakening of Korean women and rejection of the rule of three obediences, which stated that a woman was required to obey her father, husband, and son, in that order. As Cho (1996: 7) points out in her essay, "Kim Ilyöp was revolutionary in her ideas on the Korean family system"⁶⁶. She was opposed to the traditional, oppressive family, which inhibited women's freedom.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, the emergence of the New Woman ideal in colonial Korea in the 1920s and 1930s has been examined through the example of three most prominent Korean female writers who are generally considered to be the symbol of the New Woman. In Korea, the New Woman stemmed from the first generation of women who received secondary or university education. They tried to oppose the Neo-Confucian system of patriarchy and propagated new values and lifestyles. The critical assessment of the achievement of the New Woman writers in Korea awaits a more extensive research of their literary works which are dispersed in periodicals. The existing collections of their works, are far from complete. Critical appraisals of their works begin appear both in Korean and other languages. Contemporary interest in the New Woman writers was often biased and focused on their unconventional lifestyles and tragic lives but in recent years a growing number of analytical articles have been focused on the social phenomenon of the Korean New Woman and her literary manifestations.

⁶⁵ Quoted after Cho 1996: 18.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 20.

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論文概要 アンナ・ディニェイコ

Anna Diniejko

日本統治下の朝鮮における「新女子」の出現

本論文は、植民地時代の朝鮮(1910-1945)における「新女子」の出現に光を当てる。第一に、筆者は19世紀の西洋文化および20世紀初頭の日本や中国に見られる「新女子」の起源を記述する。次に、前近代の朝鮮における女性の置かれた状況を、1920年代の植民地朝鮮における文化的・文学的動揺に焦点を当てながら簡潔に記述する。この動きは朝鮮文学と文化における「新女子」の出現の契機となった。論文の最後には、金明淳(1896-1951)、羅蕙錫(1896-1948)、金元周(1896-1971)といった、三人の朝鮮の「新女子」作家の業績を概観する。こうした作家達は、作品の中で性の不平等について表現し、偽りのない女性の声を現代朝鮮文学に知らしめた。本論文は、植民地時代の朝鮮における「新女子」の現象を理解・分析するのよりもむしろ、傑出した三人の朝鮮の「新女子」作家達の貢献を強調しながら、入門的に概観することが目的である。

Key words: new woman, Korea, Japanese occupation, feminism, modernization, shinyösong, gender roles, family system, Korean literature, search of identity

京都の「魔界観光」 一条戻橋の歴史とイメージの変遷をめぐって

はじめに

人間は、昔から「死」と密接に関わってきたが、多様な社会的・科学的発展の結果、死後の世界や死と関わる迷信を信じなくなってきた。ある意味で人間の日常生活から「死」が消えてきた。それでも、人は、死を忘れることはなく、本能的に死を恐れている。そのため、死が昔とは違う形で、人間の生活に入り込み、特に10年ほど前から観光産業として人気を集めている。

それは日本、特に京都で見られ、超自然的で、死から来る恐怖を感じる歴史的な場所を対象とする観光が行われている。その場所は、何百年に渡って、絶えず不愉快で怖いと思われていたが、最近、特にメディアにより注目を集め、人気の観光地になってきた。ガイドブックでは、総称で「魔界」と呼ばれることもある。このタイプは日本、特に京都を消す特有の観光の一種と考えられる。このような場所が訪問され、はやる理由はいくつかある。まず、日本の社会は、西洋文化圏の社会と違って、死や俗信とそれほど離れておらず、京都では、伝統が守られ、人の生活とつながっていることである。そして、日本人は、メディアの影響力に弱いとも言える。さらに、戦後の日本国家は、日本を無宗教で平和な国にしようとしたからこそ、正式なレベルで日本人の生活から儀式的な死が消えた。その穴を埋めるために、日本人は、特有の死と恐怖と神秘に関わる観光を生み出したとも考えられる。西洋と異なる近代化も、戦後に起こった社会変化も、それに影響していると言える。

京都は、これまで様々な伝説の舞台となってきた。日本では、その伝説に着目し、研究している学者が少なくない。特に、平安時代に生きた陰陽師の安倍晴明(921-1005)と、彼に関わる場所の研究が盛んである¹。西洋では、安倍晴明の研究以外にも、日本の伝説や、日本の鬼についての論文が発表されている²。しかし、京都における、死や怪異現象と関係する場所の人々の捉え方についての論文や、そういった場所を観光学の観点から扱う論文は、まだないと言えるだろう。

¹ 晴明神社編『安倍晴明公』(2002)や田中貴子『安倍晴明の一千年』(2003)など、参考文献を参照。

² 特にNoriko T. Reider(マイアミ大学)が鬼と伝説について論文を多数発表している。参考文献を参照。

そこでこの論文では、「魔界」京都をはやらせた小松和彦の『京都魔界案内—出かけよう、「発見の旅」へ』を参考にしながら、江戸時代(1603—1867)に出版された『都名所図会』(1780年)と、日本の刊行雑誌で最長の歴史を持つ『旅』³、そしてポップカルチャーとのつながりを強く持つ雑誌『るるぶ』⁴を用い、一条戻橋の観光の歴史を考察してみたい。

京都は、平安京として794年に桓武天皇(737—806)の命令で作られ、平城京と長岡京から遷都された1200年余りの古都である。山に囲まれ、東の鴨川と西の桂川（カキガハ）の間に置かれた平安京は、中国の長安城（チヤンアンチヤン）をモデルにし、繁栄を願い、四神相応（ししんそうおう）という風水に従って、設計された都市である。様々な時代に戦争や洪水、火災のような災害に遭っていたため、建物が消えたり、移動されたりして、町の構造も改造されてきた。それでも歴史的な名前や地名が残り、伝説や歴史上の場所が人間の記憶の中で生きている。

京都は、天皇家の町でもあり、武士の町でもあり、町人の町でもあった。長い間、日本の政治や文化の中心地であった。現代は、世界的に有名な観光地となり、国際交流や文化財保護の場として重要な役割を果たしている。

1. 京都の観光化と「魔界」

京都の観光の歴史は、近代より前、江戸時代(1603—1867)まで遡ることができる。その頃、観光は、現代のような娯楽というよりも、聖地へ巡礼する形であった。巡礼者が京都の寺社を目指し、やって来ていた。それ以外に、街道を使って上京した商人もいたと考えられる。その人たちのために案内図会が作られた。初めての案内図会は、1780年の『都名所図会』である。あまりの人気で、その続編の『拾遺都名所図会』も、1787年に出版された⁶。後に、京都を紹介する他の名所図会も、他の町の名所図会も登場する。それに基づいて、現代とは違うけれども、江戸時代にも京都は、特別なところと思われ、全国の人々が訪れる場所だったと考えられる。

現代の観光の面で、国内外で京都は「日本の中の日本」、または「一番日本らしいところ」だと思われている。言い換えれば、平安時代(794—1192)から続い

³ 『旅』は、1924年から2012年まで発行されていた旅行雑誌である。1924年から1943年まで日本旅行文化協会から、1946年から2003年まで日本交通公社(後のJTB)から、2004年から2012年まで新潮社から刊行されていた。日本最古の旅行雑誌である。

⁴ 月刊『るるぶ』は、1973年に「見る・食べる・遊ぶ」をキーワードに、若い女性のための旅行情報専門誌(季刊)として日本交通公社(現在のJTBパブリッシング)が創刊した。1974年10月号からは隔月刊、1976年4月号からは月刊となり、1997年10月号で休刊となった(日本交通公社 旅の図書館サイトより、<http://www.jtb.or.jp/>) 2013年09月23日。

⁵ 四神相応 — 四神に応じた最も貴い地相。東に流水のあるのを「青竜」、西に大道のあるのを「白虎」、南にくぼちのあるのを「朱雀」、北方に丘陵のあるのを「玄武」とする。官位・福祿・無病・長寿を併有する地相である。平安京では、「青龍」が鴨川で、「白虎」が木嶋大路で、「朱雀」が巨椋池で、「玄武」が船岡山となっている。(足利 1994: 28-29。)

⁶ 都名所図会研究会 1967: 3。

て、特に平安文化を示す「みやび」文化を保ってきた場所である⁷。問題は、現在では京都にも古いものがないということである。「みやび」文化がアピールされているが、その時代に遡れる建築物などがもう存在していないと言われている⁸。最古の建物でも千本釈迦堂(1227年)である⁹。それ以外の建物は、豊臣秀吉(1536-1598)が都市改造(1587年頃より)を行う際、造られたものである。それでも京都は、その後、何回も焼けてしまう。京都の千年の歴史は、破壊と再建の繰り返しの歴史である。

観光客は、京都のイメージを持ち、それを確かめに来るが、実際の京都には、日本伝統文化を思わせる場所が少ない。街自体が現代都市なので、観光地以外の道を歩いても期待されている伝統文化は見られない。宣伝された場所以外に、京都の歴史的な雰囲気を楽しむには、事前学習が必要である。歴史と関わる場所があっても、一目で分からない場合が多いからだ。そのため勉強してから、京都の街を歩くとやっと各々の人がイメージした千年の都に見えてくる。

皆が求め、宣伝されている京都の「みやび」のイメージは、実は近代に作られている。明治時代(1868-1912)に入ると、京都に住んでいた天皇と皇族が東京に移る。公家や幕末の政治家も皆東京に行ってしまう。その結果、京都は奈良のように衰退すると恐れられていた。それを避けるために、最初の段階では、京都を近代工業都市にする考えがあったが、すでに工業都市になっていた大阪に圧倒された。そのため方針を変え、歴史・芸術・学問などを京都のために活かすことになる¹⁰。

近代国家を目指していた日本は、世界に立派な伝統を持っていると見せたかった。東京は江戸として300年の歴史を持ったが、西洋の帝国から対等に見られるにはもっと古い歴史をアピールしたかった。日本の国家や権力が立派な歴史と文化を持っていると主張するには、もとななるものが必要だった。そこで京都を天皇の即位する場所(1889年の皇室典範)として決めることで過去の伝統とつながりが作られた¹¹。しかし、それを実現するには、京都を古都らしく見せる必要もあった。国家側が京都に投資をすることになった。大規模な工業都市化がうまく行かないと気付いた人たちと、国家が求めている古都の考えが同時に発生し、京都を「歴史都市」として再生することになった¹²。

京都の再開発は、「京都策」と呼ばれ、槇村正直(1834 - 1896)、北垣国道(1836 - 1916)、内貴甚三郎(1848 - 1926)、西郷菊次郎(1861 - 1928)によって考えられ、実施された¹³。京都府の二代知事の槇村正直、そしてその引継ぎで三代知事の北垣国道は、勸業政策・開化政策を推進した。それに伴い、1898年に京都市の最初の市長に就任した内貴甚三郎と、1904年から二代目の市長に就任した西郷菊次郎が京都策を完成させた。京都策は三期に別けられていた。第1期には、1881年まで西欧の新技术を導入し、小学校が作られる。第2期には、1895年まで琵琶湖疎水建設を中心に開発が行われる。第3期には、1910年代にかけて、

⁷ 丸山・伊従・高木 2008b: 5。

⁸ 同上。

⁹ 『京都魔界めぐり』1998: 30。

¹⁰ 京都市 1980: 194。

¹¹ 丸山・伊従・高木2008a: 230。

¹² 丸山・伊従・高木2008b: 4-5。

¹³ 京都市1980: 18-24。

道路や上水道などのインフラ整備が行われる。それ以外にも、京都の最初の民選市長であった内貴甚三郎は、市域を拡大することと共に、風致保存の必要があると思っていた¹⁴。その結果、東山一帯を風致地区に指摘し、北にある西陣をそのまま継続させ、北西を文京地区にし、西を開発する土地に選んだ。内貴甚三郎にとっても、近代工業化だけだと京都を立派な都市にするには足りないと感じたのだろう。だから東山周辺の歴史を保護することにしたと考えられる。

歴史都市をアピールするときに使う京都の寺社は、始めに廃仏毀釈¹⁵により壊され変革された。しかし、国が日本文化に対する考えを変えるときに、京都に多数存在する古美術・文化財をどうやって近代化する日本に位置づけるかが問題となった。それを考えた中心人物は、啓蒙思想家である 福沢諭吉 (1834 - 1901) の弟子で、帝国博物館総長と貴族院議員の 九鬼隆一 (1850 - 1931) であった¹⁶。彼が、日本美術を理論し世界に広めた 岡倉天心 (1862 - 1913) と、帰化したアメリカの哲学者・美術研究家のフェノロサ (Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, 1853 - 1908) を登用した。岡倉天心は英語で本を書き、外国人に日本美術を紹介し、世界に認められるようにする。そして外国人であるフェノロサが日本美術について語ると、西洋人が日本の文化を評価しているという構図ができあがる¹⁷。そのやり方で、京都にある寺社、伝統を保護する理由ができて、意味づけられた。

京都を「歴史都市」に変身させる動力のピークは、1895年に開催された平安遷都の千百年記念祭である。また、同時に第四回内国勸業博覧会もセットで行われた。両方を支援したのも国家であった¹⁸。記念祭のために平安時代の大内裏をイメージし、平安神宮が建設された。遷都をした桓武天皇がそこに祀られ、主な神事として時代祭が作られた。当時の京都にはまだ江戸時代の雰囲気が残っていたが、立派な文化を見せるために、さらに昔との繋がりをアピールする必要があった。平安神宮を建設することで、京都を平安時代の色に染めようとしていた。または、桓武天皇ゆかりの寺社や名勝旧跡の修繕・保存が京都市費から補助された。対象となったのは31件で、熊野神社・坂上田村麻呂の墓・神泉苑・長岡京遺跡などであった¹⁹。

その時に作られて、平安時代と繋がる「みやび」の文化が、京都の新たなイメージとなった。そのイメージに少しずつ他のものも加わるようになり、特に古典文学と関係する場所が訪れられるようになった。戦後になると、京都中のそのような場所や寺の入口に、案内の看板(駒札)が1955年までに立てられた²⁰。京都府の教育委員会におり、戦時中府下社寺の文化財の悉皆調査を行っていた日本史の先

¹⁴ 京都市1980: 73

¹⁵ 明治初年の仏教排撃運動のことである。1868年に神仏分離令が出されたのをきっかけに、神道家などを中心に各地で寺院・仏像の破壊や僧侶の還俗強制などが起きた。(『広辞苑』1998)

¹⁶ 『京都魔界めぐり』1998: 37。

¹⁷ 同上。

¹⁸ 京都市1980: 135-136。

¹⁹ 京都市 情報館のサイトより(<http://www.city.kyoto.lg.jp/>) 2013年09月18日。

²⁰ 『京都魔界めぐり』1998: 46。

生の 赤松俊秀(1907 - 1979)が京都大学に帰ってから、学生・大学院生にその看板を書かせた²¹。1955年以降は、日本では、高度経済成長の時期になり、新幹線も通り、オリンピックも開催されるので、京都は全世界の観光客によって溢れてしまう。その中で、観光客を相手にしなければならないし、古都京都のイメージを分かりやすく教えるために看板が作られたと考えられる。

平安時代のイメージ以外にも、祇園や舞妓、茶道、京都の職人によって作られるものも人気を集めるようになった。昔から、京都に多くの職人が住み、それぞれのものを作り続けている理由は、京都が田舎の特徴とされるものを持っているからだ。その特徴とは、代々特定の役割を果たしている家族や、神社に祭祀を行う人々に、外からの者はなれないことだ。なぜなら、その特権は、その地域に生まれ、代々住んでいた人の血を受け継いだ人にしかないからである。京都にもその特徴がみられる。京都を訪れる人や、京都に移住した人は、いつまでもよそ者扱いされるため伝統的な職業に就かず、神社の祭事にも参加できない。だからこそ、京都の人は外の者と混ざったりせず、京都には昔からの伝統・考え方・信仰が続いている。

明治時代から京都を日本文化の象徴的な都市にするには、無数の人々の努力が必要だった。町が拡大され、整備され、観光客が訪れやすいところに変わってきた。国際的にも知名度の高い場所となり、日本に来るとき必ず見に行く都市となった。そしてついに、1994年12月に開催された第18回世界遺産委員会(World Heritage Committee)において、京都が「古都京都の文化財」としてユネスコ(国際連合教育科学文化機関)の世界遺産リストに登録された²²。

「みやび」の文化を作り上げるときに、排除され見えなくなったものが多い。朝廷や公家の文化と、彼らによって作られた秩序に反対する動きや、京都住民の周りで起こっていた事故・災難・犯罪、また、はやっていた病気を知ることが、この町を今までと違う観点から見ると、重要である。それらそのような裏の話や物事を、日本の文化人類学者、民俗学者の小松和彦が「魔界」(または魔界境界・魔界空間)と呼んでいる。この言葉を、「みやび」の文化と対立している裏の文化と歴史と位置付け、小松氏は内藤正敏との共著『鬼がつくった国・日本ー歴史と動かしてきた「闇」の力とは』(光文社カッパ・サイエンス、1985年)の中で、初めて焦点をあてた。京都人は「魔界」という言葉を口にしなくても、そのような裏話を今でも知っている。つまり京都人の記憶の中では、不可思議な出来事や怖い話がまだ存在し、「魔界」とつながる場所が簡単に思い浮かぶのだろう。

観光雑誌において、小松氏が述べている京都の「魔界」に類似している考えが初めて登場するのは、全国で読まれ、JTBが出版していた月刊『るるぶ』の1992年11月号である。西宮市に本社を持つ二十一世紀社の企画である²³。記事のタイトルは「ミステリー・スポットガイド 京都トワイライトワールド」で、その中で、京都は

²¹ 同上。

²² 京都市 情報館のサイトより(<http://www.city.kyoto.lg.jp/>) 2013年09月18日。

²³ 1993年に二十一世紀社が『京都再発見ー京都人が選んだこだわりガイド』を出版する。『るるぶ』で掲載された記事の1年後となる。普通のガイドブックと違い、観光名所を避け、味や商品、雰囲気が気になるスポットを紹介する本である。

「呪術都市」と「異界都市」と呼ばれている。著者がトワイライトワールド京都を「京の歴史は日本の歴史であるが、闇の歴史でもあるのだ」²⁴と説明している。この記事では、京都のあらゆる怖い場所や、不思議な場所が簡単に取り上げられ、現代的な幽霊が出現する「心霊スポット」（東山トンネル、深泥池）、昔から信仰を集めている寺社（珍皇寺、貴船神社）、雷・電気・原子核の神様がいる法輪寺、マジックマッシュルームが生えている大文字山を消すが紹介されている²⁵。二十世紀社も、小松氏が「魔界」と呼び、アピールし続けた京都の新しい魅力に気付き、もう一つの京都を紹介しようとしていたと考えられる。

近代都市で、日本文化（みやび）の代表の町・京都というイメージは明治時代に作られたが、それから百年後には、それがもう機能しておらず、京都を更にアピールするには、何か新しい戦略が必要だと小松氏は考えていた²⁶。1993年12月5日に、京都の貴船で開かれた座談会に参加した3人の学者（高橋昌明、深沢徹、田中貴子）が、遷都千二百年祭（1994年）に合わせ、「魔界」都市京都をアピールすることを考えた²⁷。それから小松和彦が中心となり、研究と出版を通して、その概念をはやらせ、近頃の京都の「魔界」観光の流行に貢献したと考えられる。

「魔界」についての記事は、旅行雑誌にはあまり出てこないが、ガイドブックと本の市場において、出版数はますます増えていく。1998年からは少し増加し、2000年代に入ってから次々と出版されるようになる。それを後で説明する安倍晴明のブームと結びつけることもできる。また、90年代後半からインターネットが普及し、情報伝達がさらに簡単になった。これにより、誰でも「魔界」についてのページを見て、情報を得ることができるようになり、更にブームは拡大する。テレビはもちろんのことだが、近現代を考えるとときには、インターネットが果たしている重要な役割も忘れてはいけない。

近頃、京都を日本伝統文化「みやび」のために観光するのではなく、事前に調べ知ることが必要で、1200年の京都の歴史の中で、あまり注目されてこなかった場所を観光する人が増えている。その場所は、一目では分かりづらく、昔から、怖くて暗く、死と関わりもあり、摩訶不思議であると思われていた。このように人気を集めている観光方法は、日本独自のものと考えられる。さらに、全国でこの観光のスタイルが見られるが、一番強く現れているのは、観光都市の京都である。「みやび」文化のイメージに合わず、注目されなかった所は、小松和彦が呼んでいる「魔界」京都と思われる場所である。その代表的なところは、平安時代から同じ場所に架かっている 戻橋（一条戻橋）や、京都の中心部から鴨川の向こうにある六道珍皇寺とその周辺（六道の辻）や、北野天満宮や、貴船や、耳塚などである。これから一条戻橋を取り上げ、京都の「魔界観光」を考察する。

²⁴ 二十一世紀社1992: 65。

²⁵ 二十一世紀社1992: 66。

²⁶ 『京都魔界めぐり』1998: 108。

²⁷ その座談会の記録は、『京都魔界めぐり』（1998年）に収録されている。

2. 一条戻橋

一条戻橋は、京都市上京区一条通で、堀川に架かっている橋であり、平安京建設のときに架橋された。現在まで戻橋は何度も作り直されているが、それでも橋の位置は変わっていない。

かつての大内裏の北東²⁸に当たり、その北側にあった葬送の地への道でもあった。その関わりから、橋の名前の由来を紹介する伝説も誕生した。その伝説は、鎌倉時代(12世紀末-1333年)中期に作られた『撰集抄』に記録されている²⁹。918年に三善清行が急に亡くなったので、熊野で修業していた息子の浄蔵は、父と会いに急いで京に帰ることにした。一条の橋に着くと、葬列が橋を渡る場所だった。浄蔵は、葬列を止め、死んだ父にもう一度会いたいと強く願い祈った結果、父が蘇生した。それ以来この橋は「戻橋」と呼ばれ、あの世からこの世へ靈魂が戻ったことを今に伝えている³⁰。なお、一条通は、10世紀末に戻橋路と呼ばれていたもので、橋名がだいぶ古いと想定できる³¹。

その後も戻橋は、不思議な話の舞台となっている。他の有名な伝説は、屋代本の『平家物語』の「剣巻」に載っている³²。平安時代の英雄の一人であった渡辺綱が夜中に戻橋を通るときに、東詰で若くて美しい女性に会った。彼女は、夜も更けて恐ろしいので、五条にある家まで送ってほしいと頼んだ。綱は女を馬に乗せたが、しばらくしたら彼女は家が五条ではなく、京の外にあると言い出した。そのとき女は鬼に変貌し、綱の髪をつかんで愛宕山へ飛んで行こうとした。綱は刀を抜き、鬼の腕を切り落とした。鬼は逃げたが、渡辺綱が腕を持って、優秀な陰陽師の安倍晴明に相談することにした。晴明は、その腕を封じ、仁王経を読めと教えた。渡辺綱は腕を自分の屋敷に置いた。数日後、鬼が綱の養母に化け、彼の家に入り、腕を奪い去った。

一条戻橋は、昔から橋占が行われる場所でもあった。辻や橋は、言霊の霊力が強く働く場所とされていた。境界となる所なので、異界、つまり普段見えない世界が露呈し、未来の出来事をのぞくことができることで、橋占と辻占が行われていた。橋占の場合には、橋のたもとに立ち、橋を渡る人の言動によって占う³³。鎌倉時代の『源平盛衰記』では、高倉天皇の中宮建礼門院が子供を産むときに、その母が戻橋の東のたもとで橋占を行った³⁴。そのとき、12人の子どもが手を叩きながら橋を渡り、生まれた皇子(後に壇ノ浦で死んだ安徳天皇)の将来を预言する歌を歌って、風のように去っていった³⁵。または、同じ『源平盛衰記』で安倍晴明が使っていた式神を一条戻橋の下に隠したと書かれている。晴明の妻が、この式神の容

²⁸ 悪いものが出入りするため、不吉とされていた方向に当たり、「鬼門」とも呼ばれる。

²⁹ 高橋1992: 6。

³⁰ 同上。

³¹ 同上。

³² 『京都魔界めぐり』1998: 164。

³³ 高橋1992: 8。

³⁴ 同上。

³⁵ 小松2002: 46。

貌が醜いと恐れたから、そこに置いておくしかなかった。必要なときに呼び出し、人に乗り移らせ、吉凶の占いをしていた³⁶。

占いをしていた陰陽師たちは、戻橋周辺で集まっていたと想像できる。室町時代(1336-1573)の『義経記』によると、戻橋のたもとに陰陽師の鬼き一法眼いちぽうがんが、城郭のような居を構えていた³⁷。また、橋の下に式神を隠した安倍晴明の邸宅も、戻橋の近くにあり、現在の晴明神社に当たると言われている³⁸。

三善清行蘇生の伝説と、渡辺綱が鬼に会う伝説で浮かぶ一条戻橋のイメージは、この世とあの世の狭間にあり、死を思わせる怪しげで暗い場所である。葬列が通る悲しい場所だが、同時に死に勝って蘇生が可能な場所である。人に希望を与えるところである。こんな場所に恐ろしい鬼が、英雄の命を狙いに現れるが、人間である綱が、あの世から来たものを退治することができた。鬼の力に劣るはずだった彼が、自分を守り、鬼に勝ったというイメージがこの橋に込められている。他方では、その恐ろしくて不思議な力を利用し、人々のために運命を占う占い師(陰陽師)もいる場所であった。あの世から流れる力を治め、使いこなすには、陰陽師が持つ特別な知識と能力が必要だった。橋下に式神を隠し、自由に操れた安倍晴明はそのような陰陽師であった。鬼に勝つ特別な力も、占いをし、鬼を使う力も、一般人が持てる能力ではないが、それでもそれができた者が人間であり、他の人間のためにその力を使っていた。戻橋は、危なくても、人間が魔物に勝つ場所であり、その不思議な力を抑える場所である。

一条戻橋のイメージは、時代によって左右するが、たいいてい恐ろしい場所であることに変わりがない。安土桃山時代(1573-1598)には、戻橋の近辺は、人を死刑し、首をさらす場所だった³⁹。1544年に、三好長慶の家臣の和田新五郎のこざりけきが鋸挽された。また、1572年に、織田信長が朝倉義景の密使を焚殺した。豊臣秀吉が力を手に入れてから、さらに戻橋辺りを利用する。秀吉がそこで1590年に北条氏政と氏照兄弟、1591年に茶人の千利休、1592年に島津歳久、の首をさらした⁴⁰。1597年には、秀吉のキリスト教禁教令のもとで、キリスト教殉教者の日本二十六聖人が左の耳たぶを切り落とされ、市中引き回しとなった⁴¹。

秀吉の時代には、戻橋が伝説で描かれたような、不思議で怖い場所よりも、現実的に死と関わり怖い場所になった。一条戻橋の周辺が首さらしの場にされた理由は、前からそこで刑罰が行われた場所だったことと、戻橋は当時の京都の中心地である秀吉の邸宅の聚楽第近辺にあり、最も交通量が多い場所だったことである。聚楽第の東側にある堀川より東には、大名の屋敷が並んでいた⁴²ため、身分の高い人もその橋を渡っていた。豊臣秀吉に逆らえば、このように終わるということを秀吉はアピールしたかったことが推測できる。

³⁶ 同上。

³⁷ 高橋1992: 8。

³⁸ か舎・菊池1999: 35。

³⁹ 高橋1992: 7。

⁴⁰ 足利1994: 66-67。

⁴¹ 晴明神社2002: 19。

⁴² 足利1994: 70。

一条戻橋は、婚礼に関わる俗信の場所にもなった。結婚式に向かうときに、花嫁は、この橋を渡ってはいけない習慣があった。結婚した娘が実家に戻ることは好ましくなかったから、「戻る」ことをイメージさせる一条戻橋を、結婚の日に避けていた⁴³。この俗信は、死や恐怖と関係がなく、単なる橋名から来ていると言える。始まりは、徳川家康の孫に当たる徳川和子(後の東福門院、1607－1678)から来ていると考えられる。彼女が、後水尾天皇(1596－1680)と結婚する日に、泊まっていた二条城から戻橋を渡って、御所に向かった。橋の名前がよくないと判断され、この日のために「万年橋」に変えられた⁴⁴。

また、戦争に出征する兵士が戻橋を渡ると無事に生還ができると信じられていた。人が橋で集まり、軍歌を歌い、息子の無事を祈る母たちが見送っていた⁴⁵。その習慣も、橋名と関わっているが、戦いに出かける男たちの生死とも強くつながっている。夫や息子を失うのが怖くて、悲しむ母や妻たちが、「死んだ人を戻せる」という戻橋の不思議な力に希望を託していたことも考えられる。その意味では、一条戻橋のイメージが江戸時代前のイメージに戻り、愛する人と再び会える希望を与えてくれる場所と解釈されたのだろう。

現代の一条戻橋は、有名な観光地となり、毎日観光客が訪れる場所となってきた。以前は、あまり人気のない暗い場所だった。そのため、戻橋の観光がここ10年の間に始まったと思われるが、実は名所としての戻橋の歴史はさらに古い。

京都の観光は、江戸時代に始まるし、同じ時期に最初の案内図会が作られる。それは、1780年に出版された『都名所図会』である。続編と共に名所図会の人気がでることと、全国の名所図会が作られることのきっかけとなった。『都名所図会』には、有名な寺社が紹介される一方、橋と川の情報も載っている。一条戻橋も、戻橋の名前で紹介され、橋を見せる絵も付いている。紹介文では、安倍晴明が十二神将(式神)をこの橋下に鎮め、事を行う時に呼んで使っていたと、占いをする時には、その神将がかならず人に物事を託して告ぐことが記されている。橋名の由来として、三善清行の蘇生伝説が挙げられている。最後には、戻橋が洛陽で名橋であると書かれている⁴⁶。絵(図1)の方には、平安時代の歌人だった和泉式部の歌「いづくにも帰るさまのみ渡ればやもどり橋とは人のいふらん」(どこかに帰る様子の人だけ渡るのでもどり橋と人が言うだろう)と、婚礼の嫁入りがこの橋を嫌うことが書かれている。または、逆に旅行に行く時や、他人に物を貸した時には、戻ってくるように戻橋を通った方が良いと記されている。

18世紀に、一条戻橋が、安倍晴明と関わっているところ、占いするところ、三善清行が蘇生したところ、つまり平安時代とつながりの強いところとして紹介されている。晴明の式神と占いの話があの世からの蘇生伝説より先に紹介されることから、戻橋は不思議なことが起こり、不思議な力が宿る場所としてアピールされていたことが考えられる。絵の方にも、和泉式部の歌を使うことで、平安時代とつながりが

⁴³ 晴明神社2002: 20。

⁴⁴ 「徳川和子の入内」京都市 情報館のサイトより(<http://www.city.kyoto.lg.jp/>) 2013年09月18日。

⁴⁵ 晴明神社2002: 20。

⁴⁶ 都名所図会研究会1967: 18。

強調され、嫁入りや、旅立ちや、ものを貸すときのことを書いて、読者の当時と関係が作られる。『都名所図会』は、売り物として作られたから、歴史・伝統とつながりがアピールされている。それでも、不思議とやや怖い話を使うことが、当時の旅人もそのような話を好んでいたと推定できる。つまり橋の力を、本気で信じていた人はいないが、遊び心と好奇心の面では、魅力的に見えたのだろう。

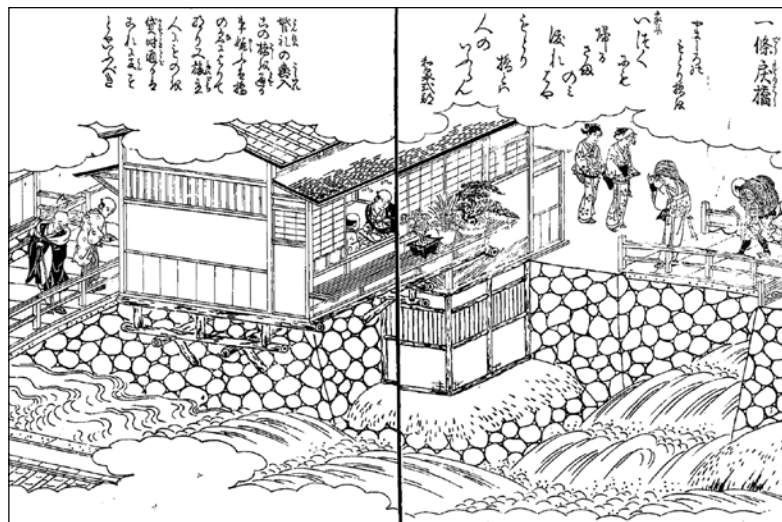


図1 『都名所図会』の一条戻橋

明治時代には、国と知識人の政策で京都が日本の伝統文化「みやび」の中心にされた。建物や知名を平安時代の文化と結びつける傾向があり、一条戻橋でもそれが見られる。1895年に、平安遷都の千百年記念祭と第四回内国勸業博覧会に合わせ、的場麗水編の『京都名所独案内』という案内書が出版された。そこには、寺社仏閣や美術が主に紹介される中、戻橋についての記述もある。橋の紹介では、三善清行の蘇生の伝説が書かれ、橋名の由来として挙げられている⁴⁷。非科学的である占いと強く関わる安倍晴明や迷信の類に入る嫁入りの話が省かれた。平安文化と関わり、僧侶であった息子の強い宗教心と、親に対する心による奇跡的な蘇生を描く話の方が、アピールしようとした「みやび」の文化にもっと当てはまっていたのだろう。このような紹介で、日本が大きく変化する明治時代でも、人が蘇る場所としての一条戻橋が、京都の大切な観光地に決められた。

