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為末大氏インタビュー 「禅とスポーツ」 2016年12月2日

聞き手 アグニェシカ・コズィラ、海宝プシビルスカしのぶ、
藤井カルポルク陽子

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Our – and your, Dear *pleno titulo* Reader – journal goes trendy...

Due to academic commitments, this editor has developed and been for years cultivating the habit of watching the *NHK International* TV service and therefore checking its daily schedule whenever accessible, observing the steadily growing percentage of time devoted to culinary matters, number of culinary programs aired on a regular basis in the channel (e.g., *Dining with the Chef*, *Lunch ON*, *Let's Cook Japanese*, *Beautiful Japanese Foods*, *Your Japanese Kitchen mini*, *Trails to Tsukiji*) with the appearance of at least four top-level *cuisine* stars, as well as amount of episodes and digressions on foods and eating in programs thematically seemingly distant and very distant from these exemplified above (like *Journeys in Japan* (in which a try of “local” or “seasonal foods” is a must), *Somewhere Street* (three dishes favored by locals being also a must), *Tokyo Eye*, *At Home with Venetia in Kyoto*, culture-oriented documentaries like *The Mark of Beauty*, *Seasoning the Seasons*, *Core Kyoto*, but also social broadcast *Document 72-Houurs*, *Hometown Stories*, *Rising* (“making great food a good business”), *Biz Buzz Japan*, and even in the flag *NHK Newslime*, although the theme may emerge in virtually any program). One must not forget that Japan won a solid place on the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage List for the Japanese *cuisine* (*washoku*) as a whole.

The present volume opens with a study in “the Japanese lunch-box (*bentō*) culture” by a young PhD candidate working under the supervision of one of our Editorial Board staff members, herself in turn author of a well-received 2008 monograph on “Japanese culinary culture”. The journal indeed goes trendy...

Apart from the *bentō*, the volume offers interesting inquiries in literature (poetry composition and calligraphy as components of aristocratic education), history (an insight into Taro Katsura's last journey to Europe), Japanese legislature (as a base for Western comparative studies), re-editions of four lesser known papers by our leading specialist in Japanese literary studies Mikołaj Melanowicz, and a discussion on “*Zen* and sports”.



Alfred E. Melanowicz

Stęszew (IIEOS)-Toruń (UMK), December 2016.

ARTICLES

Bentō – The Japanese lunch-box culture

Introduction

It is common in almost every culture all over the world for people to eat lunch as either a homemade food or a meal that was bought in a shop. In this case, Japan isn't different from other countries. Japanese people take lunch, called *bentō*, most everyday to school or work. The history of *bentō* is quite long, it started around the 8th century, and during all those years it has changed not only in shape but also in its dish up, or type of served food.

In this article the author wants to present the history of *bentō*, its previous versions and also the etymology of the word *bentō* and the Chinese characters (*kanji*) that it is written with.

Etymology and semantics of the word *bentō*

In nearly every Japanese dictionary, we find a very similar explanation of the word *bentō*. In the *Kōjien* 広辞苑¹ dictionary we can find these definitions:

“⊖Food that is packed into a box and is taken by somebody, to be eaten outside the house. Also this box itself.

⊖In short, a meal that is eaten in a meeting or outside the house.”

Other examples from the *Encyclopedia Japonica*² or *Minzoku kojiten. Shoku* 民俗小事典。食³ offer very similar explanations where *bentō* is defined as a “meal or box, which someone can take with themselves to eat outside.[...]”.

¹ *Kōjien* 1997: 2323.

² *Encyclopedia Japonica* 1971: 321.

³ *Minzoku kojiten. Shoku* 2013: 35.

We can find the oldest notes about light meals in the poetic anthology called the *Man'yōshū* 万葉集⁴:

家にあれば筥に盛る飯を草枕旅にしあれば椎の葉に盛る

*Ie ni areba, ke ni moru meshi o kusamakura tabi ni shi areba shii no ha ni moru*⁵
When I am at home, I pile up the rice in a vessel but being on a (grass-as-cushion) journey, then I pile it on oak leaves.⁶

In a different scroll we read:

常知らぬ道の長手をくれくれといかにか行かむ糧米はなしに
*Tsune shiranu michi no nagate o kurekure to ikanika yukamu karite wa nashi ni*⁷
The universally unknown stretch of road how will I, in the dark and uncertainly, be able to find the [long] way [to Yomi], without provisions?⁸

In the first quoted poem we see how food (in this situation rice) was packed for a trip – in the old days it was wrapped in a tree's leaves. In the second one, rice *karite* (dried rice) is mentioned. In those times, taking a lunch along during a trip was very common. Especially while going to an unknown place, not bringing *karite* might cause a nuisance in someone's heart⁹. The word *karite* comes from *kare*, meaning food or a meal eaten on a journey.

Based on the first poem we can easily guess that one of the first types of food carried by Japanese people during a journey was dried rice, called *inuimeshi* 乾飯 or *hoshi ii* 糲. It is cooked by steaming and then dried in the sun. Its origin comes from the Nara period (710-769). The word *Hoshi ii* was used not only for the dried rice, but also as a meal eaten on a trip or during war expeditions. *Hoshi ii* was very practical because it was light-weight and compact so it was easily carried in a small sack (pouch) tied to the belt. And because it was dried, it couldn't go bad. Also the way of eating it was simple and convenient. It was eaten as rice porridge in the winter with hot water and in the summer with cold water. What's more, during a long walk, Japanese warriors ate it dry, without any water.¹⁰

⁴ *Man'yōshū* – is the oldest compilation of Japanese poetry, written between 759 – 790.

⁵ *Man'yōshū* 1976: scroll 2 poem 53 (142).

⁶ Pierson 1931: 89.

⁷ *Man'yōshū* 1976: scroll 5 poem 96 (888)

⁸ Pierson 1938:155.

⁹ Sakai 2001: 39.

¹⁰ *Kokushi Daijiten* 1993: 714.

The most famous *hoshi ii* is prepared in Dōmyōji Temple in Osaka. This form of preparing rice is an important ingredient of Japanese sweets such as *tsubaki mochi* 椿餅¹¹ or *sakura mochi* 桜餅¹², which are very popular nowadays.

The word *bentō* is first mentioned in the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1560–1603) during Oda Nobunaga's (1534–1582) supremacy. In the book called *Rōjin zatsuwa*¹³ 老人雑話 written by Emura Sensai, published in the 2nd half of the 17th century, we can find these lines:

信長の時分は弁当といふ物なし、安土に出来し弁当と云ふ物有り、小芋程の内に諸道具納まると云¹⁴

Nobunaga no jibun wa bentō to iu mono nashi, Azuchi ni dekishi bentō to iu mono ari, koimo hodo no uchi ni shodōgu osamaru to iu

In Nobunaga's times, there wasn't such a thing as *bentō*. It showed up with the Azuchi Period to describe many things in a small potato shape.

Additionally, in the *Wakunnoshiori* 和訓栞 dictionary published in the second half of the Edo Period (1603–1868), under the term “*bentō*”, Nobunaga is mentioned.

べんとう 辨當とかけり、行厨をいふなり、昔ハなし信長公安土に来て始て視とそ¹⁵

Bentō bentō to kakeri, kōchū to iu nari, mukashi wa nashi Nobunaga kō Azuchi ni kite hajimete shi to so

Bentō – written with 辨當 kanji, also called *kōchū*, hadn't been used in the old times, it showed up with Nobunaga in the Azuchi Period.

The word *kōchū* 行厨 is written with two kanji ideograms, where the first, *iku*, *yuku* 行 means “to go”, and the second one that can be read *kuriya* 厨 meaning “kitchen”, a place where we can prepare a meal¹⁶. We can read both kanji together as a kitchen (meaning the food that is prepared therein), which we can then take

¹¹ *Tsubaki mochi* – we make rice flour from *hoshi ii* and mix it well with a special sweet syrup. From this dough we make small sweets with *an* bean paste inside and wrap them with *tsubaki* flower leaves.

¹² It is similar to *tsubaki mochi*, but we wrap the sweets with Japanese cherry tree leaves (*sakura*).

¹³ Emura Sensai (1565–1664) was a medical doctor living at the turn of the Azuchi-Momoyama era and the Edo period (1603–1868).

¹⁴ *Kokushi daijiten* 1993: 522.

¹⁵ Okumura 2006: 3.

¹⁶ *Jidaibetsu kokugo daijiten* 1967: 274.

with us to go somewhere. Both quoted examples can suggest that it is true that the first use of the word *bentō* was during Oda Nobunaga's supremacy. During those times many Catholic missionaries from Portugal came to Japan to spread Christianity, and thanks to those relations, the first Japanese-Portuguese dictionary was made. Even in this dictionary we can find an explanation about *bentō*:

文具箱に似た一種の箱であつて、抽斗がついており、これに食物を入れて携行するもの

*Bungubako ni nita isshu no hako de atte, hikidashi ga tsuie ori, kore ni shokumotsu o irete keikō suru mono*¹⁷

Some type of box similar to a pencil box, which we can open, put food inside and take out with us.

It is worth mentioning that the word *bentō* was used not only to define a meal, but also the whole box. The chief maturity of *bentō* was during the Edo Period and since that time we have two words: *bentō* to define food eaten outside the house and *bentōbako* to define the box for food.

The classification of *bentō* due to time and place

In the old times, not only *hoshi ii* was used during trips as a lunch. According to archeological discoveries, in Rokusei city in Ishikawa prefecture remains of small rice balls made from *kowa ii* rice 強飯¹⁸ were found, probably from the Yayoi period (300 BCE to 300 CE). *Kowa ii* rice was steamed in a special vessel called a *koshiki* 甗.

In Heian period (794–1192) once again the Japanese people started to eat rice balls, at that time called *tonjiki* 屯食. However since the Edo period until today the name *nigirimeshi* 握り飯 or *omusubi* お結び is being used. In the Heian period, for aristocracy it was an austere and ordinary food, but for people from the lower classes, *tonjiki* were a special delicacy. That is why very often during official occasions and celebrations, lower social groups received them¹⁹. We can find *tonjiki* even in Murasaki Shikibu's novel *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語²⁰, in the *Kiritsubo*

¹⁷ Okumura 2006: 3.

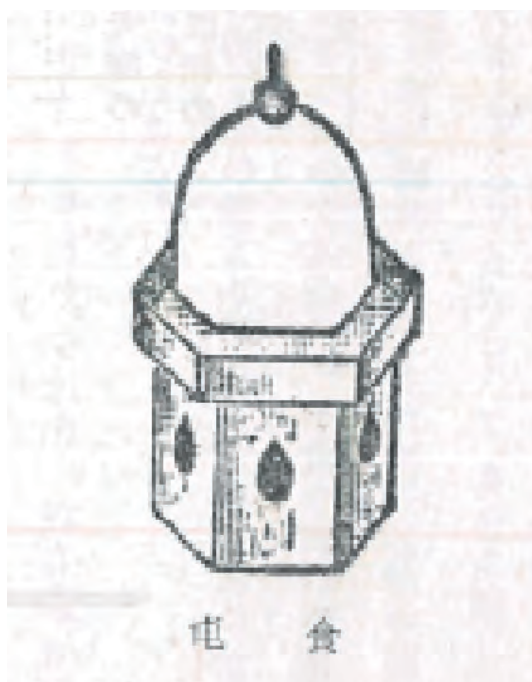
¹⁸ Sakai 2001: 40.

¹⁹ Kanzaki 1987: 50-51.

²⁰ *Genji Monogatari* – The Tale of Genji. Divided into 54 chapters is a classic work of Japanese literature written by Murasaki Shikibu in the early years of the 11th century. The work illustrates a unique depiction of the lifestyles of high courtiers during the Heian period. It is called the world's first novel.

桐壺²¹ chapter, during prince Genji's coming-of-age ceremony²², young officers received *tonjiki* for their meal²³.

The next period in Japanese history is the Kamakura period (1192–1333), where we can find different types of meals. Governance by the Kamakura shogunate marks this era and the Emperor didn't have any real power to rule the country anymore. Due to those feudal times, people traveled more to other parts of Japan with business or to see the shogun²⁴. Interestingly, during the Kamakura period, many clans were fighting to gain a monopoly of power, so many warriors had to travel as well in order to fight with their enemies. To make all those journeys easier, Japanese people developed *koshibyōrō* 腰兵糧, which means “military food supplies that you keep next to your hip”.



1. An example of *tonjiki* that we can find in the *Genji Monogatari* novel²⁵

²¹ *Kiritsubo* – literally it is a vessel made from Paulownia tree. In the Tale of Genji, the main character's father's name was Kiritsubo.

²² Celebration of someone's coming of age (*genpuku* 元服) – in the old times in Japan, when a boy had his 12th birthday, he became a grown man and during this celebration, he had his hair cut.

²³ Okumura 2006: 3.

²⁴ *Shogun* – general in the army and military ruler of Japan.

²⁵ Akiyama 1977: 122.

In the case of going to the front, samurai had so-called *hyōrō* 兵糧²⁶, which they packed in a material pouch, called *uchikaibukuro* 打飼袋, the content was usually *mochi* snacks, grilled *nigirimeshi* with *miso*²⁷, dried rice *hoshi ii*, grilled meat, and dried-pickled apricots *umeboshi* 梅干. Samurai kept this kind of package tied to the hip or across the chest where it was easy to reach and convenient while walking²⁸.

Tonjiki, the well-known rice balls of the Heian period, have changed their name to *nigirimeshi* in the Muromachi period (1333–1560). Since that time, Japanese people started to grill them a little. The reasoning behind that type of preparation was simple. *Nigirimeshi* with a slightly grilled skin didn't stick to each other and it was easier to eat them. In that time, *nori* 海苔²⁹ wasn't used in the kitchen so often, it was a very rare and expensive ingredient; thus, grilling was used to prevent *nigirimeshi* from being glued together. Another good aspect of the grilled skin, which looked like *hoshi ii*, was that it kept food fresh longer, extending the expiration date. In the previous pages it was mentioned that *tonjiki* was eaten mostly by the lower class society. However, after many battles and wars, in the Muromachi Era there was finally peace again in the country and the *daimyō*³⁰ and samurai started to eat *nigirimeshi* during their various outdoor entertainments.

All over the world people try to prepare good and convenient food. And *nigirimeshi* was a very good example of that kind of thinking. In the *Tabemono no kigen-jiten* たべものの起源事典 dictionary, we can find three pro-*nigirimeshi* arguments:

- ① rice, even when cold, didn't break apart, it was still in a rice ball shape
- ② *nigirimeshi* didn't go bad so quickly [grilled skin kept rice inside fresh longer]
- ③ it was practical and easy to carry

Furthermore, depending on the region in Japan, *nigirimeshi* could have a different shape – usually it was a triangle, but there were also round or cylinder shapes. In Kyoto the most popular were cylinder shaped *nigirimeshi* with sesame sprinkled over it, but in Edo they preferred the triangular one without any sprinkles³¹.

During the Edo period many changes occurred within the country. At this time, the real power lay with the shoguns from the Tokugawa clan. To avoid any contact with foreign countries they closed Japan for almost 200 years and only in Nagasaki city on Kyushu Island were traders from the Netherlands and China allowed to stay.

²⁶ Each samurai received a supply of rice that would be enough for 3 days. It was called *Mikkabun no koshibyōrō* (三日分の腰兵糧).

²⁷ *Miso* paste – soybean paste.

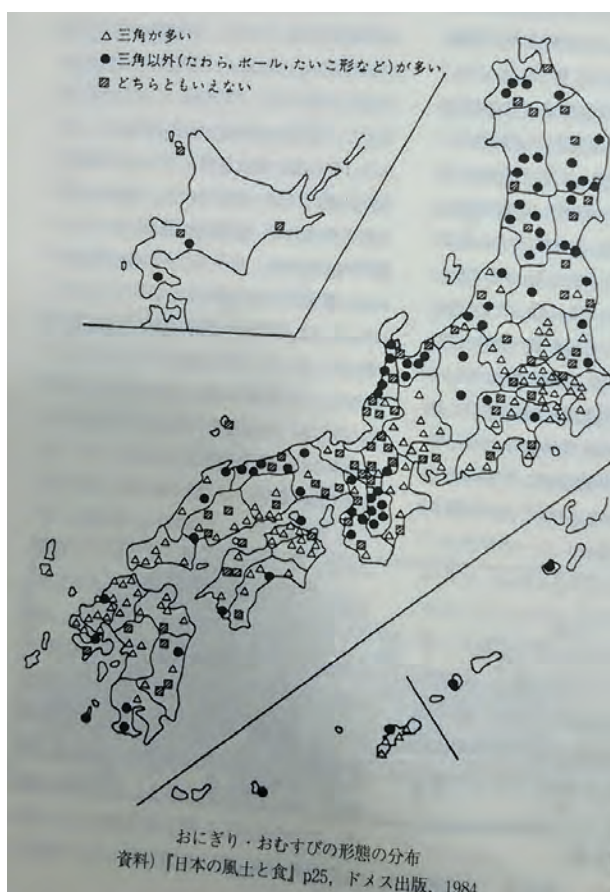
²⁸ Nagayama 2011:138–140.

²⁹ *Nori* – is an edible seaweed species. Finished products are made by a shredding and rack-drying process.

³⁰ *Daimyō* – Japanese feudal lord.

³¹ Okada 2003: 350.

Caused by a lack of wars, the number of samurai was getting smaller (they couldn't do any other job than being a warrior). On the other hand, there were more and more townsfolk, caused by the development of trade between cities. Thanks to good governance and peaceful times without any wars in the country, we see huge development of not only the economy but also culture and art. Especially noteworthy, the townsfolk culture had its golden age, including the creation of new theater types, *kabuki* 歌舞伎³² and *ningyō jōruri* 人形浄瑠璃³³. Peasants spent entire days in the theater; this is why they started taking their lunch with them and eating in the intermission.



The following maps shows how *nigirimeshi* were divided in Japan. Triangle – *nigirimeshi* in triangle shape; circle – different shapes, such as round, cylinder etc; square – it is difficult to define what kind of *nigirimeshi* were in the area³⁴

³² *Kabuki* – is a classical Japanese dance-drama.

³³ *Ningyō jōruri* – is a form of Japanese classical puppet theater.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 350.



Edo Sakaimachi Nakamura-za uchigai no zu, Utagawa Toyokuni-ga: one part of a woodblock picture showing the audience at a Nakamura kabuki theater, made by Utagawa Toyokuni.

Between the seats we can see many boxes with *maku no uchi bentō*.

[Reprint from the collections in the Department of Japanese Studies, University of Warsaw]

This kind of lunch was first called *shibai bentō* 芝居弁当 in the region of Kyoto, Osaka and Nagoya, while in Edo they used the *maku no uchi bentō* 幕の内弁当 name, which gradually became popular in the whole country. The phrase *maku no uchi bentō* literally means a lunch that is eaten in the intermission. This type of *bentō* usually contained grilled *nigirimeshi*, *tamagoyaki* and boiled root vegetables³⁵. The amount of ingredients was just right and the food was well balanced, so *maku no uchi bentō* met the Japanese people's requirements. Another convenient thing about this type of *bentō* was that it was prepared in disposable packaging, so customers didn't have to worry what to do with the empty box after eating.

Japanese people love to spend time outside and admire nature. Whenever they have time, they make trips to the nearest mountains (*yusan* 遊山), cruise in the lakes and rivers (*funaasobi* 船遊び), they make picnics in the spring to parks in order to marvel at the blooming sakura trees (*hanami* 花見) and in the autumn to admire the changing colors (*momijigari* 紅葉狩り) of the maple tree leaves. Also in the summer there are many occasions for spending time outside, such as viewing fireworks (*hanabi* 花火) or Tanabata Day 七夕³⁶ and many festivals that are held in the warm months. Since the Edo Period, during all those events Japanese people spend time together with their families and friends, being close to nature, often for the whole day. To accompany those event *bentō*, Japanese people made up suitable names, e.g. *hanami bentō*, 花見弁当, *momijigari bentō* 紅葉狩り弁当, *yusan bentō* 遊山弁当, *funaasobi bentō* 船遊び弁当 or *koshiben* 腰弁 (*bentō* you tie next to your hips, its origin form was military *koshiyōrō*).

Japanese people were very keen on many different types of entertainment, so they had many chances to eat *bentō*. This was a great opportunity to create new businesses, i.e. open shops and restaurants specialized in preparing a *bentō*, called *shidashi bentō* 仕出し弁当, which could be used during many occasions or events. It was very convenient for consumers because they didn't have to spend many hours in the kitchen cooking for a whole family. They just ordered the right amount of *bentō* boxes, enough for everyone³⁷.

However, even though *shidashi* restaurants were popular, many Japanese people still prepared their own *bentō* for work. This was especially so because farmers working a rice field or lumberjacks spending all day in the forests and mountains couldn't go back home for lunch. That is why they always took cooked rice with *takuan*, *miso* paste or soup and ate it at the workplace. Usually, just after taking a look inside a *bentōbako*, it was easy to recognize what someone's job consisted of, because lumberjacks had easier access to mushrooms, farmers to vegetables and

³⁵ Gotō 2006: 26.

³⁶ *Tanabata* – is a festival called Star Festival, it is celebrated July 7th. Only during this night two stars, Vega and Altair, are allowed to meet in the Milky Way.

³⁷ Takahashi 2007: 2.

fishermen to fish and seafood. Those *bentōs* were named after the type of work: *norashigoto no bentō* 野良仕事の弁当, a *bentō* for people working in a field, *yama-shigoto no bentō* 山仕事の弁当, a *bentō* for people working in the forests. The same is for fishermen – they had *gyojō no bentō* 漁場の弁当.



Tōkaidō gojūsantsugi mizue, Fujisawa, woodblock picture made by Hiroshige presents three people who are eating *bentō* during a trip³⁸

³⁸ Polish National Library, online collection access: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1309950> [access: 27.08.2015]

Even in the city we have a similar story – especially while working the night shifts as guards, Japanese people had to provide themselves lunch called *yakin bentō* 夜勤弁当. But sometimes they received it from a castle manager, as it was in Nagoya castle, where the Tokugawa clan lived³⁹.

Since the turn of the Edo and Meiji periods we can divide *bentō*s into new types, such as *tsūgaku bentō* 通学弁当, *tsūkin bentō* 通勤弁当 and *bentō kanri* 弁当管理⁴⁰. The first type of *bentō* was made to name lunch that students and teachers took to school. The content of this lunch was usually the same – rice with one or two simple extras like pickled radish or some other pickles. Very similar in content, we can find two other examples of lunch – *tsūkin bentō* and *bentō kanri*. Their main difference was who took it to what kind of work – people commuting to any kind of company took the first type and people who were lower administration workers used the second type. However, all of these three examples have the same ancestor – *koshiben* that were used in any trips and when they had to commute⁴¹.

Since the Meiji Period, Japan once again opened her borders to other countries. It was a time of many changes in the country, such as cultural, social, political and economic. Along with the economic development we can see more work places for Japanese people and together with many changes in education, more children could learn. We can also see more possibilities in food consumption – although they still use *bentō*, at many schools in big cities they started to run a school cafeteria. The content of *bentō* was usually very similar – *nigirimeshi* with pickled *umeboshi*, radish *takuan* or some other pickles. From time to time they also added salted salmon and cooked beans⁴².

For many years the main task of *bentō* was to satiate Japanese people's hunger. However during all the changes that were in the Meiji times, the attitude towards *bentō* also changed. Before, with only *nigirimeshi* rice balls with *umeboshi* and *takuan*, Japanese people were completely satisfied, but the presence of food was gradually more and more important. Mothers and wives started adding extras to make *bentō* more interesting. In newspapers from those times we can find many tips and recipes and a special culinary column for housewives. From all these changes toward not only *bentō* but all cooking, we can easily notice that food apart from satiating hunger, with this variety of ingredients and adding extras such as Western bread or meat, had to meet Japanese people's culinary expectations. It became commonplace to boil rice everyday in the morning. Before the Meiji Period, depending on the region, rice was cooked in a different time of day and eaten in different forms, e.g. in Kansai they boiled rice at midday and in the

³⁹ Okumura 2006: 5.

⁴⁰ *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* 1976: 700.

⁴¹ Okumura 2006: 5.

⁴² *Shokubunka to shite no obentō* 2007: 8.

evening they ate it in a soup *yuzuke* 湯漬け and the next morning as a rice porridge *kayu*. However since the Meiji times, even though they were still eating *kayu* in the morning, they boiled extra rice for a fresh *nigirimeshi*.

From 1872 the first train rides were set, first on a Shinagawa-Yokohama route and then they extended the route to Shimbashi station. Along with the development of the railway more and more train stations were built. For the Japanese people's convenience, in each station they made news-stands, souvenir shops and booths with *bentō*, called *ekiben* 駅弁.

There are many different theories about when and where they started to sell *ekiben*, e.g. in 1877 (Kobe and Osaka stations), 1883 (Kumagaya and Ueno stations), 1884 (Tsuruga station), 1885 (Oyama and Utsunomiya stations)⁴³. But the most often instance is the last place, i.e. Utsunomiya station in Tochigi prefecture. This *bentō* contained two *onigiri* rice balls with *umeboshi* inside and sprinkled with sesame and with two pieces of *takuan* wrapped in bamboo leaves⁴⁴. The first *ekiben* were sold directly on the platforms from mobile booths so the traveler didn't have to get out of the train – he could buy food through the opened window. With the development of the railway and longer journeys, for the traveler's convenience within the train a dining car was added. Additionally, the variety of *ekiben* was getting larger, more *bentō* with regional ingredients appeared. We can say that since that time train rides became a very interesting culinary journey – Japanese people could try ingredients characteristic to many different parts of Japan.



An exhibition of available *ekiben* in the station in Aomori prefecture. All lunch boxes contain cuttlefish or scallops, which are very popular in this region of Japan. [photo MN]

⁴³ Tokuhisa 1995: 241-242.

⁴⁴ Minzoku kojiten. Shoku 2013: 36.

In the Taishō Era (1912–1926) there were many factors e.g. World War I or the 1923 Great Kantō Earthquake that caused much damage and problems with getting food supplies. As it is easy to imagine, it had a very bad influence on *bentō* content because products were expensive and hard to get⁴⁵. Along with the decrease in the daily ration of rice, people tried to substitute rice with other products such as sweet potatoes, wheat noodles, bread and a second-rate sort of rice that was normally used as animal fodder⁴⁶.

Huge changes in Japanese daily life and nutrition can be seen at the beginning of another period – the Shōwa Period (1926–1989). The country was still in a terrible condition after the war and earthquake, which is why there was still a shortage in food rations. As a solution, they made a rice allowance, around 300 grams per day, which is why very often people used potatoes and other grain products as a main ingredient in their meals⁴⁷. Since the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) there was an organization called the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement 国民精神騒動員運動 (*kokumin seishin sōdōin undō*) which made many public calls for increased patriotism, they tried to keep a national spirit together. At this time, a very popular slogan was “贅沢は敵だ” (*Zeitaku wa teki da*) which means “Luxury is our Enemy”. One of the most popular and famous initiatives used to show patriotism was to prepare for school and work every 8th day of each month a *bentō* with *umeboshi* put in the center of rice in the box⁴⁸. This type of *bentō* is called *Hi no maru bentō* 日の丸弁当. It was easy and cheap to make *umeboshi*, so many people did it themselves. The fruit was put in barrels with salt for a month. They are typically dyed red using purple perilla herbs (called *akajiso*). When we put *umeboshi* on white rice it reminds us of the Japanese flag. The name *hi no maru bentō* comes from the name of the flag, which is *hi no maru* in Japanese (i.e. the Rising Sun). The usual version of this type of *bentō* was only rice with *umeboshi*, because during that time people couldn't afford many ingredients for lunch.

After the war, the habit of preparing *bentō* was less popular and more often people started using the cafeteria at school or work, which was called *kyūshoku* 給食. From around 1945 many laws about nutrition and well-balanced diet were made to help undernourished people eat healthier once again⁴⁹. Moreover, in the canteen children and workers could eat balanced, cheap meals that were better than preparing and packing lunch everyday themselves. In those times, the number of restaurants and bars was growing, so many businessmen preferred to have their lunch at those places. Thanks to many cafeterias and restaurants, people had an

⁴⁵ *Shokubunka to shite no obentō* 2007: 8.

⁴⁶ Tokuhisa 1995: 245.

⁴⁷ Tamura 1998: 196.

⁴⁸ *Shokubunka to shite no obentō* 2007: 9.

⁴⁹ Tamura 1998: 197.

increased variety of meals they could eat. That was one of the reasons why there were less people having *bentō* at that time.

There was one more factor that made *bentō* less popular comparing to *kyūshoku* or eating in the restaurants. For the most part, all meals in the Japanese culinary are served hot. The only exceptions are pickles or rice balls, *onigiri*. This is the reason why Japanese people preferred to buy a hot meal in the restaurant for a similar amount of money as they would spend for the ingredients. However, everything changed in the 50's, with the advent of many popular electric facilities that changed the methods of preparing food and the ability to keep them fresh. Also, from around the year 1965 people could buy a glass thermos, which changed "the world of *bentō*" once again. Owing to this new invention, Japanese people could enjoy warm *bentō* with the addition of a soup anytime and anywhere⁵⁰.

In the 60's of the 20th century, there was continuing change in the rail industry, mainly a new type of train called the *shinkansen* 新幹線. These trains, called bullet trains, were going very fast, so for the increased safety of the travelers all the windows were made to stay closed and they reduced the train cars to a minimum i.e. they removed dining cars. But the solution of how to sell *bentō* during a journey was found very quickly and small carts with food were provided in every train so travelers could enjoy meals without moving from their seats⁵¹.

The main difference between *ekiben* and other types of *bentō* is that it is eaten only during a journey. You never buy it in the station to eat later at home. So we may even call *ekiben* "the flavor of the journey". There are two main sorts of *ekiben*:

- *futsū bentō* 普通弁当 (normal *bentō*)
- *tokushu bentō* 特殊弁当 (special *bentō*)

Rice makes up half of the contents in the *futsū bentō* and the rest are additions, which are usually grilled fish or meat, boiled vegetables and pickles. While in the *tokushu bentō* the main product is not rice but one of the ingredients that is always something typical and most famous in the region of Japan that produces it.

In the 70's the first convenience stores, called *kombini* were opened. In this store we can find a new type of *bentō* called *hokaben* ほかに弁, i.e. different *bentō*. All ingredients used to make this form were very fresh with a short expiration date. With this new *bentō* we can notice a change in the meaning of *bentō*. From the beginning it was

外出先で食事をするために持ち歩く食べ物⁵²

gaishutsusaki de shokuji o suru tame ni mochiaruku tabemono
food taken from home to eat outside

⁵⁰ *Shokubunka to shite no obentō* 2007: 9.

⁵¹ Tokuhisa 1998: 246.

⁵² Sakai 2001: 60.

but since kombini were made, it became

外で買って持ち帰って食べ物⁵³

Soto de katte mochikaette tabemono.

Food that we buy outside and bring back home

From these quotes we can see an inverse – the place to make *bentō* was not home anymore but shops or special places and the place to eat *bentō*, instead of outside, more often was home⁵⁴. Furthermore, in *kombini* there are public micro-waves so people right after buying a box with food, can warm and eat it.



Examples of *ekiben*: upper photo – *bentō* with eel from Nagoya;
lower photo – *bentō* with scallops from Aomori [photo MN]

⁵³ *Ibid.*, s. 60.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

Women more often decided to quit being only a housewife and started working a job. To make their lives easier, *kombini* and many department stores created special booths with many different *bentō*, already prepared meals or frozen half-finished products to shorten preparation time at home⁵⁵. Thanks to many companies who provided ready meals *shidashi*, it was possible to order a high quality *bentō* or other course without going out.

Not only in the Shōwa period but also in the Heisei Era (1989-) for dozen of years, companies try to lead in innovations with new accessories needed to prepare an original lunch. In our times, people use not only colorful and many shaped lunch boxes, but also cute animal-shaped toothpicks, small containers for dips or extras. It takes a lot of time to prepare fancy *bentō*; so another new simplification has been the creation of special *onigiri* and *sushi* forms.



A board to encourage travelers to buy *soraben* at the airport in Sapporo. The three the most popular *soraben* in this area are written. [photo MN]

⁵⁵ Shokubunka to shite no obentō 2007: 11.

During this time, other types of *bentō* have developed, such as *soraben* 空弁, *hayaben* はや弁, *aisai bentō* 愛妻弁当 and *kyaraben* キャラ弁.

Soraben is very similar to *ekiben*, but it is available at the airports. It gained its biggest popularity at the beginning of the 21st century. This type of *bentō* can't be too big, so it can be eaten quickly. Also, not all ingredients can be used to prepare *soraben* – not to bother other travelers, it is necessary to not use any food with a strong aroma. The different names for *soraben* are *kūkōben* 空港弁 (airport *bentō*) and *hikōben* 飛行弁 (plane *bentō*).

Depending on how we write the first Chinese character *kanji* “haya” 早 in *hayaben*, we can define a different type of *bentō*. If we write it with the *kanji* that means “early”, it shows us a *bentō* that is eaten earlier than a normal lunch (something like a brunch), i.e. “early *bentō*” 早弁. But if we use the *kanji* for “fast” 速, it defines a special *bentō* that we can buy in the shops on the highway, so it's a “fast, quick *bentō*” 速弁.

A *bentō* that has existed since the Meiji period and was carried to work, usually made by the loving wife, is called *aisai bentō* 愛妻弁当. Women, while preparing their husband's lunch, always tried to prepare a well balanced meal that provided lots of energy and strength to work (e.g. by making a sentence *ganbatte* 頑張つて – do your best, work hard – using laver *nori* for it). In this example we can see another usage of *bentō* – it interceded between the feelings of the wife and husband. Currently *aisai bentō* is not prepared only by wives and it can be made for kids or friends, in other words for anyone we wish to express our feelings, gratitude or to show our support to.



An example of *shikaeshi bentō*⁵⁶

⁵⁶ A frame from *Begin Japanology* program 2008: episode 1 season 1, 13:33 min.

However, with a help of *bentō* Japanese women can show not only their love to their husband, but also anger after a fight or a partner's bad behavior. It is called *shikaeshi bentō* 仕返し弁当, which means a revenge *bentō*. It can be mostly anything that shows that the wife is angry and doesn't care if the husband will be hungry during the day or not. Everything depends on the woman's imagination as to what her husband may get in this kind of lunch. It may be only rice (not necessarily cooked), the whole lunch box filled in with one ingredient (e.g. pickles), bad words written with *nori* on rice or all the content arranged into an embarrassing picture.

Another type of *bentō* is *kyaraben*, which is a contraction of *kyarakutā no bentō* キャラクターの弁当, which means the lunch box with food arranged into some cartoon characters. These days this form is very popular, where all ingredients have to be cut and shaped into animals, characters from cartoons or comics or even famous people. The main purpose of this kind of *bentō* is to trick children into eating the whole meal, even if they don't like some kind of vegetables. On the Internet we can find many websites and blogs with advice on how to prepare *kyaraben*, how to "conceal" those not-favorite ingredients that are important in the daily diet for the child⁵⁷. More and more popular are special cooking courses for mothers, where they can learn how to make cartoon characters from food or prepare edible masterpieces. Due to some extreme pressure that mothers are under to make this special and unique *bentō*, in some preschools it is forbidden to make *kyaraben*, children can bring only normal *bentō*. Thanks to this rule, children whose mothers can't prepare *kyaraben* due to lack of free time, don't feel worse and are not bullied by classmates.

Etymology of the Chinese characters *kanji* that define the word *bentō*

When we look at the *bentō* 弁当 *kanji*, it is very difficult to understand that it is "a lunch that we take with us to eat outside". We use *ben* 弁 e.g. in the word *yūben* 雄弁 (eloquence), *bengoshi* 弁護士 (lawyer), *benron* 弁論 (speech, debate) and some words can mean also a dialect. While we use *tō* 当 to write e.g. *tōban* 当番 (turn, duty), *kentō* 見当 (direction, guess) and it means advisable, well, reasonable.

In this chapter the author would like to show how the word used by Japanese to define lunch has changed during the ages and what kind of Chinese characters were used for it.

As was explained in the previous chapter, in the old times there were many words to name provisions that Japanese people took with them for a trip, such as *hoshi ii*, *kare ii*, *tonjiki* or *hyōrō*. On the other hand, the first words that were used

⁵⁷ *Shokubunka to shite no obentō* 2007: 12.

to describe a box for lunch were *warigo* 破子 or *mentsū* 面桶. Those names were used since the Kamakura Era (before that time rice was packed into a pouch or wrapped in a leaf). Even today in many regions in Japan we can find words like *mentsu* メンツ, *mentsui* メンツイ, *menchi* メンチ or *memba* メンバ, which are all variations from the origin word *mentsū*.

Firstly, it is important to understand the meaning of the *kanji* that are in the word *mentsū*. The word *men* 面 we can find e.g. in a *menmen* 面面 i.e. each, everybody. *Tsū* 桶 is used now to describe tub (*furooke* 風呂桶) or trough (*kaibaoke* 飼い葉桶), in the old times it meant a small bucket for water (*teoke* 手桶). So all together we can understand *mentsū* as a container in which we pack a rice (meal) for everybody. That kind of box was made from a thin strip of wood (usually *Cryptomeria* or Japanese cypress) bent in an oval shape⁵⁸. Because *mentsū* was a simple and modest vessel, it also had a different usage. It was very often used as a rice bowl or according to *Edogo Daijiten* 江戸語大辞典, a beggar kept his received charity in it⁵⁹.

The word *mentsū* is in the *goon* 呉音⁶⁰ reading system, however Japanese people changed it into a *kan'on* 漢音⁶¹ system and at that time the *kanji* 面 started to be read *ben* instead of *men*, and 桶 as *tō*, not *tsū* anymore. In the Azuchi-Momoyama Period they changed ideograms for describing lunch. Japanese people got to the conclusion that lunch packed in a small box is handy and convenient (*benri* 便利), and they can eat it in an appropriate place (*tekito'na basho* 適当な場所). This is why they started to use 弁当 *kanji*. It seems right to use *kanji* 弁当 to describe lunch, when we notice how useful *bentō* is and compare it with those Chinese characters.

The exact time of changing ideograms from 弁当 into 辨當, the old version of 弁當, is unknown. However, in the Edo period, during the greatest development of *bentō*, the new version of *kanji* is already in use.

One of the main reasons for using 弁 instead of 便, was the other meaning of this *kanji*. It is used in words such as *benjo* 便所 (toilet) czy *daishōben* 大小便 (excrements). Although 便 is practical (*benri*), more often it reminds Japanese people of the other meanings and this is why it wasn't suitable to describe food or the box for lunch. Therefore they started to use the *kanji* 辨當 to write the word *bentō*.

A very good explanation of all those *kanji* can be found in *Daikanwa Jiten* 大漢和辞典⁶².

⁵⁸ Ishige 1999: 409.

⁵⁹ Maeda 2003: 768.

⁶⁰ *Goon* 呉音 – One of the several ways of reading Japanese *kanji*. It is based on the classical pronunciation from the Middle Chinese times.

⁶¹ *Kan'on* 漢音 – One of the ways of reading Japanese *kanji*, from Tang Dynasty times.

⁶² Morohashi 1984: volumes 1, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12.

Kanji	Reading	Description in Japanese	English translation of description
面	ベン (<i>ben</i>) メン (<i>men</i>)	① 器物又は材木の稜角を浅く削ること。(<i>Kibutsu mata wa zaimoku no ryōkaku o asaku kezuru koto</i>) ㊥ 平たい器物を数える詞。(<i>Hiratai kibutsu o kazoeru kotoba</i>)	A. The slightly cut edges of a container made in wood. B. A numeral for flat containers, tableware.
面	ベン (<i>ben</i>) メン (<i>men</i>)	㊦ 平たい器物に添へる詞。(<i>Hiratai kibutsu ni soeru kotoba</i>) ㊧ もと朝鮮地方行政地区の一。日本の町村にあたる。(<i>Moto chōsen chihō gyōsei chiku no ichi. Nihon no chōson ni ataru</i>)	C. A word added to describe flat tableware. D. Originally, an administration area in Korea. It is used in Japanese administration in cities and villages.
桶	トウ (<i>tō</i>) ツウ (<i>tsū</i>)	① をけ (<i>oke</i>) ① 六斗を容れる方形の器。(<i>Roku masu o ireru hōkei no utsuwa</i>) ㊥ うるしをけ。(<i>Urushi oke</i>) ㊦ まるをけ。(<i>Maru oke</i>)	1. A bucket. A. A square container the size of 6 masu ⁶³ . B. A bucket made from lacquer. C. A round bucket.
便	ヘン (<i>hen</i>) ベン (<i>ben</i>)	① 都合がよい。便利。(<i>Tsugō ga yoi. Benri</i>)	1. Convenient. Useful.
辨	ヘン (<i>hen</i>) ベン (<i>ben</i>)	① わける。(<i>Wakeru</i>) ① さく。剖判する。(<i>Saku. Bōhan suru</i>) ㊥ 分別する。区別する。(<i>Bunbetsu suru. Kubetsu suru</i>)	1. To divide. A. To spare. To divide. B. Classify. Divide.
弁	ヘン (<i>hen</i>) ベン (<i>ben</i>)	② たのしむ。般に同じ。(<i>Tanoshimu. Han ni onaji</i>)	2. Enjoy. The same as the kanji han (Carry).
當	タウ	① あたる。(<i>Ataru.</i>) [...] ㊥ つりあふ。相持する。(<i>Tsuriau. Aimochi suru.</i>) [...] ① あふ。時にあふ。當面する。(<i>Au. Toki ni au. Tōmen suru.</i>) [...] ㊦ かなふ。適合する。(<i>Kanau. Tekigō suru.</i>)	1. To be hit, to strike, to touch to win, to go well, to face. [...] B. Balance, match. Joint ownership, sharing. [...] I. To fit. Perfect timing. For the time being. [...] L. To match. Accommodate. Adapt.
当		當の略字。(<i>Tō no ryakuji.</i>)	Simplified character of the kanji <i>tō</i> (當).

⁶³ *Masu* 斗 – it is an old measuring system.

From the table above we can understand how the ideograms of the word *bentō* have changed and a reason for selecting those and not other characters. It is also understandable from the table below, where there is an explanation of words defining lunch⁶⁴.

Kanji compound	Description in Japanese	English translation of description
面桶	飯を盛つて一人づつに配るに用ひる曲物の食器。ツウは宋音。(Meshi o motte hitori zutsu ni kubaru ni mochiiru magemono no shokki. Tsū wa sōon.)	A round vessel used to distribute rice for everyone one by one. Tsū is a sōon reading.
便當	②都合がよい。便利な。重寶な。(Tsugō ga yoi. Benrina. Jūhōna.)	2. Convenient. Functional. Useful.
辨當	①外出先で食事するため携へる食物。又、それを容れる食器。弁當。(Gaishutsusaki de shokuji suru tame tazusaeru tabemono. Mata, sore o ireru shokki. Bentō.) ②転じて、外出先で他より取寄せて食ふ食事。(Tenjite, gaishutsusaki de hoka yori toriyosete kū shokuji.)	1. Food that we take with us to eat outside. Also, a vessel that we put lunch in. 2. A meal that we order somewhere and eat outside.
弁当	外出先で食事をするために携へる食物。辨當に同じ。(Gaishutsusaki de shokuji o suru tame ni tazusaeru tabemono. Bentō ni onaji.)	Food that we take with us to eat outside. See: <i>bentō</i> (辨當).

Bentō accompany Japanese people in daily life during many occasions, sometimes it is even unnoticeable. Apart from the role of satisfying hunger, it's a non-verbal communication form (it is seen especially during picnics and trips but also in relations in a family), Japanese people use the word *bentō* in everyday conversation, i.e. there are proverbs with it.

One of the proverbs containing *bentō* is 弁当は宵から (*Bentō wa yoi kara*). Literally it means, “Lunch is from the evening”, because we cannot predict what may happen in the morning. So always every bit of early preparation is highly recommended.

Another proverb runs as follows 弁当持ち先に食わず (*Bentō mochisaki ni kuwazu*). We can translate it as; a man taking lunch does not eat it earlier. Even if we have something, we don't use it. A rich person does not consume money, he tries to keep as much of it as he can⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ Morohashi 1984: vol. 1, 4, 10, 12.

⁶⁵ *Koji kotowaza kan'yōku* 1992: 1028.

Conclusion

Bentō, even though it looks like a normal lunch, has a great history in Japan. Japanese people through the ages were using it, changing it to meet actual needs and situations in the country. With its simplicity *bentō* has many functions, not only to keep one from starvation, but also as a great form of non-verbal communication – you can express most every emotion and thought via this small box. It can also be a factor in keeping good relations with friends while sharing food and eating in groups during trips or picnics. Even the etymology of the word looks interesting since we can see how the word has changed during the ages to fit its times.

