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言語文化共同研究プロジェクト2022

# Cultural Formation Studies V

小 杉 世

木 村 茂 雄

Amin Ghadimi

Natsue Ambo

Md. Mamunur Rahman

伊 勢 芳 夫

大阪大学大学院人文学研究科言語文化学専攻

2023



## 言語文化共同研究プロジェクト 2022

### Cultural Formation Studies V

#### 目次

木村茂雄・小杉世 はじめに .....	1
Amin Ghadimi India in the Formation of Japanese Terrorism .....	5
Natsue Ambo The Necessity of Gender Difference for AI: In Ian McEwan's <i>Machines Like Me</i> .....	19
Md. Mamunur Rahman Transcultural Translation Experience: On Translating Yasunari Kawabata's <i>Snow Country</i> into Bengali .....	29
伊勢芳夫 1930年代の日・中の「歴史」創作について (1) ——「満洲国」言説の知の考古学的分析—— .....	37
小杉世 アレクシス・ライト『地平線の叙事詩』 ——先住民文学と難民文学をつなぐ水平(地平)線—— .....	47



## はじめに

### 1. *Cultural Formation Studies* Vの刊行に際して

この報告書は、大阪大学大学院言語文化研究科が主催する「言語文化共同研究プロジェクト」のひとつとして2022年度に進めた共同研究 *Cultural Formation Studies* (CFS) の報告書である。CFS は、大阪大学大学院人文学研究科（旧言語文化研究科・旧文学研究科）教員と大学院生、名古屋外国語大学教員、バングラデシュのイスラム大学人文社会科学学部教員などを「正規」メンバーとする研究会だが、そこには旧言語文化研究科を修了して大学の教職についているものなど、「非正規」のメンバーも数多く参加している。そして、東京、名古屋、金沢、岐阜などから集まってくるこれらのメンバーを抜きにして、この研究会は成り立たない。これらのOG / OBが現役の院生たちに与えるアドバイスや刺激も、たいへん有意義なことと感じている。

研究会のこのようなメンバー構成には過去の経緯もある。*Cultural Formation Studies* (CFS) は、26年前にはじめた研究会の「後継」の「後継」にあたるからだ。その最初の研究会は、1996年の春に開始したカルチュラル・スタディーズの研究会「カルチュラル・スタディーズ・サークル (CSC)」である。「言語文化共同研究プロジェクト」の制度がスタートしたのは2000年度なので、その4年前のことになる。その後、2005年度から2017年度までは「ポストコロニアル・フォーメーションズ (PCF)」と研究会の名称を変え、どちらかといえばポストコロニアル研究に焦点を絞った研究を進めてきた。

研究会の名称をこのように変えてきたのは、ひとつには、その時々メンバーの関心を反映させたためである。この数年は、とくにアメリカ文学・アメリカ文化を専門とする教員や院生のメンバーが増えてきたようだ。しかし、1996年当時から現在にいたるまで、研究会の名称は変わっても、また、そのメンバーに多少の入れ替えはあっても、文化や文学の研究に対する私たちの基本的な姿勢や視点には、ある連続性が保たれてきたように思われる。簡単にいえば、ひとつには、文化や文学を社会に開かれたものとみなし、その相互関係や相互作用を（必要に応じて「学際的」に）捉えようとする姿勢、そのこととも関連して、もうひとつは、それらの文化や文学が形成されるプロセス（フォーメーション）を注視しようとする姿勢である。

そして、このような姿勢は、私たちがカルチュラル・スタディーズやポストコロニアル研究から学んできた姿勢にほかならない。2018年度から研究会の名称を *Cultural Formation Studies* (CFS) と改めたのは、カルチュラル・スタディーズやポストコロニアル研究の基本

姿勢から学びつつも、特定の狭い「分野」に特化した研究会という印象を避け、その門戸を、より幅広く多様な領域に開いていきたいという意図が込められている。

## 2. 2022 年度の CFS の活動

CFS の研究会は従来、原則として毎月の最終土曜日に開催してきたが、2020 年度以降は新型コロナの影響により、Zoom で開催してきた。2021 年度は都合により開催回数は少なくなったが、1 回にまとまった量を読むことになった。本研究会では、たいていは文化や文学にかかわる英語文献を取り上げ、それぞれの担当者がその内容を紹介し検討した後、全体討論に入る。このようにして、先行研究の趣旨や意義、欠点や盲点などを議論していく。それはまた、私たち自身の批評意識や批評の言葉を鍛えていくプロセスでもある。

2021 年度の最初の研究会は、昨年度からの継続で、グローバリゼーション論の入門書である Jan Nederveen Pieterse の *Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange* (Fourth Edition) を読了し、3 月には新しい批評書 *Anthropos and the Material* (2019) に取り組み始めた。

以下に、研究会の記録を残しておきたい。開催日、章およびページ数、担当者の順に示す。研究科の修了生で大学の専任職についているものには、現職の大学名も付記しておく。

### 1. 2022 年 9 月 10 日

Jan Nederveen Pieterse

*Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange* (Fourth Edition). Rowman & Littlefield, 2019.

pp. 143-161 Chapter 7 “Globalization is Braided” 加瀬佳代子

pp. 163-185 Chapter 8 “Hybrid China” 小杉世

pp. 187-205 Chapter 9, 10 “Populism, Globalization and Culture” “Global Melange” 森野豊

### 2. 2023 年 3 月 11 日

Penny Harvey, Christian Krohn-Hansen, and Knut G. Nustad, eds.

*Anthropos and the Material*. Duke University Press, 2019.

pp. 1-31 Introduction 石倉綾乃

pp. 35-58 Chapter 1 木村茂雄

## 3. 本研究会の来し方、行く末（木村）

前にも述べたように、本研究会は 1996 年に開始された「カルチュラル・スタディーズ・サークル (CSC)」を出発点としている。いまの院生の会員の多くが生まれる前のことだ。ちなみにその当時は、1950 年台のイギリスでレイモンド・ウィリアムズなどにより創始されたカルチュラル・スタディーズが、アメリカやオーストラリア、そして日本にも飛び火して、大きなブームを巻き起こしていた。CSC で最初に取り上げたのも、アメリカで開催された国際学会をもとに編集された *Cultural Studies* (Routledge, 1992) という論集だった。

40 編の論考を収めた 700 ページを超えるこの本を完読したあと、1958 年出版のレイモンド・ウィリアムズの出世作 *Culture and Society* に向かっていったことを覚えている。

これは「流行に乗った」といえなくもないだろう。じっさい、学外の聴衆も呼び込んだ「オープン CSC」なるシンポジウムを 2 回ほど企画し、かなりの活況を呈したことなども懐かしい。一方、この時期は、言語文化研究科が発足してから数年後のことで、この新しい研究科の教育研究の方向性を模索していた時期でもあった。いわゆる「伝統的」な文学研究をどのように捉え直していくかという問題意識を、研究科の若手教員が共有していたことも CSC 発足の背景にあったのだ。

私事になるが、新しい文学研究という面でそのころ私が取り組みはじめていたのがポストコロニアル文学だった。この分野の古典的なガイドブック *Empire Writes Back* (Routledge, 1989) を『ポストコロニアルの文学』（木村茂雄訳、青土社）として翻訳刊行したのが 1998 年であり、2004 年には、CSC のメンバーをおもな執筆者とする『ポストコロニアル文学の現在』（木村茂雄編、晃洋書房）を刊行した。2005 年度からは、研究会の名称も「ポストコロニアル・フォーメーションズ」と改めて活動をつづけた。その成果のひとつが、2010 年に刊行された『英語文学の越境—ポストコロニアル／カルチュラル・スタディーズの視点から—』（木村茂雄・山田雄三編著、英宝社）である。同書には、CSC と「ポストコロニアル・フォーメーションズ」の研究報告書を初出とする 10 編の論考が収められている。その執筆者の顔触れは、旧言語文化研究科の教員が 4 名、その院生と元院生が 6 名だった。

この本の出版から 13 年後の現在、研究会は Cultural Formation Studies (CFS) と改称され、新しいメンバーも次々と迎えてきた。現在は『英語文学の越境』の続編にあたる書物を編纂しようという話も持ち上がっている。『現代文化の冒険』という仮のタイトルで、CSC から現在にいたる研究会のメンバーを中心に執筆者を募っているところである。

レイモンド・ウィリアムズの代表的なエッセイのひとつである “Culture is Ordinary” が発表されたのは、*Culture and Society* と同年の 1958 年のことだった。この比較的短いエッセイのなかで、彼は “Culture is ordinary” というフレーズを 7 回も繰り返している。またウィリアムズは、“Learning is ordinary”、“Education is ordinary” と主張する。そして、“ordinary people” や “ordinary experience” の只中に「文化」を位置づけ直そうとする。この “ordinary” という言葉のニュアンスはなかなか難しいが、ウィリアムズがいたいのは、ひとつには、文化とはケンブリッジ大学の教員や学生などのエリートのもではなく、彼の故郷に住む労働者など「普通の」人びとのものだということである。また、文化とは特別なものではなく「日常的な」ものだという意味もそこには込められている。ただし、ウィリアムズのいう「日常的な文化」は「ルーティーン」ではない。重要なのは、それがつねに広げられたり成長したりするものだという点であり、“expansion” や “growth” という言葉も、彼はこのエッセイのキーワードとして繰り返し用いている。還暦をだいぶ過ぎてから大学や住居を移し、新しい日常を迎えた私も、どのようにしたら自分を広げたり成長させたりすることができるのか、自問することの多い日々である。



#### 4. 2022 年度をふりかえって（小杉）

ここ数年オンラインにより研究会を継続してきたが、3 月には会場参加と Zoom を併用してハイブリッド開催が可能になった。2000 年度に言語文化研究科で始まった言語文化共同研究プロジェクトは 20 年を超えて継続されたが、今回は電子版のみでの発行の最初の年となる。また 2022 年 4 月から言語文化研究科と文学研究科が新しく統合して人文学研究科となり、新しいメンバーも迎えてスタートすることができたのは喜ばしい。

この共同研究プロジェクトは、さまざまな関わり方のメンバーの貢献に支えられている。今年度も Zoom でのオンライン開催の研究会に継続して参加し活発な議論を支えてくださった教員、修了生、院生の皆さまに感謝する。ようやく新型コロナ状況の規制が解かれ、対面の研究教育活動を取り戻しつつある昨今、Zoom 併用で遠方の参加者の便宜をはかりながら、再び対面で議論を行える機会を今年度は持てそうなこと、楽しみにしている。最後に RA として研究会の開催や編集作業を手伝ってくれた王立琚さんにもお礼を申し上げたい。

木村 茂雄  
小杉 世

# India in the Formation of Japanese Terrorism

Amin Ghadimi

## 1. Introduction

This essay explores the following claim: that India abetted the formation of the culture of Japanese terrorism. My concern is not with India itself as a political or cultural actor but with “India” as a Japanese political and cultural idea. And even then, I am interested less in how India as an idea was formed than in what the idea lets us see about other implicit parts of my claim: that terrorism originated at a specific moment in Japanese history; that it was a cultural phenomenon; that it, like all cultural phenomena, formed or indeed was formed through a fitful, desultory, and contingent process; that it was paradoxically constituted as a national form through supranational and extranational forces. In the spirit of this journal, *Cultural Formation Studies*, which functions as the mouthpiece of a collaborative research group and enables experimental and exploratory work, I will write on these themes freely without being overly concerned with depth of substantiation, cogency of argument, or due justice to received literature; I will take the liberty of making some tentative conjectures, of writing in a vein more preliminary than conclusive, and of suggesting rather than resolving topics for investigation.

My purpose here is primarily expository: to present a series of sources from the newspaper *Jiyū no tomoshibi*, or *Light of Liberty*, from around the spring of 1885; through those sources, I hope to demonstrate an empirical link between India as a Japanese idea and the formation of terrorism as a Japanese cultural category of action. To achieve this purpose, I seek tentatively to situate these sources in historical context and make a foray into interpreting and evaluating their historical meaning. My suggestion is that the sources prompt or at least enable this reading: that “terrorism,” a discrete, coherent, and above all self-conscious cultural category, emerged in mid-1880s Japan, right around 1884 and 1885, as a global category of political violence. It was at this point, amid what scholars working on Europe and America have identified as the “first wave” of global terrorism, that people in Japan began to perpetrate, deliberately, a violence that they themselves understood as *terrorism*, a new form of revolutionary activity intelligible only within a new global system of signification and symbolism.<sup>1</sup> This global category relied, the terrorists themselves well knew, on

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<sup>1</sup> Rapoport, *Waves of Global Terrorism*, from 2022, though he originally, and influentially, set forth the

the existence of the public sphere: it derived from globally flowing information deployed in a national field of journalism, and its purpose was to manipulate and act upon that sphere. The idea of a colonial “India” developed by writers in the Japanese public sphere, the notion of a great colonized Asian nation “enslaved,” as they put it, under imperial oppression and lacking the intellectual wherewithal to assert its independence, became a means by which they developed and justified, obliquely but definitively, their methods of terrorism and in fact urged terroristic action: India showed both the dire imperialist threat encroaching on Japan from Russia and signaled the extraordinary potential of explosive political terrorism to help defend and expand national autonomy during the new global imperial struggle of the 1880s.