一条戻橋の近くには、織物と染物で有名な西陣があることも大切だと考えられる。歴史都市の京都を作り上げるときに、西陣織が高く評価され、日本文化の貴重な産業と思われた。戻橋が架かっている堀川に、西陣の職人が染物を流していたから、その産業にとっては、川が不可欠なものだった。染料の影響で、川が

⁴⁷ 的場1895: 9-10。

透明ではなく、色が付いていた。そのまま南に流れ、一条戻橋の下を通っていた。橋から見た色の付いた川が、その場所をまた幻想的な場所に変えていた。

19世紀と20世紀にかけて、京都は、観光地として有名になり、列車の普及で、修学旅行から、個人の旅の目的地となってきた。1924年に、日本の初めての旅行雑誌『旅』が発売され、1926年4月号に、御室瓢之介作の「戻橋」⁴⁸という一条戻橋についての初めての記事が載せられた。ほぼ同じ時期、1925年3月22日に東京放送局から日本初のラジオ放送が行われた⁴⁹。ラジオは、新聞より情報の伝達が早いと、ますます普及した。1930年代に入ってから、ニュースや天気以外にも、文化的な内容が増えていった。そのころの新聞には、ラジオ欄で番組の紹介が行われ、歌舞伎の話も放送されていた。朝日新聞を見る限り、1931年から1941年にかけて、『戻橋』という話が毎年1度か2度くらい放送されていた⁵⁰。その話は、そもそも後半の『茨木』が1883年に、前半の『戻橋』が1890年に、逆の順番で河竹黙阿弥(1816—1893)によって作られ⁵¹、平安時代の渡辺綱と、女に化けた鬼の出会いと、その鬼の腕を切り落とし、鬼の腕を得る伝説を描いている。後半では、伝説の続きが明かされ、安倍晴明の勧めにより7日間閉門し、慎んでいたところ、養母に化けた鬼がやって来て、切られた腕を取り返したと描かれている。

この歌舞伎の話は、平安遷都の千百年記念祭と、第四回内国勸業博覧会のときに既に作られており、上演されていたはずなのに、正式な案内書の『京都名所独案内』を編集した的場麗水が、渡辺綱と鬼の話に触れていない。その伝説が『京都名所図会』が作られるときにも挙げられておらず、『京都名所独案内』にも登場しないことから、それほど有名ではなかったと推定できる。それでも、明治時代の歌舞伎にされ、その後ラジオで全国にも放送されるようになった。つまり伝統文化を明治にアピールしようとした人たちにより、この伝説がイメージに合わない俗信の扱いをされたのかもしれない。それにもかかわらず、一般人の間でかなり知られていたのだろう。そのころの戻橋は、あの世につながる怖い場所や、不思議な力が宿る場所として見られていなかったと考えられる。近代化する京都には、そのような橋のイメージは大昔の伝説に過ぎなかったが、民衆にとっては、橋とその話は、娯楽として訪れる場所であり語る物語だったのだ。

一条戻橋が、再び人気の旅行雑誌に登場するのは、最初に紹介した1992年11月号の『るるぶ』である⁵²。「ミステリー・スポットガイド 京都トワイライトワールド」という記事で、「教授」が「女子大生」に、京都の怖い場所を教えていく設定となっている。京都の様々な歴史的な場所の中では、戻橋も挙げられる。橋は、まず三善清行の蘇生の場所として紹介され、安倍晴明が式神を隠した場所や、占いが行われた場所として「教授」の話に出てくる。さらに、伝説のみに集中せず、首さらしをする場所としても紹介されている。記事のタイトルだけでも、著者が京都を怖くて暗い場所として見せようとしているし、その不思議さと、怖さで遊んでいることも

⁴⁸ 日本交通公社 旅の図書館 (<http://www.jtb.or.jp/>) 2013年09月23日。

⁴⁹ 佐藤2010: 166。

⁵⁰ 朝日新聞戦前紙面データベース。

⁵¹ 歌舞伎のおはなし (<http://ohanashi.edo-jidai.com/kabuki/index.html>) 2013年09月19日。

⁵² 二十一世紀社1992: 66。

ある。戻橋の場合、遊びでは昔の伝説を利用するが、生々しく、リアルな怖さを強調するために、豊臣秀吉時代の処刑所のことを載せてある。それでも、なぜか著者は渡辺綱と鬼の腕の伝説についてまったく執筆していない。



図2 第二次世界大戦前の一条戻橋（撮影：黒川翠山）

ほぼ同じ時期に、小松和彦が「魔界都市」京都を提唱し、それ以降、京都を新しい目で見ようという動きが始まる。近かった1994年の平安建都1200年記念祭がそのきっかけの一つとなった。それ以降、京都の「魔界スポット」に興味を持つ人が増えていく一方、1995年に一条戻橋が京都市によって架けなおされてしまう。それまでに石造りの戻橋(図2)は、何となく伝説の舞台に見えたのだろう。だが、工事後の橋は、コンクリート製で、昔と比べると二倍の広さになった。上にアスファルトの道路がしかれ、おもむきを完全に失ってしまった。さらに、下に流れていた堀川が、戦後(1945-55)の川整備から少しずつ消えてしまい、橋を架けなおすころには、完全にかれてしまった⁵³。古い戻橋が、近くにある安倍晴明を祀る晴明神社に運ばれ、境内に実際の部材を使って再現された。1998年に、堀川を戻す地域の人々の運動が始まり、2002年から堀川水辺環境整備が開始した。川に水を戻し、川底に公園を作る工事が2009年に完成し、現在夏中にイベントを行う場所にもなった⁵⁴。一条戻橋もその空間に取り入れられ、橋の下に下りることできるようになった。そうすることで、この橋が完全に不思議さを失うはずだった。

⁵³ 門脇・朝尾2001: 50。

⁵⁴ 堀川水辺環境整備構想(<http://www.city.kyoto.jp/kensetu/kasen/kankyo/horikawa/index.html>) 2013年08月31日。



図3 晴明神社に再現された一条戻橋と式神の像

戻橋と安倍晴明の関わりは、晴明が橋の下に式神を隠した伝説のみであったが、その関わりが近頃の戻橋が全国で有名な観光地になったきっかけになった。晴明神社は、一条戻橋より北方にあり、安倍晴明の邸宅跡にも⁵⁵、千利休の邸宅跡にも当たると言われている。神社は晴明が死んでから、一条天皇の命で作られた。健康で長生きをした安倍晴明は、人間とは思えない不思議な力を持つ者に見えたことから、死後、稻荷大明神の化身だと判断された⁵⁶。したがって、当時の晴明神社は晴明稲荷社として知られるようになり、病気を治す神として信仰が栄えていた。時代によって小さくなったり、大きくなったりしたが、第二次世界大戦後から、神社は回りの土地を買収し始め、今の形になったのは1997年である⁵⁷。古い一条戻橋が晴明神社に運ばれ、再現された理由はいくつか考えられる。まず1995年には、境内がすでに広く、神社と祀っている安倍晴明をもっと魅力的に見せるために、石造りの橋が置かれたことが考えられる。安倍晴明をさらに強くアピールするには、神殿以外にも、晴明の伝説とつながるものが必要だった。旧戻橋を再現し、式神の像(図3)を隣に置くことで、観光客が実際に訪れ、触れる記念碑ができた。それ以外の理由としては、神社と地元の人々にとって古くて魅力的な橋を壊すのは、もったいなく、保護する形で神社の境内に入れられたことも伺える。どの理由でも、結果としては、一条戻橋がさらに安倍晴明と結ばれ、逆に晴明の経由でイメージされるようになった。

⁵⁵ 本当の邸宅跡は、一条戻橋より東、今の上京区中立売通新町に位置し、京都プライトンホテルの駐車場と民家辺りに当たる(平安京探偵団[山田邦和の報告] <http://homepage1.nifty.com/heiankyo/index.html> 2013年08月31日)。

⁵⁶ 晴明神社2002: 21。

⁵⁷ 晴明神社2002: 25。

2000年ごろには「清明ブーム」が起こり、それに合わせて、戻橋の知名度も高くなった。現在の安倍清明のイメージとそのブームの始まりは、1988年の夢枕獏が書いた小説の『陰陽師』（文藝春秋、1988年）の出版に当たる。小説『陰陽師』がまだ続き、2012年の時点では、シリーズが13巻目を迎えた。90年代に小説が岡野玲子によってマンガ化（『陰陽師』スコラ、白泉社、1993－2005、全13巻）され、安倍清明の人气が高くなったと言える。その二人は、歴史上のものとまた違った、新しい清明像を生み出した。小説とマンガを面白くするには、安倍清明を2、30代に若返らせ、陰陽道を使う探偵のような人にした。顔が美少年のようで、元気いっぱい姿である。他の陰陽師と腕比べをしたり、友達の源博雅と様々なアドベンチャーをしたりする。あまりの人气で、夢枕獏の小説を原作にするテレビドラマ『陰陽師』（2001年4月－2001年6月）がNHKで放送された。同年に、同じく小説は映画化もされ、『陰陽師』（監督：滝田洋二郎）が2001年10月に公開された。また続編の『陰陽師2』も2003年10月に公開された。以上の作品の中で一条戻橋が登場するから、人々から見たら、主に『陰陽師』の舞台として捉えるようになったことが考えられる。なお、映画などに写っている橋の姿は、実際の戻橋と異なる。そのため、清明神社で再現されたものの方は、皆が期待している不思議で、恐ろしい式神の棲みかになり、鬼が現れる戻橋に近いと言えるのだろう。

小説『陰陽師』と、それをもとにしたマンガ、テレビドラマ、映画の影響により、安倍清明に付随して一条戻橋のモチーフを使う他の作品も作られている。2004年から、結城光流の『少年陰陽師』（角川書店）という小説が発売され、2012年には36巻が出版された。この小説は様々なメディアで使用され、2006年にアニメ化された（2006年10月－2007年3月放送）。その他に、2008年に発売された椎橋寛の『ぬらりひょんの孫』（集英社）のマンガにも、安倍清明が登場する。このような作品は、安倍清明の伝説に新しい風を吹き入れ、その舞台になる一条戻橋を見せ、新世代に伝えていく。

安倍清明のブームとともに一条戻橋について、または、全体的に京都の「魔界」についての本やガイドブックが、2000年代に入ってから増加する。その時期にも、旅行雑誌『旅』の88年間の歴史の中で、戻橋が再び、そして最後に紹介された。それは、2003年2月号のことである⁵⁸。その記事では、著者の森本哲郎が、小野小町と縁の地について語りながら、一条戻橋の伝説を紹介している。安倍清明が橋の下に式神を隠したことが最初に、続いて橋のたもとで占いが行われたことと、橋名の由来が三善清行の蘇生にあることも掲載された。渡辺綱が、鬼を退治する伝説が、今回使った案内書と旅行雑誌で、初めて挙げられている。それ以外の話も書かれ、たもとに「柳風呂」という娼家が建ち、そこに綱という名前の遊女がおり、江戸時代の俳人と画家だった与謝蕪村（1716－1783）が彼女と親しかった、と著者の森本哲郎が述べている⁵⁹。安倍清明の伝説が真っ先に出ることは、清明ブームの時期だと分かる。一条戻橋は、歴史的だが、不思議で面白い場所として紹介されている。さらに、著者が安倍清明と陰陽道のイメージに娯楽の要素を増

⁵⁸ 森本2003: 135。

⁵⁹ 同上。

やそうとしたと言える。安倍晴明の伝説の舞台にされている傾向の中で、渡辺綱と鬼の話を思い出させているし、その話は、江戸時代にも知られ、遊女によって遊びに使われたことを教えてくれている。著者から見ても、一条戻橋は少し神秘的だけれども、同時に、娯楽や癒しが求められる場所でもある。

安倍晴明ブームから実際に利益を得ている晴明神社は、そのブームを積極的に支えている。戻橋を再現するだけではなく、境内にさまざまなものを置くことで不思議な異空間のイメージを作っている。または、インターネットで2003年に神社の正式なウェブサイトを始め、そこで境内を詳しく案内している⁶⁰。旧一条戻橋の写真も、その傍らに立っている式神の写真も載せられている。

現代の一条戻橋は、昔のおもむきがない橋に変わったが、形は旧橋に似ており、堀川の整備で、北側に木が茂り、少しだけ味が醸し出されている。そこ西詰にも案内の駒札が立っており、三ヶ国語で、三善清行の蘇生伝説と、渡辺綱が鬼女に出会った伝説が紹介されている。逆に安倍晴明についての情報がまったく載せられていない。それは、戻橋が陰陽師の舞台だけではなく、様々な不思議な伝説の舞台であると重視したいからであろう。現在駒札を作り立たせるのは、京都市の観光MICE推進室である。そこには、駒札担当がいるが、問い合わせしたところ、正式にデータベースには一条戻橋の駒札についての記録が見つからないと言われた。町の自治会が自ら作るところもあるらしいが、そのときには「京都市」と最後に書かない。一条戻橋の駒札は、京都市が作っている正式な形で、最後には京都市と書かれている。誰によって作られ、いつ立てられ、内容は誰が決めたかといった情報が、京都市観光MICE推進室にはない。

3. まとめ

京都は、古都京都として世界遺産に登録され、日本人から見ても、外国人から見ても、日本伝統文化の中心地である。1200年前に作られた都は、19世紀まで天皇家が居住していた場所であったため、ずっと国の中心だと思われがちである。知識人や芸術家が集まる場所であったが、時代によって京都の範囲・姿・雰囲気が違っていた。観光地としての京都も、ヨーロッパより早く、江戸時代から観光されるようになっていた。18世紀に、初めての案内書である『都名所図会』が出版され、京都を旅行者に宣伝するようになったことが分かる。19世紀後半になると、京都は、国の政策により、伝統文化が残っている都市にされ、他の時代を無視し、平安時代が強くアピールされるようになった。その時に形成された京都のイメージは、現代まで続いている。一方で、京都は、伝統文化の町だけではなく、それぞれの時代の住民が作った文化の町でもある。その人たちが、上品な文化よりも、日常に起こっていたことを伝説にしたり、うわさにしたりした。疫病がはやり、洪水が続き、町内に悪いことが起こると、それは、神、怪異現象、鬼、幽霊などの仕業にされ、退治したり鎮魂したりする人がいた。このようなことが、京都の住民

⁶⁰ Internet Archive: Wayback Machine (<http://archive.org/web/web.php>) 2013年08月31日。

の間に伝わる伝説に変わり、時代を超え、変化しても、ずっと存在し続けてきた。このような伝説に関わる場所が京都に多く、人々に守られてきたと言える。

一条戻橋は、作られたときから、都と外の世界の境目にあり、異空間・あの世とつながる不思議な場所と思われていた。平安時代には、墓地への道であったため、現世と死者の世界が交わり、二つの世界が行き来できる場所であった。三善清行が蘇生したことから、名前が確定し、永遠の別れの所でもあり、失った大切な人と再び出会える所でもあった。寂しくて、怖いところでも、希望を与えてくれる場所だった。そのころには、一条戻橋は知名度の高いところとなっていた。このイメージが、文学で残された伝説として現代にも知られている。鎌倉時代には、戻橋が寂しいところというよりも、不思議な力が宿り、あの世とつながっているの、占いができる場所と信じられていた。または、鬼に出会える場所や、式神が棲みかにした場所と思われていた。そのため戻橋は、民衆から恐れられていたと推測できる。しかし、英雄視された人間で、天文学と陰陽道の専門家だった安倍晴明は、不思議な力を持ち、一条戻橋に隠した式神を支配できる者とみなされた。また、武人だった渡辺綱も、あらゆる魔物を退治するヒーローにされた。それは、この時代の戻橋の特徴である。そのイメージが支えられ、次の世代に伝わったのは、『平家物語』などの軍記物語に伝説が収録されたからであろう。物語を読める貴族の中だけでなく、口伝えにより民衆の中でも同時に伝説が語り伝わっていった。

鎌倉時代にも、室町時代にも、一条戻橋の辺りは、かなり有名だったと言える。健康を与える晴明稲荷社も橋の近くにあり、橋のたもとに陰陽師たちが住みつき、人のために占ったりした。晴明社の参拝者と占いを求めて来る人が多かったと考えられる。

安土桃山時代になると、一条戻橋周辺が神秘的なところというよりも、現実的に恐ろしい場所に変わった。織田信長のときも、豊臣秀吉のときも、一条戻橋は、実際に人が死ぬ場所となった。特に后者では、そこが死刑と首をさらす所となり、犯罪者だけでなく、秀吉の敵や秀吉に逆らった人がそこで殺され、彼らの首が橋のたもとでさらされるようになった。一条戻橋が秀吉の邸宅の聚楽第と大名の屋敷の間に当たり、堀川を越えて必ず通る場所だった。そのため、秀吉が権力を見せ付けるために、そこで首をさらしたり、刑罰を行ったりした。地理的な理由で、一条戻橋は、人がよく渡り、有名な橋だった。実際に死に関わる場所なので、人々の間では、不愉快で怖い場所と思われていたと考えられる。そのころの戻橋は、死を思わせる暗くて、怖い場所である。

その次の時代は、京都が初めて観光されるようになる江戸時代である。江戸時代の人たちは、戻橋には、怪異現象が起こり、あの世から来たものに会えるイメージを持ち、秀吉が人を殺していた死のにおいがする怖い場所のイメージも持っていた。橋の名前も、縁起が悪いと思われ、徳川家康の孫の徳川和子が嫁入りするときによくないから、彼女が通れるように一時的に橋名は変えられてしまった。だが、そのイメージもまた変化し、平安時代と鎌倉時代に戻り始めた。1662年に浅井了意(? ~1691)作の『安倍晴明物語』が刊行され、安倍晴明に関わる伝説が江戸時代の言葉に合わせ、記されている。読みやすく、娯楽を目的とするその仮名草子は、平安時代から作られていた様々な安倍晴明を描く説話を組み合

わせて作られたものである。そこには、一条戻橋が、清明と関わる伝説の舞台として出てきている。その著作の出版は、当時の人々が関心を持っていたことを教えてくれる。浅井了意が清明と戻橋をまず皆に思い出させたのか、すでに京都の人々は、その話に興味を示し、浅井了意が需要に答えただけなのかは分からない。『安倍晴明物語』が『蘆屋道満大内鑑』（通称で「葛の葉」）として1734年に人形浄瑠璃の話にされ、1735年に歌舞伎の芝居にされた。その芝居では、一条戻橋が平安時代のイメージで見せられていた。「葛の葉」の話が人気を集めていたから、当時の人へ影響力があったと考えられる。それ以降、江戸時代の人々が戻橋を不思議で面白い場所として見始めたのだろう。1780年に刊行され、都を訪れる人向けの『都名所図会』には、寺社と並んで一条戻橋が紹介されている。その戻橋は、式神が住み、占いが行われ、人が蘇るところである。少し怖くて、珍しいことが起こる場所であるため、観光客は、異空間に入り、普段と違う体験をし、人間の支配下にある魔物と会えるような気持ちになる。一条戻橋を訪れることで、人々は、日常生活から開放され、再生されると同時に、娯楽を感じていた。その一方で、京都人がまじめに一条戻橋のことを考えていなかったと言える。橋のたもとに娼家があり、その遊女の芸名は「綱」だったことから、渡辺綱と鬼女の伝説を、商売と遊びのねたにしていたことが分かる。江戸時代の戻橋観光は、このような不思議さと、作られた恐怖の経験と娯楽が混交したものになっていたと考えられる。

日本が近代化する明治時代に、京都は日本伝統文化「みやび」の象徴になる都市に選ばれた。長い歴史を世界の前で見せるために、京都は無理やりに平安時代と結ばれた。そのため、平安時代と関わりが薄いか、平安朝廷の文化のイメージと違う伝説や場所が、国家や京都市によって重視されていなかった。その中で、一条戻橋は忘れられておらず、国家が開催した平安遷都千百年記念祭と、第四回内国勸業博覧会に合わせ作られた正式なガイドブック『京都名所独案内』に紹介されたが、平安時代と深い関係を持つ場所として、息子の愛と、宗教心で蘇生した三善清行の平安時代の最古伝説しか紹介されていない。これで、国家が初めて正式に一条戻橋を大切な観光地と認めたが、三善の蘇生の話以外の話は、求められていた上品な「みやび」文化に合わなかったのだろう。同時に、橋に関わる伝説と歴史が、一般人の間で記憶され、生き続けてきた。一条戻橋は、また19世紀末に歌舞伎で使われ、渡辺綱と鬼女の伝説に基づく話の舞台とされ、二つの世界が混合し、怪異現象が起こる場所として広く紹介されるようになった。その歌舞伎の話は、現代まで上演され続け、20世紀半ばごろまでは、ラジオで全国に放送されていた。その結果、知名度は高かったが、1990年代までは、観光地として人気を集めていなかった。京都市は、戦後から一条戻橋の下に流れる川を枯渇させ、周辺のおもむきを気に留めなかった。京都の「みやび」のイメージにとって、俗信や伝説と関わり、血が流れた場所があまり好ましくなかったのだろう。それが1990年代に入ってからやっと変わる。注目されていなかった京都の場所が、特に学者の中で研究され始めた。歴史的に死と関わり、鬼や幽霊などにつながる所は、京都を考えるときに注目しなければならないと述べられるようになった。1994年に開催された平安建都1200年記念祭に合わせ、小松和彦がその新しい京都の見かたを「魔界都市」京都と呼んだ。

京都の「魔界」を案内するガイドブックと本が出版され、人々の間で少しずつ人気を集め始めた。特に陰陽師の安倍晴明が小説、マンガ、テレビ、映画で使われるようになり、日本の現代大衆文化に入れられた。晴明ブームが2000年代に起こるとともに、一条戻橋も、注目を浴びるようになった。晴明神社に参拝するときに、観光客が晴明縁の地として一条戻橋を観光するようになった。しかし、橋を実用化しようと思った京都市が、橋をアスファルトがしかれた新しいものに架け替えた。したがって伝説の舞台に見えない場所となってしまった。旧戻橋は、近くの晴明神社によって境内で再現された。さらに、隣に安倍晴明の式神の像が建てられた。その結果、本物の橋はなくなっても、京都の歴史の中でずっと存在していた一条戻橋の石碑ができた。今までは伝説で描かれた橋と、実際に京都にかかっている橋は、同じものを指していたが、現在は伝説上の橋と、現実的で実用的な橋に分けられてしまった。堀川に架かっている本物の橋は、これからなくなっても、晴明神社の石碑が存在し続けるのだろう。また、一条戻橋が二つに分けられたことで、不思議で怪異現象が起こるイメージは、堀川に架かる橋より切り離された。そして、近所に住む人々は、あの周辺は鬼が現れ、あの世とつながっていると思うこともなくなったのであるのだ。

おわりに

現代の一条戻橋の人気は、上からの働き、つまり国家や京都市の政策として現れてきたのではなく、下からの働きから出てきた。晴明神社が存在し続けることで、安倍晴明が皆から忘れられず、学者と、小説家と、漫画家と、その人たちの仕事に影響された人々のおかげで、一条戻橋のようなところが京都の観光地図と人々の意識の中に戻ってきた。

京都の一条戻橋は、伝説により語られ、『都名所図会』により観光地として紹介され、20・21世紀のメディアによってもてはやされた。それにより、不思議で、怖い場所だが、危険でないイメージが確定され、日常は単調でつまらないと思う観光客は、それを確かめに、現実から逃避するために来るのだと言える。一条戻橋に来ることで、伝説上の世界と現実の世界が混合することを期待し、異空間に入り、珍しくてやや怖い気分を味わい、体験して楽しんでいる。一条戻橋は、江戸時代の観光客も、現代の観光客も、このような気持ちにさせている。それと同時に、戻橋は、不思議な力が存在する異空間だからこそ、昔から亡くなった人と再会ができ、死に行く者が無事に戻れる希望を与えてくれる場所でもある。

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English Summary of the Article

Marcin Tatarczuk

Kyoto Travels and Visits to the “Other Side”. History and Image Transition of the *Ichijō Modoribashi* (Bridge of Returns)

It comes as no surprise that the Japanese ancient capital, Kyoto, world-famous for its centuries-long history and rich culture, is among the most visited cities in the country, enjoyed by both domestic and foreign tourists alike. Many of them come to Kyoto to experience the traditional culture of Japan, but recent years have seen the emergence of a new type of tourist – one that explores places connected with the “Other World” or the supernatural, a phenomenon known in Japanese as *makai kankō* or *makai meguri*. The purpose of this paper is to describe how Kyoto became a symbol of traditional Japanese culture through various local government policies, especially in the 19th century. It also shows that the recent trend of visiting the supernatural-related spots reflects how Kyoto was perceived, and how its image evolved during the 20th century. The paper focuses on one particular example of the *Ichijō Modoribashi*, a bridge believed to stand in the exact same place as when it was first built in the Heian period. By tracing the roots of legends concerning the bridge, one can understand how the image of this spot has changed, and how it is connected with certain events in history. Currently, the *Ichijō Modoribashi* is depicted as a place closely related to the Japanese legendary astrologer, Abe no Seimei, a popular character found in numerous Japanese novels, comic books, and movies. The sightseeing history of the *Ichijō Modoribashi* is discussed with reference to *Miyako meisho zue* (*Pictorial Guide to Famous Places in Kyōto*) published in 1780 by Akisato Ritō, in the earliest Japanese travel magazine, *Tabi* (1924-2012), and the most popular travel guide book in Japan, *Rurubu* (1984 -), issued by JTB Publishing.

Key-words: Kyoto, *ichijō modoribashi*, *makai*, Abe no Seimei, travel

INTERVIEW

ワルシャワ大学三井物産冠講座

松浦寿輝氏インタビュー

2013年6月4日

ワルシャワ大学中央図書館 懷庵にて

聞き手：ミコワイ・メラノヴィッチ、藤井カルポルク陽子

現代日本を代表する小説家・詩人・評論家である松浦寿輝氏が、「第五回 ワルシャワ大学三井物産冠講座」にて『『波打ち際の国』の文学』というテーマの講義をしてくださいました。急峻な山々を有する一方、海に囲まれた日本独特の地形が日本人の世界観を形成しているということを、折口信夫や柳田国男の文学を引きながら考察された大変興味深い講義でした。その後、松浦氏の小説作品についてお話を伺いました。

松浦寿輝氏とポーランド

聞き手：松浦先生は今回ポーランドに初めていらっしゃいましたが、どのような印象をお持ちになりましたか。

松浦（以下敬称略）：そうですね、緑の多いとてもきれいな街だと思いました。戦争で随分破壊されてしまったのを、新しく作り直したのだと思いますが、広々とした都市景観が成功しているのではないのでしょうか。これからポーランドをもっとよく知りたいと思いますが、高校生・大学生の時にはポーランドの映画がとても好きで、ポーランドへの憧れというのはずっとあったんですよ。アンジェイ・ワイダの映画は、政治性の強い点が今ひとつよく理解できず、あまり乗りきれなかったところがありましたが、むしろイエジー・カヴァレロヴィッチの映画にとても魅かれたんですね。特に『影』という作品があって、これは素晴らしいと思いました。『夜行列車』『尼僧ヨアンナ』なども好きでしたね。それから文学では、最近の若い世代のポーランドの文学はよく知らないんですけども、やはりスタニスワフ・レムとか、特にブルーノ・シュルツが僕は好きで、そういった映画や文学を通じて、ポーランドへの魅力を感じていたので、今回こうしてワルシャワに来ることができて良かったと嬉しく思っています。

聞き手：松浦先生は「新思潮」で1977年から1979年まで同人でいらっしゃいましたが、当時スラブ文学者の沼野充義さんも同人でした。沼野さんは1987年

に日本学科で客員講師を勤められ、ワルシャワ大学とも縁のある方なのですが、「新思潮」時代に先生は沼野さんとのご交流をお持ちだったのでしょうか。

松浦：沼野君は僕の一年下で、大学の頃付き合っていました。彼も映画好きでまたSF好きでもあって、とても仲良くなって、しかも今に至るまで仲の良い友達でいるという珍しい関係なんです。学生の頃の友達って徐々に疎遠になっていくんですけれども、沼野君とはいろいろな縁があって、今でも何やかんや付き合いがありますね。ポーランドとの関係で言っても、僕にとっては沼野君との関係が大きな意味を持っています。若い頃の彼はスタニスワフ・レムの『枯草熱』という翻訳を出して、最近ではレムの『ソラリス』の新しい訳を出しましたが、そういうのもずっと読んできましたから、沼野君を通じてポーランドへの関心がずっと続いていたということはあるですね。

聞き手：「新思潮」は1907年からの伝統のある文芸誌ですね。

松浦：そうですね、ただ「新思潮」という名前はずっと続いているんですけれども、その都度「第～次新思潮」という形で、少し続いてはおしまいになって、また誰かが始めてまたなくなるというのを繰り返して、現在はありませんよね。でも、もちろん芥川龍之介のような日本近代文学の重要な作家が関わっていた時期もありますから、大看板というか、文学的にとても重要な雑誌ですね。

僕の詩を初めて載せてくれたのも「新思潮」なんです。それも確か、沼野君が僕に書かないかって声をかけてくれたんだと思います。僕は同人だったと言っても、実際には沼野君とあと何人かが主要なメンバーがやっていて、僕は一種ゲストというか、頼んでくれたので書いたというそういう程度なんです。ですから、沼野君は友達なんですけれども、恩人でもあるんですね。

聞き手：詩を書き始められたのは、「新思潮」に入ることがきっかけだったのですか。

松浦：そうです。まあその前に、ちょっとしたものがありませんけれども、本格的に詩を何編か書いて、最初の頃の僕にとっての重要な作品を載せてくれたのは「新思潮」ですね。

聞き手：その後、80年代になりますと、詩作と評論でご活躍されますけれども、その二つの執筆活動の間に影響関係はありましたか。

松浦：どうなのかなあ・・・自分の詩の方法とか主題の選び方というものについて、評論・批評の形で少し客観的に考察してみようとか、分析してみようとか、そういうことはあったかもしれませんがね。評論で自分の作品を単に弁護するようになるというのは、ちょっとつまらないことなんですけれども、自分の作品を手掛かりにして、少し詩というもの、あるいは文学というものについて考えてみようということで、評論を書いたりしたのだと思います。

聞き手：現代の日本文学における松浦文学についてお聞きしたいと思います。先生はまず詩や研究などでご活躍されました。詩集『冬の本』、研究『エッフェル塔試論』、『知の庭園』、評論『折口信夫論』、2000年には『花腐し』で芥川賞を受賞され、小説家としても広く知られるようになりました。小説家としての先生は、内向の世代との関連を思わせます。例えば古井由吉の『槿』など・・・古井由吉はもしかしたら『半島』の原形だったのではないのでしょうか。内向の世代で言うならば、どの流れに先生の小説はおかれるのでしょうか。

松浦：鋭い読み方をして下さったと思います。日本のいわゆる戦後文学と言われるものは、政治的な主題が大きいですね。野間宏、大岡昇平、椎名麟三、ある意味で三島由紀夫もそうで、政治的な主題を扱ったものですね。大江健三郎さんの小説もやはりそうなんですけれども、内向の世代って言われる人達は、内向って言うくらいだから、あまり現実世界の政治ではなくて、自分の精神の内面を掘り下げようと思います。特に古井由吉さんの小説はそうだと思うんですけれども、僕はとても古井さんの小説が好きで、随分影響を受けていると思います。確かに『半島』の迫村という中年男の存在の仕方というか、世界における存在の仕方は、どこか古井さんの小説と共通しているところがあるかもしれないですね。

都市空間-東京

聞き手：短編集『もののたはむれ』についてお伺いしたいと思います。この短編には東京の地名がはっきりと出てきます。先生は以前、小説には二種類あって、ひとつは地名のある小説、もうひとつは地名のない小説だとおっしゃいました。この地名の有無は小説にどのように働きかけるとお考えですか。

松浦：そうですね、僕はもともと、フランス文学やフランス思想の研究を専攻していたので、ポール・ヴァレリーや、シュルレアリスム、アンドレ・ブルトンなどを研究していました。18歳で大学に入ってフランス語を始めて、研究者として博士論文を書きました。つまり、自分が18歳まで暮らした東京の街というのは意識にのぼらないで、当時はフランスのことを一生懸命考えていたんです。それである年齢になった時に、子供の頃からフランスに出会うまでの自分の体験というものを、表現したい気持ちになった。その時に浮かび上がってきたのが、自分の生まれ育ってきた東京の街のいろんな表情とか風景とか、そういうものなんです。小説を書こうと思った時に、まずそれを表現したいと思ったんです。フランスや西洋っていうのは頭の中で知的に理解しようとしたインテレクチュアルな世界なんだけれども、むしろ自分の下半身というか、子供の頃渦巻いていた思いとか、欲望とか、そういうものを東京の街との関係で描きたかった。それが、『もののたはむれ』という短編集になったんです。