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Monika Nawrocka

論文の日本語レジュメ

弁当 - 日本のランチボックス文化

世界中のほぼすべての文化において、手作りであれ市販のものであれ、昼食をとるということは共通している。この点において日本も他国と相違ない。日本人は弁当と呼ばれる昼食をほぼ毎日、学校や職場に持っていく。弁当の歴史はとても長く、およそ8世紀には既に存在し、歴史とともにその形態のみならず盛り付け方や中身も変化してきた。

本論文では、弁当の歴史を記述しながら、昔の弁当の諸相や、弁当の語源と表記に用いられた漢字についても言及する。

キーワード: 弁当、ランチボックス、乾飯、頓食、丸の内弁当、日の丸弁当、仕返し弁当

宮廷社会における教養としての和歌と書

はじめに

平安時代の教養として和歌・書・管弦を嗜むことが必須であることはよく知られている。本論ではその中でも和歌と書が教養であることに注目して、これらが教養として定着していた背景を当時の物語などを参考にしてあらためて考えてみたい。書の手習いには和歌を書いて練習するのが常であり、和歌と書とは相即不離の関係がみられる。これらを当時の人々はどのように習得していたのだろうか。

最初に、平安時代の教育制度について確認しておきたい。官吏養成機関としての大学寮は平安時代末期には衰退していくが、古代から男性の教育機関として重要な働きを持っていた。大学寮について概観したうえで、『源氏物語』『少女』巻で論じられる夕霧への光源氏の教育観について考察する。夕霧の大学寮入学は周囲の反応からみて異例の出来事であることがわかるが、将来国家を担う人物に対する教育観が光源氏の視点から語られるのは意義深い。一方、女性には大学寮のような公の教育の場はなく、家庭内でそれぞれ教育がおこなわれたり、もしくは有能な家庭教師を招いたりして教養に磨きをかけた。平安時代は女流文学が開花した時代であるが、その女性たちの多くが学問や歌学の家出身であることからみて、非常に限定された学びの成果であることもわかる。教育の観点からながめると、そこにはおのずと性差による位相が明確となろう。

「教養」と「教育」という言葉を使ったが、この二つの言葉の定義について明確にしておく。

「教育」—教え育てること。人を教えて知能をつけること。人間に他から意図を持って働きかけ、望ましい姿に変化させ、価値を実現する活動。「教養」—単なる学殖・多識とは異なり、一定の文化理想を体得し、それによって個人が身につけた創造的な理解力や知識。その内容は時代や民族文化 理念の変遷に応じて異なる¹。

¹ 新村出編『広辞苑（第六版）』（岩波書店、2008年）。

「教育」は基礎知識を人に教える行為やその結果についてであり、「教養」には何らかの文化的な知識を込めた言葉であることがわかる。

平安時代において、和歌と書との教養は主に女性に使われることが多い。それは彼女たちを取り巻く社会的環境と大きな関係がある。和歌・書・管弦という教養は男性貴族にも当然重要なことであったが、それが特に女性に関係ある文脈で見られるのは、女性にとってそれらの教養が、宮廷社会という特殊な世界の中で生きていくため、意識して身につける必要があったからである。和歌と書が宮廷社会ではどのような意義が持つものであったのか、考察していく。

一、古代から十世紀後半までの大学寮

『源氏物語』には「帚木」巻の女性論、「絵合」巻を中心とする絵画論、「玉鬘」巻の歌論、「蛩」巻の物語論などにみられる評論が物語の合間に存在する。座談会のようにある人とある人が語り合う形式は、評論に深みを持たせて、また評論を通じて登場人物の思考が明確になるという特徴がみられる。「少女」巻には夕霧の大学寮入学をめぐる光源氏の教育論が展開される。夕霧は光源氏の長男で葵の上から産まれた子どもである。十二歳の元服を機に、光源氏は夕霧を大学寮に入学させることを決意する。

大学寮とは大化の改新の後、大和政権が律令国家体制²を整備していくさいに、班田収授や戸籍の作成、租税などを管理する官吏が大勢必要とされたことに端を発した官僚養成のための教育機関である。中国の律令国家を規範とした、大和政権の律令を整える過程のひとつとして大学寮の創設がみられるのである。大学寮の創設時期は具体的にわからないが、『懷風藻』の序文に天智天皇が「庠序」(学校のこと)を建てたという記述があることから、一般的に天智天皇の時代に創設されたとみるのが通説である。

大学寮は式部省の管轄下にあり、学生(がくしょう)の試験と春秋二回の积算³の執行をつかさどった。学科は経学(儒学)を教える本科と、算(数学)を教える付属科とに分かれており、入学に際して選抜試験はなかったが、身分・年齢の制限があり、五位以上の貴族の子や孫、東西史部(やまとかわちふひと⁴)の子、志願する六・七・八位の子で、十三歳から十六歳までと規定されていた。本科での学習内容は『孝経』『論語』が必修、選択必修として大経(『礼記』『左氏伝』)、中経(『周礼』『儀礼』『毛詩』)、小経(『周易』『尚書』)の九部の経書を教科書とした。

² 「律令国家体制」とは、中央集権(政治上の権力が中央政府に統一集中される意)的国家統治体制のこと。「律令」とはこの政治を保つための法律のことであり、「律」は刑法、「令」は行政法などのことである。

³ 孔子を祀る典礼。古代中国では先聖(学問の体系を生み出した先哲)先師(学問の発展に貢献した先哲)の祭礼の総称。

⁴ 大和朝廷の時に、文書や記録をつかさどった氏族やその職のこと。代表的な氏族として、東漢直(やまとのあやのあたひ)と西文首(かわちのふみのおびと)の両者を併せて総称した。

律令制下の学制は官吏登用と密接に結び付いたものであったが、大宝令が制定された神亀・天平時代には学制の改革がおこなわれる。文学科(のちの紀伝道)と法律学科(のちの明法道)が設置されて、文学科では『文選』や『爾雅』を学んで、文章を作ることがおこなわれた。平安時代初期に文学科(紀伝道)が隆盛するが、まさにこの時期の文学科の学科としての独立は、のちの紀伝道の発達を導く働きとなった。

七九四年の平安遷都にともない大学寮も京都に移転する。平安時代初期の大きな変化は古代に本科として中心的な学科であった儒学科よりも、文学科としての紀伝道のほうが優位になったことである。中国の歴史や漢詩文を学ぶことは最初、文章道(もんじょうどう)といわれていたが、平安時代に入り紀伝道と名称が定着した。文章博士は儒学科の博士よりも官位が一段低く、正七位下であったが、平安時代になると大学寮の教官の中でも最高の位階を得るようになった。それは漢詩集隆盛の時期と大いに関係がある。

九世紀前半は漢文学の最盛期であり、『凌雲集』『文華秀麗集』『経国集』の勅撰漢詩集が次々と編纂された。詩文が作られて文学が栄えることが国家経営の大業につながり、国家・社会の平和と安定につながるという文章経国の思想は文章観や文学重視の風潮をもたらした。特に、将来政治に関わる貴族の中で紀伝道を学ぶことが流行となった。まさに、九世紀は紀伝道が発達して、明経道(みょうぎょうどう)、明法道(みょうぼうどう)、算道とともに四道のひとつとして定着した時期である。

十世紀は養老律令に対する施行細則を集大成した法典である『延喜式』が制定された。しかし、この法典が施行・編集された時期は、すでに律令体制の破綻が深刻になっており、法源としての実行力は薄れていたという。そのため立法事業というよりも『延喜式』は文化事業としての役割が強いとみられている。特に平安時代初期の禁中の年中儀式や制度などが漢文で記されており、公家の間で公事や年中行事の典拠として尊重されたという意義を持つ⁵。大学寮では教官職の世襲化や試験制度の形骸化がみられるようになる。入学者の身分や年齢には制限があったが、六位以下白丁⁶までの階層の子弟には入学試験が一応おこなわれた一方、諸王⁷および五位以上の貴族の子・孫は無試験となった。入学後、紀伝道に進む者は大学寮での寮試を受けて擬文章生となる。さらに擬文章生になった後は、式部省でおこなう省試を通過して文章生となる。寮試から省試までの期間は次第に短縮されて、省試には作詩という風流韻事の要素が含まれるため、十世紀頃からは官庁ではなく行幸・饗宴の行事と一緒にこなわれるようになった。

文章博士の教官職については世襲化が確立した。九世紀には菅原清公・是善・道真の菅原氏の三代が世襲した。のちに大江氏が加わり、十世紀半ば以降には新たに藤原氏のなかで南家・武家・日野家が加わり、総じて五家で独占した。

⁵ 宮城栄昌『延喜式の研究 史料篇・論述篇』(大修館書店、1995年)。虎尾俊哉『日本歴史叢書 延喜式』(吉川弘文館、1995年)。

⁶ 「はくちょう・はくてい」と読む。律令制で官途につかない無位無官の一般男子。

⁷ 親王の宣下のない皇族の男子のこと。

明経道、明法道、算道についても教官職は世襲化されて、私的な思惑が優先された結果、それぞれの家の形成や発展の方に重きが置かれていく。

教官職の世襲化や試験制度の弛緩・形骸化に伴い、律令官僚養成機関である大学寮は本来の理念を失い、衰退せざるを得なかった。大学寮の実質的意味を損失したものとしては推薦制度がある。紀伝・明経・明法・算の四道と大学別曹(勸学院・奨学院・学館院)がその学生を毎年または隔年ごとに地方官に任命・推挙することを年挙(ねんきょ)というが、十世紀末には三院年挙という大学別曹だけに特権された年挙が定着した。一般的な年挙は大学寮教官の推薦によるものであるが、三院年挙は別曹を有する氏族に推薦の権利があった。実力主義の退潮を導き、試験による競争制度も実質失われていく。寮試や省試の問題も軽薄になり、受験生自身で試験箇所を決定したり、教官が試験問題を内示したりすることも当然となる。

教官職が特定の氏族によって独占されるようになると、受験者の世襲化だけでなく、学問や研究までもが私物化されるようになる。皮肉ではあるがこれは家学(かがく)の発展を促した。ある特定の家で父から子へ代々伝承する家学の発生は、公的領域であった学問の在り方を変えさせて、教官職の世襲氏族はそれぞれの私邸で、同じ氏族の中や師弟関係である者たちに独自の学問を教授して、門弟を教育するようになった。教育機関としての大学寮が衰退するのも当然である。

大学寮の実質的意味が退廃する中で、それでも大学寮は機能していたが、大学寮関係の教官や官人の職務怠慢によって、試験実施には不正がおこなわれ、行事などの実施も停滞した。古代からの重要な行事である積奠の儀式も簡略化されるようになり、儀式後の饗宴も出席者が少ないため中止になったりもした。積奠に象徴されるように儒教教育を規範とした大学寮の理念はすでに忘却され、大学寮での教育の意義も衰滅していった。

十世紀後半以降は大学寮の財政も困難となり、施設の整備や補修もされずに、倒壊した施設もあった。それでも大学寮は存続して教官や学生も在籍していたが、あくまでも形式的なものであり大学機関としての役割はなくなっていたといえる。最終的に平安京内で起こった「安元の大火⁸」で大学寮の施設は焼失した。その後も施設は再建されることなく、大学寮は衰退の一途を辿る⁹。

⁸ 安元三年四月二八日に起こった大火災。鴨長明の『方丈記』には「いんじ安元三年四月二十八日かとよ。風激しく吹きて、静かならざりし夜、戌の時ばかり、都の東南より火出で来て、西北に至る。果てには朱雀門、大極殿、大学寮、民部省などまで移りて、一夜のうちに塵灰となりにき」と、火事の激しさについての描写があり、「大学寮」の名前が出ている。

⁹ 大学寮について主に参照にした研究は以下の通りである。桃裕行『上代学制の研究 修訂版』(桃裕行著作集第一巻、思文閣出版、1994年)、久木幸男『大学寮と古代儒教—日本古代教育史研究』(サイマル出版会、1968年)、「平安時代の学制と教育」(山中裕・鈴木一雄編『平安貴族の環境 平安時代の文学と生活』至文堂、1994年)。秋山虔編『王朝語辞典』(東京大学出版会、2000年)大曾根章介著「だいがく」についての語彙説明。

二、『源氏物語』 「少女」 巻にみられる教育観

『源氏物語』は物語であり、史実とは異なる虚構世界を構築した作品である。しかし、時代設定としては中世の注釈書である『河海抄¹⁰』に、「物語の時代は、醍醐・朱雀・村上三代に准ズル歟。桐壺御門は延喜、朱雀院は天慶、冷泉院は天曆、光源氏は西宮左大臣、如此相当スル也」とあるように、醍醐天皇の延喜¹¹から村上天皇の天曆¹²までの歴史的人物に準拠しながら語られているという。紫式部が『源氏物語』を執筆していた年代は『紫式部日記』の記事によると、寛弘五年（一〇〇八年）には物語がすでに人々に読まれていたことがわかる¹³ので、時代背景としては一〇〇年ほど遡ることになる。その延喜・天曆の時代は、律令国家から王朝国家への過渡期である。先述したように大学寮に関しても四道の体制が整い、特に紀伝道の重要性が求められる時代であった。同時に、教官職の世襲化や試験制度の形骸化がみられるようになり、大学寮としての基盤に歪みが生じ始めた時代でもあった。このような時代状況と、『源氏物語』において光源氏が夕霧に大学教育を受けさせようとする行為は社会の流れに逆行しているように思われるが、その点をどのように解釈するかということも『源氏物語』を考えるうえで重要となろう。光源氏の教育観が凝縮された箇所であるが、それに対する周囲の反応や当人の夕霧が大学寮入学に関して控えめであることも当時の世論の反映と読むこともでき、多角的な視点から考察できる部分である。

元服は男性が成人となる通過儀礼であるため、一族にとっても準備段階から重要な意味を持っていた¹⁴。祖母大宮のもとで養育されていた夕霧は、この年に十二歳になり元服を迎えることになった。一般的に元服のさいには叙位、任官がおこなわれる。

四位になしてんと思し、世人もさぞあらんと思へるを、まだいときびはなるほどを、わが心にまかせたる世にて、しかゆくりなからんもなかなか目馴れたることなりと思しとどめつ。浅葱にて殿上に還りたまふを、大宮は飽かずあさましきことと思したるぞ、ことわりにいとほしかりける。

光源氏も世間も夕霧の叙位は四位になると考えていたのだが、儀式後の夕霧の冠帽着用姿は六位の袍であった。平安貴族の特権として蔭位（おんい）という高官子弟優遇制度がある。夕霧は源氏二世であるが、親王や一世の源氏に准

¹⁰ 『河海抄（かかいしょう）』は四辻善成による全二十巻の『源氏物語』の注釈書。翻刻したものに玉上琢弥編『紫明抄・河海抄』（角川書店、1978年）がある。

¹¹ 醍醐天皇の治世である901年～923年を指す。

¹² 村上天皇の治世である947年～957年を指す。

¹³ 『紫式部日記』には、寛弘五年の敦成親王誕生の祝宴に藤原公任が「若紫やさぶらふ」と戯れごとを言う場面がある。

¹⁴ 女子が成人することを「着裳（ちゃくも）」という。年齢は一定していないが、十二歳から十四歳頃が一般的だったという。元服・着裳については、中村義雄『王朝の風俗と文学』（塙書房、1962年）に詳しい。

じて、元服後従四位下になると想定されていたわけである。なぜ光源氏は蔭位に委ねることなく、当初の意向を取り入れずに叙位を下げたのだろうか。不満を抱いた祖母大宮は光源氏に六位にした理由を尋ねる。次は光源氏の返答である。

ただいま、かうあながちにしも、まだきにおひつかずまじうはべれど、思ふやうはべりて、大学の道にしばし習はさむの本意はべるにより、いま二三年をいたづらの年に思ひなして、おのづから朝廷にも仕うまつりぬべきほどになれば、いま人となりはべりなむ。

光源氏は自らの教育方針を論じる。現代の感覚では教育を受けるのは当然であるが、当時の権勢家に生まれた子息にとっては大学寮に通うことは官位を得るために必須のものではなかった。蔭位も受けられるわけであり、わざわざ大学寮で学問をする必要はなかったわけである。大学寮にいる間に数年という年月が経過してしまう。その間に昇進することはないのである。それでも大学寮での学問をすすめる光源氏の意向は、傍線部「思ふやうはべりて」にあるように後述される。その理由を箇条書きにしてみた。

一、広い視野と教養を得るため。

みづからは、九重の中に生ひ出ではべりて、世の中のありさまも知りはず、夜昼御前にさぶらひて、わづかになむ、はかなき書なども習ひはべりし。ただ、かしこき御手より伝へはべりしだに、何ごととも広き心を知らぬほどは、文の才をまねぶにも、琴笛の調べにも、音たへず及ばぬところの多くなむはべりける。

宮中で育てられた光源氏は桐壺院から学問と芸能を直伝してもらった。「絵合」巻には物語絵合の場面があるが、その競い合いの夜、師宮（源氏の弟宮）が故桐壺院を追憶しながら光源氏の学問芸能の習得について、かつて桐壺院が話していた言葉を思い出す場面がある。

とりたてたる御心に入れて伝へうけとらせたまへるかひありて、文才をばさるものにていはず、さらぬことの中には、琴弾かせたまふことなん一の才にて、次には横笛、琵琶、箏の琴をなむ次々に習ひたまへると、上も思しのためはせき。

詩文の才も芸能の才も併せ持つ光源氏の卓越した芸才について、師である桐壺院が吐露するほど、光源氏には抜群の才能があった。

その光源氏が自らの反省として、何事を学ぶにしても「広き心」を知らないとは十分な習得はできないという。大学寮に入学させて学問をさせる決定的な理由は、加冠の式を迎えれば成人として世間に認められるが、そのような表面的な体裁ではなく、内面的な意味が強かったのだと思われる。

大学寮に入学するということはほかの学生たちと学問を究めるだけでなく、自分の目で宮中以外の世界を知る機会ともなる。多くの人と交わり、他人と切磋琢磨することは、自分を客観視することにもつながるとの考えであろう。光源氏は夕霧を外に出すことで、広い視野を得ることを期待しているのだと思われる。

二、実力を得て、世間の信頼を得るため。

高き家の子として、官爵心にかなひ、世の中さかりにおごりならひぬれば、学問などに身を苦しめむことは、いと遠くなむおぼゆべかめる。戯れ遊びを好みて、心のままなる官爵にのぼりぬれば、時に従ふ世人の、下には鼻まじろきをしつつ、追従し、気色とりつつ従ふほどは、おのづから人とおぼえてやむごとなきやうなれど、時移り、さるべき人に立ちおくれて、世おとろふる末には、人に軽め侮らるるに、かかりどころなきことになむはべる。

容易に官位を得られる身分であるからこそ、たいした努力もせずに栄華を極めることができるかもしれないが、情勢が変化したときに今まで支持していた周囲の人物が離れていく可能性があるかもしれないという。どのような状況でも信頼を得られる人物になるべきであり、それには学問を成し遂げて真の実力をつけるべきだという。

三、学問こそ国家を治めるうえで第一であるため。

なほ、才をもととしてこそ、大和魂の世に用ゐらるる方も強うはべらめ。さし当たりては心もとなきやうにはべれども、つひの世の重しとなるべき心おきてをならひなば、はべらずなりなむ後もうしろやすかるべきによりなむ。

ここでいう「才」は漢学である。中国の歴史や文学を知ることによって、自分の国の実情に合うための応用力が必要という。魏文帝『典論』に「文章は経国の大業、普及の盛時なり（文章は、国を治めるための大事業であり、永久に朽ちることのない盛大な事業である）」という有名な文章経国の思想があるが、それを踏まえた内容であろう。文学が栄えることが国家・社会の平和と安定につながるという政治思想は、史学や漢学などの学問習得を促した。「大和魂」という言葉を用いて国の繁栄を担う人物としての責任について述べている。

以上のように、光源氏の教育論があげられ、実行に移される。入学するための字をつける儀式¹⁵から束脩の礼¹⁶まで済ませて夕霧は勉学に励む。

¹⁵ 大和朝廷の時に、文書や記録をつかさどった氏族やその職のこと。代表的な氏族として、東漢直（やまとのあやのあた）と西文首（かわちのふみのおびと）の両者を併せて総称した。

¹⁶ 束脩（そくしゅう）とは、師のもとに入門する時に贈呈する礼物のこと。

祖母大宮のもとから勉強のために二条東院に移り、閑静な場所でひたすら勉強することに鬱積を感じた夕霧は、「つらくもおはしますかな。かく苦しからでも、高き位に昇り、世に用ゐらるる人はなくやはある」と光源氏を恨めしくも思ったりするが、根が真面目な夕霧であるため¹⁷、辛抱して四、五カ月のうちに『史記』を学び終えた。その後は寮試受験に臨む。

大学に参りたまふ日は、寮門に上達部の御車ども数知らず集ひたり。おほかた世に残りたるあらじと見えたるに、またなくもてかしづかれて、つくろはれ入りたまへる冠者の君の御さま、げにかかるまじらひにはたへずあてにうつくしげなり。

大勢の従者に丁重に扱われ寮試に向かう夕霧の姿は気品があり可憐だという。ほかにも学生がたくさんいたようであるが、その中でも異彩を放つ夕霧である。その後、つつがなく擬文章生となった夕霧はますます学問に励む。

昔おぼえて大学の榮ゆるころなれば、上中下の人、我も我もとこの道に心ざし集まれば、いよいよ世の中に、才ありはかばかしき人多くなんありける。文人擬生などいふなることどもよりうちはじめ、すがすがしう果てたまへれば、ひとへに心に入れて、師も弟子も、いとどはげみましたまふ。殿にも文作りしげく、博士、才人どもところえたり。すべて何ごとにつけても、道々の人の才ほど現るる世になむありける。

傍線部は大学が尊重されていた時代のことを指すが、何度も述べたように実際の大学寮は衰退の一途を辿っていた。しかし、『源氏物語』は昔の盛時を思い出すほど、再び大学に通う人物が増えて、理想の時代が再来したというように設定している。これは『源氏物語』の理想論の現れであり、この文章の後半にもある「道々の人の才ほど現るる世」には、学問や芸能を追究して国家を統治する世界を、いかに『源氏物語』が理想としていたかがわかる。

「少女」巻の教育論について、その根底に「文章経国」の理念が根づいていると着目する鈴木一雄は、

光源氏の願望、理念はまた、作者紫式部の考え方と重なるであろう。光源氏にこの教育論を述べさせたのは作者である。ここには紫式部の教育観、学問観—漢学の復興を願い、大学寮の隆盛を期待する心が重なっていると見て過ちないであろう。重なると見るよりも、むしろ作者が強く訴え、主張したいところと考えてよいと思われる¹⁸。

¹⁷ 『源氏物語』では夕霧の人柄を「まめ人（律儀で真面目な人物）」という形容でよく表現する。「少女」巻のこの部分から「まめ人」という性格が定着してくる。

¹⁸ 「平安時代の学制と教育」（山中裕・鈴木一雄編『平安貴族の環境 平安時代の文学と生活』至文堂、1994年）。

と述べて、作者紫式部が大儒藤原為時の娘であり、学問の家に育ち、漢学の造詣の深かったことから、紫式部が抱く学問の復権や大学の復興を願う心が反映されていると論じる。この点については『源氏物語』全体に関連してくる問題であり、作家である紫式部の主張に収束するのは早急であるように思われるが、教育観のひとつの解釈として傾聴に値する。

三、貴族社会における女性の教養

『源氏物語』の中で光源氏は夕霧には大学寮入学という教育方針を貫徹させるが、紫の上や玉鬘のような女性に対する教育方針はまったく異なる。北山で光源氏に見出された少女、紫の上を光源氏は尼君の死後、二条院の西の対へと連れ去り、自分で育て上げる¹⁹。「若紫」巻にみられる手習いや絵を教える光源氏の言葉遣いは愛情に溢れたものであり、紫の上を慈しみながら養育していることがよくわかる。光源氏がお手本に和歌を書く、紫の上は「まだようは書かず」と大変可愛らしい様子で答える。それに対して光源氏は、

「よからねど、むげに書かぬこそわろけれ。教へきこえむかし」とのたまへば、うちそばみて書いたまふ手つき、筆とりたまへるさまの幼げなるも、らうたうのみおぼゆれば、心ながらあやしと思す。「書きそこなひつ」と恥ぢて隠したまふ

と、紫の上の一挙一動を愛らしく感じている。この後の文章には、紫の上の筆跡は将来上達するであろうと予測できるものであり、故尼君の古風な筆跡に似ているともある。手習い以外にも、「紅葉賀」巻には、「小さき御ほどに、さしやりてゆしたまふ御手つきいとうつくしければ、らうたしと思して、笛吹き鳴らしつつ教へたまふ」と、紫の上にそれは愛情を込めて箏の琴を教える光源氏の姿がみられる。

夕霧の大学寮入学から紫の上への光源氏の対応の違いを取り上げて簡単な比較をしたのみではあるが、平安時代には男性の教育と女性の教育には明らかな区別があった。それは社会制度的に男女の役割が明確になっており、男性は漢学を基盤とする公務につくため、それが主要な任務であればあるほど本格的な学問が必要であった。大学寮のような教育機関があったことはすでに述べた。女性の場合は、上にあげた『源氏物語』からもわかるように、家庭の中で和歌・書・管弦の教養を高める必要があった。

¹⁹ 「若紫」巻。光源氏は北山で紫の上を目にしてからすぐに引き取ろうとするが、尼君は承知しない。尼君の死後、紫の上が父宮に引き取られることを知った光源氏は、二条院に紫の上を連れ去る。

和歌は『古今和歌集』を第一として、暗記をしたり美しい文字で書写できることが求められた。『枕草子』に「集は、古万葉²⁰。古今。」(第六六段)とあるように、『古今和歌集』が尊重されていたことがわかる。「清涼殿の丑寅の隅の」(第二段)には、中宮定子と清少納言とのやり取りの中で、あるエピソードが語られる。村上天皇の時代、藤原師尹の娘である芳子(ほうし)が『古今和歌集』のすべての和歌を暗記して村上天皇を感心させる出来事である。芳子は幼少の頃、父から次のことを言われたという。

一つには、御手を習ひたまへ。次には琴の御ことを、人よりことに弾きまさらむとおぼせ。さては古今の歌二十巻をみなうかべさせたまふを、御学問にはせさせたまへ

書、琴、『古今和歌集』暗記の三つを「学問」にしろということである。四千五百首を収める『古今和歌集』の和歌をすべて覚えて、それを季節や状況に応じて口に出すことは至難の業だと思われるが、芳子は抜群の記憶力でそれを成し遂げた。村上天皇は宮中の物忌みである日に『古今和歌集』を持参して、「その月、何のをりぞ、人のよみたる歌はいかに」と詞書をあげて、本当に暗記できているかどうか試験をする。間違えたところで止めにしようと思っていたのに、十巻になってしまった。村上天皇は休息を取りながら夜が更けるまで問うことをしたが、結局すべて覚えていた、という内容である。芳子の父は側近からその話を聞いて、心配のあまり内裏に向かって一日中祈念していたという後日談までついている。芳子の才覚が注目される内容ではあるが、『古今和歌集』の和歌がいかに重要視されていたのか、という証拠にもなる逸話である。

最初の勅撰和歌集である『古今和歌集』は後代の勅撰集の規範となるだけでなく、和歌全般の規範でもあった。『古今和歌集』が成立する以前に、漢文で書かれたものを勅撰で編纂することはあったが、平仮名で書かれた和歌や和文をまとめることはなかった。つまり、『古今和歌集』は漢詩や漢文と対等に和歌や和文を公的に認知するものであり、同時に仮名という文字体系を主に用いていた女性の活躍を一気に花開かせた。

漢字を「真名(本当の文字という意味)」もしくは「男手」といい、かなは仮の字という意味で「仮名²¹」もしくは「女手」というように、男性は原則として漢字を用いて漢文を記して、女性は平仮名を用いて和文を記した。だからといって当時の女性が全く漢字を知らないわけではなく、公では主として仮名を使うことが求められたということである。「男手」「女手」という性差を意識する言葉から、明確な区別がされていたと想定してしまうおそれがあるが、公的には表現方法が制限されていたものの、男女の隔てなく、教養ある人物はどちらも理解ができていたことはよく知られている。

²⁰ 『新撰万葉集』に対する呼称である。

²¹ 「かりな」の撥音便「かんな」を経て「かな」となった。

『土佐日記』は男性である紀貫之が女性に仮託して日記を初めて書いたことで有名であるが、それは漢字では表現できないことも仮名では表現できるという発見と革新的な意志のあらわれであった。『土佐日記』の成立はその後、仮名を用いた文学活動を促すことにつながり、『古今和歌集』は和歌や和文の地位を高めることに大いに貢献した。和歌と仮名を我が物とすることは女性の表現方法を広げる大きな一歩になったのである。『源氏物語』や『枕草子』などの散文作品が隆盛するのは、和歌と仮名が表現手段として定着してからである。芳子の父が『古今和歌集』を暗記せよと諭したのは、『古今和歌集』には模範となる厳選された和歌が入集されており、的確な言葉遣いや和歌の技法について学ぶべき事柄が凝縮されていたからである。

女性たちは心の中に抱いていた感情を仮名という文字体系で表現することが可能になり、恋愛の場面では和歌を詠み合うことでお互いの意思を伝えることがより円滑になった。『枕草子』「うらやましげなるもの」(第一五二段)には、「手よく書き、歌よくよみて、もののをりごとにもまづ取り出でらるる、うらやまし」とあるように、文字を美しく書けることと、状況に応じて的確な和歌を選別することができる人は羨望の対象となっていた。和歌や書の教養は社交の場を円滑にするための手段として必須であることを女性自身が自覚して、これらの教養を高めることが日常的になりつつあったということである。

四、和歌と書の学び

ここでは和歌と書をどのように習得していたのか、みていきたい。先述の『源氏物語』には光源氏が紫の上に和歌をお手本に書いて書き方を教える場面があった。和歌は口ずさむこともあるが、多くは文字に表して相手に届ける。その筆跡は人柄を表すものであり、美しい字を書くことは重要なことであった。そのため和歌と書の学びは同時に行われるものであったことを確認しておきたい。

『うつほ物語』には様々な種類の字体や書法を書き分けた書の手本が贈答される場面がある。若宮宛に豪華な書の手本が手紙付きで仲忠に献上される。季節ごとの和歌が色付きの色紙に書かれ、卷子ごとの花の枝がつけられた手本は、楷書から平仮名、片仮名まで様々な書体で記してあった。

黄ばみたる色紙に書いて山吹につけたるは、真の手、春の詩。青き色紙に書いて松につけたるは、草にて夏の詩。赤き色紙に書いて卯の花につけたるは、仮名。初めには、男にてもあらず、女にてもあらず、あめつち²²ぞ。その次に、男手放ち書きに書いて、同じ文字をさまざまに変へて書けり。

²² 「あめつち」の詞。「あめつち」は「あめ つち ほし そら やま かは みね たに くも きり むろ こけ ひと いぬ うへ すゑ ゆわ さる おふせよ えのえを なれみて」に依る。中国の南北朝時代、梁の周興嗣（しゅうこうし）著『千字文』の影響によって作られたものである。『千字文』は千字の漢字を重複させずに書かれた四言古詩二五〇句からなる。

わがかきて春に伝ふる水茎もすみかはりてや見えむとすらむ女手にて、まだ知らぬ紅葉とまどふうとからじ千鳥の跡もとまらざりけりさしつぎに、飛ぶ鳥に跡あるものと知らすれば雲路は深くふみ通ひけむ次に片仮名、いにしへもいま行くさきも道々に思ふ心あり忘るなよ君葦手、底清くすむとも見えて行く水の袖にも目にも絶えずもあるかなと、いと大きに書いて、一卷にしたり。

傍線部が字体や書法である。順番に、楷書、漢字の草書体、仮名、草仮名、万葉仮名、平仮名、連綿体、片仮名、葦手書きである。それぞれの和歌の内容は仲忠から藤壺宛の手紙の役割を担っている。この手本は藤壺が才能ある仲忠に若宮のためにとお願いしたものである。藤壺の意向としては仲忠に書道以外のことも教えて欲しいという願いが込められているのであるが、元より手本の依頼は最高の書を参考にして若宮に美しい書風を継承させたいという願いから生じたものである。その手本が贈答品になるほど、能筆の書を得ることが貴重であったことも物語っている²³。

『古今和歌集』「仮名序」には、「歌の父母」といわれる和歌二首がある。

難波津に咲くや木の花冬こもり今は春べと咲くや木の花

(難波津に梅の花が咲いています。今こそ春が来たと梅の花が咲いています)

解説: 仁徳天皇の御代の初めを祝った歌としてあげられる歌である。仁徳天皇が、難波でまだ皇子だった時、弟皇子と皇太子の位をお互いに譲り合って即位せずに三年が経過したため、王仁(わに)という人が不安に思っ、詠んだ歌

である。春が来て梅の花が咲いたように、即位の時期が来たと促している。

安積山かげさへ見ゆる山の井の浅き心を我が思はなくに

(澄んだ清水には安積山の綺麗な姿も映っています。山の清水は浅いと申しますが、私の心がそのように浅いと申せましょうか。)

解説: 葛城王(かづらきのおほきみ)が東北地方に派遣された時、その地方の役人の接待が粗略だと機嫌が悪くなったところ、都の采女であった一人の女性がお酒をすすめながら詠んだ歌である。この歌で王の機嫌は直ったという²⁴。

この二首は「仮名序」に「歌の父母のやうにてぞ手習ふ人の初めにもしける」とあるように、手習をする人が必ず習った歌である²⁵。書を学ぶには美しい字を学ぶだけでなく、有名な和歌を覚えることも可能にする。『枕草子』(第二十一段)には、中宮定子から「これにただいまおぼえむ古きこと一つづつ書け」と言われて困惑する周囲に、定子は「とくとくただ思ひまはさで、難波津も何も、ふとおぼえむことを」と、子供でも知っている「難波津」の歌を書けばよいのにと催促する場面がみ

²³ 書法や字体の名称については、春名好重(はるなよししげ)『平安時代書道史』(思文閣出版、1993年)の研究に拠るところが大きい。

²⁴ 「歌の父母」の二首の解説については、『古今和歌集』(新編日本古典文学全集、小学館、1994年)頭注を参照した。

²⁵ 手本の基本は清音の音節を重複させない「いろは歌」も有名である。

られる。「安積山」の歌は『万葉集』の時代から詠まれている歌²⁶であり、多くの人に愛唱された結果、手習として後代まで生き続けたということであろう。

文字を書く能力に優れ、筆跡が美しい人物のことを能筆²⁷というが、平安時代初期には「三筆」といわれる嵯峨天皇・空海・橘逸勢と、平安時代中期の「三蹟²⁸」と称された小野道風・藤原佐理・藤原行成がいる。三筆の時代は漢字の書が残るのみであるが、三蹟の時代には漢字以外にも仮名の書もみられるという。能筆について、

平安前期の能筆は男性の書家に限られたが、中期になると女性の能筆家も多く現れたと見られる。もっとも、平安時代の能筆は職業的な書家ではなく、官僚貴族であったり、僧侶であったり、女性の場合は宮廷女房であったりしたのである²⁹

と、平安時代中期になると女性の能筆もみられるようになる。和歌や書の教養が広く浸透しての結果であろう。

五、「和歌の船」を選択すること

最後に和歌を詠むことについてみていきたい。平安時代後期の『大鏡』には、藤原道長が大井川に「作文・管絃・和歌」の三船を浮かべて、それぞれの船にその道に堪能な人たちを乗せて船遊びをした時の逸話がある。

ひととせ、入道殿の大井河に逍遙せさせたまひしに作文の船・管絃の船・和歌の船と分たせたまひて、その道にたへたる人々を乗せさせたまひしに、この大納言のまゐりたまへるを、入道殿、「かの大納言、いづれの船にか乗らるべき」とのたまはすれば、「和歌の船に乗りはべらむ。」とのたまひて、よみたまへるぞかし

この内容は「三舟の才」といって有名な話である。和歌の船に乗り、見事な歌を詠んだ藤原公任であるが、この後の文章には「作文の船」に乗った方が名声があがったのではないかと回顧する場面がみられる。

作文ののにぞ乗るべかりける。さてかばかりの詩をつくりたましかば、名のあがらむこともまさりなまし。口惜しかりけるわざかな。

藤原公任は『和漢朗詠集』の著者として知られている。題名からもわかるように、『和漢朗詠集』は漢詩と漢文を主とした詩集で、それに和歌を加えたものであ

²⁶ 「安積山」の歌は『万葉集』（巻十六・三八〇七・よみ人しらず）にある。

²⁷ 和語では「手かき」と称す。

²⁸ 「三蹟」の三人は「三賢」とも呼ばれる。

²⁹ 小町谷照彦・倉田実著『王朝文学文化歴史大辞典』（笠間書院、2011年）「能筆」についての説明。

る。上下の二巻で、上巻は春夏秋冬の歌、下巻は雑歌で構成され、『古今和歌集』の影響を受けた詩集としても有名である。このような和漢の歌を構成できる公任であるならば、「作文」「和歌」どちらの船に乗っても優れた結果を残せたであろう。漢詩文と管弦の才に並ぶ教養として和歌があがっているのは、仮名の出現や『古今和歌集』の影響によって、社会的認知として和歌が重要だと思われていたからである。それでも、「作文の船」に乗ったほうが名声を残せたと悔やむ公任の意見からは、漢詩と和歌との地位を考えた時に、漢詩文のほうが社会的に力を持っていたということにもなる。特に男性貴族の場合、声価を高めるのは依然漢詩文の方が尊重されていたということである。

しかし、漢詩か和歌かという位置づけが不必要になるほど、和歌は貴族社会の中で必要不可欠な存在となってくる。歌人を左右に分けて、それぞれの優劣を競い合う歌合が盛んにおこなわれたのも和歌への熱狂が見てとれよう。後冷泉朝には藤原頼道によって仁和年間から天喜四年までの四十六の歌合が記録されている³⁰。また、和歌六人党(藤原範永、藤原経衡、平棟仲、源頼家、源頼実、源兼長)といわれる歌道に精進する人物たちが出現するのが御朱雀・後冷泉朝の時代である。すでにこの時期になると、和歌を専門とする歌人が現れ、専門歌人として特別な意味を持つようになる。

もはや和歌は教養という類で考える段階ではなく、男女ともに周知の知識として認識され、専門性を有していく。宮廷社会の人間関係を円滑にするための手段としてではなく、より特権的な専有を伴うものに変遷していったということである。

おわりに

『源氏物語』「少女」巻の光源氏の教育観は、夕霧が将来高位に就くものとして相応しい人物になるようにとの責任感を伴うものであった。当時の大学寮の状況と合わせて考察することで、光源氏の決定がいかに世間とはかけ離れたものであるかがわかったが、教育論としては現在でも十分納得できる内容であった。当時としては男性は漢籍、女性は和歌・書・管弦の教養を身につける必要があった。女性の教育は主に家庭でおこなわれた。仮名という文字体系の登場や『古今和歌集』の成立によって表現方法が確立すると、和歌と書を学ぶことは女性にとって、自己の内面をあらわすことを容易にさせた。それが女流文学の隆盛に直結したのはいうまでもない。また、和歌や書を身につけることは宮廷内での円滑な人間関係を築くための手段として必須であった。和文で物語などを書く作家だけのものではなく、教養として広く捉えられるようになったのである。また、和歌と書は同時に習うものであり、仮名の書を書く女性の能筆も登場したといわれる。その後、時代を経るにつれて和歌の地位は高まり、趣味や教養としてではなく、和歌を詠むことが特別な行為であると認識されて、和歌は高度な専門

³⁰ 歌合は記録を取らないものも多いが、藤原頼道は後冷泉天皇在位中の歌合を、主催者別・年代順に整理した。これを「十巻本歌合」と呼ぶ。

性を持つようになる。それは書も同様であり、単なる実用や教養の類としてではなく、「芸道」としての性格を強めていく³¹。

『古今著聞集』巻第七には「能書篇」という書に関する逸話が書かれている。「能書第八」の序をみてみよう。

尺牘の書疏は千里の面目なりといへり。およそ六文³²八体のすがたをあらはす輩、驚鸞・反鵲のいきほひをならふ人、わづかに一字の跡をのこして、はるかに万代のほまれをいたす。もろもろの芸能の中に、手跡まことにすぐれたり。

「尺牘」も「書疏」も手紙・書簡のことである。筆跡が美しく巧みな人は千里の遠方まで誉れを得るといふ。文字が上手であることは計り知れない利益があるということだが、それを「芸能」という言葉であらわすように、芸術や技能として書を捉えていることがわかる一例である。

平安時代には教養という枠の中でみられていた書であったが、鎌倉時代には芸能・芸道としての地位を確立した。その変遷を考える時、仮名の発生を契機に、女性が和歌と書を自分のものとして、表現世界を拡げていったその行動力と信念の強さを感じざるを得ない。

使用テキスト一覧

- 『源氏物語一』(完訳日本の古典第十四巻、小学館、1983年)
- 『源氏物語二』(完訳日本の古典第十五巻、小学館、1983年)
- 『源氏物語三』(完訳日本の古典第十六巻、小学館、1984年)
- 『源氏物語四』(完訳日本の古典第十七巻、小学館、1985年)
- 『枕草子(三巻本)』(新編日本古典文学全集18、小学館、1997年)
- 『うつほ物語三』(新編日本古典文学全集16、小学館、2002年)
- 『古今和歌集』(新編日本古典文学全集11、小学館、1994年)
- 『大鏡』(新編日本古典文学全集34、小学館、1996年)
- 『古今著聞集』(新潮日本古典集成、新潮社、1983年)

³¹ 平安時代末期には今様という歌謡が隆盛した。後白河院は今様に傾倒して、『梁塵秘抄』二十巻を編纂したが、今様に関する口伝をまとめた十巻『梁塵秘抄口伝集』には、極楽浄土と今様について記した箇所がある。そこには、

おほかた、詩を作り、和歌を詠み、手を書く輩は、書きとめつれば、末の世までも朽つることなし。声わざの悲しきこ事項とは、わが身崩れぬる後、留まることのなきなり。その故に、亡からむあとに人見よとて、いまだ世になき今様の口伝を、作りおくところなり。

と、口伝の末の世まで残る書としての役割について記してある。後白河院は歌謡を、和歌や漢詩と同じように、文字として残すことに意義を感じていた。芸道としての『梁塵秘抄口伝集』の役割がみられる一例である。

³² 六書(りくしょ)。具体的に象形・指事・会意・形声・転注・仮借のこと。

English Summary of the Article

Sonoyama Senri

Waka Poetry Composition and the Art of Calligraphy as Components of the Education of the Aristocratic Society

It is a known fact that taking an interest in *waka* poetry, and calligraphy, as well as the art of music was an obligatory part of the education of the Heian Period. The author of the article focuses on *waka* composition and calligraphy as parts of the educational system and through the study of works of the time, like *monogatari* tales, analyzes the background that such an attitude towards education created. Her analysis progresses from an outline of the Heian Period educational system, *Daigakuryō*, to a description of Hikaru Genji's views on Yūgiri's education expressed in "The Maidens" chapter of the *Genji Monogatari*. In the Heian Period, being proficient in *waka* or calligraphy was for the most part a female matter. The education in the form of *waka* composition, calligraphy and the art of music was naturally important for the male aristocrats as well, but in the context of female involvement such education was indispensable and had to be intentionally mastered in order to function in the very unique environment of the court. The author shares her views on what the meaning of the composition of *waka* and calligraphy was amongst the aristocratic society.