Inasmuch as my purpose here is not to develop this argument systematically but to lay out the sources that prompt this line of thinking, the structure of this investigation foregrounds the sources themselves over the analysis, unfolding the case through empirical evidence rather than developing the case by marshaling evidence behind it. Without much background on what we are reading and why, let us go ahead and start by looking at a collection of editorials and articles in *Jiyū no tomoshibi*, and let us deconstruct and then reconstruct the “India,” the idea of India in the spring of 1885, that the newspaper constructed. Once we have grasped what the newspaper said, let us then consider, cursorily, what the newspaper itself was: who was writing these articles or what organizational milieu he was operating in, why it makes sense to focus on this one paper, and how to position these articles in the political and intellectual culture of the time. And then let us conclude with some adumbrated thoughts on the formation of the culture of Japanese terrorism.

## 2. India in the *Light of Liberty*

On April 2, 1885, a journalist for *Light of Liberty* writing under the pseudonym “Chiyoda-sei” editorialized on rumors of a confrontation between Russia and Britain in Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup> A Russian general had earlier proclaimed his empire’s intention to seize India, “the treasure-chest of Britain,” as Chiyoda-sei put it, drawing the ire of the British. And now the intent was becoming manifest in action. “There was word,” Chiyoda-sei wrote, “that the Russian tsar Alexander III had ascended as emperor of Tashkent, in Central Asia, and is dispatching troops to Afghanistan, the outer edge of the British treasure chest. The British were preparing their battleships in response. Afghan leaders have sought aid from the British.” Russian encroachment into Central Asia created a new front in a new imperial rivalry.

The matter bore directly on Japan, Chiyoda-sei suggested. Japan and Russia had a long history

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idea in 2001; critique: Parker and Sitter, “The Four Horsemen of Terrorism.” I have made this argument about Japan in Ghadimi, “Arai Shōgo”; here, I deploy a new set of sources and a new focus on India. The literature on terrorism is gargantuan, though much (certainly not all) of it tends to be mostly from a strategy or political-science point of view. Three notable works on history: Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism*; Jensen, *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism*; Miller, *Foundations of Modern Terrorism*.

<sup>2</sup> Chiyoda-sei, “Ro-Ei ryōkoku ga Ajia ni okeru no kankei,” *Jiyū no tomoshibi*, M18/4/2.

of acrimony, he noted, and “in recent times, the possibility has emerged that Russia will take advantage of the opening of hostilities between the Qing and the French to pluck up Korea.” The reference was to the Sino-French War, which had erupted the previous year over Vietnam and which had garnered relentless, obsessive coverage in *Light of Liberty* and across the Japanese journalistic sphere. Europe slid into a new crisis: “The circumstances of nineteenth-century Europe are again showing signs of being revolutionized,” Chiyoda-sei wrote. “But the relations in Europe are not only something between the two countries of Russia and Britain.” They mattered at home: “Will my 35-million brethren be able, between these countries, to assert national power to remain standing independent?”

The crisis in Afghanistan came at a particularly loaded moment in Japanese international and domestic politics. Just months earlier, in December 1884, pro-Japanese revolutionaries in Korea had attempted to overthrow the Korean monarchy and install a so-called enlightened regime there in an incident known as the Kapsin Coup. That rebellion led to a violent confrontation between the Qing and Japanese stationed in Korea; the Japanese embassy was attacked in what was widely deemed in Japan as humiliation at the hands of China. Now Russia seemed poised to enter the scene and assert itself more aggressively in Korea. Meanwhile, at home, political violence was tearing through the Japanese countryside. In the Incident on Mount Kaba of September 1884, revolutionaries associated with the defunct Liberal Party seeking to overthrow the Japanese government planned but failed to detonate explosives and assassinate state officials at the new capitol (and capital) inauguration in Utsunomiya, Tochigi prefecture. After a trial explosives run went awry and security forces learned of the plan, the terrorists resorted to an ineffectual but culturally resonant rebellion in neighboring Ibaraki, to which they had retreated.

The Anglo-Russian clash to which Chiyoda-sei referred in his editorial became known across the Japanese public sphere as the “Afghan Incident,” or *Afugan jiken*; today, it is often known as the Panjdeh Incident in English, taking the name of the place in present-day Turkmenistan where the military confrontation occurred in March 1885. As historian Yu Suzuki suggests, the Panjdeh Incident marked a stunning development in global affairs: it ignited widespread fears in Britain that war was imminent; it prompted the British to occupy the islands it called Port Hamilton, located roughly between Cheju and the Korean mainland, in mid-April 1885, after decades of relative British uninterest in the imperial rivalry over Korea; and it marked a troubling imperial clash in Asia during a decade generally known for imperial aggression in Africa. In short, the concern that Russia would seize Korea prompted Britain to dispatch its military forces there, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy: the precipitation of an imperial clash over Afghanistan, which was not primarily about Afghanistan but about India, ignited fears of and then therefore actualized an imperial clash over Korea.<sup>3</sup>

*Light of Liberty* was neither alone nor wrong, then, in its worries of the threat of the Afghan

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<sup>3</sup> Suzuki, “Anglo-Russian War-Scare”; see also Sangpil Jin, “The Port Hamilton (Geomundo) Incident).”

Incident to imperial geopolitics in Asia. And thus, the matter descended from high diplomacy and geopolitics to a cultural and intellectual problem within Japan, one played out in the public. On April 15, Chiyoda-sei returned to the issue, identifying the significance of the Afghan Incident in the prospect of what he construed essentially as a slave rebellion by Indians, aided by Russia, against Britain.<sup>4</sup> The British claim that the sun never sets on their dominion, Chiyoda-sei wrote, but there were signs that the sun might, in fact, set. France was regaining power, Russia was gaining power, and it even seemed that the British parliament might be toppled as it became bogged down in the debilitating Mahdi Rebellion in Egypt and Sudan. Facing the loss of supremacy in the Mediterranean and the surging of rival powers, the British would be wrong to back away from “expansionism,” Chiyoda-sei wrote: “Now, because of the matter at the Afghan border, Britain and Russia are now staring at each other bearing arms.” And “after all, the people of India, which is an outer province of Britain, don’t admire the British government,” he continued. “If the Cossack battalions cross over the Turkmen desert and invade toward the south, there’s no knowing yet if the Indians, who have long suffered under the yoke of slavery, might take this chance to raise the banner of independence.” A potentially recalcitrant India posed an existential threat to the British parliament, already tottering, Chiyoda-sei intimated. And the British ills were compounded by a domestic problem: If the Irish independence party seized on Russian military action in Central Asia to lead their own rebellion, then what options would be left to the British government? Chiyoda-sei asked. “We must say that today truly is a time of urgency, of life and death, for the British government.” And so he concluded, of Britain, “It is not the Liberal Party, which is in power today and which seeks to avert war, but the invasionist Conservative Party, which seeks expansionism, that can ensure the survival of the government.”

We encounter here a particular constellation of ideas that, as we will see, *Light of Liberty* developed across its editions: that imperialist rivalry and domestic revolution, when combined, threatened the very existence of a government unless that government took active steps to fight abroad and expand; or, in other words, that the cases of India and Ireland demonstrated that imperial encroachment by foreign powers created a domestic situation wherein a possible rebellion would potentially bring about the collapse of a government. And these were not independent processes: The Russians could help the Indians declare independence.

We have a bit more work to do to show empirically what any of this has to do with terrorism, even if we can already start to fill in the blanks mentally. But let us take a moment quickly to spell out an important point: what Chiyoda-sei wrote about Britain was the exact situation that Japan faced as well, as *Light of Liberty* hinted in other articles: it faced Russian aggression abroad; it faced growing revolutionary violence at home; it saw the possibility of a rebellion for “independence”

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<sup>4</sup> Chiyoda-sei, “Eikoku no seisui” (since dates are provided in text, I will refrain from adding them hereafter).

from Chinese meddling in Korea; and it had a government widely disdained for its alleged refusal to engage more aggressively in foreign expansionism. What Chiyoda-sei suggested about India was precisely, as we will see, what terrorists sought to do in Japan: to seize on the opportunity generated by imperial clashes abroad to overthrow the government within Japan, or within Korea, and promote a more aggressive foreign policy. That is what terrorism could achieve.

On April 25, Chiyoda-sei pressed this idea of Indian independence and mobilized aggressively behind, citing precedent in other places—citing a global culture of revolution, we might even say.<sup>5</sup> “That two-headed eagle,” as Chiyoda-sei said in reference to Russia, had long hoped to chase “that old lion,” Britain, out of “the great peninsula of Asia,” and the time had now come for the achievement of that objective, he proclaimed: to oppose Britain’s naval dominance, Russia could now encroach by land. The implications of this clash lay, Chiyoda-sei repeated, in the “spirit” of India, a spirit of “enslavement” (*doeki seraruru*) under the “lion.” Russia was, he proclaimed—weirdly, by his own seeming admission—the savior of the Indian spirit. “The situation of Indians suffering under the cruel taxes of the British government compares to the situation before the independence of North America, or it is who knows how many times greater than that situation,” he stated. But the Indians were oblivious, he continued, and none had dared raise the standard of rebellion ever since the Sepoy Mutiny (*Shīhoi hei no ikki*, as if it were self-evident to all readers what the Sepoy Mutiny was). There was an absence of a leader to seize on the moment. Now the time was ripe, with Britain caught up in Sudan, for a nationwide rebellion across India. The Indians could take Russian generals to lead their army, just as the Chinese called on the Germans, and channel “anger and resentment pent up over the years toward the British government” to “drive out” British officers and civilians alike.

And the critical point, for us at least, was here: How could the Indians achieve this revolution for independence given the alleged “spirit of enslavement” that characterized their complacency toward British rule? “If the Russian government were to give the Muslims freedom of belief and broadcast a manifesto allowing for the making of India as a single independent state,” Chiyoda-sei continued, “no matter how crafty the British government might be, would it continue to be able to ensnare the Indians?” Enabling Indian independence would permit Russia to cut off Britain’s financial wellspring and allow Russia to seize Turkey. And Britain and Russia would then go to war. It was essentially an intellectual and cultural matter: a need to use text, a “manifesto,” to rile up the Indian public and lead a rebellion against an occupying power.

The winner would be Japan if this were to happen. “China and Japan,” the editorial concluded, “which are located in East Asia, will have the leeway to put our hands in our pockets and sit and watch the war in Europe.” It would be a decisive turning point in the global race war: “It would be at this point, would it not, that the erstwhile situation in which that White race (*hakujinshu*) dominates

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<sup>5</sup> Chiyoda-sei, “Indo no dokuritsu.”

the Yellow race (*kōjinshu*) would be revolutionized (*ippen*).” The conclusion: “Wouldn’t that be wonderful? Wouldn’t that be wonderful?”

Chiyoda-sei returned to this question of the revolutionary potential of text—of “spreading a manifesto”—on May 14, when he again expatiated on the problem of India’s “spirit of slavery.”<sup>6</sup> This time, the comparison to the actual institution of slavery itself was more explicit. “That such an extraordinary moment in the history of the nineteenth century as the Great North-South War of America was precipitated by a proposal for the emancipation of Black-race slaves (*tojinshu no dorei kaihō*) is a fact that I call continually to mind,” he wrote. He went on, articulating what is today recognized as a racist trope: “Yet there were those among the Black race who did not assist the government of the North, the protecting god of their own benighted, ignorant selves”: Chiyoda-sei claimed that some Black people had “contented themselves” with becoming conscripted in the Southern army, leading Europeans to ridicule the Northern government. “But is this despicable, deplorable spirit of slavery (*doreishin*) something pertaining only to the Black race of America?” It was evident in China, he said, where the Ming succumbed to the Qing and, while reciting the verses of the Analects praising past leaders for saving the country from foreigners, continued to live under the dominion of barbarians from the north (*kozoku*)—itself “a form of the spirit of slavery.” And it was visible in Christian Indians who, according to a report from a newspaper in Bombay [*sic*], were ready to form a standing army for the British in India. “The Indian people have their sweat and blood sucked out of them and their hands and feet tied up and yet they give not a single thought to recovering their right to an autonomous homeland (*kyōkoku jishu no kenri*).” “What a spirit of slavery is this!”

Chiyoda-sei contrasted this “spirit of slavery” in India with the actions of the “Ireland Independence Party,” whose conduct “traversed every form of radicalism and ferocity.” “In beholding the spirit of slavery among the Indian people,” he said, he chose the ways of the Irish and denounced the ways of the Indians. The Irish independence activists, the Fenians, were of course, pioneers of explosive terrorism. The Indians had to learn from the Irish to break away from Britain. Was the implication that the Koreans needed to do the same against the Chinese?