それをある程度書いた後、その主題はある程度書き尽くしてしまったので、もうちょっと違うものを書きたくなった。というのが、固有名詞の出でこない、地名の出で

こない『半島』などの作品なんですね。地名が出てこないというと、やはり場所が現実のどこなのか分からない。『もののたはむれ』だと東京の上野とか具体的に出てきますが、『半島』だと抽象性が高くなるし、一種の寓話、おとぎ話的なものに少し近づいてきますね。それはかなり本質的な違いだと思います。それは小説としてどちらも面白いですね。

聞き手：『吃水都市』も東京を舞台にしていますね。先ほどの講座では、日本的な文学の表現方法に反発して、非常に息の長い文体で『吃水都市』を書かれたとおっしゃいました。一方、本文中には歴史的仮名遣いの使用も見られます。その共存が面白いと思うのですが、意図はどういうところにあったのでしょうか。

松浦：『吃水都市』もある意味、東京論、東京の地名が出てくる連作で、『もののたはむれ』と裏表の関係にあるんです。小説での東京論が『もののたはむれ』であり、詩の言葉、詩的な言語でやろうとしたのが『吃水都市』なんです。ただ『吃水都市』に出てくる東京っていうのは、地名は出てくるんだけど、現実の東京というよりも、どこかSFのような、架空の気配をたたえた都市で、一種未来都市のようでもあるんだけど、古めかしい時代に想像された未来都市のような感じですね。あるいは、未来の人間が振り返った過去の東京と言ってもいい、そういう錯綜した関係にあるというイメージだったんです。だからその一種の違和感を表現するのに、歴史的仮名遣いというのは仕掛けとして面白いかなと。つまり、明治時代に書かれたSFのような効果が出るといいんじゃないかと思ったんです。

聞き手：主人公は主に、都市を徒歩で歩き回るというイメージがありますが、それについてはいかがでしょうか。

松浦：そうですね、まあ都電なんかも小説に出てくることはありますけれども。でも僕は街を歩き回ることが大好きで、それで東京やパリでも随分歩きましたし、ワルシャワもほとんど時間がありませんが、今朝もホテルの外に出て歩き回りましたね。とにかく歩き回るのが楽しい。だからそういうことの反映だと思いますね。歩くとやはり空間の奥行きが分かるし、都市空間を体験するということですからね。

聞き手：『吃水都市』は2008年に出版されましたが、この都市のイメージができるのに20年の歳月の積み重ねが必要だったと述べてられています。その出版から今年で5年が経ちますが、この5年間で都市のイメージはどのように変化したと思われるですか。

松浦：東京はどんどん変わっています。この頃、僕はずっと武蔵野市の吉祥寺の家に引きこもって暮らしてはいるんですけど、時々新宿とか渋谷に出ると、大きな建物ができていてすごいなと。この5年間で現実の都市イメージはどんどん変わっています。でも現実の東京の変化にはちょっと追いつけないですね。僕の都市イメージっていうのは『吃水都市』でほぼ止まってしまって、それ以上は発展し

ていないと思います。それに都市って、昔の都市の方がだいたい面白い訳だから、新しいものができるっていうのは、どんどんつまらない空間になっていくっていうことじゃないかという気がします。スカイツリーにもまだ登っていませんが、建設中にスカイツリーの足元までは行きました。僕はエッフェル塔について厚い本を書いたんですけども、エッフェル塔は好きなんです。形はとてもエレガントで美しいと思う。でもスカイツリーはあまり美しいとは思わない。ただ墨田区のあの辺はスカイツリー効果でまた賑やかになりつつあるみたいで、それはいいとは思いますが、それでも。

長編小説『半島』『不可能』をめぐって

聞き手：『半島』では、主人公が自分の意志で大学をやめて、思い出の中にある半島に向かいます。そこで、いろんな人に偶然に出会う。しかしそこには何かいわゆるエキゾチズムがあるように思えます。中国人風の女や、ベトナム料理屋など。それらはどういった意図で小説に現れるのですか。

松浦：そうですね、さきほど講座で「日本の波打ち際」というお話をして、必ずしも日本の文化の特徴に賛成している訳ではなく、むしろ批判したい気持ちもあると言いましたが、小説においてもどこか日本を出たいという気持ちがあるんですね。地図を見ると、東南アジアから日本に至る島の繋がりが見える。日本から四国、九州、沖縄そしてずっと辿っていくと台湾があって、東南アジアのインドネシアやタイがある。やはり日本はアジアの中の国なんです。エキゾチズムという、単なる観光ツーリズムのようなものと面白くないんですけども、日本の外にあるもの、日本ではないものを、『半島』っていう小説の世界の中に入れたかったということがありますね。

聞き手：『半島』の冒頭は本当に息の長い文章で、ブルーストではないかと思いましたけれども、中盤には安部公房の『カンガルー・ノート』に似ている部分が出てくるように思います。夢と現が重なっていく、安部公房の最後の小説にもありますが、何か影響関係はあるのでしょうか。

松浦：それは・・・ないかもしれませんが。安部公房にはそんなに深い影響を受けていないと思います。

聞き手：そうですか。また、「自由を求める」というフレーズが頻繁に出てくるのが印象的です。後書きで松浦先生は、この小説をご自身の複数の危機を乗り越えるために書いたと書かれています。が、「自由を求める」ということと、危機を乗り越えるために小説を書くということは繋がっているのでしょうか。

松浦：それはあるでしょうね。自分の人生の危機的な問題、例えば束縛が外からやってきて困った時、どうやってその束縛をはね除けて自分の人生を取り戻せ

るのかということがありますね。別に小説を書いたからといって、現実問題が解決する訳ではないんですけれども、ものを書くことで自分の体と心を新しく再生させるというか、生まれ変わらせるっていうことはあると思いますね。一方で『半島』には「自由なんてありやしない」っていう言葉も出てきます。それは両方とも僕の考えで、自由になりたいという気持ちと、自由なんて結局はないんじゃないかという気持ちが同時にあるんですね。

聞き手：『半島』や『不可能』では老人が随分活躍していると思います。

松浦：そうですね、だんだん僕が年を取ってきたということもありますけれども、端的にあまり老人が活躍する小説ってありませんよね。大体若者が主人公の場合が多い。だから自分でそれをやってみたかったということがあります。『不可能』の場合は、老いというものをめぐって考えてみたかった。つまり年を取る、老人になることは、体も弱ってくるし、頭も弱ってくるし、だいたい衰弱や何か知力や体力が減るなど、ネガティブに捉えられるじゃないですか。そこで逆に、獐猛な老人を描きたかったんです。老いることで獐猛になったり、野性的になったりすることがあるんじゃないか。それから、若いときよりも、もっと自由になる。そういうものを描いてみたかったんですね。

聞き手：『不可能』についてですが、三島由紀夫が割腹事件を生き延びて老人になっていたらどうなるかという小説の構想は、もともとどのように出来上がったのですか。

松浦：これはもともと、先ほど言った獐猛な老人を書きたいというのが最初にあったんです。最初の一編を書いた時に、何となく思いついて主人公を「平岡」という名前にしてみた。三島由紀夫の本名「平岡公威」。三島が死なないで生き延びて80歳になったら、こういう老人になっていただろうというのは、実は後になって出てきた発想なんです。だから『不可能』という小説は、みな書評なんかで三島由紀夫の話ばかりが出てきて、小説自体をちゃんと読んでくれなかったという恨みが残っている部分もあるんです。僕は本当を言うと、三島はあまりに興味ないし、好きな作家でもない。人間としては面白いと思いますよ、だって腹切って死んでしまったんですよ。でも主人公に「平岡」という名前を付けたのは、実はちょっとした遊び心からなんです。

聞き手：三島文学にはあまり興味がないとのことですが、『豊饒の海』もお好きではありませんか。

松浦：『豊饒の海』も、ちょっとつらい小説ですよ。彼は自分の代表作、最後の長編を書こうと思って頑張って書いたんだと思いますけれども、『春の雪』が一番良くできていると思います。緻密な文章で、大正時代の風俗が厚く、油絵の具を厚く塗り込めるようにして書いて、これはちょっとした文章だと思います。でも最

後の『天人五衰』はちょっとひどいと思うし、読むのが辛い。だんだん文章が粗くなっていくし、死に急いで書いた小説ですよ。

聞き手：『不可能』の中には「作家」という人が出てきて、身代わりとして殺されてしまいます。その際、頭を切断されている。それは首の傷を隠すためだということですが、腹の傷については何も触れられません。それはやはり首がなくなることについて、アセファルなどの例も出てきますが、象徴的な意味があるのでしょうか。

松浦：そうですね、そこではミステリーを、推理小説を書いてみたかったんですよ。そこで首のトリックをいろいろと考えて、G.K.チェスタートンの探偵小説など色々なものがあるんですけれども。でも、特に首に対して深いこだわりがあったということではないですね。

小説の空間・時間

聞き手：『半島』では、時間や記憶、空間、ものとの距離感といった要素が、重要なキーワードになっていると思いますが、そうした要素が小説に印象的に現れるのは、映画や他の文学からの影響があるのでしょうか。

松浦：そうですね、映画っていうのはとても変なものだと思うんです。繋がっちゃうんですよ。つまり映画というのは画面を組み合わせ、モンタージュ(編集)して、断片でしかないショットとショットを繋げてしまうんです。その繋がったものを見ると、ひとつの時間の中で物語が展開するように見えてしまう。そういう不思議な媒体だと思うんです。ある男がどこかを見ているような顔のショットがあり、次に風景が映ると、その男がその風景を見ているという意味が生じてしまいます。繋がってしまう事の不思議さですよ。それは映画を見る度にそういうことを考えるんですけれども。そういう意味では、近さと遠さの関係っていうのは、どこか僕が書いた小説の中にも反映しているかもしれないですね。

でもまあ、基本的に映画は映画で、小説は小説ですよ。ただ詩と小説の距離と比べると、映画と小説の関係の方が近いかもしれません。つまり物語があって、それを圧縮して提示する訳だから。僕の映画好きっていうのは、小説の中で色々な形で反映していると思います。

聞き手：また松浦先生の小説では、時間の流れ方や、時間の在り方の描写が非情に印象的だと思います。小説にとって時間とは何なのでしょう。

松浦：先ほど古井さんの『槿』の話が出ましたが、古井さんと私が個人的に知り合えたのは、本当に自分の人生の好運だったと思っています。1990年頃でしたか。古井さんがあるとき、「いやあ、松浦さん、小説っていうのは時間ですよ、結局」と言ったことがあるんです。小説は時間なんだ。時間をどう処理するの

か、時間をどう流れさせるのか、あるいは時間の流れをせき止めるか。それは小説の本質的な問題だと思います。詩はほんの二十行あまりで終わってしまうから、一瞬の出来事なんですけれども、小説は何百頁かにわたってあり、読む方にも時間が流れるわけですね。だから小説の魅力っていうのは、ある時、時間がふっと切れて、ぽんっと何十年ごとかに飛ぶことだってできる。それが小説の面白さだと思います。まあうまく成功しているかどうかは分からないんですけども、自分なりにそれは重要な問題だと思っていますね。

聞き手：先生のおっしゃる立体的な小説についてはどうでしょうか。

松浦：立体的と言う時には、複数の人間が絡み合って、複雑な物語の中で色々な役割が演じられながら、最終的にはひとつの小説の世界に統合されていくというイメージですね。小説には登場人物が複数出てきますからね。そうすると、それぞれに違う時間が流れている。そういった点でも面白いジャンルですね、小説は本当に。

聞き手：今回のご講演のテーマでもあった、波打ち際や海のイメージについてお聞きしたいと思います。これらは先生作品の中で重要なモチーフだと思うんですけども、海以外にも雨がよく小説中に出てきます。例えば主人公が雨に降り籠められるとか……。

松浦：そうなんです。僕の詩や小説には水のイメージがたくさん出てきますね。それは半分意識しているところもあるし、半分は無意識的に出てくるところがあるんですが、自己分析してみると、何か濡れたもの、湿ったもの、そういうものへの執着というのか、オブセッションがありますね。古井由吉にもまさに『水』という短編集がありますけれどもね。そういう影響もあるかもしれないし。雨や何か液体的なものは、いろんな形で出てきますね。

聞き手：そうですね。先生は今後、どのような作品をご執筆されたいとお考えですか。

松浦：僕は今『明治の表象空間』という本を書いていて、もうほぼ出来上がったんですけども、それはもう十年がかりで、終わるともう本当にいろいろ抱えていたことが終わって、「自由」になるので、そうしたらまた長い小説を書いてみたいと思っています。

聞き手：とても楽しみにしています。本日はどうもありがとうございました。

松浦寿輝 略歴

日本のフランス文学者、研究者、詩人、映画評論家、小説家。1954年東京に生まれる。1981年、パリ第三大学文学博士号取得。2002年、東京大学総合文化研究科超域文化科学博士号取得。1988年に詩集『冬の本』高見順賞、2009年に『吃水都市』萩原朔太郎賞、1996年に評論『折口信夫論』三島由紀夫賞、1999年に『知の庭園』芸術選奨文部大臣賞、2000年に小説『花腐し』芥川龍之介賞、2005年に『半島』読売文学賞等、受賞多数。2012年紫綬褒章受賞。2009年から2010年まで東京大学大学院総合文化研究科超域文化科学専攻長。2006年から2010年まで表象文化論学会初代会長。

ワルシャワ大学三井物産冠講座

枡野俊明氏インタビュー

2014年5月14日

ワルシャワ大学中央図書館 懷庵にて

聞き手：アグニェシカ・コズィラ、藤井カルポルク陽子

曹洞宗徳雄山建功寺の住職を務められる一方、日本造園設計の代表として庭園デザイナーも手掛けられご活躍されている枡野俊明氏が、「第七回 ワルシ ャワ大学三井物産冠講座」の講師としてワルシャワ大学にいらっしゃいました。日本の禅の庭について講義をしていただいた後、更に詳しく禅の庭についてお伺いしました。

禅の庭との出会い

藤井：先生はご著書の中で、小学生の時に京都の庭園に魅せられたと書かれています、どんなところに魅力を感じられたのですか。

枡野（以下敬称略）：そうですね、その時はまったく予備知識などありませんでしたが、親と一緒に京都に行った時、禅寺を見てなんてきれいなんだろうと思いました。庭を見るためにわざわざ来る方もいて、周りをじっと見ていると、庭も建物も素晴らしいのに驚きました。自分の所はどこを走り回ってもいいような状態でしたので、こんなにも違うものなのかと。こういった空間がお寺にはあるべきだと思ったのが強い印象ですね。

藤井：その後、斉藤勝雄先生にお会いになられていますが、その頃からもう庭を作り始めていらっしゃったのですか。

枡野：中学に上がる頃でしたか、親が「週刊朝日」をとっていたんですけれども、そこに白黒の庭の写真がよく掲載されていたんですね。そして頂いたお菓子などの箱の上についてくるパラフィン紙を使って、写真の上に重ねてなぞっていたんですよ。今で言うトレースですね。そうすると、あ、こんなところに木が生えているんだとか、何となく覚えていきましたね。

そうしたら中学二年の時の先生が「和尚(あだ名でした)、そんなに変わったことが好きなんだったら、皆と同じように公立に進まないで、玉川の教育に行け」

と言われまして、そちらに進んだんです。そこでずっと好きなことを続けてきたんです。そして高校の時にうちの建功寺の庫裡などを建て直そうという話があり、庭も一緒に整備することになり、斉藤先生にお願いしたんですね。その時の打ち合わせの時に、きれいなスケッチを見たりして興味津々でした。工事が始まると、どんどん庭の姿ができていく。これは面白いぞと思いました。それを目の当たりにして、更に深みに入ったという具合です。

藤井：その後、大本山總持寺で雲水修行をされていますが、その頃の修行について教えてください。

枡野：これは言葉にならないくらい大変でした。只管打坐なんですけれども、普段の生活がすべて取り除かれてしまうわけですよ。例えば、食べられない。ぎりぎりまで寝られない。足を伸ばせない。ごろっと横になれない。普通にできるはずのことをできずにギリギリのところまで落とし込まれると、足を伸ばせることが有り難いとか、食べられることが有り難いと、頭ではなく体で経験することになります。多くが脚気か栄養失調になりますからね。また、毎日叩かれるから肘や脇の下、膝の後ろなど柔らかいところに痣が散って出てくるんです。始めの頃は痛くて首も回らなくなります。そうした中で逃亡してしまう人も出てくるんです。私のときは七十四人入って、一ヶ月後には五十九人でしたからね。しかしそれを三ヶ月するとだんだん慣れてきて、半年経つと随分生活にも慣れますね。

そうすると、今まで当たり前だと思っていたことが、なんて有り難いんだろうということに気づくわけですね。今生きていられること、足が伸ばせること、当たり前のようにやっていたことの有り難さを、体そのもので知ることなんです。病気を初めて健康の有り難さを知り、健康維持に気をつけるようになるということもありますね。当たり前だと思っていたことを有り難いと思い、その気持ちを忘れずにやっていくということですね。

コズィラ：私は学生達に日本の仏教について講義をしますが、その中でも特に学生にとって分かりにくいのは、「生死即涅槃、煩惱即菩提」のあたりなんですけれども、先生はどのようにご説明されますか。「一即一切、一切即一」華嚴經の世界ですか。

枡野：そうですね。まず、悟りと迷いは、結局、山と谷と同じようなものなんです。谷があるから山の景色が美しいんですね。迷いがあるから気づきがあるんです。ですから、迷いがなかったら悟りなんてないんです。それが「煩惱即涅槃」ですね。煩惱があるから涅槃の境地があるわけで、例えばものすごく大変なことが自分の身に降り掛ってしまった時に、その迷いや苦しみが深ければ深いほど、必死になって上っていった頂上の景色には、ものすごい感激があるわけです。ところがいつも頂上にだけいる人は、それが当たり前になってしまう。感激も有り難みもなくなってしまいます。それと同じで、迷いがあるから悟りもあるのだということなんです。これは大事なことです。

それから、自分の生きるということを自分で答えを出していくには、どうしても自分の死というものを考えなければならない。自分の死というものは、どういうものなのかということを自分の中で納得していくと、じゃあどう生きたらいいのか、今生きるということをどう捉えていったらいいのか、という答えが出てくるのだと思います。道元禅師は「正法眼蔵」の中で薪と灰に例えているんですね。前後際断と言って。薪が燃えて灰になると通常は考えるけれども、薪は薪で、灰は灰、まったく別物だと、前後際断しているんだと。私達は生きてると生きているということだけに専念して、精一杯生きれば良いんだと。死を迎える時には死というものになりきる。生きることの先に死があると思うと、死にたくないとか、死とはどういうものなのかと不安に思うわけです。だからそれを不安に思うのではなくて、今その瞬間を生ききっていくことが生死っていうものを明らかにしていくということなんですね。ですから禅語では「而今」「即今当初自己」とか、この瞬間この場で精一杯やりきるということを言いますね。

禅の庭の歴史

コズィラ：それでは続いて、真言宗と禅宗の石庭についてお伺いしたいです。最初の石立僧は真言宗の僧侶でしたね。夢窓疎石もやはり最初は真言宗の僧侶で、後に禅宗になりました。高野山にも石庭がありますが、真言宗の石庭と禅宗の石庭はどこが違うのでしょうか。

柊野：もともと庭は平安時代には貴族の嗜みだったんです。例えば作庭記を書いた橘俊綱は、藤原家なんですね。橘姓を継いでいますけれども。そうした人たちが、寝殿造りの館の周りに庭を造ることが、自分の教養の表現であり人格の表現でもあったから、貴族は皆庭を嗜まなければ恥ずかしいということがあったんです。そうした貴族の中には出家して庭をやった人達もたくさんいました。それが仁和寺の人達なんです。そこは門跡寺院といって、天皇家や貴族と一番近い関係だったんです。そこに文化人が沢山集まりました。その中で庭を得意とする和尚が出ました。その人達が石立僧なんです。

ところが、禅が鎌倉時代に伝わってきて、ある意味、貴族の社会から武士の社会に変わっていきますね。そうすると、貴族も自分たちのことを守っていくだけで精一杯で、庭どころではなくなっていきます。仁和寺のほうでもそんなに皆の庭をやってあげるような状態ではなくなります。また平安末期になると末法思想が出てきます。そうすると、まずは自分が救われたいということになってきて、庭だの修行だの言っていられなくなりました。そこに禅が伝わってきて、今を生きるのか、今の命を大事にしていくと説いていきました。武士達は戦でいつ命を落とすか分からない、明日を知らぬ命だったわけです。その中で心の安定を求めるために禅僧のところに来た。それから、禅僧は修行の中で感じ得たものを色々な形で表現していくんですけども、その中で庭に興味を持った人達がいて、それが石立僧になっていくんですね。特に大きな要因になったのは、鎌倉の建

長寺を開いた蘭溪道隆和尚という中国から渡来した禅師がいます。蘭溪道隆は中国の五山の第二位である杭州の靈隠寺の松源派で、松源崇岳の一派は皆、庭が好きだったんですね。蘭溪道隆は鎌倉に来て建長寺を開山するんですが、その時に、記録は残っていないんですが、絵で方丈という建物の後ろに池をつくっているものがあります。それが、日本で一番始めの禅の庭です。今それは壊されてしまっていて全然だめなんです。そこで夢窓疎石は三年間修行したんですね。そして、禅と庭の関係、例えば龍門瀑も、確実にそこで見えています。また中国からの渡来僧というのは、中国ではこんな取り組みをしているという話を聞いていますし、岩が好きだったから、日本でそれをどんどん進めるようになるんですね。禅僧としての石立僧の一番始めは夢窓国師ですね。

コズイラ：石庭の構造、今の金剛峰寺の石庭は新しいですね。

枅野：石庭は真言宗のお寺にもありますし、浄土真宗の東本願寺にもあります。禅の影響を受けて日本庭園というものがどんどん確立されてくると、禅の庭に関わらず、もうこれが日本のスタイルだと言って、真言宗や浄土真宗のお寺にも入っていくわけです。そのように繋がっているんですね。日本の庭の歴史は禅の庭の歴史を除いては語れなくなっているんです。貴族の寝殿造の庭はあったけれど、そこに禅の庭が入ってきたんで、回遊式庭園も茶の湯の庭もできてくるんです。禅の庭を除いては成り立たないんですね。

コズイラ：先生は曹洞宗の最初の石立僧と言えますか。

枅野：曹洞宗でも、室町時代に一人でているんです。ただその人は、道元禅師の教えの弟子ではなくて、中国の宏智正覚の系統のお弟子だったので、別系統の曹洞禅なんですね。曹洞禅ですが、鎌倉の円覚寺、建長寺、そして南禅寺天竜寺もその人は住職をしているんです。その人は庭が大好きで、たくさん庭をやりました。その仲間は臨済禅の人達も多く、臨済禅の庭をたくさん作ったんです。でも彼の庭は現在残っていません。

枯山水

コズイラ：枯山水は夢窓疎石から始まるのでしょうか。

枅野：枯山水は、もともと水を使わない庭を言うんです。これは『作庭記』の中に記されていることです。ところが、今皆さんが言うような禅の庭の枯山水というのは夢窓国師からですね。ただ水を使わない庭というのは、平安時代からたくさんありました。ですから、ただ枯山水と言うと禅寺の枯山水を思ってしまうんですけれども、『作庭記』に「水を使わないものを枯山水という」とちゃんと定義付けがありますから、その経緯から言うと、水を使わないものは皆、枯山水になるわけです。

今のように白い砂を使ったりするのは、禅の庭からです。それは夢窓疎石からなんです。

コズィラ：枯山水は考案と関係がありますか。

枡野：あります。臨済禅で主に行なわれているのは古則公案なんです。曹洞禅もやります。臨済禅は『碧巖録』とか『無門関』を中心にやりますが、曹洞禅は『従容録』ですね。ところが曹洞禅はもうひとつ、現成公案というのをやります。

コズィラ：現成公案は『正法現蔵』にありますね。

枡野：そうです。庭は現成公案なんです。そこに現れているものから、どういう気持ちになるか、どういうふうを考えるか、これは現成公案なんです。ですから臨済禅も、問答では古則公案を一生懸命やっていたけれども、最後は現成公案に至っているんですね。曹洞禅は古則公案もやるけれども、現成公案をすごく大事にしました。『正法現蔵』でも書いていたので。庭は現成公案ですね。

コズィラ：また庭のテーマも公案からとりますね。

枡野：例えば苔寺の向上関を上がったところに座禅石があるんですよ。その向かいが洪隠山の滝石組ですね。あの滝石組は禅語の「三級浪高魚化龍」という、まさに龍門瀑をテーマにした三段の滝なんです。そこに対峙するところに座禅石があるんです。

禅の庭と水

藤井：枯山水の話が出ましたが、禅の庭と水の関係についてお伺いしたいです。枡野先生は禅の庭の中に滝・池・流れなどの水の要素を使われますが、それらをどのように捉え表現されますか。

枡野：水というのは、丸い器に入れば丸くなる、四角い器に入れば四角くなるなど、どんな所にも馴染むという特性があります。人間も水と同じような状態であるのが一番良いのですが、兎角、私はこうじゃなきゃ駄目だとか、私の役職ではこのようなことは言えないとか、こういうふうにするのが私のやり方だと思うなど、固まってしまうことがよくあるんですね。それをできるだけ取り除いていく。水のように、本質は変わらないんだけど、自由に姿を変えていける、融通無碍ですね。氷のときも、水のときも、蒸気のときもH₂Oであり、どんな形も自由に馴染んでいける。その自由さというものが、人間にとっても一番良いお手本になるのだと思います。どういう状況においても自分の本質というものを失わずに、状況に合わせられる心

の広さ、柔軟さを持たなければならないということですね。柔軟心ですね。心をいつもその状態にしておくということです。

藤井: 枅野先生の手掛けられた庭の中でも、悠久苑の火葬場の昇華の庭を拝見した時に、そこに水盤があることに興味を持ちました。私はその水盤を拝見した時に、能の井筒を連想しました。紀有常の娘が井筒の水面に自分の姿を映す場面です。昇華の庭は茶毘にふされたあと最初に見る景色で、そこに水盤を置かれたのにはどういう意図があったのでしょうか。

枅野: そうですね。昇華の庭には水盤があって、その中に七つの石が置いてあるんです。七つ目は自然石になって半分水に入ってしまった。亡くなって茶毘にふされるまで肉体がありますが、その後は我々は自然に還ると考えるんです。遺骨になって、最後には土に還るわけです。我々は自然の中に還ることによって、バクテリアに分解されて、木になって、それを食べる動物が出て来るというサイクルがあります。そして、水盤には空や周りの自然が全部映っているんですね。水面に映り込んでいるこの自然に戻っていくということを、景色を見て気がつくようにしたかったんです。

七つの石ですが、仏教では亡くなってから四十九日は中陰といいますが、七日ごとに自分のしてきたこと、生前の行いが審判されるんです。四十九日目、つまり七度目の七日目を迎えると、俗世から仏国土への旅が終わるわけですね。仏の位につけるわけです。それが自然の石になって水の中にぼんとしている。ですから、この空間では人工的な石がだんだん自然の形に還っていく様子を表しているんです。そして、その水面に映った自然の姿に自分が気づく、という作りになっています。

藤井: 枅野先生はご著書の中で、水の流れの波立つ部分と水底についての話や、水音の話も書かれていますね。

枅野: そうですね。水の表面というのは風などで波が立ったりしますが、水底というのは動かないんですね。人間の喜怒哀楽はいわば風のようなものに影響されて動いてしまうんですが、本当の人間の心の中の奥深くには動かざる本来の自己があるんですね。それはいかに波が立とうと動かないものだということを言いたいんですね。

よく禅の庭で「心字池」というのがありますが、あれは心という形をしているというふうに解釈されてきてしまっていますが、本来は、禅の心の在り方というのは池底のように動かないということであり、そこを見失わないようにしなければならないということなんです。表面はいつもさざ波が立ち、喜怒哀楽があるものですが、そこだけでものを捉えてしまわずに、元を捉えなければだめだということなんです。

禅の庭と自然

藤井: 禅の庭と自然についてお伺いしたいと思います。先生は「草木国土悉皆成仏」と禅の庭の関わりについてはどのようにお考えでしょうか。

柊野：自然というのは、人間の計らい事を超えています。今の時期ですと、南から風が来て木々がみな芽を出し葉を茂らせて緑になっていく。そうすると花も咲く。そして蝶々や鳥などがやってくる。これは人間がこうさせようとか、こうなってくださいと願ってなるものではなく、自然の道理でなっているんです。それは人間の力を超えたものです。それは時代が変わっても場所が変わっても、変わらない真実なんですね。百年前も二百年前も変わらないことなんです。それが真理であるということです。自然の中には真理、仏性とも言いますが、それがみな現れているじゃないかということなんです。それに気がつくような心をみな見つけ出しなさいということなんです。

藤井：気づきということが非常に大切なんですね。

柊野：そうですね、気づきということです。同じものを見ていても、心がそういうことに準備ができていないと、気づけないんですね。気づいた人は縁が結ばれる。気づくように普段から準備していた人は、ある時ほんとに因縁を結べるわけですね。

藤井：梅の花のたとえですね。

柊野：はい、その通りですね。日頃の努力や心を開いていくということが、気づきにつながるんですね。

藤井：そういうことを考えると、現代の非常にめまぐるしい生活を送っている人々にとって、そうした空間や時間というのは必要なのではないのでしょうか。

柊野：そうです。現代社会であればあるほど必要であって、それは都市部であればあるほど必要だと思います。皆追われるがごとく忙しく、ところてんのように次は何、次は何とやっていますから、自分自身を見失ってしまっているんですね。そういった状態を、一時間でも、三十分でもふっと忘れて、自分が眺める空間、そこから気づけるような空間を、都会に用意するというのは大事なことなんですね。

コズィラ：禅と自然に関して、曹洞宗の庭は自然そのものだったのではないですか。京都の昔の石庭を見ると、臨済宗のお寺の方が圧倒的に多いですね。曹洞宗のお寺は京都に多くないですけども、昔はどうだったのでしょうか。

柊野：ほとんどありませんね。なぜかという、禅では樹下石上といって、樹の下の石の上で坐禅を組むとか、大自然の中で、例えば水が滝から沢になっていてそこに庵を築いて、一人静かに隠棲して、素読といって昔の本を読んで、坐禅するのが理想なんです。その時には、周りは大自然で庭なんですね。全部が庭ですから、庭は要らなくなります。

夢窓国師も横須賀に庵を築いたときがあるんですけども、そこは海が見えて、山の景色が水に映っている。これは全部庭ではないかと漢文で書いているんです。それと同じように、曹洞禅は福井県の永平寺がありますけれども、ものすごい山の中ですね。全部が庭なんです。そこに道元禅師の「峰の色 溪の響も 皆な

がら 吾が釈迦牟尼の 声と姿と」という歌もあるんですけども、大自然に仏の姿が現れているということですね。臨済禅は、たまたま五山制度というものをしくことによって幕府と密着した関係になり、鎌倉へあるいは室町の京都へと、町中に行かざるを得なくなったんですね。本当は山の中で坐禅をして、自然の中で暮らしたかった。ところが京都の町の中にお寺を築かざるを得なくなり、自然をどうやってそこに取り込むかと考えて、庭をやったんですね。

コズイラ:でも多くの禅の芸術は、例えば水墨画は、曹洞宗では相国寺のように集中的にはやらなかったでしょう。芸術は宗教の妨げになるという考え方は一時的にでもなかったのでしょうか。

枅野:それは、あります。余分なことはやるなという。ひたすら只管打坐で、これをしなさいと。というのは、臨済禅が一時期ものすごく芸術の方ばかりにいつてしまっ、坐禅をやらなくなってしまったんです。白隠禅師がでる前は、非常に乱れて衰退してしまった。それではだめだと。だから妙心寺はなかなか庭をやらなかったんですよ。

コズイラ:茶道も禁じられていたでしょう。

枅野:そうです。余分なことはするなと。ただひたすら修行に専念しろと。あまりにも他のことをやりすぎて修行がおろそかになってしまったんですね。

コズイラ:一方で確かに、自然は曹洞宗にとっても大事ですね。道元禅師の「山水経」もあります。その教えはとても強調されています。

禅の庭と抽象性

コズイラ:よく西洋の研究者達は特に龍安寺の庭を見て、これは抽象的だと思いますが、禅の庭は抽象的だという解釈は良いのでしょうか。

枅野:夢窓国師の時には、まだまだかなり形が、滝ですとか、はっきりしていた。それが例えば大徳寺の大仙院になりますと、もっとそれが縮小されて般若房鉄船という人は、「三万里程を尺寸に縮む」と言いました。ですからものすごく象徴化されてくる。でもまだ遠山があったり滝があったり流れがあったりしますね。その形をも超えてしまおうとしたのが、龍安寺です。削ぎ落として削ぎ落として、もうこれ以上削ぎ落とせないとなった時に残ったのが、あの形でしょう。

あれは、石の配置のももちろん大事なんです、石の配置によって生まれた余白、あれこそが一番大事なんだと思います。あの余白は、言葉で言えば沈黙になるし、能楽で言えば所作と所作の間ですね。間(ま)ですね。平面である墨絵だとか、立体である庭では、余白と言います。動きのあるものについては、間になります。そしてこれって何なんだろうと考えることによって、余韻が生まれるんですね。そこで見