Keywords: Heian Period, court society, education, up-bringing, *Daigakuryō*, kana, *waka*, calligraphy

桂太郎の最後の訪欧について

はじめに

陸軍大将・公爵桂太郎が最後のヨーロッパ外遊に出発したのは、1912年7月であった。それは彼の4回目の訪欧であり、彼とともに、前大蔵大臣・若槻礼次郎、前通信大臣・初代内閣鉄道院総裁・後藤新平など、桂に最も近い官僚を伴っての旅行であった。旅行の目的は、西洋の政治家との会見・交流及び昔の友人との再会であり、西洋の政党制度の研究も目的の1つであったとされている。

1912年の国際情勢は緊迫の度を増していたといえよう。ヨーロッパ列強は2つの陣営に分かれており、ドイツ・オーストリアと、イギリス・フランス・ロシアとの間に緊張が高まりつつあった。イギリスの同盟国であった日本は、1905年の日露戦争での勝利、また1910年の韓国併合によって東アジアで列強としての地位を高めた。同時に、隣国の中国で前年の辛亥革命の結果、清朝が打倒され、1912年に中華民国が成立したにもかかわらず、国内の混乱状態が続いていた。日本は1911年7月に第3次日英同盟協約、1912年7月に第3次日露協約を調印したが、その時期までに日英同盟の空文化が相当進んでいたという心配の声も上がっていた。

桂らがサンクトペテルブルクに着いてすぐに、明治天皇の健康状態が悪化したとの知らせが入り、彼らは帰国を決定した。しかし、天皇の崩御に間に合わず、崩御の際にはまだロシアにいた。日本に到着すると、桂は元老・山県有朋によって内大臣兼侍従長として宮中に押し込まれたことを知るのである。山県の動きは桂の政治活動を制限することになったが、彼を政界から疎外したほかに、宮中・府中の別が乱れることを恐れた世論の不満を招く結果となった。

本稿では、桂の欧州訪問を詳細に分析し、桂が外遊によって何を実現しようとしていたのかを追究するとともに、彼の宮中入りの背景にあった要因、桂がその任命を受けた理由を明確にする。当時の日本国内外の新聞紙上で、この旅行について数多くの憶測が飛び交い、それが途中で

急に中断となったため、その「憶測」に真実味がどの程度あったのか、断定することが難しい。筆者は本稿で、一味違うアプローチに挑戦し、新しい角度からこの問題を見る。そのアプローチとは、渡欧そのものより、渡欧準備の成り行きを分析し、桂の目的について考察するものである。「桂太郎関係文書」に含まれている書簡は、その準備の様子を把握するのに特に貴重な史料であろう。筆者はまた、桂の宮中入りを囲む事情に関する書簡、日記、回想録などを分析し、なぜ政治活動の復活を計った桂が侍従長の任命を断らなかったかという謎を解き明かす。

日本政治史において桂のヨーロッパ旅行が重要であった理由は、2つ挙げられる。1つは、日本政界に占めた桂太郎の地位である。桂は、当時まだ影響力が強かった長州派の中で、山県有朋に次ぐナンバー・ツーであり、内閣総理大臣、台湾総督、陸軍大臣などを歴任した。なお、総理大臣のポストに就いていた時期は、1901年6月2日から1906年1月7日、1908年7月14日から1911年8月30日、1912年12月21日から1913年2月20日であり、1901年7月から1913年2月にかけての140ヶ月の内、およそ95ヶ月は、日本の政治が桂総理の支配下にあった。その在任期間は、現在でも日本の内閣史における総理大臣の最長在職期間記録である。日英同盟の締結、日露戦争の勝利、韓国併合は、桂政権に当たる。

もう1つの理由は、1912年後半に起こった政治状況の変更である。桂の宮中入りにより政界の再編成が起こり、彼の政治キャリアが崩れ始めた。桂の代わりに初代朝鮮総督・陸軍大将寺内正毅が長州派のナンバー・ツーの地位に立った。

陸軍の二個師団増設要求の問題が発生したのも、そのころであった。1912年後半は、衆議院の議席の過半数を占めた政友会を与党とする第2次西園寺内閣に対する陸軍の圧力が高まった。これに対して内閣は財政緊縮を理由に朝鮮に師団を2つ新設常置するという陸軍の要求を拒否した。

陸軍において西園寺内閣に不満を感じ、その代わりに総理大臣として寺内を好んだグループがあり、また増師要求によって西園寺内閣を倒し、寺内を後継総理大臣にする計画が陸軍内で実際に作成され、政府と陸軍の対立が激しさを増しつつあった。上原勇作陸軍大臣の辞職後、陸軍は軍部大臣現役武官制を利用し、後任を推薦しなかったため内閣は行き詰まり、1912年12月に総辞職するに至った。

寺内を首相にしようとするグループの期待と違って、西園寺の後継者に桂太郎が任命されたが、新総理は組閣の前から世論の激しい非難攻撃の的となった。西園寺内閣の倒閣が「毒殺」と見なされて世間の憤慨を引き起こし、長州派・陸軍出身の桂はその主要責任者の一人とされた。さらに宮中から出た桂の首相就任は、宮中・府中の別を乱す非立憲的行為として批判された。すぐに憲政擁護運動が開始され、藩閥政治に反発する民衆がそれに数多く参加した。1913年2月に、全国に広がった暴動の影響で桂内閣は総辞職に追い込まれた。桂の後任者として海軍大将・山

本権兵衛が首相に任命された。山本は、1898年以降初めての、薩摩藩出身の総理大臣であった¹。

欧州旅行をめぐる状況と背景

『西園寺公望自傳』には、大正政変期の桂太郎について次のような一文が記されている。「要するに桂が洋行して、うちを明けたのが失策だった、留守にしさえせねば、あんな事はなかった」²。西園寺の言葉によれば、第3次内閣のころ桂が直面したあらゆる問題は、1912年7月のヨーロッパ訪問にその起源を持っていたことになる。この言葉をどのように理解すればいいのか。『西園寺公望自傳』の続きを見ると、「〔桂が〕公爵になったのも余計だったね、そんなこともいっくらか山県の気に喰わなかったろう」³とある。当時の桂派と山県派の間には疎隔が生じていたため、西園寺の言葉は、山県は桂の影響力の拡大を憎んでいたということの意味し、桂の外遊は、山県にとって桂の政治的地位を弱める絶好の機会となったということになるだろう。

その頃の政界の雰囲気も、桂の渡欧に好都合ではなかった。1911年8月桂が西園寺に政権を譲った時、第2次西園寺内閣は健全財政主義に基づく政綱を発表した。各省の予算が削減され、内務省の積極政策の要求や陸軍の軍拡の要求が退けられたが、海軍だけが特別扱いを受け、建艦計画を実施するために多額の予算が与えられた⁴。しかし海軍軍拡には賛成したとしても、政府は緊縮財政方針を維持し、大蔵大臣には財政整理の支持者であった山本達雄が任命された。その時、陸軍側⁵が新規師団増設の

¹ 第2次西園寺内閣が1912年12月に毒殺された政変及び第3次桂内閣が1913年2月に倒された政変（いわゆる「大正政変」）は、多数の先行研究において詳細に論じられている。その中で、山本四郎『大正政変の基礎的研究』（1970）、坂野潤治『大正政変』（1994）は、最も主要なものである。桂太郎の生涯に関する研究書として、Stewart Lone, *Army, Empire and Politics in Meiji Japan* (2000)、小林道彦『桂太郎』（2006）、千葉功『桂太郎』（2012）などが挙げられる。長州派内の動き・再編成について、内藤一成『貴族院と立憲政治』（2005）を参照。西園寺内閣の崩壊過程、なお寺内正毅のその役割については、由井正臣「二個師団増設問題と軍部」（1970）、北岡伸一『日本陸軍と大陸政策』（1978）、桜井良樹『大正政治史の出発』（1997）、などを参照。本稿では、桂の渡欧及び侍従長任命に注目する。

² 西園寺・小泉・木村1949：164。

³ 同上。

⁴ 日露戦争後の軍拡は、はじめは陸主海従で進められた。しかしドレッドノート級戦艦の登場（1906年）は、国際的な戦艦の建艦競争を激しくし、日本海軍の戦艦を全て旧式としてしまった。第2次桂内閣は、海軍が提案した建艦計画に応じなかったが、それが政友会と海軍との接近を招いた。第2次西園寺内閣の海軍優先の軍拡政策は、その接近の結果であったと考えられる（山本1970：44-45、小林2006：256-258、など）。

⁵ 1912年4月、石本新六陸相が在任中に死去した。桂は、その後任として木越安綱を望んでいたが、結局西園寺のフランス留学時の友人、上原勇作が新しい陸軍大臣に選

主張を出していたにもかかわらず、蔵相はそれに対して強く反対し、軍拡の要求を拒んだ。

1912年5月の衆議院総選挙では、議会第1党であった政友会が圧勝し、総議席数381のうち209議席を獲得した（2議席増）。一方、国民党は議員を87人から95人に増やし、桂内閣の与党であった中央俱樂部が獲得したのは30議席だけであった（20議席減）。陸軍にとっては、選挙の結果が心配の種となった。彼らは政友会と海軍の連携を、陸軍と国家の安全にとって危険と見なし、可能な限りその連携政策を中止させようとしていた。

1912年前半に日本の政界は内閣と官僚派との緊張が強まることによって安定を失いつつあった。ほとんどの先行研究はこの点で一致しており、筆者もそれに関して異論を唱えるつもりはない。歴史家の山本四郎は、その状態を次のように簡潔にまとめている。「明治天皇の危篤以前において、内閣対官僚の対抗関係、これに対する世論の内閣への同情と官僚系への憎悪、かなり明瞭な形をとっている。明治天皇の死後は、簡単に割り切れば、上述の形勢が拡大再生産されるのであるから、破局は時間の問題ともいえるのである」⁶。

そのような不安定な政治情勢の中で1912年7月6日夕方、桂太郎は後藤新平、若槻礼次郎らに随行され、4回目の外遊に出発した⁷。一行は、まず東京の新橋駅から汽車で神戸に向かった。8日神戸で船・天草丸に乗り、9日に日清講和条約の締結会場として知られていた下関の旅館・春帆楼で送別会を開いた。翌日大連に赴き、そこから貸し切りの特別列車で満州・シベリアを経て、21日に旅行の第1の目的地、ロシアの首都ペテルブルクに着いた。

若槻は、1950年に出版されたメモワール『古風庵回顧録』で、旅行の様子について次のように語った。

桂公は碁や将棋もやらんから、一同喫煙室に集まって、後藤の連れて行った森という男などに、ドイツの新刊書を翻訳解説させて、それを聴くことを日課のようにしていた（…）私はほとんどその傍聴の仲間に加わらず、独り自分の部屋に寝転んで、本を読んだり、外務省の電報文書を読んでいた。これは外務省が、青刷りにして関係大臣などに配ったもので、それを一纏めにしたものを、桂公から読んでくれとって渡されたのだ。そ

ばれることとなった。上原は薩摩出身であり、「反長州」と見なされていたので、この人事は世論から好評を博したが、上原は既に寺内正毅、田中義一と親密な関係を築いており、増師要求の責任者の1人となった（山本1970：51-61、など）。

⁶ 同上、74-75

⁷ 随行者の中に、後藤と若槻の他、代議士・岩下清周、桂の秘書・杉梅三郎、岩下の婿・山下三郎、南満洲鉄道理事・龍居頼三、外交官の田付七太、後藤新平の腹心でロシア語通訳の夏秋亀一、そして陸軍代表の畑英太郎少佐がいた（三宅1949：136、若槻1950：180）。

れはあとから考えれば、大した参考になるものではなかったが、私はそれを忠実に読んでいた⁸。

桂の4回目の洋行とはいえ、それまでの3回の目的地はプロイセンのみであった。彼はドイツ文化の深い知識を持ち、ドイツ語が流暢であった⁹が、今回の旅を機に、他にロシア、イギリスなどの訪問を計画していた。ロシア事情に詳しい後藤新平が同行で、ロンドンで駐英公使・加藤高明が桂らを待っていたのも、そのためであった。

1909年にハルビンで日本の初代総理大臣・伊藤博文が韓国の民族運動家・安重根によって暗殺された事件の影響もあり、桂の訪欧に強い警戒感が伴った。桂は韓国併合の首謀者と思われており、満州・シベリアはもちろん、ヨーロッパの各都市でも桂の殺害を共謀する朝鮮人がいる危険性が低いとの意見もあった¹⁰。それがために、桂らが移動する国家の当局は反テロの準備を厳重にし、警戒態勢をとっていたのである。当時の名記者・三宅雪嶺は、桂一行が満州を渡る事情を次のように描いた。

〔七月〕十二日大連着、翌日長春着、哈爾浜〔ハルビン〕より民政長官、検事長等が来り迎へ、兵士を鉄道線路に配置し、護衛兵を列車内に乗込めしめ、付近の朝鮮人に前日より検束を加へ、松花江橋梁の上下流に砲艦四隻を碇泊せしむ。（一行の搭乗せる臨時列車到着前三十分より発車まで、埠頭区及び停車場に至る道路は交通を遮断し、構内に於ける数千の車輛を一々検査し封印する等、用意周密到らざる所なし¹¹。）

前首相の渡欧であったため、世論のみならず、政界・宮中からも相当の注目を浴びた。明治天皇自身は、7月2日桂を謁見に招き、彼の旅行に強い興味を示した。日本政治史の研究家・小林道彦は天皇が桂に特別の好意を示したと述べている。「七月二日、桂は暇を奏するため宮中に参内した。天皇は交肴一折、清酒一樽を下賜し、さらに金一万五〇〇〇円（現在の約二億円）を旅費に加えさせた。これは元老筆頭であった伊藤に次ぐ優遇である」¹²。

内外世論の反応

桂のヨーロッパ旅行の目的については、様々な憶測が飛び交っていた。『時事新報』のように、桂の旅行が「私的訪問」の範囲を越え、「

⁸ 若槻1950：180-181。

⁹ 小林2006：265-266。

¹⁰ 千葉2012：186。

¹¹ 三宅1949：136。

¹² 小林2006：267。

欧州各国首府に於ては此の訪問が重大なる結果を齎す可きを予期し居り今日は極東に於ける日露の地位を定む可き好機会なりと考へらる」¹³と、日本外交にとって重要な出来事となると判断する声もあった。それに対して、世論の懸念を映す代表的なものとしては、6月7日の『東京朝日新聞』の記事が挙げられる。『東京朝日』は、桂の渡欧の背後に秘められた底意があると論じた。

官僚派の一角には政府は到底世人の期待するが如き行政整理を実現すること覚束なく随つて来年度予算編成難を告げ九月の頃に至れば内閣瓦解の外なかるべしと推測し居れるが行政整理特に陸軍費削減に就き西園寺侯は或は桂公に助力を乞ふやも知れず公内地に在りて何等の助力を与へず西園寺内閣を見殺にするは桂園公侯従来の関係并に桂公が将来政友会を操縦する上に於て甚だ面白からざることとなるを以て官僚派挙つて公の外遊の志望あるを幸ひ俄かに外遊を思ひ立たしめたるものにして公自身に於ても内閣の瓦解を看過して其俟自ら取つて代るよりも海外に於て召命に接して急ぎ帰国し余儀なく後を引き受くるが如き形情を装ふを利益なりとなし俄かに外遊を思ひ立ちたる訳なりと云ふものあり¹⁴。

憶測は日本に止まらず、イギリス、ロシアなど、旅の目的地にも及んだ。特に同7月に秘密裏に調印された、内蒙古における両国の利益を東西に分割する第3次日露協約は、欧米において旅行の本当の理由に対する疑惑を生じた。当時の駐英公使、加藤高明は7月19日に桂に書簡を送り、その中で次のように述べている。

閣下の御遊欧は何等政治上の意味を帯ひさるものなる次第は、曩に外相より通知有之、又閣下本邦御出発前屢々御明言相成りたる容子なるも、仲々世間は承知不致、内外新聞紙に種々推測談掲載せられ候ことは、疾く御承知の通りに御座候¹⁵。

加藤は同じ内容を内田康哉外務大臣宛の報告書に記し、そのコピーを翌20日に桂にも送った¹⁶。その報告書は、日本の新聞が桂の旅行に関する「種々ノ憶説」を載せた結果、イギリスにそれが伝わり、地元新聞も根拠のない風説を紙上に掲載したのだと述べていた。

新聞紙上の憶測が無用の誤解を産まぬように、日本大使館は英国側に「桂公爵ハ現ニ野ニ在リ何等政府ト公ケノ関係ナキモ、(…)同公ハ多年総理大臣ヲ務メラレタル関係モアレバ重要ナル外交問題ニ付テハ時

¹³ 「桂公に注目す」1912年7月22日付。

¹⁴ 「桂公の外遊と政界」1912年6月7日付。

¹⁵ 千葉2010：125-126。

¹⁶ 同上、126-135。

々総理大臣ヨリ之ヲ同公爵ニ内話スル様ノコトハ或ハ可有之」と桂太郎の日本政界における役割を強調しながら、桂のヨーロッパ訪問に政治上の意味がないことを通知した。報道機関にもそれが伝えられたにもかかわらず、様々な噂の広がり止めるには至らなかった。加藤は『タイムズ』の記者の例を挙げている。彼は桂の旅行に関する取材のために日本大使館を訪問し、桂が「単ニ多年ノ宿望ニ依リ欧州諸国ヲ漫遊セラル、ニ過キスシテ何等政治的使命ヲ帶ブルコトナシ」と聞かされた。しかし、その後『タイムズ』紙上に「過般日露ノ間ニ内蒙古ニ関スル協約締結」がなされたなどと、憶測記事はとまらなかった。

加藤は桂宛の手紙に報告書のコピーの他、問題となった『タイムズ』の切り抜きをも同封した。ロンドンの高級紙に掲載された桂の旅行の解説記事は、イギリスのジャーナリストが桂の渡欧は日露関係の良化を意味するとの意見を共有していたことを示している。中には「Objects of the Visit」（「訪欧の目的」）のように、日露協約の締結が決定され、桂がその調印のためにペテルブルクに赴いたと誤った主張をする記事もあったが、日露協力の深化は否めない事実であると述べられていた。日本はイギリスの同盟国ではあるが、桂が今回イギリスに対して特に用事がないことを考えると、旅行の第1目的がロシアとの関係調整にほかならないとする意見もあった。

「The Anglo-Japanese Alliance」（「日英同盟」）、「Prince Katsura's Mission」（「桂公の使節団」）などの記事によると、この数年間に国際情勢が大きく変動しており、ロシア・日本両国で親日・親露の傾向が強まり、新しい同盟の基盤が形成されつつあるとし、今回の桂の旅行がただの「漫遊」に過ぎないという、日本側の主張は信じ難い。日露の間で政治・経済上の関係が盛んになり、また中国の辛亥革命により両国の協力関係が新しい枠組みを求めていることからすると、桂の訪欧は日露関係の強化をめざすものと考えられると論じている。

「The Anglo-Japanese Alliance」の著者は、日露協約が日英同盟と並んで極東の平和を維持する「二つ目の柱」となり、その役割が一層高まることを予測していた。同じ記事では、後藤新平とロシアの外相・セルゲイ・ドミトリーエフ・サゾノフとの友誼関係が指摘されている。また「Relations of Russia and Japan. The Mongolian Question」（「日露関係—蒙古問題」）は、旅行の目的が日露の満州・蒙古における利害調整にあると述べている。

切り抜きの中で特に注目すべき記事は、「Japanese Anticipation」（「日本人の予測」）と題するもので、6月10日、旅行の1ヶ月程前に在日特派員から送られた報告記事である。桂が渡欧の計画を発表した時の日本人の反応を描いており、発表がなされた途端、驚きの声があがると共に旅の目的についての様々な噂が広がり、まずは、既に2回首相のポストに就いた桂は、最早すべての政治的野心を達成し、単に気晴らし旅行に出発するのだらうとの推測が流れたが、それとは違う説も述べられていると

して、そのいくつかが紹介されている。西園寺内閣の行政財政整理が失敗に終わる時に、桂が日本にいたくないからだとする説、桂が西園寺首相から重要な外交使命を担って出発したとする説、桂が旅行中に欧米の外交を研究し、帰国してから西園寺内閣の外務大臣に任命されるという説、そして西洋の議会政治体制を調査した上で政党政治家に転向し、西園寺より政友会総裁の地位を譲られる予定であるとする説さえあった。

上記と同じような内容の報告は、サゾノフ外務大臣と駐日ロシア大使・ニコライ・マレフスキー＝マレヴィチとの文通にも見られる。1912年5月27日〔西暦6月9日〕付けサゾノフ宛の書簡¹⁷でマレフスキー＝マレヴィチは、桂の渡欧について報告した。桂本人は、それが公務上の旅行ではないと主張しているが、天皇自身がその旅行に許可を下したと内密にマレフスキー＝マレヴィチに伝えている。ロシア大使は、旅行の背後に何等かの秘密の政治的使命があるのではないかと推し量り、また桂のロシア訪問が日露関係を深め、革命後の中国における両国の利害を調整するいい機会であるとの意見を述べた。

6月1日〔西暦6月14日〕付けの書簡¹⁸でマレフスキー＝マレヴィチは、桂の旅の目的について報告を続け、サゾノフに日本の新聞に掲載されている憶測をまとめ、その要約を書いて送った。『朝日新聞』の記事は、西園寺内閣が実施しつつある財政整理の失敗を予測していた。西園寺が行き詰まる時、友情関係にある桂に援助を請うに違いない。しかし桂は、西園寺の友人であるとしても、同時に政敵でもあるため、必死にそれを避けたがっていた。ヨーロッパ旅行に出かけた真の原因はそこにあるのではないか。西園寺内閣が倒れると、桂は帰国し、新総理になる。後藤新平は、新しい内閣の外務大臣に任命されるだろうと予想していた。

一方『日本』は、財政整理を催促する内閣と陸軍の衝突が不可避であるとし、近づく政争を前に陸軍派の1人である桂は、西園寺と手を組んで陸軍を攻めることはできず、板挟みを避けるために旅行に出発するのだと推測した。逆に『時事新報』は、桂には西園寺の後継者になる意志がまったくなく、それを明確に示すために日本を発つのだと主張していた。『時事新報』によると、桂は将来日本の政治で重要な役割を果たすに違いないが、今回の渡欧は、そのための準備として考えるべきであり、28年ぶりにヨーロッパを訪問する桂は、もはや軍人としてではなく、既に2回総理大臣を務めた為政者として旅行するのであると、その目的を論じていた。

書簡の最後に『東京日々新聞』の意見がまとめられている。それは、桂の旅はただの漫遊であるとはいえず、ロシアを始め、ドイツ、フランス、イギリスなど、桂と後藤らが訪問する国家のリストを見ると、彼らが何か外交使命を委ねられたのではないかと考えられるとしている。

¹⁷ Molodiakov 2005: 63-65.

¹⁸ Ibid., 65-67.

旅行中に桂がヨーロッパ諸国のリーダーと秘密談をするのは、確かであり、また中国で自分の位置を強化しようと望むアメリカは、今回の旅に不満を起こす恐れがあるが、記者は桂が巧みな政治家としてその不満を解消できると論じていた。

目的地の1つであったドイツでも、桂の訪欧が政界と世論の不安を招いた。駐ドイツ大使館参事官・畑良太郎は1912年7月25日の書簡¹⁹で桂に次のように報告している。

新聞紙は閣下今回之御旅行は非常に重大なる政治的使命を有し、就中露都に於て日露協約若しくは日露同盟を結ぶか為なるものゝ如く思惟致居り候。将又小生昨日外務大臣代理に面会の際、同代理は日露之協約と公爵露京訪問とを聯結して談及致候に付、所謂日露協約なるものに関しては訓令通りに挨拶すると同時に、閣下御旅行の目的は漫遊なる旨を申聴け、何等政治上之使命を帯ひられざる旨を言明致し候へ共、同代理は之れを信ぜざるの態度を示せる而已ならず、日露両国に依りて支那分割の端緒開かる可しとの懸念より聊か不安之体に相見へ申候。要するに閣下今回之御来欧目的は政治的使命を果たすにありて、就中日露間の協約若しくは同盟にありとは当国一般の見解に有之候。

欧州旅行の目的について

しかし、桂陣営は彼の渡欧をどのように考えたのか。随行者の一人であった若槻礼次郎は、『古風庵回顧録』²⁰にその旅行の目的は3つあったと述べ、次のように説明している。「私が直接桂公から聴いたのであるが、第一は、ロシアの政治家と腹蔵のない話合いをすること。日露戦後のわだかまりがいつまでも残っているようでは両国のために宜しくない。両国の利害が衝突しないよう、将来摩擦の起こらないよう、国交を調整したい」というものであった。ロシアの政界と太いパイプをもつ後藤新平が旅行に誘われたのはそのためでもあったと言える。

第2の目的は、英国の政党の調査であった。若槻の記憶によると、桂は「イギリスの政党といっても、表面のことはこちらでも判っている。しかしどういうようにして政党を維持しているか、政党の楽屋はどんなものか、また保守党と自由党の政権の授受の工合など、向うの政治家と接触して、親しく入って見て来たい」と言っていたという²¹。

¹⁹ 千葉2010：302-304。

²⁰ 若槻1950：177-179。

²¹ 同じ『古風庵回顧録』で若槻は、旅行前に桂が「外国の政党の模様などを調べて、それを参考にして行きたい」と、政党を作る意思を明治天皇にはっきりと伝えたと言っている（同上、178-179）。

最後に目的の3つ目はドイツで皇帝と会い、1ヶ月から1ヶ月半程度ゆっくり遊ぶだけのことであった。若槻は「予てからカイゼル（独逸皇帝）が桂公に、ドイツに遊びにくるように勧められていた。いよいよ外遊するについては、それに応えたい」との桂の意図を明らかにしている²²。

ここで、第2の目的についてやや詳しく説明する必要がある。桂は、第2次内閣のころから政友会の優勢に対抗すべく、衆議院を制御する方法を模索していた。その政友会対策は、憲政本党、戊申倶楽部、大同倶楽部など、議会の非政友勢力を大同団結させ、その新しい組織によって政友会の優位を脅かそうとするものであった。しかし、内閣は予算問題で政友会の同意を確保できなければ、直ちに行き詰る状況に置かれていた。そのために反政友合同に踏み切るとは大きなリスクでもあった。結局、第2次桂内閣と政友会との関係は密接不離となり、非政友合同をあきらめた桂は「情意投合」を宣言した。これにより他の政党の影響力が大幅に制限されることになったが、非政友勢力との協力関係は断絶し、内閣の政友会依存は解消されることがなかった。

1910年に官僚党であった大同倶楽部は実業家の代議士らを集め、中央倶楽部を結成して、大浦兼武をその指導者とした。新しく組織された政党は桂内閣を支持し、衆議院における桂の別働隊として働いた。桂は大浦を通じて、財力を利用しながら中央倶楽部を操縦していた。「寺内正毅関係文書」には、桂首相が寺内朝鮮総督に送った1911年2月24日付け書簡がある。それによると、桂は中央倶楽部より1万円の出金を依頼され、自分ではその金額を手配することができなかったため、総督府の予算にその余裕がないかどうかを聞いたことがあったことがわかる²³。

そのような方法は政党政治からはほど遠く、他の政党には不道德と見なされた。しかしこのことは、1912年前半にすでに桂が議会において強い与党となりうる本格的な政党を結党する考えを抱いていたことを示すものと思われる。大正初期の陸軍を研究する桜井良樹は桂の旅行をその新党計画と結びつけ、いずれも政界のフィクサー、ジャーナリストで元衆議院議員の秋山定輔が関係していたことを指摘している。『大正政治史の出発』によると、秋山自身は1908年から1911年まで中国、ヨーロッパなどを訪問したが、帰国後「既

²² 桂の外遊について言及する先行研究のほとんどは、『古風庵回顧録』で書かれた若槻の言葉を持ち出し、上記の3つの目的を羅列するが、それぞれの解釈は多少異なるのである。山本四郎の『大正政変』及び桜井良樹の『大正政治史の出発』は、『古風庵回顧録』の他に鶴見祐輔著の後藤新平伝記を引用し、追加に4つめの目的、すなわちフランスで資本家・政治家と協議し、フランス融資の流入を確保することを挙げる。山本は、旅行の決断の理由は政党の研究ではなく、国際関係の調整、「中国問題」の解決にあったと主張するが、桜井、小林道彦、千葉攻、スチュアート・ローンは、外交調整の他にイギリスの政党制度の検討、日英同盟強化の試みをも桂の主な目的と見なす（山本1970：68-71、桜井1997：158-161、小林2006：264-266、千葉2012：187-188、Lone 2000：176-177）。

²³ 千葉2011：290。

成政党を改造して、挙国一致の国民的大政党を作ること」に専念した。そのため、「多年の政敵」であった桂と手を組み、後に桂新党の創立にも貢献した。桜井は、桂と秋山が妥協したのは「対中国問題と、それに対応する国内政治の改革問題」を解決するためであったと主張する。そして、桂が欧州旅行に行くことにしたのも、秋山の影響によるところ大であったとする。桜井はこの時桂が旅を選択した理由として2つが考えられるとし、「新政党组织の準備のためであり、また満州問題の解決方法についてロシアと会談するという目的を持っていた」と述べる²⁴。

桜井の考察は、若槻の言葉と一致する。ところが、明治天皇の重病のニュースで桂は帰国の決意をする外なく、訪欧を途中で中止し大急ぎでペテルブルクから日本に向かったため、若槻の回想が本当であったかどうかは確かめようがない。しかし、帰国までの旅行の経緯を分析すると、旅行の目的を推測できないわけではない。

まずは、「上原勇作関係文書」に含まれている「明治四十五年七月二十二日聖彼得堡〔サンクトペテルブルク〕エーラーギン別荘に於ける桂公爵と露国総理大臣コフツォフ氏との会談要領」²⁵という資料を検討する。この資料は、桂とロシア首相・ウラジーミル・ニコラエヴィッチ・ココフツォフ伯爵との会談の内容をまとめたものであり、8月12日に桂が所有していた原本から書き写されたものである²⁶。

ロシア訪問中に行われた会談は、ココフツォフとの会談および7月26日のサザノフ外相との会談²⁷のみであった。先に挙げた5月27日〔西暦6月9日〕にサザノフに送られたマレフスキー＝マレヴィチの書簡²⁸によると、桂はロシア皇帝・ニコライ2世に謁見する希望を述べていた。同じく6月15日〔西暦6月28日〕付けの書簡²⁹でマレフスキー＝マレヴィチはサザノフに、桂が皇帝陛下に謁見し首相と外相に面会したい意向であることを知らせた。ただし、ロシア皇帝との謁見は、結局実現するに至らなかった。

²⁴ 桜井1997：134-142。

²⁵ 1913年付上原勇作宛宇都宮太郎書簡（『上原勇作関係文書』2011：58-61）。この文書の冒頭欄外に「大正元年八月十二日桂公手交書類より写取り、原書同公へ返却」と注記され、内田外相の印があった。参謀本部第2部長・宇都宮は8月20日の日記に「陸軍大臣より、露都に於ける桂公と該首相との会談筆記を内示せらる」と記しており、「上原勇作関係文書」にあるこの文書は、上原から内示された宇都宮が上原に郵便で返却したものであると考えられる（宇都宮2007：140）。

²⁶ ココフツォフと桂の会談を23日とする説もある。桜井良樹の『大正政治史の出版』は、宇都宮が上原に送った写しのほか、別のコピーが存在していると指摘している。桜井は2つ目のコピーでは文字が若干異なるところがあるほか、日付が23日とされていることに注目した（桜井1997：165-166）。前掲桜井良樹、165-166註23を参照。なお『東京朝日新聞』も、その会談の日付を23日とする（1912年7月26日付）。

²⁷ 『東京朝日新聞』1912年7月29日付。

²⁸ Molodiakov 2005：63-65。

²⁹ Ibid., 70-72。

桂とココフツォフの会談、日露戦争後の双方の相手に対する態度の成り行き、現在の日露の関係、中国の内情と日露両国の中国における利害関係という、3つのテーマについて双方が率直に意見を述べあう機会となった。桂は「今回の旅行は全然私的漫遊にして何等公の使命を帯ふるにあらずと雖とも、日露両国の利害の上に最大の関係を有する国際問題に就きて露国総理大臣と互に胸襟を開きて意見を交換するを得るは殊に欣幸とするなり、意ふに此款晤の結果は何の日か日本当局者か事を決するに当り裨補する所あらんか」と言い、それに対してココフツォフは、「公か朝に立つと野に在るとを問はす将来起らんとする重要事件に対する帝国政府の決意に関し偉大なる勢力を有せられるべきを確信するを以て、今親しく公と肱を把て両国に利害関係を有する諸問題に関し意見を交換するを得るは光榮の至なり」と答えた。

両者は日露戦争のような悲痛な話題にも触れたが、同時に近年日露の親交が深まったことを確認し、また中国問題とその解決に関して互いに自分の立場を明確に表明した。これは若槻が言った「ロシアの政治家と腹蔵のない話合い」にほかならない。無論私人としてロシアを訪問していた桂は、意見交換を越えた談話をする資格がなかった。しかし「私的漫遊」にもかかわらず、ロシアの政界とコミュニケーションを取り、できる範囲で国交を調整するため努力する動きがあったことも否定できない。すなわち、若槻の回顧録で描かれた旅行の第1目的は誤りではなかったと言えるであろう。

イギリス・ドイツ訪問に対する桂の期待

イギリス旅行の計画については、加藤高明が7月19日に送った桂宛の書簡³⁰がその詳細を明らかにしている。加藤はロンドンでは社交の季節が一週間後に完全に終了し、8月頭に議会在閉会となる状況を挙げ、「皇帝陛下以下政治家其他目星しき人士は、尽く本月末より来月初め頃迄に倫敦を去りて遠近に散在すこと毎年の慣例に有之、八九両月は満都空虚の姿にて、如何なる珍客来るも此間は何人に紹介することも不相叶、従て閣下御来遊相成るも誰にも御面会之ことも無之」と説明し、はじめ9月中旬に予定されていた桂一行の渡英が結局10月に変更されたことに対して喜びを表した。エドワード・グレイ外相も17日に大使館の晩餐会に参加し、桂の来英時期を尋ねた上、同じ問題を指摘した。加藤は、グレイの言葉を次のように伝えた。

八月か九月にては皇帝御不在なる上、自分も首相も何れも不在なり、其処へ御来英相成りたりとて人を集むること逆も出来かたし。然るに、十

³⁰ 千葉2010：125-126。

月に入ては初旬には秋期議會も開会の筈に付、首相も自分も在京すべく、又皇帝陛下も同月十日過には一寸倫敦へ御帰可相成（夫迄はスコットランド御滞在）筈に承り居る故へ、謁見も可相叶。

以上の加藤の書簡を見ると、概ねイギリス旅行の趣旨・目的が分かる。それはすなわちハーバート・ヘンリー・アスキス総理大臣、グレイ外相らとの会談、イギリスの国王・ジョージ5世との謁見であった。政党政治の研究に関しては一言も書かれていない。与党であった自由党党首のアスキス首相は、桂の調査に貢献できる人物であったに違いないが、ココフツォフとの会談の内容を考えると、英国総理大臣の場合も外交問題、特に辛亥革命後の中国における両国の利害関係が話の大部分を占めると予測できる。先に述べたように、日本の同盟国であったイギリスで桂の渡欧が多く注目を集め、彼のペテルブルク滞在は地元新聞によって広く報道されていた。この状況で桂は、「政党の楽屋」や「政権の授受の工合」を研究するより、まずイギリス側にロシアで行われた会談が日英同盟を弱体化させるものでないことを説得すべきであったろう。

後年のインタビューで若槻は、西洋の政党に対する桂の興味に触れたが、旅行の随行者の中には政党政治に詳しいエキスパートが1人もいなかったことも認めていた。「向ふに行けば、日本の大使もをるし、色々な人もをるから、自然それから紹介して貰つて誰に会えばいいといふことはわかる。さうして大勢の人に会つて話したり顔を見たりしてゐる中に自ら解るといふ筆法だらうと思ひます。別にそのはうのエキスパートは誰もをりはせん」³¹。

以上の言葉からは、桂がイギリスの政党の情勢を調べるために何の事前準備もせず、きちんとした調査プランもなかったらしいことが見えてくる。彼がヨーロッパへ出発する時点で、どの程度まで自分の政党を作る覚悟を固めていたのかは判断し難い。その考えを抱いていたとしても、政党政治のことを孜々として研究したいとの姿勢を見せなかったのではないと思われる。その代わりに、成り行きに任せる態度を取った。若槻の言葉を信じれば、イギリスの巨頭らと会談するうちに、政党の話を持ち出してみると何かが分かるかも知れないという程度のものであったということになる。

後藤新平は、欧州旅行に政党の研究という目的がなかったと力説している³²。しかし、イギリスに興味を持っていない後藤がイギリス訪問の重要性を低めるためそのような主張をしたという可能性も考えられる。若槻が「後藤伯はあゝいふ何時でも先に行つてヤアヤア言ふ人ではあつても、後藤は英語は出来ず、英吉利〔イギリス〕のことは知りません」³³と

³¹ 若槻1999：121-122。

³² 鶴見2005：560-561。

³³ 若槻1999：121。

述べたように、鶴見祐輔の『後藤新平』でも、「〔後藤〕は英国流の政党主義者ではなかった。彼は欽定憲法論者であって、多数党が内閣を組織することを、不動の原則とする英国的政治思想に反対であった」³⁴とされているからである。

最後に再び7月25日付けの畑良太郎の書簡³⁵に戻り、訪独の目的について簡単に説明したい。畑が書いたように、桂はベルリンに着いたらまずドイツ皇帝のヴィルヘルム2世との謁見をはたし、そのあと「宰相、外務大臣（…）其他要路之士に御面会之事」がドイツ滞在中の要務となるはずであった。畑自身は、桂の訪問を日独関係の改善に繋がれると期待しており、桂、後藤らとドイツの「要路若しくは知名之士を一堂に会せしめ、以て日独人士の接近親交を計り、延て両国の国交に裨益」させたいと手紙で述べていた。

畑の書簡と若槻の回顧録を比較すると、相違点が見える。若槻がドイツ旅行を主に気晴らし旅行としていたのに対し、畑はドイツの閣員・巨頭と面会することの重要性を強調していた。その点で畑の見方はペテルブルク滞在のパターンに近い。

桂のヨーロッパ訪問は「私的漫遊」として宣伝され、本人もそれを主張していた。それにもかかわらず、旅行の目標について種々の噂が広がり、国内外の新聞は桂が何らかの外交的使命を担っていると書き立てた。当時の史料を見ると、旅行の基本的な目的はヨーロッパ諸国の君主、為政者、閣員らとの会見であったと判断できる。そして、桂が渡欧の副目的として政党政治の研究を考えていたことも十分な可能性があると考えられる。第3次桂内閣が成立したあと、新政党を作る桂の意志が明らかにされる。

明治天皇の崩御

明治天皇の重病は1912年7月20日頃、公にされ、日本の世論を揺さぶった。その日、財部彪海軍次官は上原陸相から「陛下昨夜来四十度以上ノ御発熱御重体ナル」ことを非公式に知らされた³⁶。内務大臣の原敬も同日「天皇陛下去十四日より御病気の処昨今御重体の旨昨夕侍医より上申せり」と渡辺千秋宮内大臣より通知を受けた³⁷。加藤高明は当日2通目の書簡³⁸を桂に送り、東京ロイターの通信者から届いた電報の内容を転送した。朝に来た最初の電報は、天皇陛下が重病で意識不明になったという知らせであった。次に届いた第2の電報は、天皇の病に関する詳述を含

³⁴ 鶴見2005：625-626。

³⁵ 千葉2010：302-304。

³⁶ 財部1983：63。

³⁷ 原1981：239。

³⁸ 千葉2010：135-136。

んでいた。「天皇陛下ニハ本月十四日ヨリ御罹病、昨十八日ハ人事御不省、チフス省ト診断、御体温一〇五〔摂氏40.6度〕、御脈一〇四、御呼吸三八」。

以上の2つの電報は、在英日本大使館に当惑を呼び起こした。当日の朝ジョージ5世が秘書官を日本大使館に遣わし天皇の容態を尋ねたが、加藤は日本外務省より何の報告もなく、ロイター通信の実否を確認することができなかった。桂に書簡を作成する時は、まだ東京からの電報待ちの状態であった。

明治天皇の状態に関するニュースが桂に届いたのはペテルブルクに到着してすぐの、7月21日午後であった。若槻の回顧録によれば、在露大使本野一郎が駅で待っており、それを桂らに伝えた。その状況は彼らの行動を拘束した。ココフツォフとサゾノフとの非公式の会談を除けば、ロシアに着いた全員の活動はホテルで天皇の容態を知らせる電報を待つことに限られたからである³⁹。

日本からのニュースは、交代で陛下の病状の良化と悪化を告げた。丁度そのころ、7月25日加藤高明は桂に手紙を出し、再びイギリスの新聞の切り抜きを同封した。同封された記事はペテルブルクの通信者が送った24日付けの短い報告であり、その記者によると天皇の容態が良くなったらしいことと、続行すべしとの外務省の主張に応じて桂は旅行を続けると決めた。なお、これ以降の旅行は「ただの漫遊」の装いは捨てることにされた⁴⁰。

桂は恐らく外務省から何等かの指示が来ると期待していた。とうとう25日になって、天皇の回復の見込みが薄いため、東京で桂らと呼ば戻すとの決定がなされた。寺内正毅は、日記に記述している。「午前十時参内山県公ト桂公帰朝ノ件ニ就キ意見ヲ交換シ、発電方ヲ西園寺首相ト協議シ之ヲ決シ、外務大臣ニ発電ヲ依頼ス」⁴¹。例の7月25日付け加藤の書簡も間接に桂に帰朝を促していた⁴²。

こんな状況の中で桂は帰国を決心するしかなく、大急ぎで一週間に一本しかない特急列車の切符を予約し、「貸切ではなく、護衛もつかない」まま28日にペテルブルクを発ち、日本に向かった。3日後に天皇が崩御したとの知らせが届いた。若槻はそれを次のように記している。

丁度ウラル山麓あたりで、シズラン〔Syzran〕とかいう駅に朝の七時ごろ着いたら、モスクワの総領事館から追尾電報が来て、それで明治天皇のおかくれになったことを知った。車内のこととて、着けるべき喪章もない。ただ謹慎と黙祷を捧げるのみである。マンチュリ〔満州里〕まで満鉄

³⁹ 若槻1950：181-182。

⁴⁰ 千葉2010：136-138。

⁴¹ 寺内1980：562。

⁴² 千葉2010：136-138。

の社員が出迎えにきて、喪章と、御大患以来の東京の新聞とを持って来てくれた。みんな貪るようにそれを読んだ。行くときには、非常に愉快だった旅行も、帰りはただもう絶望のうちに、安奉線から朝鮮を経て、黒一色の内地へ帰って来た次第であった⁴³。

桂の帰国と内大臣兼侍従長への任命

日本に急ぐ桂らはようやく8月10日に神戸港に到着し、神戸から特急列車で東京に赴いた。東京の新橋駅に着いたのは11日の朝6時頃であった⁴⁴。若槻の回顧録によると、電車が浜松に着いた時、迎えに来た寺内正毅がそれに乗り、首都まで同乗した。寺内は桂と長い間話をしており、旅行の随行者たちがその話の内容をたずねると桂は内大臣にされることになったらしいと答えた⁴⁵。

しかし「財部彪日記」には『古風庵回顧録』の描写と相違する記述が見られる。財部は9月27日の夜上原陸相を訪問し、上原は桂の宮中入りに関して、「八月十一日（？）桂公帰朝ノ際、寺内伯途中迄出迎ノ節ハ、桂公ノ侍従長候補ノ事ハ何モ寺内伯サヘ不知ノ事ナリ」⁴⁶と伝えた。これによれば、桂は自分の侍従長任命について東京に到着した後知らされた可能性もある。

桂を宮中に入れることは、恐らく山県有朋1人によって計画されたと考えられる。彼は明治天皇死後に政界に漂っていた沈滞気分を利用し、桂らが東京に帰る前に動いた。帰朝した桂も、他の元老たちも、侍従長の交代に関しては、既成事実を前にして、何の対応もできなかったと思われる。山県はまず腹心の部下、平田東助を通じて桂に面会を求めた。平田は桂に書簡を出し、「目白老公〔山県〕より御帰着後他に御面接前に於て、至急後内話申上候様との要件有之、御疲労之際恐縮之至の奉存候得共、新橋御着之際小生に御邸に参趨仕候間、暫時御面謁を賜り度予め奉願候」⁴⁷と山県の意を伝えた。

この書簡から、山県がどれだけ大急ぎであったかが分かる。桂は長旅の後に休息する時間さえなく、直ぐに山県を訪れた。

山県は同じ8月11日に他の元老、大山巖、井上馨、松方正義に自身の考えを伝えた。財部の日記に、松方が財部の舅、山本権兵衛に会議の内容を伝えた次のような記載がある。

⁴³ 若槻1950：183。

⁴⁴ 田2008：194。

⁴⁵ 若槻1950：184。

⁴⁶ 財部1983：87。

⁴⁷ 1912年8月11日付桂太郎宛平田東助書簡（千葉2010：323）。

元老会議、山県公ガ桂公ヲ侍従長ニ推選。
山県公元老ヘノ勅語ヲ賜ハリタキコトヲ發議、大山公ハ之ヲ固辞、井上、
松方両侯ハ無言ナリキト云フ⁴⁸。

世論の批判

1912年8月13日に桂太郎は、公爵徳大寺実則の後継として内大臣兼侍従長に任命された⁴⁹。その任命は政治の経験がない新帝に老練な重臣の輔弼が必要であるという風に説明されたが、山県はもう1つの理由として徳大寺現侍従長の老年を挙げていた。徳大寺は既に72歳の高齢に達しており、身体が衰え職を続ける体力もなく、明治天皇の大喪儀に各国から使節が来朝する際に、任務を十分果たせない恐れがあった⁵⁰。

ただし、桂の急な宮中入りが混乱を招いたのも、事実であった。原敬は13日にそれを知り、日記に「桂太郎侍従長兼内大臣に任ぜらる、昨日彼が宮中府中の事を云々せしは何の意味なりしや判然せざりしが、此の任命によりて後の談話も了解せられたり、山県一派の陰謀にて枢府並に宮中を一切彼等の手に収めんと企に出たること明かなり」⁵¹と書いた。また翌14日に原が西園寺を訪問した時、西園寺は徳大寺侍従長辞職について兄が確かに高齢のため辞職もやむを得ないと感じていると述べたが、同時に「是迄藩閥が其職をねらつて種々の企をなしたる事あれども徳大寺は一身を捧げて奉仕するの誠意あり、又先帝陛下も御許容なきにより、現職に止居たる」⁵²ことを指摘し、これが山県の藩閥人事であることを示唆していた。

「財部彪日記」は、海軍の中に同じ懸念があったことを示している。財部自身は、桂の任命が「元老連協同一致ノ結果」ではなかったと信じていた。8月13日の夜、桂の任命について心配した海軍大学校長・八代六郎中將が財部を訪問した。両者は、同日西園寺総理に発せられた勅語に「宮中府中宜ク協力相裨補シ」という言葉が含まれている意味について議論した⁵³。

原や財部が感じていた不満は、世論も同様に感じていたので、すぐに新聞紙上に反映された。「藩閥」が皇室に影響を及ぼそうとしているという声があがり、宮中・府中の別が乱されたとの訴えもなされた。『時事新報』のジャーナリストで政友会の衆議院議員、そして後に憲政擁護

