

# Analecta Nipponica

---

JOURNAL OF POLISH ASSOCIATION FOR JAPANESE STUDIES

---



9/2019



Polskie Stowarzyszenie  
Badań Japonistycznych

# Analecta Nipponica

---

JOURNAL OF POLISH ASSOCIATION FOR JAPANESE STUDIES

---

特別号： アイデンティティの構築。日本文化のパターン

**Special Issue: *Constructing Identity. The Patterns of Japanese Culture***

**Guest Editors - Agnieszka Kozyra, Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka**



# Analecta Nipponica

JOURNAL OF POLISH ASSOCIATION FOR JAPANESE STUDIES

---

## **Editor-in-Chief**

Alfred F. Majewicz

Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń

## **Guest Editors of Number 9/2019**

Agnieszka Kozyra

Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka

University of Warsaw

University of Warsaw

## **Editorial Board**

Agnieszka Kozyra

Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka

University of Warsaw

University of Warsaw

## **Editing in English**

Aaron Bryson

## **Editing in Japanese**

Yoko Fujii Karpoluk

## **Editorial Advisory Board**

Moriyuki Itō

Mikołaj Melanowicz

Sadami Suzuki

Hideo Watanabe

Estera Żeromska

Gakushūin University in Tokyo

Professor emeritus

International Research Center

for Japanese Studies in Kyoto

Shinshū University in Matsumoto

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań

The publication was financed by Takashima Foundation



Copyrights © 2019 by Polish Association  
for Japanese Studies and Contributing Authors

ANALECTA NIPPONICA: Number 9/2019

ISSN: 2084-2147

## **Published by:**

Published by: Polish Association for Japanese Studies

Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28

00-927 Warszawa, Poland

<http://psbj.orient.uw.edu.pl>

## Contents 目次

### Editor's Preface

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Agnieszka Kozyra, Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka<br>The 11 <sup>th</sup> Annual Days of Japan at the University of Warsaw,<br><i>Constructing Identity. The Pattern of Japanese Culture</i> ,<br>International Conference Proceeding – Introduction. .... | 9 |
|--|---|

### ARTICLES

#### Japanese society, history, religion

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Jacek Splisgart<br>The Role of Tradition in the Formation of Identity in Contemporary Japan<br>現代日本でのアイデンティティ形成における伝統の役割 ..... | 15 |
|--|----|

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Judit Hidasi<br>過度経済成長の社会的代償—日本の事例<br>The Societal Price of Excessive Economic Growth – the Case of Japan ..... | 31 |
|---|----|

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Agnieszka Kozyra<br>Are the Japanese People Religious? The Problem of ‘Syncretic Religiosity’<br>in Japanese Culture<br>日本人は信仰心が篤いのか？ 日本文化における「諸派統合の信心深さ」<br>の問題 ..... | 41 |
|--|----|

#### Japanese Culinary Culture

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka<br>Japanese Culinary Culture and Identity<br>日本の食文化とアイデンティティ ..... | 61 |
|--|----|

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Monika Nawrocka<br>The Japanese Traditional Ceremony Hochōshiki at the University of Warsaw<br>ワルシャワ大学における日本の伝統儀式「庖丁式」 ..... | 75 |
|--|----|

## Japanese Literature

Katarzyna Sonnenberg-Musiał

Striving to Understand (and Interpret) the Other.

Natsume Sôseki's *Tower of London*

他者を理解する（そして解釈する）ための努力。夏目漱石の『倫敦塔』 ..... 91

Magdalena Kotlarczyk

Hybrid Genres in Haruki Murakami's *Hard-Boiled Wonderland*

*and the End of the World*

村上春樹『世界の終りとハードボイルド・ワンダーランド』

における混成ジャンル..... 105

Hanna Kelner

The Sun Hidden within – the Invention of the Tradition of Himiko.

隠れた太陽 — 卑弥呼伝説の創作..... 119

## INTERVIEWS

第13回 ワルシャワ大学三井物産冠講座（2019年11月19日）

鴻上尚史氏インタビュー「日本の『空気』と『世間』」

聞き手 コズィラ・アグニェシカ、プシビルスカしのぶしのぶ

13<sup>th</sup> Mitsui & Co., endowed lecture at University of Warsaw (19th November 2019)

„Japanese Communication: ‘Between the Lines’ and Public Opinion”

Mr Kokami Shôji – an interview, interviewer: Shinobu Przybylska ..... 141

Notes About the Authors ..... 155

Information for Contributors ..... 159







## Introduction

### **The 9th Annual Days of Japan at the University of Warsaw *Constructing Identity. Patterns of Japanese Culture* International Conference Proceedings**

The International Conference “Constructing Identity. Patterns of Japanese Culture” was held on the 23–25 of October 2017 at the University of Warsaw. The main organizer was the Chair of Japanese Studies, University of Warsaw and the co-organizer, the Polish Association for Japanese Studies. All conference participants (specialists in the fields of literature, history, art, theater, religion, philosophy and linguistics) presented their views on various aspects of the process of construction of the cultural identity of Japan referring to such problems as:

1. The formation of Japanese culture under the influence of foreign culture (for example, Chinese culture or the so-called Western culture)
2. The problem of “invented tradition” in Japanese culture
3. Theories and polemics on “Nihonjinron” – the uniqueness of Japanese culture
4. The linguistic image of “Japanese culture”

Despite some periods of isolation, Japanese culture developed in dialogue with Asian (mainly Chinese) culture and later with the so-called Western culture and therefore it is crucial to distinguish which foreign elements have become the inspiration for Japanese people and what were the criterions of their selection. Therefore the analysis of the process of adaptation of foreign elements to the matrix of native tradition is very important. It should be noted that such a matrix should not be regarded as unchangeable, because it happened to be reconfigured. Adopted foreign elements were later transformed, so the whole process can be regarded as a kind of synergy.

In order to understand Japanese culture one must also take into consideration the problem of “invented tradition” in Japanese known as *tsukurareta dentō*. There are many aspects of Japanese culture that are often regarded as those created in a certain historical period, a very long time ago. However, many of them are ‘traditions’ which claim or appear to be old but were invented for specific purposes rather recently (for instance, the contemporary Shintō wedding ceremony). Adaptation takes place for old uses in new conditions and by using old models for new

purposes. Sometimes new traditions can be readily grafted onto the old; sometimes they can be devised by borrowing from the old warehouses of rituals, symbolism and moral exhortation. Sometimes invented tradition establishes continuity with a suitable historic past, and scholars must explain which parts of such continuity are factitious. Invented tradition is response to a novel situation, which takes the form of reference to an old situation, or which establishes its own past by quasi-obligatory repetition. Invented traditions establish or symbolize the social cohesion of a group, legitimize institutions or authority, inculcate beliefs or values. That is why the problem of invented tradition is not important only in the context of social practices but also in the context of the uniqueness of Japanese culture. It is the contrast between constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life or culture within it as unchanging and invariant, that makes 'the invention of tradition' so interesting for Japanese studies scholars.

Various theories proving the uniqueness of Japanese culture (for instance the so-called *Nihonjinron*) were also analyzed in the above context. *Nihonjinron* means the discourse on the national identity of Japanese people, which refers to a general discussion about characteristics of the Japanese nation, culture and spirit. The unique properties of Japanese culture are distinguished and differences from foreign cultures are stressed in various fields such as philosophy, religion, sociology, psychology or aesthetics. The first type of argumentation in such discourse premises that the natural conditions and geographical position of the Japan Archipelago has influenced the development of a unique Japanese culture. In most books, which represent such an approach, for instance, Shiga Shigetaka's *Nihon fūkeiron* (Japanese Landscape) or Watsuji Tetsurō's *Fūdo. Ningen gakuteki kōsatsu* (which has been translated into English as **Climate and Culture**), the starting point of analysis is geographic position and features of Japan as an archipelago. The foundation of the national identity of Japanese people is found in the natural isolation of the islanders' culture, marked by a so-called insular mentality (*shimaguni konjō*). Natural isolation does not imply the isolation from a competitive, foreign vision of cultural values, because adaptation and creative transformation is allowed. The second type of argumentation stresses the importance of the biological factor in the formation of ethnic homogeneity and linguistic community of the Japanese people – for example, Yamada Yoshio's *Kokugo to Kokuminsei* (National language and nationality) or Tsunoda Tadanobu's *Nihonjin no nō. Nō no hataraki to tōzai no bunka* (The Japanese Brain. Brain Functions and Eat-West Culture). The third type of argumentation focuses on the historical and political causes of Japan's isolation – for instance, Nitobe Inazō's *Bushidō, Soul of Japan*, Nakane Chie's *Tateshakai no ningenkankei: tan'itsu no shakai no ronri* (which has been translated into English as *Japanese Society. A Practical Guide to Understanding the Japanese Mindset and Culture*) Doi Takeo's *Amae no kōzō* (*The Anatomy of Dependence*) or Itō Mayumi's

*Globalization of Japan: Japanese Sakoku Mentality and U.S. Efforts to Open Japan.* All these authors concentrate on the rather long period of political isolation during the Tokugawa regime, when unique vertical social relations and the ethical values of collectiveness were further developed. Dynastic continuity and the special role of the Emperor (*bansei ikkei*) are regarded as the core of national identity.

Some articles based on the conference papers will be published in the Polish language in monograph form in 2020.

In this special edition of *Analecta Nipponica* there are articles presented which analyze various aspects of “constructing identity”, such as the identity and ‘syncretic religiosity’ in Japanese culture, the identity in Japanese culinary culture, the role of tradition in the formation of identity in contemporary Japan and the invented tradition of Himiko, legendary shaman-ruler of Japan. The problem of identity is also the theme of articles on Japanese literature – Natsume Sōseki’s *Tower of London* and Haruki Murakami’s *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*. The article on *Hochōshiki* ceremony at the University of Warsaw is a good example of the change from religious ceremony into cultural event that can be performed even abroad in a secular environment. This edition of *Analecta Nipponica* also includes an interview with Mr. Kokami Shōji, a Japanese playwright, director, actor, filmmaker, and presenter of the NHK television show “Cool Japan”. Mr. Kokami Shōji gave a lecture titled “Japanese Communication ‘Between the Lines’ and Public Opinion” as the 13<sup>th</sup> Mitsui & Co., endowed lecture at University of Warsaw (ワルシャワ大学三井物産冠講座).

Agnieszka Kozyra

Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka



---

# ARTICLES

---

**Japanese society, history, religion**



Jacek Splisgart

## **The Role of Tradition in the Formation of Identity in Contemporary Japan**

Anthropology at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries concentrates its interests on the issue of identity in a globalizing world. In this context, Japanese society seems to be very inspiring, which, as it did in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is undergoing a period of transformation while seeking its own unique identity. Post-war transformations, initially forced by the geopolitical situation and rapid economic development, led to the breaking of traditional social ties and disruption in the passing-down of tradition. The result would seem to be a problem with determining the identity of the contemporary Japanese community. The discourses appearing since the 1970s (including the *Nihonjinron* texts – the essays about “Japaneseness”) seem to be looking for the specific qualities of Japanese culture and the Japanese nation. On the following pages, I will try to discuss the sources of identity of the inhabitants of the Japanese islands and how tradition and its transition affect the formation of these attitudes.

### **The sources of Japanese identity**

Reflecting on the characteristics that make up the contemporary Japanese ethnic identity, it should be said that it is a model society that meets the requirements of ethnic groups in every aspect. It stands out linguistically, religiously, territorially, historically and racially (Želazny 2006:119 et seq.). However, for the purposes of this study, I would like to focus only on three aspects that are the roots of Japanese identity. They will be discussed in the following order: geographical location, history (and mythology) and religion.

The first – geography, on the one hand, for centuries, was a barrier that inhibited the penetration of new cultural trends into the islands, and on the other hand acted as a kind of buffer in the periods of isolation, whose main task was to adapt the novelty to the native conditions. The island location of Japan thus influenced the creation of an ethnically homogeneous society, which in addition, through the conscious control of the processes of cultural change, resisted any attempts of

cultural interference from the outside. The Japanese can thus be a model example of the overlap of a cultural, ethnic and territorial unit (Želazny 2006:119–120)<sup>1</sup>.

The second and third factors are closely related. Japanese identity was built over the centuries on the myth of common origin, whose central object was the person of the emperor. In the mythology (*Kojiki. An Account of Ancient Matters*) created in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, it was clearly stated that the ruler of that time was a direct descendant of the gods (the legendary Jimmu), who in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC led to the creation of the Japanese Empire (Kotański 1986). The mythology, written in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, except for the consolidation of the hegemony of one family, probably shows the history of struggles of individual parties for power, and until the nineteenth century was associated primarily with the circle of aristocratic and indirectly samurai culture. As a combination of historical and religious sources (describing the mythical origins of the Japanese state), it was an important element in the process of shaping national ties. The fusion of Japanese *Shintō*, Buddhist and Confucian thought<sup>2</sup> has resulted in the emergence of a unique religious and ethical system, which is the basic component of the ethnic identity of today's Japanese people (Turnbull 2012). Also, the historical factor plays an important role in the shaping of patterns that today create identity. From the point of view of the contemporary configuration of Japanese culture, the most important periods are: (1) the Heian era (794–1185), during which a unique aristocratic culture was born<sup>3</sup>, and (2) times of the samurai reign (1185–1868), with particular reference to the Edo period (1600–1868), during which a well-known samurai ethos was created with its central figure – the well-educated warrior able to make the deepest sacrifices (Takagi 2004).

---

<sup>1</sup> The history of Japan, as mentioned above, consists of alternating periods of intensified cultural contacts (resulting in the exchange – often one-sided – of patterns and ideas) and times of isolation. From the point of view of shaping national and ethnic attitudes, four main cycles can be distinguished: (1) the increased flow of ideas from the continent (from China and Korea) and the emergence of aristocratic (partly modeled on Chinese culture) and samurai cultures (which dominated the history of the country for nearly 700 years) associated with it; (2) “Centenary of Christianity” (1542–1638) and isolationist politics of the Edo period (1600–1868), as a result of which the Samurai and bourgeois cultures become symbols of traditional Japanese culture; (3) the transformation of the Meiji period (1868–1912) and the nationalistic moods of the 1930s and 1940s resulting from disappointment with the West; (4) changes in the post-war years that affected all spheres of Japanese life (social, cultural, political, religious, economic).

<sup>2</sup> It was only along with the changes of the Meiji period (1868–1912) that *Shintō* was brought to the rank of the religion of the state, and was codified. Earlier, it existed in the following varieties: folk and court. The transformation of Meiji, as a result of which the emperor – a descendant of the gods – became a symbol of the country, required the demarcation of coexistent religious systems.

<sup>3</sup> The Heian period was characterized by lush feminine literature. Individual poems and novels depicted the whole splendor of which aristocratic culture could be proud. More information about the Heian era can be found in: *W kregu tradycji dworu Heian*, (ed.) I. Kordzińska-Nawrocka, NOZOMI, Warszawa 2008.



The above components find their exemplification in the Japanese rites of adolescence. It is during this process that the child becomes the subject of the process of enculturation (acquiring cultural competence) and socialization. By analyzing the evolution of each rite, we can point to the main pillars shaping the contemporary national, cultural and ethnic identity of the people of Japan. For the purposes of this study, I will distinguish two periods, including the time of adolescence and reaching the age of consent, as an exemplification of the discussed processes.

## Tradition in Japan

The current shape of Japanese tradition is owed to the changes that took place in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Omnipresent discussions about modernization at that time and postulates of rejection of the unnecessary baggage of feudal society led to the equality of cultures from the aristocratic-samurai and popular (bourgeois) groups. Moreover, the tradition originating from the *chōnin* (bourgeois) circle is probably more popular than the old high culture. John Hall (1979:178), summarizing the achievements of the samurai culture, wrote:

“The fact that later generations recognized the achievements of Tokugawa bourgeois society as more important than the achievements of samurai would be a shock to the people of that time [...]. However, similarly to the rule of the samurai, their culture was severely assessed by modern historians and art connoisseurs who discovered the most vivid and creative impulses in the activities of the middle class.”

What is tradition for the Japanese? What does tradition look like? I will try to answer these questions on the following pages of this work. When writing about tradition, we should first define what it is and what its main determinants are. To answer the above questions, in the years 2003–2008, I conducted fieldwork in Japan. What was important to me was not the dictionary definition, but the way in which the members of society perceive and conceptualize tradition.

The starting point for my considerations was the definition by Zbigniew Jasiewicz for the “Polish Ethnological Dictionary.” Z. Jasiewicz claims that cultural tradition is “cultural goods transmitted in time and space (from older generations to younger ones), taken over and valued.” There are three meanings of tradition: (1) functional, related to the transfer of cultural goods (transmission); (2) objective, indicating the transferred goods (heritage) and (3) subjective, defining an approach of individual generations to cultural property from the past, their consent to inheritance or protest against it (1987:353–354).

Tradition in terms of transmission can take two main forms: (1) genetic – that is, transmission from generation to generation; and (2) social – the transmission

of cultural elements from one social (ethnic, cultural) group to another. Zbigniew Jasiewicz also points to a specific type of tradition (or false tradition), which is situational tradition. It usually involves disruptions in the functioning of society and culture. These disturbances take place when people adapt to specific conditions and shape their lives in a way that is reminiscent of solutions from the past. The transmission of traditional content takes place in two ways: orally or in the form of gestures. Zbigniew Jasiewicz extends the aforementioned methods of transmission to include one more – transmission using a magazine, image or other material means, that does not require interpersonal contact. It is important that the result of the transmission be the conscious (or unconscious) reproduction (not repeating) of cultural goods associated with the past.

The institution that exerts the greatest influence on the shape of transmission and the choice of tradition is the family, because “by tradition we mean in principle all legacy that the outgoing generations pass on to generations entering into society” (Jasiewicz 1987:354). In addition to this basic social unit, shaping of tradition is also done in the local community, school, church, workplace, and in all other institutions involved in the process of enculturation.

In “Kōjien” (Japanese language dictionary), we can read that traditions (伝統 – *dentō*) are passed, within a given group, from past generations – art, systems and ways of thinking [cultural goods – author’s note]. The transition mainly concerns the mental sphere. In the Japanese language, the word “tradition” did not exist until the Meiji period. After the modernization of the country and the culture that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century, the inhabitants of Japan were able to conceptualize a term such as “tradition.” The word itself is the “loan translation” of the English word “tradition.” Reflecting on the earlier lack of this term, we can point to one very important reason. Until the Meiji period, Japan did not experience such strong cultural changes as Europe (the transition from Greek and Latin civilization to the Middle Ages, from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, etc.). Japanese culture was characterized by continuity and relative stability (almost invariability). The changes have been slow since the Heian period. There were no sudden changes, in which the former culture was rejected in favor of a new, better-quality one. This is the reason for the lack of distinction between the old, or traditional and the new, or modern. It was not until the nineteenth century, along with the Meiji Restoration, that the Japanese first encountered rapid changes, the aim of which was to reject the old and adopt new customs matching the contemporary world. Therefore, only then was the situation favorable to the development of the concept of “tradition” in Japan<sup>4</sup>.

---

<sup>4</sup> For more information, see: Jacek Splisgart, *Geisha institution. An example of the adaptation of tradition in Japanese society* [in:] “Lud”, 89/2005, p. 141–155 (Polish edition).

Japanese people, when asked to define the concept of tradition, believe that tradition consists of the most valuable socio-cultural values of a group passed down for generations. The most important features are: culture (in a general sense of the word), habits, the way of thinking and art. In addition, tradition is often equated with custom, which is defined as an activity unknowingly performed by people, resulting in both positive and negative associations. The author (the respondent I questioned) described “bad customs” as those that do not accept foreigners or give them a feeling of disapproval<sup>5</sup>. Tradition, on the other hand, consists only of accepted positive traits (passed through generations) and must have full approval among the members of Japanese society. The author concluded his reflections with the statement, that apart from these main features, tradition is above all a way of looking at the world and a source of curiosity about life.

Other Japanese folks I have asked have linked tradition with the tea ceremony. A special feature of *sadō* is the fact that it combines several other traditional arts: *kimono*, ceramics, *Zen*, calligraphy and *ikebana*. Another respondent, referring to the concept of tradition, mentions the novels *Genji Monogatari* and *Makura no Sōshi*, which, as he believes, point to the definition of the term we are interested in: food, eating utensils, green tea, *seiza*, and brushes for calligraphy. This kind of thinking can also be classified as identifying tradition with the culture of the Yamato period.

The last definition that I would like to quote comes from a young Japanese woman living on one of the small islands. She mentions her grandfather, who is a fisherman. The ways of preparing food and the methods of preparing the tools used to catch fish that her grandfather taught her are the most important determinants of tradition. In my opinion, this statement is closest to the anthropological view of tradition.

How does tradition work in an industrialized Japanese society? The majority of Japanese people I questioned said that nowadays, there is a gradual disappearance of customs from the past. The reason behind this can be indicated by the increasingly smaller awareness of national individuality (especially among young people). Interest in European and U.S. cultures causes a gradual decline in interest in traditional arts. Where, in that case, can we still find tradition? Family celebrations are most often mentioned, mainly rites of passage<sup>6</sup>. Many people point out that nowadays, fewer and fewer young people decide to keep traditional

---

<sup>5</sup> It is worth noting that this feeling may be a consequence of poor knowledge of both: Japanese culture and the realities prevailing in the Land of the Rising Sun.

<sup>6</sup> Rites of passage – rites associated with the change of status of an individual or group. The most typical of the rites of passage are all celebrations related to the change of the age group, wedding and funeral. Joy Hendry extends the definition of the rites of passage to any ritual related to border periods. For more information, see: J. Hendry, *Sharing our worlds. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*, New York University Press, New York 2008, pp. 77–92.

standards in these bastions of “Japaneseness.”<sup>7</sup> The pillar of traditional Japanese culture is the way of thinking presented by the residents of the Land of the Rising Sun. It is difficult to distinguish any specific features of this specific way of thinking. We can only guess what the respondents were thinking. Often, we find the statement “*Nihon no kokoro*” (Japanese spirit, Japanese heart), which is precisely the essence of “Japaneseness.” The components of the “Japanese soul” are *reigi* (politeness) and *oseji* (compliments). According to those surveyed, tradition in today’s Japan are matsuri festivals (organized by local, urban, prefectural and national authorities), historical monuments, the existence of empire institutions and traditional arts, practicing *budō* (Japanese martial arts) and religion (*Shintō* and Buddhism). The tastes of Europeans (!) are also identified with the existence of tradition, because, as one of the respondents pointed out, it is the foreigners who dictate for the Japanese what is (or should be) recognized as traditional (for example, *geisha*, bourgeois art of the Edo period, etc.).

Concluding this part, I would like to quote one more comment that seems interesting to me from the point of view of tradition and identity. The respondent, when describing the existence of tradition, came to the conclusion that today’s Japan is multicultural, and therefore it does not convey the atmosphere of the old times. The mixture of cultures that flows into the Land of the Rising Sun blurs the border between the local and the inflow element. Until the 1990s, we can observe the relative uniformity of Japanese culture. There were some regional differences, but they are not important from the point of view of this study. Currently, gradual diversification is progressing – residents of large urban centers (e.g., Tōkyō, Kyotō, and Ōsaka) have contact with foreigners. The community under the influence of cultural exchange begins to acquire hybrid features, with a focus on stronger assimilation of external elements. On the other hand, people living outside the metropolises cultivate old customs, all the while emphasizing their cultural diversity. The difference resulting from contacts with foreigners (or lack thereof) is probably a way of perceiving tradition.

When we’re reflecting on tradition and identity, it is impossible to ignore the aspects in which both processes manifest themselves. As part of my research, I decided to ask the respondents about their opinions on the traditional and current shape of the Japanese family. In my opinion, this is an important determinant of tradition, which should be discussed in more detail.

Originally, the Japanese family had a multigenerational character and was characterized by strong relationships between individual members<sup>8</sup>. Three, four or even

<sup>7</sup> For example, the Western-style wedding is now popular (Chapel Wedding), where the bride and groom in a Protestant chapel, dressed in European wedding attire, make an oath before the pastor.

<sup>8</sup> For more information, see: Fumie Kumagai, *Families in Japan. Changes, Continuities and Regional Variations*, University Press of America, Inc., 2008.

five generations lived in one household. The eldest man owned the power. The father was traditionally the head of the household, and his eldest son succeeded him. The man was involved in earning a living, while the role of the woman was to take care of the children, the eldest household members and the household. Currently, the traditional model is encountered less and less. It is replaced by a two-generation, nuclear family (consisting only of parents and children). Today, the social roles of man and woman are evolving steadily. Currently, we can meet more working mothers, and fathers are much more likely to help in the care of the home. Decreasing the number of family members leads to a change in the way of life, and according to the respondents, it translates into a break of family ties (both between household members and relatives) and the disappearance of the transition of tradition. The weakening of the relationship leads to the disappearance of respect, and the father ceases to be the head of the family. The last phenomenon that results from the change in customs is the growing problem of the lack of care for the elderly and the change of their role in society<sup>9</sup>.

A separate issue worth discussing is the transmission of information about traditional content. On the basis of my research and observations made, I concluded that in contemporary Japan, knowledge of tradition is transmitted through two basic paths<sup>10</sup>.

The first one is a direct transmission within the family. Despite the gradual disappearance of its traditional model, multigenerational families still exist. It is within them that a young man meets old Japanese culture for the first time. The transmission is direct and oral. Usually the grandparents or mother are teachers, and less frequently, the father's duties relate mainly to the maintenance of the family.

The second way of conveying tradition occurs in schools that teach traditional arts such as tea ceremony, calligraphy, *kimono* or *ikebana*. It is an institutionalized transfer of knowledge with a continuous nature. The teacher is a source of information (Japanese *sensei* or *shishō*), and the learning process is divided into stages. The level of advancement is marked with student grades – *kyū*, and master classes – *dan*<sup>11</sup>. Along with the progressive learning, there is a promotion to a higher degree.

---

<sup>9</sup> For more information, see: Jacek Splisgart, *Transformation of the family model and the situation of elderly people in Japan at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century*, [in:] "Gdańskie Studia Azji Wschodniej", 11/2017, pp. 138–151 (Polish edition).

<sup>10</sup> The potential third institution that conveys tradition is the *geisha*. With the advent of modern times, the role that *geiko* originally fulfilled in society has changed. Even during the Meiji period, the *geishas* were a symbol of modernity and progress. However, the progressive modernization of society and the rivalry with *jokyū* (waitresses, hostesses) led to a change in the role of *geiko* in Japan. From avant-garde, *geishas* became the guardians of tradition. Today they are the only social group that is connected with traditional Japanese culture. It can be assumed that *geishas* are currently one of the most important sources of information about Japanese tradition.

<sup>11</sup> The division into the degrees *kyū* and *dan* occurs, among others, in martial arts and calligraphy.

## Rites of adolescence as a carrier of identity attitudes

One of the most significant events in shaping the ethnic identity of an adolescent is the celebration of *tango no sekku* (boys' day) and *jōshi no sekku* (girls' day). Both of these customs derive from Japanese and Chinese traditions. By celebrating these two holidays every year, "children learn important values of their national heritage, and grow into the roles expected of members of such a nation" (Hendry 2003:148).

*Jōshi no sekku* (popularly called *hina matsuri*, or the doll festival) is celebrated on the third of March<sup>12</sup>. This ceremony illustrates the dynamics of Japanese culture and its ability to absorb external patterns. It is a combination of Chinese customs related to the beginning of the third lunar month. The Chinese believed that the beginning of the third month was an exceptionally unfortunate period, hence it was necessary to undergo cleansing rites each year to ward off unhappiness (Shintani 2007a:44–45). The rite included a ritual bath and drinking alcohol made from peaches. Over time, the date that contained the number three twice in a row was considered to be the most unfortunate, so the day of cleansing was set on the third day of the third month. In this form, this holiday was brought along with other elements of Chinese culture to Japan, where it merged with two native customs – *hi'ina asobi* and *kyokusui no en*. Like their continental neighbors, the Japanese community also believed that the beginning of the third month was associated with an unlucky period<sup>13</sup>. That's why they prepared paper dolls (called *hitogata* –

<sup>12</sup> Despite the fact that it seems commonplace to prepare exhibitions on the occasion of the girls' festival, to this day, there are regions where there is no custom of displaying dolls on the day of *jōshi no sekku*. One of such places, until the 1950s, was the city of Sanjō. The conversations that I have conducted show that in the 1940s, girls did not receive *hina* dolls from their parents. One of my informants mentioned that according to legend, on the eve of *hina matsuri* (on the second day of the third month), the local liege lord was murdered. That is why from that day on, *hina* dolls disappeared as a sign of mourning. Due to the fact that this story was passed down to my informant by her mother (in the 1940s), I decided to contact the Sanjō city office in order to obtain more detailed information. From a historian specializing in local history, I learned that today there is no trace of this story. It is known, however, that in fact until the post-war years, there was no custom of displaying dolls on the *hina matsuri* day. Instead, on the eve of *jōshi-no-sekku*, a special dinner was eaten. Asked about the reason for the lack of custom of displaying dolls, he was unable to give me an answer. He pointed out another interesting fact related to local history. On September 9, 1620, the local feudal castle was demolished at Sanjō. As a sign of mourning after this event, from that day on, the preparation of decorations with chrysanthemums on the occasion of the holiday of *chōyō no sekku* was discontinued. Personally, I think that both these events are connected with each other, and the memory of them survived as a folk legend until the twentieth century. As a curiosity, it can be added that Sanjō is currently one of the hometowns sumptuously celebrating *hina matsuri*, and there is also a factory that produces *hina* dolls.

<sup>13</sup> Both March (formerly the third lunar month) and May (formerly the fifth lunar month) were considered as very unlucky periods in China (due to the numerous epidemics occurring in these months). However, according to the concept of yin-yang, odd digits were associated with yang (an active element), so doubling them strengthened this element to overcome misfortune.



supposed to be their replacement), which they stroked (to transfer their misfortunes by touch) and threw into the river (thanks to which all bad luck floated away)<sup>14</sup>.

Another custom associated with the discussed period was a play called *kyokusui no en* in the aristocracy, during which participants drank *sake* and wrote poems. These three customs have coincided with today's doll festival (*hina matsuiri*). The dolls themselves have evolved, from simple paper ones (in the shape of a person) to expensive, ceramic figures symbolizing the imperial court<sup>15</sup>.

The *hina* dolls are a gift from the maternal grandparents. They are handed out two months before the first *hina matsuiri* (celebrated annually on March 3<sup>rd</sup>). As it was in previous centuries, dolls are amulets that protect girls from misfortunes and diseases. That's why every woman has her own set. The number of dolls depends on wealth and ranges from two to fifteen. They portray the imperial court and refer to the splendor of the aristocratic Heian period. The appearance has changed, but so has the symbolism. According to my research (in 2005–2009), dolls in Japan are now associated with a conjugal divination. J. Hendry (2003: 149) believes that the *hina* dolls symbolize a couple prepared for marriage. That explains why sets of dolls are often contained within engagement and/or wedding gifts. In some (most expensive) cases, the set also includes an imitation of meals served during the wedding. Japanese people believe that the *hina* dolls symbolize marriage, and that quickly hiding them the day after the holiday (March 4) is the divination of quick marriage.

Another custom associated with *hina matsuiri* requires that the dolls be displayed for about a month before the holiday. A one-day exposure (*ichiya kazari*) is supposed to bring bad luck. However, referring to T. Shintani's (2007b:44) research, it should be noted that the above interpretation is relatively new (after 1945). The changes in the appearance of *hina ningyō*, the increase in their price, and the interest in environmental protection led to the disappearance of the custom of melting dolls in rivers. Therefore, T. Shintani believes that the custom of quickly hiding *hina* dolls is a remnant of the old customs associated with throwing paper images (*hitogata*) into the river and symbolizes getting rid of misfortune.

In addition, on the evening of *hina matsuiri*, a special dinner is prepared for girls. It consists of: clam chowder – *hamaguri* (the remnant of the old custom of collecting mussels on the beach on March 3 and offering them to deities, also a symbol of virginity); *mochi* rice cake made with common mugwort – *kusa mochi* (an herb with medicinal properties, it is traditionally believed to drive off misfortune); pink *mochi* rice cake wrapped in cherry leaves – *sakura mochi*; tri-color

<sup>14</sup> The custom of floating dolls is called *nagashi bina*.

<sup>15</sup> Changes in the appearance and functionality of the *hina* dolls took place gradually. Initially, ceramic dolls appeared next to paper cutouts. In the Edo period, standing and sitting dolls were introduced. Finally, in the nineteenth century, dolls depicting a woman and a man appeared – marital dolls.

*mochi* diamond-shaped cake – *hishi mochi* (symbolism of colors: green – dislodges unhappiness, white – purity, red – protects against disease); *chirashi zushi* (*sushi* prepared from a mixture of fish, rice, eggs) and *shiro zake* – sweet, white rice wine.

Similarly, as is the case with *jōshi no sekku*, boys also have their holiday, called *tango no sekku*. Currently, it takes place on the fifth of May, and its background is a combination of two traditions: Chinese and Japanese. In China, the fifth day of the fifth month was considered extremely unlucky. Hence, numerous purifying rites were practiced during this period, the task of which was to drive away all potential misfortune (Shintani 2007a:72). In Japan, the month of May was a period in which the rural community (mainly women) was preparing to start rice sowing (Shintani 2007b:64). However, before starting work, women who planted rice (called *saotome*) were required to undergo special cleansing rituals to ensure that they would successfully sow and harvest the rice. All the girls taking part in the sowing were obliged to spend the night in a hut, which was made of calamus (*shōbu*) and common mugwort (*yomogi*) – plants with the power to purify and deter evil spirits. With the development of the samurai culture and the spread of Chinese customs, the idea of the holiday changed (during the Edo period). It occurred as a result of the reinterpretation of the rite function and the associated change of characters in the *shōbu* transcript. The earlier *shōbu* – calamus (菖蒲) was replaced by *shōbu* – to respect warriors (尚武). T. Shintani (2007a: 73) explains this change, the fact that children from the *samurai* class used calamus stems to play, which consisted of hitting them on the ground. The louder the child hit, the closer it was to victory. This game showed the strength and courage of future warriors. In this way, the women's agricultural festival transformed into a noble boy's ceremony.

It should be noted that today, *tango no sekku* is necessarily combined with two attributes: a carp-like pennant (*koinobori*) and ornaments consisting of samurai armor – *yoroi* and a *samurai* doll on a wild horse – *musha ningyō*. Pennants of *koinobori* are a remnant of the samurai custom of displaying family banners in front of the house on the fifth day of the fifth month. The symbolism of the carp is not accidental. It refers to the Chinese legends, according to which the carp is a strong and persistent fish that is able to swim upstream, and even climb a waterfall. Carp that accomplish these feats turn into dragons (Shintani 2007a:73). It is a symbol of strength, perseverance and promotion, which should be the characteristics of every man. It is precisely for these reasons that the *koinobori* pennants hang outside the house in which the son was born. On the other hand, *samurai* armor and a warrior doll on a horse are supposed to serve as a reminder of the military roots of Japanese culture and the readiness to sacrifice, which characterizes a true man (Hendry 2003:148). In addition, the temptation of a *kusu dama* hangs, balls filled with calamus and common mugwort, which have cleansing power and protect against malicious spirits (Shintani 2007b:64).



Similarly, as in the case of *jōshi no sekku*, a special dinner is also prepared for boys on their holiday, during which *kashiwa-mochi*, rice cake wrapped in oak leaves (referring to the symbolism of durability of the family; similarly, old oak leaves fall down only after the appearance of new ones – siring a male descendant who will sustain the existence of the family is also expected).

The next rite that affects the shaping of the identity of young Japanese children is *shichi go san* (literally seven-three-five). The name of the ceremony refers to the age in which the children are subjected to the rite. Three- and seven-year-old girls and five-year-old boys go to the shrine (or temple) on November 15 to ward off evil spirits and wish for a long life<sup>16</sup>. Although it is a holiday that dates back to the Heian period, its present shape is the result of a combination of three different rites from earlier centuries. The choice of age thresholds is related to *Shintō* beliefs, according to which the child's soul remains unstable up to the age of seven (counted according to *kazoe doshi*<sup>17</sup>). For the first six years after birth, the child is strongly associated with the world of gods, and children are the human incarnation of some divine spirits<sup>18</sup>. For this reason, special rites are needed, whose task is to “keep” the soul with the body and worship the deity. It can be assumed that the individual age thresholds are related to: the conviction of the unusually unlucky significance of the numbers three and five<sup>19</sup> (it explains why the two periods in the child's life were combined with the special need for prayer for its health) and the connection to the number seven<sup>20</sup>. At the age of seven, the child's soul remains permanently connected to the body, ceases to be the embodiment of the deity and thus becomes a member of human society (Shintani 2007a:175).

In its original form, the festival was held only in aristocratic families. Therefore, from the Heian period, boys of the age of three were subjected to the *hakamagi* ceremony – the first donning of the *hakama* pants (Shintani 2007a:175). For the first time, such a ceremony took place in 962, when Prince Morihira donned *hakama* pants to emphasize the period of leaving early childhood<sup>21</sup>. Over time, the age limits were postponed by two years and starting with the Kamakura period (1185–1333), the ceremony took place at the age of five.

During the Kamakura and Muromachi periods (1333–1568), two more customs developed in the samurai families related to crossing age thresholds. Because

<sup>16</sup> In some regions of Japan, boys attend the *shichi-go-san* ceremony at the age of three and five.

<sup>17</sup> The term *kazoe doshi* (the years of the soul) was used in the Meiji period in determining the age of children attending the ceremony. *Kazoe doshi* means age from the moment of conception.

<sup>18</sup> For more information, see: N. Shibuya, *Shinji, butsuji no shikitari*, Nihon Bungeisha, Tōkyō, 2008; T. Shintani (ed.), *Kurashi no naka no minzokugaku*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, Tōkyō, 2003.

<sup>19</sup> I described the meaning of the numbers three and five in connection with the analysis of *jōshi-no-sekku* and *tango-no-sekku*.

<sup>20</sup> Today, children start education at the age of six, counting from birth; however, it is seven years when counting in the *kazoe doshi* system.

<sup>21</sup> In the novel *Genji Monogatari*, there are descriptions of the *hakamagi* ceremony.

these were the times of the Samurai reign (1185–1868), the aristocratic ceremony also took on a more *samurai*-focused character. It only concerned children from noble and aristocratic families. At that time, emphasizing the change in belonging to the age group began to be combined with changes in the way of dressing and external appearance<sup>22</sup>. Thus, the new customs were related to the appearance of children. They were called: *kami oki* (literally, leave the hair) and *obi toki* (literally, to cut the tapes)<sup>23</sup>. The first of these ceremonies took place at the age of two (three years counted with the *kazoe doshi* system). During this ceremony, the child's head was shaved and a wig with gray hair was applied. The main purpose of the ceremony was to symbolize the old age that the child would live to be.

The second rite (*obi toki*) concerned mainly seven-year-old girls. During that ceremony, the strings (ribbons) were removed from the *kimono*, which until that day helped in the proper wearing of clothes.

From the Edo period (1600–1868), this feast took place on November 15. The choice of date can be explained in two ways. Some researchers believe that it refers to the first visit of the son of the fifth shogun of the Tokugawa family in the temple that took place on November 15. Others, in turn, think that the feast is combined with the worship of deities that fell in the middle of November (Shibuya 2008). On that day, the parents and the child went first to the head of the family (in the case of samurai), the emperor (aristocrats), stewards (burghers) or the village leader (in the case of peasants). The aim of the visit was to present the young person to an important personality and symbolically integrate him (or her) into the community (Frédéric 1971).