人の力量が問われるわけです。そこで、何を気づけるか、何を感じずるかということが、見る人の力量なんですね。

これは禅の文化というか、日本の芸術にも当てはまりますが、演ずる人、書く人、作る人の力量も問うけれど、見る人の力量もあわせて問うということですね。西洋の文化は、絵でも百パーセント現れきっていますから、見る人は、うーんすごいな、とすぐ感じることができる。日本のは、想像することが残されているから、ここが大変なところですね。

コズィラ：龍安寺の庭も南禅寺の庭も「虎の子渡し」という同じ名前がついていますが、これはどういうことなのでしょう。

枅野：この「虎の子渡し」というのは、実は、「工夫をなさい」ということなんです。親の虎が一匹と、二匹の子虎と一匹の彪をどうやって渡すか、ということですね。要は、どんなことも工夫をなさいということなんです。ですから、これは虎を渡している姿ですと説明したら、それはだめなんです。それではとらわれてしまうから。南禅寺は実は江戸時代の新しい庭なんですね。金地院崇伝という人が小堀遠州と親しくなった関係で、金地院の庭をやって、その後やっていますから。あの庭は、新しくてちょっと作画的なところがあります。禅の庭なんだけれども、ちょっと作ろうということが表に出てきていると思うんですね。

作庭と修行

藤井：それでは、枅野先生の作庭の過程をお伺いしたいと思います。これはどのように始まるのでしょうか。

枅野：まず必ずしなければならないのは、敷地を見に行くということですね。そして、敷地から何を感じるかということが一番大事です。その季節によっても違いがあるんですけども、とにかく敷地に行って一日でも半日でもずっと居てみて、敷地から感じられるものを大切にします。それこそ、鳥がさえずっていて心地良いなどですね。そのような良い要因、それから改善要因と阻害要因を掴むこと。改善要因というのはデザインすることで良い方向に持っていけること、阻害要因はそれを変えようはないけれども緩和することはできるというもののことです。長所はどんどん伸ばしていくこと、これは大切な点です。

例えば箱根のような場所に保養地のような別荘を造ることにしようとなると、都会の人がここにきた時、どういう時間の過ごし方をしたいだろうか、どんなふうにもその人たちを迎え入れることができるだろうかということを考えます。そうするとどんどん考えが浮かんできます。ですから、使う人の気持ち、空間・土地がもっている潜在的なもの、両方を吟味して、自分の思ったフィルターを通して造っていくということです。

藤井:実際に庭を造られる工事の過程は、どのように進むのでしょうか。

枡野:そうですね、地割りというんですが、骨格となる地面の形や起伏をもとに、ここに水を流すなど決めていって、滝など人間で言えば骨にあたる部分をつくります。その石組みがされてくると、それに植物を添えていくわけです。それは衣服を着せるようなものです。まず地面をどう使うかという割合、地型ができて、石を組んで骨格をつくって、そこに服を着せるように植物を添えていくということですね。

コズイラ:先生の石庭のデザインを見ると、あまり蓬莱山とか、亀島、鶴島はありませんね。これはなぜでしょうか。

枡野:そうですね。亀島、鶴島や蓬莱山というのは、やはり自分の法であるとか、教えというものが、永遠に続くようにという意味があります。鶴も亀も長寿の象徴ですね。蓬莱山もそうです。でも本来の禅の教えから言ったら、それはちょっと横にずれてしまっていると思うんです。いかに心の安定をつかみ取っていくかということをやったときには、蓬莱山も亀島も鶴島もいらないじゃないかと、私は思うんです。

コズイラ:それは道教的な考え方ですね。

枡野:それが入ってきて、長く続いていくことなどに対して、皆憧れや希望があったと思います。夢窓疎石は必ず鶴島、亀島をやっていますね。

コズイラ:雪舟もやっていましたね。ですからその象徴は、禅的に何か新しい解釈がされたのではないかと思ったんです。

枡野:おそらく、自分の法だとか、自分が受け継いできた一門派が長く続いて生き延びていくようにという希望を、そこに込めたのではないのでしょうか。

コズイラ:そうですね。ところで先生は、重森三玲と中根金作は禅と関係があったとお思いですか。

枡野:ないと思います。

コズイラ:彼のモダンな石庭を見て、どう思われますか。どこが違いますか。

枡野:人の批判はあまりしたくはないのですが、重森さんは、人の目をうっと引き付けるようなデザインをするんです。モダンで良いものもあるんですけども、奇をてらうといいですか。大きいものを使ったり、皆石を立ててしまったり。でもずっと見てみると、落ち着かないんです。

コズィラ：また龍吟庭もありますね。あそこの舍利の色も違いますし、コンクリートの部分もありますし…。

柊野：どうしても思う部分がありますよね。やはり作ろう作ろうとして、人の目を引き付けようというのがあまりにも出すぎでしまっているんですね。我々で言う執着心がすごく出てしまっているなあと。

コズィラ：もう一度、作庭の過程と無心との関係を説明していただけますか。

柊野：石なら石を据える時に、これをこうやって据えてやろうとすると、それはもう無心ではないんですね。どこに据えてほしいかと、石に聞くんですよ。そうすると、この石はこういう表情だから、こっちに向けたら石が生きたというのが分かって、ずっとそちらに来るんですね。石には天も下も、顔も裏もある。その顔が一番引き立つような使い方を、どのようにしたらいいかということは、見た瞬間に分かってしまうんですね。

コズィラ：工事現場はうるさいですし、人も多いですし、うまく修行の一部として、心の状態を保つことができるのでしょうか。

柊野：いきなりぱっと始めるのではなくて、現場に行きますと、皆が準備しているうちに、立っていてもあるいは座れば座って、坐禅みたいなことをするんですよ。たとえ周りがうるさくても。呼吸は丹田呼吸と言って、おへその下に気持ちを落として呼吸するんです。そして心がぐーっと落ち着いてくると、ものすごく集中できるんですよ。そうして取りかからないとだめ。そうして集中すると、周りがうるさかろうが気にならないんです。

コズィラ：前の計画は現場で途中で変えることもあるんでしょうか。

柊野：私は現場に行ったら図面というものを持たないんです。もう頭の中に入っていますからね。でも図面を持つと、図面に自分が縛られてしまう。頭の中にはもう絵が描けているわけですから、そこで材料を見て、これはこういう風に使ったらもっと良くなるなと、即座に判断して、構成を組み立てていくんですね。

コズィラ：最初の図面と結果を比べると、何パーセントくらいが残りますか。

柊野：大きな骨格とアイデアは残りますね。でも石や木の位置とか、それは相当変えますね。
むしろ変わらなければおかしいですね。

コズィラ：作庭は修行の一部だとお考えですか。

柊野：はい、それはもう絶対にそうだと思います。

コズイラ：作務だからですか。それとも別の意味で。

枡野：やはりそれは、自分の心を無心においていく一つの方法なんですよ。ですから、作庭でなくても、絵を描くとか畑仕事とか他の方法でもできるんです。でもそういう時間を持つということはやはり修行なんですね。ですから、私にとっては作庭は修行なんです。

コズイラ、藤井：今日は興味深いお話を、どうもありがとうございました。

枡野俊明略歴

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REPRINTED WORKS
OF POLISH JAPANOLOGISTS

Ewa Pałasz-Rutkowska

GENERAL MASAKI JINZABURŌ AND THE IMPERIAL WAY FACTION (KŌDŌHA) IN THE JAPANESE ARMY 1932–1936 – Part one*

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Part One

0. Introduction

0.1. The scope of the work and the primary sources

The 1930's atmosphere in Japan was intensely nationalistic because of the strained domestic situation as well as international events leading to numerous assaults and "incidents" (*jiken*) in the country and eventually, in the next decade, to the Pacific War. In spite of the fact that the government in Japan was not military, the Army enjoyed great autonomy and had a decisive influence on the country's policy and became the driving force behind all the incidents. However, the Army of this period was not monolith, acting unanimously, in concert. On the contrary, it was composed of numerous elements, which sometimes cooperated and sometimes fought among themselves. These elements were the so-called factions, groups, parties, etc. Their structure, staff and ideology had a fluid character and different roots.

The authoress decided to limit the scope of this study to the figure of General Masaki Jinzaburō (1876–1956), one of the main leaders of the Imperial Way Faction (Kōdōha). On the basis of his activities and personal life she decided also to attempt to sketch a picture of the group as well as connections and its attitude towards others in the Army. The starting point for this research revolves around some incidents launched by the above mentioned groups in the early 1930's. The main aim of the incidents was purportedly "the reconstruction of the Nation" (*kokka kaizō*). "Reconstruction" virtually meant working for the domination of one's group within the Army and afterwards establishing military rule, which would decide the politics of the whole country.

The Kōdōha as well as its main opponent, the Control Faction (Tōseiha), which in its own persistent way competed to take over power in the Army in the years 1934–1936 are discussed in detail in the present work. The other groups are described in passing either when it was necessary to complete the image of both

the most important factions or for a better understanding of the situation within the Army.

The authoress was first of all interested in personal relationships within the mentioned above groups as well as in the basic ideological problems showing the principal differences between the Kōdōha and the Tōseiha. The views of the representatives of both groups concerning foreign policy, internal policy and so on were omitted in as much as they did not, in the authoress' opinion, have any connection with the main problems.

The fact that the work was limited to the years 1932–1936 arises from two reasons. First, these were the most important years for Masaki in his career as a representative of the group, who together with the Kōdōha gained and then lost power. Second, the years 1932–1936 were also the most representative period for the group, for the Kōdōha. 1932 and 1933, the so-called period of the Original Kōdōha (*Gensho Kōdōha jidai*) was marked by the group's most important position within the Army. Later on, due mainly to the intensified struggle with the Control Faction, the position gradually declined. After the General's retirement from his post and after the February 26 Incident (*niniroku jiken*) of 1936 the Kōdōha completely lost power. It was subsequently taken over by the Tōseiha.

By showing Masaki's and Kōdōha's reactions to the most important incidents which occurred during the years 1932–1936 the authoress has tried to put emphasis on the following thesis: the interaction of the group – Kōdōha and its representative – Masaki in order to achieve and keep a high position in the Army which meant the possibility of deciding its policy and at the same time the country's policy.

However, it was not a simple dependence because as times passed the Army staff organization, the Army policy, its attitude towards other groups in society, interactions between Kōdōha – Masaki, and Masaki – Kōdōha were numerous. Therefore the authoress decided to make an analysis of this interaction comparing the General's and his group's activities and position in the period under consideration.

The first two chapters have a similar structure, namely, each is divided into three subchapters as follows:

- the contemporary political events that had direct bearing on the study;
- personnel and ideological matters of the group, which is the main subject of the present work, as well as of its chief antagonist, i.e. the Tōseiha;
- Masaki's view and activities.

The third chapter is limited to two subchapters because it is impossible to separate the group's personnel affairs from the political events in the period discussed here, namely the second half of 1935 up to March 1936¹.

The basic historical source for this work was *Masaki Jinzaburō's Diary* (*Masaki Jinzaburō nikki*), which was published recently (1981–1987) and so was hardly ever

¹ The third chapter as well as Conclusion will be published recently, in Part Two.

used in more important research outside Japan. Six volumes comprise the notes from the following period:

- I – certain days from the period between January and July 1932 and January and June 1933, each day of November 1933, the whole year of 1934 as well as January and February 1935;
- II – from March 1935 to the end of March 1936;
- III – from 6 July 1936 till 25 September 1937 and the whole year of 1938;
- IV – 1939 and 1940;
- V – from 1 January 1941 till April 1943;
- VI – from May 1943 till December 1945.

As this work is most frequently quoted in the present study the abbreviation Mn (meaning *Masaki nikki*) was used followed by the number of the volume in Roman numerals and the page number in Arabic numerals. (This also applies to other sources).

Masaki's diary as aide memoire which had been written almost daily by the General who was a witness or participant in several more or less important events within or outside the Army, like all others diaries kept by persons of consequence (for an epoch), is considered to be among basic historical sources. Furthermore, as a diary kept by Gen. Masaki it also provides a lot of significant information relating to Masaki's personality and his character, which is of great value to the present work.

The diaries of some personages important in the early 1930's such as the Army representative, i.e. Suzuki Teiichi (1888–1989)², Minami Jirō (1874–1955), etc. and the people connected with the Imperial Court, i.e. Saionji Kinmochi (1849–1940), Honjō Shigeru (1876–1945), Kido Kōichi (1889–1977) were also used in this work.

Besides these, the authoress made frequent use of the most basic source for the modern history of Japan, *Materials for Modern History* (*Gendaishi shiryō*; abbr. Gs), especially of three volumes (IV, V, XXIII), under a common title *Nationalistic Movement* (*Kokka shugi undō*, Gs 1963, 1964, 1973). Most of the general information about incidents and events, ideology or political programs of the most important groups and the texts published by their representatives, come from this source.

Also *Confidential Documents Concerning the February 26 Incident* (*Niroku jiken no hiroku* 1971; abr. Nn) is another frequently quoted source. First of all the authoress used part 7 of volume II, which contains the documents of Masaki's hearings conducted by the Military Police in April and May 1936, which were connected with the February Incident as well as some documents of hearings of people related to Masaki.

² Dates are given for more important personages. The places of birth, which make clear some territorial relationships, are given only for the main Army figures.

Much of the information about Masaki included in this study comes from interviews with the General's family, which the authoress conducted during her stay in Japan between 1983–1985. She talked most frequently to his eldest son, Masaki Hideki (1907–2001) in Tokyo and also to his younger brother's daughter, Fumi and her husband, Masaki Ichirō, who are at present (1984) living in the General's family house in Inudō (Kyūshū). The authoress was more interested in the opinions about Masaki as a man and father than in historical facts and dates. These were written down earlier in a few books concerning the General, which were occasionally quoted in the present work.

The activities of Gen. Masaki were naturally described in newspapers and journals of the day or in those published recently. The authoress drew her information from them from time to time, but limited her choice to the *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, and to the following journals: *Kaizō*, *Chūō Kōron*, *Bungei Shunjū*.

If not otherwise stated all the translations in the text are by the authoress. However, it should be mentioned that almost all names of organizations, offices and posts correspond to those which are generally used in English texts. Although the authoress considers them to be sometimes inconsistent with the original meaning she has adopted them for the convenience of the reader well versed in the subject in order to avoid misunderstanding or ambiguity. For example, Rikugun Daigakkō is translated as the Army Staff College, while this term refers rather to the consequences of graduation from this school (only those, who graduated from it could take up career in the Army Central Headquarter) than the original meaning. It ought to be translated as the Army College.

In one case, however, the authoress decided to use her own terminology. The term the Army Ministry is used for the Rikugunshō and by analogy the Army Minister for the *rikugun daijin* or the Army Vice-Minister for the *rikugun jikan*, in spite of the facts that in the majority of English publications these terms were translated as the War Ministry, the War Minister and the War Vice-Minister. In the authoress' opinion they are not adequate, as "*rikugun*" means "the Army" not "war".

It may be worth-while adding that although the authoress in the present work makes use of such terms as the Imperial Way Faction, Control Faction, etc., which are those adopted generally in English translations, she considers that the word "group" is better and more correct than "faction".

In order to emphasize the differences in the sizes of the groups called in Japanese *batsu* (faction), the following English terms are used:

- faction – for certain larger, local groups (i.e. Chōshū faction, Saga faction, etc.)
- clique – for smaller groups called after the name of their leader (i.e. Uehara's clique, Araki's clique, etc.)

0.2. The historical background – the origin of the 1930's events

0.2.1. Japan in the early twentieth century

Relatively soon after the Meiji Restoration (*Meiji ishin*) of 1868, Japan rose from an underdeveloped Asian nation to the position of the richest and most powerful country in the Far East. Owing to the victory over China (Sino-Japanese War, 1894–1895) and Russia (Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905) she gained hegemony over an area from Taiwan to Manchuria, including Korea, which was annexed in 1910.

Japan joined the war against Germany in 1914 and seized the German-held territories in China (Shantung) and she also got a League of Nation mandate to administer a territory of some Pacific islands, i.e. Carolines, Marianas, Marshalls. In 1919 when the Russian Revolution was in full swing Japan sent military troops into Siberia hoping to extend influence over the whole of Northeast Asia. By the war's end Japan became at last an industrial, modern state and a world power.

However, the two decades that followed World War I were disappointing for Japanese people. The boom of the war years created severe inflation, which led to widespread rioting over rice prices in 1918. The return of the industrial power of Europe to Asian markets after the war caused more severe competition. A long period of depression began. The Siberian expedition ended as a fiasco. Japan was obliged to return Shantung to China. The great Kantō earthquake of 1923 destroyed half of Tokyo and most of Yokohama. The United States challenged Japan's naval predominance in the Western Pacific and imposed restrictions on immigration.

When the Japanese economy was starting to recover, the world-wide depression of the late 1920's hit her. It became clear that Japan's industry depended heavily on foreign raw materials and foreign markets. A sharp decline in the demand for Japanese silk and cotton goods caused widespread unemployment in the textile industry and extreme poverty in the rural areas, which were producing raw silk for export. The crisis that overtook Japan naturally brought the heaviest pressure to bear upon the agricultural section of the economy, which was structurally the weakest. The result of all this was wide-spread national discontent. Japan became itself a victim of fast modernization.

It is not surprising that in this situation some new groups, which blamed capitalism for being guilty of the bad situation, started to act. They were leftists as well as rightists. Communism, although never numerically significant, gained many followers, especially in the universities and among intellectuals. The right-wing was represented by radical civilians, military officers as well as the lower echelons of the armed forces. The rightists can be also named nationalists or fascists.

These two tendencies, because of their peculiarities and importance to the thesis, deserve to be examined shortly in this place. It is necessary to bear in mind

that both, nationalism and fascism in Japan were different from those in the other countries but on the other hand they were close to each other.

– Japanese nationalism or “nipponism” (*Nihon shugi*)

The Japanese nationalists first of all aimed at restoring *kokutai*, so-called “national polity” or “national essence”, that meant the Imperial system, according to which the nation was one family with the Emperor as its head. They stressed *seishin shugi*, idealism, spiritualism or spiritual power and *seishin kyōiku*, moral or spiritual education, spiritual training. For that reason the nationalists were occasionally called “spiritual rightists” (*seishin uyoku*).

The spiritual education and idealism were considered necessary to follow *kōdō*, the Imperial Way and to bring about *Shōwa ishin*³, the Shōwa Restoration. *Kōdō* had connotations of high moral purpose and of acting in the Emperor’s name to restore the traditional values of Japanese society. The main purpose of *Shōwa ishin* was to act against those who symbolized, in the nationalists’ mind, the corrupt Japan of the 20th century, i.e. *zaibatsu* (big business), party politicians and bureaucrats and to “restore” the Emperor’s power.

– Japanese fascism (*Nihon fasshizumu*; *Nihon fassho*)

It is a very complex subject. Since a more detailed description of the problem is beyond the scope of this work it seems to be justified to give a bare outline only, based on Maruyama Masao’s work⁴. The Japanese fascist movement had some elements in common with the fascist ideology in the world in such spheres as:

“the rejection of the world view of individualistic liberalism, opposition to parliamentary politics which is the political expression of liberalism, insistence of foreign expansion, a tendency to glorify military build-up and war, a strong emphasis on racial myths etc.” (MM, 35)

But its distinctive points were among others:

- 1) the family system,
- 2) the agrarianism.

Ad.1. The family system tendency, which means that,

“basic characteristic of the Japanese State structure [...] is always considered as an extension of the family; more concretely as a nation of families composed of the Imperial House as the main family and of the people as the branch family”. (MM, 36).

³ The term *Shōwa ishin* was obviously coined after the term *Meiji ishin*. The rightists felt that the Emperor had become badly directed by his advisers, such as his grandfather had been powerless under the *shōgun* before 1868. Those who wanted to “restore” the country adopted and transformed the Meiji Restoration slogans: “Reverence for the Emperor – expulsion of foreigners” (*sonnō jōi*) or “reverence for the Emperor – destroying the shogunate” (*sonnō tōbaku*) into their own: “reverence for the Emperor – destroying the traitors” (*sonnō tōkan*).

For a more detailed description see: “Young Officers’ Movement” in the Chapter 0.2.3.

⁴ Maruyama 1963: 25-83 (abbr. MM). Some Japanese historians do not agree with Maruyama’s point nowadays. Cf. Itō 1983: 5-31; Tsutsui 1984: 1-43.

In this point Japanese fascists were close to the nationalists. (Hitler as the Führer was regarded not as the head of the family but as a public leader).

Ad. 2. The agrarianism put a strong emphasis on the importance of farmers.

There is a tendency immanent in fascism towards strengthening of State authority and the exercise of a powerful control over all aspects of industry, culture and thought by means of a centralized State authority. But [...] Japanese fascist ideology [...] demanded autonomy for villages in an attempt to put a stop to the expansion of the industrial productive power of the cities. (MM, 37-38)

The countryside was for Japanese fascists the base for the Japanese family system.

The so-called Japanese fascism was sometimes close in the field of ideology to the “nipponism” (for example: family system, special mission of Japan, role of the rural areas) and therefore it is often discussed together with Japanese nationalism as radical rightist movement. But in the opinion of the authoress the so-called Japanese fascism was more concrete and more radical in comparison with “nipponism”, while the latter was idealistic and tended towards mysticism. For that reason Japanese fascists are nowadays occasionally called “revolutionary rightists” (*kakushin uyoku*).

It can be said that the Imperial Way Faction put an emphasis on loyalty and morality, in other words, was representative of Japanese nationalism or *seishin uyoku*. Its main opponent, the Control Faction, a group of *kakushin uyoku* was more a rational fascist group which intended to create a net of state controls, designed primarily to organize Japan for total war.

0.2.2. Changes in the Japanese Army after the Meiji Restoration

The new Japanese government was aware of the fact that the base for building centralized power in Japan was a national, modern Army. Troops of some *hans*⁵ which took an active part in the Restoration movement and after that became subordinated to the new government, being dissatisfied with this position, withdrew to their domains. There they served their *daimyō* (feudal lord), whose position, despite the Restoration, still remained very strong. The main role in creation of the new Army was played by Yamagata Aritomo (1838–1922, Yamaguchi) from Chōshū. On the 23rd of the 9th month of 1870⁶ he accepted the post of Assistant Vice-Minister of Military Affairs (*hyōbu shōyū*)⁷ in the Cabinet of Iwakura Tomomi

⁵ *Han* – feudal domain ruled by feudal lord (*daimyō*).

⁶ Japan adopted the Gregorian calendar in 1873.

⁷ Before the Army Ministry was formed the Ministry of Military Affairs (*Hyōbushō*) from 1869 carried out all matters relating to the Army and Navy. Its chief was the Minister of Military Affairs (*hyōbukyō*). There were also one Vice-Minister (*hyōbu taiyū*) and two Assistant Vice-Ministers. Cf: Hata (ed.) 1971: 25; Hackett 1971: 56-57.

(1825–1883) on the condition that the military system would become unified and Saigō Takamori (1827–1877, Kagoshima) from Satsuma, who was very popular in the country, would become the head of the Army.

The first step towards creation of the new Army was the organization of the Imperial Bodyguard (Goshinpei)⁸ in 1871. It was the group that was to be under the direct orders of the Emperor. Yamagata realized that the Army made up of samurai from Chōshū, Satsuma and Tosa would be only a transitional stage towards a modern conscript Army. Only the Army which would represent the whole country and would be based on the equality of all classes should really serve the Emperor, keep the country in order and strengthen the control of the central government over the country. *The Conscription Law (Chōheirei)*⁹ was issued on 10 January 1873. According to it, 7 years of service was obligatory upon men over twenty years of age and of good physical condition¹⁰.

As the law completely changed the previous military system, it was natural that putting it into force met with many obstacles. The most formidable one was the opposition of samurai dissatisfied with the loss of their social status. This was because until then the Army was based only on them and being in a *shōgun's* or *daimyō's* service belonged to their privileges. Therefore they did not want to enter into the new Army together with peasants and representatives of other classes of the old social system. The peasants, on the other hand, not understanding the principle of the law, tried to avoid conscription in order not to be taken away from their farming. They also tried to escape from the hard military drills and “blood tax”¹¹, which they regarded literally as a blood sacrifice. Besides, they all protested against conscripting into the Army the previous *eta*¹² members of whom Yamagata wanted to use, for instance as shoemakers.

Another obstacle to the universal acceptance of this law was the very broad list of those who were entitled to exemption from service. This list was published as

⁸ According to Rikugunshō (ed.) 1966, vol. II, p. 64, it consisted of: three infantry battalions from Chōshū, four infantry battalions and four artillery platoons from Satsuma as well as two infantry battalions, two artillery platoons and two cavalry troops from Tosa. But these data are not in conformity to the data given in Kyōto Daigaku Bungakubu Kokushi Kenkyūshitsu (ed.) 1958, p. 199. In accordance with it the Imperial Bodyguard was composed of two, not four artillery platoons from Satsuma and only one cavalry troop from Tosa. It was composed of 1000 soldiers. On 16 April 1872 it was transformed into the Imperial Guard Regiment (Konoetai) and later into the Imperial Guard Division (Konoe Shidan).

⁹ Naikaku Kanpōkyoku (ed.) 1873: 704–731.

¹⁰ 7 years service was divided into: regular or actual service (*jōbigun*; 3 years), first reserve (*daiichi kōbigun*; 2 years), and second reserve (*daini kōbigun*; 2 years).

¹¹ Farmers protested strongly and rose up against “the blood tax”. Near 230 uprisings, called “riots against blood tax” (*ketsuzei sōdō*) or riots against conscription, took place from 1872 till 1874.

¹² *Eta* – lowest social group during Edo period; a sort of pariah to whom were reserved trades considered impure, e.g. flayers, tanners, curriers; in 1871 *eta* became *heimin* (common people) hence *shinheimin* (new common people) often applied to them.

the Chapter 3 of the *Conscription Law*, entitled *General Principles of the Exemption from the Military Service (Jōbihei men'eki gaisoku)*¹³. On the grounds of this rule, in 1876, over 80% of men avoided conscription¹⁴.

It should be stressed here that this law became one of the reasons for the crisis in the Meiji government followed by the split among its leaders. The direct cause was the dissent on the subject of the so-called Korean invasion dispute (*seikanron*)¹⁵. The supporters of the invasion among whom thought quick military operations of the Japanese Army abroad would reduce samurai dissatisfaction caused, among other things, by the introduction of the *Conscription Law*¹⁶.

The opponents of the invasion, like Iwakura Tomomi, Kido Kōin (1834–1877) and Ōkubo Toshimichi (1831–1878), were of the opinion that such an aggression would interfere with the creation of the new Army.

In consequence of the crisis the first group left the government which was followed by a few attacks against the second group, such as the Saga Rebellion (*Saga no ran*)¹⁷ in 1874 and the War on the South-West (*seinan no eki* or *seinan sensō*) in

¹³ Exemptions were granted to those below 155 cm in stature; those congenitally weak, incurably ill or deformed; governmental or prefectural officials and semi-officials; those training for military or naval service; heads of families; the only son and grandson; those presenting their request with the “substitute fee” of 270 yen. Naikaku Kanpōkyoku (ed.) 1873: 709-710; Cf.: Fujiwara 1959: 30; Matsushita 1979: 137-152.

¹⁴ Exemption from military service

Military district	I TOKYO	II SENDAI	III NAGOYA	IV OSAKA	V HIROSHIMA	VI KUMAMOTO	the whole country
all the 20 years old conscripts A	71579	34763	44292	56737	49782	38955	296086
enlisted for military service	9259	10212	8526	6825	11007	7397	53226
exempted from military service B	62320	24551	35743	49911	38775	31358	242860
B/A x 100	87.1%	70.6%	80.8%	88.0%	77.0%	81.0%	82.0%

Source: Fujiwara 1959: 32.

¹⁵ While Iwakura, Kido and other important government leaders were in Europe and America on an inspection tour, Saigō participated in the caretaker government and was one of those supporting the decision to send troops to Korea (1873), because the Korean government did not agree to the opening of a Japanese diplomatic mission. When Iwakura returned to Japan he demanded that the decision be reversed. As a result Saigō along with Itagaki and others, who favored military action against Korea, resigned and withdrew from public life.

¹⁶ The samurai were greatly dissatisfied because they lost their social status, the status of the only warriors in the country. In March 1876 they lost their right to bear swords and in August they lost their stipends, compulsorily commuted for cash or bonds at rates which represented a considerable loss of income.

¹⁷ Two groups of samurai from Saga, the Public Party of Patriots (Aikoku Kōtō) and the Party of Korean Invasion (Seikantō) with Etō Shinpei (1834–1874) as their leader, rose up against the Meiji government in Saga castle. They wanted to conquer Korea to restore the old administrative

1877¹⁸. The defeat of the rebels strengthened the new authority and made it easier for Yamagata to work on further consolidation of the Army.

Just after the Meiji Restoration the government wanted to organize the Army after the French model. The reasoning was that, for a long time, the previous *bakufu*¹⁹ Army and many *han* armies had been making use of the experience and advice of French officers, who had been coming to Japan for many years. This forced samurai to learn military expressions in French. Yamagata, however, a few years after 1868 realized that the new Imperial Army ought to be built following the Prussian model. He argued, that thanks to its Army Prussia finally beat France in the Napoleonic Wars.

Katsura Tarō (1847–1913, Yamaguchi) helped Yamagata to bring into being his intentions. After having spent 6 years in Berlin, in 1878 he made a project of the Army reorganization based on the model of the Prussian Army. The main feature of this new project was the creation of the General Staff Office (Sanbō Honbu), an office separated from military administration (the structure of the military bureaucracy shall be outlined later on).

In the next few years many other changes were introduced into the Japanese military system and it assumed its final shape at the end of the 19th century. In the years 1878, 1883, 1889 for example, the conscription system was changed. Finally the exemption from military service was very much limited and there was no longer the possibility of having someone replace another person from being conscripted. The period of service in the Army was extended. From 1889 the active service (*gen'eki*) lasted 3 years as before, but the first reserve (*yobieki*) 4 years and the second reserve (*kōbieki*) as long as 5 years²⁰.

All these changes, although they were being introduced for several years, finally brought the Japanese Army to its modern shape. It is certain, however, that the year 1878 was a turning point in the history of the Japanese Army. In this year Japan adopted the model of the Prussian Army. The process of adjustment was ongoing for the next few years but at last the National Army became created.

Its main character and its social standing were officially recognized by the Emperor in *The Imperial Precepts to Soldiers and Sailors* (*Rikukaigunjin ni tamawaritaru chokuyu*)²¹, known as *the Imperial Precepts Instructions to the Soldiers*

system and to expel foreigners from Japan. They were promptly crushed by Ōkubo and the government Army.

¹⁸ Occasionally it is also called the Satsuma Rebellion (*Satsuma no ran*). It was the biggest rebellion of samurai against the Meiji government. Led by Saigō, his warriors from many former *han* on Kyushu struggled for 7 months. His forces were no match for the modern conscript Army, and Saigō finding himself surrounded, committed suicide on the battlefield in Kagoshima.

¹⁹ *Bakufu* – shogunate, Japan's feudal, military government.

²⁰ In 1924 the *Conscription Law* was substituted by the *Act Concerning the Military Service* (*Hei'ekihō*).

²¹ Tsunoda, de Bary, Keene (ed.): II 198–200.

(*Gunjin chokuyū*), issued on 4 January 1882 and then, in 1889, this new organ was legally sanctioned by the *Constitution of the Empire of Japan* (*Dainihon teikoku kenpō*) or *Meiji Constitution* (*Meiji kenpō*), especially by its 11th and 12th articles.

The 11th article, which read: “the Emperor has the Supreme Command of the Army and Navy” and the 12th article, which read: “the Emperor determines the organization and number of soldiers of the standing Army and Navy”²² set the direct subordination of the Army to the Emperor. This obviously meant that the Army was independent of civil authorities. It can be argued that it was not a complete independence as the Emperor, who confirmed all the Army’s decisions and actions, could have been under the influence of his civil advisers. But in fact the Emperor did seldom interfere with those decisions and therefore the Army had great freedom of action.

The most important military administrative organs were:

- The Army Ministry (Rikugunshō) (abbr. AM),
- The General Staff Office (Sanbō Honbu) (abbr. GSO),
- The Inspectorate General of Military Education (Kyōiku Sōkanbu) (abbr. IGME).

The chiefs of these three organs were called “the big three” (*sanchōkan*). From 1900 they had direct access to the Emperor that gave their power a great amount of autonomy.

Since those who occupied the most important posts in the above mentioned offices wielded power in the Army some factions always struggled for these posts. In order to show the importance of the three military offices it seems advisable to describe this subject shortly in this place.

Army Ministry (AM)

The Ministry came into being at the beginning of 1872, after the abolishment of the Military Affairs Ministry (Hyōbushō), which had functioned for three years. It was legally sanctioned by the government act No.1, issued on 15 January 1876 (it was the act relating to the organization of the Ministry and its personal affairs)²³. The law was later modified by act No. 39, on 10 October 1879²⁴.

In paragraph 1, which read: “the Japanese Imperial Army is directly under the control of the Emperor”²⁵, the Army’s independence of civil authorities was once more confirmed. However, the Army Minister together with the ministers of the other ministries were all members of the Cabinet.

The duties of the office were defined with the following words: “The Army Ministry is an administrative organ managing all the affairs connected with the

²² Naikaku Kanpōkyoku (ed.) 1889: 1–8; Cf. Itō 1978: 26–28.