⁴⁸ 財部1983：72（1912年8月11日条）。

⁴⁹ 同日桂と大山巖は元老に任命された。山県有朋、松方正義、井上馨を含め、元老の人数は5人に上がった。

⁵⁰ 原1981：245（1912年8月14日条）。

⁵¹ 同上（1912年8月13日条）。

⁵² 同上（1912年8月14日条）。

⁵³ 財部1983：72-73。

運動の発案者の1人になった小山完吾は、第二次世界大戦後に出版された日記で次のように述べている。

いま、桂公の心情を素直に解釈すれば、明治天皇崩御の後ではあり、大正天皇は病弱無経験の新帝のために臣節をつくし奉らんと的心境であつたかと察せられる。

しかし世間は皮肉なものである。まだ歳も老いたともいはれぬ桂公が、日露戦争の功績によりて侯爵になつたばかりで、その後わずか数年の間に、トントン拍子の勢で、キミ公爵まで駆け上り、政治慾とても人一倍旺盛の、まだ生々しき政治家が、突然大宮人となつて、内大臣になりきるといふのは、ちょつと意外だといふのが一般の感想であつた。

そこで、口善悪なき政界の雀どものなかには、赤い信女はいつまで続くか、宮中府中を攪乱することがないか、といふやうな陰口も、さかに行はれてゐた⁵⁴。

当時の新聞記者が桂の任命をどう見たのかを更にみてみよう。『国民新聞』は、それが彼の政治活動の終わりを意味すると分析した。桂は「まったく政治界の一切を絶縁したるなり」⁵⁵、すなわち宮中に入ることによって、もはや政治家として復帰することはないと予想した。一方それに対して、『万朝報』は、桂が完全に政治と手を切ったなどということは信じがたいと論じた⁵⁶。

『朝日新聞』は特に強く桂の就任を批判し、新内大臣について酷評的な記事を掲載した。それらの記事では、宮廷政治が政治を牛耳る恐れがあると主張され、宮中・府中の別が乱れるという懸念も表明された。

『東京朝日新聞』は、「桂公は政党の総裁にして内閣の首班たる西園寺侯と情意投合は愚か生死不渝を誓ひ間接政友会内閣を操縦しながら宮中に入て御璽国璽を尚蔵して常侍輔弼するの任に膺り宮中と府中とに互りて政治は愚か帝国の大顧問たる訳なり」⁵⁷と、桂の権力の強大化を非難した。

続いて、山県が桂を内大臣に選んだ意図が非立憲的であるという疑いが示され、八代中将と財部が議論していた例の勅語が問題にされた。

「桂公を選任せし意味を明白にするものは西園寺首相に賜はりし勅語中『宮中府中協力相裨補し云々』との一節なり。元来明治十八年の官制以来宮中府中を区別すべしとの意は是迄屢明かにせられしも、協力相裨補するとのことは今回を以て嚆矢とす。而して之前後に於ける山県公の言動に見て其の立憲政治に不足を称へたる所と照し合すれば、明白に立

⁵⁴ 小山1955：292。

⁵⁵ 「桂公の心事」1912年8月14日付。

⁵⁶ 「桂内大臣種々評」1912年8月14日付。

⁵⁷ 「桂宮中入」1912年8月14日付。

憲政治の変体を作りて宮廷政治の基礎を作る第一歩たるを認め得べきが如し」⁵⁸。

新聞の桂・山県に対する攻撃は当局の反応を呼び起した。8月15日の午後、14日・15日の『東京朝日新聞』は安全秩序に害ありと見なされ、発売禁止となった。『大阪朝日新聞』にたいしても14日の夜から同じ処置がとられた。

9月5日に後藤新平が桂に書簡を送り、2通の文書を同封した。同封の文書の1通目は、桂が内大臣兼侍従長になった後の政界の風景がどのようなものであったのかを示している。

桂公宮中奉仕後の政局が如何に推移すべきかに就ては、貴族院各会派の領袖并に衆議院各党の有力者に於て益々研究觀察に耽りつゝあるが、今や暫く桂公の奉仕は、山県公等の排斥的幽閉策にあらずして、自己の政治的系統の根底を鞏固にし、一に新帝陛下の御信頼厚からしむるのみならず、延て自己系統の発展に資せんとするの方針に出で、同時に桂公は成るべく宮中に蟠踞し、その後継者をして遂に政權を把握せしむるの心算なることをも明瞭と相成り候様信ぜらるゝに至り申候⁵⁹。

以上の文書は、小山完吾の観測と一致する。しかし、ここで注目を引くのは、桂は山県によって宮中に押し込められたにもかかわらず、政界では彼を天皇の側近の立場を利用することで、自身の政治的地位の強化をはかろうとする陰謀家として見なしていた点である。桂は宮中入りしたために新聞等から批判の的となったが、彼を内大臣兼侍従長に就任させた山県の意図は桂を政界から遠ざけるためであった。

桂自身には宮中入りの意志がなかったという話はほかにもある。特に桂の支持者にそのような意見が多くみられる。例えば、徳富蘇峰の『公爵桂太郎伝』がそれである

聞く所に拠れば、先帝在世の日、嘗て屢々公を以て、今上に奉仕し、之をして常時輔弼の任に当らしめんと、聖慮を漏らさせ給ひしと云ふ。是を以て公の帰朝するや、皇太后、具さに其の情を語り、之に告ぐるに先帝遺志の在る所を以てし、今上亦公に対して、常時輔弼の任に当るべき旨内示ありき。而かも公は固辞して、敢て当らず、却て公爵山県有朋を推せしも、肯んせざるを以て、終に大命を拝するに至りしなりと云ふ⁶⁰。

鶴見祐輔の『後藤新平』にも、上記に類似する内容がみられる。それによると、後藤は桂の宮中入りを思いとどまらせようとし、桂自身も最

⁵⁸ 同上。

⁵⁹ 千葉2010：177-182。

⁶⁰ 徳富1967：595。

初辞退し、逆に山県を内大臣兼侍従長に推選した。しかし、最終的に山県と西園寺の熱心な説得に折れ、ついに任命を受諾したのである⁶¹。また当時桂に近い官僚政治家の田健治郎は、同様の話を貴族院議員・沖守固男爵より聞いている。沖は8月21日に田を訪問した時、侍従長の交代は桂・山県の軋轢によるもので、恐らく山県が政治力を拡大した桂を嫉妬したためにこの話が起きたのだと語った⁶²。

一方、在露日本大使本野一郎は、桂が内大臣兼侍従長となることは、桂自身には不本意ではあろうが、任命されたからには内大臣として国家のために心身を捧げるようにと桂に進言した。「御帰朝後早速内大臣に御拝命之義に付ては、世上種々論議ありと雖も、目下之場合誠に止を得ざる事にて、閣下御一身上之御都合より申上候へば、極て御迷惑之御事は申迄も無之事と存候へ共、総ての情況より觀察仕候へば、閣下に於て万々御辞退難相成理由之存在致候事と確信致居候。為邦家何卒此度之重任、完全に御勤めあらんこと衷心奉祈候」⁶³。

もちろん、桂の任命の背後に何の陰謀もなかったという指摘も存在する。その例としては、若槻の下記の回想があげられる。「幼帝をさしはさんで、桂が政権を専らにするのだとか、或は桂を政界から葬るための陰謀があったのだとか、いろいろに噂されたものだが、しかし桂公の進退は、皇后の御言葉に感奮し、誓って皇室のために、一身を捧ぐるの決意に出でたものに外ならないのである」⁶⁴。

その「皇后の御言葉」というのは、桂が帰国後参内した時に美子皇太后が桂に告げた話のことである。皇太后は桂に、明治天皇は病気が悪化して以来一言も話さなくなり、ただ一度だけ「桂はロシアに着いたか」と質問したと伝えた。桂は涙を流しながらそれを聞き、自ら新帝を輔弼するために政界から退き、内大臣の任命を受けることを決めたというのである。若槻は、以上の内容を直接桂から聞いたと強調している。

宮中の桂太郎

桂自身も、表向きには宮中入りは自分の意志でなされた選択であったと主張していた。8月16日彼を訪問した田健治郎に対して、桂は政界から引き下がり、内大臣兼侍従長の任命を受諾しなければならなかった事情を詳しく説明し、「此の際、新帝に常侍し輔弼の事、国家の最大緊要事と為し、百般の政治的希望を挙げ、甘んじて犠牲と為り、謹んで此の大任を」受けたと述べた⁶⁵。またその2日後原敬は桂に面会し、陸軍二個師

⁶¹ 鶴見2005 : 594。

⁶² 田2008 : 198。

⁶³ 1912年9月15日付桂太郎宛本野一郎書簡（千葉2010 : 345-347）。

⁶⁴ 若槻1950 : 185。

⁶⁵ 田2008 : 196。

団増設の要求などについて話し合ったが、その時、桂は「今後全く政治に関与」しないことを明白に宣した。にもかかわらず、これを聞いた原は桂の言葉が疑わしいと記している⁶⁶。

続いて、25日政友会の野田卯太郎が桂と面会したが、桂は野田に「予の宮中奉仕に対し世上種々の揣摩臆測を為しつつあるも、何等弁解の必要を認めず。予は一意専心至尊陛下のために補翼の大任を尽すと共に、従来の政治的関係を忘れ、自己の残骸を皇国と国家とに捧ぐるの覚悟を為し居れり。故に従来の政治的関係者との面談をも憚りつつあり」⁶⁷と述べた。

一方、後藤新平のもとにもたらされた情報によれば、桂の宮中入りにつき世間で山県と桂の関係を云々しているのを聞いて憤慨した山県は「世間が何んと云はふが、自分は桂をして長く輔弼の重任に在らしめ、予も亦た老躯を至尊陛下に捧げん決心をなせり」と口外したとのことであった⁶⁸。

実際桂にとって宮中にいることは、政治活動から距離を置くという結果を招くこととなった。1912年8月ごろ桂がロシア大使マレフスキー＝マレヴィチと交わした会話から、彼の当時の日課がある程度分かる。桂は政界から離れ、衆議院の政党間の政争にも関わりなく、毎日午前9時から午後3時まで宮中で働くことになり、天皇に出された全ての上奏書、また天皇が下した全ての通達・命令が彼の手を経由することになった。そのため桂は、宮中と政府のあらゆることに関して詳しい情報を知ることになった。彼は職務に忙殺されたが、政治に関して何の経験もない若い天皇には老練な輔弼が必要だと分かり、全力を尽くすことを誓った⁶⁹。桂は1912年9月11日付けの山県宛の手紙でも「毎日々々朝より夕方に掛け」て侍従長の職務で忙しく、暇な時間がないと述べている⁷⁰。

また徳富蘇峰は『公爵桂太郎伝』で、桂の勤職務を次のように描いた。

其当面の用務は、今上御日常の事、及び今上御学問の事、宮城御引移の事、新に東宮御所を定め、皇太子を迎へ奉る事、並に東宮職官制改正等の事是れ也。公は下問に奉答して、聖旨を奉し立案画策する所あり。殊に御学問の事に関しては、改めて学問進講の方針を明示せんことを以てしたり⁷¹。

⁶⁶ 原1981：246-247。

⁶⁷ 1912年8月28日付桂太郎宛後藤新平書簡（千葉2010：176-177）。

⁶⁸ 同上。

⁶⁹ 1912年8月23日〔西暦9月5日〕付セルゲイ・ドミトリーイェフ・サゾノフ宛ニコライ・マレフスキー＝マレヴィチ書簡（Molodiakov 2005：83-86）。

⁷⁰ 『山縣有朋関係文書』2005：380-381。

⁷¹ 徳富1967：601-602。

おわりに：ヨーロッパ訪問の余波

1912年7月に桂が後藤新平、若槻礼次郎などと一緒にヨーロッパへ向かったことは、日本の政界を一変させる出来事の連鎖の発端となった。それは彼の4回目の渡欧であり、政治的使命を帯びているという噂が少なくなかったが、本人は欧州諸国の国王・政治家と自由に意見を交し合うための、ただの「漫遊」に過ぎないと主張していた。しかし、その旅は類稀なる悪運に見舞われた。桂らがペテルブルグに到着すると、明治天皇の健康状態が悪化したと知らされ、道半ばで帰国することを決めたのである。だが彼らが日本に帰り着いたのは、天皇の死後であった。

ロシアから大急ぎで帰国した桂は、東京に着くなり山県有朋によって内大臣兼侍従長に奏薦されたことを知った。山県は、桂を政治から隔離するためにそれを企画したと思われ、桂の出国と明治天皇の崩御は、山県にとって桂の政治的役割を制限する好機となったに違いない。しかし、桂はそれを知りながら宮中入りを受け入れただけでなく、自らの決意によるものであったと主張し、政界からの訣別宣言までした。彼が山県の策略に抵抗しなかった理由は、以下のように考えられる。

桂は大正天皇在位の最初の12日間、東京にいなかった。不意をつかれ宮中入りを提案された際、どう反応すべきか考える時間がなかった。そして、その任命を固辞するすべは、恐らくなかったであろう。既に指摘されたように、『公爵桂太郎伝』には皇太后が桂の任命を支持し、桂を説得したと書かれている。若槻も任命を受諾する桂の決意に関しては、皇太后の役割を重視している。すなわち、皇太后は政治が未経験の新帝が天皇の職務を遂行できないことを恐れ、経験豊富な重臣たちの援助と保護を確保するために動いたのだと思われる。その動きは、表面に出てこないように政界の背後で行われたが、桂の宮中入りを批判していた「原敬日記」にもそのことが見える。8月13日に西園寺は原に「皇太后陛下より首相に対し、陛下は未だ政治に御経験もなき事に付十分に輔佐せよとの宣旨ありたり」⁷²と伝えた。内閣総理大臣にさえ新帝の補佐を頼む皇太后は、桂を輔弼役にすることで大いに安心したのではないだろうか。

そのような状況に置かれた桂は、就任を断ることができなかったであろう。内大臣に任命された彼は、先帝に忠実であり、明治天皇から受けた好意と優遇に報いたいという気持ちもあったと想像できる。桂は、自分を宮中に入れる計画が山県の陰謀だと知っていたとしても、最終的には皇太后の願いを拒むまでには至らなかった。却って、大正天皇のために忠誠を尽くすことに決め、一時は本気で政治から離れることを決心したのであった。

その任命は日本の世論に衝撃を与え、桂と山県が影響力を皇室に拡張しようしているとの批判の声が上がった。その成り行きはとりわけ桂に

⁷² 原1981：245。

とって不幸な結果となり、4ヶ月後に桂の総理大臣任命に反対する民衆運動に発展するのである。西園寺公望は『自伝』で、桂の「失策」がその旅行から始まったという意見を述べている⁷³。すなわち、訪欧とそれに次いだ宮中入りは、桂にとっては最終的に敗北に至る過程を招いた2つの出来事であったと言えるであろう。

1912年12月に、二個師団増設問題をめぐり、第2次西園寺内閣が陸軍の圧力によって倒された時、西園寺公望の後任として桂太郎が首相に奏薦され、3度目の内閣を組織した。桂はすでに内大臣兼侍従長として宮中に入っていたので、宮中と府中の別が乱されたとする批判の声が再び各方面から上がった。さらに詔勅を利用して自己の政治目標を達成しようとしたとして、桂総理の政治的手段に対する非難が世間に広がった。

世論の否定的な態度に応じて、院外の政治家、実業家、ジャーナリストが中心になって、藩閥勢力の非立憲的な政治に反対する憲政擁護運動が起こり、速やかに全国に広がった。同時に、政友会と衆議院の第2党、国民党は桂内閣を非立憲的と非難追及し、内閣不信任案を議会に提出した。衆議院で支持を確保できず、しかも民衆の激しい抗議行動に遭った桂は、とうとう内閣の総辞職に追い込まれたのである。第3次桂内閣は、在任期間わずか62日間であり、1945年の東久邇宮内閣の総辞職まで歴代第1位の短命内閣であった。

後任総理大臣には山本権兵衛が任命された。桂自身は、それ以降自分の政治的地位を復旧することができず、1913年10月に脳梗塞を起こし、病死するに至った。

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English Summary of the Article

Janusz Mytko

The Last European Journey of Katsura Tarō

Katsura Tarō's prime ministership, marked by the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, the victorious war against Russia, and the annexation of Korea, makes him one of the most prominent politicians of his era, second only to the unquestioned leader of the influential Chōshū clique, Yamagata Aritomo. When, after his second term, Katsura left for Europe in July 1912, many saw this voyage as an attempt to rest from his activities, and an opportunity to exchange views with European statesmen before his return to politics.

This essay's aim is to provide an insight into the circumstances surrounding the journey and Katsura's nomination to the Court, and to discuss the reasons that sent him overseas, particularly his alleged plan to research the British party system, connected with ideas concerning the creation of his own party. On his return, Katsura, virtually without protest, agreed to abandon these ideas in order to assist the new emperor as a courtier, even though he realized this would hurt his political career. Clarification of all the factors involved in this nomination is the author's second aim.

Key-words: Katsura Tarō, European journey, Gotō Shinpei, Wakatsuki Reijirō, Emperor Meiji's death.

The Japanese Judicial System Phenomenon as a Base to Conduct Western Comparative Legal Research

Introduction

The problem of the relation between the executive and the judiciary in the Polish judicial system is not an early one and was mostly part of the tense discussion between the Polish Ministry of Justice and the National Council of the Judiciary of Poland – constitutional organ safeguarding the independence of courts and judges.

It is necessary to point out at this moment, that in the Polish judiciary system there are three types of courts¹: common courts, which judges civil and penal cases *sensu largo*; administrative courts, which judges the legal grounding of administrative acts, and military courts, which judges the penal cases of soldiers. Due to the widest cognizance to judge, common courts are the most numerous in Poland. Article 8 of the Common Courts System Act of July 27, 2001 (further as the CCSA) states, that court administrative activity includes reassurance of providing necessary financial, technological and organisational means for courts to perform their judicial tasks and providing a necessary course of inner tenure. As the reassurance of providing the necessary means is supervised by the Minister of Justice, supervision of the courts inner tenure course is split between the Chief Justice (which is called “internal supervision”) and the Minister of Justice (which is called “external supervision”)². Even if article 9b of the CCSA forbids extending the supervision of court administrative activity on decisions, which are strictly judicial and independent from the executive power decisions, there are subjects where this prohibition is bypassed in favor of the executive.

The arguments of both sides were even judged by the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland³ but this conflict has no direct influence on the people protecting

¹ Excluding extraordinary courts, which are: the Supreme Court of Poland, the Supreme Administrative Court of Poland and the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland.

² Article 9 of the CCSA.

³ In the sentence of January 15, 2009 (case signature K 45/07) the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland judged that the supervision system of the Minister of Justice regulated in CCSA is in line

their rights in courts. However it has led to open political war, which threatens the authority of the Polish judiciary and in fact the stability of the Polish legal system.

This situation opens discussion for lawyers about the future and form of the judiciary system in Poland. Naturally, it is a motive to provide comparative research on judicial systems with foreign systems. As for many legal researchers, an adequate, natural choice for a European country would be a comparison to the judicial system of France or Germany excluding countries based on the common law system. With such comparative material, choosing the Japanese legal system for comparison seems to be an exotic one, especially in the cultural matter.

On the other hand, John O. Haley and Wiley B. Rutledge stated: *Japanese judges are among the most honest, politically independent and professionally competent in the world today. Organized as an autonomous national bureaucracy, the judiciary comprises a small, largely self-regulating cadre of elite legal professionals who enjoy with reason an extraordinarily high level of public trust. (...) Coupled with a jurisprudential approach that favors certainty and consistency, the Japanese judiciary is by nearly all accounts cautiously conservative. Yet paradoxically, judges play an activist role in the development of legal norms, filling lacunae left by legislative and administrative inaction. With less irony than may appear at first glance, they have also become a target of criticism for failure to participate more fully in Japanese governance through progressive judicial policy making*⁴. With such a review of the Japanese judiciary system, it is not wise to even try comparing and understanding the basis of this system, including the cultural aspect of Japanese people.

Beginning of the Modern Japanese Judiciary – The Constitution of the Empire of Japan of 1886

The modern era of Japan began with the rule of Emperor Mutsuhito, posthumously known as Emperor Meiji. During his leadership, which took place from 1867 to 1912, the Japanese Empire was remoulded from a technologically backwards, feudal domain, based on the rule of the samurai cast and the Tokugawa Shogunate to a modern constitutional monarchy based upon governance like that in Western countries. This period is called the Meiji Restoration and from a legal point of research, it implemented the Constitution of the Empire of Japan of 1889

with the Constitution of Poland. The Tribunal stated, that the supervision system needs to be clarified, but in general, the rule of separation and balance between the legislative, the executive and the judiciary powers regulated in article 10 unit 1 of the Constitution of Poland does not allow for complete separation of judiciary from the executive supervision.

⁴ Haley, Rutledge 2002 : 1.

(further as the Imperial Constitution) based on the Prussian Constitution of 1850⁵ – the first Japanese and Asian constitution.

With the cultural and political revolution of the Meiji Restoration came also a necessity to modernise the Japanese legal system. The Imperial Government chose to remold the domestic legal system based on French law. The French and British Empires were thought of as the greatest economic empires in the world at this time but the British common law system seemed to be far too complicated. After failed attempts to translate and directly implement French codes in the legal system, the Imperial Government invited French lawyer Georges Bousquet as a legal advisor. Bousquet arrived in Japan in 1872 and during his 4-year stay he created the French school of law, where Japanese lawyers studied aspects of French law⁶. In consequence, the early Japanese courts were judging cases based on the French or British law⁷.

As mentioned earlier, instead of civil and penal law, which were based on French codes, the Imperial Constitution and judiciary system were based on a Prussian concept. The judiciary system was regulated in the 5th Chapter of the Imperial Constitution, “The Judicature”. It was stated that the judicature was exercised by the Courts of Law according to law, in the name of the Emperor. The judges were appointed from among those who possessed proper qualifications and were guaranteed that they would not be deprived of their position, unless by way of a criminal sentence or disciplinary punishment. Trials and judgments of the Court were conducted publicly, with an exception if the case was prejudicial to peace and order or to the maintenance of public morality. The Imperial Constitution also regulated the special Court of Administrative Litigation, which had the sole cognizance to judge cases with aspects of illegal measures of the executive authorities. With the implementation of the Imperial Constitution, the Japanese judiciary was mostly influenced by German law. The Imperial Government invited German lawyer Otto Rudolph to prepare a project, a new law regulating court organisation that culminated with the implementation of the Court Organization Act of 1890⁸. In 1900 there were overall 303 imperial judiciary institutions: Cassation Bench (*Daishinin*), 7 Appeal Benches (*Kōsoin*), 99 Provincial Courts and 194 Magistrate Courts. The magistracy included 1,269 judges and their assistants, 422 prosecutors and their assistants and 3,363 lower tier officials⁹.

The Imperial Constitution regulated, at first, accumulation of full power in the hands of the Emperor. Nevertheless the Japanese judiciary at this time was truly independent, which appeared in the case of the Ōtsu Incident on May 11 (O.S. April 29), 1891, a failed assassination attempt on Russian Crown Prince

⁵ Suzuki, Karaś 2008: 83.

⁶ Kość 2001: 78-79.

⁷ Ibid: 83.

⁸ Kość 2001: 83.

⁹ Posner 1905: 48.

Nicholas. Nicholas was visiting foreign countries, which were or could potentially be under the cultural and economic influence of the Russian Empire. During his stay in Ōtsu, he was attacked and wounded by Sanzō Tsuda, an escorting policeman¹⁰. To avoid international scandal and war with the Russian Empire, the Imperial Government pressured the court, demanding the death penalty for the assassin. In response, Chief Justice of the Imperial Supreme Court of Japan, Kojima Iken said that the Constitution of the Empire of Japan guarantees the independence of the judiciary and the court would remain neutral judging only on the rules of Law and Penal Code even in the case of such a political and international matter. Eventually Sanzō Tsuda was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment, but he avoided the death penalty¹¹.

For Carl F. Goodman, implementation of the Western Legal System during the Meiji Restoration wasn't as good as it looked. Goodman states that the fundamental idea of the civil law or common law systems is the "Rule of Law", which carries with it the notion that the law has a life of its own and as such when it comes into place it must be obeyed. Both systems recognised that we are a country of laws and not of men. The law may, in some cases, be inequitable and even may appear ridiculous when applied to the facts of a particular case, but the law must nonetheless be followed. The "Rule of Law" also has at its root a respect for the "professionalism" of the law. Only those trained in the law are viewed as permitted to appear before the courts, to give legal advice or to serve as judges. The professionalism led to the new taxonomy of law categories: Rule of Professional Law, Rule of Political Law and Rule of Traditional Law. Following Ugo Mattei and his "Three Patterns of Law: Taxonomy and Change in the World's Legal Systems", both the common law and civil law systems are placed firmly in the Professional Law camp because of their differentiation between the law on the one hand and politics, morality and religion on the other. Japanese law, however, is placed in the Traditional Law camp. At the time of the adoption of the Western Legal System, Japan had no legal professionals who could serve as either judges or lawyers. But Mattei noted that the comparatively small number of lawyers in Japan was offset by others such as mediators, conciliators, wise men and trusted seniors that could perform the same functions as those performed by lawyers in Western Professional Law systems. As for Traditional Law, society in Japan was a greater authority

¹⁰ The motivations for Sanzō Tsuda's assassination attempt are not clear even today. Janusz Kutta in *Diaries of Nicholas II* mentioned the two most popular theories. The first one states that Sanzō Tsuda was in fact a religious fanatic, who was outraged by the bad behavior of the Crown Prince and his court in a temple. The second one states that Nicholas was flirting with the wife of a certain samurai, which outraged Sanzō. Nevertheless, Sanzō Tsuda testified during his trial that he thought that the Crown Prince was indeed a Russian spy, who was checking the Imperial defenses for the future war between Russia and Japan.

¹¹ Suzuki, Karaś 2008: 66.

by mediators than lawyers, adoption of Western Codes as a consequence of outside influence rather than indigenous change, the significance of homogeneity, group identity rather than individualism as a norm of society or the predominance of duties over rights. It doesn't mean that Traditional Law society do not have a law or legal institutions but the manner in which such institutions operate in such societies is fundamentally different from how they operate in Western/Professional law society. Carl F. Goodman stated at last that while Japanese law borrowed extensively from European Codes, the populous was unconcerned with this new legal order and the new rulers of Japan appear to have been unconcerned about the popular view of the law. It can be argued that there existed a fundamental disconnect between the new legal regime created by the Meiji oligarchs and interpreted by the Meiji courts and the realities of Japanese life in the cities and villages of Japan¹².

Nevertheless, the Meiji Constitution was written by the new government of Japan and presented to the Japanese people as a gift of the Emperor. Under the Constitution, power was supposed to reside in the Emperor and the institutions of civilian government were quite weak. Carl F. Goodman pointed out that one of the major shortcomings of the Meiji system was the limitation on the rights of the Japanese public rather than a limitation on the rights of the government. Although Article II of the Imperial Constitution was entitled Rights and Duties of Subjects, it really was a litany of duties rather than rights. Every right supposedly granted by the Constitution was in fact limited so that the government may, by legislative action or Imperial Order having the force of law, take away the supposed right. The Meiji reformers viewed the Western legal system they were adopting as a means of ordering all forms of interaction and a means by which the government could control all activities rather than a means of setting the populous free to order their own relations with the law as a fall back to cover provisions the parties had failed to provide for – and utilizing the law as a means of regulating government power. The Imperial Constitutions chapter regulating the Judicial Branch only strengthened this control¹³.

Later the democratic elements of the Imperial Constitution, including the independence of the judiciary were gradually constricted. It began with the discussion about Tokyo University professor Minobe Tatsukichi's theory, that the Emperor, in light of the Imperial Constitution, is merely a public authority. Creating such a drastic theory in a country where the Emperor was in fact an incarnated god resulted in Minobe Tatsukichi resigning from his seat in the Imperial Parliament and work at Tokyo University. In the end, when Japan joined the Axis during World War II, all democratic elements of the Imperial Constitution were already constricted¹⁴.

¹² Goodman 2003: 20-24.

¹³ Ibid: 28-29.

¹⁴ Suzuki, Karaś 2008: 67-68.

Before the Second World War judges presented various even extreme political thoughts but it is supposed that they held them for themselves and avoided politics while making judgments. Nevertheless, the biggest problem of the pre-war Japanese judiciary was not political pressure or judges thoughts but administration supervision held by the Ministry of Justice over both judges and prosecutors. In consequence, the judiciary was identified as the same as the prosecution, which was criticised by attorneys, who saw such identification as improper. For judges themselves, the supervision of the Ministry of Justice cast doubt on their status, their lack of authority and was bound with the separation of the judiciary and prosecution postulate. In this situation, Supreme Court judges were lower in the hierarchy than the Minister of Justice and the prosecution had the decisive vote in appointing judges including the post of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Japan. This is why one of the first judiciary post-war reforms was gaining as much institutional autonomy as possible¹⁵.

The Judiciary System in the Constitution of Japan of 1946

After the Second World War, the United States military authorities were determined to fundamentally change the Japanese Constitution. But before that, the Japanese themselves drafted several proposed constitutions, which were rejected, by the occupation authority as only a modification of the Meiji Constitution. The new constitution was drafted by Americans in six days and given to the Japanese who also commented on it and made some minor changes. Basically, the Japanese role was just to accept the new Constitution¹⁶. It is also said that Douglas MacArthur himself was involved in this process and thus some came to call the new Japanese Constitution the MacArthur Draft¹⁷. For the Judiciary Branch, it was the American drafters' intention to protect the rights of the Japanese people and to reinforce their own notions of a Rule of Law society¹⁸.

With the new constitution full judiciary power was handed to the Supreme Court of Japan and in such inferior courts as are established by law. It became forbidden to establish any extraordinary tribunal or any organ or agency of the Executive handed with final judicial power. It guarantees to all judges independence in the exercise of their conscience and is bound only by the Constitution and the laws. Judges cannot be removed from their office except by public impeachment unless judicially declared mentally or physically incompetent to perform official

¹⁵ Haley, Rutledge 2002: 15-19.

¹⁶ Goodman 2003: 29-30.

¹⁷ Suzuki, Karaś 2008: 71.

¹⁸ Goodman 2003: 32.

duties. No disciplinary action against judges can be administered by any executive organ or agency. The Supreme Court became the court of last resort with power to determine the constitutionality of any law, order, regulation or official act. It was also vested with the rule-making power under which is determined the rules of procedure and of practice and of matters relating to attorneys, the internal discipline of the courts and the administration of judicial affairs, which extends over public prosecutors. The Supreme Court may delegate the power to make rules for inferior courts to such courts.

Under the Japanese Constitution of 1946, judges are appointed to hold office for a term of ten years with the privilege of reappointment. In case of the Supreme Court judges they are appointed and reviewed by the people at the first general election of members of the House of Representatives following their appointment and are reviewed again at the first general election of members of the House of Representatives after a lapse of ten years and in the same manner thereafter with the exception of Chief Judge, who is designated by the Cabinet and appointed by the Emperor. The judges of the inferior courts, however, are appointed by the Cabinet from a list of persons nominated by the Supreme Court. In the end, the judges of the inferior court are guaranteed to receive, at regular stated intervals, adequate compensation which cannot be decreased during their terms of office.

Japanese Courts Hierarchy

Japanese courts are organised in three tiers with the Supreme Court at the top, the High Court as an intermediate court and the District Court and Family Court as courts of the first instance¹⁹. Below the District Court, there are also the Summary Courts.

Summary Courts (*kan'i saibansho*) have jurisdiction over civil cases up to 900,000 yen²⁰ of disputed sum and minor criminal cases such as theft and embezzlement where a sentenced penalty differs only between fine and detention. Cases are heard by a single judge. Summary Court Judges do not need to have legal qualifications for this post so mostly court clerks, professional judges and public prosecutors who gained voluntary retirement age but who want to serve several years to gain mandatory retirement age are appointed for this post. Summary Court Judges are appointed *pro forma* by the council including Supreme Court of Japan judges or even General Prosecutor²¹. Right now there are 438 Summary Courts in Japan²².

¹⁹ Goodman 2003: 112.

²⁰ On June 6, 2016, according to the exchange rate of the National Bank of Poland it is about 31,994.10 PLN (3.5549 PLN for 100 JPY)

²¹ Haley, Rutledge 2002: 2.

²² The Supreme Court of Japan, *Overview of the Judicial System in Japan*.

District Courts (*chichō saibansho*) are main first instance courts in both civil or criminal cases and courts of appeal for Summary Courts civil cases. Usually, a single-judge or a three-judge panel presides over the trial. There are 50 District Courts functioning and 203 branches throughout the country²³.

Family Courts (*katei saibansho*) are specific, specialised courts in the matter of procedure and cases heard before them, which are domestic cases, hereditary cases and juvenile delinquency. Right now there are 50 Family Courts with 203 branches and 77 local offices of Family Courts²⁴ similar to District Courts. As Family Courts trials, similar to District Courts, are usually presided over by a single judge or three judge panel, most cases are solved with participation of counselors (*chōtei'in*) appointed by the General Secretariat of the Supreme Court from respected members of society or scientists, who usually do not have legal education, but sometimes they serve longer than most judges. With the exception of juvenile delinquency cases, hereditary cases or divisive domestic cases, Family Court procedure is based on mediation provided by counsellors and case parties to work out a settlement²⁵.

The third tier of courts in Japan are the 15 High Courts (*kōtō saibansho*) – 8 High Courts in Sapporo, Sendai, Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Takamatsu, Hiroshima and Fukuoka; 6 branches in Akita, Kanazawa, Okayama, Matsue, Miyazaki and Naha and one High Court specialized in hearing intellectual property cases²⁶. High Courts are serving an intermediate Court of Appeals, although High Courts have original jurisdiction of cases involving treason and certain Election Law cases. In appeals, parties may raise new issues and may introduce new evidence at the High Court level²⁷. But High Courts are not the only Court of Appeals. From decisions, which were taken in Summary Courts, District Courts are serving as Court of Appeals. High Court is for them the Court of the third and final instance²⁸.

Finally, at the top of the court hierarchy, there is the Supreme Court of Japan. It consists of 15 judges and either sits on a Grand Bench containing all 15 judges or a Petty Bench consisting of a five-judge panel. The Supreme Court is a court of errors and the panels are designed to have expertise in specific areas of the law so that cases involving those areas are sent to the appropriate panel. Petty Benches handle most cases and it is estimated that the Grand Bench handles only a few cases each year. A Grand Bench is required for cases wherein the Court declares a law, regulation, executive order or administrative decision unconstitutional and in some cases where the appellant makes such an argument. In cases where the

²³ The Supreme Court of Japan, *Overview of the Judicial System in Japan*.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Haley, Rutledge 2002: 2-3.

²⁶ The Supreme Court of Japan, *Overview of the Judicial System in Japan*.

²⁷ Goodman 2003: 112.

²⁸ Kość 2001: 147-148.

Court reverses a previous decision, a Grand Bench is also required. Decisions of the Supreme Court are by majority vote and dissenting Justices may write dissenting opinions. Lower court decisions are also by majority vote but as dissenting opinions are not written all such decisions appear as if unanimous. The Supreme Court exercise “judicial power” and accordingly it can only handle cases or controversies brought by parties with standing and which do not present a “political question”. Since 1998 of the Civil Code, the Supreme Court serves also as Court of Appeals in certain constitutional cases and in cases involving certain alleged procedural errors as set out in the Code²⁹.

But John O. Haley and Wiley B. Rutledge suggest that such judiciary organisation isn’t flawless. Japan’s 1,393 career judges and 621 assistant judges are spread very thinly throughout the nation. Some of the branch court positions are not filled, but no district court has fewer than 7 judges. The number assigned to each court varies in relationship to the district caseload. Not surprisingly, the Tokyo District Court is the largest. A third of the Tokyo District Court judges are assigned to the criminal division and two-thirds to the civil division. With less than half the number of judges, the Osaka District Court is still Japan’s second largest court. The two courts handle more than half of all civil and criminal cases. However, neither Tokyo nor Osaka has the highest rate of litigation per capita. That honor goes to the Oita District Court in Kyushu, along with Tottori in the southwestern part of Honshu. These two regions have long had the highest litigation rates in Japan and have as a consequence nearly twice the number of judges relative to the district’s population as courts in districts with significantly less litigation per capita, particularly the Tohoku region in northeastern Honshu. Haley and Rutledge pointed out that in 1990 the Oita District Court had fourteen judges in a district of 1.24 million persons. The Sendai District Court in comparison had nineteen judges in a district of 2.25 million persons. The Tottori District Court had seven judges in a district of 616,000 persons, while the Fukushima District Court also had seven judges for a district of 2.1 million persons. Similarly, the number of judges assigned to branch district courts varies from 23 for the Hachioji branch of the Tokyo District Court to the 35 branch district courts without a permanently assigned judge and the 77 branches with only one judge. Eight years later in 1998, the numbers were essentially the same³⁰.

Nevertheless, we can assume that this problem is solving itself with the exception of Family Courts. Supreme Court’s of Japan “Statistical Tables. Civil and Criminal Cases Before the Supreme Court, High Courts, District Courts and Summary Courts of Japan” – in regard to civil cases³¹ we can observe a gradual decrease of

²⁹ Goodman 2003: 112-113.

³⁰ Haley, Rutledge 2002: 3.

³¹ According to a note in *Statistical Tables. Civil and Criminal Cases Before the Supreme Court, High Courts, District Courts and Summary Courts of Japan* – the statistics for civil and domestic relations cases show the number of cases; those for criminal cases show the number of persons

pending cases. For example in Summary Courts in 2010, 518,925 civil cases were commenced, 554,371 cases have ended and 106,090 were left pending, while in Summary Courts in 2014, 337,884 civil cases were commenced, 336,659 cases have ended and 71,725 civil cases have been left pending. In District Courts for instance, in 2010, 258,330 civil cases have been commenced, 261,391 cases have ended and 129,668 cases have been left pending. But in 2014 only 167,055 civil cases have been commenced, 166,456 cases have ended and 103,932 civil cases have been left pending. But the biggest surprise goes with a statistical table of Family Courts civil cases. In 2010, 815,052 cases have been commenced, 815,412 cases have ended and 105,090 have been left pending. However in 2014, in Family Courts 910,648 civil cases have been commenced, 910,264 cases have ended and 122,054 cases have been left pending³².

“The Mental Factor”.

In order to provide comparative legal research, we cannot avoid including something that can be called “The Mental Factor”. For this term, we have to include the philosophical and cultural grounding of certain social or national aspects of existence. In the case of legal research “The Mental Factor” is important if we assume that the Law on the highest, constitutional tier is an effect of the social agreement between citizens and its rulers. As for Japan, Antoni Kość states that from a formal point of view the Japanese law system is not different from the European law system but the biggest difference is in how this system works. In European countries, most disputes are solved in the frame of the law system, while in Japan most quarrels are solved outside of the legal system. To understand this phenomenon it is essential to understand not only law in books but also the law in action³³.

In the European law system “Law” is understood from the objective point of view (*ius obiectivum*) and subjective point of view (*ius subiectivum*). This means that “Law” is always protecting justified affairs of individuals. In Japan, “Law” (*ho* or *horitsu*) only means a set of legal rules, and because of the *ho* character’s meaning, it is associated with court, justice and penalty. Justice was always executed by the ruling class, so for Japanese people the term “Law” had a far from positive meaning and was never linked with individual entitlements. The concept of subjective law (*kenri*) was artificially created in 1868 when Japanese lawyers didn’t understand well enough the European spirit of law. With this meaning (Chinese

accused other than in summary proceedings before the summary courts; and those for juvenile cases show the number of juveniles. This is why I presented only statistics of civil cases in the article.

³² The Supreme Court of Japan, *Statistical Tables. Civil and Criminal Cases Before the Supreme Court, High Courts, District Courts and Summary Courts of Japan*.

³³ Kość 2001: 171.

character *ken* means “strength” and *ri* means “affair”) the average Japanese citizen doesn’t associate *kenri* with its individual entitlement but rather with selfishness. Antoni Kość expressed the belief that even now after over 100 years of European Law reception, the average Japanese people don’t associate law in acts concerning his or her individual entitlements³⁴.

In fact, the average Japanese “Law” as a means of state execution is rather “unwanted”. Honest Japanese people will never “use” Law and won’t see the protection of his individual affairs in court, because of the “shame” involved, which Western people don’t understand. Defence of individual entitlements in civil courts not mentioning criminal cases is shameful for Japanese people. Mostly then, quarrels are dealt with through dialogue, which will take place as long as it’s needed to achieve mutual reconciliation. The Japanese concept of “shame” is based on *giri* rules, moral duties. *Giri* is a particular obligation to another person in a way regulated by tradition “long ago”. This “duty” varies depending on the situation and relation. For example, “duties” included as *giri* in the relation between parents and children, student and teacher or seller and buyer will vary. By accepting *giri* relation there is no mean of force execution of it from a person, who is obliged. The person entitled from *giri* must wait because the one obliged must willingly execute his obligation. If someone will not perform his *giri* obligation in the way expected by tradition and society, he or she will be presumed as unworthy of the honor. *Giri* duties are regulated not by the state but are sanctioned by honor. Someone who neglected his *giri* duty has “lost his face” in the eyes of society. The only shame is holding men from immoral behavior or breaking *giri* rules, which means that *giri* are a kind of moral constraint, manifesting itself as a consequence of immoral actions, a shame. *Giri* rules are a contradiction to the law in acts, but in fact, *giri* “regulates” relations between members of society and not relations between citizen and state³⁵.

The Existence of Separate Constitutional Court institution as a Research Example

By analysing differences between the Japanese Judicial system and the Western Judicial system, legal researchers may conduct discussions, which conclusions may benefit the Western Judicial system or even both systems. For example, is it truly necessary to maintain Constitutional Courts as separate and independent institutions rather than to give competence of judicial review to the highest court in the judicial hierarchy?

³⁴ Kość 2001: 172.

³⁵ Ibid: 174-179.

As mentioned earlier the Supreme Court of Japan not only hold the competence of the court of appeal from the High Courts of Japan verdicts but also is responsible for judicial administration and serves as “the Constitutional Court” with the sole competence of judicial review. Judicial review as one of the basic institutions of modern democratic systems allows for reviewing the constitutional validity of legislative acts. In most Western Countries judicial review competence is given to separate the Constitutional Courts analysing constitutionality of legal acts based on the basic right guaranteed by the Constitution. In Japan, however, it was given to the Supreme Court and in short judicial review, the procedure is based on factual circumstances of certain cases.

As any system has its pros and cons, for Japanese judicial review a lack of separate Constitutional Court is linked with thesis, that judicial review in Japan is not working correctly and even failed. It was pointed out by David S. Law in his article “Why Has Judicial Review Failed in Japan?” that the Supreme Court of Japan during its over 60 years of existence struck down only eight laws on constitutional grounds, earning its reputation as “the most conservative and cautious in the world” with respect to the exercise of judicial review. David S. Law pointed many explanations including cultural, political, historical and even institutional factors of this situation, criticising judicial review system in Japan held by the Supreme Court. In conclusion, David S. Law pointed out that decades of dominance of Japanese politics by the right-of-center parties has shaped the behavior of the Supreme Court of Japan. The Supreme Court of Japan is also heavily dependent upon a hierarchical bureaucracy and as a bureaucratic organisation, the Japanese judiciary is ill-suited not simply by temperament, but by design, to challenge the government on matters of policy. In fact, the hierarchically organised judiciary is more suited to implement policies rather than solve conflicts³⁶.

In 2004, with many other constitutional amendments, the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan introduced a proposition for creating a separate Constitutional Court of Japan, similar to the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany. The new Constitutional Court would have the power of reviewing the constitutionality of legislation based upon reference by the Cabinet or one-third of the members of the House of Representatives or the House of Councilors, the power of reviewing constitutional questions and the power of reviewing the constitutional judgments of the Supreme Court based upon petition from the parties. The new Constitutional Court would be granted legal binding effect to an unconstitutional judgment for all the agencies and departments of the national government as well as local governments³⁷.

Nevertheless, Shigenori Matsui expressed a skeptical approach to this idea, as a solution for the Supreme Court of Japan’s judicial passivism. First of all, Matsui

³⁶ Law 2011: 1426-1428, 1462-1463.

³⁷ Matsui 2011: 1416.

pointed, that the current judicial passivism is not caused by the institutional design of judicial review. Secondly, Matsui agreed that introduction of a Constitutional Court would surely make it much easier for citizens to challenge the constitutionality of legislation and other governmental acts, especially if they are allowed to file suits directly in the Constitutional Court when their right and liberties are infringed. Even so, the Constitutional Court might reject all these challenges by paying the same kind of deference to the Diet as the Supreme Court in which case the same judicial passivism will continue. That is why it is important to appoint judges who would be more willing to scrutinise legislation and governmental actions and are more willing to strike them down. But with the power of selection to the Diet, it is likely that judges to the Constitutional Court will be selected from those, who share a similar political ideology. For example, if the judges are selected by the opposition parties, then judges will possibly be engaged in a more active judicial review against the majority in the Diet. And lastly, the existing judicial review system in Japan requires the existence of an actual case or controversy in order to decide a constitutional question, has some merit compared with the Constitutional Court system. It allows the court to review the constitutionality of legislation and other governmental actions in light of specific factual situations and allows judges to decide constitutional questions in light of a sincere and robust dialogue between two adversarial parties. However the Constitutional Court will decide the constitutionality without any specific case or controversy based upon the text of the statute in its totality and such a review would be difficult and may lose sight of the problems, which might appear only after the statute is actually applied in a specific case. This advantage is in Matsui's opinion undesirable to abandon in exchange for easy access to the courts³⁸.