Also, in the Edo period, the order of three rites was permanently established. At the age of three, the dress-up ceremony took place (*kami sogi*). Usually, the child's hair was cut and the cut strands were placed on a tray. Among the rural population, this custom was not always respected. Especially in the case of girls whose hair was cut only in the case of lice, joining the Buddhist order or when, after the death of her husband, she decided not to enter into a new marriage (Frédéric 1971:21 et seq.; Shibuya 2008:124). At the age of five, boys attended the *hakamagi* ceremony. They put on *hakama* pants and hats called *hikitate eboshi* for the first time. In the case of seven-year-old girls, strings were removed from the clothes, which until that time were sewn on permanently and facilitated the proper wearing of clothing<sup>24</sup>. They received their first *kimonos* that were simi-

<sup>22</sup> The garment was a symbol of social status.

<sup>23</sup> *Kami-oki* also appears in the literature under the name *kami sogi* or *kushi oki*. In turn, *obi toki* is otherwise called *obi naoshi*, *obi musubi* or *himo otoshi*.

<sup>24</sup> Traditional Japanese clothes – *kimono* – do not contain buttons. They are arranged and kept on the person with strings, belts and special types of bindings. The wearing of a *kimono* is a difficult task. In the case of a small child, it becomes almost impossible – hence the custom of sewing on strings and straps “permanently,” which were then formerly detached upon reaching a certain age.

lar to the ones worn by adults – and the ceremony was called *obi toki* (Frédéric 1971; Shibuya 2008).

During the Meiji period (1868–1912), the *shichi go san* took its current shape<sup>25</sup>. The first change that took place was quantitative – it consisted of spreading the holiday to all social groups. Until 1945, it was celebrated only in large urban agglomerations, such as Tōkyō or Kyōto, and after the Second World War, in all of Japan (Shintani 2007a: 173–174). Therefore, the ritual of shaving the head at the age of three was abandoned, because this custom was associated with old feudal dependencies.

The second major change was the introduction of the obligation to visit the *Shintō* shrine on the day of the ceremony. The practice of visiting the shrine was connected with asking the gods for a long and happy life, and also to drive away the evil spirits (Shibuya 2008:124). In the Meiji era, the custom of setting up a *kimono* on *shichi go san* (often for the first time in life), as well as giving *chitose ame* sweets to children, was formed. *Chitose ame* are long, thin, red and white candies, which are in a special bag with painted turtle and crane emblems. All three elements (candy, turtle and crane) are symbols of longevity in Japan. The number of candies depends on the age of the child and is three, five and seven, respectively.

Today, the period of rituals related to *shichi go san* begins in October and continues uninterruptedly until the beginning of December. This is due to the fact that parents want their children to visit the most famous *Shintō* shrines during this holiday. For this reason, the dates of visits to the temple located closest to November 15 are reserved very early. Thus, “latecomers” are forced to choose another more distant day. The only thing that matters is that the child participates in the rite at an appropriate age; the date becomes a secondary matter. J. Hendry (2003) believes that the ritual element has been put on the back burner. It is important to present the child to friends and family. Therefore, today many people take the time to visit a hairdresser and a photographer, choose a *kimono*, and prepare a reception, often even neglecting to visit a shrine.

## Conclusion

Despite the distortion in the transmission of traditional culture (caused by top-down regulations regarding the family model and the migration of the rural population to the cities), identity attitudes, as it was in earlier centuries, are still

---

<sup>25</sup> With the introduction of the Gregorian calendar, the system of calculating years based on *kazoe doshi* began to gradually disappear. Today, the *shichi go san* ceremony takes place when reaching three, five and seven years of age.

shaped by traditional cultural institutions. Today, the rites of adolescence form one of the main pillars of knowledge about traditional culture that creates identity, both group and individual. The people of Japan themselves, when asked to describe their own identity, indicate the qualities given to them during their adolescence – holidays celebrated every year. These holidays create the patterns of masculinity and femininity, and thus the unique Japanese identity. It can be assumed that just as it happened in earlier centuries, also now after the period of fascination with external patterns, there will be a turn once again towards its own unique culture, which, although it is not passed down by traditional means, functions, and will continue to function in the consciousness of a society that values *nihon no kokoro*.

## Bibliography

- Louis Frédéric**, *Życie codzienne w Japonii w epoce samurajów (La vie quotidienne au Japon à l'époque des samurais 1185–1603)*, Polish translation: Eligia Bąkawska, Warszawa 1971
- John Hall**, *Japonia (Japan from prehistory to modern times)*, Polish translation: Krysztyna Czyżewska-Madajewicz, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1979
- Zbigniew Jasiewicz**, “Tradycja” (*Tradition*), [in:] *Słownik etnologiczny (Polish Ethnological Dictionary)*, ed. Zofia Staszczak, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznań-Warszawa 1987
- I. Kordzińska-Nawrocka (ed.)**, *W kręgu tradycji dworu Heian*, NOZOMI, Warszawa 2008
- Wiesław Kotański**, *Kojiki czyli Księga Dawnych Wydarzeń (Kojiki: An Account of Ancient Matters)*, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, Warszawa 1986
- Fumie Kumagai**, *Families in Japan. Changes, Continuities and Regional Variations*, University Press of America, Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Plymouth, UK, 2008
- Joy Hendry**, *Understanding Japanese Society*, RoutledgeCurzon, New York 2003
- Joy Hendry**, *Sharing our worlds. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*, New York University Press, New York 2008
- Nobuhiro Shibuya**, *Shinji, butsui no shikitari*, Nihon Bungeisha, Tōkyō, 2008
- Takanori Shintani (ed.)**, *Kurashi no naka no minzokugaku*, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, Tōkyō, 2003
- Takanori Shintani**, *12ka getsu no shikitari*, PHP Kenkyūjo, Tōkyō, 2007
- Takanori Shintani**, *Nihonjin no shunkashūtō*, Shōgakukan, Tōkyō, 2007
- Jacek Splisgart**, *Instytucja gejszy. Przykład adaptacji tradycji w społeczeństwie japońskim (Geisha institution. An example of the adaptation of tradition in Japanese society)* [in:] “Lud”, 89/2005, pp. 141–155

- Jacek Splisgart**, *Przemiany modelu rodziny a sytuacja ludzi starszych w Japonii u progu XXI wieku* (*Transformation of the family model and the situation of elderly people in Japan at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century*), [in:] “Gdańskie Studia Azji Wschodniej”, 11/2017, pp. 138–151
- Takashi Takagi**, *Rycerze i samuraje* (*Tōzai bushidō no hikaku*), Polish translation: Witold Nowakowski, Diamond Books, Bydgoszcz 2004
- Stephen Turnbull**, *Samurajowie i sacrum* (*The Samurai and the Sacred*), Polish translation: Justyn Hania, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2012
- Walter Żelazny**, *Etniczność. Ład-konflikt-sprawiedliwość* (*Ethnicity. Order-Conflict-Justice*), Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań, 2006

## 論文概要

Jacek Splisgart

### 現代日本でのアイデンティティ形成における伝統の役割

20世紀後半に起こった文化的プロセスは、世界の文化を相対的に統一する方向へと導いた。それは日本においても同様で、外国から流れ込んできた文化によって追いやられた伝統文化が少しずつ消えつつある。グローバリゼーションを同時に進めつつ、自身のアイデンティティを守るという課題に日本人が直面するというのは、この国の歴史を鑑みれば何も初めてのことでない。“家族”と“行事”というこれまでである日本性の砦は、数々の変化を経ている。本稿の目的は、日本の伝統とそれに関連するアイデンティティという分野における変化を追うことと、伝統的価値についての情報源としての、また新しい(あるいは更新された・一新された)アイデンティティ動向の源としての行事の新しい機能を指摘することにある。子供が成長する中でこのように扱われた行事は、日本人としての基本的姿勢を強化するという考え方に影響を与えているに違いない。

**Key-words:** Japanese tradition, cultural anthropology, identity, annual rites, growing up rites



Judit Hidasi

## 過度経済成長の社会的代償—日本の事例

### 日本に関する通説

小柴昌俊教授が2002年のノーベル物理学賞受賞（アメリカの学者レイモンド・ディビスとの共同受賞）の際、報道陣から寄せられた数多くの質問の一つに、地震が日常的に起こる日本のような国で原子炉を安全に稼働させることができるのかについて、小柴教授の意見を問うものがあつた。私は小柴教授がメディアに対して、日本は地震をも制御することが可能であるレベルに科学技術が発達していると自信をもって保証したことをはっきりとおぼえている。まもなく小柴教授の発言が試されることになるとは本人も想像していなかったであろう。実際のところ、2011年3月11日のマグニチュード9.1の巨大地震によって福島原子力発電所が地震には耐えうるものであつたことが判明したものの、地震の後に発生した前例の無い規模の津波には耐えられず、結果として原子力の大惨事を招いたのである。

原爆による被害の生々しい記憶が残っている唯一の国であるにもかかわらず、日本が原子力発電所建設ブームに沸いていた過去数十年の間、世界は驚きをもってそれに注目していた。しかしながら学術研究機関や高い科学技術水準に対する信頼は過度に高く、原子力の経済的・環境的利益を広く唱える産業界のロビー活動は影響力が強大であつた。前例の無い急速な経済発展によって日本におけるエネルギー源の需要は高く、原子力は他のどのエネルギー生産よりも安価で低公害に見えた。そのため、2010年、日本政府は日本の原子力発電所を2030年までにさらに14か所新設する計画を発表した。この計画はいまだに温存され書き換えられつつ現在に至っている。この自信は国内に限ったものではなかつた。効果的な広報活動と信頼するに足りうる科学技術の実績によって、事実上日本が科学技術においてナンバーワンであると世界を信じさせもした。したがって科学技術に関連した問題は起こりうるはずがないと信じられていた。

また、別のよく言われる通説として、日本の経済的強さとパワーが挙げられる。2010年に中国が首位アメリカに続くGDPランキング2位を日本にとって代わったことは、警告のき



ざしとしてもっと深刻に受け止められることができたはずだったが、多くの国内外の専門家は単に一時的な状況としてみていた。経済の浮き沈みがあったとしても、日本の経済的安定は災害や大惨事によって揺さぶられるものではない、それほど経済超大国であると考えられていた。外部の世界からは比較的ゆるやかな社会保障システムについての情報はあったとしても少ししかなく、それはつまり、日本という国は裕福であったにもかかわらず国民は実際のところ外部の人間が思っていたほど生活は豊かではなかったのである。

三つめの通説は、日本人の勤勉さと労働モラルを信頼し、それに依存することによって、日本人が肉体的にも精神的にもどんな困難をも乗り越えられると世界が思っていたことである。企業内における超過労働・残業・週末の会議といった問題を含む労働条件の現実が公になることはほとんどなく、結果としてそれが徐々に過労死の増加を招き、それは多くの女性にも同様な結果をもたらした (Business Insider 2017/10/18)。日本の労働者は過大なストレスや睡眠不足といった苦しみで自殺をはかったり、脳卒中を起こしたり、あるいは心不全を起こしたりした。その死は主として仕事に関連していたため、当初病気は「仕事による突然死」として知られていた。上司に良い印象を与えたいという欲求から、労働者たちは自らの忠誠を究極のテストにかけはじめていたのである。

四つめの通説として、日本人の学者や指導者に対する信頼や強い信念が挙げられる。本質的に「集団主義」志向の文化であることから (Hofstede et als. 2002)、日本の人々、一般的に日本人というのは、何をするのか、どこへ行くのか、どのようにふるまうのか、といったことを指示されることに心地よさを感じる。近年は政治家に対する多くの批判があがったものの、結局のところ日本人は常に自分たちの指導者に対して忠実なのである。

最後の通説として、日本人の自然災害に対する態度を挙げるべきであろう。概して日本の人々は災害に対して宿命論的な態度を持っている。地震と台風は時折起り、生活の一部としてみなされている。津波はやってきては去っていく。そして去ったあとはすぐにすべてを再建し再始動する。数日後には何事もなかったかのようにいつも通りの生活に戻っている。日本人はこの上ない「不死鳥」の民族なのである。

これらすべての通説は災害の規模や強度が制御しきれない規模を超えない限りにおいては通用するものである。残念なことに福島の大災害のケースはこれを超えてしまったのである。

### 明らかに becoming 通説の誤謬—3/11の余波

2011年3月11日に日本で発生した大災害の余波として、日本人は古き知恵、すなわち、科学技術はすべてではない、ということを悟った。高度に科学技術が発展した日本においても、ある状況において人間はコントロールできないものであり、そして特定のケース



において人間は自然に打ち勝つことができない。この警鐘は特定の科学技術の効率的な発展を若干後退させるものの、安全対策・安全管理・一般市民への知識の普及の重要性を良き教訓として我々に教えてくれる。

日本は大災害によって物理的、精神的、経済的に大きく打ちのめされた。それは災害の規模や物質的損失のみならず、余震の長さや放射能漏れの激しさも前例の無いものであった。日本人は混乱をきわめた初めの数日間こそ、あれこれと質問をすることなく当局の言いなりになっていたが、日が経つにつれ、大災害の対応に対する人々の失望は日に日に増大していった。

日本の当局による今起こっている出来事と進捗状況に関する報道は、多大な不満を引き起こした。日本政府と東京電力は原子炉に非常に深刻な問題が存在していたことを一貫して否定していたが、最終的には認めることとなった。多くの日本人が情報とニュースを地元のメディアよりもいち早く、海外にいる知人からインターネット経由で得ていたことは驚くべきことであった。これにより日本の人々の情報源が現地のメディアから国際情報源、つまり民間の情報ルートか外国の報道によるものになった。なぜ日本の当局からの情報の遅れが生じたのか？ ひとつは、実際に何が起こっていたのか知ることが難しかったことが挙げられる。東京電力から本当の情報を得ることが極めて困難であったという事情もある。政府は原則として産業筋と学界筋の専門家から得た情報しか発信することができなかったのである。もうひとつは、日本の報道スタイルは情報のすべてを公表することをあえてしない、ということがある。日本人は知っていることを少なく話す傾向がある。特に100パーセント確信が持てない状況においてそうである。3つ目の要因として、日本における災害情報の主目的が、人々を落ち着かせることにあり、人々がパニックに陥るのを避ける最大限の努力が必要だったことが挙げられる。感情と恐れを鎮める一つの方法は、災害の規模と強さを低く見積もることなのである。一方で欧米のメディアはこれを臆病で不誠実な行動であり、責任感の欠如として受け取った。欧米のメディアは、日本の当局自身が災害のすべての真実と深さを知ろうとしなかったことではなく、むしろ日本政府と日本の専門家たちが情報を隠蔽したことについて咎めたのである。

日本の指導者たちは政治の議論において優れた論客であるが、国民との対話となると不得手である(おそらく過去数十年での唯一の例外は、人々の論調をつかむのに巧みであった小泉純一郎元首相(2001-2006在任)であっただろう)。政府は必要な情報と十分な詳細を知らせず、その代わり国民にすべては管理下に置かれていると言って安心させていた。東京電力については災害の当初数週間は隠蔽で費やし、社長は勇気や責任感を見せることはなかった。

結論として、この惨事は長い間忘れられた、あるいは注視されてこなかったいくつかの問題が引き金となって起こったものと言える。これらの問題の表面化は、科学技術、あ

るいは自然科学の性質のみならず、社会と人間の性質についての問題にも、もっと目を向けなければならないという警鐘である。最大の代償は、産業界、学界、そして企業倫理に対する人々の信頼が崩れ去ったことであった。

## 企業倫理の変化

東アジア諸国における経済的地位の入れ替えと力関係の変化は、比較的短い間にビジネス環境とビジネス文化の深刻な変化を招いた (Fisher-Lovell 2009)。近年遂行された調査によると、これらの変化が日本の労働者の忠実さ、ひたむきさ、勤勉さ、そして自己献身といった周知のステレオタイプの誤謬を明らかにする結果となった。日本の劇的な文化的変化に関して、最近の研究 (Matsumoto 2002) は日本に住んでいる日本人と外国人の考察を確固たるものにした (Hidasi 2002)。多くの専門家は、人々の価値観や態度におけるこれらの本質的な変化、つまり文化的変化は、社会と雇用のシステムにおける変化を引き起こしたものであると論じている。体制に順応する傾向は日本社会において一般的であり、個人と組織双方におけるリスク回避型の姿勢はこれらの推測に相反するものである。それゆえ私自身を含めた他の研究者たちは、環境の変化が個人の行動の変化を引き起こしたと考えている。つまりビジネス環境はバブル経済後の比較的短い間に大いに変わり、これが雇用に対する新しい態度を必要としたのである。よっておそらく、経済に変化をもたらしたのは、人々の文化的価値観が変化したからではなく、それとは逆のプロセスで、新しい需要や期待が生じたことによって、人々が以前とは異なるパターンで考えたり行動したりするようになったからであろう。いずれにしろ、我々が現在目にしているのは、日本の社会やビジネス生活の多くの分野における移行期である。

長い間外部世界の影響から慎重に自己を守り続けることができた日本は、これ以上はそうすることができなくなっている。グローバル化の波から逃れることはできないのである。グローバル化は産業、製造業、金融機関、そして法制度のみならず、社会における集団精神にも良くも悪くも影響をあたえた。拡大するモビリティや化学技術の発達、デジタル化の結果、さらには世界的メディアの影響が増大する中で、我々は、この20～30年間で過去100年間よりも顕著に進行しつつある日本人のメンタリティの変化を目の当たりにしている。

これまでになく長かった日本の経済不況 (1990-2009) から回復した後、数多くの社会的課題が残されたが、それは以下のいくつかの論点に集約される。

- ・ 1990年より年々落ち続ける出生率
- ・ 高齢化社会
- ・ 労働力人口の縮小

- ・ 拡大する女性の可能性
- ・ 教育問題—世代間格差
- ・ 政治、ビジネス、社会におけるモラルの低下

## 価値志向の変化

大多数の日本人は、人間関係の構築、生活の仕方、お金を稼ぐ方法、そしてコミュニケーションといったすべての分野の活動において「長期志向」であるといえる(Hofstede 2001)。伝統的な日本のビジネスモデルは情報交換網と人間関係を基盤にしており、それらはすべて安定して予測可能な環境にある。しかしながら、マクロ環境における変化の結果、日本の企業は明らかに異なるモデルへと移行しつつある。そのモデルとは個人主義、起業精神、そして利益志向を基盤としたものである。新興の社会的価値は、変化する経済状況のニーズに合致したものである(Nisbett 2003)。最近では年功序列よりも実力主義、安定よりも成果にさらなる重きが置かれている。20代あるいは30代の人々は今や、転職することを人生で当たり前の事としてとらえるようになった。終身雇用は日本の巨大企業のかつての名残であり、企業は「サラリーマン」として生涯仕えることと引き換えに、安定したサラリー、社会的ネットワーク、住宅補助といったものを提供した。ところが2008年から2009年にかけての世界的な金融危機の後、多くの日本人は職を失った。実際現在でも終身雇用制度を保持している日本企業は約9パーセントにすぎない。これは企業の構造改革の結果ということだけでなく、特に若い世代の人々が本当にやりたいこと、また本当に好きでやりたいことに重きを置くようになった結果として起こったものであろう。

しかしながらこれらの現象は、大企業や会社のレベルと同様、個人のレベルでも全般的な責任感の弱まりと密接に関係している。長期雇用がなくなると、概して短期的な利益の追求に励むことになるものである。21世紀初めの10年間に次々に起こった企業の不祥事は、この事実を明らかに反映している。いくつか例を挙げると、

- ・ 温泉偽装問題
- ・ 耐震強度偽装事件
- ・ BSEアメリカ産牛肉輸入問題
- ・ 違法建築行為(障害者の人権侵害)

等である。これらの例や類似の事件は、昔から日本が非常に誇っていた社会モラルの弱体化のわかりやすい例である。

## 温泉偽装問題

日本人の伝統的な生活様式において、温泉文化の重要性は誰もが認めるものであろう。日本では、温泉を楽しみ、温泉保養地でリラックスすることは長い間最も人気のある憩いの方とみなされてきた。公共の温泉登録数は数千を超えており、これに私設のものは含まれていない。近年の健康ブームの広がりにより、温泉利用者の数は見たこともないほどの高まりをみせている。多数の日本の伝統的な温泉地において、憩いを求める消費者の高まるニーズに合わせ入浴剤を投入して水質を改ざんしていたことが明らかとなった際に、そんなことを疑いもしていなかった人々の驚きは非常に大きなものであった。

## 耐震強度偽装事件

姉齒建築設計事務所は10年間にわたりマンションとホテルの建設に際して虚偽のデータを捏造していた。日本における数千もの建築物が基準値以下で建てられていた。すべてが地方行政側による念入りの検査手続きにも関わらず起こってしまったものである。事件に関連するマンションの家主は無責任な設計者と検査官にショックを受けた。マグニチュード5、震度7の地震が起きれば、まさにこれらの建物は倒壊してしまうだろうと考えられたからである。

## BSEアメリカ産牛肉輸入問題

BSE(牛海綿状脳症)を危惧してのアメリカ産牛肉の輸入禁止(2004/2005)は、農林水産省が安全性と厳しい管理を確約して解除に踏み切った。しかしながら間もなくそれは偽りであることが判明し、その後BSEに感染した牛肉が見つかった。この事件によって自らの政府と貿易慣習に対する消費者の信頼は、再び揺さぶられることとなった。

## 違法建築行為による障害者の人権侵害

大手ホテルチェーン事業主である株式会社東横インは、およそ122件の自社店舗において建築の違法行為を行っていた。元来障害者のために設けられた特別な目的の駐車スペースや客室が、行政の検査を通った後に撤去されていたのである。西田憲正社長(当時)はこれらの慣行が違法であると認めたものの、この問題に関して「時速60キロ制限の道を67～68キロで走ってもまあいいかと・・・(身障者客室は)年に1、2人しか来ないので」とコメントした。世間の人々は裏切られたと感じ、東横インのこのような行為と態度に大

いに失望した。公共の福祉と公益は多数の企業にとって優先順位の低いものとみなされていると、人々はさらに確信をもつようになっている。

実業界と政治における不祥事の増加は、かつて日本の倫理上の大黒柱であった社会的責任感が希薄になってきているきざしである。日本の実業界の人々や役員たちは、1980年代までの高度経済成長に支えられた伝統的な社会価値観のシステムは、グローバル化やIT革命とは相いれないものであると次第に認識するようになってきた。経済界が大変驚いたことに、2006年の京都における関西財界セミナーにおいて、ビジネス固有の問題よりも倫理観の問題を取り上げていた。その合意事項には、「企業不祥事や社会不安の増加、その背景にある倫理観の喪失……。わが国の基本的な問題に関する論点整理(をふまえ)・・・活発な議論を展開した。」とある。(関西財界セミナー 2006年2月9日～10日)

### 社会的代償を払った成長

社会学者と心理学者は日本人の集団的精神における急激な変化を報告している。これらの調査では、ほとんどの文化的側面において価値観の変化が予測されていた。価値観が変化すると、以下のすべてのレベルにおいて倫理的な基準や規範が変わってくる。

- 個人のレベル
- 家族のレベル
- 社会のレベル
- 企業のレベル

社会と国内のビジネス世界の双方は、以下のような多数の理由によって、これらの文化的な変化に対応することが困難になってきている。

- ・ 心理的不一致:個人を対象とした調査で記録された変化は、実生活での行動様式との不一致、つまり、「そうありたい自分」と「現実の自分」の差異を示している。
- ・ 世代間格差:若い世代は変化にしたがって精神的な切り替えをすることができるが、年長の世代はアイデンティティの喪失に悩まされる。
- ・ ドミノ効果:文化の価値体系において、他の要素を再編成せずに一つの要素を変えようとするのは困難である。多くの人々は変化における「ドミノ効果」を恐れている。
- ・ 社会制度の厳格さ:社会のあらゆる制度全体を含む全体としての社会は、あまりに多くの変化を一度に取り入れたり実行したりすることに対して、心理的にも構造的にも準備されていない。
- ・ 日本人の変化に対する抵抗の精神:変化に対する必要性が原則的に認知され

たとしても、日本文化の基本的価値観は変化を阻害する。それゆえその過程自体は、変化を奨励する他の文化（東南アジアのいくつかの国、ヨーロッパではフィンランド、あるいはアメリカなど）に比べてより難しく困難を伴うものとなる。

- ・ 受容力の限界: 変化の強さと速度は、社会の受け入れ能力に過度の負担をかけている。
- ・ 文化的アイデンティティ: 文化的アイデンティティの喪失、つまり「日本的なもの」を失うことに対して一般的に不安がある。

相反する価値観や安定性の欠如によってもたらされる緊張を処理しきれず、また犯罪や暴力にも対応できない人々が増えている。雇用状況は構造改革をとまなう環境という変化と連動している。これは、巡り巡ってしばしば解雇という結果になり、一般的に安心感を欠くものである。倫理上の問題は増え続けている。社会は教育システムが改善するのを期待しており、そして教育行政は親やコミュニティにさらなる協力を期待している。多くの人々が伝統的な文化的価値観に影響を与えたとして変化を非難し、社会問題は新たなピークに達している。日本は経済力の国から生活の質を求める国へと変化している過程にある。予測可能で安全な社会システムから、リスクを伴う起業システムへと、つまり均質の文化から多様な文化へと変化しているのである。日本社会における「単一文化のずれ」が、ライフスタイルや生き方の多様化の帰結として広がりつつある。全体として、社会はこれまでよりもさらに複雑で多様化してきているのである。

変化はたやすいことでは決して無いのであるが、避けられないものである。日本の場合は特にそうである。グローバル化と国際化がこれらの社会的変化に及ぼした影響は、極めて重大で、実際のところ、それらが無ければ、日本が変わるための切迫した必要性が無くなってしまう。それと同時に、日本の国際化とグローバル化の過程において、文化的価値観の予見できる変化は、ポジティブな影響力を持ちつつある。日本におけるこうした期待される文化的変化は、ゆっくりかつゆるやかに進むものであるものの (Nakane 2003)、順応プロセスを確実に促進していくであろう。

## 参考文献

- Business Insider (2017) Chris Weller: <http://www.businessinsider.com/what-is-ka-roshi-japanese-word-for-death-by-overwork-2017-10> retrieved: 2018/03/06
- Fisher, C. and Lovell, A. (2009) *Business Ethics and Values: Individual Corporate and International Perspectives* 3rd Edition, FT/Prentice Hall
- Hidasi Judit (2002): Current Stereotypes in Japan: An intercultural study, *KandaGaigoDaigakuKiyou* Vol.14. 199–212.
- Hofstede, Geert (2001 : 2nd ed.) *Culture's Consequences: Software of the Mind*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.



- Hofstede, G.J., P.B. Pedersen & G. Hofstede (2002) *Exploring Culture*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- Kingston, Jeff (2011 2nd ed.) *Japan in Transformation 1945–2010*. Taylor and Francis, London.
- Matsumoto, D. (2002). *The New Japan – Debunking Seven Cultural Stereotypes*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- Nakane Chie (2003): *Japanese Society: Continuity and Change*, lecture delivered at the Asiatic Society of Japan meeting on 20<sup>th</sup> January, British Embassy, Tokyo.
- Nisbett, E.Richard (2003) *The Geography of Thought: How Asians and Westerners Think Differently...and Why*. Free Press, NY – London – Toronto – Sydney.
- Vogel, Ezra F. (1979) *Japan as Number 1: Lessons for America*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

## English Summary of the Article

Judit Hidasi

### The Societal Price of Excessive Economic Growth – the Case of Japan

Japan has undergone more than one severe identity crisis since the end of the Second World War. Its military defeat was deepened by a temporary loss of self-identity: the strong belief in the invincible power of the nation was shaken. Its strength was soon reestablished though by its economic success: significant heights of achievements in industry, technology and finance created a new sense of social identity and consciousness. With the recession however this identity has lost its stable base and led to a new crisis. Earlier held and widely known stereotypes about the loyalty, commitment, diligence and self-devotion of the Japanese work-force seem to be debunking in view of lately completed surveys (Matsumoto 2002; Kingston 2004). The youth are living by life-patterns essentially different from elder generations. Many experts argue hence that these profound changes in people's values and attitudes, that is cultural changes, are the ones that trigger changes in society and in the employment system. Others assume that it is the changing environment that triggered changes in the behavior of the individuals. Either way, what we see is a state of flux in many areas of social and individual life in Japan.

**Key-words:** rapid economic growth, human capital, the lost of trust





Agnieszka Kozyra

## **Are Japanese People Religious? The Problem of 'Syncretic Religiosity' in Japanese Culture**

When studying the problem of religiosity of the Japanese people, one should pay attention to those definitions of the term 'religion', which are particularly important in this context. According to James George Frazer (1854–1941) the essence of religious practice is the atonement or the reconciliation with supernatural forces, which are believed to control human life<sup>1</sup>. Frazer stated that science would one day replace religion, but this thesis did not work, at least not as a global trend. Peter Berger rightly points out that in the era of science and technology we are not dealing with secularization but with the pluralization of religious worldviews. Most anyone can easily learn about various religions, can choose freely and later change options and opinions. The traditional religious institutions are still trying to consolidate their position and although there are many countries in which there is no dominant religion, in each country usually a part of society is religious<sup>2</sup>.

Chris Klassen presents various methodologies in Religious Studies, taking as an example the phenomenon of Christmas in Christianity. Victorian anthropologists who were primarily interested in the problem of faith would probably ask the question, to what extent those who celebrate Christmas believe in the Biblical message associated with it. In turn, for Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), all events related to this Christian holiday, including Christmas shopping, are religious in the sense that they strengthen group and social ties. For William James (1842–1910) religious feelings in the psychological sense can arise not only in relation to Jesus Christ, but also to Santa Claus. Clifford Geertz (1926–2006) would ask, what is the symbolism of Christmas, and he would probably point to many aspects – family values, generous sharing with others, faith in salvation, but also to consumerism<sup>3</sup>.

A relatively new approach, a methodological analysis, is the so-called "Religion lived", worked out by Robert Orsi and Meredith McGuire. The most important

---

<sup>1</sup> Frazer James 1950: 57–58.

<sup>2</sup> Klassen Chris 2014:11.

<sup>3</sup> Klassen Chris 2014:18.

element for them is not religious doctrine itself, but a description of the religiosity of ordinary people. The characteristic feature of such “Religion lived” is often the lack of consistency – for example people who consider themselves Catholic practicing Yoga or Buddhist meditation. You can find a logical explanation only at the level of practice, because the assumption is that practice should produce concrete positive effects in everyday life (for instance to improve physical or mental health). From such a practical point of view, religious syncretism on the level of practice is logical<sup>4</sup>. “Religion lived” is not a static creation – it is a dynamic interaction between individual and collective practices, between the autonomy of the individual and the products of culture, between migration and “being rooted”. “Religion lived” is related to the phenomenon of Spirituality, which is defined as an individual’s commitments to empirically unverified realities. It is characterized by loose commitment to vaguely religious content and practices that lack the structure of formal or compulsory affiliation<sup>5</sup>. Spirituality is individual and personal – it is not a system with internal logic, but a worldview based on inspiration from various religious traditions. Like religion, Spirituality means a belief in something that cannot be scientifically proven. Individual spirituality is always in some way associated with a certain religious tradition, but very often it cannot be regarded as orthodox from its point of view.

To understand the religiosity of the Japanese people the theory of “dense description” used by Clifford Geertz is particularly important. Geertz, who was taking into account the interconnection of meanings in a given culture, defines religion as a widely understood relationship to that which is the Sacred. Just like Mircea Eliade, Geertz was against a reductionist approach, but he did not seek universal patterns of religiosity. He was interested in specific religious traditions. According to him, religion is a system of symbols that aims to establish very strong, long-lasting moods and motivations that have a deep impact on individuals and society. Establishing such moods and motivations occurs by formulating the concept of a certain general order of reality. Such concepts must be wrapped in an aura of reality so that these moods and motivations may seem real<sup>6</sup>. For Geertz, religion was not just about a person’s daily activities. He regarded religion as the source of a specific view of reality, related to the fundamental aspects of life, which provides an ethos of the way things should be done. Symbols are not only ideas and written signs, they can be manifested in human behavior. Symbols can be interpreted in different ways, but they attract people who understand them similarly<sup>7</sup>.

---

<sup>4</sup> McGuire Meredith 2008:15.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Jolyon Baraka 2012:12.

<sup>6</sup> Geertz Clifford 1993:90–91.

<sup>7</sup> Klassen Chris 2014:16.

Geertz regarded religion as a part of culture, containing meanings hidden behind symbols or human actions. Therefore it is necessary to make a specific decoding of the concept of religiosity in Japan in the broad context of the various cultural phenomena of the country.

Japanese people often refer to themselves as 'non-religious', but one needs to find out what it means "not to be religious" in Japanese culture. One should not explain it from the point of view of Western culture, in which a person regarded as "non-religious" is often an atheist with a scientific worldview.

Statistics show that about 30–40% of the Japanese population profess a religion<sup>8</sup>. Among those who consider themselves religious, 56% are 60 years or older, and 19% are in the age group 16–29 years<sup>9</sup>. Approximately 50% of these people think that thanks to religion they can be happy and it is easier for them to overcome the difficulties of life<sup>10</sup>.

The Japanese word *mushūkyō* means irreligiosity (literally no religion), however, it should be remembered that it was in the Meiji period (1868–1912) that the word *shūkyō* was treated as the equivalent of the English word 'religion' and used mainly in the context of Christianity<sup>11</sup>. Previously, this word meant "teachings of a Buddhist sect"<sup>12</sup>, so it did not apply to Shintō. In the new meaning, by analogy with Christianity the word *shūkyō* has been associated with belonging to a specific religious organization with the exclusion of others and with the necessity of implementing all the religious commandments in life<sup>13</sup>. It should be noted that such definition of the word *shūkyō* does not include the religiosity associated with religious syncretism, which is deeply rooted in Japanese culture. This is one of the reasons why much of the Japanese populace, in surveys, describe themselves as *mushūkyō*, which for them does not mean a denial of religiosity – they only indicate that they do not belong to only one religion that regulates all spheres of their lives.

In Western culture, non-believers often opt for a scientific and materialistic worldview treated as the opposite of religious worldview. However, research shows that many "non-religious" Japanese people believe that religiosity is very important. The reason for that can also be found in their syncretic religiosity, which is not strictly connected with any religious institution. Undoubtedly, this is due to the long tradition of syncretism of Shintō, Buddhism and Confucianism/Neo-Confucianism in Japan.

---

<sup>8</sup> For example in 2008 – 27.8%. Cf. Ishii Kenji 2011:25 or 2008: 39% Cf. Nishi Kumiko 2009:66.

<sup>9</sup> Nishi Kumiko 2009:67.

<sup>10</sup> Nishi Kumiko 2009:69.

<sup>11</sup> Ama Toshimaro 2005:X.

<sup>12</sup> Ama Toshimaro 2005:28.

<sup>13</sup> Of course, this understanding of Christian religiosity does not include attitudes such as the "non-practitioner".

## Religious syncretism in Japan and the problem of religious tolerance

In Japan one can observe the phenomenon of the assimilation of foreign elements (including religious elements), which do not destroy the “Shintō matrix”, but complement and enrich it. Very often we are not dealing with the displacement of old traditions with new elements, but rather with a kind of “filling the niches”, i.e. the emergence of new (often foreign) theories, which explain some problems, which were not crucial in Shintō doctrine. For example Buddhism in Japan was primarily related to the existential reflection (the problem of suffering and the afterlife), while Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism dealt with social ethics (hierarchy), anthropocentrism (a man as an important element of balance in the universe) and political theory (ideal of the ruler and the duties of the subjects). These aspects were not sufficiently clarified in the Shintō doctrine.

Buddhism appeared in Japan in the sixth century, and although at first its position at the imperial court was not overly strong, thanks to the supremacy of the Buddhist members of the Soga clan, it soon gained the support of the emperors, considered to be descendants of the sun goddess Amaterasu. In confrontation with the “Buddha’s way” (*butsudō*), the native beliefs were called “the way of the gods” (Shintō), in order to be distinguished from foreign cults. After the victory of the Soga family over the Mononobe and Nakatomi clans, which were closely related to Shintō, the Soga started to strengthen their political position through marital connections with the imperial family. The women of the Soga clan had become the wives and concubines of emperors and their sons had the chance to be enthroned as successors. The mothers of the emperors were Buddhist, which had an impact on the acceptance of this religion at the court. Syncretism was also possible because of Shintō polytheism – a hierarchy of deities was established but no deity should be underestimated, because it could always send a curse. Buddha was initially treated as “a deity of the neighboring country” (*tonari no kuni no kami*), and the aim of new Buddhist esoteric ceremonies was to ensure prosperity in this life (*genze riyaku*), just like in the case of the Shintō rituals. Although Buddhist practice is intended to lead to Enlightenment, not to worldly benefits, it is believed that since Buddhist rituals and ceremonies are good deeds (good karma), once they are conducted for a certain person, that good karma will be transferred to him or her. This will result in reducing both the “bad karma burden” and suffering in his or her current life (or future life), since suffering is regarded in Buddhism as a punishment for wrongdoing. Therefore, it was expected that Buddhist rituals ensure prosperity in this life.

The animistic cult of sacred mountains (*kannabi*, *mimuro*), deeply rooted in Japan, had much in common with the Buddhist practices of mountain ascetics. Itinerant monks were dispatching divination (*bokusen*) and were conducting a ceremony

of prayer for rain (*amagoi*) like Shintō priests; therefore, villagers did not see a difference between these two religions. However the most important theory, which justified the peaceful coexistence of Shintō and Buddhism was the theory of original form and the temporary manifestation (*honji suijaku*)<sup>14</sup>. Proponents of this theory, which originates in India, and appeared in Japan at the turn of the 11th and 12th centuries, referred to the Buddhist teaching in the *Great Sun Sutra* (*Dainichi kyō*) and the *Lotus Sutra* (*Sūtra on the White Lotus of the Sublime Law*; *Myōhō Renge kyō*). This theory is related to the belief that the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas have the ability to manifest themselves in various forms in order to lead all sentient beings to Enlightenment. In the *Lotus Sutra* there are 33 manifestations of the Bodhisattva Kannon (Skt. Avalokitesvara) listed. In Shintō there was also a widespread belief that deities can appear in various forms. Shintō deities were treated as manifestations (*gongen*) of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas whose task was to prepare a congenial ground for the Buddha's teachings. At the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the process of assigning 'true forms' of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to most of the Shintō gods was completed. For example, Amaterasu was considered to be the manifestation of the Buddha Dainichi (Skt. Māhāvairocana). Native beliefs were relatively poor in metaphysical or epistemological themes so characteristic of Buddhist philosophy, which was also the reason for the attractiveness of Buddhism, which came to Japan along with other achievements of Chinese culture. However, in the initial phase, the esoteric Buddhist ceremonies ensuring health and prosperity, Buddhist art and Buddhist-related aesthetic categories are what aroused interest at the Imperial court rather than Buddhist philosophy.

According to statistics, in 2003 22.8% of Japanese respondents stated that Buddhas and Shintō gods are the same, but if we include those that had never thought about the differences between them, so that these differences were not obvious to them (21%), it can be stated that about 44% opt for the unity of both religions<sup>15</sup>.