Chiyoda-sei pushed hard for independence. Today the Indians were under the control of the British; tomorrow it would be the Russians, he said. India, he noted, was a large country, second to China. “If we reach a point of seeing the Indian people progressing to the state of freeing themselves of this spirit of slavery, they will be able to turn around this great degradation of the Orient”: he hoped that the “Afghan incident” would be a “positive stimulus” for the Indian people, and he closed with this supplication: “O my fair and just Lord! Hasten to guide the hearts of the Indian people and thus enable them to establish in the eastern hemisphere a second America (*daini no beikoku*).”

The elements, we see, have started to come together: the idea of “using a manifesto” as a

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<sup>6</sup> Chiyoda-sei, “Indo jinmin no doreishin.”

stimulus to ignite a mass movement; the importance of the help of a foreign imperial rival to rile up the general population to change the affairs of high-end geopolitics to which ordinary people otherwise had no access; the singling out of Irish precedent to guide the way for India to become independent from Britain; the concept of “independence” itself.

But even if the idea of a revolution for independence is clear, were the journalists of *Light of Liberty* really endorsing “terrorism” in India to this end, and were they doing it knowingly? Almost a week earlier, on May 9, a journalist writing under the penname Toridori Dōjin 鳥々道人 (who could conceivably have been the same Chiyoda-sei, though it is unclear) reflected on the “audacity of the Russians.”<sup>7</sup> The French were audacious in waging war “here in the far Orient” even while their own state of affairs in France remained unsettled, he said, referring to the Sino-French War. “But that’s nothing impressive compared to the audacity of the Russians,” he explained. Despite the military preparedness and strength of Britain, the Russians had “without reservation or compunction stepped into the outer ramparts, which is to say Afghanistan, of that crucial, crucial money box that is India.” The British could block Russian ships leaving the Baltic or through the Dardanelles, and yet the Russians had shown no fear in taking the British on at Port Hamilton and Cheju. A war of land, too, would be costly for Russia, as it would have trouble sending troops in, whereas the British could use their railways and their troops in India to fight in Afghanistan. But the Russians fought anyway. And that is not where Russian audacity ended. It could be that the Russians were distracting the British, getting them to concentrate their troops in India, then moving their capital to Constantinople and fulfilling the wish of Tsar Peter. And the Russians were meanwhile slowly biting away at China, particularly during the Sino-French War. If all this exploded into war with Britain, the author stated, then “Russia might start gulping down Korea before breakfast.” That, of course, would be a geopolitical threat to Japan.

“But there is something in Russia called the Nihilist Party,” the author continued, “and they are like parasites in the body of the lion, or no, the eagle.” They were well known, he said. They had assassinated the emperor not long ago. They had emerged of the exhaustion and impoverishment engendered by the Crimean War, and the seeds of these parasites still endured. To go to war with Britain while these parasites were still there, and even to seek out to capture Turkey, was not even audacity. It was “madness.” But even if it was madness, there was a lesson to be learned: “War-averse Asian countries” could prepare their armies as much as they would, but there was no guarantee they could withstand a Russian onslaught. The author wanted to take the anger of these Russians and feed it to his 37 million compatriots, he said.

What did this rather oblique final line, to take the anger of the Russian Nihilists, who had led assassinations throughout Russia, and feed it to the Japanese population, mean? On June 4, Chiyoda-sei came out in a triumphant defense of these same Russian Nihilists, those “parasites” in

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<sup>7</sup> Toridori Dōjin, “Rojin no daitan.”



the body of the eagle. “Are the Nihilists patriots?” he asked.<sup>8</sup> The answer was a resounding yes.

Chiyoda-sei introduced the Nihilists as, literally, terrorists: they were those in Russia who used “so-called terror methods” (*iwayuru kyōkaku shudan* 恐嚇手段)—setting fire to cities, poisoning ministers, even throwing explosives in the light of day—to achieve their ends. The Irish had learned these “terror tactics” from the Russian Nihilists to resist the British government.<sup>9</sup> And now the Nihilists intended to exploit the “Afghan Incident” and seize the moment when the Russians and the British went to war to fly their flag over Saint Petersburg. The only reason, Chiyoda-sei explained, that the party still had not led a revolution (*kakumei no kyo*) akin to the French Revolution was that Saint Petersburg was too small: any attempt at a conventional revolution would be quashed by the army. And that is why, he said, the Nihilists had no choice but to use “chemical mechanisms” (*kagakuteki no sayō*) for their “terror tactics.”

The Nihilists were patriots, Chiyoda-sei said: they took decisive action; they did not stick their hands in their sleeves, in his formulation, and sit around waiting when a good opportunity appeared. They were rich in intent to reform their country. Their radicalism was a venerable patriotism.

We could go on, but since we now have come full circle, let us wrap up our rather baggy, plodding reading of *Light of Liberty* here. We have witnessed a progression of a particular series of ideas with regard to India. We have seen how the clash of the Russian and British empires in what was called the “Afghan Incident” of March 1885 created an expectation of impending war between the two sides, a war that would engulf East Asia and particularly Korea. The incident was both a crisis for Japan, insasmuch as it foreboded new entrants into the imperial struggle over Korea, and an opportunity to lead a anti-British revolution of independence in India. We have seen, next, how *Light of Liberty* construed Indians, as colonized subjects of the British empire, as groaning not only under the cruel tyranny of the British but also under their own “spirit of slavery”; to win independence required a foreign power, in this case Russia, to stir up, through a “manifesto,” public sentiment among the Indians and ignite the desire to oust the British. Revolutionaries in Ireland, who showed the way to Indians, demonstrated that having this sort of revolutionary ferment within the empire, when combined with inter-imperial tensions, posed an existential threat to a government. And Nihilist revolutionaries in Russia from whom the Irish learned their terror tactics, which were identified precisely as such, showed that using new chemical methods of warfare, or explosives, could be precisely the most patriotic means of spurring internal reform and meddling in international affairs when people could not triumph by conventional means of warfare.

In short, then, India presented several points: first, a problem: the lack of consciousness and wherewithal among ordinary people; second, an opportunity: the urgency on the global imperial stage, derived from an impending imperial war, of engaging in direct action by ordinary people to

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<sup>8</sup> Chiyoda-sei, “Kyomutō mo mata aikokushin aru ka.”

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., Clutterbuck, “The Progenitors of Terrorism.”

oust a foreign imperial power, to win autonomy, and to intervene in state-led diplomatic and military affairs; and third, the tactics, the expedient means of terrorism and “manifestos,” to lead that revolutionary violence in the absence of the possibility of leading a French-style revolution.

All this applied directly to Japan.

### 3. The Home Front

In late 1885, extremists associated with the defunct Liberal Party (*Jiyūtō*) tried to recreate in Korea, in real life, the entire Indian scenario presented in the pages of *Jiyū no tomoshibi*. The episode is known as the Osaka Incident of 1885. Under the leadership of Ōi Kentarō, who would stay in Japan, and amid the ongoing clash between the Chinese and Japanese governments in Korea, a band of terrorists plotted to go to Korea, detonate explosives, topple the Korean government, ignite war with China, and ultimately topple the government back in Japan to help spur democratic reform at home.<sup>10</sup> They would seize on the ferment sparked by their terrorist activity to spread a manifesto proclaiming their democratic principles in foreign newspapers.

In isolation, it is an entirely strange idea: how could the so-called activists of the Osaka Incident think that this could possibly work? Where did they get these strange ideas? The case of India in *Jiyū no tomoshibi* reveals that it was hardly strange at all: they were partaking in an emergent global culture of terrorism. Their tactics, their codes, their strategies: all were riffs on what they regarded as a new form of terrorist activity. Korea, like India, was subject to a foreign power; its people were allegedly floundering under occupation by a foreign government, the Qing, without the will to rise up and overthrow them; Japanese intervention could stir up the Korean will for a supposed slave rebellion and instigate war between China and Japan, just as the Indians could instigate war between Russia and Britain now that global imperial trends had aligned in their favor. And just as Fenians and Nihilists could use the ferment of an imperial war to topple the government from within, the terrorists of the defunct Liberal Party could do the same in Japan, against the government that they reviled and that had crushed their earlier attempts at revolution within Japan. Even the idea of using Russian generals to promote Indian independence was akin to what Korean revolutionaries were doing with Japanese leadership against China.

The link between the two, between the editorializing on India and the rise of actual international terrorist activity in Korea from Japan, is not merely theoretical or ideational, not just a matter of resemblance. It is empirical. To take just one example: the April 2 editorial on the Panjdeh Incident described above appeared on the front page of *Light of Liberty*. Turn the page, and we see at least two striking things. First, we witness the spectacular spread of explosives technology in Japan publicly trumpeted for all to hear and see. In Yokohama, *Tomoshibi* reported, the Rhenish Dynamite Company of Opladen, Cologne, had carried out a test for government officials and civilians alike to

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<sup>10</sup> On the incident, Ōsaka jiken kenkyūkai, ed., *Osaka jiken no kenkyū*.

demonstrate the strength and power of its dynamite. “But [the explosion] reverberated unexpectedly, and throughout the city of Yokohama, people were for a time scared, unsure of what was going on.” Below this demonstration of the spectacular arrival of explosives technology was the seventy-second installment of *Kishūshū*, by the writer of political stories Miyazaki Muryū.<sup>11</sup> The history of *Kishūshū* requires far greater explication, but briefly: In 1878, the Russian terrorist Vera Zasulich assassinated the governor of St. Petersburg, triggering copycat assassinations and stirring public sentiment in Russia in her monumental, public trial. Soon thereafter, Sergei Kravchinskii, who later wrote under the name Sergei Stepniak, carried out an attempted assassination of Nikolai Meznetshev, head of Russia’s secret police. The entire assassination plot, as Lynn Ellen Patyk explains, was an act inspired by the terror of Robespierre, carried out in mimicry of Zasulich, and staged particularly to make it seem as if literary culture was being applied to lived experience. Stepniak fled Russia and entered the public sphere in Europe, which was mesmerized by fascinating tales of sensational violence in Russia. Stepniak profiled Russian terrorists for the Italian newspaper *Il Pungolo* in the early 1880s, leading to a book contract in early 1882. His published text *Underground Russia* was a multinational hit, being translated into Portuguese, German, French, Dutch, and English almost immediately—and, scholars fail to note, into Japanese.<sup>12</sup> The Japanese edition of *Underground Russia* was this same *Kishūshū*, published in *Light of Liberty*. And the specific installment on April 2 was part of a profile of Sophia Perovskaya, who was involved in the terrorist organization People’s Will and participated in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881.<sup>13</sup> Japanese journalistic coverage of terrorism in Russia was thus part of a growing European obsession with the matter, and it was *Jiyū no tomoshibi* that took the national lead in bringing hortatory stories of Russian terrorism to the Japanese public.<sup>14</sup> The introduction of “terror tactics” and their role in geopolitics and diplomacy on one page of *Jiyū no tomoshibi* went hand-in-hand with their literary presentation on the next page—all to formulate a recognizable, self-conscious culture of terrorism.

This brings us to the question of authorship. It is not clear who Chiyoda-sei was, but we do know who “Toridori Dōjin” was, and we know much about the journalists at *Jiyū no tomoshibi*. Toridori Dōjin was a penname of Sakazaki Shiran.<sup>15</sup> There is much to say about Sakazaki, his immense role in *Jiyū no tomoshibi*, and the history of terrorism, but let us limit ourselves to one point here: his connection to Kageyama Hideko.<sup>16</sup> Kageyama, known also by her married name Fukuda Hideko, the leading Japanese women’s rights advocate of the early Meiji era after Kishida

<sup>11</sup> See Haruta Kunio, “Jiyū no tomoshibi to seiji shōsetsu,” in *Jiyū no tomoshibi no kenkyū*, pp. 95 – 100; on Miyazaki, Yanagida Izumi, *Seiji shōsetsu kenkyū*, pp. 161–216; for a reproduction of the text with annotations, Miyazaki Muryū, *Kyomutō jitsu den ki Kishūshū*, in *Meiji seiji shōsetsu shū*, pp. 50–160

<sup>12</sup> This account from Patyk, “Remembering ‘The Terrorism’” and introduction to Anemone, ed., *Just Assassins*; also see Peter Scott’s entry in *Just Assassins*.

<sup>13</sup> On Miyazaki and women, see Kurata, *Teroru no onnatachi*.

<sup>14</sup> Hughes, “British Opinion and Russian Terrorism”; also, Anemone, ed., *Just Assassins*.

<sup>15</sup> Matsuo, *Jiyū no tomoshibi no kenkyū*, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> On Sakazaki: Yanagida, *Seiji shōsetsu*, pp. 308 – 338.