Every one of Matsui's concerns are, in fact, living within the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland organisation. Since the latest political events with the rule of the right-wing party Law and Justice holding a majority in the Sejm, the Senate and with the President being from the same political party, the latest appointments of new Tribunal judges has opened a discussion about is really the Tribunal free of political influence. But it needs to be mentioned that the latest majority, the Citizens Platform has appointed several Constitutional Tribunal judges, some of which were appointed "in future" because of the incoming elections to the Sejm and the Senate. This appointment was struck down by the Tribunal itself in the case of "future" judges. Opposing the Japanese judicial review system, the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland decides the constitutionality of legal acts in two situations. Before promulgation of the law, the President of Poland may initiate the judicial review procedure if there is a controversy in its constitutionality. Secondly, an interested party, citizen or even government institution, may sue an act to

³⁸ Shigenori 2011: 1416-1419.

the Constitutional Tribunal for control if the disputed act is compatible with the Constitution or not. The Tribunal's constitutional decision is taken based not on the case but on values and rights guaranteed and protected by the Constitution.

Of course answering such important questions is a matter of deeper and accurate legal culture studies but it gives legal researchers a great opportunity. Judicial review system in Japan has functioned for over 60 years so it gives us the possibility for a non-judgmental comparison of positive and negative features, of having or not separate Constitutional Court institution.

Conclusion

In summary, we may wonder what real influence the reception of the Western legal system had in Japan. From a social point of view, the Western Law System wasn't fully implemented because even now Japanese people are settling their disputes in a way of reconciliation rather than court quarrel.

From the foreign affairs angle, the Japanese Empire became a modern industrial country equal to 19th-century Western economies. Using an example from early Middle Age Europe, rulers were willingly baptised to become a part of Christian culture, which granted both political and economical benefits. Similarly for Japan, implementation of the Western legal system made it part of the Western culture "family" in means of political structure, economy and industry. The reception itself had less influence on Japanese society, which still follows traditional and moral *giri* rules. Nevertheless, even with such cultural differences between Western countries and Japan, there are no logical obstacles to conducting comparative legal research on a constitutional or state organisation tier. Even if Japanese people tend to avoid courts and law in acts to settle their quarrels outside the system according to *giri* rules it is only an exception in a matter of social behavior. As such it is safe to assume that *giri* rules have no substantial influence on the functionality of Japan's state institutions such as courts and the whole judiciary system³⁹.

Discussing the lack of social change in Japanese society relating to reforms of the judiciary system, Yasuhei Taniguchi expressed the belief that no social change can be brought about by a single agent because it is a more complicated phenomenon than that. Even if the reform of a court system could be considered as one of the major causes of a particular social change, it is difficult to distinguish cause and results. In fact, Yasuhei pointed out three factors, which are limiting the Social Impact of the Post-War judiciary. Firstly, the judicial machinery cannot be set in motion without someone to do so, because the court is the respondent rather than an initiator. Yasuhei stated that the Japanese do resort to the court, but they must

³⁹ Kość 2001: 173-174.

overcome at least three barriers. The first barrier is that the Japanese do not like to bring a lawsuit because of the psychological barrier, which was explained earlier. The second barrier is economic – the availability of money and time needed to go to court. The third barrier is the availability of proper legal service, which is essential in difficult cases, such as socially influential cases normally involving novel questions of law and complicated questions of fact. For that, there is a need for imaginative and energetic legal service to engage such purposes. Secondly, the judicial machinery can work only according to the law, so if there is no procedure to attain an objective, no relief can be attempted. Thirdly, the judicial proceeding is intended, as a rule, to affect only the parties to it. If so, any social change cannot be expected from it, because a social change is something that affects everybody in a society⁴⁰.

Court action as such can have little if any, social impact. Nevertheless, Yasuhei explained that there could be some effect from a court proceeding upon others, even upon the society in general. It occurs when a provision of law is declared unconstitutional; it is likely to be deleted voluntarily by the legislature⁴¹.

The Japanese judiciary is not only independent from executive power but it also has public trust, being the base for judges' authority. Judges are more trustworthy even than religious institutions, parliament or public administration, but less trustworthy than police officers and prosecutors. John O. Riley and Wiley B. Rutledge expressed the belief that judges assigned the task of administering Japan's judicial bureaucracy share the deep responsibility to maintain judicial integrity and competence. They also share the concern that the judiciary itself can suffer were the public ever to perceive that judges are freely deciding cases out of partisan preference of any extreme personal ideological bias at odds with what they would themselves consider the "sense of society". For Japanese judicial independence, there is little if any threat to existing so long as they control the process for appointment and promotion of career judges⁴². Such phenomenon should be researched with the expanding deterioration of the public's trust towards courts in Poland.

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⁴⁰ Yasuhei, Taniguchi 1984: 33-35.

⁴¹ Ibid: 35.

⁴² Haley, Rutledge 2002: 21-30.

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論文の日本語レジュメ

西洋比較司法研究の基盤としての日本司法制度の事象

本論文の目的は、行政からの独立のみならず公的な信頼も獲得し、裁判官の権威の元となっている、日本の司法制度を紹介することである。裁判官は宗教組織や国会、行政機関よりも高い信頼性を持っているが、警察官や検事に比べると信頼性が劣る。また、司法制度そのものが損害を受ける可能性があるという懸念が共有されている。それは、裁判官が「社会の良識」と自認するのとは異なり、民衆は裁判官達が個人的なイデオロギー的偏見により党派を優遇し自由に判決を下すと理解していることを指す。日本の司法制度の独立に目を向けると、裁判官の指名や昇進のために訴訟手続きがコントロールされる場合の脅迫の存在はわずかである。このような事象は、ポーランドの裁判所に対する民衆の信頼が悪化の一途をたどる状況と比較し研究されるべきである。

Key Words: 日本、裁判所、裁判官、司法制度、権威、法律、憲法、歴史

REPRINTED WORKS
OF POLISH JAPANOLOGIST

Mikołaj Melanowicz

*Man and Society as Reflected in the Works of Kaikō Takeshi*¹

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Man and Society as Reflected in the Works of Kaikō Takeshi

The problem of man in society can be examined in two ways: by concentrating on man as the subjective creator of culture or as an object reflected in culture. In the first instance we can investigate the lives of writers acting in specified social circumstances; in the second we are mainly interested in the image of man as reflected in literary works. The image can be treated as a kind of model, which is here understood as a specific synthesis of attitudes and behaviors of individuals in literary works comparable to the models existing in the society. Here I shall deal with the second approach to the problem whose methodological assumptions were briefly outlined in one of my earlier papers on Hagiwara Sakutarō¹. It should be mentioned that this is one possible approach to the analysis of the world represented in a literary work.

As is well known, the European novels of the 19th century created images of total man which, according to the author's point of view, differed only in their dominant characteristics, so that one can distinguish biological, metaphysical, sociological or psychological portraits of man. The image of man in the novels of Balzac, Dickens, or Tolstoy could have been used as examples worthy of being followed by individuals.

In the 20th century the situation became different. The modern vanguard writers have no such instructive aspirations, nor do they maintain the internal unity of man or the unity of the world. They instead show a powerlessness or incapability of creating harmonious personality that is in agreement with one's conscience and with the world. Their protagonists live in a world of contradictory values and threats. Some novels explore the limits of man's solitude, hopelessness, and despair. Others show man looking for a way out of "hell" even at the price of his life. They answer the question "how is one to live in this world?" in various ways, according

¹ "The Drama of Disillusionment in Modern Japanese Literature until 1923. Main Problems in the Interpretation of the Poetry of Hagiwara Sakutarō". *Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich*, XVII/1, 1974 pp. 65-91.

to each author's ideological attitude. Some heroes revolt against society and negate all values without offering anything in their place, while others create a vision of a new world. But these heroes are aware that they, and not gods or an ideology, are responsible for themselves and the world. But they have no chance to make any change in the society they live in.

What kinds of heroes are pictured in contemporary Japanese literature? First we have to answer the question relating to many particular cases and then synthesize them. I have made some suggestions concerning this matter when discussing Hagiwara Sakutarō², Tanizaki Jun'ichirō³ and perhaps Ōe Kenzaburō⁴. As we can see, many contemporary Japanese writers have known more of alienation, mental breakdowns and even of death than they have of any other kind of human experience.

While analyzing and interpreting the works of Kaikō Takeshi, a man of action with many interests, beginning with his *Panic* (1957), through *Kagayakeru Yami*⁵ (1968) and *Darkness in Summer*⁶ (1972) to the most recent short stories collected in *Aruku kegetachi* (Walking Shadows, 1979), I have borne in mind this kind of question.

From *Panic* to *Walking Shadows*

We can easily define the social and literary circumstances under which Kaikō's abilities as a writer were first recognized. He is usually associated with Ishihara Shintarō and Ōe Kenzaburō, although their works really share only a few characteristic features. The one thing the three writers do have in common is the beginning of their literary careers, the time when they gained social recognition. All three made their debuts (1955-1958) during the first years of the period of prosperity and development of mass culture in Japan, accompanied, as is usually assumed, by a certain laxity in morals and growing interest in sex. The writers of that period (the late fifties and early sixties) mainly deal with problems of sex and politics. Ishihara, Ōe and Kaikō were all interested in sex and politics, but this interest was shown in very different ways. Each of the three was looking, and is still looking, for his own way of dealing with problems: Ishihara spends part of his time as a politician; Ōe,

² Ibid, p. 87.

³ "Narrator and Character in Japanese Prose. A Discussion Based on Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's Work". *Zagadnienia Rodzajów Literackich*, XIX/2, 1976, pp. 63-83.

⁴ "Ōe Kenzaburō – moralista (Ōe, a moralist)", *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, 117 (1981), 3-15.

⁵ English translation of *Kagayakeru Yami* ["Shining Darkness"], translated by Cecilia Segawa Seigle] Tokio, New York and San Francisco: Kodansha International, published under the title *Into a Black Sun*, reached me after completing this paper.

⁶ *Natsu-no Yami* in English translation by Cecilia Segawa Seigle was published by Alfred Knopf, New York 1973.

by probing more and more deeply into his obsessions concerned with the problems of time and human identity, has been growing into a true great moralist writer. Kaikō, on the other hand, still cannot find a place for himself in this world; only rarely does he publish stories and novels, filling the spaces in between with travel reports and similar works. Nevertheless, Kaikō, no less than Ōe, is in his own way an exponent of both the disappointments and the hopes of his generation, of its feeling of loneliness. No doubt Kaikō's development as a writer has been so far less uniform, less consistent than Ōe's, let me recall some of its most important features.

Kaikō Takeshi (his name is sometimes pronounced as Ken) was born in 1930 in a poor Osaka family. The conditions of his life during the wartime and post-war periods were extremely unfavorable. He began to write in 1950; at that time he published in a number of magazines edited by various groups of young literary enthusiasts in Osaka ("Hakuyō", "Shidai Bungei", "Empitsu", "Shi to Shinjitsu", "Bungakushitsu", "Villon"). His first literary attempts, reprinted in Shinchōsha's Kaikō Takeshi *Zensakuhin*⁷, included some impressionistic essays and his first novel, *Academia Merankoria* (Academia Melancholia, 1951).

But it was only after he published *Panikku* (Panic, 1957) in the "Shin Nihon Bungaku" and *Kyojin to Gangu* (Giants and Toys, 1957) and *Hadaka no Ōsama* (Naked King, 1957) in "Bungakukai" that his position as a writer was established. The *Naked King* won the Akutagawa prize and Kaikō became quite famous. The press, radio and television became interested in the new "star" of literature; Kaikō broke down under the pressure and for several months was not able to write at all. Later, however, during his wanderings about Okayama prefecture and Osaka he came across a colony of thieves in Osaka and felt a keen interest in them; this helped him overcome his literary block. He collected facts about the lives of those people who were living on whatever they could get for the scrap-metal they stole from the area of a bombed-out arms factory, and this information enabled him to write *Nihon Sammon Opera* (A Japanese Threepenny Opera, 1959). In the same year he published *Rubōki* (The Runaway, lit. "Notes from Exile", a short story, and *Yaneura no Dokuhaku* (Confessions from a Garret) and the novel *Robinson no Matsuei* (The Descendants of Robinson). These works proved that the young writer was a man of action who certainly had much to say. Kaikō's real interest in man and his social life, especially that of man in the difficult situation or living a life of extreme poverty and neglect, led him to politics and history – the two "giants" determining the life of the individual. At the same time, Kaikō began to feel more and more interest in the world outside Japan. He was so full of energy that, in addition to participating in a delegation of writers who visited China (1960), he became a foreign correspondent for various magazines in order to travel. It was then that he visited Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and France. In the next

⁷ *Zensakuhin* [complete works] was published by Shinchōsha in 12 vol. in 1974.

year he was an observer at the Eichmann trial; he also visited Athens, Istanbul, Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, and Samarkand; and talked to Sartre in Paris. In 1964 he went to Vietnam as an *Asahi* war correspondent and stayed there several months. He witnessed one battle and found himself in quite dramatic situations; on one occasion he nearly got killed. He published his impressions of that period in *Betonamu Senki* ("Vietnam War journal", 1965)⁸ and in the novel *Kagayakeru yami* which received the "Mainichi" Prize.

In 1968, as a "Bungeishunjū" correspondent, Kaikō spent some time in Paris, West and East Germany and, on his way back home, in Saigon. In 1970 he went fishing in Alaska and Sweden; he also visited Nigeria, Thailand and other countries. During that period of his life he mainly published travel reports, critical essays and articles, collected in the following books: *Mori to Hone to Hitotachi* (*Forest, Bones and Men*, 1962); *Zubari Tōkyō* (*Straight Out Tokyo*, 1961); *Kako to Mirai no Kuniguni* (*Countries of the Past And the Future*, 1961); *Hito to Kano Sekai* (*Man And This World*, 1970); *Kami no Naka no Sensō* (*The War on Paper*, 1972); *Me Aru Hanabana* (*Flowers That Have Eyes*, 1973); *Atarashii Tentai* (*A New Celestial Body*, 1974). At that time he also published a few novels: after *Aoi Getsuyōbi* (*Blue Monday*, 1965–1967) came only the abovementioned *Shining Darkness* (1968) and *Darkness in Summer*, (1971), which seemed to mark the beginning of a new ("post-Vietnam") period in his novel writing. This was not to mean that in the seventies, after *Kagayakeru yami*, he avoided the subject of Vietnam and his own personal involvement in its problems. Vietnam is present throughout his works during the whole ten years, in short stories and his collections of stories and essays alike, e.g. *Romane Konti* – 1935 (*Romané Conti* – 1935 set, 1978). Still another attempt – so interpreted by the writer himself – at summing up Vietnam experiences was the *Aruku Kagetachi* collection, which included stories of 1965 (e.g. *Heishi no Hōshū*, *Furorida ni Kaeru*), some of 1967 (*Kishibe no Matsuri*) and also some of 1978 and 1979. As regards the latest stories of this collection, special attention must be paid to *Kaizuka o Tsukuru* (*Building a Shell Mound*, 1978), *Senjō no Hakubutsushi* (*Natural History of Battle-fields*, 1979) and *Tama, kudakeru* (*The Ball Has Crumbled to Pieces*, 1978), slightly different in subject which won the Kawabata Award.

If one confined oneself only to the most important works, the ones that determined Kaikō's role during his "pre-Vietnam" period, he would have to mention *Panic*, *Giants and Toys*, *Naked King*, *Japanese Threepenny opera*, *The Runaway*, *Descendants of Robinson* and the autobiographic novel *Blue Monday*, the novel which closes this period and which in fact was completed after the writer's first visit to Vietnam.

Another important group of works are those on war and Vietnam, of which I think the *Shining Darkness* and the stories: *A Soldier's Reward* and *Feast on the Bank of the River* (*Kishibe no Matsuri*) deserve particular attention. In *Darkness in*

⁸ *Betonamu Senki* Publisher by Asahi Shimbunsha, 1965, p. 239.

Summer, too, repercussions of the war in Vietnam can be found. This novel deals with the problems of the Japanese in Europe, the loss of the sense of identity, the meaninglessness of existence in the consumer society of well-fed men. Kaikō has been writing the third part of the trilogy for many years; he is still trying to gain some new experience by going on “fishing” trips to Alaska, the Amazon basin and other places. Recently (1979/1980) he made a long journey the length of the American continent from Alaska to Patagonia. Kaikō’s interest in fishing, as well as eating and drinking, finds its reflection in many of his essays and stories, and the writer’s descriptions of these avocations as early as in the *Japanese Threepenny Opera*, are very good indeed.

Kaikō’s hero – Weakness of the individual and the futility of effort

Kaikō Takeshi knew poverty from early childhood. His father, who was a teacher, died young; that was why Takeshi, at that time still a schoolboy, had to start earning money in any way he could devise, including selling black market goods. He knew and understood the helplessness of the individual confronted with the realities of life, especially with the organization of the social community, in which one’s wishes and privileges are usually disregarded. His autobiographical novel, *Aoi Getsuyōbi* describes the details of his experiences at that time.

What is, then, Kaikō’s hero like? What is the image of man that he pictures in his novels and stories? Let us take a look at the characters of his representative works in chronological order.

The main character of *Panic* is Shunsuke, a young man employed in the Forestry Department of the local administration⁹. When he learns that for the first time in 120 years the bamboo grass had flowered, he anticipates a plague of mice and rats caused by the overabundance of fruit in the forests and fields. He does not hesitate to write a petition in which he suggests some radical precautions. He predicts that the mice, after devouring the bamboo fruit, will multiply rapidly in the winter, destroy all the vegetation and attack people’s houses and settlements. The administration however, rejects his proposals without even looking into the matter, because of procedural considerations and a typical aversion to anything new or unexpected. Things go exactly as Shunsuke predicted: the plague becomes a real threat and panic began to spread. The administration takes some halfhearted measures and Shunsuke is obliged by the administration to supervise the fight against the mice. Faced with this new situation of danger, the laziness, malice, cowardice, corruption and other diseases of the administration came to light. The politi-

⁹ *Panic* and *The Runaway*. Two Stories by Takeshi Kaikō. Translated by Charles Dunn, University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo 1977.

cal opposition is in turn stimulated into fuller activity; they blame the government for its failure to take appropriate action and try to make Shunsuke into a wronged hero. Even as the authorities are deciding to announce a victory over the mice – in the face of the facts but in accordance with the logic of political expediency – and Shunsuke is considering possible ways of surviving the crisis without damage to his career, the mice go away of their own accord. The hungry animals all rush off in one direction – straight into a lake.

Shunsuke, however (the only person in *Panic* known by name) is not a “hero” in the true sense, of the word; he cannot be described as a “brave man defending his cause against a powerful and unfeeling organization”. After his proposal was rejected, he did nothing to bring about the change in the decision; not wanting to risk his position or anything he had gained so far, he simply concentrated on the possibilities of getting off unpunished. He is a realist, rather than a romantic hero; what is more, he is just one of many ordinary people, subject to many limitations. His minor skirmishes with the bureaucracy do not develop into a conflict; it ends in a paradoxical agreement, a defeat. Shunsuke realizes that the enemy is stronger; he cannot fight the mechanisms of the organization. He loses the battle against the mice too. He had to lose it; but the mice went away of their own free will, led by some mysterious instinct, as if listening to the pied piper of Hamelin in the fairy tale.

The relations between man (individual /society) and bureaucratic organization as presented in *Panic* can be summed up in the form of an almost naive conclusion: in the fight between man and organization it is the man who loses, not because the organization is perfect, but because it is corrupt. It does not respond to the call of an independently thinking individual. On the basis of such a definition of the relation between the individual and society another well-justified conclusion can be drawn, namely, that all the efforts of the individual are in vain, that his labors are Sisyphean labors. Shunsuke’s project is worked out in vain; he loses the battle against the mice, which probably symbolizes some great concentration of energy, something that appears suddenly only to vanish unexpectedly, exhausting itself.

The relation between the individual and the social organization, the individual and the community (the mass) is illustrated by the title of the *Giants and Toys*. The “toy” of the title is of course the individual – confined, weak, helpless, with no traits of greatness, subject to manipulation, having little or no possibility of affecting in any way the course of events. The individual in this sense is but a cog in the machine. The “giants” of the title are powerful industrial trading companies supplying the market with confectionary. Profit is their main goal; they compete with others using advertising campaigns whose purpose is to win over as many children and their mothers – the helpless individuals – as possible. This literary formulation of these relations is a direct reflection of the functioning of certain mechanisms in the period of the development of the so-called mass culture; in *Giants and Toys* we have firms competing with each other, the mass of people under the psychological

pressure of their campaigns, we have winners, but also losers among the competitors. One of the losers is Aida, a great advertising expert, a real giant in the eyes of Kyōko, an ordinary, modest girl whom he has picked from the crowd and used in advertising the products of his firm. The girl, whom Aida makes into the “star” of his campaigns, at first submissive and obedient, after some time spent in the company of advertisers, becomes a greedy woman without principles or a sense of loyalty. The charm of simplicity is gone; she finds a host where she can get more money and betrays Aida, to whom she owed everything.

The author seems to suggest that within the same scheme a change of positions may take place: a “toy” may grow into a “giant” and the other way around, just the way it happens in the real communities.

In the *Naked King* the author presents an attempt to defend man’s individuality, man’s personality, in the period of growing homogeneity of modern society. Such an attempt is made by a painting teacher, who cannot find sympathy or understanding among others. He is kind of a psychological outsider, conducting his experiment all by himself and holding himself aloof. Because he is the narrator, his point of view is crucial to the meaning of the story. A friend asks him to teach painting to a boy, Ōta Tarō, the son of a manufacturer of oil paints. The teacher manages to stir the boy’s imagination, and makes him want to paint things as he imagines them; in that way he succeeds in “straightening out” a bit of the boy’s pent-up personality. The narrator also meets the boy’s father and observes his attempts to increase the sale of paints and make more money. Everything in his life serves this purpose, even the painting competitions he organizes for children. The children are required to draw illustrations for some of Andersen’s stories, but the businessman and the jury like best the drawings resembling reproductions of the existing illustrations and do not like the one made by Ōta’s son, an ingenious interpretation of an episode from a story.

Again, Kaikō presented the helplessness of the individual; this time the hero is an uncommon man, a man who introduces and defends new values, yet he is defeated by the forces giving priority in everything to conventional standard.

The nameless hero of *The Runaway* is an example of the individual entirely submitted to the despotic social organization. He is one of the several hundred thousands of coolies who were driven out of their villages and ordered to participate in the building of China’s Great Wall in the third century B.C., during the reign of the Ch’in dynasty. The reader learns about his earlier years, about the indissoluble ties between him and the people of a small town situated in an almost desert loess plain, which, although encircled by a wall, had been for many years subject to foreign invasion. We see how helpless these people are and how they reconcile themselves with their helplessness. The wall that surrounds the town does not protect them from invaders, but gives them an illusion of safety. The situation became dramatic when most of the young men of the town, the hero among them, are compelled to

perform slave labor. They are branded and registered as criminals, and every attempt to escape is proclaimed to be a capital offence. Kaikō could not find any historical records concerning the building of the Great Wall but he used his imagination and knowledge of the dramatic events of the twentieth century. He suggested that the present-day absolute control over every individual in the society had been first formed when Ch'in Shih Huang-ti, the first emperor of the Ch'in dynasty, came to power in the third century B.C. The hero, like his fellow countrymen, is terrorized, he goes wherever ordered and does what he is told to do, though he is starving and exhausted. He does not dare oppose the torturers, no more than did the concentration camp prisoners of modern times; he and those people were equally afraid to show resistance, equally afraid of death. It is only after a long time that the hero, seeing that he will probably die anyway, whether of starvation, exhaustion, disease or simply by being murdered by his torturers, decides – for the first and the last time – to risk his life by attempting to escape to the land of the Huns, the mortal enemies of the “Middle Kingdom”. We do not know if he will succeed.

We can imagine how effective the means of oppression must have been to make it possible to keep control over so great a number of people. The people in the crowd, unaware of their own strength, their energy, and submitted to the bureaucratic and military organization of the “first emperor”. And yet this crowd is a concentration of great energy, which could accomplish gigantic work. On the other hand, this energy is often wasted and gradually exhausts itself. Moreover, the narrator finally comes to the conclusion that the work was to no purpose, that there was no sense in doing it: the great energy had been wasted on a useless job. The narrator – expressing the author's conviction – puts it in this way:

“From all this we could only imagine one conclusion – namely, that the Great Wall was an absolute waste of labor”¹⁰.

In the *Japanese Threepenny Opera*, a novel about a community of thieves, again, the life of the individual is inseparable from the life of the community. In contrast to *The Runaway*, the people in the novel, who called themselves the Apaches, have not been forced to live together in one settlement but do so of their free will. We cannot say, however, that this was their real choice; they had come there because they had had no other possibilities, no homes, no jobs. They had come hoping that they could make a living selling stolen scrap-metal, but in order to succeed everyone had to submit to rigorous rules of collective work. The community is governed by simple principles, which are obvious to all. Their mutual relations also take the simplest form possible; no one needs to pretend he has other requirements than food, sleep, etc. Lying is of no use in the “Apache” community. It is known that lying is a product of civilization and pervades a community in which there is some complexity in the relations between people.

¹⁰ *Panic and Runaway*, op. cit. p. 116.

Their hard work did not warrant anything for the future. The struggle of the “Apaches” to preserve their community ends in failure; their organization is shattered and dispersed by the police. In the future they will have to work independently within “normal” society, they will have to rob, or maybe even kill. Their unusual situation has come to an end; things will go in the usual way. The group of wrecks performed a useful task (reclaiming metal from the earth) but all their efforts finally proved to have been in vain and to have contributed nothing to their future prospects. They were provided with hunger rations as long as they worked, but they could have no hope for any changes for the better in the future; nothing occurred to stabilize their position in society.

In the *Descendants of Robinson* a group of colonizers living on the northern island of Hokkaido disintegrates. This novel describes a group of people induced by the government during the war to go to Hokkaido and prepare the land for cultivation. Shortly before they arrived, Japan lost the war, and no one was interested in them anymore. At first day worked hard on the tracts of land that had been assigned to them; they sowed and planted; but the soil turned out to be barren; it was too acidic, and nothing would grow. They lacked tools and fertilizers. It is hard to imagine anything more futile¹¹. The original Robinson Crusoe was luckier than they. After they realize that individual efforts are in vain, the colonizers united and start sending petitions to the government, to the district, the province, and to the ministry in Tokyo, finally coercing the minister into paying them seasonal occupation (road building) salaries. They cease their attempt to cultivate the barren land and scatter in search of other jobs which allow them to live from hand to mouth. The hero and his family stay on, but nothing guarantees that they will survive. All the efforts and energy of these “descendants of Robinson” were wasted. But, the author seems to suggest then, during the war the energy of millions was wasted, it was only in the eighteenth century that the work of a Robinson Crusoe could bear fruit. In this novel – as well as in war-time – political and administrative mistakes lead to the degradation of the value of human work and cause waste.

“I am not dead yet, but am not alive, either. Next year I think we will plant some potatoes”¹².

And this is how this novel ends, a novel about hard work without result. The main characters of the novel lose their battle against nature, the environment, and the social organization. What they gain is not at all what they need.

This gloomy story, however, is written with a sense of humor; it is not too depressing. It is a kind of tragicomedy of human fate and can be treated as a parable, the moral lesson of which is that in modern times the individual rarely or

¹¹ Sasaki Kiichi: *Commentary to Robinson no Matsuei*, Kadokawa Bunko, 1964, p. 290.

¹² Kaikō Takeshi: *Robinson no Matsuei*, Kadokawa Bunko, 1964, p. 286.

never gets what he expects or what was promised from the social organization. Even his victories over the administrative system are not really victories and all the effort is in vain.

The young hero of *Blue Monday* – modeled upon the author himself – from the very first years had been looking at the world of ugliness and evil of wartime. Before graduating from school, at the beginning he had to work at a shunting station and later in many other places, all healthy men were taken to the army. During that period of humiliation and hunger he lost his joy of life. In the first years after the war, which brought total disaster, as a schoolboy he had to work in order not to die of starvation. His situation improved when he began to teach English at the evening course, although his knowledge of this language was very poor. When he needed to repeat English words and sentences in the classroom he did not think about his faults or of lack of some support from other people, or of the lack of the value consciousness. He felt himself here as if he were defended or covered with armor, but when he went out into the street he had the impression that he was naked and defenseless. The shell of falsehood protected him when he was inside the thick wall¹³. Even so, he was obsessed by the feeling of shame because the shell of falsehood did not always defend him against anxiety. During the war the hero lost the ideals that might be his most needed support.

The image of this hero is quite typical of Kaikō. He is a man who, from the beginning of the novel lacks the strength to oppose the dictates of society, but he does not accept them fully¹⁴. The hero knows that he cannot live in society and be free from it at the same time. There is no other possibility: one must submit or oppose. However the hero chooses a third solution, which leads him to the dissociation of his personality, accompanied by anger, weariness and the feeling of desolation.

The hero of *Blue Monday*, not being able to accommodate to the post-war life in Japan, thinks about leaving his country. He does not try to exert influence on the environment according to his aspirations or convictions. Instead he gives up, leaving everything to chance without making any choice; in fact, he is manipulated and governed by external events. For these reasons, in the moments of reflection, he feels shame, irritation and repulsion towards himself. He perceives evil but does not try to fight against it. Although he lives in society, he is an observer rather than a man of action. He is completely subjected to the conditions of society, to the mechanisms operating beyond his influence. This means that he possesses a very small margin of freedom¹⁵. He is a prisoner of the social system

¹³ Aoi Getsuyōbi in *Kaikō Takeshi Zensakuhin* vol. 7, pp. 169, 202, 269.

¹⁴ See introduction afterword by T. Grigorieva to the Russian translation by Boris Raskin of *Aoi Getsuyōbi as Gor'koye pokhmelye*, Moskva: Progress, 1975, p. 309.

¹⁵ Kaikō Takeshi: *Zensakuhin*, vol. 7, p. 14.

and material possessions. The more one desires the more one loses freedom. The author declares: “A man who depends on things and techniques is bound to be weak”. Again “Man has become a prisoner of the desire of things, of libido, and that kind of desire which is called “ego”¹⁶ – says a recluse to the hero and others who hide themselves from an air raid in the forest.

Prohibitions, conventions, systems and involvements in relation to material things, possession, make an individual wander among visible and invisible barriers as if in a labyrinth. Man experiences fright when he becomes aware that his time flows from him without reasonable actions and affects. Knowing that all is going in the wrong direction he is not able, mainly for objective reasons, to do anything in order to change the environment he lives in. It is exactly in such a direction that the concept of hero in Kaikō's novels and short stories was developing. The concept relates to man imprisoned amongst things and problems of his environments, in the situation of his helplessness.

This is precisely where his hero differs from the hero of a work by Ōe – a man experiencing maladjustment, uprootedness and disintegration of personality. Ōe's hero experiences this state of mind so sharply that he is ready to fight to recover the balance between himself and society and to fight to recover his identity and the identity of the group, even at the price of life.

He differs, too, from the hero of the works of Abe Kōbō whose real significance lies in depicting the ambivalence of his heroes' relationship with a community.

The best novelistic exemplification of such a concept of Kaikō's hero is his novel *Darkness in Summer*. Before the publication of *Darkness in Summer* the writer experienced much, as a traveler for whom there were no borders and no points too distant. He was faced the danger of death in the course of his work in Vietnam as a war correspondent. In the semi-documentary novel *Shining Darkness* the hero surrenders to the course of events; he has no possibility to exert influence on those events. He is a weak man, confused in a situation of contradicting values and powers. He cannot make a decisive step to choose one or the other side, or to find his own moral value. He makes observations, meets the Vietnamese and the Americans of conflicting attitudes. His heavy drinking makes him increasingly passive and languid. He is an observer of many small and some dramatic events – even the public execution of a young Vietnamese. These events provide “exotic” backdrop for the sense of solitude and the feeling of being a stranger, of the meaninglessness of staying in Saigon. The situation becomes unbearable, and the hero makes the decision to go into the jungle where the fighting is going on. He goes as a witness, as an observer.

“Doko demo watakushi wa shisha o ue kara mioroshite kite. Watakushi no me wa kesshite shisha no me to onaji ichi ni oriru koto ga nakatta”. (“Everywhere

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 42.

I looked down on the dead from above. My eyes never lowered to the same level at which the eyes of the dead were”¹⁷.

This story of a man who arrives from the outside and who has no reason to identify himself with the fate of the people surrounding him, is at the same time a message from a world of oxymora (e.g. “shining darkness”), corrupted politics, “dirty war”, and of belief in the victory of justice.

Darkness in Summer continues the theme of slackness and sensual satiation of man in “the time of soft bellies”¹⁸, and ultimately demands a rejection of inert, sensual vegetation in favor of a positive action. The narrator of the novel is on a journey somewhere in Europe. He drinks, eats, and sleeps, leading a life devoid of action. One day he meets his former girlfriend, a Japanese who lives in Germany, and love is added to their daily routine. After a week they both move to a city in which the woman has been studying for some years, probably Bonn in West Germany. The man suffers from feelings of hopelessness and melancholy that overwhelm him “like dirty water”. He recalls events from his last stay in Saigon, and notes that his past ten years have been spent on journeys. Later he and the woman go to a lake in the mountains, where they experience simple human joy, and gain the strength to live on. However, their return to the town brings back the feeling of boredom and laziness. When the woman reads her friend a fragment from a newspaper about the military actions in Vietnam, it moves him and he decides he must go back, though she begs him to stay with her. “You simply want to run away...”, she says. “You refuse just to decay, and so you spin round like a top. You can only stand when you’re turning round... Nobody is asking you to go there and die like a dog by a bucket of rubbish. Is this your great dream?”¹⁹.

Kaikō in *Darkness in Summer* is examining the wounds of his own generation, which in spite of everything has not stopped yearning for natural and simple sensitivity. Life, which consists in satisfying the senses, is deceptive. The only escape from this kind of “darkness” that the author seems to see is action. However, the value of “action” is vague. We know that the man is drawn back to Vietnam by his memories. But for what purpose does he go? Is it to observe events on a foreign country? Or to fight? And if so, then on which side? He is, after all, a Japanese who, outside of Japan, will feel excluded from the “local” rhythm of life, or will be considered a stranger. This is well illustrated in *Shining Darkness*. The hero does not, however, return to his country.

¹⁷ *Kagayakeru yami: Shinchōsha*, 1968, p. 88. See also Yoshida Nagahiro, “Hagisa kara kuru mono to sono kaisaku” “Kagayakeru yami” to no hikaku kentō in: *Kore zo Kaikō Takeshi*, publ. Omoshirohambun, Tokyo 1978, pp. 162-169.

¹⁸ The expression used by the author himself at the time of the first impression of the book (*Natsu no Yami*).

¹⁹ *Natsu no Yami: Shinchōsha*. 1972, p. 210.

Shining Darkness in Vietnam and *Darkness in Summer* in Europe present a man caught in the tight circle of his internal struggles. He has no prospect of winning this battle, as he well knows. However, he still believes that by leaving for a distant part of the world he will find some relationship between the world's and his own problems. This undeclared trust is a source of strength for this man adrift, this man who, on the verge of exhaustion, sees a spark of hope glowing somewhere far away²⁰.

Problems connected with the Vietnam War find a stronger or weaker reflection in short stories such as *Heishi no Hōshō* (A Soldier's Reward, 1965), *Furorida ni Kaeru* (Going back to Florida, 1966), *Kishibe no Matsuri* (Festival at the Riverside, 1967), *Kaizuka o tsukuru* (Building a Shell Mound, 1978), *Kaibutsu to Tsumayōji* (The Monster and the Toothpick, 1979) collected in the volume of *Aruku Kagetachi*.

In *A Soldier's Reward* an American sergeant returns from the front to Saigon and pays a visit on the narrator, a Japanese correspondent in Vietnam. They know each other, because the correspondent once stayed with his unit. The sergeant has been granted three days furlough as a reward for good "behavior". He was very happy to leave the fighting area, but this vacation proved to be a dubious reward. He does not feel any better in the city than in his military unit. He is a stranger with nothing to do but with plenty of time for thinking and feeling. Unable to endure the sense of meaninglessness and solitude, he resolves to go back to his unit ahead of time. He does not like the city, nor does he support this war, but he goes back to the fighting, to kill or to be killed. So strong is his sense of obligation towards his – what – society? nation? government?

Being an observer who does not know why he is there, the narrator does not differ much from the hero of *Shinning Darkness*. For though he said while in Tokyo ("I would like to see the true picture of the war in Asia") this now seems to him an insufficient reason. "I have come here because of purely individual motives. That's quite clear. I know it well. But I don't understand why I have done it. Absolutely, I don't comprehend it."²¹

In the epilogue to *Walking Shadows*, Kaikō states that he first went to Saigon in 1964, his second stay took place in 1968, and his third visit was in 1973. He traveled there to get materials to write articles requested by publishers and magazines, and not to write novels. However the abundance of blood and shadows he encountered forced him to write something more. He collected the stories about Southeast Asia he had written during these 15 years, and that was how the volume came into being²².

²⁰ Mikołaj Melanowicz, "Kaikō Takeshi – The Long Way Home" in: *An Invitation to Japan's Literature*, Tokyo: Japan Culture Institute, 1974: 152-154.

²¹ Kaikō Takeshi, *Zensakuhin*, vol. 8, p. 70.

²² *Aruku Kagetachi* ["Walking Shadows"] published by Shinchōsha in 1979, p. 321.

The best short story in the collection *Tama kudakeru* is not directly connected with the Vietnam theme.

“When, late one morning I awoke in a certain capital city I ascertained that I was not at the peak of fame, nor had I been transformed into a big beetle, I discovered simply that the decision to return had ripened”²³.

This is the beginning of the story, which may be considered as a point summing up the Vietnamese experience of the hero in a desperately ironic way. Of course, there is no necessity to limit the experience to Vietnam. One can include all the experiences of the traveler crossing over so many borders. However, we know that in the ten-years period covered by the story there occurred to the writer (whose porte-parole is the narrator of *Tama kudakeru*) no more important and tragic events than in Vietnam. I think that in this short story there are two main centers of gravity: the one, located in the episode on Lao-she in Hong Kong, the second, contained in that ball molded from the dirt which the hero carried on his skin after his journey.

Here are the elements of the plot of this exquisitely compact story. After making the decision to return home the hero acts as an automaton: he books an air ticket, pays his bill, takes a taxi to the airport, etc. But at this moment he becomes “overgrown with mould”, which testifies to his mood of melancholy and helplessness over the mere thought of returning to the place from which he has wrenched himself free. On his way home he stops in Hong Kong, where he meets an acquaintance, a Chinese who speaks Japanese. He had met him many years earlier and then visited him several times on his way to Japan. Each time they discussed the problem of the necessity of making a choice between “black” and “white”, because otherwise there is a danger of death on both sides.

This dangerous risk is imminent even when one makes his choice and supports one of the sides. They would try to find a way out of this dead-end²⁴, but without result, so they put off the matter until the next meeting.

This time, too, they are no wiser than before: neither of them found the golden mean. They talk about Lao-she and his death under ambiguous circumstances. Chang, the Chinese, mentions that several years earlier he had to interview Lao-she returning from Japan to China. The writer refused to talk about the situation of the Chinese writers in the People’s Republic of China. The sole topic they could talk about was Chinese cuisine.

On the last day of his stay in Hong Kong the narrator is taken to a bathhouse where he is scrubbed so thoroughly that the attendants made quite a big ball of the dirt taken from his skin, the ball mentioned in the title of the short story. On the following day he left for Tokyo. In the airplane he noticed that the ball wrapped in tissue paper became dry fine powder – the “extract of the memory of skin”. Only

²³ *ibid.*, p. 199.

²⁴ *Tama kudakeru*, op. cit., p. 202.

that, and nothing more remained from his journey. It would be simple-minded to expect that he would bring something important. Now, as before, after the experiences of journeys he is no less helpless towards the incomprehensible cruelty of man. The narrator does not condemn him nor is he surprised; he seems to understand and resign to his fate. He knows that he cannot affect the course of events. He cannot invent a new formula of relations with society, a formula which would allow him to exist freely, without the necessity of declaring one's attitude towards "black" or "white", and at the same time not to be suspected by both sides. This can be understood as an expression of longing for a new social order in which an individual would not be helpless, would not be imperiled by an unknown threat every minute of his life, which happens in contemporary cruel societies.

In connection with the understanding of "experience" and "memory", it would be helpful to mention a kind of confession of Kaikō found in the epilogue in the collection of essays *Me to Hifu no Kioku* (*Memory of Eyes and Skin*, 1974). We read there:

"...in "experience" there is something which one would like to call tattooing of one's heart with eyes. Eichmann was hanged, Biafra collapsed, blood is still flowing as before in the Middle East. Vietnam has again become an unknown and faraway country, however, today the civil war is and shall be repeated. Alone, deep in the night, saturated with alcohol, I am watching this tattoo. This image of an epoch without face and this trace in mud are too horrifying and at the same time too obscure. They make one or two pieces of a fragment perceived as a whole"²⁵.

In the above epilogue and in *Tama kudakeru* we sense the bitterness of a man who is aware of one's powerlessness, having no influence on the reconstruction of a badly organized society. Besides, he has no discernment of the whole, and his experience grasps only a small piece of one fragment.

However this image of man in Kaikō's works would be too schematic without putting some light on the other side of this man. In fact, the heroes of *Shining Darkness*, *Darkness in Summer*, and the other stories of the "post-Vietnamese" period have some pleasures which help them to go on living without the necessity of self-mortification and the risk of death. They like eating, and they have something to eat, they like drinking and they do it too, they also go fishing, like the author. Some of the stories and essays (*Romane Konti* 1935; *Saigo no Bansan*) propagate the principle: "Man who does not think about his belly, does not think about his head, either"²⁶. Not only in this collection of excellent essays on eating and related topics, but in other works of Kaikō, this prosaic, as it would seem, act plays an important role in the creating of a specific very human touch. Thus we get a man oriented exclusively towards this human or inhuman, but earthly, sensuous world.

²⁵ Kaikō Takeshi's 1967-78 essay "Hakuchū no Hakusō" in *Bungei Shunjū* YT (1979), 247.

²⁶ Kaikō Takeshi 1979. *Saigo no Bansan*. *Bungei Shunjū* YT (1979), 364.

As the author suggests in the essays, his hero is interested in his own belly; he acts in order to appease his hunger, thirst and sex. Many of Kaikō's protagonists have no time to think of higher goals neither of mind nor of spiritual life. They concentrate on the one which, as they think, is the most important for them, on gaining food (e.g. *Japanese Threepenny Opera*, *Descendants of Robinson*). Even in the new epoch of satiation and the multitude of things, they are working to satisfy their only needs: eating, drinking, making love (e.g. *Darkness in Summer*) instead of creating new values.

"When defining man, in the course of time they distinguish, every now and again, a new aspect: formerly they called him homo sapiens (atama no hito) and homo faber (te no hito); recently they say homo ludens (asobu hito) or homo movens (ugoku hito), and I am afraid that in future we shall have many kinds of homo..." – states Kaikō in the essays *Last Supper II* in his book *Saigo no Bansen* (Last Supper, 1979).

If we have to define man, whose images appear in the books of Kaikō, we could use the concept of homo faber rather than homo sapiens – here the Japanese expression "man of hands" seems to be most adequate. The term homo movens would be very useful, too, because movement and work, often in a very primitive form, are basic acts of the hero, who is not used to contemplate or experience the beauty of the world.

Kaikō began writing novels in opposition to Japanese aesthetic principles, opposing "Japanese lyricism". He adopted the tradition of Cervantes, Rabelais, Balzac, Saikaku, the picaresque novel. He often uses the method of enumeration in his descriptions of food and eating, in a manner reminiscent of Rabelais²⁷.

This means that he tries to restore in the Japanese novel the lost attachment to the reality of man, and the focusing on the living phenomena of human environment, on undisguised man with his defects, diseases and a dwarfish state, too.

There is no doubt that Kaikō's heroes are not positive characters, but they do not deserve to be condemned. After all, the author does not allow anybody to pass judgment on them. Besides, the society they live in leaves much to be desired. From the earliest to the latest works the author was trying to suggest that there was something not in order, that there was some fault in the organization of the society, because there was no convenient place for man in the society.

The false prevails upon the truth, hypocrisy prevails upon the truth, organization keeps individuals imprisoned and humiliates them. The world in which this man is living is bad. But Kaikō does not moralize, instruct or admonish, and he does not draw rash conclusions. He presents the fragments of the world as he sees them, but first of all he observes the bad organization of the society. Too much

²⁷ Saeki Shōichi, in *Commentary to Nihon Sammon Opera*, Kadokawa Bunko, 1961, 1966, p. 277.

effort, and the accumulated energy of people, is misused. Labor, often slave labor, is not a way to realize hopes. And man needs, as it seems, not much, but only an ordinary satisfaction of existence. The society in which the man of Kaikō's works lives does not offer such satisfaction.

Narrator and Character in Japanese Prose. A Discussion based on Tanizaki Jun'ichirō's Work

Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886–1965) was a great writer, authority, and admirer of his native culture and language. He was intrigued and fascinated by the culture which assimilated the heritage of Chinese and European thought, without losing its identity. Although subject to numerous changes, and enriched with new values in each new epoch, it has preserved something constant, something possible to trace from the deep Middle Ages up to the present time, and recognized as specifically Japanese.