²³ Naikaku Kanpōkyoku (ed.) 1876: 258.

²⁴ Naikaku Kanpōkyoku (ed.) 1879: 281–287.

²⁵ Ibidem: 282.

Army. It supervises both civil and military officials and manages finances and personal affairs in the Army”²⁶.

The head of the Ministry was the Army Minister (called in the beginning *rikugunkyō*, and then, starting from 1885, *rikugun daijin*), and the Army Vice-Minister (till 1885 *rikugun taiyū*, and then *rikugun jikan*) was his deputy. The first nominations to the posts of *rikugun daijin* and *rikugun jikan* were for Ōyama Iwao on 22 December 1885 and Katsura Tarō, on 16 March 1885 respectively.

Both civilian and military officers in the Army were under the Minister's control. He supervised their activities and managed all the administrative affairs of the Army. During peacetime he issued all the orders referring to the Army, which were worked out by the Chief of GSO and affirmed by the Emperor. The post of the Minister from 1876 on could only be taken by a military man and, starting from 1900, only by a General or Lieutenant-General. Under the Minister's control there were chiefs (*kyokuchō*) of several bureaus (*kyoku*), among which the most important were: Military Affairs Bureau (Gunmukyoku) and Personal Affairs Bureau (Jinjikyoku). Two very significant sections were under the jurisdiction of these Bureaus, namely, Military Affairs Section (Gunjika), which attended to Army politics and tasks, and Appointment Section (Honinka), which was responsible for administration of Army staff²⁷. Only carefully selected persons could become the Chiefs of these two Sections as holding these posts was equal to having power in the Army.

General Staff Office (GSO)

As mentioned earlier, the General Staff Office came into being in 1878 by the act No. 50²⁸. It was formed through the organization of the General Staff Bureau which had existed from 1871. The Office was created as an organ separated from the Army Ministry in order to separate decisions concerning the Army affairs from its administration. At the beginning it dealt with all the affairs connected with the activity of both the Army, and Navy. On 12 May 1888 it was divided into two offices by the Emperor's order No. 25²⁹. It was changed again several times and took its final shape at the end of the 19th century, just before the Sino-Japanese War.

The main tasks of GSO consisted of planning the strategy of national defense and Army action abroad, as well as of checking the activities of staff officers. It was also responsible for their education. Therefore the Army Staff College (Rikugun Daigakkō) and the Land Survey Department (Rikuchi Sokuryōbu) were under GSO control. The seat of the office was in Tokyo. At the head of the office there was the Chief of General Staff Office (called till 1889 *sanbō honbuchō*, and then

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ Hata (ed.) 1971: 414-415, 125-129.

²⁸ Naikaku Kanpōkyoku (ed.) 1878: 176.

²⁹ Kanpō 1889: 134-137.

sanbō sōchō) and below him was his deputy, the Vice-Chief of General Staff Office (till 1889 *sanbō honbu jichō*, then *sanbō jichō*). The first two to take these posts were Yamagata Aritomo, on 24 December 1878 and Ōyama Iwao on 5 December. Only a General or Lieutenant-General in active service could have become the Chief. He was appointed only by Imperial Order. The Emperor was to be his only superior.

The Chief of GSO fulfilled his duties as the Army Commander and ran the administrative staff affairs, and worked up all the orders concerning Army strategy. The orders, after having receiving the Emperor's confirmation, during times of peace were handed over to the Army Minister and during war directly to the commanders of divisions.

The main administrative organs of GSO were the First Bureau (*Daiichikyoku*) and the Second Bureau (*Dainikyoku*). The first one dealt with the organization of the Army and action abroad. Persons working there also studied problems concerning the development of means of transporting troops and equipment for this purpose. The second one dealt with the strategies and national defense. It also provided for the behavior towards the adversary, defined main duties in the field and investigated military affairs of the other countries.

In 1896 the two bureaus were replaced by four departments, which were divided into many sections. In this way the competence of the former bureaus was transmitted to smaller organs each of which fulfilled the duties connected with specific areas (Mobilization Section, Russian Section, Chinese Section, etc.)³⁰.

Inspectorate General of Military Education (IGME)

It was created by Imperial Order No. 7, issued on 20 January 1898³¹. It should be pointed out that the prototype of this office, the Department of the Army Command (*Kangunbu*) had existed already several years before and the Inspectorate was created as a result of transformation within the Department.

The main task of the Inspectorate was to work out the general rules of the development of Army education. It was made up of the Head Office (*Honbu*), Cavalry Department (*Kigei Kanbu*), Artillery Department (*Hōhei Kanbu*), Engineer Department (*Kōhei Kanbu*), etc.³² Its seat was in Tokyo. The head of the office was the General Inspector of Military Education (*kyōiku sōkan*) and the first to take this post was Terauchi Masakata (1852–1919), on 22 January 1898.

The post was available only for a Lieutenant-General or Major-General in active service. He was directly under the Emperor's order but he presented his projects concerning possible changes in the Army education system to the Army Minister. His main duty was to work out the amendments to the laws concerning military

³⁰ Hata (ed.) 1971: 382-383, 422-423.

³¹ *Kanpō* 1898: 185.

³² Hata (ed.) 1971: 155-157.

education. He was responsible for most of the military schools³³. It is significant for this work to note how important was the system of Army officers' education. Only those officers who graduated from particular schools could aspire to start their careers in one of the three above-mentioned offices.

Education of Army officers

The first step in officers' education was the Military Academy (Rikugun Shikan Gakkō), called later in the text the Rikushi, which was founded in Ichigaya in 1874, and then reformed in 1887. The first class³⁴ graduated from the Rikushi in 1890. It was subordinated to IGME.

The school was available for talented boys of 18 and 19 years of age, soldiers in active service, noncommissioned officers (*kashikan*)³⁵ or former pupils of the Military Preparatory Schools (Rikugun Yōnen Gakkō)³⁶. In 1920, when the Central Military Preparatory School (Chūō Rikugun Yōnen Gakkō) in Tokyo was changed into Preparatory Course (*yoka*) of the Rikushi, the curriculum there was divided into two stages: Preparatory Course and Regular Course (*honka*). Schooling on the Preparatory Course lasted 2 years and after that the probational officer (*shikan kōhosei*) was sent to a unit in accordance to the chosen specialization (infantry, artillery, cavalry, etc.). After six months service in a mother unit (*gentai*) he returned to the Academy to enter the Regular Course which lasted 22 months. Completing this Course was equal to promotion to the officer's rank of second Lieutenant (*shōi*) and obtaining the title of cadet (*minarai shikan*). The newly graduated officers returned to their units where they continued their military careers.

In order to be promoted further and obtain the best posts they had to satisfy two basic conditions: they must have had the right education as well as professional experience and also they had to be of the required age³⁷. Therefore it turned out

³³ Ibidem: 423.

³⁴ "Class" (*ki*) means the year of graduation from the Rikushi. The first class graduated in 1890, while the last one, that is to say, the 58th class in 1945. During these 55 years 51531 cadets left the Academy. Knowing which "class" a cadet graduated in is very important for the research relating to the factional struggle in the 1930's. (therefore Arabic numerals corresponding to class number are given in parenthesis in the text). The common thing was, that after graduation officers representing the same class or some classes, which were together at the same time in the Rikushi, supported one another in their regular service. They formed together some new cliques or joined the old ones.

³⁵ This refers to those of corporal or sergeant rank, who did their military service in a regiment. They were promoted to sergeant-major rank after graduation from the Academy.

³⁶ These schools were established in 1893 in Sendai, Nagoya, Ōsaka, Hiroshima, Kumamoto and Tokyo. The latter one in Tokyo was called the Central Military Preparatory School (Chūō Rikugun Yōnen Gakkō). They were for boys of 13–15 years of age, who finished their first or second years of secondary school.

³⁷ Officials of AM scrupulously registered all the officers, because being past a definite age and not promoted to a higher rank was connected with a retirement from the active service.

to be necessary to complete the Army Staff College, called later in the text the Rikudai. The school was founded in 1882 in Aoyama and was attached to GSO.

Only a few officers were selected to take competitive examinations. After graduating from the Rikushi they must have obtained the rank of lieutenant (*chūi*) or captain (*tai'i*) combined with the experience in the mother units of at least 2 years. Besides, the candidates must have had outstanding talents and good physical condition.

Another important qualification was to have good references from the commander of the mother unit. It was also important to the commander to have as many Rikudai graduates as possible, because it spoke well of the unit's educational level. Later, he could use them to act in his own interests, for example, in the factional struggle within the Army. Usually only about 10% of Rikushi pupils were accepted to the Rikudai. The education lasted 3 years. In 1885, 10 pupils graduated from the College. During the next few years this number had not changed and only in the years 1925–1938 it reached 40 or 50.

After completing the education in the Rikudai the graduates were given the emblem in the shape of *tenpōsen* coin³⁸. This is why the officers who graduated from the Rikudai were called “Tenpōsen Group” (*Tenpōsengumi*). It became one of the most influential and privileged groups in the Army.

Their opponents were the former pupils of the Rikushi who had not been accepted to the Rikudai and who were called “the Group without Ten[pōsen]” (*Mutengumi*).

The graduates from the Army Staff College were called also “the staff” (*bakuryō*) or “elite of three Central Offices” (*chūō sankanga no eriito*) or “elite of the Ministry and General Staff” (*shōbu no eriito*). They were real policymakers in the Army. Furthermore they divided themselves into some smaller groups inside the big Rikudai faction.

All young men who graduated both from the Rikudai or Rikushi as well as from naval schools were called young officers (*seinen shōkō*). Nowadays, however, this term usually refers to those officers who belonged to the Mutengumi and who founded the so-called “Young Officers’ Movement” (*seinen shōkō undō*)³⁹. Therefore in order to distinguish between the members of this movement and the rest of young military officers the authoress decided, referring to the movement representatives to write the term “Young Officers” with capital letters and in quotation marks. Generally speaking “the Young Officers” carried out the assassinations of the 1930's for the sake of the Shōwa Restoration.

³⁸ Oval-shaped, copper coin, with a square hole placed in the very middle. Minted by the Edo shogunate in 1835, i.e. in 6th year of the Tenpō era (1830–1844).

³⁹ Not all representatives of the Mutengumi took part in “the Young Officers Movement”.

The Meiji factions, generally speaking, belonged to the category of *han* military factions (*hanbatsu gunbatsu*). At the beginning of the Meiji era, after the creation of the modern Army, they were represented by samurai from Chōshū, Satsuma, Tosa and Hizen *hans*, which carried out the Restoration. But gradually the latter two lost their positions and finally the Chōshū *han* became the dominating power in the Army (*Chōshū no rikugun*) and the Satsuma *han* in the Navy (*Satsuma no kaigun*)⁴⁴.

The Taishō factions were, generally speaking, a continuation of the Meiji ones. Gradually, however, they were undergoing some changes. Personal relationships became more important than territorial ones, and the main reason for this was a gradual growth of the part played in the Army by graduates from the Rikudai. They were those who, step by step, were supplanting descendants of former *hans* from main posts in the Army Central Headquarters.

It can be said that the Taishō era (1912–1926) was the time of military groups based on the combination of *hanbatsu* and academic factions (*gakubatsu*) but the latter were not as yet so strong. A complete transformation into *gakubatsu*, in other words, into *gunbatsu* of a new type, occurred during the Shōwa era (1926–1989) and therefore groups within the Army of this period are called “the Shōwa academic military factions” (*Shōwa gakubatsu no gunbatsu*). At the very beginning of the Shōwa era the old territorial relationships were still alive but not very strong.

All of them, that is to say, the Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa factions struggled for leadership within the Army in order to attain power and the possibility of deciding its policy. During the Meiji period, as it was mentioned above, the Chōshū faction played the most important role in the Army. It was due to the strong position of its leading representative at that time, Gen. Yamagata Aritomo, rejoiced and esteemed. His prestige, the prestige of the creator of the modern Army and because of victories over China and Russia, highly increased. Therefore persons from the former Chōshū *han* (i.e. from Yamaguchi prefecture) or those from other prefectures that supported Chōshū like Ōita, Okayama, Kumamoto gained power in the Army and could decide its policy. This situation persisted also during the Taishō era, precisely speaking until Yamagata's death in 1922, when a group of Marshall Uehara Yūsaku (1856–1933, Miyazaki), called *Ueharabatsu* or “[the group of those, who were] connected with Satsuma” (*Satsumakei*) became the more important one.

Very significant for the study is the fact that this group was the first faction of a new type, because personal and academic relationships inside the group were stronger than territorial ones. And therefore the period after Yamagata's death is occasionally called “the early years of the Shōwa military factions” (*Shōwa gunbatsu no shōnen jidai*)⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ Since the Army is the subject of this work all matters related to the Japanese Navy will be omitted.

⁴⁵ Matsushita 1975: 311.

0.2.3. Factions within the Japanese Army – up to the late 1920's

In recent years the problem concerning factions within the Japanese Army, which sprang into being after the Meiji Restoration and existed up to the end of the Pacific War, has been a subject of several studies⁴⁰.

The present authoress agrees with James B. Crowley, who said:

since these studies have sought to explain the major events of the prewar period they concentrated more on the significance of army factionalism vis a vis political developments than on the nature of this factionalism⁴¹.

This problem presents many complex sub problems, especially those relating to personal relationships and therefore a brief review of the Japanese Army factionalism from the Meiji era (1868–1912) to 1932 is necessary for a better understanding of the Kōdōha and the nature of other groups, their rivalry in 1932–1936 as well as of some developments within the Imperial Army.

For the subject of this work the personal relationships are, however, the most important. Therefore it seems to be reasonable to limit this part to them only, by omitting all subjects relating to the factions' activities and political opinions whenever they will be irrelevant to the thesis.

The image of the factions within the Army was very complicated because of the many divisions and fluent changes among them. As Prof. Itō Takashi mentioned in one of his books⁴², there was not only a formal structure within the Imperial Army, like the Army Ministry, General Staff Office, Inspectorate General of Military Education, etc., but also an informal one, that is to say, factions. In his opinion, the factions could be divided into many groups, like those which arose from feudal or territorial relationships, which may be called “*han* factions” (*hanbatsu*), e.g. Chōshū faction (*Chōshūbatsu*), Satsuma faction (*Satsumabatsu*), Saga faction (*Sagabatsu*) etc., next from some personal relationships, e.g. Tanaka's clique (*Tanakabatsu*), Ugaki's clique (*Ugakibatsu*), Uehara's clique, (*Ueharabatsu*) etc., as well as from a branch of the service, infantry (*hohei*), artillery (*hōhei*), cavalry (*kihei*) or from military schools, the Rikudai or Rikushi.

Matsushita Yoshio proposes more simple, general division into the Meiji military factions (*Meiji gunbatsu*), Taishō military factions (*Taishō gunbatsu*) and Shōwa military factions (*Shōwa gunbatsu*)⁴³, but as it will be explained later, they are also related to the groups mentioned before. It should be born in mind, that the groups within the Army were always formed by officers, and soldiers never entered them.

⁴⁰ See: Matsushita 1975; Sasaki 1979; Imanishi 1975.

⁴¹ Crowley 1962: XXI/3/309.

⁴² Itō 1976: 4.

⁴³ Matsushita 1975: 18-19.

Under the influence of Uehara's clique the Chōshū faction also assumed a new shape. The changes began after the death of Terauchi Masakata who had succeeded Yamagata and Katsura Tarō to the leader's position and when Tanaka Giichi (1864–1929, Yamaguchi) became a new leader of the faction.

Independently of their connections with different groups the Tanaka-Uehara partnership worked well for a time. Their rivalry started in 1923 over the nomination of the Army Minister in the Kiyoura Keigo Cabinet (7 January 1924 – 11 June 1924). The candidate proposed by Uehara was Fukuda Masatarō (1866–1932, Nagasaki) while the candidate recommended by Tanaka was Ugaki Kazushige (1868–1956, Okayama)⁴⁶. Tanaka won – Ugaki was appointed the Army Minister and this affair became the starting point of an intense rivalry between them and Uehara's clique.

There was another very important anti-Chōshū, anti-Ugaki group within the Army – the Saga faction. This was a faction formed by officers from Saga prefecture such as Utsunomiya Tarō (1861–1922), Mutō Nobuyoshi (1868–1933, 3), Okamura Chōtarō (5), Yasumitsu Kin'ichi (1871–1960, 6), Masaki Jinzaburō (1876–1956, 9), Yanagawa Heisuke (1879–1945, 12), Kazuki Kiyoshi (14) from Fukuoka, such as Hata Shinji (12), Kashii Kōhei (1881–1954, 12) from Kōchi – Obata Toshishirō (1885–1947, 16), Yamashita Tomoyuki (1888–1946, 18) as well as Araki Sadao (1877–1966, 9) from Tokyo⁴⁷.

At the beginning of the Shōwa era the Saga faction joined Uehara's clique and it became a starting point for "the Kyūshū minus [without] Ōita faction" (*Kyūshū mainasu [hiku] Ōitabatsu*) called also "the Satsuma and Hizen faction" (*Sappibatsu*).

In opposition to them was another group, the heir of the Chōshū faction, Ugaki's clique.

Ugaki Kazushige was the Army Minister for 6 years, i.e. continuously from January 1924 till April 1927 (in the Kiyoura Keigo Cabinet, in the Katō Takaaki Cabinets [11 June 1924 – 30 January 1926], in the Wakatsuki Reijirō Cabinet [30 January 1926 – 20 April 1927] and then from July 1929 till April 1931 (in the Hamaguchi Osachi Cabinet [2 July 1929 – 14 April 1931]).

The whole period from 1924 until 1931 can be called "the Ugaki clique period" (*Ugakibatsu jidai*) but it seems necessary to divide it into two stages: the first term in office (1924–1927) and the second term in office (1929–1931).

During the first term Ugaki, chosen by Tanaka as the leader of the Chōshū faction, tried to retain the most important positions in the Army Central Headquarters for the hands of Chōshū representatives. His faction was transformed, however, into quite a different one during his second term in office. He noted then that it was not necessary to go on with the hegemony of the Chōshū faction and started

⁴⁶ Ugaki was not from Yamaguchi but Okayama. Since Tanaka was the last of the skillful leaders from Chōshū it was necessary to choose someone from another group as a successor.

⁴⁷ Cf.: Sasaki 1979: 7-8; Matsushita 1975: 397.

to form a clearly personal Ugaki's clique, a faction based on connections with his colleagues from the Rikudai.

From the authoress' point of view the most important were the following persons from Ugaki's clique: Kanaya Hanzō (1873–1933, Ōita, 5), Minami Jirō (1874–1955, Ōita, 6), Hata Eitarō (1872–1933, Fukushima, 7), Abe Nobuyuki (1875–1953, Ishikawa, 9), Honjō Shigeru (1876–1915, Hyōgō, 9), Sugiyama Gen (1883–1945, Fukushima, 12), Ninomiya Harushige (1879–1945, Okayama, 12), Koiso Kuniaki (1880–1950, Yamagata, 12), Tatekawa Yoshitsugu (1880–1945, Niigata, 13) and others⁴⁸.

During Ugaki's clique period the rivalry between his group and "the Kyūshū minus Ōita faction" continued for the same reasons related to personal matters⁴⁹ and to the hegemony in the Army. These two factions also struggled because of Ugaki's disarmament activities.

The most important point of these activities was the deactivation of the 13th, 14th, 15th, 17th and 18th Divisions and using money saved in this way for realizing a program of better equipment and mechanization of the Japanese Army. But the emphasis on equipment and economic planning in the Army caused the opposition among the officers inspired by and *seishin shugi* and *kōdō*.

A final effect of Ugaki's disarmament activities was a deeper factionalization of the Army and growing dissatisfaction among those senior officers who opposed Ugaki as well as among others, like "the Young Officers" with their growing sense of insecurity. From the late 1920's they started to support Uehara's clique in order to oppose the former Chōshū faction, now personified in the person of Ugaki. Since "the Young Officers' Movement" is also connected with Gen. Masaki it seems necessary to describe it in this place.

"Young Officers' Movement"⁵⁰

"The Young Officers' Movement" was born in the Rikushi in the mid-1920's as a movement of a loosely-knit organization composed chiefly of cadets from this school. It died out in 1936, strictly speaking after the February 26 Incident (*niniroku jiken*).

The term "Young Officers" was used mainly by some of them and was not officially adopted in the 1930's (it is commonly used now by scholars and specialists on modern Japan).

At that time the term "officers attached to a unit" (*taitsuki shōkō*) or "a part of officers" (*ichibu shōkō*) or "a group based on the principle of *kokutai*" (*kokutai*

⁴⁸ Cf.: Sasaki 1979: 9-10 and "Seinen..." (unpublished): 36-37.

⁴⁹ In 1928 Uehara supported Mutō Nobuyoshi as a candidate for the Chief of GSO, while Ugaki proposed Kanaya Hanzō, and he won.

⁵⁰ See e.g.: "Seinen" 1964: Gs V 764-774; Kōno 1957; Suematsu 1963 and several others.

genriha) and some others were used. Its leaders were mostly sons of high-ranking military men but the movement itself echoed the frustrations of the rural population, reflected in the soldiers from the countryside. It was the peasantry that became a victim of one aspect of the Meiji government policy, expressed in the slogan: “rich country strong military” (*fukoku kyōhei*) and of the bad economic situation during the 1920’s. (see: Chapter 0.2.1.). In order to create a rich country the Meiji government demanded high taxes from peasants based on a new fiscal system and in order to form a strong Army recruits were forced to drill very hard.

About a half of the officers corps of the 1930’s was recruited from rural families. It is often assumed that:

the officers of the pre-war Japanese Army were recruited mainly from the lower middle class, which could not afford the high tuition of a private university, but could afford the lower tuition of a military preparatory school⁵¹.

That is partly true but among the officers were men, especially those who formed a leading group, who came also from high-ranking military or ex-samurai families and from the urban social elite⁵².

The goal of “the Young Officers” was to bring about the Shōwa Restoration in order to enable the Emperor to exercise his authority as a true monarch of the nation. They called for the abolition of the “privileged classes” (*tokken kaikyū*) like zaibatsu, big landlords, party politicians, etc., all those who seemed to monopolize wealth and power. They planned to do that in order to restore a moral order in which all parts of society were believed to be members of one family with the Emperor as its head.

They did not work out a full program but they believed that destruction was the first step towards construction. Therefore for a realization of the Shōwa Restoration they planned some “incidents” (*jiken*), which were to be based on political assassinations carried out for the sake of a “heavenly punishment”. Especially significant was the February Incident in 1936.

The thinker who influenced “the Young Officers” most strongly was Kita Ikki (1883–1937, Niigata) whose book *Outlines of a Plan for the Reconstruction of Japan* (*Nihon kaizō hōan taikō*)⁵³ became, generally speaking, the basis for the movement,

⁵¹ Shillony 1973: 21.

⁵² For example, Yamaguchi Ichitarō (Shizuoka, 33) was from an ex-samurai family, Takeshima Tsuguo (Shiga, 40) was the son of a General, Kōno Hisashi (Nagasaki, 40) of an Admiral and Kurihara Yasuhide (Saga, 41) of a Colonel. Andō Teruzō’s father was a Professor at Keiō University.

⁵³ The plan advocated a radical revision of society in order to prepare Japan for leadership in revolutionary Asia, the confiscation of personal fortunes greater than one million yen, the nationalization of major industries, the seizure and redistribution of surplus private land holdings above one million yen in value, the establishment of an 8-hour work day. Cf.: Wilson 1969.

although some of the officers did not agree with it. Kita in cooperation with Ōkawa Shūmei (1886–1957), a specialist in oriental philosophy, one of the most prominent civilians in the pre-war rightist movement, founded in 1920 the ultranationalist group, Yūzonsha (the Society of Those Who Yet Remain)⁵⁴. But it broke up shortly after Ōkawa's resignation in 1923. It was chiefly due to the differences in Ōkawa's and Kita's interpretations of "reconstruction of the Nation" (*kokka kaizō*). The next year Ōkawa established the Gyōchisha (the Activist Society)⁵⁵, which aimed at building a restored Japan. To achieve this goal it attempted to build up a relationship between civilian nationalists and "the Young Officers" in the Army. The same Ōkawa in 1921 established the nationalistic Institute for Research on Social Education (Shakai Kyōiku Kenkyūjo), usually known as the Daigakuryō (in a word-for-word translation means a "dormitory"; in 8th century it was a name for the Imperial University), where the cadets of the Rikushi listened to lectures on patriotism and national history. Among them was Nishida Mitsugi (1901–1937, 34), who after resignation from active service joined the Gyōchisha, which became a meeting place for cadets. Nishida was strongly influenced by Kita's ideas. In 1927 he organized the Tenkentō (the Heavenly Sword Party), which was to be a secret organization of "the Young Officers". Its manifesto called for a military-led revolution and for the achievement of national reforms on the ground of Kita's plan. It did not exist for long.

Nishida together with Kita finally parted company with Ōkawa after the March and October Incidents of 1931 (described in detail in the Chapter 1.1.1.). The first two became the ideological leaders of "lower officers" (*kakyū shōkō*) that is to say of *seinen shōkō*. At the same time the latter gradually established closer ties with "higher officers" (*jōkyū shōkō*) represented by the Seigunha (the Faction of Army Purification)⁵⁶ and others.

"The Young Officers" were also influenced by Masaki and Araki, the main figures of the Kōdōha, but their ties will be discussed later on because of their importance to the work.

Society of One Evening (Issekikai)

Another group within the Army, which supported "the Kyūshū minus Ōita faction" in the beginning of the 1930's, arose because of dissatisfaction with Ugaki's clique's domination.

This was the Society of One Evening, a group formed by graduates from the Rikudai, i.e. the Tenpōsengumi. It came into being as the result of the merger of some smaller groups which had existed earlier.

⁵⁴ As translated in Morris 1960: 448 and in MM, 325-326. Maruyama translated it also as "the Society to Preserve the National Essence". The authoress considers that the first translation is more adequate and closer to the character of the group.

⁵⁵ As translated in Morris 1960: 448.

⁵⁶ More details concerning the Seigunha will be given in Chapter 1 of this work.

In October 1921 in Baden-Baden⁵⁷ after a series of meetings among Nagata Tetsuzan (1884–1935, Nagano, 16), Obata Toshishirō, Okamura Yasuji (Tokyo, 16) and Tōjō Hideki (1884–1948, Tokyo, 17) a secret agreement was concluded. It concerned the dissolution of cliques, personnel reform, military organization reform and preparation for general mobilization. After they returned to Japan they started some activities aimed at the limitation of the Chōshū faction's influence in the Army while continuing their discussions on the above-mentioned topics. Because the place of their meetings was the restaurant "Sprout" (Futabatei) this group is called "the Sprout Society" (Futabakai)⁵⁸.

The Unnamed Society (Mumeikai), called also the Thursday Society (Mokuyōkai), was still another small group within the Army founded by graduates from the Rikudai, that held discussion on Army problems, especially those related to the Manchurian question⁵⁹.

Its most prominent members were Suzuki Teiichi (Chiba, 22) and Ishihara Kanji (1889–1949, Yamagata, 24). Some representatives from the first group were invited by the second to give lectures. Gradually the line between the two became blurred and in December 1928 Nagata, Okamura and Tōjō were also registered as members of the Mokuyōkai.

These two groups merged into one, the Issekikai, in May the following year and existed under this name till September 1931, that is to say, until the Manchurian Incident.

The most important points of the Issekikai program were:

1. The forceful pursuit of various policies through reforming the Army personnel system;
2. Renovation of the Army by supporting the three generals, Araki, Masaki and Hayashi⁶⁰.

To achieve the two aims Issekikai's members were, first of all, very anxious to carry out personnel changes, which meant in practical terms the elimination

⁵⁷ It was the best place for them to meet, since Nagata was at that time a military attaché in the Japan legation in Switzerland, Okamura was on an official trip in Europe, Obata was a military attaché in the Japanese Embassy in Russia, while Tōjō stayed in Germany.

⁵⁸ At the very beginning it was composed of 20 members, who graduated from the Rikushi as the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th classes but they were also graduates from the Rikudai. Among them were Nagata, Obata, Okamura, Tōjō, Yamashita, Doihara Kenji (Okayama, 16), Itagaki Seishirō (16) and others.

⁵⁹ It was considered, that Manchuria could provide Japan with a buffer zone against Russia and China, with important raw materials as well as with a territory for Japanese immigration. Following the Manchurian Incident (*Manshū jihen*), 18 September 1931, which started with an explosion near Mukden and ended in the creation of the puppet state Manchukuo (*Manshūkoku*) in February 1932, Japan found herself in diplomatic isolation and therefore withdrew from the League of Nations in February 1933.

⁶⁰ Sasaki 1979: 13.

of Chōshū and Ugaki's cliques representatives from main posts in the Army and replacing them by those from the Kyūshū faction. (Significantly no one from the Yamaguchi prefecture was a member of the Issekikai).

Their activities were successful and in 1931 many of them and those from "the Kyūshū minus Ōita faction" attained high positions in the military bureaucracy.

There is no question that the Chōshū faction after a long-lasting hegemony had definitely been defeated and its opponents from the Kyūshū faction as well as their supporters had gained the power.

The *Meiji hanbatsu*, based on old feudal relationships, like the whole of Japan, underwent a process of modernization and a transformation into *gakubatsu*, the academic cliques based primarily on personal not territorial relationships can be observed. But this fact as well as the end of the Chōshū faction did not mean the end of rivalry among officers within the Army. On the contrary, the Issekikai and "the Kyūshū minus Ōita faction" organized new groups during the 1930's among which was the Kōdōha, the subject of the study.

0.3. Masaki Jinzaburō – his life and activities (1876–1931)

Masaki Jinzaburō was born the oldest son of a middle-class farmer, just before the *Seinan sensō*, on 27 November 1876 in Sakaihara (now Inudō in the town of Chiyoda), Kanzaki district of Saga prefecture. This prefecture had produced many brave warriors.

Jinzaburō had four sisters and two younger brothers, who as more important to the present work need to be briefly introduced at this point. Yaichi was later a chief of a department in the Jitsugyō Ginkō (Industrial Bank) in Saga town. Katsuji became a Navy Contradmiral and a member of the House of Representatives.

According to Masaki Ichirō and his wife, Fumi⁶¹, who is a daughter of Yaichi, Jinzaburō in his childhood was very eager to quarrel and fight with his playmates as well as to play tricks on his father. At the same time, however, he was known for his orderliness. Always having everything planned in advance he could not bear unexpected situations.

After he had finished primary school in Hasuike in 1892 he entered secondary school in Saga. It was previously the *han* school, Kōdōkan, one of many schools established in the Edo era (1603–1868). It should be pointed out that in those days very rarely did a farmer's son, even when quite well off, attend secondary school. Masaki's father at first had agreed to his son's further education but later he was often angry that Jinzaburō was studying instead of helping him with his work on the farm. For this reason Jinzaburō used to leave home early in the morning. Thus

⁶¹ The authoress had a chance to interview them in April 1984 in Inudō.

he arrived at the school, which was 8 km away from his home, a couple hours before lessons which he devoted to study.

He had a good memory and a turn for exact sciences and therefore his teacher encouraged him to become a physicist. In those days (1895), however, Japan rejoiced at the victory in the war with China (which ended with signing the peace treaty in Shimonoseki on 17 April 1895) and Masaki, like all the other children and most of Japanese people, admired Japanese soldiers very much. Moreover, for a long time he wondered, why men wearing uniforms were respected so much by ordinary people. He often witnessed his parents and their friends bend their heads in front of soldiers, policemen and officials. According to his eldest son, Masaki Hideki, this was the primary reason Jinzaburō chose a soldier's career. Masaki Hideki said to the authoress:

Also Masaki (refers to Jinzaburō; EPR) intended to be a great man and therefore he became a soldier⁶².

It is said that he chose the soldier's profession because he was against "respect for officials and contempt of common people" (*kanson minpi*)⁶³.

For these reasons, after finishing secondary school, he joined the 23rd Infantry Regiment in Miyakonojō in November 1895 and then began his education at the Military Academy. There was still another reason for Masaki's choice of career. In those days fees in secondary and high schools were very high and only the richest people could afford to send their sons to them. Military schools, however, were free of charge on the condition that the pupils made good progress. Students were even able to get grants.

Masaki was graduated from the Rikushi in 1897 as one of the six best students of the 9th class. Araki Sadao and Honjō Shigeru were graduates of the same class and like Masaki later became the leading figures of the Army. He was, as a Second Lieutenant assigned first to the 46th Infantry Regiment in Ōmura and then to the Infantry Battalion in Tsushima. In a year he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, made a commander of a unit and transferred to the Rikushi. Two years later he began his study at the Rikudai which he had to stop with the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War. He returned to his unit and went to war as a commander of a company in the 46th Regiment. He was awarded the fourth class order of the Golden Kite (*kō yonkyū kinshi kunshō*). In March 1906 he returned to the school and graduated as one of the best on 28 November 1907.

In April 1906 he married Nobuchiyo, a daughter of Nakashima Jinnosuke, a samurai from the Saga *han*. They had eight children.

⁶² From the conversations with Masaki Hideki recorded in April and May 1984. If not stated otherwise all other quotations of Hideki's view in the text are reproduced from these conversations.

⁶³ Karita 1980: 171.

