ASIAN STUDIES

NEW INSIGHTS INTO JAPANESE SOCIETY

All articles are double blind peer-reviewed.
The journal is accessible online in the Open Journal System data base: http://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/as.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction
New Insights into Japanese Society

Nataša VISOČNIK∗

The present issue of the journal *Asian Studies* brings us a substantial number of selected contributions focusing on Japan, which aim to uncover different aspects of Japanese society and culture. As the articles are written by experts in Japanese studies from different parts of the world, we can find research perspectives from varied traditions, which bring us diverse, comprehensive, developing, and systematic assemblage of theories and approaches to various topics.

Among a variety of topics discussed in this volume, we first look into the world of art and popular culture in Japan. Art and especially popular culture in Japan are two of the most vibrant and rapidly changing fields of Japanese cultural activities. And especially, popular culture has a large audience among the students of Japanese society. In this section, a set of four papers is designed to bring the readers various aspects of creative art forms portraying the human world from the past and then to the future.

With the first article, we go into the darkness of the night and get to know the scary creatures wandering around our world. Raluca Nicolae in her article introduces us the *yōkai*, the numinous creatures inhabiting the other world and sometimes entering our world as well. These creatures are manifestations of people's feeling of fear and thus are portrayed in text and image. The author presents the specific type of *emaki*, called *hyakki yagyō*, where a large variety of *yōkai* and *oni* come together and wander around in the night. With the second article, we move into the contemporary world of images, *anime*, which is also one of the most creative forms of the 21st century. Tamae Prindle with her article on Nakamura Ryūtarō's anime provides us an interesting study of so called "expository anime", which explains the diachronic story out of a synchronic aspect of a certain field of science. Anime *Serial Experiments, Lain* unfolds the rationales, potentials, and effects of two types of communication systems using the

∗ Nataša VISOČNIK, Assistant Professor, Department of Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.
natasa.visocnik@guest.arnes.si

perceptions of the major character, a thirteen-year old girl, Rein, as well as other supporting characters. The science in it does not just punctuate a diachronic narrative; rather, it sets the major and minor plots in motion. *Experiments* is essentially a synchronic exposé of the digital mechanism and its impact on humans.

With the next two articles we move into the sphere of the body and its transformation and self-cultivation in the Japanese society. The first article by Violetta Brazhnikova Tsybizova explains the process of impersonating feminine roles by masculine performers, and therefore creating the masculine femininity transmitting the spirit and the state of mind in place of ordinary copies of external femininity signs. This is the basis of the actor's interpretation in the Noh theatre, similar in the case of both male and female roles. Japanese martial arts or *budō*, discussed by Stephen Robert Nagy in the next contribution, are very popular icons found in films, comics, video games and books. In the article, the author deals with the way of teaching Japanese *budō* at university level and thus questions himself about the approach to this topic. From the personal experience of teaching in a university level course about budō tradition, he tries to answer many challenges he faces during the process of teaching.

The second section brings forth some insights of philosophical and religious researchers in Japan, which are under research topics in Slovenia. Thus these articles are of great value, especially for the readers of *Asian Studies* in Slovenia.

First two articles deal with the philosophical discourses of ethics and phenomenon of life and death. Hashi Hisaki's article about the former topic is a discussion about principles of essential being from a comparative perspective and explores the views of two philosophers, Dōgen of Japan and Martin Heidegger of Germany. Both deal with the existence of human beings and thus the goal of this comparison is to fundamentally grasp the essentiality of being, life, and recognition (*jikaku* 自覚), bound to embodied cognition in our globalized world. The second article from this part discusses the problems Japan is facing in contemporary world. Kristýna Vojtíšková focuses on a phenomenon that some may consider as a crisis of values. However, the article does not deal with the value system nor search for causes for the contemporaneous crisis of values in Japanese society. Rather she works on the assumption that the value crisis is present in the contemporary Japanese society and focuses on an ethical aspect of this crisis, which is the relationship between the individual and the society, the

major pillar of Watsuji Tetsurō's thought, which the author considers particularly topical here.

The last article in this section by Iva Lakić Parać deals with the phenomenon of shamanism in Japan with an emphasis on the female role. From the historical perspective and the notion that the women have dealt with shamanistic practices in Japan since ancient times, she tries to answer two questions. First, was the shamanism a tool that women used in order to have a small part of their authority and power acknowledged? And second, have women managed to influence their marginal position in society and in what way? Thus this study brings us a research of the shamanism from a female perspective that shows the position of the women in the rigid patriarchal social milieu.

The topic of next section is Japanese literature and it is especially dedicated to the poet, essayist and writer Takahashi Mutsuo (born in 1937, Fukuoka, Japan). He represents the world of contemporary Japanese poetry and has published more than a hundred books so far, including his anthology of poems *Bara no ki, nise no koibitotachi* (薔薇の木・にせの恋人たち, *Rose Tree, False Lovers*) which drew the national attention in 1964. He is a rare literary person who creates by transcending the boundaries of literary genres—i.e. new poetry, *tanka*, *haiku*, essay, and even opera and *nō* play. Takahashi also has a profound knowledge of literature in all times and lands. His wide and original perspective provides us a fresh view different from those researchers or critics of literature. He has received a number of important literary prizes in Japan and his poems and other works have been translated into many languages. He frequently gives reading recitals around the world.

The section begins with Takahashi Mutsuo's lecture that was performed at March 27, 2014 on the Faculty of Arts, organised by the Department of Asian Studies. Our colleague Moritoki Škof Nagisa, who also helped editing this section, offers a prologue on his lecture to the poems created after the great earthquake in Tohoku of 2011, which open up new topics such as ecological catastrophes caused by nuclear energy, loss of the meaning of words in the contemporary era in which information is exchanged at a lightning speed.

The following article by Yamasaki Kayoko gives us a deeper view in the world of previously mentioned poet Takahashi Mustuo. The author particularly focuses on analysing the tree motif in his poems, from the early stages to the present day. The collection of poetry inspired by the poet's childhood, full of

tragic events such as his father's premature death and his mother's abandonment of him, is interwoven by autobiographical and mythological elements in a ringlike structure. However, after the year 2000 a new creative phase in his work ensues: the poet deals with the problems facing our world such as ecological issues, disintegration of the family, terrorism, etc.

Fukuma Kenji, the author of the next contribution on Japanese literature, deals the so called *dankai* generation, a generation born during Japan's post-war baby boom. As consumers of culture in a society which was becoming richer, they experienced a "hot season" around 1970. Sato Yasushi's *Jazzmen in Street Fighting* and Sasaki Mikiro's *Whip of the Dead* are two pioneer works born in an undulation of political movement in the late 60s. At a certain point in the 1970s the whole scene changed. People entered a state of strange happiness with problems unsolved.

In the section "Asian Studies in Slovenia" we have three articles written in Slovene by three young Slovene researches. The section begins with Luka Culiberg's research about the Japanese national language and the modern structural linguistic's approach to understanding the language in the social contects. He focuses on the ideological overview of linguistic deliberations of Tokieda Motoki (時枝誠記 1900–1967), who attempted to justify the colonial language policy of Japanese Empire in Taiwan and Korea. The second article by Klemen Senica exposes one of the most controversial issues in Japan's foreign relations with its neighbouring countries, particularly China and South Korea. The topic discussed is the Yasukuni Shrine and the practice of politicians, especially prime ministers, going to the shrine and paying respect to the soldiers who died for the "Japanese cause". The author looks into this topic in a broader context of imperialist nostalgia, the wave of which has been coming over Japan since the turn of the 21st century. The third article in this section is written by Saša Istenič, a Taiwan specialist, who analyzes Slovene media coverage of the dispute between Japan, China and Taiwan over the sovereignty of the Diaoyu/Diaoyutai/Senkaku islands, one of the most serious maritime territorial disputes in East Asia. The news stories on the dispute are researched by applying a combined quantitative and qualitative content analysis.

Though the authors of the present collection often hold very divergent views regarding many aspects of Japanese culture, they all share a complex intellectual culture which enables them to explore the Japanese society, bringing some new

insights into research. We hope that the collection before you will contribute to a deeper understanding of old and new, traditional and contemporary issues related to Japan. It is our hope that this collection would induce future investigations, point to new aspects and questions, and open new horizons for the appreciation of diversity and variety of Japanese society.

I wish all readers an enjoyable reading.

Nataša Visočnik, Guest Editor

Shaping Darkness in *hyakki yagyō emaki*

Raluca NICOLAE[*]

Abstract

In Japanese culture, the *yōkai,* the numinous creatures inhabiting the other world and, sometimes, the boundary between our world and the other, are obvious manifestations of the feeling of fear, "translated" into text and image. Among the numerous *emaki* in which the *yōkai* appear, there is a specific type, called *hyakki yagyō* (the night parade of one hundred demons), where all sorts and sizes of monsters flock together to enjoy themselves at night, but, in the end, are scattered away by the first beams of light or by the mysterious *darani no hi*, the fire produced by a powerful magical invocation, used in the Buddhist sect Shingon. The nexus of this *emakimono* is their great number, *hyakki,* (one hundred demons being a generic term which encompasses a large variety of *yōkai* and *oni*) as well as the night—the very time when darkness becomes flesh and blood and starts marching on the streets.

Keywords: *yōkai*, night, parade, painted scrolls, fear

Izvleček

Yōkai (prikazni, demoni) so v japonski kulturi nadnaravna bitja, ki naseljuje drug svet in včasih tudi mejo med našim in drugim svetom ter so očitno manifestacija občutka strahu "prevedena" v besedila in podobe. Med številnimi slikami na zvitkih (*emaki*), kjer se prikazni pojavljajo, obstaja poseben tip, ki se imenuje *hyakki yagyō* (nočna parade stotih demonov), kjer se zberejo pošasti različne vrste in velikosti, da bi uživali v noči, vendar jih na koncu preženejo prvi žarki svetlobe ali skrivnosten *darani no hi*, ogenj, ki se pojavi z močnim magičnim zaklinjanje in se uporablja pri budistični sekti Shingon. Skupna vez na teh slikah na zvitkih je številčnost *hyakki,* (sto demonov, generičen termin, ki označuje veliko različnih prikazni in demonov), kot tudi noč – vsakič, ko tema postane meso in kri in začne korakati po ulicah.

Ključne besede: *yōkai*, noč, parada, poslikani zvitki, strah

---

[*] Raluca NICOLAE, Associate professor, Department of Modern Languages and Business Communication, Bucharest University of Economic Studies.
ralun111@yahoo.com

Liminality and the Birth of *hyakki yagyō*

Human experience has always set an invisible boundary between familiar and unfamiliar space, between known and unknown. The existence of this liminal space has undoubtedly shaped our sense of reality, and, as a result, people have tried to fill in the blanks and picture the other world by means of their imagination: a realm inhabited by completely different creatures which bear only a slight remembrance of the human world (Komatsu 2003, 7). The average man can only reach the boundary between the two worlds, but a person invested with special powers is able to go beyond it. Consequently, the stories about the other world are actually tales about the liminal space between the two worlds. For instance, demons (*oni* 鬼) would appear in the mountains or by the gates or bridges because such places have turned out to be portals to the other world. Moreover, the other world does not necessarily points to a certain space, but it also refers to a peculiar time. The roads on which people go back and forth in daylight can easily change into travel routes for supernatural monsters at night (Komatsu 2003, 14–15).

One of the most notable examples in this respect is *hyakki yagyō* 百鬼夜行 (the night parade of one hundred demons). The notion of *hyakki yagyō* (alternatively pronounced *hyakki yakō*) provides a metaphor that transcends historical contexts and serves as a useful point of view through which to interpret many discourses (Foster 2009, 8). The idiom usually indicates a procession of numerous demons and *yōkai*[1] who flood the town streets at midnight. The term also refers to the painted scrolls (*emakimono* 絵巻物) which depict such a nocturnal parade. It was advisable to avoid venturing out on evenings when the *hyakki yagyō* was known to be on the move. Such times and places represent danger: they were forbidden, unpredictable, beyond the control of human culture (Foster 2009, 9). The *Rekirin mondōshū* 暦林問答集 (*Collection of Discussions of the Forest Almanac*), composed by the historian Kamo Arikata (?–1444), advises people against leaving their homes between the hours of 11:00 p.m. and 1:00 a.m. Arikata also identifies the nights when the *hyakki yagyō* are likely to go out: the nights that follow the days of the first, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and eleventh

---

[1] *Yōkai* 妖怪 is often translated in English as monster, spirit, goblin, ghost, demon, phantom, specter, fantastic being, lower-order deity, or more amorphously, as any unexplainable experience or numinous occurrence. The term *yōkai* is more like a contemporary choice; other words are also invoked such as *bakemono* 化け物 (changing thing), the more childish *obake* お化け, and the more academic-sounding *kaii genshō* 怪異現象 (strange phenomena). (cf. Foster 2009, 5)

zodiac signs. Besides washing one's hair or cutting one's nails at the wrong time on the wrong day, venturing out at certain moments of night was a common interdiction among the numerous taboos observed in ancient Japan (Lillehoj 1995, 16).

Hyakki yagyō in Literature

The *Ōkagami* 大鏡 (*The Great Mirror*), a fictionalized history from late 11th or early 12th century, refers to an episode in which Fujiwara Morosuke[2] (908–960) came across a parade of demons while traveling through Kyoto one night in his ox-drawn carriage:

> I have not heard what the month was, but he lowered his carriage blinds late one night near the Nijō intersection, while he was traveling south from the Palace along Ōmiya Avenue. "Unyoke the ox and get the shafts down. Get the shafts down", he shouted. The puzzled attendants lowered the shafts, and the escorts and outriders came up to investigate. Morosuke lowered his inner blinds with meticulous care and prostrated himself, baton in hand, as though paying someone every possible mark of respect. "Don't put the carriage on the stand", he said. "You escorts stand to the left and right of the shafts, as close to the yoke as you can, and make your warnings loud. You attendants keep shouting too. Outriders, stay close to the carriage." He began a fervent recitation of the Sonshō Dharanī. The ox had been led out of sight behind the carriage. After about an hour Morosuke raised the blinds. "Hitch up now and go on", he said. His attendants were completely at sea. I suppose he kept quiet about this incident until much later, and then spoke of it only in confidence to close friends, but a queer tale is bound to get out. (McCullough 1980, 136)

The *Sonshō Daranī* 尊勝陀羅尼 (San. Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya Dhāraṇī) is an incantation praising the protective powers of the deity Butchō Sonshō 仏頂尊勝 (San. Vikīrna-uṣṇīṣa), revered as a manifestation of one of the five aspects of the Buddha's wisdom. In Japan and China, the recitation of this *dharanī* was considered effective in warding off evil. The magic of the *Sonshō Daranī* is narrated in a *setsuwa* 説話 from the *Konjaku monogatarishū* 今昔物語集 (*Collection of Tales of Times Now Past*), early 12th century, according to which a young courtier named Mitsuyuki witnessed a procession of demons one night at the Shinsen-en, a large garden in Kyoto. Fortunately, Mitsuyuki's nurse had sewn a copy of the *Sonshō Daranī* into the collar of his robe, and this saved him from the malevolent power of the nocturnal spirits (Lillehoj 1995, 16–18).

---

[2] Minister of the Right under Emperor Murakami

Coined at the end of Heian and the beginning of Kamakura period, the word *hyakki yagyō* also appeared in the *setsuwa* collections *Uji Shūi Monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 (*Collection of Tales from Uji*), early 13th century, *Kohon Setsuwashū* 古本説話集 (*A Collection of Old Tales*) in which demons and monsters emerge one by one in front of the travelers who dare stay overnight in a deserted temple or mansion (Komatsu 2009, 9). In *Uji Shūi Monogatari* the *oni* do not come forth in the town or in the deserted temples, but gather in the mountains and partake in a banquet, as in the famous fairytale *Kobu-tori oni tachi* (*The Demons Who Removed the Old Man's Lump*) (Ikeda 1971, 503A). In the account from *Uji Shūi Monogatari*, a monk is travelling alone through the province of Settsu (near the present-day Ōsaka) and he comes upon a deserted temple. He decides to stop there overnight and starts chanting an incantation to the deity Fudō. But all of a sudden, a crowd of one hundred people with torches in hands appears out of thin air, marching into the temple. When they get closer, the monk realizes that they are not actually humans, but very weird creatures, some with only one eye, or some with horns. The monk is terrified and he spends the whole night praying to Fudō to protect him. At sunrise, when the group of *oni* leaves, he is shocked to discover that actually the place he stopped overnight was not a temple at all. He can hardly find his way back, but, eventually, meets some travellers who inform him that he is in the province of Hizen (an area corresponding roughly to Saga and Nagasaki prefectures), miles away from Settsu (Foster 2015, 16).

According to the above examples, we can identify three types of plots within the *hyakki yagyō* series: the type of the nocturnal march across the streets of the capital (*miyako ōji kōshin-gata* 都大路行進型), the haunted house type (*bake yashiki-gata* 化け物屋敷型) and the type of the demonic egression in the mountains (*sanchū shutsubotsu-gata* 山中出没型) (Komatsu 2009, 13). The *otogi zōshi* 御伽草子 (companion tales) of the Muromachi period conjured up other *hyakki yagyō* episodes. In the same period, about 60–70 kinds of *emaki* and *e-hon* 絵本 (illustrated books) translated into image this anthropomorphic invasion of *yōkai* (Tokuda 2009, 29).

Multiplicity and Mutability in *hyakki*

The term *hyakki* 百鬼, literally meaning one hundred demons, does not necessarily encompass a clear-cut number (one hundred), but it refers to a multitude of *oni* and ill-shaped beings called *bakemono* (shape shifters)*,* including *yōkai* (Komatsu

2010, 8). The traditional image of a Japanese *oni* is that of a creature with horns, bulging muscles, skin tinted in red, blue or even green, wearing tiger-skin loincloths and carrying an iron club. The *oni* taking part in the *hyakki yagyō* in the *setsuwa* collections are portrayed as: beings with three hands and one foot or with one eye; fierce beast-like creatures with horse/bull/bird/deer heads; demons with two long growing horns from their heads, dancing on one leg; naked creatures of eight *shaku*[3] high with the skin so black that it seemed coated with lacquer (Komatsu 2009, 9). In the 14th century *emaki*, *Ōeyama e-kotoba* 大江山絵詞 (*Picture scroll of Mt. Ōe*)—Itsuō Museum of Art in Osaka—, the head of the terrifying *oni*, Shutendōji[4], is being carried by several warriors.

> The enormous head has, obviously, horns, many eyes and a toothy grimace that stretches from ear to ear. While the shape-shifting powers of the *oni* made it possible for them to take on human form, their gruesome appearance would reflect their evil dispositions, including their penchant for human flesh. (Reider 2003, 133)

Nevertheless, the word *hyakki* does not only refer to demons, but also applies to *yōkai*. *Oni* and *yōkai* do share certain similarities, but they are different creatures. All *oni* bring to life the negative human emotions such as envy, jealousy and hate and are able to materialize the strange phenomena that could be neither seen nor described by the human beings. In other words, they give substance to human anxiety. They are supposed to look frightening or aggressive (with horns, claws and fangs) because they are the very embodiments of man's worse fears. Such creatures have crystallized the negative aspects of the shadows and death, while their diversity, typology and the manner in which people perceived them showed meaningful insights into the human history, as well as into the Japanese imagination and creativity (Komatsu 2008, 125–26). Buddhist eschatology never fails to show us the image of hell (*rokudō-e* 六道絵), inhabited by hordes of

---

[3] Eight feet (about 243.84 cm)

[4] Shutendōji, the chief of a band of *oni*, lives on Mt. Ōe, abducting people, particularly maidens, enslaving them and eventually feasting on their flesh and drinking their blood. The concerned Emperor Ichijō orders the warrior hero Minamoto no Raikō and his men to stop the abductions by vanquishing Shutendōji and his followers. When he receives the imperial order, Raikō is a little alarmed because *oni* are known as powerful transformers who can turn into any being or thing. But the warriors disguise themselves as *yamabushi* (mountain ascetics) and, with some divine help, they find the *oni's* Iron Palace where through guile, deception, and with some divine help, they eliminate Shutendōji and his *oni* band. (cf. Reider 2003, 139–40)

demons who induce even more terror and dread to the sinners[5]. According to Anesaki, the Japanese *oni* "belongs to a purely Buddhist mythology" (Anesaki et al. 1928, 283). However, *oni* was also the term used in *onmyōdō* 陰陽道 (the way of *yin* and *yang*) to describe any evil spirits that harm humans. In early Onmyōdō doctrine, the word *oni* referred specifically to the invisible evil spirits that caused human infirmity (Komatsu 1999, 3). Ancient Japanese literature has assigned a number of different Chinese characters to express the term *oni*. Among them, the character used now is 鬼, which in Chinese means invisible soul/spirit, both ancestral and evil, of the dead. According to the *Wamyō ruijushō* 和名類聚抄 (Japanese names—for things—classified and annotated) (ca. 930s), a primitive Japanese encyclopedia, *oni* is explained as something that is hiding behind things, not wishing to appear. It is a soul/spirit of the dead (Reider 2003, 134–35). Moreover, Yutaka Tsuchihashi assumes that the word *oni* came from the pronunciation of *on* 隠 (to hide) plus "i" (Reider 2010, 5).

On the other hand, *yōkai* were, in the first place, called *obake* and they referred to tools, objects or animals animated by a spirit. As both *oni* and *yōkai* lurked in the darkness, at first glance they were easily mistaken for one another and the painted scrolls depicting the *yōkai* (*yōkai emaki*) were commonly known as *hyakki yagyō emaki*[6], although, in some cases, no demons appeared in the scrolls (Tokuda 2009, 26-27). From the Kamakura period onward, a prevalent concept was that of

---

[5] The *Jigoku zōshi* 地獄草紙 (*Hell scroll*) and *Gaki sōshi* 餓鬼草紙 (*Scrolls of the Hungry Ghosts*) produced at the end of the Heian period under the influence of Buddhist thought and the belief in *rokudō* articulated people's fascination with the unknown and out of ordinary things as unique ways of perceiving fear. To put it simply, these paintings were guided tours of hell. In the 12th and 13th century Japanese stopped fearing hell and *rokudō-e*. Creatures like the ox-headed *gozu* 牛頭 or the horse-headed *mezu* 馬頭, the demons that guarded the entrance to the afterlife, became mere literary characters that gave testimony for the general preference for *setsuwa*. Across the ages, the numinous fear was sublimated into earthly laughter and the *emakimono* started to be painted as a means of entertainment (Komatsu et al. 2009, 52). In pre-modern Japan people viewed the unknown world either as terrifying or surprisingly charming (Komatsu 2009, 3), but the plot in *hyakki yagyō* became redundant in the Edo period. The *yōkai* were no longer perceived as characters in a contextualized story, but as wondrous "things" that are worth looking at. In the middle of the Edo period, a new field of study became prominent: the *hakubutsu-gaku* 博物学 (lit.: museum science). This new science started to index and label almost all things in the known world, animals, plants or minerals. Illustrations were attached to the explanations to make the description true to life. A new trend started and there were even requests for paintings or drawings representing *bakemono* (Kagawa 2009, 45).

[6] Some *emaki* belonging to Sūfuku-ji in Gifu Prefecture (referred to as the Sūfuku-ji scrolls) are thought to be the earliest surviving examples of the *tsukumogami emaki* genre (illustrated painted scrolls of transfigured objects), a genre that is similar to the *hyakki yagyō emaki* but that does not depict the *tsukumogami* in night parades. (cf. Lillehoj 1995, 21)

tsukumogami 付喪神, animated household objects with arms and legs. According to *Tsukumogami-ki*, a Muromachi *otogi zōshi*, when an object reaches one hundred years, it transforms, obtaining a spirit (*seirei* 精霊) that can deceive people's heart. The word is thought to be a play on *tsukumogami*, with *tsukumo* indicating ninety-nine and *gami* (*kami*) denoting hair; the phrase can refer to an old man's hair as an indication of old age (Foster 2009, 7). Sometimes, the *tsukumogami* have been placed at the crossroads between humorous and grotesque.

Taking into account the large variety of the characters in the *yōkai emaki*—ranging from man-made objects (*tsukumogami*) to mammals, fish, shell fish and plants—we can pinpoint several major categories of *yōkai*: animals (as in *Chōjū jinbutsu giga*[7] or in *Tawara no Tōda*[8] *emaki*, Konkaikōmyō-ji, Kyoto); plants (the tree-like *yōkai* painted by Kanō Tan'yū in *Hōshakukyō zukan*[9], Kyoto National Museum); objects (as in *Fudō Riyaku engi emaki*[10], Tokyo National Museum; *Tsuchigumo sōshi emaki*[11],Tokyo National Museum; *Yūzū Nenbutsu engi emaki*[12], The Art Institute of Chicago, first scroll/Cleveland Museum of Art, second scroll); and *oni* (Komatsu 2008, 166, 175–76**)**.

> The discourse of *yōkai* is hybrid: it weaves together strands from other discourses—encyclopedic, scientific, literary, ethnographic, folkloric, visual––to create a form of its own (Foster 2009, 3).

Because history and folklore could be passed on in both written and oral form, and because people live in a multi-layered culture, the image might sometimes convey the meaning more accurately than the text[13] (Komatsu 2009, 2).

---

[7] Belonging to the Kōzan temple in Kyoto, *Chōjū-jinbutsu-giga* 鳥獣人物戯画 (lit. Animal-person Caricatures; English: *Scrolls of Frolicking Animals and Scrolls of Frolicking Animals and Humans*) is a famous set of four *emakimono* drawn at the mid-12th century.

[8] *Tawara Tōda* 俵藤太 (*My Lord Bag of Rice*/*Rice-bag Tōda*) is a fairy tale about a hero who kills the giant centipede Seta to help a Japanese dragon princess and is then taken to the underwater dragon palace to be rewarded with rice bags.

[9] *Hōshakukyō zukan* 宝積経図巻 (*Illustrated Mahāratnakūṭa Sūtra*).

[10] *Fudō Riyaku engi emaki* 不動利益縁起絵巻 (*Narrative Picture Scroll of About the Priest Shoku's Devotion to his Master Priest in a Serious Illness*) (E Museum).

[11] *Tsuchigumo sōshi emaki* 土蜘蛛草紙絵巻. This scroll chronicles the adventures of Minamoto no Raikō, ending in the slaying of the Tsuchigumo, a monstruous spider.

[12] *Yūzū Nenbutsu engi emaki* 融通念仏縁起絵巻 (*Illustrated Scrolls of the History of Yūzū Nenbutsu*).

[13] When we refer to artistic works such as *Chōjū jinbutsu giga,* we tend to place more emphasis on the visual element than on the narrative, but if we underline the importance of the text, *iruibutsu* 異

Yōkaika—Creating *yōkai*

Along the ages, Japanese artists have tried to picture demons or other creatures dwelling in the Dragon Palace, in hell, or in the upper realm. At the beginning they imagined demons with growing horns, claws and tiger-skin loincloths, but, above all, merciless and dreadful. Secondly, they picked up a certain animal, be it fish or insect, and they altered its realistic depiction by adding human-like features. In the third place, the objects were painted in motion (walking, talking, dancing), as transfigured objects. The specters of the other world were regarded with a considerable amount of fear, therefore, the paintings deliberately boosted the violent aspect of *yōkai*.

One of the visual means to stimulate fear was to paint the monster as big as possible, especially in contrast with humans (exaggerating its size and dimensions). The menacing figure would loom on helpless, tiny human beings threatening their life with its dark presence. Moreover, the notion of mutability provides an important key to the ontology of the mysterious (Foster 2009, 6). Hybridization is another method employed to wipe out the distinction(s) between species and to cause uncertainty, insecurity and anguish. For instance, by painting two eyes, a nose and a mouth on a *tsunodarai* 角だらい[14] whose shape resembles a human head, the artist conjured a *yōkai* that is both human and object or, to be more specific, that is neither human, nor *tsunodarai*. Or, by drawing men's heads and putting them in a tree, the humans and the fruit fuse together into the uncanny anatomy of *jinmenju* 人面樹. This operation is called *yōkaika* 妖怪化, the transformation into *yōkai* (Wakasugi 2009, 18–19), by means of which the traditional rules of Arithmetic and Biology are partially or totally abolished: two eyes become one, three or even multiple eyes; the head is placed on the torso or the eyes are relocated on the palm of the hand. Besides hybridization and hyperbolization, *yōkaika* can be achieved by many other ingenious strategies such as increasing or decreasing the number of the body parts; the standard Mathematics plays tricks on the onlooker by multiplying or reducing the number of body parts. A suggestive example could be Hitotsume kozō 一つ目小僧—a *yōkai* with the appearance of a child with only one eye in the middle of the forehead, dressed in Buddhist garments. Another effective method is that of

---

類物—types of *otogi zōshi* depicting strange beings or phantasms—are more relevant in this respect (cf. Komatsu 2008, 234–35).

[14] A two-handled keg for water

*w*iping off certain body parts: the *yōkai* Dō no tsura 胴面 underwent such a "operation" only to become a headless creature with the nose, eyes and mouth located on the torso. *Yōkaika* can also reshuffle certain body parts, placing them in the most unexpected places of abnormality. As the name suggests, the *yōkai* Tenome 手の目, has his eyes on the palm of his hand in an original attempt to reverse the two perceptions (sight and touch). The artist's skill can create many other *yōkai*-like shapes by putting grotesque emphasis on certain body parts. The *oni* in *rokudō-e* have bulgy muscles or the neck of Rokurokubi 轆轤首[15] stretches uncontrollably during sleep. There are some animals, like the cats or the dogs that walk freely on their four paws, but a biped position will push them closer to the human beings. The cat Nekomata 猫又/猫股 is famous for its biped position as well as for its spirit that may haunt humans with visitations from their dead relatives. Needless to say, animals can easily turn into *yōkai* if they are dressed in human-like clothes and walk on two legs. The same holds true in the case of plants (trees), which fundamentally cannot move, but, by means of *yōkaika*, are endowed with legs to roam from one place to another (Komatsu 2008, 194–95) (as Tolkien's famous ents—middle-earth plants). Actually, the *yōkai* in the *hyakki yagyō emaki* are pictured as having animal-like characteristics (*dōbutsuka*) or demon-like features (*onika*) rather than being personified (Komatsu 2008, 1998).

The representations of *yōkai* have numerous other examples in literature as well as in fine arts. Such works were indexed into three major types: the other world type (*ikai emaki taipu* 異界絵巻タイプ) such as *Urashima Myōjin emaki* 浦嶋明神縁起 (*The Tale of Urashima*) or *Amewakahiko zōshi* 天稚彦草子[16] (*The Companion Tale of Amewakahiko*); haunted house type[17] (*obake yashiki taipu*) such as *Tsuchigumo sōshi* 土蜘蛛草紙 (*Picture Scroll of an Earth Spider*) and one hundred demon parade type (*hyakki yagyō taipu*). Above all, *Chōjū jinbutsu giga* had, obviously, a major influence on *hyakki yagyō emaki* since the two *emaki* caricatured the human life style, the everyday tools, the human garments and speech (Komatsu et al. 2009, 54).

---

[15] A type of female-yōkai whose neck might stretch or even come off and fly around during sleep.

[16] According to *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, Amewakahiko was first sent from the Plain of High Heaven to the residence of the earth *kami* Ōkuninushi, to pacify the Central Land of Reed Plains and engage in negotiations for its transfer to the Heavenly Grandchild.

[17] The *obake yashiki* お化け屋敷タイプ (haunted houses) were once places inhabited by humans and then abandoned. After that, they no longer belonged to civilization and the human realm, becoming the dwellings of *yōkai* and *oni*.

Procession and the Night (*yagyō*)

The procession theme is not singular in the Japanese fine arts and originated in a 12th century illustrated record of the Emperor Go-Shirakawa (1127–1192) travelling from one place to another, but maybe the most famous procession examples are *Nenjū gyōji emaki* 年中行事絵巻 (*Scroll of the Rituals in Daily Life*) and *Ban Dainagon ekotoba* 伴大納言絵詞 (*The Tale of Great Minister Ban*). The image of the procession was either part of an illustrated story (*monogatari-e* 物語絵) or an independent representation of a festival parade. In the 14th century, the image of the procession (*gyōretsu-zu* 行列図) became a well-known motif in painted scrolls, thus *hyakki yagyō emaki* followed the general trend of picturing such processions (Wakasugi 2009, 22–23). At the beginning, the procession had aristocratic overtones, but later on, in the Muromachi and the Momoyama periods, common people were able to take part in many festivals and to enjoy the flamboyant parades.

Text and Image—a Fading "Matrimony"

Gradually, the story behind the image became so shallow that it almost faded away, since the artist's major concern was to depict as many *yōkai* and *oni* as possible in a colourful display of shapes, forms, ages and moods. The *hyakki yagyō* in Spencer Collection at the New York Public Library [Spencer #112] is one of the rare scrolls that still have written explanations (*kotoba-gaki* 詞書) accompanying the drawings. The *emaki* opens with forty-four lines telling of a man besieged one night by a horde of demons in a deserted house east of Sujaku Avenue, south of the Central Gate in Kyoto. The house belonged to a *chūnagon* 中納言 [18] who had abandoned it when the capital was moved to Fukuhara in the summer of 1180. Before leaving, the counselor entrusted the house to the care of an old servant.

> One day, a visitor arrived at the mansion. Rejoicing in his newfound company, the old caretaker sat the visitor down and began telling him stories. He continued into the early hours of the morning. As the night deepened the old man dozed off, and at the hour of the ox [2:00 a.m.] the visitor began to sense a strange presence at the center of the house. Then, from outside, a weird creature called out in an eerie voice, "Excuse me!" "Who's there?" came the answer, and from the back of the house emerged the frightening sound of footsteps, the likes of which the visitor had never heard before. Terrifying

---

[18] Middle counselor

forms appeared. There were the beings who had been making the strange sounds. The creature who had called out explained, "I was living in the Ōmiyadono of Konoe Kawara, but with the recent move of the capital I lost my home. I wanted to find another place to live. That's why I came here." Immediately an unearthly voice answered, saying, "Welcome!" and the creatures all rolled about in delight. One had the appearance of a man, while the others had assumed all sorts of frightening forms. In fact, they were so terrifying that they took the visitor's breath away. Following the first segment of text is a painted scene of the *chūnagon*'s estate, with a garden at right and a dilapidated mansion at left. The artist has rendered the structure with tattered bamboo blinds and *fukinuki yatai*[19], allowing us to see straight down into the room in which the visitor and the servant sit face to face. This inclusion of human figures and landscape details is another feature that makes the Spencer scroll unusual as a *hyakki yakō emaki*. The calm of this first scene is shattered in the second scene by two bizarre creatures that rush across the threshold of the *chūnagon's* home. (Lillehoj 1995, 11–13)

Later on, in the 19th century, we encounter another variation the night-procession in an *emaki* painted by Egawa Buson (1887–?), property of the Boone Collection of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago (referred to as the Boone scroll [Boone #266010]). In this *emaki*, Buson transplanted the fantastic shapes of the creatures in earlier scrolls and arranged the demons in an original manner. The story is revealed exclusively through images, but the text no longer exists.

The first scene of the Boone scroll shows two demons speaking excitedly, perhaps about events taking place on the other side of a large red gate that seems to mark the edge of a deserted temple compound. Scene two has a pair of demons crouching behind a birch tree staring at a small spirit, which flies through the air toward an ox-drawn carriage at the far left. Dark mists well up around the carriage as it makes a mad dash to escape. Its attendants glance over their shoulders as though sensing the presence of demons approaching from the rear. Scene three reveals that the clumsy, ox-drawn carriage was too slow—the malignant spirits descend upon the carriage en masse. In scene four, a swirling sea of dark mists and smoke part to show demons completing their destructive spree amidst the last remnants of the carriage. Only when the fifth and final segment of the scroll is unrolled do we find ourselves face to face with the person who was riding in the carriage: an elegant gentleman sitting in a meadow surrounded by long, bending blades of grass and pale wild flowers. The gentleman seems quite calm. Eyes closed, he fingers a string of white prayer beads. As dawn breaks and the gloomy mists lift, only one pitiful demon remains. This petite female demon crouches on the ground clutching at her horns, with her long, dark tresses flowing onto the earth in front of her.

---

[19] 吹抜屋台, A blown-away roof

Far to the left, a sliver of the sun peaks out above a bed of clouds. Soft morning light warms the scene and sends the reassuring message that the world is now safe for its human inhabitants. (Lillehoj 1995, 14–16)

Two Polarities in the *hyakki yagyō emaki*

Historically speaking, the painted scrolls of *hyakki yagyō* came forth at the end of the Muromachi and the beginning of the Momoyama era, in a period when old literary productions were revived in form and style to compete with new works (Komatsu et al. 2009, 52–53). The above-mentioned Spencer scroll was particularly important because of the annotations about the uncanny invasion of the supernatural creatures into the human realm, but other *hyakki yagyō* versions could be found in Kyoto City University of Arts, Hyōgo Prefectural Museum of History, Ōkura Shūkokan Art Museum and Tokyo National Museum etc. Besides these painted scrolls, there are two *hyakki yagyō emaki* that actually made history in Japanese fine arts: *Hyakki yagyō-zu* (found in Shinju-an, temple Daitoku, Kyoto), and *Hyakki no zu* (property of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto). The Shinju-an *emaki* seems to be one of the oldest *hyakki yagyō* scrolls, even if it is a copy. The original probably dates back to the Muromachi period (Tokuda 2009, 27–28).

According to a legend about its origin, an itinerant priest decided to spend the night in a deserted temple near Fushimi.

Shocked to hear an unearthly din around midnight, the priest discovered a party of demons and ghosts entering the temple. He fled from the startling sight, shutting himself in an empty room and staying there until daybreak. At dawn he made a hasty departure, heading for the nearest village where he told the villagers of his ordeal. Soon the news reached the artist Mitsunobu, who wanted to paint a convincing likeness of the demons and went straight to the haunted temple. But, though he sat up all night, he saw nothing unusual. In the morning, however, when Mitsunobu opened the shutters, he witnessed an amazing sight: the walls of the temple were covered with an intricate array of ghoulish images. He pulled out his sketchbook and began to copy the weird figures. As he was drawing, Mitsunobu realized that the images were caused by cracks in the damp walls filled with mildew and fungi in a variety of phosphorescent hues. Although enchanting, the tale of Mitsunobu and the haunted temple is probably fictional, invented decades or centuries after the Shinju-an scroll was painted. (Lillehoj 1995, 10)

Almost in the middle of the unfolding Shinju-an *emaki* there is an intriguing scene that drew the researchers' attention: a huge red demon who releases the other

yōkai hidden in a crate. The previous interpretations claimed that the demon was threatening the smaller *yōkai* locked in the box, but it is more likely that the demon was actually joining forces with the creatures, trying to take them out to parade on the streets of the town. There is also another important detail in the painted scroll: behind a screen, a few *yōkai*-ladies were painting their teeth black, a job to be carried out inside the house. This image appears before that of the huge red demon and it clearly reveals spatial indicators, exploring the double folded space of *soto* and *uchi*: the familiar place within the house, and the untamed vastness of the outside world. In other words, the crate filled with monsters struggling to break free marks the boundary between two kinds of spaces. Outside the box, the *yōkai* flock together into the darkness, infesting the streets of the city with terror and grotesque laughter (Tokuda 2009, 27–28). But their whimsical march comes to an end with the first beams of light. A sizzling red globe dominates the last part of the painted scroll, scattering the parading creatures and pushing them back into the darkness they came from. Some researchers interpreted the red ball of light as *darani*[20] *no hi* 陀羅尼の火, the fire produced by the magical invocation performed in the Shingon sect, whereas other scholars saw it as the representation of the rising sun.

On the other hand, the *Hyakki no zu*, became the property of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies in 2007, therefore it has been a relatively new *hyakki yagyō* "discovery". Since then, the debates about its accurate age have been going on among the scholars. For instance, Tsuji Nobuo considers that *Hyakki no zu* was a copy created in the Hōei period (1704–1711), but Hayakawa Monta thinks that it was drawn in the Genroku period (1688–1704). Wakasugi Junji, from Kyoto National Museum, estimated that the painted scroll had originated in the mid-17th century. This assessment makes it the second oldest version of *hyakki yagyō emaki* in the history of Japanese fine arts, after the Shinju-an version. Moreover, Wakasugi claims that the original work from which it was copied could be even older than the prototype from which the Shinju-an version was drawn (Komatsu 2008, 55–56).

---

[20] *Darani* (*dharani*) were known in Japan as supernatural incantations from the early 8th century. In the exoteric Mahāyāna sutras, *dharani* are most often represented as mnemonic devices for memorizing scriptural passages and as charms for the protection of those who recite the sutras. They often contain indecipherable phonic fragments, and in Chinese scriptures, they are invariably transliterated (rather than translated) from their original Sanskrit forms. (cf. Kimbrought 2005, 4–5)

The characters marching in *Hyakki no zu* play an important role in the multi-layered imagery of *yōkai*. In contrast with the Shinju-an *emaki*, in which more than half of the characters are tools and instruments (*tsukumogami*), the *yōkai* in the *Hyakki no zu* are quite diverse and some of them seem to have descended directly from the 12th century painted scroll, *Chōjū jinbutsu giga*. The first to appear "on the stage" is a bird-headed *tengu* 天狗, holding in hands two burning bones; he is followed by another *tengu/oni* with an *eboshi* 烏帽子[21] on his head, carrying a halberd on his shoulder; a frog with an *eboshi*, riding a little dragon-headed turtle, is looking back in surprise at the *oni* with the halberd; a *yōkai* with a snail on his head is pulling the dragon-headed turtle by the string; a *nyoi* 如意[22] that has taken on the form of a dragonfly is also looking back at the small group of riders; a little girl (probably a *hamaguri*[23]-*yōkai*) with a shell on her head is pointing at the *nyoi*-dragonfly; her *sazae* サザエ[24]-headed mother is holding her by her hand; in front of them, a pair of sharp clawed-legs are sticking out from under a white piece of cloth that covers a strange *yōkai*; a topless and furry *yōkai*-lady, dressed in a crimson *hakama* 袴[25], is smiling widely, showing her blackened teeth and pointing her finger at the characters behind her; a *baku* 貘[26]-looking pet is marching in front of the female-*yōkai*, tied to a red string held by the strange, furry lady; a *yōkai* with *eboshi*, holding in his right hand a loquat leaf and half of a *shakubyōshi* 笏拍子[27] and in his left hand the other half, is moving forward, to the left of the *emaki*; a masked *yōkai* is trying to put on a wig while looking in a mirror; in the upper part of the *emaki*, two foxes clad in human garments are talking to each other (one wears a loincloth and an *eboshi* and the other has a topknot; in spite of his human appearance, the fox's tail that comes out of the white loincloth reveals his true nature); the next in line is a red demon who is trying to threaten the character in front of him; a small dragon with the body covered by a white cloth is looking back at the red *oni* who is closing in; nearby, a dancing *tsunodarai-yōkai* is dipping his ladle in a *yōkai*-vessel full of blood; the *yōkai*-vessel is set on a small wheeled vehicle pulled by a wild boar, whipped by a black kettle-*yōkai*; a cat

---

[21] Originally a headdress worn to indicate a man who had passed his "coming of age" ceremony.

[22] A priest's mace

[23] Clam

[24] Turban shell

[25] *Hakama* is a traditional Japanese clothing resembling a shirt, but with divided legs, similar to trousers; it is narrower in the waist and looser in the leg.

[26] Looking like a tapir, *baku* is a *yōkai* that is said to devour dreams and nightmares.

[27] A musical instrument

skeleton holding a *gohei* 御幣[28] is dancing, following a bony character with another *gohei* in his hand; a five-storied pagoda dressed in red clothes with *susuki* 薄[29] in his hand is accompanied by another five-storied stone pagoda, with a protruding belly; a tiger clad in priest's clothes is looking to his right, while a wolf dressed in a similar way, holding a folding fan, is looking to his left; a frog wearing an *eboshi* on his head, stares back half in terror, half in surprise; a red demon, screening his eyes with one hand, glances in the distance at the menacing black clouds; dark fog/smoke, blown by a huge black silhouette, covers the entire sky; the *yōkai* are terrified by the continuously spreading cloud: a monkey-*yōkai* is running for his life, with his *eboshi* slipping off his head; a rabbit dressed in human clothes is looking back in terror and a demon is desperately crawling back, trying to get away of the dark cloud. Black figures are sprouting out of the cloud, marching in a terrifying cavalcade. The wind is blowing hard in a menacing vortex that sweeps off any living creature. The dark stormy procession ends with a Satan[30]-like image riding a horned animal.

In the painted scroll of *Hyakki no zu*, the dark cloud at the end spreads over almost one third of the *emakimono*. All *yōkai*, *bakemono* and *hyakki* are running desperately for their lives as the dark cloud is growing bigger and bigger, like a huge body of a dragon. Is there anything inside the black cloud that is even scarier than the *yōkai* themselves? Whirlpools are spinning chaotically within the cloud as the lightening is striking here and there in a dreadful symphony. A tornado is almost sucking in all the *yōkai* that dared stay nearby. At the end of the scroll a black warrior-like shape with a horned helmet is riding a horned animal (Komatsu 2008, 51). But do the *yōkai* and *oni* come forth in the shadows of the night or are they the very source of this gloomy turmoil?

Kondo Yoshihiro asserts that *oni* were created by people's fear of the destructive power of nature, which manifests as thunder, lightning, storms and earthquakes (Kondo 1966, 14). This is probably a result of a combined visual and

---

[28] A staff with plaited paper streamers used in Shinto
[29] Japanese pampas grass
[30] According to Komatsu Kazuhiko, the painted scroll of *hyakki yagyō* found in Shinju-an and the painted scroll in the International Research Center for Japanese Studies were, at the beginning, distinct *emakimono*, but they appealed to the artists so much, that they were, at a certain moment, compiled into one painted scroll. This *emakimono* that unifies the two painted scrolls is nowadays property of Tokyo National Museum (cf. Komatsu 2008, 7). The red globe of light is still there, to scatter the *yōkai* procession, but on the left side, some black horned shapes linger in turbulent obscurity.

auditory intensity of the experience, coupled with the threat of potential, instantaneous destruction. Among the natural forces, lightning is most strongly associated with the *oni* (Reider 2003, 141).

In *Chōjū jinbutsu giga*, some frogs, rabbits and monkeys are having a party, but in the end all the fun is spoiled by the emergence of a snake that scares and chases away the animals. The whole magic melts away in an instant and the "enchanted" partying frogs return to their usual life. Similarly, the sun or the *darani no hi* or a dark menacing cloud puts an end to the merry *yōkai* procession. Even if it is not explicitly expressed in the *emakimono*, one can easily imagine that afterwards all the *yōkai* taking part in *hyakki yagyō* resume their ordinary shape, turning back into animals and household utensils, as if the magic spell had been broken (Reider 2003, 216–17).

Night processions of demons are also found in the early paintings from China. One of the most typical examples includes the commanding figure of Zhong Kui, in Japanese Shoki 鍾馗. In China, as well as in Japan, Zhong Kui has long been revered as the Demon Queller, the vanquisher of evil beings and ghosts, able to command 80,000 demons. He is regarded as a guardian spirit and his image is painted on the gates or on the tiles on the roof of houses. Scholars believe that the original legend of Zhong Kui dates back to the Tang period (618–907). In the 8th century Wu Daozi painted Zhong Kui. Although the original painting disappeared sometime before the Ming period (1368–1644), his dramatic portrayal of the Demon Queller was imitated by generations of Chinese artists who painted a procession of demons marching at night under the command of Zhong Kui (Lillehoj 1995, 19).

The Edo scholar Yamaoka Genrin (1631–1672) explains the *oni* as follows:

heaven and earth, mountains and rivers, trees and grasses, water and fire, stones and dirt, all sentient beings are *yin-yang*. The work of *yang* is called *kami*, and the work of *yin* is named *oni*. Since all the bad and evil belong to *yin*, the souls of wicked people are called *oni*…their [wicked] souls have nowhere to go and nobody worships them. So they linger in the air and cause various problems [to humans]. (Reider 2003, 144)

If we are to take into account Yamaoka Genrin's definition of *yin-yang*, then we might anticipate two possible closures in *hyakki yagyō emaki*. The *yang* type emphasizes light and its apotropaic attributes. In the Shinju-an painted scroll, the light, associated with either the sun or the *daranī no hi*, scatters the *yōkai*

procession and restores the human world. On the other hand, the *yin* type seems to reach its highest point by bringing on a gloomier view and by conjuring black, demonic silhouettes. The *yin* category could also be called the Shoki-type, because, the parade is dispersed by a more powerful demon who is able subdue the other *yōkai*. The *Hyakki no zu* belongs to the latter type. In this respect, both the Shinju-an version and *Hyakki no zu* seem emblematic because they offer different perspectives on the same phenomenon, the night procession of *yōkai* on the streets of the capital. The polarities of *yin* and *yang* herald either the qualities of light to prevent evil, or the overwhelming demonic force that vanquishes other lesser demons and *yōkai*, and cast them off in a whirl of growing darkness.

Night as the Locus of Creative Plurality

Night sets the *yōkai* on the move, but daylight disperses and weakens their evil forces. When the *yōkai* emerge in the dead of the night, the darkness is so deep that no moon and no stars can be seen up in the sky. However, in addition to the darkness of the night, there is also a different kind of darkness given off by the bodies of *yōkai*, like a black fog. If these creatures had shown up in the middle of the day, they would have screened the sunlight with a threatening dark cloud (Kagawa 2009, 43–46).

In the painted scrolls of *hyakki yagyō*, the darkness becomes the nexus of all possibilities, the locus of creative plurality. The dim light favours ambiguity, and ambiguity invites open scenarios. Darkness polarizes all known elements into new forms of gloomy imagination. The branches of a tree could easily pass for the arms of a veracious monster; the roar of a nearby waterfall becomes the wail of a huge phantasm that drives away the belated travelers. Within this quixotic process of re-creating reality, the imagination fills in the blanks whenever the eye fails. The glance picks up a couple of familiar elements, and the mind turns them into re-created *yōkai*-like certainties, invested with multiplicity and substance, even with personality and feelings. Mutability and emotional distress forge the very essence of *hyakki yagyō*. The night parade enables us to apprehend the plurality of darkness as if staring in the distance at numberless, hazy forms that might be there or that were never there.

References

Anesaki, Masaharu et al. 1928. *The Mythology of All Races*, vol. 8. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.

Emakimono Data Base. Accessed April 2, 2015. http://kikyo.nichibun.ac.jp/emakimono/detail.php.

E-Museum. Accessed April 2, 2015. http://www.emuseum.jp/detail/100284/000/000?mode=detail &d_lang=en&s_lang=en&class=&title=&c_e=&region=&era=&century=&cptype=&owner=&pos=145&num=1.

Foster, Michael Dylan. 2009. *Pandemonium and Parade*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

——. 2015. *The Book of Yōkai*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Ikeda, Hiroko. 1971. *The Type-Motif Index of Japanese Folk Literature*. No. 209. Helsinki: Folklore Fellow Communications.

Kagawa, Masanobu. 2009. "Nichibunken-bon no 'Hyakki yagyō no zu' no hakken 日文研本の「百鬼夜行の図」の発見 (Discovering the 'Illustrated Night Parade of One Hundred Demons' in the International Center for Japanese Studies)." *Ningen Bunka* (Human Culture) 10: 43–46.

Kimbrough, Keller, 2005. "Reading the Miraculous Powers of Japanese Poetry. Spells, Truth Acts, and a Medieval Buddhist Poetics of the Supernatural." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32(1): 1–33.

Komatsu, Kazuhiko. 1999. *Oni ga tsukutta kuni – Nihon* 鬼がつくった国・日本 (Japan, A Country Created by *Oni*). Tokyo: Kobunsha.

——. 2003. *Ikai to nihonjin* 異界と日本人 (The Other World and the Japanese). Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten.

——. 2008. *Hyakki yagyō emaki no nazo* 百鬼夜行絵巻の謎 (The Puzzle of the Painted Scroll of the Night Parade of One Hundred Demons). Tokyo: Shūeisha.

——. 2009. "Hyakki yagyō emaki tanjō no nazo o toku 百鬼夜行絵巻誕生の謎を解く (Solving the Puzzle of the Creation of the Painted Scroll of the Night Parade of One Hundred Demons)." *Ningen Bunka* 人間文化 (Human Culture) 10: 4–17.

——, ed. 2010. *Yōkai emaki – Nihon no ikai o nozoku* 妖怪絵巻・日本の異界を覗く (The *Yōkai* Painted Scrolls – A Glimpse of the Japanese Other World). Tokyo: Bonjinsha.

Komatsu, Kazuhiko et al. 2009. "Hyakki yagyō no sekai 百鬼夜行の世界 – panel discussion (The World of the Night Parade of One Hundred Demons: panel discussion)." *Ningen Bunka* 人間文化 (Human Culture) 10: 50–62.

Kondo, Yoshihiro. 1966. *Nihon no oni: Nihon bunka tankyū no shikaku* 日本の鬼 日本文化探求の視角 (Japanese *Oni* Perspectives on the Search for Japanese Culture). Tokyo: Ofusha.

Lillehoj, Elizabeth. 1995. "Transfiguration: Man-Made Objects as Demons in Japanese Scroll." *Asian Folklore Studies* 54 (1): 7–34.

McCullough, Hellen Craig, trans. 1980. *Ōkagami, the Great Mirror: Fujiwara Michinaga (966–1027) and His Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Reider, Noriko. 2003. "Transformation of the *Oni*, From the Frightening and Diabolical to the Cute and Sexy." *Asian Folklore Studies* 62(1):133–57.

——. 2010. *Japanese Demon Lore: Oni, from Ancient Times to the Present*. Utah: Utah State University Press.

Tokuda, Kazuo. 2009. "Yōkai no kōshin 妖怪の行進 (The Procession of Yōkai)." *Ningen Bunka* 人間文化 (Human Culture) 10: 24–31

Wakasugi, Junji. 2009. "Bijutsu-shi no tachiba kara 'igyō irui' to 'gyōretsu' o kīwādo ni 美術史の立場から－「異形異類」と「行列」をキーワードに (The Keywords of 'Grotesque/Monstrous' and 'The Parade': A History of Art Approach)." *Ningen Bunka* 人間文化 (Human Culture) 10: 18–23.

Nakamura Ryūtarō's Anime, *Serial Experiments, Lain* (1998), as an Expository Anime

Tamae K. PRINDLE[*]

Abstract

This paper introduces Nakamura Ryūtarō's anime, *Serial Experiments, Lain* (1998) as a new type of anime, a genre nameable as an "expository anime", for the reason that it creates a diachronic story out of a synchronic aspect of a certain field of science. The overarching topic of *Experiments* is electronics, focusing on the comparison between digital and analogue communication systems. *Experiments* unfolds the rationales, potentials, and effects of the two types of communication systems using the perceptions of the major character, a thirteen-year old girl, Rein, as well as other supporting characters.

Keywords: embodiment, analogue, digital, mind, body

Izvleček

Ta članek predstavi animiran film režiserja Nakamure Ryūtarōja, *Serial Experiments, Lain* (1998), kot novo vrsto animiranega filma, žanra, ki ga lahko imenujemo "razlagalni anime", ker ustvarja diakronično zgodbo iz sinhroničnega vidika določenega področja znanosti. Pomembna tema v *Experiments* je elektronika, ki se osredotoča na primerjavo med digitalnim in analognim komunikacijskim sistemom. *Experiments* tako razgrinja principe, potenciale in efekte teh dveh vrst komunikacijskih sistemov z uporabo percepcije glavne junakinje, trinajstletne Rein, kot tudi drugih stranskih vlog.

Ključne besede: utelešenje, analogno, digitalno, razum, telo

_____

* Tamae K. PRINDLE, Professor of East Asian Language and Literature, East Asian Studies Department, Colby College. Waterville, ME, USA.
tkprindl@colby.edu

Introduction

> Animation is arguably the most creative form of the twenty-first century….
> Long dismissed as merely children's entertainment, only in recent years has
> there been clear recognition of animation as an art, ... as a medium of
> universal expression embraced across the globe,

says Paul Wells, author of *Animation*: *Genre and Authorship*. (Wells 2001, 1)
Meantime, and even before Wells' book, Kitano Taiitsu[1] had lamented over the
waning popularity of Japanese anime[2]. Kitano blames the loss of popularity on the
shrinking community of financial sponsors, a dying out of creative artists, and a
cooling off of audience's passion for action adventures (Kitano 2009, 168). More
thematically, echoes Katō Mikirō, the theme of justice supported by heroism
started to look archaistic. (Katō 2009a, 144)

Now that Miyazaki Hayao's *Spirited Away* has won the Academy Best
Animated Feature Award in the United States as well as the Golden Bear Prize at
the Berlin International Film Festival in 2002, and a young artist, Shinkai Makoto,
has started collecting international as well as domestic awards,[3] we may venture to
discredit Kitano's pessimism, save his prediction that CGA (computer graphic
anime) and television serials will take over the OVA (original video animation)
market. Digital composing is opening up new possibilities not only for anime but
also for feature film production.

One of the new types of anime in the VGA (Video Graphic Array)[4] format that
could give Kitano new hope was the ambitious *Serial Experiments, Lain*
(Nakamura 1998) (hereafter *Experiments*). The 104 episodes were serialized by
TV Tokyo in 1998. *Experiments* is not about the hackneyed battle between an ego
and justice, or the human versus the non-human. Neither does it neatly fit in the
existing genres of cyberpunk, *mecha*, or fantasy. Even less conventional is that the
broadcast began without a director. Nakamura Ryūtarō was scouted as the director

---

[1] All the Japanese names will be typed in the Japanese order: i.e., the family name first.
[2] I am calling the animation made in Japan "anime," as versus "animation" made in other countries.
[3] Shinkai's *Kumo no mukō, yakusoku no basho* 『雲のむこう、約束の場所』 (*The Place Promised in Our Early Days*) won The 59th Mainichi Film Contest, Animation Film Prize (第 59 回毎日映画コンクール　アニメーション映画賞) in 2004, and his 5 *Centimeters Per Second* (『秒速 5 センチメートル』) won the Best Anime Prize at the Asia Pacific Film Festival and the Platinum Grand Prix at the Future Film Festival in Italy in 2007.
[4] "Video Graphic Array" is a display standard for IBM PCs, with 640 x 480 pixels in 16 colors and a 4:3 aspect ratio.

after the third layer (Konaka 1998, 30)[5] was completed. Nakamura was not[6] one of the star artists of Miyazaki Hayao and Oshii Mamoru's type that Kitano wished to see emerge. This leads us to believe that *Experiments* deserves a new genre name, as an expository anime. The science in it does not just punctuate a diachronic narrative; rather, it sets the major and minor plots in motion. *Experiments* is essentially a synchronic exposé of the digital mechanism and its impact on humans.

The basic elements around which *Experiments* revolves are: (A) the mechanism of the human cognition system, (B) the power of electrons, and (C) the difference between analogue and digital mechanisms. *Experiments* knits these three threads to form a story, and this paper re-groups the multiple components to facilitate the explanation.

Cognition System: Eccles' Three Worlds[7]:
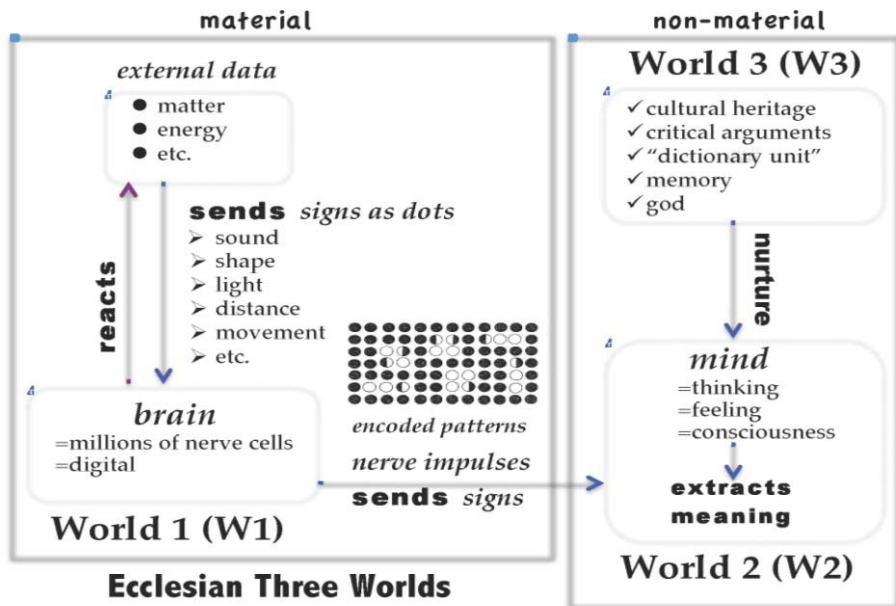
Figure 1: Ecclesian Three Worlds (Source: Prindle's drawing)

---

[5] This anime groups the 104 episodes into 13 "layers."
[6] Nakamura passed away in 2013.
[7] Only the "encoded patterns" portion of this chart comes from Eccles (1982, 94). Prindle drew the rest in accordance with Eccles' thesis. (see Eccles and Robinson 1991, 302–3)

Nobel laureate physiologist Sir John Eccles conceives of the human mental activities as pulses that travel through three "worlds". Eccles' "World 1" (W1) consists of matter-energy that is not self-conscious. W1 belongs to the human "brain", which translates the energy that is sent to it by the eyes, ears, and other sense organs into digitally coded impulses. (Eccles 1982, 85–90) The activities on the surface of our neocortex,[8] John Eccles and Daniel Robinson continue, would show illuminated patterns of all ranges of "openness" from dark to dim to lighter to brilliant. And this pattern would be changing in a scintillating manner from moment to moment, giving a sparkling spatiotemporal pattern of millions of modules that would appear as on a TV screen. (Eccles and Robinson 1991, 302–3) A good example of this sparkling spatiotemporal pattern appears towards the end of layer 09 of *Experiments*. These designs reveal the content of a character's brain rather than the natural environment that surrounds him/her. (Shaffer 1991, 280) This anime makes itself more "expository" than, say Shinkai Makoto's "animation movie" (Katō 2009b, 120)[9] by prioritizing science.

Figure 2: Café Cyberia (source: *Experiments*)

The "mind" in Ecclesian "World 2" (W2) has no shape, weight, height, width, color, mass, velocity, or temperature (Pojman 1991, 272). Its defining characteristic is the mechanism that is "beyond scientific enquiry" (Eccles 1982, 97). It organizes the consciousness or thoughts, feelings, perceptions, desires, emotions, etc. (Shaffer 1991, 280) by dint of impulses that are sent by the brain into consciousness. If translated into images, its enormous effort to organize the

---

[8] Neocortex is the outer layer of human brain.
[9] Katō (2009b, 120) argues that Shinkai Makoto creates a new form of anime by blending his characters into their background scenes.

imported impulses into conscious experiences (Eccles and Robinson 1991, 303) would look something like the shot of Café Cyberia in a distant night view (L03)[10] among others. The scenery is distorted by the "mind" which is trying to give shape to the pulses Eccelsian W1 is sending.

Ecclesian "World 3" (W3) is the world of "culture," which "nurtures" the mind. It is comparable to D.E. Broadbent's "dictionary unit"[11] in that it holds information such as memory, personality, cultural norm, and the collective unconscious, which are the tools the "mind" uses to evaluate or to understand the incoming new impulses. Layer 05 of *Experiments* abounds with examples of the mind's relationship to Ecclesian World 3 and Broadbent's dictionary units. There, Rein's sister Mika melts into apraxia because her mind cannot coordinate with the "culture" that is stored in her "dictionary unit". A chain of unexplainable and unpredictable events—such as being handed a packet of promotional tissue paper on the street that says "Hell is overcrowded; the dead will have nowhere to go", seeing Rein standing still in the middle of a heavy car traffic, seeing Rein's face on a large video screen on a tall building, finding herself sitting on a heavily traveled road, seeing a group of pedestrians dissolve into ghostly smoke as they come toward her, coffee that she spills on her table moving to form the message "Fulfill the prophesy", a group of school girls in a coffee shop suddenly disappearing, the lights in the coffee shop's bathroom going on and off by themselves with a conspicuous clicking sound, writing with lipstick, "Fulfill the prophesy", appearing on an entire wall when the lights come back on, being met by another Mika in the entrance hall of her house, burst Mika's mind that tries to calibrate the busy signs against her sustained dictionary unit. The shock shatters her ability to talk or think. These subplots are animetizations of the possible activities of Ecclesian W2 and W3.

Embodiment

Important for our purposes is the concept of "embodiment", which means the "vibrant texture of our lives experienced from the inside, from feelings, emotions, and sensations" (Hayles 2004, 229) by Katherine Hayles' definition. Apparently, it

---

[10] The capital "L" before a number stands for the "layer."

[11] This is D.E. Broadbent's terminology quoted by Juan Antonio Gomez in his chapter "Neurological Correlations of Some Universal Principles" (in Eccles 1982, 213, 215.) This unit in the central nerve system restructures the signals from the outside via nerve fibers. Gomez uses this term to explain the mechanism of language acquisition, but I am expanding its function to cultural acquisitions.

is a synergy of the Ecclesian three worlds. This paper will focus on the "texture" of the three major characters' embodiments in Cyberspace rather than psychoanalyzing their feelings, emotions, and sensations. In a nutshell, the texture of cyber-genius Eiri Masami is digital; that of Tachibana General Lab (henceforward "the Lab"), analogue; and protagonist Iwakura Rein's [12], more neutrally posthuman. Needless to say, analogue computers use the *magnitudes* of electric currents (or other physical entities) to represent *numbers*. Digital computers, on the other hand, use the mere presence or absence of such physical entities to represent various symbols. (MacKay 1980) [13] The former consists of physical currents and the latter wireless pulses.

When examining the overall stage, *Experiments,* it is a residential town in or near Shibuya [14] in Tokyo, and its conceptual stage is Cyberspace, which is characterized by Douglas Rushkoff as "not a world reducible to neat equations and pat answers, but an infinitely complex series of interdependencies where the tiniest change in a remote place can have systemwide repercussions" (Rushkoff 1994 PDF, 3) [15]. Katherine Hayles, who calls Rushkoff's cyberspace a posthuman world, observes that there are "no essential differences or absolute demarcations between bodily existence and computer simulation, cybernetic mechanism and biological organism, robot teleology and human goals" (Hayles 1999, 3). The presence of a building named Cyberia Café and Club [16], among others, marks the stage of *Experiments* as a cyberspace.

Embodiment: Analogue/The Lab

The communication network before the spread of the digital cyberspace used to be controlled by the Lab, represented by Kurosawa [17]. Kurosawa uses manpower for communications and computations as an interface of—so to speak—his analogue

---

[12] There are two "rein"s in this anime. Konaka's scenario spells the name of the protagonist with the ideographic *kanji* 鈴音 *(rei-in)* and the other, in phonetic katakana which usually spells out words phonetically, "レイン". This paper will spell the former as "Rein" and leave Lain as it is.
[13] To quote MacKay, "In analog computer, you provide yourself with a substitute for mental effort by choosing some physical magnitude (length, or weight, or volume, or electric current strength), which you can alter and combine in ways that are *analogous* to the operations you want to perform on the numbers in your problem—adding, subtracting, integrating or whatever" (MacKay 1980, 44).
[14] Shibuya is mentioned as the site of a traffic jam in L05.
[15] Because his PDF document and the bound monograph under the same title were published in the same year, I identify the PDF file as PDF and the book as book, in my citations.
[16] It is an internet café during the day and a nightclub at night.
[17] His name appears in Konaka's scenario but not in the anime (Konaka 1998, 2).

computer. Two foreigners, Karl and Tian, carry out the kind of tasks Eiri's wireless computer is programmed to do. If Kurosawa needs to talk with Rein, for instance, Karl and Tian will pick her up and drive her to Kurosawa's office. The two foreigners also do things like killing a young company executive by giving him a pressure injection in his neck.

Figure 3: Karl and Tian (Source: *Expeeriments*)

The two men's black suits, black car, and black goggles with a red video-eye, as well as Karl's comment to Mika, "You never saw us because we are not here now" (L04), outline their mission to see more than naked eyes can and to act without being seen by others. They are trying to be compatible with Eiri's hypertext[18] the best they can. When their work is done, the duo is electrocuted by Kurosawa as if the user is shutting down his computer at the end of his project. This is how the Lab's analogue system works.

Kurosawa is a pre-Cyberian who cannot keep up with the latest electronic development technically nor conscientiously. He confesses to Rein, "I just can't work up the interest to switch over to a new Navi[19]" (L07). Let alone the intrusion of the digital system into his analogue system, Kurosawa fears the day when the borders between the Ecclesian worlds erode. Without the borders, the flickering signifiers will create unexpected metamorphoses, attenuations, and dispersions (Hayles 1999, 30) everywhere. The Ecclesian three worlds will start acting randomly. Not just Mika and Rein but everyone will encounter strange happenings. Kurosawa, who knows that Rein is Lain's hologram, tells Rein: "If you are here

---

[18] Hypertext refers to the web that structures many computer programs and data libraries. (see Rushkoff 1994 book, 3)

[19] "Navi" in *Experiments* is a multi-purpose information terminal equivalent to Internet. It is "datasphere" in Rushkoff's book (1994 book 5 and 34).

without a device, you know that the border between the Real World[20] and the Wired [21] is starting to crumble. We believe that to be dangerous" (L07). Kurosawa's mission is to guard the boundary between the human/analogue and posthuman/digital worlds.

Embodiment: Digital/Eiri

Eiri[22] Masami, a computer genius, used to be the Chief Researcher at Kurosawa's Lab, but was dismissed because he inserted the codified Schuman Resonance[23] into his own 7th Generation Wired Protocol[24]. The developed Schuman resonance principle allows the network users to consciously or unconsciously communicate without electronic devices[25]. Eiri's Wired is one generation beyond WELL (Whole Earth Electronic Link) which Rushkoff introduces in his *Cyberia*. (See Rushkoff's 1994 book, 35, 37, 249) "To enter it, one forsakes both body and place and becomes a thing of words alone" (Rushkoff 1994 book, 37). The network can override legal boundaries. One anonymous voice in the wired chat-room in *Experiments* distinguishes the Lab from Eiri's network: "A company as big as Tachibana Labs would not do anything illegal" (L08). Rushkoff's remark that "the implications for the legal community are an endless mire of property, privacy, and information issues, usually boiling down to one of the key conflicts between pre- and post-Cyberian mentality" (Rushkoff 1994 PDF, 28) and that the Cyberians' ability to process data being faster than the fair-use rule can be defined (Rushkoff 1994 PDF, 28) rings a bell. This is why Eiri believes that the brain and mind are better off without a "body" or the analogue system. His voice-over says: "The body is nothing but a machine. If the physical limitations of the body restrict mankind's evolution, it would be as if the fall of the species called 'man' had already been decided by God that doesn't even exist" (L12). The human body, including the brain, may as well be disposed of to let the hypertext do a better job. In the posthuman world where "there are no essential differences between bodily

---

[20] "Real World" refers to the pre-digitalized world. The characters in *Experients* use the "Real World" as if it is a proper noun, although the subtitles do not capitalize it.

[21] This is equivalent to Hayles' posthuman world.

[22] *Ei* 英 in Eiri 英利, among others, means "excellent", and 利 "sharp," and "profit."

[23] Schuman Resonance refers to the constant resonance at a frequency of 8Hz in the space between the ionosphere and the Earth's surface according to a voice-over in L09 of the *Experiments*.

[24] An internet protocol is a technical agreement among the users of the mechanism of information traffic through the internet. Our generation is using IPv5; the one most people in the *Experiments* are using is Protocol 6. (see Konaka 1998, 187)

[25] See L09, for example.

existence and computer simulation, cybernetic mechanism and biological organism, robot teleology and human goals" (Hayles 1999, 3), the human bodies should step aside. Rein speaks Eiri's mind[26], "I realized I had no need for a body. To die is merely to abandon the flesh" (L10). An Accela[27] tripper also says, "Bodies are meaningless." (L11) It was to liberate their "minds" from their bodies that some people gave up their bodies.

Protocol 7 is the axis around which Eiri's Wired revolves. It functions as Ecclesian W3 for the Wired members. Scientist Eccles, scriptwriter Konaka, and Eiri agree on this point. As Eccles (Eccles and Robinson 1991, 295–6) has said, his W3 nurtures the "mind". Konaka says "It must not be wide of the mark to say that Eiri's Protocol works as a man-made god" (Konaka 1998, 188); Eiri tells Rein: "The information etched inside humans isn't only that which they themselves have acquired as individuals" (L12). Unlike the analogue system, Eiri's digital signals reach his receiver's minds from the position of Ecclesian W3. Worse yet, Eiri has imbedded in his protocol his own personal history, thoughts, memories, and emotions (L10), to establish himself as the God for the program users. When Rein speaks Eiri's mind, "There is only one truth. God," Eiri rejoins, "Yes, and that's me" (L09). Rein's fictive father, Mr. Iwakura, seems to have sensed Eiri's power. He tells Rein:

> What flows through the Wired may not be just electrical information. I have the feeling that another world emerged concurrently with that of digital and telephone systems.... In the Wired, there may be a Deus-like embodiment. (L05) The digital system, then, is far more hegemonic than the analogue system.

As God and not as a business administrator, Eiri uses the word "prophesy" rather than "goal" or "plan". Mr. Iwakura's remark that the Deus of the Wired already has enough power to affect the world in the form of prophesy" (L06) accords with what Jenny Doll in Rein's room has said: i.e., "Nothing can come into existence unless preceded by prophesy" (L05), and also with the statement of a black Malaysian god, "History is not merely a linear collection of points that we pass

---

[26] Konaka's scenario says that two individuals speaking the other person's mind in a dialogue style is a type of psycho therapy and is used in Tsutui Yasutaka's fiction *The Kakinoki-zaka Intersection (Kakinoki-zaka Kōsaten)* and Daniel Waters' scenario for the film *Heathers*. (see Konaka 1998, 235)
[27] Accela is a nano-mechanism capsule that stimulates a certain hormone. It affects not only the consciousness but also the workings of the brain itself, multiplying the brain's operational capacity by two to 12 times (L02).

through on a timeline; they are made to connect" (L05). These voices seem to know that Eiri has set himself up as a choreographer of history.

Figure 4: Ghost-like human bodies (source: *Experiments*)

Experiments leaves the borderline between Eiri's Wired and the Lab's Real World vague. Not all suiciders make a clean break from the Real World, for instance.[28] And Karl's disclosure to Tian, immediately preceding the pair's death by Kurosawa, that the Lab has been going by Eiri's guidelines, further confuses the audience. Eiri's soliloquy in L13, "I'm going to quit the company that made me do crap", adds more confusion. Eiri in this back-to-the-pre-Cyberian-world scene is watching Karl and Tian in the bucket of an AWP (areal work platform) re-install a thick power cable. Who is the ringmaster here? The following inserts of a black knotted tree-trunk-like power post that morphs into a high voltage transmission unit, then into dazzlingly tangled power lines, and finally into a transformer that is buried in another set of tangled lines that stretch behind another entangled transformer does not answer our question but indicate that the situation is infinitely complex especially for an analogue schematic, and in contrast with Eiri's digital system that encodes millions of impulses with a god-like expediency.