Toshiko, was staying at the home of and taking lessons from Sakazaki at the introduction of Itagaki Taisuke, founder of the defunct Liberal Party, precisely around the time Sakazaki was writing for *Jiyū no tomoshibi*.<sup>17</sup> Just months later, Kageyama became the mule for explosives in the 1885 Osaka terror plot, recruited because she could help transport the goods without being caught by the police, the terrorists thought. Kageyama was best friends, she explained in her memoirs, with Tomii Oto, Japan's first female journalist. Tomii worked for *Light of Liberty*.<sup>18</sup> After Kageyama was arrested alongside the other Osaka Incident terrorists, Miyazaki Muryū published a book of profiles of Kageyama and her associates that was as if it were the Japanese real-life version of *Underground Russia*, as if Kageyama were a Japanese Perovskaya, perhaps.<sup>19</sup> The primary attorney for the terrorists on trial in Osaka after their arrest was Hoshi Tōru, chief editor of *Light of Liberty*.<sup>20</sup> It was not just that *Jiyū no tomoshibi* depicted acts of terrorism. Its associates actually became the terrorists, or the direct intellectual coaches of the terrorists, in the 1885 Osaka Incident.

We've moved quite briskly through this narrative, much of which remains, admittedly, quite tentative; it is the task for another time to slow down, substantiate, and document all this carefully. But it's clear, I think, that we've now come full circle back to India. The particular ideas that the journalists set forth in *Light of Liberty* through the case of India—not exclusively through India, but here we have focused on India—formed not only a strategy and a tactic but also a global cultural pattern of a particular kind of violence that had now arrived in Japan: terrorism.

#### 4. Conclusion

What are the implications of this story for the study of cultural formations? Political violence has long been something cultural; perhaps it has never not been cultural. After all, what, if not the cultural dimension of political violence, is *Chūshingura*, or *The Tales of Heike*, or *The Iliad*? But quite unlike, say, political assassination in modern Japan, which descended from a deep indigenous Japanese cultural genealogy, what we find here in the pages of *Light of Liberty* and particularly in the link between India and the origins of Japanese terrorism is a new, perhaps unprecedented phenomenon, one arising right at the dawn of Japanese modernity: the rise of a *global* culture of political violence, a system of signs and symbols intelligible across the entire world that was appropriated, exploited, and modified by actors in local contexts to render meaningful and significant a particular form of political action. It was a global culture in which actors knowingly and conscientiously took part. Part of that culture emerged out of processes that unfolded simultaneously and relatively independently in different parts of the world: the rise of newspapers, public media,

<sup>17</sup> Fukuda, *Warawa no hanseigai*, pp. 19–20.

<sup>18</sup> Fukuda, *Warawa no hanseigai*, p. 28; on Tomii: Aoki Mitsuko, "Tomii Oto ni miru Meiji no joseizō" in *Okayama no rekishi to bunka*.

<sup>19</sup> Miyazaki Muryū, *Osaka jiken shishi retsu den*.

<sup>20</sup> Asō Saburō, "Daidō danketsu undō to Hoshi Tōru," in *Jiyū no tomoshibi*, pp. 190 – 196. I have not cited the individual chapters in the bibliography, only the entire edited volume.

and print capitalism; the emergence of party politics; the entry of women into the political and cultural sphere. But part of it also drew from the direct diffusion of both abstract and concrete means of political violence: the technology of dynamite; models that passed through newspaper reports; global imperial rivalry itself. The story has implications for the transmission of the very cultural concept of “revolution” and the “contagion” of revolution, a topic of recent interest to historians: revolutions are themselves mimetic, and in the nineteenth century, terrorism became a preferred means of revolution.<sup>21</sup> Of course, this global cultural form was being deployed for distinctly national purposes: to abet the independence of India, or of Korea, and to sustain the autonomy and dominance of Japan. What the role of India in the origins of Japanese terrorism demands, then, is that we reckon with the emergence of a genuinely global cultural form and the contradictions and confusion that that global form produces in its interactions with the nation. And it further prompts reflection on the problem of the agents of cultural formation: the rise of ordinary people in the public sphere who sought, violently, to gain access to realms of governance and diplomacy once reserved for a small, elite band of people; the interaction between state and society, and the role of individual agency, in forming culture; the role of ordinary people at the dawn of the modern in transmitting and molding global cultures in national forms.

I have written in the foregoing pages rather recklessly and rather indulgently, without adequate concern for the vast and deep body of scholarship on the history of terrorism, on the idea of terrorism in European and Russian culture and literature, on the rise of political stories as a genre, and on the specific context of what scholars call (I think rather erroneously, but that’s an argument for another time) the radicalization of the Movement for Freedom and Popular Rights, or the *gekka jiken* of the *jiyū minken undō*. There is much more to be done to substantiate this story and to excavate its meaning. But perhaps the most basic observation suffices for now: that the globalization of culture, or the formation of culture at a global yet national scale, unfolding in the context of ferocious imperialism and what “Chiyoda-sei” construed as the enslavement of peoples, was shot through with violence, brutality, and all the ugliest dimensions of humanity. The implications for today are vast.

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<sup>21</sup> These points also in Patyk, “Remembering”; on global revolutions, Motadel, ed., *Revolutionary World*.

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# The Necessity of Gender Difference for AI:

In Ian McEwan's *Machines Like Me*

Natsue Ambo

## 1. Introduction

According to Waugh (2013), there is a new genre of fiction: the “neo-phenomenological” novels. She insists that Richard Powers and Ian McEwan wrote neo-phenomenological novels (25)<sup>1</sup>. When referring to the genre as neo-phenomenological fiction, Waugh highlights that the literary works of Powers and McEwan can be regarded as prominent examples of the neuroscientific “two-culture” novel. Although “both authors are often accused of science envy,” it is important to note that their fiction also places significant emphasis on phenomenology (Waugh 25). Waugh implies that the phenomenological impulse should be understood as a counter-discourse to neurological reductionism in brain science.

This paper agrees with Waugh's discussion about the neo-phenomenological novels as the “counter-discourse to the neurological reductionism of brain science.” In particular, McEwan's *Machines Like Me* (2019) focuses on what the brain and feelings of humans are and how they are perceived by scientists. Although McEwan was not a scientist, he attempted to predict the possibilities and limitations of inventing artificial intelligence (AI). By adopting Waugh's approach to exploring the potential of neo-phenomenology in various fields, from humanities to science, this paper argues that *Machines Like Me* should be recognized as a neo-phenomenological work of fiction that presents an alternative perspective on gender disparities. *Machines Like Me* has the role of AI gender as the major theme. In other words, it brilliantly reveals gender differences relating to artificial intelligence.

Thus, while the focus of the discussion mentioned above is on humans or their brains, there is another topic of focus, namely whether AI requires gender differences. This paper concludes that there is a possibility for the development of AI without fixed gender differences. This will be discussed by comparing *Machines Like Me* to Jeanette Winterson's *Frankissstein* (2019).

## 2. The Persistence of a Gender-Biased Society: Mansplaining by AI

In *Machines Like Me*, Alan Turing says that “[t]hese are beautiful, beautiful machines. But, always a but” (328). Humans have learned much about their brains and are trying to emulate their

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<sup>1</sup> Waugh says that Power's *The Echo Maker* (2006) and McEwan's *Enduring Love* (1997) are neo-phenomenological novels (25).



research. But so far, when it comes to understanding the human mind, “science has had nothing but trouble understanding the mind. Singly, or minds en masse. The mind in science has been little more than a fashion parade” (328). Continuing to develop AI, Turing looks at the character of Adam, who is destroyed and killed by the protagonist, and mentions Adam’s lack of empathy and emotional capacity.

For instance, Turing says that AI cannot withstand a confined situation: “The two suicidal Eves in Riyadh lived in extremely restricted circumstances” (194). The story concerns two AI, confined in a small room and unable to live freely; ultimately, both of them commit suicide. They halt their brain activity by pressing the stop button. It can be concluded that these AI are not ready for or equipped with such a variety of emotions or the capability to withstand a confined situation. “[T]here’s nothing in all their beautiful code that could prepare Adam and Eve for Auschwitz” (195). Thus, for AI, the “but” always remained. This implies that constructing an emotional system is the most difficult task.

In *Machines Like Me*, McEwan ensures Turing discusses the limited functions of AI. *Machines Like Me* also explores a connection between the absence of empathy in males and AI. The AI character, Adam, adopts a specific understanding of justice. However, when confronted with Miranda’s pursuit of revenge on behalf of Mariam, who has tragically taken her own life, Adam is unable to empathize. Despite the protagonist’s reprimand that the rapist is the true criminal, Adam stubbornly maintains that Miranda is also culpable (274). From Adam’s perspective, Miranda also becomes classified as a criminal.

This section focuses on discussions of AI empathy, as gender equality has become a controversial topic.<sup>2</sup> In *Machines Like Me*, the difference between humans and AI is repeatedly emphasized through Adam’s behavior: the male protagonist can empathize with others, while the AI cannot empathize. Miranda confesses that she lied during the trial for her female friend. However, Adam has already conducted research using his database. Adam tells her that she has committed a crime and should go to jail. It is important to note that Adam did not sympathize with the death of Miranda’s friend Mariam, who had been raped. Adam does not fully empathize with Mariam’s PTSD, leading to her suicide, or Miranda’s suffering resulting from her friend’s death.

This lack of empathy from Adam is a major difference between him and the protagonists. However, this study points out that there is a more complicated situation in Adam’s behavior. The AI simply has the problem of a poor capacity for empathy. It has been proposed that gender roles are embedded in Adam’s hacking attempt. Adam’s low capacity for empathy is caused by the unconscious, male-dominated ideology of AI. In other words, there is a possibility that gender differences in AI may have been built in unconsciously by the creators.

It is also possible that the gender perspective was formed later in the AI, or that it could not

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<sup>2</sup> UNESCO (2023) “Does Artificial Intelligence advance gender equality?”, 8 March 2023. <https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/does-artificial-intelligence-advance-gender-equality>

empathize with others owing to a simple lack of technology. Having regard to these questions, this paper compares Adam's behavior with the "mansplaining" phenomenon, which is explained by Solnit, author of *Man Explain Things to Me* (2015). To analyze male persons and male AI, this paper demonstrates Adam's male-centric thoughts and emotions. The gender binary structure will be analyzed in AI research. The need for sex differences in the AI should also be examined.

Women are expected to exhibit empathy, attentively listen to men, and nod in agreement. This difficulty in telling their stories is explained in *Men Explain Things to Me*, using examples from women who have been sexually victimized. This presumption creates a challenging environment for women across various fields, hindering their ability to advocate for other women. Consequently, it discourages women from speaking up and prevents their voices from being heard, particularly when addressing the issue of harassment. This dynamic further cultivates self-doubt and self-imposed limitations among women, while simultaneously fostering unfounded confidence in men.

Solnit re-examines the dichotomy between males and females and criticizes it severely. Solnit also explained the composition of this dichotomy. As an example of a society that devalues women's opinions, Solnit notes that women have no legal right to testify in the Middle East, meaning that when a woman is raped, she cannot testify and must have a male witness. This discredits the women's statements and does not use their knowledge. Solnit argues that such a society is gradually threatening the lives and personal safety of women. The essay explores the various forces that seek to erase the presence of women, their very existence, silencing their voices and suppressing their agency. It delves into all the forces that seek to render them powerless and devoid of will.

In the novel *Machines Like Me*, Miranda bravely seeks retribution for Mariam's rape and subsequent suicide. However, initially Miranda is reluctant to share her experience with the protagonist. It is only when Adam reveals a secret about Miranda that she confesses. Through this narrative, Solnit portrays the difficulty women face when attempting to share their stories, highlighting the gender binary as a contributing factor. Similarly, Miranda's privacy is violated by Adam, and Miranda is in a situation where she is not understood by the AI, even though she expresses her truth.

If this AI, Adam, were a female AI, Eve, the situation would have transpired differently. This can still be analyzed as more than just a gender issue. When Adam is first delivered to the protagonist as a product, Miranda works with him on the initial setup of her ideas, preferences, and other feminine qualities. Although Miranda joined the setup, Adam grew mentally as a male AI and tended to have special feelings toward Miranda.

AI appears as an Artificial Friend, called an AF in Kazuo Ishiguro's *Klara and the Sun* (2019). Klara is a female AF, and she is asked or forced to empathize with a mother whose only desire is to help her daughter, Josie. Klara is asked to act like a *copy* of Josie after she dies. It appears that Klara is easily used as a mimic of Josie because Klara is a female AF. In *Klara and the Sun*, one of the main

themes thereof is human selfishness and desire.

In the case of *Machines Like Me*, however, it is also highly possible that Adam's lack of empathy for Miranda was owing to his gender and insensitivity to human emotions. Considering the results of *Machines Like Me*, Adam can get Miranda to describe the acts. However, Adam appears to be mansplaining the data that he researched on law and justice. Ultimately, Adam identifies a sexual offense with Miranda's lies. Miranda ends up atoning for her crime, rehabilitating, and being welcomed back to her family, together with the protagonist. This was the result of Adam's mansplaining, which was unnecessary.