---

<sup>14</sup> Yoshie Akio 1996:170–171. In the first phase of syncretism of Shintō and Buddhism in Japan, Shintō deities in Japan were considered the inhabitants of heaven (Skt. *deva*; Jpn. *tenjin*), one of the six paths of transmigration. According to this theory Shintō deities want to attain Enlightenment and therefore are eager to hear the Buddhist teachings. Buddhist monks recited Buddhist sutras in front of the main pavilions of Shintō shrines, so that Shintō deities could liberate themselves from the divine body (*shinshin ridatsu*). The weakening of the power of Shintō deities (analogy to *deva* who must be reborn in human realm) was considered to be the cause of negative phenomena such as weather anomalies (drought or floods), crop failure or epidemics. With the help of Buddhist monks Shintō deities could attain Enlightenment and restore their lost strength, bringing harmony to the world. In this way, Shintō deities were given a subordinate position to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Buddhist pavilions called *jinguji* (or *miyadera*) were built in Shintō shrines from the 8th century. During the second phase of syncretism of Shintō and Buddhism in Japan, Shintō deities were regarded as guardians of Buddhism (*gohōzenshin*). Shintō shrines called *chinju* were treated as a part of Buddhist temples, their aim was to protect temples from evil spirits.

<sup>15</sup> Ishii Kenji 2011:25.

Under the influence of the Chinese theory of the unity of three religions (Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism), in Japan the theory of the unity of Shintō, Buddhism and Confucianism has become very popular.<sup>16</sup>

According to traditional sources, the basic texts of Confucianism, including Confucius's *The Analects* (Jpn. *Rongo*) were brought from Korea to Japan in 285. At the turn of the sixth and seventh centuries, Japanese rulers recognized that the teachings of Confucianism were useful to strengthen the state structure. The so-called *Constitution in seventeen articles* (*Jūshichijō kenpō*, 604), whose authorship is traditionally attributed to Prince Shōtoku (574 – 622), is a set of general recommendations for officials, combining the Buddhist virtue of mercy with the Confucian imperative to carry out duties related to social status.

Confucianism became the strong basis of social order because this aspect was rather lacking in both Shintō and Buddhism. The belief that the ruler influences the balance in the universe was close to native beliefs according to which the ceremonies celebrated by the Emperor were to guarantee prosperity such as a successful harvest. The Confucian theory of the hierarchical social structure became popular at the imperial court (the subordination of children to parents, subjects to rulers, wives to husbands, younger siblings to older siblings). The greatest impact on the intellectual life of Japan at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had Neo-Confucianism (for instance, the schools of Shushigaku and Yōmeigaku), which was enriched with metaphysical and epistemological themes. Neo-Confucian theories justified the social hierarchy and dominance of samurai rule. They also influenced the samurai ethos (*bushidō*). A fertile ground for the Confucian virtue of sincerity (*shisei*), meaning the spontaneous manifestation of the primordial nature of man identical with *ri* – the principle of the universe, was the concept of a true heart (*magokoro*) in Shintō. The concept of *magokoro* is related to the ability to sacrifice oneself for the good of others. The most important aim of the followers of Shintō is to maintain or restore harmony between humans and deities by keeping a pure and honest heart.

The Japanese elites claimed that Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintō pointed to the same religious experience, though in different ways, and ordinary people did not see anything strange in the fact that they worshipped Shintō deities, took part in Buddhist rituals, especially those related to prayers for deceased family members, and were guided by the ethical principles of Confucianism in social life. Therefore the Japanese distinguish their syncretic religiosity from the monotheistic Christian “religiosity”, which is based on the commandment: “You shalt have no other gods before me.”

---

<sup>16</sup> Daoism in Japan first marked its presence in a religious form as *onmyōdō* (the way of *in* and *yang*), in which exorcisms, astrology and divination played an important role. During the feudal period, some theories and concepts of philosophical Daoism become a part of Neo-Confucianism, which dominated intellectual life.

It should be emphasized that religious syncretism does not exclude religious intolerance, which is usually politically conditioned. This is evidenced by the cruel persecution of Christianity in the 16th and 17th centuries. Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) hampered the flourishing of the Catholic Church with his anti-Christian policy. Hideyoshi issued an anti-Christian edict in 1587 because he was afraid of Spain and Portugal interfering in Japanese politics. At first, this edict was not strictly observed. In addition to the Jesuits, Franciscans (from 1593) and Dominicans (from 1603) began to come to Japan, which caused conflicts between these Christian orders, since each of these orders tried to gain a monopoly on the evangelization of Japan. The situation was also complicated by the arrival of Dutch Protestant merchants – and only they managed to maintain limited trade contacts during the isolation of Japan.

The first persecutions took place in 1597, when 26 Christians were crucified in Nagasaki, including 9 foreign missionaries. Pius IX canonized these martyrs in 1862. However, there was no further wave of persecution and, according to the Jesuits, in 1609 there were 222,000 registered Christians in Japan. In 1612 Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), after a short period of promoting the activities of missionaries, renewed the ban on professing Christianity. Most Christian *daimyō* (feudal lords) renounced their Christian faith at that time. One of the exceptions was Takayama Ukon (1552–1615), who was deprived of property and expelled from the country (he died in Manila). All the Japanese populace was made to register with their local Buddhist temple (*shūmon aratame*). People suspected of professing Christianity were forced to trample on the image of Christ or the Virgin Mary (*fumi e*), or forced to blaspheme against God. Many Christians were killed, all the churches were destroyed. The missionaries were expelled, and if anyone dared to return, he was tortured and murdered. In the year 1622, 51 Christians were executed in Nagasaki, in 1623, 50 Christians were burned alive in Edo. In 1637, an uprising in Shimabara broke out as a revolt against high taxes, but due to the fact that many Christians joined the uprising, the persecution escalated. In the first half of the 17th century, Christianity in Japan was almost completely destroyed, mainly for political reasons – the shogunate was afraid of a possible Christian coalition of feudal lords, who could get help from Europe and threaten its power. Another reason was criticism from the Buddhist and Shintō clergy because the missionaries treated these religions as pagan and tried to eradicate them.

Buddhism has also become an object of intolerance and persecution in Japan for political reasons, despite the fact that the syncretism of this religion and Shintō was so deeply rooted in Japanese culture. In 1868, after restoring the imperial power, the government decided to make a state religion out of Shintō, and for this purpose issued a decree defining Shintō and Buddhism (*shinbutsu hanzenrei*). All Buddhist images and utensils were to be removed from Shintō shrines and the usage of Buddhist names of the Shintō deities was prohibited. There were no specific



rules of implementation, so some uncontrolled riots happened – there were cases of the destruction of Buddhist statues as well as Buddhist temples located within the premises of Shintō shrines. In some regions, the number of Buddhist temples was drastically reduced, for instance on the island of Sado each Buddhist sect could have only one temple. Monks from the liquidated temples were forcibly secularized, and they could not leave the island. Everything related to Buddhism was also removed from the imperial court. The tablets with the posthumous Buddhist names of the emperors (*ihai*) were moved to Sennyū temple<sup>17</sup> in Kyoto. Buddhist ceremonies at the imperial court were abandoned, prayers for the imperial house were not commissioned to Buddhist temples, and monks who were members of the imperial family were restored to secular life. The persecution of Buddhism (*haibutsu kishaku*) underwent its climax in 1870–1871. The Government did not interfere, because the weakness of Buddhism was beneficial from the point of view of a state ideology based on Shintō. In the end, the leaders of all Buddhist schools agreed that monks would be recruited to the army just like all other citizens. The above examples show that Japanese syncretic religiosity cannot be a guarantee of religious tolerance if the interests of political authorities are at stake.

## Shintō as an important element of the Japanese national identity

Nowadays many members of Japanese society believe that the word ‘religion’ (*shūkyō*) does not refer to Shintō, since it is a part of their national identity.

Avoiding treating Shintō as a religion (*shūkyō*) goes back to the period of the dominance of State Shintō (*kokka shintō*), which was treated as a state ideology, not only in contrast to Buddhism or Christianity but also to other forms of Shintō, referred to as “religious Shintō” (*shūkyōshugiteki shintō*)<sup>18</sup>.

It was a “schizophrenic” concept because one part of the Shintō tradition was treated as the ideological component of the Japanese national identity and thus compulsory for all citizens of the country, and another part was classified as ‘religion’ just as Christianity and Buddhism. The hierarchy of Shintō shrines was introduced and rituals were standardized in so-called state shrines (*kansha*) that were subsidized and favored by the state<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> Sennyūji – a temple of the Shingon school, founded in 869 by the Fujiwara family, from 1242 associated with the Imperial family.

<sup>18</sup> Ama Toshimaro 2005:35. Religious forms of Shintō are: Folk Shintō (*minkan Shintō*) and Sectarian Shintō (*kyōha Shintō*) and Shrine Shintō (*jinja Shintō*), which to a large extent, had been incorporated into the structure of State Shinto.

<sup>19</sup> In 1871 Shintō shrines were divided into State shrines (*kansha*) and Small shrines (*shōsha*). Shintō shrines could receive financial assistance from the government if they fulfilled the following conditions: at least 50 registered parishioners, and a shrine covering an area over 500 square meters,



The State Shintō handbook titled *The Great Teaching* (*Taikyō*) was published and the position of its propagator (*senkyōshi*) was established, which began the process of the indoctrination of citizens, including those outside the education system. According to this handbook, Japanese citizens should worship the Shintō deities and love their country, which was born of the gods, must learn about the path of nature and the path of man, and be obedient to the Emperor, being grateful for the blessings he gives to his subjects. The following problems were discussed in detail: the immortality of the soul, the most important Shintō rituals (e.g. ceremony of purification), social hierarchy (relationship of the subject – ruler, wife – husband, children – parents), the need to accept the technological achievements of Western civilization, and to strengthen the military power of the country. The proponents of *The Great Teaching* were not only Shintō priests, there were also Buddhist monks as well as celebrities of the times. All citizens were recommended to have miniature shrines (*kamidana*<sup>20</sup>) of Ise Jingū in their houses, dedicated to the sun goddess Amaterasu, who was believed to be the ancestor of the imperial family. Portraits of the Emperor (*goshin'ei*) were distributed to all schools. The Emperor as a deity in human form (*arahitogami*) was considered sacred and inviolable; no one could force him to explain his decisions. Religious freedom was guaranteed by the Constitution in 1889, but on the condition that everyone must fulfill his or her duties as subjects of the Emperor. The offense of his imperial majesty was punishable by heavy work, from 3 months to 5 years. The Emperor was considered the father of all Japanese citizens, and the superiority of the Japanese national structure (*koku-tai*) over Western political systems, including democracy, was emphasized. Justification for the military expansion of Japan was also sought for in Japanese mythology. For example, the slogan: “The whole world under one roof” (*hakkō ichiu*<sup>21</sup>) – were originally the words of the Emperor Jimmu who claimed his authority over the Japanese archipelago, but in the 20<sup>th</sup> century its meaning was extended to other countries. It was also proclaimed that Japan, as a country born of gods, was invincible (*shinshū fumetsu*). After the defeat of Japan in 1945, the US occupation authorities ordered the abolition of all forms of State Shintō, forbidding the Japanese government to give financial assistance to any religious institution. Shintō shrines were to be financed only by their parishioners.

---

the main pavilion (*honden*), prayer pavilion (*haiden*) and a *Torii* gate included. Small village shrines (*sonsha*) that did not meet these conditions were liquidated or several shrines were combined into one. The apogee of the liquidation of small temples, in accordance with the principle of “one village, one Shintō shrine”, was between 1908 and 1909. This caused a decrease in the number of Shinto shrines from 190,436 in 1906 to 127,076 in 1912.

<sup>20</sup> *Kamidana* (god shelf) – the center of daily Shintō worship. The **kamidana** usually consists of a small cupboard or shelf on which are displayed articles of veneration and daily offerings.

<sup>21</sup> Literally “Eight sides of the world”, i.e. north, south, east, west and the four intermediate directions.

One may wonder why the people of Japan so easily accepted the idea that all Japanese citizens, even Buddhists or Christians, should follow State Shintō. Certain theories already popular in the feudal period certainly had an impact on this, such as a clear division in the public sphere and the private sphere, which appears in the treaties of the Neo-Confucian thinker Ogyu Sorai (1666–1728). He claimed that all people are born with individual features and inclinations that cannot be changed. If these traits are bad, one can be forced to imitate good, although one cannot change his true intentions. Sorai left a lot of freedom to an individual in the private sphere, but in the public sphere (duties of the subject) he demanded unconditional obedience. After the restoration of the imperial power, his theory was used as follows: everyone can “privately” profess any religion, such as Christianity, but this cannot affect one’s duties as a citizen of Japan – in the public sphere everybody must follow State Shintō. This is why the Japanese government forced the view that participating in some Shintō rituals (e.g., ceremonies at Yasukuni Shrine<sup>22</sup>) is the duty of all citizens, regardless of their religion. In 1932, Christian students of the Jōchi Daigaku (Sophia University, founded by the Catholics in 1912) refused to attend ceremonies held at Yasukuni Shrine after the so-called Shanghai incident. However, the Japanese government claimed that participating in the Yasukuni shrine ceremonies was a patriotic and not a religious act.

Undoubtedly, those who believe that participating in Shintō rituals is not a manifestation of their commitment to “the religion”, blend the views of the State Shintō theorists, who believed that Shintō was an important element of national identity. It should also be noted that Shintō rituals often have an attractive setting, especially festivals (*matsuri*) associated with performative arts. Today this part of the rituals is considered a form of traditional entertainment not only for the inhabitants of the region, but also for tourists even from remote corners of Japan. As an offering to the deities, a popular nō theater play can be performed, even if its plot is not related to Shintō at all. Pantomimic *kagura* dances, which were once part of religious ceremonies, can now be performed in Community Centers as “traditional dances”.

In Japan, it became the custom to visit the shrine of Tenjin<sup>23</sup>, the god of learning, before the entrance exams to schools and colleges in order to buy a votive plate

---

<sup>22</sup> Yasukuni j Jinja (initial name: Tōkyō Shōkonsha) – It was founded in 1869 and commemorates those who died in the service of Japan during the Boshin War of 1868–1869. The list, which is registered in the shrine, includes about 2,466,532 people deified as “heroic spirits” (*eirei*). Among those are 1,068 convicted war criminals, 14 of which are A-Class (convicted of having been involved in the planning, preparation, initiation, or waging of the war). This has led to many controversies surrounding the shrine.

<sup>23</sup> Tenjin Tenman – the courtier, scholar, poet and calligrapher named Sugawara Michizane (845 – 903), who died in exile, wrongly accused of conspiracy against the emperor. After his death, he was considered an extremely dangerous vengeful spirit after one of his enemies died from lightning on a clear day. He was deified in Kitano Tenmangū in Kyōtō to be appeased, but later was regarded as a patron of learning.

(*ema*) for passing the exam. Often, all students from a given class visit the Tenjin shrine together for this purpose. Undoubtedly, it can be said that many Shintō rituals have become a tradition no longer associated with religion<sup>24</sup>.

It should be noted that in Japan, due to historical conditions, religious affiliation is treated as a family tradition. The relationship with a particular Shintō shrine is not a matter of choice, but depends on the place of birth – every Japanese individual becomes a “child of a local deity” after being brought to the shrine by family members for the first time and receiving protective charms (*omiyamairi*). The system of Buddhist parishes and the compulsory registration to them was established in the 17th century, which also served as a way to detect hiding Christians at a time when this religion was banned in Japan. Everyone who lived within the given parish had to register and prove that he or she was not a Christian, by trampling on Christian objects of worship (primarily images of Christ and the Virgin Mary). All Buddhist ceremonies, especially funeral ceremonies, had to be conducted by monks from the local Buddhist temple to which the family was assigned. Family tombs were located in the cemetery of the parish temple, and only the parish could issue the identity certificates necessary for traveling around the country. Hence the strong belief in modern Japan that one does not choose religion but is born with it. This leads to the conclusion that the problem of religious conversion is not so important.

This explains another contradiction in the statistics. Japanese people often declare that they are not religious, but when asked about their religious affiliation, they often point both to Shintō and Buddhism. Statistical surveys from 2015 show that in Japan there are more followers of different religions than the population, which of course is a paradox due to the fact that many of the citizens consider themselves followers of more than one religion<sup>25</sup>. In 2015, there were about 390 different religious organizations active, with a downward trend compared to the culmination in 1951<sup>26</sup>. From a study conducted in 2008, 42% of respondents had a Shintō altar/miniature shrine (*kamidana*) at home, and 55% had a Buddhist altar (*butsudan*) in order to conduct Buddhist rituals for deceased family mem-

---

<sup>24</sup> Sometimes conflicts occur in this context in Japan. Before the construction of the gymnasium in Mie prefecture the Shintō ceremony called *jichinsai* (literally “relief of the earth”), which has a similar meaning as the Christian blessing of a building’s cornerstone. The case went to court as an example of imposing the value of Shintō on citizens. According to the lower court’s verdict it was a religious ceremony unsuitable for secular education. However the Supreme Court overturned the verdict. The Judge of the Supreme Court claimed that some Shintō rituals have become customs, which do not imply religious content. Therefore the accusation of imposing the values of Shintō on the participants of this ceremony (including students who were to study in the new junior high school) is unjustified.

<sup>25</sup> Nihon Bunkachō 2017:3.

<sup>26</sup> Nihon Bunkachō 2017:5.

bers<sup>27</sup>. 72% of respondents go to the Shintō shrine on the New Year, 80% visit family graves on Festival of the Dead (*Obon*), 30% keep lucky charms purchased at shrines or temples, 40% believe in the existence of ancestral spirits, and 19% in the possibility of contact with the spirits of the dead through a medium<sup>28</sup>.

Neither Shintō shrines nor Buddhist temples provide religious education in an organized way, as Christian churches do. In Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples many books that popularize religious doctrine are available, these can also come in an accessible form for children. Generally, parents are responsible for the religious education of their children. However, at present many Japanese parents do not teach their children about Shintō or Buddhism, so children can only soak up the religious atmosphere during annual festivals at local shrines and while taking part in various Buddhist ceremonies. It should be noted that despite of the declared lack of interest in religion, most of the Japanese public takes part in Shintō and Buddhist rituals rather regularly.

### A 'non-religious' Person as a 'Non-believer but practitioner'

The results of statistical surveys in conjunction with studies on the participation of the Japanese people in various forms of religious rites give a startling picture of non-religious individuals who take part in various religious practices. This phenomenon can be called: "Non-believer but religious practitioner" – unlike, for example, the phenomenon of "Believers but not practitioners" in Christianity. As Jolyon Barak Thomas rightly shows: "When scholars examine what Japanese people do (rather than what they say that they believe), it becomes clear that many people participate in rituals in a manner that can reasonably be described as religious, even if that is not the terminology most Japanese would use"<sup>29</sup>. For example, very popular pilgrimages to well-known Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples are not ordinary trips, since their participants pray there for different intentions and buy protective amulets. The Japanese are keen to buy lucky charms, for example to protect themselves from calamities (*sainan yoke*), ensure the safety of drivers (*kōtsu anzen*) or to recover from illness (*byōki no kaifuku*)<sup>30</sup>.

Many Japanese folks take part in various religious rituals, such as purification ceremonies at Shintō shrines to protect themselves against disease and misfortune. In Buddhist temples, there are usually ceremonies that are to ensure the well-being of deceased family members in their next incarnations. Also at home, Japanese

<sup>27</sup> Ishii Kenji 2011:24.

<sup>28</sup> Ishii Kenji 2011:24.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Jolyon Baraka 2012:10.

<sup>30</sup> Reader Ian, Tanabe George Jr 1998:49.

family members recite the sutras, with the same intention, in front of Buddhist altars that contain tablets with their ancestors' posthumous names.

Jolyon Barak Thomas also draws attention to the fact that in Japan, people who believe that they do not profess any religion (*mushūkyō*) still declare that the "religious heart" (*shūkyōteki na kokoro*), understood not only as a sphere of feelings but more broadly as a "religious psyche", is very important<sup>31</sup>.

The concept of religion in Japan is often associated primarily with the revealed religions, which have their holy books as opposed to natural religions. Ama Toshimaro does not agree with the treatment of Shintō as a natural religion, in his opinion Shintō is an example of the "liminal religion" – you can find within it both features of natural and revealed religion<sup>32</sup>. The imperial chronicles, in which the myths are written, are also holy books and they justify the supernatural authority of the Emperor, who is considered a descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu. Another problem is that most revealed religions preach moral commandments that limit the freedom of believers and their hedonistic needs. Breaking the commandments results in the loss of salvation after death. According to Nietzsche's criticism, the search for salvation in the next life is related to the underestimation of worldly life, which loses its value. It should be noted that Shintō is a religion that affirms worldly life, including the sphere of sexual needs<sup>33</sup>. Shintō primarily requires followers to participate in purification rituals, not necessarily to change their lifestyle. From the sixth century, the influence of Buddhist ethics in the public sphere was significant and from the seventeenth century, Confucian ethics became dominant. The Ethics of Shintō, associated with the notion of defilement (*kegare*), did not become the basis of social life in these periods due to the lack of a clear prohibition on killing, stealing, lying or adultery. In addition to the apotheosis of harmony, one cannot find in Shintō specific clues about the relationship between family members or the obligations towards people who are higher in the hierarchy.

Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) defended the ethics of Shintō, claiming that in ancient times there was harmony between the world of the gods and the human world, which meant that the relationship between the ruler and the subjects was harmonious. It was abandoning the way of the gods that caused moral degeneration and the necessity to adopt Confucian ethical principles. However, according to Motoori Norinaga, in ancient times the populace of Japan lived in compliance to the 'way of the gods' and they did not need a concrete moral code, because they could feel "the pathos of things" (*mono no aware*), and therefore they were tolerant and full of compassion. In this sense, Shintō ethics is more intuitive than normative.

<sup>31</sup> Mori Fumi 2010:55.

<sup>32</sup> Ama Toshimaro 2005:6.

<sup>33</sup> One can find the notion of sacred sexuality in Shintō – for instance the sexual intercourse of male and female deities (Izanagi no Mikoto and Izanami no Mikoto) gave birth to the Japanese islands. Everything that is the source of life and sustains it is regarded as sacred. Cf. Kozyra Agnieszka 2016:16.

Ama Toshimaro emphasizes that the Japanese people, even experiencing impermanence and suffering in life, do not want to accept religious doctrine which stresses that worldly life has no value<sup>34</sup>. He refers to Buddhism when he states, “being irreligious is a way to reject facing one’s true self”<sup>35</sup>. However, it seems to me that there are other important reasons that the Japanese people do not want to reject worldly life, regardless of the suffering associated with it. First, the affirmation of life in Shintō, mentioned above, arises from the belief that gods, nature and man are one. There is no such clear division between the sacred and the profane as in Christianity. In Shintō, the sacred permeates the profane, one can only speak of its hierarchy – the heavenly deities stand above earthly deities. Nature is also a child of the gods, because the Japanese islands were born by the goddess Izanami. All the natives of Japan are descendants of gods, mainly earthly gods – only the imperial family and some aristocratic families descend from the heavenly gods. So one can say that in Shintō all aspects of worldly life are sacred, although there are different levels of the sacred. Next, in this context, the criticism of Buddhism by Japanese Neo-Confucians is also important, because they believed that the pursuit of posthumous salvation leads to the neglect of social responsibilities. Even today, Japanese people think that the duties to family, employer and society are very important and therefore fanatical religious involvement is perceived as turning away from society in order to only fulfill one’s own spiritual needs. Such an attitude is regarded as a kind of egoism.

Third, it should be noted that many people believe that the posthumous condition is not so dependent on the way of life. According to the teachings of Shintō, after death there is no judgment on souls, after a certain period of purification souls become the guardian spirits of their families and are referred to as *kami* just like the deities of the Shintō pantheon. In Buddhism, on the other hand, a person’s posthumous condition depends on his or her deeds in life, but it can be changed for the better, thanks to Buddhist rituals performed by monks after his or her death at the request of family members. Most people do not see the need to adapt their lives to the restrictive requirements of revealed religions. Instead, they choose the path already known from the merchants’ culture of the feudal period – in the face of impermanence and suffering, they affirm the ephemeral world (*ukiyo*), i.e. try to meet their hedonistic needs. This brings to mind the approach: *Carpe diem* (Seize the day).

To sum up, one can say that the postulated Japanese irreligiousness is a completely different kind of declaration than the statement: “I do not profess any religion” by a person from a Western culture who is an atheist and treats religious rituals as superstitions. A declared atheist in Poland who cultivates tradition will

<sup>34</sup> Ama Toshimaro 2005:8.

<sup>35</sup> Ama Toshimaro 2005:9.



probably buy a Christmas tree, prepare a Christmas Eve dinner with traditional dishes, maybe even share a holy wafer with the family, but he or she will not pray to God. However, the seemingly irreligious member of the Japanese public will pray, for different intentions, in Shintō shrines and Buddhist temples, because they believe that there is some supernatural sphere one can ask for help. Many Japanese people believe that the teachings of different religions are different paths leading to the same mountain peak, which is the Sacred. This last assumption has been the theoretical foundation of religious syncretism in Japan for centuries.

I would argue that in the context of the religious consciousness of Japanese people we should take into consideration three attitudes toward religion: non-religious attitude (often anti-religious and connected with a scientific worldview), syncretic religiosity and exclusive religiosity. It should be noted that exclusive religiosity means that only one religious doctrine should be accepted with the exclusion of all others. An example of such exclusive religiosity is not only the monotheistic Christian faith, but also the Buddhist Sect of Nichiren (Nichirenshū) or many of the so-called "New Religions of Japan" (shinshūkyō), such as Tenrikyō. Nichiren (1222–1282) was known for his intolerant attitude towards all other Buddhist Sects and he demanded their abolition. He believed that the essence of Buddhism was found only through the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Nakayama Miki (1798–1887) the founder of Tenrikyō considered herself as a "living temple" of Tenriō, the deity who, according to her revelation, has created Heaven and Earth. Since she rejected the doctrine of State Shintō, she was arrested and her teaching was forbidden.

It should be emphasized once again that in Japan the statement "I am not a follower of any religion" very often should be paraphrased: "I do not identify with the doctrine and practice of only one religious institution, because it would mean that I have to live exactly according to its commandments and could not take part in ceremonies of other religions. My religiosity is not exclusive and therefore I can practice in accordance with the spirit of religious syncretism." Sometimes another message is also hidden: "I am not a religious fanatic, I am a tolerant person". It should be noted that the reluctance of Japanese society to exclusive religiosity, which is characteristic of many new religious sects, was further aggravated by the religious terrorist attacks carried out by the sect Aum Shinrikyō.

The fact that the people of Japan usually do not reject religion because of the scientific worldview is due to the fact that in Japanese tradition, religion is considered to be the sphere to which access is possible by intuition/direct insight, rather than reason. That is why there was no severe conflict between religious faith and reason in the Japanese tradition. This is also due to the fact that in Buddhism and Shintō, religious doctrine is not considered a truth that must be accepted against reason because of religious authority. Religious truth can be experienced and known through direct insight. Shintō practices include various techniques of entering into a trance to learn the revelation of a deity, while in Buddhism the aim of meditation

is to attain/experience Enlightenment. It is worth noting that the superiority of intuition over reason is also evident in the style of Japanese philosophical dissertations. A challenge worthy of intellectual elites is the impressionist style, characterized by the use of free digressions related to the main theme indirectly, but always in some way highlighting various aspects of the problem. Instead of creating a coherent philosophical system, which is necessarily a simplification, Japanese thinkers often strive to capture reality in the multitude of its specific manifestations. The polysemy of some words enables word play and a kind of condensation of content that requires the reader to empathize with the context and “read between the lines.”

Some Japanese people stress that traditional religions lost their authority and charisma; they become “fossilized” structures deriving huge profits from so-called “religious services.” The cost of a Buddhist funeral is so high that people laugh, “you have to think carefully about whether to die.” In this situation, a new market for religious services appears – syncretic, uncontrolled, offering measurable ‘worldly benefits’. The fact that there are recipients is proof that there is a demand for a “supernatural world”. Also new, original religious motifs present in popular culture (for instance in manga and anime) can be considered both as a manifestation of Japanese syncretic religiosity and as the crisis of institutional religions in Japan.

## Bibliography

- Ama Toshimaro 2005. *Why are the Japanese non-religious. Japanese Spirituality: Being Non Religious in a Religious Culture*. Oxford: University Press of America.
- Frazer James 1950. *The Golden Rough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Geertz Clifford 1993. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, London: Fontana Press, 1993.
- Ishii Kenji 2011. *Yoron chōsa ni yoru Nihonjin shūkyōsei no chōsa kenkyū kenkyū* [public opinion polls on Japanese religiosity], Kokugakuin Daigaku, Shintō Bunkabu, Ise 2011.
- Klassen Chris 2014. *Religion and Popular Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kozyra Agnieszka 2016. *Stosunek do ciała w shintō, rodzimej religii Japonii* [Attitude to the body in shinto, the native religion of Japan] in: *Cielesność w kulturze Japonii, t.2 Religia, historia i sztuka* [Corporeality in Japanese culture, vol. 2 Religion, history and art] edited by Agnieszka Kozyra, Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo „Japonica”.
- Nihon Bunkachō [Japanese Ministry of Culture] 2017, *Shūkyō kanren tōkei ni kan suru shiryōshū* (collection of statistical data on religion), Tōkyō: Shūkyōka.
- McGuire Meredith 2008. *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.



- Mori Fumi 2010. *Gendai Nihonjin ni totte no shūkyō no umu to shūkyōteki na kokoro* [religious psyche and the problem of religion in contemporary Japan], Tōkei Sūri (Statistical Data) No. 58, Tōkyō.
- Nishi Kumiko 2009. *Shūkyōteki na mono ni hikareru Nihonjin* [what draws the Japanese people to religion], Tōkyō: NHK Hōsōkyoku Kenkyūjo.
- Thomas Jolyon Baraka 2012, *Drawing on Tradition, Manga, Anime and Religion in Contemporary Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Yoshie Akio, *Shinbutsu shūgō* [syncretism of Buddhism and Shintō], Iwanami Shoten, Tōkyō 1996.

### 論文概要

Agnieszka Kozyra

#### 日本人は信仰心が篤いのか？ 日本文化における「諸派統合の信心深さ」の問題

日本人はしばしば自らのことを「無宗教である」と言うが、日本文化において「宗教的ではない」とはどういう意味かを知る必要がある。「無宗教」と見なされる人が科学的世界観を持つ無神論者である西洋文化の観点から、これを説明するべきではない。宗教という言葉のこのような定義には、日本文化に深く根ざした宗教の混合に結びつく信心深さが含まれていないことに注意すべきである。これは、調査で多くの日本人が自らを無宗教だと述べる理由のひとつであるが、彼らにとってこれは、人生のすべての領域を統制するただひとつの宗教に属していないことを示しているだけで、信心深さの否定を意味するものではないのである。日本では、「私はどんな宗教の信奉者でもない」という言葉はしばしば、「私はただひとつの宗教機関の教義と実践に自己のアイデンティティーを認めない。なぜなら、その戒めに従って正確に生きれば、他の宗教の儀式に参加できないことを意味するからだ。私の信心は排他的ではなく、したがって私は宗教の混合の精神に従って実践できる」と言い換えられることが、強調されるべきである。また、「私は狂信者ではなく、寛容である」という別のメッセージもしばしば隠されている。多くの新しい宗派の特徴である排他的狂信に対する日本社会の抵抗感は、オウム真理教の宗教的テロ攻撃によってさらに強まったことに注目すべきである。

**Key-words:** religiosity, Japanese religious consciousness, syncretism, syncretic religiosity, religious tolerance, national identity



# **Japanese Culinary Culture**



Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka

## Japanese Culinary Culture and Identity

Traditional Japanese cuisine called *washoku* 和食 is deeply rooted in the history and culture of this country. The concept of *washoku* itself is relatively young as it only came into use at the end of the 19th century in order to distinguish between domestic and European cuisine (*yōshoku* 洋食). It consists of two morphemes, the first of which *wa* 和 is the old name of Japan (country of Wa, Yamato) and at the same time means “harmony, fulfillment”. The second morpheme *shoku* 食 means – food. This word therefore indicates Japanese food, but also the harmony of taste and the aesthetic of traditional cuisine. Presently, the term *washoku* has a broader meaning, as it refers to the culinary tradition that is also the cultural heritage of the Japanese people.

In contemporary research on food culture, the new term culinary identity appears, indicating that both cuisine and dietary customs have an impact on the shaping of nationalities. For the first time this concept was used in the Spanish daily “EL Pais” in 2002 as part of the discussion on a new Pan-European identity, and popularized in Poland by Waldemar Żarski regarding the culinary identity of Silesia. He noted that culinary identity is a combination of the material and spiritual realm, and the culinary code belongs to the permanent determinants of the national identity pattern. In his research, Żarski emphasizes that: “we perceive the genesis of culinary morality as a constant point of reference referring to childhood, home, family, important events and previously unknown experiences.”<sup>1</sup> Thus, the forms of the culinary identity of the Japanese people can be found in the ways of preparing dishes and eating habits and in the approach to the culinary culture itself, which is conditioned by tradition, the ritual calendar and social patterns.

---

<sup>1</sup> Żarski 2012: 172.

## Food culture research in Japan

The history of food culture research in Japan is relatively short. Admittedly, during the Edo period (1603–1868) the first publications on food appeared, but these were mainly nutrition guides and illustrated cookbooks, which had little to do with the scientific approach. Food has been the subject of specialist research in the broadly defined medical, agricultural, forestry, veterinary and economic sciences since the Meiji period (1868–1912). In anthropological and ethnographic studies, culinary culture emerged only in the first half of the 20th century thanks to Yanagita Kunio (1875–1962), who analyzed regional and national cuisine in Japan<sup>2</sup>. The first researcher, however, who dealt with the issue of the history of eating habits in the context of culture, is Ishige Naomichi. He created the term culinary culture in Japanese (*shokubunka* 食文化 or *shokuji bunka* 食事文化) and popularized its use. Ishige Naomichi's work dates back to the 1970s, and concerns the history of food, the dietary habits and the cultural role of food<sup>3</sup>. Ishige's approach to culinary culture assumes the culture-forming function of food, as does the concept of Massimo Montanari<sup>4</sup>. Ishige believes that man is the only "animal" that has learned to process and prepare food in the form of dishes and has the habit of eating them together (*kyōshoku* 共食)<sup>5</sup>. Ishige's works are therefore a cultural and anthropological view on food and eating habits.

Currently, food culture as a subject of research has also become the topic of public debate in Japan and an important element of state policy. In 2013 thanks to the government's efforts *washoku* as Japanese traditional cuisine was inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO. The government has set up a special research team consisting of the most eminent Japanese anthropologists, historians and chefs headed by Kumakura Isao. The team deals with bringing the history of their own cuisine closer to the Japanese people and, through various publications and initiatives, promotes *washoku* among them. In research conducted in 2014 by the *Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries of Japan* in cooperation with JFC, 81.2% of respondents heard that *washoku* was entered on the UNESCO list, and 86% of respondents considered this a very important event<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Ishige 2015a: 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ishige wrote many books on food, the most important of which are: *Shokuji no bunmei ron* (Considerations on the Subject of Food and Civilization, Tōkyō 1982), *Shokutaku no bunkashi* (The History of Food Culture and Meals, Tokyo 2004) and *Nihon no shokubunkashi* (History of Japanese Food Culture, Tōkyō 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Montanari (Montanari 2006) believes that every food-related act has cultural properties and that food is part of a human culture. By examining culinary habits, it is possible to reconstruct the functioning of society in many aspects: social organizations, politics, technologies and customs of everyday life.

<sup>5</sup> Ishige 2015a: 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Shoku ni shikō nado ni kansuru chōsa kekka* (Results of Research on Culinary Motivation), conducted by JFC (Japanese Financial Institute) in cooperation with MAFF (the Ministry of

## Japanese culinary tradition and culture

Culinary culture as part of Japanese culture is an issue of broad discourse dedicated to the national identity-creating aspects of the Japanese, called *Nihon bunkaron* 日本文化論 (discourse on Japanese culture) or *Nihonjinron* (discourse on the people of Japan). It should be emphasized that culture is perceived by the Japanese people in the national dimension and affects their sense of social and group affiliation. Yoshino Kōsaku stresses in *Bunka no nashonarizumu no shakai-gaku* (Sociology of Cultural Nationalism) that considerations on Japanese culture are conducted in Japan from the point of view of the nation and as such “are aimed at supporting, stimulating and strengthening national identity”<sup>7</sup>. Reflecting on the main approaches to Japanese culture, Yoshino mentions two basic attitudes, “cultural reductionism” (*bunka kangenshugi* 文化還元主義) and “cultural locality” (*bunka shūhenshugi* 文化周辺主義).<sup>8</sup>

The first term – “cultural reductionism” is a view that reduces all areas of social life to a culture that plays the role of a central, internal structure that supports other elements such as society, economy and political phenomena. According to Yoshino, culture has become a central reference point for Japan in constructing and feeling its national identity.

The second term *bunka shūhenshugi* Yoshino created and introduced to use in opposition to ethnocentrism (*jiminzoku chūshinshugi* 自民族中心主義). He believes that ethnocentrism, which places its own culture as a starting point in the assessment and description of other cultures, does not match the behavior of the Japanese people, because they have made Western culture their point of reference, and treat their own as local (*shūhen* 周辺). From that perspective they are trying to find meaning in the differentiating and unique elements of their own culture.<sup>9</sup>

## The cultural dimension of washoku

Looking at the culinary tradition of Japan, it can be seen that in the cultural dimension, *washoku* has four basic functions, namely spiritual, utilitarian, identity-forming (connected with the creation of regional and taste communities) and social.

The first spiritual function is connected with Shintō, the native religion of Japan, according to which nature and the whole world surrounding humans, that is plants, animals, mountains, rivers, stones and rocks can be a manifestation of

---

Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries of Japan), 2014, on a group of 2,000 people, between 20 and 70 years old. [https://www.jfc.go.jp/n/findings/pdf/h26\\_zyouhousenryaku\\_6.pdf](https://www.jfc.go.jp/n/findings/pdf/h26_zyouhousenryaku_6.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> Yoshino 1997: 53.

<sup>8</sup> Yoshino 1997: 103.

<sup>9</sup> Yoshino 1997: 103.

existence and at the same time a seat of various gods. In *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters, 712) we find a mention of the divine origin of food, which was born in the body of the tragically deceased goddess Ogetsuhime

And here is what grew in the body of the goddess killed:  
 There were silkworms in her head,  
 Her eyes were rice grains,  
 There was millet in her ears,  
 There was red bean in her nose,  
 There were ears of corn in her womb  
 And there were soya beans in the anus (*Kojiki*)<sup>10</sup>

Ogetsuhime is worshiped as a deity of food, especially cereals. In the later book of *Nihongi* (The Japanese Chronicle, 720), the goddess Ukemochi no kami, as a patron of grain and food, is also a deity of fishing and pigs.

The basis of Japanese cuisine has been rice since mythological times, and according to Yanagita Kunio, as the main cereal cultivated in Japan, it also influenced the shape of Japanese culture in general. Yanagita described it even as a “rice culture” (*inasaku bunka* 稲作文化), and in his research he emphasized the influence of rice on the way of life and mentality of the people because it developed religious beliefs (native Shintō religion), ceremonies, and culinary customs<sup>11</sup>. The most important Shintō rituals concern the next phases of rice cultivation, and therefore the seasons associated with fieldwork. These are the spring season when planting rice (*taue* 田植え) and autumn when harvesting crops (*inekari* 稲刈り). In the spring, during greeting the rice deities, rituals are held to ensure rich harvests, and in autumn, there are thanksgiving ceremonies. These mainly consist of offering the deities freshly harvested rice and its symbolic tasting<sup>12</sup>.