In 1908, shortly after being graduated from the Rikudai, he became an official of the Military Affairs Section in AM and a year after he also started to work as a German interpreter in GSO. At that time he got to know Ōkawa Shūmei. From May 1911 he spent three years in Germany, as a Major, and in several regiments he studied the Prussian Army as an ordinary soldier. After returning to Japan, during conversations with his then 7 years old son, Hideki often stressed that he admired the German Army's way of training and drills.

While in Germany he was very much interested in the philosophy of Nietzsche, which according to Karita Tōru, exerted great influence on Masaki's later views⁶⁴.

At this time he thought more and more about the reconstruction of the Japanese Army. He came to the conclusion that in order to achieve this it was necessary to end the domination of the Chōshū faction. He often discussed this subject with Hayashi Senjūrō (1876–1942, Ishikawa, 15), who had at the time a scholarship in Germany. In February 1914 he returned to Japan and while waiting for a suitable post he became at first a battalion commander of the 42nd Infantry Regiment in Yamaguchi and then was transferred to the 53rd Regiment in Nara.

At that time he was asked to lecture at the Rikudai on the French-Prussian War. But, according to Masaki Hideki, he rejected this offer regarding it as too time-consuming. He would have had to spend a couple of hours to prepare for an hour lecture. Besides, he did not want to forget the German language, so, in May 1915 accepted the post as Chief of the German Prisoners of War Camp in Kurume (they were the prisoners taken after the capitulation of the German Navy corps during World War I while in Chinese territorial waters). In November 1916 he returned to Tokyo where he became the Chief of the Second Section in IGME and was promoted to the rank of Colonel. From that moment he became interested in and maintained closer contact with "the Young Officers"⁶⁵.

Masaki is considered by his family, that is to say, by his son, Hideki as well as by Masaki Ichirō and Fumi as a severe but basically a good hearted man. He was always ready to listen to all that his opponents had to say, even if his opinion was different. He thought that chiefs and high officers must try to understand young officers and must have time to discuss their problems. Therefore in 1919 he opposed the suggestion of the then Chief of the First Department in GSO, Kanaya Hanzō, who wanted to create the Investigation Committee on Young Officers' Thought (Seinen Shōkō Shisō Chōsa Inka). Masaki considered the control of opinions as very little use in understanding the problems of young men.

In August 1920 he was appointed to the important post of the Chief of the Military Affairs Section in AM but a year later he was transferred to become the

⁶⁴ Ibidem: 176.

⁶⁵ The problem of "the Young Officers" is often touched in Masaki's letters to Uehara Yūsaku from 1927 till 1931; *Uehara* 1976: 456-462.

Commander of the 1st Infantry Regiment in the Imperial Guard. The reason for this transfer was probably Masaki's criticism concerning the Army Minister, Tanaka Giichi (the then leader of the Chōshū faction), who, in Masaki's opinion, used and administered the, so-called, secret funds improperly⁶⁶. In 1922 he was promoted to the rank of Major-General and made the Commander of the 1st Brigade in the Imperial Guard. The next year he began his career at the Rikushi. In 1923 he was the head of the Regular Course of the Military Academy and later the Chief of the Academy (until 1927).

Very important for this study is the fact that Masaki was the Chief during the period when cadets from 37th to 40th classes (about 4000 pupils) graduated. Later, they were to play the main role in the February Incident.

Masaki, like the whole Saga faction, was anti-Ugaki and was against his program of Army mechanization. Therefore he emphasized "spiritual training", patriotism and "nipponism", which made him popular with the cadets. It was he who wanted them to attend the lectures delivered by Ōkawa and after the Daigakuryō was closed down, he invited Ōkawa to lecture at the Rikushi. Sometimes, with Masaki's permission, the cadets even visited the headquarters of the Gyōchisha. But he was always against any insubordinate action of "the Young Officers" even though it would have been carried out in order to attain the goals of *Shōwa ishin*.

He was also an opponent to the national-socialists, strictly speaking, to the Japanese fascists and therefore he opposed Kita Ikki. Masaki considered Kita's way of thinking as harmful to the Nation and the idea of *kokutai*. He was a nationalist totally devoted to the Emperor and Japan. In his lectures he often emphasized the significance of the idea of the Empire and its unique character. At the same time, however, he respected the opinions of his students and he often had discussion with them on this subject. He never failed to remember the names of the people he had met and talked to, and this gained him the respect and affection of "the Young Officers" and his subordinates. This feature of his character was probably one of the reasons why he was chosen by members of the Issekikai as one of three candidates to get the highest posts in the Army.

At that time Masaki was looking after Aizawa Saburō (1889–1936), who was assigned to the Academy, treating him almost as his own son. A few years later Aizawa repaid him by killing Masaki's opponent, Nagata Tetsuzan⁶⁷.

Later he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General and in August 1927 he became the Commander of the 8th Division in Hirosaki. He had not forgotten, however, "the Young Officers". Like them, he also thought over the necessity of the Army's reforms and the Shōwa Restoration. Although Masaki feared talks of the

⁶⁶ Cf.: Tazaki 1977: 49-52, Itō 1984 (b): 12-23.

⁶⁷ This was the so-called Aizawa Incident (*Aizawa jiken*). For more details see the Chapter 3.1.2. (Part Two).

Restoration, at the same time he believed that it was necessary to carry it out. He was of the opinion that the older and more experienced officers thinking only of themselves and not even trying to understand younger ones were the main reason of the movement of “overbearing of seniors by juniors” (*gekokuujō*)⁶⁸. Therefore he stressed the necessity of more frequent discussion carried out by juniors and seniors. In July 1929 he returned to Tokyo to take the post of the Commander of the 1st Division. He continued in office till August 1931, when he was sent as the Commanding Officer of the Japanese Army to Taiwan.

Because from this moment on the further activities of the General are of a great importance to the work they will be discussed separately in the next chapters.

1. Masaki Jinzaburō as the Vice-Chief of the General Staff Office (1932–1934)

1.1. Political incidents

Although the study is limited to the years 1932–1936 it is necessary to go back to the beginning of 1931. The reason is that a group of middle echelon officers in the Army central institutions started, for the first time, to plan a coup d'état, a violent overthrow of the government, under the slogan of *kokka kaizō*. The plot which was subsequently known as the March Incident (*sangatsu jiken*), as well as the plot called the October Incident (*jūgatsu jiken*) which was planned by the same group in the same year, failed. However, they gave rise to further coups and became a starting point to a period designated by some Japanese historians as the fifteen years war (*jūgonen sensō*), 1931–1945, the period of increasing conflict both at home and abroad.

Another important reason for treating *sangatsu jiken* and *jūgatsu jiken* here is Araki Sadao's, a Masaki colleague, nomination to the post of Army Minister in the Inukai Tsuyoshi Cabinet (13 December 1931 – 26 May 1932), formed after these plots, on 13 December 1931.

For Araki it was an opportunity to break the last remnants of the Chōshū domination inside the Army and to build his own faction, which was to be later named Kōdōha.

⁶⁸ The term coined after the same one used for a trend of overpowering of seniors by juniors (or a trend of the lower dominating the upper), observed in the latter part of the Muromachi era (1336–1573).

1.1.1. The March and October Incidents

In September 1930 Lieutenant-Colonel Hashimoto Kingorō (1897–1957), the Chief of the Russia Squad in GSO (Sanbō Honbu Roshiahan), who had previously served in Turkey and had been influenced by the national reform of Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), organized the Cherry Society (Sakurakai). Its members were both officers graduated from the Rikudai and “the Young Officers”, who were interested in the reconstruction of the Nation.

Their essential aim stated that:

The ultimate purpose of our society is a reconstruction of the Nation and if required we will not hesitate to use armed forces⁶⁹.

They wanted to overthrow the party government system and to form a new military one which, in their opinion, would settle many internal and external problems. The organization established contacts with various groups outside the Army, for example, Ōkawa's group of radical rightists and even the leftists, the Social Mass Party (Shakai Taishūtō). Many senior officers of the Army, like Ninomiya Harushige, Vice-Chief of GSO, Tatekawa Yoshitsugu, Chief of Second Department in GSO and Koiso Kuniaki, Chief of Military Affairs Bureau were known to be its sympathizers and supporters. They belonged to the *Ugakibatsu*.

In January 1931 Hashimoto and other leaders of the Sakurakai drew up an outline plan of a coup d'état, which aimed at overthrowing civilian rule by violence, and at substituting it with a military government under Gen. Ugaki Kazushige.

In the first place a group of ten thousand men, organized by Ōkawa was to make a demonstration in the Hibiya Park, near the Diet Building in order to protest against labor legislation. It was scheduled for March 20th, during the 59th session of the Diet. After the demonstration they were to attack the Metropolitan Police Office and make another demonstration around the Diet Building. At the same time the Army 1st Division (commanded by Masaki) was to surround the Diet Building and demand the resignation of the Cabinet.

Although the plan was endorsed by some high-ranking officers, like Tatekawa and Koiso, many of them, like Masaki, Araki and Nagata Tetsuzan, opposed it strongly. Finally, Gen. Ugaki decided to cancel the plot just before the time for action.

It is not clear even now how Ugaki had gained knowledge of the proposal and what was his attitude towards the incident⁷⁰. However, his cooperation would

⁶⁹ Muranaka, Isobe 1964: Gs, IV, 650.

⁷⁰ Ugaki wanted to become the Prime Minister through the official way, meaning through the career of party politician. He wanted to become a political party member and then to be elected as the Prime Minister. Therefore he was afraid of incidents which results were always unsafe. Cf.: Itō 1984: II, 74.

undoubtedly have been necessary for success. Only a few officers from GSO and AM learnt in advance about the plot. It was not divulged to the official authorities until summer 1931⁷¹. No punishment was inflicted on the military organizers, on the contrary, two of the high-ranking officers who supported the plot were promoted to higher positions: Koiso to the post of the Army Vice-Minister and Tatekawa to the post of the Chief of the 1st Department in GSO. Only Ugaki resigned from the Army Minister's post but this was an intentional move⁷². His successor at the Army Minister seat was Gen. Minami Jirō, a man from the *Ugakibatsu*.

Following the Manchurian Incident Hashimoto and some members of the Sakurakai started to plot a more violent coup d'état. They wanted to prevent the government from squandering the fruits of the victory in Manchuria, and on that account they tried once more to realize the plot under the slogan of *kokka kaizō*. Then, they planned to install a government that would pursue a tougher policy in Manchuria.

On 25 and 26 August of the same year two meetings were held in Shinjuku and Aoyama in Tokyo. The participants can be divided into three groups:

- 1) civilians, like Nishida, Inoue Nisshō (1886–1967), Tachibana Kōsaborō (1893–1973)⁷³;
- 2) “Young Officers” of the Army, like Suganami Saburō and Ōgishi Yoriyoshi;
- 3) young officers of the Navy, like Fujii Hitoshi, Mikami Taku, Yamagishi Hiroshi and Hama Yūji. They discussed some ways of realization of the restoration and decided to support those from the Hashimoto organization in their plot.

The truth about this incident is unclear even today due to the lack of basic sources. A work written by an officer related to the plot and most frequently quoted by many contemporary Japanese authors is mentioned in No. 70 note. It is *Iwayuru jūgatsu jiken ni kansuru shuki* (Notes concerning so-called October Incident) written probably by Tanaka Kiyoshi. According to the author, the plan called for the deployment of many troops from the Tokyo-based Imperial Guard Division. These forces were to attack the Wakatsuki Reijirō Cabinet and kill all its members, to seize the Metropolitan Police Office, the Army Ministry and the General Staff Office buildings as well as newspapers' offices and the broadcasting station. A reform Cabinet, headed now by Gen. Araki Sadao, would then be set up. Ōkawa's group outside the Army as well as Kita Ikki and Nishida Mitsugi were to support the action. However, the cooperation between Ōkawa and Kita as well

⁷¹ For example, one of officials, Kido Kōichi (1889–1997), private Chief Secretary of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal learnt about the incident in August 1931. Cf.: Kido 1974: 92–93.

⁷² Probably he considered that from the Governor-General post in Korea it could be easier to become a party's member. See: Sasaki 1979: 16.

⁷³ He established the Aikyōjuku (School for Rural Patriotism) in Ibaraki prefecture. At the beginning it acted to improve the situation in the countryside but in the early 1930's it entered into closer connections with Inoue's group.

as Ōkawa and Nishida was not possible at this moment because of their conflict, which had started as early as before the March Incident and had intensified since (see: Chapter 0.2.3.). Besides, Tanaka Kiyoshi in his note wrote that it was either Ōkawa or Nishida who revealed the details of the plan to the Imperial Court (Ōkawa's former friend was Makino Nobuaki (1861–1949), the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal (*naidaijin*) or to the Seiyūkai (Society of Political Friends)⁷⁴, and it was the reason the October Incident was detected by the authorities.

It is not certain nowadays if this hypothesis is consistent with the fact. Moreover, it can be said that the incident fell through due to the lack of an agreement between some groups within the Army, which intended to bring about the *kokka kaizō*. One of them was the Tenpōsengumi members belonging to the Sakurakai and represented by officers, like Hashimoto, Nemoto Hiroshi, Chō Isamu, Amano Isamu and others. But another group from the Tenpōsengumi, namely the Issekikai with Nagata Tetsuzan at the head, strongly opposed the incident. Besides, there was a group of high-ranking officers from the Army Central Headquarters, headed by Gen. Tatekawa (*Ugakibatsu*) as well as the Mutengumi, which was to take a direct part in the plot.

The incident was exposed to the authorities just before the scheduled outbreak of the action, and on 16 October the Army Minister, Gen. Minami ordered the arrest of the ringleaders. There were no court-martials but only mild administrative punishments were given. The plotters, like Hashimoto, Chō, Nemoto, Amano and others, after a short period of domiciliary confinement, were transferred from the Central Headquarters⁷⁵. Although the facts relating to the incident were detected by the authorities outside the Army, the public did not learn about it until the end of the Pacific War. The Army did hush the incident up.

The failure of the *jūgatsu jiken* had a deep impact on the Army. It can be said that it intensified some differences in the interpretation of the *kokka kaizō* and caused decisive division between the Central Headquarters' factions, represented by Ugaki's clique as well as the Sakurakai and "the Young Officers" of the Army (and the Navy too), who realized that they had to fully rely on themselves to achieve the *Shōwa ishin* goals, by their own efforts. Because "the Young Officers" believed in Ōkawa's treason, from this moment, they started to tie up closer connections with the Kita-Nishida group. On the contrary, the Ōkawa group began to tend to collaborate with middle-echelon officers from the former Ugaki's clique. This moment was the real beginning of "the Young Officers Movement" and the starting point for activity of new factions within the Army.

It should be mentioned at this point that "the Young Officers" began to differ in opinions with young officers from the Navy in the matter of reconstruction of the Nation soon after the October Incident, just at the very beginning of 1932.

⁷⁴ Organized by Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909) in 1900, very close to the Mitsui Concern.

⁷⁵ Cf.: Kido 1974: 107.

Because it was Gen. Araki who enjoyed the “Young Officers” confidence and who was appointed to the post of the Army Minister, they, supported by Nishida, were ready to wait and to give him a chance to carry out some national reforms for the sake of the *kokka kaizō*. The young officers of the Navy were impatient and wanted to act. Supported by Inoue Nisshō and Tachibana Kōsaborō, they decided to carry the plan forth by themselves. Inoue was the author of the plan, but he divided the action into two parts which practically were known respectively as the Blood Pledge Group Incident (*Ketsumeidan jiken*) and the May 15 Incident (*goichigo jiken*). Although, generally speaking, “the Young Officers” of the Army were opposed to the action, some of them tried to help their comrades from the Navy and a few cadets from the Rikushi joined the plot.

1.1.2. The Blood Pledge Group Incident and the May 15 Incident

The Wakatsuki Cabinet which was disunited and helpless in the face of the Army’s action fell in December 1931. The leader of Seiyūkai, Inukai Tsuyoshi was nominated the Prime Minister of the next Cabinet. He was against “the positive” policy in Manchuria⁷⁶ and intended to curb the Army extremists at home and abroad. The economic situation in the country was very difficult. In 1929–1930 the collapse of American prosperity brought a worldwide slump, quickly reflected in a sharp decline in the demand for Japanese silk⁷⁷. The farmers had already been suffering from lower prices for their rice. (In the second half of 1930 these fell from 31 yen per *koku*⁷⁸ to 18).

There was also a drop in overseas demand for Japanese cotton products, causing widespread unemployment in the textile industry. The result of all this was extreme poverty in rural areas. Since many junior officers also came from hard-hit families, unrest was quickly communicated to servicemen of every rank.

In this situation Inoue Nisshō ordered the civilian members of the Blood Pledge Group (*Ketsumeidan*)⁷⁹ to select their victims according to the guiding principle of the organization “one man – one killing” (*ichinin issatsu*) and to proceed accordingly.

Their first victim was the ex-Finance Minister, Inoue Junnosuke (1869–1932), the driving force of financial policy based on the gold embargo, whom they blamed for the bad economic situation. He was shot by Konuma Tadashi on 9 February 1932, when

⁷⁶ It meant resolving all the political problems in Manchuria by aggression and war.

⁷⁷ By 1931 the index of raw silk prices (if 1914 = 100) fell to 67, compared with 151 in 1929 and 222 in 1925.

⁷⁸ *Koku* – about 180 l.

⁷⁹ Members of the *Ketsumeidan* were mainly students influenced extremely by Inoue’s philosophy. Among 12 members 8 were students. The rest of them were made up of a teacher of primary school in Ibaraki and peasants. All of them were very poor, most of them unemployed.

he got out of a car near a primary school in Komagome. On 5 March, Hishinuma Gorō assassinated the Mitsui managing Director, Dan Takuma (1858–1932), who was an important zaibatsu representative. Other members of the group, including Inoue himself, were arrested before carrying out their assignments.

Their task was taken over on 15 May, by the group of naval officers headed by Koga Kiyoshi and Mikami Taku. They were supported by Tachibana Kōsaborō and members of Aikyōjuku as well as by few Army cadets. The May 15 Incident “was the first relatively organized act of violence of radical fascism and fairly detailed plans were prepared for the uprising” (MM, 53).

In the evening, one group of rebels attacked the official residence of the 77 year old Prime Minister Inukai and shot him to death. Another group, led by Koga, threw hand-grenades at Makino’s house but they failed to injure him. They also threw hand-grenades at the Metropolitan Police Office, the Mitsubishi Bank, and the Bank of Japan but without causing any harm. Another group attacked the Seiyūai headquarter’s office. A special group of the Aikyōjuku, led by Gotō Kunihiko attacked all of the power stations in Tokyo causing some damage.

The object of the rebels was to create a crisis that would lead to Martial Law. However, it is not clear what concrete reforms they desired put into place after completing their attacks. Lieutenant Koga declared in court:

We thought about destruction first. We never considered taking on the duty of construction [...] Someone would take charge of the construction for us. [...] When I called on Minister Gen. Araki [...] he told us, that the deadlock in the national situation must be broken by Yamato spirit. [...] We believed that, if we could create a situation requiring martial law, a military government would be set up around Araki as War Minister and a start made upon the path of reconstruction (MM, 54)⁸⁰.

This statement was a characteristic utterance expressing the attitude of the groups interested in the *kokka kaizō*, especially those who represented “nipponism”, i.e., those from the Kōdōha or “the Young Officers”. They thought they knew the reasons for the bad economic situation in Japan and wanted reforms. They considered that this could only be achieved through violence. But they had no idea what to do after the attacks. They probably thought, that the principles of *seishin shugi* were sufficient to lead the Nation in the correct direction.

There was another attack on 15 May. Kawasaki Nagamitsu, one of Tachibana’s disciples shot and wounded Nishida Mitsugi at home, because he believed Nishida had prevented the Army comrades from joining the action and had revealed the secret plans of the *jūgatsu jiken*.

⁸⁰ For more details see: *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, evening edition, 29 July 1933, p.1.

Many of the rebels were arrested. Separate trials for the civilian participants, like Inoue, Tachibana and their followers, and two court-martials – in the Army and in the Navy – began in the summer of 1933. All were conducted publicly and at great length. The Army cadets were sentenced to four years imprisonment but all were subsequently pardoned and discharged from prison in 1936. Tachibana's sentence was heaviest – life imprisonment. Koga and Mikami were sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, others – to periods from 1 to 13 years. By 1940 all were set free.

The rebels almost became national heroes and even the public prosecutor, Kiuchi Tsunenori, who was conducting the trial, sympathized with them.

The attitude towards the rebels assumed by Araki and his friends from the same faction revealed clearly the close relationship between the Army authorities and “the Young Officers” at that time. For instance, Gen. Obata and Hata Shinji, the Provost Marshal (*kenpei shireikan*) ordered the Military Police (Kenpeitai) to treat the rebels as “patriots”. As quoted in Maruyama's work, Gen. Araki in a public statement just after the May 15 Incident said:

We cannot restrain our tears when we consider the mentality expressed in the actions of these pure and naive young men. They are not actions for fame, or personal gain, nor are they traitorous. They were performed in the sincere belief that they were for the benefit of Imperial Japan, Therefore, in dealing with this incident, it will not do to dispose of it in a routine manner according to short-sighted conceptions (MM, 67).

These four incidents proved that various radical elements in the Army and outside it, dissatisfied with the party government and its connections with big business *zaibatsu*, could not wait longer and aided the realization of *kokka kaizō*. But it became clear that they tried to do that differently.

One of the effects of their activities was the nomination of Gen. Araki as the Army Minister, which contributed to the foundation of the Imperial Way Faction era (*Kōdōha jidai*). From this moment for two years, namely from 1932 till 1934 the Kōdōha was the dominant, leading group within the Army.

1.2. The Original Imperial Way Faction (Gensho Kōdōha)

Although the October Incident failed in its endeavor a discussion in the Army concerning the punishment of the plot's organizers caused a reshuffling of military authorities. Previously, the *Ugakibatsu*, called also “the main stream of the Army” (*rikugun honryū*) was the most powerful group. This was due to Gen. Minami Jirō's appointment to the post of the Army Minister after the dismissal of Ugaki (Minami was a general very close to Ugaki). However, the above-mentioned incidents

produced a gradual disintegration of Ugaki's clique and loss of its significance. Finally, the Kyūshū minus Ōita faction, known also as the *Satsumakei*, became the main power within the Army.

Minami himself, on 22 October 1931, wrote about the situation within the Army in his diary as follows:

The Army split into two parts: the Kyūshū group and the present power. In the future the Kyūshū group will replace the Satsuma and Chōshū factions⁸¹.

Thus, as early as October 1931 Minami found that the Kyūshū faction (called by him the Kyūshū group (*Kyūshū gumi*)) was one of two most important groups within the Army. He maintained that in the near future they would supplant the present power (*genzai seiryoku*) and would put an end to the rivalry between the factions.

The new Prime Minister, Inukai Tsuyoshi was appointed on 13 December 1931. He chose, from among three candidates, Araki Sadao, the main figure in the Kyūshū faction, as the Army Minister. This was the second blow struck at Ugaki's clique. The first one was Kanaya Hanzō's resignation from the post of the Chief of GSO on the insistence of the Military Councilors, who desired to remove all the persons responsible for the March and October incidents from the Central Headquarters. Thus, *rikugun honryū* representatives lost two very significant posts which had enabled them to determine Army policy.

Instead of Kanaya, Araki appointed the Imperial Prince, Marshal Kan'in no miya Kotohito (1865–1945) to the post. Even nowadays this appointment is difficult to understand because they did not like each other and had different political goals. Araki probably thought that aging Prince Kan'in would be satisfied with a few advisory and representative functions, and would not interfere too much in the decisions taken by the Vice-Chief. Therefore Araki appointed his friend, Masaki Jinzaburō to that post instead of Ninomiya Hazushige, a representative of the *Ugakibatsu*. In this manner the representatives of *rikugun honryū* lost another, significant post.

The changes in the Army staff carried out by Araki in 1932 demonstrated that Araki wanted to strengthen the position of his group through the weakening of Ugaki's clique⁸². He appointed many friends to the top positions in the Army. Major-General Yamaoka Shigeatsu (1882–1954, Kōchi, 15) was made Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, Matsuura Junrokurō (1884–1944, Fukuoka, 15) Chief of the Personnel Affairs Bureau and Yamashita Tomoyuki was raised to Chief of the

⁸¹ See: Minami (unpublished).

⁸² Changes in the Army Central Headquarters were carried out regularly every year in March and August.

Military Affairs Section, all in AM. Hata Shinji became the Provost Marshal. Then, Nagata, Obata and Okamura, who were founders of the Issekikai and followers of Araki took over the posts of: Chiefs of Second and Third Departments in GSO and Chief of the Special Investigation Committee of Military Affairs (*rinji gunji chōsa iinchō*). After Sugiyama Gen was relieved of the post of the Army Vice-Minister, Araki appointed Koiso Kuniaki (both Sugiyama and Koiso belonged to the *rikugun honryū*). However, in August 1932 Koiso resigned his post and Yanagawa Heisuke, Masaki's friend was appointed Vice-Minister.

After Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was shot dead in the *goichigo jiken* Araki and other Cabinet ministers were forced to resign together. It was then considered by civilian and military authorities that Araki should not scramble for the post of the Army Minister in the next Cabinet, called "the Cabinet supported by the whole Nation" (*kyokoku itchi naikaku*). The Prime Minister in this Cabinet was from 26 May 1932 till 8 July 1934 Adm. Saitō Makoto. Some of Araki's opponents were of the opinion that he should be called to account for the participation of the Rikushi cadets in the incident, and Hayashi Senjūrō was appointed to the office as Araki's successor. However, he did not accept the offer because the closest followers of Araki brought pressure on him⁸³. Thus, Araki once more became the Army Minister. On the same day, instead of Araki, General Inspector of Military Education, Mutō Nobuyoshi and Chief of the Head Office in IGME, Kawashima Yoshiyuki (1878–1945, Ehime, 10) were called to account over the involvement of the Rikushi cadets in the May 15 Incident and were relieved of their posts. This was a very cunning maneuver. By throwing all the blame on persons responsible for education of Army officers and forcing their resignation, the Central Headquarters (i.e., Araki) demonstrated that everything has been done to restore order in the Army. Araki continued his efforts to strengthen the position of his group and ordered further reshuffling of the staff. Hayashi Senjūrō was appointed to Mutō's former place and Kashii Kōhei replaced Kawashima as the Chief of Head Office. Finally, all the most important offices in the Central Headquarters were occupied by the representatives of the *Arakibatsu*. Although their essential aim was to eliminate the influence of Ugaki's clique in the Army, in the beginning Araki and his followers used to say that they tried to abolish all the military factions for the sake of Army unity and Army reconstruction. In fact a new group came into being. It was the *Arakibatsu* or *Satsumakei* (the group which was an heir of the *Satsuma batsu* or *Kyūshū mainasu [hiku] Ōitabatsu*, called by Gen. Minami the *Kyūshū gumi*). They traditionally struggled

with the *Chōshūbatsu* and its successor, the *Ugakibatsu*. For that reason Araki's clique is also called the *han Chōshūbatsu* (anti-Chōshū faction) or *han Ugakibatsu* (anti-Ugaki clique). Subsequently they came to be known as the Kōdōha.

⁸³ Cf.: Sasaki 1979: 23–25.

Most of the representatives of the Kōdōha and the Tōseiha (a group which came into being after the Kōdōha split in 1934) maintained that there were not any factions and that journalists had used these terms without any reason. For example, Masaki said in 1955:

– ... there were no factions called the Kōdōha or the Tōseiha. They were just names given at some time by journalists and at last it began to look as if they really existed⁸⁴

Also Suzuki Teiichi, a close Araki cooperator and his direct advisor in the Gensho Kōdōha period wrote:

Although I used to say, ‘it is the Kōdōha’ or ‘it is the Tōseiha’, they were names given by outsiders. At that time the so-called groups did not exist⁸⁵

One of the Tōseiha representatives considered that:

Although people speak of the Kōdōha or the Tōseiha, it is not known who is the author of these names. I also do not understand the reason [for giving them; EPR]⁸⁶.

Against this background the interpretation given by Ben-Ami Shillony must be questioned. He wrote:

Both terms, Kōdōha and Tōseiha were coined by pro-Kōdōha pamphleteers. Therefore Kōdōha was from the beginning a laudatory term, whereas Tōseiha remained a pejorative appellation⁸⁷.

The authoress of the present work considers, however, that the terms were given to those factions later on and by outsiders. They were generally used to characterize two main divisions inside the Army. The terms “Kōdōha” and “Tōseiha” well defined the basic way to carry out reconstruction.

- *kōdō* (Imperial Way) – means idealistic, faithful followers of the principles of *kokutai*, *Yamato damashii* (soul, spirit of Japan), etc.
- *tōsei* (control) – means more concrete, definite, particular idea; reconstruction through control of various governing bodies and production.

The direct cause for naming the group around Araki as the Imperial Way Faction was certainly the fact that he used the term *kōdō* frequently and then, the prefix *kō*

⁸⁴ Masaki 1957: 134.

⁸⁵ Itō, Sasaki 1977: vol. 86 (10): 89.

⁸⁶ Takahashi 1969: 179.

⁸⁷ Shillony 1973: 37-38.

– (Imperial) in his numerous public appearances. In his speeches he substituted the so far used word *kokugun* (national Army) by *kōgun* (Imperial Army) and *teikoku* (Empire) by *kōkoku* (also Empire but with emphasis on Emperor). However, the one he particularly liked was *kōdō*, which most generally expressed, in his mind, the tasks of the Imperial Army. It meant the way the Army must follow in order to fulfill the historical mission of Japan. The following text may be a good example of Araki's style:

The Imperial Army's spirit lies in exalting the Imperial Way and spreading the National Virtue. Every single bullet must be charged with the Imperial Way, and the end of every bayonet must have the National Virtue burnt into it. If there are any who oppose the Imperial Way or the National Virtue, we shall give them an injection with this bullet and this bayonet. (MM, 94)⁸⁸.

Araki maintained, like the majority representing the Kōdōha, that the Army ought to propagate and strengthen the ideas of *kokutai* among the people. *Kōdō* was the axiom, the only right way, which could lead Japan to splendor and glory. Those who opposed the ideas, in Araki's mind, must be destroyed, as they acted against the country and against the traditional moral principles of its people.

1.2.1. Ideology

The *Arakibatsu* never had any particular program as, for example, the Sakurakai at the time when they planned the March and October Incidents, nor the political program as that of the Tōseiha (see Chapter 2.2.1.). To characterize Araki's clique generally it will be advisable to quote the words of Ikeda Sumihisa, a representative of the Control Faction, who wrote as follows:

As the name Kōdōha indicates, it declares for spiritualism of the "Emperor-First" principle (Emperor as the Center principle). It is a revolutionary reformation group, which desires to manifest the *kokutai*⁸⁹.

It mainly stressed the morality connected with the ideas of Japanese *kokutai* and its uniqueness in the whole world. *Seishin shugi* meant either idealism or spiritualism or spiritual power, for the sake of which the spiritual qualities overpowered the material ones and were its primal feature. This morality manifested itself in: the idealistic revolutionary reformation theory (*kannenteki kakushinron*), the theory of

⁸⁸ Cf.: Araki 1932: 266-270.

⁸⁹ Ikeda 1968: 25.

government by direct Imperial rule (*tennō shiseiron*) and the militaristic nipponism (*shōbuteki Nihon shugi*)⁹⁰.

The fragment of “The Basic Plan of Policy During Emergency” (“Kinkyū shisaku kisoan”), described by Araki in his letter to Prime Minister Saitō in January 1934 may become a good illustration of its ideology. Araki wrote there:

Raising the moral standard in the Empire and manifesting inside and out the true character of its culture with the total help of the country's power belong to the present and the most urgent tasks. Inside, means understanding the kokutai idea and also strengthening of safety and peacefulness in the Nation's life. Outside, means the promotion of peace in the Far East and the Pacific. /.../ we shall reject communism, we shall renounce fascism and following the road of numerous virtues of the Empire will become our great obligation⁹¹.

The next two characteristic features of the Kōdōha turned out here: anti-communism (*hankyō shugi*) and anti-fascism (*han fassho*). Thus, the Kōdōha's followers were against two ideologies they considered to be the consequence of adoption of capitalism, which in their minds, could spoil the traditional values of the Empire. However, it is possible to prove the existence of some contradictions in the group's outlook, on the grounds of these two features.

The anti-communism of the faction was revealed in its tendency of pushing towards war with the Soviet Union and was reflected in the, so-called, theory of an annihilating war against the Soviet Union (*taiso gekimessenron*)⁹², worked out by Obata. To begin the war it was necessary to multiply the armaments, which meant developing productivity in the war industry. Though, at the same time the Kōdōha took actions against *zaibatsu*, which were the main representative of Japanese capitalists and who having in mind, according to the *Araki batsu*, only their own profit, did not care about the welfare of the people. This caused suffering, particularly among the poorest layers of the society. It is the first contradiction in the ideology of the faction (if it is at all reasonable to call these loose, not wholly defined political views ideology).

The second contradiction is evident in the Kōdōha's attitude towards the so-called Japanese fascism. The *Araki batsu* was against this political doctrine, claiming that it was the doctrine which might destroy all the spiritual values of the Nation. The Kōdōha's followers, being advocates of the nipponism, especially opposed control (first of all controlled economy), which was the basic assumption of national socialism. Unfortunately however, they revealed, in their propaganda, unwittingly, another

⁹⁰ Terminology used by Hata 1962.