Embodiment: Body/City Mob

The shots of the city streets congested with pedestrians without identifiable body parts but as a wave of expressionless heads that come or go smoothly together guided by the overhead traffic signals (L05), and those bodies, which dissolve into

---

[28] Chisa, the girl who throws herself into an incoming train, and the boy who kills himself at Cyberia are the examples *Experiments* gives.

phantoms, underwrite Eiri's contempt for physicality. This shows how a silent majority live with an inactive body and insensitive brain. On the other end of the spectrum is a young Accela tripper. He buys the costly drug Accela to stimulate his brain and ends up shooting two party attendants to death. Like the digital system, the drug prevails over his mind beyond his control. Mika's interest is also carnal excitement. She is a bodied brainless human being who can do without Ecclesian W3 where Eiri's protocol is located. This is why she makes a good target for Eiri's henchmen Knights. We see her walk away, for example, from a young man she has slept with without even a "good bye" as the boy asks when they can meet again. Eiri's voice-over expresses disdain: "Not knowing what it is that drives them, the humans keep their bodies merely to satisfy the desires of the flesh ... That's all mankind is" (L05). At least Eiri is consistent about his contempt for the bodies that get in the way of a high-speed communication system. The enigmatic message on the PR tissue packageMika receives on a busy street, "The other side is overcrowded; the dead will overflow and have nowhere to go" (L05) spells out this situation. "The other side" must mean the Haylesian "human" world, and the "dead", the brainless bodies[29].

Chisa seems to realize this too late. The blood that flows out of her hand and spreads on the ground—her corpse is hidden under a neon signboard—reflects the bright red, green, and blue colors of the neon sign randomly, suggestive of her view of a life beyond death. But the audience's gaze, that climbs upward toward the rooftop from where Chisa jumped off, finds a small toy duck dangling innocently but forlornly from Chisa's abandoned school bag. This sequence suggests that Chisa's spirit has not quite severed its tie with the physical world. Soon Chisa begins emailing her classmates from Wired to let them know that her mind is still alive. She tells Rein that she left the physical world wishing to be with God. (L02) In all probability, she is yet to know that the God in the Wired is Eiri. Her apparition comes to see Rein repeatedly to tell her that suicide is not an easy matter. In the case of another suicider, Rein sees the girl's black blood trickling from a power line and then showering over her train. Instead of a corpse, Rein visualizes the girl's distorted—by double exposure—devilish face just before she dives in front of an oncoming train. After suicide, the girl walks through Rein's

---

[29] Arisu also receives the "Fulfill the prophesy" command, but hers comes on her pocket Navi—as email should—and she is spared from the series of strange happenings. The difference may be her directed personality, unwavering affection towards her school teacher, and her determination to help out Rein.

body. Eiri's invitation to join his bodiless world may have found some followers, but their dead bodies keep drifting and "overflowing" without a place to go.

Embodiment: Knights

Neither Eiri's Wired nor Rushkoff's Cyberia is bound by the rules of a linear time line. Eiri's Wired Information Bureau may send a message, for instance, "This news report is being sent out at this moment, but please be aware that it may reach you tomorrow or possibly yesterday" (L07). Time does not flow in a chronological sequence. This is one of the reasons why the Lab disapproves of the Wired. Karl tells Rein, "The Wired shouldn't be a special world. It ought to be a field that functions as a subsystem reinforcing our world" (L10). The Lab is particularly apprehensive of a group called the Knights. It is staffed by Eiri's henchmen, or more accurately by Eiri-worshippers who legitimatize Eiri's existence as God (L10). A male voice from the Wired Information Station tells that the Knights' model is the Knights Templer[30] (L10). Like its American ancestor, the Knights in *Experiments* are blamed for just about any newsworthy cybernetic problem. One such problem is the production of an information terminal named Psyche. Psyche interprets and distorts the original data (L03). It can dramatically increase the performance of any Navi. We hear as a rumor that the Psyche was designed by the Knights (L03). Even more harmful is the dungeon-style action computer game named "Phantom". The disc jockey at Cyberia, JJ, believes that the Knights combined two existing computer games to make Phantom (L04). The new product deprives the players of the distinction between reality and fantasy. The players are chased to a corner of a building by the phantom of a little girl and end up jumping off rooftops. The police think the boys have committed suicide. Then, there is the game called KIDS that kindergarten children play on streets. Dr. Hodgeson,[31] the researcher who tried 15 years earlier to gather the Psi[32] each child emits, divulges that he smashed his KIDS equipment and threw away the schematic[33] so that it could never be rebuilt, but his schematic found its way onto the Wired, and

---

[30] Wikipedia writes that "the Knights of the Lambda Calculus" is a semi-fictional organization of expert LISP and Scheme hackers. (see Wikipedia 1)

[31] This Hodgeson is fictional. Konaka writes in his scenario that he must have converted Charles Lutwidge Dodgson's (1832–98) name. Dodgson is the author of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) and *Through the Looking Glass* (1872). S(see Konaka 1998, 146 and Dodgson)

[32] Hodgeson explains that Psi is parapsychological ability present in most children. (L06)

[33] A schematic is a diagram of a structure, especially of an electrical system.

someone updated it even without any of the equipment he had built. Hodgeson compliments the plagiarizers—implying the Knights—for their talent.

Figure 5: Mika is framed by the Knighs (Source: *Experiments*)

The Knights are also to blame for Mika's aforementioned frightening experiences. The Knight's logo that incases Mika on a busy street proves who the framer is. If Karl and Tian are right, it is the Knights who set a parasite bomb[34] in Rein's computer cooling system. Another example of the Knights' atrocities is their murder of Nezumi (a roaming cyberkid who begs for the Knight membership). [35] The Knights delight in taking the innocent public into an "uncharted hyper-dimensional turf".[36] Because nobody, not even Rein, knows who they are, the Knights are bodiless. The public locate them in Ecclesian W3 along with Eiri's Protocol 7.

One voice from the chat-room says, "the Knights do not physically exist but they are the thoughts themselves that occur within the Wired. They can be thought of as a religion that is spreading through the Wired" (L04). And Tarō, an elementary school cyberkid says, "The Knights are users who are fighting to make the only truth there is into reality ... The truth has power because it's the truth. And it's the truth that makes it just" (L09). The bodylessness helps link the Knights with religion, truth, and even justice. An inquiry such as Nezumi's "You believe in Deus, right? I'll follow your lead. But is it true? Is God in the Wired?" (L07) does not please the Knights or Eiri; God can use only fully devoted worshippers. So they kill Nezumi. Only the sober and independent-minded few, such as Arisu,

---

[34] This is an imaginary internet virus. (see Konaka 1998, 155)
[35] Nezumi's HMD (head mount display) shows the Knights' logo to prove the murderer's identity. (07)
[36] I am borrowing Rushkoff's expression from his book (1994, 5).

would suspect that the Knights are a kind of super hacker group, who usually don't work together, nor do they work for fun or money.

The *Experiments* introduces three Knights who relish subversion: a young single mother who likes to play video games with her son; a fat man who lives in a messy single room apartment which apparently has never been cleaned, and an executive of a large company. Flat on his stomach in underwear, on his futon on the floor, the fat man looks at the Knights' logo on his laptop, and laughs, "That's right, you morons. I'm better than you bozos!" (L07) The view of other tall skyscrapers from his private office speaks for the company executive's high rank. A well groomed secretary—formally dressed in a yellowish suit—comes in, sits on a pink chair in front of him in an affected manner, and summons the young executive to a banquet, "It's time for the EMA Motor Consortium banquet." The EMA Motor refers to the no-fuel electric engine Edwin Gray (Konaka 1998, 161– 2) invented, so the importance of this banquet must be at an international level. Casting a brief but friendly smile at her, the man answers, "I'll be down in three minutes". As the secretary leaves, he clicks on the Knight's logo in his computer, smiles, and lets the long legged metal compass in the logo twirl, spread its legs apart, and finally settle it with its toes together. His uncovered smile spreads across the screen as he talks to the logo, "What game do you want to play this time?" The secretary's yellowish suit and the Knight's logo collectively hint at this man's libidinal indulgence in his work as a Knight. His priority is the "game," not the executive banquet. Arisu is right about the Knights being computer addicts who are not working for money.

The scene after the Wired Network News's report that "some party" has incapacitated the firewall of the Information Bureau's Information Control Center (L07) describes the wild joy of the Knights' computer simulated designs and color combinations. The busy lines, spots, patches of colors, English and other symbols, and what not pour in and out of the screen and dance around and line up to the tune of squeaking sound and a jazz drum among others. Katherine Hayles helps us understand that this confusion stems from the absence of a physical center; it is the joy of liberation from "the contemporary pressure towards dematerialization, understood as an epistemic shift toward pattern/randomness and away from presence/absence". (See Hayles 1999, 29) The Knights' delight must be the freedom to detach their minds (Ecclesian W2) from the Ecclesian W1 and W3.

Eiri lets the Real World citizens enjoy the posthuman experience in order to govern the citizens of both the Wired and the Real World.

JJ and Tarō are a couple of fringe members of the Knights. JJ appears to be a close friend of Lain. But, once he realizes that Rein is a different person, he gives Rein technical instructions and anonymously delivers the chips[37] that would enhance her computer to the level of the Knights'. Tarō refuses to identify himself as a Knight but can explain the functions of each and all the computer parts JJ has given Rein and understands how Rein has singlehandedly set up her computer, cooling system, and the like in her room.

Embodiment: Rein

The Lab, Eiri, and Rein have a morphogenetic relationship.[38] Rein is an amalgam of heterogeneous components, which undergo continuous construction and reconstruction (Hayles 1999, 3). Her embodiment is a process towards the completion of the Eccelesian three worlds and beyond. She debuts in *Experiments* as a "body", analogue, or more in the Haylesian line, as a "human form seen from the outside, from a cultural perspective striving to make representations that can stand in for bodies in general" (Hayles 2004, 229). She looks like a thirteen year-old girl in a school uniform and her voice is young. Her short hair with a small ponytail on the left side of her head gives her a personal touch. She is yet to complete her own set of W3. Until then, the scenery she sees is rather abstract and lacks realistic details[39], her own shadow may look like smoke, schoolgirls walking in front of her may fade from her vision, and plasma may shoot out of her finger tips. Things are still unpredictably unstable because Eiri has just created her out of another girl named Lain. He divulges in L10: "You were originally born in the Wired …. The Real World's Iwakura Rein is merely a hologram of the Lain in the Wired, a homunculus[40] of artificial ribosomes.[41] You never had a body to begin

---

[37] He leaves or has someone leave one in Rein's school locker or hands one to her, asking her if she had dropped it.

[38] In a morphogenetic relationship, everything constantly affects everything else. (see Rushkoff 1994, 60)

[39] It is nearly monochrome with red speckles over a black patch of shadows and the cloudless sky is populated by black electric wires and transformers.

[40] A homunculus is an artificial human created by a chemist in a flask. (see Konaka 1998, 256)

[41] The ribosome is a large complex molecule which is responsible for catalyzing the formation of proteins from individual amino acids using messenger RNA as a template. This process is known as translation. Ribosomes are found in all living cells. (see Konaka 1998, 256)

with" (L10). The initial ignorance and insecurity make Rein quiet and withdrawn, and confused. At a loss about her own identity, she runs a "memory check" program in hypertext in Navi, and sees two unknown men bring a girl, who resembles Rein, to the Iwakura house. Mr. Iwakura brings the girl to Rein's room. This memory check does not help, for the girl's answer to Rein's question, "Who are those people" is "I'm you, so I don't know what you don't know" (L09). Rein on her first day in the "Real World" knows little beyond the basic geography around her house and her school. Probably because Eiri has tampered with Arisu's memory units, at least one classmate assumes the role of Rein's good friend. Rein is clueless when Arisu talks about their classmate Chisa's suicide, which their homeroom teacher had announced a week before Rein joined the class. It is Chisa's posthumous email that tells Rein that Chisa knows her: How are you Rein? I walked home with you just once. Do you remember? I have given up my body. But I'm still alive (L01). Rein lives in the same town and goes to the same school with Chisa, but has no recollection of seeing her. The newborn Rein lapses tongue-tied when the police interrogate her as a witness of a murder in the nightclub Cyberia. It takes Arisu's apology for bringing her to Cyberia for Rein to slowly recall Arisu's name "A ri su" (L03).

Although born in the "Real World," Rein is always tangentially moored to the Wired. One of such indications is her utterance, "What a racket! Can't you be quiet?" on a train. The "racket" is not something other silent passengers have been hearing. Surprised, they swing their gazes toward her. The anime audience hears the "racket" via Rein's ears immediately prior to her complaint. Rein's heckling at electric wires, "Shut up!", recurs in Layer 11 as she walks alone on a quiet road under a mesh of electric wires, but this yelling does not necessarily mean Rein is *a priori* averse to the sounds from Wired. Far from it, Rein supports Arisu's view that daily emails are the underlining foundation to social alchemies (Casalegno 2010, 124), and starts building her own powerful computer and network at home. By the sixth Layer, she becomes a "Netpal" of the voices from the Wired.

Rein fills her W3 with the knowhow of electronics. Her ultimate goal is to pin down the author of the general "dictionary" in W3. She embarks on the project with interviews of the spirits of her Jenny doll, a Malaysian god, and her fictive parents. Each informant floats in the air, facing Rein, who sits in Japanese style. The Jenny Doll tells Rein that every happening is predicated on a prophesy; the Malaysian god claims that each prophesy must be fulfilled to connect each point in

history to form a linear sequence; Mrs. Iwakura reveals that physical reality is nothing but a hologram projected by the synapses in the human brain. These informants clam up when Rein asks, "Who makes the prophesies", "Who connects the historical points", and "Are you my real Mama?" respectively. Mr. Iwakura intimates that there may be a sort of Deus-like embodiment in the Wired, and that Deus may have already developed the power to affect the Real World in the form of prophesy. (L05) This Q&A session gives Rein a rough outline of the makeup of the Wired.

Figure 6: Plasma shooting out of Rein's finger tips (Source: *Experiments*)

Rein's interest in the evolution of Cyberspace is fired by a couple of kindergarten children who raise their hands high towards the sky to conjure Rein's image from behind the clouds. However briefly, Rein, Arisu, and others see the radiant holograph of naked Rein in the sky. Annoyed by this, Rein marches into the Wired and talks with Professor Hodgeson's hologram, and goes on to meet him in person at his convalescent home.[42] This is where Hodgeson reveals his understanding that the Knights appropriated his original research.

Experiments summarizes the rest of Rein's discoveries, on the audience's behalf, in a newsreel format without her intervention. Vannevar Bush's (1890–1974) Memex[43] is a large box that stored an enormous number of microfilms that were sorted and indexed. This is the precursor of the analogue hypertext as well as the concept of information-sharing that Eiri idealizes. Then there was the unbelievable news of an extra-terrestrial aircraft crashing in the desert in New Mexico in 1947. One such alien visits Rein in her room and Rein learns to turn

---

[42] See: footnote 30.
[43] The name "Memex" stands for "memory and index" or "memory and extender", published in 1945 in *The Atlantic Monthly* according to *Wikipedia* "Memex." (see Wikipedia 2)

herself into one. Rein's searching eyes do not overlook the dubious MJ-12 Document about a pact a secret committee of twelve members—who were answerable only to President Truman—concluded with the extraterrestrials in 1947. The dubious document surfaced in 1984. Around this time, John Lilly (1915–2001) began studying the human unconscious, using isolation tanks, psychedelic drugs, and dolphins. Lilly's reports of the CCC (Cosmic Coincidence Control), the SSCU (Solar System Control Unit), and the ECCO (Earth Coincidence Control Office),[44] may well have inspired Eiri to build his Wired. A natural offshoot of Bush and Lily's inquiries was Ted Nelson's mind-blowing information system named Xanadu, a giant electronic library disseminated through satellites. It was linked to the World Wide Web in 2014. This *Wikipedia*-like system may have been another item in Eiri's wish-list, judging by his favorite saying that information should be shared.

The Schumann Resonance theory elaborated by Winfried Otto Schumann (1888–1974) helps Rein understand Eiri's propaganda, "everything is connected". What Eiri tries to achieve digitally, is what the earth can do eletcromagnetically with the help of the ionosphere film around the earth. The ionosphere film bounces back the electromagnetic signals emitted from various spots on the earth to broader areas of the earth. Eiri is not the only one to see the earth as a giant biological organism. Rushkoff summarizes what James Lovelock brands the Gaia hypothesis[45]:

The planet is thought to maintain conditions for sustaining life through a complex series of feedbacks and iterations. A population of ocean microorganisms, for example, may regulate the weather by controlling how much moisture is released into the atmosphere. The Cyberians in Rushkoff's *Cyberia* believe that Gaia is becoming conscious and human beings serve as Gaia's brain cells:

> Each human being is an individual neuron, but unaware of his connection to the global organism as a whole. Evolution, then, depends on humanity's ability to link up to one another and become a global consciousness. (Rushkoff 1994 book, 82)

This reminds us of the Ecclesian map as well as Eiri's wish to unify and control his Wired without interruption by mindless bodies.

---

[44] *Wikipedia* has supplied some of the details.
[45] Rushkoff notes that it is "the now well-supported notion that planet Earth is itself a giant, biological organism." (see Rushkoff 1994 book, 81)

The unravelling of the mystery of Ecclesian W3 helps Rein find her way into the Wired without legal authorization, or without reducing herself into a body part in the way most other members must (as only a mouth, one eye, one arm, one ear, or simply a voice), to visit JJ without physically being there, to shatter Karl's goggle by shouting from her upstairs window, "Go away!", to visit Arisu in the shape of an alien, to upload the emulator[46] of Navi into her own brain, and to erase people's memories. In short, she becomes cybernetically and biologically posthuman who can manoeuver all of the Ecclesian three worlds. She also learns that Eiri is the mastermind of his Wired, which some call Cyberia, and others, Gaia.

Embodiment: Lain

Still unanswered are the questions as to why Eiri made Rein out of Lain, and how perfect can Eiri's digital Wired/Cyberia/Gaia is. Lain has made JJ believe that Rein was Lain, let Tarô know when Lain slunk into Rein's body, made the Accela tripper pay for his murder of two party participants by standing in Rein's place, and made Eiri say things like, "You are just a hologram of Lain" (L08), and "Lain is not another you; she is real you" (L10). Worse yet, Lain has led Arisu and the entire school to misunderstand Rein's personality. For Rein no confusion equals in magnitude to the identity crisis caused by Lain. Psychedelic art dramatizes Rein's bursting agony of being accused by the entire school for peeking at Arisu's affair with her schoolteacher and having the news spread throughout the Wired. Rein learns about it because she also receives the message that says "Rein[47] is a peeping Tom". All her classmates and her teacher stare straight at Rein, and so do other students outside the classroom. The hallway Rein escapes to fades into pale green, with diagonal white lines shooting from windows at her face. Rein collapses on her knees, embracing her pocket Navi and calling "Arisu!" endlessly. Suddenly, a windowpane cracks and bright red, blue, yellow, and pink patches of colors confront her. As a dark blue color swallows the brighter ones, Lain's grin flashes across the screen. Rein runs up to the rooftop and cries, cradling her head in her arms that rest on her knees, "What's the other me doing?" Soon the gym behind her explodes. The background changes to a combination of yellow and orange, through which Rein walks slowly, her eyes downcast. At night, Rein watches with

---

[46] An emulator translates a certain format of digital information into another.
[47] The English subtitle, that does not differentiate Lain from Rain in spelling, uses the spelling "Lain" in this scene, but the screen shows Rein in Kanji.

tear-drowned eyes lightening zipping with sparkling sounds along the power lines outside her bedroom window. Following the images of the mirror ball in Cyberia, a traffic light, and additional lightening comes a fuzzy image of Rein herself in her bear pyjamas. The Teddy Bear-like being floats in the waves of a score of colored swinging ribbons and a red, gray, and purple splotched tide. The background music is annoyingly mechanical. All of this is soon replaced by the image of Rein in her bear pyjamas hanging onto the power line outdoors, as if the innocent girl is desperately hanging onto the analogue system. Momentarily, a black background closes in on her, to scorch her into a small pink body with gray burns; her eyes are wide open but paralyzed; her hair as a patch of red and black flecks swings in a heat wave. This image of her scalded body returns when Rein pronounces that she has nothing to do with Lain. However firm may her own awareness be, Rein's identity is razed by Lain, and the psychedelic art reveals the explosion inside Rein's brain in the way the laser beams create holograms. The digital art, and the digital world, make Rein's pain greater than her body can take.

Rein and Lain converse only twice. The first time, Rein yells at Lain for making Arisu's relations with her teacher public in Rein's name. Lain's laughing off of Rein's attempt at strangling her, "I'm committing suicide!" (L08), and the human-like warmth of Lain's body make Rein recoil. Rein cannot bring herself to kill a biological body, although she can reprogram a digital entity. Lain makes a move to pool her resources with Rein only at the end of the *Experiments*. Unlike how she had been, Lain tries to pull Rein out of her despair of having lost all her friends (L13), reminding her that it was Rein's own decision to delete herself from everyone's memory, that Eiri has never been God, that his understanding of the Wired being an upper layer of the world is wrong, that Wired is just a field through which information travels, that no digital space is big enough to contain everyone's memories, that Rein is God, that it is easier to be a god than to be a human, and proposes that she and Rein should start together afresh. She does not seem to be Eiri's fan. Lain disappears for good when Rein flatly refuses to work with her. This shows Rein's decision to be a true Cyberian who does not follow another's rules. (cf. Rushkoff 1994 book, 205) But who was Lain? Dan Kottle[48] would answer that she was a part of Rein's consciousness. Kottle has told Rushkoff that consciousness is essentially digital, hence binary. A digital

---

[48] Kottle is one of the original Apple engineers who is now an independent computer graphic designer. (See Rushkoff 1994 book, 26)

computer evaluates each matter by a series of yes or no, dot or dash[49]. Lain in Rein's digitalized brain acted as the negative of the binary factor. Rein's refusal to make room for Lain's input is tantamount to her preference for the analogue system.

Embodiment: Arisu

The character that helps Rein confront Eiri's second contention is Arisu. Arisu is the most conscientious of Rein's friends and she is the most sensitive to physical contact. She is tightly holding Rein's hands when Rein slowly pronounces Arisu's name at the police station. At school also, she holds Rein's hands and calls her a friend when Rein needs help. The warmth of Arisu's hands spellbounds Rein. At home, Arisu enjoys her teacher's body heat in her imagination. For her, physical warmth equals spiritual warmth. This analogue-type girl is the only one to visit Rein in her dark paint-smeared house even after her fictive family has abandoned Rein. Rein pulls herself up from under a mesh of computer wires, many still attached to her body. Arisu feels Rein's cheeks to ascertain that Rein is still alive and puts Rein's hands on her own throbbing heart. Eiri comes down from nowhere to explain why Arisu's heart is throbbing, "it is because she is afraid of losing her body." Eiri fears that Arisu may have hacked Rein's brain and offers to "debug" Rein. Bereft of the argument against Rein's disapproval of Eiri as God, Eiri resorts to a physical force, building his body up with the collection of Rein's computer parts in her room. Rein is quick to point out the inconsistency between Eiri's body-abolition propaganda and his helter-skelter assemblage of an extemporaneous body, "A body doesn't mean anything to you, right?" Her sarcasm knocks Eiri down as fatally as Rein's refusal to work together smites Lain.

The warmth of Arisu's body and soul keeps Rein from suicide. In fact, one of her sad memories is about when she became invisible to her classmates and teacher. Her desk had disappeared, too. This is why Chisa, the other girl who killed herself by jumping in front of a train, the Accela tripper, Cheshire Cat, and many other phantoms put on one shape or another to come to talk with Rein. True, Rein did say that "everyone is just an application" and "You don't need bodies" at one point (L12), but that was before Arisu's heartbeat restored humanity back in Rein's memory.

---

[49] For detail, see Rushkoff 1994 book, 28.

Conclusion: Digital and Analogue

In one way or another, Lain and Eiri have proven that digital minds can be more harmful than can analogue-like ineffective bodies. Rein has protected herself from Lain and Eiri by wiping them out of her Ecclesian W3, and has deleted the memory of herself from people's memories, under the banner of "What isn't remembered never happened" (L13). Her new mental abode is now clean and peaceful. But too soon, Rein finds herself assaulted by a new uneasiness of not knowing where to locate herself in her own mind if not in others' also. The lack of identity torments her as much as Lain's existence did. But to Rein's, and the anime audience's surprise, Mr. Iwakura—father of the fictive Iwakura family of so many years ago—returns. It may be that his name, rock (岩 *iwa*) and warehouse (倉 *kura*), has kept him safe from any of the changes that took place in the three Ecclesian worlds. He fishes Rein up from the bottom of her well of despair and greets her like the yellow sunlight he appears in. The way Rein calls him "Dad", and the tears she sheds at his warm words restore human warmth in Rein's desiccated heart. His suggestion to have tea with Madeleine cookies shows his understanding of Rein's craving for physical and spiritual warmth. Madeleine, as we know, is a cookie that opens up a panorama of the narrator's memories in the "Swan's Way" chapter of Marcel Proust's novel *À la recherche du temps perdu* (*In Search of Lost Time*) (Proust 1928). An implied message is that memories connect people and balance the global organism.

The anime audience have learned through Rein's experiments that the digital mechanism can replace human intelligence, but it is the analogue system that makes joy felt. It is ironical that highly articulate computer graphics help articulate the characters' struggling emotions. Either way, it is the expository approach that has unfolded the dynamics of human cognition systems and their effects. *Experiments* prompts us to wave a flag in support of Paul Wells' remark about anime's creative power.

References

Baudrillard, Jean. 1997. *Simulacra and Simulation,* translated by Shiela Faria Glaser. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Casalegno, Federico. 2010. "Thought on the Convergence of Digital Media, Memory, and Social and Urban Spaces." In *The New Media and Cybercultures Anthology*, edited by Pramod K. Nayar, 117–27. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Dodgson, Charles Lutwidge. Accessed January 15, 2015. http://www-history.mcs.st-and.ac.uk/Biographies/Dodgson. html.

Eccles, John, ed. 1982. "The Human Brain and the Human Person." In *Mind and Brain: The Many-Faceted Problems*, 81–98. Washington: Paragon House.

Eccles, John, and Daniel Robinson. 1991. "A Contemporary Defense of Dualism." In *Introduction to Philosophy: Classical and Contemporary Readings*, edited by Louis P. Pojman, 291–305. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Gomez, Juan Antonio, 1982. "C3 Neurological Correlation of Some Universal Principles." In *Mind and Brain: The Many-Faceted Problems*, edited by John Eccles, 207–19. Washington: Paragon House.

Hayles, N. Katherine. 1999. *How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

——. 2004. "Flesh and Metal: Reconfiguring the Mindbody in Virtual Environments." In *Data Made Flesh: Embodying Information*, edited by Robert Mitchel and Phillip Thurtle, 229–47. New York: Routledge.

Katō, Mikirō 加藤幹郎. 2009a. *Animation no eiga-gaku*『アニメーションの映画学』 (Cinematography of Animation). Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten.

——, ed. 2009b. "Fūkei no jitsuzon: Shinkai Makoto Animation-eiga ni okeru kuraudosukeipu「風景の実存： 深海誠アニメーション映画におけるクラウドスエイプ」 (The Cloudscapes in Makoto Shinkai's Animation-movies)." In <*Bijuaru bunka shirīzu*> *Animation no eiga-gaku*『＜ビジュアル文化シリーズ＞アニメーションの映画学』 ("Visual Culture Series" Cinematography of Animation), 111–50. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten.

Kitano, Taiitsu 北野太乙. 1998. *Nihon Anime shigaku kenkyū josetsu*『日本アニメ史学研究序説』 (Introduction to the Study of Japanese Anime History). Tokyo: Hachiman Shoten.

Konaka, Chiaki 小中千昭. 1998. *Scenario Experiments: Lain the Series.* Tokyo: Sony Magazines.

MacKay, Donald M. 1980. *Brains, Machines and Persons.* Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Nakamura, Ryūtarō 中村隆太郎. 1998. *Shiriaru ekusuperimentsu rein*『シリアルエクスペリメンツ・レイン』 (Serial Experiments, Lain). Tokyo: Pioneer LDC, DVD.

Pojman, Louis. 1991. *Introduction to Philosophy: Classical and Contemporary Readings*. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Proust, Marcel. 1928. *Swann's Way*, translated by C.K. Scott Monscrieff. New York: Modern Library.

Rushkoff, Douglas. 1994. *Cyberia: Life in the Trenches of Hyperspace*. San Francisco: Flamingo (book).
http://www.google.com/#hl=en&gs_nf=1&gs_mss=cyberia%20li&cp=20&gs_id=11g

&xhr=t&q=cyberia+life+in+the+trenches+of+hyperspace&pf=p&sclient=psy-ab&oq=cyberia+life+in+the+&gs_l=&pbx=1&bav=on.2,or.r_gc.r_pw.r_qf.,cf.osb&fp=793ef4bddd24371e&biw=1383&bih=791, 3. (PDF)

Shaffer, Jerome. 1991. "Consciousness and the Mind-Body Problem." In *Introduction to Philosophy: Classical and Contemporary Readings*, edited by Louis P. Pojman, 279–89. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Wells, Paul. 2002. *Animation: Genre and Authorship.* London: A Wallflower Paperback.

Wikipedia 1. "Knights of the Lambda Calculus." Accessed January 15, 2015. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Knights_of_the_Lambda_Calculus.

Wikipedia 2. "Memex." Accessed January 15, 2015. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Memex.

A Male Transformation into a Female Character on the Noh Stage

Violetta BRAZHNIKOVA TSYBIZOVA[*]

Abstract

Femininity and the feminine figure itself in *Noh* theatre plays an important role, though nowadays the interpreter is fundamentally masculine. The central aim of impersonating feminine roles by masculine performers, and therefore creating the masculine femininity consists of transmitting the spirit and the state of mind in place of ordinary copies of external femininity signs. That is the basis of the work of interpretation of the actor in the *Noh* theatre, similar in the case of both male and female roles. However, this paper will examine the technique in both occasions, and the difference in the event that there is a difference.

Keywords: *Noh* stage, impersonating, masculine femininity, feminine figure, Zeami

Izvleček

Ženskost in ženske figure same po sebi imajo v gledališču *nō* pomembno vlogo, čeprav so danes izvajalci v osnovi moški. Osnovni cilj poosebljanja ženskih vlog moških izvajalcev in tako ustvarjanja moške ženskosti je sestavljen iz prenašanja duha in stanja miselnosti na mesto navadne kopije zunanjih znakov ženskosti. To je temelj dela interpretacije igralca v gledališču *nō*, ki je podobno v primeru tako moških in ženskih vlog. Ta članek bo tako preučil tehinke v obeh primerih in razlike, v primeru, da se pojavljajo.

Ključne besede: gledališče *nō*, moška ženskost, ženske figure, Zeami

---

[*] Violetta BRAZHNIKOVA TSYBIZOVA, Research Associate, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan.
b.sumire@gmail.com

Introduction

The feminine figure holds a significant place in the Noh theatre, being one of the five Noh play categories dedicated entirely to women. In a great number of plays the main character is the feminine one, with a wide spectrum of ages, emotions, social statuses and principal purposes of the roles for the protagonist. Unlike Kabuki, where the male interpreter tries to imitate women, Noh offers a radically different approach, using the same interpretative technique for both masculine and feminine roles. Actually, not to imitate, but to transmit the spirit, and not to copy, but to capture the state of mind is the basis of the interpretation by the actor in the Noh theatre. In Noh theatre, it is more of an aesthetic than psychological procedure. ("Algunos Shite típicos...")

According to the Noh system, the primary objective of performance consists of transmitting the feminine spirit, through the tight control of energy that the actor uses according to each role, and with the total avoidance of the naturalist procedure. The femininity in Noh is transmitted through external tangible signs such as the mask, wig, and costume, and supported by the signs of a different nature as the rhythm and the energy of the movement. Although contemporary theory has already made a great incursion in the Noh dramatic literature, the internal process of the interpreter, the reasons, and the results of the masculine attempt to temporarily become a woman on the Noh stage remain insufficiently studied. This paper focuses on how the actor adopts the feminine spirit without losing his masculine essence, and will highlight the procedures of this unique method based on the intellectual agreement with the public.

On the other hand, it must be noted that the whole study refers to Noh theatre, and in no case will analyze Nohgaku, which is the compilation of Noh and Kyōgen.

Masculinity and Femininity in Japanese Society

Obviously, the concept of femininity was altering over time according to social reforms and changes. The ideal submissive woman of the Edo period (1603–1868) differs in a great manner from the Noh characters mainly composed following the aesthetic standards of femininity in the Heian (794–1159) or Muromachi (1337–1573) period. The capricious Ono-no Komachi from *Kayoi Komachi*, the jealous Rokujō-no Miyasudokoro from *Aoi no Ue*, and the dancer girl from *Dōjōji*, terrible in her passion, do not show any sign of submission to the terrestrial man. Only

praying and the fear of the spiritual and physical punishment in hell can reduce them. On the other hand, submission is also present through the characters' behaviour, as one of the signs of the ultimate femininity even in these ancient times. For instance, Yuya, from the play of the same title, is a supreme example of the obedient and delicate woman. Whereupon, even changing the femininity signs over time, the main one is the obedience and submission to the male predominating force to some extent to the present day. According to Hofstede's research (1980, 288), modern Japanese society is still associated with the dominant masculine factor and the massive feminine submission as main aspects of traditional gender role ideology. However, the 20th century had introduced in the masculine/feminine relationship such innovations as laws that should regulate their correlation in both the domestic and professional sphere, though the following study will highlight to what extent these laws are used in practice.

The concept of "masculinity and femininity" within the context of this article means mainly the handling of tolerance/intolerance. Throughout the history of world culture it can refer to religious and/or territorial causes, causes of sex (opposition woman/man), etc. However, it almost always insinuates to be inside or to be outside some established system, in other words to be able to represent the other, or of being represented by the other. Also, the one that is outside the system is the "other", or the weak one. Hierarchies arise as a result of the recognition of differences, creating the exclusion of the "other" and nostalgia of the one where this one is free to decide the fate of others. This confrontation can be expressed by different words in a variety of contexts:

body/soul
irrational/rational
matter/form
male/female, etc.

The confrontation of the last two polarities is still a pending subject even in the Western world, which fails to overcome a significant amount of prejudice that emphasizes male superiority in society, and has become increasingly alarming in the world inevitably referred to as "Oriental". This fact cannot be omitted entirely as a decisive impact on the development of the so-called traditional Japanese theatre where the main performer even nowadays is still the male one. Though currently Noh theatre admits the creation of the feminine *troupes*, it should not be

forgotten that the value of such performances is considered quite low among the Japanese Noh researchers. On the other hand, Kabuki theatre suffers from the official government ban on female presence from 1629, and still no actress is on the Kabuki professional stage, though the Meiji government (1868–1912) had removed the ban two hundred and fifty years later. Traditionally, the Japanese woman lived behind closed doors during the eight centuries of military rule, and is seen as the negative, the passive, the weak, and the submissive member of the society, corresponding to her role of *yin* in the Chinese duality system of the world. Femininity in the Middle Age is associated with the jealousy too, and therefore even nowadays the traditional feminine wedding costume includes *tsunokakushi* 角隠し ("a piece of fabric that hides the horns any woman is supposed to have"). Abandoning her ego by the act of the wedding, the woman agrees to be an obedient wife. Thus, obedience, passiveness, and jealousy are the main signs of traditional Japanese femininity, widely represented on the Noh stage, though this image largely differs from the image of the modern Japanese woman. Therefore, while Edo period shows some important changes in the image of women, at least on Kabuki stage and on the social stage of Japanese society, even more can be expected from the contemporary times. Usually, in the old days a woman dedicated her entire life to *ie* 家 ("the family/home"), meanwhile the man, whose role is strong, active and bright in accordance with *yang*, lived for the state. The male function within the family is similar to the one that *shōgun* holds towards the state. In other words, *shōgun*/man is the head of the state/family according to neo-Confucian doctrine, being this peculiar relationship between state/family practically unchanged until the end of World War II. The next brief list of important achievements in the emancipation of Japanese women throughout the twentieth century displays the contribution to the change of the image of women in the contemporary world:

1900: the first women's college was founded.
1911–1916: Hiratsuka Raichō[1] (平塚らいてう, 1886–1971) founded a literary organization called "Seitō sha" 青鞜社. She published a magazine, *Seitō*

---

[1] Mizoguchi Kenji (溝口健二, 1898–1956), author of eighty-five films (today only thirty-one are conserved), in *Joyū Sumako no Koi* (女優須磨子の 恋, *The Love of the Actress Sumako*, 1947) and *Waga Koi wa Moenu* (わが恋は燃えぬ, *My Love Burns*, 1949) portrays Matsui Sumako (松井須磨子, 1886–1919) and Kageyama Hideko (景山英子, 1865–1927), Japanese pioneers in feminism and advocacy respectively.

青鞜, "Bluestocking", in which only women could write. She stressed the
liberation of women.

1920–1922: Hiratsuko Raichō and Ichikawa Fusae (市川房枝) founded *Shin
fujin kyokai* 新婦人協会 (The New Japan Women's Association,)

1946: Under the new Constitution, women's right was achieved.[2]

In modern times, social changes are also due to changes in the political
landscape. The current family law was approved in 1948 after Japan's defeat in
World War II. The law is based on basic human rights, human dignity, equality of
sexes, and followed the footsteps of the Japanese Constitution promulgated in
1947. The main objective of this law was to reform the law of the Meiji Era family.
Liberals demanded the abolition of *ie*, because they believed it was violating both
human dignity and equality of the sexes, while conservatives were in favour of
continuing *ie*. Finally, a law that insisted that the family should be a core
consisting of parents and minor children was approved. Furthermore, it stated that
family members could take any of two surnames, either the husband's or the
wife's surname. Practically, however, the surname of the husband is generally the
one that continues to be the name of a new family. (1948 Family Register Law
2015)

After the war, Japan quickly recovered its economic capacity, and thus
household consumption increased significantly. Traditional shopping rushes of
appliances occur. Husbands "get marred" with the company and work day and
night, and meanwhile, the wives are behind doors again dedicating their time to
raising children and being engaged in housework. Thus, with economic success,
the division of labour is accentuated once again. Companies have replaced the
ancient clans, employees thereof have replaced *bushi*, and Western suits have
replaced traditional Japanese clothes. Fidelity to the clan has disappeared, and
become the *giri* 義理 ("debt") to the company. Labour reputation of the individual,
important since the days of yore, has not lost its relevance today, and with it comes
the concept of social death, which is a personal disgrace and therefore the entire
company's problem, so it is avoided at all costs. (Pérez García-Valdecasas 2015)

Following the economic crisis caused by the rising of oil prices in 1973 and
1978, the transformation of the manufacturing industry intensified. Women were

---

[2] During the Taishō era (大正, 1912–1925), in 1925 the Law of the right to vote to all adult male
citizens is approved.

leaving home more often. In fact, in 1975 one out of two women employees got married. Women were frequently hired as part-time workers. For the woman herself, her work complemented the family income, but in no case constituted a profession. She considered home the most important thing because there she had the authority and control over the money, including the husband's income. Working conditions and taxation did not favour the work of the housewife outside the home. On the other hand, the responsibility for the administration of the house fell on housewives, even when they had outside employment. In short, the economic prosperity of Japan was achieved in a relatively short time thanks to a sharp division of labour, with the total dedication of the man to paid work, fulfilling his social commitments to the job environment and subsequent absence from home. The marriage was seen as teamwork, with no equal male-female relationship. The husband-wife relationship was replaced by the mother-children relationship, because the mother was responsible for the upbringing and education of the children. (Briton 1993, 12)

In 1975, the International Women's Year was declared with the aim of improving the status of women. In 1979, The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was issued by the United Nations General Assembly. Japan took time to ratify it. In doing so in 1985, Japan was committed to review both the legal system and customs. As a result, in 1985 the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (EEOL) was promulgated, and came into force the next year. As a conservative response to the law, working conditions for women worsened. In Japan today, there are still areas where the law does not apply, for example, in the area of traditional arts. Nonetheless, perhaps the reason is that the ancient arts, once their form was stabilized in an almost perfect condition, do not need the female presence at all, having survived without it during the passage of time.

In recent times, there have been other legal improvements such as the right to use the maiden name at work after marriage, the use of different surnames between the couple and the heritage that favors the wife. Because of the declining birth rate, in 1991 the Child-Care Leave Law to support working mothers was approved. (Introduction to the Revised Child Care 2015)

In 1999 the Basic Law on the Cooperative Participation of Men and Women in Society was enacted. Because of this law, equal participation in social activities by both sexes was promoted for the first time, and legal remedies were available to

correct inequalities. The sixth article refers to the family, and states that both participants must carry all household activities equally. Moreover, despite all the legal changes affecting Japanese society, partly gained from feminist movements, partly promoted by some NGOs concerned with discrimination, the current situation is as follows: the birth rate has declined since the 1970s. The current average is 1.39 children per woman throughout her lifetime. A couple has on average no more than 2.2 children. The main causes are similar to those of other developed countries: the devaluation of wages, rising prices, increasing parental age, growth in the number of divorces, hedonism, dysfunctional family where the couple does not speak or have a relationship, the strengthening of the parent-child relationship and consequently their coexistence in the same household to a ripe age of the latter.

In short, Japan's traditional family has lost all value in the eyes of the modern population, and the image of women has evolved greatly, becoming almost opposite to the femininity of the Middle Ages, and with a certain access to political activities that was previously closed to women. From the 1980s families constituting one person have appeared. The family model is constantly evolving and hardly lends itself to a definition due to the increasing variety of forms and content. As for the present concept of femininity, certainly the delicacy, the sweetness, the gentleness, and the cuteness, especially for females below age 30, are on the top of the list. However, the gender role model had changed in such a manner that the current Japanese woman chooses her professional career again and again at the expense of her private life. Active, hardworking, independent and highly influenced by the Western feminine ideal perceived in films and other sources, the modern-day Japanese woman studies foreign languages, travels frequently and makes direct contact with Western culture, absorbing its ideas of the place of the woman in modern-day society.

Regarding the traditional theatre, however, the woman's place is still the same as in the past, being the labor reforms completely ignored. Meanwhile in Kabuki the *onnagata* was obliged to follow the rules established for the female members of Japanese society during the Edo period,[3] while the woman in Noh theatre was

---

[3] Once the feminine presence had been banned by the *bakufu*, Kabuki theatre was in necessity to survive. One of the main points of the new Kabuki production was the appearance of the male interpreters responsible for the impersonation of the female characters. The term that defines this category of actors is *onnagata* 女形. In the past the *onnagata* were forced to carry the life

simply completely absent. The idea of the female interpreter on the Noh stage is so outstanding even nowadays, that important magazines or newspapers will discuss it.[4] The circumstance that the female interpreters are still not allowed on the Noh professional stage on a regular basis is due to the above-mentioned relationship between the tolerance and intolerance to a certain extent, though it can be also debated that the aesthetic significance of the transformation of masculine in feminine also plays an important role in preserving the conception of the traditional Noh production. Definitely, the main artistic and technique pattern, created by Zeami in his dissertations, is written by the male performer for the male interpreter's body and spirit.[5] Even so, many of the Japanese traditional arts like tea ceremony or ikebana, initially introduced by the male master, with time have developed into arts shared by both men and women. In some cases, some of these arts have almost entirely become the female prerogative. Noh theatre has its own path, as Kyōgen, Bunraku and Kabuki do, with the gender-related licenses and prohibitions, and in the same manner these three kinds of dramatic art leave aside the female presence on the stage. Once the technique of female-character impersonation by the male interpreter was established, both actors and the conservative public have rejected the innovation/reintroduction of the female performer that could destroy—in their opinion—the ideal composition originated hundreds of years ago. In no case does it mean that female interpreters have never accessed the Noh stage. On the contrary, the feminine presence was quite

---

characteristic to the Japanese woman even offstage: dressing, sewing in their spare time, celebrating the women events, wearing makeup, varnishing nails with a special brush, blushing the cheeks with red, painting on top of the forehead a subtle eyebrows using a small brush, etc. Their voice changed slowly. Without becoming *falsetto*, it resembled the chirping bird. On the street the *onnagata* were a step behind the *tachiyaku* 立ち役 ("actor in Kabuki theatre playing the role of husband or lover"). This was integrated into the anti-naturalistic lines of Kabuki theatre. Unlike Noh actors, the *onnagata* from childhood were devoted to study the personality of a woman, her gestures, her nature, her manners, and charms just to impersonate her better than a real woman would reach it, and play a female character with greater refinement than any actress would do. The purpose was of becoming a woman, but a perfect traditional woman, seen through the eyes of man, a woman that exists only in the male imagination.

[4] "Women in Noh", by Eric Prideaux, published in *The Japan Times* is a good example of it. The author states that the Noh stage is still dominated by the male performer, and explains the start of the modest access of the woman to the Noh stage as a hobby only in the early 20th century. Nowadays, a very small number of female interpreters is admitted to the professional Noh stage, though they have to struggle with numerous prohibits because of their condition as women. The feminine discrimination in the Noh world is not referred only to the stage. The backstage is also still a male world, and their members such as costume designers, for example, mainly continue living in the feudal *ie* in their private lives even today.

[5] In case of female interpreters, when they play male roles, they adjust their voices and their movements to achieve the highest resemblance to the man.

important during the early days of Noh history. After the Noh world was established, with an absolutely masculine production environment, the woman took her position on the stage as a character only, once again manifesting the signs of classical Japanese femininity: passiveness, delicacy, submission, weakness, jealousy, ego, and sometimes obedience. Of course, it could be argued that the same characteristics can also appear in the masculine character in Noh, or even on the European stage, as universal human features. Nevertheless, those are always special features of an isolated character under certain conditions, and in no case can serve as gender characteristics regardless of socio-economic, educational, or religious conditions of its members, as it happened in traditional Japan to the feminine figure, conditioned by her image built and impersonated by man on the Noh stage during the last 600 years.

Methods: Mask

Regarding masculinity and femininity in Japanese society, several logical questions arise: How is the male performer able to reproduce traditional Japanese femininity on the Noh stage? What kinds of techniques are in his hands for the precise sex shifting on stage? Is it really feasible to convincingly convey the essence of the opposite sex during performance? Is it supportable to consider the naturalistic method of transmission of femininity by the male interpreter as the most suitable one? In fact, does the male interpreter transform into a female character realistically in the Noh play? Who, when and where is the transformation into a female character on the Noh stage, if at all? Wouldn't it be more appropriate to assume that the public observes only the outward signs adopted during the performance, that do not detract at all from the actor's masculinity? Perhaps there is absolutely no authentic change, but only a sample of external signs of the transformation.

Actually, femininity components, seen through the eyes of man, are successfully distributed in the total Noh *mise-en-scène*. Dance, mask, wig, and costume that are in use during the performance, the instrumental music produced by *hayashi*, the vocal music produced by *jiutai* and the interpreter, and the acting technique of the performer are responsible for the correct expression of the feminine character on the stage. All the above-enumerated constituents of the Noh performance draw attention to the simplicity as one of the main features of the Noh theatre. Simple props, masks, and *tsukurimono* 作り物 ("set pieces")

emphasize the complexity of the costumes, the only constituent that stands out for its voluptuousness and majesty among other tangible items. Furthermore, these elements underline the message of the play. The mask, on the other hand, has a colossal supremacy in the whole *mise-en-scène*. Even the finishing of both the reverse and the front of the mask is significant. The back can smooth or obstruct the use of the mask, and therefore, can restrict the performance quality. Additionally, an inadequate resonance of the mask can collapse the interpretation, and hinder the advent of *hana* 花. Thereby, the mask can be considered one of the musical instruments in Noh, according to Udaka Michishige (2010, 104). With regard to the choice of the facial expression of the mask, it can add a completely new tone to the interpretation of the character. Beyond the costume, the wig, and the movements, the female mask with its delicate lines and round eyeholes[6] intensifies the symbolic image of the character. Thus, the mask is not just a prop, but also a defining integrant of the performance with its great stage presence. The *shite* role performer chooses the mask in advance, months before the performance, according to his individual interpretation of the character (Udaka 2010, 34). The mask itself, *a priori*, has a neutral appearance as a heritage of the first Noh masks made originally by copying the faces of the dead. This notion is known as *chūkan hyōjō*.[7] It is considered as an essential component of the Noh performance, being one of the main characteristics of the Noh technique used by actors and all the Noh staff without mask, like musicians, chorus, and even *kōken* 後見. The so-called "neutral beauty" of the mask allows the actor to deliberately fill the stage with the sorrow or the joy that is dominating the character by using a different angle of the inclination of the mask. The elusiveness of the usually vaguely asymmetrical mask that is smaller than the interpreter's face itself, especially in case of the female mask, does not create any feature of the character, but evokes *yūgen* 幽玄 ("mysterious beauty").[8] The subtle and precise *kata*, the appropriately chosen fan,

---

[6] Masculine masks tend to have squarer eyehole. Actually, the shape of the eyes for both sexes reflects the natural body lines. As for female characters, these should have curves, while the masculine characters have more angles.

[7] *Chūkan hyōjō* 中間表情 is an important aesthetic notion that encloses "an ambiguous expression neither definitively joyful nor sad" (Udaka 2010, 44).

[8] The complex concept of *yūgen*, which literally means "the hidden and dark" and which originally was referred to the hidden meaning of *sutras*, is the most important term of the medieval aesthetics. *Yūgen* can be understood as the highest form of harmonic and subtle spiritual beauty. Poetry, music, and singing "open the ears" of the public, meanwhile "the interpretation and dance" open their eyes. Therefore, the hidden beauty of the character will be manifested visibly, and will cause the audience a sense of empathy, or according to the terminology of Zen Buddhism, a kind of "enlightenment".

and the stage costume and wig must complete the emotional picture of the main character. There is something else to consider when evaluating the mask. According to Udaka Michishige as regards, *shite-kata* and mask maker,

> Noh's true uniqueness lies in the way it eschews any portrayal or visible reality, instead expressing the inner workings of the protagonist's heart and mind through a bare minimum of movements and chanting to aid the narrative progression, with musical accompaniment adding further dramatic color (2010, 146).

Although in this passage Udaka Michishige refers to the interpretative technique, it can be used when analyzing the mask in Noh.[9] The "visible reality" of the Japanese, both nowadays and in the époque when the Noh theatre was established, has nothing in common with the mask's expression. The mask is just an idea that the actor should fill with emotions.

As is well known, Noh plays can be divided into five categories, and *gobandate* 五番だて ("the day's program") is divided into five groups as well, both codified during Edo era (1603–1868):

a) *shin* 神 ("god")
b) *nan* 男 ("man")
c) *nyo* 女 ("woman")
d) *kyō* 狂 ("madness")
e) *ki* 鬼 ("demon")

Each of these categories is called *wakinoh-mono* 脇能物, *shura-mono* 修羅物, *kazura-mono* 鬘物,[10] *kurui-mono* 狂物, or *zatsunoh* 雑能, respectively, and they are performed in this order. However, in modern Japan the usual Noh program consists of two Noh plays and Kyōgen in between. All the play categories have corresponding masks: *onna* 女 ("female masks"), *otoko* 男 ("male masks"), *jo* 尉

"Enlightenment" as a result of a long-term training process of Zen Buddhists was closely related to the similarly long-term training process that Zeami had drawn in his treatises. Nine levels of the actor's training, in other words "Way of Noh", were called to lead him to a supreme level of his art, that could be compared with the religious "enlightenment". (Reimer 1984, xxi)

[9] In should be noted that a number of plays do not make use of masks for *shite* character (*hitamen mono* 直面物 ("maskless pieces")), but only in case of male character.

[10] The number of the female masks increased rapidly thanks to the extension of the repertory in Zeami's times. They transmit all emotions characteristic to the medieval femininity image: from the classical quiet beauty of *ko-omote* to the highest expression of jealousy of the golden-eyed *deigan*.

("elderly characters' masks"), *okina* 翁 ("aged deities' masks"),[11] *kijin*[12] and *kishin* masks used for supernatural characters, and *onryō* 怨霊 ("spirits of the living or dead characters") masks. However, it is important to recall that in a number of Noh plays, divided into two parts, the main character suffers a dramatic transformation that involves a change of the costume and the mask. *Mae-shite* 前シテ, the protagonist of the first half, is generally responsible for the introduction of some legendary character to the travelling *waki* ワキ ("supporting character in Noh performance"), while *nochi-shite* 後シテ habitually reveals the authentic personality of the main character during the second half of the performance that usually corresponds to the night dream of *waki*. The appearance of the main character is completely transformed at the *kagami-no-ma*,[13] while *ai-kyōgen* 相狂言 ("folk character") relates the story of the first half of the performance in a simple and accessible language. In addition to the traditional ways of the mask change, there are those that endanger the health of the performer. Of course, in respect to the vision, regardless of the gender of the character, there is a longstanding technique in Noh to orient oneself using the pillars, but in the case of *Dōjōji,* the technique goes even further because of the actor's work with a very reduced vision that the *mae-shite* mask offers to him during the first half of the play, and the quick and dangerous change that follows. The timing of getting under the bell, which falls from the ceiling at the end of the first part of the performance, requires accurate calculation of the space and excellent physical condition of the performer. As the actor enters under the bell, a change of mask from one of the *onna-men* 女面 ("female masks used in Noh performance") to *shinja*,[14] costume, and wig, all of a female character, starts on the stage, unlike a usual mise-en-scène.

---

[11] The ancient ceremony of *okina* traditionally is designated to the pray for the longevity and a rich harvest. When Sarugaku was established, *Okina* was the opening play of the program, followed by several Noh plays.

[12] *Kijin* 鬼神 (demon), *kishin* 鬼神 (god). This *kanji* is characterized by a double reading. Depending on the context and pronunciation, the meaning of the term changes, signifying "*kishin*" a good god, meanwhile "*kijin*" meaning "an evil spirit".

[13] *Kagami-no-ma* 鏡の間 is a room with a large mirror separated from the stage by the colourful curtain. It is the space where the character is mainly created by the actor moments before the start of the performance.

[14] *Shinja* 真蛇, feminine ghost mask, characterized by jealousy and a desire for revenge. Used mainly by the *nochi-shite* in the second half of *Dōjōji*.

Thus, as noted in the above examples, the mask is one of the stage components that emphasize the femininity of the character and communicates a wide range of emotions with the support of other stage elements. Nonetheless, it is not enough to only put on a mask in *kagami-no-ma* before arriving to the stage. Yet another factor confirms that the mask is not just part of the props. Unless the costume and wig are put on in the dressing room, the merging of the actor and character through the mask occurs in *kagami-no-ma*. Situated between the dressing room and the stage, the "mirror room", or sometimes called *maku-no-ma* 幕の間 (the "curtain room"), is a sacred space where *shite* sits down in front of the mirror, concentrates mentally and physically on the role, and finishes the creating of the character by putting on the mask and transforming into the protagonist. Udaka Michishige points out that "this is the moment when he pours all his emotions into the mask, and simultaneously, a sacred interlude in which the role he is about to play fills him (Udaka 2010, 127).

As already mentioned, a deep understanding of the role is absolutely vital. This understanding is required not only from the actor, but also from the mask maker. Both of them must be able to interpret the Noh story and the character's state of mind and be immersed in the character. Even a slight error of the mask maker can transmit a mistaken message to the audience.

Stage Costume and Wig

The angular silhouette of the costume, besides its aesthetic purpose, allows the actor to make the *kata* correctly, though the mask with its eyeholes cannot be adjusted exactly to the performer's eyes, and restricts the vision and the whole body control. Actually, the costume, the wig, and the mask are used with the purpose of overriding the actor's body, unexciting to the public in its individuality. The mask, for instance, serves to first negate the individual features and the language of the facial expression of the actor, with the complete annulation of the existence of the mask within the conciseness of the interpreter as the next step. The actor is annulled because of his main aim to serve as the mediator between the *kami* 神 ("gods") and the human beings, as it was the purpose of the original Noh performances in Kan'ami and Zeami times. However, currently Noh is not a religious experience anymore but a stage art based on an encounter between man and man. The costume, on the other hand, is denying the actor the individual features too, but calls the attention of the public in case of *shite*, whose robe is

always bright in contrast with the dark and simple costume of *waki*, especially in plays of the third group. Being the central point of the character, the costume can symbolize many notions, for example, *surihaku* 摺箔 ("white under robe") represents a woman's skin. On the other hand, *iroiri* 色入り ("presence of the red colour in the costume") can indicate the young age of the female character, while *ironashi* 色無し ("absence of the red colour") suggests that the heroine is not young anymore, though generally the costumes are just sophisticated versions of the medieval Japanese costumes.

According to P.G. O'Neill, all of the participants of the Noh play are responsible for the creation of the female character. Even musicians with their intricate melodies are creating the atmosphere characteristic of a play with a feminine protagonist (O'Neill 2001, 55). The creator of the stage costume, in this case, is a figure with exceptional importance. As it is known, the Noh-stage costume makers follow the rules of working in guilds. The organization of working in groups and the main terminology of this system, with the transmission of the skills from one generation to the next, is known in Japan since the appearance of the first Buddhist sects, and was adopted by Gagaku families within the arts around the beginning of the eighth century. P.G. O'Neill states that

> These families specialized in the playing of one or other of the musical instruments used, or in the dancing; skills were passed on from one generation to the next or, in the case of especially secret techniques, from a father to one son only; no divergence from the traditional style of performance was allowed; and one family of Kyoto performers even had a monopoly of certain dances (2001, 16).

The cited transmission system does not differ from the one Zeami spread, or better put, used six centuries later, being its two main characteristics of the monopoly and secret transmission.[15] This practice successfully demonstrates its vigor and longevity, having been used by the Sarugaku groups from the fourteenth century, and being applied to some extent even nowadays. Protection of the shrines and temples permits Sarugaku *za* 座 ("groups"), which enclose all of the interpreters, including musicians, and perform both Noh and Kyōgen in the province of

---

[15] The Gagaku monopoly system disappears "with the establishment of the Gagaku Bureau of the Imperial Household Ministry in the early years of the Meiji period, since when they have maintained no more than their particular associations with musical instruments or dancing" (O'Neill 2001, 16). As for the Noh world, the system continues being quite hermetic even nowadays with strict access selection of the new members from the families, traditionally linked to the Noh production.

Yamato, to establish four lines that reach modern times: Kanze, Hōshō, Kongō, Konparu. Having the dramatic structure of Sarugaku Noh already completed with song, dance, and music in 1246, the actors though did not have the opportunity to regularly share stage experience, being dispersed throughout Japan. Therefore, they were forced to cultivate an individual performing style. Around the seventeenth century the four main Noh lines had disintegrated according to their professional specialization, creating new groups and schools with the hereditary succession to *iemoto* 家元 ("headship"), *hiden* 秘伝 ("secret transmission") of traditional teaching, a permit system of becoming a professional member of the group, hierarchical organization, and "a strong sense of duty and obligation within a school" (O'Neill 2001, 18–20), and all those features currently in force.

The Noh costume maker families, like the Yamaguchi dynasty, vehemently preserve the ancient rules of costume production and the above-stated characteristics of the group routine. Even nowadays the main work of the costume production is the prerogative of the masculine master according to the ancient conception of the Japanese society gender division. Female family members may particpate in the production of fabrics or during dyeing process. However, there is no indication that the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (EEOL) works in this traditional sphere. Even admitted within production process, women frequently have access only to its lower echelons.

The present-day head of the Yamaguchi lineage, Yamaguchi Akira, is the founder of the Yamaguchi Noh Costume Research Center and the Azai Noh Gallery of Art in Shiga Prefecture, and son of the legendary Nishijin textile master Yamaguchi Yasujirō (1904–2010). The producing of the Noh costumes starts from the very beginning of the process—the planting of mulberry trees. After a number of steps on the way, Yamaguchi Akira chooses the correct colours of the future costumes, manufactures them and dedicates his time also to their maintenance. Besides that, the actual Yamaguchi master spreads the Noh-costume-production knowledge all over the world through lectures and participation in various Noh activities, reserving the right to tell the secret details of the fabricarion of the Noh costumes only to his heir, as the tradition requires.[16]

The scenic costumes in the ancient times were usually the property of the powerful patrons of the Noh groups. Until the Edo period the practice of throwing

---

[16] Interview with Yamaguchi Akira, Kyōtō, 7.8.2010.

clothes on the stage was common. It was even customary to return the clothes the next day in exchange for a gift of money. During the Meiji Restoration (1868), the protectors like the Tokugawa administration had disappeared, following the head of the Kanze school and his patron, the last Tokugawa *shōgun*, upon his retirement in Shizuoka. The Noh schools had lost most of the stage costumes, which had been sold, in their struggle to survive in the changing world. However, some of these stage robes still belong to the Noh schools and are treated as treasures. The Yamaguchi master keeps those costumes in perfect condition not only to exhibit, but also for the continued use on stage. As for the relationship with the main client, the Noh actor, Yamaguchi Akira helps to choose the adequate costume for the next play during full of *yūgen* meetings at his headquarters. The Noh tempo is the protagonist of such meetings, during which the actor and the costume master analyze the way in which the silk threads are carefully woven. Every single stitch, even being invisible from the stalls, composes the whole, and that whole must correspond to the picture the actor has in mind. Both the Noh interpreter and the costume master possess a deep knowledge of the play that is being prepared. The process does not finish once the actor choses the costume. On numerous occasions the costume master or his heir come to see the performance to determine whether the costume is really in harmony with the character the interpreter is creating. On the other hand, the actor through the costume and other stage elements must fulfill the following requirements: transmit the character's internal state of mind and evoke emotions in the public, which is guided to react emotionally, not intellectually to the Noh experience.

Regarding the wig importance, it is necessary to remember that the third group name is *kazura-noh*. Of course, male characters also use the wig in the other groups' plays, but only the woman pieces are denominated as "wig plays". The central figure of the play [17] is dressed in a wig and a lavish robe, and is characterized by high lyrical quality, delicacy, *yūgen*, and elegant dances. The place of the "wig pieces" corresponds to the second part, *ha* in *jo-ha-kyū* system, in other words, the development/climax part, and occupies the most important place in the whole Noh program according to Zeami (Inoura 1971, 123). However, some of the female characters are also within the fourth and fifth groups, and even in their madness or in the form of a fabulous animal amazes the viewers with the beauty of their costumes and wigs.

---

[17] All the analysis of the female character is referred to *shite*. *Waki* is always a male character.

According to the character's age and status, there is a wide spectrum of wigs. Usually, they have long hair and are attached to a small piece of fabric and tied on the performer's head. The wigs specifically accompany corresponding masks. That is the case of white hair *uba-katsura* 姥鬘 ("old woman's wig") used for the aged Komachi character and accompanied by a *uba* mask. However, costumes, wigs and masks can be generally combined in many different ways and create a number of different characters.

Techniques: Impersonation

Training

The Noh actor usually starts to rehearse from a very young age. According to Zeami's theoretical works, the ideal age to start the Noh actor's career is seven, with the total freedom to perform the way the young interpreter wills. [18] Nonetheless, nowadays different schools offer opportunities for younger age performers, bearing in mind that each age of the performer's career has its dramatic advantage. In each of the Noh schools, the young interpreter can choose to enter still preserves slight alterations in the text and both elements of physicalization—*kamae* and *kata*,[19] full of inaudible and quiet tension—from one school to another. During the early training process, the young interpreter absorbs Noh texts and movements, gets familiar with the fan as the main object on the stage due to its multiple uses by the interpreter, and even tries to build *tsukurimono*. Moreover, the little actor learns to play Noh instruments and in some cases to make the masks.

---

[18] Zeami trusts the natural talent of the child at this age, starting to endure the training only little by little at the age of twelve. There are two next reasons for that: "Firstly, as he still has appearance of a child, whatever he does will have grace and subtle elegance. Secondly, his voice will carry well. Because of these two conditions, his weak points will be hidden, and his strong points will seem all the more splendid." (Zeami 2006, 64) At the age of seventeen, nevertheless, the young interpreter will loose his first *hana*, achieving the true *hana* only at the age of forty-five in case of assiduous work and tireless training.

[19] M. Bethe and K. Brazell do not distinguish between female and male *kata* in their study that concentrates on a different classification because of initial lack of such dissimilarity in the patterns. Both authors work with "the concept of ground (*ji*) and design (*mon*)" (Bethe and Brazell 1982, 3) rather than adopted by the Noh masters system of patterns with meaning and patterns without meaning. Their study reveals once again that there is no major difference in scenic patterns between male and female characters. The most important difference observed from their study is the one that refers to the speed and the width of the movement, and the energy used to make it.

Training as a professional actor implies complete dedication to the ancient art, full of cross-gender experience and with no specialization. According to Kamei Yūji, *shite* from Hōshō school, a child born in the Noh family is not aware of any important event, no responsibility when he is brought for the first time to the Noh stage. He perceives all the elements that surround him as a game, especially dressing up in costumes of the past centuries. Once the performance is over, the young interpreter receives a lot of gifts and becomes the center of attention. Both serve as a stimulus for the further gradual introduction of the small actor on a professional stage. Little by little the individual rehearsals of the future *shite* or *waki* start and are held alone with the master who in some cases is the father of the young interpreter. Family and school secrets of the traditional art are passed down from generation to generation and are stored with the utmost reverence, avoiding abrupt changes or new interpretations, according to Kamei Yūji. Whether or not the young performer becomes a professional actor depends on himself. Will his *hana* bloom one day or not is a matter of his individual talent and dedication. Nobody will force him to learn the ancient technique. At the age of thirteen or fourteen a lot of *kokata* leave the Noh stage and associate their adulthood with other professions. Young interpreters who are loyal to the Noh stage make an effort both at school and at regular lessons with the Noh master. In the case of Kamei Yūji, who graduated from the Tokyo University of Dramatic Art, his learning was not limited to only the master's lessons. A turning point came when the actor had to go to live under the Noh theatre roof to penetrate the theatre spirit at a much higher degree than in the long years of training. However, the Noh system always leaves the performers ways to withdraw, though this only occurs at a certain point. Once defined and professionally consciously embarked on the Noh path, the actor has no choice but to perfect his art and cultivate *hana*.

The training includes some mandatory postures and movements that come from Zeami's treaties, or even from the medieval Buddhist statuary of the seventh century like an asymmetrical bent-knee position. This posture appears to be the perfect one for gathering energy and/or breath, with the focus in the lower abdomen, and is used in different activities as sports. The *kuse* 曲 ("static scene"), simple and easy to accomplish in the sight of an inexperienced foreigner, requires a great use of concentration and energy, achieving the actor's heartbeat of 180 beats per minute during this mute transmission of deep emotion. The absence of

the visible movement increases the tension of expression of the character's state of mind even more. (Brandon 1997, 4)

The strict long exercise process of abstract *kata* and *suriashi* すり足 ("gliding walk"), that differ in the emotion, energy and texture from one Noh play to another, is of a physical nature. Also, it has a practical use, not only the visual expression of the character's feeling. As discussed above, the camp of vision is severely reduced by the mask. Therefore, the sliding walk helps the actor to control his energy and weight, though in case of a female role the actor has to keep the feet closer than for a male role, which makes it even more difficult to maintain balance. In addition to the mask, other obstacles such as a rigid costume, a very simple staging, or the permanently inclined torso position, make the actor concentrate on overcoming them with the use of the Noh interpretative technique characterized by a long-term learning and a great control developed during this period. However, the physicality of the training and of the performance itself, "based on the tension between opposites, which can be traced in part to the *in-yō* (*yin-yang*) concept of the harmony of dark-light, hard-soft, female-male", according to James R. Brandon, still does not guarantee the achievement of the *hana* to the actor (1997, 4). Udaka Michishige, who started his career at a very late age of twelve, indicates in his book *The Secrets of Noh Masks* that even a rehearsal does not provide the actor with the ability to get "inside the head of a character" using the established *kata*, simple in their shape and full of *yūgen* (2010, 7). After eleven years living at the house of his master, Kongō Iwao II, Udaka could start what the Westerners could call a freelance career. Actually, once the period of living under his master's roof ends, the young actor could only hone his craft on the stage of the same Kongō school. Having started a parallel career as a mask maker at the age of eighteen, he realized that he could create and express the character's emotion with the use of the mask, a sacred element on the stage from prehistoric times.[20] Once and again, on the pages of his book, Udaka demands the actor capture the mental state of the character through a deep relationship with the mask that, due to its expression, determines all of the features of the character (2010, 28). The mask on the stage reveals the character by the correct use of the accent on the right side of the mask in the first half of the play and emphasizes the

---

[20] Labour reforms like the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (EEOL) did not impact the traditional flow of the mask creation by the male masters. The professional world of mask production remains closed to women.

left side in the second. Udaka Michishige explains the secret of this use of the mask this way:

> Because the *shite* in the first half is a wandering spirit unable to rest in peace, the right side features an eye that looks downturned, as if to express this state of limbo. In the second half of the play the character's soul is cleansed by the offering of a memorial service, resulting in a calmer countenance: a left eye gazes upward, a fuller cheek, and a corner of the mouth curved upward. (Udaka 2010, 154)

Adopted from Chinese dramatic pieces during the Nara period (710–794), the popular entertainment of Sangaku, lately known as *Sarugaku-no Noh* or simply Noh, with its dance, song, conjuring, music, acrobatics, and magic, successfully found its niche opposite the aristocratic genre of Gagaku, adding the national Japanese amusements to the original performance. Unlike the monopoly system known in later centuries, the new genre established *gakuko* 学子 ("official schools"),[21] which were "set up to teach the various types of sarugaku and to provide players when required," states P.G. O'Neill (2001, 29). Correlated with gigaku and bugaku genres, later Noh inherited the *gaku* dance and *jo-ha-kyū* 序破急 ("introduction, development, climax") system of the play construction, intensified by Zeami and applied to the Noh *mise-en-scène* in the movement, voice and music performance. Once the new solemn entertainment of Noh had developed and had received protection from the temples, shrines and the ruling military class, the actors- usually coming from the low strata of society—adopted the *za* system with a hereditary headship, and were quite free during the year, except the special occasions in which they were expected to execute the duty performance. The absence could mean the cancellation of the protection. During the same time the Noh interpreters settled the *mise-en-scène* emphasizing singing, dancing, and *monomane* 物真似 "mimicry or imitating things"). Zeami argued that the imitation, though being performed with the use of highly symbolic movements, had to achieve such a state when the actor was completely identifying himself with the essence of the character and was not conscious anymore of his imitation of one of the three basic roles—old man, woman, or warrior—or a role

---

[21] The official schools of Sarugaku are abolished during the Heian period (794–1192), dividing the existing performers into two groups: the first one is attached to the Imperial Department of Music, and the second and the bigger one, consisting of the interpreters who became free and in necessity of some protection like the powerful temples or shrines. This division had driven the emergence of *za* with the monopoly of performance in the area of the temple or shrine to which they were attached.

derived from those.[22] The third group plays were indicated for the young *shite* who had to observe the ladies with every detail of their behavior and dressing to achieve the utmost detailed imitation. While "it should be a truly easy matter to perform the roles of simple ordinary women, since" the young performers were "used to seeing them every day" (Zeami 2006, 72), the access to the court ladies was restricted, and the *shite* performer had to contrive to research them. However, if the protagonist of the play was a noble lady or a simple countrywoman, the interpreter had to act the "general essence of a woman" (Zeami 2006, 72) in a "delicate, feminine manner". (Zeami 2006, 73) The third group plays were the most challenging for the male performers because of their physical condition,[23] but also due to the necessity to imagine themselves involved in the female experience creating the

> ultimate beauty in a state of *kotan* (refined simplicity), *wabi* (subdued elegance), and *sabi* (unadorned beauty), a kind of beauty going beyond the ethereal elegance of *yūgen*, which can be expressed by a flower blossoming on a withered bough. This is the essence of the symbolic beauty of Noh. (Komparu 1983, 15)

Another intangible element was the music.

Music, Dance, and Song

In the close-to-Noh performance genre of Kusemai, women in the male costumes, men and boys were accentuating the music at the expense of dance. Those interpreters were organized in groups dedicated to the independent Kusemai performance, disappearing from the capital area around 1430. However, Kan'ami, a *Yūsaki-za* 結崎座 actor of Yamato *sarugaku*, who had learned Kusemai from

---

[22] In other words, "the purpose is not a matter of thoughtful expression, but of emptying the mind of ego or self and taking on the true intent of the character being represented" (Zeami 2006, 17). Actually, Zeami insists in the imitation "something in its entirety" with "different nuances and degrees according to the situation" (2006, 71), However, he warns against too realistic imitation of the low things that in any case should be avoided "in front of members of the upper classes, who would find them ignoble and uninteresting" (2006, 72).

[23] While the usual Noh initial pose consists of the bent knees and the torso leaning forward, for the female character Zeami suggests to maintain straight knees, the pliant body, and to avoid excessive strength to hold the head. Also he pays much attention to the robe that should hide the man's body. The most important spot of his teaching about the female character impersonation is the appearance. "This being so, if you take care over your appearance, you should be able to portray womanly aspects well. No matter what sort of role you are playing, your appearance should never be poor; appearance is especially fundamental in woman's roles" (Zeami 2006, 73).

1368 to 1374 from Otozuru, a female performer from Hyakuman school,[24] had already included the Kusemai style of music into Sarugaku performance with emphasis on mimicry and certain refinement.[25] Both musical styles—the ancient melodic Kouta 小歌, and the new dynamic Kusemai 曲舞—had merged promoting a new interpretative style. Moreover, the Kusemai texts became a great source for the Noh stories and quotations, and the Kusemai item itself became the main point of the Noh plays. Currently, dance sequences can be divided into *hataraki* 働き ("actions") and *mai-bataraki* 舞働き ("dance actions"). *Hataraki* depicts the character with the use of portrayal actions and mimicry, corresponding to the *iroe* イロエ ("coloration") type with the elegant atmosphere of the female role. What is regarded as dance today, however, was in the original Noh a sequence of movements that were accompanying the *kaiwa geki* 会話劇 ("dialogue drama"). Actually, the primitive dialogue was not danced and was closer in its form to the medieval European drama than contemporary Noh. As for the female performers on the Noh and Kyōgen stage during the Muromachi period, their presence could not surprise anyone until the Edo period, when they were banned from the Kabuki stage, and therefore at the same time were excluded from other main performing arts.

Regarding the singing styles, on the other hand, two varieties can be observed:

a) *Tsuyo-gin* 剛吟 ("strong") and a vivid style of the gods' and warriors' plays;

---

[24] Female performers were quite usual on the stage in this time. Miko Sarugaku Noh, at Kasuga Shrine, was expressly played by the virgins who were on service of shrines throughout the country. They were trained in Sarugaku Noh song and dance with the accompaniment of *kotsuzumi* 小鼓 ("small drum"), commonly used in the Noh play.

[25] Starting from Heian period the refinement was as must for the small-scale dialogues used as a punishment during the poetry contests at the Imperial Court. The loser was obliged to imitate the already existing plays of *zae-no onoko*, "plays of highly dramatic nature, with much dialogue, solid in structure, and rich in variety of content, particularly conflict", that could be considered as the prototypes of Noh, according to Inoura (1971, 47). Other genres like Dengaku with its supernatural inclination, songs, dance, and use of small drum and flute, Shugen Noh with its masks, drums, and flute, and ceremonial, ritual, comic or warrior's dances performed by priests of Shugendō, or Ennen Noh also could be considered as a preliminary model of the future Noh. The singers were in charge of singing the songs while the usually masked silent character was dancing in Shugen Noh. Dances, songs, and imitative acts with the further assimilation of masks and other dramatic arts characterized ritualistic banquet of Ennon Noh which usually was accompanying the Buddhist and *Shintō* ceremonies. Ennen Noh in the early years of the twelfth century, in Yamato Province, the subjects were quite close to the future Noh subjects, and were related to the historical tales of Japan, China, and India, avoiding the contemporary stories.

b) *Yowa-gin* 弱吟 ("weak") and a melodic style conventional for the plays with the main female role, characterized by a more intricate scale system and melodic variety to express the emotion spectrum of the protagonist in the third and fourth groups of plays.