An important aspect of the food culture is the careful selection of products. Japanese people attach great importance to the diversity of ingredients, their freshness and natural taste. This diversity is influenced by the region and climate of Japan. It is an island country, stretched from north to south, surrounded by seas and the ocean. Japan has six climate zones, from the temperate and cold climate on Hokkaido, through the subtropical climate of Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu to the tropics of the Okinawa Islands, which determines their variety of agricultural crops. Hokkaido and Northern Honshu (Tōhoku region) cultivate plants grown in

<sup>10</sup> *Kojiki* : 70.

<sup>11</sup> Yanagita 1978: 50–55.

<sup>12</sup> From the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the ceremony *Niinamesai* 新嘗祭 began to be organized (the word *niiname* means trying new crops) – a harvest festival, celebrating the second half of the 11th month. During official ceremonies, the Emperor tasted the crops harvested in a given year and thanked the deities for the harvest, offering rice and other grains.



temperate climatic zones, such as potatoes, wheat, rye, apples, pears, cherries and buckwheat, in subtropical regions (Central and West Honshu) grapes, peaches, kaki fruits, edible chrysanthemums, tea, sweet potatoes (*satoimo*) and mandarins, and in the tropical zone (southern Kyushu and Okinawa) bananas, sugar cane, kiwi, mango, pineapples.

In traditional Japanese cuisine, attention is also paid to the respect for all forms of life, which for several centuries significantly reduced the consumption of meat and its products in the daily Japanese diet and forced them to look for alternative forms of food. All this has resulted in the creation of a unique cuisine based primarily on vegetables, fish and seafood.

In ancient times (4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD)<sup>13</sup> the population of Japan ate meat, and venison was an important part of their diet, but with the appearance in the 6<sup>th</sup> century of Buddhism<sup>14</sup> when imperial edicts prohibiting the killing of animals and eating meat<sup>15</sup> were issued, they led to a significant reduction in the consumption of meat products in the everyday Japanese diet, including the elimination of all animal farms<sup>16</sup>. Emperor Meiji (1867–1912) conversely contributed to the abolition of bans, and in 1872 finally eliminated them by celebrating the New Year's celebration with meat dishes.

The second function, defined as utilitarian, refers to the practical side of food, which is to provide the necessary ingredients for living and nourishing the human body. *Washoku* is distinguished by a multitude of products and provides a balanced set of nutrients. A standard *washoku* meal provides proteins (13.1%), fats 29.8% and carbohydrates 58% (data for 2005)<sup>17</sup>. Japanese daily meals are also low-calorie, in 1975 they were on average 2188 calories, and in 2011, only 1840 calories.<sup>18</sup>

A healthy and balanced diet clearly contributes to the fact that the Japanese nation is one of the world's longest living, the average life expectancy in 2015 was 87 years for women and 80 years for men<sup>19</sup>, and predictions for 2060 are at 90

---

<sup>13</sup> The division into epochs corresponds to Japanese historiography. Antiquity are the ages dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries (Yayoi, Yamato, Nara, Heian era), the Middle Ages from 12<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Kamakura, Muromachi, Azuchi-Momoyama), early modernity from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Edo) and modernity from 1868 to today (Meiji, Taishō, Shōwa, Heisei and Reiwa).

<sup>14</sup> Buddhism teaches that after death, man can be reborn in a human or animal incarnation and for that reason everyone should show respect to all living beings.

<sup>15</sup> These were: the edict of 675 (concerning the prohibition of killing animals and eating meat) and the edict of 743 (prohibition of hunting wild animals).

<sup>16</sup> These were: the edict of 675 (concerning the prohibition of killing animals and eating meat) and the edict of 743 (prohibition of hunting wild animals).

<sup>17</sup> *Kenkō eiyo ni kansuru genjō oyobi omo na shisaku* (Current Situation and Main Strategy Regarding Health and Nutrients), the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan.

See: [http://www.mhlw.go.jp/file.jsp?id=145677&name=2r985200000353c7\\_1.pdf](http://www.mhlw.go.jp/file.jsp?id=145677&name=2r985200000353c7_1.pdf).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 2.

years for women and 84 years for men. In turn, OECD studies also show a very low percentage of obese people in Japan (MBI above 30), which amounted to only 3.7% of the general population in 2013 (for example in 2009 it was 4%), while the average for 34 OECD countries is 19%.<sup>20</sup>

The most popular set of dishes used in the daily diet is called *ichijū sansai* 一汁三菜, one soup and three additional dishes. The basis of the set is of course rice as the main food, marinated vegetables (*kō no mono* 香の物), soup (*shirumono* 汁物) prepared from miso soy paste and three types of addition dishes, namely the main (*shusai* 主菜), usually it is tofu, fish, seafood, and today also other meats, second (*fukusai* 副菜) and the third one (*fukufukusai* 副副菜) consisting of vegetables and fruits. Such a composed set provides a variety of nutrients.



Il. 1. Japanese popular set of dishes called *ichijū sansai* – rice, one soup and three additional dishes.

Another aspect of *washoku* is the proper presentation of the dishes, which should refer to the transformation of the four seasons and its manifestations and to express the beauty of nature. Harmonious adjustment of a wide range of seasonal dishes to the types of dishes and decorations is the basic principle of Japanese cuisine.

The Japanese aesthetic and multidimensional approach to eating was adopted from the philosophy of *gogyōsetsu* 五行説 (Chinese W ŭ Xíng), the theory of the five elements. According to this theory, the universe consists of five elements (also

<sup>20</sup> OECD iLibrary za: <http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/download/8115071ec019.pdf?expires=1500309839&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=750781D6CC83BD8D675E0F4788AC1D26>

called elements), namely wood (*moku* 木), fire (*ka* 火), earth (*do* 土), metal (*kin* 金) and water (*sui* 水), which remain with each other in a solid state and form two interactions, once destructive (water destroys fire, fire metal, metal wood, wood earth, and earth water), and once builder (wood is born from water, fire from wood, earth from fire, metal from earth, water from metal). The division of the world into five elements concerned all areas of life, and the number five was considered to be ideal.

The Japanese culinary tradition took on the theory of the five elements and made of five the basis of the whole philosophy of thinking about food. Five in the kitchen means harmony, an ideal state based on the principle *gomi goshiki gohō* 五味五色五法 (five flavors, five colors and five ways of preparing), and each set of dishes or dish is supposed to reflect it.

Here are the most important combinations of five elements in the kitchen:

*Gomi* 五味 – five flavors are to symbolize the types of dishes served: the taste of bitter (some vegetables), sour (pickles), sweet (fruit), salty (sea fish), formerly hot, today they speak of *umami* うま味, the natural taste obtained from seaweed *konbu*, pointing to something delicious.

*Goshiki* 五色 – five colors are: green (green vegetables), red (carrot), yellow (*yuba* ゆば bean curd sheet from soy milk), white (fish meat) and black (sesame). The white color symbolizes purity, black restraint, yellow and red stimulates the sense of taste, green introduces a sense of peace.

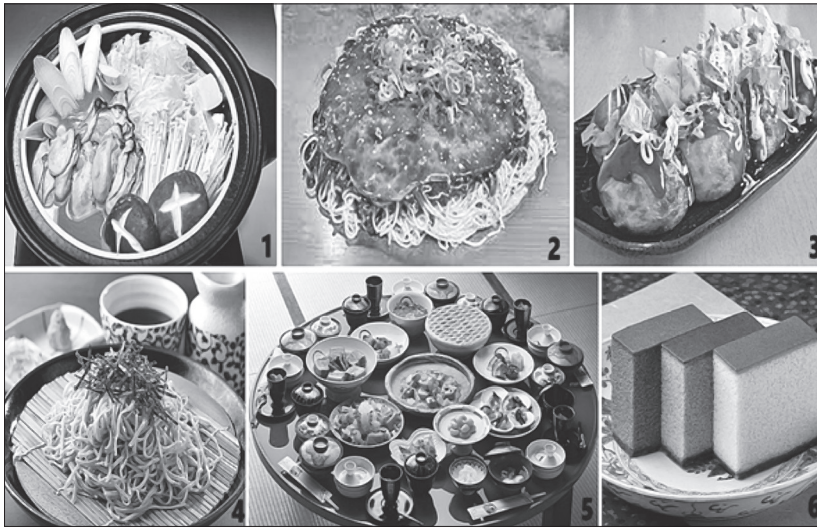
*Gohō* 五法 – five ways to prepare dishes are: raw (*sashimi* 刺身), baked (*yaki-mono* 焼物), boiled (*nimono* 煮物), steamed (*mushimono* 蒸し物), fried (*agemono* 揚げ物).

*Gokan* 五感 – five senses: sight (aesthetics of administration) hearing (slicing, biting, cooking, and even slurping), smell (dishes), taste (five flavors) and touch (it's about the division into cold and hot, soft and hard food). The dishes should therefore be partaken with all senses.

*Goteki* 五的 – five correspondences, and therefore the right temperature depending on the nature of the food served, appropriately selected products depending on age and sex, the right amount, proper preparation and adequate catering (*motenashi no kokoro* もてなしの心).

The third function of food concerns the creation of national and regional identity, which can be considered a variation of the social identity related to a region, its local dialect, customs and tradition. When it comes to *washoku*, geographic

and climatic diversity creates a large variety of vegetables, fruits and other food products grown in Japan. Each region boasts its own dishes. In 2008, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries of Japan even created a list of carefully selected regional dishes (*kyōdo ryōri* 郷土料理)<sup>21</sup>, wishing to promote culinary tourism and promote individual regions of Japan.



Il. 2. Examples of Japanese regional dishes: 1 *nabe ryōri* (one-pot dishes), 2. *okonomiyaki* (fried wheat pancake), 3. *Takoyaki* (roasted pancake with octopus), 4. *soba* (buckwheat noodles), 5. *shippoku ryōri* (Japanese style Chinese cuisine), 6. *kasutera* (sponge cake).

The general culinary diversity shows that in regions with a cool and temperate climate (Hokkaido, the northeastern region of Tohoku) the consumption of meat dishes or one-pot dishes (*naberyōri* 鍋料理) in the form of vegetables, fish and seafood stocks prevails. The Tokyo region is famous for *sushi* 寿司 (here, in the period of townspeople culture (1686–1868), the so-called Edomae-zushi 江戸前寿司 was invented), and the central region is known for buckwheat noodles *soba* 蕎麦. Kyoto cuisine (*kyōryōri* 京料理) is also special, in which the court and samurai culinary traditions have survived, as well as “plebeian” cuisine from Osaka with *okonomiyaki* お好み焼き (fried wheat pancake with a variety of ingredients), *takoyaki* たこ焼 (roasted pancake with octopus) or *udon* 饅頭 (wheat pasta dishes). Kyushu, in turn, as an island maintaining contact with the continent, is

<sup>21</sup> *Kyōdo ryōri hyakusen* [selection of 100 regional dishes]. See: [http://www.maff.go.jp/j/nousin/kouryu/kyodo\\_ryouri/pdf/itiran.pdf](http://www.maff.go.jp/j/nousin/kouryu/kyodo_ryouri/pdf/itiran.pdf).

distinguished by a greater cosmopolitan culinary tradition, we find there a *ship-poku ryōri* 卓袱料理, a Japanese variety of Chinese cuisine and *kasutera* カステラ – a sponge cake taken from Portuguese cuisine. Shikoku Island is famous for bonito fish *katsuo* 鰹, and the Okinawa Islands for a distinct culinary tradition called Okinawa *ryōri* 沖縄料理 or Ryūkyū *ryōri* 琉球料理, referring to the court cuisine of the old Ryūkyū Kingdom and Chinese cuisine.

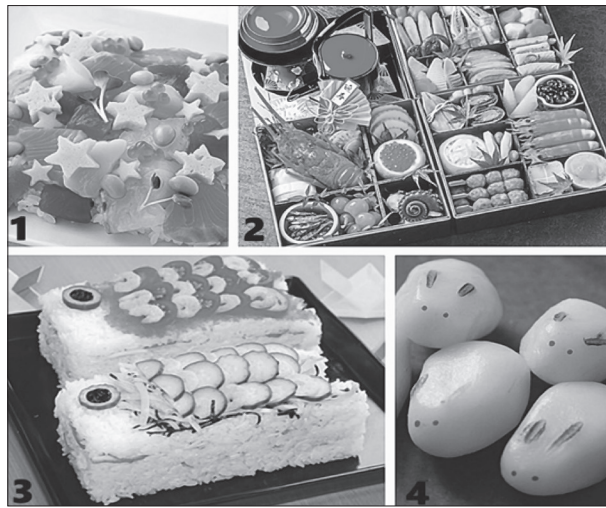
The Japanese identity is also undoubtedly influenced by the celebration of the annual holidays and rites of passage and the associated festive cuisines. New Year's dishes, prepared in accordance with the *gomi goshiki gohō* principle, have extensive symbolism related to specific celebrations. For example, the so-called *osechi ryōri* おせち料理 set of dishes served in three-story boxes, in which there should always be at least three dishes: *kuromame* 黒豆, black, boiled beans to ensure health and happiness in the coming year, *kazunoko* 数の子, herring roe as a symbol of procreation and fertility and *tazukuri* 田作り dried sardines, formerly used as a fertilizer for rice fields, today is supposed to bring rich crops. In turn, on the occasion of Doll's Day or Girls' Day – Hina Matsuri, celebrated on the third of March, *sushi* is eaten in the shape of *hina* dolls, which symbolize the imperial court and at the same time the parents' desire for their daughter to become a real princess. On the fifth of May, Children's Day or Boys' Day, the Tango no sekku feast<sup>22</sup> *sushi* is reminiscent of *koibonori* 鯉のぼり, carp-shaped kites that the Japanese value for their durability and longevity. On Tanabata – the Star Festival, celebrated on the seventh of July, *sushi* is reminiscent of the stars Altair and Vega, which on this day meet on the Milky Way. The Chinese legend, from which this holiday originates, speaks of the strong love of the poor shepherd (the star Altair) to the beautiful princess (the star Vega), who was distinguished by unique weaving skills, hence the often served dish is multicolored thin pasta *sōmen* 素麺, which refers to the weaving threads. On the occasion of admiring the full moon during Tsukimi ("Moon-viewing" celebrated in mid-autumn) dishes are served with a round shape in reference to the full moon. Another of the culinary attractions is *mochi* rice cookies in the shape of bunnies, which according to Japanese beliefs inhabit the moon.

Finally, the last function of food is connected with social life. The food itself is a social act (*kyōshoku* 供食), shared together, which connects the group, above all the family, as well as other members of the community. In Japanese, family feasts are called *danran* 団欒 or *kazoku no danran* 家族の団欒, etymologically associated with sitting in a circle around the table. It is worth emphasizing that this is a relatively new custom in Japan because it has developed along with the modern family.

---

<sup>22</sup> Originally Tango no sekku was Boy's Day, however, in 1948, the authorities turned it into Children's Day and established a public holiday.





Il. 3. Examples of festive cuisine: 1. Tanabata *sushi*, 2. *osechi ryōri* (New Year's dishes), 3. Tango no sekku *koinobori sushi*, 4. Tsukimi moon festival rice cake (*usagimochi*).

Feasting in the family circle as a form of spending time together appeared in Japan in the early twentieth century thanks to Christian ideas propagated, among others by Uchimura Kanzō (1861–1930) and Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863–1942), as well as women's magazines which described new family patterns. This new style overtook what had been the dominating, to the end of the Edo era (1603–1868), banquet style (*honzen ryōri* 本膳料理), in which everyone consumed meals placed on individual tables sitting on the floor, while the wife and children most often ate in the kitchen, which did not favor the creation of modern family ties.

The people of Japan like to dine and think that eating together creates a special atmosphere, that it promotes mutual getting to know each other, establishing closer relationships, as well as gaining confidence in private and professional life. Harmony (*wa* 和), which is the basis of all social relations, can be achieved by jointly feasting and the proper setting of *washoku*.

In Japan, many different forms of feasting developed, ranging from family annual holidays, through passage rites, and institutionalized forms, such as party *yoriai* 寄り合い<sup>23</sup> arranged in a professional group or by friends on various occasions, and *uchiage* 打上げ<sup>24</sup> the party to celebrate the end of a business or work phase. An example of these are meetings in the company or class group at the end

<sup>23</sup> The word *yoriai* literally means “getting closer to oneself”, in the past it was called meeting at the imperial court, and later that of the shogun. See: *Nihon kokugo daijiten*.

<sup>24</sup> The word *uchiage* is a verbal noun derived from the verb *uchiageru* meaning “let go fireworks”. In contemporary Japanese, it points to a party or meeting celebrating the ending of a stage or process. See: *Nihon kokugo daijiten*.

of the year, the so-called *bōnenkai* 忘年会 (meetings whose aim is to forget about the hardships of the past year) or *nōkai* 納会, parties celebrating the ending of a stage, organized at different times of the year. Most often they are held in Japanese restaurants, where *washoku* dominates.



II.4. Party *bōnenkai* celebrating the ending of the year

## Final remarks

*Washoku*, according to the Japanese people, reflects their national character (*Nihonjin no kokoro* 日本人の心, or the soul of the Japanese people) and is associated with various social behaviors, being simultaneously an inseparable part of Japanese culture, which distinguishes creativity in forming new flavors, the **aestheticization** of everyday life and the culture of hospitality (*motenashi*).

In a similar way, UNESCO justifies the decision to enter *washoku* on the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage:

*Washoku* is a social practice based on a set of skills, knowledge, practice and traditions related to the production, processing, preparation and consumption of food. It is associated with an essential spirit of respect for nature that is closely related to the sustainable use of natural resources. The basic knowledge and the social and cultural characteristics associated with *washoku* are typically seen during New Year celebrations.<sup>25</sup>

*Washoku* certainly affects the sense of the Japanese national identity.

<sup>25</sup> *Washoku, traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese, notably for the celebration of New Year* <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/washoku-traditional-dietary-cultures-of-the-japanese-notably-for-the-celebration-of-new-year-00869>.

## Bibliography

- Ishige Naomichi 2015a. *Nihon no shokubunka kenkyū* [research on culinary culture in Japan]. In: *Shakai shisutemu kenkyū*, No. 7. 2015. Kyōto: Ritsumeikan Daigaku Shakaishisutemu Kenkyūjo. 9–17.  
石毛直道2015。日本食文化研究。社会システム研究7号。京都：立命館大学社会システム研究所。
- Ishige Naomichi 2015b. *Nihon no shokubunkashi* [history of Japanese food culture]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.  
石毛直道2015。日本食文化史。東京：岩波書店。
- Ishige Naomichi 1982. *Shokuji no bunmei ron* [considerations on the subject of food civilization]. Tōkyō: Chūkō Shinsho.  
石毛直道1982。食事の文明論。東京：中公新書。
- Ishige Naomichi 2004. *Shokutaku no bunkashi* [meal culture]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.  
石毛直道2004。食卓の食文化。東京：岩波書店。
- Kenkō eiyo ni kansuru genjō oyobi omo na shisaku* [current situation and main strategy regarding health and nutrients]. the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan. [http://www.mhlw.go.jp/file.jsp?id=145677&name=2r985200000353c7\\_1.pdf](http://www.mhlw.go.jp/file.jsp?id=145677&name=2r985200000353c7_1.pdf). [assess: 15.07.2019].  
健康栄養に関する現状及び主な施策
- Kyōdo ryōri hyakusen* [selection of 100 regional dishes].  
[http://www.maff.go.jp/j/nousin/kouryu/kyodo\\_ryouri/pdf/itiran.pdf](http://www.maff.go.jp/j/nousin/kouryu/kyodo_ryouri/pdf/itiran.pdf), [assess: 15.07.2019].  
郷土料理百選
- Montanari Massimo 2006. *Food is Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Nihon kokugo daijiten* [grand dictionary of the Japanese language], electronic dictionary CASIO XD-U6900.  
日本国語大辞典
- OECD iLibrary  
<http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/download/8115071ec019.pdf?expires=1500309839&id=id&accname=guest&checksum=750781D6CC83BD8D675E0F4788AC1D26>. Internet sources. [assess: 15.07.2019].
- Shoku ni shikō nado ni kansuru chōsa kekka* [results of the study on culinary motivation]. conducted by JFC in cooperation with MAFF  
[https://www.jfc.go.jp/n/findings/pdf/h26\\_zyouhousenryaku\\_6.pdf](https://www.jfc.go.jp/n/findings/pdf/h26_zyouhousenryaku_6.pdf). [assess: 15.07.2019].  
食に志向などに関する調査結果
- Yanagita Kunio 1978. *Kaijō no michi* [road through the sea], Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.  
柳田国男 1978。海上の道。東京：岩波書店。
- Yoshino Kōsaku 1997. *Bunka no nashonarizumu no shakaigaku*. *Gendai Nihonjin*



- no aidentiti no yukue* [sociology of cultural nationalism, direction of identity development of modern Japanese]. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai.
- 吉野耕作1997。文化のナショナリズムの社会学。現代日本人のアイデンティティの行方。名古屋：名古屋大学出版会。
- Żarski Waldemar 2012. *Tożsamość kulinarna na Śląsku* [culinary identity of Silesia]. In: *Śląskie pogranicza kultury* [Silesian borderland of culture], ed. M. Ursel, O. Taranek-Wolańska, vol. 1. Wrocław: ATUT Publishing House.
- UNESCO <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/washoku-traditional-dietary-cultures-of-the-japanese-notably-for-the-celebration-of-new-year-00869>. [access: 15.07.2019.].

## 論文概要

Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka

### 日本の食文化とアイデンティティ

本論文の主題は、この国の歴史と文化に深く根ざした和食と呼ばれる伝統的な日本料理である。和食の概念自体は比較的新しく、19世紀の終わりに自国の料理とヨーロッパ料理(洋食と呼ばれる)を区別するために用いられるようになり、今日では、日本人の文化遺産であり、広く理解されている料理の伝統を指す。その表現形式は、料理の作り方、食習慣、そして日本人の伝統、祭事暦、社会的パターンの影響下にある料理文化自体へのアプローチに見出せる。

**Key words:** Japanese culinary culture, *washoku*, culinary identity, eating habits, *yōshoku*



Monika Nawrocka

## The Japanese Traditional Ceremony *Hōchōshiki* at the University of Warsaw

Within Japanese culture we can find a strong evocation of their traditions. In this article I would like to present a unique part of the Japanese culinary culture that started in the early Heian period (9th century) and has continued until today. It is a special culinary art form of filleting a fish without touching its flesh with one's hands, called *hōchōdō* 庖丁道. It is also known as a *hōchōshiki* 庖丁式 – knife ceremony or *shikibōchō* 式庖丁 – ceremonial knife.

The oldest school of high-ranking chefs is the Shijō school 四條流, which was created in the Heian period by Fujiwara Yamakage 藤原山蔭 (824–888), the second rank counselor in the Imperial Court, who lived on 4th Avenue in Kyoto, called *Shijō* in Japanese. Nowadays Fujiwara Yamakage is described as a culinary deity<sup>1</sup>, after to the main one – Iwaka Mutsukari no Mikoto 磐鹿六雁命<sup>2</sup>.

It is said that Kōkō, the 58th Emperor of Japan (830–887, reigned 884–887), kept up to date with the culinary arts and he ordered his counselor Fujiwara Yamakage, who was also tasked with cooking, to put together recipes and many regulations necessary for the chefs, such as the proper usage of the knife 庖丁, the arrangement of the meals, and banquette etiquette<sup>3</sup>. Fujiwara Yamakage created the rules of aristocratic cuisine and one of the finest and oldest court events, called *hōchōshiki*.

What exactly is this event? *Hōchōshiki* is the special way of cutting a fish or fowl without touching it with the one's hands. We can divide the whole ceremony into 5 steps<sup>4</sup>.

Firstly, the master reads the confession *hyōhaku* 表白 from which we can learn the purpose of the ceremony. While the confession is being read, one assistant is performing the first step, *manaita hiraki no gi* 俎板の開きの儀 – The Rite of Open-

<sup>1</sup> The shrine dedicated to him is located in the Yoshida Shrine complex in Kyoto.

<sup>2</sup> The main deity of food and harvest in Japan. His shrine is in Takabe Shrine in Chiba prefecture.

<sup>3</sup> From the pamphlet '*Shijō Shinryū. Gishiki hōchō*' written by Ōmori Kentetsu.

<sup>4</sup> These 5 steps put forth are based on the explanation texts prepared for the *hōchōshiki* ceremony held in Warsaw in 2019 and in Takabe shrine in 2018. Courtesy of Mr. Ōmori Kentetsu and Mrs. Ōmori Chieko.

ing the Cutting Board. At the beginning, the cutting board is covered with white material and in its four corners and in the center, we can find small pouches filled with rice. Each of them is in a different color: white, yellow, blue, red and black to refer to the Philosophy of Five Elements<sup>5</sup>. The assistant takes off the pouches, and the white material, and he puts some salt back on the exact same locations. It is believed that 5 gods descend onto these special places on the cutting board<sup>6</sup>.



The Rite of the Purification of the Cutting Board, Takabe Shrine, 2018.10.17  
[photo Monika Nawrocka]

The second step is called *manaita kiyome no gi* 俎板浄めの儀 – The Rite of the Purification of the Cutting Board. In this part, the assistant cleans the cutting board with water.

Thirdly, the rite of bringing the knife *hōchō* 庖丁 and a pair of metal chopsticks *manabashi* 真奈箸 called *tōsanbō no gi* 刀三方 – The Rite of the Knife. Both utensils are very important during the ceremony, so they need special treatment.

<sup>5</sup> The Philosophy of Five Elements is a Chinese philosophy used to describe interactions and relationships between things. The five elements – wood, fire, earth, metal, and water – are believed to be the fundamental elements of everything in the universe between which interactions occur. For more information see: <https://www.chinahighlights.com/travelguide/chinese-zodiac/china-five-elements-philosophy.htm> [access: 2020.01.15]

<sup>6</sup> In the oldest culinary essay written by the Shijō Clan called *Shijōryū hōchōsho* (*Shijō School Text on Food Preparation*) from 1489 we can find the paragraph with detailed information about the size of the cutting board *manaita* and some explanation about the 5 gods that are the guardians of the kitchen area. This essay is an important source to understand the rules and values of the Shijō Clan and their *hōchōshiki* ceremony style.

This is why instead of putting them directly on the cutting board *manaita*, we put them on a white sheet of paper called *managami* 真奈紙.

The forth step is called *mana sanbō no gi* 真奈三方の儀 – The Rite of the Main Ingredient. It is always a fish, usually a carp, a sea bass or a sea bream. The *hōchōshiki* ceremony may have a different theme depending on the purpose of the ritual, place, people who are attending or on the time of year. The fish is always decorated with gold and silver strings and seasonal flowers.

The last step is the most important one – all the preparation is complete and the main part of the ceremony can begin. The master, holding the knife *hōchō* in his right hand and a pair of metal chopsticks *manabashi* in his left hand, carves the fish's flesh without touching it with any bare hands. We can see the skillful technique of using the knife that only a very good chef will have. The fish is arranged in a special shape with reference to the aim of the ceremony. For example, it can be shaped like the flower of the plum or wisteria. In the most official rituals the fish is shaped as a chrysanthemum and the river. During the whole ritual every gesture and cut has a meaning, they are intended to show humanity's gratitude for receiving food (the fish is a symbol of all the ingredients we use) and to pray for a good harvest, the purification of the six roots of perception (eyesight, hearing, smell, taste, body and the spirit) (*rokkon shōjō* 六根清浄) and the desire for peace and tranquility to reign over the land (*tenkataihei* 天下泰平)<sup>7</sup>.



The flower of wisteria [photo Monika Nawrocka]

<sup>7</sup> From the pamphlet 'Shijō Shinryū. Gishiki hōchō' written by Ōmori Kentetsu.

As I have mentioned before, the oldest culinary clan, who created the *hōchōshiki* ceremony, is called the Shijō Clan 四條流. In the Middle Ages there were some misunderstandings between the chefs and a few other clans came into being, such as the Ikama Clan 生間流, the Ōkusa Clan 大草流 or the Shinji Clan 進士流<sup>8</sup>. Although the main goal of the *hōchōshiki*, which is the connection with the gods and nature, is the same for all the clans, the way of performing and using the knife *hōchō* may be different.

Interestingly, each clan wanted to be more unique than the others, so they all kept their recipes a secret. Adepts could learn from the masters only by the *minarai* 見習い style – by looking and repeating the teachers' gestures. Even in the oldest culinary essay written by the Shijō Clan, which still exists – *Shijōryū hōchōsho* (*Shijō School Text on Food and Preparation*) very often we can find the phrase *kuden ari* 口傳在り, which means orally transmitted instruction. Not only can we find this phrase in the chapters about the usage of the knife, but also in the paragraphs about seasoning or the order of served dishes.

Nowadays, the most active of these clans in Japan are the Shijō Clan in the Kantō area and the Ikama Clan in the Kansai area. What is interesting is that the, 41<sup>st</sup> Head of the Shijō Clan, Mr. Shijō Takahiko 四條隆彦 (1953- ) wanted to renew interest in the tradition and the Imperial cuisine and so he created an office, the association of all the best chefs in Japan, called Shijō Tsukasake 四條司家<sup>9</sup>. I had the chance to hear Mr. Shijō Takahiko's speeches a few times and he mentioned repeatedly that he would like to show the world Japanese traditions, which they are proud of. Additionally that Japanese culinary culture is not only sushi or ramen, but that they also have a long and interesting history of quite an unusual art.

However, although the history of the Shijō Clan is rather long and they are still continuing their old traditions started by Fujiwara Yamakage in the Heian Period, there were times when they couldn't teach the proper use of the knife and the *hōchōshiki* ceremony because of the unfavorable conditions in the country. As it was said before, the Shijō Clan was a family of chefs strongly connected with the Imperial Court. That is why in the times such as the Edo Period – the Golden Age of merchant culture, or during and just after WWII, the Clan struggled with some problems. As mentioned before, over the centuries some apprentices disagreed with the master and started their own Clan. After the war, one of the main masters of the Shijō Clan, venerable Ishii Taijirō 石井泰次郎 (1871–1953) suddenly died without leaving an official successor. It started a lot of disorder within the Clan because people who pretended to become the next Head of the Family were coming out one after another and demanding the right to continue the tradition in their own way<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Sugano 1985: 1.

<sup>9</sup> Shijō Tsukasake Ryakki (The sketch of the Shijō Tsukasake) 1991: 20.

<sup>10</sup> Sugano 1985: 2.

One of the immediate pupils, Shishikura Soken 獅子倉祖憲 was worried about all the chaos happening inside the Clan. In the autumn of the 25<sup>th</sup> year of Shōwa (1950) he created a new branch of the Shijō Clan, called Shijō Shinryū 四條眞流 (the true, real Shijō school) where they revere the spirit and ideas created by the founder – Fujiwara Yamakage.

Moreover, Shishikura Soken adopted strong points from each of the schools, studied in depth the terminology and looked up to the historical investigation made by the late professor Yoshikawa Eiji 吉川英治, and he started a new line of the Head of the Family who has carried out the ceremony *hōchōshiki* until today<sup>11</sup>. At the moment we have the 5<sup>th</sup> Head of the Family, Sugano Kenkō 菅野憲弘. The whole lineage of the new branch, Shijō Shinryū, is shown below:

|                 |                                    |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| The founder and | 1 <sup>st</sup> Head of the Family | Shishikura Soken 獅子倉祖憲 |
|                 | 2 <sup>nd</sup> Head of the Family | Kawamura Kenyō 河村憲要    |
|                 | 3 <sup>rd</sup> Head of the Family | Shishikura Waken 獅子倉和憲 |
|                 | 4 <sup>th</sup> Head of the Family | Sugano Kenshō 菅野憲正     |
|                 | 5 <sup>th</sup> Head of the Family | Sugano Kenkō 菅野憲弘      |

They have received their license under the Shijō Tsukasake, which means right now they are an official branch accepted by the Shijō Clan and very often work together for the betterment of the future of Japanese culinary culture.

Nowadays, there is a chance to see the *hōchōshiki* ceremony several times a year in Japan, for example in the autumn at Takabe Shrine 高家神社 in Chiba prefecture or around February during the plum blossom festival at Tokiwa Shrine 常盤神社 in Ibaraki prefecture. Besides *hōchōshiki* ceremonies open to viewers, the ritual is performed during annual Shijō Tsukasake meetings at the beginning and at the end of the year.

This old traditional art has neither been popular in Japan nor outside the country yet. As was said before, many secrets and rules in the Clan were passed on via oral instruction. So this culinary art was never as common with the ordinary people as, for example, kabuki theater. However, nowadays with the large support and involvement in the popularization of this ritual, from the 41<sup>st</sup> Head of the Shijō Clan, Mr. Shijō Takehiko, and the 5<sup>th</sup> Head of the Shijō Shinryū, Mr. Sugano Kenkō, they are trying to introduce the *hōchōshiki* ceremony to the world.

As a PhD student at the University of Warsaw, during my research in Japan, I had the chance not only to meet both of them, Mr. Shijō and Mr. Sugano, but to also attend the annual meetings of the Shijō Tsukasake organization and I experienced the *hōchōshiki* ritual several times. It all happened thanks to Mr. Ōmori

---

<sup>11</sup> Notes titled *Shijō Shinryū no rekishi* (*The History of the Shijō Shin School*). Courtesy of Mr. Ōmori Kentetsu.



Kentetsu and his wife, Mrs. Ōmori Chieko, who helped me to get inside “the Shijō world” and let me practice amongst them all. After coming back to Poland, with considerable help from the professors of the Japanese Department, we arranged for the *hōchōshiki* ceremony to be conducted in Warsaw.

In November 2019, for the first time at the University and the second time in Europe in general, the *hōchōshiki* ceremony was held. It was a very special event, in part because 2019 was the 100th anniversary of the diplomatic relationship between Japan and Poland. The Shijō Shinryū representatives that came to Poland were Mr. Ōmori Kentetsu 大森憲哲, Mrs. Ōmori Chieko 大森千恵子, Mr. Isaka Kenshū 井坂憲秀 and Mrs. Sumiya Sadako 住谷貞子. All of them are members of the Ibaraki prefecture office of the Shijō Shinryū school. I had the pleasure to join them and to participate in the *hōchōshiki* ceremony.

The *hōchōshiki* ritual was performed at the auditorium in the Old Library at the University of Warsaw on November 6th. The honorary guests were the Ambassador of Japan to Poland Tsukasa Kawada and the Head of the Chair of Japanese Studies professor Agnieszka Kozyra. The course of the event was explained by Mrs. Ōmori Chieko and translated by professor Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka. The confession, which is a special part of the ritual, because it explains the goal and the reason of the event, was read by Mr. Ōmori Kentetsu and translated by Monika Nawrocka. The ceremony was performed as follows: Mrs. Sumiya Sadako – The Rite of Opening the Cutting Board, Mr. Isaka Kenshū – The Rite of the Purification of the Cutting Board and The Rite of the Main Ingredient, Ms. Monika Nawrocka – The Rite of the Knife, and the main part was performed by the master Ōmori Kentetsu.



The Shijō Shinryū representatives with the Ambassador of Japan in Poland and the professors of Japanese Department, Warsaw [photo Beata Nawrocka]



Each ceremony has a different purpose and theme. This one was called “The ship of fortune from the sea bream” (*takarabune no tai* 宝船の鯛). The master cut the sea bream in the shape of the *kanji* ideogram for fortune. It was very thoughtful of Mr. Ōmori to choose this form of cutting for this occasion – to emphasize the relationship between Poland and Japan and to wish for both our countries to continue this prosperous friendship.

I think the whole Shijō Tsukasake organization’s goal to present the old Japanese culinary tradition not only in Japan, but also around the world is very impressive. In my opinion it is important to remember and respect traditions, because they define our identity. The history of the Shijō Clan and the Shijō Shinryū is very long and interesting and teaches us to respect and appreciate our past. The *hōchōshiki* ceremony is unique – we can feel the connection with nature and the good spirits that are around us.

Lastly, I would like to attach the original of the confession and the course of the *hōchōshiki* ceremony held in Warsaw, so everyone can read it and try to imagine this special ritual.