⁹¹ Ibidem: 241.

⁹² Takahashi 1969: 186.

distinctive feature of Japanese fascism, viz. agrarianism (*nōhon shugi*). It was the countryside, the poorest countryside, which provided the Army with conscripts and so, to win their popularity and obedience the Kōdōha attempted to improve the life of peasants and to gain a greater autonomy for the countryside. Thus, the second contradiction might be noticed in the question of agrarianism. They demanded more autonomy for peasants in an attempt to put a stop to the expansion of the industrial productive power of the cities as well as “the expansion of military production and the reorganization of the national economy round the armament industries” (MM, 46).

Putting together the desires to develop the war industry and to improve the lives of peasants shows not only the contradiction in the outlook of the Kōdōha but also the lack of any consequent program. Spreading idealistic slogans the Kōdōha looked forward to the support not only from inside but also from outside the Army. The members considered that such notions, like *kokutai*, *Yamato damashii*, etc. were of the greatest value for all Japanese people. And actually they succeeded in the years 1932–1934, in the, so-called, Kōdōha period (*Kōdōha jidai*), when they dominated the Army Central Headquarters and were the only power to have serious influence on Army policy. It is necessary, however, to mention at this point, that the Kōdōha of this period is called occasionally the Original Kōdōha (Gensho Kōdōha) in order to distinguish the group of this time from that which assumed a new personal shape after it split in 1934.

1.2.2. Personnel composition of the Original Kōdōha

As mentioned in the preface, the characteristic features of all the factions inside the Japanese Army were very complicated, with frequently unclear personal composition, which fact mainly resulted from the mobility of their representatives. As those groups were not pure organizations, there were neither members' records nor descriptions of their particular activities. The researchers into this problem can only make use of a few published sources, namely, diaries, letters and notes of the people connected with those factions or those involved in political life in Japan. However, the number of such sources is limited and thus it is impossible to draw a very detailed picture. Among many analyses of the Kōdōha the best is now the one made by Sasaki Takashi, who based his work on the most recently published basic source materials. Sasaki divides the Kōdōha into the following groups⁹³:

- I – Araki, Masaki, Hayashi, three generals of the 8th and 9th classes of the Rikushi, who, when the Chōshū faction had dominated the Army, took the directors' posts at the Rikushi and the Rikudai and who were chosen as the leaders in the reconstruction movement;

⁹³ Sasaki 1979: 1-43.

- II – Yanagawa and Hata, 12th class of the Rikushi, representatives of the *Sagabatsu*;
- II – Matsuura, Yamaoka, Obata, Nagata, Tōjō, 15th, 16th and 17th classes of the Rikushi, who were partly leaders of the Issekikai and partly chiefs in some sections in AM at the time of Ugaki's second term as the Army Minister;
- IV – Suzuki Teiichi, Suzuki Yorimichi (22), Mutō Akira (25), above 20th class, being also graduates of the Rikudai and members of the Issekikai;
- V – the Mutengumi, they backed up the faction, though not as a whole, but only Araki and Masaki.

The common aim, which united these groups into one, was the elimination of the influence of Ugaki's clique, which was, in their minds, an heir and continuator of activities of the *Chōshūbatsu*. So, the original Kōdōha was represented by the old type faction, namely, *hanbatsu no gunbatsu*, viz. the *Sagabatsu* as well as by the new type, *gakubatsu no gunbatsu*. In the first one the personal relationships resulted mainly from the territorial connections. In the latter, however, its relationships sprung to life at military schools and therefore academic background was the basis.

Thus, Masaki, Yanagawa, Hata, Matsuura and Yamaoka belonged to the first group of the Kōdōha as representatives, namely to the faction of old type. Although they had all finished the Rikudai, the territorial connections were here even stronger than the academic ones. The second group, this of the new type, consisted of graduates from the Rikudai, of those who also belonged to the Society of One Evening for carry out their plans concerning reconstruction of the Army and Nation. Nagata, Obata, Tōjō were included in this group. The latter chose Araki, Masaki and Hayashi as three candidates for the main posts in the restored Army. (Araki was included in the old type faction although he was of Tokyo origin. He was an exception because of his close relationships with Masaki).

Thus, the new faction originated. But it is necessary to stress once again, that the *Mutengumi* backed up only those representatives of the Gensho Kōdōha, who belonged to Araki and Masaki's closest followers. The officers from the Issekikai, generally speaking, were their enemies. It was connected with the antagonism between the Tenpōsengumi and Mutengumi, which has been already explained in the preface of this publication.

When the common aim, debarring the Chōshū faction from the Army Central Headquarters, had been reached, some differences in the interpretation of reconstruction by the five groups of which the Kōdōha was composed, became more distinct. These differences concerned, among other things, the problem of decentralizing the authorities and control. Those from Araki and Masaki's circle agreed for decentralization but on one condition only, namely, that it would concern the Army as the unity inside the political system. Besides, they demanded the approval of the Army rights as superior ones to the civil administration, meaning the government. However, they did not agree upon the decentralization of power inside the Army and for the originating of some new organs, which could control

the Army. As they were against national-socialism, they also opposed, for example, controlled industry, which members of the Issekikai with Nagata at the head stressed on.

1.2.3. Split of the Gensho Kōdōha

However, the similar views concerning reconstruction of the Army persisted relatively long among the members of the Gensho Kōdōha, and so, the years 1932–1934 are acknowledged to be the period of a total ruling of this faction within the Army. But at the beginning of 1934 one part of this group with Nagata at the head began to realize that choosing Araki for the leader of the *kokka kaizō* movement was not right. And not only those who had parted with the Gensho Kōdōha as the Tōseiha were disappointed. Also the officers from the former Kyūshū faction as well as “the Young Officers” ceased trusting him. It turned out that Gen. Araki was only a skillful speaker, limiting himself only to the lofty slogans based on the ideas of *seishin shugi* and *kokutai*. According to him these slogans were sufficient to persuade the government representatives to make decisions on strengthening the position of the Army in the country. Two conferences were an example of Araki’s awkwardness and his lack of political experience. It was the Five Ministers Conference (Goshō Kaigi), which lasted from 3 till 21 October 1933 and the Conference concerning Internal Policy (Naisei Kaigi), which lasted from 7 November until 22 December 1933.

In the first one the Prime Minister, the Army and Navy Ministers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Finance Minister participated. Their main tasks were to work out the basic assumptions in the foreign policy and the defense and also to establish the budgets for the particular ministries. Araki put forward the project of the country policy. First of all he demanded a greater budget for military aims, and, as the feature of decentralized authorities, the approval of priority of the Army. The Army’s decisions were supposed to surpass the decisions of other ministries. It might concern mainly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its foreign policy as well as the Finance Ministry and its budget policy. However, the Finance Minister, Takahashi Korekiyo (1854–1936), who was against the Army’s growing power, considered Araki’s demands to be impossible to carry out in the difficult, at this time, economic situation and his entire plan to be too idealistic. Takahashi’s opinion predominated and the General failed publicly for the first time⁹⁴. The second failure came during the next conference, when some internal problems of the country were debated. Gotō Fumio (1884–1980), the Agriculture and Forestry Minister, demanded some funds to improve a very bad situation in the provinces. Araki realized then, that the demands concerning a greater budget for the Army and the

⁹⁴ Discussion between Araki and Takahashi was quoted in *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, 21, 27 October 1933, etc. Cf.: Itō, Sasaki 1978: vol. 87 (1), 72–73.

agriculture could not be approved at the same time. In spite of that he supported Gotō as he, among other things, was for agrarianism. He was afraid to lose the support of the soldiers who had a countryside background. But at that time the Finance Minister was again stronger and no particular decisions were made.

Civilian politicians, who as well as elder statesman *genrō* Saionji Kinmochi, the most influential aristocrat from the Emperor's circle, and the representatives of *zaibatsu* wanted to keep the existing system and they won the battle. They were afraid of the possible effects of the reconstruction movement in the Army, as its basic assumption was to fight with the evil resulting from capitalistic ideology, which was unsuitable on Japanese ground. It was the political parties and the great capital, which were supposed to be destroyed by the Army in order to rescue the exceptional character of the Nation. This time, however, the Army was defeated.

Both these conferences proved that the leader of the then reconstruction movement in the Army did not fulfill the people's hopes. He could not persuade, which was comprehensible, the civilian bureaucracy about the righteousness of the postulates put forward by the officers and he could not bring them to be carried out. The Gensho Kōdōha started to change its shape and disintegrate because of that reason, since many of its members decided to act on their own. Those who remained had considered the future of their group and the candidates to replace Araki.

The Original Kōdōha, generally speaking, split after two years of its existence into Kōdōha and Tōseiha. It derived, in the years 1932–1934, its strength from the combined activities of many groups acting against *Ugakibatsu* as well as from Araki's attractive speeches. The split was caused mainly by the differences in the outlooks concerning *kokka kaizō* of the particular groups inside the faction. It also turned out that although the officers belonging to Ugaki's clique were dismissed from the most important posts in the Army they still remained active. They still cooperated with the party politicians or the civilian representatives of the government acting against Araki's clique. A number of the former *Ugakibatsu* officers, like Koiso or Tatekawa along with former members of the Sakurakai, headed by Hashimoto and Chō and supported by Ōkawa, organized the Seigunha. They urged that the officers' corps of the Imperial Army should be purified of the men from the *Arakibatsu*.

In 1934 the Gensho Kōdōha lost its dominating position in the Army. However, it is necessary to stress that these two years of "ruling" in the contemporary political reality was an extremely long period of time. At that time in Japan there existed many, sometimes really very small, informal groups, cliques, coteries, which wanted to grab power in the country. Almost none of them had any particular program. And even if it existed, it concerned only what had to be destroyed or annihilated and it did not tell how to restore what was to be destroyed. The *kokka kaizō* in the minds of the representatives of the Gensho Kōdōha meant taking over the power in Japan by the Army. The Army, which faithfully served the Emperor and the Empire was to save Japan from the evil resulting from the ideology of the West.

The Army, according to Kōdōha's representatives, was also to restore both the traditional values of the Japanese Nation and its glory and to further bring Japan into a leadership position in the whole world.

1.3. Masaki Jinzaburō during the period of the Original Kōdōha

1.3.1. Masaki versus incidents

While the members of the Sakurakai and the others were planning the *sangatsu jiken* Masaki had been, for over six months, precisely speaking since July 1929, in charge of the 1st Division in Tokyo. Colonel Nagata Tetsuzan, the Commander of the 3rd Infantry Regiment and Colonel Tōjō Hideki, the Commander of 1st Infantry Regiment, both from the Issekikai, were among his subordinates. Their frequent unofficial meetings were certainly another proof that they aimed at common political targets, which arose in the period of Gensho Kōdōha.

Due to the lack of explicit source materials Masaki's connection with the March Incident is not precisely known today. But because it was the soldiers from the 1st Division, who were to take an active part in the plot, it is considered now⁹⁵ that Masaki must have been informed earlier and that his refusal was one of the causes which prevented the incident from being carried out. During the hearings in April and May 1936, conducted in connection with the later February Incident in the Police Headquarters, Masaki said on 22 April:

...for the first time I found out about it on 15 March from the then Chief of GSO, Major-General Isogai [...]. Hearing that I stressed my total objection. Next, I ordered to impart my objection to Nagata, the Chief of Military Affairs Section. (Nn, II, 214)

In April 1931 Gen. Minami was appointed the Army Minister. Having been probably afraid of Masaki's presence in Tokyo (Masaki belonged to a group opposing Minami) he appointed Masaki, a few months later, Japanese Army Commander on Taiwan. When the General left Tokyo for Taiwan due to his new responsibilities the plan of another coup, the *jūgatsu jiken* came out in the Army Central Headquarters. Masaki claimed several years later:

As at that time I was on Taiwan I don't know particulars. But I think, that it [the October Incident; EPR] had its roots in the March Incident. (Nn, II, 214)

⁹⁵ Takahashi 1969: 120.

As no other sources explaining Masaki's connections with the plot have come up so far it is difficult to deny the honesty of what he said only once on this subject. He wrote, however, about those incidents several times in his diary but that was much later and very briefly (Mn, I, 39; Mn, II, 39, 50). Writing about the problems within the Army he also turned over such incidents.

I think that the reasons which led to propagating an antagonism between the Army factions rose from a utilitarianism centered around some personal problems. Furthermore, the March and October Incidents were among the causes. It can be considered that the problem concerning a rivalry between factions deepened suddenly after the March and October Incidents. (Nn, II, 214)

Masaki was appointed the Vice-Chief of GSO by Araki on 9 January 1932. Actually however, he was entrusted with more important duties as it was he who made most decisions instead of the then Chief of GSO, Prince Kan'in, whose functions were only representative and advisory. Having taken up the post, Masaki often met with Araki to discuss the personal changes in the Army. He himself frequently thought about the necessity and the way to carry them out. As he claimed, that "personal changes do not necessarily mean any changes in the political situation" (Mn, I, 41) he insisted on reform of the military system (*gunsei kaikaku*) in a broader sense. He informed the Emperor about it on 6 February 1932. As he felt partly responsible for the situation within the Army, he discussed the subject with various people, though he often underlined that nobody was to be trusted and that one had to always be careful what one said. The lack of trust in people was one of his characteristic features.

His views might be introduced in several of the following points, on the grounds of a fragment of his diary from 12 February 1932 (Mn, I, 42-43), which includes Masaki's conversation with several people:

1. The Army ought to make their own decisions concerning their activities and ought not to be dependent upon the civilian government;
2. It is necessary to act cautiously, not to lead to conflicts within the Army, which might wreck the main target (the target was not precisely described but it seems to have been reconstruction of the Army and strengthening its position in the country);
3. Because of the economic crisis in Japan, which mostly affects the lowest layers of the society, one ought to act in such a way, that the funds would come from those who are well off, namely from *zaibatsu*;
4. The Army must completely break off with Kita, Ōkawa and their followers, as well as with participating in their activities.

About the next two incidents, namely the *Ketsumeidan jiken* and *goichigo jiken* Masaki did not say anything in his diary. Under the date of 18 February 1932 only the following note can be read:

Today the Army Minister also fears that there will be some incidents before the Diet begins its session [Inoue was assassinated on 9 February; EPR]. He thinks it necessary to take into consideration whether we ought to suppress them or take the lead. (Mn, I, 44)

Masaki thought that acting against such extreme actions as coups was justified. According to him, some careful actions within the existing administrative structure were more effective for example, pressing the government to raise the budget and the numerical force of the Army. Therefore he also tried to persuade a group of “Young Officers” and its leader Suganami Saburō not to take part in any plot, when they visited the Army Minister in the evening of 15 May 1932. As Minister Araki was then out of Tokyo, Masaki talked to them for over two hours trying to convince them that the time was not yet ripe for the action⁹⁶. According to Takamiya “the Young Officers” emphasized during this conversation the necessity to overthrow the party government, which had been, in their opinion, the cause of hindrance in the Army reconstruction and also an obstacle to solve the Manchurian Problem, which meant improving the situation of the Nation⁹⁷. It is now considered that this conversation was probably one of the reasons to create, on 26 May 1932, the, so-called, Cabinet supported by the whole Nation with Adm. Saitō Makoto as the Prime Minister.

Masaki was not directly connected with any of the above-described incidents. However, owing to the first two, he was appointed to the post of Vice-Chief of GSO. It was possible mainly because of the fact that the anti-Chōshū group to which he belonged, seized the position strongly enough to give their own people the most important posts in the Army. The next two incidents proved that the views concerning reconstruction of the Army and the country and the ways to carry them out were different and led to the split of the Gensho Kōdōha. Representatives of small groups, which the original Imperial Way Faction consisted of, realized that it was necessary to start their individual actions for the sake of *kokka kaizō*.

So, although the Gensho Kōdōha was in 1932 and in 1933, the only group deciding the Army policy, its main representatives had to be cautious all the time. First of all it was necessary to control the members of the former *Ugakibatsu* who although debarred from the posts of authority at that time, did not lose faith that they could recover them. Besides, since 1933 it was clear that equally dangerous might be those who primarily had belonged to the Gensho Kōdōha and who started to break with the *Arakibatsu* as their ideas of carrying out the *kokka kaizō* were different. The atmosphere of uncertainty, insecurity and fear of the future in the

⁹⁶ Takamiya 1951: 152-153; Takahashi 1969: 183. In *Masaki nikki* this period is not described. He began his writing again on 17 June, when he left Tokyo for Manchuria.

⁹⁷ Takamiya 1951: 152-153.

Army Central Headquarters, and also of endless attempts to maintain what had once been achieved, is well illustrated in a slightly extended fragment of the diary.

Since I took up the post I have been working very hard on unification inside the Army. I have believed, since May, when the Minister's troubles [creation of the new Cabinet; EPR] arose, Military Councilors have consequently plotted various intrigues, that the danger approaches rather from this group of generals than from the young officers. Although I have tried to persuade them through Gen. Hayashi, there are no distinct effects. There are signals that after the August personal changes they intend to intensify their plotting. In such a situation I shall give up the post and I will try to persuade the councilors. If the necessity arises I shall leave for the country on business and lead the young officers at the same time. I believe that I shall help the cause. I have partly imparted it to Gen. Hayashi as well as to Minister Araki. (Mn, I, 85)

On 8 August Masaki was appointed the Military Councilor (*gunji sangikan*) and he kept, at the same time, the post of Vice-Chief. His fears concerning the danger that might come from the group of Generals were accounted for. Even then he had not been liked not only by the old enemies from Ugaki's clique but also by the people close to the Emperor, namely Imperial advisers and some members of the Imperial family, like Prince Kan'in. Saionji, the last *genrō*, remarked on this subject as follows:

Actually, if a man like Masaki, the Vice-Chief of the General Staff Office expresses his opinions and if His Majesty, on hearing that, looks bad, Masaki after returning will betray to the staff: "His Majesty was very displeased" or "Because it was so what now?" For this reason the managing staff of the Army, if something does not suit them, give vent to their dissatisfaction in this way: "His Majesty is too much of an advocate of peace" or "His Majesty is too nervous". And finally they spread rumors by saying only that: "since those close to the Emperor as well as *genrō* are bad such things occur."⁹⁸

Masaki was accused of bothering the Emperor with the problems concerning the Army reconstruction and of decaying the moral principles among the officers. The General's opponents feared that if the Emperor accepted Masaki's views their position would be weakened and therefore they attacked Masaki behind his back. They also thought that the ruler need not know everything concerning subordinates. As they had more frequent access to the Throne, because of their posts and social background (they were noblemen while Masaki came from a peasant

⁹⁸ Harada 1950–1956: vol. II, 420.

family), they led the situation such that he became a person disliked and badly received by the Emperor.

However, contrary to Masaki's fears, expressed by him in the diary and contrary to maneuvers of his opponents, Masaki served as the Vice-Chief for another year, that is until 19 June 1933. He had to give up this post, which was assigned only for a Lieutenant-General or a Major-General, only when he had been promoted to full General.

The problem in finding Masaki's successor had been another reason for the fight between the Gensho Kōdōha and the former *Ugakibatsu*. As a result, Masaki's group lost one important post in the Army Central Headquarters because it was taken by a protégé of the former main stream, Ueda Kaneyoshi (10).

1.3.2. *On understanding the situation* (*Jikyoku ninshiki ni tsuite*)

That is how Masaki entitled a longer fragment of the text in his diary (11 June 1933; Mn, I, 103-106), in which he described a number of problems in contemporary Japan. It is not exactly known, whether Masaki was the author, but as there is also no proof that he was not, it might be considered the General's writings. Even if someone else had written these few pages, Masaki quoting them without any comment, apparently agreed with the author and held similar views. Therefore it will be justified to summarize the text at this point as the General's own opinion.

Japan finds itself in a difficult situation. Therefore it is necessary to unite all the efforts in order to introduce some reforms. The foreign policy ought to be connected with the internal policy. The Army, which serves the Nation with loyalty, is the only power able to achieve the set aim. The Manchurian Incident was the first step in carrying out the reconstruction and proved that Japan also had the right for self-defense. Then, Masaki wrote:

The Manchurian Incident has in fact many meanings which spread in various directions, e.g.,

- at the same time when the idea of Great Japan will rise suddenly and oppose the ideas of Western Europe, a fusion of the Far East ideologies, the driving steam, which will be the spirit of Great Japan, will begin;
- subjugation of materialism with idealism;
- revisionist movement and reforms against the capitalistic industry and politics, which means a change in moral views;
- fight with the ideology of the almighty dollar by using the authority of the honest sword;
- lively activities of human deities in order to establish justice. (Mn, I, 103-104)

Further, Japan's part played in the maintaining of world peace was stressed and this remains in accord with principle of the historical mission of Japan. It was one of the characteristic features in the ideology of the Imperial Way Faction, next to faithfulness and loyalty to the Emperor and infinite faith in the necessity of His leadership.

To avoid chaos within the country it was crucial to pay more attention to education in the spirit of *kokutai* and to introduce generally *The Imperial Rescript on Education (Kyōiku ni kansuru chokugo)*⁹⁹. Besides that, the power of *zaibatsu*, which represented Western thought and whose activities were at odds with the principles of *seishin shugi*, ought to be limited. Masaki also, several times, mentioned the task of the Imperial Army, which was as follows:

In the present state of the Empire, the matter of grave concern of the Imperial Army is to continue all leading efforts in order to make independent a cooperation of civilian and military circles. Namely, the Imperial Army itself will immediately enhance its true character, both in material and moral areas; it will cleave to its righteousness, purity and strength; it will enlighten and lead human hearts with its secret power of the saint sword of justice, that has not yet been drawn; it will promote courageous decisions and right policy of the present politicians and it will also stimulate the appearance of new, authentic ones. (Mn, I, 135)

All this proves that Masaki Jinzaburō was a typical representative of the Kōdōha, the group with the nationalistic and militaristic orientation. He claimed that only the Imperial Army was able to carry out the reconstruction of the country, to restore Japan's splendor and lead to the strengthening of its position in the world. Masaki's approval of the Manchurian Incident showed his convictions that the aim could be achieved only through aggression. But before it would happen the reforms and changes were necessary, first in the Army, then in the whole country. Although he is considered to be one of the supporters of the "march to the North" (*hokushinron*), meaning war with the Soviet union, he appealed, that the war ought not to be thought of then. He insisted on concentrating all efforts on the preparation for the war, which meant development of industry in the country, better training of the soldiers and also raising their morale. During his military career he particularly emphasized the problem of soldiers' mentality. According to Masaki, a Japanese soldier ought to feel that he was the Emperor's warrior fighting for him and for his unique country, which was chosen by Gods to fulfill the mission to unite the world.

⁹⁹ *The Imperial Rescript on Education*, issued in 1890. A statement enunciating traditional moral principles and stressing Confucian virtues such as filial piety and obedience, and also the need for loyalty and self-sacrifice in the service of the Emperor.

1.3.3. Masaki versus factions

Masaki Jinzaburō descended from the Saga *han* and therefore is automatically included into the *Saga batsu*. He was very closely connected with his friends from the same province, most of all with Mutō Nobuyoshi and Utsunomiya Tarō. The latter and Masaki himself were under the strong influence of *Hagakure* (Hidden by the Leaves)¹⁰⁰ in which the rules of the feudal, military code of behavior, *bushidō* (way of warrior) were gathered. On the contrary, however, Masaki's son, Hideki, maintained that his father never liked to be treated as one of the Saga faction. He was irritated with the manners of many people from this *han*, the manners that were called *Saga hidarigata* (the Left-arms from Saga). That is why the whole group was designated occasionally as *Saga Hidarigatatō* (the Left-arm Party from Saga), which was an idiom meaning the party from Saga whose members were pushing the left arm forward. Takamiya Tahei described the group in the following way:

There could be found young people on Kyūshū who swaggered along the road with their left arms proudly pushed forward. When touched by a horse they cut down the horse, if touched by a man they cut down the man. As Saga was the place of origin of *Hagakure* in which we could read, 'I notice that the way of warriors means death', the character of its young people was violent¹⁰¹.

Masaki considered a descent from the same *han* as having no connection with creating groups whose members had the same political aims and ideology. Particularly because he so much disliked the bad manners and conceit of the people from Saga. Masaki Hideki said to the authoress:

A long time ago there was a *sumō* wrestler called Daikirin. He also descended from Saga. People from Saga walked like him. [...] This is just a facetious phrase mocking an arrogant manner, the way of walking of the Saga men. It's got nothing to do with Utsunomiya Tarō. [...] In the old times in each *han* there were customs and manners characteristic for the place. And therefore in Saga it was just the same. [...] The people from Saga were unpopular with people from other *han* and for that reason the latter made fun of men from Saga. But there was nothing like a party or group. For Masaki the manners of Saga men were terrible. He did not like them at all although he was born in Saga. Because of that he didn't like the expressions like, "the group from Saga" or "Saga faction". There is no reason to treat him as one of them. He hated it very much.

¹⁰⁰ The samurai code written down in 1700 by young warrior Tsuramoto Tashiro, who recorded the words of Yamamoto Jōchō, a samurai from Saga.

¹⁰¹ Takamiya 1951: 21-22.

Neither did he like to be regarded as one of the Kōdōha. He maintained that the name was created by journalists without any reason. However, he did not deny that there were many cliques within the Army, which were in conflict because of ideological differences. The main reason for this conflict was, in his opinion, the Meiji Restoration, which caused the domination of the Chōshū and Satsuma factions. There was even a saying: “if you are not a man from Satsuma or Chōshū you will never be a soldier.” It derived from the fact that during the Meiji era those who wanted to make a military career had to join one of these two factions. Although Masaki belonged to the Satsuma faction his anti-Chōshū attitude was not very strong at the beginning. Only after the death of Mutō and Uehara, as he said himself, he was accounted to become the leader of the anti-Chōshū group¹⁰². As a member of the *Satsumabatsu* he fought at first for a reduction of Chōshū influence and then for a limitation of power of the *Ugakibatsu*. This was reflected in the then changes of the Army staff that he had been preparing together with Araki since he had taken the post of the Vice-Chief of GSO.

It is necessary to stress that Masaki, like other members of the mature Kōdōha, that is to say the faction which came into being after the Gensho Kōdōha had split and the Tōseiha had been formed, did slightly change his opinions concerning factions. He started to think about it as follows:

I said previously that there were ideological antagonisms within our Army and this caused the conflicts among the factions. Ideological antagonism means the antagonism between nipponism and nationals-fascism. Nipponism, which I have in mind, means joining all the efforts of subordinates towards the extension of the Emperor's power and treating the Emperor as the center of every action. Namely, it is necessary for all, even politicians, even carpenters, and others to think about serving the Emperor. The same applies to the Army. (Nini, II, 212)

The problem that arose here, that is the conflict between Japanism, or Japanese nationalism and Japanese fascism, or national-socialism, was the main reason for the split in the Gensho Kōdōha and the rise of the two groups connected directly with these two ideologies (see Chapter 0.2.1.) – the Kōdōha and Tōseiha. The groups fought with each other to seize power in the Army in the years 1934 and 1935.

¹⁰² Masaki 1957: 136.

2. Masaki Jinzaburō as the General Inspector of Military Education (1934 – latter part of 1935)

2.1. Political incidents

The chauvinistic atmosphere as well as the fascist and nationalistic movement in Japan intensified rapidly during the period from 1934 till 1936. Also the antagonism among the Army groups representing the above-mentioned tendencies deepened greatly. In such a tense situation two incidents took place: the November Incident (*jūichigatsu jiken*), called also the Military Academy Incident (*Shikan Gakkō jiken*) and the incident which occurred in connection with the problem concerning the Emperor as an Organ theory (*Tennō kikanseisu*). The first one was a result of growing intense rivalries between the Kōdōha and Tōseiha. The latter was caused by the accumulation of some activities undertaken by groups and individuals advocating virulently nationalistic and xenophobic policies.

2.1.1. The November Incident¹⁰³

On 29 November 1934 the Military Police (Kenpeitai) arrested Captain Muranaka Kōji and intendent Isobe Asaichi for plotting, together with a group of cadets from Rikushi, a violent coup d'état. It was considered that they conspired to murder Prime Minister Okada, Admiral Saitō, Makino Nobuaki, Saionji Kinmochi and many other leading politicians in order to continue the *goichigo jiken* and to accomplish the goals of the Shōwa Restoration. But their plan failed because they confided in Captain Tsuji Masanobu (1901–1961, Ishikawa, 36), an instructor at the Military Academy, who notified Major Katakura Chū (Fukushima, 31) of the Army Ministry. But since both of them were members of the, so-called, action group of the Tōseiha (they belonged also to the Sakurakai), which acted against the Kōdōha and “the Young Officers”, they informed the Military Police of the plot.

The full truth about the incident is still unknown. Ordinarily, events of this type would not have had serious repercussions in the Army. Such plots were often discussed by “the Young Officers” and cadets but without becoming an actual plan for action. Even the military court, which investigated the defendants had to admit, that “though they had planned to destroy the ruling class of Japan [...] there is not enough evidence to put them on trial”¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³ For more detail see: Gs, IV, 145-147; Hata 1962: 100-101, Iwabuchi 1948: 96-99.

¹⁰⁴ Muranaka, Isobe 1964: Gs, IV, 615.

It can be presumed that the *Shikan Gakkō jiken* was distorted by Nagata and others from the Tōseiha into a device for weakening the Kōdōha's position within the Army¹⁰⁵.

The defendants, Muranaka and Isobe, in spite of the lack of evidence were removed from active service and transferred to the reserve. But they did not stop their activities against the Tōseiha. In July 1935, the pamphlet entitled *Opinions regarding the Cleaning of the Army (Shukugun ni kansuru ikensho)*¹⁰⁶ signed by Muranaka and Isobe was spread inside and outside the Army. Probably behind the two "Young Officers" there stood other senior officers who had supplied them with the materials. The pamphlet included classified materials, which revealed for the first time details about the March and October incidents¹⁰⁷. It was a polemic directed against those being against the Kōdōha, especially against Nagata and Minami, who were accused of connections with organizers of the incidents and even of taking part in their plans.

The publication of such a text was a severe breach of Army discipline and therefore Muranaka and Isobe lost their reserve ranks and were expelled from the Army. Although the pamphlet's publication was an intention to strengthen the Kōdōha's position within the Army it did not affect the intended aim. On the contrary, it undermined the position of Araki's clique.

2.1.2. The problem concerning the Emperor-as-an-Organ theory

Minobe Tatsukichi (1873–1948), Professor at the Tokyo Imperial University, a leading jurist and a liberal, at the beginning of the 20th century wrote that the Emperor was an organ of the state rather than the state itself. He had been influenced by German legal thought, popular with the Japanese government. According to Richard J. Smethurst:

Minobe never committed himself to saying that the Emperor was not sovereign; instead he devised a means of limiting the power of the Emperor and making the Cabinet responsible to both the imperial person and parliament, and hence, the electorate. The Emperor and the people made up the nation and the Cabinet was delegated the task of revealing the Emperor's will to the nation on the one hand and the wishes of the populace to the ruler on the other¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁵ See: document No. 11, appended to Hata 1962: 274-275; author or authors, it is not clear nowadays, who were obviously sympathetic to Kōdōha, compared Tōseiha's members' maneuvers called by the them "purge" to the original Ansei purge from mid-1858 till 1859. Cf., Wilson 1969: 71-78.

¹⁰⁶ Muranaka, Isobe 1964: Gs, IV, 609-649.

¹⁰⁷ The pamphlet supplement was the text of *Iwayuru jūgatsu jiken ni kansuru shuki*, see: Muranaka, Isobe 1964: Gs, IV, 650-671.

¹⁰⁸ Smethurst 1970: 4; Cf.: Minobe 1955: 70-76.

Minobe's books on the Meiji Constitution became basic textbooks for Japanese students.

But in 1935, as the ultranationalist atmosphere in Japan intensified, the Emperor-as-an-Organ theory became a major political issue, a pretext for an attack on political parties, representing the liberal Western thoughts, which were causing, in the minds of nationalists, damage to the *kokutai* ideas.

On 18 February 1935 two nationalists, retired Major-Generals, Kikuchi Takeo and Etō Genkurō attacked Minobe's theory in the House of Aristocracy (Kizokuin). One more reason, besides the foreign origin of the theory and the use of the word *kikan* (organ), which particularly infuriated Etō, Kikuchi and others, was the fact that Minobe's theory also limited the role of military circles. It restricted the independence of the Army and Navy from civil control to wartime and only to internal military matters. It suggested that the budgetary affairs of the country as well as decisions on war and peace were the civilian government's business.

The Seiyūkai party, being in opposition to the government, the Military Reserve Association (Zaigo Gunjinkai)¹⁰⁹ and various rightist groups joined Minobe's critics. Leaders of the Seiyūkai picked up the issue because they saw an opportunity to throw the Okada Keisuke Cabinet (8 July 1934 – 9 March 1936) out of power and to regain the predominant position.

But the major impetus to action came from below, that is to say from reservists who began vigorous activities at the local level. They held meetings, passed resolutions, dispatched petitions, pamphlets, telegrams, etc. to the government with demands for more radical action in order to "clarify" the traditional meaning of the *kokutai* ideas. For this reason their activities were also called the movement for clarification of the national polity (*kokutai meichō undō*)¹¹⁰.