Tanizaki repeatedly spoke on the specific features of the cultures of the East, having in mind particularly Japanese culture, and showed the complexity of assimilation of a foreign culture by the native one.

In the first quarter of the 20th century, Tanizaki was influenced by the European and American trends, but after 1923 he discovered a taste for the rich culture of his own country. Not all layers of cultural heritage, however, interested him in the same degree, not all of them contributed to the content and form of his work and played equally significant roles. Hence, the realization of the principal cultural sources will be particularly helpful for a proper understanding of Tanizaki's work. Therefore, the court-prose of the 10–12th centuries was of particularly great importance for the writer, especially *monogatari* and its main representative, the novel *Genji Monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*, XI c.).¹ As regards the epoch of the domination of the samurai culture, (XIII–VI) war tales, *nō* theater and partly *kyōgen* farce should be mentioned here. *Kusazōshi* (illustrated booklets), *yomihon* (books for reading), and *ninjōbon* (books of passions), belonging to the abundant prose of the bourgeois epoch, together with *kabuki* theater and the puppet theater of the same period (XVII–XIX) were of no less importance for the final shape of his plays, short stories and novels. As regards the Chinese culture, the influence of the classical Chinese language and the medieval Chinese novel can be detected. Also European prose (O. Wilde, E. A. Poe, H. Balzac, Stendhal, and others) and the drama and film of the beginning of the 20th century played no less signifi-

¹ *The Tale of Genji* by Lady Murasaki, transl. from Japanese by A. Waley, New York 1960.

cant role. In contrast to Kawabata Yasunari, however, the traditional lyrical poetry and Zen philosophy had a minor part in the formation of the writer's sensibility. Neither can a great interest in Confucianism be noticed, in contrast to Mori Ōgai, a writer of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. In general, the author of the *Diary of a Mad Old Man*² was never fascinated by the ethic which limited human passions or the aesthetic of rigorous simplicity. We shall not find in his work the complex Buddhist philosophy or apologetics, although the premises of the Buddhist outlook on life and the customs which accompany important events in people's life, often of the past epochs, are present. Thus, we have the work of the writer who was familiar with the rich heritage of at least ten centuries, and appreciated its significance for his country's contemporary life. He not only participated actively in the dialogue with the tradition, but also acquired accepting much of the heritage and familiarizing with it his contemporary and future readers.

In Tanizaki's almost 80 years-long life, 3 periods can be distinguished in conjunction with the places in which he used to live: 1) Tōkyō Period (until 1923), 2) Kansai Period, viz. the period of his stay in Kyōto, and in the vicinity of this ancient capital (1923–1950) and 3) Atami Period (1950–1965). This division is useful for the description of his output, however, not always sufficient. Alterations of style and content in a literary work of art are not necessarily paralleled with the corresponding changes of place of dwelling. But doubtlessly, the year 1923 was decisive both for the writer's life and the formation of his sensibility. It marks the boundary between the two sources of cultural inspirations: the culture of Kantō (Tōkyō) and – on the other hand – the culture of Kansai, rooted in the medieval court. Similarly, the year 1923 – the date of the great earthquake in Tokyo and its surroundings – marks the end of his intensive and active interest in European culture and begins his deeper interest in the native one.

If we, however, attempt to consider the characteristics of his work, exclusively, and on this basis to establish a periodization the principal boundary will shift to about 1927–1928 viz. the publication of his essays entitled *Jōzetsuroku* (*Time Talkative Chronicle*) and the first parts of the novel entitled *Manji* (*Buddhistic Swastika*, 1928 – 1930). Translation of *Sannin hōshi* (*The Three Monks*, 1929)³, short story of the 17th century, and publication of *Tade kuu mushi* (*Some Prefer Nettles*, 1929)⁴ would be then the threshold of a new period called classicistic (*koten jidai*). We

² Fūten rōjin nikki transl. into English by H. Hibbett, see *Diary of a Mad Old Man*, Tokyo 1969. Transl. into Polish by M. Melanowicz in the volume *Dziennik szalonego starca. Niektórzy wolą pokrzywy* (*Diary of a Mad Old Man. Some Prefer Nettles*), Warszawa 1972.

³ *Sannin hōshi* (*The Three Monks*) – abridged translation see *Anthology of Japanese Literature, from the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century* compiled and edited by D. Keene, New York 1955.

⁴ *Tade kuu mushi* transl. into English by E. G. Seidensticker, see *Some Prefer Nettles*, New York 1960. Polish translation (see note 2).

might assume that this period ended in 1941 with the translation of *Genji Monogatari* into modern Japanese. The new period (since 1942) is characterized by his return to contemporary themes. The masterpieces of the period are: *Sasameyuki* (*Snowflakes*, 1942–1948)⁵, *Kagi* (*The Key*, 1956)⁶, *Fūten rōjin nikki* (*The Diary of a Mad Old Man*, 1962) and the novel *Shōshō Shigemoto no haha* (*General Shigemoto's Mother*, 1950) representing the classicistic trend. In this way we might divide Tanizaki's work into the following stages:

1. Modernistic Period (1910–1926) characterized by the considerable influence of European literature, in particular O. Wilde's aestheticism. Early (1910–1923) and Transitional (1923–1926) Periods can be distinguished here.
2. Classicistic Period (1927–1941) characterized by the discovery and interpretation of the native culture.
3. Period of Return to the Present (1942–1965) with all the main themes of the previous periods. The problem of the role of sex in human life is emphasized here.

The proposed periodization of Tanizaki's work is very schematic and preliminary in character. Perhaps no classification would be free of criticism due to the fact that all through his life Tanizaki was faithful to several themes-obsessions – from the first short stories and plays until the last novels he considered the problem and role of beauty in human life, relation between art and life, love and sadomasochistic inclinations, he revealed nostalgia for his dead mother, female physical beauty, he thought of life and death in youth as well as in old age.

The following considerations will mainly be based on the material contained in the works of the Classicistic Period. We shall subsume under our speculations critical essays, novels and stories. At first, let us look closely at his critical and essayistic works.

Essays and sketches concerning the problem of the Eastern culture in confrontation with the West constitute a very important part of the output of this period. Much attention is also paid to the novel, which is of particular interest for this paper. Tanizaki's most important critical works of this period are: *Jōzetsuroku* (*The Talkative Chronicle*, 1927), *In'ei raisan* (*In Praise of Shadows*, 1933–1934)⁷, *Bunshō tokuhon* (*The Handbook of Style*, 1934) and such essays as: *Gendai kōgobun-no ketten-ni tsuite* (*On the Weaknesses of Contemporary Japanese Language*, 1929), *Ren'ai oyobi shikijō* (*Love and Sex*, 1931), *Watakushi no mita Ōsaka oyobi Ōsakajin* (*Osaka and Its Citizens as I See Them*, 1932), *Tōkyō o omou* (*I Recall Tokyo*, 1934) and others.

⁵ *Sasameyuki* (*Snowflakes*) transl. into English by E. G. Seidensticker under the title *The Makioka Sisters*, Tokyo 1972.

⁶ *Kagi* – transl. into English by H. Hibbett under the title *The Key*, 1962.

⁷ *In'ei raisan* – in English *Beauty in Shadows*, “Contemporary Japan”, 1942, vol., no. 1; *Praise of Shadows*, transl. by E. G. Seidensticker, “Atlantic Monthly”, January 1955; “Japan Quarterly”, 1955, vol. 1, no. 1 (data from *Modern Japanese Literature in Western Translations. A Bibliography*, Tokyo 1972).

Controversy about the plot in the novel

Jōzetsuroku is a collection of essays published between January – December 1927 in the magazine “Kaizō”. The very first part of this *Talkative Chronicle* attracted the attention of the readers by its brave praise of the popular novel entitled *Daibosatsu tōge* (*The Pass of the Great Buddha*) by Nakazato Kaizan (1885–1944), considered the author of the so-called mass novels, which were of no interest for the contemporary critics. Tanizaki’s interest and defense of this kind of literature meant appreciation of the literary values it possessed, and what is more – was a protest against the narrow-mindedness of the contemporary critics. At this time a controversy with Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (1892–1927) who published an essay entitled *Bungeiteki na, amari ni bungeiteki na* (*Literary, Too Much Literary*) began. However it did not last long – as we know in July 1927 Akutagawa committed suicide.

The principal objective of the controversy was the problem of the role of the plot in the novel, the plot understood as the chain of events in a literary work of art. Tanizaki favored the novel with the plot and attributed particular significance to the sequence and mutual connection of events. He declared himself against the novel typical of the late Japanese naturalists, often constructed of loosely connected sketches from the author’s personal life and his surroundings, utilizing mainly description and narration. He did not attack Akutagawa, since he had no reason to. Akutagawa – like Tanizaki – often employed materials included in documents and native classical works. He also wrote short stories in which plot had a very important function. However, a few months preceding his death, physically and mentally exhausted, he started to write autobiographical sketches. At this time his chief interest was the writer as a critic and a thinker, and did not attribute particular importance to composing a “normal novel”. The truth of the writer’s inner life in confrontation with the outer world, was a greater concern to him. Tanizaki meditated over the style of his future works, his interest drifting towards the old Japanese novel (*monogatari*). He maintained that a modern novel – like the ancient one – should be fictitious, and not the immediate description of reality. “Lately I’ve felt a strange inclination while writing or reading other authors works, I’m not interested in them if they are not fictitious [*uso* —lie]. I do not intend to read or write employing facts, that is realistically”⁸, he says in *Jōzetsuroku*. Further on he writes that he does not read contemporary works because they contain no fiction. He rejects them after a few pages, when he notices that the author speaks about himself and his background. Tanizaki admits that he prefers them to create works about past times, or distant events: for example *Daibosatsu tōge*, G. Moore’s *Heloïse and Abélard*, or Stendhal’s *Parmenian Hermitage*. He quotes Akutagawa’s view, decreasing the role of the plot in the novel and emphasizes that

⁸ *Jōzetsuroku*, see Tanizaki Jun’ichirō *zenshū* (TJZ), Tokyo 1958, vol. 16, p. 162.

he is of different opinion, because of the thrill of combining things into one whole, the charm of structure, of architectural beauty that are hidden in the plot. Architectural beauty in literature is best embodied in the novel. Hence, the privilege of the genre cannot be rejected. And the weakness of the Japanese novel is just its inability to combine the complexity of events into one structural unity – claims Tanizaki, having sound reasons. From the point of view of the development of the European novel Tanizaki can be accused of conservatism or an attempt to oppose the undergoing changes, the essence of which was to denigrate the plot in the 20th century. However, in the context of the development of Japanese literature, Tanizaki's announcement had a deeper sense. On the one hand Tanizaki postulated for maintenance of the best tradition of the native novel, and on the other hand, opposed the principal weaknesses of the development of Japanese contemporary prose, and the under-appreciation of the plot and episodic character, impressionism not subjected to rigorous rules of composition – the weak points, particularly, of the so-called I-novel. Probably the tradition of intimate diaries (*nikki*) and literary sketches (*zuihitsu*) of the early Middle Ages (from the 11th c.) was revived in the genre of the I-novel (*watakushi shōsetsu*) transforming it into a diary of impressions and speculations of the characters and the narrator. The remedy, in this situation, could only be the restoration of the importance of the plot which had performed a significant function in the composition of the court novels (X–XII) and numerous variations of the modern novels of the Edo Period. Since the Japanese novel was inferior to the European novel with respect to its composition, Tanizaki could only turn to European tradition in order to formulate his views. He was not only familiar with E. A. Poe and O. Wilde, but also H. Balzac and Stendhal. He wrote plays and screenplays being fully aware that much of the artistic value of a piece of art is dependent on the elaborate combination of events. Years before European literature convinced him about that, in the late twenties he also found arguments in the native tradition.

Peculiarities of the Japanese novel

Much more attention is paid to literature by Tanizaki in his review of the novel by Nagai Kafū entitled *Tsuyu no atosaki* (*During the Rains*, 1931)⁹. He reminds us that the novel had begun to play an important role since the time of Meiji (exactly since the end of the 19th century) under the influence of Western literature. In contrast to this new form of artistic prose (*shōsetsu* — *novelette*, short story, novel) the early medieval *monogatari* (tale, short story, novel) presented human life and customs of his epoch employing fictitious characters – holds Tanizaki. The author

⁹ “*Tsuyu no atosaki*” o yomu see TJZ, vol. 22, pl. 55-76.

of *monogatari* introduced in his work several or even more characters, established spatiotemporal relations among them disconnected with the dimensions of the author's world. He did not reveal himself directly in the works; he did not appear in the presented world as one of the characters. The author behaved as if he had been using a mirror to reflect the world moving before him. The writer did not look into his characters psyche. He simply made the characters appear on the stage, talk and move; the events accumulated and piled up and due to these the shape of the changing life was attained. As if on a painting or scroll, a much valued form of art. It was in this sense, that the outstanding writers were employing the technique of objective description, withholding their subjective opinions on the events and characters. Presenting the thrills and bitterness of life through various examples they elicited the impression of authentic experience to the reader, thus enriching his views and feelings.

After these considerations Tanizaki adds that such novels are also to be found in the West, but – he emphasizes – in the East almost all writers wrote like this, in Japan as well as in China. The point is, that the older Japanese writers put more emphasize on the plot (*suji*) often not bothering about the internal or external description of characters. They moved their characters from stage to stage like pawns on the chessboard. Although the interest in the dialogue increased near the end of the Tokugawa epoch, also called Edo (XVIII–XIX), the individuality of the speaker was still of no concern to the writer. Tanizaki does not think that this attitude resulted from the immaturity of the writing technique. It was rather the dominating, in the East, tendency to view man as a part of nature and treat him in descriptions as “grass, trees or stones.” Tanizaki suggests that this attitude might have been derived from the thought of Laozi¹⁰, though he refrains from any further development of this interesting suggestion. One should not, however, conclude from the above that the novel in China and Japan developed in similar ways. In its earliest period the Japanese novel (tale, story) began and developed without the help of the Chinese one, which emerged a few centuries later.¹¹ But doubtlessly one can speak of a certain similarity in the treatment of characters as an integral part of great Nature, and also of the resulting from it, according to European criteria, weakness in characterology. In both traditions there is a lack of dramatic tension accompanying man in his struggle against destiny, lack – so to speak – of conflict between the mutually exclusive existential levels – conflict of opposing ultimate values, which might be considered as a distinguishing factors of the tragic vision of the created world. There are, no doubt, resemblances between the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

¹¹ If we assume that *San-kuo-chih-yen-i* (*History of Three Kingdoms*) was a fully developed Chinese novel then the first Japanese novel *Utsubo monogatari* (*Tale about a Hollow in a Tree Trunk*) was written 4 centuries earlier. In different conditions and for different readers novels in Japan (aristocracy) and China (by middle class) were written.

classical Japanese novel of the 10 – 12th centuries and the Chinese one, but there are also great discrepancies, from which the lyrical factor and poetic mood in the old Japanese prose, and the objectivity and realism of description in Chinese ought to be mentioned. It should not be forgotten that we are discussing here the Japanese prose of the 10–12th and the Chinese of the 14–16th centuries.

The views on the novel which we find in the paper entitled *Ren'ai oyobi shikijō* (*Love and Sex*) are of interest for us. Not without reasons Tanizaki claims that the greatest influence of the European literature in Japan is visible in the so-called “liberation of love” or more precisely “liberation of sex.”¹² As we know, love in European literature is an all-embracing theme – not much of literature would be left provided all love events and motifs were removed. On the other hand the situation in China is entirely different. In the old Chinese prose and poetry not much is said about love of man and woman. Even in the works of such outstanding poets like Li Po (701–762) or Tu Fu (712–770) instead of love we find the motif of sadness evoked by parting with a friend. In the East – observes Tanizaki – love and love desires were only alluded to: this being one of the dogmas of good artistic taste.

However, it would be erroneous to infer from the above generalization that there are neither descriptions of love, nor eroticism in the Japanese literature from before the 19th century. In the period XVII–XIX love and erotic literature belonged to entertainment, and was considered inferior. This epoch has not created great love symbols comparable with European Beatrice and Laura. Love towards a woman as presented in literature, was not granted the same rank as in Europe; it remained in the province of inferior affairs, not deserving great poetic exultation and adulation. And the reason was perhaps the exceptionally low social position of woman in that society. Since the 13th century the woman was gradually becoming almost a slave and to adore her with love and affection was in disagreement with the ethic of chivalry. Man's inclination for woman would degrade him as a knight (*samurai*). In Medieval Europe – as we know – manhood and chivalry were never contradictory with kneeling before woman, they were rather mutually nobilitating. However, tales, intimate diaries and poetry proved that in Japanese literature before the 13th century women were respected by men who treated them as beings dear and worthy of poetic passions. Love gave origin to thousands of “short songs” (*tanka*), was a theme of many a chapter in tales, stories or anecdotes. There was no room in this literature either for overt eroticism or for explicit praise or description of the female body, because nakedness was considered repulsive. A change in this respect came in the 17th century, simultaneously with the development of both middle class culture and the degradation of woman's social position. It was Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693) who expressed his overt admiration for nakedness, admiration for the female beauty, on the pages of the novels of human passions. Love as presen-

¹² TJZ, vol. 15, p. 202.

ted by him is neither burdened with fear of God nor fear of committing sin. It is neither patronized nor condemned by God. It gives opportunity to experience the total joy of physical love, but provides no condition for it to become absolute. The hero (Yonosuke)¹³ does not need overcome either woman's resistance, hypocrisy or social prejudices, like Don Juan for instance. He makes love with women destined for giving love. The same writer presents a different love in his later works – let us call it romantic love – bringing not only joy and physical pleasure, but also defeat and death. Human passion comes into conflict with various forms of obligation and social restrictions. Nonetheless, in both cases woman, as the object of love desires, does not even regain the position she held in Heian Period, and in particular in *Genji Monogatari*. It was no sooner than in the second half of the 19th century – suggests Tanizaki – that the poetry of romantic poets grouped round the journal “Bungakukai” (“Literary World”) and “Myōjō” (“Morning Star”) and the prose of naturalists of the beginning of the 20th century brought a new vision of love, sexual desires and woman. Together with the nobilitation of the novel – denigrated since the 17th century – comes a nobilitation of love as one of its themes.

If we consider Tanizaki's prose in the above context, it will not be difficult to notice that his literary vision of love and woman takes inspiration from three major sources: the cult of beauty in the Heian Period (particularly *The Tale of Genji*), enchantment with the beauty of the female body in Ihara Saikaku's work, and the vision of woman in European tradition (her superiority to all other beings of this world and even demonization). In Tanizaki's work, woman symbolizes beauty, creative as well as destructive, but never unimportant in human life. In the early period, his ideal was the woman conscious, particularly, of her physical attributes – not only beautiful and humble but also active, independent, and breaking social and moral constraints. About such a woman the poets and writers dreamt – contemporary of young Tanizaki – as he admits himself. But such change in life – from a submissive woman in the feudal epoch, to the emancipated one – was not possible in one or two generations. Literature is a reflection of reality, but at the same time the former exceeds the latter by a step – holds the writer.¹⁴ Natsume Sōseki (1867 – 1916) presented in his novels a woman conscious and independent, but in real life they were rarely met. It was rather a postulate – in agreement with Tanizaki's aspirations – than a description of reality. In the next period, classicistic, Tanizaki sought the ideal of the beautiful woman in the native tradition – which is attested to by the stories and novels of this period and the writer's private life.¹⁵ To create the vision of his heroines – especially in historical novels – he had to go back to

¹³ Yonosuke – hero of Ihara Saikaku's novel *Kōshoku ichidai otoko* (*The Life of a Man Who Lived for Life*).

¹⁴ TJZ, vol. 17, p. 204.

¹⁵ See M. Melanowicz, *Tanizaki Jun'ichirō*. “Przegląd Orientalistyczny”, 1974, nr 4/92.

documents. But he encountered great difficulties here. Since it was considered embarrassing to express love openly in the Samurai Middle Ages, the preserved love letters are rather unique. What is more, there is no fundamental information on famous beauties connected with known historical persons. It is often not certain who was the legitimate wife of a chief or aristocrat. Though the data concerning male offspring were carefully noted in family chronicles, there were no female names or surnames included. They simply noted “woman” or “daughter” – without names and dates of birth. The preserved portraits of contemporary beauties are stereotypic, devoid of individual features. Bearing this in mind, it would be easier to understand the poor characterization of heroines in Tanizaki's historical novels.

But there is even more serious reason for such a treatment of heroines (and also heroes), writes Tanizaki in *Love and Sex*. The point is that one of the more important principles of upbringing and educating was suppressing individuality, control of words and gestures, and non-revealing emotions. Since the Middle Ages the above was compulsory for women, who were taught to conceal their emotions and subject to the accepted model of virtue. And the ancestors had always possessed such a model. It was also the duty of pupils, whose principal was to be on the level with the masters. No doubt, it was one of the reasons for the permanence of traditional norms and the scarce individual description of characters in novels.

Narrator and traditional elements in Tanizaki's prose

In classical Japanese tale and novel the third person narration was dominant, which unequivocally determined the role and place of the narrator. His authoritative position gave him complete control over the world genetically dependent on him. His characteristic was the complete knowledge of the world he was talking about. Knowing the fates of the characters at their very birth, possibility of appearance of new characters about which the acting character could not know yet, the narrator expressed his fortune-teller's power, alluding to persons and events which were to appear and take place many years later.¹⁶ He had at his disposal a sort of Divine Power, not requiring further justification. Such position of the narrator had also been dominant in the European realistic novel until the 19th century, even today it constitutes the principle of the structure of narration, not only in the “traditional novel”. In Japanese court tales, narration was impersonal, making it possible for the created world to be presented objectively, as if reflected in the mirror. Because the plot was frequently not dominant, the central point of view of the narrator shifted with the change of the complex events. However, the authoritativeness of

¹⁶ See I. Morris, *Świat Księcia Promienistego*, transl. by T. Szafar, Warszawa 1973, p. 257 (in English *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life of Japan*, Oxford University Press, 1964).

the description of what the characters do, and what the world they live in is like, did not change. The narrator did not specify precisely the temporal and spatial boundaries of this world. He permitted many subplots and events, and the gaps which resulted allowed for speculations, hence additional suggestions concerning other possible events, missing in the novel.

We said above that the narrator in the classical Japanese novel describes the world which moves before his eyes, as if it were moving in front of the mirror. It excludes or at least limits considerably – the possibility of presenting the world as seen by the characters of the novel, which is provided by the oldest form of Japanese artistic prose. We mean here intimate diaries (*nikki*)¹⁷, which flourished at the time of maturity of the tale and court novel (X – XI). In *nikki* – as in some literary sketches (*zuihitsu*) – there is a personal narrator observing the outer world and the inner one from his limited perspective. Thus, so characteristic for the court *monogatari*¹⁸, distance between the narrator's speech and characters is lost. The narrator's opinions are basically relative. The narrator directly addresses the receiver – in contrast to his “go-between” function in the novel. Moreover, he talks as a rule (there are also exceptions) about the present moment, about his time. He is also the hero of his story.

The distance in *monogatari* is due not only to the superior position of the narrator to the presented world. It is provided not only by the narrator in the function of the character of the presented world, but in the function of a “go-between”, set between this world and the times of the reader. The story refers to the past exclusively, about which the narrator is well informed. When everything to be narrated is already in the past, problems and character's fates are determined. The narrator tells of what possibly had occurred some time ago, in the more or less distant past. With the progressing narration he will be approaching the times of the reader, but he will never cross the temporal boundary between the past and his (narrator's) present. This is similar in the oral tales, legends and myths, from which *monogatari* had possibly emerged.

If, bearing in mind the above features of the narrator, we look at Tanizaki's works written in the classicistic period, we shall notice that the patterns adopted from the tradition and utilized or proposed by the author are more varied. Third person narration is employed in four, out of ten works taken under consideration, viz. *Tade kuu mushi* (*Some Prefer Nettles*), *Rangiku monogatari* (*The Tale of the Dispersed Chrysanthemum*, 1930), *Bushū kō hiwa* (*Secret Story about the Lord of Masashi*, 1935)¹⁹ and *Neko to Shōzō to futari no onna* (*Cat, Shozo and Two Women*,

¹⁷ On *nikki* see ZRL, 1973, vol. XVI, nr 2 (31).

¹⁸ On *monogatari* see ZRL, 1975, vol. XVIII, nr 1 (34), p. 118-126.

¹⁹ *Bushū kō hiwa* – transl. into Italian by A. R. Suga under the title *Vita segreta del Signore di Bushu*, Milano 1970.

1936). The third person narrator determines the final outlook of such known, though not analyzed here, novels like *Sasameyuki* (the title of American translation *The Makioka Sisters*) and *Shōshō Shigemoto no haha* (*General Shigemoto's Mother*).

The narrator in *Tade kuu mushi*, who is located beyond the created world, shifts the central (as if the author's) point of view from one group of characters (Kaname – Misako) to the other (Kaname – Ohisa – father-in-law). A similar kind of the narrator can be found in *Neko to Shōzō...* and in *Rangiku...*, however in the latter we may detect the multitude of perspectives of narration, which change almost with every alteration of places and characters. This, of course, excludes unity and coherence of the work, making it a series of episodic tales. In *Bushū kō hiwa* there is the first person narrator (author's narration) with a limited knowledge, who reconstructs and interprets the created world. Hence, changeability of the point of view which is common with classical *monogatari*, is also characteristic of the majority of mentioned works, in particular of popular novel viz. *Rangiku monogatari*. Though the narrator in *Bushū kō hiwa* is in the third person, he qualitatively differs from his classical prototype. He addresses the reader many times, thus he identifies with the author. He is not omniscient; his competence is limited by the historical sources. Although his story refers to the distant past, still the formal device combining this past with the narrator, chronicle, is preserved.

With the works with the first person narrator the matter is even more complex. Here the author makes the most interesting experiments, connecting elements of classical form with the contemporary. In the novel *Manji*, the woman-narrator relates her experiences, at the present moment, to her listener, called by her "sensei" (master, teacher, doctor, tutor). The novel has the form of an oral confession of a person, who is one of the characters of the novel. In the story *Mōmoku monogatari* (*A Blind Man's Tale*, 1931)²⁰ the narrator is located in the past and also relates his past experiences to the listener, called by him "danna" (master). His story is a monologue with the characteristic retrospections and forerunning. As regards the structure of narration, it reminds one more closely of Slavic *skaz*. In *Yoshino kuzu* (*Arrowroots of Yoshino*, 1931) the contemporary existing narrator also recalls the events from his not so distant past. In the course of the narration he also functions as a hero-listener. A similar form was employed more consequently in *Ashikari* (*I Feel Bad without You...*, 1932)²¹, in which the contemporary narrator recalls the past events and he changes into the listener of the main tale of the second narrator, Narrator II. In *Shunkinshō* (*A Portrait of Shunkin*, 1933)²²

²⁰ *Mōmoku monogatari* – transl. into English by H. Hibbett, see *A Blind Man's Tale*, [in:] *Seven Japanese Tales*, New York 1965.

²¹ *Ashikari and the Story of Shunkin*, transl. into English by R. Humpherson and Hajime Okita, Tokyo 1936. Polish translation by M. Melanowicz in: *Dwie opowieści o miłości okrutnej*, Warszawa 1971.

²² *A Portrait of Shunkin*, [in:] *Seven Japanese Tales*.

the contemporary narrator reconstructs the character's past on the bases of a fictitious document and the witness' testimony. He is a kind of a researcher investigating the preserved relics in order to know the by-gone world. The author-narrator in *Kikigakishō* (*A Collection of Narrated Tales*, 1935) behaves like a historian who brings important, from his point of view, matters out of a document, arranges and interprets them. The main line of the story has the previous narrator fixed in the document. The narrator often reminds the author of himself, especially when he comments on how to write novels, and the author often identifies with him.

It also follows from the above survey that the story based on a colloquial monologue plays an important role in the structure of the narration (*Mōmoku monogatari*, *Manji*, *Yoshino huzu*, *Ashikari*, *Kikigakishō*) which itself is different from the majority of classical *monogatari* of the 10th and 11th centuries. It does not mean, however, that in the native classical prose Tanizaki did not find similar, inspiring sources. For instance, one of the historical novels, the so-called "mirror" *Ōkagami* (*The Great Mirror*, XI) has the form of a tale of two old men in the presence of a group of listeners in a temple. The narrator was there among the listeners, as if he took down the tale. It seems, however, that it was the frame story of the kind *otogizōshi* (fairy tales) entitled *Sannin hōshi* (*The Three Monks*, XV) which Tanizaki translated into modern Japanese, that made him consider the form of the old novels – early as well as late medieval. For this reason it deserves our attention here. In the introduction to this work Tanizaki informed us that the author and the place at which it was written are unknown. It is not outstanding – he admits – written in not too elaborated a style, but it is distinguished by an interesting composition of the tale of the three monks. It is for the composition that the work should be granted much literary value. This opinion is an evidence for his particular interest in this work for its composition exclusively. Let us look closer at it.

There are some people who live on Kōya Mountain who, disillusioned with secular life, devote their time to religious practice. One evening, three such hermits met and one of them proposed, instead of meditating, to talk about the reasons for which they had rejected their previous life. This part of the work has third person narration. The next part consists of the first person monologues, constituting the history of the three monks, narrated directly in the form of a confession. The closing word is by the third person narrator, who informs about the conclusions the hermits drew from their own stories. They declared that the evil is the other side of the good.

As in this 15th century story, the main contents and plots of the works involved are included in these monologues-confessions. The auctorial narrator presenting the situation was substituted by the personal one or eliminated. Thus, the following three types of structure of narration were created:

A. Narrator I (I) and Narrator II (I). The second is at the same time a character (in *Ashikari*).

- B. Narrator I (I) who brings plots out of documents (a) in *Shunkinshō*, or the narrator animates new narrators presenting story (b) in *Kikigakishō*.
- C. Narrator (I), a character too, directly relating events in the presence of the listener in *Mōmoku monogatari* and *Manji*.

In A and B the writer employs and transforms the classical model of the frame story, in case of C – model of personal narration.

As we mentioned earlier, Tanizaki who was against the I-novel did not reject the first person narration. He was also well acquainted with the formal changes of European prose. The turn to the first person narration – as we know – appeared one of the most significant changes of the novel in the end of the 19th century in Europe²³ and in the beginnings of the 20th century in Japan (late naturalism, modernism). It is common knowledge that this form of narration is not the invention of the 19th or 20th centuries, it was also known in the 18th century (Fielding): it was rejected by the great realistic writers of the 19th century. In the 3rd person narration the point of view of the narrator can be arbitrarily changed and shifted to various characters and places, it is then a matter of choice. In the personal novel (I person) it is obligatory, closely connected with the narrator, who – depending on the ideology and assumptions of the author – can represent a document from the character-narrator's life or his confession of experiences and viewpoints. Thus the direction of evolution from documentary to confession is characteristic of the development of the Japanese naturalism, one of the significant consequences of which was the I-novel. Tanizaki attempts to overcome this danger of destruction of the composition of the novel, changing it into a series of sketches on the everyday and hopeless life of a given person. The inclination of personal prose to human documentation and impressionistic characterization Tanizaki overcomes by means of the nobilitation of the old fashioned plot, by introducing additional narrators based on the many century-old tradition of medieval monk-tellers and their reflection in the form of written literature. The third essential and determining the character method was providing him with inclination to learning the truth about the world and people of by-gone times (*Shunkinshō*).

The personal novel uses often non-fictitious forms like diary, journal, letter and relation of an eyewitness. This view is supported by Tanizaki's prose – not mentioned here and not falling within the scope of our considerations, the masterpiece *Fūten rōjin nikki* (*Diary of a Mad Old Man*) and *Kagi* (*The Key*). We mean here particularly the imitation of the, sanctioned in the respective culture, non-fictitious works. Diary, chronicle, journal or the relation of a witness are often historical in character and support in Tanizaki's work the truth of personal narration – by nature tending to be subjective. It should be emphasized that Tanizaki brought to perfection the method of using fictitious documents (the same device was employed earlier

²³ See M. Głowiński, *Powieść młodopolska*, Wrocław 1969, p. 192.

by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke in his tale *Hōkyōnin no shi*, The Death of the Christian, 1918) and less known historical sources. Employing historical or fictitious documents he attributed particular importance to his narrator: a) the narrator's task was not only to say what, where and why? b) he had to be active – discovering, classifying and interpreting facts from the past. Though Tanizaki's narrator was modeled according to the principal traditional trends of court-novel and court intimate diaries of the 11th century, the influence of European tradition cannot be denied.

Characters in Tanizaki's prose and traditional sources

As far as social influence of the novel is concerned, realistic as well as historical of the 19th century (and its consequence in the 20th century) in Europe, it was the characters not the narrator that played the most important role. They are characterized by their immediate actions, description of their behavior, description of outer and inner features. Much room is devoted to the description of the features of outer appearance as the premises for psychological analysis, transformed many a time into an elaborated and introspective treatment of mental states and complications. The heroes' relations with other characters and also with the outside world were exposed. The characters became types or individuals representing respective social, class groups. They became the carriers of the principal problems of the 19-20th centuries with their obsessions, fears, hopes, and questions about the elementary and ultimate truths. They fought against God or sought Him, experienced class crises, clashes between the ideal and reality. In the arrangement of character's fates, a tendency to tragic solutions, leading to death or unjust misfortune can be observed.²⁴ So they are the carriers of a particular conception of human fate, to which the plot and their solutions are subjected.

Against this background Tanizaki's characters are not equally imposing: they do not affect the reader with their greatness or tragic vision of fate. First of all, Tanizaki introduces a limited number of characters in the mentioned works. He also limits their relations with other members of society. They move in the world which is somehow removed from society, nation, country, or even class or group. Acting extremely, they disappear into indefiniteness, as if into the darkness. In fact, the characters often live in the world of darkness – often as the blind – in total darkness. Many important events take place at night. It is only then that the main characters are visible – everything else around is drawn in darkness. Even by day, the same principle is observed – the surroundings are hidden in mist, the human face is devoid of sharp expressiveness, as if in mist. This treatment of characters

²⁴ On H. Sienkiewicz's novels for instance see T. Bujnicki, *Trylogia Sienkiewicza na tle tradycji polskiej powieści historycznej*, Wrocław 1973, p. 97.

and space in which they exist and act is the outcome of the specific concept of culture and also of the novel. The author discusses this issue in *In'ei raisan* (*In Praise of Shadows*), the volume devoted to a critique of culture. Frequently referring to examples, particularly to architecture, Tanizaki says that the Japanese do not like glittering objects, instead they prefer dull colors, as if aged and left with a patina. In contact with such objects, the heart rests better. Doubtlessly there are colorful objects in Japanese culture, but the beauty of their colors emanates in darkness not by daylight. It was in the darkness that the Japanese discovered beauty. "The Mysticism of the East", about which they talk in the West probably means the silence of darkness, which often evokes the feeling of coldness and fear. Golden screens, colorful pots and clothes would have a spotlight like function. Since the Late Court Period, the female body, often clothed and almost locked in the depth of pavilions, was also hidden in darkness. Near the end of his speculations Tanizaki says:

Beauty is not hidden in the object itself [*buttai*] but in the design of shade, that arises among objects, or more simply, beauty lies in the interplay of darkness and light.²⁵

Tanizaki wanted to revive in literature this already disappearing world of shadow and darkness, in 20th century civilization.

I wish to deepen – he writes in *In'ei raisan* – the eaves of the palace called literature, to darken the walls, to put into darkness the things which are too visible, to tear useless ornaments of the interiors. It need not be done all along the street, but I wish there were at least one such a house. What will it be like? I shall switch off the light for a test.²⁶

The author, however, did not state precisely how he imagined this world of darkness in literature would look. From the examples described above, one may infer that he meant to locate characters and events in darkness of space and time, to use colors and passions, to perceive beauty, in the relations between things – the elements of the world. He wants to show and perceive beauty – and meaning – suggested by the relations of the set of elements, and the impressiveness results not from the precision of the description of things, but from the ambiguity of only sketched ones.

So the principal feature of Tanizaki's characterization is scarcity of means and concentration on suggesting a shape rather than an univocal description. Neither is physiognomy paid more attention (with the exception of some women) nor the shape and expressions of face provide basis for psychological characterization. Only women are devoted a description, very scarce however, often limited to an assertion

²⁵ TJZ, vol. 22, p. 30: "Bi wa buttai ni aru no de wa naku, buttai to buttai to no tsukuridasu in'ei'no aya, mei'an ni aru to kangaeru".

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

of their beauty, and what sort of beauty it is. Often immediate means of characterization are employed: an old faded photograph, a portrait showing no individual features, the blind man's imagination, socially accepted norms suggesting a traditional type of beauty. Even less attention and room is given to the description of male characters. Little is known about their physiognomy, clothes and their virtues. It is only by locating them in a particular cultural circle and hints as to their age that suggest to the reader their hypothetical appearance.

Certain features of personality are drawn more strongly. But even in this case the author rarely characterizes his heroes directly by means of a description. The features of characters are revealed through behavior, gestures, and situations, but it does not mean they are a puzzle for the reader. The other characters' reactions in an individual and cultural situation explain it. The behavior and deeds are not given one uniform evaluation; they rather suggest various possibilities of interpretation. Particularly female characters gain a certain aura of mystery and distance. The indefiniteness of their motifs moves them beyond the mediocrity of secondary characters, particularly men. In the reader's or even narrator's opinion they seem to belong to the world of higher rank (gods) who need not explain these or other decisions. So, through the scarce characterization the author gains justification for his cult and man's worship of woman.

The heroines of Tanizaki's early works (before *Manji*) are imperious, merciless and do not hide their inclinations and prejudices. They do not accept any social or moral norms, which might limit their passions. In fact, they attribute no particular importance to social morality. Their behavior is neither moral nor immoral – according to the narrators. They follow in their behavior their nature, not subjected to rigorous norms established by other people. It is for the beauty of their body together with outer stimuli of their activity that they are called demonic women and the works in which they appear belong to so-called diabolism.

Also bodily drives hidden in subconsciousness thus not observable in their normal social life, decide the behavior of the heroines of the classical period. The difference is that the latter reveal neither their feeling nor their emotions. They were given the masks of classicistic beauties: their personalities are subjected to the principles of portraits of court ladies, samurai wives and daughters, stereotyped masks of *nō* theater, and the faces of puppets from modern theater (Oyū, Oichi, Ohisa, Kikyō, Shunkin). Passions were subjected to certain types, but they did not stop to decide about the motifs of behavior and activity. The impulses hidden in darkness were revealed through specification of certain desires. Immediately after this indefinite force appeared, the fates of the characters were determined. It is difficult to talk here about the change, development or maturation of characters. Naturally the characters grow older, the situations in which they act accumulate but the hero doesn't undergo any inner change, it remains basically the same to the very end. To frequent features of personality belong obsessions with beauty, lust

for a woman of enormous beauty, masochistic tendency to sacrifice, sadistic inclination to ruling and tormenting. Neither Kaname, Sasuke and Shunkin nor Oyū or Yaichi recognize such notions like nation, state, fatherland or religion. Hence, they cannot decide about the creation of attitudes, characters or ideologies. There are only cultural-aesthetic motivations and inner impulses hidden in darkness. The combination of the two is best represented in *Bushō kō hiwa*, when a beautiful girl washed the heads of the beheaded – a scene watched by the main character.

If there are any ultimate and absolute things for these characters, then they are connected with the cult of female beauty. There is no reflection in their lives, over the essence of existence, life, love or the existence of God. There is only pure life and pure love in the disguise of traditional aestheticism. Many heroes are characterized by the ages-long anxiety for beauty, not for God. For them the concept of God – as it was said – does not exist.

Neither positive nor negative characters are found among them, since they do not embody moral values. Kaname, Misako, Ohisa etc. from *Some Prefer Nettles*, are neither positive nor negative. But the relations among them gives rise to certain values preferred by the narrator which does not mean that he rejects others as bad and hostile. Similarly, in *Ashikari*, *Shunkinshō* and other works, everyone is predisposed to good and evil, greatness and smallness, like in *Bushū kō hiwa*. The system of rewards and punishments does not play any role here, because there is no moral basis for their distribution. So, the principle, typical of the late prose of the Edo period: praise of the good and condemnation of the evil, according to Confucian ethics, does not work here. Tanizaki did not accept indiscriminately the moral and ethical norms of the past. What fascinated him in the past was, first of all, the forms of expressing beauty, forms of culture capable of serving modern man. Consequently, the character is an acting being rather than a thinking one – similar to the majority of classical Japanese artistic prose. In his activity he is neither spontaneous nor changing the world: it is self-directed and realized in a passive attitude. There is, however, some force in this passivity which leads him in the appropriate direction. In Tanizaki's work that direction (for men) is most frequently the hero's attempt to approach the ideal of the desired woman. Because he doesn't need to overcome fate on his way, or God's restrictions because he does not experience mental conflicts, he is not above the average people. He does not realize that his every act is risky and may eventually end unsuccessfully. He is as if prepared for everything in advance. That Shunkin was deprived of her beauty was painful but no conflict or tragedy followed. Shunkin's death was not tragic to Sasuke, though he had loved her immensely. None of the characters rebels against fate, they rather live according to its judgments, above suffering and the horror of death. A hero is born and dies, he is killed and tortured – like in *Bushū kō hiwa* – but he is still able to overcome the misfortune. The situation, which might change into the tragic, changes into a grotesque vision in Tanizaki's work, cf. *Manji* or *Bushū kō*

hiwa. The classicistic character in Tanizaki's work is never defeated though seldom wins, possibly because he doesn't require more from the world than the latter can give him. Or perhaps he considers the changeability of fate and impermanence as necessary attributes of life. And if we are allowed to talk about his experiencing happiness, it is only with respect to his identification with another being or with Nature. It is through acceptance that the passive connection with the environment is achieved (nature, society) – viz. filling oneself with another being is for many characters what gives meaning to their life. There are no – we emphasize – divine ideals or for example, patriotism.

In *Tade kuu mushi*, *Yoshino kuzu*, *Ashikari*, *Shunkinshō* and other works the preferred characters do not identify themselves with conflicts with the state or fatherland or social class. They neither experience metaphysical anxieties: gods are neither source of strength, faith or hope, nor the severe judges who condemn and sentence. The characters do not claim to possess the ideal of faith in man, but do not condemn him either. They do not evaluate others according to the principle of religious faith, or to this or another political one. In judging others they do not use moral norms of good and bad, and even if their attitude may suggest evaluation according to the categories of good and bad, we shall not detect the struggle between these two elements in the characters' lives, nor their mutual exclusiveness. Both categories are at most different aspects of the same problem – it depends on the point of view. There are no good and bad elements in the world of their existence. What concerns man is never considered in moral or metaphysical terms. What goes on is determined in different levels: existential and aesthetic and ethic levels. On the one hand we see man as he is born, his growth in years, illness and death of the individual human body in which this natural, everlasting and cyclic process takes place. On the other hand, physical symptoms of life are subjected to aesthetic norms. Between the physical symptoms of life and its end, there is no room for such notions as evil, good, sin etc. Is human existence then equal with physical phenomena? Not exactly. The character's life is regulated by tolerance, a sense of harmony and sympathy for the surrounding world of men and nature. It seems that the principal value here is the contact with another man, the most sublime form of which is love.

Let us recall that in *Genji Monogatari*, the work representative for the Heian Period, to which Tanizaki owes so much, the mood of sadness of life, the sense of transience of life and love dominate, reluctance to human body and physical symptoms of life are clearly visible. In the Kamakura epoch (XII-XIV) the motif of unity of love and religion dominates. After the 17th century, however, there are numerous examples of affirmation of love in literature – often through negation of life – and admiration for the female body. Simultaneously, eroticism becomes a striking feature of the novel, and even of culture in general. For example Saikaku presents a healthy joy of love, strength and joy of physical life.

Against this background, Tanizaki's classicist concept of love is close to this last epoch, in particular to Saikaku. There is, however, a certain difference between them. Saikaku is more natural, even brutal, he shows lust and earthly pleasures more fully and openly. Tanizaki hesitates between the spiritual (moral) order and an unbounded lust for physical pleasures; in the classicistic period he even suppresses the symptoms of desire and lust of his characters. He assumes the elements of the cult of beauty in *Genji Monogatari*, the examples of beauty and of behavior from the characters of the middle class drama of the Edo Period. So that aestheticism plays an important role in the concept of life as well as death. Aesthetic stereotypes go between the characters and the reader. We do not learn about the "authentic" psychological conflicts and passions, through immediate narration – they are suggested, by a sketchy presentation, we may try to explain the character's gestures. Tanizaki is here in agreement with the very important system of Japanese aesthetic norms, observable in many fields of traditional culture. We mean particularly a scarcity of words and other ways of presenting feelings, an aestheticism of the presented world as the principal constituent of all humanistic values.

It must be emphasized that Tanizaki's treatment of characters is totally in agreement with traditional samples. Characters – to a greater degree than the narrator – reflect the strong connection of his work with native tradition. The structure of characters – elaborated in medieval and modern Japanese literature – is one of the principal elements distinguishing this literature from the European and this confirms most clearly the Japanese origin of the works of the author of *Tade kuu muhi* and *Shunkinshō*.