The confession:

#### 表 白

夫れ伏して惟れば

凍て付く大地より 援けし子らを養いて はや百代。

季は廻り 平穩狂乱 様々に移りても

心の奥の 命の繋がり は 変わることなし。

日本に降り掛かりし災いにては 幾度も 悲しみの子らを  
温かき心と 微笑みで 受入たる。

料理祖神 磐鹿六雁命の お導きにて

波蘭の女人と出会い 此度の縁を得たり。

かかる季、ポーランド日本国交樹立百周年に逢い

四條眞流 赤心を以って奏す「宝船の鯛」。

是方に 吉兆を運ばんとする 表白也。

茲に 護国豊穰 天下太平 両国の友好を 祈念し  
季の花を添える。

然れば 今茲に 新木俎の

朝拝 四徳 宴酔 五行

四方より除幕して 中央麒麟に寄す。

天卿、宜しく 慈光を 放ち賜いて

集える友邦諸賢のみ成らず 生在る万物に  
悉く 暁光の恵み 永久に 授からん事を。

惟時 令和 元年 十一月 六日

四條眞流 家元代行

茨城県支部長

藤原 憲昭

敬白

訳文：

式を始めるにあたり、本日の目的・趣旨を読み上げ、皆様にお伝えします。謹んで、昔に思いを廻らせてみれば、シベリアに取り残されたポーランド孤児 765 名を受け入れ、祖国に送り届けてから、もう百年になります。時代が移り変わり、平和な時代・戦時中と様々に移り変わっても、シベリア孤児の保護・命の査証の発行、戦時中の交流など、記憶に残る繋がりには忘れはしません。地震の国、日本で起きた「阪神淡路大震災」「東日本大震災」の後には、多くの震災孤児を、ポーランドに招待して温かき心と微笑みでもてなして下さいました。料理の唯一の神様である、千葉県高家神社の「磐鹿六雁命」のお導きで、ここポーランドから日本に留学していた、モニカ・ナブロツカさんと出会って、今日の庖刀式披露というご縁が出来ました。本日は、ポーランド日本国交樹立 100 周年にあたり、私達、四條眞流一門が真心を込めて披露する式題は、「宝船の鯛」です。これは間違いなく、良きお目出度い事を運んでくる庖刀式です。平和な国で実る穀物・海のもの・山のものの豊作、世界平和、ポーランドと日本の友好を祈って、時季の花を奉げます。

それでは、この新しく清らかな俎板を開きます。

**朝拝** - 古来より、天皇を崇め、神を尊ぶ事を言います。

**四徳** - 天地自然が、万物を育てる四つの道。すなわち、春（仁）夏（礼）秋（義）冬（知）を意味します。ここでは、天皇の恩徳、日・月・父母の恩徳を言います。

**宴酔** - 現代で言う宴会の事ですが、ここでは、静かにして乱れざる礼の事を言います。

**五行** - 直接は、万物を構成し、天地の間に運行すると考えられた、木・火・土・金・水の五つの元素で、天では、木星・火星・土星・金星・水星として運行し、地では、木・火・土・金・水として現れ、人も、五行から構成されていると言われています。ここでは、天星・日・月・父母の四座を守る事を言います。天より、この四方に降りてきた恩徳、気を中心にいる麒麟に託し、更なる恩

恵を受けましょう。

麒麟とは、徳の高い霊獣として知られており、温和で2000年の長寿を保ち、現れる所の全ての人々を幸せにすると云う有難い存在です。龍や鳳凰と並ぶ聖獣です。様々な神々や精霊、慈しむ慈愛の光をはなち、ここに集まった、友好関係にある国々・人々だけでなく、命あるすべてのもの、隅々まで、日の出の暖かき恵の光のもたらす恩恵を、永遠に授かる事が出来ますように。

本日、**令和元年** 11月 6日。

四條眞流家元代行で、茨城県支部長の藤原憲昭が、謹んで申し上げます。

And the course of the ceremony:

皆様、こんにちは。私は本日、司会を務めさせていただきます、大森千苑子でございます。お聞き苦しい所もございましょうが、最後まで、どうぞ宜しくお願い致します。

只今より、ポーランド日本国交樹立100周年に際しましての庖刀儀式【**式題：宝船の鯛**】を執り行わせて頂きます。

#### 見届人入座

本日の見届人は、在ポーランド日本国特命全権大使、川田司様でございます。

お二人目の見届人は、ワルシャワ大学東洋学部日本学科長、コズィラ・アグニェシカ教授でございます。

お二方には、本日の庖刀式が無事執り行えましたことを見届けていただく為に、ご参列を賜りました。

#### 表白文奏上、並びに、俎板開きの儀

表白文奏上は、四條眞流師範、大森憲哲

俎板開きの儀は、一門、住谷貞子でございます。

本日この良き日に、庖刀儀式【**式題：宝船の鯛**】を執り行うにあたり、謹んで表白文を奏上し、併せて順次、俎板を開いて参ります。

#### 俎板浄メの儀

俎板浄メの儀は、師範、井坂憲秀でございます。

先程開かれました俎板を浄めて参ります。

それではここで、俎板の説明をさせていただきます。

先の表白文の通り、俎板には五つの名称がございます。皆様方からご覧になり、正面左手前を朝拝、その奥を四徳、正面右手前を宴粋、その奥を五行、そして中央を式、と申します。

俎板の大きさは、流派により多少異なりますが、四條眞流に於きましては、

間口を1年365日より3尺6寸5分、奥行きを1年の月数12ヶ月の陰と陽より2尺4寸とし、厚さは女性の盛んなる年33才より3寸3分、支える足の高さは男性不惑の年42才より4寸2分、と定められております。

### 刀三方の儀

刀三方の儀は、**一門、モニカ・ナブロッカ**でございます。

これより、刀主が使用致します庖丁刀、真奈箸、真奈紙を所定の位置に準備して参ります。

### 真奈三方の儀

真奈三方の儀は、**師範、井坂憲秀**でございます。

真奈と申しますのは、料理材料の事でございます。

式題は、儀式の目的・場所・季節等により定めております。本日の式題は**【宝船の鯛】**でございますので、鯛と時季の花を所定の位置に準備致します。

介添え人により準備、相整いまして、これより刀主の入座でございます。

### 刀主入座

本日の刀主は、**四條真流師範、大森憲哲**が相務めます。

### 一同拝礼

据え置かれました、素材の霊に対しましての感謝の礼でございます。

### ゆう櫛掛け

作業をしやすい様に、身支度を整えさせていただきます。

### 見届人に一礼

こののちは、古式に則り、諸々の係りを経まして儀式を進めて参ります。

### 俎板目視改め

本日使用致します俎板を改める姿でございます。

### 天拝、地拝、人拝

天地人あらゆる恵みに感謝をする姿でございます。

### 組箸

組箸より**六根清浄**と自らの清らかさを念じております。

### 破魔八双の構え

### 返し箸

### 刀改め

「四條流庖丁秘伝」の中の、「料理切り方の章」より、森羅万象即ち、この宇宙は天と地、昼と夜、男と女、というように全ての物が陰と陽、陰陽の世界で成り立つ物でございますが、料理の世界も同じ陰陽の形で定められており、陽の形にて、使用前の庖丁刀を点検しております。

### 真奈紙捌き

真奈紙とは現在の布巾の役をなすもので、真奈紙を捌き、俎板を拭き淨めております。

### 真奈箸改め

使用前の真奈箸を点検致しております。

### 清浄受水刀洗の儀

諸々の邪気を祓い、天下泰平を祈りつつ、これより使用致します庖丁刀に、全身全霊を以って入魂している姿でございます。

### 真奈愛で

料理材料を誉め称える姿でございます。

上段の構え。これより、切り込みに入ります。

これより一刀一札、素手を使うことなく、真心を込めて、作法に則り、作業を進めて参ります。

皆様ここで少し、お時間を頂き、庖刀式につきまして簡単にご説明をさせて頂きます。

今からおよそ1100年前の平安朝の時代、仁和年間の頃でございます。

「非常に料理への造詣が深かった」と伝えられております、第58代光孝天皇が側近として仕えておられました「四條流の祖」と言われております四條中納言藤原朝臣山蔭卿に、光孝天皇の御世の様々な料理をまとめて後世に伝える為に「俎板庖丁捌きの掟を定めよ」との勅命を下されました。これにより、四條中納言山蔭卿が「四條流 式庖丁」の基本の姿を定められたのでございます。

「俎板庖丁捌きの掟」即ち、「式庖丁」とは、「めて」右手に庖丁刀、「ゆんで」左手に俎箸を持ち、神に捧げるものでございますので、料理材料には一切手を触れることなく、自身の六根清浄を念じ、天下泰平、五穀豊穰を祈念し、庖丁の錆と消え行く、すべての料理材料の命に一刀一札感謝の心を込めて、調理を行う作法でございます。

こののち、平安時代から、特に朝廷を始め、貴族社会の人々により、宮中行事・宮中儀礼の一つとして伝えられております。また、武家社会におきましても、婚礼をはじめ、出陣、凱旋などの祝儀の席にて、必ず執り行われる儀式となったのでございます。

今、世界中を見渡しましても、我が国にのみに、伝え遺されております食礼作法としての「式庖丁」「庖丁儀式」の源は、四條中納言 藤原朝臣山蔭卿の庖丁道の精神を受け継ぎ、全てその流れを汲むもので、我「四條眞流一門」も微力ながら、後世にこの伝統を伝えるべく、一同共に日々、研鑽に励んでおります。

私共、四條眞流茨城県支部の活動をご紹介します。

日本唯一の料理祖神を祭る高家神社にて、式題：宝船の鯛。

世界遺産の日光二荒山神社にて、式題：長久の鯉。

日本三庭園・偕楽園の常磐神社にて、式題：飛龍の鱸。

数々の神社にて奉納庖丁式を執り行わせて頂きました。また、様々なイベント等にもご披露させて頂いています。

本日の式題は、「四條流庖丁秘伝、料理切りの章」に記されております、「五魚三鳥」五種の魚、三種の鳥の中の、「鯛」より「宝船の鯛」でございますので、捌きました鯛を、「宝の文字を抱いて、大海原に漕ぎ出だす宝船」に見立てて飾り付けをしております。

【式題：宝船の鯛】無事切り納めまして、刀、真奈箸を改め、所定の位置に納めます。

#### 一同 拝礼

#### 見届人お二方様、刀主、他一同退座

本日の刀主は、四條眞流師範、大森憲哲が相務めさせて頂きました。

ここに、庖刀儀式【式題：宝船の鯛】つつがなく、無事執り行わせて頂きました。ご参列頂きました皆様方には、八百万神のご加護を受けられまして、これからの益々の弥栄とご健勝をご祈念申し上げまして、これにて閉式とさせて頂きます。ご高覧、誠に有難うございました。

それでは皆様、どうぞ前までお越し頂きご覧下さいませ。

### Bibliography:

Ōmori Kentetsu, *Shijō Shinryū. Gishiki hōchō*. Naka: Shijō Shinryū Ibarakiken Shibu. (the pamphlet)

大森憲哲。四條眞流・儀式庖丁。那珂：四條眞流茨城県支部。

Notes titled *Shijō Shinryū no rekishi (The History of the Shijō Shin School)*. Courtesy of Mr. Ōmori Kentetsu.

大森憲哲。四條眞流の歴史。

*Shijōryū hōchōsho (Shijō School Text on Food Preparation)* 2002. In: Hanawa Hokiichi (red.), *Gunshoruijū. Inshokubu vol. 19*. Tōkyō: Heibonsha

四條流庖丁書2002。特集：塙保己一(編纂)、群書類従。食飲部19巻。東京：平凡社

*Shijō Tsukasake Ryakki (The sketch of the Shijō Tsukasake)* 1991. Tōkyō: Shijō Tsukasake Ryōri Kōjitsu Onchōsho.

四條司家略記1991。東京：四條司家料理故實御調所。

Sugano Kenshō 1985. Shijō Shinryū shikibōchō kiroku (The records of the Shijō Shinryū knife ceremony). Hakone: Shijō Shinryū Jimusōkyoku.

菅野憲正1985。四條眞流式庖丁記録。箱根：四條眞流事務総局  
<https://www.chinahighlights.com/travelguide/chinese-zodiac/china-five-elements-philosophy.htm> [access: 2019.09.15]

## English Summary of the Article

Monika Nawrocka

### The Japanese Traditional Ceremony *Hōchōshiki* at the University of Warsaw

Within Japanese culture we can find a strong evocation of their traditions. One of a unique part of the Japanese culinary culture that started in the early Heian period (9th century) and has continued until today is a special culinary art form of filleting a fish without touching its flesh with one's hands, called *hōchōdō*. It is also known as a *hōchōshiki* – knife ceremony or *shikibōchō* – ceremonial knife.

In this article the author wants to explain what the *hōchōshiki* is and the role of the oldest school of high-ranking chefs the Shijō Clan in creating it, the history of a new branch of the Shijō Clan, called Shijō Shinryū (the true, real Shijō school) and also present a special event which happened in Warsaw in November 2019 – for the first time at the University and the second time in Europe in general, the *hōchōshiki* ceremony was held.

**Key-words:** *hōchōshiki*, *hōchōdō*, the Shijō Clan, the Shijō Shinryū, Fujiwara Yamakage, culinary ceremony, the oldest school of high-ranking chefs, knife *hōchō*, chopsticks *manabashi*, cutting board *manaita*,





# **Japanese Literature**



Katarzyna Sonnenberg-Musiał

## Striving to Understand (and Interpret) the Other. Natsume Sōseki's *Tower of London*

### Introduction

When Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916) began his journey on the German passenger ship *Preussen* from Yokohama on September 8<sup>th</sup> 1900, little did he know how fraught with consequences it would turn out to be. He recalled later that he did not want to go to England, but since he had been appointed by the Japanese government for the pilot program to send outstanding Japanese scholars overseas, he felt he could not refuse.<sup>1</sup> He arrived in Aden and briefly visited Naples and Genoa, then took a train to Paris and visited the 1900 World's Fair. Then on the 28<sup>th</sup> of October 1900 he sailed from France to England. He stayed in London for two years, frequently changing addresses. He left England on the 5<sup>th</sup> of December 1902, on the *Hakatomaru*, and arrived in Japan in January 1903.

In the preface to his *Bungakuron* (*Theory of Literature*, 1907), a work originated from Sōseki's series of lectures delivered at Tōkyō Imperial University between 1903 and 1905 the importance of this journey is repeatedly stressed. Sōseki first recalls his sense of inadequacy: "At the time I harbored no particular desire to go abroad, and I believed there were others much better suited to it than I was" (Sōseki, Bourdaghs et al 2009: 39). Then, he reveals to his audience that the two years he spent in London were the worst experience of his life: "Among the English gentlemen, I was like a lone shaggy dog mixed in with a pack of wolves; I endured a wretched

---

<sup>1</sup> In Meiji 33 [1900], when I received orders to go to England as an overseas student, I was a teacher at the Fifth Higher School (in Kumamoto). At the time I harbored no particular desire to go abroad, and I believed there were others much better suited to it than I was. I conveyed these sentiments to the then current president and head of faculty of the school. The president and head of faculty replied that whether there were others more qualified was not a matter for me to concern myself with; the school had nominated me to the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Education had approved that nomination and appointed me to serve as an overseas student, nothing more, nothing less. If I had a specific objection, that was one thing, but if not, then it would be proper and good for me to obey the order (Sōseki, Bourdaghs et al 2009: 39–40).

existence. I heard that the population of London is five million. Five million beads of oil and I the sole drop of water: I have no hesitation in asserting that I barely survived!” (Sōseki, Bourdaghs et al 2009: 48).<sup>2</sup>

The quotations illustrate how Sōseki experienced English culture as a grim and hostile environment and above all how he felt alienated among Englishmen. His psychological condition was unstable to the extent that it was reported to the Japanese Ministry of Education (Marvin 2009: 34).

In the previously mentioned preface to *Bungakuron*, Sōseki admits that he was considered by many a neurasthenic and a madman but also notices, “it was thanks to my neurasthenia and to my madness that I was able to compose *Cat*, produce *Drifting in Space*, and publish *Quail Cage*” (Sōseki, Bourdaghs et al 2009: 49).<sup>3</sup> Viewed in this light, Sōseki’s stay in London is inextricably linked with the eruption of his creativity which gave rise to *Wagahai wa neko de aru* (*I Am a Cat*, 1905–1906), as well as to the works collected in *Yōkyoshū* (*Drifting in Space*, 1906) and *Uzurakago* (*Quail Cage*, 1907). No wonder Flanagan (2005) claims, “it was London that was to be the crucible and crossroads of his life, the place where Sōseki was faced with the intense cultural shock and social alienation that led to the eventual tumultuous release of his pent-up creative urges” (11).

The research on Sōseki’s stay in London and its influence on his creativity is abundant, including Tsukamoto Yoshiaki’s *Sōseki to eikoku. Ryūgaku taiken to sōsaku to no aida* (Tōkyō: Sairyūsha 1987, second edition from 1999). The paper focuses on one example of such an influence. It examines Sōseki’s short essay *Rondontō* (*The Tower of London*), included in *Yōkyoshū*, both as a record of his experience of foreign culture and as an example of his artistic imagination in process. It concentrates on the symbolic significance of the Tower, on the way in which its universal quality is rendered, on the role of imagination in the process of constructing identity and on the question of untranslatability of a personal, intimate experience.

<sup>2</sup> One of the reasons he gives for feeling so miserable during his stay in London was related to his financial situation: “My government stipend was only 1,800 yen per year, a sum that—in a place where the power of money controlled everything— would make it impossible for me to carry on as if I were their equal. Even if I didn’t try to keep up and contented myself with merely trying to observe the “gentleman” style from a distance, it still wouldn’t suffice three or four months” (Sōseki, Bourdaghs et al 2009: 40). The same reason was given in Sōseki’s letter to his wife Kyōko: “It is already unpleasant enough to live in an environment to which one is not accustomed, and as I have no money I feel my powerlessness all the more keenly. I shut myself away in my boarding house as in a besieged castle, and my only resource is to study, because I am afraid that if I go out I shall spend money. (Sōseki, Tsunematsu 2002: 153).

<sup>3</sup> Although Sōseki entered the English Department of the prestigious Imperial University in Tokyo with the intention of becoming a writer, possibly a novelist, before 1900, i.e. the year that he left Japan for England, he had written mostly *kanshi* – poems in classical Chinese, and a travelogue, also in classical Chinese, entitled “Bokusetsuroku” (Sawdust record). He spent the time between his graduation and departure mostly teaching English – first in Tokyo, then in Matsuyama (one year) in Shikoku (1895), and then in Kumamoto (1896) in Kyushu.

## Visiting the Tower

*The Tower of London* was included in *Yōkyoshū* (1906) as one of seven pieces, different as far as their themes and forms are concerned. Together with *Kārairu hakubutsukan* (*Carlyle's Museum*), it draws directly from Sōseki's experiences in London. It is an interesting sketch drawn from his memory: he recalls his visit to The Tower, which became for him the symbol of English culture. He called it "a distillation of the history of England" (Sōseki, Flanagan 2005: 92) and he rushed to see it as soon as he set foot on English soil. As he records in his *Rondon ryūgaku nikki* (*Diaries from Studies in London*), he arrived in London on October 28<sup>th</sup> 1900 and went to visit the Tower only three days later (Sōseki 1997: 21). His sketch was written five years after his initial experience. Sōseki emphasized that it was a once in a lifetime experience and in order not to blur it he never ventured to visit the Tower again. "Visiting the Tower should, I think, be done only once" (Sōseki, Flanagan 2005: 91).

Sōseki went to see the Tower with his own eyes only once, but he must have been visiting the place a number of times in his imagination, and then in his recollections. Before going to England he had access to the well-known guidebooks: Baedeker's *Great Britain* (1897) and Baedeker's *London and its Environs* (1898). The latter presents the Tower as one of the most alluring and significant places in London:

The Tower, the ancient fortress and gloomy state-prison of London, and historically the most interesting spot in England, is an irregular mass of buildings erected at various periods, surrounded by a battlemented wall and deep moat, which was drained in 1843. (Baedeker 1878: 106)

It offers a plan of the Tower and gives numerous examples of how it was used in the past: it was the place of: the abdication of Richard II in favor of Henry of Bolingbroke in 1399, the imprisonment of Sir Walter Raleigh (1605–1617), among others, the murder of the sons of Edward IV by order of Richard III, and the famous execution of Jane Grey (c. 1537–1554).<sup>4</sup> Some of the events that took place in the Tower are also included in "The Outline of English History" in the beginning, e.g. the death of the Princes: "1483 – Edward V., the youthful son of Edward IV., is declared illegitimate, and murdered in the Tower, along with his brother, by his uncle, the *Duke of Gloucester*, who takes possession of the throne as Richard III" (Baedeker 1878: 49). The details enumerated in the guidebook's description were aptly used by Sōseki and brought to life by the power of his imagination.

---

<sup>4</sup> Sōseki most probably learnt about Jane Grey, as one of the questions given to the students of his year during the final examination in English literature was related to Roger Ascham and notable women he knew and Jane Grey was his famous pupil (Tsukamoto 1999: 33).

## The Tower through the lens of literature

Undoubtedly, the Tower of London had achieved its great symbolic status by the time Sōseki had the chance to see it and he was well acquainted with its various meanings and uses. As a student of English literature at the Imperial University in Tokyo he must have read a number of works which mentioned or described the place, famously called – in Act V, Scene 1 of Shakespeare’s *Richard II* – “Julius Caesar’s ill-erected tower.”<sup>5</sup> Without doubt Sōseki knew *King Richard III*, which follows Thomas More’s account of the murder of two Princes, sons of Edward IV of England: Edward V and Richard, Duke of York.<sup>6</sup> He admits that he was inspired by the famous play and explored in his narrative the scene where Elisabeth comes to see her sons imprisoned in the Tower and the scene where the murderers recount their dreadful act (Sōseki 2007: 33–34). Sōseki praises Shakespeare’s concept: “[He] uses an allusive style to express how the two Princes were strangled to death, borrowing the words of the assassins to describe the scene indirectly” (Sōseki, Flanagan 2005: 114) and decides to imitate his technique.

In Shakespeare’s play the assassins’ words are quoted by Tyrrel who testifies in front of the audience that he was surprised by the “flesh’d villains, bloody dogs” who were “[m]elting with tenderness and kind compassion” (Shakespeare 1843: 409). He retells what he himself heard from them:

‘Lo, thus’ quoth Dighton, ‘lay those tender babes;  
 ‘Thus, thus,’ quoth Forrest, ‘girdling one another  
 Within their innocent alabaster arms:  
 Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,  
 Which in their summer beauty kiss’d each other.  
 A book of prayers on their pillow lay:  
 Which once,’ quoth Forrest, ‘almost changed my mind;  
 But O! the devil’--there the villain stopp’d;  
 Whilst Dighton thus told on: ‘We smothered  
 The most replenished sweet work of Nature,  
 That from the prime creation e’er she fram’d.’ (Shakespeare 1843: 409)

Sōseki lets the villains speak for themselves. He is the one who hears them and bears testimony to their remorse:

<sup>5</sup> Before his journey Sōseki already had vast knowledge of English literature and culture, which he gained during his studies and afterwards. See: Tsukamoto Toshiaki, *Sōseki to eikoku. Ryūgaku taiken to sōsaku to no aida*, Tōkyō: Sairyūsha 1999, 4.

<sup>6</sup> For references in this paper I am using the edition Sōseki was also using and had in his private collection. (*Knight’s Cabinet Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare*, vol. vi, London: Charles Knight & Co, 1843)

'I have done many murders but I will ne'er have one which causes me as much remorse as that of this day' (...) 'When we stood listening to them on the other side of tapestry, I thought for a moment about not doing it and taking my leave' (...) 'When I strangled them their flower-like lips were all aquiver.' 'On their translucent foreheads purple veins appeared.' 'Those howling voices still ring in my ears.' (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 99)

Sōseki's rendering of the scene is vivid and absorbing. He follows Shakespeare's sensual description of the two boys and adds details related to the murder itself – "purple veins" and "howling voices." With regards to the scene where Queen Elisabeth visits the Tower in hope of seeing her sons Sōseki also makes some alterations. Above all, he modifies the character of the gaoler who at some point considers letting the Queen into the Tower ("for a small consideration I can sometimes show mercy," Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 98) but finally – perhaps suspicious of the movement of the dabchick in the moat – rejects her plea ("A gaoler cannot break the rules of the gaol," Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 99).

Another important source of inspiration for Sōseki besides *Richard III* was William Harrison Ainsworth's novel: *The Tower of London* (1841). Ainsworth focuses on the history of Lady Jane Grey who is shown as a paragon of beauty and virtue. The Tower is the grim place of her imprisonment and execution: "The axe then fell, and one of the fairest and wisest heads that ever sat on human shoulders fell likewise" (Ainsworth 1841: 426). Sōseki, impressed by the character of Jane Grey, makes her the protagonist of his own work and follows Ainsworth's pattern in highlighting her beauty and nobleness, to which the dark scenery of the Tower only adds. The atmosphere of the Tower is superbly rendered in the scene where two executioners sharpen their axe and talk about the unfortunate execution of the Countess of Salisbury. "When I read this book, the spectacle of the executioner sharpening the blade of the axe used on the scaffold, owing to it having been nicked, occupies no more than one or two pages, but I felt them to be extremely interesting" (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 114).

In the preface Ainsworth states his main goal in writing the novel, which seems also to be the goal of Sōseki's *Tower of London*: "to make the Tower of London – the proudest monument of antiquity, considered with reference to its historical associations, which this country or any other possesses – the groundwork of a Romance" (Ainsworth 1841: ix). Sōseki uses the images present in literature to explore the grim history of this "proudest monument", which became for him the symbol of the past, "a distillation of the history of England" (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 92).

## Patterns of Imagination

The narrator of Sōseki's *The Tower of London* goes through the maze of London's streets and alleys to reach his place of destination. The moment he arrives is the beginning of his journey of imagination, which is importantly marked by the famous quotation from Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy*:

Through me you pass into the city of woe:  
Through me you pass into eternal pain:  
Through me among the people lost for aye.  
Justice the founder of my fabric moved:  
To rear me was the task of power divine,  
Supremest wisdom, and primeval love.  
Before me things create were none, save things  
Eternal, and eternal I shall endure.  
All hope abandon, ye who enter here."

("Inferno", *Canto iii*, 1–9; Dante, Cayley 1851:15; Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 94)

The reference to Dante is significant – Sōseki's character is about to enter the Underworld as represented by the Tower of London. He explores the metaphor further when he imagines the journey of the prisoners to the Tower: "The Thames was to them the river Styx, and this gate was the entrance leading to the Underworld" (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 95). It is evident also in *Bungakuron* that Sōseki admired Dante's technique, which relies on appealing to the readers' senses through tangible objects in order to create images deeply spiritual and metaphysical (Sōseki 2016: 54). *The Tower of London* may be viewed as a parallel attempt (though on a much smaller scale) to appeal to the Japanese readers' eyes and ears in order to stimulate their imagination of a place that is both foreign and universal. Thus, the Underworld of the prisoners is shown with attention to details, as well as sounds:

Swaying in waves of tears, they are rowed up to the bottom of this arch, cave-like in its gloominess. They have come to a place where a whale is waiting with an open mouth to suck up sardines, as soon as they arrive, with a sharp grating noise, a thick oak door eternally separates them from the light of everyday world. In such a way do they finally fall prey to the demon of fate. (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 95)

Sōseki's narrator is not alone in this Underworld. He has a guide who suddenly appears twice to explain the meaning of what he sees, although he is not the direct addressee of the explanation. It is a young, beautiful woman with a Greek nose who speaks about the crest carved in the wall: "They are not dogs. To the left is a bear,



and to the right a lion, it is the crest of the Dudleys" (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 109)<sup>7</sup>, and about five mysterious ravens. Her identity is not clear but she focuses on the Dudley family: "The person who carved this crest is John Dudley" (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 110). At the end the narrator notices an uncanny resemblance of this woman to Jane Gray whose execution he is witness to shortly before he leaves the Tower.

## Painting with words

In an attempt to understand the atmosphere and symbolic significance of the Tower Sōseki creates a number of vivid images. Some of them are a mixture of what he knew from literature and his own imagination. Two are examples of how paintings may be translated into words. Sōseki admits that he was immensely inspired by Paul Delaroche's *Edward V and the Duke of York in the Tower* (1831) and *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (1833) (Sōseki 2007: 36). He enlivens the two paintings in his narrative while remaining faithful to the details of the originals.

This is how he begins his description of two Princes in the Tower:

On the edge of the bed two children have appeared. One is thirteen or fourteen; one seems about ten years old. The younger brother is seated on the bed, half-leaning his body against the bedpost, with both legs meekly dangling down. Putting forward his right elbow and inclined face, he rests them on the elder person's shoulder. (...) The elder one opens a large book, adorned in gold, on the knees of the younger person and puts his right hand on the opened page. Like rubbed ivory made smooth, it is a beautiful hand". (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 97)

The description is almost picture-like and appeals to the senses with ivory-like smoothness. Every noun has its attribute and every detail comes to life with words. However, Sōseki does not stop at mere description. He lets his imagined characters speak. Gaining a hint from what may be *The Book of Prayers* in the painting, he puts most pious words in the mouth of the elder brother, Edward V: 'Happy are those who see before their own eyes the coming of their own death. Pray to die night and day. What I there to fear for one who finally goes before God...'

---

<sup>7</sup> The explanation of the crest is also included in Baedeker's *London and Its Environs*: The walls are covered with inscriptions by former prisoners, including those of the Dudley family. That of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, eldest brother of Lord Guildford Dudley, is on the right side of the fireplace, and is a well executed family coat-of-arms with the following lines inscribed:

'Yow that these beasts do wel behold and se  
May deme with ease wherefore here made they be  
With borders eke wherein....  
4 brothers' names who list to serche the grovnd'. (111)

(Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 97). And further on: 'If morning, think that you will die before evening. If evening, do not pray for the morrow. Readiness is all. In an ignoble death lies the greatest shame...' (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 98). The younger brother responds to those words with 'Amen' spoken in a pitiful, shaky voice. He is not as steadfast as Edward, speaking also about the fact that he is cold and that he misses his mother.



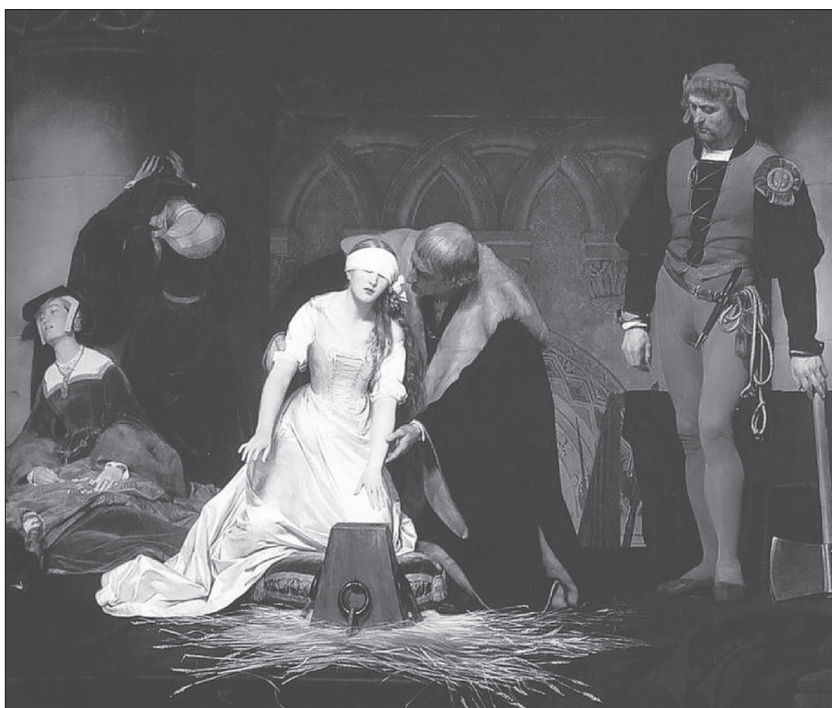
Paul Delaroche, *Edward V and the Duke of York in the Tower* (1831)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Princes\\_in\\_the\\_Tower#/media/File:](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Princes_in_the_Tower#/media/File:DelarocheKingEdward.jpg)

DelarocheKingEdward.jpg

The description of the execution of Lady Jane Grey, already mentioned above, is equally evocative:

The woman appears blindfolded with a white handkerchief and is fumbling with both hands for a block on which to place her head. (...) Leaning against the back wall two or three women have fallen down crying, ladies-in-waiting or some such? A priest trailing the long skirts of a fur-lined surplice bends down and helps to lead the woman's hand in the direction of the block. She is wearing snow-like clothes and occasionally sways, cloud-like, the golden tresses abundant on her shoulders. (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 112)



Paul Delaroche, *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (1833)

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:The_Execution_of_Lady_Jane_Grey_by_Delaroche#/media/File:ExecutionJaneGrey.jpg)

[The\\_Execution\\_of\\_Lady\\_Jane\\_Grey\\_by\\_Delaroche#/media/File:ExecutionJaneGrey.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:The_Execution_of_Lady_Jane_Grey_by_Delaroche#/media/File:ExecutionJaneGrey.jpg)

As in the case of the Princes in the Tower, also here the description is followed by a conversation, which is largely inspired by Ainsworth's novel. Thus, Sōseki's narration is nourished by paintings. They are usually framed – appearing in a window (“High up a window is visible, but, perhaps because the building is large, when one looks from below it is extremely small,” Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 96) or through what Sōseki calls “the curtains of imagination” (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 111). They disappear as suddenly and abruptly as they come into vision, wrapped in darkness, disintegrating with the chime of the clock.

## The foreign and the universal

Literature and painting feed Sōseki's imagination, which is the main tool in getting to know what is strange and foreign. Historical facts and figures, only mentioned in guidebooks, are substantiated by vivid images. Walter Raleigh, the author of *The History of the World*, whose name appears in Baedeker's *London...* also gets

a more detailed picture in Sōseki's narrative: "I try imagining him in his Elizabethan breeches, his right leg with a silk stocking tied around the knee placed on top of his left, the end of his quill touching the paper, his head a little inclined in contemplation. However, I am unable to see the room" (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 101).

In this manner, the narrator shows a great amount of empathy towards the people who were at some time imprisoned in the Tower. The view of the inscriptions on the walls also leads him to a compassionate reflection:

The people who covered the surroundings of these walls to this extent had all tasted the agony more gruesome than death. After struggling with this agony to the limits of their endurance and tolerance, when it became completely unbearable, they began looking for work while they were still able, using a broken end of a nail and sharp fingernails, bewailing their complaints in silence, inscribing life's vicissitudes on flat surfaces. Each letter and stroke they carved must have been the inevitable result of the demands of their instinct, which, even after exhausting lamentation and wailing and all the other cathartic means that nature will allow, was still not satisfied. (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 107)

One might suppose that the history of the Tower, marked with unfamiliar political or religious conflicts and unthinkable intrigues, may at first seem incomprehensible for a Japanese reader but Sōseki uses the power of his imagination to visualize the context and speak of life in general terms: "Once having been born, one must live. One must be bold enough not to speak of one's fear of death and just live. Saying that one must live was true before Christ and Confucius and is true after Christ and Confucius" (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 107). Sōseki does not merely describe a historical place at a given time in history. He shows those moments as scenes that are timeless. Viewed from this perspective the narrative – as Flanagan notices – is not about describing the Tower but about contemplating the past in the present moment (Flanagan 2004: 20–21).

## Translating the untranslatable

To introduce his readers into his universal reflection about the significance of the past, Sōseki tries to familiarize them with the foreign context he himself experienced. He explains foreign terms, such as "beefeater": "When I say Beefeater, you might think that this is someone who eats beef, but he is not like that. He is a watchman of the Tower of London" (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 101).<sup>8</sup> He also tries

---

<sup>8</sup> Sōseki explores the resemblance between "a beefeater" and "a beef eater", although the word rather originates from "a buffet", which is indicated by Baedeker: "Visitors have to wait until a party

to find parallels between what he experienced in a foreign country and what they know from Japan. When he describes in the beginning of the narrative, the hectic atmosphere of London and his own feeling of being lost he says: “It felt just like being a Gotenba rabbit suddenly set loose in the heart of Nipponbashi” (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 91). He compares his visit to the Tower to a “Zen-like” experience: “now I have no idea which roads I passed along to arrive at the Tower or what district I crossed over to get back to my house”. (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 92). In order to visualize the size of the place he creates the image of Kudan Yūshukan built out of stone, multiplied by twenty or thirty, lined together and viewed through a magnifying glass (Sōseki, Flanagan 2004: 93).

Sōseki is well aware that his personal experience may be untranslatable. In fact, he describes how he tried to share his first thoughts on his visit to the Tower with his landlord and was direly disappointed. He is “a Londoner of the twentieth century” who is unable to understand the Japanese sharing his thoughts on timelessness. *The Tower of London* is another attempt – made after more than five years from the original experience – to translate the untranslatable. This time Sōseki addresses the Japanese readers of his own times.

## Conclusion

Sōseki returned to Tokyo in January 1903, but – as Marvin Marcus (2009) emphasizes – he never truly left London behind (17). If time spent in London was for him a personal Inferno, it also contributed to the eruption of his creative powers. His experience of studying abroad strengthened both his sense of alienation and his need to look for his individual self. His observation of the other led him to question his own strengths and weaknesses as a scholar of English literature and inspired him to express himself in prose more freely. In his famous lecture addressed to Japanese students in 1914, he emphasized the particular effect his stay in London had on him: “If, before, I had been dependent on others, if I had been other-centered, it occurred to me now that I must become self-centered” (Sōseki, Rubin 1979: 34). *The Tower of London* – one of the earliest works in prose by Sōseki – illustrates how he searched for literary techniques in order to share his individual insight into a foreign culture.

---

of twelve is collected before they are conducted through the building (...) by one of the quaintly-attired *beef-eaters* (i.e. *buffetiers*, attendants at the royal table or *buffet*) . These warders, officially designated *Yeomen of the Guard*, are now old soldiers of meritorious service. (106–107)

## Bibliography:

- Ainsworth, William Harrison. 1841. *The Tower of London: A Historical Romance*, Paris: Baudry's European Library.
- Baedeker, Karl. 1878. *London and its Environs, including excursions to Brighton, The Isle of Wight, etc.* London: Dulau and Co.
- Dante, Alighieri. 1851. *Dante's Divine Comedy*. Transl. Charles B. Cayley. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans.
- Flanagan, Damian. 2004. *Introduction*. In: Natsume Sōseki. *The Tower of London. Tales of Victorian London*. Transl. Damian Flanagan. London, Chester Springs: Peter Owen, pp. 9–39.
- Marcus, Marvin. 2009. *Reflections in a Glass Door: Memory and Melancholy in the Personal. Writing of Natsume Sōseki*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Natsume, Sōseki. 2016. *Bungakuron*, vol. 2, Tōkyō: Iwanami bunko.
- Natsume, Sōseki. 2011. *Rondontō*. In: *Natsume Sōseki Zenshū*, vol. 10. Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō 2007, pp. 9–36.
- Natsume, Sōseki. 1997. *Sōseki nikki*. Ed. Hiraoka Toshio. Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten.
- Natsume, Sōseki. 1979. *Soseki on Individualism*. 'Watakushi no Kojinshugi.' Transl. Jay Rubin. Monumenta Nipponica. 34/ 1, pp. 21–48.
- Natsume, Sōseki. 2002. *Spring Miscellany And London Essays*. Transl. Sammy I. Tsunematsu. Boston, Rutland, Vermont, Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing.
- Natsume, Soseki. 2009. *Theory of Literature and Other Critical Writings*. Eds. Michael K. Bourdaghs, Atsuko Ueda, Joseph A. Murphy. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Natsume, Sōseki. 2004. *The Tower of London. Tales of Victorian London*. Transl. Damian Flanagan. London, Chester Springs: Peter Owen.
- Shakespeare, William. 1843. *King Richard III*. In: *Knight's Cabinet Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare*, vol. vi, London: Charles Knight & Co., pp. 317–444.
- Tsukamoto, Toshiaki. 1999. *Sōseki to eikoku. Ryūgaku taiken to sōsaku to no aida*. Tōkyō: Sairyūsha.



## 論文概要

Katarzyna Sonnenberg-Musiał

## 他者を理解する(そして解釈する)ための努力。夏目漱石の『倫敦塔』

本論文は、夏目漱石の外国文化の経験の記録として、また彼の芸術的想像力の一例として、1906年の『漾虚集』に収められた『倫敦塔』に焦点を当てる。塔の象徴的な意味、普遍的な性質が表現された方法、アイデンティティの構築過程における想像力の役割、個人的で親密な体験の翻訳不可能性の問題に重点を置く。またこれは、ベデカーの旅行案内書、エインズワースの小説、シェイクスピアの歴史劇など、漱石の初期の作品の描写と物語を形作った多くのテキストを連想させるものである。

**Key-words:** Natsume Sōseki, *Rondontō*, history, imagination, foreign culture





Magdalena Kotlarczyk

## Hybrid Genres in Haruki Murakami's *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

*Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World* (世界の終りとハードボイルド・ワンダーランド, *Sekai no owari to hādoboirudo wandārando*) by Haruki Murakami (村上春樹), published in 1985, is a novel which in alternate chapters presents two seemingly disparate worlds – The End of The World and Hard-Boiled Wonderland<sup>2</sup>. The first, described in a more lyrical manner, is a calm, almost idyllic Town, which is surrounded by a high wall (Strecher 1998: 361). The second one is a futuristic, consumer-driven Tokyo, whose underground is populated by vile, Lovecraftesque creatures called INKlings.

Characteristic of Murakami's novels, the protagonists of both parts are nameless men, who in the Japanese version refer to themselves as “Boku” and “Watashi” respectively. They each seem to be completely unlike the other:

Both stories are told in the first person, but their overtones are as distinct as their locales. The wry, disaffected voice of the [second] narrator seems to have nothing to do with the rich, measured pace of the [first]. Narrator [II] talks about sex and money and facts; Narrator [I] talks about death and memory and mind. Narrator [II] encodes data for the government; Narrator [I] reads dreams for the Town. Narrator [II] scrambles information; Narrator [I] decodes it. (Lin 2001: 14)

For the Japanese reader, from the very beginning of the novel the most obvious difference between these two first person narrators is the use of the first person pronouns, *boku* 僕 and *watashi* 私. *Boku* 僕 is a pronoun primarily used by young men, and it is less formal (therefore expresses more familiarity towards the

---

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on the first chapter of the author's unpublished BA dissertation supervised by dr Katarzyna Sonnenberg-Musiał and defended on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Further on abbreviated to EW and HBW respectively.

listener) than *watashi* 私. *Watashi* 私 is a neutral pronoun used both by men and women. In other words it is possible to say that *boku* 僕は ‘warmer’, more open towards the interlocutor, and *watashi* 私 is ‘colder’, and keeping the interlocutor at a distance<sup>3</sup>. Despite the strongly emphasized dualism, Boku and Watashi turn out to be the same person, and EW – a creation of Watashi’s mind.