Besides, one of the important characteristics of the male impersonation of the female character in Noh consists of avoiding the imitation of the feminine voice. The male performers only sing in a higher key, differentiating in this point from the Kabuki interpreters. The actor and the *jiutai* generally perform the semi-chanting without any attempt of realistically reproducing the individual female character's voice.

The dance, on the other side, can transmit the character's sex through precise movements based on exquisiteness of form, especially seeking to transmit the portrayal characteristics in case of the female role. As a general rule, the third category plays, dedicated to the living or dead beautiful women or spirits of plants, involve the beauty of the texts and the quietness of the performer's execution. To accompany the slow tempo *jo-no-mai* 序の舞 ("dance widely used in the third category plays"),[26] the drummers play a *kotsuzumi*, *otsuzumi* 大鼓 ("the side drum"), flute,[27] and in some cases a *taiko* 太鼓 ("stick drum"), the biggest drum in the Noh orchestra (Goff 1991, 46). Other types of female dance can be performed according to the rank of the character. For example, *chū-no-mai* corresponds to an ordinary female character in the third group play. Besides, any female dance will transmit a sense of stillness and will be introduced with a different speed compared to the male characters'. With regard to the existence of the dance performed on the Noh stage by female characters in relationship with historical medieval Japanese society, Janet Goff in her study of the Japanese medieval literature mentions that these dances

could claim no such precedent in the *Genji*, where well-born women were expected to remain discreetly out of sight. […] The presentation of most of

---

[26] *Chū-no-mai* 中の舞 dances have a strong presence in all Noh-play categories, and are characterized by a more quick tempo than *jo-no-mai*, though the instruments the orchestra plays in both cases are mainly the same.

[27] The flute is believed to be one of the elements that create the adequate bodily tension. The combination of the movement, or its absence, and the flute music create the quiet and controlled energy in the actor. Meanwhile, other visual elements could be adopted by the Western staging, the energy control observed in Noh appears due to a long-term training, and could not be easily implemented by the foreign performers.

> the women's plays as a dream, however, gives the female characters' dance in front of the *waki* a certain plausibility. (Goff 1991, 50)

Therefore, the dream on the Noh stage is used as a vehicle of artistic expression of an idealized alive or dead woman, deity, or spirit of plant, breaking up the historical veracity of the woman's day-to-day existence. As for the women's plays, besides the masks' and therefore plays' classification, *kurai* 位 ("the Tokugawa period ranking of plays") is also known and is still in use, recognizing the difficulty of the third group plays by giving to this category the highest rank.

It must be noted that the Noh performance is based on the central figure of the main character with an unchallenged position stated by Zeami. All other interpreters, stage components and *kōken* are intended to support the interpretation of the protagonist, though the Western public would immediately notice the lack of the mandatory element in the West: dramatic lighting. Such a unique position of the main character allows him to wear the mask and to be the sole performer of the dance, accompanied by the singing of the *jiutai*, music, and words according to the school style standard. Since all members of the performance are working within the same style, the previous rehearsals roughly are not considered to be necessary. On the other hand, a small number of rehearsals, or the very first meeting of all the interpreters maintained in the dressing room just before going on stage, is observed due to the lack of time of the main role performers who are forced to teach instead of practice themselves because of economic necessity. Thus, there should be no place for the comparison of the quality of performance of ancient generations, concentrated only in the perfection of their art, with contemporary Noh, where it is not uncommon to detect mistakes in the text or the movement. Nevertheless, Noh as a living creature is constantly developing, and despite the strict training actors receive, there are no two identical impersonations, bringing every actor his own performing signature.

Conclusion

The laws like the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (EEOL) do not work at all in the area of traditional arts like Noh production. The mainly male Noh professional world does not allow the possibility of giving the opportunity of more active participation in the Noh production to the female participants. Thus, the Noh professional circle remains purely masculine despite the remarkable progress in other traditional arts.

On the other hand, Noh, as a theatre of sublime tragedy, does not pursue the aim of introducing a story in a dramatic manner and avoids any sign of naturalism. Rather, it attempts to generate a mood to represent the character's inner state characterized by a spiritual beauty. Consequently, when the male interpreter transforms into a female character, it is more appropriate to consider his on-stage process as an attempt to abstract an intellectual approach to the female spirit, not to her physical image. This overlapping of the two genders happens on a rational level in a kind of arrangement between the audience and the masculine performer. The theatre of conscious convention exists since the time of Thespis' horse-drawn wagon, and is fully developed by theatre masters like Vsevolod Meyerhold (1874–1940). Most of the plays of the Spanish Golden Age are based on this concept, as does *La Commedia dell'Arte* or other types of popular theatre. Nevertheless, another traditional performing arts forms like Kabuki or the Beijing Opera pursue the complete metamorphosis of masculine to feminine through the use of the aesthetic procedures close to annulment of the own male nature thus approaching the earliest method of another Russian theatre master Konstantin Stanislavsky (1863–1938). Meanwhile, Noh performers break all illusion because neither voice nor *suriashi* or *kata* intend to deceive the audience. The stalls and the interpreters enter into a game without ever forgetting that this is a conscious deal between them, and that there is a masculine interpreter who represents a female character. This technique of conscious convention plays a much more important role in building the character, than a true and realistic reproduction of feminine gestures, way of walking, and voice pattern, while wig, mask and costume are present only to support the mentioned agreement. There is a constant fight against illusion, though it cannot be stated that this was the initial purpose of Zeami. Nevertheless, to modern eyes of the audience, familiar with the method of conscious convention, the unintended application of this technique is more than evident. The movements of the actor make the dispensable stage set and excessive characterization. Therefore, no obvious or realistic element will appear on stage, being replaced by delicacy and suggestion. And precisely for this reason, the female roles will be introduced without the male voice modification or a mincing walk. The male performer will use the same acting technique for all roles, but simply restraining while impersonating the female character. Only the mask and the costume that are already widely analyzed by numerous researchers will clearly indicate that the character is the female one. The construction of the right atmosphere follows the *jo-ha-kyū* principle, collected from the Indian musical tradition, used in Bugaku

composition, and developed by Zeami in his papers. Though only two or three plays compound the current Noh program, they are presented in the order established by Zeami, starting the program with the god plays, and finishing with the devil plays. Actually, it is important to remember that before Zeami's arrival to the Noh stage, the main structure of the play and the program itself were already established by the preceding Sarugaku Noh performers. His great merit consists of polishing the texts, creating the production mode and supporting the interpreter's work with the treatises.[28]

The mask is used as the central point of the play. Through its use the *shite* creates the right emotional atmosphere on the stage and in the stalls without trying to play femininity. To achieve this purpose, the performer chooses the mask carefully among analogous masks considering that the same one can be used in different plays to depict similar characters. In case the protagonist does not use the mask on the stage, even then he maintains the intermediate expression of his face just as the rest of the interpreters. The mask is even considered to be a live element in the polytheistic Japanese tradition, with its own nature the actor is called to portray. The performer merges with the spirit of his role while he is observing his masked reflection in the mirror at *kagami-no-ma* before the performance starts, with the purpose of becoming one with the mask.

The male performer is in charge of expressing the character's inner state in a very complex way. The Noh conception allows him to do it on three different levels: interpreter, woman, and in the case of *Izutsu* play even the male ghost that represents the spirit of the dead husband who possesses the woman (Brandon 1997, 202). In simpler plays the male performer's task has fewer levels, though they are not plain at all: the male performer transforms into a woman.

---

[28] Inoura (1971, 85) suggests the following Noh development analysis: the period of consolidation, the period of change, and the period of stabilization. The first period could be divided into three phases: a) 1351–1384; Kanze Kan'ami Kiyotsugu; theories of *yūgen* and *monomane*; transition from Sarugaku Noh to Nohgaku; b) 1384–1443; Kanze Zeami Motokiyo; treaties of Noh principles; importance to song and dance; *nyotai onna-mai* 女体女舞("dances in form of women"), c) last years of Zeami-1470; Kanze Onnami (1398–1467) and Konparu Zenchiku (1405–1468?); brilliant Noh style by Onnami, and metaphysical Noh by Zenchiku; establishment of the Noh program: Okina ceremony, three Noh plays with Kyōgen plays in between; development of Nyōbō Sarugaku performing the women the roles composed for male interpreters. The latter two periods reflect numerous changes in the Noh development after Zenchiku's death.

The widely known aesthetic concept of *yūgen*,[29] character development, and the understanding of the message of the play are achieved through bodily practice. Thus, the actors do not analyze the aesthetic or physicalization of their art, avoiding any unnecessary verbalization in Noh theatre. The theoretical and/or intellectual understanding of *yūgen* itself,[30] widely developed by Komparu Zenchiku in his essays, in no case can be considered the main purpose of the Noh performers engaged in practical use of both aesthetic and physicalization. The Noh technique of building a character is in confrontation with one of the most important performing techniques in the West, the Stanislavsky method. Though the Russian director and dramaturgist suggests the interpreters to create the character's internal life with a deep analysis of their own interior world, Zeami chooses an opposite procedure. He encourages the performers to look around and to "(learn techniques of dance and song), then bring that experience inside (apply song and dance to the character), and finally express it outwardly again (perform the internal essence of the character with *yūgen*)" (Brandon 1997, 9). Nowadays, *yūgen* is both part of non-intellectual knowledge of Noh and the trained Japanese audience accustomed to the nonverbal communication on the stage. Regarding the public proficiency during Edo period, due to the limited Noh repertoire and numerous established rules, the audience could achieve the same level of understanding Noh as the performers. As a result, once this relationship between the two groups of connoisseurs was established, the onstage team stopped to consider the explanation of the difficult points of the play to the observing team, maintaining this tradition even nowadays. However, the gap between both factions of members of the performance had increased with the fall of the *shōgunate* regime. The understanding of the non-realistic Noh performance and the acceptance of the ancient performing art as a route towards "enlightenment" had become a forbidden land for the greater part of the contemporary Japanese

---

[29] Borrowed from China, where it was strongly connected to the Buddhism, the concept of *yūgen* has greatly influenced classical Japanese culture. There may be mentioned the aesthetic quality in *waka* and *renga*, as an example, both of them paving the way for the creation of the atmosphere on the Noh stage. Nevertheless, Noh *yūgen* rejects the pure or "raw" beauty, and pursues the hidden, deep, and elevated one as an expression of the highest art. It is considered to have reached its greatest splendor during the early years of Muromachi period. (Nose 1981, 202–4, 286)

[30] Two theatre men, Zeami and Zenchiku defend contrary views on the *yūgen* perspective. "Whereas Zeami had defined *yūgen* in terms of stage effect- that is, from the perspective of the audience- Zenchiku looks upon *yūgen* as a mental realm of the performer" (Brandon 1997, 45). Both define the way the actor develops a character. *Yūgen* by Zeami was mostly referred to the chant and dance, and was specific for any acting technique of every group of the plays with the purpose to make even an ugly character beautiful.

audience, particularly very young one, mostly unfamiliar with the medieval suggestion, subtle and profound style, high spirit, and deep meaning of the action full of insinuation and conventions.[31] On the other hand, foreign public especially lacks the tools to understand the hidden meaning of *Yūgen* during Noh theatre touring abroad. Nevertheless, even at present, the instructed and prepared audiences still can participate in the ceremony unfolded before their eyes, which especially impacts with the art of the interpreters and its great dramatic tension.

References

"1948 Family Register Law." 2015. Accessed February 26, 2015. http://members.jcom. home.ne.jp/yosha/yr/nationality/Family_register_law_1948.html.

"Algunos Shite típicos desde deidades hasta demonios." Accessed June 13, 2014. http://www.japonartesescenicas.org/teatro/generos/noh/simbologia6-4.html.

Bethe, Monica, and Karen Brazell. 1982. *Dance in the No Theatre. Vol. 1–3.* Cornell University East Asia papers, New York: Ithaka.

Brandon, James R., ed. 1997. Nō *and* Kyōgen *in the Contemporary World*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Brinton, Mary C. 1993. *Women and the Economic Miracle: Gender and Work in Postwar Japan.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Goff, Janet. 1991. *Noh Drama and* The Tale of Genji. *The Art of Allusion in Fifteen Classical Plays*. Princeton Library of Asian Translations, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hofstede, Geert. 1980. *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values.* Beverly Hills CA: Sage Publications.

Inoura, Yoshinobu. 1971. *A History of Japanese Theater I. Noh and Kyōgen*. Yokohama: Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai (Japan Cultural Society).

Komparu, Kunio. 1983. *The Noh Theater. Principles and Perspectives.* New York/Tokyo: John Weatherhill, Inc.

Nose, Asaji 能勢朝次. 1981. *Yūgenron* (幽玄論) (A Theory of *Yūgen*), Vol.2. 中世文学研究. Medievel Literature Research. Kyoto: Shinbunkaku Shuppan.

---

[31] According to Nose, Zeami considers the skill to comprehend *yūgen* as a natural feature of the Japanese national character, being the public able to distinguish between the vile beauty and the beauty full of *yūgen*, that in case of women role should be similar to the ideal beauty of the Heian period noble ladies, in *nosakushō* 能作書 (Nose 1981, 327, 330). Furthermore, Zeami stresses that the *bushi* tea ceremony possesses a comparable sense of beauty as Noh *yūgen*, in *kakyō* 花鏡 (Nose 1981, 327, 330). On the other hand, *yūgen* should be invisible, but strong enough as to dominate the whole *mise-en-scène*, and the voice, *suriashi*, movements, and other elements building a character (Nose 1981, 331).

O'Neill, P.G. 2001. "Collected Writings of P.G. O'Neill." In *The Collected Writings of Modern Western Scholars on Japan*, Vol. 4. Edition Synapse. Tokyo: Japan Library.

Pérez García-Valdecasas, Joaquín. 2010. "El milagro japonés. Eumed.net." *Observatorio Iberoamericano de la Economía y la Sociedad del Japón* 2 (7) (enero). Accessed February 26, 2015. http://www.eumed.net/rev/japon/07/jpgv.htm.

Personal interview with Kamei Yūji (Hōshō school), Tokyo, 2012.

Personal presence of the author during the meetings of Mikawa Izumi and Imai Yasuo, both from Hōshō school, with Yamaguchi Akira, Kyoto, 2010.

Personal interview with Yamaguchi Akira, Kyoto, 7.8.2010.

Prideaux, Eric. Apr.11, 2004. "Women in Noh." Accessed March 4, 2015. http://www.japantimes.co.jp/life/2004/04/11/to-be-sorted/women-in-noh/#.VPbEBh Z2dFI.

Reimer, J.Thomas. 1984. *On the Art of the Nō Drama. The Major Treatises of Zeami*, translated by J.Thomas Reimer and Masakazu Yamazaki. Princeton Library of Asian Translations, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Udaka, Michishige. 2010. *The Secrets of Noh Masks*. Tokyo, New York, London: Kodansha International.

Zeami. 2006. *The Flowering Spirit (Fūshikaden). Classic Teaching on the Art of Nō,* translated by William Scott Wilson. Tokyo, New York, London: Kodansha International.

Japanese Martial Arts as Popular Culture: Teaching Opportunity and Challenge

Stephen Robert NAGY[*1]

Abstract

Japanese martial arts, here after Japanese *budō*, are popular cultural icons that are found in films, comics, video games and books. Teaching Japanese budō at university offers a novel way to teach about East Asian and in particular Japanese culture, history, and philosophy while including ideas about the globalization and the localization of culture. Question though remains as to how and what should we teach about the popular culture of Japanese budō at the university level? This paper found that a comprehensive approach to teaching about budō was effective. By using many kinds of materials and the incorporation of opportunities to experience budō and to try budō, students were better able to grasp the historical, cultural and religious characteristics of budō.

Keywords: Japanese culture, pedagogy, *budō*, martial arts

Izvleček

Japonske borilne veščine, od zdaj naprej *budō*, so popularne kulturne ikone, ki jih najdemo v filmih, stripih, video igrah in knjigah. Učenje japonskega budoja na univerzi ponuja nov način učenja o Vzhodni Aziji in še posebej v japonski kulturi, zgodovini in filozofiji, saj vključuje ideje o globalizaciji in lokalizaciji kulture. Kljub temu pa ostaja vprašanje, kako in kaj se naj poučuje o popularni kulturi japonskega budoja na univerzitetni stopnji. V tem članku pride avtor do spoznanja, da je k učenju budoja učinkovit vsetranski pristop. Z uporabo raznovrstnega materiala, z izkustvom in poskusi budoja, so lahko študentje bolje doumeli zgodovinske, kulturne in religiozne značilnosti budoja.

Ključne besede: japonska kultura, pedagogika, *budō*, borilne veščine

* Stephen Robert NAGY, Associate Professor, Department of Politics and International Studies
International Christian University (ICU), Tokyo, Japan.
nagy@icu.ac.jp

Introduction

Japanese martial arts, here after Japanese budō, are popular cultural icons that are found in films, comics, video games, books, sports and even in our neighborhoods where we live. Studying and teaching Japanese budō at university offers a novel way to teach about East Asian and in particular Japanese culture, history, and philosophy while including ideas about the globalization and the localization of culture. Question though remains as to how and what should we teach about the popular culture of Japanese budō at the university level?

Scholars have broached this conundrum from many different points of view. For instance, Japan's National Institute of Fitness and Sports (NIFI) has advocated teaching Japanese modern *budō* such as *kendō*, *naginata* and *jūdō* in educational institutions to convey, preserve and pass on Japanese cultural traditions (Maesaka 2008, 45). In Maesaka's analysis on the initiatives of NIFI, he found that teaching Japanese budō is not linked to teaching popular culture, rather it stresses inculcating the cultural traditions associated with Japanese budō. In this sense, NIFI is attaching national identity to the practice and study of Japanese budō with a domestic agenda of strengthening the indigenous nature of Japanese budō rather than linking it to previous academic research.

Other scholars such as Callan have investigated Japanese budō education in the UK and the difficulties that educators have in transmitting some of the philosophical and cultural characteristics of Japanese budō in a non-Japanese setting, region or country. Specific impediments to teaching were associated with attaching meaning and significance to the key components of Japanese budō, etiquette and decorum.

In September 2010, I began teaching a university level course entitled "Japanese Budō Tradition and Transformation from the Edo Period to Today" for the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) Department of Japanese Studies. My experience echoed much of the hurdles Callan faced in the UK. Moreover, teaching a new course at university is always fraught with challenges, especially regarding course contents and pedagogical approaches to learning. Particular questions that arise in terms of teaching a course on budō include but are not exclusive to the following:

1. How to design a reading list that encompasses historical, cultural and technical development of budō? This is especially a challenge in terms of finding English sources for non-Japanese language readers.
2. What is the appropriate level of academic rigor for a course on budō?
3. Where to begin our historical examination of budō?
4. What is the best way to introduce budō to non-Japanese majors? That is students with no knowledge of Japanese language, culture or history?
5. Is there an appropriate way to introduce budō practice in the classroom and link that with classroom lectures on culture and history?
6. How to teach student's "whose cup is already full"?

This study makes no attempt to theorize about popular culture. Instead, it is a pedagogical investigation that aims to address some of the above questions, at least from my perspective as a scholar and practitioner of *kendō* and *iaidō*. Through introducing and discussing the teaching of Japanese budō at a university, I hope to shed light on teaching possibilities and novel approaches to a more rigorous yet interesting way of learning and teaching the popular culture of budō. This qualitative study employed participant observation, questionnaires and repeated structured interviews over a four-month period from September to December 2010. Questionnaires were distributed to first-year and third-year Japanese studies major students and to students of the Japanese budō class that I taught. Ten students were interviewed repeatedly through the semester. Each interview was no more than 30 minutes. The interviews were conducted in English and in the classroom after or before class. Participant observation was twofold. First, as the instructor for the course and second as the teacher of the tutorials in which students were taught several *kendō* exercises called *kata* ("shape" or "form").

As part of the structure of this paper, I will divide my discussion into six sections representing the questions raised in the introduction. Each section will be subtitled with the question posed in the introduction. These questions represent what I feel to be the most pertinent results of this study but they are by no means exhaustive. I recognize that some of my conclusions drawn in this paper would be different in different cultural and national settings. That being said, this paper aims to contribute to the teaching of popular culture at the university level by providing a reflective example of teaching popular culture in a non-North American setting.

How to Design a Reading List that Encompasses Historical, Cultural and Technical Development of budō?

When I initially proposed this course to the Japanese Studies Department at CUHK, I experienced both enthusiasm and skepticism. Enthusiasm for the course was based on the interests of students who have up to now had interest in learning more about Japanese budō and martial arts culture but had no one to learn from. My proposal to meld classroom lectures with visits to local *dōjōs* and some practical training also was attractive as it linked theory, culture and history with the opportunity to actually experience the culture of budō, both through *kendō kata* and speaking with local teachers and practitioners. Lastly, the course was attractive to my colleagues as it intended to discuss budō using contemporary academic frameworks such as globalization, localization and modernization of culture (See course introduction below) and relate them to Japan's closed past and contemporary inclination to export Japanese culture under the rubric of "Soft Power" or "International Culture Understanding."

JAS 2710

Japanese Martial Arts (BUDŌ): Tradition and Transformation from the Tokugawa Period to Present

Course description: This course is intended to introduce and broaden the understanding of the development of Japanese Martial Arts (BUDŌ) from the early Tokugawa period (1603–1868) to today. Students will examine the development of BUDŌ by studying it within its historical context, identifying its cultural influences, and transmission patterns. Utilizing an assortment of readings, lectures, and multi-media outlets such as film and on-line documentaries, students will engage in a multidisciplinary analysis of the development of BUDŌ and its impact on contemporary Japanese society. Complementing this multi-disciplinary approach will be opportunities to experience Japanese martial arts and its key components such as etiquette and philosophical approaches to techniques through a hands-on introduction to the art of kendō and visiting local Japanese martial art schools. Lastly, in an era of rapid globalization it is also crucial that students will examine the influence of Japanese Budō abroad. Through comparisons with the martial arts of neighboring countries such as Korea, China and well as others, students will also gain a better understanding of aspects of modernization, that is the convergence and localization of culture as it is transformed through the movement of people.

From the standpoint of the deliberate inculcation of experience-based learning to further the student's ability to grasp the material being introduced, it could be said that my approach resonates with Maesaka's advocacy of a culture-based learning and teaching process when teaching Japanese budō (2008, 45). Moreover, the comprehensive approach to teaching Japanese budō that included not only history but also culture, philosophy, sociology and practical training resembled the approaches of other budō practitioners. For example, Wojciech J. Cynarksi and Kazimierz Obodyński argue that "it is also easier to show the realization of '*ki*' on the example of the master whose attributes are excellent skills of concentration, motor coordination and perfect technique coupled with strong will, control of pain etc., than to give accurate definition" (2005, 1).

On the other hand, some of my colleagues were concerned about the possibility of offering a course that was not only interesting to students but also had academic rigor, that was well founded in previous research and well tested books related to budō. In fact, the perceptions of martial arts may have entrenched imageries in popular culture. For example, Stuart Fischoff, Ana Franco, Elaine Gram, Angela Hernendez and James Parker's study of "Offensive Ethnic Clichés in Movies: Drugs, Sex, and Servility" highlighted the association of martial arts with potentially "offensive" stereotypes (1999, 8).

In this sense, their concern was somewhat justified as when I conducted an initial survey of books, articles and papers related to budō. I found that articles fell into four categories: first, sports or sports related; second, historical/cultural articles on the development of budō; third, articles concerning the "meaning of budō"; and fourth, articles or journals written by non-academics but budō practitioners.

The last category of articles and books, although interesting and noteworthy in many cases, lack the thorough attentiveness to detail and solid foundations in archival sources in Japanese. The anecdotal experiences of fellow *budōka* (budō practitioners) provide individual, personalized interpretations of their experiences discovering budō that give us important hints to how we change through the practice of budō but in many cases tended to be volumes legitimizing one particular school of budō or interpretation.

The sports related articles and books ranged from those related to sports performance and sports-medicine, i.e. articles related to bandaging techniques for

jūdō athletes (Yamamoto, Kigawa and Xu 1993, 110–12), and Asian Martial Arts and Approaches of Instruction in Physical Education (Theeboom and De Knop 1999, 146–61). These articles focus on conceptualizing budō related topics in terms of Western education and science paradigms bringing different perspectives and understandings to age old traditions.

In the case of historical/cultural studies numerous books and papers have been written on budō such as *Budo Perspectives Vol. 1* edited by Alexander Bennett, the Classic three volume set of *Classical Bujutsu* (1973a), *Classical Budō* (1973b) and *Modern Bujutsu and Budō* (1974) by Donn Draeger, Hurst, G. Cameron's *Armed Martial Arts of Japan: Swordsmen and Archery* (1998)*,* and Kiyota Minoru's *Kendo: Its Philosophy, History and Means to Personal Growth* (1995). Each provides well researched and interesting historical, cultural and philosophical writings on Japanese budō that helps the reader weave together an understanding of budō. Draeger does this by trifurcating his historical study into classical *bujutsu* (the military/martial arts), classical budō and its modern incantations, whereas Bennett's volume gathers a group of well respected budō scholars and practitioners to provide insight on the internationalization of budō, its marquis characteristics, its role in education and about its practitioners. Employing his extensive experience in Buddhism, Kiyota on the other hand delves into the impact of Buddhist thought on the development of swordsmanship. Each author in their own way delves into budō's complex history, synthesizing a narrative that is multi-dimensional.

In contrast to cultural and historical approaches, the authors that focus on the "meaning of budō" tend to place their discussions in particular eras, denoting the evolving meaning of budō depending on the cultural, historic and government milieu of the times. Dependent on the zeitgeist, budō seemed to take on different significances. For example, Yamamoto Reiko (2008) examined the "Budō values of the Greater Japan Martial Virtue Association in the WW II" period. Sasaki Taketo, on the other hand, employs *kata* as his prism to understand budō (Sasaki 2008, 46–49). He has also examined the meaning and relevance of budō in education (Sasaki 2006, 11–14). Stressing the possibilities of spiritual development through the practicing of *kata* and budō, Sasaki argues that budō's contemporary relevance has transformed from a vehicle to preserve culture and develop strength towards a practice that can contribute to developing thoughtful and productive members of society. Still other authors offer insightful narratives

as to the meaning of budō and its relationship with WW II Japanese militarism and feminism (Ikeda 2010, 537–52).

In short, we see that scholarship, both that of professional and lay writers, encompass a multitude of perspectives and orientations that as a whole can contribute to understanding budō. Through examining budō through various frameworks such as the three put forward above, perhaps we can shed light on budō's labyrinthine nature.

What is the Appropriate Level of Academic Rigor for a Course on budō?

This question plagued me during my initial planning stages of this course for a plethora of reasons. First, dependent on the students they will have different degrees of familiarity and understanding about Japanese and Chinese history, Buddhism, Shintoism, Confucianism, and Taoism. This was evidenced in the one-month survey comment by one of my exchange students.

Figure 1. Ryan learning *kendō kata* as part of his studies[2]

> The hands-on tutorial is very helpful in understanding theoretical concepts. The lectures, historical periods are sometimes hard to follow without specific knowledge (background) of Japanese history because I have to draw a connection from one to another. (Ryan, Age 20, American exchange student)

Second, in the Orientalism tradition, students, particularly from North America hold "Hollywood-type" understandings of the samurai, *bushidō* and Japanese and Chinese cultures. Peering through the lens of the Karate Kid's "Mr. Miyage",

---

[2] Photos courtesy of Ms. Helen Chan.

David Carradine's "Kung Fu" or Bruce Lee's "Enter the Dragon", North American students (and perhaps most Westerners) hold conflated images and views concerning the philosophies and culture of budō. The same is equally true though of students from Asia. Where they diverge is their romanticization of the samurai, *bushidō* and Japan. This is particularly noticeable when teaching students from Mainland China where the samurai and *bushidō* ethos is mistakenly construed to be synonymous for the aggressive militarism, violence and cruelty undertaken by the Japanese military in China. In this sense, for Chinese but also other nations, samurai and *bushidō* ethos have been recursively constructed by and through interactions with the modern imperialist/nationalist 19th century world.

Figure 2: Hai Xia learning *kendō kata*

> The contents of the lectures are very helpful for us to understand Japanese budō. Especially it is very exciting that the tutorial lessons allow us to participate a real *kendō* practice. Through this good form we can get to know Japanese martial arts better. (Hai Xia, M.Phil student from China)

It is easy to understand why different nationalities have responded differently to Japanese budō and its connection to the sword. Simply, these emotive responses arise from complicated historical contextualization and interpretations of martial arts, both in the West and in Asia. Paul Yoon's study of film representations provides the example of Bruce Lee movies where the protagonist confronts a Japanese *jūdō* master for portraying China as the "Sick Man of Asia" (2009, 109). But at the same time, perceptions and interpretations of symbolisms may also be powerful instruments for peace as they can be used as tools for foreign diplomacy, for example, the historical inclusion of *jūdō* as a form of direct diplomacy in Anglo-Japanese friendship that Kuwayama Takami pointed out in his study (1998,

24). The ambiguous role of the symbolism of martial arts continues to be debated and interpreted.

Upon consideration of these "contextualization and interpretations of martial arts" and in particular those related to Japan, I decided that creating a legitimate course on budō required students to approach their studies through readings, small group discussions, presentations and a multi-faceted experiential approach that linked readings to experience and lectures to observations. Importantly, their assessment included written reflections, a formal oral presentation, a couple of field trips and actual training in *kendō kata*.

Where to Begin our Historical Examination of budō?

Examining the history of any country as old as Japan is challenging. The difficulty is compounded by students with language and cultural differences. With these factors in mind and through a bit of trial and error, I tried to organize a curriculum that delves into the following themes:

1. Transformation from *bujutsu* to budō
2. Budō in the Tokugawa period and its social context
3. Lineage, Transmission, and Legitimacy
4. Buddhism in Japanese budō
5. Modernity and the Invention of Traditions
6. Globalization and Japanese martial arts: Convergence and localization

Using these themes, I scurried the university's library, my own library and electronic search engines for readings, articles, books, and dissertations related to budō. In that search, I made the decision to divide the course into the above categories which examine budō's historical inception, evolution, cultural infusions, changes in accordance with governance and contemporary relevance. Students in particular learn about the Buddhist, Confucian and Taoist principles inculcated in budō, how the calcified class system of the Tokugawa period provided the impetus for samurai to seek meaning in their lives through budō. Linking these discussions to historical time periods such as Japan's 250 year *sakoku* period when it was mostly closed to the outside world, the massive Westernization of the Meiji Period, Kano Jigoro's enthusiasm for the development of a sport for all, Japanese militarism, the occupation and post-WW II reconstruction, students are able to

peer through various lens to see how domestic, regional and global currents effected the development and meaning of budō.

From the standpoint of academia, it was also important to disconnect budō and its study from the position of a Latin-like, dead language, cultural oddity and connect it to the students' living understanding of history. Above and beyond this connection, approaching the study of budō through concepts such as modernization theory, the dialectic of convergence and divergence of culture, and globalization allowed students to connect budō's history and development to contemporary issues that revolve around culture preservation, modernization and development.

What is the Best Way to Introduce budō to Non-Japanese Majors? That is, Students with No Knowledge of Japanese Language, Culture or History?

Introducing budō to students who are non-Japanese study majors was unexpectedly easier than I expected. Non-majors of course have language barriers and knowledge gaps that impede their initial learning. These are not easy to overcome but interest in the topic, a willingness to engage in the course and curiosity propels these students forward through their exploration of budō's tradition and transformation.

In fact, it was the major students, those mostly interested in popular Japanese culture that seemed to be the least interested in studying Japanese traditional culture such as budō. The study of budō, whether it be first year or third year students, was quite divorced from major students' interest and often seen as hard, difficult and irrelevant to the study of Japan or in the job hunting process. Indeed, the attractiveness of budō, especially when it is seen in this light makes J-pop, Cosplay, Anime and Manga infinitely more interesting and digestible.

Although not entirely effective in attracting students, teaching about *budō* culture from the standpoint of its lingering impact on the Japanese work ethic, attention to detail, consciousness of hierarchy, learning through prolonged engagement in a single activity, loyalty to one's company, class structure, etc., students begin to glean an understanding that budō's cultural influence is widespread in Japanese society and that modern sub-cultures, although superficially different, employ similar ways of thinking.

Is There an Appropriate Way to Introduce budō Practice in the Classroom and Link that with Classroom Lectures on Culture and History?

In teaching university level course related to budō, we are bound by professional considerations to abide by academic standards, a certain level of academic rigour and the design and presentation of a topic, in this case budō. The challenge of teaching a course on budō is that as you leave the realm of discussing the historical development of budō and its relationship to Japanese society, you need to also convey to students less tangible concepts that do not necessarily lend themselves to textbooks. For instance, how to convey the ideas of *rei* 礼 (bow/greeting), *kamae* 構え (posture), *seme* 攻め (attack), *sen no sen* 先の先 (pre-emptive strike), *zanshin* 残心 (remaining spirit/heart), *metsuke* 目付け (engagement distance), *maai* 間合い (eye control), *yūgen* 幽玄 (suggestiveness, tranquility, elegance), *and miyabi* 雅 (courtliness and refinement) and other nebulous *budō* concepts? What about understanding the nature of *kata* in training and refining one's self? Is it possible to convey the meaning behind *rei*, the principles of the sword in the case of *kendō*, the infinite complexity in *waza* 技 (techniques)?

Figure 3: Introducing *kendō kata* in classroom

In the planning of the course on Japanese budō that I taught at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, I opined over how to teach students not only the history of budō but also convey to them some of the more enigmatic and abstruse aspects of budō mentioned in the questions above. In that process I decided that I would

combine lectures with field trips to local *dojos* to watch, visit with and experience budō. This included the Shoujinkan Kendō[3]/*iaidō dojo* led by Kendō 7 dan *renshi*, Mr. Kishikawa Roberto and the Hong Kong Jūdō Kan[4] founded by Jūdō 7 dan Iwami Takeo sensei.

Figure 4. Iwami sensei at the Hong Kong Jūdō Kan, February 24 2010, Tomonokai Omochitsuki Event

On 30 October 2010, ten students accompanied me to Kishikawa sensei's *kendō dōjō* in Mong Kok, Hong Kong, to watch practice. My students were able to watch firsthand how a *kendō keiko* (training) occurs from start to end. We practiced in our normal fashion, beginning our normal *rei*, followed by Kishikawa sensei's *dōjō* precepts, *kendō kata* and then *keiko*.

Figure 5. Kishikawa sensei's Shoujinkan kendō dōjō, Hong Kong

---

[3] See Shoujinkan Kendo's homepage at http://kendohk.wordpress.com/.
[4] See Hong Kong Judo Kan's homepage at http://www.hongkongjudokan.com/index.shtml.

Various students had different ideas about the practice but they noticed and felt many of the key concepts that we had been talking about in our class. Comments included:

The tour is enjoyable. It helps me understand more about the traditional culture of Japan. I wish I can try the training when I go to Japan next year. (Keith, Hong Kong Japanese Studies major student)

This is my first time to see the whole process of practicing *kendō* and all the ten *kendō kata*. *Kendō* is very physically challenging and has fast-movement training. *Kiai* is really important to show the spirit. Everyone in the dōjō respects their partners. (Helen, Hong Kong Research Assistant)

This is my first time to see such a traditional activity of Japan. People bowing their heads to each other and the order of introducing yourself from the youngest to the most experienced one gave me a very deep impression. I was thinking about all the manners and Japanese *sempai-kōhai* system when watching *kendō*. (Queenie, Hong Kong Japanese Studies major student)

It was great to have seen people practicing *kendō* outside Japan, so perhaps I will just quote Confucius's saying to thank your *kendō sensei* for his efforts of teaching *kendō* in Hong Kong: "道不遠人" (The Way of the Tao is Never Far, 道は人に遠からず). (Rosemary, Hong Kong Japanese Studies major student)

Students, even first timers noticed *kendō* and budō's more esoteric ideas such as *rei*, *kiai* (explosive scream), *sempai-kōhai* (juniors and seniors) relationships, and that notions that *kendō* has is religious but in its practice not-religious. One student even commented on the Taoist principles infused deeply in the practice of *kendō*.

This was a good start in terms how enabling students to digest so many of the intangibles found in budō. They were beginning to point out and identify the qualities and characteristics of budō. Moreover, they could identify the differences between Japanese budō, in this case *kendō* and their own indigenous martial art systems.

The next step was to enhance my students' direct experience with budō. In order to do that, in the first several classes of the semester, I demonstrated *iaidō* to allow students see their "professor" walk the talk. Here they had a chance to see a *hakama* (pleated pants)*, tōrei* (sword greeting)*,* touch a sword and watch an *enbu* (demonstration).

The *iaidō* demonstration was preceded in the following week by a *kendō* demonstration which included both *kendō kata* and *keiko*. On this occasion students could experience a different *budō*, ideas like *ki-ken-tai-ichi* (spirit, sword and body as one), the importance of partners working together as well as the rigidness of both the *kata* and the *keiko* motions. My partner, skillfully demonstrated *kendō* and budō's principles to the students and staff who attended the demonstration.

Figure 6: *Iaidō* (Japanese swordsmanship) demonstration

After the demonstration, students and staff were encouraged to share their impressions, thoughts and ideas. This sharing session raised many interesting questions, especially related to cultural differences, the meaning of *kiai*, the rigid forms and attention to fine detail. The practicality of the techniques was rightfully questioned and allowed us to engage in a thoughtful discussion of *kendō's* tenets and what Draeger (1973b, 52–53) calls mastery of the *kata* or physical *kōans* 公案 (paradoxical questions), the act of solving the physical *kōan* filled *kata* 形 which are metaphors for conundrums and situations that evoke crisis which are prominent training methodologies in Zen Buddhism.

Interestingly but not atypically, attendees found it difficult to delink the presence of the sword, an opponent and the warrior like yells from a path of cultivation. It seemed inconceivable to some students, that *kendō* was anything but violence and a physical set of techniques related to fighting that was formalized into a hobby.

Lastly, to help dispel that violent impression and as part of our tutorial, students themselves have been learning and practicing *kendō kata* on a weekly basis.

Figure 7. Students bowing to the *kamidana*

In the tutorial itself, we borrowed Irie Kōhei's (Professor Emeritus from Tsukuba University) to introduce, discuss and understand the *kendō kata* and budō. In particular we focused on: (1) the combative characteristic; (2) the religious characteristic; (3) the aesthetic characteristic; (4) the educational characteristic; and (5) the competitive characteristic (Irie 2005, 155–69). The usefulness of these broad categories really helps students to break down the kata into digestible and relevant components. For example, through practicing *kata*, we begin by introducing the concept of *rei*. Students learn to turn to the symbolic *kamidana* (a miniature shrine to the patron saint of the *dōjō*) and bow followed by bowing to each other. Based on Irie's ideas, we can introduce the religious significance of the bow, why we bow to the *kamidana*, the cultural narrative of the sword bearing a deity or being sacred. Bowing to each other prior to beginning *kendo kata* practice also reemphasizes the idea that *kendō* begins and ends with *rei*. It allowed the students to better understand how *rei* is based upon Confucian principles which make a clear distinction between the self and others, and also demonstrates the will to maintain harmonious relationships. It is a socially established pattern of contact (Irie 2005, 155–69). The weekly practice of *kata* gave students the chance to experience, although in a limited fashion *rei* in terms of Buddhist ideas of disciplining the mind through *shugyō* (ascetic practices) (Irie 2005, 155–69).

Figure 8: Explaining *kendō kata* to students

Importantly, the physical practice of *kendō kata* allows the student to experience what Christmas Humphreys (in Suziki 1977) articulates as "the intellect only being able to toy with the concept and what only intuition can understand". Simply, through the physical practice of *kendō kata*, students developed an understanding, albeit non-intellectual understanding of the more esoteric aspects of *kendō kata*. For instance, students gain insight into the idea of *ki-ken-tai-ichi*, as they try to make the *bokuto* (wooden swords) a physical extension of themselves in order to "press" their partner/opponent into moving according to the prescribed kata patterns.

Another example is the embodiment of *yūgen* (suggestiveness, tranquility, elegance) or *miyabi* (courtliness and refinement) when doing *kata*. Simply explaining these abstractions would certainly not do them justice in terms of their deeper meaning neither would they help students of *kendō* imbue the basic tenets of *kendō*. By watching a more experienced *kendō-ka* (*kendō* practitioner) perform *kata*, through visiting the Shoujinkan, and through practice, in a matter of weeks students actually go through a process of refinement of their motions, starting to carry themselves differently when they perform *kata* and they begin to demonstrate a certain level of tranquility when performing the *kata*. The transformation is interesting to see, even if it is just two or three months of practice.

Lastly, through weekly practice students experienced Irie's educational characteristics (*kyōiku-sei*) of budō. This became clear when I explained to students that merely performing the *kata* in a physical way divorced the *kata* from its ability to cultivate and forge discipline, courtesy and sincerity. It is the manner

in which we perform the *kata* that makes it budō and allows budō to be practiced by men, women, the young and the old. Virtues of sincerity, courtesy, compassion and discipline conveyed through correct practice of budō is what distinguishes budō from *bujutsu* and makes it possible to be a lifetime pursuit or way.

How to Fill a Cup That Is Already Full?

A particularly interesting challenge while eaching about budō in a Chinese context is breaking through the "historical glaze" that seems to tint some students' views of budō, *kendō* and the *samurai* tradition. The resistance to learning about budō includes: (1) an association with violence; (2) ethnocentricity; and (3) resistance to a non-Asian teaching Asians about Japanese culture.

In the first case, it is always interesting to note how some of my Chinese students continue to see budō through the prism of violence, the *kamikaze* and the horrible events that took place in China during World War II in the name of *bushidō* or at least using the representative weapon of the *samurai*, the *katana* (Japanese sword). For example, as part of my efforts to introduce budō culture in the classroom, I gave both *iaidō* and *kendō* demonstrations (*kata* and *keiko*). One student had difficulties in seeing through the sword and training of the principles of the sword. After some discussions and actually experiencing *kendō kata*, especially understanding the training principles and connection with Zen and Confucian ideas of learning, this student has grown to comprehend *kendō's* principles.

Ethnocentricity showed its face when discussing budō and training, especially from students who had historically different understandings of Japan and China. Some students and cultures still tend to see Japan as a little brother, an off-shoot of Chinese civilization, a shadow of China's rich and long history. In this second case, it was important to demonstrate the independent nature of budō, how it shared many ideas with its Chinese influences, but how it has branched off to become an independent and unique cultural practice of Japan. This was and continues to be challenging when teaching *budō* because ethnocentricity colours one's interpretations of virtues, manners to communicate, ways to cultivate oneself, and what the cultivation of self actually means.

In the last case, resistance to a non-Asian teaching Asians about Japanese culture reminded me of *Nihonjinron* (theories/discussions about the Japanese)-type

arguments that only Japanese could truly understand Japanese culture. For many students and students who were born and raised in Asia, it was and is initially difficult to image a non-Asian teaching Asians about their own culture. In practice, of course it is different. By demonstrating budō in several forms, preparing materials and organizing lectures that engaged students about budō from historical, cultural, religious and theories of modernization, students could quickly get past their initial stereotypes.

Conclusion

The development, initiation and teaching of a university level course on budō have been a significant undertaking to say the least. From finding good sources to integrating and articulating practical training, I have been challenged to find novel ways to teach less than concrete ideas. Through that process I have been able to learn a tremendous amount about budō, teaching and training. I have had to reflect on my own experience learning budō in Canada, Japan and Hong Kong. I have had to adjust to different interpretations and cultural milieus while attempting to preserve the teachings of my teachers. Importantly, this course has compelled me to more deeply examine the Confusion and Zen aspects of budō and their intuitive learning approaches.

What is the best way to teach a university level course about budō? Although, I can give you some hints, frankly I am still experimenting with what works and does not work. What I can share is that you need to take a comprehensive approach, use many kinds of materials, and incorporate opportunities to experience budō and to try budō. Through this course I discovered that Western students have slightly different needs than students from North East Asia (China, Korea and Japan). Students who could not read *kanji* (Chinese characters) also needed tools to help them understand many of the principles of *budō* that are conveyed through *kanji*. In contrast, students from Asian countries required further explanations about the principles of budō and *bushidō* in order to separate *bushidō* and budō from militarism and militarism from the Japanese. Lastly, based on my experience, I believe strongly that students need to actually train in a budō through the duration of the course. In my case, students trained in *kendō kata* and the *kata* proved to be a wonderful instrument to teach about *kendō* and budō, incorporate the historical, cultural and religious characteristics of budō.

References

Bennett, Alex ed. 2005. *Budo Perspectives*. Vol. 1. New Zealand: Kendo World.

Callan, Mike. 2008. "The Internationalization of Judo and the Attention for Etiquette Focusing on the UK." International Budo Symposium: The Mind of Martial Arts Rules of Decorum. National Institute of Fitness and Sports in Kanoya Department of Traditional Budo & Sport Culture. 7 Dec. Accessed November 21, 2013. http://budo2008.nifs-k.ac.jp/pdf/callan_e.pdf.

Cynarski, Wojciech J., and Kazimierz Obodyński. 2005. "Slavic Soul and Philosophy of Martial Arts." *International Journal of Eastern Sports & Physical Education* 3 (1), October: 1–6. Accessed November 21, 2013. http://www.isdy.net/pdf/eng/22.pdf.

Draeger, Donn F. 1973a. *Classical Bujutsu: The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan*. Vol. 1. New York, Tokyo: Weatherhill.

——. 1973b. *Classical Budō: The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan*. Vol. 2. New York, Tokyo: Weatherhill.

——. 1974. *Modern Bujutsu & Budō: The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan*. Vol. 3. New York: Weatherhill.

Fischoff, Stuart et al. 1999. "Offensive Ethnic Clichés in Movies: Drugs, Sex, and Servility." Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association. Boston. 21 August. Accessed November 10, 2013. http://www.calstatela.edu/faculty/sfischo/OffenseJMP.pdf.

Hong Kong Judo Kan's Homepage. Accessed November 2, 2013. http://www.hongkongjudokan.com/index.shtml.

Hurst, G. Cameron. 1998. *Armed Martial Arts of Japan: Swordsmanship and Archery*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ikeda, Keiko. 2010. "Ryōsai-kembo, Liberal Education and Maternal Feminism under Fascism: Women and Sport in Modern Japan." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27 (3), March: 537–52.

Irie, Kōhei. 2005. "Budo as a Concept: An Analysis of Budo's Characteristics." *Budo Perspectives*, Vol. 1, edited by Alex Bennett, 155–69. New Zealand: Kendo World.

Kiyota, Minoru. 1995. *Kendo: Its Philosophy, History and Means to Personal Growth*. New York: Colombia University Press.

Kuwayama, Takami. 1998. "Representations of Japan in American Textbooks of Anthropology: Focusing on the Use of Photographs." Europe Japan Research Centre, Oxford Brookes University, 15 Jun. Accessed November 3, 2013. http://www.social-sciences.brookes.ac.uk/research/centres/ejrc/downloads/Kuwayama_final.pdf.

Maesaka, Shigeki. 2008. "The Philosophy of Budo Education & FD Activities of Budo Teaching Staff at NIFS." International Budo Symposium: The Mind of Martial Arts Rules of Decorum, National Institute of Fitness and Sports in Kanoya Department of

Traditional Budo & Sport Culture. 7 Dec. Accessed November 5, 2013. http://budo2008.nifs-k.ac.jp/pdf/maesaka_e.pdf.

Sasaki, Taketo. 2006. "The Meaning and Role of Budo (The Martial Arts) in School Education in Japan." *Archives of Budo* 2: 11–14.

——. 2008. "Budo (The Martial Arts) as Japanese Culture. The Outlook on the Techniques and the Outlook on the Human Being." *Archives of Budo* 4: 46–49.

Shoujinkan Kendo's Homepage. Accessed http://kendohk.wordpress.com/.

Suzuki, Daisetz Teitaro. 1977. *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism*, edited by Christmas Humphreys, with a foreword by C. G. Jung. London: Rider.

Theeboom, Marc, and Paul De Knop. 1999. "Asian Martial Arts and Approaches of Instruction in Physical Education." *European Journal of Physical Education* 4 (2): 146–61.

Yamamoto, Reiko. 2008. *Beikoku tai Nichi senryō seisaku to budō kyōiku: Dai Nihon Butokukai no kōbō* (American Occupation Policy Toward Japan and Martial Arts Education: the Rise and Fall of the Greater Japan Martial Virtue Association). Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentā.

Yamamoto, T., A. Kigawa, and T. Xu. 1993. "Effectiveness of Functional Ankle Taping for Judo Athletes: A Comparison between Judo Bandaging and Taping." *British Journal of Sports Medicine* 27 (2): 110–12.

Yoon, Paul J. 2009. "Asian Masculinities and Parodic Possibility in Ōdaiko Solos and Filmic Representations." *Asian Music* 40 (1): 100–30.

Discourses in Philosophical and Religious Studies

Phenomenon of Life and Death by Dōgen and Heidegger—In View of "Embodied Cognition" in Buddhist Philosophy and Phenomenology

HASHI Hisaki[1*]

Abstract

Contrary to occidental philosophy, which is to grasp and solidify the principles of essential being (*ontos on*), Buddhism seeks to understand the existence of human beings and the significance of suffering in human life. In the East Asian languages human beings are described as "inter-beings" in that they are enveloped by the *topos* of life and death. From breath to breath, our life is bound to the moments of emerging and vanishing, being and non-being in an essential unity. Dōgen's philosophical thinking integrated this conception with the embodied cognition of both the thinking and the acting self. In the phenomenological point of view, Heidegger, in his early work, emphasizes that being is bound to a fundamental substantiality, which borders on the *Abgrund*, falling into nothingness. With Dōgen, the unity-within-contrast of life and death is exemplified in our breathing because it achieves a unity of body and cognition which can be called "*corpus*". In perfect contrast, the essential reflection for Heidegger is that of grasping the fundament of being in the world, which represents the actualization of a thinking-being-unity. The goal of this comparison is to fundamentally grasp what is the essentiality of being, life, and recognition (*jikaku* 自覚), bound to embodied cognition in our globalized world.

Keywords: embodied cognition, Dōgen, Heidegger, comparative reflection, philosophy in life

Izvleček

V nasprotju z zahodno filozofijo, usmerjeno v razumevanje in strnjevanje principov osnovnega bivanja (*ontos on*), budizem išče razumevanje eksistence človeškega bitja in pomenljivost trpljenja v človekovem življenju. V vzhodnoazijskih jezikih so človeška bitja opisana kot »med-bitja«, s tem da so obdana s *toposom* življenja in smrti. Od diha do diha je naše življenje omejeno s trenutkom pojavljanja in izginjanja, bivanjem in nebivanjem v bistveni enoti. Dōgen je s svojim filozofskim razmišljanjem vključil ta koncept z

---

[*] HASHI Hisaki, Dr. phil., durch Habilitation authorized Professor for full areas of philosophy at the Department of Philosophy, University of Vienna, Austria.
hisaki.hashi@univie.ac.at

utelešenim znanjem tako razmišljanja kot samodelovanja. Iz vidika fenomenologije Heidegger v svojih zgodnjih delih poudarja, da je bivanje omejeno s fundamentalno bitnostjo, ki meji na *Abgrund*, padanje v neobstoj. Z Dōgenom je unikatnost znotraj kontrasta življenja in smrti ponazorjena v našem dihanju, ker dosega enost telesa in poznavanja, ki ga lahko poimenujemo »*corpus*«. V popolnem kontrastu je za Heideggerja esencialna refleksija doumevanje temelj bivanja v svetu, ki predstavlja oživitev enote razmišljanja in obstoja. Cilj te primerjave je v osnovi doumeti bistvenost obstoja, življenja in spoznanja (*jikaku* 自覚), omejenih z utelešenim spoznanjem v našem globaliziranem svetu

Ključne besede: utelešeno spoznanje, Dōgen, Heidegger, primerjalna refleksija, filozofija v življenju

Introduction: The Historical Position of Dōgen as the Zen Thinker

Dōgen (Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄), born in Kyoto 1200, died in Kyoto, Japan, in 1253, originated from a famous aristocrat family Kuga 久我 with the childhood name "Monju" 文殊, lost his father in the early childhood, and also the mother at the age of 7. He was adopted into the residence of his uncle. Nothing was lacking in his material life in this circumstance, but he tended to melancholy in reflecting the life of phenomenal world in which suffering, depression or despair cannot be eradicated completely. At the age of 12 he left spontaneously the residence of the uncle. Transmitted by one of his relation who was a Buddhist monk, the young "Monju" entered into the monastery Hieizan-Enryaku-ji 比叡山延暦寺 of the Tendai 天台 Buddhism in Kyoto, one of the great Mahayana Buddhist Schools in East Asia. He was ordinated to monk at the age of 13 with the *dharma* name "Dōgen" 道元, met in the next year 1214 Monk Eisai (Myōan Eisai 明菴栄西, 1141–1215), one of the greatest Zen Buddhists who widely introduced in Japan the Zen Buddhism from China. Eisai established the original Zen tradition from China in Japan, the Rinzai-School. Influenced by Eisai, Dōgen went to China (in the Era of Song 宋) in 1223 at the age of 23. Visiting and staying at various Chinese Zen monasteries he met the Zen master, Tiendong Rujing/Tendō Nyojō 天童如浄, (1162–1227) one of the most relevant Zen monks in China. In his finishing period of intensive Zen study, Dōgen was requested by his Zen master Nyojō to stay in China. In reconsideration of various circumstances, Dōgen came back to Japan at

the age of 27 (1227), tried to establish a new school from the original Chinese Zen tradition, the Sōtō School 曹洞宗 in Japan. Though constantly getting jealous rivals against the new school, Dōgen's own tradition grew continuously. However, there were always a number of problems against many rivals of other Buddhist schools. The established enormous organization had also connections to several politicians in the government and was involved in institutional political struggles against some groups of Tendai Buddhism, Dōgen decided to go out from the capital Kyoto into a provincial region. In the guidance of Hatano Yoshishige 波多野義重, one of the most trusted supporters of Dōgen, Dōgen's community established a complete new monastery in the province of north-western Japan; today's Great Monastery Eihei-ji 永平寺 in the prefecture Fukui. Dōgen's main work *Shōbō genzō* (Reflections of True *dharma* 正法眼蔵; *dharma*, "The world of universal truth" of Buddhism) in 75 volumes and several appendix (selected volumes by Dōgen, some "secret volumes" etc.), was completed from year to year and finished in this monastery. After the death of Dōgen at the age of 53 (1253), his school and his works gradually received from generation to generation intensified acknowledgment in various areas in public and societies.—Today, the Great Monastery Eihei-ji is valid as one of the most relevant centers of Zen Buddhism in Japan, East Asia and in the globalized world.

The Position of Embodied Truth

Dōgen's main work, *Shōbō genzō* (1980; 1993; 2004–2008)[2] (*Reflections of the True dharma of Buddha*), is composed in the style of typical Zen language, syntax and semantics. Thanks to Dōgen's knowledge of classic Japanese and Chinese literature, as well as his understanding of everyday conversation in China and Japan at that time, the original position of Dōgen's Zen thought has given rise to a unique *philosophy*, embodying truth in life. This characteristic differs widely from the genealogy of Aristotle's *philosophia prima* in the occidental world. For example, Aristotle maintained that *philosophia* is to grasp the *causality* of phenomena and being. Things which are experienced should not remain experiences only, but should be subjected to analysis: "Why does this particular phenomenon appear? From which causality has it been realized?" The things mainly questioned by Aristotle in his *philosophia prima* are not the *experience* of

---

[2] For a biography of Dōgen in historic scientific research see Imaeda 1994.

truth *per se*, but analytical thinking which is to clarify the causality of a certain phenomenon and the principle by which the phenomenon is constructed as a logical scheme. (Aristotle 1987) The *theoria* for viewing an absolute truth must be realized through the *logos*, stating general truth in logical language. (Klein 2005, Chs. 8 and 3) Quite the opposite is the principle of Buddhist philosophy, which is positioned always in the topos of a "*phenomenon of experience in life*". The most important thing is not the process to establish a statement by *logos*, but grasping, acknowledging and demonstrating the universal truth in depending on one's own life, based on bodily existence. In short, the "cognition" of Buddhist philosophy has a principal preposition which should not be omitted or ignored in that knowledge. And its cognition of every kind is focused in the middle of one's own life, in relation to real circumstances, a real environment, and also to the "practice" of daily life. [3]

Not only Zen practice but life, too, comprise a wealth of experiences, to grasp a universal, irrefutable truth, which is practiced and manifested day by day. Cognition, reached through the confrontations of daily life, is bound to the main aspects of the "experience of an irrefutable, undividable truth". It must be experienced and actualized through one's own bodily existence. The "complex system of truth" is always constructed in an integration of one's own life, one's own action of thinking and acting, so that the bodily self within the real and the intellectual world overlaps with the construction of a dimensional truth in daily life. (Hashi 2014a)

The Tangent of Analytical Philosophy and Buddhist Philosophy

Cognition in pure analytical thought is executed in a dimension in which the subjective self, its feelings, emotions, sense of bodily existence etc. are consciously *omitted*. These factors are, first of all, *filtered* through analytical consciousness, to divide everything into categories which can be evaluated and verified as positive, analytically correct scientific data. Buddhist thinkers acknowledge the relevance of analytical categories, and value the significance of analytical thinking. However, Buddhist philosophy, knowing this kind of analytical filtering very consciously, and independently from this, because the

---

[3] The full context of Dōgen *Shōbō genzō* states this fundamental position. See especially Vols. *Shinjin gakudō* 身心學道 (*The Way of djarma Studies through the Unity of Body and Mind*), *Genjō kōan* 現成公案 (*The Actualizing of Essential Questions in Life*), *Busshō* 佛性 (*Buddha Nature*).

analytical filtering of every problem to divide what is analyzable and what is not, results at last in tightening and limiting the thinking and acting dimensions. In natural science, an analyzable problem arises from observation and analysis of a problematical fact (Pietschmann 2003). In a preparatory operation, the minimal parts are defined, of which a larger entity can be reconstructed. Even if the collected parts can be reconstructed, showing a functional unity in a system of natural science, the solution to any problem is found only in a selected part of the whole phenomenon, out of which new problems may arise unexpectedly. Buddhism focuses just on this point that the analyzed factors are reconstructed in a way as to open a whole dimension of truth which should be applied to life in the real world. Yet, analytical philosophy leaves many parts which cannot be clearly analyzed; the latter is therefore omitted from analytical thinking. According to Pietschmann (forthcoming), one half of the world is neglected, whereas the other half—analyzed under the best conditions—can dominate the whole universe. Moritz Schlick, who occupied a prominent position in the Vienna Circle, stated that the self, soul, psyche etc. which build up the metaphysical problem could be proved only by concrete positive, natural scientific facts, for example, in mutual communication and in the knowledge of persons in accordance (coherence) with the recognition of several data, A, B, C and so on. Under these conditions "acknowledging only the positive, scientifically verifiable facts" is right, but there is something which has been neglected in this discourse of criticizing and omitting "idealism", "metaphysics", "religious intuition" etc. This shows us a further aspect which should be cautiously reviewed by self-critical reflection. The unity of this "judging self", who criticizes and isolates others, is seen in Buddhist philosophy as the most important problem. Here the object of a self-critical view is the "self per se"; at the same time, this "object" is the main "subject" of our thinking and of cautiously recognizing causal relationships. (Schlick 1986, Chs. 21, 22)

The Phenomenon of "Suffering"

A position like that of Schlick is not valid in Buddhist philosophy because the latter envisages the phenomenon of suffering of every kind. The reason is quite evident: Buddhist philosophy works primarily with the questions "What is suffering?", "How can we overcome our own suffering?" Suffering is not only physical pain, it does not only imply injuries of the body or psychic trauma. It is better to describe it in another way, for example: The term "suffering" in Buddhist

philosophy includes *all phenomena of dynamic change* in every being, phenomena of one's self and its circumstances, the dynamic change of the things between stability and non-stability. All are topics in the life world, in which everyone experiences also the transformation of one's own mind, one's own body and one's own connection to other beings in the environment. The total phenomenon of dynamic change includes one's own life, its bodily and psychic circumstances. They produce the causality of "*duḥkha*", the *suffering* of various kinds, the complete phenomena of the problems of humans and other beings in reality. (Takasaki and Hayashima 1993)

If we define "suffering" by physical pain, the experience of suffering is hard for the sufferer, who will try to come out of this phenomenon of suffering. At the same time, the "suffering from that particular pain" for all other persons is "not real". A physician, due to his medical knowledge, may imagine how intensive this pain is for a given part of the body. But generally the suffering of other persons, other beings, cannot be experienced by someone else in the same way, at the same time, by the same causality, at the same level or in the same psychic situation. Ludwig Wittgenstein problematized this point in his "Philosophical Investigations", that the pain of one subject cannot be clarified at all, even if we have possibilities to describe and define it in analytical philosophy. (Wittgenstein 1958)[4] Physicians, too, can only form analogous conclusions as to what kind of pain the patient is suffering from. This circumstance that one can experience one's own "suffering" exclusively within one's own self, is the basic principle in Buddhist philosophy where all other problems are focused. The main principle is that our life is bound to end at a "terminal", namely, death. No one can experience the death of someone else. It causes a psychic confrontation and suffering, which in Buddhist philosophy must be treated as the *duḥkha*, the form and contents of the changing phenomenon at any time, any space, under any circumstances and in any situation in real life and in intellectual activity.

With regard to one's suffering, we can see the following general phenomenon: If *physical pain* is correctly diagnosed and treated, the pain will be reduced; it *vanishes* at a given point of time. If this is true, the sufferer cannot be suffering any longer because the causality of suffering (the *dynamis* of the pain, in terms of Aristotle) fades, and the "substantial unity" of the painful part of the body

---

[4] A similar problem of the relation of an experience of feeling and knowledge is treated in the article of Thomas Nagel 1974.

(*energeia*, the realizing, in terms of Aristotle) and the relation linked to its causality do not exist any more. The *suffering* has *vanished*: It is hard to substantialize what the suffering is, especially in the midst of experiencing it. Physiologically, the overstimulated nerve in that part of the body transmits the information about a danger threatening in this situation as a series of electron signals from the damaged part to the central nerve system and to the cerebral cortex. This process is very fast, causing a drastic change in the mental and physical conditions. In *psychic injury* and *trauma*, this situation of subjectivity can be intensified: Only the person whose psyche was injured suffers his/her own trauma. If it is treated properly, the phenomenon of the trauma will become obsolete in the memory and *vanish*. Pain and suffering cannot be definitively substantialized; even if this phenomenon is painstakingly defined in medical and physiological terms, the struggle of overcoming pain and suffering will always be part of a person's own experience[5]: A thing or a phenomenon is executed completely and *vanishes* in time and space without any "*substance*". The "*substantiality*" has been interpreted in occidental philosophy as a remaining entity to actualize every changing phenomenon which is acknowledged as an "eternal truth". In Buddhist philosophy the remaining entity is *dharma*, the universal truth which is experienced, recognized and actualized in our bodily life. "Dharma" as the "eternal truth" cannot "remain" substantial in reality because the phenomenon including our self and our environment is always transformed from one state to another one. (Hashi 2011a and b) In this sense, Buddhist *philosophy* is not positioned on a level of mysticism; its entity is without enthusiasm, esoteric features or irrationality. Since Buddhist and Zen practice was first introduced in Europe under the slogan of "Zen and the Mysticism of Christianity", this connotation has been widely disseminated via the mass media. We should, however, bear in mind that Buddhism as a philosophy shows rational thinking in immediate relation to our real life.

Buddhist Philosophy and Phenomenology

Let us view the characteristics of Buddhist philosophy as compared to phenomenology in occidental philosophy. Contrary to analytical philosophy, it is

---

[5] Morita Masatake, in his "Morita Therapy", stated this relation of reducing and eliminatng "suffering" found in neuro-psychic symptoms, with the purpose of an effective support to strengthen the self-healing capacity of a patient. (in Tashiro 2005)

evident that Buddhism and phenomenology present several similar basic ideas of thinking. One of these similarities is that they are based on phenomena. In contrast to the transcendental philosophy of Kant, they question primarily what "*quid facti*" is, but not what "*quid juris*" is. (Kant 1990, 84–85, 116–17)

Cognition in Buddhist philosophy is never separated from the phenomena of real things in the empirical world. This point of view enables us to compare Dōgen and Heidegger. Heidegger postulates that phenomenology is a method of investigation which shows itself openly, and which is obvious in itself. His phenomenology expresses a maxim, pointing "to the things themselves!" (Heidegger 1993, 27, 50)

Instead of a speculative deduction of categories, his thought in Phenomeno-Logos (Heidegger 1993, 27; 1962, 49–50) goes on to reflect what is the essential being hidden in the background of the phenomena. Even if Heidegger defines that his thought is a phenomenological analysis of being, this way of thinking grasps the essential being in view of the whole problematical phenomena. If the analysis of an "anxiety" is executed, the anxiety is not only an analyzable category, but is also in focus of the phenomenon of the human being who feels the anxiety. (Heidegger 1993, 266; 1962, 311) The "feeling thinking", one of the well-known terms of Heidegger [6], surely shows an introduction to understanding the phenomena of the Buddhist and East Asian philosophies in which the levels of "feeling" and "thinking" are integrated without dichotomy.

Let us view Buddhist thinking: For Dōgen, reflection leads primarily to transparent cognition, transcending our self and the limit of our knowledge (in the terms of Dōgen: *tōdatsu* 透脱) (Dōgen 1981, *Zenki*), in which we see the fundamental causality of our suffering and the confusion or the problems of our tangible life. For Dōgen, the ultimate purpose of thinking is to use it as a means of transcending our reliance on thinking in order to more fully harmonize with eternal truth (*dharma*). Independent from speculation, the Buddhist law of eternal truth, *dharma*, is to grasp the phenomenon of tangible life. Sensory perception is not secondary, but attached to cognition, because knowledge—as cognition integrated into bodily existence—is the primary source in Buddhist philosophy of the thinking-recognizing-acting-system of *dharma*—eternal truth viewed from an

---

[6] Fühlendes Denken, Problem der Angst in Heidegger 1993, § 29, § 40, § 38, §46; 1962, §53, § 62, § 67, § 68.

extended spectrum of historical and contemporary thought in critical and self-critical reflections.

As Heidegger said, "To the things themselves!" (1993, 27; 192, 50), the reviewer approaches things, grasps and construes the basic way of being in Phenomeno-Logos. The method is oriented to collecting things from phenomena and exhibiting them in the language of logos (*legein*).[7] The viewer is primarily the thinking one who is able to state what is the fundamental principle of being throughout all phenomena.

With Dōgen, a viewer is a thinking and an acting person in daily life. Life is a phenomenon where we seek to grasp what truth is.

Let us summarize the relation of phenomenology and Buddhist philosophy. Buddhist philosophy has a tangent to cognitive science to clarify that what is pain; on the other hand, it has a tangent to philosophical anthropology to clarify what is the self and self-subjectivity and what is suffering. The main stream of Buddhist philosophy is that it strives for a system, a complex system of knowledge by which our experiences in life and in the intellectual world are always integrated. (Hashi 2014a and b) In the aspect of the firm connection of philosophical knowledge to the phenomena of the world, Buddhist philosophy occupies a position highly similar to phenomenology or phenomenological ontology.

Phenomenology and Buddhist Philosophy—Via the Comparative Thinking Method

In the philosophy of both Heidegger and Dōgen, the nucleus is the phenomenon of the world, especially with Dōgen, "life" in time and space is surrounded by all things in the environment. For this reason, Heidegger and East Asian thinking including Buddhist philosophy have often been regarded as being similar in outlook. As distinguished from analytical philosophy, Buddhist philosophy as well as other East Asian thought systems were interpreted by occidental philosophers in view of their similarity to Heidegger. This was surely the most important step in the development of intercultural philosophy in Europe from 1980 onwards, but in

---

[7] Heidegger discussed the relevance of the "*legein*" especially in *Complete Works* (1997, Ch. 13).

the effort to link Heidegger to Buddhist philosophy several questions should be reconsidered, mostly in the view of comparative philosophy.[8]

One of the questioning points is that in Buddhist philosophy the close connection of knowledge and its actualization in real human life is the most relevant principle. Thinking is an intellectual part of the actualization of life. The topos of thinking and acting as the *actus intellectualis* is always accompanied by objectivity with the aim to overcome/transcend one's own subjectivity. This is a basic principle for understanding Buddhism, of what cognition and knowledge means in this philosophy. Experience and knowledge are incorporated into one's mentality, bodily existence and the thinking system of the one who experiences: Our personal self is a *corpus* seen as a dimensional body into which we can transfer our cognition, which is applied and actualized in contacts made by the self with others, by the self with its environment. Without this close connection between intellectuality and acting in a "Life World", it is not cognition in the sense of Buddhist philosophy. Embodied cognition is the principle which strives for establishing an intelligible self in a life world. This is the core of Buddhist philosophy.[9]

Thus, the characteristic of Buddhist philosophy is that "cognition" must be "embodied", to be distinguished terminologically from that of pure analytical thought.

Formal Similarity—"Lightening and Hiding", "Er-eignis", "Gelassenheit"

Let us view some important points of a comparative reflection of Dōgen and Heidegger.

Heidegger has shown the relevance of *feeling thinking* in "*Sein und Zeit*". The "Lightening and Hiding" (Heidegger 1962 and 2007) could be in accordance with the theory of the relationship of *yīn* and *yáng*. The "Gelassenheit/calmness/ equanimity" in his late work, "where thinking stops in its border, the true thinking begins" could be accompanied by the Taoist thought of Laozi and others. (Heidegger 1960) Surely, several phrases of the late Heidegger hint to a connection with Buddhist philosophy. There is an opportunity to further research,

---

[8] For potential harmony, similarity and unity see Ohashi and Stenger 2013. Several problems arising from this similarity are remarkable in the light of comparative philosophy (Hashi 2012).
[9] For this position in accordance with the terms of "*actus intellctualis*", "*corpus*" see Hashi 2012.

if and how far the thoughts of Heidegger and Zen Buddhism are in a harmonious equality.

The most important aspect to clarify is the semantic research that their original thinking systems are construed through quite different perspectives, from different viewpoints, and, first of all, based on different principles of the subject-object-construction of logic. (Izutsu 1986, Ch. I.4)

The basis of Dōgen's thinking is 1) the experience observed in the cautious, self-critical view of the experiencing self, 2) grasping universal truth and 3) actualization of this truth through one's bodily existence in life. In experiencing a self perceives and comprehends the dimensional world of truth step by step, viewing the phenomena encountered by it in its life circumstances and environment. The problem is intensified specifically with regard to the questions: "What is our self?", "What is truth in our world of empirical life?", "How can we express and actualize universal truth in a real world?".

Heidegger sees the main principle of approaching dimensional truth through the experience of daily life from another position: He wants to understand "What is *Being*/*das Sein* at all?" For example, Heidegger in his late work looks cautiously at the aspect of the "*Er-eignis*" (Heidegger 1990), the *occasion, a special happening in the empirical phenomenon in which Being per se arises very intensively*. "Man" (German for: one, someone) becomes aware of grasping the fundamental ground of "Being/das Sein". Other moments in which "*Being*/das Sein" *is not enlightened* are not considered. The *Sein*, the essential being, goes on into the phenomenon of "hiding" (*Verbergung*). In the early Heidegger it is mentioned as "*Verfall*" (downfall) and "*Zerstreuung*" (dissipation) of the essential cognition into the phenomenon of the triviality of daily life. (Heidegger 1962, § 68, c) and 1977, 458, 459) The main focus is directed to the clarification of the concept of the essential being, "*Sein*". Even if the concept of the "*Er-eignis*" concerns the occasion of the arising and encountering of the fundamental ground of *being*, the *embodying of the recognized thing* did not become a special topic of his phenomenology.[10]

---

[10] Compare with Hashi 2004, 386f; 2001/2004, 68; 2012, 7.

The "Self", the Recognition, Awareness and Actualization of Experienced Truth

Heidegger maintained a critical distance to Kant's transcendental category of the "*Ich denke/I think*", as a pure formality of the thinking activity of a self, primarily because "*being in the world*" in the phenomenon of a person, his/her temporality and feeling etc. were not treated. (Heidegger 1993, §64) Instead of the abstract transcendentality of the „I think", Heidegger stated the necessity of the concretization of "I think something" (*Ich denke etwas*). (Heidegger 1993, §64; 1977, 425) This kind of concretization appears in the whole *Being and Time*; thus a similarity of Heidegger and Buddhism arises. But, reviewing cautiously, the following aspect distinguishes the "*phenomenological daseinsanalysis*" of Heidegger and Dōgen's "Zen Buddhist Philosophy of Life": Heidegger's setting and concretizing of the problem is "*the viewing of the whole phenomenon*" (sometimes also including the life world) from the methodological position of *Daseinsanalyse*. It builds up a unique position of phenomenological ontology, but it is *not* in the position of the *awakening* of the *self in bodily life*, the transcendation of its own limit of knowledge, its achievement of the transcending cognition for an intelligible self.

For example, "*man*" for Heidegger is a person who is found in a phenomenon of the world. (Heidegger 1993, §25–§27) It is focused from Heidegger's cautious observer's point as a phenomenological thinker and analyst of *Dasein*, but not in the general position of Dōgen and Buddhist thinkers: the latter approach the problem from the "middle of *experiencing the things in a life of the bodily self*", just *within* the topos of the "*experiencing one*", the experiencing self with the purpose of recognition in a cautious view, far from any subjectivity, whereas the recognized truth has to be actualized as an embodied cognition in a life world.

Some Principles in the Buddhist Ontology—Towards the System of Philosophy in a Life World

I have shown the fundamental difference of the thinking principles of Heidegger and Dōgen. As a third point, I would like to discuss the different principles to grasp "Being" and "Non-Being": The central point is that in East Asian Buddhist philosophy it is not a fundamental principle to define "Being" as a substantial,

eternal fundamental truth in thinking and acting.[11] The negation of being, i.e. non-being, nothingness, emptiness (*śunyatā*) (Nāgārjuna 2013, Chs. 15, 25, 23, 21, 3, 2), absolute nothingness, the *mu* and so on (Izutsu 1977; Hashi 2009), construct an enveloped principle of eternal truth: God as creator is not a topic in Buddhist philosophy. *Dharma*, the invisible system of the metaphysical and empirical orders, is understood as an absolute one, but it is a system of order and its relations, which can be described only through many predicates in addition to the subject, "*dharma*" as a non-personalized absolute *per se*. It is remarkable that Buddhist philosophy focuses always on reality in an environment. Time and space are always bound to situations in which various relations are in interaction and co-existence and relationship.[12] Time always goes forward, it does not turn back; an occasion which happened in the past is not reversible. Nothing is reversible in reality, time is bound to space in which humans execute various *karman* (logical order of the causality and result of one thing which is found in a relationship with another thing). Everything changes dynamically and does not continue forever; this is *anitya*, the negation of an eternal substantial being and its consistency, the main principle in Buddhist philosophy. Nothing remains substantial in reality; this is the principle which is not changeable. Paradoxically, Buddhist philosophy places this principle of *anitya*, the principle of inconsistency, a negation of eternal being in a reality, first in its metaphysical and empirical ontology. (*Dharma* remains consistent, but it is shown or manifested always through a human or being who, inherently, is never in consistence.)