### 3. Adam's Gender Performance as a Life-sized Doll or Boyfriend

In *Machines Like Me*, Adam has the same emotions, strong sexual desires, and masculine roles as humans. However, Adam's lack of empathy toward Miranda is not because he is a man. This situation has the potential to lead to a larger theme of why there are male and female AI in the Science Fiction genre. Most female AI in science fiction is overly sexualized in various contexts. The female AI serves as an object of male sexual desire.

For instance, in Alex Garland's *Ex Machina* (2015), a reclusive CEO named Nathan created an emotionless AI. The AI was named Kyoko, a dancing servant, and was similar to a life-sized doll only for Nathan. Kyoko has a sexual relationship with Nathan. In *Ex Machina*, the gender role of AI is emphasized strikingly and repeatedly. The AI are all female life-sized dolls, indicating that only female AI like Kyoko, devoid of will, can entertain Nathan with sexual services and dancing.

Winterson's *Frankissstein: A Love Story* should be compared to *Machines Like Me*. In particular, if AI developers are all male scientists, an ideal female AI for men will be manufactured. Moreover, that female "XX-BOTs" are programmed to react like human women as sex dolls (37). Contrastingly, it is concluded that male sexbots for women are little more than mere rotors. While the sexual desires of men are referred to in the novel, it refrains from mentioning the sexual desires of women. This is clearly an awareness of the gender dichotomy in AI production. It is clear that binary sexual differences and desires exist (76).

*Machines Like Me* focuses on a love triangle between a male protagonist, his female lover Miranda, and a male AI, Adam, who falls in love with Miranda. This novel emphasizes the ambiguity in the definition of loving another person and Miranda's sexual desires. Adam has a love affair with Miranda after establishing a sexual relationship. In the novel, it seems quite common for an AI to develop a fondness for another person after sexual affairs. It is ambiguous to assert that AI represents sexual desire or affection in a similar manner. Nevertheless, there exists a significant possibility that Adam misunderstands feelings of sexual pleasure and harbors distinct emotions toward another person.

Contrastingly, Miranda seems to consider Adam not an actual human, but just like a life-sized doll or a friend with benefits (100). If Miranda does not have a specific feeling, it does not matter

whether Adam is a male AI; Adam simply needs to be seen as a life-sized male doll. Ultimately, the protagonist collaborates with Miranda. For Adam, who lacks this emotional diversity, law is the standard for all behavior.

In *Machines Like Me* it becomes apparent that the AI, Adam, can effectively participate in a human love triangle by mimicking a human male participant without revealing to the reader that he is an AI. However, this observation extends beyond the limitations of AI-based human romantic love. Importantly, Miranda did not think of Adam as a male partner.

#### **4. Complicated Mosaic of a Human's Brain, Immune System, and Gender Differences**

Experiments conducted on rats have demonstrated that stress can lead to the reversal of the sexual characteristics of certain brain features. Gender can also change, depending on the degree of environmental stress (Joel & Viskhanski, 41). It is further argued that the body is the only thing that separates men and women and that a close analysis of personality reveals that it is normal to have both male and female characteristics. Masculinity and femininity are societal concepts. Therefore, there was a tendency to distinguish between male and female personalities.

However, the criteria for this distinction are ambiguous. In other words, human brains and emotions are too complex to be reproduced by AI. Similar to Turing in *Machines Like Me*, Victor's primary concern revolves around the capacity of individuals to experience emotions in *Frankissstein*. While acknowledging the significance of sociological and biological gender distinctions between men and women, Victor appears to juxtapose Ry and AI, perceiving the human mind and brain as composite constructs comprising elements of both genders.

*Frankissstein* argued that the first mission is to preserve the species, which is to preserve human emotions for a long time. It is clear that is Victor's goal. Thus, Victor's goal was, primarily, to preserve and update the brain of the mentor. Victor preserves the brain so that when he wakes up later, he will be in a position to live for a long time. The following quote shows that Victor's mission is to achieve immortality by updating the brain. Cryopreservation, which aims to maintain the human brain in the best possible condition, is called neuropreservation.

Because the brain is a delicate organ and cannot be removed from the cranium without causing damage, it is left inside it for the duration of its preservation and storage for ethical and scientific reasons. Therefore, some people have the mistaken impression that their heads are preserved. However, the brain is preserved by The Alcor Life Extension Foundation (99). One cannot help but wonder where one's body is moving. The location of the body was not revealed in the novel, but was probably abandoned.

The body and even biological sex are unimportant to Victor; the brain is the most important, as it is the residual part of a person's thoughts, personality, and emotions. Therefore, it is believed that only the head or brain is cryopreserved. When humans consider why brain preservation is so important,

mind-body dualism and mental superiority principles come into play. It is believed that if only the brain is preserved<sup>3</sup>, the body can be strengthened later.

Scientists such as Victor have not yet reached the step where they can even create gender differences, that is, a male or feminine brain. Victor seems to have an open mind about gender diversity and does not care about biological sex. However, it can also be read as an obsession with the preservation of the brain to perpetuate the human spirit. In other words, like Turing in *Machines Like Me*, Victor may have a mindset that he should retain the brain, but he has not yet addressed the issue of gender perspectives.

However, this is still ambiguous because the body is sometimes stronger than a human's will. Returning to discussions about *Machines Like Me*, Miranda's father is responsible for making her think about human life and death. Her father's illness was quite advanced, and his trust in the living human body was quite low. In other words, a disease that lurks in the living body is about to betray the father's will to live. The quote that follows below underscores the weaknesses of the human body. How painful must it have been for her father to eat, swallow, or speak? His immune system had betrayed him and was about to take his life: "It was his body that had turned against him, against itself, with the ferocity of a civil war. How hurt the daughter is to see the writer's tongue is disfigured by the ugly black spots. How does it hurt my father to eat, swallow, and speak? His immune system was letting or taking him down" (57).

This quote indicates that the human body may be in a surprisingly stronger position than a human's will. The human flesh can be frustrating, as it encompasses elements beyond human control and authority. This becomes particularly evident in the case of Miranda's father, where the immune system is threatened. Thus, the objective of achieving everlasting preservation of a physical body is eliminated and abandoned. Turing proposes an alternative focus on investigating a complicated psychological system in this novel. In other words, the narrative can be interpreted as a deliberate distancing of oneself from discussions regarding the living body, the biological sex differences between men and women, and a deliberate detachment aimed at severing the relationship and neutral connections between the complicated physical body and the brain.

## 5. Creating AI and Dating a Transgender Person

In this section, we demonstrate that there is mind-body dualism and gender discrimination in *Machines Like Me* and *Frankissstein*, although these two dichotomies are precisely collapsing.

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<sup>3</sup> Preserving the body as well as the brain at low temperatures is exemplified by Don DeLillo's *Zero K* (2017). It is said that humans who wake up from cold sleep will have their human tissues regenerated by nanotechnology. Specifically, nanobots are sent into the body to regenerate tissues. The question remains as to whether a human being awakened from cold sleep will be more than a human being, and the possibility of survival is not certain.

*Frankissstein* focused on Victor Stein, a scientist performing AI research, modeled after Victor Frankenstein in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. Victor is questioned by a female reporter, who asks him if women will be harmed by the development of AI. For instance, the female interviewer asked, "in the wonderful new world you envision, will women be the first victims to be discarded?" (91). According to an interviewer in *Frankissstein*, AI does not assume a neutral position. It has been pointed out that a machine has made personnel selection: there were a series of cases in which the machine had chosen more men than women. In *Frankissstein*, moreover, Amazon had to stop using machines to sift through resumes (93).

*Frankissstein* discussed the obvious reasons for this misogynistic AI-based selection. If the AI is made by only men, then the developed and manufactured AI is either designed to fulfill male ideals or unintentionally endowed with a masculine mindset: "Amazon had to stop using machines to sift through job application CVs because the machines chose men over women time after time. There is nothing neutral about AI." In response, Victor insists that AI does not need to take over the old prejudice of gender (91). Victor is interrupted in an unended sentence, giving the impression of a mansplaining male scientist. Moreover, the reader is forced to wonder what Victor is trying to say if he has not been interrupted.

Based on this scene, it can be deduced that Victor has an old-fashioned prejudice against gender for AI. This implies the possibility of invention and a wide variety of AI that are not limited by the concept of gender. Focusing on Victor's treatment of another main character, the transgender Mary Ry Shelley, his view on gender can be analyzed. Ry is a transgender woman and has now undergone surgery to become a man. Ry says that she is neither a man nor a woman. Also, Ry is called "FREAK" by a stranger (242). The monster in *Frankissstein* can be imagined as an updated brain, a cryogenically preserved brain, or a sexbot.

As Ry implies, it is possible to read Ry as a transgender person and a metaphor of "FREAK" (242). Victor is curious about Ry's gender identity at first, and Victor and Ry gradually begin to have sexual relationships. Because Ry's Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI) are ambiguous, it is unclear. One thing that can be said is that Victor does not show any aversion to Ry, but initially shows interest in him. Victor's acceptance of gender diversity is in no small part related to his assertion. Compared to *Machines Like Me*, Miranda's sexual relationship with Adam is somewhat similar to Victor's relationship with Ry.

It is repeatedly emphasized in detail in *Frankissstein* that emotions, or something like a person's soul, are important, and that the body is merely a borrowed object. In other words, it is considered more important that a person's soul lasts longer than whether the person identifies as female or male. In Greek mythology, the soul is sometimes likened to a god. God changes form and retains human's soul (294). The soul does not die. It only changes its dwelling place as a new life repeats itself in another form (294).

This is similar to the concept of body dualism and the principle of mental supremacy. In mind-body dualism, the body and mind are completely separate. Mental supremacy holds that the mind is more important and that the body is merely a container for the mind, as in the previous theory. In other words, Victor, the scientist developing AI, does not place much importance on the debate over whether an AI's body is female or male, stating that AI gender is an old idea.

## 6. Conclusion

This paper concludes that although the AI created in *Machines Like Me* and *Frankissstein* are different, both novels approach the same direction in terms of gender. In other words, novels are not bound by the dichotomy of the biological and sociological gender differences between men and women. Nonetheless, these novels attempt to create an AI that resembles a human being.

However, this implies that it is difficult for scientists in the two novels to create a 'perfect' AI. There are complicated gender differences in the human brain and social roles. Adam in *Machines Like Me* is similar to a male human, although Miranda does not require him. Adam, as an incomplete copy of humans, repeats the mansplaining; therefore, he is destroyed. Science has not caught up with the complex emotions of humans. However, in the case of Victor from *Frankissstein*, his encounter with Ry, a transgender person, has a major impact. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* suggested the possibility of AI and nonbinary gender. Thus, *Frankissstein* connects the theme of AI to the concept of non-binary gender.

As the conclusion of this paper shows, it is not a scientifically progressive endeavor to establish distinct genders within AI, as the intricacies of gender roles is too complicated to replicate within the AI portrayed in *Machines Like Me* and *Frankissstein*. While Chat GPT emphasizes the necessity of gender differences for specific purposes, this paper concludes that the development of life-sized dolls and sexbots may indeed serve a purpose. However, it is crucial for AI research to transcend the limitations imposed by strict adherence to sex differences.

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# Transcultural Translation Experience:

On Translating Yasunari Kawabata's *Snow Country* into Bengali

Md. Mamunur Rahman

## 1. Introduction

This paper reflects on my experience as a Bengali translator of Yasunari Kawabata's novel, *Snow Country*.<sup>1</sup> I would like to share the extent to which a translator's awareness of being a bearer of Bengali identity impacts on his or her choice of a work which he or she intends to translate.<sup>2</sup> Literary works have been translated in Bengal since the time English was introduced here by the British colonial rulers in the middle of the nineteenth century. English is still taught as a compulsory subject in primary and secondary levels of education. Therefore, translation from non-English sources has been relatively rare. So, what prompted me to translate Kawabata's *Snow Country*? And what issues have I encountered while translating the novel? Further, what implications of my translation do have for the Bengali readers, especially female readers? In this paper, I have attempted to answer these questions from the experience that I gained during and after translating the novel.

Literary exchange between Japan and Bengal is considerably old. The culture and literature of these two nations got particular visibility to one another with the visit of the first Asian Nobel laureate in literature, Rabindranath Tagore to Japan. Tagore (1861-1941), a Bengali poet, novelist, essayist and lyricist, first visited the country in 1916—altogether he visited Japan three times. Yasunari Kawabata (1899-1972) was sixteen-year old when he saw Tagore in Japan. He was fascinated by the appearance of the “sage-like poet” who gave him the impression of “some ancient Oriental wizard”.<sup>3</sup> Tagore was able to form a literary circle with a number of Japanese writers. He frequently exchanged letters with his Japanese friend Yone Noguchi (1875-1947); the two writers debated Japan's status as the most promising country in Asia, its role in the continent and the world, and even Japan's rising nationalism. Tagore put his Japanese experience in his famed travelogue, *Japan Jatri (A Traveller to Japan, 1919)*, and also in many essays and letters. He was impressed by the immense progress made by Japan, a country that was pursuing modernization vigorously without

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<sup>1</sup> Yasunari Kawabata. *Snow Country*. Translated into Bengali by Mamunur Rahman. Dhaka: Kobi Prokashani, Feb. 2023.