Ethos in the Novels **by Jun'ichiro Tanizaki and Henryk Sienkiewicz**

1. Introduction

I know of no direct way to compare the condition of “knowledge” and “culture” of various nations and races at any particular stage of their development. I know no certain way of resolving the methodological chaos now spreading in the study of culture and civilization of the world. I do not know whether it is possible or not to compare on a strictly academic basis the “history of education” and “education” of Japan with those of a country such as Poland which belongs to an entirely different civilization. By comparison I mean not simply to find, for example, “They had universities of a modern type as early as in the 14th century in Poland” or “the common education system was adopted in Japan more promptly and more efficiently than in Europe.”¹

By what standards can the value of educational systems as developed by various royal families, religious houses, priests and governments be assessed? Can any comparison between history of education in Japan and Poland or Japan and Europe supply the answers to important questions that arise in the comparative study of civilization? And what are those important questions?

From which point in time should we start a chronological comparison of facts and phenomena? What unit should we use for determining stages, cycles, or, to put it in a simpler way, changes in the development of civilizations during the past more than ten centuries? Synchronic automatism, that is, automatic selection of the same period for comparison, probably is not the best method for our purpose, because the year 1600 A.D., for example, does not necessarily mark an equivalent point of development in separate civilizations.

Is it appropriate to make comparisons between similar phenomena, neglecting differences in the time of occurrence? Is it proper to compare facts in the history of education located at the crossing of a synchronic line of longitude and a diachronic

¹ Passin, H. *Society and Education in Japan*, p. 4.

line of latitude, faithfully adhering to a principle of world time? There are very many problems in study technique, and no satisfactory solutions. Therefore, we will make our way through unknown spiral staircases of historical process rather than on external scaffolding made of lines of geographical longitude and latitude. The spiral staircases, however, may in some cases be built one upon another and entangled, their materials extremely complicated, like a language already dead and forgotten, or the brain of a fourth generation computer which has yet to be created.

The next question is, what exactly should be compared with what? Should it be the educational systems themselves, or the number of centers for education and propagation of thought, or only those educational organizations whose purpose is ideally worked out and established? Or should we somehow compare the major results of education? How can the results of education be measured? How could we avoid falling into an irresponsible pattern of comparison that would give only a random account of various centers and groups propagating education? Should plans in progress also be taken up for comparison?

Another problem is inherent in the methodology of cultural anthropology or the study of culture at large; for the most part they have been conducted without reference to a holistic view of interrelationships within ecosystems. That is, it should be determined what can be utilized out of the methodological achievements produced by functionalists, structuralists, scholars of semiotics and other scholars such as Gadamer and Ricoeur who are generally recognized as exponents of hermeneutics. Probably, for example, suggestions made by post-structuralists with a tendency toward “de-construction” will be meaningful to us.²

Literature has recently fallen rapidly to the rank of a stepchild among the human sciences, but, thanks to my involvement with literature, I am in the habit nevertheless of analyzing human behavior and views of the world through literary works. What arouses my interest first is the text of contextual relations or contextual rules within texts, and then the geographical, racial and social rules that follow.³

Before seeking any answers to the above-mentioned questions arising out of the problem of the “conduit” connecting the world and human existence, I will, for the purpose of comparison, make use of my own experience of studying literature, especially the literature of Jun’ichiro Tanizaki and Henryk Sienkiewicz, a Polish novelist. My approach will be intuitive rather than logical.

The basic problems of individual persons and the world in which they live can be recognized through their fate or through the fate of leading characters appearing in novels. Clearly, these problems include those of educational activities and their results, that is, the culture and socialization that make it possible for people to participate in cultural and civilized social organizations.

² Culler, J. *On Deconstruction*. Gasche, R. *The Tain of the Mirror*.

³ Ricoeur, P. “Egzystencja i hermeneutyka”, PIW 1975, p. 130.

Both education and morality are expressed through systems of signs and symbols. Some such systems differ among civilizations and others are the same. Various positive educational activities and passively accepted models, when closely combined together, will affect the formation of ethos. The word "ethos" is used in relevance to a strongly interconnected group or a system of values under which people are functioning. Some such behavioral features may be strongly related to one group, and other features may be widely consistent across groups. In any case, ethos generally differs by social class.

Novelists create or select characters for their novels from actual models, and mold them into figures of symbolic value by deft exaggeration. They do not stop at descriptions of individuals, but extend to delineation of the typical social groups and classes to which the individuals belong. Fictitious characters and phenomena in novels by Tanizaki and Sienkiewicz depict typical living situations found in Japan and in Poland respectively, or, when more widely generalized, in Japan and Europe. Tanizaki and Sienkiewicz are typical among such novelists. Characters created by these two novelists often tell more about their society and culture, more plainly, than a huge number of treatises on culture and textbooks of history.

Here arises the problem of how to understand the ethos that categorically holds the key to such a study. Stated briefly, ethos means a mode of living in a community and an order of values generally accepted and expressed directly in words or read in human behavior in the community.⁴ It is this "mode of living" and "order of values" that we try to ascertain from the speech and behavior of the leading characters of a novel. We also aim to clarify points of similarity and difference between the characters and to examine the role of "wisdom, education and intelligence" in their ethos.

Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916) made his debut in the literary world approximately forty years earlier than Jun'ichiro Tanizaki (1886–1965). So they cannot be called members of the same generation, and in terms of world history, the nearly homogeneous periods to which they belonged to were quite different from one another. Nevertheless, just as Tanizaki was a great novelist representing 20th century Japan, so Sienkiewicz represented the transitional period in Poland from the 19th century to the 20th century. While Tanizaki was a novelist in a sovereign country, Sienkiewicz waited persistently for the lost sovereignty of Poland to be restored, and, therefore, "Polish problems" significantly stimulated his passion for writing novels. Each novelist still retains an influence upon the literary and moral education of his countrymen. In spite of obvious differences in their respective spheres of influence, the two novelists do share some important qualities. They were both in a certain sense idealists and dreamers. They both thought and wrote about past events, traces of which still remain at the present time, or which were

⁴ Ossowska, M. *Ethos rycerski i jego przemiany*, p. 5.

important in those past times. What they both tried to retain and preserve was something passing away out of memory, or national values that were becoming lost. With regard to literary technique, both Tanizaki and Sienkiewicz attached much importance to the plot of a novel or the role of fiction. In fact, Tanizaki himself used to say publicly that he wished to write such appealing and faultless novels as those of Sienkiewicz.⁵ For these reasons, we may be justified in matching, or comparing when required, these two novelists. In any case, these two great novelists, writing in the contexts of entirely different civilizations, if matched together even by chance, would provide an opportunity to reveal something about their respective civilizations.

2. Nighthood ethos as observed in the novels by Sienkiewicz – an outline of the general features

In 1880 Sienkiewicz wrote his first historical novel named *“Tartar’s Slavery”*, with as narrator an indomitable duke, a member of the peerage (Szlachta). He then wrote many other famous novels one after another, which are still read by an unusually wide range of people in Poland. Among these novels, *With Fire and Sword* [1884], *Deluge* [1886] and *Pan Michael* [1888] constitute a trilogy.

Characters appearing in Sienkiewicz’s novels, like those in Walter Scott’s novels, move freely about in a world presented half in the form of fiction and half in the form of historical actuality. The characters in his novels are mostly historical persons of secondary importance in history textbooks, but historical events exert a decisive influence on the fate of such individual characters. Sienkiewicz, like Tanizaki, in his literary style sometimes wore the mask of a writer of memoirs of the peerage, and sometimes wrote about historical events in the style of an epic poet or in the style of a chronicler of the 16th century. But he was different from Tanizaki in that he wrote mainly about battles which occurred in the 17th century. These included, specifically, battles during the last years of Great Poland against the background of Chmielnicki’s Revolt in the Ukraine, which then belonged to Poland, a battle against the Swedish invaders, a battle against the Ottomans who then hoped to conquer the whole of Europe, etc.⁶

Sienkiewicz pushed to the forefront in his novels military, or, if not so, spiritual victories such as those the Poles won in battle at Zbaraz, the defense of Czechochowa where a famous Catholic abbey was located, and battles at Kamieniec and Chocim. In depicting such historical events, he used by preference a sonorous

⁵ Tanizaki, J. “Naoki-kun no Rekishi-shōsetsu ni tsuite”, Tanizaki Junichirō Zenshū, vol. 22, p. 92.

⁶ Markiewicz, H. *Literatura pozytywizmu*, p. 117.

style of writing typical of Homer's *Odyssey* and the stories of knights of medieval Europe. What evoked special empathy was the sense of honor of the knights and the patriotic and religious morality of the Polish aristocracy who, as the military's main force depicted in his novels, won many victories. In each of his novels there appears a national hero who is distinguished in political wisdom.

From what viewpoint did Sienkiewicz assess the historical events about which he wrote in his novels? He obviously set the very highest importance on the principles of independence for Poland, national cooperation, and Christian worship. With regard to any contradictions and antagonisms caused by conflicting nationalistic and social interests, he either tried to downplay them or neglected them. Readers' interest in the development of affairs in one of his novels depends usually upon a pair of leading characters, namely, a knight and his true love. The pair will have touching and unfortunate experiences one after another. The plot will develop like this: they will be separated by force or by artifice by a rival in love on the enemy's side, but close to the end of the novel they will finally meet again through the brave help of a faithful friend. And it is in most cases after the Poles have won a decisive victory over the enemy that they meet again.

The leading characters in Sienkiewicz's novels are bold in action and quick in decision, but often act under the influence of a passing emotion. They are massively built, and sometimes somewhat Satanic. Most of them are physically strong and imposing in carriage, and characterized by the bravery of a knight, which conforms to the specific definition of "moralistic heroism".⁷ The characteristics of the peerage and knighthood of Poland are to be found in such personalities. They attached the greatest importance to faithfulness to duty and honor, the capacity for self-sacrifice and the renunciation of personal benefits.⁸ Most of the leading characters in his novels are embodiments of self-denial.⁹ Their actions are always consonant with the image of an idealistic knight, although these actions often lack adequate psychological motives.

It must be emphasized that Sienkiewicz did more than select heroic characters as the leading characters in his novels. He was liberal enough to add the spice of comicality to such characters, which helped deepen their realism. Especially, the richly individualistic villains who appear in his novels often move about in an utterly confused and inconsistent manner due to conflict between their motives for action and the principles of morality. Some of the comical characters in his novels (for example, Zagloba) reveal wit and humor comparable to that of Ulysses.¹⁰ Markiewicz asserts, however, that Zagloba has within himself all of the mental

⁷ Markiewicz, H. op. cit., p. 119.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Ulysses – Odysseus – see: Homer's "Odyssey".

structure and habitual characteristics of the Sarmata (another name for the earlier Poles who were characterized by their conventional conservatism).¹¹

Sienkiewicz's outlook on the world, toward the past or the present, was rather optimistic. He referred back to the past age of glory and presented as examples those left unscathed among those apparently doomed. Such an outlook on the world doubtlessly contributed to the restoration of national pride and to the denunciation, as a betrayal of faith, of negotiated concessions to the enemy. Characters appearing in his novels are marked with Sienkiewicz's faith in the strength of a nation with a glorious history of its own. Sienkiewicz also expressed his trust in Divine Providence guarding the capacity of justice across history.

Henryk Markiewicz, a famous scholar of Polish literature, supports the views of many other scholars in writing as follows:

"He who makes a glorious comeback in the world of the leading characters in *Trilogy* is a person who deserves to be the paragon of the Poles, and his essential characteristics as depicted are patriotic self-sacrifice, military mastery, and a knight's honor, but the additional elements of superficial piety, absorption in exaggerated gestures and predominance of brute impulse over critical introspection can also be perceived".¹²

There are many previous examples of historical novels such as Kraszewski's, Lozinski's, etc. in Poland, and those such as Dumas Pere's, Walter Scott's, traditional Greek epics, etc. abroad, but the historical novels written by Sienkiewicz are distinctly original. He blended together adventure stories and spectacular picture scrolls, giving the leading characters in his novels a heroic aspect. He conveyed the cult of the past glory of the nation through the events and persons in his novels, thus creating a model of Polish knighthood. In so doing he established an ethos of Polish knighthood for generations to come.

Sienkiewicz used this method of writing novels not only for his *Trilogy*, but also for his *Quo Vadis?* [1896]. He also participated through *Quo Vadis?* in a controversy between positivistic and materialistic views in order to defend Catholicism. He also suggested there existed a relation between the persecution of the ancient Christians and their final victory on one hand and the fate of the Polish nation on the other, as was suggested by Kraszewski in his *Rome in the Nero Time*.¹³

¹¹ Markiewicz, H. op. cit., p. 119.

¹² Markiewicz, H. op. cit., p. 120.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 121.

3. Characters in Tanizaki's novels and ethos

Tanizaki's novels are reasonably well known throughout the world. Therefore, I will take up here for review his *Bushiko Hiwa* (Tanizaki: The Secret History of the Lord of Musashi [1932]. Translated by Anthony H. Chambers, NY 1982), which is comparatively less known, but in which the writer's main features stand out in relief admirably well, in connection with his *Ashikari* and *Shunkinsho*.¹⁴ I would like to clarify the main elements of the ethos of the leading characters in Tanizaki's novels.

The hero in *Bushiko Hiwa* is characterized in principle as a paragon of the 'samurai' ethos,¹⁵ and his fate also was typical of that of the Japanese aristocracy in the Sengoku age of civil strife. This model samurai, the Lord of Bushu, of whom Tanizaki wrote, had long appeared in historical records, and had already been made famous through literary works when Tanizaki wrote.

It should be noted, however, that Tanizaki was not content with constructing this character according to the well-known model, but tried first of all to describe various aspects of his life about which the writers of his personal records had been silent. Tanizaki tried to redefine this model, which had been rigidified in the tradition of the 17th century, by adding descriptions of psychology and behavior incompatible with the ideal of a faithful samurai, specifically, by depicting the agony of the character's compromise between ethical and moral inducements and psychological and aesthetic inducements.

Terukatsu, the leading character of this novel, and Lord Bushu, the Governor of Musashi, did not entirely lack "giri", the sense of moral duty that constituted a very important element of the human relations in the Edo period as depicted in the literature of the same period. Nor was Terukatsu indifferent to feelings of loyalty to his lord or master. In fact, when his situation is considered, there is room to doubt why loyalty to the Tsukuma family, which was an enemy of his family in his childhood, was required. In spite of this, after peace was concluded, Kawachi no Suke, who later became the Governor of Musashi, came to serve at the residence of the Tsukuma family, and to be treated on almost equal terms with Norishige, the eldest son of the Tsukuma family, who later became Kikyo's fiancé. Kawachi no Suke, thus indebted, was obliged to serve Norishige faithfully for an indefinite time. In these circumstances, Kawachi no Suke had come to no longer feel strong psychological pressure or the necessity for revenge. However, when he found proof of illicit intercourse committed by the attractive wife of the Lord of the Tsukuma family, he did not inform the Lord of it. He tried to understand his difficult position. Morality, and the gratitude and obligation of retainer to master, had been playing a certain influence in his life. Personal involvement in rivalry

¹⁴ Melanowicz, M. *Tanizaki Jun'ichiro a krąg japońskiej tradycji rodzimej*, pp. 100-136.

¹⁵ Melanowicz, M. op. cit., pp. 157-174.

among various clans, and loyalty to generations of ancestors (who are not referred to in the novel) only served him as a pretext or ground for carrying out a previously contemplated plan to defeat the Tsukuma family, and seize Norishige and his beautiful wife, Kikyo.

Bushuko Hiwa, though different from *Ashikari* and *Shunkinsho* in that its leading character is male, is a story, nevertheless, in which the main events are caused by women. Tanizaki's interest does not focus on heroic acts, but on an aspect of psychology about which biographies had previously been silent. Tanizaki looks hard at the sex life of the leading character, who has sadistic and masochistic inclinations, describing him as a man who, though not as passive in nature as the male characters appearing in *Ashikari* and *Shunkinsho*, cannot maintain relationships with those ideal and glamorous ladies whom he loves so much that he sees them even in his dreams. He finally loses Kikyo, and his wife, O'etsu, because such ladies cannot give themselves to his abnormal taste, confining themselves within generally accepted ethical and moral rules, and having their attitudes shaped accordingly. He acts contrary to their moral principles, and, enjoying no happiness and tasting only the bitterness of anxiety and agony, finally is defeated.

Tanizaki states definitively at the beginning of the novel that no one is born bad, or good. He says that each individual has various aspects within himself, and that such aspects, when aroused consciously or unconsciously under certain conditions, may appear as bad or good according to the situation. Each individual, therefore, has an embryonic bud of evil, which may, when triggered by any other person's conscious or unconscious act, determine his future. Beauty, especially the beauty of attractive women, plays a decisive role in arousing this embryonic bud of evil sleeping within the hero. The beauty of women is always followed by what may be called a demon of cruelty, which appeals to the hero's imaginative faculty, awakens the instinct of evil in his heart, and determines his acts. In this sense, women exert an influence on the course of history, causing intrigues, battles and the collapse of families. In short, the heroine of this novel is not passive, but actively participates in backstage activities that shape history. In the drama *Kaoyo* [1933], feminine beauty exerts a destructive power, and in *Mumyo* and *Aizen* [1924], a woman's charms change the fate of a Buddhist priest. *Kaoyo*, a 14th century heroine whose name entitles that drama, is depicted as a woman who is the object of male desire, and who thus causes a battle and resulting desolation and death. Tanizaki does not place her directly before the audience, because to him it seems best in the case of an idealized depiction of beauty to keep a distance between the heroine and the hero, and between the heroine and the readers or the audience. Tanizaki suggests that there exists an ideal of feminine beauty; such beauty, which may influence the fate of men and furthermore the course of history, is not to be approached or possessed. He thinks that a distance such as exists between God and the worshiper keeps a beautiful woman an ideal. This proposition of his is substantiated in his

Shunkinsho, Ashikari, Momoku Monogatari, Kaoyo, Shosho Shigemoto no Haha and *Bushuko Hiwa*.

Tanizaki created his own image of "Eien no Josei" or "eternal womanhood" (the words used in his *Tadekuu Mushi*). He tried to depict for study a typical Japanese woman of several centuries earlier, who was educated under a specific paradigm of education that forbade women to reveal their emotions. Women at that time were expected to be totally obedient and meekly subservient, as if always waiting for the men entitled to decide their fate to nod assent. Tanizaki did not conceal that he himself was charmed with such an aesthetic and social paradigm. He tried at the same time, however, to look under the mask feudal society forced women to wear, which enabled him to show that women were not always as obedient and modest as historical records and portraits indicated, but that some were cruel and tyrannical. He thought, however, that such cruel women were not born cruel, but made cruel by environmental factors and, therefore, that they did not need to dread the judgment of sin or damnation. Men, like women, had to abide by the rigid social rules of the time. If they were found to have acted contrary to loyalty, fidelity or other moral duties known as "giri", they were liable to punishment by banishment or death. Terukatsu and Kikyo in the novel *Bushuko Hiwa* related to each other in a way that might justifiably be punished by death. They, therefore, had to be prepared for the worst when they plotted together.

Against a background of the age of civil strife, *Bushuko Hiwa* depicts, through the fate of the leading character, a life shadowed by death. This novel echoes war chronicles from the 16th century to the 17th century in its depiction of cruel acts, ambition for power and conquest, rigid rules governing samurai behavior, the uncertainty of human existence, changes of fortune, and particular outlooks on life including the basic attitude that thinks little of death. This novel draws its substance from records and history books of that period, and synthesizes a world picture presented by them.

The behavior pattern of heroines in Tanizaki's so-called classical period novels (written in the thirties) is determined largely by sensual impulse and instinctive reaction unnoticeable in ordinary social life, as was true in the early years of his writing career. But such characters (O'yu, O'ichi, O'hisa, Kikyo, Shunkin) differ from those in the early period of modernism in that they do not betray their emotion and passion so explicitly, because they wear the mask of classical beauty. That is, their individuality is covered with the mask of such a model as is observed in the portrait of a court lady or a samurai's wife or daughter or in the stereotyped mask of a Noh dance, or the face of a puppet in a modern puppet play. Their emotion, therefore, conceals itself behind the ethical and aesthetic paradigm of stereotyped behavior. Emotional impulse usually hidden deep in the heart raises its head, however, when it intends to have a certain desire satisfied. Once aroused, this emotional impulse determines the fate of the hero and heroine. In this sense, it is

difficult to trace the process of growth, maturation and transition in the leading characters of Tanizaki's novels. They grow older and accumulate experiences, but undergo no basic inner change. Their inherited character neither disappears, nor changes, until they pass away. Their inherited character is depicted most vividly in their impelling conceptions of beauty: first, desire to acquire an extremely beautiful woman, then masochistic devotion or domination.

Kaname, Sasuke, Shunkin, O'yu and Yaichi, as they appear in Tanizaki's novels, hold no concepts such as race, nation, native country or faith. Such concepts that extend beyond the individual have no decisive influence on their thought, character or outlook on the world. Only cultural and aesthetic inducements and inmost impulse move them. A combination of these two factors working in a complicated way is depicted most vividly in *Bushuko Hiwa*, especially in a scene where a beautiful young woman is purifying a severed head with the hero looking on. What is decisive and absolute for the hero, if anything, is aesthetics, especially as it is closely related to the adoration of feminine beauty. In their lives, there is no philosophical consideration of problems such as existence, life and love. This novel depicts human life in the costume of traditional aestheticism against a historical background. Most of the leading characters in Tanizaki's novels are characterized by a primal thirst for ultimate beauty in the realm of nature and in the world of human beings.

Characters in Tanizaki's novels do not struggle against their fates. Rather, they are obedient to the rulings of fate, and calmly face pain or even the danger of death. As depicted in *Bushuko Hiwa*, they are sometimes oppressed and tormented with tyranny during their lives, but are nevertheless sufficiently resourceful to overcome the ills of life. Classical characters in Tanizaki's novels are never defeated, though rarely victorious, because they generally do not seek out any more than people are willing to give them. They seem to understand the unreliability of fortune and the uncertainty of human life as inevitable qualities of the human condition.

Happiness experienced by characters in Tanizaki's novels is of a passive nature. Characters feel happy only when they identify themselves with other people or nature itself. Most of them give significance to their lives by building ties with those around themselves, particularly by accepting their fates as they are, seeking fulfillment in nature or through other people. This is because they have neither a religious ideal of God nor patriotic ideals. In this sense, Tanizaki molded his characters in accordance with the main thrust of native traditions, one born naturally out of the tenets of Buddhism and adoration of beauty in the Imperial Court age. Although Buddhism played an important role in this respect, Tanizaki's characters are rather unfaithful to it, because Tanizaki himself did not recognize the moral commandments of Buddhism. His characters rely on their senses, and abide by the principles of aesthetics above everything else throughout their lives. It may be said, therefore, that they are beings who feel rather than beings who think, and that the idea of beauty has almost the same significance as the idea of "good". Tanizaki over-

lapped the image of such characters with the characteristics of “good education”, which had been formed and established in the hundreds of years since the Heian era when education was provided at the Imperial Court. The moral and ethical principle of hiding one's feelings and controlling facial expression has an aesthetic significance at its root. Men and women's faces alike look more radiant when they are not frowning due to dissatisfaction or despair; emotion, when trapped within, seeks to appear in the eyes with greater immediacy.

Tanizaki did not try to convey the effects of education only through the depiction of characters in his novels, but he wrote directly as follows in his *Ren'ai oyobi Shikijo* (Love and Eroticism): “Contrary to Western practices, the guiding principle of Oriental education probably was to suppress the individual personality as much as possible. In the field of literature and art, for example, our ideal was not to create a new virgin concept of beauty, but to reach the stage of ancient great poets ourselves”.¹⁶

4. Knighthood ethos, citizenship ethos, national ethos and literature

The foregoing brief review of leading characters in Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Trilogy* suggests that an ideal model of European knighthood plays an important role in his novels. The origin of this European chivalrous ideal may be found in Homer's *Odyssey* and the traditions of ancient Rome in the age of the Renaissance. Characters appearing in Sienkiewicz's historical novels are heirs of heroic acts, a fact that contributes considerably to the popularity of his novels among Poles today.

The agreed-upon use of the word “ethos” refers not to individuals but to social groups. Whenever I discuss individual characters appearing in Tanizaki and Sienkiewicz's novels, therefore, I investigate them as prototypes representing specific social groups. Norbert Elias says, “The history of a community is reflected in the histories of individuals who belong to the community. Each individual will certainly reproduce an epitome of the cultural development process the community as a whole has followed during the past one hundred years”.¹⁷ This quote also underscores the significance of characters appearing in literary works.

The concept of “ethos” also includes individuals' attitudes toward knowledge and culture, toward education, and toward the problem of which human values and objectives shall be given preference among those that a community or a nation as a whole recognizes.

As I have stated above, Greek civilization created an ethos governing how kni-

¹⁶ Tanizaki, Jun'ichirō “Ren'ai oyobi Shikijō” See: *Tanizaki Junichirō Zenshū*, vol. 17, p. 218.

¹⁷ ELIAS, N. *Przemiany obyczajów*, p. 313.

ghts should behave in war and in peace. Characters in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are precursors of this ethos. From these two epopees, Europeans have obtained knowledge of the way of life, and of the moral and aesthetic principles of the knighthood, a select group corresponding to the aristocracy of later generations. The idealized ethos of the Greek knighthood may have come to be taken as a model – although one that could hardly be followed in medieval Europe. In the same way, the “cult of beauty” in the Heian era played a similar role in the culture of Japanese samurai and merchants. As good birth counted greatly in the social status of the warriors appearing in Homer's works, so were relations with the Imperial Household often an important matter to be considered in Japan. In Western Europe and Poland, before the Second World War, people of noble birth were proud, even though they had no property or social status to hand on to their descendants.

Personal beauty was deemed as important as noble birth. Greek warriors as depicted by Homer in his works were very sensitive to personal beauty. And for them physical beauty including muscular strength and dexterity was also essential to personal beauty, unlike in Japan where, for example, at Court in the Heian era, physical beauty was hidden under heavy clothes. Knights had to be eloquent especially when they were talking with ladies. In Japan, too, especially at Court, eloquence was thought to imply noble birth, but rhetoric and oratory have never played as important a role in Japan as in European civilization.

In Europe, eloquence, graceful carriage, good facial expression, proficiency in an art and other attributes of “cultured behavior” had to be coupled with modesty and bravery. Knights and nobles felt most humiliated when they were suspected of cowardice. Everyone made great effort to win recognition as honorable and of good reputation. Kindness to others was a good attribute, stinginess a bad one.

Ethos may be classified into three types based on the literary inheritance of ancient Rome: the highly developed knighthood ethos (*Iliad*); the citizenship ethos, not as often depicted in literary works (*Hesiod*); and the farmer ethos, only rarely depicted (*Aesop's Fables*). These three types of ethos developed in Europe, underwent changes, and still remain in existence. *The Iliad*, which is a unique and comprehensive compilation of wisdom, exerted a decisive influence on education, and the intellectual level of individuals in the upper classes was measured by their knowledge of *The Iliad*. *The Iliad* played an important role in education and enlightenment, equal to that of the Bible in some areas under Christian influence.

Roman civilization exerted a great influence upon the education of the aristocracy during the Renaissance. For example, in Poland, the educational criteria from the Renaissance continued to exist as recently as the 17th and 18th centuries, based on the Latin language and works by several elite writers, including *The Metamorphoses* by Ovidius (Naso), *Bucolics* and *The Georgics* by Virgil and works by Cicero. Knowledge of ancient myths and history that the Polish nobles possessed

at that time was, though rough and random, indispensable to their eloquent and admirable speeches. Latin and Greek were among the most important subjects in the curriculum of middle schools for the humanities.

Like many other vague terms used in cultural sciences, the term “knighthood ethos” appears to cover a number of variations. One important variation for France and Poland may be reconstructed from court stories including poems of heroic bravery and stories of love and chivalry. (See Chretien de Troyes and Marie de France.) This variation reproduced attributes of the knighthood ethos formed in ancient Greece, while increasing the importance of the adoration of feminine beauty. Importance was placed on physical strength because the armor used in Europe in those days was very heavy, unlike Japan where samurai armor was generally lightweight. According to the Court stories, most knights were physically strong by nature. Sienkiewicz faithfully observed this tradition still in the 19th century. For example, Sienkiewicz created in his *Teutonic Knights* [1900] Zbyszko of Bogdaniec who was physically strong from his childhood.¹⁸

Knights often appear on the scene to aid stupid kings. (In Japanese literary works, no emperor or lord of such stupidity is found except in Kyogen or Noh farces where some lords are lampooned.) Sienkiewicz created Jan Casimir (Vasa) in his novel *Deluge*. This warrior of noble birth plays the part of a man of justice who faithfully observes knight's general principle of protecting the weak, especially, widows, orphans, and maidens. (It is interesting to ask whether any trace of such an attitude can be found in the ethics of the Japanese samurai.)

To put it simply, European chivalry had by this time come to mean the attitude toward mortal enemies and toward women. The moral paradigm of medieval stories is that the way of fighting was more important than the results of the fighting. Fair play was most important, and it was shameful to kill a knight who fell off his horse or to make a surprise attack from behind. Macko of Bogdaniec was also well aware of this. [See *Teutonic Knights*.]

As is stated above, courtly love, the unique manner of attending ladies, especially beloved ladies, was an important attribute of knight's ethos. Women were to be loved and protected, and never tainted with blood. That is, a woman, even if she was the wife of a mortal enemy, was never killed. “To fight and love” was the motto of the knights, to which Sienkiewicz gave careful consideration in creating characters for his *Trilogy*, *Teutonic Knights* and other novels.

The adoration of the fair sex in the tradition of knight's ethos first appeared in France around the 12th century. In *Teutonic Knights*, which depicts the days from the 14th century to the beginning of the 15th century, the adoration of the fair sex is treated as something then newly introduced from Western Europe. But it probably was not introduced from Germany. There are many hypotheses for the origin of the

¹⁸ Sienkiewicz, H. “Krzyżacy”, vol. 1, p. 7.

adoration of the fair sex. Minstrels from the knight class possessing no land probably played a certain role, and the introduction of Roman civilization in the Renaissance age, especially *Ars Amandi* by Ovidius (Naso) also probably did.

In 16th or 17th century Poland, French was added to Greek and Latin in the curriculum of the aristocracy, which means that Poles then began to learn the traditions of the French knighthood. For sons of poor nobles it was the best they could do to go to school in their own country, but many sons of wealthy nobles went to France to be educated there. The charm of French civilization for Poles has thus been an unrequited love since the 17th century, though one that is considerably faded now. Knowledge of French was proof of nobility, and French was drummed into the heads of nobles from childhood.

Intellectuality was not highly regarded in the knighthood ethos, and only a rough education was given to the knights; but their emotional life had depth. In medieval stories there appear knights with a burning and hopeless love, and women who fall in love so passionately as to faint or die. The adoration of the fair sex has, since then, long been preserved in European literary works. In Japanese literary works, however, it is difficult to find such cases. (Some traces of this kind of ethos may be found metaphorically in kimono sleeves wetted with tears.)

In 15th century Europe, the idealization of knighthood lost popularity. The use of gunpowder in battles had reduced the effectiveness of the knights' heavy armor, and the social position of independent knights who had no lords to serve had undergone a change. They had in due course become nobles or courtiers.

For his novels dealing with the 15th to the 17th centuries, Sienkiewicz created characters on the prototype of a high-minded knight, that is, a knight who was known for his bravery and as an adorer of feminine beauty. He made every effort to depict conspicuously their bravery in facing danger, and to deny any cowardly action. For example, in *With Fire and Sword*, Skrzetuski never shrinks from the danger threatening him on both sides of a river on the way to Chmielnicki, and Jeremi Wisniowiecki walks about with great dignity on a castle wall, surrounded by the enemy. They never neglect their duties even when they are in danger of death. Kmicic, who refuses to use the evidence of his innocence, is another example of bravery. As they have a keen sense of honor, they do not attack defenseless enemies, and they give assistance to enemies who are ill (Rzedzian and Bohun). Generally speaking, the honor and pride of knighthood and of nation are the most important influences on the high-minded actions of the knight.

I have indicated many points of similarity between the leading characters in Sienkiewicz's novels and medieval knights, especially in France. The special feature of the knighthood ethos common to both of them is not cooperation, but rivalry and confrontation among individuals. Individual dignity and prestige were valued more than was benefit for the whole clan or nation.

This medieval ethos was revived by romanticists from the 17th century to the

19th century, and then by Sienkiewicz and J. I. Kraszewski toward the end of the 19th century. The Poles, who had been subordinate to the three powerful countries surrounding them since the end of the 18th century, were spiritually uplifted by the knighthood ethos as revived by these novelists. Even Joseph Conrad (Korzeniowski), an English novelist from Poland, paid homage to the knighthood ethos of the Polish nobility, who so highly valued pride and honor. "Honor and Mother Country" was the phrase that symbolized Polish values for several decades following 1919.

In Europe, and of course in Poland also, courtiers and nobles enriched the intellectual content of the knighthood ethos, because courtiers prized knowledge of cultural sciences. In this connection, many books on court etiquette and manners published at that time attached a special importance to being a "refined" person of "the upper class", namely an "educated" person. [See Castiglione's *The Courtier*.]

The attributes of the knighthood ethos and the role that literary works have played in propagating certain values of the ethos have been reviewed above. It must be added that the ethos of gentlemanliness developed as a direct descendant of the knighthood ethos. Simultaneously with the development of the ethos of gentlemanliness, education assumed an increasingly important role in shaping the image of an ideal human being. The necessity of education was argued for by Geoffrey Chaucer in the 14th century and then Daniel Defoe from the 17th to the 18th century. Higher education served to reduce the difference in social status between the elite from the nobility and the elite from the citizens. Nevertheless, the citizenship ethos differed fundamentally from the knighthood ethos with respect to the occupation, birth, daily behavior, and so forth of those to whom it pertained. The concept of "gentleman" was taken in a good sense as it is today, while the citizenship ethos was thought lightly of, though it contributed much to the development of commerce and industry.

Sienkiewicz's novels indicate that the typical "good Pole" acts according to the principles of the knighthood ethos. In his novels, the citizenship ethos is regarded as questionable. Poles of the 20th century doubtlessly have more of the knighthood ethos than the citizenship ethos. They often brave danger like knights, and throw away the prudence peculiar to the petty bourgeois. Individual competition and honor seem to attract the Poles more than do benefit and security. For Poles, honor is an important factor for them in human life even now. By virtue of literary works more than anything else, the ethical values left behind by memories of honor that are otherwise things of the past remain among the traditional practices of the Poles today. To put it simply, these ethical values are accepted and kept in good condition even now within the national ethos.

5. Conclusion

What conclusions can be drawn by comparing, from the viewpoint of ethos, some works by Sienkiewicz and Tanizaki, two great novelists of worldwide fame? Must we first prepare a list of “points of similarity and difference”, and then draw conclusions? Probably so. But we have already arrived at a conclusion at this stage, which may serve as an object of further study. At this stage, therefore, I will summarize this conclusion as well as some other problems uncovered in this review.

1. It is not very difficult to enumerate or interpret the features of the knighthood ethos established in Henryk Sienkiewicz’s historical novels. The features of the knighthood ethos, the ancient Greek ethos and the medieval West European ethos can be directly compared, because they are all of closely similar origins. Meanwhile, at least at this stage, and as reflected in the works of the two novelists under consideration, it cannot be said definitively whether the European knighthood ethos corresponds to the Japanese samurai ethos. The fact that I have not reviewed here the ethos of all Japanese social classes, including the samurai, court nobles and merchants in the Edo era, makes it all the more difficult to answer such a question.
2. The highest ideal for the characters appearing in Sienkiewicz’s novels is no doubt “honor and motherland”, and, therefore, these characters, nobles or not, shine with what may be called a halo of heroic spirit. Meanwhile, with regard to the characters in Tanizaki’s novels, they all have a common attitude toward beauty, and beauty seems to be the yardstick for them to appraise various kinds of values including ethical values.
3. The ethical strength and spirit of the leading characters in Sienkiewicz’s novels originate from their faith in Christianity, especially their belief in Catholicism and their devotion to the mother country. Meanwhile, Tanizaki’s leading characters are directed by something indefinable, a living process, but one that never reveals its natural shape, and that cannot really be explained. This “something” may be a moral doctrine. Once a man selects a doctrine, it gives significance to his acts as he follows it, while his acts provide the stage on which to perfect fulfillment of his duties, realization of his intentions and likewise. At the same time, he must be harmonious with himself and with nature surrounding him.
4. The adoration of women appears in both Sienkiewicz’s knighthood ethos and Tanizaki’s “world of values”. But what is hidden behind the generally accepted decorative mask of this adoration is still a riddle. The social climate of adoration of women did not protect women from “witch-hunting” and burning at the stake in Europe; the lowered social status of women in Japan compared to the Court age should not be taken as proof that they were not adored in 17th and 18th century Japan. The attitude toward women that Tanizaki depicted in his novels was incompatible with the common thinking of the Japanese at the time he wrote; yet this does not necessarily show that he was influenced

by Europe. There is little doubt, however, that women are educated to be obedient and restrained in Japan, while women are inculcated to accept respect and compliments without reserve in Europe.

5. It is easy to point out what the leading characters in Tanizaki's novels think is most important in life. It is difficult, however, to answer satisfactorily the question of whether they represent the samurai ethos, the nobility ethos or the merchant ethos, because there is no clear line of demarcation among the three. There is no doubt, however, that they represent the ethos of a certain privileged social class, probably that of the nobility, which was closest to representing a national ethos at that time.

In Poland, literature even now serves as an important intermediary through which various customs, life-styles, values and ranking of values are disseminated. It is difficult to define what aspects of moral education are covered by literature in Poland these days, but it may be said that literature still vies with home and school in education. In Japan, school seems to have played a decisive role in education from olden times up to the present. Of course, however, the educational role of Japanese literature also should not be underestimated. In this respect, conditions are probably different in America, where literature is deemed unreliable for educational purposes. For the study of Japanese "wisdom" and "education", we need, therefore, to clarify what significance *The Tale of Genji* and other works by Saikaku Ihara, Monzaemon Chikamatsu, Soseki Natsume, Jun'ichiro Tanizaki and others have on the Japanese educational system.

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“Winds over Ryūkyū” by Chin Shunshin: Between Literature and History

Introduction

A historical drama broadcast by the Japanese public television station NHK on the Ryūkyū Kingdom – present Okinawa Prefecture – in the first half of 1993 (re-broadcasted in 1997) was an important event which brought back to life things that many Japanese would prefer to remain concealed. The story concerns the history of the Ryūkyū Kingdom’s subjugation by the Japanese in the 17th century. Before that time, the Ryūkyū Kingdom had maintained trade relations with China, the Philippines, Japan, and even Southeast Asia during a period of prosperity extending throughout the 15th and 16th centuries when the kingdom was united. The TV series was based on the novel *Ryūkyū no kaze* (Winds over Ryūkyū, 1992), by Chin Shunshin (1992), a well-known writer of Chinese origin. The novel is 900 pages long and divided into three volumes: *Dotō no maki* (The book of angry waves), *Shippū no maki* (The book of the violent wind), and *Raiu no maki* (The book of the thunderstorm). These titles reflect the increasing danger faced by the heroes of the novel and the 100,000 inhabitants of the archipelago. The danger comes from the north, from the Japanese island of Kyūshū, the Southeastern corner of which was governed by the Satsuma clan of the Shimazu family.

The characters in *Winds over Ryūkyū*

The heroes of the novel are two brothers, Keitai, who goes the political route, and Keizan, who devotes himself to the art of dance in its native national form, and their girlfriends and future wives, Aki and Ugi. They represent the younger generation. The older generation is represented by the brothers’ parents, who are presumed dead at the hands of pirates but have actually survived and live in Japan. Neither generation knows the fate of the other.

Other important characters are a *kempō* expert and his *karate* students, who are preparing themselves to fight the Japanese (*Yamatonchū*), and the elders of the royal court under King Shō Nei VII. The story includes many famous Japanese characters: Tokugawa Ieyasu, Shimazu Yoshihisa, and Chaya Shirōjirō, a merchant from Kyoto who was an economic advisor to Ieyasu. The stories of the two main heroes, Keitai and Keizan, unfold amid the growing danger to their hitherto independent – or so its inhabitants thought – country, which China regards as its “barbarian province”. The Ryūkyū Kingdom accepts the crown from a high-ranking Chinese civil servant (*sappōshi*) with deep respect. Relations between Ryūkyū and Japan deteriorate at this time, when the Japanese demand a levy in support of their invasion of Korea. Subsequent demands by the Satsuma clan lead to growing resistance by the proud Ryūkyūans, especially Jana, who holds the title of *Ueekata* as a member of the State Council (*Sanshikan*). The drama reaches its climax in 1609 and in the aftermath which lasts until about 1660.

The two brothers and their milieu

Most of the events in the novel are seen through the eyes of the two brothers, Keitai and Keizan, who lose their parents when young and are treated as orphans. Their family originates from the village of Kumemura – a community of diplomats and scholars apparently of Chinese descent – where the young men used to spend their time learning Chinese subjects in preparation to study in Fujian, China (SMITS 1999: 38). The loss of their parents occurs when their mother and father (later known as Yō Hōgi), who have been living in China for several years, are attacked by Japanese pirates (*wakō*). The children are taken back to Ryūkyū with other orphans and raised by the merchant Shintempū, a master of martial arts and famous *kempō* teacher.

The novel's plot and most of the *taiga dorama* events deal with the political intrigue surrounding the Ryūkyūan Kingdom two years before it was invaded by the Satsuma samurai. To make the historical narrative more interesting, the author introduces us to two orphan girls, Aki and Ugi. The older brother Keitai, with the affection and support of Aki, becomes a politician who – following the Satsuma's annexation of Ryūkyū's northern territory – tries to build a Ryūkyūan trade network superimposed on the political structure of the Kingdom of the South Seas. His half-brother Keizan (midway through the novel we learn that his biological father was the famous Ryūkyūan dancer Aragaki Chōhei, his mother's lover) creates a new form of Ryūkyūan dance combining elements of Japanese *onna kabuki* and local Ryūkyūan tradition.

Keitai and Keizan are representatives of the young generation, which is divided into those who compromise with the Japanese authorities and those who resist the

Satsuma administration of the Ryūkyūan Kingdom. Keitai takes the positivistic, practical political route, compromising with the Satsuma, but Keizan devotes himself to the art of dance in its native Ryūkyūan form, fomenting anti-Japanese sentiment and acts of protest against the Satsuma exploitation of the Ryūkyū people.

Aki and Ugi, the girlfriends and future wives of the brothers, also become very capable partners in their respective professions. In the novel, the two couples live through trials until old age. In the *taiga drama*, Aki and Ugi provide much tension to the narrative, which ultimately shows the tragedy of their nation's lost sovereignty. Aki is an orphan with a talent for dance. After her parents are killed by pirates, she is raised by Gundari, the widow of a sailor who was also killed by pirates. When Aki turns 15, she is adopted by Jana Uekata and serves the queen at the court of Shō Nei VII. Ugi is the daughter of Sai Shin, the younger brother of Keitai and Keizan's mother. She is a close friend of Aki's.

The Japanese inhabitants of Ryūkyū include the descendants of *wakō* pirates (Hachirō), Satsuma spies (Nakahara Matsunosuke), and priests (Kikui Zenji). The Chinese connected with Ryūkyū include envoys of the Ming emperor, merchants, scholars, teachers, and doctors. Ryūkyūan religious officials play an important role, particularly the shamans (*noro*), headed by the *kikoe ōgimi*, the younger sister of the queen and her subordinates, whose positions correspond to those of male government officials in the state hierarchy. The female religious hierarchy is subordinate to the king (SMITS 1999: 115).

The brothers' father, Yō Hōgi, a doctor, is taken captive by the Japanese and lives in Satsuma province, where he attends old, ailing Shimazu Yoshihisa. After many years, Yō Hōgi manages to send secret messages back to his Kumemura village relatives. One of them is Jana Oyakata (Uekata in Ryūkyūan Shuri dialect), a high government official who, as a member of the Council of Three (*Sanshikan*), plays a key role in the tragic events that lead to the downfall of the Kingdom of Ryūkyū.

This character is loosely based on the historical Jana Uekata Tei Dō (1549–1611) of Kumemura. Educated in China, Jana Uekata did not submit to the Satsuma's demands before the Japanese clan invaded his country nor afterwards when he was taken as a prisoner to Kagoshima. He refused to sign a document swearing loyalty to the Satsuma, thereby choosing death over humiliation. He was decapitated by Satsuma's samurai as the main Ryūkyūan government official responsible for his country's opposition to the Satsuma. Shō Shōken, in his historical study *Ryūkyū Mirror of Chūzan* (*Chūzan seikan*, after 1650) (SMITS 1999: 58), portrayed Jana Uekata as an evil minister responsible for "Ryūkyū's loss of its cordiality (*makoto*), which brought on the invasion and capture of the king" (SMITS 1999: 58). "In other words, the invasion was the result of rudeness on the part of Ryūkyū toward Shimazu, its lord for two centuries" (SMITS 1999: 59). Thus, Jana Uekata – in pro-Japanese historiography – was treated with disdain. But in *Winds over Ryūkyū*, Jana Uekata is cast as a proud Ryūkyūan patriot.