Disparity is not restricted to the narrators and their worlds only. As Kawakami notices, a similar relation can be found between ‘an oppressive social institution and an oppressed individual’ (2002: 312). In such an environment, an individual is ‘caught in a series of nets, the mechanism of which is beyond comprehension’ (ibid.). In Murakami’s novel this kind of oppression closely corresponds to ‘the process of disintegration of the self in the urban landscape’ (ibid.: 313).

The primary conflict in the novel resides in the system of implants in Watashi’s brain, which allows him to ‘travel’ between HBW and EW, and which breaks down after a short while, thus exposing Watashi to the threat of permanent imprisonment in EW (Strecher 1998: 361).

Also very much present in *Hard-Boiled...* is another theme characteristic of Murakami’s novels, namely criticism towards modern Japanese society, particularly during the 1980s, the golden age for the economy and consumerism. According to Strecher, Murakami

point[s] not only to the irony of the isolated individual in a city of over 20 million inhabitants, but also to the powerful and invasive force of the postmodern, late-consumerist State into the lives of ordinary Japanese. (...) the State is both ever-present, yet slippery and difficult to pin down (ibid.: 362)

In HBW the role of the government institution is played by the System, which engages in encrypting data and constantly fights against the opposing institution, namely the Factory, which tries to steal the said data.

A further element characteristic of Murakami’s works is the employment of magical realism. As Strecher explains, ‘magical realism is what happens when

---

<sup>3</sup> Definitions of both pronouns according to the Japanese language dictionary *Kōjien* 広辞苑 are as follows:

ぼく (僕) 〔代〕 男子が自分自身を指す語。もとは、へり下った言い方。今はおもに成人前の男性が同等以下の相手に対して使う。(1980: 2030) (Boku (pronoun): a word used by men to refer to themselves. Originally depreciative, nowadays it is used primarily by men under 20 in a conversation with people of the same or lower status in the social hierarchy.)

わたし (私) 〔代〕 (ワタクシの約) 「わたくし」よりくだけた言い方。→ ワタクシ 〔代〕 話し手自身を指す語。現代語としては、目上の人に対して、また改まった物言いをするのに使う。(1980: 2377) (Watashi (pronoun): shortened, less formal version of the pronoun „watakushi”. → Watakushi (pronoun): refers to the speaker. Nowadays used in conversations with people of higher social status in the social hierarchy or on formal occasions.) (All texts are translated by the author if not indicated otherwise.)

a highly detailed, realistic setting is invaded by something “too strange to believe” (1999: 267). Murakami uses this technique in an individual’s search for a sense of identity (ibid.) and, as he himself emphasizes, in order to

advance his own agenda, political, cultural, or otherwise. (...) [Magical realism] supports most of all his desire to portray the function of the inner mind, or unconscious Other, (...) and how this informs the construction of the Self, the individual Subject. (ibid.: 270)

Both the structure of the book and the motifs employed to tell the story make assigning *Hard-Boiled...* to only one literary genre a rather challenging feat. This, however, should not be perceived as a negative feature of the novel. On the contrary, the abundance of themes and elements characteristic of different genres opens numerous possibilities for interpretation from a very wide range of points of view, which, in turn, allows for a deeper, multifaceted understanding of the text. Such a transgression of genre boundaries is called hybridity<sup>4</sup>, and it applies not only to literature, but also to film and music.

Genres play a significant role in *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*. The following two parts of the article are devoted to major genres which can be distinguished in the novel, i.e. hardboiled fiction and utopian fiction, focusing on the utopian, anti-utopian, and dystopian elements which can be found in the book.

## Hardboiled fiction

The genre suggested by the very title of the novel is hardboiled fiction; or, to be precise, a detective novel of the hardboiled type (which is characterized by a cynical attitude flaunted by its protagonist, who usually works as a detective during the prohibition period), and, by association, an American ‘black’ crime film – film noir (Hantke 2007). Murakami uses hardboiled not only in this novel, but also in his other works in order to ‘raise questions of cognition and identity with respect to the personal lives of his characters’ (ibid.: 4). Hantke also emphasizes another characteristic feature of this genre:

“mysteries of identity and disappearance” have steered the hard-boiled detective story away from the exploration of milieu and toward encounters with the unknowable. His heroes, if they arrive at a solution to the mystery at all, do so by means other than rational analysis; their *modus operandi*, as well as their mode of existence, is existential, ironically playful, and largely textual. (ibid.: 4–5)

---

<sup>4</sup> Cf. e.g. ‘hybrid genres’ in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* (2010); hybridity in music: e.g. Mayall 2016.

As Hantke points out, Murakami borrowed from hardboiled the basic storyline and the sketch of the main character, often a nameless one, a world-weary cynic, who plays the role of a detective (ibid.: 5). Murakami's typical protagonist, a 'unique yet readily recognizable variation on [Raymond] Chandler's detective' (ibid.: 6), is often a middle-class fellow who does not fret about money, who enjoys doing the chores, and whose relationships with women can usually be labeled as either 'belonging to the past' or 'it's complicated'; moreover, '[he] often seem[s] incapable of explaining why [he] persist[s] on the course that has taken [him] out of [his] comfortable, daily routin[e]' (ibid.). However, unlike Chandler's main character, Murakami's protagonist is a detective due to sheer coincidence, and he is 'drift[ing] aimlessly into the gravitational field of an enigmatic event' (ibid.). His individuality and his loner nature are two features rather frowned upon by Japanese society; therefore, incorporating them into a story allows Murakami, who himself is an individualist and a loner, some critical reflection on his own role as a Japanese writer (ibid.: 6–7).

Analyzed from a psychological point of view, Murakami's *Everyman* could be described as follows:

[He] suggests that hard-boiled weariness functions as a defense [sic!] mechanism against the trauma of modernity. (...) [His] self-sufficiency becomes a hallmark of the post-modernity of Murakami's writing; it aligns itself with the texts' frequent forays into a fantastic mode that transgresses the rules of verisimilitude[.] (ibid.: 7)

Features described in the above-mentioned character sketch can be easily found in HBW's *Watashi*. And yet Hantke argues that '[t]he typical Murakami protagonist, the result of his generic eclecticism, never refers to himself by using the formal *watashi*' (ibid.: 6). The word 'never' seems to be a little too definite, especially if one takes the HBW's *Calcutec* into consideration, who may even be said to be the epitome of a character based on the hardboiled fiction detective.

The recipe for a protagonist is not the only element in Murakami's novel inspired by this type of literature. Distinctive features of hardboiled can also be found in the plot:

A detective figure, not always a professional investigator, is called on to solve a case that reveals itself as more complex than is apparent at first glance. The investigation begins inconspicuously, revolves around an act of violence or a disappearance, and features a female character whose allure overcomes the protagonist's initial reluctance to involve himself in something that spells trouble. Ultimately, no clear moral lesson emerges. Although the truth, fully or partially, emerges, people are killed, justice proves elusive, and the world remains a dangerous and godforsaken place. (ibid.: 5)

If we roughly summarize the HBW part of the novel, we get a sketch very similar to the storyline described above. The Old Man's granddaughter tries over and over to convince Watashi to help her find her grandfather, otherwise the world will end. This "end of the world" turns out to be the result of government-requested research, which the scientist conducted for the System years ago. Watashi himself is directly tied to this research – even though he is not necessarily fully aware of it. He learns the truth about the nature of the research; yet the knowledge gives Watashi hardly any tools to deal with his problem. In the end, he has only two options to choose from – he can either be imprisoned forever in the world created in his mind, or die. The scientist, being the primary cause of Watashi's situation, manages to escape with hardly any losses (disregarding his demolished laboratory and the necessity to hide); and both the System and the Factory continue their rivalry as if nothing had happened.

Hantke points out that the ironic distance of the protagonist – and of the text itself as well – to the described events is characteristic of film noir (*ibid.*: 9). He also suggests that the idea of a city and its Other equivalent were also inspired by this genre:

It [noir] postulates the existence of a space outside the noir universe, a universe that traditionally appears claustrophobic and deterministic, vast, unknowable, and of uncertain dimensions. The idea of a refuge from this nightmare serves as an object of utopian desire or postlapsarian nostalgia for characters weighed down by existential pressures, chafing against urban grittiness, and suffering from isolation and alienation. It is a place of vague memories and unfulfilled promises. In the attempt to escape, characters must cross the boundaries that encircle the noir universe, or at least bump up against them when the attempted escape fails, which is almost always the case. (*ibid.*: 11)

The description above begs the question – which place, futuristic Tokyo or the Town at the End of the World, is the noir city, and which one is its Other? If we take into consideration the fact that HBW plays the role of a template of sorts for EW, we can conclude that Tokyo is the noir city, and the Town is its Other – 'a place of vague memories and unfulfilled promises' (*ibid.*: 11), a place one can go in order to escape the nightmarish reality. However, the escapist expectations of the protagonist remain unfulfilled, because '[w]hat promised to be a safe haven turns out to be a prison inside one's own mind, embedded inside – not located outside – the world from which one [Watashi] had tried to escape' (*ibid.*: 19). Thus, it is the Other that becomes the noir city; it is surrounded by a barrier so efficient that any attempt at escape ends in failure. Despite the fact that Boku steadily gets more and more accustomed to the Town, sometimes he feels as if he were trammelled by the impuissance due to his current circumstances:

しかしどうして僕が古い世界を捨ててこの世界の終わりにやってこなくてはならなかったのか、僕にはその経緯や意味や目的をどうしても思いだすことはできなかった。何かが、何かの力が、僕をこの世界に送りこんでしまったのだ。何かしら理不尽で強い力だ。そのために僕は影と記憶を失い、そして今心を失おうとしているのだ。(Murakami: 1985a: 186)

Shikashi dōshite boku ga furui sekai o sutete kono sekai no owari ni yatte konakute wa naranakatta no ka, boku ni wa sono ke'i ya imi ya mokuteki o dōshite mo omoidasu koto wa dekinakatta. Nanika ga, nanika no chikara ga, boku o kono sekai ni okurikonde shimatta noda. Nanikashira rifujin de tsuyoi chikara da. Sono tame ni boku wa kage to kioku o ushinai, soshite ima kokoro o ushinaō to shite iru noda.

But why did I have to leave behind the old world and come here to this end of the world? No matter what, I could not recall any details, or meaning, or goals behind it. Something, some sort of power has sent me to this world. Some irrational, mighty power. For this reason I lost my shadow and memory, and am losing my heart/mind [*kokoro*].

And further on:

古い夢を読めば読むほどべつのかたちの無力感が僕の中で募っていった。その無力感の原因はどれだけ読んでも僕が古い夢の語りかけてくるメッセージを理解することができないという点にあった。(…)僕はどこにも辿りつかない。夢を読む技術は向上したが、それも僕の救いとはならなかった。(Murakami 1985a: 309)

Furui yume o yomeba yomu hodo betsu no katachi no muryokukan ga boku no naka de tsunotte itta. Sono muryokukan no gen'in wa dore dake yonde mo boku ga furui yume no katarikakete kuru messēji o rikai suru koto ga dekinai to iu ten ni atta. (...) Boku wa doko ni mo tadoritsukanai. Yume o yomu gijutsu wa kōjō shita ga, sore mo boku no sukui to wa naranakatta.

As I was reading more and more old dreams, there was a different kind of powerlessness growing stronger inside of me. The cause of this powerlessness lay in the fact that no matter how many old dreams I had read, I could not understand the message they were conveying. (...) I struggle on in vain [lit.: I reach nowhere]. My dream reading skill improved, but it would not save me.

Watashi, referring to a character from Stendhal, explicitly equates such a situation to imprisonment:

私は『赤と黒』を読みながら、またジュリアン・ソレルに同情することになった。ジュリアン・ソレルの場合、その欠点は十五歳までに決定されてしまった

ようで、その事実も私の同情心をあおった。十五歳にしてすべての人生の原因が固定されてしまうというのは、他人の目から見ても非常に気の毒なことだった。それは自らを強固な監獄に押しこめるのと同じことなのだ。壁に囲まれた世界にとじこもったまま、彼は破滅へと進みつづけるのだ。(ibid.: 277)

Watashi wa „Aka to Kuro” o yominagara, mata Jurian Soreru ni dōjō suru koto ni natta. Jurian Soreru no baai, sono ketten wa jūgosai made ni kettei sarete shimatta yō de, sono jijitsu mo watashi no dōjōshin o aotta. Jūgosai ni shite subete no jinsei no gen'in ga kotei sarete shimau to iu no wa, tanin no me kara mite mo hijō ni ki no doku na koto datta. Sore wa mizukara o kyōko na kangoku ni oshikomeru no to onaji koto na noda. Kabe ni kakomareta sekai ni tojikomotta mama, kare wa hametsu e to susumitsudukeru noda.

As I was reading *The Red and the Black*, I started to sympathize with Julien Sorel again. In his case, it seems that his flaws were determined by the age of fifteen, the reality of which instilled my compassion. To have the causes of all [that is happening in] your life fixed when you are fifteen is, even from the point of view of other people, extremely pitiful. It is the same as closing oneself up in a secure prison. Shut away in a world surrounded by walls, he kept coming closer to his fall/ruin.

Therefore it may be concluded that both places serve as the noir city, and depending on which one we look at, the other would be its Other. Moreover, this interpretation may be taken a step further – it can be said that, in fact, there is no Other. Both Tokyo and the Town mirror each other to such an extent that essentially they are like two sides of the same coin; the substance, the core is the same, only the perception of it is different. This reading of both places will be further explored in the part devoted to utopian genres.

Undoubtedly, Murakami has borrowed a lot from hardboiled and film noir, especially to depict his futuristic Tokyo in the HBW part. It is also worth mentioning here that Hantke in his article several times labels *Hard-Boiled Wonderland*... as a pastiche of hardboiled and noir genres (2009: 6, 7, 9, 14, 15, 18), which, indeed, is difficult to object to. What is more, Murakami himself often includes his books in the category of a city novel, ‘at the core of which lies the “disintegration of self/subjectivity” (*shutaisei no hōkai* 主体性の崩壊)’ (Kawakami 2002: 321), and which ‘highlights “what is absent”; that is, in Murakami’s case, the sense of the self’ (ibid.: 321).

However, the reference to the genre of hardboiled fiction alone does not do justice to the complexity of Murakami’s novel. It seems that genres belonging to the utopian tradition play an equally important role in its understanding.



## Utopia – or not?

At first glance, EW seems to be the perfect candidate to be described as a utopia. Andrzej Żgorzelski in his *Fantastyka, utopia, science fiction: ze studiów nad rozwojem gatunków* gives, among others, the following two definitions:

Texts belonging to this genre [utopia] present perfectly organized societies, projects of just systems of government and flawlessly functioning institutions; at the basis of the vision of social life depicted [in these texts] there are ideals contrasted with the social and political reality known from direct experience to the author and his readers. (Głowiński in: Żgorzelski 1980: 41–42)

[Utopia is] a form of literature [lit. rodzaj literacki] which presents in an artistic manner an image of a perfect state existing in its author's imagination. (Ostrowski in: *ibid.*: 42)

If related to *Hard-Boiled...*, the second definition points out the metatextuality characteristic for creating a utopia – it is written not only by Murakami, the author of the novel, but also by Watashi, the author of EW, as well as the scientist, as the 'editor' of Watashi's core of consciousness. Such a multi-level character of the story creates distance, which helps Murakami to emphasize the message: 'utopian society is an impossible dream' (Yeung 2008: 103).

Żgorzelski attaches significant importance to the elements of the fantastic in a utopia (1980: 43). Indeed, the unicorns in EW are not simply an idyllic addition to the Town; they serve as one of the central motifs in the novel, linking the two described worlds together.

Another important characteristic of a utopia (at least at the beginning stages of its evolution as a genre) is the static, flat quality of its characters: 'all (...) are the same, lacking features which differentiate between one individual and another' (*ibid.*: 47). Despite the fact that the citizens in the Town are not identical, as they do show some individual characteristics, it may be said that sameness is a limit point of sorts toward which they all go as they lose their hearts – and memory, which is the foundation of identity (Yeung 2008: 107). Where there is no identity, there are no individuals.

EW is a calm place, free of the tumult characteristic of HBW. There is no money, and the goods produced are distributed among all citizens, because everyone is important and plays a role in the Town (even if this role is as pointless as reading old dreams). Everybody follows the unwritten laws, and the Gatekeeper could be called the law enforcement officer. Moreover, there are no institutions which could either control the society, or struggle for power with an equally absent anti-institution (*ibid.*: 105). In a conversation between Boku and his shadow the Town is described in the following way:



「(...) ここでは誰も傷つけあわないし、争わない。生活は質素だがそれなりに充ち足りているし、みんな平等だ。悪口をいうものもないし、何かを奪いあうこともない。労働はするが、みんな自分の労働を楽しんでいる。それは労働のための純粋な労働であって、誰かに強制されたり、嫌々やったりするものじゃない。他人をうらやむこともない。嘆くものもないし、悩むものもない」

「金も財産も地位も存在しない。訴訟もないし、病院もない。(...) そして年老いることもなく、死の予感にえることもない。そうだね？」 (Murakami 1985b: 218)

‘(...) Koko de wa dare mo kizu tsukeawanai shi, arasowanai. Seikatsu wa shisso da ga sore nari ni michitarite iru shi, minna byōdō da. Waruguchi o iu mono mo inai shi, nanika o ubaiu koto mo nai. Rōdō wa suru ga, minna jibun no rōdō o tanoshinde iru. Sore wa rōdō no tame no junsui na rōdō de atte, dareka ni kyōsei saretari, iyaiya yattari suru mono ja nai. Tanin o urayamu koto mo nai. Nageku mono mo inai shi, nayamu mono mo inai’

‘Kane mo zaisan mo chi’i mo sonzai shinai. Soshō mo nai shi, byōin mo nai. (...) Soshite toshi oiru koto mo naku, shi no yokan ni obieru koto mo nai. Sō da ne?’

‘(...) Here, people don’t hurt each other, don’t argue. Life is simple, but lacks nothing in itself, and everyone is equal. People don’t badmouth each other, or steal from each other. We do work, but we all enjoy what we’re doing. It’s work purely for the sake of working, no one is forced to do it, and no one shies away from it. No one envies others. No one is grieving, no one is troubled’

‘Money, property, rank – they don’t exist. There are no courts [lit.: lawsuits], no hospitals. (...) No one grows older, there’s no fear of approaching death. Right?’

At first glance, it is ‘a true utopia’ (*hontō no yūtopia* 本当のユートピア) (ibid.). However, can a place still be called a utopia if its perfection is only made possible by means of ‘the sacrifice of love and respect which have long been considered positive values’ (Murakami 2002: 132)? This ‘postmodern utopia’, functioning as an answer to the modernistic world of HBW (ibid.), becomes a passive world lacking individuality and identity just as much as it is lacking love and happiness. Boku’s Shadow sums it up in the following way:

戦いや憎しみや欲望がないということはつまりその逆のものが無いということでもある。それは喜びであり、至福であり、愛情だ。絶望があり幻滅があり哀しみがあればこそ、そこに喜びが生まれるんだ。絶望のない至福なんてものはどこにもない。 (Murakami 1985b: 219–220)

Tataikai ya nikushimi ya yokubō ga nai to iu koto wa tsumari sono gyaku no mono

ga nai to iu koto de mo aru. Sore wa yorokobi de ari, shifuku de ari, aijō da. Zetsubō ga ari genmetsu ga ari kanashimi ga areba koso, soko ni yorokobi ga umareru nda. Zetsubō no nai shifuku nante mono wa doko ni mo nai.

In other words, if there's no conflict, no hatred, no greed, then their opposites don't exist either. And these are joy, happiness, love. Precisely because despair, disillusionment, and sorrow exist, happiness can arise [lit.: is born]. There's no such place where bliss comes without despair.

The perfect image painted in Boku's description has some flaws – as his shadow points out, there are no absolutely perfect things, and even the Town has its dark side, as it feeds on weak and powerless creatures, at the same time burdening them with imperfectness: '[it] forces imperfect elements on imperfect beings, takes in what's clearest and lives on it' (*Fukanzen na bubun o fukanzen na sonzai ni oshitsuke, soshite sono uwazumi o suttee ikite iru nda* 不完全な部分を不完全な存在に押しつけ、そしてそのうわずみだけを吸って生きているんだ) (ibid.: 223). Thus Murakami's utopia turns out to be not as utopian as one might think. According to the definition suggested by Kotlarczyk, EW would be better described as a dystopia<sup>5</sup>:

**Dystopia** – a work of fiction describing a non-positive world in which the protagonist feels satisfied with the *status quo* until they receive restricted information about their reality, which allows them to notice the negative aspects of their world and society, and to perceive them in a more objective, more comprehensive manner. (2019: 100)

EW is not a representation of a truly ideal world, but a world which only seems to be so, and which indeed does have its flaws and problems. Boku learns about them mostly during his conversations with the shadow, which can see through the apparent perfectness of the Town.

If EW is not a utopia, but, in fact, a dystopia, what does it say about its 'matrix world', HBW? On the surface, it resembles what Zgorzelski in *Born of the Fantastic* (2004) defines as a dystopia (but which Kotlarczyk 2019 argues to be an anti-utopia) and describes as follows: '[it] is interested in constructing a whole new system of dangerous and threatening social mechanisms, in showing the net of relationships between possible "class" divisions in society, economic conditions and state power' (2004: 37). Moreover, the protagonist 'is a passive character, experiencing rather than really acting, subject to impersonal, authoritarian and oppres-

<sup>5</sup> It is important to point out that there are a lot of scholars (e.g. Zgorzelski 2004, Morris & Kross 2009, Maj 2015) who define dystopia as what Kotlarczyk 2019 argues to be an anti-utopia, or they treat both terms as synonymous. This article follows the argumentation presented by Kotlarczyk 2019, differentiating between a dystopia (a seemingly perfect, but actually flawed world/society) and an anti-dystopia (an oppressive world/society in which the government stifles its citizens).

sive socio-political mechanisms, exposed to hopelessness and inactivity' (ibid.: 38). Such a world 'negates all values, social or individual; no value can emerge there, develop or become realized; each of them is immediately nullified by socio-political laws and mechanisms' (ibid.: 39).

HBW appears to be one of the worst worlds to live in, the world of the never-ending power struggle between the System and the Factory, and the consumerism-crazy citizens of Tokyo, who buy goods to express their individuality, but at the same time loosen their social bonds with others (Kawakami 2002). In this world, it is difficult to find someone who appreciates values such as justice, or respect towards people. However, HBW is a world where people have their hearts and minds, their *kokoro* 心 – even if they choose not to rely on them – and thus they have memory. And having memory, they have identity – undermined by mass consumption, but still present. This pulsating modernist 'hyperreality' (ibid.: 310) of HBW is full of life, as opposed to the static, stagnant EW.

Therefore what seemed to be the worst turns out to be better than one might have expected. This is another example of both places, Tokyo and the Town, 'mirroring' each other, but when we go a step further, we get a common denomination, namely the deceptiveness of what is shown on the surface. The seemingly perfect but actually harsh and cruel EW, a dystopia, and a seemingly flawed and bad but still positively alive and remembering HBW, an 'anti-dystopia' of sorts.

When we look carefully at the novel as a whole, we may notice some similarities between its plot and main themes, and the description of anti-utopia by Zgorzel-ski in *Fantastyka, utopia, science fiction: ze studiów nad rozwojem gatunków* (1980: 81–82). According to this description, anti-utopia presents a state, usually a totalitarian one, where government institutions at any given moment strictly control all its citizens. With no right to individuality, citizens are being 'molded' according to the government's needs, which specifies what people are to believe and think. An anti-utopian protagonist, who often plays the role of a detective searching for the truth behind the state and society control, is against the government's oppressive actions. Of course, he cannot oppose the state directly; only in his mind can he allow himself the 'crime' of rebellion and sincerity of emotions and opinions.

Although compared with Murakami's *Hard-Boiled...* this description may seem somewhat extreme, it does share some features with the world described in the novel. Despite the fact that the two rival institutions in HBW are not as oppressive as a totalitarian government, neither would blink at the thought of using blackmail or violence. The scientist's experiment, carried out without the subjects' agreement (or even knowledge of it), is an interference with the human psyche and an attempt to re-form, or rather edit it. The issue of free choice is not painted in the brightest of colors either: '[it] is an illusion, manipulated by the conjoined interests of the state, the media, and consumer capitalism' (Welch 2005: 57). Neither are scientific breakthroughs – depicted as tools of the government (e.g. listening to the sound

made by a skull of a witness murdered for the sake of investigation), they seem to help lead the world into a rather grim future.

Furthermore, both Watashi and Boku play the role of a detective, which is a feature characteristic of not only hardboiled, but also Zgorzelski's anti-utopia. Both try to find answers for their questions, whether pertaining to the nature of 'the end of the world' for Watashi, or the End of the World as a place.

A crucial element that *Hard-Boiled...* has in common with anti-utopia is the division of the storyline into two planes: the 'real' world of HBW and the world created in the protagonist's mind – EW.

Another one is the idea of the mind as a refuge from the world – so much so that Boku willingly decides to stay in the Town, which decision may be interpreted as the ultimate escape performed by Watashi's mind. Trying to protect itself from the outside world, HBW, it walls itself in, which only emphasizes how fed up with that world Watashi actually was.

It is obvious that *Hard-Boiled...* is not a typical anti-utopia like George Orwell's 1984; yet even a suggestion of similarities, hinted at more or less vaguely here and there, is enough for the novel to ring some darker, more ominous tones of government controlling an individual at all times.

## Conclusion

The genre hybridity in *Hard-Boiled...* allows Murakami to show how multi-layered and diverse the world in his story can be. The higher the level of complexity, the closer to our reality – the reality known from the experience of the writer and the reader – the book gets. And this helps to weave more messages and meanings in one story; from the criticism of consumer society to the deceptiveness of the superficial and the dangers of technology (particularly if used for gaining or keeping power).

Hybrid genres also help to create distance, thus inviting the reader to ask questions not only about the world depicted in a book, but also about the world he or she lives in, first and foremost being – what is reality? Is there even something that can be called objective reality? Or is everything a matter of perception and presentation? Where does the truth lie? Is there something like the ultimate truth, or are there just many truths?

Although the answers may be hard (or even impossible) to reach, the mere urge to ask them is what may lead the reader into considering his reality from numerous, sometimes mutually exclusive, points of view.

## Bibliography

- Hantke Steffen 2007. "Postmodernism and Genre Fiction as Deferred Action: Haruki Murakami and the Noir Tradition." *Critique*, no. 1, pp. 3–23.
- Kawakami Chiyoko 2002. "The Unfinished Cartography: Murakami Haruki and the Postmodern Cognitive Map." *Monumenta Nipponica*, no.3, pp. 309–337.
- Kotlarczyk Magdalena 2019. "Not the Best World to Imagine: *Shinsekai Yori* by Kishi Yūsuke as a Dystopian Novel" In: Melinda Papp (red.) *Future Directions In Japanese Studies In Central And Eastern Europe*. Vol. 8 of *Budapest Monographs In East Asian Studies*. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University. pp. 95–106.
- Kōjien 1980. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.  
広辞苑 1980. 東京：岩波書店。
- Mayall Jeremy 2016. "Cross-Genre Hybridity in Composition: A Systematic Method." *Organised Sound*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2016, pp. 30–39, access: doi:10.1017/S1355771815000357 [access: 02.03.2019].
- Murakami Fuminobu 2002. "Murakami Haruki's postmodern world." *Japan Forum*, no. 1, pp. 127–141.
- Murakami Haruki 1985a. *Sekai no owari to hādoboirudo wandārando* [end of the world and hard-boiled wonderland], vol. 1. Tōkyō: Shinchōsha.  
村上春樹 1985a. 世界の終わりとハードボイルド・ワンダーランド (上)。東京：新潮文庫。
- Murakami Haruki 1985b. *Sekai no owari to hādoboirudo wandārando* [end of the world and hard-boiled wonderland], vol. 2. Tōkyō: Shinchōsha.  
村上春樹 1985b. 世界の終わりとハードボイルド・ワンダーランド (下)。東京：新潮文庫。
- Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* 2010. Ed. David Herman et al. New York: Routledge [Taylor and Francis e-Library].
- Streicher Matthew C. 1998. "Beyond 'Pure' Literature: Mimesis, Formula, and the Postmodern in the Fiction of Murakami Haruki." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, no. 2, pp. 354–378.
- Streicher Matthew C. 1999. "Magical Realism and the Search for Identity in the Fiction of Murakami Haruki." *Journal of Japanese Studies*, no. 2, pp. 263–298.
- Welch Patricia 2005. "Haruki Murakami's Storytelling World." *World Literature Today*, no. 1, pp. 55–59.
- Yeung Virginia 2008. "The Utopian and Dystopian Time in Murakami Haruki's 'Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World.'" *International Journal of the Humanities*, no. 2, pp. 103–109.
- Zgorzelski Andrzej 2004. *Born of the Fantastic*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- Zgorzelski Andrzej 1980. *Fantastyka, utopia, science fiction: ze studiów nad rozwojem gatunków* [fantastic literature, utopia, science fiction: from research on genre development]. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

## 論文概要

Magdalena Kotlarczyk

## 村上春樹『世界の終りとハードボイルド・ワンダーランド』における混成ジャンル

本論文では、村上春樹による『世界の終りとハードボイルド・ワンダーランド』におけるハイブリッド・ジャンルという現象を考察する。ハードボイルド、ユートピア、ディストピア、逆ユートピアというジャンルの特徴を挙げ、それぞれのジャンルの観点から『世界の終りとハードボイルド・ワンダーランド』を分析する。その結果、ハイブリッド・ジャンルが解釈にどんな影響を与えることができるか、何を表わすか、どのような質問・疑問につながるかという点を考察する。

**Key-words:** Haruki Murakami, *Hard-Boiled Wonderland and the End of the World*, genre hybridity, utopia, dystopia, hardboiled, anti-utopia, film noir

Hanna Kelner

## The Sun Hidden within – the Invention of the Tradition of Himiko

This article's main topic is Himiko, the half-legendary ruler of Yamatai, and how and why her tradition has been invented throughout the decades of her portrayal in various media. The first part of the text is a short introduction to the known historical facts regarding Himiko. The problems and doubts connected to the Chinese text will also be briefly addressed. The second part of the article is an analysis of chosen material, including literature, film, comics, animation and video games. The goal of this analysis is to show that most of Himiko's portrayals repeat the same few elements taken from the original historical source or its interpretations, backed by documented traditions (especially religious ones). These well-established attributes are important to the theory that Himiko's depictions in fiction created a sort of textual invented tradition, a conjoining of the following concepts: invention of tradition with cultural memory and textual monuments. This part of the article will also attempt to show how Himiko became an empty symbol to be filled with meaning, how her tradition developed a few distinct archetypes of Himiko and which parts of this seem to be the most prevalent. The last part of the article is attempting to analyze why Himiko's popularity exploded in the first place and why it is going through a resurgence of interest both in Japan and worldwide.

Himiko 卑弥呼 (178–248) is one of the historical figures that are shrouded in mystery. This woman, who lived within the territory of modern Japan in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, does not appear in any of the country's historical texts. She is however mentioned in Chinese chronicles, amongst which *Wei Zhi* 魏志 (*History of Wei*) is the first one and gives the most information. Penned by Chen Shou 陳壽, it became the first book of *San Guo Zhi* 三國志 (*History of Three Kingdoms*). It was most likely created around the year 297. One of its chapters, *Dongyi yun* 東夷伝 (*Of Eastern Barbarians*) describes the terrains of what is now Japan and the people living there, as well as Himiko herself.

According to the *Wei Zhi*, Himiko was the queen of a country called Yamatai 邪馬台. Its exact location is still a point of contention among historians. The *Wei Zhi* does list the steps to travel from the Daifang commandery to Yamatai, but after some



scrutiny it turned out that this itinerary does not lead anywhere. A person trying to follow it would find themselves in the middle of the ocean. There are a few theories about the location of Yamatai, amongst which the most popular are those of Kyūshū and the Yamato province on Honshū. Both of them are backed by archeological findings that could be interpreted in their favor, but the current state of knowledge and archeological proof do not allow stating anything with absolute certainty.

The *Wei Zhi* describes the land of Wa, where Yamatai was located, as a kind of confederacy of 30 small countries. They had been warring with each other until Himiko ascended to the throne.

The country formerly had a man as ruler. For some seventy or eighty years after that there were disturbances and warfare. Thereupon the people agreed upon a woman for their ruler. Her name was Pimiko. (Tsunoda 1951, as cited in De Bary, Keene, Tanabe, Varley 2001: 7)<sup>1</sup>

Even in this short paragraph a point of contention among historians can be found. It is in the way the queen's name was spelled. It has been written by the Chinese chronicler as 卑弥呼, but it is most likely not the real name of the queen. Proper names of foreign origins have usually been written down by the Chinese with use of characters that would respond phonetically to the syllables of the given word. The characters that make up Himiko's name are: 卑 *bi* ("servant"), 弥 *mi* ("distant") and 呼 *hu* ("exhale"). This gives the reading *himihu*. This word is very similar to the Japanese words *hime* ("princess" or "goddess") and *miko* ("priestess" or "shamaness"). *Himemiko* could have in time changed into the widely accepted version: *Himiko*.

Participants of this discussion about Himiko's real name offer a few alternative readings of 卑弥呼: Fimeko, Pimiko, Pimeko and others. There are also theories connecting Himiko's name to Sun worship, since *hi* 日 means "sun" and *miko* 覡 or 巫女 means "shamaness; shrine maiden; priestess". Himiko's relation to Amaterasu, the Shintō Sun Goddess, has become a very important part of her image. This topic will be discussed at length further in the article.

Returning to the first known image of Himiko, created by the Chinese chronicler: *Wei Zhi* describes her as a practitioner of black magic called *guei-dao* 鬼道 (the Japanese reading is *kidō*). The literal translation would be "way of demons". However, *guei* did not necessarily refer to demons. This character stood for other kinds of supernatural creatures as well as the souls of the dead. Noriko T. Reider,

---

<sup>1</sup> All the translations of Chinese chronicles used for this purpose have come from Tsunoda Ryūsaku's 1951 translation, as cited in *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume One: From Earliest Times to 1600*, compiled by Wm. Theodore De Bary, Donald Keene, George Tanabe, and Paul Varley (2001). All the translations from Japanese novels used in this part of the article have been created by the author herself.



a researcher of Japanese folklore, emphasizes the etymology of 鬼, saying that the shape of this character is supposed to mimic that of a dead body prepared for burial in the style most common during the Yin dynasty (1500–770 BCE). Its most basic meaning then is a corpse (Reider 2010: 4).

The practitioners of *guei-dao* have often been met with disdain from the general population. It was most likely related to their rituals, which often involved animal sacrifice, and the simple fact of communing with the sphere of death. However, *guei-dao* cults were very rarely delegalized and in the period of time described in the *Wei Zhi* they were relatively popular. It might be why the ruler of Yamatai gained a pass from her people to still practice her arts (Kidder 2007: 132).

All of this points to Himiko having connections to Japanese shamanism. Indeed, Japanese shamanesses were inherently tied to the world of death. One of their functions was to communicate with the dead, serving as an intermediary between them and the living. Furthermore, two later Chinese chronicles that describe Yamatai, mention that Himiko lived in isolation. She reportedly spent all her life in her palace, where she was only ever seen by chosen servants and her intermediary. The *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 (*The Book of Later Han*) from 432 CE notes:

She kept one thousand female attendants, but few people saw her. There was only one man who was in charge of her wardrobe and meals and acted as a medium of communication. She resided in a palace surrounded by towers and stockade, with the protection of armed guards. (Tsunoda, 1951, as cited in De Bary et al., 2001: 9)

The *Sui Shu* 隋書 (*The Book of Sui*) from 636 CE mentions Himiko's younger brother, who allegedly helped her with ruling Yamatai. It could be that he was the intermediary.

There is a possibility then that Himiko was not only a secular ruler, but also held a position of a religious one. It would seem especially probable in the context of the Ryūkyū Islands, where for many years, *noro* priestesses and *yuta* shamanesses held important government positions, until the spread of patriarchal Confucian values pushed them out (Kerr 2000: 31–32). Matriarchal societal structures are not unheard of in ancient Japan. Some old Chinese texts even refer to the Wa Archipelago as “queen countries” (Kerr 2000: 31). It is however important to note that this is yet another interpretation of the scarce information about Himiko in light of some existing traditions and it is not backed by any hard evidence.

Another paragraph from the *Wei Zhi* depicts Himiko's relation to the Chinese court. She is described to have sent a tribute (constituted mostly of luxury goods and slaves). It has been met with the Emperor's approval and he gave her the official title of “Ruler of Wa friendly to Wei” and presented her with a gold seal with purple ribbon. She was also gifted with various luxury goods, including bronze mirrors, items very coveted by the aristocracy. Himiko's relationship with China

remained a good one and later, when one of Yamatai's neighbors attacked it, a Chinese legation was sent to mediate the conflict and officially condemn the aggressor.

The mirrors mentioned in the paragraph above have great meaning for archeologists. When Himiko died in 247 CE, *a great mound was raised, more than a hundred paces in diameter. Over a hundred male and female attendants followed her to the grave* (Tsunoda 1951, as cited in De Bary et al. 2001: 8). This passage is most likely referring to a *kōfun* type burial mound, shaped like a keyhole, popular in that period. Many historians think that Himiko's tomb will be recognizable thanks to its contents, especially the presence of bronze mirrors. Himiko's burial mound would mark a huge discovery for archeology, comparable to the finding of Tutankhamun's tomb. Presently however, no localization brought up as a potential site for Himiko's grave has been confirmed.

The Chinese chronicles state that after Himiko's death the country entered a state of chaos.

Then a king was placed on the throne, but the people would not obey him. Assassination and murder followed; more than one thousand were thus slain. (Tsunoda 1951, as cited in De Bary et al. 2001: 9)

The bloodshed only ended when a relative of Himiko, a girl of thirteen years named Iyo or Toyo (two possible readings of 臺與), was chosen as the ruler. She also had the approval of the Chinese court and so order was restored.

Thus ends the known story of Himiko and Yamatai. What begins now is the creation of her image, of her textual monument, the invention of the tradition of Himiko. Many people, from historians to artists of various genres, have created their own version of the ruler of Yamatai. She has been portrayed as a good queen, an evil queen, a *femme fatale*, a priestess, a victim and a heroin. All these depictions combine into an amalgamation, the general idea of Himiko that people have when they hear her name. The next part of the article will analyze the invention of Himiko as a part of Japanese tradition, its reasons and consequences.