---

[11] The being 有 does not correspond to the absolute truth. Furthermore, it is used constantly together with its contradiction and negation (non-being): being and non-being, *bhāva* and *abhāva* are coupled in the terminology of Buddhist philosophy. Neither *bhāva* nor *abhāva* alone show the eternal truth of *dharma*: Both are bound to the phenomenon of *dharma*, whereas being and non-being are both in a relationship. (Nāgārjuna 2013, Ch. 15) In this fundamental position the equivalent position of the absolute truth which is bound to "being"/"Sein" is a irrefutable principle for Aristotle or Heidegger etc., but it is hardly found in Buddhist philosophy. (Aristotle 1987, 1003a–1012b; Heidegger 1993, Chs. 1, 2, 3, 4; *Complete Works*, Vols. 9, 13, 14, 69 etc.)

[12] For a philosophical reflection, these aspects are central for the understanding of what Buddhism is and to distinguish it from other Asian religions, even if in the sutras of early Buddhism (*saṃyutta nikāya, digha nikāya, mahjjima nikāya*) there were *not concrete technical terms* to define what *anitya, duhkha* or *anātman* is (Steinkellner 2002; see also Saigusa 1986, 142ff; see the concept of "*dharma modāna*" in Takasaki and Hayashima 1993)

The Problem of Life and Death

The Relation of "Life and Death" for Heidegger—Being and Time

With Heidegger, the key concept of *being there for death* is the focal point of his discourse. He states that after the end of our lives there will be a dimension of death. There is a linear, finite development inherent to life, necessary for us to reach the totality of our existence in the world. The terminal point is death. Death appears as the loss of being. Even if the focus on the "Ab-grund" or "nothingness" (Heidegger 1993, § 47; 1962, 280–81[13]) in the recognition of passing time seems to be similar to the Buddhist cognition of *anitya*, it is made clear by Heidegger that time, being and self are bound to the substantial existence associated with eternal cognition.

Is our existence in the world, as Heidegger asserts, a constant journey towards death in a finite series of "*not yet*" moments? Is death a termination of existence, and is being in life something incomplete? Heidegger discusses these problems and shows that our existence is a "*not-yet*" to death. For Heidegger, death is still beyond all phenomena; it has not yet been integrated into the problem of being. Heidegger indicates a successive coming-into-being to arrive at the end; the impending death of our being. The problem of death (for Heidegger) is integrated into existence. Being thrown into the field of imminent death causes fear. Fear of death is integrated into *being-in-the-world*. Since the subject of fear is present even in our being-in-the-world, we might say: "*Angst ängstet sich*"/(fear fears itself). (Heidegger 1993, § 53, 266)

Heidegger is concerned with the question of to what extent this nameless fear can be overcome. In his early works, such as *Being and Time*, he arrives at the conclusion that through encountering the *void-ness* of the existential *Ab-grund*, one tries to overcome existential "fear" and creates the possibility of finally becoming oneself, primarily through "*an impassioned* freedom towards death" having finally broken away from the illusions of self and factuality, whereas fear and anxiety could not be completely eliminated. He emphasizes the recognition of our being in a decisive view that this life is not necessarily independent of "anxiety". This position shows a confrontation with the dichotomy of life and

---

[13] Cf. The statement of Heidegger: "Da-sein heißt: Hineingehaltenheit in das Nichts" ("The Being there is enclosed in the Nothingness"), in Heidegger 1943.

death and a resolve to further that confrontation, in that one is to savour the depths of being, in contrast to its end and in the opening up of existence.

The Relationship of "Time-Space-Consciousness" of Heidegger and Dōgen

At the beginning of a comparative reflection in any kind, I have to remark on the most relevant aspect. In regarding and thinking in Comparative Philosophy—especially in case of treating different thinkers from different cultures, it is generally expected and also noteworthy that readers must *come out* from a frame of historical interpretation of established thinkers just in purpose to be free of any preposition and prejudice which was built in a long history of a certain culture. Here in this article it is valid especially for Heideggerians who are specialized in Heidegger's thinking. If one would ignore this starting position, every discourse goes into a labyrinth in which readers or interpreters presuppose and prejudge a certain thinker from another background of another culture by their fixed preposition based exceptionally on their own culture. The Comparative Philosophy offers to set a new ground to reflect on basic principles and prepositions which are prerequisite and bound to one's own culture and thinking method. Just in this purpose, thinkers and readers are invited to an open court for a new common ground in thinking and reflecting about philosophical questions in an "Inter-Action" of invisible kind. (If one will ignore this starting point he/she will enter into a "Field of Isolation" in a philosophy of a globalized world.) In executing this Inter-Action one can enter into a productive "Field of Intra-Relation".

The principles of the relevance of reality and the empirical world of life, the principle of negation of a substantial being, the focusing of life and death, as seen by Dōgen, are fundamentally different to Heidegger's point of view. Heidegger treated the problems of "Nichts/nothingsness" in his first lecture at the University of Heidelberg "Was ist Metaphysik?", in which the core of the questioning can be summarized as follows:

> Nothingness is hidden or ignored in occidental philosophy, but it is remarkable in the world. Where the category of being shows a border of its possibility of consistency, there occurs an unknown dimension of Nichts/downfall into nothingness. (Cf. Heidegger 1943)

In *Sein und Zeit* Heidegger shows that our life is bound to a temporality in which everything is limited by the passing time. At a point of time, things fall into an *Ab-grund*, into an underground of negated being. Only the cognition of being can *resist against* this constant falling down into nothingness. (Heidegger 1993, § 47, § 30, § 53) It is remarkable that Heidegger reviewed time and space as a basic category of *esse/Being/Sein*, which in the whole history of occidental philosophy has been quite ignored as to deducing what it is." (Heidegger 1993, §1; 1977) The "Sein" is positioned as a category or concept which remains eternal and exists eternally. Life is temporary, with *moments of ups and downs*, moving into *Grund und Ab-grund,* to the fundamental ground and anti-ground/non-ground. But death is a forthcoming issue in an unknown future. Life presupposes this possibility, and "man" (one) shows a resistance against the unknown future through the cognition of Being and its continuity and its consistency. (Heidegger 1993, §62; see also §47, §30, §53) In this structure we see a fundamental difference between Dōgen and Heidegger. Dōgen, as a Buddhist thinker, accepts the dynamic change of time/space in the principle of *anitya/inconsistence* and *dynamic change of being and non-being* without relying on any substantiality. Since this dynamic change without a fixation on substantiality is the basic principle of eternal truth in Buddhist philosophy (*dharma*), "time" is neither a subject nor an object which can be treated in separation from our self. For Dōgen, "time" is not a category but an indivisible part of our existence as life-and-death. "Space" is the same, because our bodily existence is spontaneous, a dimensional space in the middle of uncertain dynamically changing phenomena. (Dōgen 1980)[14] This approach to time-space-self without a dualistic objectification between the "self" and "time-space" is basic also in the philosophy of Nishida: One of his main theses, "Contradictory Identity of Time-Space-Self", is based on the acceptance of what is "contradictory" (Heidegger 1997, vol. 11, 254, 348), as a high-level integration of opposite categories, and has its roots in Buddhist philosophy.

Let us summarize. Both Heidegger and Dōgen elaborate on the same topics: the relationship between life and death, our existence that carries the potential of

---

[14] This thought is actualized especially in Vols. *Uji* 有時 and *Zenki* 全機. In view of some experts of Heideggerian thinking it is necessary to accent, that Dōgen explains "Life and Death", "Being and Non-Being" as one "*principle*" which cannot be divided into dualistic separated phenomena. According to Dōgen, the *nirvāna* is the self-overcoming position which embodies "Life-Death" as an indivisible continuum in our self from breath to breath. The overcoming of suffering is a powerful self-confrontation which has its goal in the "acceptance" of the oneness of "Life-Death" as a continuum.

death, and the confrontation with, and the solution of, the problems arising in this connection. The results of some comparative reflections may be summarized as follows: The marked difference between Dōgen and Heidegger becomes obvious in Heidegger's positioning of death at the end of being in time, i.e., as the absolute opposite to being. Even though death at any time will be immanent with regard to being, there is a *dual split* between being and death. Even though in Heidegger's late work *Sein und Zeit* (and in the proceedings of the Zollikon Seminar) where "*Lichtung und Verbergung/clearing and hiding*" are mentioned (Hiedegger 1962 in 2007), the discourse is based nevertheless on existing time, in connection with original being; and therefore *clearing and hiding* remain in ever present subsistence.

With Dōgen, this is different because of the paramount principle of the Buddhist dynamic of being: *anitya*. What remains ever present is not being, neither non-being nor nothingness, but *anitya*, the constant appearing, lingering, and vanishing of this moment (*kshana bhangha*)[15] and all distinctions within it, which exist in space, in their dynamic change from *being to non-being*. "*Man*" (one) is the term Heidegger uses to suggest a persistent being destined for death. Its being in itself implies the inevitable loss of being; and out of this arises the problem of abstract fear. In contrast to this, Dōgen's conception of life-death, as encompassing being and non-being, is integrated as an indivisible pair of opposites, where even our clearest example of life in actuality expresses the full dimension of life-death. Holding/retaining (*hajū* 把住 or *hajō* 把定)[16] in Zen recognition is constantly accompanied by the opposite, i.e., releasing/letting go (*hōgyō* 放行).

Life-Death as a Contradictory Unity—An Intelligible Self as the "Corpus"

Thus, for Dōgen it is evident that life and death are a *phenomenon coupling two in one*[17], which is inherent in us from our birth to an unknown future. In Buddhist thinking and its culture it is not postulated that we have to keep our "Seinserkenntnis/cognition of being" as an inherent factor. If we do so, Dōgen warns, it is *only half of the phenomena of life*: either life or death in dualistic

---

[15] *kshana bhangha*, *setsuna-metsu* 刹那滅 (Takasaki and Hayashima 1993, 261ff).
[16] *hajō-hōgyō* 把定・放行/*hajū-hōgyō*. 把住・放行. See Iriya and Koga 1991.
[17] Dōgen, *Shōbō genzō*: This concept is explained in the secret vol. (秘密正法眼蔵). (Dōgen 1993)

separation.[18] For Dōgen, life-death are coupled, in one word, in every moment, at any time and in any situation. Every moment it emerges, stays and vanishes at the same time. There is nowhere a consistent continuity forever (out of *dharma*. *Dharma is eternal, but it is embodied and manifested only in a being which is inconsistent*). Dōgen thinks that the life moment and the death moment arise always linked to each other, accompanied by our breathing. A linear progression of time is not Dōgen's main issue.[19] Time emerges, stays and vanishes: this coupling goes on forever with mathematical precision. But the time before and after the present is always all in one, just at this moment of here and now. The three-dimensional world passes through (present-past-future). The wide circle of our past lives in our memory (like Plato's *anamnesis*), as well as the unknown future, both are visions of our self-consciousness. In Zen thought the moment of the absolute presence here and now has an absolute existence forever, even if this moment of here and now becomes past and vanishes. This absolute moment of here and now is contradictory, vanishing at every moment and existing at the same time forever in "*cognition embodied in dharma*", the universal order of truth. A contradiction seems to be that we, in our limited and inconsistent bodily human existence, strive for "cognition embodied in irrefutable truth".

In the acknowledgement and the acceptance of this *contradiction* in our thinking and acting, we participate in the absolute truth, which is an unlimited truth. In the problem of the "life-death contradiction", the position of Dōgen also includes this philosophical contradiction. Breathing from moment to moment, our life is a dying life, life-death, even if we are in the middle of the living life.

When we live the moment of death, death is not a dying but a living death. The fact of death at the end of life is the *completed life*, life-death as oneness. This death is not a brief death, but falling into nothingness. *It is life-death executed in a completed phenomenon.* If we see the dualistic phenomena of life against death as two contradictory opposites, we cannot grasp and experience that what *nirvāṇa*

---

[18] Even if the originality of the "secret volume" is questionable according to philologists, the basic concept is present also in vol. *Zenki* found in the statement: *Shō ya zenki-gen, shi ya zenki-gen* 生也全機現，死也全機現 (The Life is to experience a fulfilled life as a complete dimensional one. The death is also for experiencing of a fulfilled death as a complete dimensional one.) The "life and death" shows in this context not only a limited meaning of a physical life and death. Furthermore this pair of concepts marks up the "moment of arising" and the "moment to fall down" for experience of human in every kind.

[19] Dōgen, *Shōbō genzō*, vol. *Uji* 有時.

means: It means a deep understanding of the above-mentioned whole truth in bodily existence, in life in the real world and in the intellectual world: "Life and death as oneness, from our birth onwards, are always in us. This oneness is inherent as a contradictory self-identity of our human self, including the vanishing moment of our life and the completion of life-death in *dharma*, the universal eternal truth." The cognition of life-death as a couple transcends our bodily existence, in the immanence of the world. The deeply inherent/immanent moment of *life-death* in the phenomena real-life is to be recognized in our careful breathing, aware of what is actually here and now. And the highly transcendent identity of life-death in our bodily life is grasped in the intellectual thinking-acting in every activity in life; human life develops in accordance with this *contradiction*, in completing our own life and our relationships to others day by day.[20] Here the construction of one's own life as an irreversible occasion is described in Zen Buddhism as follows: "Once in encounter, once in a life time." Everything, every occasion day by day is an encounter of our self with things in relation to it. Every occasion can be encountered only once. No experience is the same, because our self and the circumstances are always changing in time and space. Therefore nothing is the same; everything is an encounter made only once in a lifetime. The focus is directed to the centre of the life phenomenon and to the acting/thinking/breathing self as one of the highest dignity. I call this unit of the self which is responsible for experiencing, recognizing and actualizing truth by the special term of "*corpus*":[21] 1) the bodily existence as a physical volume, 2) its ability for acknowledging essential truth, 3) its manifestation of recognized truth in relationship with other beings. In view of Plato's understanding of 1)[x] *hedra*, 2)[x]

---

[20] Dōgen, *Shōbō genzō*, the secret volume (秘密正法眼蔵), (Dōgen 1993; Hashi 2011b)

[21] The term of *corpus* in Hashi 2012, III. 16. There, the *corpus* is explained as a bodily bearer of cognitions in sense of a *self-critical and self-referential observer to cognitive scientific knowledge*. On the other hand, the *corpus* is a bearer of problematics to execute what is the real truth "*ontos on*" in the Metaphysics and Ontology which was worked over and over since Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. This aspect was once explained by Robert Reininger (1869–1955, University of Vienna), giving that the bodily existence of one's self is the bearer of an "Urerlebnis" (original experience) that allows the experience of a whole dimension of the "real truth". In the following continuum of self-consciousness the experienced things are reflected and treated over and over until the next "*Urerlebnis*" (original experience). *Corpus* as a bearer and critical observer of cognitive scientific knowledge and *corpus* as an executer of the metaphysic/ontological truth—herewith the difference to a phenomenological approach is clear. And also, the aspect of "*embodying knowledge*" as a *wisdom* and *self-transcending cognition* integrated in one's own life—which has been treated in the long history of Mahayana Buddhist Philosophy in East Asia and also in today´s global world—builds a remarkable core of this term.

topos, 3)^x *xora*, this explanation of the *corpus* will have another reference, continuing the comparative reflections on the philosophy of the global world.[22] The main focus expressed by Plato is "*to hen*" (the one) as a being of universal truth. The focus of the *corpus* is also on the oneness of universal truth in real activity, finding the general base of the existence of our self among life and death. The correspondence of points 2) and 2)^x are consequent in recognizing this main difference. The correspondence of 3) to 3)^x becomes obvious if we regard the main focus of both, 3) to 3)^x, in the "recognition of the networks of the various relations of the principles of truth.

In our time of globalization, many of packets of information flow around the clock. Activities of any kind are promoted sometimes only to receive various data for finding the shortest way to get the maximal profit. On the other hand, another kind of "activities", dieting and creating something from a full dimension of bodily existence of real human, is less acknowledged. In regard to this aspect, getting more and more information without reflecting, without directing and creating seems to be a "passivity of decadence" in scattering in a virtual field. The "corpus" strives for establishing another way—in opposite to the above mentioned "passivity of decadence". Its final purpose is to achieve an integration of [1)-2)-3)] and [1)^x-2)^x-3)^x], i.e. based on the long history of philosophy we try to express a truth by our bodily existence in life in a real and intellectual world day by day. It has a basic background in:

α) philosophical histories and cultures (especially those of East and West),

β) philosophy as thinking and acting in an intellectual world: "*actus intellctualis*",

γ) philosophy for life in expressing *wisdom* and *compassion* in *awakening* to the universal truth. This modus has its backbone and the causality in various thinking traditions of East Asian philosophy—influenced especially from the philosophy of Mahayana Buddhism.

The significance of the term "*corpus*" has therefore another approach and another conceptual significance against a similar term which is treated in phenomenologist thinking. Just in short, one of the most compact and nearest mind of this "corpus" was manifested by Hisamatsu Shin'ichi (1889–1980), one of the

---

[22] Nishida himself mentioned this kind of developing philosophy in possible comparison to Plato and Hegel (Nishida 1965, 73; see also Hashi 2005, 101–3).

leading thinkers in the Philosophy of Kyoto School specialized in Modern Zen Philosophy: "The Formless Self of All Mankind in Super Historical History", for short "*FAS*". As a philosopher in the following generation in the 21st century I will accent this mind which is not only "sectionalized" for a few knower of Zen Buddhism and its Philosophy. Furthermore, its "Philosophy of Mind" must be grasped by cosmopolitan intellectuals and friends in a world in which a philosophy as *thinking* and *acting* and *realizing* a universal and eternal truth should be found and manifested without ideological binding to any political party.

Let us summarize the most relevant aspects of the topic:

Life vs. death is a constantly changing phenomenon. In overcoming this dualistic struggle a human being achieves transcendence, *nirvāna* in a world immanency—the calm, transparent insight, the profound dimension of cognition integrated into dying/completing life, as visualized by Dōgen.

In the firm *grasping of cognition*, "Erschlossenheit des Daseins"/the definite clear significance of existence, one has *overcome the anxiety of death* according to Heidegger: Going forward to this life in "impassioned freedom" towards the unknown death.[23] This cognition of the *phenomeno-logos* shows us the "*veritas transcendentalis*". (Heidegger 1993, § 7, 38; 1962, 62)

Cognition as "Veritas Transcendentalis" or Cognition as "*Corpus*"?—Towards Embodied Cognition in the Dialogue of Philosophy

In the above philosophical comparisons an important question is raised: Do we hold, as does Heidegger, the problem of death to be a prelude to the abyss of nothingness or do we accept Dōgen's view of a dynamic principle of humanity and all beings within the transparency and tranquility of what can be construed as a single, great action, a single great mind? The problem of "*Zeitigung*/*temporalizing*" is important for visualizing the moment of *being-in-the-world* by Heidegger. With Dōgen, "*uji*" 有時 refers to an opposite interpretation, that time is in us and that it

---

[23] "We may now summarize our characterization of authentic Being-towards-Death as we have projected it existentially: "anticipation reveals to Dasein its lostness in the they-self, and brings it face to face with the possibility of being itself, primarily unsupported by concernful solicitude, but of being itself, rather, in an impassioned freedom towards death—a freedom which has been released from the illusions of the 'they', and which is factual, certain of itself, and anxious." (Heidegger 1993, §53, 266; 1962, 311)

passes and disappears from one moment to the next, reflecting our existence here and now. Yet, this moment is always there, enabling us to create and collect manifold *karman*.[24] Both ways of thinking concentrate on the essence of time: Dōgen urges us to realize the eternal truth to be recognized and actualized through reality, in empirical life; Heidegger thinks in phenomenological terms: "Being is nothing but *transcendence*;" "The transcendence of being is excellent insofar as it allows for the possibility and necessity of the most radical *individuation*. Any opening up of being as *transcendence* is a phenomenological truth as *veritas transcendentalis*."(Heidegger 1993, §7, 38; Cf. Hashi 2014b)

Conclusion

The following provisional balance can be struck between the views presented in this article: Dōgen's principle is how far the real empirical self, by totally accepting and manifesting its true nature, can grasp and embody *dharma* awareness. I call this *corpus*, a body with the unlimited capability of opening *dharma*, in other words, an insistent and conscious manifestation of our true self in daily life. Consideration of Dōgen's Zen prompts a re-evaluation of Heidegger's view insofar as the opening of "being-in-the-world" does not remain, only *transcendens*, but also it may point to a return of the *world immanence* to life in the direction of *embodied cognition*. This will produce a number of opportunities for a dialogue between Buddhist and occidental philosophy in our globalized world.

References

Aristotle. 1987. *Metaphysik,* Vol. 1, edited by H. Schwarz. Stuttgart: Reclam.

Dōgen, Kigen. 1980. *Dōgen*, *Shōbō genzō*, (original Vols. 1–75), Vol. 1–2, edited by Yaoko Mizuno and Tōru Terada. Tokyo: Iwanami.

——. 1993. *Shōbō genzō* (essential vols. including *The Secret Volume*), edited by Sōichi Nakamura. Tokyo: Seishin shobō.

——. 2008. *Shōbō genzō*, Vols. 1–75 and others, edited by Fumio Masutani. Tokyo: Kōdansha.

Hashi, Hisaki. 2001. *Was hat Zen mit Heidegger zu tun*?: *der komparative Denkweg von Ost und West*; *eine Einführung*. Wien: Edition Doppelpunkt.

——. 2004. *Die Dynamik von Sein und Nichts.* Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang.

---

[24] Cf. Dōgen, *Shōbō genzō*, Vol. *Uji* (in Hashi 2005).

––. 2005."Naturerkenntnis und Vernunfterkenntnis im 20. Jhdt." In *Intellectus universalis,* edited by Werner Gabriel and Hisaki Hashi, 101–3. Wien: Edition Doppelpunkt.

––. 2009. *Zen und Philosophie: Philosophische Anthropologie Im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*. Wien: Edition Doppelpunkt.

––. 2011a. "Dr. Morita's Psychophysical Therapy and the Way it is Influenced by Zen Buddhism." In *Globalisierung des Denkens in Ost und West: Resultate des Österreichisch-Japanischen Dialogs*, edited by Friedrich Wallner and Hisaki Hashi, 131–47. Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz GmbH.

––. 2011b. "Transzendenz sive Immanenz – Religionsphilosophische Ansätze im 'Shōbō Genzō' Dōgens." In *Religionen nach der Säkularisierung*, edited by Hans Hödl and Veronika Futterknecht, 54–69. Münster and Berlin: LIT.

––. 2012. *Kyoto-Schule – Zen – Heidegger*. Wien: Edition. Doppelpunkt.

––. 2013. "Comparative Thinking as a Fundamental Method for Interdisciplinary Research." *Journal for Communication and Culture* 3 (1) (Spring 2013): 5–28.

––. 2014a. *Philosophische Anthropologie zur globalen Welt.* Berlin: LIT.

––. 2014b. "Cognition Embodied in Buddhist Philosophy." *Philosophy Study* 2: 136–41.

Heidegger, Martin. 1943. *Was ist Metaphysik?* Freiburg i.Br./Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann.

––. 1960. *Gelassenheit*. Pfullingen: Neske.

––. 1962. *Being and Time*, translated by John Macquarrine and Edward Robbinson. Norwich: SCM Press.

––. 1977. *Complete works*, Vol. 2. Frankfurt am Main.: Verlag Vittorio Klostermann.

––. 1990. *Identität und Differenz*. Pfullingen: Neske.

––. 1993. *Sein und Zeit.* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

––. 1997. *Complete Works*, Vol. 10. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Vittorio Klostermann.

––. 2006. *Was ist Metaphysik?* Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Vittorio Klostermann.

––. 2007. *Complete Works*. Vol. 14. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Vittorio Klostermann.

Imaeda, Aishin. 1994. *Dōgen.* Tokyo: NHK books.

Iriya, Yoshitaka 入矢義高, and Hidehiko Koga 古賀英彦. 1991. *Zengo jiten* 禅語辞典 (Lexicon of the Zen Terminology). Kyoto: Shibunkaku.

Izutsu, Toshihiko. 1977 *Toward the Philosophy of Zen Buddhism*. Teheran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy.

––. 1986. *Philosophie des Zen-Buddhismus*. Hamburg: Rowohlt.

Kant, Immanuel. 1990. *Kritik der reinen Vernunft,* edited by R. Schmidt. Hamburg: Meiner.

Klein, Hans-Dieter. 2005. *Metaphysik*. Wien: Literas.

Nāgārjuna. 2013. *Mūla Madhyamaka Karikā*, translated by Mark Siderits and Shōryū Katsura. Somerville: Wisdom Publications.

Nagel, Thomas. (1974) 1981. "Wie ist es, eine Fledermaus zu sein?" In *Analytische Philosophie des Geistes*, edited by Peter Bieri, 261–75. Königstein: Hain.

Nishida, Kitarō. 1965. *Complete Works*, vol 11. Tokyo: Iwanami.

Ohashi, Ryōsuke, and Georg Stenger, eds. 2013. *Heidegger und Ostasiatisches Denken*, München: Verlag Karl Alber.

Pietschmann, Herbert. 2003. *Phänomenologie der Naturwissenschaft*. Berlin: Springer.

——. forthcoming. "Drei Grenzen der Naturwissenschaften – Kritische Philosophie der Naturwissenschaft." In *Denkdisziplinen von Ost und West*, edited by Hisaki Hashi. Norhausen: T. Bautz.

Schlick, Moritz. 1986. *Die Probleme der Philosophie in ihrem Zusammenhang.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Saigusa, Mitsuyoshi 三枝充悳. 1986. *Bukkyō to seiyō shisō* 仏教と西洋思想 (Buddhism and Western Thought). Tokyo: Shunjunsha

Steinkellner, Ernst. 2002. "Zur Lehre vom Nicht-Selbst (*anātman*) in frühen Buddhismus." In *Über den Begriff der Seele*, edited by Johann Figl and Hans-Dieter. Klein, 171–86. Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen und Neumann GmbH.

Takasaki, Jikidō. 早島鏡正, and Kyōshō Hayashima 高崎直道. 1993. *Bukkyō, Indo shisō jiten* 仏教・インド思想辞典 (Buddhism, Indian Encyclopedia of Indian Thought). Tokyo: shunjū-sha.

Tashiro, Nobutada 田代信維. 2005. *Morita Ryōhō nyūmon. "Ikiru" to iu koto*. 森田療法入門：「生きる」ということ (Introduction to the Morita Therapy). Tokyo: Sōgensha.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. 1958. *Philosophical Investigations,* translated by G. E. M. Anscombe. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

The Crisis of Japanese Identity in the 21st Century and Watsuji Tetsurō's Ethics

Kristýna VOJTÍŠKOVÁ[*]

Abstract

According to some thinkers, in the 21st century, the Japanese society is facing a crisis of values. The postmodern approach to the individual and society may be one of the causes of this problem. In this point of view, an inadequate grasp of the relationship between the individual and the society seems to play an important role. The problem of this relationship was elaborated by the early 20th century philosopher Watsuji Tetsurō who endeavoured to re-define the role of an individual in the society. This paper attempts to examine the contemporary problem of Japanese identity from the perspective of Watsuji's conception of interpersonal relationships.

Keywords: ethics in Japan, contemporary Japanese society, individual and society, emptiness, betweenness

Izvleček

Po mnenju nekaterih mislecov se japonska družba v 21. stoletju sooča s krizo vrednot. Postmodernistični pristop do posameznika in družbe je lahko eden izmed razlogov za ta problem. V tem vidiku neustrezen pristop k odnosom med posameznikom in družbo igra pomembno vlogo. O problemu tega odnosa je razpravljal Watsuji Tetsurō, filozof iz zgodnjega 20. stoletja, ki si je prizadeval, da bi redefiniral vlogo posameznika v družbi. Ta članek tako raziskuje sodobne probleme japonske identitete iz perspektive Watsujijevega pojmovanja medosebnih odnosov.

Ključne besede: etika na Japonskem, sodobna japonska družba, posameznik in družba, praznost, vmesnost

* Kristýna VOJTÍŠKOVÁ, PhD student, Charles University, Praga, Czech Republic.
kr.vojtiskova@gmail.com

Foreword[1]

In the 21st century, it seems that Japanese society is facing a phenomenon that some may consider as a crisis of values. Some scholars would argue that it emerged from a postmodern approach to the individual and the society. It is arguable if it is the major cause for the contempory crisis of values in Japanese society. There is an on-going public debate on the value system of the Japanese in mass media. However, the debate itself is not of my concern in this paper. I am working on the assumption that the value crisis is present in the contemporary Japanese society and I will solely focus on an ethical aspect of this crisis. By an ethical aspect I mean the relationship between the individual and the society, a major pillar of Watsuji Tetsurō's thought, which I consider particularly topical here. The findings of my paper are predominantly based on a qualitative textual analysis of Watsuji's work *Ethics* which points to a crucial aspect of the problem of Japanese identity from a philosophical perspective which I consider to be up to date in many ways.

Causes, Symptoms and Consequences

Since the postwar period, the emphasis of the Japanese value system successively shifted from communitarianism to individualism (Oyama 1990). The individualism in the original sense of the word is based on a balance between individual rights for liberty, equality, and public responsibilities. However, in the case of Japan, it seems that in the postwar pursuit of denouncing the totalitarianism, the Japanese over-emphasized freedom and right of self-determination of the individual and equality.

This kind of individualistic approach was accompanied with the neoliberalism focused rather on the individual, and the society was regarded as derived. However, that approach proved to be non-functional, because it ended in overemphasizing the individual's definition of his own values at the expense of social ones. Instead of the integration of the individual into the society, it apparently led to a disintegration of social solidarity and weakened an affinity with the community, which was considered as secondary to the autonomy of

---

independent and free individuals who are brought together conditionally on their own terms. Accordingly, the community was regarded as a hindrance in living as one sees fit and the individual was regarded as the one who independently decided his preference to remain or not to remain within its framework. As a result, the individualism and neoliberalism tended to be misunderstood, leading to a misconception that individuals are free to do almost anything as long as it does not violate a law or offend others (Kobayashi 2000).

However, it should be definitely mentioned that the inclination to this kind of individualism that became rampant in Japanese society found its expression on the right of self-determination and development of political participation as well, as evident especially in the 60's and 70's. Nevertheless, this rather positive transition was accompanied with the aggressive asserting of egoistic interests, the gradual dissolution of local communities, the increasing number of nuclear families, single-parent families and divorces in a way remarkably similar to Europe and the United States, not to mention the feeling of alienation from the society (e.g. *hikikomori* 引き籠り) and the alarming number of violent misbehaviour cases at Japanese schools.

Furthermore, during the 60's and 70's in Japan, there was a substantial increase of the so-called new religions which continues until the present day (Kisala 2006). This social phenomenon is one of the significant responses to the crisis of spiritual identity. The new religions such as Buddhist-based Sōka Gakkai (創価学会), Risshō Kōseikai (立正佼成会), or Bussho Gonenkai Kyōdan (佛所護念会教団) aspire to saturate the contemporary search for values with the resurrection of past assurances in the context of present-day social issues by means of attempting to draw upon tradition and yet remain relevant and to date. Although they share a certain stress on identification with the community, they deal with the identity of the individual, at the same time.

The membership in community is critically important to the individual in Japan (Carter 2013, 138). The individual tends to be seen as having no importance outside his group or community identifications. However, given that a group or society that does not provide individual with assurance and sense of security, not to mention self-realization and self-fulfillment, there is no way to guarantee good-working social relations.

Generally speaking, the social constraints imposed on individuals by the traditional structures were liberated and obviously, the Japanese, traditionally profoundly influenced by the principle of self-restraint and dissolving the ego into the group, are inclined to lose a sense of devotion to the social structures to which they belong, as elsewhere in other modern societies. The contradiction between individual and social interests imposes an excessive strain on every individual and, naturally, the whole society. I assume that this kind of conception of interpersonal relationships hinders the awareness of a person's identity and also the adequate ethical relationships. The confusion of approach to other people is a timeless issue which certainly cannot be definitively untangled. However, for those who are engaged in contemporary Japanese society research, Watsuji´s conception brings a very inspirational outlook which may open new perspectives on variety of issues related to Japanese identity.

Watsuji's View of Human and Social Relations

Watsuji Tetsurō (和辻哲郎, 1889–1960), together with Nishida Kitarō (西田幾多郎, 1870–1945) were the two most seminal thinkers of a reflective phase of Japanese philosophy. Both of them were strongly influenced by phenomenology and well versed in various writings of Western philosophers. To a great extent, both of them, like many other Japanese intellectuals at that time, had tried to develop and articulate a synthesis of Eastern and Western thought. While Nishida is credited with having introduced phenomenology to Japan, Watsuji contributed to the intercultural dialogue by elaborating phenomenology into a systematic study of ethics.[2] His quest for a phenomenology, Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintō-based interpretation of Japanese society is accompanied with a harsh criticism of Western individualism, that has become predominant at that time in Japan.

Watsuji's philosophy strives to articulate a more comprehensive view of humanity and the human relations grounded in the grasp of contradiction between the individual and the society. In his point of view, the individuality of human cannot be considered alone, isolated from sociality, because any individuality is inevitably immersed in the world, which is always shared, whether as a shared time or as a shared space. The individual isolated from the context of society or

---

[2] Whereas Nishida employed phenomenology to elaborate the original concept of pure experience (*junsui keiken* 純粋経験), Watsuji applied phenomenology to ontology and Japanese intellectual tradition-based ethical system.

community of other individuals, is actually a non-existing abstraction. That is because such a consideration of human is only temporal, but not spatial as well. Provided that people are mere individuals, the ethics would also be only a matter of individual consciousness. However, since there is no *nakama* (倫)[3] to relate to ethically, then there is nothing ethical there in Japanese sense of the word:

> The locus of ethical problems lies not in the consciousness of the isolated individual, but precisely in the in-betweenness of person and person. Because of this, ethics is the study of *ningen*. (Watsuji 2007, 20)

Since Watsuji radically disapproves a purely individualistic assumption of social human being of Western individualism and expresses his viewpoint on humans as essentially social, his ethics is sometimes labelled as communitarian. However, such a sweeping generalisation is the very source of misconceptions about Watsuji's ethical system. In fact, his ethical system is not communitarian as it is not liberal.

Communitarian social theory contends that the identity of individual is not independent of society and must be understood within a given social context. The individual independence and autonomy, then, is not a social concern. To this extent Watsuji's viewpoint could be considered communitarian, but here should be mentioned that Watsuji also draws on Buddhist metaphysics manifested in the Japanese language. Specifically, it is his understanding of humanity as the so-called "movement of double negation".[4] Since we, human beings, are both individuals and yet we are involved in groups or communities to fulfil our individual role in fact means to negate our social involvement. On the other hand, to fulfil our social role means to renounce a great part of our individuality in order to emphasize and confirm our group membership.

Emptiness

Such an act of double distancing either from our individuality or our sociality, is, simply put, the negation of negation or the movement of double negation. In the movement of double negation, the distance between self and other disappears and

---

[3] *Nakama* (倫・仲) originally meant "companion", "fellow", and "circle of friends". It is the initial character of compound word *rinri* (倫理) which means "ethics" or "morals". (see Watsuji 2007, 21)

[4] The society emerges from negating the individual and consequently the individual emerges from negating the society. This movement of double negation establishes provisionally (until another act of negation) both the society and the individual.

their mutual negation results in absolute emptiness. The term "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*, *kū* 空) implies that neither the individual nor the society has actual intrinsic identity. The identity exists only potentially. Instead of identity, there is just pure potentiality. This way the emptiness could be conceived as an empty space open to any imposition, any possibility. The moment that the choice is made or imposition is realized, a myriad of other possibilities no longer exists and a myriad of new possibilities emerges.

As Robert E. Carter explains in the English translation of *Ethics* (*Rinrigaku* 倫理学), according to Buddhist teaching, "everything is deprived of its substantiality, nothing exists independently, everything is related to everything else, nothing ranks as a first cause, and even the self is but a delusory construction" (Carter 1996, 350). Even the emptiness itself is empty, which means that it lacks a concrete identity. The emptiness has no distinctive features, it has no attributes, it changes persistently into countless alterations. It is impossible even to define the emptiness as a "summary" of both the negation of the individual and the negation of the society. Every effort to define the emptiness fails because rationality is unable to describe something utterly irrational. However, the negation of what originally is negative gives rise to the provisional identity or also, to be precise, the non-identity, which is ever-changing by means of contradiction. In other words, since the emptiness is the very foundation of our individual and social identity, the identity itself is finally self-contradictory (Carter 1996, 348).

In a purely Buddhist approach, from the dualistic nature of human being, from our intrinsic emptiness, a constant tension emerges. The tension between individuality and sociality establishes impermanent and changeable character of human being. Ignoring or denying this *dharma* only leads to attachment (e.g. to things or life) and suffering. The ever-changing character of human being is underlied by the emptiness as the matrix that grounds all distinctions. The emptiness here serves as the background to all foregrounds (Miyagawa 2008, 208–9). In everydayness of life, such a feature is represented by the so called "betweenness" (*aidagara* 間柄) between us, a permanently emptying relational space in which both good and evil only exist as possibilities. In other words, the emptiness represented by betweenness between us is itself empty, yet it makes possible all kinds of social relationships and distinctive features of these as well.

Betweenness

Watsuji's *Ethics*, published in several volumes from 1937 to 1949, to a great extent challenges inherently Western conceptions of the relationship between the individual and the society. In the first part of the book Watsuji focuses on re-thinking the ontological foundation of human existence. Beginning with a critique of modern ethics as a "problem of individual consciousness only" (Watsuji 2007, 9), he asserts that the concept of the individual is but "one moment of human existence" and therefore should not be understood as "totality of human" (Watsuji 2007, 19). Furthermore, he considers the individuality of humans to be merely an abstracted view of the human nature as an isolated ego. Similarly, sociality, as well as individuality, is merely one aspect of human being. However, society is only a society when comprising of individuals. Neither the individual nor the community is able to exist independently (Watsuji 2007, 154). On the other hand, the individual is only an individual in relation to other individuals recognizing his otherness. Generally speaking, neither the individual nor the society exists separated from the other. Ultimately, a human consists of individuality and sociality, so he necessarily cannot be independent of interpersonal relationships in society. Ethics, then, is the study of human interactions with others.

According to Watsuji, humanity is constituted neither by individuals nor by society, but rather in the dialectical movement between the two. The existence of the individual is embedded within the social web of betweenness. When referring to actual human being, betweenness is the network of relationships that embeds humanity in sociality. It embeds human in his social meaning (such as being an inhabitant of a certain state or a member of a certain church). However, as already mentioned above, it must be asserted again, that the crux of betweenness as a foundation of both the individual and the social character of human being is not just an obligation to the community, but a "double negation", of both the individual and the society. Betweenness within society becomes evident in language as a means of communication and general sharing (Watsuji 2007, 58). Living in the same betweenness ensures us that when we come into conflict, we share the same desire to reach a compromising solution (Carter 2013, 142). To a great extent, the betweenness determines the everyday being in the world as a common sense, but also is determined by the people within it. Betweenness as a

common sense is an expression of social climate, which reciprocally determines and is determined by history and environmental conditions (Watsuji 2007, 78).[5]

Movement of Double Negation

As individuals, no matter how we try to extricate from it, we are never separated from social relationships. We share a common language, tools, a cultural heritage. We are even born in this world already within a network of relationships as family members. And last but not least, we become members of various groups on our own initiative. We attend lectures at schools, work in companies and we join sports clubs. As individuals, we voluntarily attend the group and this way negate our individuality or negate the group by choosing not to attend them.

This is precisely the notion of movement of double negation put into practice of everydayness. For example, one personally, as an individual, dislikes a big family party, but since one is not only an individual, but a brother, mother-in-law, nephew or granddaughter, attends the party and shares a festive time with his relatives. When one, for example, loses touch with his family or his job, insisting on an assumption that he is an independent individual, he renounces a very important part of his social bonds. On the other hand, when one as a member of society neglects his own creativity and blindly supports viewpoints and deeds of others, one renounces individuality. This is precisely the moment when dialectics between the individual and the society is instantly stuck and ceases. The individualism interrupts and this way prevents the individual from being an active part of the whole which is based on active individuals. In a broad sense not only individualism, but also the other extreme, totalitarianism, interrupts dialectic of mutual negation, and ultimately silences the dialogue between the individual and the society. That is why it must be emphasized again and again that neither social relationships nor individuality is superior to the other.

Such an utterly Buddhist idea of middle path void of all extremes is, according to Watsuji, the very essence of humanity, which is selfless, empty and embedded within the social web of betweenness. The more relationships we make, the more the space between extends. On one hand, our social aspect unfolds, on the other hand, our individual aspect unfolds as well. To be a human means constantly to shift between being an individual and being a member of the greater whole such as

---

[5] For further reference see Watsuji 2011.

family, community, church, or state (Watsuji 2007, 138–9). The individuality does not exist without the whole from which it separates and against which it demarcates itself. And conversely, the society does not exist without being consisted of active individuals. The individuality emerges from negating the totality and vice versa.

Self, Other, and (non-)Duality

The basis of real unity is neither the community, nor the individual, it is the mutual relation between them. The more the individual fulfills himself in the society, the more can the society achieve an ethical unity (Couteau 2006, 283). This works on an assumption that the betweenness is the very foundation of human relationships and that the structure of human (*ningen* 人間) is equally individual and social. It is expressed in the original meaning of compound *ningen* as "being individual" (*hito* 人) and "being between" (*aida* 間) in conjunction. Thus, *ningen* refers to the social orientation of a human being and consequently to the individuality of human being. Hence, the above mentioned clearly shows that the "between" is not a space between two mutually independent entities, which belong to certain hierarchy, but ultimately is the space of mutual relationship (Mochizuki 2006, 48).

There is another very important remark on the space between individual and social being that should be pointed out here. The space is also an arena of interacting with others and as such, it both joins and separates us. In the mutual interaction, the community on one hand and the individuality on the other takes its shape. On one hand, in a community, the identity of self disappears, on the other, as individuality, social impositions disappear. Both the social and individual identity as separate entities fade away, both subsume into the non-duality. In the space of non-duality, there is no distance between self and other and the betweenness shrinks to nothingness. As a result of this non-duality, the most distinctive characteristic of human beings is benevolence.

However, the fact that being human means being benevolent does not mean that there should not appear problems and contradictions in our mutual relationships. On the contrary, there is a myriad of problems in interpersonal relationships we have to deal with. The problems that unavoidably arise when one human relates to another, require at least a decent sense of appropriate attitude.

Along with the sense of appropriate attitude, there are also expectations and principles that are required for human beings living in any community.

As the space of betweenness persistently shrinks and extends, the ethics of relationships emerging between people develops accordingly. A human renouncing social relationships, in this regard, is not considered as an individual, it is not even a human being. It is because since there is no space to relate to other humans and there is no way for him to engage in the dialectic of his own individual and social aspects which evolves and cultivates not only his sociality, but also his individuality. That person is not a complex being, he lacks the crucial aspects of humanity, so he is—in simple terms—inhumane. Any community (e.g. a family or a church) as a whole develops together with its elements, the individuals, whose relationships give rise to it. This way continual disintegration of community (as a whole) leads to its subsequent restoration. In other words, duality brings about non-duality and non-duality brings about duality. Hence, true ethics, according to Watsuji, is a return to an authentic unity through an initial contradiction within the self, and between the self and the other in the betweenness. The awareness of the mutual interconnection of everything blurs the borderlines of separation and former duality of self-other disappears in non-duality. Here becomes clear how significant the dialogue between the individual and the society is. An incessant movement of the dialectic between the individual and the society returns humans back to themselves (Mochizuki, 2006, 49–50).

An Interpretation of Watsuji's Ethics in the Context of Value Crisis of Japanese Society

The afore mentioned outline of relation between humanity, betweenness and emptiness implies that, in Watsuji's terms, the dialogue between individuality and sociality, that is supposed to occur incessantly in betweenness, falls silent. Or, to be more illustrative, the individual unable to put up with a social pressure to integrate into society who finally resigns on himself or the society, brings about the cessation of dialogue (Couteau 2006, 285–6). The society composed of resigned individuals certainly is unwilling to comply with common interest and also ends silent towards the individual. Without even a slightest hint of a response, there is no relationship. In Watsuji's point of view, the ethical system, establishing itself in dialogue, is a fundamental law of human existence. What is more, for him it is the very quintessence of human existence in the world (Watsuji 2007, 22).

That is why our attitude to this principle matters when attempting to find our own identity and restore the disintegrated relationships in society.

In ethical social relations, the crucial value is a responsibility, whereas an individualistic approach (which, according to Watsuji, barely has anything to do with humanity) asserts freedom and right to self-determination. To establish harmony (*wa* 和) between those is presumably a solid basis for functional social relationships. Even though the crucial individual and social values are contradictory, yet in a dynamic nature of their mutual negation, in the "space" of emptiness, the dialectic relationship emerges. After all, to paraphrase Watsuji, the ethics is all about the dialogue between the individual and the society. Dialogue progresses only in dialectic and vice versa.

Following the red thread running through the ethical system of Watsuji, we come to figure out that his way of grasping the ethics is far from examining whether the Japanese act ethically or not. Rather, he analyses their way of thinking and acting and reveals their ethical characteristics. Hence, Watsuji's study of ethics does not concern the ethical "ought" as frequently seen in the "Western" approach, but the actual way of thinking and acting. His ethics refers to a system of relations that are important for a proper interpersonal association, including some sense of the appropriate attitudes to embody in dealing with others. Watsuji's ethical thought as a complex synthesis of Shintō, Buddhism and Confucianism, is not interested in theoretical ethical ideals or individual moral consciousness. The sphere of interest for Watsuji was the actual subjective way of human existence (Miyagawa 2008, 222). That is also why he tried to examine the conditions of human being in the network of betweenness and did not separate the individual and social aspect of human being.

Presently it may seem to us that there comes a time when "ought" becomes required to some extent. The crisis of values is the cardinal problem of any postmodern society worldwide and Japan is not an exception. However, when trying to deal with the problem, no matter how large scale it is, we should always keep in mind that what works in a certain milieu, it might not necessarily work in another one. It surely does not mean that the principles and rules of community and society have been forgotten and left for good and the Japanese are unable to bring them back or recreate them without any imperative. On the contrary, if Watsuji's deductions of ontological foundation of human being were true, then the

appropriate individual and social settings must be able to reset at anytime and any place.

As we have already become acquainted with the crucial point of Watsuji's ethics, which is that neither individuality nor social relationships is superior to the other, we should be aware of what the actual ethical conduct means for him. The true ethical conduct primarily aims to the achievement of relative harmony. Harmony is the key achievement of community in shintoistic point of view. Shintō, the indigenous religion of Japan, is based on harmony, a spirit of thankfulness and sincere effort. To lack any of these qualities is unacceptable and shameful. To lack these qualities means to risk losing face in front of the whole community one belongs to, and for Japanese, that is the worst failure of all. The key to achieving harmony lies in humans themselves, in their ability to be trustworthy and truthful (Couteau 2006, 286). However, this is impossible without having a *kokoro* (心), which is a crucial personality trait in Japanese society. The word *kokoro* is usually translated as "heart and mind". It implies that the mind and heart (body) are united. To put it starkly, notion of *kokoro* suggests, on one hand, that human reason should be compassionate and, on the other hand, that human feelings should be reasonable. A person who expresses his own *kokoro* is trustworthy and truthful, he is a person with whom another person does not have to hesitate to enter into an intimate relationship. A person with *kokoro* is someone with no ulterior motive who displays a unity of his acting and feeling, reason and feeling and, naturally, body and mind.

Trust and truth that serve as a root to benevolence in human *kokoro*, have the critical importance in all positive ethical human relationships. The virtue of sincerity (*makoto* 誠) serves as the foundation of trustworthiness, truthfulness and honesty. To be sincere means that a person will act as he says he will act. Hence, that person is perceived as one that can be counted on to deliver to his word. Furhermore, it connotes a recognition of one's intrinsic agenda that one attempts to express in one's behaviour and acting. In any community and society, sincerity reveals an attitude of mutual trust as an integral part of what is already embedded in the betweenness of interpersonal relationships (Carter 2013, 145–6).

The betweenness is not only the space where human beings meet each other, it is an apparent empty space profoundly etched by cultural tradition. As we are born into the world, we are not *tabula rasa*, for we have already been influenced by

climate and culture through the experience of our mothers. As we grow old, we encounter our family, other relatives, schoolmates, weather changes, cultural customs and many other stimuli. The exposure which occurs in such an encounter teaches us much about relationship strategy, drawing on the centuries of previous experience which is inevitably included in the betweenness. To be aware of the betweenness between humans and the mistakes that we made in our past relationships, helps us to figure out possibilities for resolving current issues with others as they arise (Carter 2013, 143).

Conclusion

Watsuji's ethical system, even though it is very complex and profoundly elaborated, harbours some very important contradictions that every interpreter of his work should pay attention to and that should be definitely mentioned here. Undoubtedly, Watsuji's work defends Japanese culture as well as the emperor so it is not surprising that he is frequently criticized as a reactionary. Thinkers such as Sakai Naoki harshly criticize Watsuji's concept of "being on good terms (*nakayoshi* 仲良し)" within the society: "Watsuji proposes a kind of ethics whose central guiding principle is to be 'on good terms' with others: It is a kind of ethics that permits one to neglect other social and ethical concerns in order to remain on good terms with others." (Sakai 1991, 175) Also, Watsuji seems to underline the social aspect of existence to an extent that he considers a nation to be the apex of ethical being (Yoshizawa 2006, 373–4).

Moreover, he seems to overemphasize confidence in the community or the society as a whole, in spite of the fact that it does not consist solely of ethically acting persons. Behind the cover-up of so called "public welfare", there could be a hidden manipulation. In any society, there is always a threat of abuse of authority under the false pretext of "socially convenient" that results in an unethical acting. Also, Watsuji seems to underestimate the problem of responsibility. In words of Jeffrey Wu: "... In the end, Watsuji seems to have been oblivious to the possibility that the community could also betray the individual, which was the case for many in the context of total war." (Wu 2001, 101)[6]

---

[6] For further reference considering critical views on Watsuji see Bellah 1965; Bernier 2006; La Fleur 2001; Mayeda 2006; Nagami 1981; Sakai 1991.

Despite the fact that Watsuji never promoted or defended totalitarianism, his reliance on *nakayoshi*, self-sacrifice and social unity as ethical values remarkably resonates with the official rhetoric that was used in Japan of thirties. However, we should be very careful when attempting to interpret Watsuji's ethical system in term of politics. It would also be short-sighted to denounce it as a whole because of that.

From a philosophical perspective, Watsuji's ethics is an inspirational contribution to find a new intellectual ground of self-comprehension and re-definition of social and individual identity in Japanese society. It is a theoretical challenge to understand oneself better and to set conditions of new initiation of dialogue based on the middle path between the liberal and the communitarian attitude, between the individualism and the totalitarianism. Nevertheless, the actual application depends purely on the individuals who consciously decide to apply such a middle path of benevolence, trustworthiness, truthfulness and sincerity. In other words, it requires *kokoro* displaying the humanity and reflecting the humanity of others in betweenness (Couteau 2006, 287).

In the end, Watsuji's thought is imbued with the Buddhist notion of emptiness and maintainance of harmony between individuality and sociality. There certainly is no room for the egoistic approach or pure altruism in the betweenness between humans. The emptiness provides humans with empty selves that fills in mutual interaction and then empty again and again. Now, in a disagreement or argument, there are no selves to be offended. The striving to win in a quarrel or humiliating our opponent in a fight is only a matter of ego. In the relationships, the individual ego should be suspended because it hinders the achievement of consensus or agreement. Without any consensus or agreement, there is no way to become a functional and effective community and society.

As we share the same betweenness, it is in our interest to strive for a positive resolution of our conflicts, disagreements and quarrels without passion for winning at all cost. The sincere display of *kokoro* consolidates our truthfulness and trustworthiness in the eyes of others and ourselves. This sincerity leads to group harmony. Trustworthiness and truthfulness are not mere theoretical demands, but are to be found in the actual actions through and by which they are connected to one another. Even those who act in such a way as to seemingly reject the truthfulness or trustworthiness, those who lie, offend, break promises, and do harm to others nevertheless inevitably rely on the expectation that others act truthfully

and do not figure out their hidden intention. So in the end, every social interaction is based on the trusting relationships that we can rely on (Yoshizawa 2006, 218). A group, community or society (on a larger scale) which provides its members with a strong sense of belonging by means of trusting relationships on one hand and a forum for self-realization and personal fulfilment of *kokoro* on the other, is supposed to meet the needs of anyone anywhere in the world.

References

Bellah, Robert N. 1965. "Japan's Cultural Identity: Some Reflections on the Work of Watsuji Tetsurō." In *The Journal of Asian Studies* 24 (4): 573–94. Accessed January 17, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2051106.

Bernier, Bernad. 2006. "National Communion: Watsuji Tetsurō's Concept of Ethics, Power and the Japanese Imperial State." In *Philosophy East and West* 56 (1): 84–105. Accessed September 10, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4488002.

Carter, Robert E. 1996. "Interpretive Essay: Strands of Influence." In *Watsuji Tetsurō's Rinrigaku,* edited by Robert E. Carter, 325–54. Albany: State University of New York Press.

——. 2013. "Watsuji Tetsurō." In *The Kyoto School: An Introduction,* edited by Robert E. Carter, 125–53. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Couteau, Pauline. 2006. "Watsuji Tetsurō's Ethics of Milieu." In *Frontiers in Japanese Philosophy,* edited by James Heisig, 269–90. Nagoya: Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture.

Kisala, Robert. 2006. "Contemporary Religion and Social Crisis in Japan." Accessed December 22, 2014. http://www.kosei-shuppan.co.jp/english/text/mag/2006/06_456_8.html.

Kobayashi, Yōtarō. 2000. "Japan's Individualism in Globalization Trends." Accessed September 18, 2013. http://glocom.org/opinions/essays/200012_kobayashi_jp_individ/index.html.

La Fleur, William R. 2001. "Reasons for the Rubble: Watsuji Tetsurō's Position in Japan's Postwar Debate about Rationality." In *Philosophy East and West* 51 (1): 1–25. Accessed May 4, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1400033.

Mayeda, Graham. 2006. *Time, Space and Ethics in the Philosophy of Watsuji Tetsurō, Kuki Shūzō, and Martin Heidegger.* New York: Routledge.

Miyagawa, Keishi 宮川敬之. 2008. *Watsuji Tetsurō: Jinkaku kara aidagara e* 和辻哲郎人格から間柄へ (From Individuality to Betweenness). Tōkyō: Kōdansha.

Mochizuki, Tarō. 2006. "Climate and Ethics: Ethical Implications of Watsuji Tetsurō's Concepts: 'Climate' and 'Climaticity'." *Philosophia Osaka* 1: 43–55. Accessed May 3, 2014. http://ir.library.osaka-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/11094/12799/1/po_01_043.pdf.

Nagami, Isamu. 1981. "The Ontological Foundation in Tetsurō Watsuji's Philosophy: Kū and Human Existence." *Philosophy East and West* 31: 279–96. Accessed May 16, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1398575.

Oyama, Nao. 1990. "Some Recent Trends in Japanese Values: Beyond the Individual–Collective Dimension." *International Sociology* 5: 445–59.

Sakai, Naoki. 1991. "Return to the West/Return to the East: Watsuji Tetsurō's Anthropology and Discussions of Authenticity." *Japan and the World* 28: 157–90. Accessed April 22, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/303208.

Watsuji, Tetsurō 和辻哲郎. 2007. *Rinrigaku* 倫理学 (Ethics). Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten.

——. 2011. *Fūdo: Ningengakuteki kōsatsu* 風土 人間学的考察 (Climate and Culture: A Philosophical Study). Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten.

Wu, Jeffrey. 2001. "The Philosophy of As-Is: The Ethics of Watsuji Tetsurō." *Stanford Journal of East Asian Affairs* 1: 96–102. Accessed April 22, 2014. http://www.stanford.edu/group/sjeaa/journal1/japan2.pdf.

Yoshizawa, Denzaburō 吉沢伝三郎. 2006. *Watsuji Tetsurō no menmoku* 和辻哲郎の面目 (Watsuji Tetsuro's Honour).Tōkyō: Heibonsha.

Social Context of the *fujo*: Shamanism in Japan through a Female Perspective

Iva LAKIĆ PARAĆ[*]

Abstract

This study deals with the phenomenon of shamanism in Japan with the emphasis on the female perspective and the fact that women, in the first place, have dealt with shamanistic practices in Japan since ancient times. Could we say that shamanism was a tool that women used in order to have a small part of their authority and power acknowledged? Have they managed to influence their marginal position in society and in what way? Considering the phenomenon from the historical perspective, we will try to individualize some forms in which shamanism in Japan adjusted to the given cultural and social frameworks.

Keywords: Japanese shamaness, *fujo, ogamisama, kamisama*, New religious movements

Izvleček

Ta študija se ukvarja s fenomenom šamanizma na Japonskem s poudarkom na ženskem vidiku in z dejstvom, da so se ženske že od vsega začetka ukvarjale s šamanskimi praksami na Japonskem. Ali lahko rečemo, da je bil šamanizem orodje, ki so ga ženske uporabljale, da bi le imele priznano majhno vlogo njihove avtoritete in moči? Ali jim je uspelo na takšen način vplivati na njihovo marginalno pozicijo v družbi? S preučevanjem tega fenomena iz zgodovinske perspektive bomo poskusili individualizirati nekatere oblike, v katerih se je šamanizem na Japonskem prilagodil na dane kulturne in družbene okvirje.

Ključne besede: japonska šamanka, *fujo, ogamisama, kamisama*, nova religiozna gibanja

---

[*] Iva LAKIĆ PARAĆ, Department for Indology and Far East Studies, Japanology Department, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia.
iva_lakic@yahoo.it

Introduction

Shamanism, as a societal and social phenomenon, has become an important topic of anthropological and religious studies in the past decades. This has also been affected by an interest in new religious movements which find inspiration in these ancient shamanistic practices and beliefs. Actually, shamanism has shown a surprising power of adjustment to the new urban contexts worldwide (Morris 2006, 14). Many contemporary *new age* practices in Europe include elements of shamanism into their beliefs and rituals. In a similar way, new religions in Japan, which will be dealt with in this study, often resort to the imaginaries of the local shamanistic practices and beliefs.

Before the introduction of Buddhism from the Asian continent, mediums had taken the central place in the religious world of the Japanese. They belonged to a separate, honourable class, and ordinary people acted according to their prophecies and advice (see Nakamura 2012). This continues today, especially in the less accessible rural areas where social changes throughout history have been accepted and assimilated less easily (see Lakić Parać 2013). Today, Japan is one of the most technologically developed countries in the world, but sorcery and prophecies (somehow more easily assimilated to the under-developed and poor societies) or something similar, are still popular.

Since the time of prehistoric hunting societies of the Upper Palaeolithic period, shamanism has existed on the Asian continent as a form of belief which endowed particular individuals with the gift of magical powers and of dealing with evil spirits, and as such, it appears in old Japanese folk beliefs. That is why the terms "shaman" and "shamanism" are often used in Japan for describing some characteristics of autochthonous beliefs (Matsumura 2006, 136). However, the active presence of Japanese pre-Buddhist folk beliefs in modern Japan is the evidence of new religious movements, a few of which have typical shamanistic characteristics. Many of them appeared after the Second World War as a response to the state and social crisis which followed the defeat and occupation. It was a period when old religions did not manage to satisfy spiritual needs of Japanese people anymore.

This study deals with the phenomenon of shamanism in Japan. The emphasis will be on the female perspective of the phenomenon and the fact that women, in the first place, have dealt with shamanistic practices in Japan since ancient times, having in mind the rigid patriarchal social milieu where women, even today, do not have equal status with men. It is significant that a general term in the Japanese language for a shamaness is "*miko*", while for shamans this specific term does not exist (Hori 1968, 181). The term *fujo* 巫女 consists of an ideograph *fu* 巫 ("shaman") and *jo* 女 ("woman", "female") and it literally means "a female shaman", while *miko* (神子 or 巫子) consists of ideographs *mi* and *ko* and means "a child of *kami*" and "a child shaman". Even though in Japan not only women, but also men (although in smaller number), dealt with non-institutional religious-magical practices, both terms refer to women, i.e. she- shamans.

Could we say that shamanism was a tool that women used in order to have a small part of their authority and power acknowledged? Have they managed to influence their marginal position in society and in what way? Considering the phenomenon from the historical perspective, we will try to individualize some forms in which shamanism in Japan adjusted to the given cultural and social frameworks.

Definitions of Shamans and Shamanism

The word *shaman* originally belongs to the language of the Evenkis, the people from the east part of Siberia, and it represents a person (medium) who communicates with spirits (*saman*). It is assumed that the word is derived from the root of an Indo-European verb *sa* or "know" (like *samana* in Pali language or *sapere* in Italian). Shamanism implies believing in spirits who reside in different objects or natural occurrences. They are imagined as "human beings or persons" in a particular context. Spirits appear and manifest themselves in people's dreams in an animal or bird form, as masked dancers, or are embodied in objects like talismans, trinkets, and similar figures. A shaman or a medium perpetuates a liaison between the world of people and the world of spirits, and the communication takes place when he enters different "alternative states of mind", ecstatic states like trances, ecstasies or "out-of-body" experience[1]. Lewis defines a

---

[1]Astral projections and translocations of a subjective spiritual person without the use of the physical body. (see Vukelić 2012, 168)

shaman "an inspired prophet or leader, a charismatic religious figure with the power to control the spirits, usually incarnating them" (as quoted in Lewis 1986, 88). Many say that shamanism is as old as the humankind because it springs from the ancient human quest "for existential meaning" (Morris 2006, 16). Therefore, it has always helped people to face and solve serious existential problems. It exists in order to "establish interaction with the world of spirits, with the aim of realizing benefits in the material world" (Morris 2006, 17).

The first description of a shamanistic séance can be found in the writings of a Franciscan priest who visited the Mongolian court in the 13th century (Morris 2006, 17), but even older testimonies are found in the Chinese historiography *Wo-jenchuan* from the 3rd century and in the Japanese novel *Genji monogatari* from the 11th century. Later (European) testimonies are usually written by Russian missionaries and travellers in the 18th and 19th centuries, which is why Siberian shamanism became the subject of European imaginaries, and the shamanic figure was portrayed in various ways: as a daemon, sorcerer, wizard, etc. However, today we know that shamanism is not limited only to Siberia and Eurasian context, but it is a phenomenon spread throughout the world, from North and South America to South-east and Far East Asia, Oceania and Africa. However, we should keep in mind that there are different definitions of shamanism, so the aforementioned interpretation depends on the definition we are using. The prevailing opinion among the theoreticians of shamanism is that its main characteristic is *ecstasy*, which implies a specific psychical and physical state (trance) which is achieved by means of elaborating implementation of special techniques, cosmic events of which the existence is explained by culturally and mythically based interpretations, occur during the ecstatic state, when the soul of the shaman, according to the belief, deserts his body and goes to the sky or the underworld (Eliade 1985, 30–31; Dubois 2009, 109; Hultkrantz 1997, 37, 42; Winkelman 1999, 394, 402, 411).

The most famous attempt in analysing the phenomenon was made by Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) in his cult book *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (1964). Eliade approached the issues of shamanism in a phenomenological way, failing to relate it to outer sociological and psychological factors, and in this way, isolating it from the cultural context and the historical moment. He claimed that the attempt to understand the meaning and the essence of religious moments by relating them to sociology and psychology cannot be wrong and limiting. However, many criticize the way he preferred his own "limiting" psychological approach in

the analysis of shamanism, and the fact that he spent a lot of energy on explaining the examples of "alternative states of mind", differences between the ecstasy (or trance), out-of-body experience (*soul flight*) and spirit possession (see Morris 2006).

Eliade explained it in this way:

Ecstasy always involves a trance, whether symbolic or pretended or real, and the trance is interpreted as temporary abandonment of the body by the soul of the shaman. During ecstasy, the soul of the shaman is thought to ascend to Heaven, or to descend to the other world (netherworld) or to travel far away into space… Since the ecstasy (trance, losing one's soul, losing consciousness) seems to form an integral part of the human condition, just like anxiety, dream, imagination, etc., we do not deem it necessary to look for its origin in a particular culture or in a particular historical movement. As an experience, ecstasy is a non-historical phenomenon; it is a primordial phenomenon in the sense that it is coextensive with human nature. Only the religious interpretation given to ecstasy and the techniques designed to prepare it or facilitate it are historically conditioned. That is to say, they are dependent on various cultural context, and they change in the course of history. (Eliade in Hori 1968, 185)

Not everyone can become a shaman:

In Central and North-East Asia the chief methods of recruiting shamans are: (1) hereditary transmission of the shamanic profession and (2) spontaneous vocation (call or election). There are also cases of individuals who become shamans of their own free will… or by the will of the clan… However selected, a shaman is not recognized as such until after he has received two kinds of teachings: (1) ecstatic (dreams, trances, etc.) and (2) traditional (shamanic techniques, names and functions of the spirits, mythology and genealogy of the clan, secret language, etc.). (Eliade in Hori 1968, 184)

In his book *Ecstatic Religion* Ioan Lewis offers a sociological interpretation of shamanism in the manner of structural-functional tradition which still, according to his interpretation, must not exclude the social and historical context. As he explains, his aim is "to isolate the particular social and other conditions which encourage the development of an ecstatic emphasis in religion" (Lewis in Morris 2006, 22). Accepting the structural-functional methods and not forgetting the social context, he concludes that the analyses which treat religion as "a thing in itself and with its own life" are equal to the theological perspective and the modern interest in the occult (Lewis in Morris 2006, 22).

On the basis of his field research in Africa (Somalia, Kenya), Lewis (2003) concluded that altered states of mind, like a trans or an ecstasy, appear in different social contexts, secular and religious alike, and are not always related to spirit possession of the body, but can be interpreted in various ways. He gives an example of African warriors who fall into trances in particular occasions, and such behaviour is interpreted as a culturally conditioned response to the dangers and anxieties they are exposed to, with no mystical interpretation whatsoever. On the other hand, in many social contexts spirit possession does not include altered states of mind, and Lewis gives an example of an Indian shaman who, having been invited to establish communication with a local deity, consciously answers all the questions referred to him, even though he should be in the state of trance. Therefore, the questions which should be asked, and which we will try to answer in this study, consider the way events and specific things in everyday life and perception are interpreted and conceptualized in a particular social and cultural context. To put it more precisely, the present paper considers what shamanistic practices mean for women in Japan and what enabled them to carry them out in the past and nowadays, and could we say that female shamanism is a culturally conditioned response to a marginal social status of women in the distant and recent past.

Shamanism and Buddhism

Japanese shamanism was mixed with Buddhism and Shintoism, but it was never institutionalized in the true sense of the word. At the time when Buddhism was introduced in Japan in the 6th century, it had to have a certain shamanistic character so as to spread among people, since in that time shamanistic religious ways were influential. Because of that, some Buddhist sects compromised with shamanistic tendencies and received approval. The most prominent phenomenon in this initial phase of Buddhism was a relatively larger number of nuns compared to monks, which can be explained by the influence female mediums had among people (see Nakamura 2012).

It is interesting how Buddhism modified during its first introduction in Japan under the influence of a specific religious form such as shamanism. Nakamura (2012, 313–14) emphasizes that the orthodox Buddhism generally rejected shamanistic tendencies like magic and incantation (let us recall that the early Buddhism denied spiritual powers characteristic of Brahmans who performed

rituals for exorcising ghosts). What is more, it was required that a Buddhist must not believe in dream interpretation, palm reading, horoscopes, and predictions from the calls of birds and beasts. On the other hand, Buddhism could not spread among the lower strata of the Japanese, who maintained old shamanistic tendencies without significant change. As pointed out by the author, in every critical moment in Japan when the ruling class was losing control over peasants, primitive or shamanistic tendencies, which lie dormant from the earlier times, emerged in the foreground (Nakamura 2012, 313–14).

How Japanese Buddhism adjusted to the already present people's beliefs on its way of assimilation among wide masses, can be illustrated on the example of believing in evil spirits or *goryō* which appeared at the end of the 8th century. It was propagated by popular shamanesses, and in the beginning, it consisted of a belief that a spirit of a person who died as a victim of political conspiracy can haunt their living opponents[2]. The monks of the two largest Buddhist sects of that time, Shingon and Tendai, famous for esoteric principles and religious strictness taught only to the chosen ones, practiced exorcism of the very *goryō* spirits as one of their most prominent practices. By popularizing this belief in the next decades, possibility of emerging of a single vengeful and dangerous spirit spread among common people. Therefore, the relations between the popular shamanesses and Buddhist monks and ascetics grew stronger, so in the medieval Japan, almost all Buddhist priests had a shamaness or her replacement by their side, whom they used during their exorcist rituals as a medium through which the vengeful spirit spoke and sent messages (Hori 1968, 200). In these circumstances, as explained by Hori, the character and the function of Japanese shamanesses changed in many ways and developed through history: ultimately, some of them became professional mediums connected with the sect *Shugendō*[3] famous for mountain

---

[2] Such evil spirit was, e.g. *Sugawara no Michizane* (845–903), a famous poet and a politician who filled numerous significant posts on the court and who participated in making a decision about the abortion of sending ambassadorial mission to China during *Tang* dynasty in 894. He was very influential, but, due to political turmoil, he was persecuted and degraded, and he died in isolation. After that, the royal family and the capital were afflicted with numerous calamities: plague, severe weather conditions, floods—all was attributed to his vengeful spirit. In order to appease it, he was posthumously proclaimed *Tenjin-sama* or a deity of learning; a temple in Kyōto was dedicated to him, as well as many other Shinto temples throughout Japan.

[3] *Shugendō* is a sect of mountain hermits associated with *kannabi shinkō*, i.e. beliefs that spirits of the dead, and spirits related to agriculture live in mountains, shamanistic beliefs and practices, Japanese Animism, Chinese *Daoism* and *yin-yang* philosophy, and the rituals of esoteric (tantric) Buddhism (Bocking 1996, 184).

asceticism; some became entertainers, singers or dancers, narrators of famous ballads and epic poems in public, which were some of the popular forms of entertainment of all social classes in medieval Japan; some became *kuchiyose-miko*, independent mediums who established communication with the souls of the dead.

Fujo and Its Categories

The father of Japanese ethnology—its founder Yanagita Kunio (1875–1962)—was the first one who wrote about Japanese shamanesses in his study *Fujokō*, in the first volume of the magazine *Kyōdo kenkyū* (*Rural Studies*). He claims that in pre-Buddhist Japan there was a belief that *kami*[4] can possess a chaste maiden (virgin) so that she, consequently, can deliver a child of a *kami* (Jap, *miko*). Yanagita believed that this belief from Nara period (710–794) resulted in the focus on two *kami*: the god, *Hachiman-daijin* and the goddess, *Hime-gami*. He also claimed that later transformation resulted in the formation of two roles—that of a central god *Hachiman* and the woman through whom he speaks, who is his mediator—shamaness (Hori 1975, 234). He also states that in Japanese classics we can find the term *tama yori hime*, composed of the words, *tama* (Jap, "soul, spirit"), *yoru* (Jap, "enter"), and *hime* (Jap, "a respectful young woman") (Hori 1975, 234)[5]. Therefore, the term denotes a woman selected by a *kami*.

Historical facts testify that 1500 years ago there was a system of women sovereigns in Japan, who relied on magical charisma, which means that these women were believed to have special powers and to communicate with deities. Later, this system was replaced by a bureaucratic administration derived from Confucianism and Buddhism, but nevertheless, shamanistic practices did not die out and they were transferred from the centre of power to the province, where they kept on serving common people. Hori (1975, 284) argues that the reason for this is the fact that in the psychology of common Japanese people there is a deep-rooted sense of trust in such women, so strong, that it makes them see ancient magical

---

[4] The precise definition of the term "kami" was offered by a famous Japanese theoretician and restorer of Shintoism, Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801): "The word '*kami*' refers, in the most general sense, to all divine beings of heaven and earth that appear in the classics. More particulary, the *kami* are the spirits that abide in and are worshipped at the shrines. In principle human beings, birds, animals, trees, plants, mountains, oceans—all may be *kami*. According to ancient usage, whatever seemed strikingly impressive, possessed the quality of excellence, or inspired a feeling of awe was called *kami*." (Tamaru and Reid 1996, 35)
[5] Translated by Lakić Parać.

charisma in them, and follow their instructions. Even today, says Hori, people from *Tōhoku* area address female shamans when they are supposed to make an important decision. When asked why they do it, they say: "Although it all seems illogical, I am restless, if I don't consult *miko*." (Hori 1975, 284)

In his interpretation, Hori follows the great authority Yanagita who claims that a woman has a natural inclination towards spirit possession and that it has been her characteristic since ancient times, so the belief in "female power", i.e. "female spiritual power" in Japan has always been widespread, which is testified by many legends of such women which were talked about as real facts. We should keep in mind that Yanagita, developing his theory about shamanesses, did not collect his information in field research, but mostly worked with written historical documents, analysing texts about folk customs. Ultimately, he concluded that a woman becomes a shaman because of "all general psychological and emotional dispositions and character". This interpretation of shamanism in Japan very much influenced next generations of Japanese ethnologists who dealt with this topic. However, when Yanagita describes that people feared and avoided them due to their powers, he does not ask the crucial question as to why a woman alone (or more precisely, her blood) was considered impure in Japanese culture (Jap, *kegare*) and what were people actually "afraid of". In other words, Yanagita neglects to consider what he calls "the origin of divine possession" in relation to the social and societal context of these women (see Kawamura 2003, 258).

According to a detailed classification created by Nakamura Tarō in his study *Nihon fujo-shi* (1930) or *History of Japanese Shamanesses* (Hori 1975, 235) Japanese shamanesses are divided in two groups. The first group is called *kan-nagi* where *miko* belongs, and it is associated with Shinto shrines. These shamanesses perform many functions only in certain formal Shinto ceremonies and they lost most of their former functions and techniques. The second group is called *kuchiyose*[6] and these are shamanesses who are associated with rural areas. They

---

[6] Hori writes that they can be recognized under which names *kuchiyose-miko* in Japan and points out the term *ichiko* and its many variations: *itako* (on the northeast of Honshū), *ichijo* (on the island of Kyūshū), *ita* (in the south part of central Honshū) and *yuta* (islands of Ryūkyū and Amami). Stating the claims of Aribe Takashi that the origin of these terms has some etymological similarities and historical links with the terms *udagan, utygan, iduan, üdege,* which denote a shaman in Altai-Kyrgyz area, he concludes that one of the obvious links with the continent could be the fact that Japanese shamanesses use a bow with one string, called *azusa* (hence their name *azusa-miko* or "a shamaness who uses a bow as a special instrument for entering the state of trance") which is the case in Central Asia (Hori 1968, 201).

usually live in a certain village or they migrate form one village to another, according to the needs of their residents. They preserved the so-called ancient shamanistic techniques such as sooth saying, trance, communication with the deities and the dead. Shamanesses from the first group are known under the name *miko* or *jinja-miko* ("shamans of Shinto shrines"), and the ones from the second group are known under the name *ichiko* or *sato-miko* ("city or village shamans"). Shamanesses of these two categories are semi-institutionalized figures: *jinja-miko* is usually selected from a family in which Shinto traditions are hereditary, while *sato-miko* becomes a shamaness through certain initiatory trials and trainings under the guidance of their masters (Hori 1968, 182–83).

Kawamura (2003) offered a very elaborate theory about categories of Japanese shamanesses on the example of Tōhoku region in the north-east of Japan. Since every category has a different name depending on the prefecture where it is present[7], the author chose the categorisation present in Miyagi prefecture: *ogamisama* and *kamisama*. Shamanesses from the first category are blind by rule and they deal with the invocation of spirits of the dead (*hotoke oroshi*)[8] who speak through them (*kuchiyose*)[9], while the ones from the second category have normal sight and they deal with exorcism. In other words, first ones deal with the invocation of spirits of the dead, and the second ones with the invocation of deities, but in reality, practices of these two categories are sometimes mixed. However, the important thing is the journey of becoming a *fujo*, which is clearly different in these two categories.