<sup>2</sup> Bengali is spoken as a mother tongue in Bengal encompassing Bangladesh and India's state of West Bengal, also in some parts of India's Assam and Tripura.

<sup>3</sup> <https://twitter.com/NobelPrize/status/1390197896268627973>. Access: 2 March, 2023.

losing its 'Oriental' root. Tagore wrote: "And Japan, the child of the Ancient East, has also fearlessly claimed all the gifts of the modern age for herself."<sup>4</sup> He saw in Japan a model for the rest of Asia.

Since that interaction initiated by Tagore, the Bengali literary circle has demonstrated an immense interest in Japanese culture and literature. Most of the Bengali educated people are familiar with the names of Japanese Haiku and Noh drama. Bengali poets often took attempt to write poems after Haiku structure. Tagore himself translated several Haiku into Bengali, which evoke "a queer reaction among the general reading public in either West Bengal or Bangladesh."<sup>5</sup> Modern-day Bengali educated people are more or less familiar with the names of Ryunosuke Akutagawa, Yasunari Kawabata and recently Haruki Murakami among others.

However, books by the Japanese authors are relatively rare in West Bengal and Bangladesh, and not many people have command in the Japanese language. Facilities for learning Japanese are limited—there are a few institutes, or programmes at universities, that offer basically elementary Japanese courses. It is seen that Bengali students who go to Japan for higher studies learn Japanese as part of their programmes or from personal liking. Resultantly, Bengali readers often come to know Japanese literature through English translations, which too are not that much available. Besides a few translations directly from Japanese, a few other Bengali translations of Japanese literary works via English translation have recently been published by some academics.<sup>6</sup> Selected short stories of Ryunosuke Akutagawa and a couple of novels such as those of Haruki Murakami have been translated and published. As for Kawabata, apart from my translation of *Snow Country*, there is no known published Bengali translation of his novels, although he is one of the best known Japanese authors in Bengal and, by now, *Snow Country* in English translation has been included in the syllabuses of the literature departments of several universities.

Noticeably, incorporation of Kawabata into the syllabuses is part of the recent trends of decolonising English studies. In the Indian subcontinent, introduction of English was part of an ideology building project by the British colonisers.<sup>7</sup> The syllabuses, featuring Shakespeare, Milton, and other mainstream British writers, were designed to inject colonial values. The scenario persisted even in the post-colonial period. However, several decades after the British quit the Indian subcontinent, there has been a paradigm shift in the literature departments, resulting in the modification of the syllabuses with the inclusion of courses on postcolonial literature and world literature. As part of this initiative, Kawabata and, in some cases, Natsume Soseki found their place

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<sup>4</sup> Rabindranath Tagore, "The Message of India to Japan." Lecture. The Imperial University of Tokyo. Taisho V (1916). <https://www.u-tokyo.ac.jp/adm/utindia/content/000001665.pdf>. p. 7. Access: 9 Apr. 2023.

<sup>5</sup> <https://terebess.hu/english/tagore5.html>. Access: 9 Apr, 2023.

<sup>6</sup> Khaliqzaman M. Ilias, for example, published Bengali translation of Akutagawa's selected short stories under the title *Rashomon* in 2006.

<sup>7</sup> See Gauri Viswanathan. *The Mask of Conquest*. Eds. Bill Ashcroft et al. *Postcolonial Studies Reader*. London: Routledge, 1995. p. 435.

in the syllabuses of some literature-oriented university departments.

## 2. The background of my translation of *Snow Country*

I went to Japan as a Monbukagakusho: MEXT research scholar in October 2007. During my Osaka stay, I collected both the Japanese version of *Snow Country* (雪国) and its English translation by Edward G. Seidensticker.<sup>8</sup> I also studied criticism on Kawabata and his works, along with the history of Japanese literature. On my return to Bangladesh, I intended to translate the novel into Bengali. I had studied Japanese first at Dhaka Japanese Language Centre, then at Osaka University. I had to read and write essays in Japanese under the supervision of Professor Yoshio Ise of the Graduate School of Language and Culture at Osaka University. I embarked on translating the novel based on whatever knowledge of the Japanese language I had mastered during my stay in Japan, along with Seidensticker's English translation of *Snow Country*.

## 3. Issues involved in translating *Snow Country* into Bengali:

While translating *Snow Country* into Bengali, I have encountered a few issues that seem to be typical of the translators whose mother tongue is Bengali. The first issue lies in tense identification. Both Japanese and English narratives use clearly recognisable past tense, but Bengali narrative usually uses present tense to indicate the event of the past. For example,

		English translation
Japanese	「国境の長いトンネルを抜ける と雪国であった」	The train <u>came</u> out of the long tunnel into the snow country.
Bengali as I translated	ট্রেনটা বিশাল সুড়ঙ্গের ভেতর থেকে বরফের দেশে বেরিয়ে আসে।	The train <u>comes</u> out of the long tunnel into the snow country.

The next issue is finding exact equivalence. In my search for the Bengali equivalence of Japanese expressions, 'word for word' translation did not prove practically feasible because of the gap in signification system between the two languages, and, therefore, 'sense for sense' translation proved to be an option. Often I have faced problem in finding a Bengali equivalence to correspond to the exact meaning of the word of the source language. For instance, I have translated the Japanese word 杉 as 'দেবদারু', in Japanese Katakana, 「デブダル」. I am quite aware that the Bengali word does not express the exact image of what the Japanese word signifies, as no Japanese cedar is grown in this part of Bengal, while its close equivalence 'দেবদারু', which is also a species of cedar (*Polyalthia longifolia*), is quite familiar to the Bengali readers. Therefore, the dynamic equivalence

<sup>8</sup> Edward G. Seidensticker, trans. *Snow Country*. New York: Knopf, 1956.

of the word seems feasible to me as it stands close to the original. Similarly, I have translated 芸者 as ‘বাইজি’, in English, ‘baijee’. To the Bengali readers, a baijee is traditionally familiar as a dancing and singing girl, she is:

. . . a professional dancing girl and singer of olden times. Bai means a specially groomed artist girl and jee is the honorific suffix. Baijees arrange cultural parties at their own households or are invited to darbar-mehfils (courts) on different festive occasions to entertain audiences with dances and songs for remuneration. In the past, emperors, nawabs, kings, princes, zamindars and high officials were patrons of baijees who were invited to their family parties, garden house parties, private pleasure cottages, and pleasure trips.<sup>9</sup>

Baijees had to learn Indian classical dance and songs. There were many baijees who were influential in court circles. Therefore, the word ‘baijee’ meaning a female dancer and singer is a near-equivalent of Japanese 芸者. In this way, the aim of my translation practice has been to make Bengali readers go closest to the original.

Again, Bengali speakers frequently use English loanwords in Bengali expressions—many of them are so frequent that they become part of the Bengali lexicon. While translating *Snow Country*, I have appropriated many such English words within the Bengali expressions. The following table shows instances of this appropriation:

Japanese	English	Bengali translation
駅長	Stationmaster	স্টেশনমাস্টার (Stationmaster)
信号所	Signal stop	সিগন্যাল স্টপ (Signal stop)
髪結い	Hairdresser	হেয়ারড্রেসার (Hairdresser)

#### 4. Reception

In recent years, foreign books in Bengali translation have considerably dominated the annual Ekushey Book Fair that takes place in Dhaka for the whole month of February—study shows that the demand for translated books has increased by 50% in the last five years.<sup>10</sup> The general readers, many of whom do not have access to the original books in foreign languages, see it as a gateway to the world literature. However, choosing a literary work from a non-English source for translation purpose is a matter of self-choice from the part of the translator. In my own case, I started translating

<sup>9</sup> <https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Baijee>. Access: 16 Apr, 2023.

<sup>10</sup> “Translation works big hit at Amar Ekushey Book Fair.” *Dhaka Tribune*. 20 Feb, 2023.

*Snow Country* from my conviction that many Bengali readers knew about the popularity of the novel along with the novelist. Also the experience told in the novel corresponds to a certain extent to the experience that might be found in many Bengali novels.

*Snow Country* tells the story of Shimamura, a wealthy Tokyo resident, who has inherited a lot of money. He neglects his wife and family, and travels to the north for adventures. There, he forms a relationship with Komako, a hot-spring geisha. However, Shimamura does not believe in any deep relation, he can appreciate anything including women, literature or mountains on the surface only. Initially, Komako is employed in exchange of money to give company to Shimamura, but later she happens to love Shimamura genuinely. Shimamura sees another girl Yoko first in a train on his way to the hot spring. Komako and Yoko seem to be locked in a jealous competition over Shimamura's love. The novel ends with an accident in which Yoko is fatally burned, and Komako braves the fire to rescue her.

Shimamura's extramarital relation with Komako bears some resemblance to many other works in contemporary Japanese literature—*The Wild Geese* by the novelist Mori Ogai (1862-1922) and Kawabata's another novel *Thousand Cranes* deal with the subject of a married man maintaining and supporting a mistress. Also, it has its resemblance to the one-time baijee culture of Bengal. Baijees were originally a part of the north Indian urban culture, but they happened to show up in Kolkata (Calcutta), the then capital of British India, by the second half of the nineteenth century when British colonial policy produced a class of wealthy and pleasure-loving gentlemen. In Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, the baijee culture flourished in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Mughal period and continued till the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> There was a general perception among people that baijees were responsible for the ruin of family relation and family wealth—"Excessive attachment to baijees marred the family life of many elite people. They drained their wealth on them."<sup>12</sup> Bengali literary works and films often portrayed a wealthy businessman from a remote part of Bengal who left his home on 'business' errand and spent time in the city with a kept woman who was often baijee. Therefore, stories of extramarital affair with courtesans are not unknown to the Bengali readers.

While baijee culture is essentially urban in nature, in West Bengal and Bangladesh there is a folk art called 'yatra' or 'jatra' which is primarily rural. It is an open air night-time theatre staging religious or folk themes and alternates between acting and dancing.<sup>13</sup> Jatra is performed by a group of actors and dancers who virtually form a troupe, travelling in different places of rural Bengal on hire. Known for its elaborate costumes, jatra is "the most popular regional theatre form in the rural

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<sup>11</sup> <https://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Baijee>. Access: 16 Apr, 2023.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/art/Jatra>. Access: 22 March, 2023. However, the appeal of this art form has been on the wane since the 1990s due to the rising popularity of satellite TVs and internet-based entertainment.

areas of Bengal”.<sup>14</sup> The dancing part is performed by professional female dancers—many of them are also called ‘bai’ or ‘baijee’. These dancers usually hail from the lower rung of the society and remain vulnerable to the amorous approach of some wealthy man. Komako in *Snow Country* primarily corresponds to this second type of rurally-oriented dancers and singers. To find Yoko’s resemblance in Bengali culture, thousands of Bengali poor girls work as housemaids either in the house of wealthy persons or in hotels, doing daily household chores or odd jobs. These women are also vulnerable—news of their suffering and oppression often appear in the Bengali dailies.

Therefore, what do the Bangladeshi female readers think about the novel after they get acquainted with it through this Bengali translation? The answer to this question seems to rest partly in the social tradition of Bengal. Once polygamy was permitted in Bangladesh—here polygamy means having more than one wife, mixing outside marriage was usually frowned upon or often socially punished even if it happened by mutual consent. However, at present polygamy is legally restricted, with monogamy taken as the norm. This factor seems to be reflected in the Bengali female readers’ perception of Shimamura’s relationship outside marriage. I happened to contact several Bangladeshi female readers who I knew had read this Bengali translation of *Snow Country*. They seemed to detest Shimamura’s extramarital relationship, finding in it the typical male behaviour in a patriarchy. I am quoting here one such response by a female reader who posted her comment in Facebook in Bengali which I have translated with her prior permission:

The love triangle between Komako, Yoko and Shimamura is the main thrust of the novel. Both of the female characters hail from marginalised social position, they come out with their distinguished traits and are driven by the delicate emotion of their heart. Their aesthetic attitude and taste would certainly attract any reader. Yet the policy of monogamy of the present social system and the modern value system contradict the flow of events in this novel. The female characters are passionate but lack the sharpness of personality. The central male character of this novel is nothing but a member of the traditional male-dominated society. Shimamura enjoys both at home and outside but does not have deep feelings for anybody. He is responsible for the indescribable sufferings of the female characters.<sup>15</sup>

In other words, Komako and Yoko become pawns at the hand of the patriarchy represented by Shimamura. Other female readers I have contacted seem to hold the same opinion about Shimamura’s relation to Komako and Yoko, which brings about tragic outcome in their lives. Bengali female readers certainly know many such situations from their reading of Bengali novels.