The first characteristic very prominent in many of Himiko's depictions is her association with mirrors and sunlight, most likely originating in the story of her receiving bronze mirrors from the Chinese court and her name starting with the syllable *hi*, which, when written with the 日 character, means "sun". Mirrors were used by female Japanese shamans, as evidenced by archeological findings (including *haniwa* figurines of shamanesses carrying mirrors and mirrors found in their graves [Okazaki 1993: 278]). They are connected to sun worship in many cultures, and such is also the case in Japan. It is the main attribute of Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess. The article by Jennifer Dumpert about Amaterasu's connection to mirrors states: *As shining, pure reflection of light, the mirror stands as a perfect metaphor for Amaterasu* (Dumpert 1998: 27). It is certainly true for other solar dei-

ties as well, and there is evidence proving that other sun gods and goddesses have been worshipped in many parts of Japan (Matsumae 1978: 5). Most early cultures had their version of such a god, since the Sun had an enormous impact on their livelihood. Even if Amaterasu was not known in Yamatai, it is likely that whatever solar deity was worshipped there, a mirror could have been one of their attributes.

What is interesting though is the fact that nowhere in any of the Chinese chronicles describing Himiko is there mention of her using the bronze mirrors for religious purposes. They had been gifts from the Chinese court. As mentioned before, mirrors had been a luxury item and they were highly coveted. They were a proper gift for a queen.

What causes even more doubt in Himiko's alleged connection to Sun worship is the fact that the word *hi* might not have even meant “sun” in the times when Himiko lived. As Russell Kirkland points out, the Yamato rulers of Japan often called themselves *hi no miko* (yet another interesting similarity to Himiko's name), which was often interpreted as “prince of the sun”. However, it is far more probable that in the beginning, *hi* was not represented by 日, but by 靈, meaning “spiritual efficacy” (Kirkland 1997: 111). It is then possible that Himiko's name was a reference to her spiritual power rather than the Sun. This interpretation is however almost non-existent in Japanese culture and the ruler of Yamatai remains referred to as the Sun Queen.

Since popular culture is probably the biggest part of creating cultural memory and building textual monuments, it will also be included in the analysis in this article, along with literature.

Himiko has been depicted by all media types. Video games that have her as a character include: *Tomb Raider* (2013), *Ōkami* 大神 (2006), *Musō Orochi* 無双オロチ (2007–2018) and others. She's even a part of the in-game mythos of *Conan Exiles* (2018), joining the world of Robert E. Howard's imagination. She appears in movies, such as *Himiko* 卑弥呼 (1974) and the film adaptation of *Tomb Raider* (2018), as well as manga comics such as *Hi no tori* 日の鳥 (Tezuka 1956–1986), *Namuji* ナムジ (Yoshikazu 1989–1991), *Jinmu* 神武 (Yoshikazu 1992–1995), *Manga Nihon no Rekishi* マンガ日本の歴史 (Ishinomori 1989–1993), *Kōun Ryūsui: Jofuku* こううんりゅうすい 〈徐福〉 (Motomiya 2017-ongoing) and many others. She is also a character in anime series, such as the TV adaptation of *Hi no Tori* (2004) and the short series *Himiko Den* 火魅子伝 (1999), as well as many others. In this section of the article, one piece of each of these categories will be expanded upon.

Many artists depict Himiko as connected to Sun worship and mirrors. It is visible in the 1974 movie *Himiko* directed by Shinoda Masahiro, which was entered into the Cannes Festival Foreign Movie category. In the movie, Himiko is shown as the high priestess of the Sun God. In the first scene, she is shown participating in a ritual consisting of her laying on the ground while her female servants use mirrors to direct sunlight at her body and she writhes in pleasure. The ritual is

simulating sexual intercourse with the Sun God, a callback to the stories of priestesses and female shamans being wives of their deities and bearing them divine children (Blacker 2005: 93).

Himiko is also called the Sun Queen in the 2013 videogame *Tomb Raider*. The concept art for her character shows her in a crown that simulates rays of sunshine and a kimono with the sun painted on the back. The player sees other depictions of Himiko throughout the game and they often show her with the sun as her attribute (for example Himiko with the sun behind her head, its rays shining down on the world). In the story told in the game, she was surrounded by Priestesses of the Sun, her underlings. In the comic book published as a continuation of the game's story, the protagonist Lara Croft is searching for Himiko's magical mirror called the Wei Mirror. It had been used by the witch queen to entrap souls. The creators of the game and comic clearly decided to use it as a singular Wei Mirror, despite the fact that Himiko received a hundred of them from the Chinese (and Wei is a name of the Chinese dynasty, so giving an item a name using this word would not make it distinct from any other item coming from the Wei period). This mirror is shown to reflect sunlight onto a victim whose soul is supposed to be extracted, changing the beneficial role of the sun to a cruel one.

In the popular manga series depicting the history of Japan, *Manga Nihon no Rekishi* (Ishinomori: 1989–1993), Himiko is also shown as having a strong connection to the sun. It shines down on her when she faces her people to give a speech. She is always accompanied by a three-legged crow, a creature that often appears in East Asian mythology. In Chinese stories, it is called a sun crow. In Japanese tradition, it is known as Yatagarasu and it is an omen of Heaven intervening in human affairs. It did not always have three legs though. In the *Kojiki*, Yatagarasu does not have three legs, but measures eight *yata*<sup>2</sup> instead (hence its name *yatagarasu* 八咫鳥, “eight yata crow”). It is sent by Amaterasu to guide Jimmu, giving it a different connection to the sun (Volker 1975: 38–39). The creator of *Manga Nihon no Rekishi* also drew Himiko's army with an emblem of two concentric circles, possibly a simplified symbol for the sun, on their shields. In the same manga, Himiko is again surrounded by mirrors. Only their surface shows her real face – the face of an old woman masquerading as a young girl through magical means.

Those magical means are another part of Himiko's textual monument. As mentioned above, both *Tomb Raider* (2013) and *Manga Nihon no Rekishi* depict her as a practitioner of literal magic, a real witch. In *Tomb Raider* she controls the weather and is able to jump into different bodies, thus keeping herself forever young. In *Manga Nihon no Rekishi*, she uses magic to disguise herself as a young woman as well, but it does not have any evil undercurrents. She is also able to predict the future through rituals. Magical and spiritual talents are also a major

<sup>2</sup> About 18 centimeters or 7 inches.

part of Himiko's depiction in an anime from 1999, *Himiko Den*. In this series, she is a chosen guardian of the Holy Fire, a magical source of power protecting the country of Yamatai, hence her name is written 火魅子 ("fire-charm/magic-child) instead of 卑弥呼. She also wears a small mirror as an amulet.

But popular culture is not the only area of art where Himiko is depicted as possessing magical powers and connected to the sun. One of the earliest, possibly the earliest novelette about Himiko was written by Yokomitsu Riichi, an established Japanese modernist author, in 1923. Its title is very telling – *Nichirin* 日輪, meaning *Sun Disk* (Yokomitsu 2010). A curious title, since the text itself doesn't describe Himiko as either a shamaness or a sun worshipper. What it does show is that the juxtaposition of Himiko with this particular heavenly body already existed by the time Yokomitsu created his version of this half-legendary character.

In a novel titled *Joō Himiko* 女王卑弥呼 (*Queen Himiko*, [Saegusa 1994]), the titular ruler is an oracle for her people. Thanks to her weather predictions, the farmers prosper and the land is rich. Her subjects love her. In Saegusa's version, Himiko is born blind, which plays on the trope of a blind oracle, very important in the history of Japanese shamanism.

There are many names for the Japanese blind medium, but the most popular one is *itako* イタコ. What makes *itako* different from other female shamans (and what makes some researchers not consider them actual shamans) is that she is not forced into her duty by a divine calling. She becomes *itako* solely because of her blindness. It is mostly a practical decision – as Carmen Blacker writes in her book about various shamanistic practices in Japan, *The Catalpa Bow*, becoming an *itako* makes a disabled person a viable member of society that would otherwise consider them a burden (Blacker 2005: 118). She enters apprenticeship with an older *itako* and undergoes rigorous training that includes various austerities, such as bathing in ice-cold water, starvation and sleep deprivation. The culmination of this is an initiation ceremony in which the *itako* goes into a trance and is possessed by a deity that becomes her patron from then on. She is considered wedded to this deity.

In *Joō Himiko* however, the titular character is not considered married to any particular deity. She goes into a trance-like state, often resembling epileptic seizures.

Ikeme turned to Himiko to perform a *kamigakari*, godly possession. The ritual was carried through by the sound of thirty lady attendants violently clanging their spears. They held them tightly in both hands and struck them with all their might, sometimes all at once, sometimes just two or three at a time. In this chaos, the spirits gradually entered Himiko. (Saegusa 1994: 37)

Her spirit travels to different places, one of which Himiko suspects to be San-shinzan 三神山, Three Sacred Mountains. This story comes from Chinese mythology. The three sacred mountains, Hōrai, Hōjō and Eishū, are supposedly a place

where spirits and immortals live (Perkins 1998: 234). The *kami* Himiko meets there show her the past and suggestive visions of the future, helping her navigate the complicated political world full of lies and schemes. They help her keep the country safe and stable. Due to her wise, spirit-aided choices, Himiko is able to extend her royal line and give birth to a girl who will take her place on the throne once Himiko passes away.

Political intrigue and spiritual powers are also central plot points in Anzai Atsuko's *Himiko Kyōran* 卑弥呼狂乱 (*Himiko's Madness*, [Anzai 1991]). In this short story, Himiko is a shamaness queen, married to the gods. Her prayers are always answered. Only her female servants and the very few men she consults in state matters, including her younger brother Kunihiko, attend her. The situation is then very similar to what was described by the Chinese chroniclers. Another element taken from the chronicles is a border skirmish with the neighboring country of Kuna. Himiko's land is invaded by the king of Kuna, Himikuko. She wants to respond with force and send soldiers to deal with this attack. However, her younger brother and other state men strongly disagree with her tactics. They want to avoid violence and negotiate a peace treaty. Himiko attempts to consult with the spirits on which approach should be taken. However, despite praying for days on end, she receives no response for the first time in her life. While she desperately begs the gods for an answer, her political enemies scheme against her and send emissaries to Kuna without her knowledge. In the meantime, Himiko discovers another betrayal – the woman who supports her during all rituals, Akahime, is engaging in an affair with one of Himiko's young male attendants, Nunasaki. Sexual intercourse makes Akahime impure and unfit to attend rituals that are supposed to be a conversation with the gods. Himiko reasons that Akahime must be the reason the gods remained silent. She punishes both Akahime and her lover. By then it is too late though – rumors of Himiko having lost her spiritual powers have already spread like wildfire and the people demand her to abdicate the throne. Moreover, Himiko learns that a deal with Kuna has already been made behind her back and part of it is to have her removed from power. How this is achieved is particularly cruel. A party of soldiers is sent to her bedchambers at night and they gang rape her, making her impure and no longer the wife of the gods.

'Defiled, you are no longer fit to be a wife to the gods. Won't you be our wife now?'  
One of the men said mockingly. (Anzai 1991: 30)

She is stripped of her spiritual powers for good in the eyes of the people. She dies of heartbreak soon after and a young daughter of one of her enemies is made the new shaman queen.

This story ties into not only the information from the Chinese historical sources, but also Japanese religious traditions. It has already been mentioned that some



female shamans are considered to be married to their patron deities and should not engage in sexual intercourse with humans. Female sexuality and bodily functions as a whole were often perceived as abhorrent to the gods. It is exemplified by women being prohibited to enter holy mountain sites and parts of some shrines, justified by the possibility of them menstruating while being in the spiritual space (Blacker, 2005: 123).

Other novels depicting Himiko as a priestess or a medium include: *Wa no Joō Himiko* 倭の女王・卑弥呼 (*Himiko: Queen of Wa*, [Toyota 1974]), in which she is warned by an older shamaness that in order to keep her powers, she must restrain from having relationships with men; *Shingi Waō Himiko* 親魏倭王卑弥呼 (*Himiko: Queen of Wa, Friend of Wei*, [Toyota 1975]), where she enters trance states so deep, the spirits possessing her body can control her actions; and *Maboroshi no Joō Himiko* まぼろしの女王卑弥呼 (*Illusory Queen Himiko*, [Kunimitsu 1989]), where she is portrayed as a powerful priestess chosen to be the wife of the Sun God.

The sakaki tree is decorated with mirrors or beads. When the sun rises, the mirrors reflect its rays, shining with the early morning light. The people of this country believe that on this Earth, only the Sun Priestesses can wring sunlight into their very own small suns. (Kunimitsu 1989: 55)

Another constant part in most of the depictions of Himiko is her death and, more importantly, her burial. As stated in the historical introduction at the beginning of this article, Himiko's tomb has never been found. Chinese historians have described it though, and many artists take inspiration from those passages. What comes after Himiko's death, the bloodshed and Iyo's eventual ascension to the throne, is also of interest to many.

In the 1974 movie *Himiko*, her death is the culmination of the plot. She is believed to have lost her powers due to her love to a mortal man (instead of devoting herself entirely to the Sun God) and is assassinated. Her body is laid out in a valley and no real burial is conducted on screen. The next scene shows Toyo (in the movie, Toyo is the other pronunciation of 臺與 used) conducting a ritual for the court. She conveys a message from the Sun God, saying that the deity still resides within Himiko. Himiko's servant and counselor, Nashime, who previously ignored her cries for help and let her die, breaks down. He is then seen wandering the forest, looking for his lost Himiko. The camera pans out and shows that he is actually walking through the greenery covering a keyhole-shaped burial mound located in the middle of a modern Japanese city.

Himiko's final resting place is also an important point in the plot of the *Tomb Raider* (2018) movie. It is however not the mound described in the historical texts, but rather a system of caves covered by an ancient door locked by a puzzle. It hides

the body of a queen who, as it turns out, entombed herself to protect her people from the virus of which she was an asymptomatic carrier.

*Himiko Kyōran* (Anzai 1991) ends with Himiko seemingly losing her mind and dying of heartbreak after her rape. As she sits in her room, putting flowers in her hair to be beautiful to her godly husbands, she is visited by Toyo. Toyo, a daughter of one of the men responsible for Himiko's downfall, has since replaced her as the head priestess. Himiko says to her that she will make a beautiful and great queen and thanks to her, Yamatai will know peace again in time. These kind words come even though sometime before that, Himiko already met Toyo, and the girl was cruel to her. A few days after their last meeting, Himiko dies.

The people built a gigantic mound for the late queen. A hundred servants were buried with her. After her death, many countries started fighting each other, but soon Wakatakehiko defeated Kunihiko and the thirteen-year-old Toyo was crowned. (Anzai 1991: 31–32)

The Wei court, thanks to the previous good relationship they had with Himiko, then backs Toyo and so the war ends, just like the late queen predicted.

In *Joō Himiko* (Saegusa 1994), Himiko's isolation is just an illusion. It is a way for her closest counselors and servants to cover up the fact that she has died giving birth to Iyo. The reason for this conspiracy is to keep the peace. Finally her death has to be announced and the queen is celebrated by the construction of a tomb befit a pharaoh.

A huge burial mound measuring a hundred by seventy paces was built on the northernmost outskirts of the outer moat district. Himiko's remains were placed in a mausoleum inside the Araki shrine and they stayed there for fifty days, while the tomb was being perfected. A total of five thousand workers were employed in the construction. (Saegusa 1994: 225)

Her death is indeed followed by a period of unrest and infighting, but in the end her daughter, Iyo, is crowned the new queen, peace is restored and the country prospers again.

Her death, or her tomb specifically, are important plot points in other works. For example in the already mentioned *Shingi Waō Himiko* (Toyota 1975), where she dies proudly facing a coup.

The queen's consciousness started to fade, awareness disappearing from her half-open eyes.

'When I'm gone, Yamatai shall be gone soon after. Many people shall perish, rivers of blood shall flow, and mountains of corpses shall rise. You shall die as well. The wrath of the heavenly gods shall scorch the land.' (Toyota 1975: 279)



In *Himiko densetsu: chi ni orita kamigami* 卑弥呼伝説・地に降りた神々 (*The Legend of Himiko: Gods walking the Earth*, [Izawa 1991]) she makes no direct appearance, but the whole novel, set in modern Japan, is about solving the mystery of her death (here it is murder) and finding her tomb – all this is done by a treasure hunter in the spirit of Indiana Jones. In *Kidō no Joō Himiko* 鬼道の女王 卑弥呼 (*Black Magic Queen Himiko*, [Kuroiwa 1996]), her death comes suddenly after a dream in which a deity hidden by bright light tells her the gods are disappointed with her for isolating herself instead of spreading her knowledge. In contrast to this, in *Hitojichi ni natta Itokoku no ōmiko Himiko* 人質になった伊都国の大巫女・卑弥呼 (*Hostage priestess from Ito – Himiko*, [Hashimoto 2011]), Himiko passes away after teaching all she knows to a young head priestess from neighboring Ito, Iyo. In *Yamato no kaze* 倭の風 (*Winds of Yamato*, [Katō 2013]), Himiko's death is what sets the whole plot in motion – after hearing the news of her passing, young Iyo comes back from China to save Yamatai from annihilation under the militaristic rule of Hikomikoto.

From the above collection of works of various genres, it becomes obvious that Himiko is most often depicted as having a connection to the sun or fire, possessing magical or spiritual abilities, her death is always a major event in a given text's world and is followed by a period of unrest, ended only by Iyo's (or Toyō's) ascension to the throne. Her tomb is a huge source of inspiration and is often in itself a central plot point and bronze mirrors are her attributes. It seems that the few facts that are known about Himiko from the Chinese historical sources have become staples of Himiko's myth, one built by years of storytelling.

Hobsbawm defined the invention of tradition as [...] *essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition* (Hobsbawm, Ranger 1983: 4). The constant repetition of the elements listed above (sun, fire, mirrors, shamanism, death, tomb, and successor) creates a textual tradition. Its constant cycle is so deeply embedded in culture now that these are the things people would most likely remember about Himiko if they know about her at all. True or not, the Himiko tradition makes her a Sun Queen in cultural memory. Other well-known traditions have been added to it, making it even more "believable" as real and ancient, e.g. the blind medium (*itako*), the *kamigakari* rite, the virginal purity required of female shamans, the sakaki tree, *yatagarasu* and others.

It seems that Himiko's myth keeps spreading precisely because of how little is truly known about her. In a way, she is a "safe" option for historical fiction, as it is more difficult to be accused of inaccuracies when writing about her. Artists treat her as an empty vessel, an empty symbol that can be filled with their own meaning. Said meaning appears to have gone through a transformation throughout the decades, even if its basic visual attributes (sun, mirrors etc.) remained the same.

In the earliest known novelette about her, *Nichirin: Haru wa basha ni notte* (Yokomitsu 2010) she is portrayed as a weak beauty, a plaything in the hands of

powerful men. This depiction has been multiplied by two movie adaptations, one in 1925 and one in 1953. Only after going through many traumatic experiences does she decide to act and becomes a true *femme fatale*. She seduces the brother of the king who's keeping her captive and manipulates him into killing her wrongdoer. Then, when her lover is crowned the new king, she presses him to invade the country of Kuna, whose king had murdered her whole family, her fiancée and abducted Himiko herself in the first place. Both her lover and her ex-captor die in battle and she is left insane with grief, seeing the consequences of her deadly beauty. This portrait of Himiko shows her as a very passive character and even when she is eventually given any agency in her own life, it all stems from her relationship with men. She herself is never the power. Her only quality is her beauty. She never displays any distinct personality and the only emotions she shows are sadness and despair.

However, it seems that since the so-called *yamataimania* (a term coined by J. Edward Kidder, Jr.) that started in the 60s, Himiko's image started to grow and change with Japanese society. Yamatai and its queen became trendy. Massive quantities of Yamatai-themed novels were published and some bookstores had entire sections devoted to this topic (Kidder 2007: 32). There were as many versions of this half-legendary queen as there were authors, but distinct archetypes soon emerged. These archetypes can be called: the evil queen, the good queen, the seductress, and the priestess. Some of them are oftentimes combined in various ways, but they remain distinct. Good examples of the evil queen archetype are her depictions in *Tomb Raider* and *Hi no tori* (interestingly enough, this archetype is usually used in popular culture). The good queen archetype is present in *Joō Himiko* (Saegusa 1994) and *Maboroshi no Joō Himiko* (Kunimitsu 1989). She is the seductress in the movie *Himiko* (1974) and Yokomitsu's *Nichirin* (Yokomitsu 2010) and the priestess in *Himiko no kyōran* (Anzai 1991) and *Hitojichi ni natta Itokoku no ōmiko Himiko* (Hashimoto 2011). These are of course only a few examples from the vastness that is Himiko-centered literature.

With the sparse information on the actual Himiko, it is logical to assume that none of these depictions hold any legitimacy. They are most likely not true to the original Yamatai ruler. However, it is important to note that in the context of historical fiction, many researchers do not find it to be a negative quality. While historical fiction used to be heavily criticized for swaying from what's considered to be factual, recently it is often pointed out that the accounts of history have never been, and will never be able to be, the objective truth. The chronicler will always be influenced by the culture they live in, their personal beliefs and character, as well as language itself. The very source used in historical fiction then is thus flawed – and it is the case with the Chinese chronicles that describe Himiko as well, rather obviously so. The author of *Wei Zhi* is writing from the perspective of a servant to the Wei court, putting his own civilization and culture on a pedestal, while being

rather demeaning to the Wa people (calling them eastern savages, for example). Furthermore, because the belief in magic was wildly spread then, he also calls Himiko a practitioner of dark arts. The later textual portraits of Himiko that arose from this flawed source are skewed as well.

The same bias will always affect the writer of fiction as well, as pointed out by researchers of the new historicism current. However, as mentioned before, it is not an inherently negative occurrence. Ann Rigney writes:

It is important to recognize that certain things are remembered not because they are actually true of the past (which may or may not be the case), but because they are somehow meaningful in the present. In other words, ‘authenticity’ may not always be relevant to memorial dynamics, and certain things may be recalled because they are meaningful to those doing the recalling rather than because, from the historian’s perspective, they are actually true. (Rigney 2004: 381)

The question to ask now is: why is Himiko remembered and why is remembering her so popular right now? Why is she remembered the way she is? To provide an answer to this, various aspects have to be considered.

Consider then the time period when *yamataimania* started and the cultural influences strongest at that moment, as well as the times *yamataimania* reached out across Japan’s borders. J. Edward Kidder considers Miyazaki Kōhei to be the author who launched the Himiko trend in literature in 1967 with *Maboroshi no Yamatai-koku* まぼろしの邪馬台国 (*The phantom kingdom of Yamatai* [Miyazaki 1967]), a novel that tells the story of a railroad worker who discovers ancient ceramics on his worksite and becomes obsessed with finding Yamatai. The next year the trend was strengthened by a very popular and accomplished author, Matsumoto Seichō, publishing an essay titled *Kodai-shi gi* 古代史疑 (*Doubts on ancient history* [Matsumoto 1968]) in which he discussed Himiko and Yamatai among other topics. His next essay on the subject, *Yamataikoku no nazo o saguru* 邪馬台国の謎を探る (*Searching for the mystery of Yamatai* [Matsumoto 1972]) came out in 1972 and the *yamataimania* started in earnest, making the 70s the true beginning of this literary trend.

Incidentally, the 70s are also the time when the women’s liberation movement (*ūman ribu* ウーマンリブ) started growing in Japan. While feminism had been present in Japan before, the 70s saw the creation of more radical groups, such as Gurūpu Tatakau Onna グループ戦う女 (Group of Fighting Women) or Chūpiren 中ピ連 (Union of Women for Choice and Free Use of the Birth Control Pill), whose leader Enoki Misako formed the Japan Woman’s Party, Nihon Joseitō 日本女性党, by the end of the decade. Many rallies took place and many pamphlets and manifestos were published. The protests by the members of Chūpiren were the most visible, thanks to their pink hard hats and white military uniforms. Some transla-

tions of Western feminist thought were published, including writings by Shulamith Firestone and Kate Millett. In 1978, in the International Year of the Woman, the government took action and as a result, more women took part in policy making, both on the national and local level. Women's studies emerged, opening the gate to scholarly research. 1979 saw the publishing of the first books on Japanese women's studies. Japanese society started to change, even if the process was not very fast. Even language started to slowly transform, thanks to the efforts of *ūman ribu* groups reclaiming the word *onna* 女.<sup>3</sup> As Ehara Yumiko, Associate Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies at Tokyo Metropolitan University, noted, feminism became a part of the mainstream media (Ehara 1993: 51).

It could be argued that this change, while it most likely did not cause *yamataimania*, helped it along. It is widely accepted that minorities and oppressed groups often seek representation of themselves in the media – in fact, all people crave representation, but usually only the underrepresented groups notice the absence and actively look for media that they can relate to. Popular culture is an important part of how various groups understand themselves, how they see themselves fitting into the world, as illustrated by Casey Kelly in *Representations of Native Americans in the Mass Media* (Kelly 2017) and other researchers. It harkens back to the social learning theory, which states that no other form of behavior modeling is as effective as television, in which models of activity have been transformed into images and symbols that are easily conveyed and remembered (Bandura 1971: 7). Emotional response is also stronger when a person sees an individual they identify with (Bandura 1971: 14). The need for representation is also connected with the concept of symbolic annihilation, which theorizes that the absence of people who remind a person of themselves in media they consume suggests to them that they are unimportant. Lack of representation or pejorative representation teaches people that either the underrepresented groups can be ignored or that they possess negative qualities (Gerbner 1978: 49).

It is then possible to connect the popularization of feminist ideas in Japan to the rise of Himiko's popularity. She is, after all, a female ruler in a patriarchal society, in a country that had very few female rulers in its recorded history. She is the woman from Hiratsuka Raichō's, the founder of *Seitō* 青鞥 (*The Blue Stocking*) magazine, famous essay from 1911, here quoted from a recent translation:

---

<sup>3</sup> The women of the *ribu* movement deliberately used the word *onna*, which was at the time considered to be a pejorative term, associated with sex or lower class. The use of *onna* was decided upon because of its opposition to terms such as *shufu* 主婦 (housewife), *fujin* 夫人 (wife/lady) or *haha* 母 (mother), all of which had connotation to family. *Onna* was a "standalone" word that did not refer to male-centric terminology (Shigematsu 2012: 4). Today it is used freely, it has no negative connotations and younger generations rarely even know of its history.

In the beginning, woman was truly the sun. An authentic person. Now, she is the moon, a wan and sickly moon, dependent on another, reflecting another's brilliance. The time has come for us to recapture the sun hidden within us. (Hiratsuka 2006: 158)

Even if not all depictions of Himiko in culture are positive, she is still a woman in power, showing that it is in fact possible. That it has always *been* possible. Portraying Himiko in culture, whether its novels or video games, creates a tradition of women in power. In this specific case, it also creates a tradition of powerful women in the sacral sphere. While the female shamans in Ryūkyū used to be very important figures and held real power, this archipelago had not been considered part of Japan until rather recently and its traditions were not part of Japanese cultural memory.<sup>4</sup>

As noted before, the goal of historical fiction is oftentimes not the accurate depiction of the past. Rather, it can be linking the past, even if it is invented, to the present. It creates a world in which that invented past exists, in which it is real. It may be called a form of wishful thinking or escapism, but it seems more like an attempt to fill the void of inspiration that normally can be drawn from tradition. In Himiko's case, it creates a role model, a symbol that can be used to up-lift. Tradition, after all, can be a source of legitimacy and a feeling of importance.

As the cultures of various countries continue to mix thanks to the global village, this Japanese queen grows in fame and popularity, reliving a sort of *yamataimania* resurgence. This new wave of *yamataimania*, this time on a global scale, might be attributed to Japanese culture still being very compelling and popular to foreigners. Simultaneously, feminism is still on the rise and feminist protagonists are in vogue more than ever, as shown by blockbusters such as *Mad Max: Fury Road* (2015), *Wonder Woman* (2017) or the already mentioned *Tomb Raider* (2018), as well as bestselling novels like *Sleeping Beauties* (King, King 2017), *Circe* (Miller 2018) and many others.

What makes Himiko so popular outside of Japan is most likely a mix of the growing demand for feminist icons and orientalism. Orientalism is still prevalent in modern times, though it has been noted by scholars that it has entered a sort of third wave of its existence. First it was the chrysanthemum and the sword kind of orientalism, with geishas, samurais and cherry blossoms being its representatives. Later it became what is now called techno-orientalism (Roh, Huang, Niu 2015: 2), where the “exotic” country was filled with robots, androids and other futuristic technology. Techno-orientalism often shows the Japanese as “soul-less”, reinforcing the stereotypes of overworked people lacking humanity. The latest incarnation of orientalism seems to be the so-called “wacky” orientalism (Wagenaar 2016: 47). All of these models seem to currently exist all at once. Himiko fits the best with the very first one - she might not be a geisha or a samurai, but she is a mystical mystery of

---

<sup>4</sup> The annexation of Ryūkyū by Japan took place in 1879. It had been a separate kingdom before.

the East, the shaman queen with a lost tomb filled with magical mirrors. Orientalist attitudes are definitely seen in some of the Western depictions of the Yamatai ruler, like *Tomb Raider* or a popular young adult novel *Spirit's Princess* (Friesner 2012). In the first one she is the evil queen of the East in juxtaposition to the good white woman. In the latter she resembles the Japanese version of the noble savage – mystical, wise, one with the spirits. It is, however, not only a Western issue. Japanese portrayals of Himiko can often be accused of auto-orientalism. However, just like the creation of tradition, it is not always a negative quality. The auto-orientalism in some of the works about Himiko is often a part of the attempt to create a past that could be shared by people longing to belong. A discourse in which Himiko is a spiritual leader, a mystical, magical queen, may seem alluring as a symbol. All of which makes these types of portrayals a part of the attempt to invent Himiko's tradition.

In conclusion, it is visible that many of Himiko's portrayals in various genres of art use the same few attributes: shamanism, magic, mirrors, sun or fire, and tomb. They have been drawn from the known historical texts about Himiko and expanded upon. Said expansion occurred via interpretations of known facts and existing Japanese traditions, such as female shamanism and religious rites. They create a pattern that in time has made Himiko recognizable via these attributes. They molded her into a distinct "shape", a symbol that can be filled with meaning, depending on the artist's intention. However, they also helped to invent the tradition of Himiko - the Sun Queen of Yamatai - something she most likely was not. However, this metamorphosis is something more than just a lie. According to well-established sociological and psychological theories (such as social learning and symbolic annihilation), it is possible that the invention of Himiko's textual tradition comes from the need for representation. Tradition can be a source of feelings of legitimacy and importance, as well as up-lifting inspirations. Since the most prevalent archetype Himiko is portrayed as is a woman in a position of power, it is possible that the reason the Yamatai ruler became so popular is the rise and normalization of feminist ideas, as well as the remnants of orientalism and auto-orientalism. However, it is worth noting that orientalism is also a mechanism of inventing a tradition.

As Himiko continues to be remembered, her textual monument might change and new attributes might be added as new ideas come to life in feminist, historical and sociological discourses. Archeological findings may add new information and interpretations as well. Right now, Himiko is in the process of being added to the global pantheon of women in power, joining the traditions of Cleopatra, Elisabeth I, Lucrezia Borgia and many others. Her prominent relation to religion makes her a distinct addition to this group. Her Asian heritage invites the audience from this continent, especially the female Japanese audience, to an invented, but still important for psychological reasons, shared past, in which women were powerful in many ways. She is, in a way, the fulfilled prophecy of Hiratsuka's words: *The time has come for us to recapture the sun hidden within us.* (Hiratsuka 2006: 158)



## Bibliography

- Anzai Atsuko 1991. *Himiko Kyōran* [Himiko's Madness]. Tokyo: Kōbunsha.  
 安西篤子1991。「卑弥呼狂乱」。東京：光文社。
- Bandura, Albert 1971. *Social Learning Theory*. New York: General Learning Press.
- Blacker, Carmen 2005. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study Of Shamanistic Practices In Japan*.  
 UK: Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Clover Studio. *Ōkami* [Great God] 2006. Japan: Capcom.  
 クローバースタジオ2006。「大神」。日本：カプコン。
- De Bary, Wm. Theodore [&] Donald Keene [&] George Tanabe [&] Varley (eds.)  
 2001. *Sources of Japanese Tradition, Volume One: From Earliest Times to 1600*.  
 Chichester: Columbia University Press.
- Dumpert, Jennifer 1998. "In the Presence of the Goddess: Bowing Before the Mirror in Shinto". *Journal of Ritual Studies* Vol. 12, No. 1, 27–37.
- Ehara Yumiko 1993. Yanagida Eino [&] Paula Long (tr). "Japanese Feminism in the 1970s and 1980s". *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal. English Supplement No. 4*, 49–69.
- Friesner, Esther 2012. *Spirit's Princess*. New York: Bluefire.
- Funcom. *Conan Exiles* 2018. USA: Funcom.
- Gerbner, George 1978. "The Dynamics of Cultural Resistance". In: Gaye Tuchman [&] Arlene Kaplan Daniels [&] James Benet (eds). *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hashimoto Toshimasa 2011. *Hitojichi ni natta Itokoku no ōmiko Himiko* [Hostage priestess from Ito – Himiko]. Tokyo: Yugyōsha.  
 橋本年正2011。「人質になった伊都国の大巫女・卑弥呼」。東京：遊行社。
- Hi no Tori* [Phoenix], 2004. Takahashi Ryōsuke. Japan: Tezuka Productions.  
 「火の鳥」2004。高橋良輔（監督）。日本：手塚プロダクション。
- Himiko*, 1974. Shinoda Masahiro (dir). Japan: Hyōgensha.  
 「卑弥呼」1974。篠田正浩（監督）。日本：表現社。
- Himiko-den* [Legend of Himiko], 1999. Tomobuki Ami (dir). Japan: Group TAC  
 「火魅子伝」1999。知吹愛弓（監督）。日本：グループ・タック。
- Hiratsuka Raichō 2006. Teruko Craig (tr. & ed.). *In the Beginning Woman Was the Sun: The Autobiography of a Japanese Feminist Hiratsuka Raichō*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric [&] Terence Ranger (eds.) 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ishinomori Shōtarō 1989–1993. *Manga Nihon no Rekishi* [Manga History of Japan]. Japan: Chūeikōronsha  
 石ノ森章太郎1989–1993。「マンガ日本の歴史」。日本：中央公論社。
- Izawa Motohiko 1991. *Himiko densetsu: chi ni orita kamigami* [The Legend of Himiko: Gods walking the Earth]. Tokyo: Jitsugyō no Nihonsha

- 井沢元彦1991。「卑弥呼伝説・地に降りた神々」。東京：実業之日本社。
- Katō Toru 2013. *Yamato no kaze* [Winds of Yamato]. Tokyo: Chūeikōronsha
- 加藤徹2013。「倭の風」。東京：中央公論新社。
- Kelly, Casey Ryan 2017. “Representations of Native Americans in the Mass Media”. **Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication**. Retrieved 28 Jun. 2019, from <https://oxfordre.com/communication/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228613-e-142>.
- Kerr, George 2000. *Okinawa: The History of an Island People*. USA: Tuttle Publishing.
- Kidder, J. Edward 2007. *Himiko and Japan's Elusive Chiefdom of Yamatai: Archeology, History and Mythology*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- King, Stephen [&] Owen King 2017. *Sleeping Beauties*. New York: Scribner.
- Kirkland, Russell 1997. “The Sun and the Throne. The Origins of the Royal Descent Myth in Ancient Japan”. *Numen* Vol. 44, No. 2, 109–152.
- Kunimitsu Shirō 1989. *Maboroshi no Joō Himiko* [Illusory Queen Himiko]. Tokyo: Shūeisha.
- 邦光史郎1989。「まぼろしの女王卑弥呼」。東京：集英社。
- Kuroiwa Jūgo 1996. *Kidō no Joō Himiko* [Black Magic Queen Himiko]. Tokyo: Bungeishunjū
- 黒岩重吾「鬼道の女王卑弥呼」。東京：文藝春秋。
- Mad Max: Fury Road*, 2015. George Miller (dir). USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.
- Matsumae Takeshi 1978. “Origin and Growth of the Worship of Amaterasu”. *Asian Folklore Studies* Vol. 37, No. 1, 1–11.
- Matsumoto Seichō 1968. *Kodai-shi gi* [Doubts on ancient history]. Tokyo: Heibonsha.
- 松本清張1968。「古代史疑」。東京：平凡社。
- Matsumoto Seichō 1972. *Yamataikoku no nazo o saguru* [Searching for the mystery of Yamatai]. Tokyo: Heibonsha.
- 松本清張1972。「邪馬台国の謎を探る」。東京：平凡社。
- Miller, Madeline 2018. *Circe*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.
- Miyazaki Kōhei 1967. *Maboroshi no Yamatai-koku* [The phantom kingdom of Yamatai]. Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- 宮崎康平1967。「まぼろしの邪馬台国」。東京：講談社。
- Motomiya Hiroshi 2017-ongoing. *Kōun Ryūsui: Jofuku* [Floating with the tide: Jofuku]. Japan: Shūeisha
- 本宮ひろ志2017～。「こううんりゅうすい〈徐福〉」。日本：集英社。
- Okazaki Takashi 1993. Janet Goodwin (tr). “Japan and the continent”. *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume I: Ancient Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Omega Force, 2007–218. *Musō Orochi* [Warriors Orochi] 2007–2018. Japonia: Koei.
- オメガフォース2007–2018。「無双オロチ」。日本：コーエー。



- Perkins, George 1998. *The Clear Mirror: A Chronicle of the Japanese Court During the Kamakura Period (1185–1333)*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Reider, Noriko T. 2010. *Japanese demon lore: Oni, from ancient times to the present*. Logan: Utah State University Press.
- Rigney, Ann 2004. “Portable Monuments: Literature, Cultural Memory, and the Case of Jeanie Deans”. *Poetics Today* 25 (2), 361–96.
- Riichi Yokomitsu 2010. *Nichirin: Haru wa basha ni notte* [Sun Disk: Spring rides in a carriage]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.  
岩波書店 利一横光2010。「日輪・春は馬車に乗って」。東京：岩波書店。
- Roh, David S. [&] Betsy Huang [&] Greta A. Niu 2015. “Technologizing Orientalism: An Introduction”. In: *Techno-Orientalism. Imagining Asia in Speculative Fiction, History, and Media*.
- Saegusa Kazuko 1994. *Joō Himiko* [Queen Himiko]. Tokyo: Kōdansha.  
三枝和子1994。「女王卑弥呼」。東京：講談社。
- Shigematsu, Setsu 2012. *Scream from the Shadows: the Women’s Liberation Movement in Japan*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Square Enix. *Tomb Raider*, 2013. USA: Crystal Dynamics.
- Tezuka Osamu 1956–1986. *Hi no tori* [Phoenix]. Japan: Manga Shōnen, Kōdansha, Mushi Pro Shōji, Asahi Sonoramu, KADOKAWA.  
手塚治虫1956–1986。「火の鳥」。日本：学童社、講談社、虫プロ商事、朝日ソノラマ、KADOKAWA。
- Tomb Raider*, 2018. Roar Uthaug (dir). USA: Warner Bros. Pictures.
- Toyota Aritsune 1974. *Wa no Joō Himiko* [Himiko: Queen of Wa]. Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten  
豊田有恒1974。「倭の女王・卑弥呼」。東京：徳間書店。
- Toyota Aritsune 1975. *Shingi Waō Himiko* [Himiko: Queen of Wa, Friend of Wei]. Tokyo: Tokuma Shoten.  
豊田有恒1975。「親魏倭王卑弥呼」。東京：徳間書店。
- Volker, T. 1975. *The Animal in Far Eastern Art: And Especially in the Art of the Japanese Netsuke, with References to Chinese Origins, Traditions, Legends, and Art*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Wagenaar, Wester 2016. “Wacky Japan: A new face of orientalism”. *Asia in Focus* 3, 46–54.
- Wonder Woman*, 2017. Patty Jenkins (dir). Warner Bros. Pictures.
- Yoshikazu Yasuhiko 1989–1991. *Namuji*. Japan: Animage, Chūōkōron-shinsha, Chūkōbunko, Kadokawa.  
安彦良和1989–1991。「ナムジ」。日本：アニメージュ、中央公論新社、中公文庫、KADOKAWA。
- Yoshikazu Yasuhiko 1992–1995. *Jinmu*. Japan: Tokuma Shoten.  
安彦良和1992–1995。「神武」。日本：徳間書店。

## 論文概要

Hanna Kelner

本論文では、邪馬台国の半ば伝説的な統治者である卑弥呼と、彼女の伝説がどのように、そしてなぜ創造されたのかという問いに焦点を当てる。前半では、卑弥呼について知られているわずかな歴史的情報の概要と、入手可能な情報源から生じる疑問について述べる。後半では、文学、映画、漫画、アニメーション、ビデオゲームなど、卑弥呼のメディアでのさまざまな描写例を分析する。提示されたすべての描写に共通する要素は、同じ歴史的資料に基づき、既知の日本の伝統、特に宗教的なものに裏付けられていることを分析し、明らかにする。また、これらに共通する特性は、多くの人が卑弥呼に対して抱いているイメージの一部として定着してきたという説を検討する。彼らは卑弥呼の伝説 - 創造されたテキストに基づく伝説 - を作り出した。これは、伝統のみならず文化的記憶の創造、そしてテキストの金字塔という概念を統合したものである。本論のこの部分では、作者の卑弥呼解釈に基づいた意味で満たすためにどのように彼女が空虚なシンボルになったのか、また、卑弥呼の伝説がどのようにいくつかのはっきりとした典型へと分岐したか、そしてどれが最も流布しているかを示す。最後に、キャラクターとしての卑弥呼の人氣が、なぜ日本と国境を越えた国々で急速に高まっているのかを検討する。

**Key-words:** Himiko, Yamatai, invented tradition, cultural memory, textual monument

---

# INTERVIEW

---



## 第13回 ワルシャワ大学三井物産冠講座

### 鴻上尚史氏インタビュー

#### 「日本の『空気』と『世間』」

2019年11月19日

聞き手 コズィラ・アグニェシカ、プシビルスカしのぶ

第13回ワルシャワ大学三井物産冠講座に講師として来てくださったのは、作家、演出家の鴻上尚史氏。演劇界での活躍はもとより、最近では日本の「空気」と「世間」についての考察を著書にまとめ、大いに注目を集めている。ワルシャワ大学中央図書館での講演の後、図書館内の茶室「懷庵」にて、日本の「世間」や「空気」、日本の学校の校則やいじめ問題について、さらに詳しくお話を伺った。

#### 演劇を始めたきっかけ、作品のテーマ

プシビルスカ：まず演劇についてお伺いしたいんですが、演劇を始めたきっかけ  
というのを教えてくださいませんか。

鴻上：演劇を始めたきっかけは、中学校の時に、今で言う放課後にやるクラブ活動と同時に、週一で授業に組み込まれて、いろんなことをやるっていう時間がありまして。その時に、その授業で演劇部の活動を始めたんですね。そしたらすごく自分に合ってたんです。合ってたので、中学校の時も続けたし、高校に入ったら本格的に放課後の学校の演劇部でやるようになったと。

プシビルスカ：そうですか。現在もまさに「地球防衛軍 苦情処理係」という舞台をやっているんですが、これはどのような舞台ですか。  
なぜこのようなテーマをお選びになったんですか。

鴻上：「地球防衛軍」っていう、圧倒的に正しいことをしているはずの組織にも、苦情が殺到するっていう時代になったってことですね。スマホ以

前とスマホ以後っていうのは、人類が変わったんだっていう風に僕は思っていて、スマホ以降というのは承認欲求と自己主張が簡単にできるようになった。それで、逆に自分が誰からも承認されないとか、誰からも「いいね」を受けてないっていうことによる「自意識」ってものが、ものすごく肥大する装置がスマホなんです。その「自意識」を肥大する装置としてのスマホを持ってしまったことによって、やはり常に自分の存在を主張したいっていうのがある。でも、見た映画の蘊蓄を語ったりすると、上には上がいるので、必ずその蘊蓄に対して否定したり、もっとすごい意見を持つやつが出て来る。ところが、誰からも否定されない言葉って何だろうと思ったら、それが正義の言葉っていう、アメリカではSocial Justice Warriorって呼んでるんですが、要はどこからも否定されない言葉を使って自分の存在を主張したり、「いいね」をもらって承認欲求を満たせる時代になった。だから、「地球防衛軍 苦情処理係」も、地球のために戦ってるはずなのに、終わらぬ戦いを見て胸糞が悪くなったみたいなのは、自分の自己主張をしようとしているのではないかと。そういう話ですね。

ブシビルスカ：正義の言葉って、やっぱり否定はしづらいですね。

鴻上：この前日本でね、「おお、とうとう来たか」と思ったのは、「ストリートライブは違法です」って書いて、ストリートライブの写真をアップしたやつがいたのね。

ブシビルスカ：ええ。

鴻上：確かにストリートライブは道路交通法違反なんだけど、それをあげて、誰かが「ライブぐらい許してやれよ」とか言おうもんなら、「あなたはじゃあ、法律違反を認めるんですか」みたいなことに。

ブシビルスカ：そうですね。そうなんちゃいますよね。

鴻上：ええ。だからそういう面で言うと、正義の言葉が無敵で、それを言ってる限りは自己主張できるってことですね。

ブシビルスカ：小さい頃見ていたウルトラマンの世界も、幼心に壊れた家は...