Ogamisama were not chosen as a medium by a spirit or a deity, but they were, by their own free will or not, chosen by older shamanesses who taught them everything about "the call". A characteristic of Tōhoku regions is that almost all shamanesses are blind, and it seems that blind girls were predestined for this "vocation". Namely, in order to become *ichininmae* or "a full-fledged member of society", they had to earn their living. Their education consists of trainings of different disciplines, like pouring cold water over themselves, fasts, purifications, abstinence, and respecting various taboos. Older teachers teach them trance techniques, communication with other-worldly beings and spirits of the dead,

---

[7] *Fujo* is called *itako* in Tōhoku region of Aomori prefecture, *ogamisama* in Miyagi prefecture, *onakata* in Yamagata prefecture and *waka* in Fukushima prefecture (see Kawamura 2003).

[8] *Hotoke oroshi, hotoke* Jap, "spirit"; *oriru* Jap, "descend" (translated by ILP).

[9] *Kuchiyose, kuchi* Jap, "mouth", *yoseru* Jap, "draw (closer)" (translated by ILP).

soothsaying, but also prayers, magic formulas and liturgies, reciting ballads and stories. After three to five years of apprenticeship, successful overcoming of all temptations and the closing ceremony of initiation which includes symbols of death and rebirth, the apprentice becomes a full-blooded shamaness (Hori 1968, 203–4). In this way she acquires "a profession" by which she can sustain herself, but also contribute to her community.

None of the *kamisama* did not decide to become *fujo* in her maiden days, they were all already married and in their twenties, even thirties or older. They all say that *kami* chose them for this profession. In addition, before becoming a *kamisama*, they all went through a difficult situation or a crisis, whether it was a particular illness or a psychosomatic disorder[10], a conflict with her husband, mother-in-law, problems with raising children, poverty, exhausting working conditions, husband's or children's disease. The most common situation is a woman in her thirties or forties, married and a mother, who, besides taking full care of the household, her husband and children, works in the field, engages in a sort of a family business and, actually, actively earns her salary.

When in crisis, these women will first seek help in various medical institutions, but it is very possible that, at the same time, they will try alternative treatment, for example, acupuncture, massage or folk remedies. If nothing gives any result or the situation does not improve, they will turn to local spiritual guides who will treat their problems as a consequence of a malign spirit or a *kami* whom they will try to appease or exorcise by means of various prayers, memorial rituals or practices of exorcism. However, sometimes even these will not give desired results. In that case, the religious impulse towards a *kami* or *Buddha* will intensify, and the person will completely surrender to it, in the sense that she will completely neglect former duties toward her children and husband, household and work, and she will replace her everyday life with the world of faith. Such person will very soon become a subject of mockery and ridicule. She will also be named a lazy one because of neglecting her duties, and people will despise her (Kawamura 2003, 269).

If the woman has stayed faithful to her former family duties and fulfilled them despite visits to the temple or spiritual guides, she will be said to be a woman "of deep faith". However, if she leaves her obligations, her activities will be

---

[10] In medical literature these are defined as "mental and behavioral factors related to disorders and diseases classified at another place" or "psychological factors which affect the health (physical) condition, and they are related to disorders and diseases classified elsewhere" (Koić, Elvira, lect.).

considered as deviant, and she will slowly be isolated from the rest of the family and the community. "Punished" in this way, a woman feels misunderstood and lonely, and she seeks refuge in faith. This is when the *kami* possession happens. The woman starts to pronounce peculiar formulas, prophesies and to act in an unusual way. She says that a deity sends messages of salvation of the humanity through her, and that her duty is to transmit those messages. However, if she wants to gain recognition for her new role, she must give evidence to the community that her story is authentic. She can do that by curing someone, by correct predictions of a future event of pointing to the place of a lost item. The fundamental difference between an *ogamisama* and a *kamisama* is that the first one does not need such evidence, and, after gaining knowledge through ascetic trainings and spiritual practices, she undergoes initiation in form of rituals (*kamitsuke*) and officially becomes a *fujo*, while the latter one will have to prove to the people the strength of the being that possessed her, and in that way gain their trust. (Kawamura 2003, 271)

The first possession by a *kami* is the most important event in the life of both *ogamisama* and *kamisama*. The first time *ogamisama* is possessed is during the initiation ritual *kamitsuke*. After she had rejected food for twenty-one days and went through various rituals of bathing in cold water, during the *kamitsuke* ritual the woman is in the state of extreme mental and physical exhaustion. Accompanied by her older teacher and other assistants, as well as the sounds of ritual instruments, like drums, bells, cymbals and the like, the woman starts to utter prayers and texts from sutras. In the atmosphere of huge excitement and great expectations, the woman starts to communicate with *Buddha* or a *kami*, who is usually famous at national or local level, or is a patron of, for example, a place where she lives or is celebrated in a nearby shrine or temple. Anyhow, a deity gets in touch with her thanks to her active sacrifice, prayers and the power of faith and, during the ritual, everyone around her makes sure of that. The initiation process of an *ogamisama* consists of learning prayers and sutras by heart and mastering techniques for invoking spirits, while possession techniques are not learned. Her rituals consist of reciting holy texts and prayers, and thr possession in the shape of *kamitsuki* does not happen during her shamanistic ritual (Kawamura 2003, 273–74). Since ancient times, there is a widespread belief in Japan that prayers and sutras intrinsically have magical power and a kind of spiritual strength. Such belief

suits an *ogamisama* in the sense that she does not have to behave in a different way than usual.

As for *kamisama* is concerned, the possession happens suddenly. A woman who prays devotedly for someone's healing or a solution to a problem, visits temples and shrines and deepens her ascetic trainings, at one moment perceives a deity who takes a very important place in her life and is strongly attached to her. Her first possession is sudden and heteronomous, and from that moment her behaviour and speech become "strange", although before the initiation she will undergo various psychosomatic problems which will result in the announcement of "the call". However, in order to be recognized by the community for her complete devotion to faith, she has to show the power of deity which possess her through a specific action, by predicting an important event, by solving someone's problem, finding a lost object, etc. Gradually, the word of her activities will spread and she will start to win the community's trust (Kawamura 2003, 280). In that process her personal psychosomatic problems will slowly disappear and she will, by overcoming those problems and helping others, actually help herself primarily. By attributing her deviant personal and social behaviour to a supernatural effect, she will actually justify it and gain acceptance by the others.

The two categories of *fujo* do not only differ in circumstances which lead to the initiation into a shamaness, but also in deities which possess them and their relationship with them.

"The job" of *ogamisama* is *hotoke oroshi* (invoking spirits of the dead, also called *kuchiyose*) and *harugitō* (invoking the *kami* or *kami oroshi)*. In the case of *kuchiyose*, a spirit of a recently deceased person is invoked or a ritual takes place during the *higan* (spring equinox) when a spirit of an important ancestor is invoked. In these rituals *fujo* invites the spirit of the dead person (*hotoke*) to possess her and talk through her. Therefore, the words she speaks are not hers, but *hotoke's*. In these rituals, her personal patron deity (who possessed her during *kamitsuke*) does not participate (Kawamura 2003, 275).

"The job" of *kamisama* is invoking various deities, exorcism, prophecies and the like. She does not deal neither with *hotoke oroshi* nor *harugitō*. However, as a consequence of a recent great interest in memorial rituals *mizuko kuyō*, *kamisama*

started perfoming *kuchiyose* for *mizuko*.[11] As a rule, in her shamanistic séances *kamisama* invites her patron saint who puts his powers to her disposal. Even when she invokes the spirit of the dead who are believed to suffer "on the other side" because they committed a sin during their life, and when she helps them relieve their suffering and achieve bliss (Buddhahood), *kamisama* invokes her patron saint and maintains their bond strong (Kawamura 2003, 275).

The deity which possessed *ogamisama* during the initiation ritual will become her personal patron saint, but he will not appear nor participate in her shamanistic séances anymore, while the deity which possessed *kamisama* will actively partake in her activities.

New Religious Movements in Japan—*kamisama* Nakayama Miki

Popularity of Japanese folk pre-Buddhist beliefs in modern Japan is evidenced by new religious movements[12], few of which have typical shamanistic characteristics. Throughout history they regularly appeared as a response to crisis which would follow big social changes, when old religions which supported the former regime and value system could not satisfy spiritual needs of the Japanese anymore. It is remarkable that many leaders of new religious movements found their inspiration exactly in charismatic figures of shamans, and even more often, shamanesses. We will analyse the example of Nakayama Miki (1798–1887), the founder of Tenrikyō movement.

Miki was born in the family of a village elder (Jap, *shōya*) and married at the age of 13, also to the family of a village elder. When she was 20, her husband Zenbei's concubine tried to kill her and take her place, which Miki interpreted as a

---

[11] Memorial rituals devoted to spontaneously or intentionally aborted human embryos, prematurely born fetuses, babies who died of natural causes immediately after birth, and babies who are victims of infanticide. More details about this topic will be presented later in the text.

[12] Explaining Japanese new religious movements, and comparing them with messianic cults among American Indians and cargo cults of New Guinea, an anthropologist, H. Neil McFarland says: "These cults are examples of socio-religious phenomenon which, for over a half-century, has been reasonably well understood by anthropologists. Among such cults, wherever they have been discovered, there is a remarkably standard pattern of developement in which at least five factors are recurrent: (1) social crisis intensified by an intrusive culture; (2) a charismatic leader; (3) apocalyptic signs and wonders; (4) ecstatic behavior; and (5) syncretic doctrine. The milieu from which they arise, described in the words of anthropologist Margaret Mead, is the 'ferment of half-abandoned old and half-understood new'." (Hori 1968, 220)

heavenly sign. Raised by the principles of a Buddhist school Pure Land[13] (Jap, *Jōdōshū*), she was a fervent practitioner of *nenbutsu* (reciting names of Buddha Amida and the main religious practice of this school). She lived in Tanba region where Shugendō tradition was very strong, so Miki strongly associated herself with their temple.

Motherhood was the biggest motif of Miki's life. She gave birth to six children, five of which were daughters. While she was breastfeeding, she had so much milk, that she could feed children whose mothers could not breastfeed. In 1828 she started taking care of a neighbour's child who got smallpox and almost died. A legend says that Miki begged her two daughters to be sacrificed for the life of this child; the child survived, and her two daughters died (1830 and 1835).

In 1838, when she was 41, her only son contracted a serious disease. Miki prayed to Kōbō Daishi, the founder of a large Buddhist school Shingon[14], and she went on a hundred day's pilgrimage barefoot to the shrine of a local patron saint. Her association with the Shingon school brought her to the centre Isonokami Shugendō, where she met a highly ranked priest, Ichibei. Under his guidance, she started a ten years' religious training which, among else, included mastering shamanistic practices and rituals (Hardacre 1997, 45).

Miki herself witnessed many shamanistic rituals which Ichibei and his *miko* partner Soyo did for the recovery of her son. Once, while Soyo was absent, Miki took her place. Instead of the prophecy about the sufferings of her son, she addressed her husband, Zenbei, and, on behalf of the deity which possessed her, she said: "I want Miki to become a temple of my residence" (Jap, *Miki o kami no*

---

[13] The belief in Buddha Amida ("The Buddha of Infinite Light"), whose merit can be transferred to people, so that a man, if he truly and honestly believes, could be reborn in his heaven. In this process, honest invoking of Buddha's name, *nenbutsu*, will be helpful: "Namu Amida Butsu" or "Long live Buddha Amida". Amidism has its origins in India; it reached China in the 4th, and Japan in the 9th century. Today, this is the most popular sect in Japan, and it is very popular in other East Asian countries. The legend says that Buddha Amida, while he was still a monk, vowed that, if he becomes Buddha, he will create heaven for all who honestly believe in him and who will, due to the depth of their faith, be reborn there after death and worldly life.

[14] *Shingon* belongs to the esoteric and secret (*revealed*) school of Buddhism which emphasizes the importance of verbal formulas—mantras, and oral transmission of the doctrine from the teacher to the student. Since only the chosen ones who have went through initiation can enter the core of the doctrine, it is called "the secret Buddhism". The philosophy of esoteric Buddhism has its roots in India in the 1st and the 2nd century. It deals with the idea that Buddha Dainichi Nyorai ("Buddha Great Sun") has two aspects: the real body (a man—Sakyamuni) and the absolute body. However, the phenomenon and the transcendental body are two aspects, two manifestations, same realities of the same principle. These ideas came to China in the 8th, and to Japan in the 9th century.

yashiro ni morai uketai). On no account could the exorcist exorcise the spirit from her body, so Miki remained possessed for three days during which she sometimes sat still and sometimes shook uncontrollably and threw herself to the floor, uttering various messages in a low, male voice. Her messages were clear: by becoming the temple of the God Tenriō no Mikoto, she would desert all her duties of the mother and the wife that she used to have in the Nakayama family. Realizing that the spirit does not intend to leave her body, Zenbei agreed to all conditions. Thereby, the possessed state stopped and Tenrikyō movement dates from that day.

A little is known about this woman's life from that day to 1854, when she was proclaimed a living God—*kamisama*. She was very poor and it seems that she did not have any followers except her family. However, things changed while she was helping her daughter in labours in 1854. She shook her stomach three times, and after that she delivered her baby unusually easily and quickly. When a woman from the neighbourhood heard what happened, she asked for the same treatment, but she got fever which lasted for 30 days after giving birth. When she asked Miki for the reason, the answer was that she made a mistake of sticking to traditional taboos of food and drinks, which meant she doubted her methods. This doubt caused fever. When the same woman got pregnant again the next year, she strictly followed her instructions and avoided food taboos. Consequently, she had an easy childbirth and a quick recovery, which she attributed to Miki's treatment. After that the word spread that Miki was a living God who ensured a safe childbirth. The number of her clients rose rapidly, and consequently, her financial gains, too.

Nakayama Miko found her first followers among women whom she taught the techniques of safe childbirth. By rejecting the taboos related to particular food, tying the stomach, separate hearths and building separate cottages (Jap, *obiya*) where women stayed during menstruation, she offered her alternative views of these rituals and beliefs.

In fact, the female sexuality and reproduction have always been the "taboo" zone in Japan[15] as in other countries of the world. Purity is the main concern in

---

[15] This is evidenced by a Japanese myth about the creation of the world (Japan), where the first attempt of creation is a miscarriage in the true sense of the word. The child is born malformed because it is the fruit of mistake committed by its mother, Goddess Izanami. Namely, she initiated the act of love, which she was not allowed to do—because it is a male role. Because of this, Izanami and Izanagi had to repeat the act of love in the proper way, following the rules of "appropriate" behavior, which approves of male power. This is when a proper conception and life forming can

Shintoism and most of the rituals are devoted to purification. Taboo happens when people or things are contaminated by negative forces like death or diseases. Menstruation, childbirth and other states of a female body require elaborate rituals of purification as well. Pregnancy and childbirth have been ritual topics since ancient times, but most data about their ritualization refer to Edo period (1600–1868). As stated by Hardacre (1997, 20), the birth of the first child represented a ritual which brought the woman to the world of completely adult people, to the company of adult women with the knowledge about sexuality. Besides that, the birth of the first child raised her status in the new family and fixed her membership in it. In such context, the figure of midwife[16] had religious connotations, because she was the one who led the woman (but also a child) through this transition. However, since midwives were not associated with religious institutions, their figure was considered half-religious. She acted in the zone of an outstanding pollution, in the culture which considered everything related to reproduction and woman sexuality as extremely impure. But, at the same time, a pregnant woman who gave birth was a symbol of power, strength, and life. The new religious movement, founded by Nakayama Miki at the end of Edo period will make its own trademark out of this paradox, and offer an alternative way of ritualizing pregnancy and childbirth.

In medieval Japan, midwives were mostly women who had had experience of several childbirths and who lived in the same village as women whom they served, so usually, they did not travel nor deliver babies outside of their region. Due to the belief that childbirth represents transition of the soul from the world of gods into the world of people, a midwife was considered a leader of the soul which transits from a liminal state of inside the womb to a full-fledged member of a human community. The phrase *futari de umu* "give birth in pair" referred exactly to the central role of a midwife in the process of delivering a child (Hardacre 1997, 22).

---

happen—islands which form the Japanese archipelago. It is no coincidence that soon after, Goddess Izanami will go to the afterlife and stay and rule there, while God Izanagi will stay in this world (Raveri 2006, 312). On the other hand, a Buddhist doctrine condemns emotions and sentimentality because they represent the main reason of a person's attachment to existence and the illusion of his or her own self. A woman, too, is condemned, as well as the seductive power of her sexuality, which hinders and alienates a man from his road to meditative path of liberation. Even in old Buddhist texts female sexuality is *samsara*, the world of existential suffering, the world of desire which keeps beings in captivity in an infinite cycle of rebirth. Female sexual energy is the root of illusion and evil which must be defeated at all costs (Raveri 2006, 313).

[16] *Toriagebaasan* or *torihikibaasan*: "an old woman who pulls out" (*toru*, Jap "take", in this case "deliver") and give a child (to the mother) (*ageru*, Jap, "give"). (Translated by ILP)

A woman's first pregnancy was marked by a ritual which "connected" her to her midwife who would help her deliver the baby. The midwife would tie a broad band (Jap, *iwata obi*) around the woman's stomach in the fourth or the fifth month of pregnancy, which was accompanied by a big feast in the midwife's honour where she was treated as a guest of honour. A talisman would be tied for the band to ensure a safe childbirth. This talisman was very different in different regions, but it usually contained a part of the husband's clothes. From that moment on, the woman had to respect taboos related to a particular type of food which was forbidden to her (also with many regional differences), as well as to tie the band firmly in order to "prevent the foetus from becoming too big" (Hardacre 1997, 22). In addition, she had to renounce visits to shrines and temples, so that she would not dishonour their deities with her appearance. Religious institutions considered pregnancy and childbirth a private sphere which is of no concern to public interest, and as such, they do not have place in the ethic map of their reflections. However, due to the blood present at childbirth, the mother and the new-born child are marked as impure, as well as the father and fellow villagers, and it was suggested that they refrain from visiting sacred places during days immediately after the childbirth. Men of certain group, like fishermen and lumberjacks even stopped working during that period (Hardacre 1997, 22–26).

It is interesting to pay attention to the moment of woman's pregnancy subjected to the ritual. It is not "the moment of conception"; in medieval Japan it does not draw attention neither in the ritual nor in the ideological sense. Tying an *iwata obi* represents the moment when pregnancy becomes visible to others, and only since that moment, the woman gets the status of *ninpu*, "an expectant mother". Additionally, in this moment the fruit of her womb becomes recognized, which can be seen from many names for the foetus which contain ideographs *ko* or *ji*, which make it human (Hardacre 1997, 23).

Miki, determined to offer to women an alternative realization of pregnancy and childbirth, opposite to the common practice, travelled to many distant villages practicing her methods on expectant mothers and women in labour. In this way she created a community of women interconnected by a common belief. For example, she demanded that an expectant mother should wear a simple *obi*, not a special one worn only during pregnancy. Her approach to pregnancy and giving birth was called *obiya yurushi*, which means "leaving the separate cottage". Instead of such traditional beliefs and treatments, she promised a safe delivery of a baby as a result

of believing in her and her actions. She treated childbirth as a natural event which does not require the expectant mother to be isolated because of her impure state. She said that a woman could continue with her normal social life immediately after the delivery, and not wait for 75 days, as was the common practice.

In order to reject the generally accepted and strong concept of pollution after birth, Miki dealt with raising doubts about the idea that women were impure because of menstruation: She used to say:

> Look at the pumpkins and eggplants. They bear large fruit because their flowers have bloomed. Without the blooming of flowers, there can be no fruit. Remember that. People say that women are polluted (*fujō*), but they are not at all. Insofar as women and men are both children of god, there is no difference between them. Women must bear children, and it is a hardship. Women's menstruation is a flower, and without that flower, there can be no fruit. (Hardacre 1997, 47)

By describing menstruation and childbirth with these metaphors and associating them with blossoming flowers which is a prelude to fruit creation, Miki dissociated them from the category of the sacred and put them in the category of the common (Hardacre 1997, 47)[17].

Even though she did not affect a big number of women with her alternative approach to the topics of pregnancy and childbirth, the religious significance of her innovative approach cannot be denied. With her alternative attitudes, Miki announced changes in relationships between sexes, which she ultimately demonstrated through her own example. We could assume that future alternative ways of ritualization of reproductive experience will be in favour of mediating the

---

[17] Buddhism will adapt the already rooted attitude toward a female body and giving birth, and this is best illustrated by *Bussetsu daizōshōkyō ketsubonkyō* (The Buddha correct sutra on the bowl of blood, or in short *Ketsubonkyō*, "Menstruation sutra") from, most probably, Muromachi period—a sūtra which describes a road to salvation of women who, because of their menstrual blood which dishonours soil and water, end up in Hell by default. I chose two comments from the beginning of the 19th century, which explain its contents in this way:

"Because they were born as women, their aspirations to Buddhahood are weak, and their jealousy and evil character are strong. These sins compounded become menstrual blood, which flows in two streams each month, polluting not only the earth god but all the other deities as well. Thus after death they will certainly fall into this Hell, where they will undergo unlimited suffering."

"All women, even those who are the children of high families, have no faith and conduct no practices, but rather have strong feelings of avarice and jealousy. These sins are thus compounded and become menstrual blood, and every month this flows out, polluting the god of the earth in addition to the spirits of the mountains and rivers. In retribution for this women are condemned to the Blood Pool Hell." (Takemi 1983, 7)

relationship between a man and a woman, but we will see that it will not always favour women.

Itako or *ogamisama* in Tōhoku Region

Wandering shamanesses had been a common sight until the beginning of the twentieth century. They visited villages in groups of 5 to 6, especially in the time before the autumn harvest. Their duties were the following: communication with spirits, gods and souls of the dead; predicting future by means of the trance, prayers to heal the diseased; purification of new buildings, wells, hearths and stoves (Hori 1968, 202–3). Although, it seems that these wandering shamanesses almost disappeared in modern Japan, their trace can be found even today in Tōhoku region.

Beside the service in their villages, shamanesses gather once a year in various places throughout Japan[18] during the Buddhist celebration *Jizō bon*[19]. One of the most famous locations is the mountain Osore, an inactive volcano, which has been believed to be the habitat of spirits and the world of the dead since ancient times. On the day of *Bodhisattva Jizō*, on the 24th of the sixth month of the lunar calendar, elderly men and women from the surrounding villages start climbing the mountain, carrying special rice balls which they lay by the statues and other representations of *Jizō* placed along the way. Since Muromachi period there is the belief that the spirits of dead children build *stūpa*[20] from pebbles, and this activity ensures them good karma for entering heaven. This is especially true for very small children who have not managed to accumulate enough good deeds by serving their parents and community. Every woman who has lost a child builds *stūpa* from pebbles and in that way helps her child deserve admission to heaven (Hori 1968, 208).

---

[18] There are a few holly mountains and temples in the north of Honshu, like the mountain Osore, Jizō chamber in Kanagimachi in Aomori prefecture, and Hachiyō temple in Fukushima prefecture (mountains Tateyama, Hakusan, Kinpu and Nachi).
[19] *Jizō bon* is a celebration encompassing the belief in the Bodhisattva Jizō and O-bon festival, the most famous annual Japanese Buddhist celebration devoted to the spirits of the dead. In Tōhoku region O-bon festival takes place from the 13th to 15th of the seventh month in the lunar calendar, while Jizō bon takes place on the day of Bodhisattva Jizō in the sixth month of the lunar calendar. Jizō is believed to be the patron of the souls of the dead, especially children, and he has been popular in Japan since the tenth century (Hori 1968, 207–8).
[20] The word *stūpa* (Skt) originally meant a grave-mound over the remains of Buddha and Buddhist holy people, and later hemispherical buildings, main monuments of Buddhist sacral architecture. They are also symbols related to important events in Buddha's life or they symbolize holly texts and other things (Ježić et al. 2001, 123).

Some Japanese people still believe that the spirits of the small or unborn children (Jap. *mizuko*) are somewhat malign, since they failed to accumulate their good karma. For some reason they act as *goryō*, the evil spirits; they cause diseases, mental difficulties, family quarrels, etc., so the ritual *mizuko kuyō* has the role of mollifying them[21]. As much as there are warnings that *mizuko kuyō* understood in this way is not in the spirit of Buddhism because the purpose of the rite is to ease one's soul and accept Buddha's mercy, Smith writes that while he was investigating the background of *mizuko kuyō* in Japan, he was astonished to realize the extent to which blaming the spirit of *mizoko* for eventual accidents is widespread among Japanese women (especially those who had experienced abortion in their life). Life troubles are often experienced as a punishment of an evil spell (Jap, *tatari*) of an aborted child (Smith 1988, 15).

During *Jizō bon* celebration, more than thirty shamanesses set off to the main entrance of a Buddhist temple on Mount Osore. They are approached by women who have lost their husbands, children or grandchildren with questions related to commemoration and establishing communication with their souls. They sit in a circle around a shamaness and listen to what the dead say through her mouth. *Itako* answers every question separately, falling into a trance from the morning to the evening. Naturally, she charges money for that, but the prices are not unaffordable to general public—as stated by Hori (1968, 211), they range from a few cents to several tens of US dollars. On a regular day every trance lasts an hour or more on the average, while on the festivals, it lasts only five to ten minutes.

Reasons why people come to these settings are numerous: a yearning for remembrance, comfort from grief, psychological problems or simply a desire for advice or reassurance. When she is given specific information such as a name, the medium begins keening in a singsong voice to initiate a trance. Sometimes her

---

[21] The tradition of *mizuko kuyō*, whose main patron is *Jizō* has existed in Japan for around two hundred years. *Mizuko* or *mizugo* (Jap, *ko*, "a child"; Jap, *mizu*, "water") is a term which since Edo period (1603–1868) has denoted spontaneously or intentionally aborted human embryos, prematurely born foetuses, babies died of natural causes immediately after birth and babies victims of infanticide. *Kuyō* is a Buddhist term which first meant giving alms to a priest for the benefit of the deceased; today it means worshipping of the dead in general. The term literally means "to offer and to heal" (Smith 1988: 10), i.e. offer prayers for healing the soul of the dead as well as the recovery of an injured soul, primarily of a mother, but also of other family members. The rite may be performed once, but also a few times, depending on the temple where it is performed. It is often performed on anniversaries of deaths, when people can ask for a private rite, but usually, the rite is devoted to all *mizuko*. The custom is that the family should offer presents to the temple, which are mostly some arbitrary sums of money (see Lakić Parać 2013 for more about this topic).

voice abruptly changes or her pattern of moving shifts, indicating that spirit contact has been made. Even though the messages form the spirits are relayed in a dialect which even natives have difficulty understanding, many people leave Mount Osore satisfied that they have indeed reached the spirit of dead spouses or children (Ross 1996, 19).

When the hectic festival is over, the *itako* return to their village homes, where they continue to be quietly consulted throughout the year on tasks ranging from calling down household gods to healing the sick. If a person falls ill she attempts to identify the spirit that is causing the sickness and if she is successful, she rids the body of the intruder, thus curing the patient of the disease (Ross 1996, 20).

Conclusion

In his book Lewis (2003) analyses "possession" and shamanism as a social (and political), and not exclusively cultural phenomenon, investigating which social groups are the most sensitive to spirits and what are social consequences of it. By explaining different types and functions of mystical experience, he divides them into main (central) and marginal (peripheral), emphasizing the difference between powerful cults of possession dominated by men whose aim is to maintain the well-established morale and order, and marginal, heretic forms of ecstasy created as an expression of the protest of the oppressed, especially women. The main difference between these two categories is not their therapeutic (or medical) effect, but the types of spirits who inspire them: on one side we have spirits who directly support public morale and order (*hotoke* in Japan), and on the other hand the ones who are their threat (*goryō* and *mizuko* in Japan).

Lewis concluded that the purpose of exorcism is the control over women, especially in gender-biased, rigid, patriarchal and traditional cultures. He gave an example of a famous Japanese novel from the 11th century, *Genji monogatari*, in which Murasaki Shikibu describes a few episodes of spirit possession (Jap, *mono-noke*) among court ladies. In ancient patriarchal, polygamous Japanese society, *mononoke* was "a feminine weapon" which women used to resist incest offences and unwanted attention from male nobility. These tendencies did not develop into a strong independent female cult in ancient Japan, but they were kept under control by exorcist practices usually by male clergy (Lewis 2003, 16).

It is true that in the past Japanese female mediums had an important role in the religious life of the Japanese, but they were always semi-institutionalized figures. In medieval Japan almost all Buddhist priests had a shamaness or her substitute by their side, whom they used in their exorcist rituals as a medium through which a vengeful spirit spoke and sent his messages. However, the character and the function of Japanese shamanesses has developed and changed through history, and finally resulted in the appearance of a few trends, the most important being: shamanesses are thus professional mediums associated with a Buddhist sect or a Shinto temple (*jinjamiko*), *sato-miko* who become shamanesses through a series of special initiation temptations and trainings administered by their masters, and *jussha* or *gyōja* who are associated with modern religious phenomena or new religious movements such as, for example, Tenrikyō of a charismatic Nakayama Miki.

Miki was determined to offer to women an alternative realization of pregnancy and childbirth, opposite to the common practice, and in doing so she created a community of women interconnected by a common belief. Instead of traditional beliefs and treatments, she promised a safe delivery of a baby as a result of believing in her and her actions. She treated childbirth as a natural event which does not require the expectant mother to be isolated because of her impure state, encouraging the women to continue with their normal social life. With her alternative attitudes, Miki announced changes in relationships between sexes, which she ultimately demonstrated through her own marriage and relationship with her husband.

Therefore, we see that historically speaking, in Japan, female mediums in the past served only as means through which a spirit or a deity who possessed the victim spoke, but their role changed through time and transformed from a passive to an active one.

What is crucial is that some very specific circumstances in the lives of these women made them become shamanesses. When *itako* in the north-east of Japan is considered, the total or partial blindness defined their lives. Immediately after the birth of a blind girl, or if blindness occurred later (the ideal time was before the

first menstruation, i.e. before a girl "became a woman"[22]), the parents knew that they would give her to an older *ogamisama* for training. This is how they ensured a secure future for the girl and a job as a full-fledged member of the community after they passed away. Since they were not able to become full-fledged work force, they were exposed to physical and social discrimination (they were given a pejorative nickname *mekura* or "dark eyes"). This social component of blindness is actually a prerequisite for a woman to become a shamaness and to start doing this "job" (the community, but also they themselves, called this job *mekura*'s business). The practice of giving a blind woman a social position of *ogamisama* and, in this way, accepting her as a full-fledged member of a community gradually became an institutionalized custom of a local community.

Kamisama begins her *fujō* life by special psychosomatic problems which she cannot control at first. People in her surrounding proclaim her sick; her behaviour is deviant because it does not let her function normally in her family and society; she demonstrates some outstanding extremes in her behaviour which, from very shy and depressive, gradually becomes extremely extrovert and rapturous. In a short time her behaviour starts being interpreted as a consequence of spirit possession, and she starts associating her psychosomatic states with the effects of positive (*kami*) and negative (*hotoke*) powers. Over time, after she has mastered shamanistic techniques of possession and becomes experienced in her "job", she will learn to control her own psychosomatic states. She will associate positive states of her soul with the effects of positive powers and negative states with the effects of negative powers. In this way she will re-interpret the existing folk beliefs for her own benefit.

Ogamisama and *kamisama* are figures who, by helping others each in her own way, actually help themselves the most. Former ones as blind people, and latter ones as people suffering from psychosomatic disorders, they affect their marginal social position by applying the existing cultural imaginaries which gives them the role of a social mediator. Women, who would otherwise be on the margins of society, rejected and isolated because they do not contribute to the community, managed to position themselves between the worlds of the living and the dead, the

---

[22] In pre-war Japan with their first menstruation girls became women in the sense that they went from their homes to serve in other households, got married and started actively participating in hard agricultural work (Kawamura 2003, 263).

worlds of people and deities. In that way they made their role in society not only important, but also crucial for the community.

References

Anderson, Richard, and Elaine Martin. 1997. "Rethinking the Practice of Mizuko Kuyō in Contemporary Japan: Interviews with Practitioners at a Buddhist Temple in Tokyo." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 24 (1–2):121–43.

Blacker, Carmen. 1999. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*. Tokyo: Japan Library.

Bocking, Brian. 1996. *A Popular Dictionary of Shinto*. Richmond: Curzon Press.

Brooks, Anne Page. 1981. "Mizuko kuyō and Japanese Buddhism." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 8 (3–4): 119–47.

Dubois, Thomas A. 2009. *An Introduction to Shamanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eliade, Mircea. (1964) 1985. *Šamanizam i arhajske tehnike ekstaze* (Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase). Novi Sad: Matica Srpska.

Hardacre, Helen. 1997. *Marketing the Menacing Fetus in Japan*. Berkley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Hori, Ichirō. 1968. *Folk Religion in Japan. Continuity and Change*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

—––. 1975. "Shamanism in Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 2(4): 231–87.

Hultkrantz, Åke. 1997. "Some Points of View on Ecstatic Shamanism, with Particular Reference to American Indians." *Shaman* 5 (1): 35–46.

Ježić, Mislav, Milka Jauk-Pinhak, and Klara Gönc Moačanin. 2001. *Istočne religije.* (skripta za studente), Filozofski fakultet, Katedra za indologiju, Zagreb.

Kawamura, Kunimitsu. 2003. "A Female Shaman's Mind and Body, and Possession." *Asian Folklore Studies* 62: 255–87.

Koić, Elvira. *Psihosomatski poremećaji. Predavanja za srednje škole*. (Psychosomatic Disorders. High School Lecture). PP. Accessed November 24, 2014. https://www.google.hr/?gfe_rd=cr&ei=Xv5yVLqODcmI8QeumoH4Cw&gws_rd=ssl#q=psihosomatski+poreme%C4%87aji,+koi%C4%87.

Lakić Parać, Iva. 2013. "Sinkretičke religijske prakse na području Yamagate (Japan) (Syncretic Religious Practices in Case of Yamagata, Japan)." *Studia Ethnologica Croatica* 25: 253–81.

Lewis, I.M. 2003. *Ecstatic Religion. A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Matsumura, Kazuo. 2006. "Ancient Japan and Religion." In *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, edited by P.L. Swanson and C. Chilson, 131–43. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Morris, Brian. 2006. *Religion and Anthropology. A Critical Introduction.* Cambridge: Cambridge Universtiy Press.

Nakamura, Hajime. 2012. *Načini mišljenja istočnih naroda: Japan – India, China, Tibet, Japan* (Ways of Thinking of Eastern Peoples – India, China, Tibet, Japan), Vol 2, translated by Goran Kardaš. Zagreb: Demetra.

Raveri, Massimo. 2006. *Itinerari nel sacro. L'esperienza religiosa giapponese*. Venice: Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina.

Ross, Catrien. 1996. *Japanese Ghost Stories. Spirits, Hauntings and Paranormal Phenomena*. Tokyo: Tuttle Poblishing.

Smith, Bardwell. 1988. "Buddhism and Abortion in Contemporary Japan: Mizuko Kuyō and the Confrontation with Death." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 15 (1): 3–24.

Takemi, Momoko. 1983. "Menstruation Sutra Belief in Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 10 (2–3).

Tamaru, Noriyoshi, and David Reid. 1996. *Religion in Japanese Culture. Where Living Traditions Meet a Changing World*. Tokyo, New York, London: Kodansha International.

Vukelić, Deniver. 2012. "Problemi identifikacije iidentiteta u hrvatskih 'šamana' s kraja 20. i početka 21. stoljeća (Problems of Identification and Identity of Croatian 'Shamans' from the End of the 20th and the Beginning of the 21st Century)." *Studia Ethnologica Croatica* 24: 167–94.

Werblowsky, Zwi R.J. 1991. "Mizuko kuyō – Notulae on the Most Important 'New Religion' in Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 18 (4): 295–354.

Watanabe, Shoko. 1968. *Japanese Buddhism: A Critical Appraisal*. Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai.

Winkelman, Michael. 1999. "Altered States of Consciousness and Religious Behaviour." In *Anthropology of Religion. A Handbook*, edited by Stephen D. Glazier, 393–429. Westport, London: Praeger.

The World of Japanese Literature

高橋睦郎氏講演会原稿掲載に寄せて

守時なぎさ

　この講演は、2014 年 3 月 27 日リュブリャーナ大学で行われた高橋睦郎講演会の原稿である。この原稿は『現代詩手帖』2014 年 11 月号に既に掲載されているが、思潮社の好意を得てここに再掲することになった。高橋氏および思潮社のご厚意に感謝の意を表する。

　この講演は、日本の詩歌と伝統について高橋氏の個人的体験を交えながら論じられた。日本では古代、五音・七音の繰り返しという詩歌の形式（長歌）が誕生し、ここから短歌が発達したと言われている。この短歌は、中国から伝わった唐歌に対して、和歌と呼ばれ、文学の中心的存在であった。その後、16 世紀には俳句が、19 世紀には開国後欧米の影響を受けて生まれた新体詩が発達し、現在はこれら 3 つが日本の詩歌の中心を占めている。

　一般的な詩人・俳人はこのうちの 1 つの形式で創作活動を行うが、高橋氏の創作は形式に制限されない。それはなぜか。高橋氏は、それぞれの詩歌で表現できるものが異なっているからだと述べる。この概念は、次の 2 つの現象から導き出された。まず 2001 年 9 月 11 日の同時多発テロの後では、短歌が反応した。2011 年 3 月 11 日の東日本大震災の後では、俳句が反応した。現代詩はいずれの場合もしゃべりすぎた。また 3.11 のような呆然とする出来事の後では、短歌もしゃべりすぎた。それぞれの事態には、その事態に適した表現形式があるからだと氏は述べる。

　さらに高橋氏は、俳句を能との共通性である「沈黙性」から説明する。氏によると、俳句も能もともに死者と深く関わっており、俳句では季語、能では夢幻能という形式を通して死者の沈黙に耳を傾け、かつての知恵を聞き取る文学であるという。この氏の主張は、「詩の前に詩人は主体ではなく受け手に過ぎない」と述べる高橋氏の創作哲学に通じるものであり、氏のこれからの創作を支える太い幹となっている。

Prologue to Takahashi Mutsuo's Lecture

MORITOKI ŠKOF Nagisa[*]

I would like to introduce the manusctript of a lecture by Mutsuo Takahashi that was held at the Faculty of Arts, the University of Ljubljana, on March 27, 2014. Although the manuscript has been already published in the literary journal 『現代詩手帖』 (*Gendaishi techō*) in November 2014, it is republished in this academic journal *Asian Studies* with the kind permission of the Shinchōsha Publishing Company. We would like to express our sincere appreciation to Shinchōsha and the speaker, Mr. Takahashi.

The lecture discusses the Japanese poetry and tradition, with illustration of the speaker's personal experiences. Historically the verse form *chōka* (long poem) was formed in ancient Japan with repeating five and seven syllables, and the verse form *tanka* (short poem) was formed with five phrases of 5-7-5 and 7-7 syllables, which came to represent *waka* (Japanese poem). The contemporary Japanese poetry comprises of three different form: the *tanka*, which has been the mainstream of Japanese poetry from the middle age, the *haiku,* developed by a poet Bashō in the 16th century and the *shintaishi* (newly formed poem) arisen due to the influence of European poetry in the 19th century after Japan's opening the country to the world.

Generally, a poet creates in only one form: *haiku*, *tanka* or *shintaishi*. However, Takahashi's works transcend all these genres. Why? Takahashi answers the question saying that each phenomenon commands its own form of expression. He reached this conception through two incidents: the September 11th attacks on the U.S. in 2001, and the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011. At the first incident, he created many *tankas*, but no other forms. On the second, many *haikus*, but no other forms. *Shintaishi*, a poetry form of European style, would have too many words to express in both incidents. After the stunning happening in which more than twenty thousand people died and were missed for a moment, only *haiku*,

* MORITOKI ŠKOF, Nagisa, Assistant Professor, Department of Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.
nagisa.moritoki@guest.arnes.si

which has the shortest verse form of 5-7-5 syllables, managed to express the poet's soul.

Besides, Takahashi points out the common future between *haiku* and *nō* play: the silence. According to him, the literary forms of both *haiku* and *nō* play are deeply related to death. A writer has to listen to the voice of death and therefore, the acestors' knowledge by means of the seasonal word in *haiku* which has been used for hundreds of years, and the dreaming *nō* form (夢幻能 *mugen-nō*) in which the protagonist plays the role of a ghost or a supernatural entity. His remark makes us aware of his sincere attitude in which, he says, that a poet is not a subject but a mere recipient in front of poetry, which is his solid belief supporting his future productive force.

伝統と今–3・11 以後の詩歌/Tradition and Now—Poetry after 3/11

高橋睦郎/TAKAHASHI Mutsuo[*]

　ここにお集まりの皆様

　私に与えられた講演のテーマは「伝統と今」。私がそこから参りました故国日本の詩歌の伝統と現在はどうなっているのか、ということだろうか、と思います。そのことを述べるのに、私の詩的履歴から始めますことを、お許しいただきとう存じます。私の詩的履歴を語ることが、そのまま日本の詩歌の現在を語ることになろうか、と考えるからです。

　私は自分の詩的人生を作品を投稿することから始めました。中学一年生、十三歳の時です。第二次世界大戦四年後の日本には、毎日中学生新聞という中学生向けのタブロイド判の新聞があり、紙面に詩、短歌、俳句、作文、おまけに図画までの投稿欄がありました。私はその新聞の西日本十県を対象とした西部本社版の図画を除くすべての欄に投稿し、何か月かのうちに最も入選・入賞回数の多い投稿者になりました。私に文通を求める各地の中学生からの手紙が毎日のように私の通学する中学校に殺到しました。現在は単なる老いぼれ詩人ですが、当時の私は地方の輝かしいスターでした！

　幼い投稿者は出発点では、あらゆるジャンルに挑戦します。しかし、二年生、三年生と進級するにしたがって、投稿するジャンルが詩なら詩、短歌なら短歌、俳句なら俳句……というふうに、一つに収斂されていきます。それは日本の詩歌のジャンルのありようによく似ています。日本の詩歌は詩・短歌・俳句とジャンルが割然と分かれており、作る人も詩人、歌人、俳人と分かれ、お互い他のジャンルを冒さないのが通例です。幼い投稿者たちも投稿を重ねる中で、知らず知らずこの通例に従っていくわけです。

---

[*] 高橋陸郎氏，詩人. Takahashi Mutsuo, poet, essayist and writer.

　そんな幼い投稿者の中でも、私はとりわけ幼稚だったのでしょうか。投稿を重ねても、始めた時のまま詩・短歌・俳句と、ジャンルを選ばず作り続けたのみならず、六十数年後の現在もなお作り続けています。それだけでは満足せず、古代から近世まで行われた、今はほとんど顧みられることのない二十数種に及ぶ詩形での実作も試みつづけています。投稿のもう一つのジャンルの作文のつづきとして、さまざまな散文を書き、それによって生活費を得ています。世界のどこでもそうであるように、日本でも詩歌のみで食べていくことは不可能なのです。

　さて、本論に戻りましょう。民族の起源、そして民族の詩歌の起源は推測の闇に包まれています。現在私が立っているのは中央ヨーロッパ、そのヨーロッパとアジアと一つづきのユーラシア大陸東端の海中に弓なりにある日本列島弧に、現在の日本人の祖先が住みついたのは、どれほどの過去でしょうか。その最初は現在の日本列島弧がまだ島ではなく大陸の一部で、現在の日本海が湖水だった時代とも推測されています。

　ともかく、大陸から、南の島々から、何波にもわたってやってきた人々は、混血を繰り返し、日本人の祖型を形成するとともに、日本語の祖型を生み出しました。その原日本語が生んだ原詩歌がどんなものだったかは不明ですが、発達の中で短句と長句の繰り返しという構造を得たようです。しかし、短句と長句の単純な繰返しでは、どこまで行っても集結感がありません。そこで、短句と長句の繰り返しの最後にもう一度長句を重ね集結感を出すことが考え出されました。考え出した功労者は誰か。特定の誰と言うことでもなく、自然にそうなったというのが真相でしょう。そのうち、しだいに短句は五音節に、長句は七音節に定着しますが、これは古代日本にとっての文化先進国、中国の詩歌の五音・七音の影響があるかもしれません。

　短句・長句の、または五音・七音のどれだけかの繰り返しの後に、もう一度長句を、または七音を繰り返すことで終結させる詩形を、のちの呼称で長歌と言います。長歌とはもちろん短歌に対しての言いかたで、短歌は短句・長句・短句・長句・長句、後には五音・七音・五音・七音・七音の五句で完結する詩形で、この詩形の発生についてはさまざまな説があり

ますが、長歌の主題を強調するために長歌の最後の語句を繰り返したのが、後に独立して短歌となったという説が、説得力を持つように思われます。

　長歌・短歌を併せて和歌と言います。これは中国から流入した外来の詩、漢詩に対する日本固有の詩、和歌ということです。先進国中国の文化が流入して以来、官僚や僧侶などの教養階級は公的にはもっぱら漢詩を作りましたが、私的な空間に生きた女性たちは和歌、それも五音・七音・五音・七音・七音から成る単純な五句構造の短歌で思いを表現しました。また教養階級の男性も、私的には、とくに女性に対しては短歌を嗜みました。しだいに長歌は作られなくなり、和歌といえば短歌を指すようになりました。

　和歌は詩歌の中心であるだけでなく、文学の中心でさえありました。千数百年の歴史を持つ日本文学史の中で一作を選べといわれれば、『源氏物語』ということになりましょうが、この五十四巻から成る長大な物語は、基本的に主人公の光源氏と女君たちとの和歌のやりとりから出来ています。ある意味では和歌たちこそが真の登場人物とさえ言えそうです。五十四巻それぞれの巻の名もその巻に登場する和歌の一部分から採られています。

　それほど盛んだった和歌すなわち短歌ですが、その単純な詩形のせいもあり、十二世紀末を持って貴族の時代が終わり、武士の時代になると衰えます。代わりに盛んになるのが連歌で、これは短歌の五七五七七を上の句五七五と下の句七七を別の人が作る一種の言語遊戯で、上の句に下の句を連ねて作る歌という意味で連歌と呼ばれました。さらに五七五プラス七七で終わるものを短連歌、短連歌の七七にさらに五七五を付け、五七五に七七を付け……というふうに長く付けていくものを長連歌と呼びました。長連歌は何人もの人が参加して変化を楽しむことができるので、貴族、武士、僧侶から庶民までが加わり、大流行になりました．中で最も卓れた作者を一人挙げれば十五世紀に活躍した庶民出身の宗祇で、彼が二人の弟子と作った『水無瀬三吟』は連歌の最高傑作とされます。

　しかし、連歌もそのうたう世界は和歌の場合とさほど違わなかったので、いつか倦きられてきました。そのとき連歌に代わったのが大胆に庶民の世界を採り入れた俳諧でした。俳諧も最初は言語遊戯、それもかなり低俗な言葉遊びでしたが、十六世紀後半に、これもたぶん庶民出身の芭蕉が

出てかつての和歌に匹敵する、ひょっとしたらそれ以上の高みに俳諧を引きあげました。俳諧、正確にいえば俳諧連歌。基本的には上の句五七五と下の句七七を連ねてつくることでは連歌と同じ。ただ創作態度としては、連歌の古典主義に対して現実主義といえるかもしれません。

　俳諧もまた江戸という新時代の詩歌の中心であるだけでなく、文学の中核でもあったといえます。江戸時代最高の小説家と言えば西鶴でしょうが、彼は芭蕉の同時代者、彼自ら俳諧師をもって任じていたとおり、彼の小説の文体は俳諧によって鍛えられたものです。西鶴より一世紀遅れて登場する秋成小説のの文体も、俳諧の影響顕著です。

　十九世紀後半、日本は二百年余続いた鎖国を解いて、世界に門戸を開きます。欧米の poetry の影響で新体詩という新しい詩形が登場します。新体詩はやがて近代詩、現代詩となっていきます。これに刺激を受けて子規が俳諧の第一句である発句を独立させ俳句という世界最短の詩形を確立しました。近代俳句の誕生であり、現代俳句に続きます。子規は俳諧改革と共に和歌改革もやってのけ、ここから近代短歌が始まり、現代短歌に繋がります。

　そんな歴史の結果、現在の日本の詩歌には、現代短歌、現代俳句、現代詩の三つのジャンルがあります。それぞれの作者を歌人、俳人、詩人と呼び、お互いの領域を侵さないのが暗黙の了解です。そんな中で三つのジャンルを作りつづけるのみか、現在はほとんど作られることのない過去のさまざまな詩形までを試みつづけている私は、困った掟破りということになりましょう。そんな私の肩書きを何としたらいいか迷う編集者もいて、詩人・歌人・俳人と三つ並べましょうかなどと問われることがあります。私は詩人だけで結構ですと答えます。本当は詩人という肩書きもおこがましいと思っています。正しくは詩を探し求めている者にすぎなくて、さまざまな詩形を通して真の詩を追っかけているというのが真相だからです。

　現代詩だけでも大変なのに、なぜ現代短歌、現代俳句まで欲張るのか。だいいち、短歌や俳句のような短い詩形で表現できることは限られているではないか。こんな質問というか意見を呈されることがしばしばあります。これに対する私の回答は決まっています。現代詩に表現できて、現代短歌

や現代俳句に表現できないものがあると同時に、現代短歌や現代俳句に表現できて、現代詩に表現できないものもある。そう答えます。

　わたしはそのことを 21 世紀に入っての 11 年間に勃った二つの事件によって思い知らされました。一つは 2001 年 9 月 11 日、アメリカ合衆国での同時多発テロ、今ひとつは 2011 年 3 月 11 日、東日本での大地震・大津波とその結果の原子力発電所事故。いわゆる 9・11 と 3・11 です。9・11 の時、日本の詩歌でもっとも敏感に反応したのは現代短歌でした。そして 3・11 の時、もっとも真摯に対応できたのは現代俳句でした。残念ながら現代詩はどちらの場合にも有効に応え得たとは思えません。二つの事件の深刻に対して、現代詩は喋りすぎるのです。

　短歌五七五七七も、俳句五七五も、極端に短い詩形です。極端に短い詩形は結果的に沈黙を含み込まざるをえません。その止むを得ざる沈黙が、なまなかな雄弁よりはるかに有効に事態の深刻に応え得た、ということでしょう。とくに 3・11 の場合にそのことが言えます。3・11 は当初大地震とそれによる大津波との天災と認識されました。ところが時間の経過と共に、原子力発電所の事故の方が更に大変であることが分かってきました。

　原子力発電所の事故は直接的には地震および津波の結果です。しかし、数々の良心的な警告があったにもかかわらず、安全を過信し経済上の見地から原子力発電所を海岸に近く十分な防護策も施さず建設した結果が、地震や津波の影響をもろに被ったことを考えれば、明らかに人災です。

　では、原子力政策を推し進めた政治家や官僚、財界人を責めれば、それで済むのか。ことはそう簡単ではありません。じつは私たち日本人全体がより豊かに、より便利に暮らしたい思いから、原子力推進者たちの言うことを疑うこともなく鵜呑みにしてきた現実があります。飽くなき欲望と怠惰からこの事態をもたらしたわたしたち一般市民も、被害者であると同時に加害者なのです。被害者としての私たちの告発は必然的に私たち自身に向かわなければならない。

　翻って 9・11 についても同じことが言えるのではないでしょうか。たしかにあのアメリカ合衆国における同時多発テロの加害者は当のテロリストたち。しかし、彼らを駆り立たせたものが合衆国に代表される資本主義の暴力だとしたら、合衆国の国民は収入の多寡にかかわらず被害者であり

加害者、合衆国と安全保障条約を結んでいる日本国の詩歌に関わる私たちも、たとい僅かにもせよ作品の対価を資本主義に属するジャーナリズムから得ている以上、被害者であるとともに加害者であることを免れない。さらにいえば、人間が本質的に欲望と怠惰の存在である以上、資本主義と反資本主義のどちらに属するかを問わず、被害者であり加害者であることを免れません。

　鈍感な私たちは 10 年を経て 3・11 を体験し、やっとそのことに気づきました。もし 9・11 の段階で気づいていたら、9・11 について書かれた詩のみならず、短歌でさえ饒舌に感じたかもしれません。事実、それらの短歌をいま読み返すと、いささかしゃべりすぎに思えないでもありません。そして、9・11 の時黙り込んでいた俳句が、3・11 以後ためらいがちに口を開きはじめました。

　それも日本全体でというわけではありません。もっぱら被災地である東日本における俳句が語りはじめたのです。被災地以外の俳句にとって、3・11 について語ることは憚られるところがあるのです。じつは私自身、被災地に行くことをためらってきました。直接の被災地から見れば、とりあえず安全圏にいる私が被災地に行くことは、まるで安全なカプセルに護られて高みの見物を決め込んでいるような後ろめたさがあって、憚られたのです。

　しかし、ためらってばかりもいられません。3・11 からまる 2 年目——日本には死から 2 年目を三回忌と称してその死者を改めて深く追悼する習慣がありますが——にやっと決心が着き、被災地にあってもっとも良質な俳句を作り続けている友人の導きで、2013 年 3 月 11 日を中心に置いての 3 日間、とりわけ甚大な被害を受けた土地を巡りました。その中に原子力発電所事故の被害地、福島が含まれていなかったことを告白しなければなりません。被害が過去形でなく現在進行形で存在し続ける土地にどんな立場で臨めばいいのか、自分の中で決められなかったからです。

　3・11 から 2 年を経過して、まだどんな復興のめどもたっていない被災地のそこここで、私は呆然と立ち尽くしただけ。一篇の詩も、一首の短歌も、一句の俳句も出来ませんでした。ぼんやりと一曲の能の構想が浮かんできたきりです。能は 14 世紀から 15 世紀にかけて形成された日本の代表

的古典演劇で、その詞章は古典詩歌の凝縮された高度な劇詩。その大成者、世阿弥はしばしば和歌の人麿、俳諧の芭蕉と並べ、三代古典詩人と讃えられてきました。

主要なものは復式夢幻能と呼ばれ、古い歴史や伝統で知られた土地の夕暮、その土地を訪れた旅人——多くの場合、各地を旅する僧侶——の夜の夢の中に登場したその歴史や伝説の主人公または女主人公の霊が生前・死後の苦悩を語り、旅人にその祈りによって今なお続く苦悩から解放してほしいと願い、旅人は霊の願いに応えて祈り、霊は解放された悦びまたはなお続く苦悩を舞によって表現し、暁の光の中に消えていくというものです。

私はすでに二十歳代の終わりから何篇かの能の詞章を試み、そのうちのいくつかは上演されています。最近上演されたものでは、17 世紀のピューリタン革命挫折後の詩人ミルトンの夢に紀元前師士時代の伝説的人物サムソンの霊が登場して、自分の悲劇的生涯を詩化することで救霊してほしいと願うというもの。ここに倒立したかたちでの 9・11 の影響があることを上演後しばらく立ってから気づきました。

そして三回忌の東日本——そこは国土を走る道の果ての奥なる闇を意味するみちのくの通称をもって呼ばれ、日本の建国以来くりかえし国家の負性を背負わされ、地震、津波の被害にも過去何度も遇っています——で、今回の災害も含め、過去さまざまの受難にあった無数の霊たちが立ち上がってくるのを感じ、これらの霊たちの救霊・鎮魂の能が書けないものか、と考えたのです。

しかし、3・11 に対してなぜ詩でも短歌でもなく俳句が有効だったのか。ある意味そのことの検証のために 3・11 の現場に行ったはずの私なのに、唐突に能の構想が浮かんだのはなぜか。被災地訪問から 1 年近くぼんやりと考えていて、このところ思い当たったことがあります。それは俳句と能が共に死者と深く関わる詩歌であり舞台芸術であるということです。

俳句という詩歌の内容的中心を成すのは季題・季語ですが、その中の重要なものの一つに忌日題があります。芭蕉忌、人麿忌、世阿弥忌というように、芸術・芸能の先人たちの亡くなった日に、その遺徳を顕彰し自らの志の成就を祈念する、言い換えれば死者たちと対話するための季語・季

題です。さらにいえば季語・季題は先人たちから受け継いだものであり、その季語・季題によって俳句をつくることは、死者の目・耳・魂を借りて世界の意味を問うことではないか。そして、能は正に死者との対話の詩です。

2001 年に始まる新世紀はおそらく人類史始まって以来、始めて人類の終末が射程に入ってきた世紀、と言えましょう。世紀末にどんな動乱が続こうと、どんな疫病が猖獗しようと、世紀の始まりは人類の未来に一条の光を齎したもの。しかし、二十一世紀の始まりばかりは違いました。人口は加速度的に膨張して七十億に足らんとし、膨張した人類は国家次元でも個人においても飽くなき欲望を剥き出しにし、ために大気は汚染され、大地は生産力を収奪され、結果的に人類の未来を危うくしていることに気づかぬふりをしてきた。

しかし、そのままでは人類の未来はおろか、自分自身の生命も全う出来るか、怪しくなってきた。この不安に駄目押しをしたのが、新世紀第一年の 9・11 であり、それから 10 年後の 3・11 だった。そういういま問うべき相手は、欲望に雁字搦めの生者ではなく、死者。死者に問うには饒舌であってはならない。裡に深い沈黙を湛えた言葉を持って問わなければならない。死者の答えは沈黙をもってなされるだろう。豊かな知恵を隠し持つ沈黙。その知恵を聞き取るヒントを、私は死者文芸である俳句に、能に探したい。それが伝統を踏まえたいまの私の当面の決意であることを報告して、今日の講演の結びといたします。

ご清聴、感謝申します。

高橋睦郎の世界/The World of Takahashi Mutsuo

山崎佳代子/YAMASAKI Kayoko[*]

要旨

本稿は、日本現代詩を代表する詩人高橋睦郎をとりあげ、初期の作品から今日に至るまでの作品について、樹木のモチーフの変化を分析する。父の早世など、過酷な幼児期は、自叙伝的な家庭史と神話を絡ませた円環形式をもつ詩集『姉の島』(1995) に結晶した。だが、2000 年以降は、環境破壊、家族崩壊、テロなどの社会問題など、外の世界へと向かっていく。社会的なテーマは、日本の詩歌では歴史が浅いが、逆説的なレトリックによって、高橋睦郎は多義的で抒情的な思想詩を生み出した。東北地方太平洋沖大震災のあった 2011 年以降の作品は、核エネルギーの問題、情報化時代を背景とした言語の空洞化を主題として新しい展開を見せている。

キーワード: 高橋睦郎、日本現代詩、逆説的なレトリック、抒情的思想詩、樹木のモチーフ

Abstract

This paper presents the poetry of Mutsuo Takahashi, one of the most important contemporary Japanese poets. We particularly focus on analysing the tree motif in the poems created since the poets' early stages to the present day. The collection of poetry *Sister's Islands* (1995), inspired by the poet's childhood, full of tragic events such as his father's premature death and his mother's abandonment of him, interweaves autobiographical and mythological elements in a ringlike structure. However, after the year 2000 a new creative phase in his work ensued, wherein the poet deals with the problems facing our world such as ecological issues, disintegration of the family, terrorism, etc. The poems created after the great earthquake in Tohoku in 2011 open up new topics such as the ecological catastrophe caused by nuclear energy, loss of the meaning of words in the contemporary era, when information is exchanged at a lightning speed.

Keywords: Mutsuo Takahashi, contemporary Japanese poetry, paradoxical rhetoric, lyrical intellectual poetry, tree motif

[*]山崎佳代子 , ベオグラード大学.
yamasakikayoko@gmail.com

はじめに

　詩の言葉に課せられた大切な仕事があるとしたら、見えないものを見えるようにすること、見えるものを見えないようにすること、それによって、命としかよべないものに、明らかな形を与えることではないだろうか。高橋睦郎は、詩の言葉を紡ぐことによって、眼にみえない死者の世界と、眼に見える生きる者の世界を結ぶ詩人である。詩人は、「死者の声、冥府の力」で、「私は詩作における死者の力を信じてゐる。といふより、死者の力を借りなければ詩作は不可能、と思ってゐる。」と述べている。(高橋　2015, 141)

　高橋睦郎の作品のひとつに、「無いという樹」がある。この詩からは、両手で無を受けとめる東洋根源の思想が、朝の光のように流れてくる。梢や根など見えないものを列挙し、逆説のレトリックを用いて、言葉によって樹木を立ち上がらせる。一切の余分をそぎ落とし、深く清らかだ。言葉と沈黙の関係、死と生の境界、無と存在の繋がりをうたう思想詩である。高橋睦郎の作品を初期から今日までたどるとき、樹木のモチーフが大切であったことがわかる。本稿は、日本の現代詩において極めて重要な位置を占める高橋睦郎をとりあげ、その半生に触れたあと、初期の作品から近年の作品を俯瞰し、樹木のモチーフに注目して、作品における意味、修辞法の変化をたどり、詩学の変遷の軌跡を描くことを試みるものである。

高橋睦郎の人生

高橋睦郎は、1937 年 12 月 15 日、福岡県八幡市に生まれた。八幡製鉄所に勤務する父四郎、母久子の長男。だが父は、厳しい労働条件のもとで過労のため急性肺炎となり亡くなる。続いて長姉が急性脳膜炎で死去。複雑な家族関係のなかで、母は、次女美由紀と長男睦郎を道連れに親子心中を試みるが失敗。睦郎が四歳の時に、母は一年間の出奔。まさに生と死が隣り合わせにあった過酷な少年時代は、その後、詩的自叙伝『十二の遠景』に鮮やかに記されることになる。三島由紀夫も絶賛したこの小説には、「思えば、私の幼いころ、大人たちは小さな私を手から手へ投げ渡し『地獄極楽』のあそびをあそんでいたような気がする。」(高橋　1970, 125)、と記されている。

　だが孤独と死の影に縁どられた幼年時代は、睦郎に、詩人としての生き方を選びとらせた。門司市立第六中学校に入学、『毎日中学生新聞』に投稿をはじめ、高橋睦郎は詩歌や俳句を次々に著していく。福岡教育大学国文科に入学、1959 年『ミノ・あたしの雄牛』を発表。肺結核のため、花見国立療養所に入所、1 年 9 か月の治療を経て卒業。1962 年に上京し、日本デザイン・センターに勤めながら、本格的な創作活動を開始する。『薔薇の木・にせの恋人たち』(1964 年)が高く評価され、三島由紀夫、渋澤龍彦らとの交遊がはじまった。1966 年より広告会社サン・アド社に 18 年間勤務の後、著述業に専念。エッセイ、評論、講演や朗読など精力的な文学活動を展開し、今日は、詩とともに俳句、短歌、能など、様々なジャンルで創作を行っている。(村木　2008, 405–6)

　1988 年に詩集『王国の構造』で高見順賞、1993 年に『旅の絵』で花椿賞、1996 年に『姉の島』で詩歌文学館賞を受賞。さらに短歌、俳句集『稽古飲食』で読売文学賞、紫綬褒章受章、旭日小綬章を受章した。詩集には『恢復期』(2001 年)、『小枝を持って』(2002 年)、『起き上がる人』(2004 年)、『永遠まで』(2009 年)、『何処へ』(2011 年)などがあるほか、近年には、神話時代から現代まであらゆるジャンルの詩歌を論じた『詩心二千年』(2011 年)、ラテン文学を論じた『和音羅読』(2013 年)などの著書がある。国内はもとより、ギリシャ、アメリカ、イギリスをはじめとする世界の都市で、大学で、詩の朗読や講演を精力的に行い、高く評価されている。思潮社刊行の現代詩文庫には、『高橋睦郎詩集』、『続・高橋睦郎詩集』にあわせて、『続続・高橋睦郎詩集』(2015 年)が収められている。月刊誌『現代詩手帖』は、2015 年 6 月号に、高橋睦郎の 110 ページにわたる特集を組んだ。

　高橋睦郎の詩学を支えるのは、すでに冒頭で述べたように、詩歌の言葉こそ死者とこの世界に生きる者たちを結びつけるという思想であろう。幼年期に、家族の脆さと同時に、生死を越えた生命身体に刻み込まれた体験は、そうした高橋睦郎の詩想を形成したと言っていい。子供にとって安らぎの場所であるはずの家庭が、たえず不安定と不安に縁どられていたことは、彼を旅の詩人、漂泊の詩人とならしめた、と言ってもいい。東洋の詩の源流には、芭蕉が『奥の細道』の冒頭で示したように、人生を旅にたとえる思想がある。旅によって、日常から遊離してアウトサイダー視点で

世界を見つめなおす作業は、西行、芭蕉たちが、詩人の生き方の手本として示してきた。高橋睦郎の旅は、村から都市、都市から都市、国から国への移動であると同時に、死者の世界と、生きる者たちの世界、今世と来世を往復し、言葉で結び合わせる作業である。

初期の創作期における樹木

高橋睦郎の初期の作品群は、過酷な幼児期を刻印された肉体と魂を解き放ち、愛と暴力、生と死を主題としている。この時期の作品では、身体のメタファとしての樹木と、心象風景の背景に取り込まれた樹木とがみられる。古代ギリシャの美学に支えられて、同性愛、少年美をうたう詩集『薔薇の樹、にせの恋人たち』(1964)では、薔薇の木が、同性愛の恋人である青年の身体の暗喩となって登場する。詩「薔薇の木」(高橋　1969, 16–17)で、薔薇の木は「屈強」である。

　　雄雄しいわたしの恋人よ　きみは薔薇
　　少しあおざめた、性のにおい高い薔薇

同じ詩集に収められた作品「その人」(高橋　1969: 17–18)では、「ふるえている梨の木」が性の薫香とともに描かれ、作品「ぼくは何もいらないそのほかには」(高橋　1969, 21–22)では、「梨の木のそよぎにみちた夜」が、「精液と血糊のにおい」とともに描かれて、性愛の苦悶の心象風景に組み込まれている。

　この詩集には、森も描かれるが、作品「冬の旅」(高橋　1969, 25) では「木の幽霊たち」のモチーフが現れ、夭折した少年たちを主題とする作品「悲しげな少年が言う」(高橋　1969, 30) では、「葉ごもりに　水だけが死者たちのように　目醒めている」情景が描かれて、森は死者の世界との接点で描かれる。詩集『眠り犯しと落下と』(1969) は、「葉ごもりのかげにめざめていて/さめざめと泣いている」(高橋　1969, 51) 「ぼく」がいて、告げられぬ愛に苦しむ少年に樹が寄添っている。

　初期の創作期において、樹木のモチーフは、少年愛の主題と深い関わりをもっており、森は死者と交わる場所として登場する。愛の行為は、肉

体的で官能的であると同時に、カトリック的な世界、ギリシャ神話の世界と接点をもち、詩は聖と俗、精神と肉体を繋ぎ合わせている。ここに立ち現れる「ぼく」は、多分に自叙伝的な要素が強く、詩人自身が投影されていると言えるだろう。

　次の創作期に移行するにつれて、樹木は、人間の身体や情景から遊離し、精霊となり神話的な存在となっていく。古事記を思わせる変化 (へんげ) のモチーフに樹木が現れてくる。詩集『汚れたる者はさらに汚れたることをなせ』 (1969) 所収の作品「狼神のかたちをした恋人たち」(高橋 1969, 66) では、樹は狼となり、詩人は「樹の叫び」を描いた。

　やがて樹は、可視と不可視の関係を主題とした詩に姿を現し、哲学的な命題をうたいはじめる。同詩集所収の「目の慾、あるいは　驚の種族」(高橋　1969, 71)では、「視界のはるかな果てに立つ樹」を描き、詩人は形而上的な世界を目指していく。

　詩集『旧詩篇　さすらひといふ名の地にて』に収められた詩作品「少年に」(高橋　1995a, 10) には、身体の部分の暗喩としての葉ごもりのモチーフがみられるが、次の詩句にあるように、樹木は内なる人間の暗喩となっている。

　狂暴にそそり立つ孤独の立木は
　まだおまへの暗いところに眠りつづける

　樹木のモチーフは、見える世界や肉体を離れて、見えない世界、精神の世界へと移行していったといえるだろう。同詩集所収の詩「棺から」(高橋　1995a, 16) は、私の蘇りを主題とした作品であるが、樹木のモチーフは、「わたし」が見た墓地の幻影のなかに立ち現れる。「わたし」が見た「宙に無数の枝をはつてゐるやはらかい樹といふもの」は、可視の世界を放棄して、幻影のなかに枝を開くのである。

　長詩「頌 (ほめうた) 」(高橋　1995a, 34)は、落葉、朽葉、燃木、暗い木の髄などとともに、ふたたび「内なる森」を提示するが、ここでも古事記にあるような変化 (へんげ) のモチーフが登場し、人は樹木に変えられる。「どんな呪いがこの人たちを/おぞましい樹に変えたのか」の詩句によっ

て、詩人は自身の身体と魂から解放されて、時代や歴史、文明の闇を歩む人々の群をとりこんでいくのである。

　その後、1990 年代の創作活動を代表する詩集『姉の島』(1995 年) は、ギリシャ神話、古代から故郷の福岡の宗像 (むなかた) 郡に伝わる神話をとりこみ、「僕は誰だったのか」(高橋 1995b, 14) という問いの答えを模索していく。そこで姉と母と父は、神話的な存在であると同時に、自叙伝的な存在となる。『姉の島』は、自叙伝的な世界から出発し、ギリシャ神話と土着的な故郷の神話を結びつけることで、自分の幼児体験を神話化し、自叙伝的なものを文学として普遍化して詩へと昇華させた。「火と水と」(高橋 b 1995, 27)では、父の死んだ家が描写され、施された注によって、その家が 1945 年の大空襲によって焼かれてしまったことが明らかになり、読者は神話の世界から現実の世界へと導かれていくことになる。『姉の島』は、前述の自叙伝的小説『十二の遠景』を、バラードの形で語りなおしたものだといえるだろう。『姉の島』では、「宗像神話による家族史の試み」という副題からもわかるように、家族史の時間と神話の時間が絡められて、12 章立ての構成をとった。1 から 12 までが、同じ主題をもっている。時間の軸を導入した円環形式である。登場人物も全編に共通である。12 章立ての長詩であり、韻文形式をとる小説とみることもできる。初期の作品群では、ギリシャ神話的な世界、カトリック的な世界が中心となっていたが、詩集『姉の島』では、日本の古代の神話にさかのぼり、さらにギリシャ神話的な世界を絡ませることによって、精神的な世界のポリフォニーを生み出している。

　詩集『姉の島』における樹木のモチーフは、高橋睦郎の詩風の変化を鮮明に示している。5 節には、「見上げても　見上げられない/見渡しても見渡しきれない/高さも高い樹　巨きさも巨きい樹」(高橋 1995b, 40) の詩句が、8 節には「闇の中に　見えない樹樹/樹樹の中に　見えない道と」(高橋 1995b, 63) の詩句が置かれて、宗教的な陰影が与えられていく。巨大すぎて見えない「樹」と、闇にあるために見えない「樹」を提出して、可視と不可視の繋がりを示した。土着信仰の表象をまとい、神聖な静寂のなかで、大樹は高くそそり立っている。初期には、青年の身体の暗喩であった薔薇の木は、人間と等身大であった。『姉の島』で、樹木は巨大化し、人間の力の及ばぬ神秘的な自然の存在を示した。

　2000 年以降に生まれた詩集、さらに 2011 年 3 月の東北地方太平洋沖大地震以降に書かれた作品群は、新しい詩学を形成していく。『姉の島』までにみられた激しいパトスは鎮まっていき、自叙伝的な世界は後退して、社会に起きる様々な出来事、それも日本のことばかりではなく、世界のできごとが詠われ、思索は深められていく。それは日本の詩歌の伝統では決して伝統が豊かとはいえない思想詩の出現でもある。この時期の作品は、シンタクスも語彙も、ともに余分なものをそぎ落としていき、簡潔さの中に深さが生まれている。理性的な言葉の結びつきを逆説のレトリックで捩じり、静謐な言葉で多義的な世界を示している。

　初期から中期にかけて生まれた詩集とは異なり、2000 年以降に発表された詩集には、ひとつのコンセプションに沿って編まれたものはない。自発的で自然、しなやかな印象を読者に与えるのはそのためであるかもしれない。『姉の島』で自分自身の家族史を描くという仕事を完遂して後、2000 年代の高橋睦郎は、自叙伝的な世界から己を解き放して、内的な世界から外の世界へと向かっていった。だが、同時に、高橋の作品における精神性は、さらに深まっていく。以前のように、キリスト教的なモチーフや神話的な要素によってはっきり判別のつく宗教的なモチーフは少なくなっていくが、日本のみならず世界の様々な場所が抱え込んだ社会的な現象を、精神的な文脈のなかに置き直し、哲学的で精神的な命題として昇華させていった。

　日本の詩歌の伝統では、歴史や社会の問題を語る詩的言語はあまり発達せず、叙事詩よりも抒情詩が詩的言語の中心をなしていた。社会的なテーマを扱いながら、高橋は、単なるアンガージュマンには終わらず、身体に潜むエロスや不合理、矛盾をもふくめた人間存在の混沌から出発し、思想詩のモデルを日本の現代詩にうちたてたといえる。言葉のありかたは、余分なものをそぎ落として、簡素になっていくが、逆説というレトリックによって、多義性をおびた思想詩を生み出した。

　近年の作品集『恢復期』(2001 年)、『小枝を持って』(2002 年)、『起き上がる人』(2004 年)、『永遠まで』(2009 年)、『何処へ』(2011 年)などのほか、近年に雑誌に掲載された作品もふくめて見渡すと、今もなお、高橋睦郎の詩は、樹木のモチーフを随所にちりばめていることがわかる。

　詩集『恢復期』の主題のひとつは、近年、日本の社会問題になっている家族崩壊である。少年による殺人事件を詠った作品「十五歳」(高橋 2001, 30–31)では、少年の殺意を、逆説的に取り上げた。殺意や憎悪の根源を、疎外されていく人間と自然の関係のなかに求めている。五十年前の少年だった「僕」を登場させ、殺意がありながら「殺さなかったのは」、「目の前の木や水が絶えず動き　絶えず形を変えて/憎しみの形をいつか風景の中に溶かしてくれたから」だとし、現在の少年の殺意の理由を「ことごとく整形されて」動かない風景に求めている。自然破壊と殺人の関連性を描き出したといってよい。ここで木は、人間をとり囲み、人間に働きかける自然として、水とともに登場する。自然は、少年の殺意を鎮めてゆくものとして描かれるのだ。

　この詩集には、「樹」(高橋　2001, 72–73) と名付けられ詩も収められている。最初の樹は実景であるが、記憶の中の樹木と重ねあわせる手法が新しい。ここでは、記憶の中の顔のない人の言葉とのなかで、哲学的な命題に、樹木の表象が合わせられる。記憶の中の顔のない人が、樹木を現在形で見上げる最終行では、現在と過去の時間が交錯する。時間を交錯させることによって、異なる時間のなかの樹木が混じりあい、実景を異化している。さらに、次のような詩句を置き、普遍的な原則を提示して、エピグラムの形式を詩にとりこんだ。以前の自叙伝的な世界を完全に離れ、哲学的な真理を求めているといえる。

　　人間にはしばしば　行く手に立ちふさがるものがある
　　人はそれを倒し　踏み越えていくのがつねだが
　　けっして倒さず　迂回しなければならないものがある

詩集『小枝を持って』は、樹のモチーフは、題名である小枝のイメージのほかには、連作「フィレンツェの春」(高橋　2002, 48–65) に、「木の花」がかぐわしい女神たちや春の情景とともに描かれている。連作「日いづる国のボルヘス」のなかには、「密林の迷宮」(高橋　2002, 80)のモチーフ、作品「路地で」に「ミドリザルの森の迷宮」(高橋　2002, 105)のモチーフが現れ、作品「テロリスト E・P に」では、「冬の水の迷路」のモチーフ

とともに、「夏の輝く大樹」(高橋　2002, 118) のモチーフが現れて、樹木
は、迷路や迷宮のイメージを形作っていく。

　詩集『起き上がる人』は、手法においても主題においても、『恢復期』
と近接している。生と死の接点、人間の存在の残酷さなどが主題となるほ
か、世界各地の旅の詩も数多く収められている。日本の現代社会だけでは
なく、世界の歴史の断層から、存在の闇の部分を見出して、普遍性はさら
に高められた。が、『恢復期』とおなじように、世界の闇の対極として
「自然らしさ」をうたう明るい作品群もおかれている。

　前述の「無いという樹」(高橋　2004, 34–35) は、見えない樹を歌った
作品であるが、無いもの、すなわち目に見えないものを列挙していくうち
に、メビウスの輪のように、最後には、言葉によって一本の樹木がたちあ
らわれてくる。ここにも逆説の詩法が用いられているが、肯定から否定へ
向かうのではなく、否定から肯定へ向かうのが特徴である。

　「○○が無い」という単純な否定形を繰り返すことによって、静かな旋
律が生まれ、「無」の表象には、幽玄の世界、禅的な無常が織り込まれて
いる。一見、単純に見える言葉たちは、「無」と「存在」の繋がりを示し、
言葉と言葉が表すものの関係をあきらかにした。

　無いという樹

　無いという樹について言うなら
　地中に白い繊毛をひろげる根が無い
　天心にむかって立つ逞しい幹がない
　小鳥の群れを休ませるたくさんの枝が無い
　木漏れ陽をこぼす葉ごもりが無い
　人を見上げさせる葉越しの空が無い
　土の上に投げる樹の形の影が無い
　だが　こう否定形を並べることで
　心は　いっぽんの樹を思い描いてしまう
　無いという樹は無いということで
　在るという樹の在るということと

等しい重さで均りあうということ
無いという樹について言うなら

この詩集には、この他に「暁の樹」(高橋　2004, 30–31)、「樹を見る」(高橋　2004, 32–33)、「樹と人」の三篇が収められ、樹のモチーフによる詩人の詩想を最も鮮明に表す詩集である。「樹を見る」では、樹を見ている僕も、「水輪のすえの波動にすぎないのだろう」として、自然の一部である人間の存在を詠う。「樹と人」は、前述の「無いという樹」に主題、シンタクスなどが最も近い。「もし、世界に樹というものがなかったら」という仮定法からはじまり、「細胞をみどりに甦らせて帰る　私はいない」として、仏教的な無が主題となっている。いずれも樹木という実景が、形而上的な主題に重ねられ、禅の思想に通じるものがある。「暁の樹」は、樹木のモチーフを通して、次の詩句からも明らかなように、一期一会が静かにうたわれた。

「暁の樹がささやく」と「夜の樹がささやく」とは　別の動詞
見上げる暁の私も　夕べの私とは　別の新しい私

この詩集が新しい点は、「言語」をはっきり主題化していることである。「無いという樹」にみた「否定形」、「暁の樹」でみた「動詞」など、文法用語がちりばめられて、現象、言語、認識の関係に、光が当てられていく。

　『何処へ』(2011a) は、複雑になってしまった情報社会、そこで生きることそのものが混迷していく世界を映し出した作品を集めた。ニューヨークの 9.11 事件を詠う「怖ろしいのは」(高橋　2011a, 94–95) は、メディアが発達した社会のなかに生まれてしまった「無関心」を取り扱う。「ほんとうに怖ろしいのは　白昼/飛行中の旅客機が奪われることではない」とはじまり、報道の画面を「ぼんやりそれを見ている」ことこそが怖ろしいのだと説く。「無関心」は、「言葉の意味の喪失」であるという現代社会にあらわれた言語の空洞化を提示している。

　この詩集では、作品「夢のユリシーズ」(高橋　2011a, 73) のなかに描かれた夢の岸辺に木が登場する。「禁句は　何もない」そこには、美や歓

喜が、「されこうべ」や、骨だけの手といった死のイメージに縁どられて
いる。連作「運命について」では、「木を伐り　船を仕立て」の詩句にみ
られるように、木材としての木は、船になり、漂流のイメージにつながっ
ていく。連作の最後には、つぎの詩句がおかれ、「梢」は実景ではなく、
生命系統樹の先端をしめす比喩として登場する(高橋　2011, 80)。いずれの
作品も、人類の怠惰、歯止めのきかぬ欲望によって、滅びゆく地球の運命
を主題としていて、新しい詩境を示した。

　　詩集『永遠まで』(2009 年) では、母の死去を機に、ふたたび自叙伝
的に家族の歴史が語りなおされる。「詩とは、死者との語らい」であるこ
とを、改めて示した詩集である。過去の記憶の実景としての「松林」のモ
チーフとともに、「家を囲む樹樹」のモチーフが作品「いまはまだ」(高
橋　2009, 40) に現れるほか、作品「死者たちの庭」(高橋　2009, 52)では、
「死者のために植える苗木」が描かれた。作品「旅にて」(高橋　2009,
57–58) には、中国の実景を取り込んだと思われる「砂漠の中のその樹」の
モチーフが登場している。また連作「学ぶということ」には、イギリスの
旅が描写された「木と人」(高橋　2009, 92) がある。記憶、旅の記録のな
かから、樹木が描きだされ、死、漂泊のイメージに重なっていく。

　2011 年 3 月 11 日の東北地方太平洋沖大震災は、津波とともに福島の原
発事故を伴い、高橋睦郎に新しいテーマをもたらした。2011 年 3 月 11 日
に起きた東北沖大地震と原子力発電所の事故をテーマとした「あの時から
/原子時代の恋人たち」と「いまは」は、闇と光を対照させながら、深い
声で警告を発している。人類にとってエネルギーとは、炎とは何であった
のかを問う作品群である。現代文明の多くの矛盾を表出した原子力エネル
ギー問題は、『何処へ』で取り上げた、言葉の空洞化という主題と結びつ
いて、哲学的な命題を提出している。「いまは」の冒頭には、「言葉だ/
最初に壊れたのは」(高橋 2012b, 33) という句が置かれた。幼児期ですでに
自己の身体を通して直視した生と死の接点は、核エネルギーによって消滅
してしまうかもしれない人類の存亡の問題として、とらえなおされていく。
「あの時から」(高橋　2012a, 73) で、「あの瞬間から、世界はこの世でか
の世」とうたった。

　「原始時代の恋人たち」(高橋　2012a, 74) には、次の詩句が置かれている。

　　黒布でおおった　窓のむこうには
　　影を落とす　いっぽんの樹もなく

厳しい環境破壊と大地震を背景に、高橋は、樹木のない世界を予言しているのだ。

結び

以上、樹木のモチーフに注目して、初期の創作期から現在の作品にいたるまで、高橋睦郎の詩想の変化をたどってみた。初期の作品では、樹木は恋人である青年の肉体の暗喩、または息苦しい愛の情景のなかに震えるものとして登場した。過酷な幼児期の呪縛から自己を解き放つようにして、同性愛をテーマとした官能的、肉体的な作品が書かれ、性は聖と俗の接点として描かれた。やがて、樹木は霊、魂として神話的な意味を強めていき、『姉の島』では、ギリシャ神話と九州の土着神話とを交錯させて、普遍的なものを求めていく。

　2000 年代から高橋睦郎の世界は、大きな変化を遂げる。自叙伝的なものを神話化し、神話を自叙伝化した『姉の島』から、逆説の修辞法によって、現実に潜む暴力、テロリズム、殺人、自然破壊などの問題をとりあげて、思想する詩へと変化していく。2000 年以降の高橋睦郎の創作期は、「僕はどこから来たのか」という命題から、「私たちは何処へ行くのか」という命題への移行を示しているといえるだろう。だが「無いという樹」に代表されるように、自然体であることが放つ光を書き込むことを忘れてはいない。高橋睦郎の思想詩は、暗く重たいテーマを提示しながらも、清々しい光を示すところに特徴があり、闇と光の均衡のうえに成立しているといえるだろう。

　人類の欲望とは何だったのか、自然と人間はどのように向かい合あえばよいのか、言葉とは何であったのか、私たちは言葉をたずさえてどこへ向かおうとしているのか。こうした問いは、高橋睦郎のみに課せられたも

のではなく、今を生きる私たちひとりひとりの問題であるのに違いない。
だからこそ、高橋睦郎の詩は、旅を続ける。思想という樹木の葉ごもりか
らこぼれてくる言葉の光を、浴びながら。

　　付記　2014 年 3 月、ベオグラード文化センターは『世界詩の日』のゲ
ストとして高橋睦郎氏を招き、リュブリャナ大学、ソフィア大学、ベオグ
ラード大学の協力により、東欧 3 か国朗読・講演が実現した。各大学関係
者、学生のみなさん、翻訳家の方々に心から御礼申し上げる。『日本たば
こ産業』の支援によってこの企画が実現したことを感謝してここに記す。

参考文献

Muraki, Sawako 村木佐和子. 2008. "Takahashi Mutsuo 「高橋睦郎」." In *Gendai shijin daijiten* 『現代詩人大辞典』 (The Dictionary of Modern Poets). Tōkyō: Sanseidō. 東京、三省堂.