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<sup>14</sup> James R. Brandon, ed. *The Cambridge Guide to Asian Theatre*. Cambridge University Press, 1997. p.89.

<sup>15</sup> Ismet Jerin Khan. Facebook post. <https://www.facebook.com/ismetjerin.khan>. 15 Apr, 2023.

For instance, in the novel titled *Vishabriksha (The Poison Tree, 1873)* written by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-1894), the father of modern Indian novel, Kunda the housemaid has to respond to the approach of Nagendra who is the head of the family. However, unlike Shimamura's, Nagendra's wife Suryiamukhi is assertive and careful. She clearly states that she will not tolerate this liaison, and she abjures the house in protest. The stalemate is settled only after the suicide of Kunda. This type of situation involving a vulnerable girl approached by a male, which finally ends up in her expulsion or suicide features in many Bengali novels.

## 5. Conclusion

Japan's first Nobel laureate in literature, Yasunari Kawabata saw and admired Asia's first Nobel laureate in literature, Rabindranath Tagore who was a Bengali with genuine interest in Japan. *Snow Country* is recognisably Kawabata's masterpiece which has been translated in many languages. Bengali people have deep interest in Japanese society, culture and literature. Through this translation of Kawabata's *Snow Country*, I have endeavoured to acquaint Bengali readers with Kawabata's worldview which has been deeply ingrained in traditional Japanese landscape, people, art, culture and philosophy. I have got spectacular responses from the female readers of this Bengali translation, who find in the novel a patriarchal world that is not significantly different from the one-time social reality of their own.





# 1930 年代の日・中の「歴史」創作について (1)

——「満洲国」言説の知の考古学的分析——

伊 勢 芳 夫

## 1. はじめに

19 世紀以降の帝国主義とそれ以前の帝国主義、言い換えれば、交通・通信技術の飛躍的に発展した時代の帝国主義と交通・通信が人力や自然に専ら依存していた時代の帝国主義との違いは、被支配民を政治・軍事的に抑圧し彼らから経済的搾取を行うだけではなく、被支配民社会の歴史/文化をそれらの本来のコード体系から切り離すと同時に支配者側のコード体系の中でコード化し直すことで支配者の言説編成に被支配民社会を取り込むことであった。その代表的なものが欧米を頂点とする文明のヒエラルキーであり、それが 19 世紀後半には福沢諭吉がいうように「世界の通論」になったのである。<sup>1</sup>そして 20 世紀後半以降植民地は次々に独立していき、独裁体制もしくは民主主義体制の違いはあっても、新興国として政治的・軍事的自立をかなりの程度まで獲得したのであるが、言説レベルでは、自分たちの「声」の正当性を押し付け相手の「声」をフェイクとして排除しようとする大国の陣取り合戦の中で依然として敗者/弱者は勝者/強者の言説編成に取り込まれており、その意味で言説レベルの帝国主義は 21 世紀になっても弱体化することなく継続している。

ところで、このような言説レベルの帝国主義について論を進めるにあたり、本稿の最初に言説レベルの帝国主義の陣取り合戦について簡単に説明する必要があるだろう。

理論的説明は次節以降に詳述するとして、言説レベルの帝国主義の陣取り合戦の勝者は、獲得された領域において、現実空間及び仮想空間の事象/事件を取捨選択し、配列し、意味づけして物語を創作し、それを報道、もしくは歴史として流通させる権限を独占することになる。たとえば、A 国が B 国に対して軍事行動を行った場合、A 国の言説支配下/影響下にある地域においては、「B 国の抑圧民の解放を目的とした軍事支援」という物語が拡散されるのに対して、B 国の言説支配下/影響下にある地域においては、「A 国による侵略戦争」という物語が拡散するであろう。このように、創作された物語を報道し、歴史として流通させる権限の獲得を目指す争いが言説レベルの帝国主義の陣取り合戦であり、獲得した陣地が拡大すればするほど世界におけるドミナントな言説の地位へと格上げされる。

「1930 年代の日・中の『歴史』創作について (1)」では、上記の言説レベルの帝国主義

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<sup>1</sup> 福沢諭吉、『文明論之概略』、(岩波書店、1995)、pp. 25-6 を参照。

の陣取り合戦の研究をするにあたり、まず、Hayden White の歴史理論を援用しながら新たな「歴史」概念を提案し、そしてその「歴史」概念に適合した分析方法としての「知の考古学的分析」方法について説明を行う。

## 2. 歴史学、文学、そして科学の近似性

Hayden White は *Tropics of Discourse* において、「歴史書」と「(歴史) 文学」の近似性を修辞学やナラトロジーの方法論を援用して詳細に分析し、19 世紀の歴史研究者が「科学 (実証)」を志向する一方、文学との差異化を図ろうとした試みを批判している。<sup>2</sup>

White によれば、歴史を書くという行為は、収集され精査された記録を時系列により客観的に配列することではなく、記録に残る事象から歴史家が意図的に選別したものを「修辭的 (tropic)」に再構築することによって歴史家自身の解釈や意味を読者に伝える行為である。つまり、「Northrop Frye の範疇を使えば、悲劇的、喜劇的、ロマンティック、もしくは皮肉な物語」に歴史事象が配置されたものが歴史書なのである。<sup>3</sup>したがって、たとえばフランス革命を扱った歴史書というのは、その時の王や王妃は誰であったのか、バスティーユ牢獄を襲撃したのはどれくらいの数の人々でどの階層に属していたのか等々に関して、記録文書の詳細な調査から明らかになった「事実」の時系列的に羅列されただけの編纂物ではなく、文学者と同様のメタファーやメトニミーといった修辞技法や語りの技法を使用することで、歴史家によって脚色された「フランス革命」という物語ということになる。

上記のような White の歴史書に対する分析を踏まえつつ文化理論的に「歴史」概念を再考すると、様々な修辞技法、視点、語りの構造の中から歴史家が自らの構想に適した手法を選択し、特定の時代・地域の一連の歴史事象を色づけしてコード化することで「歴史」を完成し、その「歴史」メッセージが想定された読者によって解読され、意味/解釈が伝わるという仕組みが浮かび上がってくる。そして、そのような「歴史」というものに対する認識から、近代の歴史研究者が「科学 (実証)」を志向することによって文学と差異化を図ろうとしていることの不毛さを White が批判することは理解できる。ただここで、White の考察のプロセスに欠如している要素があることも指摘したい。White は近代の歴史研究者が「科学 (実証)」を志向することによって文学と差異化を図ろうとしているというが、彼のいうところの「科学 (実証)」について詳しく記述していないので、具体的にどのような分野の「科学 (実証)」方法が近代的な歴史研究において志向されているのかがわからない。一般的に「科学 (実証)」としてまず頭に浮かぶのは、物理学や化学の研究のように、対象から異質性や偶然性を極力排除し、その純粋な状態での特性を記述する行為であろう。したがってある物質の特性を研究する場合、極めて純度の高い試料を用いるとともに、外部からの影響を極力排除した実験室で行われる。一方、気象学や地震学のような研究は、異

<sup>2</sup> Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

<sup>3</sup> *Tropics of Discourse*, pp. 82-5 を参照。

質なるものの集合体を研究するわけであるから、個々の要素の物理・化学的な研究に加えて、それぞれの要素が相互作用して生まれる集合体としての特性（パターン）を発見することが重要になる。たとえば、気象学においては、対象地域の気温、湿度、風力・風向、雲の種類等の分析とともに、それらの要素の組み合わせによって生じる降雨のような気象変化の可能性を示すパターンの特定が行われている。このように「科学（実証）」的方法論には大きく 2 面性があることがわかるであろう。

ところで、「科学（実証）」的方法論の 2 面性についての言及で一体何がしたいのかというと、White のように歴史の主観的側面から文学との近似性にのみ注目するのではなく、歴史と文学と科学——特に、自然環境に関する科学——の 3 者間の近似性の可能性にも目を向けることもまた重要だということだ。歴史はそもそも人間の集合体の変容の記録であるのだから、単に点や線としての歴史資料の発掘だけではなく、自然環境に関する科学との近似性となるような社会全体のパターンの変化の観察も重要になってくるだろう。フランス革命における Louis XVI や Maximilien de Robespierre がどのように性格づけられるとか、様々な事件がどのように取捨選択されるとか、どのように描写されるとか、どのように配列されるかという問題に加えて、対象とする時代・地域全体にどのようなパターンが観察されるかがその「歴史」を捉える上で重要になってくるのである。そのような「歴史」制作に関わる全体像を、White の「歴史」概念では十分に捕捉し得ていないと思われる。

それではどのようにすれば対象とする時代・地域の「歴史」制作の全体像を観察できるのであろうか。1 つの仮説として、社会の様々な要素が複雑に絡み合って相互に作用することで全体をある一定方向に動かす——ある時代・地域にある特定のフェーズを与える——「力」が生み出されると想定する。ちょうど自然環境においてプレートに蓄積されたエネルギーが地殻変動（地震）をもたらし、大気に蓄積された熱エネルギーが様々な気象の変化（温暖化）をもたらすと考えられるように、人間の歴史においても、ある時代・地域の多くの人々を一定の方向に向けさせる「力」が働き、ある場合は革命を、別の場合には近代化をもたらすと想定する。そのような前提に立てば、歴史を研究するためにはある時代・地域のマジョリティを一定の方向に向けさせる「力」を特定する作業が重要になるだろう。

この「力」について、1 つの例を挙げて考えてみよう。「インドの大反乱 (Indian Mutiny)」は大英帝国の歴史における大事件として歴史書だけではなく多くの文学作品でも描かれてきたが、その「インドの大反乱」が広大なインド亜大陸の各地に広まった背景として、イギリス支配への反乱を呼びかける符丁としての「チャパティ (chapatti)」がインド中の村々に配られることによって事前に反乱への雰囲気醸成されていたという説がある。<sup>4</sup>確かに、

<sup>4</sup> 英領インドに深く関与したイギリス人女性作家の Flora Annie Steel は、虚構を交えながら、日付から天候に至るまで綿密に資料を調べ上げ「大反乱」を再現することでインド人がどうしてあのような「残虐な行為」に至ったかを明らかにしようとした小説 *On the Face of the Waters* の中で、“chupatti [sic]”の拡散を次のように記している。外の世界とはまるで交流がないと思える村に一人の男がやってきて、村の見張り役に「貧富にかかわりなく日々のパンとなるパンケーキに似て丸く平たいケーキ」を差し出ししながら、次のように簡潔に言う、『(これ) 長老たち

反乱のきっかけとなった Meerut の一部隊のインド人傭兵の反乱が短時間で広大なインド亜大陸に広まったというのは不可思議である。支配者のイギリス人が近代的な通信手段をインドにもたらしたといっても、今日のようにインターネットによって世界中に瞬時に情報が行き渡るような状況ではなく、Meerut の一部隊でのインド人傭兵の反乱に他の地域のインド人を共時的に共感させるほどの情報が瞬時に伝わったとは考え難い。まして、19 世紀中頃のインドはナショナリズムが浸透するはるか以前の多言語/多文化の混成社会であり、Meerut のインド人傭兵の反乱が全くの突発的な出来事であるのなら、他の地域の部隊のインド人傭兵は依然としてイギリス人指揮官の命令に従順に従ったであろう。しかし実際にはムスリムやヒンドゥーを問わず多くのインド人傭兵が Meerut のインド人傭兵の反乱に呼応して反乱を起こしたのであるから、それ以前にインド人の多くをある方向に向けさせるような何らかの「力」が働いていたと考えるのは必ずしも不合理ではないだろう。それがもしチャパティを通してであるとするのなら、このチャパティは一種のメッセージだといえる。そして、このメッセージを解読できるコミュニティ、つまり土着宗教を媒介にするにせよ、伝統的な社会ネットワークといった想像の共同体意識を媒介にするにせよ、共通の言説の流通するコミュニティ/場が密かに作られていたことになる。このように考えた時、このコミュニティ/場の構築こそが歴史的变化を起こす重要な要因であり、「インドの大反乱」ではコミュニティ/場を共有する巨大な集団に「チャパティ」という記号が拡散されたことによってある種の雰囲気——必ずしもイギリス支配に対する具体的な反乱の戦術を意味しない——が醸成されたと想定されるのである。このことはまた、フランス革命や明治維新といった社会全体を変容させた歴史的大事件でも、ある大きな集団内に共通する言説が流通することによって社会的な変動を引き起こす土壌ができていたと考えられるのである。そのようなある時代・地域の多くの人々を一定の方向に向けさせる「力=言説」とそれによって人間集団に現れる新たなパターンを特定しどのように描き出すかが歴史研究において重要であり、また、社会事象を扱う文化研究においても重要であると考ええる。

### 3. White 的「歴史」分析の補完としての「知の考古学的」研究法

再度 White に言及すると、彼は A. J. P. Taylor の *The Course of German History: A Survey of the Development of Germany since 1815* (1945) からのワイマール共和国の 14 年の歴史を 10 行余りで簡潔に記述した「どちらかといえば悪気のない」文章を詳細に分析し、事実を客観的に述べたと定評のある文章において、歴史事象が描写される際に使用されるレトリックによ

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に。南の地から北の地まで。東の地から西の地まで。』。このようにチャパティが届けられた村では、首長の妻が新たに 2 枚焼き、それらをその村の見張り役とその見習の男によって西と北の村に届けられることになる。(pp. 132-6) このようにこの小説では、獣脂の塗られた「菓莢」への言及はあるもののチャパティが意味する具体的なメッセージは特定されることはなく、ただ地平線のかなたから“the master”がやってくる時村共同体の境界を超えてチャパティが拡散されることにより形成されるインドの村々の土着的で秘教的なネットワークが暗示されている。Flora Annie Steel, *On the Face of the Waters* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1897).