The upper levels of both government and military circles at first took the attitude that "the Organ theory" was a purely academic question. The Army Minister, Hayashi, said:

Dr. Minobe's academic theory has been expounded for a number of years, and it is not true to say that it has had a bad influence on the military forces. (MM, 61)

But later Hayashi changed his attitude and started to attack this theory.

The Kōdōha's leaders, like Araki and Masaki, also criticized the theory of Prof. Minobe on the ground of loyalty to the *kōdō* principles.

¹⁰⁹ The Military Reserve Association was established by Terauchi Masakata and Tanaka Giichi in 1910; was composed of former officers and soldiers and also of conscripts not in active service; very well organized, especially in the country; before the Pacific War numbered approximately 3 million people.

¹¹⁰ For more details see: Gs, IV, 148-152, Gs, IV, 345-455.

Genrō Saionji and his secretary, Harada Kumao, on the other hand, opposed the movement since they suspected Hiranuma Kiichirō (1867–1952), Vice-President of the Privy Council (*Sūmitsuin*) of an instigation of the affair in order to take over the post of President¹¹¹.

The Emperor himself was not against Minobe's theory. He feared that the activities of Minobe's opponents would damage the political order.

But at the same time the attitude of the reservists, nationalists and others was uncompromising. Some 4500 active officers and those from the *Zaigo Gunjinkai* gathered at the Soldiers Hall (*Gunjin Kaikan*) in Tokyo, on 27 August 1935 to attack "the organ theory, individualism, liberalism, and all other "foreign ideologies", which threatened Japan's sacred and traditional, imperial polity"¹¹².

Under their pressure, Prime Minister Okada made a governmental statement relating to "the clarification of the national polity". He said that the Emperor was the sovereign and that any foreign ideology, which limited the Imperial power, had to be swept away. Finally, Prof. Minobe resigned from both the House of Peers and from the Tokyo Imperial University. His books were stricken from the curriculum and banned.

The *kokutai meichō undō* was brought to an end in October 1935. Minobe's theory was only a pretext to the nationalistic military circles for propaganda of their own ideology. Throughout the attack on the Emperor-as-an-Organ theory they emphasized the importance of traditional Japanese values, which would, in their opinions, bring the Nation to glory once more. Although the Army during the 1930's, especially after the Manchurian Incident, ignored almost all of the government's decisions concerning military affairs, they used the theory to attack the liberal party politicians and to win the Nation's backing. The Minobe crisis, since such a matter was for the first time commented in public, in the Diet and by the press¹¹³, speaks significantly for the increasing Army's position in Japanese politics. That affair also exerted an influence on the structure of factions within the Army.

2.2. The Imperial Way Faction and the Control Faction

As mentioned above, the position of Araki as the Army Minister was weakened considerably because of his failure during the Five Ministers Conference. On 22 January 1934, on the grounds of poor health he tendered his resignation. But before he did it, Araki gave the matter of his successor careful consideration. He

¹¹¹ Ikki Kitokurō, the president of *Sūmitsuin* was Minobe's adherent. Harada's conjectures are undocumented they resulted probably from his antipathy to Hiranuma.

¹¹² Smethurst 1970: 14.

¹¹³ Cf.: *Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*, 10 July 1935: 2, 28 August: 1, 19 September: 1, 2 October: 1.

discussed this subject with Suzuki Teiichi and others from the Kōdōha several times. In the beginning he insisted on Masaki to become his successor but the Chief of GSO, Prince Kan'in was absolutely against it. The proposal failed because, according to the Army rules established late in the Taishō era, the Minister must have been chosen unanimously by the Big Three of the Army, i.e., the former Army Minister, Chief of GSO and General Inspector of Military Education. Prince Kan'in, being a cavalryman was close to the group connected with the former *Ugakibatsu*, particularly to Gen. Minami Jirō and his followers. Therefore Suzuki Teiichi gave the following suggestion:

- 1) to make Hayashi the Minister;
- 2) to cause Masaki's appointment as the General Inspector of Military Education instead of him;
- 3) to induce Araki (Military Councilor) to activity of those two officers¹¹⁴.

However, there were some fears that if Hayashi accepted the proposal he would cause the fall of the Cabinet and, as a consequence of this, a political crisis.

Finally, on 23 January Gen. Hayashi succeeded Araki to the post of the Army Minister, while Gen. Masaki replaced Hayashi as the General Inspector. In connection with these nominations it will be interesting to quote an opinion of Joseph C. Grew, the Ambassador to Japan from 1931 till 1941. Although the authoress of the present work considers that Araki's dismissal was decided by him and his advisers from the Kōdōha, which can be authenticated by some sources¹¹⁵, not, like Grew confirmed, by the Army Ministry and party politicians, Grew's opinion is quote worthy as it has been written at the same time as when Araki resigned.

General Araki resigned as War Minister today [...] of course his present illness is the main reason [...] but I think the opportunity was gladly seized by those who wanted to get him out. As – said to me: – 'Araki talked too much'. He certainly both talked and wrote too much and he was a symbol before the world of military aggressiveness [...]. As a matter of fact, Araki stands about halfway between the liberal Ugaki and the young hotheaded chauvinists. Gen. Hayashi his successor is a leader of troops rather than a staff officer [...]. It is said that he considers that the Army should keep out of politics, mind its own business and not make speeches particularly inflammatory ones. The majority of observers therefore feel that his appointment presages an improvement in Japan's foreign relations¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁴ Itō, Sasaki 1978: 87(4): 59-60.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem; Sasaki 1979: 30-34.

¹¹⁶ Grew 1944: 114.

Although during the period of Gensho Kōdōha Araki, Masaki as well as Hayashi were regarded as the main leaders of the same Imperial Way Faction, Hayashi gradually drifted from that position and became a figure of the Tōseiha. His anti-Kōdōha attitude became hardened and the rivalry between the two factions intensified after the scandal that took place in April 1934. The scandal concerned Hayashi's younger brother, the former Deputy Mayor of Tokyo. Hayashi himself considered that he had to resign but finally he was kept on the post because of the lack of a suitable successor¹¹⁷. Starting from 16 April Hayashi re-took the duties as the Army Minister. From that moment, however, he started to act more often against the Kōdōha, although it was Araki, Masaki and others from this faction who insisted that he continued in his office.

One of Hayashi's first steps in office was to appoint Major-General Nagata Tetsuzan to head the Military Affairs Bureau in AM instead of Yamaoka Shigeatsu. During the Gensho Kōdōha period Nagata, as well as all of the Issekikai members, supported anti-Chōshū officers, like Araki, Masaki and Hayashi but after some of the events, which were described, in Chapter 1, he started to differ in his opinion with those from the Kōdōha and became a leading member of the Tōseiha.

Hayashi ordered Nagata, who insisted on economic planning and preparation for a total war, "to prepare an encompassing program for the exploitation of Manchuria and Mongolia and for the general mobilization of agricultural districts during wartime."¹¹⁸ For a more successful realization of this program, Hayashi began to gradually remove some of Araki's protégés from the Army Central Headquarters. For example, Hashimoto Toranosuke took Yanagawa Heisuke's place as the Army Vice-Minister, whereas Sugiyama Gen was appointed to the post of Vice-Chief of GSO. Nemoto Isamu supplanted Suzuki Teiichi in the Newspaper Squad, Hata Shinji was dismissed from the post of Provost Marshal, while Imai Kiyoshi (15) and Ushiroku Jun (17) were appointed successively to the posts of Chiefs of the First and Third Department in GSO. All the dismissed persons belonged to the Kōdōha. Those who replaced them were officers connected with the Issekikai or with the former *Ugakibatsu*, strictly speaking officers from Minami's clique or from the Sakurakai. Thus, these appointments marked the inception of the Control Movement within the Army.

Nagata assembled a group of "economic experts" to assist him in his planning. Among them were Ikeda Sumihisa, Tanaka Kiyoshi and Katakura Chū. They worked out a project for the Army policy, which was published by the Army Ministry on 1 October 1934. It was known as *The Army Pamphlet (Rikugun panfuretto)* or *Basic Principles of National Defense and Suggestions for Its Strengthening (Kokubō no hongi sono kyōka no teishō)*¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁷ For more details see: Baba 1934: 234-241, Abe 1934: 398-404.

¹¹⁸ Crowley 1962: 21/3, 316.

¹¹⁹ For the text see: Gs, IV, 142-145; Cf.: Hata 1962: 253-270.

Nagata hoped that national economic planning would meet with public approval and therefore each copy of the pamphlet contained a return post card, so that public reaction could be gauged accurately.

2.2.1. *The Army Pamphlet*

Although the Kōdōha is the main subject of this study it seems necessary to explain in detail the ideology of the Tōseiha because it was the main faction rivaling the Kōdōha and representing the ideology contrary to idealism or spiritualism, that is national socialism.

In the opinion of the authoress *The Army Pamphlet* can be called a program of the Control Faction. Its authors included everything in the Universe into the concept of National defense. The first sentence of the pamphlet seems to be very characteristic for the Tōseiha:

War is the father of creation and mother of culture. War, like training is for an individual, like competition is for a country, is a stimulation, a motivation for creation of culture, of equal life conditions, a motivation for development of each of them [individuals and country; EPR]¹²⁰.

The pamphlet was divided into five main parts entitled as follows:

1. Reexamination of the National defense idea;
2. Elements of the National defense construction;
3. Present international situation and our defense;
4. Suggestions for strengthening the National defense and National Policy;
5. Preparedness of the Nation.

In the first part of the pamphlet its authors treated the war as a trial, or a rivalry among nations. Therefore, in order to strengthen the country and to seize victory all over the world it was necessary to coordinate all the activities, to control the energy of Japanese people. Projects concerning both the general mobilization and the National defense should be supported by all the Japanese because these plans were worked out for the Nation's good.

The constituent elements of the National defense, described in the second part of the pamphlet were as follows:

- human elements, i.e., spiritual and physical strength, which meant the united efforts of the Nation believing in the victory;
- natural elements, i.e., territory, resources, etc .
- mixed elements, i.e., economy technique, military power, information, propaganda, etc.

¹²⁰ Gs, IV, 142.

In the beginning of the third part of the pamphlet, its authors treated the subject concerning the international situation. They came to the conclusion that many of the former and contemporary events, namely the Naval Conference in London¹²¹, problems in China, withdrawal from the League of Nations, etc. could cause an extremely tense situation and some conflicts among Nations in the near future. Then they acknowledged that only a construction of cooperative diplomacy would bring about a positive solution to these problems.

Part IV was the most characteristic for the Tōseiha. It was emphasized there that the situation of those days was very dangerous and unjust because most of the people were suffering from poverty and many difficulties, while only some of the Japanese were prosperous. And in order to calm the Nation, first of all it was necessary, in Tōseiha's members' minds, to improve the situation of the peasantry and then to modify the economic system, particularly those of its parts concerning foreign trade, exploitation of raw materials and industrial progress. All of the Nation's matters, including its budget, ought to be subordinated to the National defense. The people should be mobilized and all of the Nation's activities should be under the national control.

In part V the pamphlet's authors summed up all the problems discussed in the former parts.

Essentially the *Rikugun panfuretto* was an important Army move to bring pressure on the Diet by propagating the concept of general mobilization and economic planning. Tōseiha's representatives, by the publication of the pamphlet, intended to placate "the Young Officers". Therefore they committed the Army to improve the lives of the ordinary Japanese, especially in the rural areas. But "the Young Officers" inspired by Kita's *Reconstruction Plan* generally did not agree with the Control Faction, which placed an emphasis on legal means and economic planning.

2.2.2. Personal composition of the Kōdōha and the Tōseiha

As previously mentioned, the Kōdōha was an idealistic group, which especially stressed the morale and consciousness of soldiers. It could win many adherents hearts. Its followers were mainly those who were anxious to act for their "divine" Emperor and their unique Nation. However, some of those who had belonged to this faction in 1932 and in 1933 left it because they despaired over the way in which the

¹²¹ During the conference the London Naval Treaty was signed (21 April 1930). The Japanese delegates agreed there to accept the 10:10:6 ratio for heavy cruisers with the United States and Great Britain. There was a strong popular reaction against it. The opponents of the treaty in the Army and in the Navy maintained that Japan should not accept any international agreement which limited freedom of action in East Asia and the Pacific.

Kōdōha carried out their *kokka kaizō* plans. Among them were a few officers from the III and IV groups (see: Chapter 1.2.2.) of the Gensho Kōdōha, namely Nagata, Tōjō, Mutō Akira and some other members of the Issekikai. But it is necessary to add at this point that few persons who also belonged to the One Evening Society (i.e., Obata) had remained the followers of the Imperial Way Faction after its split.

The main representatives of the mature Kōdōha (1934–1935) were as before: Araki, Masaki, Yanagawa, Yamashita, Yamaoka and Hata. It might be worth saying once more that the nomination of Gen. Hayashi to the Army Minister's post as well as the fact that he started to differ in opinions with Araki and Masaki were the major reasons for the Tōseiha coming into existence. The following officers became the most important members of the faction; Hayashi, Nagata, Mutō, Tōjō, Imai Kiyoshi, etc.

Within the Kōdōha the personal relationships as well as the regional ones were still very strong. But contrary to that, the Tōseiha was mainly composed of those who were acquainted at the same school, i.e., at the Rikudai. Therefore this group is occasionally called “the revolutionary clique from the Rikudai” (*kakushinteki Rikudaibatsu*).

Some of Tōseiha's views, strictly speaking its suggestions concerning “reconstruction of the Nation”, which ought to have been realized not by following the *kōdō* but by putting an emphasis on the *tōsei*, can be found among others in the then journal “New Mission” (“Shinshimei”) in some article written by Takano Seihachirō¹²².

As the Tōseiha was then the newly organized group and it did not yet become firmly established, it was too weak to suppress its opponents from the Kōdōha independently. Therefore, those from the Control Faction decided to act with the aid of other groups within the Army, first of all, Minami Jirō's clique, which went on with the activities of Ugaki's clique, and also some civilian politicians as well as that of Saionji Kinmochi and his followers. All of them were Kōdōha's antagonists. For example, Gen. Minami also aimed at overtaking power within the Army and therefore he could not resign himself to the domination of the *Araki batsu*. The others, being advocates of “old order” in Japan, feared propaganda spread by those from Kōdōha. However, they were particularly afraid of “the Young Officers Movement” and its possible consequences.

The August personal changes proved that Minami's clique, which was also called “[a group of those, who were] connected with Ōita cavalry” (*Ōita kiheikei*) (the majority of members from Ōita faction were cavalrymen) brought its influence on Hayashi and then on his decisions. But the Army Minister did not intend to put into effect all of Minami's instructions. And therefore he did not agree for the final removal of Hata Shinji from the Army posts. He also opposed the nomination of Tatekawa Yoshitsugu as the Vice-Chief of GSO. Besides, Gen. Hayashi decided to

¹²² For example: Shinshimei 1934: 4-18; Takano 1934: 20-24.

get rid of Onodera Chōjirō, the Chief of Management Bureau (*keiri kyokuchō*), who in his opinion was too strongly connected with political parties¹²³.

The Tōseiha, the group which came to life in the Army in 1934 fought for gaining the strongest position and for introducing its program based on planning and control. The Kōdōha which held the dominating position for the last two years, was gradually losing its significance, mainly due to the loss of important posts in the Army bureaucracy. However, the Tōseiha was still too weak to suppress its opponents definitely and therefore the Imperial Way Faction tried to fight for reassuming the position. But it did not have enough support from other groups to end its activities successfully.

The November Incident and the problem concerning Emperor-as-an-organ theory weakened the group even more. Besides, only one of its main representatives, namely Masaki, remained among the Big Three with only a few officers in other significant posts. Therefore bringing an influence on military policy became practically impossible. The Kōdōha, however, did not change the direction of its activities, still underlining the basic significance of the Nation's spiritual values. These views were, as before, upheld by the *seinen shōkō*. If the Kōdōha had retained hold of the position from the previous period, and if it had acted more radically, it could have made use of the latent energy of "the Young Officers" for the final takeover of power in the Army and perhaps in the whole country. However, in this situation, when it was gradually losing its significance, "the Young Officers" support did it a lot of harm. Those who defended the old order, namely party politicians, aristocrats, etc., as well as some Army men afraid of "the Young Officers Movement", blaming the Kōdōha for inspiring and supporting the movement, aimed at a total limiting of its power, which was finally achieved in the first half of 1936.

2.3. Masaki Jinzaburō during this period

2.3.1. Masaki versus incidents

The authoress, as she has done in the former chapter, would like to introduce the General's attitude towards the two events that were described in the first part.

After the arrest of the supposed organizers of *Shikan Gakkō jiken*, which means since 11 November 1934, Masaki as the General Inspector, the person directly responsible for the actions of Rikushi's students as well as "the Young Officers", took part, for a few months, in numerous conferences, councils and meetings concerning the way to punish the culprits. Judging from his notes in the diary one may suppose that the General did not believe that the accused Muranaka,

¹²³ For more details see: Kitaoka 1979: 66-70.

Isobe and others would have been able to carry out such action (Cf: Mn, I, 350). He considered the affair to be “the rumor incident” (*fūhyō no ken*), planned by the opponents of his group who accusing Kōdōha’s supporters intending to weaken its position. He wrote then in the diary:

Hayabuchi [...] asked if it wasn’t a machination in order to slander the General Inspector, Commander of the 1st Division and others. According to that I pay attention to not participate in a rascal policy. (Mn, I, 351)

As there was not sufficient proof of the accused guilt Masaki described Tsuji, Katakura and others’ activities as *lèse-majesté* (*fukeizai*) and infamous offense (*harenchizai*).

He also agreed with the following opinion of Sakai Kōji:

That is actual proof that Tsuji, Commander of Company, conspired with Captain Katakura from the Military Police and used some cadets as dogs (spies). Together with the Commander of Military Police they visited the Vice-Minister and demanded a severe punishment. They did not report everything to the Director of the Academy or to its manager and therefore this matter is suspicious. Now it is under investigation. On the grounds of these facts there is even a (fifty-fifty) possibility that the present incident was started off by the young officers or it was Tsuji’s intrigue. (Mn, I, 354)

Then Masaki demanded both sides to be questioned at the same time. However, Minister Hayashi who, as it is known, was gradually breaking with the Kōdōha, did not accord with the demand. Masaki feared that the hasty decision to dismiss several students from the Rikushi, who supposedly took part in planning the incident, could lead to an increase in the number of their followers and then to the violent reaction of “the Young Officers” and to realization of the coup. Although many officers (some also from his faction, e.g., Yamaoka, Matsuura, Yamashita) expressed their support for the project to deprive the accused cadets from the Rikushi of student’s rights, Masaki defended them claiming that such a decision might bear a very bad influence on the soldiers morale. He opposed any activities of the subordinates taken up without an order or the consent of their commanders, activities discordant to the adopted principles. At the same time he did not agree to giving punishment without the guilt being proved. He maintained that:

It is not good if the soldiers mix in politics. But if it comes to anything like a coup, then I myself, with my gray hair, will stand in the forefront of several regiments and will suppress it¹²⁴.

¹²⁴ Karita 1980: 193.

On 7 February 1935, Muranaka, then imprisoned, handed over to the military authorities the text entitled: *Reasons for accusation against Major Katakura and Captain Tsuji, included in the letter of complaint* (*Katakura shōsa, Tsuji taii ni taisuru kokuso jōchū kokuso riyū*)¹²⁵ in which he accused Katakura and Tsuji of calumny. Publication of the text made the whole affair more widely known. Unfortunately, however, it is not known today if Masaki knew about this text as early as February and if so, what his opinion was, as the diary from 1935 does not include the whole year and begins with the notes from 1 March. Perhaps the General got to know the contents of the accusation as late as 24 March, when Morigi Gorō put forward to him *Questions recorded by Muranaka in the letter of complaint* (Mn, II, 50). Having listened to that, Masaki claimed:

“All that reports the facts truly.” (Ibidem) Which meant that he agreed with the defendant’s views and supported him. But on 29 March both the Army Minister and the Chief of GSO gave Masaki their opinions, which said that expelling the defendants from the Academy was necessary as soon as possible. On the same day the General Inspector met with the headmasters and lecturers of the Rikushi to discuss once again the plan on how to punish the guilty ones. As most of them supported the opinions of Gen. Hayashi and Prince Kan’in, Masaki also, though not without doubts, did not protest. As the General Inspector he put his signature on the order concerning expelling five students from the Rikushi. However, during the next few weeks Masaki was still busy with this affair as Muranaka and Isobe, and their followers, who could not accept the fact that Tsuji had not been punished, wrote the next accusation that Muranaka introduced as *The Supplement to Accusation against Major Katakura and Captain Tsuji* (*Katakura shōsa, Tsuji taii ni taisuru kokuso tsuika*)¹²⁶. In July of this year they published *Shukugun ni kansuru ikensho*, which stirred up a great storm in the Army.

Masaki avoided direct meetings with Muranaka, afraid that they could weaken his position and strengthen even more the criticism from his opponents. Muranaka was not only one of “the Young Officers” but he was also a follower of Nishida Mitsugi, an ardent nationalist. Nevertheless, judging from Masaki’s diary one can arrive at the conclusion that Masaki was not against Muranaka’s actions. It was thanks to Muranaka that the General agreed to reexamine the case of the incident once more.

The present authoress, however, paid her attention to several sentences written in the diary under the date of 19 November 1934 (Mn, I, 349). Masaki wrote there that on this day he had met Muranaka for the first time at his home. Muranaka

¹²⁵ For the text see: Gs, IV, 618-629.

¹²⁶ Gs, IV, 629-648.

visited the General especially to express his respect and to assure him of “the Young Officers” support. Masaki, on the other hand, explained to him the general meaning of his views. The visit ended with it and there would not be anything extraordinary about it if not for the date. Muranaka met Masaki the day before he was arrested as the suspect in the November Incident. Perhaps these two facts were not connected with each other but there is also no proof that Muranaka, a follower of the Kōdōha and its ideology, had not gone to meet the General to get moral support before the action.

Gen. Hayashi, during the Military Councilors’ Conference on 31 July 1935, attempted to expel Muranaka and Isobe from the Army. He justified it with the necessity to purify the Army from subversive elements, namely those who threw calumnies at the reliable officers and who destroyed the military discipline. Masaki did not manage to prevent the military authorities from taking up a decision concerning those two “Young Officers”. He himself, however, caused the dismissal of Captain Tsuji from the post at the Rikushi. Masaki considered that the officers ought not to allow for the conspiracy among the subordinate cadets and all the controversial questions ought to be solved, as much as possible, among the Academy’s staff.

The whole affair, and especially publication of *Shukugun ni kansuru ikensho* harmed Masaki’s position very much. His opponents thought that he was the main inspiration of “the Young Officers” action and if he held the post of person responsible for their education and moods any longer it might lead to serious riots in the country.

The Minobe crisis connected with the “Emperor-as-an-Organ” theory came up at the same time when Masaki was occupied with the consequences of the November Incident.

As it is difficult today to define accurately Masaki’s views on the subject of the theory itself it seems justified to introduce here the controversial opinions concerning the authorship of *the So-called Instructions of General Inspector of Military Education Concerning the Clarification of National Polity (Iwayuru kyōiku sōkan no kokutai meichō no kunji)*¹²⁷. Due to limited space the authoress decided to introduce Prof. Itō’s view¹²⁸ with which she agrees and also Masaki Hideki’s opinion with which she does not agree.

Gen. Masaki read these instructions out during the conference of Divisions’ Commanders on 6 April 1935. Judging from the General’s earlier notes he had been working on the text, which publication was supposed to stress the Army’s attitude towards Minobe’s theory, since March of that year. It is certain that he undertook it on Gen. Hayashi’s order. The latter considered that: “I can not approve Minobe’s views and I desire them to disappear as the academic theory.” (Mn, II, 40)

¹²⁷ Gs, IV, 387-388.

¹²⁸ Mn, II, 4-8.

However, before Masaki introduced those instructions during the conference of Divisions' Commanders he consulted about their contents with many people, considering precisely the problem of constitution and some possible consequences of the publication of this text.

Many years later, when Masaki talked about the problem of *kokutai meichō undō* he stressed once again that it was Hayashi who had put forward the suggestions that the Army should also definitely assume a hostile attitude towards Minobe's theory. The *sanchōkan* were to be responsible for the contents of the instructions, in spite of the fact that their project was to be worked out by Masaki. But the General knew that by signing the text he admitted to be its author.

I knew I would be responsible for the project as the General Inspector and I pointed out I was not to touch the political and legal questions limiting it only to the moral lessons. On 4 April I introduced that which next was delivered respectfully to the Emperor. This was *The so-called Instructions Concerning the Clarification of National Polity*¹²⁹.

On 6 April, after numerous consultations, particularly with Minister Hayashi, Masaki read the final text of the Instructions at the conference of Divisions' Commanders. As a nationalist, who always declared for the *kokutai* ideas and who was infinitely devoted to the Emperor, he stressed then that Minobe's theory harmfully influenced the Japanese national character in addition to the soldiers' morale.

Thus, the authoress of the present work, similarly to Prof. Itō, considers that Masaki must have been the author and at least the co-author of these instructions. Masaki was a person too suspicious and too precisely considering all the pros and cons before taking up any decision, to read without a deep consideration, the text, the contents of which he did not agree with and which quickly caused a violent reaction inside and outside the Army. Therefore the authoress cannot agree with the opinion of Masaki Hideki who considers that his father did not have anything to do with the *kokutai meichō undō*. Masaki's son, during the talk with the present authoress, claimed that the discussion on the subject of interpreting the Emperor as the country organ had lasted for several years in the scholars' circle and was especially serious between Minobe Tatsukichi and Uesugi Shinkichi. In the mid-1930's, due to the fact that rightist groups grew in significance and that the chauvinistic atmosphere had intensified, the opponents of Minobe's theory gave more publicity to it. Hideki stressed that "it had nothing to do with Masaki." Then, he added that the Minobe crisis also caused dangerous tension within the Army that had to be somehow reduced. In this situation Hayashi ordered the General

¹²⁹ Masaki 1957: 131.

Inspector to work out some hints in order to explain to the soldiers the Emperor's position in the country as the sovereign (*genshu*) and Marshal (*daigensui*). Then Hideki said that the text of the instructions was written for Masaki by an aide-de-camp, a person very good at writing.

Although Masaki himself was not concerned with it, probably everyone thought that he was anti-Minobe because it was published under Masaki's name. Certainly however, he was not against Minobe.

Thus, in Masaki Hideki's opinion, his father only signed the text and did it only on Hayashi's order. So, it must be repeated what was written above. Masaki as a suspicious and provident person and also an advocate of the *kokutai* ideas must have agreed with this text and realized the consequences of its publication. And although there are no doubts that the text had been written on Hayashi's order, Masaki must have at least been its main co-author.

2.3.2. Masaki versus his political opponents

Publication of the instructions made a lot of fuss inside and outside the Army. It ought to be stressed at this point that the Emperor himself, who's opinions were handed over to Masaki several times by Honjō Shigeru, the Chief Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty, became very much worried about the possible consequences in the progress of the *kokutai meichō undō*. The Emperor feared, according to Honjō, first: riots in the country and second: hindering the progress in Japan due to such unreasonable and exaggerated criticism of scientific theories. From that moment on, the Emperor voiced more and more criticism about Masaki and granted him an audience very rarely. Masaki suspected that not only Saionji and his secretary Harada but also his political opponents in the Army were hidden behind it. In Masaki's mind, the Seigunha, with Minami as the leader, and the Tōseiha, with Nagata as the head, were his main opponents. Masaki considered that they officially criticized Minobe's theory but actually they wanted to hush the whole affair up as soon as possible, because they feared, like the Emperor, the riots in the country, which would hurt them. Masaki supported Nagata for several months after Hayashi took up the post of the Army Minister, considering that only such active and sensible officers, like Nagata, could lead the realization of the Army reconstruction. Therefore he approved Hayashi's suggestions to appoint Nagata the Chief of Military Affairs Bureau to which Araki opposed. He did not sense then that it was Nagata himself who would soon become his main political opponent propagating the ideas of national-socialism and aiming persistently at removing the General from political life. Masaki gradually started to realize that Hayashi no longer belonged to the

Kōdōha and, on the contrary, he acted more and more often against the Imperial Way Faction and attempted to limit its influence within the Army as much as possible. The personal changes done by Hayashi in the Army Central Headquarters as well as his attitude towards the publications of the instructions convinced Masaki about it. Although the instructions were worked out on the Minister's order, Hayashi himself voiced his opinion on this subject very cautiously. Besides this, the news concerning Hayashi's meeting with Prince Kan'in or Gen. Minami, who attempted, as Masaki thought, to remove him from the post, reached the General then more and more frequently. Finally, in the middle of 1935, Masaki no longer had doubts that Hayashi was his most dangerous opponent. Thus, sometimes in his diary the pejorative expression "a ground spider" (*tsuchigumo*), meaning also a legendary tribe of cave dwellers inhabiting ancient Japan, or "spider" (*kumo*) appears instead of Hayashi's name, expressing strongly Masaki's attitude towards Hayashi.

At the same time, Masaki underlined in his diary that discrepancies within various groups, not only in the Army, had ideological backgrounds. On 31 August 1935 he wrote:

The competition between the factions, which support the present situation and the reformists, is not yet concluded. One day also, the matter related to me will become visible as one part of this rivalry. But I am not at all pessimistic. I believe strongly in the unavoidable victory of *kōdō* spirit. (Mn, II, 210)

Masaki counted the *genrō*, civilian ministers and politicians, and the representatives of *zaibatsu* as well as the Seigunha group continuing the activities of the former *Ugakibatsu* among the group supporting the present situation (*genjō ijiha*). On the contrary, the Kōdōha, Admiral Katō Hiroharu's clique in the Navy and also Hiranuma Ichirō and his followers, belonged, in Masaki's opinion, to reformists or to the revolutionary group (*kakushinha*). As he was the Tōseiha opponent he did not number its representatives among the second group but rather among the first.

At this point the authoress would like to draw attention to a short fragment of the diary from 19 July 1935. It reads as follows:

The Lieutenant-General sees the matter of the Kōdōha and the Tōseiha in the true light. (Mn, II, 165)

This fragment proves the lack of consequence in the General's views. As it has been mentioned in Chapter 1.3.3., Masaki denied the existence of the factions called Kōdōha and Tōseiha in the 1930's stressing that it was only the journalists' invention. However, he himself used these terms in the second half of 1935 to define two, competing with each other, groups within the Army. Though in the word Tōseiha he used interchangeably two ideograms that could be read "sei" but

it did not change the meaning of the word. Masaki underlined that the Kōdōha represented nipponism or ultra-nationalism and was the white, righteous side of the Army. At the same time the Tōseiha advocated Japanese fascism or national-socialism and was the black, unrighteous side of the Army.

Also, in 1934 and the first half of 1935, when his group started losing its dominating power in the Army, Masaki did not change his opinions and still advocated nationalistic ideas, the ideas of *kōdō* and *kokutai*. But as the main posts in the Army were taken up almost exclusively by his opponents, the General's activities as one of the *sanchōkan* did not bring the intended effects. The General alone could not achieve anything. He could not cope with the target alone and as a result of his lonely efforts his group could not regain its significance in the Army. The majority of the Kōdōha's most prominent representatives were dismissed from significant military posts by their opponents who then rightly acted in order to totally weaken the group they competed with. Although Masaki tried to weaken these activities he could not do much alone, by himself. He lacked the support of Kōdōha's members in the Army Central Headquarters.

However, their removal from the posts by Tōseiha's representatives was gradual as this new, at the beginning of 1934, group in the Army did not have enough strength to take over the power. It had to make use of other groups, called by Masaki the *genjō ijiha*, support to secure its position and to deprive the Kōdōha of their posts. And so, 1934 and the first half of 1935 was the period when the Kōdōha was gradually losing its strong position within the Army, kept up persistently but in vain, by Gen. Masaki. During all that time the rivalry between the Imperial Way Faction and the Control Faction continued, which was clearly seen in the personal intrigues. Masaki's dismissal, which meant Kōdōha's definite removal from the Army Central Headquarters, was the result of this rivalry and the proof of Tōseiha's strength.

(to be continued)

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- Masaki Ichirō and Fumi, April 1984 in Inudō
- Masaki Hideki, April and May 1984, Tōkyō

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Significant publications:

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- *Historia stosunków polsko-japońskich 1904-1945* [History of Polish-Japanese relations 1904-1945] (co-authored with A. T. Romer), Warsaw 2009 and Tokyo 2009 (in Japanese as *Nihon Pōrando kankeishi 1904-1945*)
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- „The Russo-Japanese War and its Impact on the Polish-Japanese Realties...”, *Analecta Nipponica*, No.1/2011, s. 11-43

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 Kindaichi, Haruhiko 1978. The Japanese Language [...]
 Munro, Neil Gordon 1962.
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No name inversion must be used in the case of the second, third, etc., author, cf. e.g.:

Gaca, Maciej & Alfred F. Majewicz (eds.) 1999. Through the Gate of Yunnan Borderland (Ethnic Minorities of Southern China). Linguistic and Oriental Studies from Poznań Monograph Supplement 4. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM [Adam Mickiewicz University Press].

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懷庵にて 聞き手：アグニェシカ・コズィラ、
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REPRINTED WORKS OF POLISH JAPANOLOGISTS

- EWA PAŁASZ-RUTKOWSKA
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