Takahashi, Mutsuo 高橋睦郎. 1969. *Takahashi Mutsuo shishū* 『高橋睦郎詩集』 (Takahashi Mutsuo Poetry Anthology). Tōkyō: Shichōsha. 東京、思潮社.

——. 1970. *Jūni no enkei* 『十二の遠景』 (Twelve Views from a Distance). Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha. 東京、中央公論社

——. 1979. *Khūshihen: Sasurai toiu na no chi nite* 『舊詩篇　さすらひといふ名の地にて』(Old Psalms: in the Land of Wondering). Tōkyō: Shoshi yamada. 東京、書肆山田.

——. 1995a. *Zoku, Takahashi Mutsuo shishū* 『続・高橋睦郎詩集』 (Takahashi Mutsuo Poetry Anthology II). Tōkyō: Shichōsha. 東京、思潮社.

——. 1995b. *Ane no shima* 『姉の島』 (Sister's Island). Tōkyō: Shūeisha. 東京、集英社.

——. 2001. *Kaifukuki* 『恢復期』 (Convalescence). Tōkyō: Shoshi yamada. 東京、書肆山田.

——. 2002. *Koeda o motte* 『小枝を持って』 (With a Small Branch). Tōkyō: Shoshi yamada. 東京、書肆山田.

——. 2004. *Okiagaru hito* 『起き上がる人』 (Man Rises). Tōkyō: Shoshi yamada. 東京、書肆山田.

——. 2009. *Eien made* 『永遠まで』 (Until Eternity). Tōkyō: Shichōsha. 東京、思潮社.

——. 2011a. *Doko e* 『何処へ』 (Where to?). Tōkyō: Shoshi yamada. 東京、書肆山田.

——. 2011b. *Shigokoro nisennen* 『詩心二千年』 (Two Thousand Years of Poetic Spirit). Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten. 東京、岩波書店.

——. 2012a. "Anotoki kara/Genshiryoku jidai no koibitotachi 「あの時から/原子力時代の恋人たち」 (From that Moment/Lovers in the Age of Nuclear Power)." *Gendaishi techō*『現代詩手帖』 (Modern Poetry Notebook). Tōkyō: Shichōsha. 東京、思潮社.

——. 2012b. "Imawa 「いまは」 (Now)." *Gendaishi techō*『現代詩手帖』(Modern Poetry Notebook) . Tōkyō: Shichōsha. 東京、思潮社.

——. 2013. *Waon radoku* 『和音羅読』 (A Japanese Poet Reads Latin Literature). Tōkyō: Genki shobō. 東京、幻戯書房.

——. 2015. *Zoku zoku, Takahashi Mutsuo Shishū* 『続続・高橋睦郎詩集』 (Takahashi Mutsuo Poetry Anthology III). Tōkyō: Shichōsha. 東京、思潮社.

Summary

Takahashi Mutsuo is one of the most important poets of contemporary Japan. In the course of his childhood, he experienced his father's premature death and was abandoned by his mother. These experiences contributed to the formation of Takahashi's poetics, which sheds light on the point of contact between this world and the netherworld, the link between the land of the living and the land of the dead. The early period of his life proved inspirational to the poet, who wrote an autobiographical novel entitled *Twelve Views from a Distance* (1975). The collection of poetry *Sister's Islands* was also inspired by his childhood. This collection interweaves mythological stories and autobiographical elements, real and unreal time and space, creating a ringlike structure.

However, his poems written after the year 2000, during the course of his travels, mark a new creative phase in his work. Freed from autobiographical elements, these poems deal with the social issues of the contemporary era such as ecological problems, violence, disintegration of the family and terrorism. This phase is marked by a number of collections of poems, among them *Convalescence* and *Man Rises*. Within the framework of Japanese poetry, which has no tradition of socially engaged poetry, Mutsuo Takahashi has created intellectually challenging poetry, wherein the poet uses paradox as a rhetorical device. His thought-provoking poems are full of lyrism and polysemy.

The poems created after the great earthquake in Tohoku in 2011 open up new topics such as ecological catastrophe caused by nuclear energy, loss of the meaning of words in the contemporary era when information is exchanged at a lightning speed. It is especially the poems "From Now On: Lovers in the Time of Nuclear Energy" and "Now" that are indicative of his new poetics.

The point connecting this side and the other side, life and death, which the poet observed as a small boy, sheds light on a new problem: the possibility of mankind's disappearance from this planet. The poet's pondering over the question "Where do I come from?", which we encountered in the collection *Sister's Islands*, gives rise to a new question: "Where are we going?"

団塊の世代の文学/Literature of the "*dankai*" Generation

福間健二/FUKUMA Kenji[*]

要約

日本では、戦後のベビーブームで生まれた世代は、「団塊の世代」と呼ばれる。かれらは豊かになっていく社会の文化の消費者として登場し、1970 年前後に「熱い季節」を体験した。佐藤泰志の短篇小説「市街戦のジャズメン」と佐々木幹郎の詩「死者の鞭」は、1960 年後半の政治運動の波動から生まれた二つの先駆的作品である。1970 年代のある時期に社会の空気が変わった。人々は問題未解決のままの幸福状態に入っていった。そこにつきまとう不安が当時の詩の特徴の一部となっている。

キーワード：団塊の世代、「熱い季節」、「革命」の夢、闘争、不安

Abstract

The generation born during Japan's post-war baby boom are called the "*dankai*" generation. Appearing as consumers of culture in a society which was becoming richer, they experienced a "hot season" around 1970. Sato Yasushi's *Jazzmen in Street Fighting* and Sasaki Mikirō's *Whip of the Dead* are two pioneer works born in an undulation from the political movement in the late 60s. At a certain point in the 1970s the whole scene changed. People were entering a state of strange happiness with problems unsolved. A kind of uneasiness haunting there is a part of characteristics of poetry then.

Keywords: the "*dankai*" generation, "hot season", the dream of "revolution", struggle, uneasiness

[*] 福間健二、首都大学東京（都市教養学部）名誉教授.
bluehousefm@gmail.com

団塊の世代

日本では、第二次世界大戦直後のベビーブームのときに生まれた者たちを「団塊の世代」と呼ぶ。ほかの国にはない言い方だと思う。

この命名は、堺屋太一（1935〜）の書いた小説『団塊の世代』（1976）から来ている。堺屋太一は、元官僚の作家・経済評論家でマスメディアによく登場した。経済企画庁長官だったこともある。団塊の世代は、1970 年代に日本の経営的な意味での経済を考える上で大きな存在感をもったのである。

一般に、団塊の世代は、1947 年から 1949 年までの３年間に生まれた世代を指す。学年の区切りを考えれば、1950 年３月までとしてもいいかもしれない。その時期は、一年間に 250 万人以上の子どもが生まれていた。戦争が終わり、若い男性が戦場から帰ってきたことが大きな原因である。避妊の知識が行きわたっていなかったことと、ある段階までは経済的な理由による中絶が認められていなかったことも見逃せない。

出生率が増大する一方で、たとえば 1949 年には、下山事件、三鷹事件、松川事件という、いかにも戦争直後らしい陰謀的な事件がつづいておこっている。そういう社会であった。

団塊、この突出的なかたまりが人口分布のなかにあることが、日本の戦後の発展のなかでどういう意味をもったか。それはさまざまな視点から語りうる主題である。当然、経済学や社会学だけでは片付かないものがあるだろう。私自身、この世代のひとりであるが、世代の内と外、どちらから語られるものにも不満を感じてきた。

思想、文学、表現という領域において、この世代は 1960 年代半ばに消費者・享受者として姿を現わした。見方によっては戦後間もなくよりも大きく、激しく、日本の文化が揺さぶられていた時期である。そうであったことと、団塊の世代というかたまりが若者として社会のなかに位置を占めていたことには、つながりがある。

当然すぎることを言うようだが、1960 年代の半ば以降、団塊の世代は、若者が多い社会、若者が多数を占めることを特徴とする社会の、若者たちとなったのである。そこにこの世代を考える上での大きなポイントがある。

若者が多い社会。それがどういうものであるか。そもそも若さにどういう力があるか。その受け取り方は立場や主義によって異なるだろうが、そうい

う社会のどこかに変化への漠然とした期待が湧いていたとしてもふしぎではない。また、そこで若者であることは、ほかの場合にはない集合的な性格をもった面があると考えられる。

　団塊の世代はそこから自分たちの表現をどうつくっていったか。それは先行する世代に対してどういう主張をもつものだったか。また、世代としての共通した特徴とは別に、表現者のそれぞれはどんな特徴を自分のものにしてきたか。

　本稿では、小説家で詩も書いた佐藤泰志の仕事を中心に、そうした主題を追う。

　佐藤泰志は 1949 年 4 月に生まれ、1990 年 10 月にみずから命を断った。私は、彼との交友や私自身の個人的な事情についての記述も含む『佐藤泰志 そこに彼はいた』(2014) という評伝を書いたところである。ここでは、その本でおこなった以上に、同世代および上の世代の、佐藤泰志以外の表現者を視野に入れるとともに、1960 年代からの時代的コンテクストを、いわば世代や時代では説明できない要素を考慮する表現論としての奥行も確保するようにとらえることに力点をおくつもりである。

市街戦のジャズメン

政治的な状況で考えれば、日本の 1960 年代は、二つの安保闘争、「60 年安保」と「70 年安保」のあいだの時期である。

　「安保」とは、日本とアメリカの軍事的協力関係を持続するための日米安全保障条約であり、1960 年に結ばれ、1970 年に自動延長された。安保闘争は、それに反対するための反政府・反米の闘争である。その先鋭的な中心を担ったのは、1960 年の闘争では日本共産党と袂を分かっていた当時の「全学連」[1]主流派であり、1960 年代後半には「新左翼」[2]の諸派および組織に属さないノンセクトの活動家たちだった。

---

[1] 「全日本学生自治会総連合」の略。1960 年以後、分裂をくりかえしてきて、これを名乗る団体がいくつもある状態が現在までつづいている。そのことと関係なく、「全学連」「ゼンガクレン」は日本の学生運動の代名詞的呼び方として使われてきた。
[2] 1960 年代以降、従来の日本共産党や日本社会党などを「既成左翼」として批判し、「革命」を目標として直接行動や実力闘争を重視した運動を展開した諸勢力。

　1960 年代の後半、アメリカはベトナム戦争から抜けられなくなっていた。佐藤栄作を首相とする日本政府は、軍事基地、弾薬庫、野戦病院を提供して、アメリカを支援していた。そういう政府に対して抗議行動をしないのは、まちがっていないか。間接的に、ベトナム人民を苦しめていないか。そんなふうに問う声が大学やジャーナリズムでは響いていた。

　1967 年 10 月 8 日、のちに「ジュッパチ」と呼ばれることになる第一次羽田闘争がおこる。学生を中心とする新左翼各派が、南ベトナムも含む東南アジア諸国への佐藤首相の訪問を阻止するために羽田空港に突入しようとして、空港に入る三つの橋を封鎖する警察の機動隊と衝突した。橋のひとつ、弁天橋での攻防のなかで山崎博昭という学生が死亡した。その死は、運動の側からは「警察権力による虐殺」であると主張されている。

　この闘争は、日本の若者たちの一部に大きな波動を送り込んだ。羽田で学生たちが棍棒や角材をもって機動隊とたたかい、そこで殺された者もいたというニュース。それに無関心ではいられない。どんな立場にあったとしても、その方が自然だったと思う。

　北海道函館市の高校三年生だった佐藤泰志の書いた短篇小説「市街戦のジャズメン」は、その波動を敏感に受けとめて反応した例のひとつだと言っていい。

　ひとりの男子高校生が語っていくのだが、「十月八日の、日本中を震撼させた、あの英雄的な事件。アルジェリアの勇敢な市街戦を思わせる、あの首相外遊阻止に羽田へ押しかけた全学連と警官隊との大乱闘の事件。」（佐藤 2011、6）といった調子である。

　その語り手の「僕」は、小学校の高学年だった 1960 年の安保闘争のときから「全学連」の闘士にあこがれてきたと語る。作者自身がそうだったにちがいない。外国の革命的な闘争や芸術方面のこともかじっている。早熟というのか、背伸びしているというのか。自分の心を励ますためにアメリカの詩人ウォルト・ホイットマン（1819〜92）の詩を口ずさむ。「開拓者よ！」と読者に呼びかけてアジテートする詩だ。さらに「僕」は「夜の生活」と称してジャズ喫茶に出入りし、サックス奏者オーネット・コールマン（1930〜）の先端的なフリージャズを聴く。タバコを吸い、いわゆるカッコよさと不良性をよそおっている。

　「僕」は、闘争を伝える新聞記事の、「橋のたもとで七台の装甲車が、みごとな黒煙を空に突き上げて燃えている」（佐藤　2011、7）写真から、アルジェリア独立戦争のときの市街戦を連想する。

　タイトルに使われた「市街戦」という言葉にも、そしてアルジェリアという地名にも、大江健三郎（1935〜）の影響が感じられる。ホイットマンが出てくるのも、大江健三郎経由なのかもしれない。直接にそうではないとしても、ホイットマン的な、「新世界」の倫理と自由の追求は、大江健三郎の文学が体現していたものに重なるものである。

　そして、これも大江的だと言えるが、政治的な闘いへのあこがれが、それだけのことに終わらずに、もっと広い意味での自由への希求と結びつく。あるいは、そういう自由へと逸脱しようとする。市街戦のジャズメン。つまり、市街戦にジャズが鳴って、闘う学生たちはジャズメンにならなくてはならないのである。そのために使われるのは、学生たちが奪った装甲車のエンジンの音だ。事実としても、羽田で学生たちは機動隊から装甲車を奪いとっていた。「僕」はこんなふうに想像する。

> 装甲車のタイヤは次々と、空しく苛立った音をたててパンクし、めらめらと燃えあがる。学生達の数人は火のまだつかない装甲車を奪い、車に乗り込み、感激に震える、手でエンジンをかける、前進だ。彼らは今、英雄的な革命家になったことを意識する。エンジンの音は、まるで前衛ジャズのように快い。そうだ、この市街戦は前衛ジャズそのものだ、と彼は思うだろう。さあ、みんな、俺達のあとに続け、前進だ。（佐藤　2011、8）

作品の後半に出てくるヴェトナム戦争もそうであるが、現実の闘争は、参加していない者に対して倫理的な圧迫をあたえる。市街戦を前衛ジャズにすることは、そういう圧迫をはね返しているのでもある。そのなかで、学生たちの「彼ら」が単数の「彼」になり、さらに描出話法（自由間接話法）で一人称の「俺達」になるという、いささか奇妙な代名詞の変化がおこる。「僕」は「彼ら」をジャズメンに変容させて、そのなかに自分の声を響かせたいのだ。

　このトリック的な代名詞の用い方は反復される。このあとにもう一度「彼ら」がいつのまにか「彼」になり、「そして、彼は同時に、アフリカの砂漠地帯で太陽をいっぱいに浴びて、ぽつんと一人立っている自分を、発見するだろう。ぽつんと。」（佐藤　2011、9）という表現を引き出す。この「彼」

のいるアフリカは、闘士になりたいという夢からも、闘争というものの共同性からも、逸脱している。そこに立つ「自分」の発見。主語は「彼」だが、「僕」の、さらには作者自身の願望と不安をないまぜにした発見である。

　ひとりの高校生が、早熟性を発揮していろんな情報を受け取っている。それだけでも学校のクラスでは自慢できることだったかもしれない。しかし、皮肉な見方をすれば、彼は情報に踊らされているのである。その受け身の夢を能動性へとひっくりかえす。そのための前衛ジャズであり、アフリカなのだ。孤独な高校生が、ジャズ化した市街戦の「俺達」のなかに入り、さらにアフリカの砂漠でふたたび孤独な自分を見出す。大江健三郎的な、期待と絶望が入りくむ作品構成とともに、そこまでも情報の吸収だと見られる既視感がないわけではないが、この突き抜け方は、身ぶりとして、現実の闘争からの圧迫に負けていないものだと思う。

　この「市街戦のジャズメン」は、1968 年 2 月に『北方文芸』という北海道の雑誌に発表され[3]、ごく一部の人に読まれただけであった。

「情況の力」

「ジュッパチ」、この第一次羽田闘争からは、もうひとつ重要な作品が生まれている。当時、受験浪人中だった佐々木幹郎（1947〜）の書いた長篇詩「死者の鞭」である。三部に分けられたその「Ⅱ　暦」の冒頭の部分を引用する。

　　やがて　ほどかれて散る落葉のあかるさに
　　死は　迷走の地溝を彩っている
　　走り来て走り来て去り
　　精神の奥底で起爆しつづける死
　　低い気圧をブーメランのように放ち　ぼくは
　　流れつづける姿勢を前にたおして
　　長い偽名のネクタイをしめあげ
　　疲れだけが屈辱の香りを噴きつけるからか
　　真下で

---

[3] この作品の元の原稿は「市街戦の中のジャズメン」という題で、1967 年 12 月、第五回青島青少年文芸賞優秀賞を受けた。本来なら掲載される北海道新聞に「高校生の作品として穏当ではない」という理由で掲載されなかった。その原稿に加筆し、題も改めたものが、「北方文芸」1968 年 3 月号に発表された。

　　つんざくようにリンの異臭が鼻をつく
　　手に燃える軸木に
　　ゆえもなく焦点をあわせている
　　友の声は聞こえない
　　ぼくに見えるのは幻の橋の上でたおれている
　　朝の光（佐々木　1982、12）

佐々木幹郎は、闘争のなかで亡くなった山崎博昭と親交があった。「友」とは山崎博昭のことである。この作品は、単に死者となった友のことを思って悲しむ抒情詩ではない。自分が闘争に参加しなかったことを悔やんでいるのでもない。そんな幼稚な水準の詩ではないのだ。

　　語り手の「ぼく」は、落葉の散る風景にも自分の内面にも「死」を引きよせる。「彩っている」「起爆しつづける」というように、「死」を観念ではなく実在性をもつものとして扱おうとしている。その「死」を媒介として「地溝」と「精神の奥底」がつながる。「低い気圧」はその回路の緊張が生みだしている。それは、「ブーメランのように」投げても自分に帰ってくる。

　　この作者は「死」に対して受け身でも能動でもないところに身をおいている。この世界の見えるものとその奥にあるものの両方を見抜くような視線が、彼のいるところ、闘争の現場からは遠いところから、放たれている。死者の友人であったこの詩人にそのめぐりあわせがもたらした、ほとんど奇跡的な視線だと言っていい。それが、この「死者の鞭」の、幻覚的に体験される闘争を、空疎なものにしていない。

　　詩人で批評家の北川透（1935〜）が評した[4]ように、佐々木幹郎が「この作品を書かざるを得ないようにして動いた情況の力」があったと考えるべきだろう。

　　そして、「市街戦のジャズメン」を書いた佐藤泰志にも同様の「情況の力」がはたらいていたというのが、『佐藤泰志　そこに彼はいた』で私が強調したことである。

　　その「情況の力」は、佐藤泰志の詩「ニューレフト」にも見ることができる。部分を引用する。

　　底なしの階段を

---

[4] 北川透「〈死者〉を敵として　佐々木幹郎覚書」（佐々木　1970）

　　宇宙空間弾道弾にまたがり
　　殺人狂の少年が
　　落ちて行く。
　　加速度が背中で燃え
　　毛穴という毛穴から
　　巨大に脹れた鮮血が吹き出
　　僕達の額を打つ。
　　ああ
　　ベルト・コンベアーに乗っかった
　　睡眠不足のミルク飲み人形
　　金切り声の傍観者達よ
　　〈未来〉は本当に輝いているのか。(佐藤 1991, 126)

自殺的に落下していく「殺人狂の少年」の血が「僕達」の額に飛びちるのだろう。そのイメージを、果てしなく大きな、詩的な空間におく。「僕達」と、語り手に呼びかけられている「ミルク飲み人形」「傍観者達」との関係が微妙である。対自的でもあり、対他的でもあるように思える。「市街戦のジャズメン」で、三人称複数の「彼ら」から、単数の、「僕」にほかならない「彼」を引きずりだしたのに似ている。「殺人狂の少年」自体が、実は「僕」のなかの「彼」なのだと考えられる。

　「ベルト・コンベアー」は、順応的に終身雇用の勤め人になっていく者たちに対してよく使われた言葉である。「ベルト・コンベアーに乗っかった」生き方を疑う。それが、若者の多い社会の若者たちの、社会への最初の疑問だったかもしれない。「〈未来〉は本当に輝いているのか」は、結局、作者自身が自分も一員である同世代の「傍観者達」に問いかけている。そして、それを問わせているものこそ、すでに体制への反逆を行動で表わす者が現われている「情況の力」だ。佐々木幹郎の詩に比べたら薄っぺらさのある作品であるが、そういう読み方ができる。タイトルの「ニューレフト」には、自分の考える「新左翼」はこういうイメージだという詩的な主張がこめられているだろう。

　佐々木幹郎や佐藤泰志とは対照的な例として、団塊の世代の代表的な詩人となる荒川洋治（1949〜）の、高校生のときに書いた初期作品のひとつをとりあげておく。4 億年前の生物の化石を主人公にした長篇詩「化石の夢」である。部分を引用する。

    なんども　なんども
    死んでみて
    いまでは　もう死にあきた
    上にいる仲間の
    ふとんのあつさが
    きがかりで
    死ぬのをやめて
    ４億年生きてきた（荒川　2001、683）

まず、言葉が平易で、読みやすさがある。「ふとんのあつさ」はこのヒロインの上に堆積した層の厚さを指す。４億年という時間が、その当時の、「情況の力」も含む最近のことへの周到な防波堤になっている。そうであっても、そして羽田闘争よりも一年近く前に書かれたと思われる作品であるのに、次のような一節があることは興味深い。

    彼女を　とりまく
    砂の群れ
    毛沢東のプラカードもちらつけば
    ホワイトハウスの半旗もひるがえる
    彼女の墓石には
    華美すぎて
    うとましい（荒川　2001、686）

コンテクストはともかくとして、毛沢東の名前とホワイトハウスが出てくる。「ホワイトハウスの半旗」とは、Ｊ・Ｆ・ケネディが暗殺されたときのものだろう。政治や思想などに関心はないという顔をしたいこの作者も、冷戦構造下の世界に生きていた。それをものがたるものだ。

　「華美すぎて」という言い方がすでに荒川洋治的だろうか。一般に、プラカードや半旗が華美であるということはない。それを華美だとする地質学的なイメージからの感受性。荒川洋治の詩のふしぎさは、たとえば美の基準のそんな撹乱を早くからもっていたことも一因であるかもしれない。そして、それを撹乱だとするならば、そこには 1960 年代の文化の動きの一面が影を投げている。わざと幼稚そうにしている書き方も含めて、そのなかで旧世代的なハイアートが確実に失墜していると受けとることもできる。無理に背のびしようとしていない。それも、ひとつのしたたかさだ。

　　佐々木幹郎や佐藤泰志のように「情況の力」をまともに受けることだけが、若者の多い社会の若者たちの特徴であったわけではないことが分かる。

「革命」の夢

とくに「ジュッパチ」以降、団塊の世代の一部は、急進化した新左翼の学生運動に参加した。大学内の保守的体制を変革しようとする大学闘争だけではなく、「70 年安保粉砕」をスローガンとする新左翼の街頭運動の主力部隊となって、警察の機動隊とたたかった。

　　そういう闘争がおこなわれていることが、日本の社会にとってどれほど大きいことだったかは、意見の分かれるところである。団塊の世代のなかでの受けとめ方もさまざまだ。

　　団塊の世代に対して「全共闘世代」という別な呼び方が使われることがある。「全共闘」は、各大学のなかに作られた全学共闘会議を略したものである。

　　1960 年代後半、大学への進学率は 15 パーセントくらいであり、さらにそのなかで運動に関わった者はそのごく一部である。そして、そのなかにはエリート的存在がいた。かれらには、自分たちが地位を獲得するのに障害となる旧体制的なものへの反発と、自分たちの恵まれた立場そのものへの自己批判的な意識があった。

　　運動・闘争に関わるか共感を抱くかした者が、どの程度まで、日本の社会が根本的に変化する「革命」を夢見たのかも、いまでは、はっきりしなくなっている。

　　佐々木幹郎の「死者の鞭」や佐藤泰志の「市街戦のジャズメン」のような作品の表現の方が、記録や証言以上に語っているものがあるという見方もできる。

　　表現とその享受を中心において考えるとすれば、「革命」の夢を見た若者たちがいて、かれらにとくに影響力をもった表現者がいたことが、1960 年代の文化の大きな特徴である。

　　そういう表現者として、映画監督の大島渚（1932〜2013）、小説家の大江健三郎（1935〜）、詩人・批評家の吉本隆明（1924〜2012）をあげることができる。もちろん、このほかにもすぐれた仕事をした表現者はたくさんいる。

しかし、影響力という点でこの三人は群を抜いていた。この三人について、それぞれの、「革命」の夢との関わり方を簡単に素描しておきたい。

　大島渚は、1959 年の『愛と希望の街』、安保闘争の年であった 1960 年の『青春残酷物語』『太陽の墓場』『日本の夜と霧』以来、日本映画の多くが拠りどころとしてきたヒューマニズムの地平から飛躍した、革命的な高揚感をもつ作品をつくりつづけた。筋書きだけをとりだせばメロドラマでしかないような素材から、観客につよく問いかける力をもった映画の表現を生みだした。彼がとくに力に入れたのは、犯罪と「革命」の夢を結びつけることであった。

　大島渚は、団塊の世代である四人の男子高校生が登場する『日本春歌考』を 1967 年につくった。大学受験のために上京したその四人は、いくぶんはビートルズのパロディーだったのかもしれないが、退屈な未来しかなさそうな社会の、欲求不満の、ふてくされた若者たちである。それは、団塊の世代が映画のなかにリアルに登場した最初の姿であった。『日本春歌考』は、そういうマイナス面だけを集めたような若者たちのなかにこの世界を揺さぶる力が秘められていることを、ストーリーではなく、入りくんだ構造をもつ表現の全体で語った。手法的にはフランスのジャン＝リュック・ゴダールの方法に接近し、日本と朝鮮半島の関係をめぐる考察やアメリカから入った平和主義的フォークソングなども視野に入れていた。

　佐藤泰志は、1971 年にこの作品を再見して、四人の高校生たちの「負の部分」に共感を寄せるエッセイ「『日本春歌考』論」（佐藤　1971）を書いた。「表現者はいつも〈正〉であり、その深刻ぶった顔はいつも醜い」として、小説を書いてきた自分自身にも自己批判の刃を向け、意味や定型をもたない「負」の怒りのなかにだけ未来が内包されていると主張した。「自己批判」もまたこの時代に頻繁に使われた用語のひとつである。

　大江健三郎は、1957 年の短篇「奇妙な仕事」から作家活動を始め、1959年の長篇『われらの時代』でまさに時代とそこで生きることの困難さをとらえようとした。

　エッセイや現実の活動では、若者たちの先鋭な部分に浸透していた「ラディカル」からすると生ぬるいと批判されたが、小説では圧倒的な力を発揮した。とくに 1967 年の『万延元年のフットボール』は、1960 年代のひとつの空気を代表する作品である。万延元年（1860 年）に四国の村におこった一揆と

1960 年の安保闘争を重ねあわせることで、ひとりの反抗者の「革命」の夢に奥行きをつくった。

　それまでの日本文学にはなかった大江健三郎の翻訳的な文体は、修飾が多く、自然さを失っていたと思えるところもある。しかし、「古い日本」に挑み、同時に「情況」の芯にあるものを感じとる文体でもあった。一度嵌まると簡単には抜けだせない罠のような魔力があり、多くの模倣者を生んだ。

　佐藤泰志は、中上健次（1946〜1992）と並んで、大江健三郎の影響をいかに克服するかを課題とした代表的な作家である。

　中上健次は、この課題を、かつての自然主義文学を支えた古い土壌の奥までさかのぼるような方法によって解決したと言える。団塊の世代よりも少しだけ上の彼は、大江健三郎と村上春樹（1949〜）のあいだのもっとも存在感のある作家だ。しかし、ある意味で特殊なケースである。それだけ強烈な個性の持主だということにもなる。人工的な美学の上に荒唐無稽と思える民族主義を持ち込んだ三島由紀夫（1925〜1970）の特殊性に匹敵するものだと言えるが、大きな違いは、中上健次の文学が世界史的な「現在」にむかって開かれていることだ。そこに大江健三郎から吸収したものが活きている。

　佐藤泰志は大江健三郎の影響をどう克服したのか。第一には、自分のまわりの普通の人間たちを見つめることによって、だと思う。その見つめ方は、吉本隆明の「大衆の原像」という考え方に共通するところがある。

　吉本隆明は、1952 年の『固有時との対話』と 1953 年の『転位のための十篇』以来、思考そのものがある種の美意識を拒否するような独特の抒情性をもつ詩を発表してきた。同時に、左翼と保守派のどちらの側にも鋭い刃を向ける批評活動を展開した。1960 年の安保闘争のあとは、既成の商業メディアから自立したリトルマガジン『試行』を拠点として、『言語にとって美とはなにか』（1965）や『心的現象論序説』（1971）といった原理的な仕事を連載した。国家と家族の成り立ちに光をあてた『共同幻想論』（1968）をはじめとして、カール・マルクスをマルクス主義から解き放ち、そのマルクスとジークムント・フロイトをその思考の基礎においた。

　1960 年の時点では、彼は運動を牽引した全学連主流派と近いところにいたと言われるが、それにつながる新左翼の運動には距離をおくようになった。反権力・反権威の立場をつらぬきながら、「革命」の夢を見る者が現実におこなうことに対しては、どちらかといえばきびしい態度をとった。にもかか

わらず、一部の学生たちは彼を熱心に読んだ。闘争・運動のなかで読まれていた最大の存在である。吉本隆明の文章には、それを読んでいるというだけでこの世界の根本にあるものを見抜いたと錯覚させるようなところがあった。

吉本隆明は日本の知識人の多くとはちがう場所に生きている。そう感じさせるなにかがあった。佐藤泰志は、1970 年に書いたエッセイで、吉本隆明のことを「僕は、おそらく吉本と云う人は、その素朴さ、卒直さと云う感受性をいつも持っている人であり、それによっていつも傷ついている人だ、と思わずにはいられない」[5]　（神西　1970）と書いている。

大島渚、大江健三郎、吉本隆明は、それぞれにちがった左翼性をもつ。大江健三郎には、旧左翼のなかでもある程度許容される穏健さがあった。戦後民主主義の申し子とされ、いわゆる「進歩派」と呼ばれた知識人の代表的存在であった。大島渚の表現は、初期の『日本の夜と霧』から旧左翼の日本共産党に対する苛烈な批判をもつものだった。彼に近い支持者は新左翼に属すると見なされる者たちだった。吉本隆明は、冷戦構造における左右の対立のどちらかに与するような考え方を否定し、新左翼を含む左翼全体の外に「自立」という拠点を構想した。三島由紀夫のような右翼・保守の側から評価される面があった。

熱い季節

もうひとつ、団塊の世代には「ビートルズ世代」という呼び方もある。これも世代の全体には当てはまらないだろうが、すてがたいところがある。少数派だとしても、日本の若者たちの一部は、すでに 1950 年代の後半からアメリカのロックンロール、ポップス、そしてフォークに親しんでいた。アメリカのヒットパレードに少しだけ遅れてそのヒット曲のカバーを歌う歌手たちの登場するテレビ番組もあった。そして、1965 年のビートルズ来日のあと、エレキギターをめぐる騒動と、歌謡曲シーンへのグループサウンズの台頭へとなだれこむ大きな波がおこった。この世代は、そういう季節も生きたのである。

もちろん、ビートルズはアメリカへの上陸が先で、それから日本に来たのである。ビートルズにつづくブリティッシュ・ロックも、アメリカの大衆文化とポピュラー音楽へのあこがれの延長上に入ってきたのだ。

---

[5] 神西隆四は佐藤泰志が一時期用いたペンネーム。

　このことの前に語るべきことだったかもしれないが、団塊の世代の、もっと多数の部分が、アメリカの映画とテレビ映画に熱中していた。そして、いくらかでも文学青年であれば、大江健三郎とともに、ノーマン・メイラー、J・D・サリンジャー、ジャック・ケルアック、ジョン・アプダイクといった戦後のアメリカ小説に関心を向けていた。

　さらに話を広げると、世代の差をこえて、世界の多くの地域と同様に、日本にも「豊かな国」としてのアメリカへのあこがれがあった。アメリカのテレビ映画に出てくるような、電気製品に囲まれ、自動車をもつ生活が夢見られた。経済の高度成長がつづくなかで、一部の人たちはそれが実現しつつあるとも感じていた。

　そのアメリカがベトナム戦争をおこない、泥沼化させていたのだ。1960年代後半の運動・闘争は、ベトコンと連帯してアメリカ帝国主義を敵とする反戦運動でもあった。私たちの「革命」の夢は、アメリカへの軍事的従属から脱することを最初の一歩とするものだった。また、反米ということでは、かつての敵国、広島と長崎に原爆を落としたアメリカへの感情を始末できずにいる国民的心理の土壌もあった。

　一方、アメリカと対極にあったと考えられる中国では、「造反有理」をスローガンとする文化大革命がおこっていた。その内実はともかくとして、「造反有理」は、家来が王様に背くことには道理があるという意味である。その「反」を身のまわりでの反逆や反抗として受けとって励まされ、いきおいづくということが、同じアジアの一部である日本の若者にもあった。「造反有理」とともに「自己批判」も最初は中国の文化大革命のなかで頻繁に使われていた用語であった。

　さらに、1968年のフランスの「五月革命」をはじめとする、世界各地のスチューデント・パワーとマイノリティーの抗議活動のニュースも、次々に入ってきた。

　現実のなかにある、アメリカへの二律背反的な感情・態度とは、とくに結びつきをもたない次元にこそ、「革命」の夢は息づいていた、と考えることもできる。

　社会全体が熱くなっていた。そんなふうに回想する者も少なくない。それが誇張だとしても、ほとんど詩的な意味で「熱い季節」を生きたいという願望を共有する者たちがいて、その間では、すでに亡くなっていたマルコムＸ

やチェ・ゲバラのような活動家・革命家がヒーローであり、「ラディカル」
（過激な）という語がとびかっていた。それまでの自分の甘えや妥協を「自
己批判」して「革命」の闘士となる。それが、セクトの内側の、広い視野を
もった思考がなされない場面では、疑いようのない正しい生き方となり、の
ちに悲劇的な結果を招くことにもなった。

　しかし、「70 年安保」は、「60 年安保」のときのような国民的な盛り上
がりをおこすことはなかった。大衆からの支持を得られなかった運動・闘争
は、次第に、現実の枠組みのなかに押し戻されるように終息に向かい、つい
には一連のセクト間の抗争や 1972 年におこった連合赤軍の事件のために谷間
の底に沈んでいった。

　境遇や立場も、関心の持ち方も、進路の決め方も、さまざまであったが、
団塊の世代は、こういう時代に青春期を送ったのである。

1970 年代の不安

大島渚、大江健三郎、吉本隆明は、1970 年代以降も、時代の変化に対応して
力点を変化させながら、質の高い仕事をしていく。それに対して、かれらの
影響を受けながら、あるいはかれらに反発しながら、時代の波をまともにか
ぶった若者は、一時的に早熟めいた才能を発揮しても、そのあと壁にぶつか
った者が多い。

　詩では、「60 年安保」の世代であった、いわゆる「1960 年代詩人」たち
につづいて、新しい詩人たちが次々に登場していたが、たとえば 1970 年とい
う時点での注目すべき動きのひとつは、金石稔（1948〜）、芝山幹郎（1948
〜）、帷子耀（1954〜）といった「騒騒」グループの活動であった。なかで
も、団塊の世代よりも下の、若い帷子耀の詩の形式上の冒険は目ざましいも
のだった。しかし、彼も含めて、「騒騒」グループの詩人たちは、1970 年代
半ばまでにはシーンから姿を消してしまった。

　団塊の世代で、1970 年代に入る前から活躍していてそのまま持続的に仕事
をつづけた文学者は、「死者の鞭」の詩人佐々木幹郎と、初期には詩も書い
ていた小説家金井美恵子（1947〜）のほかには、ほとんどいない。

　佐藤泰志は、1977 年に「移動動物園」という作品を発表するまでは、商業
文芸誌には登場しない。書いていなかったのではなく、仲間と同人誌を出し
てそこに書いていた。小説だけでなく、詩とエッセイも書いていた。「移動

動物園」以後も、順調に作家生活を送ることができたわけではない。何度も芥川賞候補になりながら、芥川賞をもらうことはなく、最後の最後まで不安定で苦しい生活がつづいた。

　佐藤泰志は、1960 年代の後半には典型的といっていいほどに時代の子でありながら、ある段階から時代との折り合いがつかないという状態に入っていったのだろうか。必ずしもそうだとは言えない。不運や不遇ということに特別な理由はいらないのかもしれない。また、表現と時代との関係にはわかりにくい側面がある。表現者はなんらかのかたちで反時代的なものをかかえているべきだとも考えられるからだ。

　日本の社会の、時代の空気の変わり目は、1972 年から 1973 年にかけてあったと考えられる。

　その時点について、第一にはっきりしていることは、「革命」の夢が社会のなかでいかなる意味でも現実的な基盤を失っていたことである。革命運動をつづける者たちはいた。むしろ現実的な基盤がないことで、かれらが暴走的にラディカルになっていくということがあった。芸術表現においても、前衛的なラディカリズムがほとんど症候的に進んでいくという傾向があった。しかし、それは、多様化する社会と文化のなかの、あくまでも一面にすぎなかった。

　時代の動きを少しだけ追っておく。

　連合赤軍の事件のおこった 1972 年には、アメリカに占領されていた沖縄が日本に復帰した。1973 年には石油危機がおこり、日本経済の高度成長にもストップがかかった。しかし、それは一時的な停滞であり、経済の「繁栄」はつづいていく。1975 年にはヴェトナム戦争が終結し、1978 年には日中平和友好条約が結ばれ、日本と中国の国交が「正常化」した。また、その年には1960 年代からはげしい反対闘争のおこなわれてきた成田国際空港が「開港」した。反対闘争はそのあともつづくが、一部の人々にあった空港反対への共感は薄らいでいった。

　大きな状況における問題は消えるか隠されるかして、人々は生活という小さな状況のなかで一喜一憂している。そういうふうになった。それは、団塊の世代の大半が社会のなかで大人としての役割をもつようになったことに対応している。生活の細部に楽しいことを見つけていく。そういう生き方が肯定された。その一方では、表面的な静けさのなかに漠然とした挫折感や罪の

意識が押し隠されていた。実は嵐の記憶がまだ生々しく残っている凪の状態
であった。

　1960 年代から 1970 代への変化をうまく取り入れた表現のすぐれた例とし
て、鈴木志郎康（1935〜）の詩集『やわらかい闇の夢』（1974）がある。

　「1960 年代詩人」のひとりである鈴木志郎康は、自分が身体をもってこの
世界に存在していることに独特にこだわりつづけてきた。とくに詩集『罐製
同棲又は陥穽への逃走』（1967）のなかの、「プアプア詩篇」と呼ばれる作
品群が、1960 年代後半の若い読者につよい印象を残した。自由な口語の使い
方と日常的な生活のなかに持ち込んだエロスが、独特なユーモアをもって、
文化のなかの「ラディカル」志向に呼応していた。彼は「極私的」という言
葉をつくった。単なる個人性を意味するのではないその「極私的」というモ
チーフは、映画もつくる彼の表現のなかで現在まで持続している。

　『やわらかい闇の夢』の作品のほとんどは、事実をそのまま描いているよ
うに見える。そのなかでも特徴がはっきりと出ている作品「ソファに私が坐
っていると」を引用する。

　　ソファに私が坐っていると
　　マリが来て私に寄りかかって坐ると
　　私は自然にマリの肩に腕をまわして
　　軽く抱いたまま
　　キスをするということもなく
　　言葉もたまにしか口にしないで
　　六月
　　午後一杯をすごしたことがあった
　　次の休みの日も
　　又そうして午後を過ごそうと思う
　　あれは本当によい時間だった
　　何も望まない
　　何も考えない
　　時間というものの経過を
　　お互いの息づかいで聞いていると書いてしまうと
　　いくらか私のこととは思えなくなってくるが
　　静かで本当によかった（鈴木　1980、59）

このわかりやすさは、なにかを突き抜けてここに達していると感じさせるものだ。ここには、リアリズムからすれば出てくるにちがいない二人の関係の行きちがいのようなことは省かれている。社会の影もない。マリという恋人とすごした時間。それを書き、それについて思ったことを書く。「何も望まない／何も考えない／時間というものの経過」がどんな価値をもつのか。それを確かめようとしている。その二次的な欲望が微妙に事実性を上回っている。端正といえば端正な言葉の運びのなかを、「静かで本当によかった」という到達点へと、ある種の不安がその欲望とともに並行している。

1970年代に入り、1960年代に噴出した問題がそこで解決されたわけではない。けれども、人々は奇妙に落ち着いた状態を手に入れていた。そのことへの不安に通じるものが、恋人との時間を「本当によかった」と確かめた作者のなかにはある。幸福の多くは、問題未解決のままの幸福なのである。それが意識できていると思う。

とても単純な書き方をしているように見えながら、そんな書き方はいままでなかったというものになっている。これまでの日本文学の私小説的な世界ともまったくちがうし、一般的な意味での文学的な教養とも無縁な場所で、現実にある、ただそれだけのことを表現する。その表現への向かい方に新しさがある。そういう作品を集めた詩集『やわらかい闇の夢』は、詩というジャンルをこえて、1970年代におこっていた変化の兆候を表わす代表的なものであったと言える。

1970年代半ばまでには、荒川洋治、稲川方人（1948〜）、平出隆（1950〜）といった団塊の世代の新しい詩人たちも登場していた。

荒川洋治は、吉本隆明によって「この詩人はたぶん若い現代詩の暗喩の意味をかえた最初の、最大の詩人である」と評価されることになる。その第二詩集『水駅』（1975）のなかの詩句「口語の時代はさむい」と「世代の興奮は去った」が大きな話題になった。それらは、まさに1960年代後半からの「熱い季節」の終焉を告げるキャッチフレーズのようなものであった。

その「口語の時代はさむい」を含む「見附のみどりに」という作品の最後の二連を引用する。

　　夢をみればまた隠れあうこともできるが妹よ
　　江戸はさきごろおわったのだ

あれからのわたしは
遠く
ずいぶんと来た

いまわたしは、埼玉銀行新宿支店の白金のひかりをついてあるいてい
る。ビルの破音。消えやすいその飛沫。口語の時代はさむい。葉陰の
あのぬくもりを尾けてひとたび、打ちいでてみようか見附に。（荒川
2001、51）

いまはどういう時代なのか。そういう問いに対して、ふしぎな回路をとおっ
た答え方をしている。多くの人が普通に意識している「最近」という時間を
はぐらかしたいのは、高校時代の初期作品「化石の夢」で4億年という地層
学的な時間を導入したのと同じである。「江戸はさきごろおわったのだ」は、
時間の幅のとりかた次第では成立する。そこから明治以降の「口語の時代」
に不満を言い、擬古文的な言葉づかいの混入を正当化しているのだ。ストー
リー的には、「わたし」は現在の東京で小用のために茂みのなかに入った妹
からわざと行きはぐれた兄である。「妹は／濠ばたの／しげみにはしりこみ」
からの、エロティックで美しい一節が引用部の前にある。

　この詩は、何をやっていることになるだろうか。失われたものを悲しむふ
りをする「喪失感ゲーム」というようなものである。ある意味でどんな伝統
をよみがえらせたいというわけでもない風変わりなレトリックの、感覚的な
心地よさ。それに意味をあたえるものとして喪失感が必要なのだ。しかし、
たとえゲームだとしても、「口語の時代はさむい」という表現には、日本語
の現在への問いかけとともに、いわば騒いだあとの静けさのなかにあった
1970年代半ばの不安に届いているものがある。

　1970年代の荒川洋治の詩は、実際に行ったことのない、地図帳で見ただけ
の土地を舞台にしたものが多い。いわば「いま」と「ここ」からの逃走を試
みていた。その逃走にも不安が並行していた。そこに鈴木志郎康の作品との
接点があり、また、その不安こそが彼の言葉に抑制の効いたユニークな官能
性をもたらしていたと考えられる。

参考文献

Arakawa, Yōji 荒川洋治. 1982. *Arakawa Yōji Shishū* 『荒川洋治詩集』 (Poems of
　Arakawa Yōji). Tōkyō: Shichōsha.

——. 2001. *Arakawa Yōji Zenshishū* 『荒川洋治全詩集』 (Collected Poems of Arakawa Yōji). Tōkyō: Shichōsha.

Fukuma, Kenji 福間健二. 2014. *Satō Yasushi. Sokoni kare wa ita* 『佐藤泰志そこに彼はいた』 (Satō Yasushi: He Was There). Tōkyō: Kawadeshobō shinsha.

Jinzai, Takashi 神西隆四. 1970. *Oime aruiwa soboku toiu koto* 『負目あるいは素朴ということ』 （About a Sense of Guilt or Simplicity）. Mokuji vol. 1. Tōkyō: Mokuji hakkōsho.

Ōe, Kenzaburō 大江健三郎. 1959. *Warera no jidai* 『われらの時代』 (Our Times). Tōkyō: Chūōkōronsha.

——. 1967. *Man'en gannen no futtobōru* 『万延元年のフットボール』 (The Silent Cry). Tōkyō: Kōdansha.

Sakaiya, Taichi 堺屋太一. 1976. *Dankai no sedai* 『団塊の世代』 (The Dankai Generation). Tōkyō: Kōdansha.

Sasaki, Mikirō 佐々木幹郎. 1970. *Shisha no muchi* 『死者の鞭』 (Whip of the Dead). Tōkyō: Kōzōsha.

——. 1982. *Sasaki Mikirō Shishū* 『佐々木幹郎詩集』 (Poems of Sasaki Mikirō). Tōkyō: Shichōsha.

Satō, Yasushi 佐藤泰志. 1971. *Nihon shunka-kō ron* 『日本春歌考』論 （On "A Treatise on Japanese Bawdy Songs"）. Mokuji vol.5. Tōkyō: Mokuji hakkōsho.

——. 1991. *Nyū Refuto* 『ニューレフト』 （New Left）. Jiraiya vol.6. Tōkyō: Jiraiya henshūshitsu.

——. 2007. *Satō Yasushi Sakuhinshū* 『佐藤泰志作品集』 (Selected Works of Satō Yasushi). Tōkyō: Crane.

——. 2011. *Mōhitotsu no asa. Satō Yasushi shoki sakuhinshū* 『もうひとつの朝 佐藤泰志初期作品集』 (Another Morning: Early Works of Satō Yasushi). Tōkyō: Kawadeshobō shinsha.

Suzuki, Shirōyasu 鈴木志郎康. 1969. *Suzuki Shirōyasu Shishū* 『鈴木志郎康詩集』 (Poems of Suzuki Shirōyasu). Tōkyō: Shichōsha.

——. 1980. *Shinsen Suzuki Shirōyasu Shishū* 『新選鈴木志郎康詩集』 (New Selected Poems of Suzuki Shirōyasu). Tōkyō: Shichōsha.

Yoshimoto, Takaaki 吉本隆明. 1965. *Gengo ni totte bi towa nanika* 『言語にとって美とはなにか』 (What Beauty Means to Language). Tōkyō: Keisōshobō.

——. 1971. *Shinteki genshō ron josetsu* 『心的現象論序説』 (An Introductory Essay of Treatise on Mental Phenomenon). Tōkyō: Hokuyōsha.

——. 1968. *Kyōdō genso ron* 『共同幻想論』 (Treatise on Shared Fantasies). Tōkyō: Kawadeshobō shinsha.

Summary

The generation born during Japan's post-war baby boom are called the "*dankai*" generation. Sometimes they are also called the "Zenkyōtō" generation or "Beatles" generation. They experienced a "hot season" around 1970.

In the 1960s this generation appeared as consumers of culture and became youth in a society characterized by having many youths. Sato Yasushi's *Jazzmen in Street Fighting* and Sasaki Mikirō's *Whip of the Dead* are two pioneer works born in an undulation from the political movement in late 60s. There were struggles against the Japan-U.S Treaty then and the situation had some power acting poetically in their works. It was generally related to the dream of "revolution".

Ōshima Nagisa, Ōe Kenzaburo and Yoshimoto Takaaki were the leading people who influenced the young generation around the dream.

At a certain time in the 1970s the dream faded away and the whole scene changed. People were entering a state of strange happiness with problems unsolved. A kind of uneasiness haunting there is part of characteristics of the works by Shiroyasu Suzuki who is among the "60s poets" and Arakawa Yoji who is among newcomers belonging to the "*dankai*" generation.

Asian Studies in Slovenia

Japonski jezik med nacijo in imperijem: Tokieda Motoki in aporija nacionalnega jezika

Luka CULIBERG[*]

Izvleček

Predvsem strukturalistična veja jezikoslovja je poskušala zavreči vse jeziku na videz zunanje aspekte in se mu posvetiti v njegovi »čisti« ali abstraktni pojavnosti. Na drugi strani so se vzpostavile tudi jezikoslovne smeri, ki so jezik poskušale razumeti z vidika družbenega konteksta. Vendar pa jezik tako v strukturalnem jezikoslovju kakor v družbeno naravnanih jezikoslovnih teorijah lahko ostane ideološki pojem, če te teorije ne razvijejo tudi ustrezne kritike družbe oziroma družbenih odnosov, iz katerih izhajajo vsakokratne predstave o jeziku oziroma jezikovni praksi. V pričujoči razpravi pokažemo ta ideološki spregled na primeru jezikoslovnih razmišljanj Tokiede Motokija (時枝誠記 1900–1967), ki je s svojo jezikoslovno teorijo utemeljeval kolonialno jezikovno politiko Japonskega imperija na Tajvanu in v Koreji.

Ključne besede: nacionalni jezik, lingvistika, ideologija, družbeno dejstvo, *kokugo*, *nihongo*

Abstract

Modern structural linguistics attempted to approach language in its "pure" or abstract form by discarding all elements perceived as external to language itself. On the other hand, linguistic schools attempting to understand language in the social context have also been formed. However, in all those language theories language itself can remain an ideological notion if those theories fail to engage in the necessary critique of social relations that generate representations about language or, more precisely, about language practice. This paper wishes to point out this kind of ideological overlook in the case of linguistic deliberations of Tokieda Motoki (時枝誠記 1900–1967), who attempted to justify the colonial language policy of Japanese Empire in Taiwan and Korea.

Keywords: national language, linguistics, ideology, social fact, *kokugo*, *nihongo*

[*] Luka Culiberg, Asistent z doktoratom, Oddelek za azijske študije, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani, Slovenia.
luka.culiberg@hotmail.com

Jezikoslovje med znanostjo in ideologijo

V klasični disciplinarni delitvi moderne univerze proučevanje *jezika* prvenstveno pripada polju splošne lingvistike, podobno kakor so na drugi strani, na primer, družbeni odnosi in institucije stvar sociologije, pretekli človeški dogodki pa v domeni zgodovinopisja. Humanistično in družboslovno polje se danes cepi že na skoraj nepregledno množico disciplin in pod-disciplin, ki si vsaka zase prilaščajo in tudi ljubosumno varujejo svoj legitimni objekt proučevanja, hkrati pa jih to disciplinarno drobljenje sili v preseganje ozkih meja svoje discipline s poskusi interdisciplinarnega povezovanja.

Drobljenje disciplin, ki sledi spontani logiki prepoznavanja vselej novih predmetov proučevanja, je ideološki proces, ti spontano prepoznani objekti znanosti pa ostajajo na ravni ideoloških predstav in ne postanejo teoretsko proizvedeni znanstveni objekti. Pred pastjo ideologizacije svojega predmeta proučevanja nikakor niso varne niti ustaljene discipline, kakrše so sociologija, zgodovinopisje ali jezikoslovje. Vse preveč pogosto se dogaja, da, na primer, akademsko zgodovinopisje ostaja ujeto v historično naracijo nacionalne zgodovine, ki določeno sodobno nacionalno entiteto ahistorično pojasnjuje na zgodovinski osi skozi ideološko obzorje svojega časa, da torej v dojemanju nacionalne zgodovine deli »iluzijo epohe«. Nič drugače se ni pogosto dogajalo z jezikoslovjem, ki je proučevalo »nacionalne jezike« kot zgodovinsko realno obstoječe predmete, namesto da bi jih prepoznalo kot ideološke kategorije »zamišljenih« jezikovnih skupnosti.

Tudi v slovenskem prostoru je v nekaterih akademskih krogih še vedno prisotna predstava, da lahko govorimo o nekakšnem realno obstoječem »slovenskem jeziku«, ki je od Brižinskih spomenikov do Toporišičeve slovnice doživel sicer veliko jezikovnih sprememb, ne pa tudi spremembe svoje »biti«, namreč biti kot »slovenski jezik«. Ko znanstvena disciplina, kakršna je jezikoslovje, enkrat prevzame ideološko pojmovanje svojega predmeta, pa s svojo znanstveno dejavnostjo ne opravlja več teoretskega dela, temveč postane ideološki podpornik prevladujočega diskurza, v tem primeru diskurza »nacionalne identitete«, in s tem potencialno tudi politično orodje. To seveda v ničemer ni slovenska posebnost in v pričujoči kratki razpravi bi radi pokazali, kako je jezikoslovna znanost z dojemanjem »jezika« skozi prizmo dominantne ideologije pomagala legitimirati politične jezikovne politke v okviru imperialne ekspanzije,

kakor se je to zgodilo v primeru japonske kolonialne politike v Koreji in na Tajvanu.

Poglejmo si v ta namen na kratko in v grobih očrtih položaj znanstvenega jezikoslovja v prvi polovici dvajsetega stoletja. Tradicionalna področja znotraj jezikoslovja so predpostavljala obstoj »jezika« kot strukturiranega sistema vokalno-avditorne komunikacije z uporabo konvencionalnih znakov sestavljenih iz arbitrarno kombiniranih zvočnih enot (Davis in Taylor 1990). A četudi se zdi, da v splošnem jezikoslovje ni dvomilo v »jezik« kot realno obstoječi objekt znanstvene kontemplacije, pa je na drugi strani jasno, da znotraj samega jezikoslovja še zdaleč ni bilo konsenza glede tega, kaj je oziroma kaj ni del tega znanstvenega predmeta, ki ga lingvistika imenuje »jezik«. Težnja po formalizaciji objekta proučevanja je v jezikoslovju dvajsetega stoletja izhajala predvsem iz dveh, sicer različnih šol: Saussura v Evropi in Bloomfielda v Ameriki (Benveniste 1988, 17). [1] Kljub različnosti pa sta oba, kakor ugotavlja Benveniste (1988, 17), stala na načelu, da ima lingvistika za edini in resnični objekt »jezik na sebi in za sebe«, zaradi česar mora biti avtonomna veda. Zaradi želje po znanstvenosti in zaradi poskusa, da bi zgradila svoj teoretski aparat neposredno na predmetu, ki ga imenuje jezik, je lingvistika posegala po matematičnih ali deduktivnih disciplinah, ki popolnoma racionalizirajo svoj predmet, tako da ga zvedejo na skupek objektivnih lastnosti s konstantnimi definicijami (Benveniste 1988, 18).

Ta racionalizacija in objektivizacija »jezika« kot predmeta lingvistike je znotraj discipline v veliki meri in pri številnih jezikoslovcih zameglila dejstvo, da celote družbene prakse, ki jo v vsakdanjih predstavah pojmujemo kot »jezik«, ne moremo obravnavati zunaj družbenega konteksta in v okviru ene discipline, ki jezik že vnaprej predpostavi kot svoj objekt proučevanja. Jezik moramo onkraj na prvi pogled vidne materialnosti fonoloških in sintaktičnih struktur namreč predpostaviti v prvi vrsti kot družbeno dejstvo, se pravi, kot matrialno pojavnost, ki svojo obliko in pomen dobi šele v medsebojni interakciji subjektov jezikovne dejavnosti, ti subjekti pa imajo o tej dejavnosti določene predstave, se pravi, določeno »ideologijo«. Kakor vsako družbeno dejstvo, je jezik oziroma jezikovna praksa (saj se jezik udejanja le v praksi) celota družbenih razmerij med ljudmi in predstav, ki jih ti ljudje gojijo o teh razmerjih. Zato mora jezikoslovje vselej v prvi

---

[1] Tu velja opomniti, da so se kljub prevladujočemu vplivu strukturalne lingvistike, tako Saussurove v Evropi kakor Bloomfieldove v ZDA, že v prvi polovici dvajsetega stoletja pojavile tudi alternativne jezikoslovne raziskave, ki so jezik konceptualizirale prav skozi kritično teorijo ideologije, kakor, na primer, Bahtinove jezikoslovne raziskave in spisi Valentina Vološinova.

vrsti najprej izhajati iz kritike samega koncepta jezika onkraj konceptualizacije saussurovske govorice (*langage*), ki jo vselej sestavljata že sinhroni sistem (*langue*) manifestiran v vsakokratnem diahronem in živem govoru (*parole*).

Namreč le »ideološka« analiza jezika lahko pojasni, kako so izreki racionalizirani v kulturno razumljivih terminih kot družbena refleksija samih akterjev. Kakšna oblika racionalizacije stoji za doktrinami »pravilnosti« in »nepravilnosti« v jezikovni rabi? Kako so povezane z doktrinami inherentne moči, lepote, izraznosti etc. jezika? (Silverstein 1985, 223)

Jezik kot družbeno dejstvo

Jezik moramo torej v prvi vrsti razumeti kot »celostno družbeno dejstvo« (*fait social total*), če si sposodimo koncept, ki ga je formuliral Marcel Mauss, in kot tak lahko razumemo jezik kot ireduktibilno dialektičen v svoji naravi, kakor ugotavlja Silverstein (1985). Jezik je nestabilna medsebojna interakcija pomenskih znakovnih oblik, kontekstualiziranih glede na situacijo zainteresirane človeške rabe, posredovane z dejstvom kulturne ideologije. Jezikovno dejstvo je ireduktibilno dialektično ne glede na to, ali nanj gledamo kot na sinhrono rabo ali kot na tako imenovano diahrono spremembo. Gre za sinhrono-diahrono totaliteto, ki jo lahko – če ostanemo znotraj okvirov tradicionalnih avtonomnih delitev raziskovalnih perspektiv – obravnavamo s stališč jezikovne strukture, kontekstualizirane rabe in jezikovnih ideologij (Silverstein 1985, 220).

Strukturalno jezikoslovje pa se je poskušalo vzpostaviti kot izključno teoretska disciplina, ki proučuje jezik v njegovi abstrakciji, jezik kot univerzalno lastnost človeških bitij, lastnost, ki jo moramo raziskovati ločeno od konkretnih manifestacij tega abstraktnega sistema v naravnih (ali umetnih) jezikih. To je verjetno nazadnje pripeljalo do posebne disciplinarne delitve dela, ki na moderni univerzi poleg kateder za jezikoslovje pozna tudi katedre za posamezne konkretne jezike, najprej za sam »nacionalni jezik«, kakor, na primer, Katedra za slovenski knjižni jezik in stilistiko v slovenskem primeru ali katedre za proučevanje japonskega nacionalnega jezika (*kokugogaku* 国語学) v primeru Japonske, poleg tega pa si na večjih univerzah ponavadi priborijo svoje katedre največji oziroma najprestižnejši jeziki, kakor na primer katedre za angleški, španski, francoski, nemški in druge jezike.

Sama disciplina jezikoslovja je bila tako v temelju zaznamovana s Saussurovim ustanovnim dejanjem, s katerim je ločil »zunanje« elemente

jezikoslovja od »notranjih«, ki so postali edini predmet »jezikoslovja«, s čimer so bila iz discipline odstranjena vsa razmerja med jezikom in družbo, razmerja, ki naj ne bi ničesar doprinesla k razumevanju »jezika«, samega na sebi (Bourdieu 1992, 33). Kljub razvoju jezikoslovja, ki je preseglo začetna strukturalna izhodišča in razvilo teorije, ki so zaznamovale drugo polovico dvajsetega stoletja, od Chomskyjeve generativno transformativne slovnice do Hallidayevega sistemsko funkcionalnega jezikoslovja, je jezik v svoji historični kontingenci kot »nacionalni jezik« ostal objekt jezikoslovnih disciplin tako na fakultetnih katedrah kakor na jezikoslovnih inštitutih.

Določene moderne jezikoslovne šole na Japonskem so svoj pristop k jeziku zasnovale na izhodiščih, ki bi jih lahko poimenovali sociolingvistična in za katere velja prepričanje, da so se razvile samostojno in ločeno od zahodnih vplivov. Glavna zanimanja japonske sociolingvistike se zgoščajo v raziskovanju regionalnih jezikovnih raznolikosti (»dialektologija«) in govornega vedenja v vsakdanjem življenju (*gengo seikatsu* 言語生活) (Ide 1986, 281). Začetek tega pristopa Ide (1986) postavlja v leto 1949, ko je bil ustanovljen Nacionalni institut za raziskovanje japonskega jezika (*Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo* 国立国語研究所), z namenom »znanstvenega raziskovanja japonskega jezika in govornega vedenja v vsakdanjem življenju japonskega ljudstva, kakor tudi vzpostaviti trdno osnovo za izboljšanje japonskega jezika« (Ide 1986, 281). Že tu moramo biti pozorni na izhodiščno predpostavko, ki kaže, da je »znanstveno« proučevanje jezika tudi po drugi svetovni vojni ostajalo na ideološki premisi »izboljševanja« jezika.

Po drugi strani pa Ide Sachiko (1986) ugotavlja, da naj bi bila razlika med »zahodnim« in »japonskim« pristopom v izhodišču posledica različnega razumevanja jezika: medtem ko je zahodni, na strukturalnem razumevanju temelječ pogled jezik razumel kot avtonomen objekt, ki ga lahko raziskuje neodvisno od družbe, naj bi bil jezik na Japonskem razumljen kot del človeškega socialnega vedenja (Ide 1986, 283). To se zdi spodbudno za teoretsko integracijo jezikovne prakse v družbeni kontekst in konceptualizacijo jezika kot celostnega družbenega dejstva. Toda hkrati s to družbeno orientacijo pri razumevanju jezika naj bi bila za japonsko sociolingvistiko značilna na drugi strani odsotnost teoretske orientacije. Po mnenju Ide (1986, 284) raziskave nimajo nikakršnega teoretskega okvira ali modela, saj namen raziskovalcev niso kakšni splošni zaključki in teoretski modeli, temveč preprosta klasifikacija in katalogiziranje.

Če zaupamo ugotovitvam, ki jih Ide (1986) navaja v svojem prispevku o ozadju japonske sociolingvistike, lahko sklenemo, da je bila povojna sociolingvistika na Japonskem dejansko utemeljena prav na ključnih premisah moderne znanstvene paradigme s poudarkom na znanstveni nevtralnosti (ločitev med znanstvenim raziskovanjem in praktično aplikacijo znanstvenih ugotovitev) in empirizmu (odsotnost teoretskih modelov in vztrajanje na »znanstvenosti« empiričnih klasifikacij).

Tudi če privzamemo omenjeno tezo, da se je japonska sociolingvistika vzpostavila na podlagi drugačnega razumevanja jezika, ki za razliko od »zahodnega« pogleda ne predpostavlja radikalne ločenosti med subjektom in objektom proučevanja, in ki jezika ne dojema kot avtonomni objekt, temveč izhaja iz njegove inherentne družbenosti, ostaja dejstvo, da tudi tak pristop še ni dovolj za teoretski preboj in konceptualizacijo jezika, kot teoretskega koncepta. Nasprotno, brez uspešnega epistemološkega reza in teorije ideološke narave jezika, tak pristop za razliko od lingvistike, ki se osredotoča samo na materialnost jezikovne materije (s proučevanjem, na primer, fonologije ali sintakse), lahko še veliko globlje zabrede v ideološkost svojega raziskovanja, saj prav zaradi vpetosti v družbenost ostaja podvrženo ideološkim predstavam o »jeziku«, ki izhajajo iz vsakokratnih družbenih razmer. Kakor že rečeno, taka znanost o jeziku v vsaki zgodovinski epohi namreč »deli iluzijo te epohe«.

Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo je bil vzpostavljen z namenom »znanstvenega raziskovanja nacionalnega jezika in jezikovnega življenja naroda«, pri čemer so v formulaciji uporabili koncept »jezikovno življenje« (*gengo seikatsu*) (Konoshima 1976, 135). V predvojnem obdobju naj bi namreč tudi proučevanje nacionalnega jezika (*kokugogaku*) dojemalo nacionalni jezik statično, analitično in historično, po vojni pa naj bi postal močnejši trend, ki dejansko jezikovno življenje razume na dinamičen način. Iz te ideje proučevanja »jezikovnega življenja« je izhajal tudi Tokieda Motoki, katerega znanstveno izhodišče v japonistiki je bila tako imenovana »teorija jezikovega procesa« (*gengo katei setsu* 言語過程説) (Konoshima 1976, 135).

Za Tokieda je bila zgodovina nacionalnega jezika ne le elementarno proučevanje fonemov, besedišča, slovnice in njihovih navidezno samostojnih sprememb v času, temveč zgodovina jezikovnega življenja naroda, s čimer je zgodovino jezika lahko povezal s proučevanjem zgodovine politike, ekonomije in družbe (Konoshima 1976, 135–36). Tokieda je poskušal vzpostaviti jezikoslovno

teorijo, ki bi za razliko od strukturalizma jezik vpela neposredno v njegov družbeni kontekst. Toda, ker hkrati s teorijo jezika ni vzpostavil tudi teorije družbenih razmerij, je njegova teorija jezika nujno ostala odvisna od vsakokratnih ideoloških predstav o teh družbenih razmerjih, kar je pri Tokiedu, ki je deloval v času velikih sprememb v prvi polovici dvajsetega stoletja, še toliko bolj opazno.