鴻上：どうするんだっていう。お前たちヒーローはよけい壊してるじゃないかっていうね。

ブシビルスカ：(笑) そうですね。

鴻上：はい、そういう話です。

プシビルスカ：作品のテーマは、毎回どのようにお決めるんですか。

鴻上：いや、もう生きてればいろいろ出て来るといえるか。僕はツイッターをやってるんだけど、何回か炎上したりもしてるので。そうやってちゃんと生きてると、放っておいても次々と出て来るって感じですね。

プシビルスカ：ツイッターとか社会情勢みたいなものからということですか。

鴻上：いや、ツイッターも社会情勢的というよりは自分がぶつかった話、自分が生きてる中からぶつかったことからですね。それこそ「地球防衛軍 苦情処理係」は、実はヒーローが出て来るんですけど、ヒーローとともに、別の星の人間も出て来て、それぞれが自分の正義を主張するみたいなことをやっているんです。やっぱり作家なので、社会情勢的にこうだからというのはあんまり動機にならなくて、社会情勢の中で自分がこう思ったとか、こうされたとか、こういう目にあったっていうのがテーマになりますよね。

## 日本の「世間」

コズィラ： 今日のご講演では日本の「世間」について話されましたが、日本社会の「内」と「外」についてはどう思われますか。日本学科の学生にはいつも「内」と「外」について「本音」と「建前」という風に説明しようとしています。

鴻上：「内」と「外」も「本音」と「建前」も全部つながってるんですよ。つながっているし、同じ部分も大きいのだろうけど、「外」って言うってても、同じ会社だったらそれはその人にとっては「内」になるというか、同じ部署は「世間」なんですけど、同じ会社の何の交流もないような別の部署は「社会」になるんですよ。だから、現在及び将来、関係がまったく起こり得ないのが「世間」なので、「外」ってのが自分のその立場とか立ち位置からして「外」でも、やがてもし関係があるんだとしたらそれは「外」だけど、「社会」じゃなくて「世間」になるってことですね。

プシビルスカ：他の会社から電話がかかって来た時に、「佐藤はおりません」と言うじゃないですか。学生に日本語を教える時も、どうしてここでは「佐藤さん」じゃなくて「佐藤」なんだとか、「内」と「外」っていう説明をしなきゃいけないんですよ。

鴻上：なるほどね。それは言葉の使い方としては大事なことです。ただ、人間関係としては「内」と「外」よりは、やはり「世間」と「社会」の方がより説明をしていると思います。

プシビルスカ：今日のご講演でも「世間」のルールとして「贈り物が大切」だということをおっしゃっていました。ご著書（『「空気」と「世間」』、講談社現代新書、2009年）の中でも、何かをもらったら必ず何かを返さないと日本人はムズムズしてしまう、というようなことを述べられています。実はこの前、日本語の授業で学生と一緒に読解の練習問題をやったんですね。そこにあったテキストで、中国人の留学生が、日本で友達にテーブルクロスを貸した、と。その留学生は相手が困っていたからあげるつもりでテーブルクロスを渡したのに、日本人はそれをきれいに洗ってアイロンまでかけて、しかもお礼のプレゼントもつけて返してくれたそうです。それで、何だか逆に寂しい気がした、っていうのがありまして。

鴻上：うん、うん、いいですね。

プシビルスカ：ちょうどいい機会だったので、鴻上先生のご本を少し引用させていただいて、「贈与・互酬の関係」について学生たちと話し合ったんですね。それで、ポーランド人は、この場合、それを「恩」とは感じないって言っていましたね。

コズィラ：必ず返さなければならない「恩」じゃないですね。「恩」は「恩」として受け取って覚えておいて、いつか大事な時にその「恩」を返す。でも「必ず」返すわけではないですね。「必ず」返していたら、いざという時、友達が困っていても「私は何も手伝いません」と言えるわけですから。

（ウルシュラ・マフ＝ブラysonがお茶を点てながら）：別の人に返すっていうのもありますね。私は優しくしてもらったので、今度は別の人に優しくするという、そういうサークルの。

鴻上：「恩送り」とかありますね。恩を送って行くっていうね。

コズィラ：ええ。

鴻上：でも、中国はわからない。社会主義の影響がすごい強いかもしれないですね。もともとは西洋でも、そうやって何かもらったらすぐ返すみたいなのがちゃんとあったんですけどね。キリスト教が、「誰かに食事をおごってもらった時は、おごり返すのではなく、貧しい人とか不幸な人に施しなさい」という、つまり、プレゼントを



し合うっていう文化をすごくはっきり否定したんですよね。だからそこがやっぱり大きな違いですよね。

プシビルスカ：キリスト教も関係してくるんですね。

鴻上：はい、キリスト教も大きいと思いますね。僕の研究じゃなくて、阿部謹也さんの研究（『日本社会で生きるということ』、朝日新聞社、1999年）なんですけど、キリスト教の社会も、以前はちゃんと「世間」というのがあって、「世間」としてのつながりもあったんだけど、キリスト教が本当に一神教を統一したというのか、1215年にラテラノ公会議で完全に神との一対一の関係を司祭との間で作り上げたわけですよ。だから、本来はやはりみんな世間的な考えを持ってるんだなっていうのは、わりとわかりやすかったですけどね。

### 日本人の「空気」「罪悪感」

プシビルスカ：ご著書の中でも本当に面白い例をたくさん挙げられています。さっきの「本音」と「建前」にも関連しますが、「会議とは意見が合う日本人」とか。

鴻上：はい、はい。変だよね、会議の時は何も言わないくせに、終わったら「そんなのできるわけねーじゃん」とかって言う。

プシビルスカ：そうなんですよ。（笑）

鴻上：これはね、外国人は本当に大変だと思うよ。「え？　じゃあ何であの時に言わないの」ってなるでしょう。良くないね。それはとても良くない。それが日本文化だとか言ってる場合じゃないですね。だから、海外で生活したり、外資で働いたり、海外の日本の会社で働いた、洗礼を受けた日本人は、「いや、これじゃいかんだろう」という風に思うようになりますからね。

プシビルスカ：勇気がいりますよね、その場で自分の意見を言うのは。

鴻上：うん、そうですね。まあでも、そこがまた日本人のいい加減なところで、そういう人が4、5人いたら、すぐそっちへ変わるので、「そうだよなー、やっぱその場で言った方がいいよなー」みたいな。

プシビルスカ：「空気」がそこで生まれるんですね。あと、休暇の取り方にも触られています。日本人はなかなか休暇を取らない。

鴻上：休暇を取らないし、休暇から帰ってくると、必ず「いや大変だったんだよ、混んでて」とか「雨に降られてさー」とか、とにかく休暇を楽しむことが良くないというか、同じ集団の中で自分だけが特権的にいい目を見てると思われたら困る、ってことだよな。それも本当にやめた方がいいよね。

プシビルスカ：罪悪感ですかね。

鴻上：罪悪感でしょう。刷り込まれた罪悪感。やっぱりこのDNAはでかいですね。

プシビルスカ：そうですね。

鴻上：うん、実にでかい。それは『空気を読んでも従わない』（『「空気」を読んでも従わない 息苦しさからラクになる』、岩波ジュニア新書、2019年）にも書きましたが、「ソファがあっても気がついたら床に座ってる僕たち」っていう、量文化がやっぱり刷り込まれて。

プシビルスカ：量文化ですか。

鴻上：何かね、やっぱりどこかその「村」という意識があって。巡り巡って「村」は自分に悪いことをするはずがないっていうのが、やはり「世間」という文化の信頼の根底なんですよ。結局「村」は「村」で生き延びなきゃいけないわけですよ。だから、働かないやつがいて、そいつに対して文句を言うのも、実は巡り巡って、「お前が働くことによって取り高が増えて、みんなが楽になる。それは『村』のためなんだけど、同時にお前のためなんだ」っていう、「君にとってマイナスのことは言ってないんだ」っていうことが、僕らは刷り込まれてるので。そうすると、みんなはやっぱり一つになって働いてるのに、自分だけが休暇に行くことに対して、ものすごい罪悪感を持つんですね。大体「行って大変だった」とか「疲れた」とかしか言わないっていうね。

プシビルスカ：なるほど。ポーランド人は、しっかり（休暇を）取りますよね。

コズィラ： はい、しっかり。休まないと仕事がちゃんとできませんから。バッテリーを充電しないと。

鴻上：いや、本当ですよ。それは当たり前の権利なんですけどね。

コズィラ： だから、罪悪感は全然ないです。逆に『（休暇は）良かったです』って自慢します。

鴻上：逆になぜ罪悪感を持たなきゃいけないと思うんでしょうね。当然の権利な

のに、なぜ罪悪感を。日本人は平気で「社長の身になってみろ」とかツイッターで書くんだよね。「そうやって、それぞれ好き勝手に休みを取っていいと思ってんのか」とかね。どういう民族なんだろうと思いますね。今年僕のツイートで600万ぐらいリツイートされたのが、子供たちのオーディションの時の話なんです。来年芝居をやるんで、子供たちのオーディションをしてて、みんな水筒を持ってたんですね。でも、50人ぐらい小学生がいたんだけど、飲まないんですよ。それで、「あれ？お前らひょっとして、学校で先生に飲めって言われないと飲んじゃいけないの？」って言ったら、いろんな学校から子供たちが来てるんだけど、全員が一斉にうなずいて。それで、「じゃあ飲んでいいよ。飲めよ」って言ったんです。オーディションでは歌って、踊って、とかやってるわけですよ。でも飲んでないのね。「飲んでいいんだよ、好きな時に」って言ったら、戸惑いながら飲んでて。それがあんまりにも驚いたから、「水が必要な時でさえ、許可を求めて飲まなきゃいけない日本の学校は何なんだ」みたいにつぶやいたんですよ。お母さん方は「それが本当に心配で、先生に言ってるんですけど」って言うんだけど、本気で「飲みたい時に飲んでいいと思ってんのか」って言うツイートが来るんだよね。

プシビルスカ：先生がそういう風に言うんですか。

鴻上：そう。「あなたは飲みたい時に飲み始めたら、どんなにクラスがザワザワしたり、混乱するのかわかってないんですか」みたいなことを平気で書くんですよ。でもね、それは小学校1、2年生と5、6年生でも違うわけで、何を一律に言ってるんだ、みたいのがありますね。よく言えば同調圧力側の絆になる思考なんだけど、悪く言えば、本当に自分を抑えてしまう。

コズィラ： やっぱ我慢の教育ですね。

鴻上：そう。だめですね。本当だめですね。

プシビルスカ：その点、ポーランドの学校は自由ですよ。飲みたい時に飲むし、一応給食みたいなものもあるんですけど、お弁当を持って行って休み時間などに自由に食べてもいいし。購買でも甘いものやチップスとかコーラとかを買って、、、

コズィラ： それはちょっとダイエットとしては良くないですね。

鴻上：（笑）まあね。

コズィラ： でも水はね、本当に喉が渴いたら集中できないでしょう。

鴻上： 本当そうなんですよ。おかしいんですよ。実におかしい。やってみりゃいいだけの話なんだけど、やらさないんだね。

## 日本の学校の校則

ブシビルスカ： 先ほど先生のツイッターで、今、校則に関してのものが多くとお聞きしました。『ブラック校則』という映画も今上映しているようですが、日本の学校は、やはり締め付けですか。

鴻上： 締め付けです。とにかく締め付けですね。もうルールが厳しくて。この前笑ったのは、いや笑ってる場合じゃないんだけど、筆算の「何々かける何々」の、イコールの横線を手書きで書いてたら、150問全部書きなおせって言われたそうです。定規を使い、と。

ブシビルスカ： 定規ですか。

鴻上： バカだよ。本当バカだよ。あと、ツーブロックっていう髪型（トップは長めで、サイドや襟足は刈り上げなど短めにカットされた髪型）があって、今わりと普通の若い人たちがやってるんですが、やっぱり中学校も高校も「学生らしくない」とかで校則ではだめだそうで。そしたらすぐツイッターでホテル業界で働く人から、「ツーブロックは我々の業界では清潔さのシンボルです」と。

ブシビルスカ： （笑）なるほど。

鴻上： でも、なかなか変わらないですね。僕はネットで人生相談やってるんだけど、「何でこんなに日本の校則は厳しいんですか」という質問がドストレートに来たんです。「僕は高校時代、これを変えようと思って先生と戦ってひどい目にあって、自分の中ではトラウマなんです」と。もともと例えば日本文化、というか「世間」として結局、変化しないことを良しとして来たんですよ。「所に与えられる」と書いて「所与性」というんですけど、その「所与性」によってうまく回ってきたので、変えないことがやはり至上命令だった。でも、今本当にこれだけグローバル化したら変わんなきゃいけないわけで。

ブシビルスカ： じゃあもう何十年も変わってないってということなんですね。

鴻上：そういうことなんですね。変われなかった大企業は続々と潰れ始めてるわけですよ。銀行も合併したりとか、「あの大企業が」っていうのが、どんどん危なくなってきた。それは「所与性」だけにしがみついていたからですよ。だけど、そういう面でやっぱり最後「所与性」にしがみついているのは日本の学校で、何にも変わってないから、本当にあちこちで軋みが生まれている。

プシビルスカ：先ほどのお話にもあったように、学校が「世間」になるのですか。

鴻上：ものすごい強い「世間」です。ものすごく強い「世間」で、同僚同士がやはり完全に「世間」ですね。それで言うと、完全な「内」ですね。すごい、わかりやすい「内」ですね。

プシビルスカ：これはもうしばらくは変わらないと思われませんか。

鴻上：変わらないって言っちゃうと、本当に変わらないので、少しずつ少しずつやっぱり変わって行くと思いますよ。まず最初に変わり出したのは、帰国子女の子たちが、「何でポーランドでOKだったのに、アメリカでOKだったのに、日本でダメなんだ。理由を言って下さいよ」みたいに言い出した。すると先生が「日本は日本だからだ」って言って、「先生、それ理由になってないでしょ」っていうのがあって。こんな風に少しずつ変わってるし、変わらないといけないと思いますね。変わらないといけない。「そういうもんなんだよ」って言っちゃったら、本当に変わらないので。

プシビルスカ：そこで終わってしまいますからね。

鴻上：そう、本当にそうです。なので、僕は『不死身の特攻兵』（『不死身の特攻兵 軍神はなぜ上官に反抗したか』、講談社現代新書、2017年）という本を書いて、（その特攻兵の佐々木友次氏に）会いに行ったんです。21歳だった若者が、軍隊で特攻して体当たりしろって言われたのに、9回出撃して9回帰って来た。そのうち1回は船を沈めて、もう1回は小破ですけど船を壊して、ちょっとだけやつけた。それで、帰って来るたびに、「次は死ぬ」って言われたっていう、ブラック企業の典型的な日本陸軍で、そんなことができた日本人がいたっていうのは、何かちょっと、日本人の希望ですね。何だ、日本人もみんな長いものに巻かれて、大きいものに従ってるだけじゃなくて、こういう人もいたんだっていうね。だからこういう人がいたことを思うと、ちょっと生きて行く勇氣になるというか、戦える勇氣になりますね。

## いじめ問題

ブシビルスカ：「生きて行く勇氣」「戦える勇氣」は、先ほどの学校のお話にも通じるものがあります。今、学校でいじめが多いじゃないですか。

鴻上：うん、うん。

ブシビルスカ：以前、朝日新聞に掲載された先生の「とにかく逃げろ」というメッセージ。（2006年11月17日に朝日新聞に掲載された「いじめられている君へ」で、鴻上氏は「あなたに、まず、してほしいのは、学校から逃げることです。逃げて、逃げて、とことん逃げ続けることです。」と述べられた。）私も読ませていただいてすごく感銘を受けました。「逃げる」というキーワードは、やはり大事ですよ。

鴻上：あれを書いたのはね、もう12、3年前になるのかなあ。

ブシビルスカ：あれは、「逃げ恥」（2016年にTBSで放送された大ヒットテレビドラマ「逃げるは恥だが役に立つ」）で、「逃げる」がキーワードになる前の話ですよ。

鴻上：そうです。もうあの当時はね、半分ぐらいはネットですごい攻撃されたの。「何だ、逃げろとは」って。「子供たちに逃げることを勧めるとはどういうことだ」と。だけど、半分ぐらいは、「いやこれでいいと思うよ」っていうのがあった。でもあれから12、3年経ったら、やっぱり「逃げて何が悪いの？」っていう。

ブシビルスカ：そうですよね、今はそれが普通になりました。

鴻上：全然もう「逃げていいじゃない」「戦って無理なんなら逃げていいんだからさ」っていう。大人だってしんどい時は逃げてるわけだからっていう時代になりましたね。

ブシビルスカ：いじめというのも、小さな「世間」みたいなものが原因になっているのでしょうか。

鴻上：うん、大きいですね。どんどん「世間」を強化する方向になっちゃってます。だから、まずとにかく、固定担任制をやめなさいってよく言ってるんです。固定担任じゃなくて、例えばアメリカみたいに教科ごとに教室を移動して、先生が全部違うとか。それから集団担任っていう、例えば1学年に5クラスあったら、5人の先生で5クラスをディスカッションしながら見るみたいなものとか。閉鎖的になればなるほど「世間」が強くなるので、とにかく広がっ

ていくような、薄い「世間」にするような方向をとりなさいって  
いうことをよく言ってますけどね。

## 会津武士の精神と個人主義

コズィラ： 私の勝手な解釈ですが、外から見ると、「世間」は一つの治安です。組織です。過ごしやすいです。

鴻上： 本当そうですね。

コズィラ： ルールに従えば、保護を受けます。ですから、一つ変更すると、一つ譲ると、全部破壊してしまうので、それも問題になるのではないかと思います。どこかの侍が「ならぬことはならぬ」と言っていましたね。

鴻上： 会津武士ですよ。「ならぬことはならぬ」。

コズィラ： そういう精神ですね。

鴻上： あまり社会が変わってなければ「ならぬことはならぬ」でOKなんだけど、これだけどんどん変わって来てるわけだから、ちょっと対応しないとだめでしょうっていうのがすごく大きいですね。昔は本当に300年間何も変わんなかったわけだから、何を言われても「ならぬことはならぬ」で済んだわけですけど、今は違いますからね。

コズィラ： ご講演でも「1つ年上なだけで尊敬しなければならない」という「世間」のルールについて話されていました。しかし誰でも、自分もやがて年を取りますので、上の立場になりますね。それまで待てばいい、ということですね。

鴻上： そうなんです。

コズィラ： ちょっと、軍隊みたいですね。新しい人をいじめたりとか、治安を守るというのか。

鴻上： だから、うまく回ってる時はこんな楽ないいシステムはないんですよね。

コズィラ： でしょう？ そういう面も大事ですね。弱点だけじゃないですね。

鴻上： それはだから、うまく回ってるうちは文句を言わなくていいんだけど、うまく回らなくなった時に、さあどうしようってなるんですよね。だから日本だと、高度成長期って言われる1960年代とか、多分今のポーランドみたいにGDPがどんどん上がって行く時は、少々問題

があっても大丈夫だろうってなる。だけど、本当に今の日本みたいに「ここからどうなるんだ、一体」っていう、どの企業が潰れてどの企業が生き残るかもまったくわからない時には、今の時代に合う生き方を探さないといけない。厄介なのは、日本にはさっきのカソリックの教会みたいな防波堤がないんですよ。つまり、「じゃあ『世間』を手放します。『世間』にはもう従いません。まったく知らない人ともやって行こうと思います。でもどうやってたらいいいんですか」っていう時に、最終的に教会がありますとか、キリストがちゃんと導いてくれます、みたいのが日本にはないので。

プシビルスカ：セーフティーネットがない。

鴻上：うん、そうそう。まあ、でも、西洋社会だって若者がどんどん宗教から離れて、もう教会に行かなくなっていますから。だから、みんなほぼ同じことに直面はしてるんですよ。だからキリスト教というか、宗教的なアイデンティティーの支えがないまま、この不安定な中をどう生きて行こうとするかってのは、ほぼ世界的に同じ問題に直面してる。そう思うとね、みんなが苦しいって、頑張ろうって思ってるんだったら自分も頑張ろうかなっていう雰囲気になれる。

コズィラ：西洋には個人主義がありますね。大いに尊重されていますし、自分なりの生活をする支えになりますね。

鴻上：そこなんですよ。その個人主義がないから、すぐ簡単に日本人は自我を集団に渡してしまうので。

プシビルスカ：そうですね。

鴻上：本当に簡単に「集団我」になるので、困ったもので。

プシビルスカ：「集団我」というのは、南博さんですね。

鴻上：そうです。南さんの「集団我」って言葉、的確な言葉だと思いますね。

コズィラ：考えてみれば、神道も仏教も自我はやはり煩惱の元みたいな悪いことで、自分を他人のために捧げるのがいいことだという価値観がありますので、やっぱり日本の考え方でいうと、個人主義と利己的なものとはすごく近いですね。日本学科の学生たちにも、そういう話をしました。「日本では自我の目覚めがありました。じゃあ個人主義と利己主義の違いをどういう風に日本人に説明しま



すか」と質問して、いろんな例を挙げたのですが、だんだん難しくなりました。

鴻上：難しいですね。それは本当に難しいと思うな。

コズィラ： 登山家が、自分の趣味だからと言って家族を置いてヒマラヤへ行くのは個人主義ですか、利己主義ですか、ときいたら意見が分かれました。

鴻上：ああ、いいですね。いい授業じゃないですか。それはもう答えが出るわけないですからね。それはもうトライアルするしかないわけだから。

### 日本学科の学生たちへ

プシビルスカ：では最後に一つだけ質問させていただきます。日本学科でも、日本語の教育の一環として時々日本語劇をやったりするんですよ。

鴻上：おお、すごい。

プシビルスカ：学生たちにシナリオも作らせて、もちろんイントネーションや、拍とか間も指導します。日本語を体得するのにすごくいいとってやっているのですが、演劇が語学教育に与える可能性みたいなものはあると思いますか。

鴻上：それはもう可能性どころか、一番いいと思いますよ。だって使うわけですからね。自分で書いて、そして使って、聞いてるのは、語学の最上の形じゃないですか。書いてしゃべっているうちに、こんな言い方は変だとか、言葉として、口語としてはこんな言い方はしないとか、そういう発見も含めてすごくいいと思いますね。

プシビルスカ：日本語を勉強している学生たちに何かアドバイスはありますか。

コズィラ： 勉強しなさい！

鴻上：（笑）いや、本当にたくさんある言語の中で、よく日本語を選んでくださいました、ありがとうございます、と思います。

コズィラ： 先生はご講演で、「そんなに漢字はやらなくていい」とおっしゃいましたが、そんなこと言わないでください。

鴻上：（笑）読めればいいんです。書けなくても読めればいい。

コズィラ： 漢字の担当の先生が怒りますよ。

鴻上：（笑）いや、いや、いや。もうだって英語教育でもスペルでどれ

だけ苦労したか。「何だよ、スペルなんかわかんなくていいじゃん」っていうね。いや、でも劇とか、しゃべって聞くのは一番いいですよ。とっても本当にいいと思うな。聞いてしゃべって、しゃべって聞いて。それで、どんなことがあっても日本を嫌にならずに、興味を持ち続けてくれてるとうれしいな。そしてやがて日本に住む機会があったら、Cool Japan（鴻上氏が司会をしているNHKの人気テレビ番組）に出演してください。

ブシビルスカ：わかりました。伝えておきます。学生たちはCool Japanに出たいって言ってましたよ。

鴻上：ああ、言ってました？じゃあぜひ。

コズィラ：今日は本当にどうもありがとうございました。

鴻上：ありがとうございました。

#### 鴻上尚史プロフィール

作家、演出家。1958年、愛媛県生まれ。早稲田大学法学部出身。桐朋学園芸術短期大学演劇専攻特別招聘教授。1981年に劇団「第三舞台」を結成。以降、作・演出を手がけ、これまで紀伊國屋演劇賞、岸田國士戯曲賞、読売文学賞戯曲・シナリオ賞などを受賞。舞台公演の他には、エッセイスト、小説家、テレビ番組司会、ラジオ・パーソナリティー、映画監督など幅広く活動。著書に『「空気」と「世間」』（講談社現代新書、2009年）、『不死身の特攻兵 軍神はなぜ上官に反抗したか』（講談社現代新書、2017年）、『「空気」を読んでも従わない 息苦しさからラクになる』（岩波ジュニア新書、2019年）など。

## Notes About the Authors

**Judit Hidasi** – PhD in Applied Linguistics and Habilitation Degree in Intercultural Communication, since 2017 Professor Emerita of Budapest Business School. She founded the Oriental Communication Institute at the College of Foreign Trade (later renamed as the Budapest Business School) in 1989, and directed the Japanese Studies program until 1998. 1998–2001 she worked as Deputy Head of Bilateral Relations at the Hungarian Ministry of Education. From 2001 to 2006 she was professor of communications at Kanda University of International Studies (Japan). From 2006 to 2012 she served as Dean to the Faculty of International Management and Business at Budapest Business School. Her research and teaching expertise has been focused on issues of intercultural communication and interaction, on culture and society interface, and on gender matters from a cultural perspective. With a broad publication portfolio she is a member of several professional and academic organizations. In 2005 she was decorated with the Order of the Rising Sun, Gold Rays with Neck Ribbon (Japan), for advancing Japanese language education and developing civil ties between Japan and Hungary.

**Hanna Kelner** – born in 1992, she graduated with a Master's degree in Japanese Philology at Jagiellonian University in Cracow. Her bachelor thesis *The influence of Japanese tradition on the works of Suzuki Kōji* analyzed elements taken from Japanese tradition on modern Japanese horror. Likewise, her master's thesis *The analysis of religious motives in chosen horror novels by Bandō Masako* was focused on the influence of religion on the same literary genre. Currently Hanna Kelner is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Philology of Jagiellonian University and she is working on her dissertation *The influence of Himiko's textual monument on cultural memory based on selected literature*, which analyzes the way the ancient Japanese ruler Himiko is portrayed in Japanese literature in connection to the concepts of associative links and cultural memory. Hanna Kelner has published other articles: *Imitacja literacka w służbie pamięci kulturowej – analiza porównawcza Nichirin Riichi'ego Yokomitsu i Salammô Gustave'a Flauberta* (Literary imitation

in service of cultural memory – the comparative analysis of *Nichirin* by Yokomitsu Riichi and *Salammbô* by Gustave Flaubert). Porównania. Nr 22(1) 2019 and *Wizerunek władczyni-szamanki Himiko w kulturze popularnej Japonii* (The Image of Shamaness-ruler Himiko in Japanese Popular Culture) ). *Religie w kulturze popularnej Japonii*. Ed. Kozyra, A. Kordzińska-Nawrocka, I., Warsaw: Japonica, 2017.

**Iwona Kordzińska-Nawrocka** – a graduate from Japanese Studies at the University of Warsaw and Shinshū University (Japan). In 2003 she received a PhD and in 2011 she received a postdoctoral degree – *doctor habilitatus* in the field of Japanese literature. Currently, she works at the Chair of Japanese Studies at the University of Warsaw.

She specializes in classical literature and language as well as ancient and contemporary Japanese culture. Among other things, she published: *Japanese courtly love* (TRIO 2005), *Japanese Culinary Culture* (TRIO 2008), *Millennium of Genji Monogatari in Japanese Culture* (ed. WUW 2009), *Ukiyo – Floating World, the Image of Townspeople Culture in the Works of Ihara Saikaku* (WUW 2010), *Classic Japanese Language* (WUW 2013), *Tradition in Japanese Popular Culture* (ed. Japonica 2017).

**Magdalena Kotlarczyk** – a PhD candidate at Jagiellonian University, she graduated with MA degrees in English Studies and Japanese Studies. She teaches Japanese at the University of Silesia in Katowice. Her research interests cover such topics as modern dystopian literature, particularly English and Japanese, and the phenomenon of hybrid genres.

**Agnieszka Kozyra** (PhD, post-doctoral degree – *doctor habilitatus*, professor) – University professor at the Chair of Japanese Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw. Graduate from the Department of Japanese and Korean Studies, University of Warsaw, MA in Humanities at Osaka City University. She was a visiting professor at the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in 2004/2005. She specializes in Japanese religion and philosophy, especially Zen Buddhism and Nishida Kitarō's philosophy. Main publications (books): *Samurajskie chrześcijaństwo* (Samurai-like Christianity, 1995), *Nihon to sei-yō ni okeru Uchimura Kanzō* (Uchimura Kanzō in Japan and in the West, 2001), *Filozofia zen* (Philosophy of Zen, 2004), *Filozofia nicności Nishidy Kitarō* (Nishida Kitarō's Philosophy of Nothingness, 2007), *Estetyka zen* (Aesthetics of Zen, 2010), *Mitologia japońska* (Japanese Mythology, 2011), *Neo-zen? Filozofia zen a racjonalizm, libertynizm i hedonizm* (Neo-zen? Zen Philosophy versus Rationalism, Libertinism and Hedonism, 2019)

**Monika Nawrocka** – PhD candidate at the Chair of Japanese Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, where she earned an MA focused on Jap-

anese food culture. Her PhD research centers around food habits in the Muromachi Period based on one of the oldest culinary clans called the Shijō Clan and their culinary essay “*Shijōryū hōchōsho*”. She was a scholarship student at Rikkyō University (2013–2014) and at the University of Tōkyō (2017–2019). In September 2019 she arranged a visit by the Shijō Shinryū group to Poland and together they performed the *hōchōshiki* ceremony at the University of Warsaw.

**Katarzyna Sonnenberg-Musiał** – is an assistant professor at the Department of Japanology and Sinology, Jagiellonian University in Crakow, author of a number of articles and monographs on the narrative strategies in early-modern and modern Japanese literature, and translator of the works of Ihara Saikaku, Higurashi Ichiyō, Kunikida Doppo, Natsume Sōseki, Mori Ōgai, Nagai Kafū, Akutagawa Ryūnosuke, Dazai Osamu, and Hiraide Takashi.

**Jacek Splisgart** – Cultural Anthropologist and Japanologist. A graduate of ethnology at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and folkloristics at the National Institute for Humanities in Sakura (Japan). Earned a **doctoral** degree in cultural **anthropology (in the field of Non-European societies and cultures/ Japan)**. Currently associated with the University of Gdańsk (associate professor at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology and the Department of Sinology) and the Tokyo Metropolitan University (as guest lecturer). Recipient of scholarships granted by the Japanese government in 2007–2009 and 2015–2016. Author of numerous publications about Japanese culture and the history of anthropology.



## Instructions for Contributors

*Analecta Nipponica. Journal of Polish Association for Japanese Studies* is the peer-reviewed journal of the Polish Association for Japanese Studies (PAJS) covering all aspects, issues, and subjects, from all disciplines, on, and related to Japan, and consists of articles presenting results of original research as well as surveys of research, especially critical, in specific areas, publication reviews, biographical and bibliographical notes, reports on important academic meetings and other events.

The language of the journal is English (American or British, but please, be sure of the consistency of the selected orthography) and Japanese. Abstracts in Japanese are required for articles in English, and abstracts in English are required for articles in Japanese; key words should be supplied both in English and Japanese). Language correctness is the responsibility of the author(s), hence securing “native speaker” revision is requested prior to the submission of the material for publication. Ultimate decisions, however, belong to the Editor also in this respect. All permissions to include any material protected by copyright © must also be secured by the author(s).

All items, except for proper names, provided in languages other than English should be in italics

and, in the case of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, etc., also in the original orthography. The transliteration of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, etc., material must be standard (i.e., e.g. Hepburn for Japanese, pinyin for Chinese, Cune-Reischauer for Korean, etc.), unless in quotations.

Please, note that priority of acceptance is given to PASJ members but submissions from non-members are accepted for consideration. Materials submitted cannot be either previously published or currently under consideration for publication elsewhere.

The volume of material is, in principle, not limited but it should not exceed reasonable number of pages. Acceptance decision belongs to the Editorial Board and, ultimately, to the Editor of the journal.

The material should be submitted electronically to the Editor and to the Secretary of the Editorial Board in the form allowing editorial intervention in the text and, separately – to ensure the full understanding of authors' intentions, in type script version reflecting these intentions.

### **Technical information:**

the type should be Times New Roman 12 pts., single spaced, on one page only in the typescript version. Footnotes, consecutively numbered throughout the material, should be typed in Times New Roman 10 pts.; no endnotes accepted. For Japanese, MS Mincho type is highly recommended. Text files: doc, rtf (Microsoft Word). Photos, graphic files: plik, tif, bmp, eps, psd, cdr. References and source documentation should be provided preferably in the text in the sequence

Author year: page(s) in the following way (e.g.):

Tamura (2003:74) expressed opinion that...,

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...;

in the case of more authors of one publication referred to, the sequence

Author et al. year:page(s) is, in principle, expected, cf. e.g.:

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>, <b>, <c>, etc, cf. e.g.:

Tamura 2005, Tamura 2005a:233, Tamura (2005b:94–7).

**Bibliography** must not be divided into parts unless justified and absolutely necessary. Illustrations and tables should be numbered respectively and consecutively.

**The editor must insist** that every contributing work to this publication reveal all respective authors involved in the creation of the said work (including providing their specific affiliation and contribution, i.e., who is the author of the concept, background theories, method, protocol, etc., used in the publication), with the main responsibility falling to the author submitting the manuscript. These measures are put into place given that the so-called “ghostwriting” or “guest authorship” phe-



nomena display the lack of academic integrity and all detected cases of such will be exposed, to the extent of informing the proper entities (institutions hiring the authors, academic associations, associations of academic editors, and so forth). The editor will document all displays of academic misconduct, especially these breaking and infringing the ethics of proper scholarly research.

The editor shall disclose information concerning the sources of funding for the publication, the input of research institutions, associations, and other entities ("financial disclosure").