King Shō Nei VII (r. 1587–1620) was rather close to Jana Uekata's stance. In the first volume of *Winds over Ryūkyū*, readers meet him in chapter two ("Cloud and Dragon" – *Kumo to ryū*) sitting in Shun Castle in Seiden. He is 43 years old, and it has been 17 years since his accession to the throne of Ryūkyū Kingdom. He meets with Jana Uekata Tei Dō, member of the Council of Three, and Kin Ōkai, an official of the Royal Chancellery, who has recently returned from a long voyage to China (connected with inviting the *sappōshi*). They discuss relations with Yamato (they do not use the name "Japan", but rather "Yamato" or "Satsuma") (CHIN 1992: vol. I, p. 32-33). King Shō Nei last appears in the ninth chapter, entitled "Kings' Deaths" ("Ōtachi no shi"). The king, already ill, receives news from China that the Emperor Banreki (Chinese: Wan-li) had died in the year 48 (1620) (CHIN 1992: vol. III, p. 213). Two months later, in September, King Shō Nei passes away (CHIN 1992: vol. III, p. 215) at the age of 57. Shimazu Yoshihiro, the most active Satsuma advisor during the invasion of Ryūkyū (CHIN 1992: vol. III, p. 215), had died the year before. Several days after King Shō Nei's death, news comes from the Ming court of the death of Emperor Wan-li's young successor. The Ming Dynasty is in decline, and everybody in Shuri knows about it. But in Ryūkyū the situation is no better: Kin Ōkai, Jana Uekata's probable successor and the King's advisor who shows up in the first chapter, also dies. King Shō Nei appears in many important events between these two episodes in the novel. After the Ryūkyūan defenders of Shuri Castle surrender to the Satsuma army in 1609, a majority of the Satsuma soldiers leave Ryūkyū, taking King Shō Nei and hundreds of Ryūkyūan court officials back with them to Kagoshima, where they are kept for two years and five months. During this time, King Shō Nei is invited to visit Ieyasu in Sumpu and Shogun Hidetada in Edo. The procession of the King of Ryūkyū and his officials leave a strong impression on Japanese onlookers.

Shō Nei and his officials return to Shuri, where they are forced to sign surrender documents containing two oaths, one for the king and the second for his leading officials. By signing the documents, they acknowledge a false interpretation of history, accept the Satsuma military, and express their gratitude for Shimazu's "benevolence" in permitting the king to return home (SMITS 1999: 59). Shō Nei and his officials must vow to be humble servants of the Satsuma (KERR 1971: 16-164). Under these conditions, Shō Nei resumes his place on the throne. He has lost the northern territories of his kingdom (Amami-Ōshima, Tokunoshima, Okinoerabujima, Yoronjima and other islands). Japan allows Okinawa and the southern islands to remain part of the Ryūkyū Kingdom, because it wishes to use "independent" Ryūkyū as an intermediary in trade with China. The failure of the *Bakufu's* trade negotiations with Ming China in 1615 increases Ryūkyū's potential importance to Japan, which has launched a new "independent Ryūkyū" policy. But "it was fictitious independence", (KERR 1971: 166) designed to make Ryūkyū appear independent from its northern neighbor in the eyes of its Chinese partner. Thus, King Shō Nei's authority

is highly limited, though he is allowed to carry out Ryūkyūan court ceremony and other traditional activities. However, he feels that "he has failed to maintain the royal heritage" (KERR 1971: 165) by signing the "King's Oath".

Other important characters include the *kempō* expert and his karate students, who are preparing (in the first volume of the novel) to fight against the Japanese (whom they call the "*Yamatonchū*"); the elders of the court, under the leadership of the king; and many famous Japanese characters, such as Tokugawa Ieyasu (called Ogocho, who has already moved to Sumpu Castle), Shimazu Yoshihisa (Iehisa), the *daimyō* of the Satsuma clan, and Chaya Shirōjirō, a merchant from Kyoto, who advised Tokugawa Ieyasu on economic matters.

Ryūkyū's struggle between China and Japan

The two brothers, Keitai and Keizan, live their lives against the backdrop of the danger faced by their independent country, which Ming China regards as its "barbarian province" yet treats as an independent kingdom after it is crowned by China. The kingdom accepts the crown from a high-ranking Chinese civil servant with all due respect in the presence of a large Chinese delegation called *sappōshi*. The acceptance of the crown following the official request (*seihō*) made for it by the Ryūkyūan court gives Ryūkyū the privilege of trading (*shinkō*) with China. Ryūkyū had to undertake lengthy preparations to host 500 Chinese officials and merchants for a ceremony lasting four months. Several chapters of the first volume of Chin Shunshin's novel depict the costly ceremonies and entertainments that accompany the arrival of the Chinese delegation, their stay in Shuri, and their send-off. These events are dearly depicted as the most important in Ryūkyū Kingdom. It is a very busy time for the heroes of the novel, but it is also a time of security – everybody knows that the Satsuma samurai will not attack them while the *sappōshi* are in Shuri.

Several chapters of the novel cover the deteriorating relations between Ryūkyū and Japan. The problems begin with the invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi's army, when the Satsuma request Ryūkyū to send several thousand soldiers in support of the war effort and then demand supplies (in 1592 and 1597). Ryūkyū refuses to send soldiers (as the king had no army) or food. Subsequent demands made by the Satsuma at the beginning of the 17th century leads to a stiffening of attitudes by the proud Ryūkyūans, especially by Jana Uekata Tei Dō, the State Council member who advised the king. As a result of the Ryūkyūan refusal to cooperate and their "failure" to express adequate gratitude for the Japanese rescue of two Ryūkyūan ships (one of which had drifted as far north as the Date domain), Tokugawa Ieyasu consents to the Satsuma's request to invade Ōshima (*Ōshima iri*) and all of Ryūkyū (*Ryūkyū iri*) in order to subordinate the Ryūkyū Kingdom to the Satsuma clan and, ultimately, to Tokugawa.

Aftermath of the Satsuma invasion

In the novel we learn how the 3,000-man strong Satsuma army quickly forces the proud but defenseless leaders of the Ryūkyū Kingdom to surrender. Those who resist the Satsuma are imprisoned, and more than a hundred court officials are sent to Kagoshima. The precious treasures and collections of Shuri Palace are taken to Japan. The year 1609 (Keichō 14 in Japan, Banri/Wan-li 37 in Ming China, but in Ryūkyū years were generally counted using the sexagenary cycle) (CHIN 1992: vol. I, p. 8) proves to be decisive not only for Europe but also for the history of the archipelago that makes up the Kingdom of Ryūkyū.

The last part of the TV drama covers the attempts to enforce an agreement for the king's return to Shuri Palace. The king has to sign an act of loyalty to Japan, known as "The King's Oath". It's a peculiar document, as it constitutes an unprecedented invention of history, stating that the proud King of Ryūkyū has been a dependant of Satsuma since ancient times, and that Ryūkyū has observed the custom of sending its products and messengers to the Satsuma. Furthermore, the king "confesses" to having committed a serious mistake by not fulfilling his obligations to Hideyoshi and his successors, and swears that he will henceforth abide by the commands of Satsuma officials. Jana Uekata refuses to sign this oath, so he is not permitted to return home.

During the two years the king and his officials are held captive, Shimazu officials research the resources of Ryūkyū Kingdom and then impose economic controls together with a new system of taxation. All these historical facts are explained in the novel.

When King Shō Nei finally returns to Shuri Palace, Ryūkyū has to pay levies to China and Japan. The Satsuma aims to safeguard its monopoly of trade with China, and the novel covers this subject meticulously, devoting many pages to Keitai's travels all over the islands of Ryūkyū, China, and even Taiwan. Exotic figures such as European traders and (numerous) Japanese pirates appear in the novel, rounding out the world as seen through the eyes of East Asian traders in the 17th century.

Beauty of the islands

Much space in the novel – and particularly in the TV series – is devoted to Ryūkyū's natural and cultural beauty. While the doomed independence of the islands is the main theme of the drama, the author suggests there is hope nonetheless. Knowing well the history and everyday life of the islanders, he sees optimism in both the natural world and the people of Ryūkyū. In the beginning of the story, the hard life of the islanders is reflected, among other ways, in the story of the sweet potato (*kansho*, known later as *satsuma imo*). In Japan, they should

be called *gyūkyū imo*, because potatoes (*imo*) were brought to Japan from Ryūkyū before they were imported (or rather stolen) from Fujian (Fukien) in Ming China in 1606, and before they were brought in from Luzon in the Philippines. The Ryūkyūans imported them in strict secrecy without the knowledge of the Chinese. From that time on – according to the hero of the novel – the people of Ryūkyū no longer faced starvation, because the potatoes, which ripen underground, are resistant to typhoon damage.

Another important inanimate "hero" in the novel is a musical instrument called the *sanshin* (*shamisen*). Imported from China in the 15th century or even earlier, the *sanshin* became a very popular instrument in Ryūkyū, where it was adapted to play local songs and even used in royal court music, especially after the Satsuma invasion.

Keizan, who rejects the new ways and rules imposed by the foreign administration, becomes a master of music and dance, combining the best native traditions with new Yamato forms of theater dance. He stays in Sagano in Kyoto for a long time to learn *onna kabuki* and other forms of Japanese theater music. He returns to Ryūkyū together with Ugi at the end of the novel and imparts his knowledge to many other artists (CHIN 1992: vol. III, p. 297). In the TV drama – which varies from the novel in this matter – his wife is murdered by Satsuma soldiers. In her honor he puts on a dance performance that wins him great acclaim. These fictional episodes in the *drama-fleuve* serve to build a feeling of national Ryūkyūan identity in defiance of Satsuma domination.

In reality we know that at this time in the 17th century, the court in Shuri intensified its recording of native oral tradition (a project that had begun in the 15th century) and wrote down *kana* in the Japanese alphabet. Thus the collection known as the *Omoro sōshi* (Book of Old Songs), comprising over 1200 court and regional songs (*ryūka*) mainly from central Okinawa, was completed and edited from 1532 to 1623. Ryūkyūans used these song lyrics mainly for ritual purposes. Some *ryūka* verses are cited by the novel's author, who describes the presentation of Ryūkyūan music to the Emperor Gomizunoo by Shimazu Iehisa (CHIN 1992: Vol. III, p. 245).

The importance of *Dragon spirit*

Winds Over Ryūkyū – subtitled *Dragon Spirit* – is an absolutely fascinating TV drama, although it has not received due recognition from the inhabitants of the central part of the country. To them, the problems of Ryūkyū seem too distant, unfamiliar, and provincial. Moreover, the sympathy shown for Ryūkyūan Kingdom patriots was probably offensive for some literati in Kyūshū and even some ordinary Japanese citizens. The film was also criticized for its portrayal of Tokugawa rulers and idealization of the Ryūkyūans who resisted them.

Nevertheless, most Japanese do not appear to be bothered by the fact that *Winds over Ryūkyū* has exposed the “official” history of Okinawa as a fictional piece of work written from the standpoint of the Satsuma and Tokugawa clans. On the contrary, thanks to the NHK drama *Ryūkyū no kaze* – in which false history is rewritten as revealing fiction – Japanese viewers have rediscovered the southernmost province of their country as a beautiful, charming, and mysterious region which boasts original and precious cultural treasures as well as historical roots that differ from those of central Japan.

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INTERVIEW

為末大氏インタビュー

「禅とスポーツ」

2016年12月2日

聞き手 アグニェシカ・コズィラ、

海宝 プシビルスカしのぶ、藤井カルポルク陽子

編集協力 アンナ・ザレフスカ

第10回ワルシャワ大学三井物産冠講座の講師として来てくださったのは、男子400メートルハードルの日本記録保持者でオリンピック・メダリストでもある為末大氏。「禅とスポーツ」というテーマで、アスリートとしての体験を禅の悟りに至る道筋を表した「十牛図」になぞらえながら講演していただいた後、ワルシャワ大学図書館内の茶室、懷庵にて更に詳しくお話を伺った。為末氏は、スポーツと無我の境地の体験、スポーツと現代日本社会における課題、2020年のオリンピックの理想像などについて具体的にユニークな例なども交えながらお話を聞かせてくださった。

スポーツと禅の思想

コズィラ 為末さんは、走りながらゾーンに入った経験についてお書きになりました。まずはこの禅とハードルの関係を中心にお聞きしたいと思います。このような無我の経験は、自我の解体の経験ですが、その価値はどこにあると思われますか。この経験によって勝負に勝てるということでしょうか。その他に魅力があるのでしょうか。どうしてもう一度体験したいと思ったのでしょうか。

為末 それは禅のお坊さんによると、自我が他と一つになったという体験を求めて坐禅をするんだったら、そのことにはまってしまうということですね。

コズィラ 執着ですね。

為末 そうです。僕等の世界でもよく「勝つためのゾーンなのか、それともゾーンのためのゾーンなのか」ということがよく言われますが、結論から言うと、ゾーンに入っている時は、入ってい

ること自体を考えもしないということだと思うんです。分別がついている状態だと、やはり夢中にならないので。価値は何かと言われると、やはりアスリートなので、勝つために積み上げていくプロセスの中で、最終的に、そういう世界があったということだと思います。振り返って見ると、勝つためのプロセスではあったけれども、どうも人間というのは、普段、力を全部発揮していないんじゃないかという感覚を持つようになってきて、もうちょっと、本当は、空っぽで自然な状態があるんじゃないかということを思うようになる。そういう意味では、体験の前と後では価値観が変わるんじゃないかという気がします。振り返って見ると、前の、勝つためのプロセスの中にも実は結構重要な何かがあったんじゃないかという、そんな感覚でしょうか。

コズィラ　そうですか。その経験自体はエクスタシー的なもの、恍惚的な側面がありましたか。喜びとして。

為末　喜びとしてですか。あの、アスリートとしては、勝手に体が動いている、という感じですかね。それはやはり今まででこうしよう、こうしようと思っていた動きみたいなものが、勝手に実現されたという意味では、わざを求める世界の人間としては、ものすごく大きな喜びですね。それが、そのときにしか実現されないわざだったりするので、再現性があるかというところではなく、再現できないのがつらいですけど。そういう意味で、喜びは大きいです。もう一つは、何と言いますか、こんなにシンプルに動けばいいんだという感じがあったと、振り返って思うんです。ごちゃごちゃしていたけど、こんな感じで、ビュンと走ればよかったんだ、というような世界なんです。そういうことを思い出します。

コズィラ　しかし再現しようとしてもだめですね、自分の力では、逆にだめになります。

為末　僕は、これは寝際に似ているなと思うんです。寝るときに、布団に入って暖かくするところまでいけても、ここから寝ようというのは意識的には出来ないですね。だから準備のところまでが、僕等が努力できるぎりぎりじゃないかな。

海宝　一つ一つの試合の前に、「寝る準備」、つまり暖かくするところまでは、やはり意識的にされるということですか。

為末　そうですね。僕の場合は何か外の世界に対して、すごく気が散る人間だったと思います。なので、試合の時には、自分の

顔を能面みたいにするというのはいつも決めていて、のっぺりさせて、外からどう見られても、反応しないみたいになっていた。そうするとだんだん自分の内側に意識がいくので、そうする方がよさそうだなと思ってそうしていました。そのころに表情筋の本をいろいろ読んでいく中に、割り箸の話とかあるんですけど。（割り箸を横にして口にくわえると、口角が上がって笑顔に近い状態になり、脳が笑っていると錯覚するという研究。）

藤井 ご著書の中で、試合の前には脳をたくさん使うけれども、試合の時には脳を使わないというふうに書かれていましたけれども、それもゾーンに入る体験と関係がありますか。

為末 ロボット選手権というのがありますね。ロボット選手権で最近のロボットは人工知能をつんでいるので、当日の操作を禁止するという選手権があるんです。それは、どうするかというと、試合の時こんなことが起きるんじゃないかとか、相手がこう出てきたらこうしようって、あらかじめプログラミングをするんです。事前に一生懸命それをやっておいて、当日はまったく触れないで流れに任せる。あれに似ていますね。普段はプログラムの時間で、当日はもう自分の体に任せるという。その時に急に意識がプログラムされていないことをやろうとするから、いろいろな問題を引き起こすので、もうさっと体に任せるという意味では、考えすぎないことが大事で、本の中の表現では、脳を使わないと言ったんですね。要は意識を向けすぎないということです。多くの先生が言いますけれども、僕もそんな感じだったと思います。

コズィラ 次の質問ですが、オイゲン・ヘリゲルの『弓と禅』という本をお読みになったそうですが、それはいつのことですか。

為末 20代前半頃です。

コズィラ それはゾーンに入る経験の前でしたか。
為末 そうですね。何となく試合のいい状態の時に、気がついたら最後の直線を走っていたとか、そういう感覚をだんだん持ち始めてきて、どうもああだこうだしな方がいいじゃないかということも思っていた頃でした。それまでは技術の方に興味がいていたんですけども、その頃から段々内側の世界、どういう心の状態で挑むのがいいのか考え始めた。オリンピックの後ですね。失敗したのが大きかったわけです。

コズィラ 特にその本のどこが印象的でしたか。

為末 「私が弓を射っているのか、弓が私を射させているのか」、そういう世界です。ハードルだと、いい状態だと、私がハードルを越えていくことと、ハードルから向こうがやってくる、という世界です。自分が行っているんですけども、もしその視点を外すと、ハードルがこっちに来ているとも言えるわけで、それが体感として何かこう双方から近づいていると思う時があるのです。なんとなくそういう感覚があったので、引っかかったのだと思います。

コズィラ 坐禅を組んでもあまりいい体験はしませんでしたか。

為末 痛かった（笑）。あれを乗り越えたら分からないですね。

コズィラ 臨済宗の大燈国師宗峰妙超禅師が、臨済宗では、もちろん坐禅も大事ですけども、坐禅だけではないと述べました。曹洞宗の只管打坐と違って。そして、坐禅そのものを批判するのではなく、一種の坐禅、ただ動かなくてもいいという坐禅を批判しながら次のように述べました。「単調な坐禅はだめだ」と。そして本当の坐禅については、「賀茂川沿いを走っている馬を見よ」と言いました。これが本当の坐禅なのです。これはすごく面白いですね。走りと連想されますので。つまり座ったままでもいいし、色々な他の活動、動作、動きのある時も、静止の時だけではなくて、動きの時もそのゾーンになるのです。面白くその言葉を思い出しました。これはただの連想なのですが、そもそもどうして曹洞宗の禅を選んだのですか。偶然でしたか。

為末 そうですね。その人の本しか読んでいなかったのです。偶然ですね。曹洞宗の永平寺に行って、鎌倉にも行って。公案があるのは曹洞宗でしょう。

コズィラ 公案は臨済宗。

為末 そうすると、臨済宗のお寺にも行きました。横田さんという方で、鎌倉の方のお寺にも行きました。偶然だったのです。先ほどの話でいくと、僕は坐禅はほとんどできないですし、真髄は分からないのですが、ある行為がまったく意識もせずにひたすらに行われる状態になった時に、何らかの高揚体験というのはあるんじゃないかという気がするんです。その体験に僕等は色々な名前を付けたりしているけれども、その体験の中に大事なものがあるんじゃないかという気がするのです。箒ではいてるとかでも良いんじ

やないかと思うんです、30年間とか。それでも何か見えるものがあるんじゃないか、というふうにその当時思っていました。

コズィラ カール・ルイスの走り方は無表情の顔で必死さが無いのに速い、するすると走った。そこは魅力的だったでしょう。実は私はインターネットで探していましたが見つからなかったで、今日為末さんのご講義で見られて良かったです。どういう走り方なのかなと思っていました。みんな一生懸命走っていましたが、彼はやっぱりすごかったですね。彼はゾーンに入ったと思いますか。

為末 そうです、面白いですね。僕も質問したんです。そういう世界の体験のことを。でも、カール・ルイスは「それって、速い時のこと？」と言うので、体験しても特別視していないのか、そうじゃないのか。

コズィラ しても気がつかなかったとか。

為末 カール・ルイスの走りのことで思ったのですが、ちょうど何か武道の方にお話を聞きに行ったときに、避けてくれない正拳の話をしてくれた人がいたんです。どんどん自分を鍛えていって、速く打って相手に気づかれないようにずっと鍛錬していたけれど、結局それに限界がきた時の話です。ある日かみさんが箸でこっちに何かを渡そうとして、その箸が自分にコツンと当たった。その時に、意図せぬことほど相手に意図させることはないということを話してくれました。なんとなく、カール・ルイスの魅力もそうなのです。つまり、ひたすらそこに向けて集中してやっていく世界よりも、自然にすうっと入ってしまうようなものが、あこがれの走りだったと思います。

コズィラ 正にそのような走りだったと思います。画面を見ると、主観的にですが、為末さんの走りもそれに似ているな、と思いました。

為末 私がですか。そうですか、もうちょっと……という感じだったでしょうか。

コズィラ 南直哉禅師の教えを興味深く読みました（為末大氏と南直哉禅師は書籍『禅とハードル』の中で対談をしている）。一つ引っかけたのは、「置物のような座禅」というところです。それは臨済宗は賛成しないですね、黙照禅と言って。やはり同じ禅でも色々な解釈があります。また、先ほどおっしゃった空っぽ

の状態における意識ですが、道元禅師によれば、呼吸状態を整えたら、「不思量底を思量せよ」、要するに考えないところを考えよ、と言いました。それはまさに無心の中の矛盾ですね。完全に考えないのではなく、普通の意識と違った状態です。自我が同時に在りそして無いという矛盾があると思います。それはすごく大事だと思います。平常心もそうなのです。また、ヨーガとか、『天狗芸術論』という剣術についてのテキストですが、それには禅よりは道教、タオイズムといった、気ですね、エネルギーをコントロールしないと達人になれないという考え方もあります。そういったエネルギーを感じたりしましたか。

為末 あまりそういうふうには考えなかったです。走っていて、慣れてくると、手足が勝手に動くので、何かに乗る、という感じです。走り出していったら、カタカタ動く自分の足の上に乗っかるという感じです。それがあつた体勢から崩れた途端にガクガクしてきて、スピードが落ちてくるという感じなので、ある姿勢を保ち続けるということが大きなテーマになっていたんですね。レース中に40数秒間ある姿勢で居続ける。それが崩れるということに対して、どうすればその姿勢を保てるのかというのが、練習で考えていたことで。エネルギーではないですけど、姿勢のことはすごく考えていましたね。

コズィラ それでは日本人の選手達はあまり「気」にこだわりがないわけですね。逆に禅については結構、本が出たりしますが。

為末 そうですね。タオイズム、老荘思想や、蝶々の夢の話などのことを言う選手は少ないですが、興味は持っています。

コズィラ 江戸時代は、それは儒教と一緒に入ってきて、その「気」の強化に関しては結構色々な当時の論文の中に出てきますが、今はあまり用いられていないんですね、スポーツとの関係においては。ちょっと細かいことですが、色々なことが気になってしまつて、考えないで走ることが出来なくなった時に、鈴を持つて走るのだと。それは競技の時でしたか。それとともトレーニングの時でしたか。

為末 トレーニングの時ですね。

コズィラ まあ、競技の時でしたら、他の選手の邪魔になりますね。

為末 そういう作戦で来たか、と思われまふね。

コズィラ ええ、それはいいトレーニング方法ですね。意識があちらに行くから、無駄な考えをしなくなりますね。

為末 たぶん、僕の競技の間で通底しているのは、牛でいうと、牛の鼻面に匂いがするものを持ってきて、動かしたい方向に動かすというやり方で、それを僕はやってきたと思うんです。自分の意識が思うようにならないんだったら、自分の意識に鈴をつけて、そっちに意識が引っぱられれば、無心にはなれないけれど、少なくとも考えすぎではなくなるのでマシだろう。そういうやり方が多かった気がします。

コズィラ 他の例えですけども、考えてはいけないことを猿に例えて、この猿を追いかければますます猿のことを考えてしまいますが、別のことに意識を向ければ自然に猿は別の枝に移っていきます。そう言うこともできますね。

スポーツと現代の日本社会

海宝 それでは、ここからは日本社会について質問させてください。例えば、現在は部活のシステム、根性論、しごき、スポーツの指導における体罰という問題があります。為末さんはスポーツにおける体罰というもの、しごきというものが、日本社会の背景とどのように結びついているとお考えになりますか。

為末 はい。たぶん、要約すると、自分自身が頑張るということ、頑張らざるを得ない状況に追い込む役割を、自分の外に置いているというのが、部活の結構大きな特徴だと思います。だから部活は、自分がしょうがないから頑張るというシステムをうまく作っているとも言えます。もう一つは、けっこう体罰があるような学校の生徒に聞くと、ある種の高揚感があるということですね。それって実は日本の部活動だけではなくて、歴史的に色々なものを見ても、人間が集団として、簡単に言うと、全体主義みたいなものになったときに人間はある種の高揚感を持つのではないかなと思うんです。なぜならば、自分で判断をしなくてもいいし、自分自身はどうなのかと意思決定しなくてもいいし、ただ委ねていくことで高まっていく状況に身をおけるということです。それはすごく、ある意味で日本的だなと思います。もうちょっとシンプルに言うと、実は痛いだけでそんなにつらくないんです。なぜならば、試合で勝つ負けるはすべて、意思決定した人の責任になるからです。だから個人的に思った

のは、例えとして正しいか分からないですが、アドルフ・アイヒマンのアウシュヴィッツでの責任が裁判された時、「私はこの役割をこなしたただけだ」と彼は徹頭徹尾言い放ったという、そのときの心境が、部活の選手達の試合後の反省会の空気にどこか似ていると思ったんです。私達はひたすらにある命令に従っていたということを言うんです。関係性はもちろんちょっと違いますけれども。僕が思うのは、スポーツというのは自分がやるという決定をして、自分で自分をどこまでも追っかけていく、この中にこそ価値があると思っていて。コーチを付けなかったというのもその側面を反映させています。根性論やしごきなどの問題は、意思決定をするとか、自分が成長するとか、そういうことを、何らかのシステムに委ねてしまっているモデルのように見えるのです。うまく説明したかわかりません。

藤井 例えば現在ブラック企業が社会でまかり通ってしまうとか、日本人は働きすぎてしまうとか、そういったことも外からの意思決定に自分を委ねてしまうから、という側面があるとお考えですか。

為末 そうです。だからある種のつらさ、身体的なつらさとかを引き受けながら、一方で、究極の責任は誰かに任せられるというシステムなのではないかなという気がする。それはある意味楽なのかもしれない。僕はコーチがついていた時に思っていたのは、「やれと言ったのはあの人だしね」ということなんです。これは選手にとっては最後の最後に自分を守るものになりますけれども。一方、自分でコーチをやると、「やれと言ったのは俺だったっけ」となっていくわけですね。自分の中で全部循環させるということと、集団の中のあるところに任せていくというのは、まあ、そんな単純な切り方でいいのか分からないけれども、もうちょっと深く入っていくともっと色々な構図があると思いますけれども、でもスポーツの場合は組織的にそうなりがちだなと思います。

藤井 現在その傾向は変わりつつあると思いますか。例えばアスリートの方たちのトレーニングの仕方ですとか、昔の根性論から現在は変わってきていると感じられますか。

為末 そうですね。トレーニングのことだけで言うと、科学の力はやはり大きいですね。何が科学的に正しくて、何が科学的に証明されていないのかが分かってくると、トレーニングがより合理的になります。もう一つは、コーチと選手の関係が変わってきていることがあります。現代日本的な人間関係のなかにコンプ

ライアンスが入るとどんな現象になるかという、双方どこまで踏み込んだらいいかわからないという戸惑った状況になる。距離ができるんですね。それが、西洋型のコーチと選手の関係のようではなくて、ちょっとよそよそしくなるんです。いずれ馴染むのかもしれませんが、今はそうなっていて。そうなる、次の問題としては、自分で自分を追い込まない限りは、もう誰も自分を追い込まなくなるという状況になるんです。スポーツの場合は、だいたいここまでが自分の限界かな、という目安がありますが、その先に本当の限界があるので、そのギャップを埋めるかどうかは選手として伸びるかどうかに関わるのです。これを埋める責任は、今まで意味でコーチが担っていましたが、これからは自分がやらなければならないので、自分で自分の限界がどこなのかを常に問いながら、どうこれを引き伸ばすかということをやらなければいけないことになっているのではないかと思います。

海宝 今の若い選手は、為末さんが今おっしゃったような、自分の限界を伸ばしていくということをやっているとお考えですか。

為末 これからの若い人たちはそうなるようになっていくと思います。もう一つ大きいのは、今は国内・国外という感覚が完全に取払われている選手が出てきているということで、それはすごく大きなことだと思います。一方で、ガラパゴスの面白さを考えてみますと、あそこには外界の文化が入って来なかったから面白い。それでは日本的なものは何なのかと、スポーツ界もちゃんと定義付けておかないといけないかもしれません。最近柔道で日本に来られた方がいるんですが、「日本に来たからって、日本の柔道があるわけではないんですね」と言った話があって、それは象徴的だと思うのです。グローバル化したからといって必ずしも全部が同じようにのっぺりしなくてもよい。かといって、昔の日本のままの体罰などが残っていくのは問題だと思うのです。つまり、日本のスポーツの奥の方にあったものの、コアにあったものは何なのか、ということをやちゃんと考えていかなければならないと思うんです。オリジナルとはそういうところにあるのではないかと考えているので、よく問うておくことが重要だと思います。

藤井 これからの若い人たちは、為末さんのおっしゃったように、自分で自分を追い込まなければならないという側面もありますけれども、一方で為末さんは「諦めること」や「引き際」が大切だともご著書で書かれています。その見極めが非常に難しいように感じました。それこそ「離見の見」で自分を見なければ判

断ができないことだと思います。アスリートたちはそのように「引き際」の見極めをすればいいのでしょうか。

為末 そう、ここには矛盾している点があるんですね。一つは、自分で自分の限界を察知しなければならないということ。そしてもう一つは、自分で自分の限界を知らないということ。この二つがくっついている状態なので難しいですよ。いつが諦め時なのか、これは本当に難しい問題だと思うんです。すごく冷めた感じで言う「損切り」だと思うんです。サunk・コスト（埋没費用）と言いますか、自分が今まで支払った労力をどの辺で切ってしまうか、ということなんですね。僕の個人的な体験からいうと、本当は30歳でもう難しかったのですが、その後4年間、競技をやってしまったんですね。やってしまったんだけど、もしそれをやっていなかったら、今ここでお話しする時も未練が滲んでいたという気がするんです。そういう意味では、「気が済む」という作業をどういう風に自分で設計するかということなのではないかと思うのです。

海宝 やりきったという気持ちを感じた時に引退を決意するという話を、フィギュア・スケートの選手が言っていますが、その、やりきったということなののでしょうか。

為末 そうですね、僕の感覚的には「気が済んだ」だったんですね。しかしこれは、やっておけばいつか気が済むかということ、必ずしもそういう問題ではない。ここで勝負しようと決めてしまわなければ、最後まで気は済まないと思うのです。この四年間でここまでやるぞ、それがだめならもう気が済んだんだ、と決めておくということです。そういう意味では、いつ人間は大人になるのかという問題と似ているのかもしれませんが。例えば昔の習慣を見てみると、必ずどこかのタイミングで成人の儀式があると思うんですが、そのように、ここからはもうそういうことだ、という儀式を自分で作らない限りは、辞めることはできても未練を残したままになってしまうという気がするんです。未練を残さないようにするには、終わりのプロセスを設計して、そこまで持っていくということが重要なのではないのでしょうか。僕にとっての4年間というのはそういう時期だったのだと思っています。

藤井 為末さんは、「社会問題をスポーツで解決する前提で雇用を生み出す」ということを目指して、「株式会社 侍」を立ち上げられましたけれども、具体的にどのような社会問題を想定して、どのような方法で解決に導きたいと考えていらっしゃるのでしょうか。

為末 そういう壮大なところからスタートしているんですけども、普段はあくせくと日々の商売をやっているという感じなんです。ただ、一番興味があるのは、人間にしかできない役割は何なのかということなんです。たまたま周辺にエンジニアの方なども多く、人工知能の研究をしているメンバーも多いんですが、そうした方とやり取りをしていると、秘書業務などがそのうち人工知能に置き換わるようになるだろうと実感することがあるんです。そうしたことを日々実感していく中で、人間はいつか何の価値提供をしなくてもよくなるのかもしれないなどと思うんです。その時に、何かしら人だからこそできることは何なのか考えます。オリンピックなどもそうですが、選手の中にロボットがいて圧勝しても納得できないと思うんです。昨今はドーピングの問題が話題になっていますが、つまり、我々はオリンピックを見ている時に、根っこのどこかで、「人間が戦っている」ということを求めていると思うのです。人間の定義というのがまた難しいのですが、こういう身体に生まれついた、その元々持っている力を最大限出し切ったどおり着いたところがここなんだという競争を見ることで、人は感動するんじゃないかと思うんです。そこに何か人為的なものが入った途端に、ちょっと感動が薄れるのではないかという気がするのです。そういうものが、人間の持つ価値になるのではないかと思います。

そしてスポーツというものは、人々が健康的に過ごすためにも重要な役割を果たします。日本国内に限っていうと、医療費の抑制に対して、スポーツが持っているメソッドというのがもっと本当は使えるはずだと思っていて、医者の方箋の一つにスポーツという選択肢を増やす、そうした領域を進めて行きたい。現実には、「運動しなさい」と病院で言われても、どこに行ってもやらなければいいか分からないし、そもそも適当に走れる場所や動く場所もないということもあります。そういうものをスポーツ界は見据えて街の中にそのための場所を作っていくたり、コーチになっていくたりして、日々人々が週一くらいのペースで運動するような環境を作っていくという、そうした領域は、医療の一部が運動の方にも広がれば産業としても大きくなるでしょう。それが国内においては需要があるのではないかと思います。今は子供達とそうしたことをやっているんですけども、次は年齢を上げて、60歳以上の陸上部などを作りたいと思っています。

藤井 今、子供達のお話をされましたが、為末さんは子供達のためのスポーツイベントもよく開催されています。子供達の運動を通

しての人格の形成やその重要性などについては、どうお考えですか。

為末

結局、スポーツというのは善も悪もないというのが、僕の考えていることです。何のためにどう使うかということが大切になります。僕等がなぜ陸上を勧めるのかというと、サッカーや野球だと、隣の子との技術の競争になりやすいからなんです。せっかくなっても、横を見ればやっぱりあいつの方がうまいな、なんてことになりますが、陸上はコーチが意識すれば、子供達の「昨日の自分との競争」にすることができんです。そうすれば、全員が勝者になれる。そして自分をここまで伸ばすことができたという自信につながるのではないかと思います。これが僕達は重要だと考えています。もちろんほとんどの子はオリンピック選手にはなれませんが、この感覚は覚えてもらいたいと思っています。実感を持って自分はできるんだということを感じることができたら、陸上じゃなくて他の世界でもきっと活躍していけるので、それは重要だと思います。

海宝

では逆にお年を召した方になると、今は高齢化も進んでいるので、そうした高齢化社会におけるスポーツの役割も、為末さんは考えていらっしゃるんですね。先ほどのロボットの話もありましたが、高齢化社会においては具体的にどのような活動を展開されたいですか。

為末

今は事業を色々と探りながら進めていきたいと思っているんですけども、これは良くないんじゃないかと思うのは、ボタンに行った経験から学んだことなんですけど、「一人になるのは良くない」ということなのです。まあ、家で一人になるのはしょうがないんですけども、社会の中では幽霊部員でも良いので陸上部に入って……60歳を超えたら、皆どこかの部活に入って（笑）マネージャーでも良い、週一くらいでも良いから、集まって走っているご高齢の方がいたら良いのではと思っています。役割があるというのは結構重要だと思います。僕は進化論などがすごく好きなんですけども、動くというのは、やはり生物の進化を見ていくと、どのように移動することに適応するか、という進化に見えることがあります。そういう意味では、何か移動する手段を常に持っていることが大事なんです。僕の祖母は歩けなくなって急激に元気を失くして亡くなってしまったので、動ける状態を保つというのは重要だと感じます。そして具体的には、部活のようなコミュニティを地域にポコポコと作って行って、そこに参加していく環境を作るというの

は、もしかしたら商売の方向というより、非営利の活動になるかもしれないですけども、重要だと思います。

海宝 ポーランドだと教会に行く習慣がお年寄りの方にはありますので、それは大きいかもしれませんね。80歳以上のおばあさんでもすごく綺麗な格好をして、お化粧もきちんとして、毎朝同じ時間に出かけて行くんですね。それでコミュニティーを保ったり、移動手段を保ったりしているのでしょうね。

コズィラ 何かやり甲斐がなければ、家に閉じこもって何もしなくなってしまいますからね。

為末 今、日本の状況を見ると、社会の循環にはスポーツが役に立つんじゃないかと思います。ですから、今具体的にやるならばおじいちゃん・おばあちゃん達の部活動ということになるかと思います。ビジョンとして思うのは、昔の神社の境内などのような風景というか、年齢の違いなどなく皆がわーっと寄り合っていて、何かやっているというのが良いと思っています。僕の場合はそういう日本の風景をスポーツを通して作っていききたいですね。

コズィラ 心臓麻痺にならないように、それも気をつけてくださいね。高齢が頑張りすぎないように。（笑）

為末 そうですね、100メートルは駄目ですよ、とか。無理はできませんね。

藤井 人を動けるようにするということでは、為末さんは義足の開発もされていますね。そのきっかけというのは、今おっしゃったようなことが動機になっているのですか。

為末 そうですね。僕はやっぱり、二足歩行と二足走行ばかり考えていたので、初めてカーボン線の動きを見たときに、すごく歩行の仕組みと似ていると思ったんです。僕等は走るときに、下腿部を固めて、上から体重をかけて、ギューッとアキレス腱が潰れた反発が、ポンと返ってくる力で前に進むんですよ。だから実際にやっていることは似ているんです。もう一つは、障害を持っている人が走れるようになると、他の人達も走り始めるんじゃないかなと思っていて。また、たまたまロボット研究者の方とも会えたので、一緒にやっているということですね。

海宝 義足の開発をしながら、人間が走る方に生かしていくということでしょうか。

為末 ええ、そういうことですね。もう一つ、義足の技術というのは、衝撃吸収と反発なんです。僕はハードルの飛びすぎで、左の膝がコキコキいって、坂を下る時など痛いんですが、50くらいになると歩くのに困る局面が出てくるかもしれない。そんな時に、穿く衝撃吸収パンツみたいなものを作ることができるようになるんじゃないかと思っているんです。カーボン製で、足をどんとつけた時に衝撃を吸収してくれるもの。そして歩いている時には違和感を感じないもの。それができれば、上り下りが億劫だったり、膝が痛いために歩かないという人が、それを穿いて登山に出かけたりする可能性はあるなど。実際にロボットの足も作っているんですね。ですから、そうした技術を使って衝撃を吸収することができるようになったり、跳ね返りの力を使って歩きやすくしたり、そうした靴などもできるようになるかもしれません。

コズィラ それは、高齢者の方にとっては助かりますね。様々な可能性があるのですね。

為末 そうですね。障害者という言葉を私たちは使いますが、
「障害を感じている人」という定義に、未来にはなるんじゃないかと思います。そうした意味で、僕はすでに体の下り坂で障害を感じているし、例えば言語に関してもポーランドに來れば言葉が理解できなかったりして障害を感じることもあります。そういったものの中で、動く側面に関してはカバーしていこうと今考えているところです。

海宝 オリンピックの話をお伺いしたいと思いますが、今2020年の東京オリンピックに向けて、復興五輪ですとか、コンパクト五輪ですとか、色々と言われていますけれども、為末さんの考える理想の東京オリンピックの姿、東京の街づくりに関して、お話いただけますか。

為末 今、東京にいて感じるのは、「オリンピックのためですよ」と言う、全て通ってしまうところがあるということです。言ってみれば便利な合言葉のように。これをうまく使って、本来やらなければならなかったことをやるというのは大事だと思います。ビジョンとしては、東京は将来どうなるのか、ということだと思いますけれども、都市のあり方というのは、どんな人材

をそこに呼び込むのかということとセットになっていると思うんです。重要だと思う観点は、世界がこれから比較的寛容な方向に流れるのではないかということがあるので、最も寛容な国というのはどう作ればいいのかと考える観点です。もし東京が世界で最も安全で寛容な場所になることができるなら、それはどんな場所なのかを考えます。「寛容さ」をブランディングするということです。例えば、パラリンピックの時に、世界中から様々な障害を持った人達が来ても、何の問題もなく東京で過ごせて、幸せな気持ちになって帰っていくという目標を持ってやっていくことだと思うんです。障害を持っている人達だけではなく、様々な多様性を持っている人達、ベビーカーを押して子供連れでいる方もそうです。日本はもっと寛容さ、誰をも受け入れる空気、人々の意識も含めてそうした方向に向かうことができれば良いのではないかと思います。今は都市間競争になっていますね。その中で戦略的に考えていっても、今更「金融の中心になる」というのではなく、クリエイターなどが住みたくな街、そして「寛容さ」のある街というのは良いと思います。

藤井 寛容さというのは、今世界でも重要なテーマになっていますね。

為末 そうですね、世界は揺れていますけれども、今、何だか不寛容の方向に向かっているような気がしますから。

コズィラ ナショナリズムの機運が高まって……閉鎖的になってしまっていますね。

藤井 多様性を受け入れるという方向は、特に重要です。

コズィラ そうですね。それでは、為末さん、本日はどうもありがとうございました。長い時間、貴重なお話をお聞かせくださり、ありがとうございました。

為末 こちらこそ、どうもありがとうございました。

為末大プロフィール

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Tamura wrote: “...” (2003:74), in Tamura's words; “...” (2003:74),
Some authors (e.g. Murata 1999, Tamura 2003, Murasaki 2008)
are of the opinion that...;

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Murasaki et al. 2007; Murasaki et al. (2007:135–41),

but in justified cases up to three names can appear in such a reference, cf. e.g.:

Murasaki & Murata 1999, Murasaki & Tamura 2002, Murasaki & Murata & Tamura (2004:171–6).

References with the same authorship and the same date should be differentiated with Roman characters <a>, , <c>, etc, cf. e.g.:

Tamura 2005, Tamura 2005a:233, Tamura (2005b:94–7).

Given name **initial(s)** are **provided only** when references are made to more than one author with the same family name, cf. e.g.:

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Murasaki 2008
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 Murasaki & Murata & Tamura 2004
 Tamura 2003
 Tamura 2005
 Tamura 2005a
 Tamura 2005b
 and, naturally,
 Murasaki K[.] 2008
 Murasaki Y[.] 1994.

Given-name **initials** can be **used only and only** in cases when full form is not available; if it is not indicated on the title page but is known, it should be provided in [square brackets], cf. e.g.:

Syromyatnikov, N[ikolay] A[leksandrovich] 1971.

The **sole function of the coma** (<,>) after the listed author's name is to indicate inversion of the given and family names for the sake of alphabetical listing; **when no** such **inversion occurs** in the original, **the coma must not follow** the family name, cf. (e.g.):

Akamatsu, Tsutomu 1997.
 Akinaga Kazue 1966.
 Kindaichi Haruhiko 1975. *Nihongo* [...], but:
 Kindaichi, Haruhiko 1978. *The Japanese Language* [...]
 Munro, Neil Gordon 1962.
 Murasaki Kyōko 1979.

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].

Lebedeva, Ye[lena] P[avlovna] [&] M[arina] M[ansurovna] Khasanova [&] V[alentina] T[unsyanovna] Kyalyndzyuga [&] M[ikhail] Dmitrievich] Simonov Елена Павловна Лебедева [&] Марина Мансуровна Хасанова [&] Валентина Тунсяновна Кялундзюга [&] Михаил Дмитриевич Симонов

1998. *Фольклор удэгейцев – ниманку, тэлунгу, ехэ* [Udeghe folklore – *nimanku, telungu* and *yehe* genres]. Novosibirsk: Nauka.

Bibliographical **data in Russian and Greek characters** are customarily used in the same way as Roman characters (i.e., no transliteration is applied in the description of the title and the authors full names are also provided in Cyrillic and Greek); for the sake of arrangement, however, the head of the bibliographical description can be provided in Roman characters preceding the original notation (no name-surname inversion is to be indicated in this case in the original notation), cf.:

Syromyatnikov, N[ikolay] A[leksandrovich] Н. А. Сыромятников 1971.
Система времен в новояпонском языке [the category of tense in Early Modern Japanese]. Moskva: Nauka.

When an edition different from the first edition is used, it should be marked with an upper index figure preceding the year of publication, cf. e.g.:

Hattori Shirō ¹⁰1976. *Gengogaku-no hōhō* [...].

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Hattori Shirō ¹⁰1976. *Gengogaku-no hōhō* [methods in linguistics]. [...]

The **Publisher's name** should be provided **after** the **place of publication** followed by a colon, and the **original bibliographical data** must be provided **in full** below the transliteration, cf. e.g.:

Hattori Shirō ¹⁰1976. *Gengogaku-no hōhō* [methods in linguistics]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.
 服部四郎 1976. 言語学の方法. 東京: 岩波書店.

It is advisable to use instead the English (sub-)title when such is originally also provided; it should follow the original title after two slashes (<//>), cf. eg.:

Chanbamrung, Mongkhol 1991. *jáwthai-jáwkuangsī sýaphâa lè khrýangpradàb*
 // *Thailand Yao – Guangxi Yao Costumes and Ornaments*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Faculty of Arts.
 มงคล จันทบูรณ์ 2534. เย้าไทย-เย้ากว๋างสี เสื้อผ้าและเครื่องประดับ.
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