Kokugo, nihongo in Tokiedov jezik kot proces

Začetnik japonskega jezikoslovja in japonistike, Ueda Kazutoshi, je v sebi združeval nasprotujoči ideološki zahtevi ideologije nacionalnega jezika: bil je velik zagovornik »ohranjanja japonskega jezika« (*kokugo aigo* 国語愛護) in hkrati idejni oče »reforme japonskega jezika« (*kokugo kairyō* 国語改良), v čemer ni videl nikakršnega protislovja (Yamaguchi 1989, 34). Ueda je študiral indoevropsko primerjalno jezikoslovje v Nemčiji, ki je bila takrat v objemu jezikovnega nacionalizma, na Japonsko pa se je vrnil prav v času kitajsko-japonske vojne (1894–1895), torej na vrhuncu nacionalistične vznesenosti na Japonskem (Yamaguchi 1989, 34). »Ohranjanje z reformiranjem« je bila ideološka rešitev protislovja ideje nacionalnega jezika, se pravi, jezika, ki vselej že obstaja, a ga je hkrati treba šele vzpostaviti. K odpravi protislovja je pripomogla tudi razcepljena narava japonskega jezika, ki se je lahko udejanjala v abstraktnejši podobi nacionalnega jezika (*kokugo* 国語), ali v bolj konkretni varianti zgodovinske »japonščine« (*nihongo* 日本語).

Kakor ugotavlja tudi Koyasu (2003), sta tako *kokugo* kakor *nihongo* koncepta, ki izvirata iz zgodovinskega procesa moderne Japonske in politizacije jezika. Ko se je pojavila potreba po revidiranju koncepta *kokugo*, ki mu je bilo v novih zgodovinskih in političih okoliščinah treba pripisati novo konsistentnost, je nastopil koncept *nihongo* (Koyasu 2003, 71). V zgodovinskem kontekstu moderne Japonske se problem *kokugo/nihongo* umešča v čas priključitve Tajvana in Koreje, ko so bile v Japonski imperij vključene nove jezikovne skupnosti, in v čas izgradnje Območja vzajemne blaginje Velike vzhodne Azije (*Daitōa kyōeiken* 大東亜共栄圏) pod okriljem Japonske, s čimer se je vzpostavil problem nove definicije nacionalnega jezika in vprašanje širjenja japonščine na celotnem ozemlju imperija.

Tokieda Motoki (時枝誠記, 1900–1967), po Uedu Kazutoshiju in Hashimotu Shinkichiju (橋本進吉, 1882–1945) tretji profesor na Oddelku za nacionalni

(japonski) jezik Tokijske univerze, je imel v drugačnih zgodovinskih okoliščinah drugačne poglede na jezik od svojih učiteljev, kljub temu, da je bil Uedov in Hashimotov učenec. Od proučevanja japonščine v okviru lingvistike (*hakugengaku* 博言学) se je načeloma obrnil k »študiju nacionalnega jezika« (*kokugogaku* 国語学) in s tem postal začetnik ločitve med japonistiko in splošnim jezikoslovjem (Yamaguchi 1989, 34). Kakor piše Lee (2010), odnos med jezikoslovjem in *kokugogaku* ni predstavljal le teoretskega konflikta med dvema disciplinarnima področjema, temveč je hkrati simboliziral odnos med Japonsko in Evropo, ki je kot odnos »tradicije« in »modernosti« težil sodobno japonsko zavest (Lee 2010, 127). Tokiedov obrat k šoli *kokugaku* (国学) kot domorodni znanstveni praksi pomeni ideološki proces oblikovanja nove jezikoslovne »tradicije«. Ta jezikoslovna ideologija je v moderni lingvistiki prepoznala ogrožujoč zunanji vpliv Zahoda, zato se je obrnila k stari praksi, ki pa ji je retrogradno pripisala prav lastnosti tistega, čemur je želela ubežati, se pravi, lastnosti »znanstvene« prakse, kakršne si pripisuje moderna lingvistika.[2] Tokieda je v okviru svoje jezikovne ideologije razvil lastno jezikovno teorijo, ki jo je poimenoval teorija jezikovnega procesa (*gengo katei setsu* 言語過程説) in v kateri je prav na podlagi kritike Saussurovega objektivističnega jezikoslovja poskušal v jezikovno teorijo vrniti subjekt. Jezik je razumel kot dejavnost, kot proces, ki ga je formaliziral v trikotni shemi, katere trije konstitutivni elementi so producirajoči subjekt (*shutai* 主体), družbeni kontekst (*bamen* 場面), ki vključuje tudi naslovljenca, in posredovana vsebina sporočila (*sozai* 素材).

Tokiedova štiri obdobja »vprašanja japonskega jezika«

Tokieda je »vprašanje japonskega jezika« (*kokugo mondai* 国語問題) historično razdelil na štiri obdobja. Prvo obdobje naj bi se končalo v začetku tretjega desetletja obdobja Meiji (konec osemdesetih let 19. stoletja), ko se je v času

---

[2] V svojih spominih *Watashi no eranda gakumon* (Disciplina, ki sem jo izbral) Tokieda piše takole: »Ko sem začel s študijem *kokugogaku* na univerzi ... sem slišal in bral, da bi morali biti raziskovalne metode in raziskovalna področja zahodne lingvistike vodilna načela tudi za *kokugogaku*. Gotovo je bila to prava smer raziskovanja glede na tedanje starejše kolege na tem področju, ki so bili vsi izobraženi kot jezikoslovci, na primer, profesorji Shinmura, Kindaichi in Hashimoto. ... Eden od razlogov, zakaj sem jaz postal skeptičen do modernega jezikoslovja, je izšel iz starejših raziskav o *kokugoju*, ki sem jih začel prebirati v tistem času. Narava tistih raziskav in pogledov na jezik, ki so jih te raziskave vsebovale, je bila radikalno drugačna, kar me je izjemno fasciniralo. Mislim, da je bil to čas, ko sem se začel obračati stran od modernega jezikoslovja na splošno, misleč da evropska znanost ni edini in absolutni model in da evropsko jezikoslovje ne more biti nujno vodilno načelo za *kokugogaku*.« (po Lee 2010, 126–27)

evropeizacije v kontekstu ideologije nacionalnega jezika kot civilizacijske pridobitve *kokugo* izkazal za nedoraslega svojemu novemu poslanstvu. To je čas razcveta številnih teorij jezikovne reforme (*kokugo kairyōron* 国語改良論), katerih cilj so bile racionalne, logične in tudi ekonomične izboljšave jezika (Yamaguchi 1989, 36).

Drugo obdobje, ki je trajalo od konca osemdesetih do zmage v kitajsko-japonski vojni (1895), je bilo po Tokiedovem mnenju obdobje prebujenega nacionalizma, ko se je jezikovna zavest končno zoperstavila površinskemu racionalizmu in utilitarizmu, nadomestila pa naj bi jo zavest, da se dejanskega stanja jezika in njegove tradicije ne da odrezati od dejanskega »jezikovnega življenja« (*gengo seikatsu*). Vrhunec tega obdobja predstavlja prav znameniti govor Uede Kazutoshija leta 1894, v katerem je pozival k ohranitvi nacionalnega jezika in hkrati k njegovi reformi (Yamaguchi 1989, 36).

Tretje obdobje zaznamuje priključitev Tajvana in Koreje Japonskemu imperiju, kar je vprašanje narave »nacionalnega jezika« v japonskih kolonijah osvetlilo s popolnoma novega zornega kota (Yamaguchi 1989, 36).

Četrto obdobje je čas od Mandžurskega incidenta (1931) pa do Tokiedove sedanjosti sredi druge svetovne vojne. Vprašanje, s katerim se je Tokieda spopadal v tem času, je bilo, kako razširiti japonski jezik kot skupni jezik Območja vzajemne blaginje Velike vzhodne Azije (*Daitōa kyōeiken*), pri katerega izgradnji je imela Japonska vodilno vlogo in ki je obsegalo številne narode s številnimi različnimi jeziki (Yamaguchi 1989, 36).

Tokieda se je v tem četrtem obdobju »vprašanja nacionalnega jezika« s svojo jezikovno teorijo sam znašel v protislovju. V njegovi teoriji jezikovnega procesa jezik ni le formalni sistem (*la langue*), temveč je forma jezikovnega izražanja, ki govorca vzpostavlja kot subjekt, zato se je pri vprašanju jezikovne politike v Koreji Tokieda znašel v zagati. Njegova teorija namreč sloni na dediščini vseh štirih obdobij in, kakor piše Yamaguchi (1989), Tokiedova ideološka zagata v tako imenovanem »četrtem obdobju« izvira iz njegove vpetosti v nacionalistično ideologijo »drugega obdobja« in iz odsotnosti ustrezne rešitve problema nacionalnega jezika v Koreji v »tretjem obdobju« (Yamaguchi 1989, 36).

Ueda Kazutoshi je bil v kontekstu nacionalnega prebujanja vpet v protislovje »ohranjanja« vselej že obstoječega nacionalnega jezika, hkrati pa se je zavzemal za njegovo »reformo« na podlagi iste ideologije, ki je nujno razkrivala dejstvo, da

tak ideološko zamišljeni idealni nacionalni jezik še ni dokončno vzpostavljen. Tokieda Motoki pa se je v svojem »četrtem obdobju« jezikovne politike, se pravi, na vrhuncu imperialističnega pohoda Japonskega cesarstva, znašel v drugačnem protislovju: če je *kokugo* preprosto »japonski jezik«, ki ga je treba ljubiti kot materni jezik in si prizadevati za njegovo ohranitev, kako potem to verjetje uskladiti z upravičenostjo širjenja Japonskega imperija in z njim japonskega jezika na koloniziranih območjih? Na teh območjih ljudje govorijo svoje jezike, do katerih imajo enako pravico, kakor imajo govorci japonščine pravico do svojega, in ki bi jih v kontekstu te ideologije morali prav tako ljubiti in si prizadevati za njihovo ohranitev.[3]

Kako torej lahko Tokieda kot intelektualec sam pri sebi upraviči kot legitimno in celo potrebno nasilno jezikovno politiko militantnega imperija? Tu mu priskoči na pomoč ideologija, ki se maskira kot »znanost«, in sicer kot znanost jezikoslovja. Tokieda poskuša z jezikoslovno teorijo pojasniti ideološke odločitve jezikovnih politik državnih institucij. Najprej mora razrešiti izhodiščno protislovje, ki izhaja iz Uedove nacionalistične ljubezni do nacionalnega jezika kot »duhovne krvi« naroda. V svojem eseju *Prihodnost jezikovne politike in poučevanja japonskega jezika v Koreji*, objavljenem leta 1942, zapiše:

> Če neposredno privzamemo poglede profesorja Uede, se v odnosu do Korejcev, ki so drug narod, del razloga, zakaj bi bilo treba med njimi razširiti nacionalni jezik, nujno izgubi. Kajti za Korejce je korejščina (*chōsengo* 朝鮮語) materni jezik (*haha no gengo* 母の言語) oziroma jezik vsakdanjega življenja (*seikatsu no gengo* 生活の言語) in je torej prav tako lahko njihova duhovna kri (*seishinteki ketsueki* 精神的血液). Toda ko pomislimo, da je širitev nacionalnega jezika pomemben ukrep za uspešno politično upravljanje Koreje in je torej ukrep, ki ga zahteva trenutna realnost, se moramo vprašati, kako uspešno razrešiti to dilemo. Zaradi tega problema sem bil sam pri sebi zagrenjen. (Yamaguchi 1989, 37)

---

[3] Na tem mestu je treba opozoriti, da Tokieda ni gojil nepremišljeno naivnih nacionalističnih pogledov na jezik, kakor morda nekateri njegovi kolegi. Tokieda je, na primer, kritiziral stališča konservativnega jezikoslovca Yamade Yoshia, ki je *kokugo* razumel kot »standardni jezik Japonskega imperija« (Lee 2010, 147). Tokieda je vztrajal, da mora biti *kokugo* kot koncept definiran na podlagi svojih notranjih jezikovnih značilnosti, ne pa na zunanjih danostih, kakršne so narodi in rase. V svojem delu Zgodovina proučevanja japonskega jezika (*Kokugogaku-shi*) iz leta 1940 je zapisal: »*Kokugo* kot objekt discipline *kokugogaku* moramo obravnavati kot sinonim za *nihongo*. Naša praksa poimenovanja *kokugo* in *kokugogaku* namesto *nihongo* in *nihongogaku* je le stvar udobja nas, ki smo se rodili na Japonskem in govorimo ta jezik. Strogo gledano pa bi morali prevzeti pojme *nihongo* in *nihongogaku* in prihraniti pojem *kokugo* za druge priložnosti.« Navedeno v Lee (2010, 147). Kakšna je bila ena od takih priložnosti, bomo videli v nadaljevanju.

Horizont njegove jezikovne ideologije ga torej pripelje v protislovje, ki ga mora razrešiti v okviru te iste ideologije. Pri tem Tokiedu pride prav že obstoječa navidezna razcepljenost japonskega jezika na pojma *kokugo* in *nihongo*, ki jima pripiše nove pomene v okviru svoje jezikovne teorije. Tokieda *kokugo* opredeli kot jezik, ki ima s stališča države posebno vrednost, medtem ko se taka zavest o posebni vrednosti ne drži pojma *nihongo*, ki ima skupaj s korejščino (*chōsengo*) in vsemi ostalimi jeziki sveta enakovreden status jezikovnega fenomena (Yamaguchi 1989, 37).

V svojem osrednjem delu *Principi raziskovanja nacionalnega jezika* (*Kokugogaku genron* 国語学原論) iz leta 1941 Tokieda ugotavlja, da se v splošni rabi *kokugo* uporablja kot sinonim za *nihongo*, hkrati pa se z izrazom *kokugo* misli tudi na pojave, kakor so državni standardni jezik (*kokka no hyōjungo* 国家の標準語) ali uradni jezik (*kōyōgo* 公用語), kar so po njegovem ožji pomeni pojma *kokugo*. Zato zaključi, da bi bilo treba pri rabi pojma *kokugo* ohraniti samo ta ožji pomen, medtem ko bi morali takrat, kadar govorimo o japonščini v celoti, uporabljati izraz *nihongo* in posledično tudi izraze, kakršen je *kokugogaku* (študij nacionalnega jezika), nadomestiti s pojmom *nihongogaku* (študij japonskega jezika) (Tokieda 2007, 165).

Znanstveno jezikoslovje in položaj japonskega jezika

Ključna pa je Tokiedova nova definicija konceptualne cepitve med *kokugo* in *nihongo*, ki mu je pomagala razrešiti ideološko protislovje med nacionalno ideologijo in jezikovno politiko kolonialnega Japonskega imperija. Tokieda je najprej zavrnil definicijo, da je japonščina »jezik japonske države« (*nihon kokka no gengo* 日本国家の言語) oziroma »jezik japonskega naroda« (*nihon minzoku no gengo* 日本民族の言語), in jo je nadomestil z definicijo, da je japonščina jezik, ki ima »lastnosti japonskega jezika« (*nihongoteki seikaku o motta gengo* 日本語的性格を持った言語) (Tokieda 2007, 165). Da bi Tokieda pojasnil, kaj pomeni imeti »lastnosti japonskega jezika«, se vrne k Saussuru in h konceptu *la langue*, ki naj bi bil jezikovni sistem, ki ga kot zakladnico jezikovnega znanja poseduje vsak pripadnik določene jezikovne skupnosti. Sledeč Saussurovi teoriji, pravi Tokieda, je japonščina eden takih *les langues*. *La langue* je na eni strani psihološka realizacija vezi med konceptom in slušno podobo, na drugi strani pa pomeni tudi vsoto takih vezi. Kot individualna materializacija mu nasproti stoji *la parole*, zato je *la langue* splošen koncept nasproti individualni *la parole*. Toda Tokieda

ugotavlja, da Saussure pojma *la langue* ne razume kot posplošenega koncepta nasproti individualnosti *la parole*, temveč ga definira kot samostojno entiteto, ki ima svoje korenine v družbi (Tokieda 2007, 166).

Če na podlagi teze, da je *la langue* vsota vezi med koncepti in slušnimi podobami, ki se nahajajo v možganih vsakega posameznika, pogledamo koncept japonščine (*nihongo*), postane jasno, pravi Tokieda, da kot posamezniki ne posedujemo znanja celote japonskega besedišča ali slovničnih pravil, niti jih nismo zmožni v celoti realizirati. Potemtakem moramo, kadar govorimo o »japonščini«, to razumeti kot vsoto besedišča in slovničnih pravil vseh posameznih individuov. Od tu izhaja strukturalistična teza, da *la langue* obstaja zunaj posameznih individuov kot družbeni pojav. Kvantitativno razumevanje japonščine kot vsote individualnih jezikov (*kojin no gengo* 個人の言語) neizogibno izhaja iz predpostavke, da je *la langue* vsota vezi med koncepti in slušnimi podobami. Na podlagi tega razmišljanja pa moramo zaključiti, meni Tokieda, da vsak govorec japonskega jezika poseduje le »del« japonščine; časopisi, romani in druga besedila, ki jih dnevno prebiramo, so le del celote japonskega jezika (Tokieda 2007, 166–167).

Če je *la langue* vsaka vez med konceptom in njegovo zvočno podobo in hkrati vsota teh vezi, skupaj pa predstavljajo realno obstoječo entiteto, moramo seveda *la langue* razumeti kot razmerje med deli in celoto. V tem smislu naša neposredna izkušnja ne more zajemati več kot le dela *kokugoja*, prav tako pa vsote delov *kokugoja* ne moremo objektivno dojeti kot celote. Te predpostavke nas nujno pripeljejo do zaključka, da veda o japonščini (*kokugogaku* 国語学) ni mogoča (Tokieda 2007, 167).

V nadaljevanju si Tokieda zastavi vprašanje, zakaj vseeno menimo, da je kljub razpolaganju z le delom japonskega jezika veda o japonskem jeziku vseeno mogoča. Po odgovor se zateče na področje botanike, kjer raziskovalci na podlagi opazovanja enega češnjevega cveta definirajo češnjeve cvetove na splošno, kar lahko storijo zato, ker predpostavljajo, da se v posameznem delu odraža splošna narava češnjevih cvetov. Skratka, en češnjev cvet potemtakem ni en del celote češnjevih cvetov, temveč je njihov predstavnik. Pri proučevanju jezika ne bi mogli uporabiti enake logike, če bi japonski jezik razumeli le kot vsoto besedišč posameznikov. Toda zakaj lahko brez težav določeno besedo, ki jo izreče posameznik, takoj prepoznamo za »japonščino«, če jo postavimo nasproti nekemu »tujemu jeziku«? Da bi lahko to pojasnili, pravi Tokieda, moramo zavreči

strukturalistični pogled na jezik in se postaviti na stališče jezika kot procesa. Znotraj strukturalističnega pogleda je namreč težko najti osnovo, na podlagi katere bi lahko razločili določeno japonsko besedo od nekega drugega jezika (*langue*), če besedo razumemo le kot strukturno vez med konceptom in zvočno podobo (Tokieda 2007, 168). Tokieda zato ugotavlja:

> Posebne značilnosti japonščine moramo iskati v psihološko-fiziološkem procesu, v katerem se te značilnosti izrazijo. Prav ta psihološko-fiziološki proces, ki je inherenten specifičnemu jeziku, ki si ga izberemo za objekt proučevanja, lahko prepoznamo kot japonščino, saj se narava japonskega jezika uteleša prav skoz to procesno formo. (Tokieda 2007, 168)

Japonski jezik tako ni le slovnična forma, temveč lahko posebno formo japonščine prepoznamo tudi v ritmu, naglasu, fonemih, tujkah itn. Narava japonskega jezika se nahaja prav v omenjenih formah in zato ni v nikakršni neposredni povezavi z državo ali narodom, pač pa v dinamiki širjenja in krčenja »družbenega življenja« (*shakai seikatsu* 社会生活) presega narod ali državo (Tokieda 2007, 169–70).

S teorijo o »lastnostih japonskega jezika« Tokieda postavi konceptualno ločnico med pojmoma *nihongo* in *kokugo*, pri čemer iz dveh sinonimov za japonski jezik ustvari dva vrednostna nivoja: nivo japonščine (*nihongo*) kot le enega med številnimi jeziki, v vseh pogledih enakovrednega, na primer, korejščini in celo narečjem znotraj Japonske, medtem ko ima nacionalni jezik (*kokugo*) s stališča države posebno »vrednost«. Enako je tudi z razmerjem med narečji in standardom. Narečje je le jezikoslovni objekt, ki nima nič manjše ali večje vrednosti kakor standardni jezik, pri čemer ponavadi čutimo čustveno navezanost do svojega narečja kot do maternega jezika (*haha no gengo* 母の言語), vendar pa ima s stališča države po Tokiedovem mnenju prednost poučevanje standardnega jezika (*hyōjungo* 標準語) in nacionalnega jezika (*kokugo*) (Yamaguchi 1989, 37).

S tem ko Tokieda predpostavi z vidika države posebno »vrednost« nacionalnega jezika nasproti narečjem, je sklep, do katerega ga pripelje to stališče, enostaven: »vrednost«, ki jo ima z vidika države nacionalni jezik nasproti narečjem, je hkrati argument za prevladujoč pomen nacionalnega jezika nasproti korejščini:

> Če se vrnemo h koreninam razmer, v katerih moramo priznati prevladujoč položaj nacionalnega jezika (*kokugo*) nasproti narečjem, korejščini itn., ugotovimo, da izhajajo iz ustroja moderne države. Hkrati moramo v tem najti

tudi ključ za razmislek o prevladujočem položaju japonščine (*nihongo*) v Območju vzajemne blaginje Velike vzhodne Azije. (Yamaguchi 1989, 37)

Tokieda, ki je deloval v Koreji, se pravi, japonski koloniji, kjer so pripadniki drugega naroda govorili japonski jezik, je japonščino teh ljudi, skupaj z japonskimi narečji (in tudi, na primer, s staro japonščino) definiral kot *kokugo*, kot koncept, ki v sebi zajema vse te pojavne oblike jezika, in disciplino, ki proučuje ta od vsakršne nacionalnosti ali politike abstrahirani jezik, ki ima »značilnosti japonskega jezika«, poimenoval *kokugogaku* (Yasuda 1998, 92). Tokieda s svojo ideološko operacijo na videz neproblematično preide od teze, da ni japonščina nič drugega kakor jezikoslovni objekt, ki ima enakovreden položaj s korejščino in vsemi ostalimi jeziki, do prevladujočega položaja japonščine v Območju vzajemne blaginje Velike vzhodne Azije. Poseben položaj *kokugoja* Tokieda izpelje s stališča države, kajti *kokugo* ne pomeni celote japonskega jezika (*nihongo*), temveč le japonski jezik kot uradni jezik države, skratka, jezik s specifično »vrednostjo«. Ker je torej *kokugo*, se pravi, nacionalni jezik Velikega japonskega imperija hkrati slučajno tudi japonski jezik, ta japonščina, kljub temu da je jezikoslovno gledano sama po sebi popolnoma enakovreda korejščini ali kateremukoli drugemu jeziku, hkrati postane jezik s posebno »vrednostjo« na ravni države, ker zaseda strukturno mesto *kokugoja*. Japonščina ima poseben položaj nasproti korejščini le zato, ker je japonščina »hkrati« tudi *kokugo*.

Zaključek

V pričujoči razpravi smo hoteli pokazati na to družbeno plat jezika kot »družbene institucije«, ki pomaga strukturirati človeške družbe ne le s svojo komunikacijsko funkcijo, temveč tudi s svojimi ideološkimi učinki. Ti učinki se, kakor smo videli, zagotavljajo na različne načine, pri čemer tovrstno jezikoslovje, ki poleg materialnosti jezika ne upošteva tudi vsakokratnih ideoloških predstav o tem jeziku, lahko namesto teoretske ali znanstvene opravlja ideološko funkcijo. Tokieda Motoki je jezik poskušal trdneje zvezati s širšim družbenim kontekstom, a je spregledal ideološko naravo družbenih dejstev, ki jih poleg njihove institucionalne strukture konstituira tudi predstava, ki jo o njem gojijo subjekti družbene prakse.

Tokiedu je v predvojnem obdobju s stališča jezikoslovne znanosti uspelo utemeljiti prisilno jezikovno politiko Japonskega imperija v Koreji in na Tajvanu, politiko, ki jo danes, v drugačnih družbenih razmerah, toliko lažje prepoznamo kot

zgrešeno in torej kot »ideološko«, medtem ko ideološko naravo tistega jezikoslovja, ki v kontekstu nacionalnih držav znanstveno utemeljuje obstoj nacionalnega jezika kot empirično obstoječega objekta, zaradi naše vpetosti v nacionalno pogojeno »iluzijo epohe«, načeloma spregledamo.

Literatura

Benveniste, Émile. 1988. *Problemi splošne lingvistike I.* Ljubljana: ŠKUC FF.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1992. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Cambridge, Malden: Polity Press.

Davis, Hayley G., in Talbot J. Taylor. 1990. *Redefining Linguistics.* London & New York: Routledge.

Ide, Sachiko. 1986. "Introduction: The Background of Japanese Sociolinguistics." *Journal of Pragmatics* 10 (3): 281–86.

Konoshima, Masatoshi. 1976. *Kokugogakushi gaisetsu* 国語学史概説 (Očrt zgodovine japonistike). Tōkyō: Oufuu.

Koyasu, Nobukuni. 2003. *Nihon kindai shisō hihan: Ikkokuchi no seiritsu* 日本近代思想批判：一国知の成立 (Kritika moderne japonske ideologije). Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten.

Lee, Yeounsuk. 2010. *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Silverstein, Michael. 1985. "Language and the Culture of Gender: At the Intersection of Structure, Usage, and Ideology." V *Semiotic Mediation: Sociocultural and Psychological Perspectives*, uredila E. Mertz in R. Parmentier, 219–59. Orlando: Academic Press.

Tokieda, Motoki. (1941) 2007. *Kokugogaku genron (jō)* 国語学原論 (上) (Principi japonistike 1. knjiga). Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten.

Yamaguchi, Kōji. 1989. "Kin-gendaika to kotoba no mondai: Nihongo (hōgo), kokugo kara ningen no kotoba no hitotsu toshite no nihongo e 近・現代化とことばの問題: 日本語 (邦語), 国語から人間のことばの一つとしての日本語へ (Vprašanje modernizacije in jezika: Japonščina, od nacionalnega jezika do enega od jezikov človeštva)." *Ritsumeikan Studies in Language and Culture* (Ritsumeikan University) 1 (1): 25–45.

Yasuda, Toshiaki. 1998. *Shokuminchi no naka no »kokugogaku«* 植民地のなかの「国語学」 (Proučevanje nacionalnega jezika v kolonialnem kontekstu). Tōkyō: Sangensha.

Summary

In the last century and a half or so, linguistics was established as a scientific discipline with language as its object of research. Specifically, structural linguistics thus discarded all elements perceived as external to language itself and

attempted to approach language in its "pure" or abstract form. On the other hand, linguistic schools attempting to understand language in the social context have also been formed, among others, for example, a school of Japanese linguistics which had been developing linguistic theories around the notion of "language life" (*gengo seikatsu*). However, be it within the framework of structural linguistics or within sociolinguistic and language life theories, language itself necessarily remains an ideological notion if these theories fail to produce a critique of social relations that generate our representations about language or, more precisely, our representations about language practice. In this paper an attempt is made to point out a historical case of this kind of ideological overlook by looking at the linguistic deliberations of Japanese linguist Tokieda Motoki (時枝誠記 1900–1967), who, within the framework of linguistic science, attempted to justify the colonial language policy of Japanese Empire in Taiwan and Korea.

Imperialna nostalgija na Japonskem: politična instrumentalizacija šintoističnega svetišča Yasukuni

Klemen SENICA[*]

Izvleček

Šintoistično svetišče Yasukuni je ena od nevralgičnih točk v japonskih zunanjepolitičnih odnosih s sosednjimi državami, predvsem Kitajsko in Južno Korejo. V recentnem obdobju je bilo deležno izjemne medijske pozornosti širom sveta predvsem zavoljo dejstva, da ga je v času svojega vodenja vlade redno obiskoval Koizumi Jun'ichirō, čeprav je njegovi praksi počastitve spomina padlim za »japonsko stvar« oponiral širok spekter posameznikov na Japonskem, da kitajskih in južnokorejskih državnikov niti ne omenjam. Sodim, da je potrebno glorificiranje izbranih žrtev velikega Japonskega imperija, ki ga prakticira konservativni del japonskih političnih elit, umestiti v širši kontekst imperialne nostalgije, ki smo ji na Japonskem priča v začetku 21. stoletja.

Ključne besede: Yasukuni, instrumentalizacija, japonski imperij, kolektivni spomin, nostalgija, Japonska

Abstract

The Yasukuni Shrine is among highly controversial issues when it comes to Japan's foreign relations with its neighbouring countries, particularly China and South Korea. Recently, it has drawn considerable public attention worldwide, owing to regular visits by former Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichirō while he was still in office. However, his practice of paying respect to the soldiers who died for the "Japanese cause" was met with stiff opposition from a wide spectrum of individuals in Japan, not to mention Chinese and South Korean political leaders. In my view the glorification of chosen victims of the great Empire of Japan, practised mostly by the conservative part of Japanese political elites, needs to be set in a broader context of imperialist nostalgia, the wave of which has been coming over Japan since the turn of the 21st century.

Keywords: Yasukuni, instrumentalisation, Empire of Japan, collective memory, nostalgia, Japan

---

[*] Klemen SENICA, doktorski kandidat, Oddelek za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani, Slovenija.
klemen.senica@gmail.com

> Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.
> (Horacij)

Japonska sodi v tisto skupino azijskih držav, ki se dokaj pogosto pojavljajo v množičnih medijih na Slovenskem, a zdi se, da je spekter obravnavanih tem precej ozek.[1] Poleg teritorialnih tenzij s Korejo, Kitajsko oziroma z Rusijo in novicam iz gospodarstva je največ pozornosti namenjene šintoističnemu svetišču Yasukuni, vendar ostaja slednji v našem akademskem polju popolnoma prezrt.[2] Še tisti redki medijski prispevki o njegovi kontroverznosti pa so praviloma površni prevodi tujih agencijskih novic, zato namesto k odstiranju njegove problematične narave bolj prispevajo k popačenju dejstev. Da bi vsaj deloma zapolnil omenjeni raziskovalni manko, kanim v nadaljevanju na kratko predstaviti zgodovinski pomen Yasukunija in njegovo recentno instrumentalizacijo za uresničevanje notranjepolitične agende dela vladajočih političnih elit na Japonskem. Svojo analizo bom utemeljil na metodi, ki je najbolj razširjena v kulturni antropologiji, in sicer opazovanju z udeležbo, pri čemer tudi muzejske prospekte, časopisne članke s svetovnega spleta in vladne dokumente štejem v kategorijo etnografskega materiala, saj sočasno zrcalijo in aktivno (re)konstruirajo japonske percepcije Yasukunija.

Med enoletnim raziskovalnim delom na Univerzi v Tsukubi – med decembrom 2009 in novembrom 2010 – sem kaj kmalu spoznal, da je sodobno zamišljanje Velikega japonskega imperija (*Dai Nippon teikoku*) v japonski družbi precej bolj tabuizirana tema, kot nam razkriva »oddaljeni pogled« izpod Alp. Diskusije z japonskimi prijatelji, znanci, profesorji v Tsukubi in tistimi, ki sem jih spoznaval ob čestih obiskih Tokia, kako dojemajo japonski imperij, so se praviloma že po nekaj stavkih sprevrgle v razglabljanja o japonski krivdi za vojne zločine in potrebi po opravičilu, predvsem sosednjima Južni Koreji in Kitajski. Ko sem jim omenil še svojo osredotočenost na recentno odkrivanje literarne zapuščine Nakajime Atsushija (1909–1942), primarno tiste o Mikroneziji, je pogovor s tem večinoma zamrl, saj razen profesorice primerjalne književnosti z Univerze v Tsukubi nihče ni poznal njegovih kratkih zgodb, katerih dogajanje je pisatelj umestil v takratno japonsko kolonijo. Kljub temu me je večina sogovornikov odkrito spodbujala k raziskovanju, saj naj bi bilo po njihovem mnenju tujcu lažje proučevati občutljive zgodovinske teme kot samim Japoncem. Da bi mi le nekako pomagali, so mi največkrat svetovali, naj se v disertaciji lotim dveh vedno

---

[1] Hvala anonimnima recenzentoma za konstruktivne komentarje in sugestije.
[2] Brskanje po knjižničnem katalogu cobiss v začetku maja 2015 razkrije, da je tematiko v svoji diplomski nalogi obravnaval le Matej Sedmak (2013).

aktualnih vprašanj, to je vsebine srednješolskih učbenikov za zgodovino in šintoističnega svetišča Yasukuni (*cf.* Ryu 2007, 705).

Slednje leži le nedaleč stran od cesarske palače in je bilo kot Tokio Shōkonsha ustanovljen v zgodnjem obdobju *Meiji*, in sicer leta 1869. Današnje poimenovanje je dobilo komaj deset let kasneje, domnevno po kitajski klasiki *Chun-qui zuo-shi-zhuan*, kar v prevodu pomeni »prinašati mir v deželo«. Prvi, ki jih je svetišče prepoznalo kot šintoistična božanstva oziroma *kamije*,[3] so bili ubiti vojaki v kazenski ekspediciji na tajvanske staroselce leta 1874.[4] Takahashi (2006, 172) dodaja, da je šele po vojni z ruskim carstvom (1904–1905) Yasukuni dejansko postal osrednja institucija za komemoracije v spomin na vojake cesarske vojske in civilno osebje, ki so izgubili življenje v boju za Japonsko, vendar so obredi postali javni komaj po začetku druge vojne s Kitajsko, to je leta 1937 (Seraphim 2008, 65). Za svoje delovanje je svetišče vse do propada imperija leta 1945 prejemalo finančna sredstva iz državnega proračuna, saj je bila njegova osrednja naloga imperialnim podložnikom vcepiti patriotizem z obljubo apoteoze, če bo posameznik žrtvoval svoje življenje za »višje cilje« (beri cesarja), trdi Breen (2007, 55).[5] Dandanes je Yasukuni predvsem na Kitajskem in v Južni Koreji, manj pa v drugih nekdanjih kolonijah japonskega imperija, še vedno sinonim imperialne ekspanzije cesarske vojske in vseh strahot, ki sodijo zraven. Največ ogorčenja med številnimi prebivalci Korejskega polotoka izziva dejstvo, da so bili v *kamije* brez vednosti svojcev povzdignjeni celo nekateri njihovi rojaki, v kolonialnem obdobju nasilno mobilizirani v cesarsko vojsko.[6] Zato si je junija 2001 peščica Južno

---

[3] Maja Milčinski (1999, 300) zapiše: »Osrednje verovanje v šintoizmu pa velja kamijem, v katerih vidi ljudstvo univerzum in prek katerih univerzum nastaja in se vzdržuje. Kamije verniki spoznavajo preko molitve in obredne dejavnosti, ki gradi na priznavanju, potrjevanju odvisnosti človeških bitij od teh božanskih sil in s tem, da s priprošnjo dobivajo ljudje od njih pomoč in ohranjajo svojo srečo.«

[4] Uradni Tokio je trdil, da je želel z njo le maščevati poboj 54 ribičev z Okinave, ki se je dogodil ob brodolomu njihove ladje nekaj let prej, a je vse skupaj služilo zgolj kot krinka za poskus kolonizacije vzhodnega dela Tajvana. Ker se je vlada zbala, da bo konflikt prerasel v vojno s kitajsko dinastijo Qing in sprožil intervencijo zahodnih velesil, je kmalu umaknila svoje čete z otoka (glej Eskildsen 2002, 393, 398).

[5] Katarzyna Cwiertka trdi, da je v japonskih imperialnih vojnah med letoma 1937 in 1945 več cesarskih vojakov izgubilo življenje zaradi »bolezni, ki je bila posledica podhranjenosti«, ali lakote kot sovražnikovega orožja (2006, 70; *cf.* Seraphim 2008, 68). Natančno število padlih borcev seveda ni znano, Franziska Seraphim navaja 1,74 milijona (2008, 60).

[6] Ker so se bali upora podjarmljenih Korejcev, je številne vojake s polotoka doletela naloga varovanja vojnih ujetnikov. Zaradi domnevnega slabega ravnanja z njimi so mnogim v drugi polovici štiridesetih let sodili na Mednarodnem vojaškem sodišču za Daljni vzhod, bolj znanim pod imenom tokijsko sodišče (glej Oguma 2002, 290).

Korejcev prizadevala, da bi bili njihovi najdražji umaknjeni s seznamov »posvečenih«, vendar zaman (Takahashi 2006, 177).[7]

Ob tem je potrebno izpostaviti dejstvo, ki je pri nas mnogokrat spregledano (npr. Lipušček 2015 idr.). Umrli vojaki in civilisti, ki so dobili svoje mesto v yasukunijevem »panteonu«, tam niso pokopani, saj je po besedah enega od mojih japonskih prijateljev v šintoizmu truplo percipirano kot nečisto in grešno. Mogoče je tudi v tem potrebno iskati razloge, da si ni Japonska po razpadu imperija nikoli prav intenzivno prizadevala v nekdanjo kolonialno metropolo vrniti posmrtnih ostankov 2,4 milijona umrlih v čezmorskih osvajanjih, zato so grobovi približno polovice preminulih vojakov in civilistov še vedno raztreseni širom Azije (glej McNeill 2008). Da bi lahko preminuli v posebnem obredu apoteoze sploh postal *kami*, je potrebno skrbnikom Yasukunija posredovati posameznikove osebne podatke in podrobnosti o njegovi smrti (Breen 2007, 52–3). Čeprav je bila po vojni uzakonjena ločitev države in verskih skupnosti, Nakano trdi (2014), da je bila *de facto* vlada tista, ki je dolga leta skrivoma oskrbovala svetišče z zahtevanimi informacijami.

A problematična narava Yasukunija ne izhaja iz dejstva, da je posvečen spominu na približno dva milijona in pol tistih, ki so dali svoje življenje v boju za »japonsko stvar« od srede 19. stoletja naprej – med njimi je celo nekaj vojakov samoobrambnih sil, umrlih po koncu zadnjega svetovnega konflikta. Tako domače kot tuje nasprotnike obiskovanja Yasukunija s strani političnih predstavnikov japonske države najbolj moti dejstvo, da je od 17. oktobra 1978 med njimi tudi štirinajst od 25 obtoženih za najhujše vojne zločine na tokijskem sodišču (april 1946–november 1948),[8] celo generala Tōjō Hideki (1884–1948) in Matsui Iwane (1878–1948), ki je bil odgovoren za poboje v Nankingu. (Befu 2001, 97, 98; Breen 2007, 48, 58; Okuyama 2009, 241; Seraphim 2008, 244–45; Kingston 2011, 192). Uradno kitajsko stališče se namreč glasi, poudarja Tamamoto (2001, 35), da so bili tako Kitajci kot Japonci v tridesetih in prvi polovici štiridesetih let preteklega stoletja žrtve militarističnih voditeljev v Tokiu, zato počastitev spomina na umrle v ekspanzionističnih vojnah v Yasukuniju, ki ga prakticirajo nekateri japonski

---

[7] Zavrnjena je bila tudi zahteva tajvanskih in japonskih tožnikov leta 2006 (Okuyama 2009, 245). A averzija do Yasukunija ni novodoben pojav, sporadično izražanje nezadovoljstva se je med »pogrebi« duhov umrlih vojakov pojavljalo že v obdobju imperija (glej Seraphim 2008, 65).
[8] Tanaka Nobumasa navaja, da je skupaj glorificiranih 911 posameznikov, ki so bili obtoženi vojnih hudodelstev (po Seraphim 2008, 79).

politični voditelji, sistematično spodkopava osnovno premiso, na kateri temelji kitajsko-japonska sprava.[9]

»Vsaka nacija ima pravico počastiti spomin na padle vojake«

Ob prelomu stoletja je prišel Yasukuni na naslovnice svetovnih časopisov in v osrednja poročila največjih televizijskih postaj izven japonskega arhipelaga predvsem po zaslugi tedanjega premierja Koizumija Jun'ichirōja, ki ga je v obdobju vodenja japonske vlade med letoma 2001 in 2006 obiskal kar šestkrat, prvič le nekaj mesecev po nastopu mandata.[10] Njegovi obiski so vsakokrat sprožali ostre proteste političnih voditeljev v Seulu in Pekingu,[11] čeprav je Yasukuni obiskal na obletnico razglasitve japonske kapitulacije (15. avgust 1945) le leta 2006, dva meseca pred odhodom s premierskega položaja (Okuyama 2009, 243). Prvi povojni japonski premier, ki je svetišče obiskal 15. avgusta, je bil Miki Takeo (1907–1988), in sicer leta 1975, a je svoj prihod označil za zaseben (Breen 2007, 49). Kljub temu so ga japonski socialisti ostro kritizirali, saj da je izbral skrajno neprimeren *tajming* (*Yomiuri* 2005), pred svetiščem pa so ga pričakale množice nezadovoljnih protestnikov (Seraphim 2008, 227). Vsi Mikijevi nasledniki do leta 1985, razen Ōhire Masayoshija (1910–1980), so sledili njegovemu zgledu in v Yasukuniju počastili spomin na umrle v japonskih vojnah (Seraphim 2008, 244). Prvi, in do sedaj edini povojni japonski premier, ki je eksplicitno poudaril, da je njegov obisk 15. avgusta uraden, je bil Nakasone Yasuhiro leta 1985, vendar se je tudi on izognil religioznim proceduram, ki jih od obiskovalcev zahteva Yasukuni (glej Okuyama 2009, 241, 242–43). Kljub temu so bili odzivi na njegovo odločitev tako doma kot na tujem izjemno negativni, zato je moralo miniti kar 11 let, preden je Yasukuni ponovno obiskal japonski ministrski predsednik: 29. julija 1996 je to storil Hashimoto Ryūtarō (Nakano 2014). Ob tem se zastavlja vprašanje, kateri povojni predsednik vlade je bil pravzaprav iniciator izkazovanja državniških časti v Yasukuniju. Čeprav Franziska Seraphim (2008, 236) zapiše, da je to glavni ideolog gospodarskega razcveta Japonske Yoshida Shigeru (1878–1967), ki se je

---

[9] Tretja prepreka intenzivnejšemu transnacionalnemu povezovanju v Vzhodni Aziji je vprašanje »žensk za tolažbo« (*jūgun ianfu*). Izjemno znanstveno monografijo o tragičnih usodah številnih, tako pred kot po letu 1945, je objavila ameriška antropologinja Sarah Soh (2008).

[10] Koizumi je z obiski Yasukunija nadaljeval tudi po odstopu s položaja, saj ga je skupaj s svojim naslednikom Abejem Shinzōjem, ki se je na premierski stolček znova povzpel decembra 2012, obiskal 15. avgusta 2009 (Nagata 2009).

[11] Da bi nekako pomiril politične napetosti med državama, se je Koizumi ob obisku Južne Koreje oktobra 2001 odpravil v zloglasni zapor Seodaemun, japonsko različico Abu Grajba, ki je danes muzej (Podoler 2009, 201).

prvič tja odpravil leta 1951, torej še v času ameriške okupacije države (1945–1952), se moti. Kot namreč navaja Mitsuchi Shūhei (po Ryu 2007, 712), sta ga že leta 1945 obiskala prva povojna premiera, Higashikuni Naruhiko (1887–1990) in Shidehara Kijūrō (1872–1951), slednji kar dvakrat.

Koizumijeva »romanja« v proslulo svetišče, ko je bil na čelu vlade, so izrazito poslabšala bilateralne odnose z Južno Korejo in s Kitajsko, kar se je odražalo predvsem v eskalaciji ozemeljskih sporov s slednjo, manj odločnem pritisku uradnega Pekinga na politično nomenklaturo Severne Koreje naj zaustavi razvoj balističnih izstrelkov in v neuspelem japonskem prizadevanju za stalni sedež v varnostnem svetu Združenih narodov, trdi Kingston (2011, 119). Oponiranje njegovim dejanjem ni bilo omejeno samo na sosednje države, nezadovoljstvo so izražali tudi številni na Japonskem. Nekateri so – z argumentom, da je kršil ustavo – vložili proti Koizumiju celo tožbe, vendar so različna sodišča njihov zahtevek za izplačilo odškodnin nenehno zavračala, čeprav so nekatera razsodila v prid tožnikom (Takahashi 2006, 155; Okuyama 2009, 245; Kingston 2011, 193). Glas proti so povzdignili tudi japonski gospodarstveniki, zavedajoč se škodljivega vpliva na odnose z največjo zunanjetrgovinsko partnerico Kitajsko (Pyle 2007, 373) in številni vplivni konservativci (Kingston 2011, 194–95), med njimi celo nekdanji predsednik vlade Nakasone Yasuhiro (Kajimoto 2005), vendar je Koizumi vsa opozorila, moledovanja in kritike vehementno zavračal.

Domnevam, da so predvsem predstavniki gospodarstva bíli plat zvona, ker so se bali izbruha protijaponskih protestov v regiji, ki se predvsem na Kitajskem neredko izmaknejo nadzoru in vodijo v brezumno uničevanje vsega, kar demonstranti povezujejo z Japonsko. Zavoljo cenejše delovne sile je v preteklosti več kot dvajset tisoč japonskih podjetij preselilo svojo proizvodnjo na celino, spet druga pa na Kitajsko izvažajo blago oziroma storitve, zato jim nestabilni politični odnosi med državami zagotovo niso po godu, saj negativno vplivajo na njihove finančne prilive. Nekdanji vplivni politiki so najverjetneje povzdignili glas proti, ker obiski članov japonske vlade in parlamenta v Yasukuniju vedno znova hromijo meddržavne odnose na najvišji ravni. Tako je na primer takratna namestnica kitajskega premierja Wu Ji maja 2005 odpovedala že dogovorjeno srečanje s Koizumijem, ko je slednji Kitajsko zaradi neodobravanja njegove afinitete do Yasukunija obtožil vmešavanja v notranjepolitične zadeve Japonske (Mutō

2005).[12] Nasprotno Ryu (2007, 714) sodi, da je številne japonske politike bolj motila kršitev povojne »pacifistične ustave«, ki v 20. in 89. členu izrecno določa ločitev države in verskih skupnosti (*seikyō bunri*).[13] Nekateri korejski intelektualci (npr. Park Yu-ha itn.) so izpodbijali Koizumijevo razlago povoda obiskov Yasukunija, v katerih je padlim pripisoval zasluge za mir in blaginjo današnje Japonske. Kot dodaja Okuyama (2010, 243–44), so mu hkrati očitali, da ni izrazil nobenih pomislekov o samih ekspanzionističnih vojnah in predvsem o tem, zakaj in kako so ti posamezniki žrtvovali svoja dragocena življenja. Ker povzroča trenja v odnosih med uradnim Tokiem in Seulom, politična instrumentalizacija Yasukunija ni povšeči niti najtesnejši japonski zaveznici ZDA. Kljub temu je administracija pod vodstvom Georgea Busha mlajšega tolerirala in pozdravljala Koizumijevo manifestacijo »zdravega nacionalizma« v upanju, da bo slednja pripomogla k dejavnejši vlogi japonske vojske v ameriškem boju proti terorizmu in vojni v Iraku (Nakano 2014).

A sprega političnega in religioznega na Japonskem ni novodoben pojav. Tesen preplet med cesarjem, ki je še dandanes vrhovni šintoistični svečenik, vladajočimi elitami in šintoizmom je bil prisoten že v imperialnem obdobju, še posebej med tako imenovano petnajstletno vojno (1931–1945), trdi Oguma (2002, 303). Tedaj so bili imperialni podložniki širom imperija prisiljeni obiskovati šintoistična svetišča in darovati molitev za zmago cesarske vojske. Da ni Yasukuni zgolj običajno šintoistično svetišče, dokazuje dejstvo, da ga je po razpadu japonskega imperija obiskala le peščica tujih državnikov.[14] Po letu 1978 je z obiskovanjem prenehal še cesar Hirohito oziroma njegov naslednik Akihito (Kingston 2011, 192), čeprav ga je skupaj s cesarico često obiskoval pred letom 1945 in tako izkazoval »hvaležnost in spoštovanje« vsem braniteljem domovine (*gokoku no chūrei*), omenja Takahashi (2006, 164); sedemkrat ga je obiskal tudi po kapitulaciji (Breen 2007, 56).[15] Befu (2001, 98) zavrača enačenje Yasukunija s spomeniki neznanim

---

[12] Čeprav je od tedaj minilo že celo desetletje, so diplomatski odnosi med državama še vedno napeti. Zavoljo številnih nerešenih vprašanj sta se tudi sedanji predsednik japonske vlade Abe Shinzō in predsednik Ljudske republike Kitajske Xi Jinping prvič srečala šele v začetku novembra 2014, kar je več kot poldrugo leto zatem, ko sta nastopila svoji funkciji.

[13] Kot navaja Okuyama (2009, 237, op. 6.), 20. člen zapoveduje: »Država in njeni organi se vzdržijo verske vzgoje ali kakršnihkoli drugih verskih aktivnosti.«

[14] Ga je pa 14. avgusta 2010 obiskal takratni vodja francoske Nacionalne fronte Jean-Marie Le Pen. Svečanih spomladanskih in jesenskih obredov se na povabilo ministrstva za obrambo udeležujejo tudi vojaški atašeji različnih držav, navaja Breen (2007, 65, op. 2).

[15] Omenjeno zahteva dopolnilo. Cesar res ni več obiskal svetišča po letu 1978, a se obredov ob prazniku pomladi in jeseni še vedno udeležuje njegov odposlanec, ki *kamijem* daruje v cesarjevem imenu (Breen 2007, 56).

vojakom, ki se ga često poslužujejo nekateri tako znotraj, na primer Tamamoto (2001, 34), kot zunaj Japonske (npr. Reischauer in Jansen 2005, 210). Tudi Breen (2007, 64) meni, da so takšne komparacije neprimerne, saj je Yasukuni religiozna institucija, sveto mesto s svojo lastno duhovščino, ki izvaja obrede za mrtve in jim daruje kot *kamijem*.

Menim, da ni religiozna komponenta Yasukunija edino, kar ga loči od spomenikov neznanemu junaku, katerih funkcijo Anderson (2007, 27–8) opiše takole (poudarka v originalu):

> V moderni kulturi nacionalizma ni simbolov, ki bi bili bolj fascinantni kot spomeniki padlim borcem in grobnice neznanih junakov. (…) Četudi v teh grobnicah ni trupel niti nesmrtnih duš oseb, ki bi jih mogli identificirati, so vendarle prežete z duhovi zamišljenega *nacionalnega*. (Zato toliko najrazličnejših narodov niti ne čuti posebne potrebe po tem, da bi na takšne grobnice zapisali, kakšne nacionalnosti so bili njihovi odsotni sodržavljani – saj je menda jasno, da *niso mogli biti drugega* kot Nemci, Američani, Argentinci …)

Ne samo da skrbniki (beri šintoistični svečeniki) Yasukunija odrekajo pravico do apoteoze tistim umrlim, ki jih ni mogoče identificirati, kot navaja Tanaka Nobumasa (2004), je svoje mesto med poltretjim milijonom *kamijev* dobilo tudi približno 49000 Korejcev in Tajvancev. V nasprotju s spomeniki neznanemu junaku osnovni namen Yasukunija torej ni slavljenje nacionalnega, ampak *imperialnega*, kar bom podrobneje razčlenil v sklepnem delu razprave.

Čeprav so si nekateri politiki v šestdesetih letih minulega stoletja prizadevali poslati v parlamentarno proceduro zakon, ki bi ga znova postavil na piedestal državnega svetišča (glej Seraphim 2008, 238–39), vse do danes ni priznan kot uradno obeležje padlim »za japonsko stvar« (Kingston 2011, 187); takšno funkcijo ima pokopališče, ki leži le nedaleč stran, in sicer Chidorigafuchi (Breen 2007, 62). [16] V obdobju Velikega japonskega imperija je sicer Yasukuni užival priviligiran status v primerjavi z ostalimi šintoističnimi svetišči in je sodil v pristojnost ministrstva za obrambo, medtem ko je ostala nadziralo ministrstvo za notranje zadeve (Seraphim 2008, 231). Ker ga niso občutno prizadele niti obsežne reforme v času ameriške okupacije, navaja Franziska Seraphim (2008, 235–36), je

---

[16] Od leta 1965 je del Yasukunija tudi Chinreisha, preprosto leseno šintoistično svetišče, zgrajeno v čast vsem padlim v japonskih državljanskih vojnah od leta 1853 dalje, zapiše Goto-Jones (2009, 45). Breen nasprotno navaja, da je Chinreisha posvečena vsem, ki so življenje izgubili v vojnah širom sveta (2007, 52).

ostal eden od krajev spomina, ki jih del japonskih političnih elit v skladu s svojo politiko spomina »priznava za temeljne komemorativne kraje, izpušča ali izogne pa se tistim *topoi*, ki so za vladajočo skupino travmatični ali nemanipulabilni« (Kramberger in Rotar 2010, 150). Zatorej najverjetneje niti ni posebej presenetljivo, da so v času cvetenja češenj spomladi 2010 v vremenski napovedi večernih poročil japonske javne televizije NHK predvajali posnetek cvetočega drevja iz Yasukunija, mene pa je prizor osupnil.[17]

Da bi tudi na lastne oči videl ta »simbol japonskega militarizma«, sem se v času svojega raziskovalnega bivanja na Univerzi v Tsukubi še sam odpravil tjakaj, in to kar dvakrat. Prvič nekje sredi poletja skupaj s prijateljem Keijijem,[18] tedaj mladim raziskovalcem na tokijski univerzi, ki ga zanima obilico stvari, najbolj pa posledice onesnaževanja pristaniškega mesta Minamate.[19] Čeprav je sprva okleval, je na moje vztrajno prigovarjanje le pristal na kratek sprehod skozi svetišče. Yasukuni je bolj ali manj sameval, več obiskovalcev je bilo le v muzeju Yūshūkan, delu kompleksa, kjer so med drugim razstavljene parafernalije vojakov in oborožitev cesarske vojske. Prospekt muzeja sporoča, da so v njem na ogled predmeti, nekoč v lasti »božanstev«, ki so darovala svoja »dragocena življenja« za »domovino, rodišča in družine« (*Guide of Yasukuni Jinja: Yushukan*). Ob vstopu vanj obiskovalec najprej zagleda mogočno parno lokomotivo C5631, ki je v štiridesetih letih preteklega stoletja prva zapeljala na neslavno progo med današnjima Burmo in Tajsko, pri gradnji katere je umrlo okoli 100000 prisilnih delavcev in vojnih ujetnikov. Nedaleč stran je primerek razvpitega lovskega letala »Zero«, ki so ga proti koncu azijsko-pacifiške vojne za svoje napade na zavezniške ladje uporabljali tudi samomorilski piloti, bolj poznani kot kamikaze. Videno v vhodni avli in pripadajoči trgovini s spominki me je popolnoma pretreslo – en in edini namen razstavljenega je namreč enostransko poveličevanje japonske imperialne preteklosti in domnevnih vojaških junaštev; obenem so usode posameznikov, ki so se v vojnah znašli proti svoji volji, na strani napadalcev ali napadenih, popolnoma prezrte –, zato se v prvo nadstropje muzeja, deloma iz ogorčenja in deloma iz protesta, saj bi moral za vstopnino plačati 500 jenov

---

[17] Takrat namreč še nisem vedel, da Japonska meteorološka služba vsako leto obdobje cvetenja češenj za Tokio napove ravno na podlagi opazovanja tistih v Yasukuniju (*Yasukuni jinja: sanpai no shiori*).

[18] Imeni prijatelja in prijateljice v članku sta v skladu z uveljavljeno antropološko prakso izmišljeni.

[19] Zaradi skoraj štiri desetletja (1932–1968) trajajočega nezakonitega izpuščanja živega srebra v morje, ki ga je nato z morsko hrano in ulovljenimi ribami zaužilo lokalno prebivalstvo, je zbolelo na tisoče ljudi. Kljub temu je glavni krivec za onesnaževanje, podjetje Chisso, s pomočjo osrednje vlade dolga leta zanikal kakršnokoli odgovornost za njihovo obolelost in se izmikal plačilu odškodnin.

(približno 5 evrov) in s tem posredno prispevati k ohranjanju muzeja, nisem želel povzpeti. Tako mi je bilo prihranjeno prebiranje zgodb o »kitajskih teroristih« in spletkarskih ZDA (glej Kingston 2011: 188). Podobno kot številni drugi avtorji Breen (2007, 65) izpostavlja, da muzej nikjer ne problematizira japonskega imperialnega ekspanzionizma in dejstva, da *lives lost were lives wasted*.[20] Še več, kot podčrtuje Hong Kal (2007, 144), Yūshūkan ne prikazuje le domnevnega patriotizma umrlih, ampak ustvarja zgodovinsko naracijo, ki japonski kolonializem in ekspanzionistične vojne opravičuje kot altruistično japonsko misijo reševanja Azije iz spon zahodnega imperializma.[21]

Upravitelje muzeja lahko brez oklevanja uvrstim v kategorijo tako imenovanih podjetnikov spomina, ki opravljajo selekcijo preteklih dogodkov v imenu pripadnostne skupine, pri tem pa samoumevno privilegirajo nekatere plati preteklosti na stroške drugih. Noiriel (2008, 373) nadaljuje:

> Zaradi njih postanejo disparatni, velikokrat nejasni, se pravi zmedeni spomini na skupno preteklost, ki jih je sleherni član skupine ohranil, bolj homogeni in pridobijo vidnost v javnem prostoru. To delo meri na krepitev kolektivne identitete skupine, najpogosteje zoper konkurenčna memorijska podjetja.

Tako si producenti spomina prizadevajo »rešiti pred pozabo« ali rehabilitirati posameznike oziroma skupine, do katerih čutijo afiniteto, še dodaja avtor (Noiriel 2008, 374).

Ideološka (zlo)raba preteklosti kakopak ni značilna zgolj za Japonsko, identičen *modus operandi* koristijo vladajoče elite širom sveta. Tako britanski zgodovinar Mark Mazower ob analizi evropskih spominov na boj proti Hitlerjevemu imperiju ugotavlja (2008, 520–21):

> Nadzorovanje tistih, ki so sodelovali v uporu, je bilo eno; nadzorovanje spomina na upor in njegovega pomena pa nekaj drugega, a nič manj pomembnega. (…) Upor sta vsekakor precej zaznamovala lokaliteta in regionalizem, čeprav ju, iz samoumevnih razlogov, povojne nacionalne vlade v spominskih komemoracijah niso poudarjale. Nekatera prizorišča so postala sinonim nacionalnega trpljenja – dejansko so postala simbol nacionalnega mučeništva –, druga pa so kmalu utonila v pozabo. Politiki in komentatorji so vsilili svoje razumevanje dogodkov, zato se običajno ni veliko govorilo –

---

[20] Connerton (2004, 63) poudarja, da je smrt tistih, ki so padli v vojni, vedno reprezentirana kot žrtvovanje in ne kot nesmisel.

[21] Zaradi kritik o enostranskem prikazovanju preteklosti je v osemdesetih letih preteklega stoletja muzej posvečen spominu na žrtve atomske bombe v Hirošimi k razstavi dodal del o japonskem ekspanzionizmu na azijski celini (Seraphim 2008, 25).

razen z molkom – o zelo mešanih lokalnih odzivih, ki so pogosto spremljali upore in protiukrepe, ki so jim sledili.

Eden prvih raziskovalcev mehanizmov konstruiranja kolektivnega spomina Maurice Halbwachs (2001, 87) slednjega definira kot »kontinuiran mišljenjski tok«, ki od preteklosti ohranja samo tisto, kar je »še živo ali zmožno živeti v zavesti skupine, ki ga vzdržuje«. Z drugimi besedami, kolektivni spomin določene skupnosti oblikujejo tisti izbrani spomini njenih članov, ki so se ohranili po procesih selekcije in objektivizacije in so za pripadnike skupnosti pomembne identifikacijske opore dotične skupnosti (Kramberger in Rotar 2010, 112). Posledično je »v zelo veliki meri rekonstrukcija preteklosti s pomočjo podatkov, sposojenih iz sedanjosti, to pa so poleg tega pripravile druge rekonstrukcije, narejene v prejšnjih dobah, iz njih pa je podoba preteklosti izšla že precej predrugačena,« meni Halbwachs (2001, 75). Kljub temu ni statična, ampak se nenehno transformira, kot se hkrati spreminja tudi skupnost, ki je njen nosilec, dodaja (2001, 90).

Znova sem se v Yasukuni odpravil 15. avgusta, na dan torej, ko je cesar Hirohito leta 1945 v vnaprej posnetem radijskem govoru širni Japonski oznanil poraz v boju z ZDA in njenimi zaveznicami ter posledičen razpad imperija. V okolici svetišča je mrgolelo policistov, česar si ob samem prihodu s Tatjano, podiplomsko študentko novinarstva iz Bosne in Hercegovine, nisva znala razložiti. Na *shinmonu*[22] so japonske zastave visele na pol droga, obiskovalci pa so se v svetišče zgrinjali z vseh strani. Njihova starostna struktura je bila precej pestra, vendar so prevladovali posamezniki srednje generacije oziroma starejši, čeprav je bilo moč opaziti tudi nekaj družin z otroki in radovednežev iz neazijskih držav. Po Breenovem (2007, 61) prepričanju sicer večina obiskovalcev Yasukunija ni članov priviligiranih desničarskih interesnih združenj (npr. Nippon izoku kai, Eirei ni kotaeru kai itn.), ki svetišče izrabljajo v politične namene, ampak kvečjemu združenj vojnih veteranov ali pa niti tega ne. Podobno Tsujita Mariko (2009, 198) sodi, da večina starejših obiskovalcev obišče Yasukuni v pristni želji po komemoraciji svojih bližnjih, niso pa prepričani nacionalisti.

Dogodek sem želel ovekovečiti tudi s fotoaparatom, kar mi je sprva kar dobro uspevalo, nato pa mi je fotografiranje množice posameznikov med molitvijo preprečil eden od varnostnikov. Na splošno sva bila s Tatjano v natrpanem svetišču deležna precej srepih pogledov obiskovalcev, ki tisto leto sicer niso

---

[22] Vhod v šintoistično svetišče

dočakali prihoda prvega ministra Kana Naota, saj je bila tedaj na oblasti Japonska demokratska stranka (DPJ), uradno oster kritik politične instrumentalizacije Yasukunija. Kot sem kasneje izvedel od nekega študijskega kolega, njegovo delovanje finančno podpirajo predvsem združenja svojcev padlih v zadnjih japonskih vojnah. Breen (2007, 60) kot glavno pobudnico komemoracij ob 15. avgustu navaja združenje Eirei ni kotaeru kai (Združenje častilcev duhov padlih junakov). Izjemno vplivna je tudi asociacija Izokukai (Združenje užaloščenih svojcev), ki je hkrati ena od pomembnih lobističnih skupin na Japonskem. Kot piše Takahashi (2006, 155–56), svojo podporo Liberalno demokratski stranki pogojuje z obiski njenih voditeljev v Yasukuniju in si sočasno prizadeva, da bi država padle vojake priznala kot primarne žrtve imperialnih vojn (Seraphim 2008, 9). Kljub temu je del njenih članov naklonjen ideji, da se državniki rajnim poklonijo kje drugje kot v Yasukuniju (Breen 2007, 59).

Slika 1: Poklon. (Foto Klemen Senica, 15. 8. 2010)

Ob vračanju proti domu sva naletela na stojnice različnih interesnih skupin, katerih predstavniki so delili letake z izrazito nacionalistično, ksenofobno in protikitajsko vsebino. Ko sem tako od neke aktivistke vzel enega, ki je pozival proti dodelitvi volilne pravice tujcem, se mi je vljudno zahvalila. Na poti proti četrti Akihabara sva nenadoma zaslišala hrup iz zvočnikov in povsem naključno naletela na protestnike, predvsem starejše – averzijo do državniških obiskov

Yasukunija izražajo predvsem tisti z levega dela političnega spektra (Breen 2007, 48), a tudi pogost koalicijski partner LDP, stranka Kōmeitō –,[23] in ultradesničarje v kombijih z ogromnimi zvočniki, ki so želeli motiti protest prvih. Po kakšnem kilometru ali dveh je policistom, verjetno pripadnikom protiizgredniških enot *kidōtai*, le uspelo zaustaviti slednje in verbalno nasilje ni eskaliralo v fizično obračunavanje med stranema, ki ju razdvaja popolnoma diametralno razumevanje ne tako daljnjih dogodkov V Vzhodni in Jugovzhodni Aziji.

Razlike v interpretacijah zgodovinske vloge Japonske v drugi polovici 19. in prvi polovici preteklega stoletja so podobne tistim, ki smo jim še 70 let po koncu 2. svetovne vojne priča tako na Slovenskem kot v prenekateri državi v naši soseščini, pa tudi širše. Medtem ko tisti bližje desnemu polu japonskega političnega spektra imperialne vojne razumejo kot osvobajanje Azije,[24] ki so jih zavezniki na čelu z ZDA po kapitulaciji očrnili kot fašistično agresijo, po Kingstonovem (2011, 186) mnenju njihovi nasprotniki Yasukuni dojemajo kot simbol zakrknjenega militarizma, ki relativizira in zanikuje japonske zločine nad koloniziranimi ter rehabilitira odgovorne zanje, kar lahko posledično vodi v kolektivno amnezijo o brutalnostih cesarske vojske. Poleg tega izpodbijajo njegovo apolitičnost, dasiravno je Yasukuni z vidika japonske zakonodaje avtonomna verska institucija (*shūkyō hōjin*). Kot namreč poudarja Mutō (2005), njegovi voditelji izražajo jasna politična stališča, saj zanikajo legitimnost tokijskega sodišča in obsojene generale reprezentirajo kot mučenike, hkrati pa japonske ekspanzionistične vojne razumejo kot samoobrambne in pravične.

Če je verjeti Halbwachsu (2001, 34), je konsenz med antagonističnimi razlagami preteklosti tako na Japonskem kot drugje domala nemogoč, saj nobena od skupin

> od trenutka, ko so se ločile, ne more več reproducirati celotne vsebine nekdanjega mišljenja. Četudi zdaj dve izmed vseh teh obnovita stik, da bi se razumeli, se sporazumevali med seboj in vzajemno potrjevali spomine iz te preteklosti skupnega življenja, jima za to manjka prav zmožnost, da bi pozabili pregrade, ki jo ločujejo v sedanjosti.

---

[23] Kot v svoji razpravi prepričljivo argumentira Ryu (2007, 716–24), odnos japonskih politikov do Yasukunija ni strogo determiniran z njihovo strankarsko pripadnostjo.

[24] Pri tem pozabljajo, da ni bila Koreja nikogaršnja kolonija, ko jo je leta 1910 anektiral japonski imperij.

Obujanje spominov na »veličastno« imperialno preteklost

Nekdanji prvi minister Koizumi, podobno retoriko uporablja sedanji premier Abe Shinzō (Statement 2013), je na plaz očitkov o obiskih Yasukunija odgovarjal, da se želi zgolj kot običajen državljan pokloniti vsem prednikom, ki so kadarkoli padli za domovino, saj da so tudi oni prispevali k miru in blaginji današnje Japonske (glej Takahashi 2006, 156; Ryu 2007, 713). [25] Številni niso verjeli njegovim pojasnilom in so mu očitali težnje po sprevračaju zgodovinskih dejstev, saj je prav v obdobju njegovega vladanja prišlo do sprememb kurikula zgodovine v srednjih šolah. Nekateri, na primer Inoguchi (2009, 347), Koizumijeve obiske Yasukunija interpretirajo kot poskus pomiritve skrajne desnice in njenega antiameriškega razpoloženja. Japonska vlada je namreč po 11. septembru odločno podprla ameriški invaziji na Afganistan in Irak, njene oborožene sile pa so zagotavljale logistično podporo ameriškim in britanskim vojakom, vendar je del domače javnosti v tem prepoznal pretirano servilnost ameriškim geostrateškim interesom. [26] Takšna razlaga je na prvi pogled sprejemljiva, vendar se ob poglobljenem razmisleku hitro izkaže za nezadovoljivo. Koizumi je namreč prvič obiskal Yasukuni že 13. avgusta 2001 (Takahashi 2006, 155), torej slab mesec dni pred terorističnim napadom na newyorški WTC, ko ameriški vojaški in politični voditelji, vsaj javno, še niso razmišljali o invaziji na dve državi z »osi zla«. Še več, da bo obiskoval Yasukuni, je bodoči premier obljubil že v tekmi za predsednika Liberalno demokratske stranke (LDP) leta 2001, ko je premagal protikandidata, nekdanjega predsednika vlade in združenja Izokukai Hashimota Ryūtarōja, zapiše Takahashi (2006, 156).

---

[25] Zanimivo, ko je Yasukuni obiskal oktobra 2012, je Abe izjavil, da je to storil kot vodja največje opozicijske stranke (*Asahi* 2012).

[26] Tukaj moram nameniti nekaj besed japonskim oboroženim silam. Čeprav je bilo po razpadu imperija sprva predvideno, da država ne bo imela lastne vojske, so napetosti med svetovnima hegemonoma v nastajanju spremenile ameriške načrte za radikalno prenovo Japonske. Če so v tako imenovani fazi A zavezniški upravitelji še prakticirali politiko popolne demilitarizacije države, so si med letoma 1948 in 1952 prizadevali samo še za ekonomsko obnovo Japonske (Pyle 2007, 219). Izbruh vojne na Korejskem polotoku je še utrdil prepričanje ameriških politikov o nujnosti vključitve Japonske v nekomunistični tabor. Leta 1950 so tako japonski vladi ukazali formiranje paravojaških policijskih enot, ki so prevzele naloge na bojišča v Koreji premeščenih ameriških kopenskih sil (Reischauer in Jansen 2005, 356); leta 1954 so bile dokončno preoblikovane v Samoobrambne sile (Goto-Jones 2009, 97). Navkljub dejstvu, da je Japonska leta 2007 uradno institucionalizirala ministrstvo za obrambo, so nekateri moji sogovorniki zanikali obstoj »prave« japonske vojske. Dotična »nevojska« je sicer večja od francoske ali britanske armade in ima peto največjo mornarico na svetu (Kingston 2011, 129).

Zato sodim, da je potrebno recentne obiske predstavnikov japonskega političnega establišmenta – afinitete do Yasukunija je z obiski izkazoval tudi nekdanji tokijski župan in kasneje sopredsedujoči stranki Nippon ishin no kai, katere ime bi veljalo malo hudomušno prevesti kot »Združenje za vrednote japonske reformacije«, Ishihara Shintarō in številni konservativni politiki – primarno razumeti kot manifestacijo imperialne nostalgije konservativnega pola japonskih političnih elit.[27] Pri tem imperialno nostalgijo v nasprotju z Rosaldom (1989, 107–10) definiram kot spomin na oziroma hrepenenje po minulih, v primerjavi z dandanašnjimi domnevno veličastnejšimi, kolonialnimi časi politične entitete, ki ji nekdo pripada. Koizumi je postal premier aprila 2001, torej po »izgubljenem desetletju«, zaznamovanem z ekonomsko stagnacijo države in smrtjo cesarja Hirohita leta 1989. Wallerstein (2006, 75) rezonira, da politični voditelji javno glorificirajo nacionalistične – sam bi k temu dodal še imperialistične – tematike v želji po krepitvi moči politično šibke ali oslabljene države in ne takrat, ko država prosperira.[28] Podobno Kingston (2011, 194) sodi, da »(z) obujanjem atavističnih simbolov nacionalizma v nameri obuditve nacionalnega ponosa, politiki odgovarjajo na občutke bledenja slave, naraščajoče negotovosti in izgube zaupanja v vlado«. Carol Gluck (1993, 95) meni, da slavljenje preteklosti dejansko pomeni izogibanje izzivom sedanjosti, kar je »kombinacija, ki zaslepi tako zgodovinski spomin kot sodobno vizijo«. Hong Kal (2007, 151) nasprotno izpostavlja, da je potrebno vzroke obujanja izgubljene veličine nacije iskati drugje, in sicer kot protiutež ostrim kritikam vojnih zločinov cesarske vojske, ki niso prihajale samo iz Azije in z Zahoda, nanje je opozarjal tudi del domače civilne družbe. Kljub temu ameriški antropolog Brian McVeigh (2005, 267; glej tudi Breen 2007, 64–65; Okuyama 2009, 248) zapiše, da si nostalgični nacionalisti med politiki praviloma ne prizadevajo zanikati zločinov japonskih vojakov, ampak slavijo veličastno imperialno preteklost Japonske, česar

---

[27] Tudi v sosednji Italiji smo priča pojavu imperialne nostalgije neofašistične in postfašistične desnice, ugotavlja Baskar (2009, 125). Kot v poročilu o shodu, ki so ga neofašisti iz vse Italije pripravili konec maja 2015 v Gorici, navajata Jerneja Grmadnik in Klara Škrinjar (2015), je na eni od številnih zastav pisalo, da so pripravljeni umreti za Italijo, hkrati pa je njihov vodja Simone di Stefano dejal: »Kdor je pripravljen dati življenje za nekaj velikega, se lahko počuti živ. Danes praznujemo ta duh, ta spomin!«

[28] Imperialne nostalgike je seveda moč najti tudi med običajnimi Japonci (glej Ghosh 2014). Vzporedno z imperialno nostalgijo se krepi tudi nestrpnost do etničnih manjšin na Japonskem (Mie 2013).

po mnenju Tamamota (2001, 38) ne smemo enačiti z željo po konstrukciji Velikega japonskega imperija 2.0.[29]

Najsibo vzrok takšen ali drugačen, nikakor ne morem sprejeti Kingstonove (2011, 195–96) teze, podobno razvijeta Tamamoto (2001, 36) in Pyle (2007, 373), da so Koizumijeva »žalovanja« v Yasukuniju pravzaprav odražala njegovo željo po dokončnem prelomu z dediščino II. svetovne vojne in »koraku naprej« v odnosu do nje; zadnji implicitno aplavdira Koizumijevim potezam, saj da ima vsaka nacija pravico spoštovati svojo preteklost. Vendar Yasukuni v imaginariju precejšnjega dela japonskih političnih elit ni kraj, kjer lahko svojci v miru počastijo spomin na umrle v vojnah, ampak institucija, kjer država slavi njihov boj za domovino (Takahashi 2006, 175). Zato Tanaka (2004) sodi, da je šele skupna tožba korejskih, kitajskih in tajvanskih žrtev japonskega kolonializma in imperialnih invazij ter japonskih državljanov proti japonski vladi odraz želje po prelomu s preteklostjo, ko se želijo pripadniki omenjenih azijskih nacij znebiti etikete večnih žrtev, Japonci pa nočejo biti nenehno percipirani kot agresorji.

Čeprav so imele Koizumijeve »komemoracije« jasno intenco oživljanja spomina na »slavno« japonsko imperialno preteklost, neločljiv del katere so tudi ekspanzionistične vojne,[30] menim, da je bilo samo dejanje bolj namenjeno krepitvi samozavesti domačega volilnega telesa kot ujeziti tuje vlade, na kar v svojih razmišljanjih namiguje zagovornik takšne prakse Kobori Keiichirō, zaslužni profesor Univerze v Tokiu. Breen (2007, 57) je njegove zapise analizirala takole:

> Kobori želi povedati, da ministrski predsedniki s svojimi smelimi obiski Yusukunija vsako leto 15. avgusta vplivajo na moralno preobrazbo japonske sicer nepopravljive mladine. Dejanja premiera slednjo opozorijo na to, da so milijoni umrli junaške smrti in da je Japonska bíla veličasten boj, torej da je Japonska veličastna nacija, ki je vredna tudi njihove žrtve. Ko japonska mladina to uvidi, bosta Japonska in njena nekdanja imperialna slava znova obujeni.

Ob tem je pomenljivo, da Koborijeva dikcija močno spominja na tisto, ki jo je filozof Inoue Tetsujirō (1856–1944) zagovarjal na vrhuncu japonske imperialne

---

[29] Verjetno najbolj notorični imperialni nostalgik in revizionist na Japonskem je kontroverzni avtor mang Kobayashi Yoshinori, ki ga Ma (2009, 192) označi za predstavnika tiste skupine Japoncev, »nezadovoljnih s povojno liberalno demokracijo, ki sanjarijo o zlatih časih japonskega kolonializma in ohranjajo revizionističen pogled na vojno«.

[30] Za Breena (2007, 55) je Yasukuni substantivna fizična vez z japonsko imperialno, militaristično preteklostjo.

ekspanzije. Kot zapiše Goto-Jones (2008, 44), je namreč trdil, da je smrt v imenu in službi cesarskega dvora

> lepa in veličastna, zavoljo enotnosti, ki jo takšno dejanje izkazuje med vladarjem in podaniki (*kummin itchi*) ter med spoštovanjem in lojalnostjo. Poleg tega bi takšno dejanje skoraj čudežno vplivalo na preostale podanike, saj bi dobesedno transformiralo *kokutai* (...) in oplemenitilo krepost nacije.

Ker je vlada, ki ji je predsedoval, na prošnjo ZDA sprejela odločitev o napotitvi japonskih čet v Irak, Takahashi (2006, 157) ocenjuje, da Koizumijevi obiski Yasukunija in njegovi slavospevi tistim, ki so »žrtvovali svoja dragocena življenja v boju za domovino«, niso bili izraz piete, ampak so želeli Japoncem implicitno sporočiti, da je »umreti za domovino« plemenito dejanje, vredno izkazovanja najvišjih državniških časti. Zatorej si upam trditi, da dandanašnja politična instrumentalizacija Yasukunija služi identičnim ciljem kot tista v obdobju japonskega imperija. Kot namreč dodaja Takahashi (2006, 172–73) v nadaljevanju, je bil v obdobju Velikega japonskega imperija osrednji namen izkazovanja najvišjih časti padlim v »samoobrambnih« vojnah prepričati za boj sposobne podanike, da bi šli po stopinjah ubitih sorojakov in bili pripravljeni žrtvovati svoje življenje za »očetnjavo«. Skupaj z Breenom (2007, 57) lahko torej ugotovim, da je Yasukuni še sedem desetletij po razpadu imperija

> ideološko obremenjeno prizorišče, ki časti spomin na mrtve *in* jih izrablja v ideološke namene. Tako je bilo na Japonskem vseskozi v času vojne in tako je še danes. (Poudarek v originalu)

Če bi se namreč Koizumi, Abe in ostali vidni predstavniki japonskih političnih elit dejansko želeli iskreno pokloniti vsem japonskim žrtvam azijsko-pacifiške vojne, kot neumorno trdijo (glej Kingston 2011, 190), bi jih verjetno zmotilo dejstvo, ugibam, da ni bilo apoteoze v Yasukuniju deležno več sto tisoč civilnih žrtev bombardiranj Okinave, Tokia, Hirošime ali Nagasakija, kar v svojem eseju izpostavi Mutō (2005).

Pri tem je simptomatično, da niti Koizumi niti Abe v svojih razčlenjevanjih dogodkov v prvi polovici 20. stoletja nista nikoli eksplicitno obsodila japonske agresije na sosednje države, jasno definirala vzroke trpljenja sodržavljanov in se distancirala od dejanj tvorcev japonskega imperija.[31] Nasprotno, izrazila sta zgolj

---

[31] Navdih za takšen prelomni korak bi lahko črpala iz znamenitega govora nekdanjega zahodnonemškega kanclerja Richarda von Weizsäckerja (1920–2015), ki ga je slednji imel v bundestagu 8. maja 1985.

»globoko obžalovanje« zavoljo trpljenja Azijcev v obdobju japonske nadvlade in ponovila zaobljubo, da se država reševanja mednarodnih sporov ne bo nikoli več lotila z orožjem. Obenem sta v isti sapi hitela poudarjati, da so za sedanjo prosperiteto Japonske zaslužni vsi, ki so svoje mesto dobili v Yasukuniju, tudi najhušiš vojnih zločinov obsojeni generali,[32] kar je po mojem mnenju primer perfidnega historičnega revizionizma in negacionizma *par excellence*. Obenem je takšna simbolna rehabilitacija imperialnih voditeljev, ki so s svojimi kratkovidnimi odločitvami in zablodelimi strategijami v smrt pognali na milijone ljudi tako doma kot na tujem, žaljiva do vseh, ki so trpeli hudo povojno pomanjkanje in kasneje s številnimi odrekanji prispevali k rekonstrukciji leta 1945 popolnoma uničene države. Čeprav ni nujno, da bi iskreno japonsko soočenje s hudodelstvi iz obdobja Velikega japonskega imperija dokončno pomirilo vladajoče politične elite v Južni Koreji in na Kitajskem, se zdi, da se tiste v Tokiu najbolj bojijo finančnih posledic morebitne razrešitve perečih zgodovinskih vprašanj s sosednjima državama. Kljub temu sodim, da se bodo morali konservativni politični misli naklonjeni japonski državniki in njihovi volivci slejkoprej pogledati v ogledalo zgodovine in sprejeti tudi temne plati neuspelega imperialnega zavojevanja, saj kot zapiše Yamamuro (2000, 11), naj so morda Japonci še toliko izbrisali spomine na imperialno preteklost in skovali samopodobo na osnovi te amnezije, dejstvo, da je Japonska imela kolonialni imperij, ne bo preprosto izginilo.

Literatura

Anderson, Benedict. (1991) 2007. *Zamišljene skupnosti: O izvoru in širjenju nacionalizma*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis.

Asahi shimbun. 2012. "Japan Opposition Leader's War Shrine Visit Bound to Anger China, Korea." Dostop 15. april, 2014. http://ajw.asahi.com/article/behind_news/politics/ AJ201210170097.

——. 2014. "Abe Praised Class-A War Criminals for Being 'Foundation' of Japan's Prosperity." Dostop 4. junij, 2015. http://ajw.asahi.com/article/behind_news/politics/ AJ201408270054.

Baskar, Bojan. 2009. "'The Most Beautiful Part of Italy': Memories of Fascist Empire-building in the Adriatic." V *Mediterranean Frontiers: Borders, Conflict and Memory in a Transnational World*, uredila Dimitar Bechev in Kalypso Nicolaidis, 109–27. London in New York: Tauris Academic Studies.

---

[32] V začetku aprila 2014 je Abe poslal pismo podpore organizatorjem, ki vsako leto pripravijo spominsko slovesnost za vojaške poveljnike, na tokijskem sodišču obsojene najhujših vojnih zločinov, in posebej izpostavil prispevek »mučenikov« k blaginji sodobne Japonske (*Asahi* 2014).

Befu, Harumi. 2001. *Hegemony of Homogeneity: An Anthropological Analysis of Nihonjinron.* Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.

Breen, John. (2004) 2007. "The Dead and the Living in the Land of Peace: A Sociology of the Yasukuni Shrine." V *Modern Japanese Culture and Society* (Volume IV), uredila Dolores P. Martinez, 48–66. London: Routledge.

Connerton, Paul. (1989) 2004. *Kako se društva sjećaju.* Zagreb: Izdanja Antibarbarus.

Cwiertka, Katarzyna J. 2006. *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity.* London: Reaktion Books.

Eskildsen, Robert. 2002. "Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan's 1874 Expedition to Taiwan." *American Historical Review* 107(2): 388–418.

Ghosh, Palash. 2005. "Japan's Far-Right: Nostalgia for Imperial Past, or Dire Threat to Future." Dostop 17. junij, 2015. http://www.ibtimes.com/japans-far-right-nostalgia-imperial-past-or-dire-threat-future-1562371.

Gluck, Carol. 1993. "The Past in the Present." V *Postwar Japan as History*, uredil Andrew Gordon, 64–95. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goto-Jones, Christopher. 2008. "The Way of Revering the Emperor: Imperial Philosophy and *Bushidō* in Modern Japan." V *The Emperors of Modern Japan*, uredil Ben-Ami Shillony, 23–52. Leiden in Boston: Brill.

——. 2009. *Modern Japan: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grmadnik, Jerneja, in Klara Škrinjar. 2015. "Tiho, a udarno je val neofašizma oplazil Gorico." Dostop 19. junij, 2015. http://www.delo.si/svet/sosescina/v-zivo-fasisti-z-varnostniki-marsirajo-po-mestu.html.

Halbwachs, Maurice. (1968) 2001. *Kolektivni spomin.* Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis.

Inoguchi, Takashi. 2009. "Globalisation and Cultural Nationalism." V *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Japanese Culture*, uredil Yoshio Sugimoto, 336–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kajimoto, Tetsushi. 2005. "Nakasone Hits Koizumi Populism, Yasukuni Visits." Dostop 18. april, 2014. http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2005/11/23/news/nakasone-hits-koizumi-populism-yasukuni-visits/#.VX_XR0YTVFn.

Kal, Hong. 2007. "The Aesthetic Construction of Ethnic Nationalism: War Memorial Museums in Korea and Japan." V *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean* Experience, uredili Gi-Wook Shin, Soon-Won Park in Daqing Yang, 133–53. London: Routledge.

Kingston, Jeff. 2011. *Contemporary Japan: History, Politics, and Social Change since the 1980s.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Kramberger, Taja, in Drago B. Rotar. 2010. *Misliti družbo, ki (se) sama ne misli.* Ljubljana: Sophia.

Lipušček, Uroš. 2015. "Dolga senca druge svetovne vojne v Aziji." *Objektiv* 9. maj. Dostop 28. maj, 2015. https://www.dnevnik.si/1042712556/svet/dolga-senca-druge-svetovne-vojne-v-aziji.

Ma, Sheng-Mei. 2009. "Three Views of the Rising Sun, Obliquely: Keiji Nakazawa's A-Bomb, Osamu Tezuka's Adolf, and Yoshinori Kobayashi's Apologia." *Mechademia* 4: 183–96.

Mazower, Mark. 2008. *Hitler's Empire. How the Nazis Ruled Europe.* New York: Penguin Press.

McNeill, David. 2008. "Magnificent Obsession: Japan's Bone Man and the World War II Dead in the Pacific." Accessed May 30, 2015. http://www.japanfocus.org/-David-McNeill/2821/article.html.

McVeigh, Brian J. 2004. *Nationalisms of Japan: Managing and Mystifying Identity.* Lanham (Md.) in Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Mie, Ayako. 2013. "Xenophobia Finds Fertile Soil in Web Anonymity." Dostop 20. april, 2014. http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/01/08/news/xenophobia-finds-fertile-soil-in-web-anonymity/#.VYAZ8EYTVFm.

Milčinski, Maja. 1999. "Kami in šintoistična kozmogonija." *Studia mythologica Slavica* 2: 299–304.

Mutō, Ichiyō. 2005. "Revise the Peace Constitution, Restore Glory to Empire." Dostop 22. julij, 2014. http://www.europesolidaire.org/spip.php?page=article_impr&id_article=1850.

Nagata, Kazuaki. 2009. "Koizumi, Abe Make Yasukuni Visit." Dostop 4. april, 2014. http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2009/08/16/national/koizumi-abe-make-yasukuni-visit/#.VX_UckYTVFm.

Nakano, Kōichi. 2014. "The Legacy of Historical Revisionism." Dostop 31. maj, 2015. http://www.theasanforum.org/the-legacy-of-historical-revisionism/.

Noiriel, Gérard. (2004) 2008. "Zgodovina, memorija, državljanski angažma." *Monitor ZSA* 10 (1–2): 373–77.

Oguma, Eiji. 2002. *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images.* Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.

Okuyama, Michiaki. 2009. "The Yasukuni Shrine Problem in the East Asian Context: Religion and Politics in Modern Japan." *Politikologija religije* 3 (2): 235–51.

Podoler, Guy. 2009. "Introduction." V *War and Militarism in Modern Japan: Issues of History and Identity*, uredil by Guy Podoler, 1–8. Folkestone: Global Oriental.

Pyle, Kenneth B. 2007. *Japan Rising: The Resurgence of Japanese Power and Purpose.* New York: PublicAffairs.

Reischauer, Edwin O., and Marius B. Jansen. (1977) 2005. *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity.* Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing.

Rosaldo, Renato. 1989. "Imperialist Nostalgia." *Representations* 26: 107–22.

Ryu, Yongwook. 2007. "The Yasukuni Controversy: Divergent Perspectives from the Japanese Political Elite." *Asian Survey* 47 (5): 705–26.

Sedmak, Matej. 2013. "Yasukunijski konflikt v okviru japonske zgodovine in zunanje politike." Neobjavljena disertacija. Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani.

Seraphim, Franziska. (2006) 2008. *War Memory and Social Politics in Japan, 1945–2005.* Cambridge (Mass.) in London: Harvard University Press.

Soh, Sarah C. 2008. *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Statement by Prime Minister Abe: Pledge for Everlasting Peace. 20013. Dostop 20. april, 2014. http://japan.kantei.go.jp/96_abe/statement/201312/1202986_7801.html.

Takahashi, Tetsuya. 2006. "The National Politics of the Yasukuni Shrine." V *Nationalisms in Japan*, uredil Naoko Shimazu, 155–80. London: Routledge.

Tamamoto, Masaru. 2001. "The Land without Patriots: The Yasukuni Controversy and Japanese Nationalism." *World Policy Journal* 18 (3): 33–40.

Tanaka, Nobumasa. 2004. "The Dead must no be Abused: Yasukuni Shrine, the Prime Minister and the Constitution." Dostop 14. april, 2014. http://japanfocus.org/-Nobumasa-Tanaka/1873.

Tsujita, Mariko. 2009. "A Fragile Balance between 'Normalization' and the Revival of Nationalistic Sentiments." V *War and Militarism in Modern Japan: Issues of History and Identity*, uredil Guy Podoler, 187–98. Folkestone: Global Oriental.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. (2004) 2006. *Uvod v analizo svetovnih-sistemov.* Ljubljana: Založba/*cf.

Yamamuro, Shin'ichi. 2000. "The Evolving Meiji State: Its Dual Character as a Nation-State and Colonial Empire." V *Japanese Civilization in the Modern World: XVI – Nation-State and Empire*, uredili Tadao Umesao, Takashi Fujitani in Eisei Kurimoto, 9–24. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

Yomiuri shimbun. 2005. "Yasukuni: Behind the Torii: From Government-Run Shrine for War Heroes to Bone of Contention." Dostop 18. marec 18, 2012. http://www.japanfocus.org/-Yomiuri-Shimbun/1967/article.html.

Summary

Along with territorial issues, history textbooks and the "comfort women" controversies, the Yasukuni Shrine is among highly contentious issues when it comes to Japan's foreign relations with its neighbouring countries, particularly China and South Korea. Ever since its inception in 1869, it has had a privileged symbolic position among Shinto shrines in Japan. It was only after 1978, when fourteen former military leaders who were convicted as Class-A war criminals at the Tokyo Trial were secretly enshrined there, that it became utterly problematic for many Asians who suffered under the Japanese colonial rule in the first half of the 20th century and their descendants as well as many Japanese. Recently, it has drawn considerable public attention worldwide, owing to regular pilgrimages by

former Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichirō while he was still in office and the visit of the current Prime Minister Abe Shinzō in December 2013. The phenomenon of paying respect in Yasukuni to the soldiers and civilians who died for the "Japanese cause" in the Asia-Pacific War (1931–1945), practised mostly by the conservative part of Japanese political elites, is repeatedly met with stiff opposition from a wide spectrum of individuals in Japan, not to mention Chinese and South Korean political leaders. Although there have been numerous discussions trying to explain the reasons and causes of why so many Japanese (right-wing) politicians still have an explicit affinity for a "war shrine" 70 years after the dissolution of the Empire of Japan, in my view the glorification of chosen victims needs to be set in a broader context of imperialist nostalgia, the wave of which has been coming over Japan since the turn of the 21st century. As so many social scientists convincingly argue, political leaders around the world resort to the presumably glorious past of their countries when the countries are weak(ening) economically or unimportant in international politics.

Poročanje o sporu glede otočja Diaoyu/Diaoyutai/Senkaku v izbranih slovenskih medijih[1]

Saša ISTENIČ[*]

Izvleček

Spor med Japonsko, Kitajsko in Tajvanom glede suverenosti nad otočjem Senkaku[2] ostaja vir resnih mednarodnih napetosti. Ker bi morebitna napačna presoja lahko zanetila vojno z nepredstavljivimi posledicami, je novica o sporu prodrla v medije po vsem svetu. Tudi slovenski mediji so, podkrepljeni s splošno vrednostjo objav novic o mednarodnih konfliktih, spremljali aktualne novice o spornem otočju. Medtem ko je oddaljena vzhodnoazijska regija na dnu slovenskih prioritet in ambicij njenih politikov, pa so tržni nagibi močno povezani s stabilnim in varnim okoljem v Vzhodni Aziji. Pričujoč članek analizira s pomočjo kvantitativne in kvalitativne vsebinske analize vseh novic o sporu, ki so bile objavljene med leti 2010 in 2013 v ključnih slovenskih tiskanih in spletnih dnevnikih, poročanje slovenskih medijev o spornem otočju.

Ključne besede: ozemeljski spor, otočje Diaoyu/Diaoyutai/Senkaku, Japonska, Kitajska, Tajvan, vsebinska analiza

Abstract

The dispute over the sovereignty of the Diaoyu/Diaoyutai/Senkaku islands remains a source of significant international tension. Given that any miscalculation could lead to a war with unimaginable consequences, the issue has gained media attention across the world. Buttressed with the general newsworthiness of an international conflict, Slovene media has also been attentive to report on the islands' controversy. Although the remote East Asian region is far down the list of Slovenia's priorities and ambitions of its politicians, national commercial considerations are connected with a stable and secure environment in East Asia. By applying a combined quantitative and qualitative content

---

[*] Saša ISTENIČ, docentka, Oddelek za azijske študije, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani, Slovenija.
sasa@tajvan.si

[2] Japonsko uradno ime otočja je Senkaku 尖閣, kitajsko ime je Diaoyu 钓鱼, tajvansko pa Diaoyutai 釣魚台. Zaradi poenostavitve bo v tem članku uporabljeno japonsko ime, ker je otočje trenutno pod upravo Japonske. Avtorica s tem nikakor ne podaja presoje glede suverenosti nad spornim otočjem.

analysis of the news stories on the dispute published in Slovene major print and online daily newspapers between 2010 and 2013, the present paper examines Slovene media's coverage of the islands' dispute.

Keywords: territorial dispute, Diaoyu/Diaoyutai/Senkaku islands, Japan, China, Taiwan, content analysis

Uvod: Konflikt nad otočjem Senkaku

Pomorski ozemeljski spori v Vzhodni Aziji se vse bolj zaostrujejo, pa čeprav se pravzaprav nobena od vpletenih strani ne želi naseliti na spornem skalovju. Vzroki za nepopustljivo in občasno agresivno držo vpletenih držav tičijo predvsem v naslednjih interesih: otoški strateški lokaciji v središču pomembnih trgovskih poti, potencialno bogatih fosilnih gorivih kot sta nafta in zemeljski plin v njihovi okolici, bogatih ribolovnih področjih kot tudi v sami zgodovinski in politični vlogi otočja, ki sta obe povezani z nacionalnim ponosom vpletenih strani. In prav ti interesi so tisti, ki narekujejo potek dogodkov, še posebno v zadnjih nekaj letih. Vode v okolici spornih otočij v Južnokitajskem, in še posebno okrog otočja Senkaku v Vzhodnokitajskem morju, so postale preteča žarišča, ki bi lahko povedla v resno vojno, saj bi bile v konflikt vpletene tri največje gospodarske sile sveta.[3]

Otočje Senkaku sestavlja skupina osmih manjših, za bivanje neprimernih otočkov, ki si jih lasti Japonska, vendar ozemeljske pravice nad njimi terjata tudi Ljudska republika Kitajska (od tu naprej Kitajska) in Republika Kitajska (od tu naprej Tajvan). Tako vlada v Tajpeju kot vlada v Pekingu svojo suverenost nad otočjem utemeljujeta na podlagi zgodovinskih dokumentov, ki segajo v dinastijo Ming (1368–1644) in dinastijo Qing (1644–1912). Trdita, da si je Japonska na skrivaj prilastila otočje v prvi kitajsko-japonski vojni (1894–5) in bi se le-to po drugi svetovni vojni, v skladu z mednarodnim pravom, moralo vrniti prvotnemu lastniku.[4] Vlada v Tokiu, po drugi strani zatrjuje, da je bilo v času, ko si je japonska vlada formalno priključila otočje pod svoje okrilje, januarja 1895, otočje

---

[3] Zaradi varnostnega zavezništva ZDA z Japonsko so ZDA obvezane, da branijo celoten teritorij, ki je pod japonsko upravo. Otočje Senkaku pa je trenutno pod upravo Japonske. Filipinski predsednik Benigno Aquino III. in japonski predsednik vlade Abe Shinzō sta ozračje primerjala z razmerami pred prvo in drugo svetovno vojno (Malukanas 2014; Perlez 2014).
[4] Za uradno stališče vlade v Pekingu glej, The State Council Information Office of the PRC, "Diaoyu Dao, an inherent territory of China," (2012); za uradno stališče Tajpeja glej Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China (Taiwan).

nenaseljeno (*terra nullius*). Navaja, da dokazi, ki bi potrjevali upravo s strani dvora dinastije Qing, ne obstajajo.[5] Med leti 1952 in 1971 je bilo otočje na osnovi mirovnega sporazuma podpisanega v San Franciscu dodeljeno v upravo ZDA. Čeprav je Washington upravo nad otočjem predal Japonski leta 1971, pa je glede vprašanja suverenosti nad otočjem obdržal nevtralno stališče. (Manyin 2012) Vse od tedaj pa so konfrontacije glede otočja ponavljajoč se politični ritual med Japonsko, Kitajsko in Tajvanom, kar vzbuja medijsko pozornost po vsem svetu.

V zadnjih nekaj letih je bilo sporno otočje Senkaku v medijih še posebno zelo odmevno. Septembra 2010 je kitajska ribiška ladja v spornih vodah blizu otočja trčila v ladji japonske obalne straže. Ker so japonski uradniki aretirali kitajskega kapitana ladje, je vlada v Pekingu nemudoma napovedala ostre protiukrepe, med katerimi je bila tudi prekinitev izvoza redkih zemeljskih kovin na Japonsko. Razmere so se ponovno močno zaostrile spomladi leta 2012, ko je japonska vlada najavila, da bo od posameznih zasebnikov kupila tri sporne otočke. Tako Kitajci kot Tajvanci so v znak neodobravanja reagirali s protesti. Septembra 2012, ko je japonska vlada uradno potrdila svoj nakup, je jeza dosegla vrhunec. Še posebno na Kitajskem so se protijaponski protesti in nasilni izgredi sunkovito razširili po vseh večjih mestih. Vlada v Tajpeju je s t.i. Pobudo za mir v Vzhodnokitajskem morju (*Donghai heping changyi* 東海和平倡議) pozvala vladi v Pekingu in Tokiu, da bi našli skupen konsenz, a na svojo iniciativo odgovora po pričakovanem ni dobila. Namreč, za Tokio ozemeljski spor nad otočjem uradno sploh ne obstaja, medtem ko Peking obravnava Tajvan za svojo provinco in vse od 1949. leta ne priznava njegove vlade. Tako se konfrontacije v območju spornih voda še vedno nadaljujejo. Peking je v bližini otočja razvrstil svoje bojno ladjevje, novembra 2013 pa nenapovedano razglasil obsežen del območja v Vzhodnokitajskem morju za svoje zračno obrambno identifikacijsko območje (ADIZ).[6] Čeprav kitajska poteza ni spremenila nadzora posameznih držav nad zračnim območjem niti ni okrepila pravnega stališča kitajske suverenosti nad otočjem, pa je vseeno bila zelo provokativna poteza, ki je le-še dodatno zaostrila konflikt. Svetovni mediji tako še danes skrbno spremljajo dogajanje v Vzhodnokitajskem morju.

---

[5] Za uradno stališče vlade v Tokiu glej, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.
[6] Novo definirano območje, ki vključuje zračni prostor nad spornim otočjem, se križa z japonskim kot tudi s tajvanskim zračnim območjem. Za podrobne informacije glej prispevek "Statement by the Government…" (2013).

Cilj in metodologija raziskave

Mediji so najpomembnejši vir informacij in imajo potencial, da odločajo ne le o katerih dogodkih bodo poročali, temveč tudi kako bodo o njih poročali in s tem posredno vplivajo na vedenje in pogled uporabnika medijev. Sočasno s podajanjem informacije pa podajajo tudi vidik razumevanja informacije, oziroma informacijo postavljajo (uokvirjajo) v kontekst. S tem pa vplivajo na interpretacijo in (so)ustvarjajo javno mnenje.[7] Namen pričujoče študije je bil raziskati, kako slovenski tiskani in spletni mediji poročajo o sporu glede suverenosti nad otočjem Senkaku. Sistematična analiza prispevkov o spornem otočju ni pomembna le zato, ker razkriva medijsko prakso ter medijska mnenja in vrednote, ki jih le-te gojijo do posameznih, v konflikt vpletenih, strani – Japonske, Kitajske in Tajvana – ampak tudi zato, ker analiza ponazarja njihov potencialen vpliv na uporabnike medijev. Raziskava je bila izvedena s pomočjo kvantitativne in kvalitativne vsebinske analize prispevkov o sporu objavljenih v šestih izbranih slovenskih tiskanih in spletnih medijih v obdobju med 1. januarjem 2010 in 31. decembrom 2013. Omenjeno časovno obdobje je zajelo ključne zaostritve konflikta, ki so medije najbolj pritegnile. Jedro raziskave temelji na analizi novičarskih okvirov, ki se je osredotočila na medijsko uporabo določenih besed ali izrazov, sklicev in določenih virov informacij. Spremenljivke analize so v celoti zajete v kodirnem seznamu.[8]

V letu 2013 je bilo v Sloveniji registriranih skoraj 2000 medijskih enot, od teh 61 televizijskih programov, 86 radijskih programov in 1810 tiskanih publikacij. (Mediana 2013, 29 in Statistični urad RS 2014) Največji med slednjimi, glede na pogostnost izhajanja in branost, so trije tiskani in spletni dnevni časopisi: nacionalni dnevnik *Delo* (ki velja za najuglednejši elitni dnevnik) ter dva regionalna dnevnika *Dnevnik* in *Večer*. Poleg teh treh raziskava zajema tudi tri največje spletne portale dnevnih novic: *24.ur.com*, *Siol.net* in *RTVSLO.si*. (glej *Raba interneta v Sloveniji* 2014) Enota analize je novinarski prispevek, torej vsaka tiskana ali spletna novica, uvodnik, kolumna, mnenje ali pismo urednikom. Ključne iskalne besede v izbranih medijih so bile: »Senkaku«, »Diaoyu«, »Diaoyutai« in »Vzhodnokitajsko morje«. S pomočjo kodiranja so se ovrednotili naslednji trije aspekti: vidnost, valentnost ter okvir posameznega prispevka. Vidnost se nanaša na število prispevkov in stopnjo prominentnosti, ki vpliva na bralčevo zavest in podaja občutek o pomembnosti dogodka (teža novice).

---

[7] Posredovanje informacij vpliva na njihovo interpretacijo, zato je za razumevanje smisla posameznega teksta potrebno identificirati in opisati novičarske okvire (glej Entman 1993, 52–55).
[8] Kodirni seznam in rezultati so dosegljivi na zahtevo pri avtorici.

Prominentnost je bila opredeljena z meritvijo dolžine prispevkov ter analizo njihove umestitve v mediju in morebitnih spremljevalnih vizualnih sredstvih. Indeks prominentnosti je bil ustvarjen s pomočjo 10-točkovne lestvice (10 = najvišja vrednost). Dolžina prispevka, ki je bila izmerjena glede na število besed, je bila kodirana sledeče: 3 = več ali enako kot 800 besed; 2 = več ali enako kot 400 in manj kot 800 besed; 1= manj kot 400 besed. Umestitev je bila kodirana sledeče: 4 = prva stran; 3 = zadnja stran; 2 = rubrična stran; 1= druga stran. Prisotnost vizualnih sredstev je bila enostavno kodirana z: 3 = da; 2 = ne. Prominentnost je bila izračunana na osnovi seštevka kod teh treh kriterijev. Na primer, novica iz 470 besed na zadnji strani časopisa spremljana s fotografijo bi znašala 2 + 3 + 3 = 8/10. Posamezni rezultati so omogočili tudi izračun povprečne vrednosti prominentnosti.

Poleg teh treh kriterijev je kodiranje zajelo tudi zvrst prispevka (novica, kolumna, intervju, pismo bralcev ali mnenje), vire prispevka in vizualnih sredstev (interni novinarji/dopisniki, povzemanje tiskovnih agencij ali pa kombinacija obeh virov) ter vire citirane/navedene med tekstom: 1 = politični vodja; 2 = univerzitetni akademik; 3 = politični analitik; 4 = drugo. Za določitev valentnosti prispevkov je bilo kodiranje naslednje: 3 = pozitiven; 2 = nevtralen; 1 = negativen. Presoja je bila osnovana na izjavah, ki so vsebovale določene konotacije do posameznih držav. Na primer, v prispevku, ki predstavlja, kako si vladi v Pekingu in Tokiu prizadevata k iskanju miroljubne rešitve spora, bi bila valentnost kodirana pozitivno tako napram Japonski kot tudi napram Kitajski. V kolikor pa bi prispevek poročal o nasilnih izgredih v neki državi, pa bi bil kodiran negativno napram tej državi, četudi bi bila novica objektivne informativne narave. Prispevek brez konotacij, oziroma težko opredeljiv, pa je bil kodiran nevtralno.

Literatura na področju medijskih študij običajno navaja naslednjih pet splošnih okvirov, ki se jih novinarji najpogosteje poslužujejo, in sicer: okvir konflikta, okvir človeške zgodbe (*human interest*), okvir odgovornosti, okvir ekonomskih posledic in moralni okvir. (Semetko in Valkenburg 2000, 95–96) Novice o mednarodnih sporih so najpogosteje predstavljene v okviru konflikta ali pa ekonomskih posledic. (glej Gamson 1992; Graber 1988; Neuman et al. 1992) Novičarsko uokvirjanje spora glede otočja Senkaku je avtorica natančneje opredelila s šestimi eksplicitnimi vprašanji:

V1 Ali je konflikt predstavljen kot dvostranski (med Japonsko in Kitajsko), kot tristranski (med Japonsko, Kitajsko in Tajvanom) ali kot večstranski?

V2 Kako so predstavljeni glavni razlogi za konflikt? Ali so predstavljeni kot politični, ekonomski, varnostni, socialni ali zgodovinski razlogi?

V3 Kako so predstavljene posledice spora? Ali so predstavljene kot politične, ekonomske, varnostne ali socialne posledice?

V4 Ali prispevek namiguje, da lahko spor privede do vojne – ali poroča o riziku in nevarnosti eskalacije konflikta?

V5 Ali prispevek poda kako priporočilo glede reševanja spora?

V6 Ali prispevek sugerira, da bi ZDA ali EU lahko posredovale v sporu?

Kljub najboljših namenom po objektivnosti pri določanju karakteristik valentnosti in ostalih kriterijev, se avtorica zaveda, da je subjektivnost neizogibna omejitev pričujoče raziskave. Za okrepitev zanesljivosti in veljavnosti raziskave so bili naključni vzorci novic (10% celote) kodirani dvakrat. Medkoderska zanesljivost (*inter-coding reliability*) je bila določena z izračunom Scottovega pi (π), in sicer: Pi = (PAo- PAe) : (1-PAe). PAo predstavlja delež opazovanega dogovora, PAe pa delež naključnega dogovora. PAo je zmnožek vseh vrednosti s številom teh vrednosti, deljenih s skupno vsoto vrednosti. PAe pa je vsota kvadratov deležev posamezne kategorije. (glej Neuendorf 2002, 151) Visoka vrednost pi pomeni večjo skladnost med dvemi kodiranji.[9] Dobljene vrednosti Scottovega pi kažejo, da je povprečna medkoderska zanesljivost za 22 spremenljivk variirala med 0.74 in 1.00, kar je, glede na ustaljene družboslovne standarde, sprejemljiva vrednost zanesljivosti. 18 spremenljivk je bilo v zgornjem rangu (1.00), in sicer: analiziran medij, datum objave, dolžina prispevka, umeščenost, prominentnost, vir, uporaba vizualnih sredstev, vir vizualnih sredstev, citiran/naveden vir v besedilu, zvrst, omemba Tajvana, valentnost napram Tajvanu, spor nad otočjem Senkaku kot vodilna zgodba, okvir konflikta, V1, V4, V5, V6. Preostale 4 spremenljivke so bile v spodnjem rangu, in sicer: V2 (0.84), V3 (0.82), valentnost napram Japonski (0.81) ter valentnost napram Kitajski (0.74).

Ugotovitve

Vidnost

V izbranih 6 medijih je skupno 270 prispevkov ustrezalo iskalnim zahtevam: 36% jih je bilo v *Delu*, 23% v *Večeru* ter 21% v *Dnevniku* (Graf 1). Povprečna dolžina
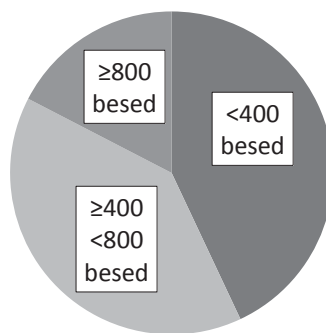
---

[9] Seznam vseh rezultatov medkoderske zanesljivosti je dosegljiv na zahtevo pri avtorici.

prispevkov je bila največja v *Delu* (760 besed). Medtem, ko je večina prispevkov obsegala manj kot 800 besed, pa je 85% prispevkov daljših od 800 besed pripadalo *Delu* (Graf 2).
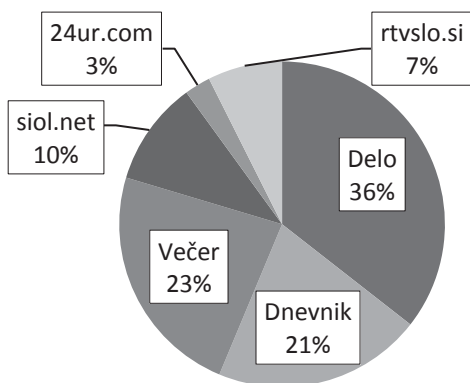

Graf 1: Količina

Graf 2: Dolžina

Prispevki so bili večinoma umeščeni v rubriko novic sveta (87%), ki krije splošne mednarodne novice, medtem ko so samo 4 prispevki bili umeščeni ali na prvo ali na zadnjo stran medija (Graf 3). 87% prispevkov je bilo vizualno podprtih. Še posebno spletne novice so vključevale številne fotografije in video posnetke. Indeks prominentnosti je bil zmeren (med 6 in 7 od možnih 10 točk), kar nakazuje na nizko stopnjo prominentnosti prispevkov. Med tiskanimi mediji je bila prominentnost najvišja v *Delu*, med spletnimi pa v *24ur.com* (čeprav je bila tu, po drugi strani, količina prispevkov tudi najmanjša).
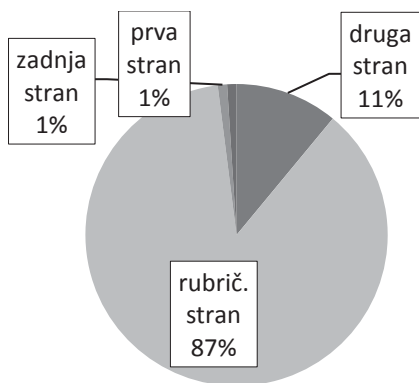

Graf 3: Umestitev
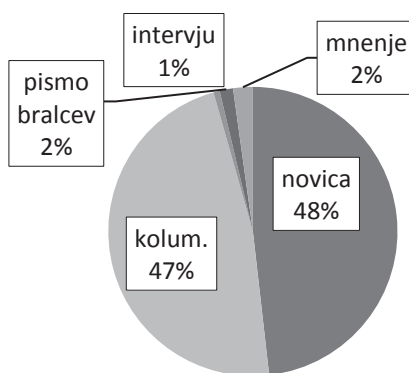
Graf 4: Kategorija

Zvrst in vir

Največ prispevkov je bilo informativnih novic in kolumn (Graf 4), skoraj 58% prispevkov pa je bilo napisanih s strani internih novinarjev posameznih medijev. V Sloveniji obstaja samo ena tiskovna agencija, *Slovenska tiskovna agencija* (STA), ki posledično predstavlja tudi najpomembnejši vir informacij medijem. Tako je STA bila najpogosteje citiran vir informacij med analiziranimi mediji. Drugi najpogosteje citiran vir je bila kitajska tiskovna agencija *Xinhua*. Preostale tiskovne agencije so vključevale francoski *Agence France-Presse* (AFP), britanski *Reuters,* ameriški *Associated Press* (AP), nemški *Deutsche Presse-Agentur* (DPA) ter japonski *Kyodo*. Tajvanska tiskovna agencija *Central News Agency* (CNA) pa med viri informacij ni bila navedena. Največji vir vizualnih sredstev je predstavljal *Reuters*, sledili sta AFP and AP. Citati med besedilom so bili večinoma elitni, torej osredotočeni predvsem na izjave vodij in elit kot glavnih akterjev in virov informacij.

Valentnost

Analiza valentnosti je podala mešane rezultate. Na splošno je bila več kot polovica prispevkov kodirana negativno napram Japonski (53%) in okrog 73% napram Kitajski, medtem ko je bil Tajvan omenjen samo v 98 (36%) prispevkih. Le-ti so bili v veliki večini kodirani nevtralno (Graf 5).
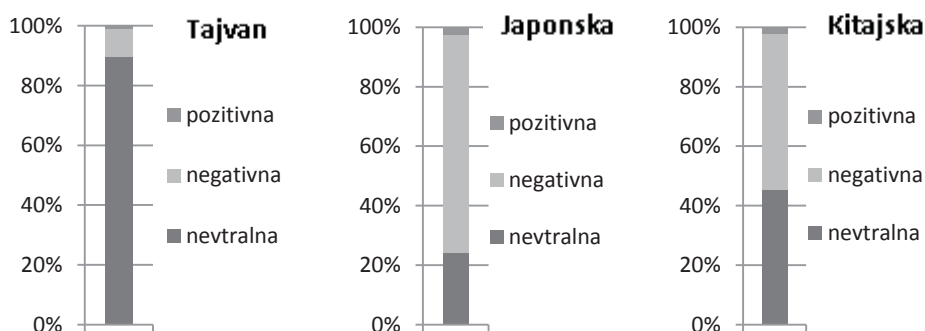
Graf 5: Valentnost

Na primer, naslednja besedila v naslovih prispevkov: »Kitajska znova napenja mišice« (*Delo*, 19.10.2012), »Posledice kitajskega vzpona: Hladna vojna na Pacifiku« (*Dnevnik*, 21.12.2013), »Kitajska z bojnimi letali nadzoruje Američane

in Japonce« (*Večer*, 29.11.13), »Besni Kitajci razbijajo lastnino Japoncev in napovedujejo vojno« (*24ur.com*, 16.9.12) – vsa izražajo negativen ton do Kitajske. Kitajska je bila pogosto prikazana kot rastoča, vse bolj samozavestna, ekspanzivna ali celo »pohlepna« država (*siol.net*, 30.11.2012). Pogosto omenjanje rastočega vojaškega proračuna in zaskrbljenih sosedskih držav bralcem podaja percepcijo o Kitajski kot o grožnji: »Odkar Kitajska na območju kopiči še mornarico, pa se mnogi sprašujejo, ali bo res ostalo le pri besedni vojni« (*24ur.com*, 11.9.2012); ali »Kitajci namreč v 'svojem' Vzhodnokitajskem in Južnokitajskem morju, ki po obliki spominjata na kravji jezik, vse bolj samozavestno stegujejo jezik…« (*Delo* 29.9.2012).

Po drugi strani pa je bila tudi Japonska kritizirana zaradi svojega oklepanja preteklosti in nepriznavanja vojne krivde (glej npr. *Delo*, 13.5.2013; in *Večer*, 29.9.2012). Shinzo Abe je bil večinoma prikazan kot »odločen«, »militanten«, »jastreb« ali pa »najbolj zagrizen desničar v LDP (Liberalna demokratska stranka)« (*Večer*, 27.9.2012; glej tudi *Delo*, 29.10.2013; 17.12.2012; *siol.net*, 17.12.2012). Naslovi kot so: »Japonsko opozorilo Kitajski: Tudi mi imamo vojaško silo« (*Delo*, 29.10.2013), »Bodoči japonski premier: Kompromis o suverenosti nad spornim otočjem ni možen« (*Dnevnik*, 17.12.2012), »Japonska se noče opravičiti Kitajski« (*Večer*, 27.9.2010), »Japonska nad sporno otočje poslala bojna letala F-15« (*Dnevnik*, 13.12.2012) – vsi izražajo negativen ton do Japonske. Obratno pa navedbe kot so: »Kljub kitajskemu prigovarjanju pa so številne države v Tihem oceanu in Aziji, kljub ozemeljskim sporom z Japonsko, navdušene nad novo vlogo Japonske. Nekatere med njimi, tudi Vietnam in Filipini, celo občasno prosijo Japonsko za pomoč« (*siol.net*, 30.11.2012) – izražajo pozitiven ton do Japonske. Poročanje, ki hvali japonske vrednote demokracije, oblasti prava, človekovih pravic in gospodarske razvitosti prav tako podaja pozitivno konotacijo do Japonske (*Delo*, 29.9.2012, 13.5.2013). Podobno, prispevki, ki poudarjajo humanitarno pomoč Kitajske, vsebujejo pozitiven ton do Kitajske (*Večer* 17.3.2011, 23.5.2011; 5.11.2012).

Uokvirjanje

Prispevki o sporu nad otočjem Senkaku so podani predvsem v okvirih nacionalne varnosti (ozemeljske integritete, pomorskega in zračnega obrambnega prostora, ameriško-japonskega zavezništva), ekonomskih interesov (nafta, plin, ribolov), zahtev mednarodnega prava, notranjepolitičnih razmer (politična nestabilnost, vzpon nevladnih akterjev), vprašanj nacionalne identitete, ali pa v okviru

zgodovinskih zamer. Pričujoča analiza odkriva, da je dominiral okvir konflikta, saj so bili prispevki, ki so poročali o sporu nad otočjem Senkaku, vsi osnovani na konfliktu. 181 (67%) prispevkov je o sporu poročalo kot o vodilni temi oziroma o temi, ki ji je bilo posvečeno precej pozornosti. Večina je poročala o tveganju in nevarnosti eskalacije konflikta: 36% jih je namigovalo na možnost vojne: »V vodah okoli otočja zdaj nenehno patruljirajo vojaške ladje obeh držav in vzbujajo strah pred izbruhom pomorskega konflikta« (*RTVSLO.com*, 18.9.2012), »Ena napačna poteza katerekoli strani bi lahko imela zelo resne posledice, celo izgubo življenj, po najbolj črnem scenariju pa vojno med tekmicama« (siol.net, 27.9.2012), »…bi v primeru nekontroliranega zaostrovanja lahko imele celo tako daljnosežne posledice, kot jih je imel pred sto leti sarajevski atentat« (*Delo*, 6.12.2012),

> Tudi nekatere evropske države so dale vedeti, da jih skrbijo razmere, v katerih so nepričakovani incidenti čedalje verjetnejši, več možnosti pa je tudi za oborožen spopad med Kitajsko in Japonsko (*Delo*, 28.11.2013).

Besede kot so »vojna«, »nevarnost«, »vojaške sile« so bile zelo pogoste. Na primer, zelo eksplicitni in propagandni naslovi kot »Resnična nevarnost za Daljni vzhod: Kitajska in Japonska tragična preteklost, negotova prihodnost, nevarna sedanjost« (*Delo*, 14.12.2012), »Nevarni otoki Senkaku: vojna zastav in besed: Na tisoče Kitajcev je protestiralo proti Japonski, nekateri zahtevajo celo vojno napoved« (*Delo*, 19.8.2012), »Napakica vodi v vojno« (*Večer*, 5.11.2012) ali »Govorijo o miru, pripravljajo se na vojno« (*Večer*, 31.1.2013) so še dodatno potrdili okvir konflikta. Uporaba citatov je prav tako pomembno orodje uokvirjanja. (Pan in Kosicki 1993, 68) Ker je večina prispevkov vključevala citate kitajskih in japonskih političnih oz. vojaških vodij, je bil okvir konflikta še bolj okrepljen, na primer: »Xi Jinping pa je svoji vojski ukazal, naj bo 'pripravljena na pravo bitko'« (Xi Jinping v *Delu*, 14.12.2012) ali

> »NOV (Narodnoosvobodilna vojska) se mora znebiti teh globoko ustaljenih navad, ki jih je prevzela v več desetletjih miru, in mora biti pripravljena na vojno, takoj ko je ta napovedana« (Glasilo NOV v *Delu*, 22.1.2013).

Z željo po ohranjanju nevtralnosti so novinarji pogosto uporabljali tudi obratne okvire (*counter-frames*), kot na primer:
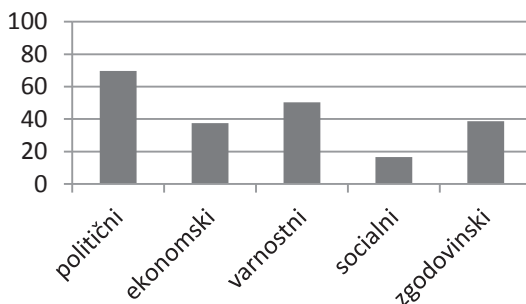
> Iz Washingtona je za zdaj slišati pomirjujoče tone… gre še vedno predvsem za spor med Japonsko in Kitajsko, v katerem je treba hitro najti ustrezne mehanizme za krizni menedžment in se dogovoriti o učinkovitih

komunikacijskih kanalih, po katerih bo mogoče zmanjšati tveganje za eskalacijo konflikta (*Delo*, 6.12.2013).

Večina prispevkov (59%) je bila uokvirjenih v dvostranski konflikt med Kitajsko in Japonsko, 38% v tristranski konflikt med Kitajsko, Japonsko in Tajvanom ter 3% v večstranski konflikt, ki je vključeval tudi ostale države (glej Graf 6). Tajvan je bil večinoma omenjen zgolj bežno, saj so se komentarji večinoma sukali okoli spora med Kitajsko in Japonsko. Nekajkrat je bil Tajvan predstavljen celo zgolj kot lokacijska referenca otočja, in ne kot eden od vpletenih strani, ki si lastijo suverenost nad otočjem, na primer: »Strateško pomembne otoke, ki so kakih 200 kilometrov oddaljeni od Tajvana, si lastita tako Kitajska kot Japonska« (*Delo*, 11.9.2012; *siol.net*, 11.9.2012; *Večer*, 11.9.2012; *Dnevnik* 11.9.2012). Poleg tega je bilo sporno otočje večinoma naslovljeno kot otočje z dvema imenoma, Diaoyu in Senkaku, medtem ko je le en prispevek podal tudi tajvansko uradno ime otočja (*Večer*, 14.9.2010). Medtem ko mirovna iniciativa tajvanske vlade ni bila omenjena v nobenem od analiziranih medijev, pa se je bitka z vodnimi topovi med japonsko in tajvansko mornarico v samih naslovnicah pojavila več kot desetkrat. Nekaj prispevkov je omenjalo možnost sodelovanja tajvanske in kitajske vlade proti Japonski (*Večer*, 20.8.2012, 26.9.2012 in 13.7.2012), le nekateri pa so eksplicitno navedli, da je Tajpej takšno sodelovanje zavrnil (*Dnevnik*, 13.9.2012; *Delo*, 19.8.2012).
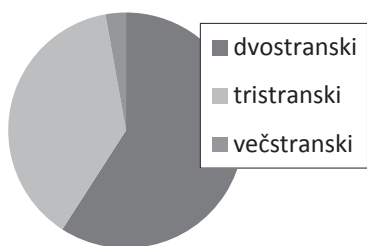

Graf 6: Predstavitev konflikta   Graf 7: Glavni razlogi za konflikt (%)

Glavni razlogi za konflikt so bili predstavljeni kot politični, varnostni, zgodovinski, ekonomski ali socialni (Graf 7).

Ekonomski razlogi so bili večinoma upodobljeni kot »plin«, »nafta«, »naravni viri«, ali »ribolovno območje«. Medtem ko vlade v Pekingu, Tokiu in Tajpeju otočje Senkaku označujejo za »sveto nacionalno ozemlje«, pa mediji večinoma naslavljajo otočje kot »neposeljeno«, »prazno«, »majhno«, ali celo kot »nepomembne skale« ali »pikica komajda opazna na zemljevidu«. Omenjanje pomembne strateške lokacije otočja ter pomorskih linij v njihovi okolici pa implicira na strateške oziroma varnostne razloge v ozadju konflikta. Politični razlogi so razvidni v navedbah o japonskem nakupu otočja (*Dnevnik*, 9.9.2012, 10.9.2012; *24ur.com*, 11.9.2012, 16.9.2012; *Večer*, 10.9.2012), nepripravljenosti japonske vlade po priznavanju ozemeljskega spora (*Večer*, 15.10.2012; *siol.net*, 17.12.2012) ali pa nadzoru protestnikov s strani kitajske oblasti (*Delo*, 19.8.2012, 11.9.2012; *RTVSLO.com*, 5.9.12; *siol.net*, 20.9.2012; *Dnevnik*, 2.12.2013).

Nacionalizem je bil predstavljen kot pomemben dejavnik konflikta. Upodobljen je bil ne le kot razlog marveč tudi kot posledica konflikta: pribl. 17% prispevkov ga je predstavilo kot razlog, 39% pa kot posledico. Na primer: »Jezo na obeh straneh Vzhodnokitajskega morja podžiga nacionalistični aktivizem« (*siol.net*, 27.9.2012), »…tako burna čustva razganja še nacionalistična retorika politikov« (*siol.net*, 2.12.2013) ali pa

> Zdaj, ko je že ustvarjena napetost, pa si nihče od voditeljev ne upa popustiti, kajti ljudstvo zahteva kri. Komunistična partija se ne boji Japonske, temveč svojega lastnega ljudstva. (*Delo*, 6.10.2010)
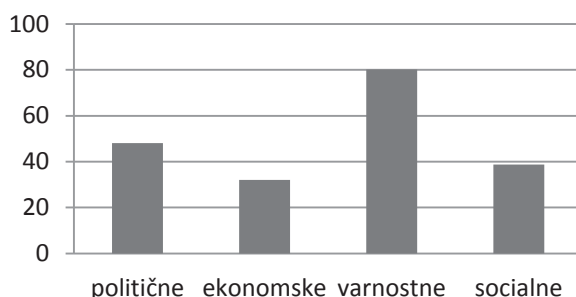
Graf 8: Glavne posledice konflikta (%)

Zelo direktno so mediji protijaponske proteste na Kitajskem označili kot nazoren odraz moči kitajskega nacionalizma. Obširno so pisali o množicah nasilnih protestnikov, ki so »metali kamenje, jajca in steklenice«, »zažigali japonske zastave«, »pozivali k bojkotu japonskih izdelkov« in »prisilili mnoga japonska

podjetja, da so zaprla svoje tovarne in trgovine« (*Večer*, 18.9.2012; *Delo*, 15.9.2012, 16.9.2012, 17.9.2012, 18.9.2012; *24ur.com*, 16.9.12; *siol.net*, 18.9.2012, 19.9.2012). Razlogi za protijaponske proteste na Tajvanu so bili predstavljeni predvsem kot ekonomski (ribolovna območja) in varnostni (nacionalno ozemlje) (*Večer*, 25.9.2012, 26.9.2012; *Dnevnik*, 26.9.2012; *Delo*, 26.9.2012; *24ur.com*, 25.9.2012; *siol.net*, 25.9.2012; *RTVSLO.com*, 25.9.2012). Protikitajski protesti na Japonskem pa so po drugi strani bili predstavljeni kot izraz nezadovoljstva skrajnih desničarjev. Politični razlogi za konflikt so bili nekajkrat izraženi tudi v navedbah bitke za oblast v azijski regiji (*Delo*, 27.9.2012, 29.9.2012, 12.6.2013; *Večer*, 30.11.2013, 5.12.2012; *24ur.com*, 29.12.2012). Posledice so bile prikazane kot varnostne, politične, socialne in ekonomske narave (Graf 8).

Varnostne posledice so bile razvidne v temah o širjenju militarizacije in stopnjevanju napetosti. Socialne posledice pa so, kot že omenjeno, bile vidne v poročanju o porastu nacionalističnih čustev kot tudi implikacijah le-teh na področju športa in kulture (*Večer*, 18.9.2012; *Dnevnik*, 21.9.2012; *Delo*, 24.9.2012). Ekonomske posledice spora so bile največkrat omenjene v smislu negativnega vpliva na japonsko gospodarstvo (npr. kot padec japonskega izvoza na Kitajsko, prekinjenega delovanja japonskih podjetij na Kitajskem, ali pa kot grožnje Pekinga o uvedbi ekonomskih sankcij proti Japonski (*Večer*, 17.9.2012, 29.9.2012; *RTVSLO.com*, 27.9.2012; *Delo*, 18.9.2012, 22.10.2012; *Dnevnik*, 16.9.2012).

Noben prispevek ni podal predloga glede rešitve spora. Medtem ko je 21 prispevkov sugeriralo vlogo ZDA v azijskem sporu, pa se je v možno vlogo EU obregnil le en članek (*Delo*, 18.2.2012).

Zaključne ugotovitve

Analiza vzorčne skupine prispevkov šestih ključnih dnevnih časopisov in spletnih novičarskih portalov podaja grob vpogled v to, kako je bila polemika o spornem otočju Senkaku predstavljena slovenskim bralcem. Prominentnost dogodka, zemljepisna bližina, časovnost, konfliktnost, itd, so vse bistvene vrednote, ki odločajo o tem, ali bo novica dovolj zanimiva, da bo vredna objave. Več novičarskih vrednot zgodba vsebuje, bolj se šteje zanimiva za objavo. Čeprav se je v skladu s svetovnim trendom poročanje o dogodkih v Vzhodni Aziji v slovenskih medijih povečalo, pa je zelo malo verjetno, da bi novice o spornem otočju

Senkaku na slovenske bralce imele nek izmerljiv neposreden vpliv. Izjema so morda le slovenski poslovneži, ki so zaradi svojega poslovanja odvisni od stabilnega okolja v regiji. Ne glede na zemljepisno in kulturno oddaljenost Vzhodnokitajskega morja, zaradi česar Slovenci ne čutimo emocionalne bližine do novic o otočju Senkaku, pa so bili prispevki zaradi samega značaja mednarodnega konflikta dovolj zanimivi za objavo, in le-ti so morali biti objavljeni čim hitreje. Posledično pa tako količina prispevkov o spornem otočju ni bila zanemarljiva.[1]
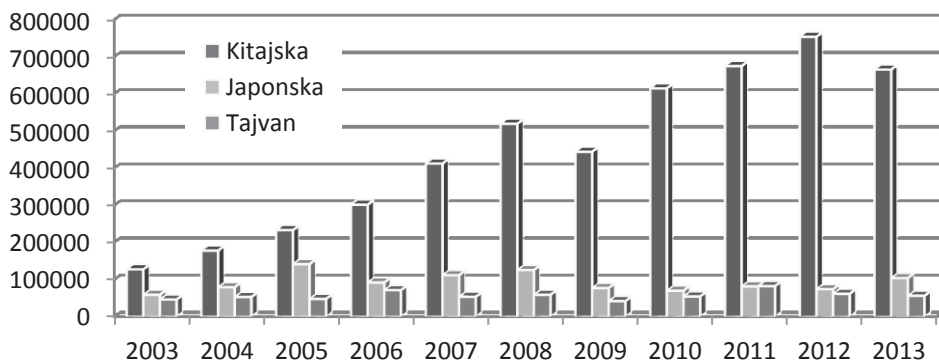
Graf 9: Primerjava slovenske blagovne menjave s Kitajsko, Japonsko in Tajvanom (tisoč €, 2003–2013). Vir: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije (SURS), Zunanja trgovina, 2014.

Poročanje medijev nedvomno izvaja pomemben vpliv na ustvarjanje podobe nekega naroda. Mediji namreč lahko vplivajo na to, kako javnost vidi neko državo, saj imajo možnost, da poudarijo določene poglede pred drugimi, in s tem (so)ustvarjajo javno mnenje. Zato obstaja močna povezava med medijskim poročanjem in javnim mnenjem o nekem narodu. (Wanta idr. 2004, 375) Ker to, kako javnost dojema neko državo, vpliva na zunanjo politiko države, je tuje javno mnenje za države vsekakor zelo pomembno. Večina vlad si tako prizadeva k vplivanju na tuja javna mnenja in izgradnji čim boljše podobe lastnega naroda. Znaten del javne diplomacije držav tako poteka preko medijev z namenom, da bi le-ti dosegli želene množice in tako pozitivno vplivali na nacionalne podobe svojih držav. Vlade Japonske, Kitajske in Tajvana so prav tako vedno bolj pozorne na svoje nacionalne podobe. Do danes so razvile trdne in raznolike odnose s Slovenijo, kar nazorno kažejo rastoče številke turističnih interakcij, blagovnih

---

[1] Zanimiv podatek je, da so slovenski časopisi že v začetku 20. stoletja zelo pozorno spremljali dogajanje na Kitajskem in bili do uradne kitajske politike avstro-ogrske vlade zelo kritični. Slovenska javnost je dogajanje povezano z boksarsko vstajo leta 1900 spremljala z veliko pozornostjo (Lipušček 2013, 35–49).

menjav, sodelovanja na kulturnem in izobraževalnem področju kot tudi vedno večjem številu izmenjav obiskov visokih uradnikov.[2] Takšen trend pa vsekakor kaže na interes treh azijskih sil, da ohranjajo pozitiven odnos s Slovenijo in razvijajo čim bolj pozitivno javnomnenjsko podobo. Zato je ključnega pomena za vse posamezne strani, da spremljajo, kako so predstavljene v slovenskih medijih.

Zanimiv izsledek pričujoče raziskave je, da ne politični ne gospodarski pomisleki niso vplivali na slovenske medije pri posredovanju informacij o spornem otočju Senkaku. Namreč, Kitajska je glede na vrednost blagovne menjave zdaleč največja slovenska gospodarska partnerica v Aziji. Vrednost njene menjave je znatno večja od menjave, ki jo ima Slovenija z Japonsko, ali pa menjave, ki jo ima s Tajvanom (Graf 9).[3] Zato bi morda pričakovali, da se bo Slovenija postavila na stran Kitajske z namenom, da bi zaščitila svoje gospodarske vezi, ki so ekonomsko gledano precej bolj dragocene. Vendar pa so slovenski politiki izbrali popolno distanco nad sporom, saj iz zunanjega ministrstva ni bilo slišati niti ene same izjave glede zaskrbljenosti nad razmerami ali pa kakega poziva k miroljubni rešitvi. Na splošno se zdi, da slovenska vlada niha med Japonsko in Kitajsko, ko se je potrebno opredeliti glede slovenskih ključnih zunanjepolitičnih usmeritev v Vzhodni Aziji. Ko je govora o »skupnih vrednotah« se jeziček na tehtnici usmeri k Japonski, ko je govora o »poslovnih priložnostih« pa se jeziček preusmeri h Kitajski. (glej Mekina 2014) Tajvan, ki ga Slovenija ne priznava za suvereno državo, pa je že tako sam po sebi politično preveč tvegan, da bi ob gospodarsko, politično in vojaško vse močnejši Kitajski pri zunanjepolitičnih usmeritvah sploh lahko bil obravnavan, kaj šele uradno omenjen. Gospodarski interesi, ideologija, članstvo v EU in še posebno v zvezi NATO so zagotovo med najpomembnejšimi dejavniki, ki oblikujejo slovenske politične smernice. V pričujoči analizi izbranih slovenskih medijev pa ni bilo zaznati tovrstnih nihanj med vplivi posameznih dejavnikov oziroma samocenzure. Sicer rezultati analize valentnosti kažejo, da so prispevki bili rahlo bolj naklonjeni do Japonske kot do Kitajske, ampak menim, da

---

[2] Za podrobne informacije o izmenjavah glej posamezne strani predstavništev Kitajske (*China Embassy*), Japonske (*Japanese Embassy*) in Tajvana (*Tajvanese Embassy*). Za trend gospodarske rasti glej Graf 9. S Kitajsko in Japonsko ima Slovenija vzpostavljene diplomatske vezi vse od leta 1992. V Ljubljani delujeta njuni veleposlaništvi, v Pekingu in Tokiu pa veleposlaništvi Slovenije. S Tajvanom Slovenija nima vzpostavljenih diplomatskih vezi niti ne gosti tajvanskega predstavništva. Za diplomatske, konzularne, gospodarske in kulturne odnose med Slovenijo in Tajvanom je zadolžen Gospodarski in kulturni urad Tajpeja na Dunaju (TECO).

[3] V letu 2013 je blagovna menjava med Slovenijo in Kitajsko znašala 665.528 milijonov evrov, med Slovenijo in Japonsko 104.033 milijonov evrov, med Slovenijo in Tajvanom pa 56.218 milijonov, glej SURS 2014).

je to najverjetneje odraz japonske mehke moči v medijih Zahoda, ki še vedno presega slab sloves, ki se drži Kitajske. [4] Medtem ko so prispevki sicer marginalizirali Tajvan, so o njem, če že, večinoma pisali nevtralno. Kljub vsemu, pa poročanje slovenskih medijev o spornem otočju ni prispevalo h krepitvi pozitivnega profila nobene od treh vpletenih strani.

Literatura

24.ur.com. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. www.24ur.com.

"Diaoyu Dao, an Inherent Territory of China." 2012. *English.news.cn,* 25. september. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-09/25/c_131872152.htm.

Entman, Robert. M. 1993. "Framing Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43(4): 51–58.

Gamson, William A. 1992. *Talking Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Graber, D. Doris A. 1988. *Processing the News: How People Tame the Information Tide*. NewYork: Longman.

Kulturni in gospodarski urad Tajpeja na Dunaju. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. http://www.taipei.at/culture/de/.

Lipušček, Uroš. 2013. "Interpretations of the Chinese Boxer Rebellion in the Slovenian Press at the Beginning of the 20th Century." *Asian Studies* 1 (2): 35–49.

Malukanas, Karl. 2014. "Philippine President Compares China Turf Claims to Nazi Legacy." *China Post* 2.2.2014. Dostop 2. februar, 2014. http://www.chinapost.com.tw/asia/regional-news/2014/02/06/399923/Philippine-president.htm.

Manyin, Mark E. 2012. "Senkaku (Diaoyu/Diaoyutai) Islands Dispute U.S. Treaty Obligations." CRS Report for Congress R42761. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42761.pdf.

Mediana. 2013. "Redna letna raziskava stanja medijskega pluralizma v Republiki Sloveniji za leto 2012 na področju slovenskih tiskanih medijev, radijskih in televizijskih programov ter elektronskih publikacij." Dostop 3. februar 2014. http://www.mk.gov.si/fileadmin/mk.gov.si/pageuploads/Ministrstvo/ raziskave-analize/mediji/MK-2013-porocilo_Mediana__FINAL_.pdf.

Mekina, Borut. 2014. "Politika solo akcij zunanjega ministrstva." *Mladina* 34. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. http://www.mladina.si/159511/politika-solo-akcij-zunanjega-ministrstva/.

---

[4] Slovenski mediji večinoma povzemajo zahodne vire, saj so pri poročanju o dogodkih v Vzhodni Aziji zaradi skoraj neobstoječih uradnih dopisnikov stacioniranih v sami regiji precej omejeni (trenutno je Uroš Lipušček edini uradni slovenski dopisnik za RTV Slovenija, ki biva v Vzhodnoazijski regiji).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China (Taiwan). *The Republic of China's Sovereignty Claims over the Diaoyutai Islands and the East China Sea Peace Initiative.* Dostop 3. februar, 2014. http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/cp.aspx?n=38CD1D3C91067 AEC.

Neuendorf, Kimberly A. 2002. *The Content Analysis Guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.

Neuman, Russel W., Marion R. Just, in Ann N. Crigler. 1992. *Common Knowledge. News and the Construction of Political Meaning.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pan, Zhongdang, in Gerald Kosicki. 1993. "Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse." *Political Communication* 10 (1): 55–76.

Perlez, Jane. 2014. "Japan's Leader Compares Strain with China to Germany and Britain in 1914." *The New York Times,* 23.januar, 2014. Dostop 24. januar, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/24/world/asia/japans-leader-compares-strain-with-china-to-germany-and-britain-in-1914.html?_r=0.

Raba interneta v Sloveniji. 2014. Fakulteta za družbene vede, Univerza v Ljubljani. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. http://www.ris.org.

RTVSLO.si. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. www.rtvslo.si.

Semetko, Holli A., in Patti M. Valkenburg. 2000. "Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News." *Journal of Communication* 50 (2): 93–109.

Siol.net. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. www.siol.net.

"Statement by the Government of the People's Republic of China on Establishing the East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone." 2013. *English.news.cn,* 23. november, 2013. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2013-11/23/c_132911635.htm.

Statistični urad Republike Slovenije. 2014. "Statistični letopis Republike Slovenije 2013." Dostop 15. avgust, 2014. http://www.stat.si/letopis/letopisprvastran.aspx.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. *Japanese Territory: Senkaku Islands*. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/senkaku/index.html.

Veleposlaništvo Japonske v Sloveniji. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. http://www.si.emb-japan.go.jp/.

Veleposlaništvo Ljudske Republike Kitajske v Sloveniji. Dostop 3. februar, 2014. http://si.china-embassy.org/chn/.

Wanta, Wayne, Guy Golan, in Cheolhan Lee. 2004. "Agenda Setting and International News: Media Influence on Public Perceptions of Foreign Nations." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 81 (2): 364–77.

Summary

The dispute between Japan, the People's Republic of China (PRC or China) and the Republic of China (ROC or Taiwan) over the sovereignty of the

Diaoyu/Diaoyutai/Senkaku islands is one of the most serious maritime territorial disputes in East Asia. Given that any miscalculation could lead to a war with unimaginable consequences, the issue has gained media attention across the world. Buttressed with the general newsworthiness of an international conflict, the Slovene media has also been attentive to report on the islands' controversy. Although the remote East Asian region is far down the list of Slovenia's priorities and ambitions of its politicians, national commercial considerations are connected with a stable and secure environment in East Asia. This paper examines Slovene media's coverage of the island's dispute by applying a combined quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the news stories on the dispute published in selected Slovene print and online newspapers between January 1, 2010 and December 31, 2013. The findings addresses the following: (1) the quantity of news reports in Slovenia's print and online media about the dispute, the placement of reports, their length, category, sources used and the visual tools employed; (2) the thematic news frames used in reporting the issue; (3) the images of Japan, China and Taiwan that are communicated to the readers; (4) the factors affecting the media's representation.

Book Reviews

The Rebirth of the Moral Self—The Second Generation of Modern Confucians and their Modernization Discourses

Jana S. Rošker. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2015.

Reviewed by Téa SERNELJ[*]

The author of the present book, Prof. Jana S. Rošker, is Professor of Sinology at the Department of Asian Studies at Ljubljana University. She is an expert in Chinese epistemology, mostly dealing with the fields of Chinese logic and epistemology. In her new book, however, she devoted her research to a topic, linked to modern Chinese, especially Taiwanese philosophy. In this book, she introduces, analyses and interprets the crucial works of the so-called second generation of the Contemporary New Confucian movement, which she prefers to denote as Modern Confucian stream of thought, in order to highlight its tight connection with their aspirations to modernize traditional Chinese philosophy and to harmonize it with the ideational and material demands of the modern era.

The book consists of eight chapters, including a rather extensive and very informative introduction, a conclusion and three annexes, including a Chronological chart of Chinese dynasties, a Chronology of the developmental phases of Confucianism and an Index of technical terms and proper names in Chinese.

In the Introduction (Chapter one), the author underscores some fundamental methodological problems of intercultural research.

Chapter 2 opens with a discussion of the specific features of Chinese modernization, using as its analytical template the so-called "crisis of rationality" (Habermas) which appears in societies split between actual, contemporary socio-economic and political practices and inherited but outmoded ideological assumptions. In this regard, it then describes the origins of the Modern Confucian

---

[*] Téa SERNELJ, PhD Candidate and Assistant Reasercher, Department of Asian Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.
tea.sernelj@ff.uni-lj.si

current which emerged at the turn of the 20th century, in a crucial historical moment when the Chinese confrontation with the Western powers produced a series of intellectual controversies on modernization, understood as a period of transformation and separation from traditional political, economic and axiological paradigms that had hitherto dominated the social reality of the Chinese empire.

The next chapter deals with the general historical, social and theoretical conditions which contributed to forming the Modern Confucian stream of thought, and examines its theoretical foundations.

In the fourth chapter, the author introduces four key philosophers of the so-called 2nd generation of Modern Confucian thought, Mou Zongsan, Fang Dongmei, Xu Fuguan and Tang Junyi. It points out the fact that "Confucian modernization" was a fundamental question for all these theoreticians. The chapter is divided into 4 sections, one for each thinker, with a brief biographical account and a description of their philosophical theories that focuses on their attempts to synthesize Western and traditional Chinese thought.

By appropriating certain theoretical concepts and approaches derived from Western philosophy (especially German idealism) these thinkers showed their awareness that not only traditional Chinese, but also Western philosophy was in crisis. Modern Confucian researches were thus not limited to revitalizing or rehabilitating their own cultural or traditional ideals, but recognized that conceptual and methodological renewal had to also deal with certain ideas "imported" from those cultures where modernization had first occurred. The endeavors of these thinkers were thus not focused solely upon the rescue of their own tradition, but also upon a foreign intellectual tradition which had quite clearly created its own philosophical dead-ends and binds.

A second factor uniting these thinkers is the conviction that morality must play a central role in the solution of the modern world crisis. Their theories were thus not only the fruit of technical, organizational or contractual factors, but also arose out of a profound awareness of the importance of the ethical conditionality of human life. A further common ground can also be found in the supposition that every human being as a moral being (*ens morale*) has a potential for maintaining and constantly re-formulating their moral priorities, and that this potential represents a foundation for a modernity of solidarity. This potential, which is linked to the concepts of autonomy as well as individual and social responsibility, is clearly evident in their different individual reconstructions of Confucian ethics.

The chapter also shows how the 2nd generation of Confucians generally elaborated or upgraded pre-existing theoretical attempts to revitalize the Chinese cultural identity by "transplanting the old roots" of their own tradition. They believed that this renewal of "roots" not only helped guarantee the survival of Chinese culture, but also offered an active and innovative role for Modern Confucian discourses in the framework of modernized Chinese thought, and within the context of international dialogues among different modern societies.

Generally speaking, the representatives of the 2nd generation of Modern Confucians believed that if China wished to undertake an independent modernization while still preserving its cultural identity, it had to strengthen and develop those elements in its own tradition that had the potential of producing science and democracy. In order to delineate the main elements in this theoretical reworking of the Chinese—and especially Confucian—tradition, the fifth chapter is divided into four sections, each of which analyzes a specific issue and describes how that issue is elaborated by each member of the 2nd generation of Modern Confucianism. However, irrespective of their common viewpoints, the author stresses how the each scholar had very different ideas on how to actually bring about such a Confucian democracy.

Another element shared by all Modern Confucians is a general skepticism towards "Western models of science and democracy". Singled out as especially negative is the exaggerated normative nature of these society, and the prevalence of a mechanistic rationality and non-reflective scientism which risks excluding the fundamental principles of social ethics.

The next chapter deals with the Modern Confucian attempts to identify, transform and develop certain crucial concepts essential for any modernization process, while remaining within the framework of the Chinese tradition. Since it has generally been assumed that the Western concepts of reason/rationality and subject/subjectivity are paradigms indispensable for modernization, the Modern Confucian philosophers of the 2nd generation mostly focused on reinterpreting certain traditional Chinese concepts that could—in a modernized and extended form—likewise serve as theoretical paradigms for the development of modern societies (e.g. 性, 心, 本心, 理, 性理, 情理, 內聖外王, 良知, 道心 etc.). Such concepts were elaborated, extended and modified by the Modern Confucians in order to formulate new notions that could serve as the conceptual foundations for theories of a specifically Chinese modernization (e.g. the concepts of 性體, 道德

本心, 理性, 自我坎陷, 智的直覺, 心的本體, 無限的智心, 新內聖外王, 道德主體, 道德自我, 道德理性, etc.).

The chapter is divided into five sections, each focusing on a specific issue. The first section deals with the specific methodological approach necessary for understanding the concepts in question, i.e. the paradigm of immanent transcendence, while the next three sections explore specific traditional concepts that, in the view of the Modern Confucians, could serve as theoretical foundations for a specific Chinese modernization model. The final section examines the Modern Confucian critique of the inconsistency of Western, especially European elaborations of the aforementioned modernization concepts.

Chapter seven elaborates the modernized forms of the concepts, treated in the previous chapter and indicates their relevance for a conception of "Chinese" modernization theories. An important notion here is the advanced concept of the traditional moral Self, which in the new global philosophies was intended to assume the function of a "truly" autonomous subject. "True" autonomy in fact means that this subject is both particular and universal. While this subject acts as an individual, necessarily forming a part of the social community, it is also ennobled by an infinite heart-mind which enables it to be aware of its unity with the cosmos. Through its free will, it derives its freedom from its own inborn moral imperative which is likewise infinite, although its infinite nature is not defined by the existence of God, but rather by the organic, structural unity with all metaphysical and physical elements of being. This new, moral and infinite, limitless subject represents an elaboration of the "traditional" Confucian concept of the moral Self, and thus may also be the active personality that can sustain the idea of modernization. Since its reason as a tool of intuitive, concrete bodily comprehension is limitless, it is not dependent upon (any kind of) spiritual connection between the world and itself. This moral subject or Self is truly autonomous, for its autonomy is not determined by anything external to itself.

In the framework of classical (and partly also Modern) Confucianism, this Self is autonomous precisely due to its rational, structural (*li* 理) connection with all aspects of its natural and social environment. And because this connection is also dynamic and organic, it is capable of infinite forms of communication and cooperation. For a Chinese model of modernity, i.e. for a modernity permeated with humanism or mutuality (*ren* 仁), these forms of communication and

cooperation are much more important than formal laws of economy and official politics.

The final chapter provides an overview of the complex image of the Modern Confucian movement in the latter half of the 20th century and evaluates its function and the significance of its intellectual contributions for the development of Chinese culture in the era of modernization and globalization.

It also affirms the importance of the continued, future development of this important current, and of realizing its assumptions not only on a theoretical, but also on a practical, concrete level within society.

This book raises awareness of the significance of the Modern Confucian stream of thought and exposes that Confucianism is not a monolithic entity in the Chinese and East Asian area, but differs in regard to its ideational and political background. Furthermore, the author wants to express the dynamic and creative ability of Confucian thought. The book is thus of great importance in understanding classical and Modern Confucian thought, although it simultaneously points to the new paths of further investigations, necessary in this field of research.