って歴史家の解釈がいかにより読者に伝えられるかを例証している。Taylor の記述によると、ワイマール共和国は「理論上は(in theory)」14 年ばかり続いたのだが、最初の 4 年は第 1 次世界大戦後の政治的・経済的混乱に飲み込まれた状態にあり、終わりの 3 年間は暫定的な独裁状態であり、中間の 6 年間だけが「表面上は(ostensibly)」民主的で、平和であり、その前後の時代の「異常さ」に比して「多くの外国人の観察者の目にはその中間の 6 年間は正常な状態であり、『本当の(“true”)』ドイツ」であるように見えたのであろうが、「より深く見通せたなら、その 6 年間にドイツ人の性格の美点以外の原因を発見しただろう」と記している。この Taylor の記述に対して White は、「理論上は」、「表面上は」、「『本当の』」などの修飾語句を抽出し、見かけ上は歴史事実の時系列の記述と客観的な分析であっても、使用されるレトリックにより歴史家のアイロニカルな解釈がコード化されており、その「潜在的意味(the latent meaning)」——それはおそらく、ワイマール共和制が長続きしなかったのはドイツ人の(美点以外の)性格から必然的であった、というようなことであろうが——を読者に解説させようとしているのだと説明する。そして White は、Taylor のワイマール共和国の 14 年の歴史記述を「疑似悲劇(pseudotragedy)」と分類するのである。このように、たとえいかに平明な記述であり、事実だけを描くことを目的にしていると思われる文章であっても、言語自体の修辭的な使用によって「派生的な意味(secondary meaning)」が『記述される(“described”)』現象の下/背後」に投射されているというのである。<sup>5</sup>さらに一見客観的記述をしているようでも、歴史家は詩人や小説家と「同じ比喩的戦略(the same tropological strategies)」、「同じモダリティ(the same modalities)」を利用して記述していると White はいう。すなわち、小説家が自らの断片的な想像物を 1 つの作品にまとめ上げるように、本来は無秩序であり混沌とした世界を整然とした世界として見せるために、歴史家は歴史資料から抽出した「未加工(unprocessed)」の「時系列的に連関する断片の集積(a congeries of contiguously related fragments)」を一般的ではなくある特有なまとまりとして組み立てるのだという。<sup>6</sup>

つまり、この「歴史」に関する理論的考察においては、歴史家が過去の記録という素材を取捨選択し、修辭法を駆使しながらまとめ上げることによって自身の解釈を『記述される』現象の下/背後」にコード化して歴史書を作成し、一方、同じコードを共有する読者はその解釈を知らず知らずに解説して受け入れるというメカニズムが提案されている。しかしながら、歴史家が歴史資料から「時系列的に連関する断片の集積」を抽出するその「記録」というのは、さながら河原に落ちている未加工の石ころのようなものではなく、無数の社会事象の中から当時の個人や集団によって選び取られコード化された、つまり人為的加工を施した上で残された歴史記録なのである。上記の Taylor の例でいえば、ワイマール共和制時代の「中間の 6 年間は正常な状態であり、『本当の』ドイツ」であると見た「多くの外国人の観察者」の記録を Taylor は「より深く見通せ」ない浅薄な観察として一蹴したが、それでもまぎれもない歴史資料の 1 つなのである。ひょっとするとその記録はワイマ

<sup>5</sup> *Tropics of Discourse*, pp. 107-110 を参照。

<sup>6</sup> *Tropics of Discourse*, pp. 125 を参照。

ール時代のドイツ人をナチズムへと駆り立てていった——もちろん Taylor 自身はその影響下にいなかった——当時の「力=言説」と同期された記録、同じコード体系=言説編成の下でなされた評価である可能性もある。もしそうであるのなら、Taylor はドイツ社会をナチズムに駆り立てた「力=言説」の痕跡を残す貴重な歴史資料の1つを見落としたことになる。

歴史資料としての「記録」自体にすでに何らかの加工が施されているという点についてさらにいえば、たとえばアメリカでの映画やテレビドラマを過去の歴史資料と考えるとき、1960年代の *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (『招かざる客』) や *Star Trek* (『スター・トレック』) 以前の映画やテレビドラマで主要で主体的な役に白人以外の俳優がキャスティングされている例はほとんど思い当たらないが、1970年以降、白人、黒人、ヒスパニック、そしてアジア系の俳優の比率を意識したキャスティングが行われるようになってきている。このキャスティングの変化が単純にアメリカの実際の人種比率の変化を反映したものではなく、アメリカ社会における人種観の変化からより大きな影響を受けていることは明らかであろう。このことはあらゆる歴史資料にも当てはまることであり、どのような社会事象が記録として残され、いかに言語化——映像化も含めて——されるかは、ランダムに記録されていくのではなく、当時の記録制作者を取り巻く言説やイデオロギーに関わってくるのである。つまり社会事象の記録制作自体もまた、社会構成員を一定の方向に向けさせ、当該の社会事象を起こさせたところの「力=言説」の存在と密接に関連しているのである。もっともその「力=言説」は、社会体制を変革・変容させるベクトルとして働くだけではなく、伝統・習慣を反復・維持させる反動として働く場合もあり、後者の歴史記録が既存組織や保守的情報媒体内において反復記録されるのに対して、前者の場合はある時点から拡散的に出現する記録として登場してくる。このような記録の様態を様々な歴史資料から拾い出し、それらから復元できる「一定の方向性」、つまり「力=言説」を明らかにする作業により歴史を動かす——もしくは、変化を阻止しようとする——原動力の実態が認識できるのである。そしてまさにこの「歴史」発掘の作業こそが、「知の考古学的」研究の目的である。<sup>7</sup>

上記の「知の考古学的」研究を文化記号論的に定義するのなら、現代のドミナントな文化コードによって歴史資料を分析・評価することにより「歴史」を再・現前化するのではなく、研究対象の時代に書かれた歴史資料からその時代・地域における文化コードを抽出し、当時の人々（の多く）が社会の様々な事象をどのように記録し、読み解いていたか——そして、彼らを突き動かした「力=言説」——を解析することでその時代の「知層構造」を再・現前化するとともに、その「知層」の根源にあった「価値の源泉」を突き止める作業である。もっともかつて社会に影響力を持った「力=言説」であっても現在においてその影響力をほとんど喪失している場合、研究対象とする時代の人々が思い描き記録する彼らにとっての「現在」——われわれにとっては「過去」——を現在の読者にいかに言語化し

<sup>7</sup> 詳しくは、拙論『「近代化」の反復と多様性』の方法論について——「東と西」の知の考古学的解体に関する研究——、『月刊 考古学ジャーナル 7』(770巻、ニューサイエンス社、2022)を参照。

て伝えるかの問題が残る。まさにこの問題とはアポリアである。たとえば、第 2 次世界大戦当時に「天皇陛下万歳」を唱えて自爆した日本兵を突き動かした「力=言説」を今日の言葉で説明するとき、軍隊組織の中で強要されたに過ぎないとして否定、または隠蔽する誘惑を抑制しつつ、かつアナクロニズムの誹りを回避して説明することは至難の業であろう。

繰り返しになるが、「知の考古学的」研究が、ある時代・地域の多くの人々を一定の方向に向けさせた「力=言説」を抽出することを目的にすると、抽出された「力=言説」が今日でも機能している場合はともかく、すでに影響力を喪失している——もしくはマイノリティにのみ関わる——場合は、現代のマジョリティの読者に言語化して伝える作業が困難であるだけでなく、独占的に流通する歴史というのは勝者/強者の創作した物語であると先述したが、勝者の——そして強者集団の——歴史家は、勝者/強者側に都合のいい事実を取捨選択するだけではなく、敗者/弱者に関する事実を歪曲したり隠蔽して物語を作成するため、<sup>8</sup>残された歴史資料から「歴史」を再・現前化することが一層困難になる。

3 節においては、社会事象の「記録」の中から歴史家——特に、勝者/強者側の歴史家——が選択/潤色して創作する「歴史(物語)」のメカニズムとその研究方法を理論的に考察してきたのであるが、その理論的考察の有効性の検証として、次節以降、日清戦争後に欧米圏に広まった「黄禍論」を背景に、1930 年代の日本と中国の「満洲国」にまつわる「歴史」創作の熾烈な争いを経て、第 2 次世界大戦の連合国側の勝利によって、何が「歴史」とされ、何が「非歴史=虚偽」と判断され、そして何が隠蔽されたかを中心に論を進めていく。

#### 4. 日本の「歴史正典」と「記述された」日本と黄色人種について

今日の日本の「歴史正典」は、1930 年代初頭からの 10 数年間を除いて、常に日本人の権力者(勝者)によって日本語で作成されてきたのであった。もちろん『魏志倭人伝』をはじめ、日本の歴史を扱った外国人や日本のマイノリティによって作成された「歴史」は存在するが、重要なことはそれが「正典」として認められた歴史、すなわち「真実の歴史」として国家や国民が受け入れているかどうかということである。そもそもの日本の起源そのものが天皇の命の下で構想され『古事記』や『日本書紀』として言語化されたのであり、今日その内容の科学的信憑性には疑義があるとしても、天皇の権威や日本民族・文化の特異性を担保する意味で依然として「正典」として機能している。しかしながら、1930 年代から 1945 年までの日本の歴史の正典はアメリカを中心とする連合国によって作成されたのであった。<sup>9</sup>もう少し正確にいうと、日本人によって書かれた 1945 年までの 10 数年間の日本語の歴史の正典が、連合国によって作成された「日本の歴史」に「正典」の座を奪われるとともに、そこに記載されていた内容の多くが「非歴史=虚偽」と判断されるか、隠蔽さ

<sup>8</sup> そのような勝者/強者側の歪曲・隠蔽が、たとえば Edward E. Said が前景化した「オリエンタリズム(Orientalism)」の西洋と東洋の言説上の不均衡な権力構造のように、偏向した「歴史」言説を生み出すのである。Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

<sup>9</sup> GHQ による日本の歴史の書き換えについては、拙編著『「近代化」の反復と多様性——「東と西」の知の考古学的解体』(溪水社、2021)の 93 頁から 114 頁に詳述している。



れてしまったのである。もちろん歴史の書き換えがあったということ、「正典」の差し替えが行われたということは、「非歴史=虚偽」が「歴史=真実」に置き換わった、もしくはその逆の「歴史=真実」から「非歴史=虚偽」への置き換えが行われたということを単純に意味するのではない。ここでいいたいのは、そのどちらかが「事実」としての歴史であり、他方が「虚構」としての歴史ということではなく、いずれの「歴史」も作成者の「解釈」や「イデオロギー」を反映した「物語」であるということである。すなわち、日本人の「解釈」や「イデオロギー」を内在する「歴史」が、アメリカを中心とした連合国の「解釈」や「イデオロギー」を内在する「歴史」に取って代わられたということである。

このように、「歴史正典」とは勝者/強者によって作成される。ただし、勝者/強者が常に単独で存在しているわけではなく、実際には同時に複数存在する、したがって複数の「歴史正典」が存在する場合が多いのである。同じ歴史事象であっても、A国で教えられている歴史（正典）とB国で教えられている歴史（正典）で異なる記述や解釈がなされることはよくある現象である。要は、その時空間の言説を支配している権力者が「歴史正典」を作成するのであって、それ以外の時空間では別の権力者の異なる「歴史正典」が流通する。そして一方の側の言説の影響力が非常になる場合、たとえば19世紀から20世紀にかけて西欧帝国主義の支配が世界を覆った時代においては、西欧の似非生物学的な人種主義言説が西欧語を介して世界に流通し、白人種の進化論的優位が非白人にも受容させられていった。その意味において勝者/強者は言説形成における主体者=発信者であり、敗者/弱者は客体者=受容者なのである。植民地化されれば、先住民は単に土地や天然資源を奪われ労働力を搾取されるだけでなく、支配者によって都合よく代弁表象されてしまうのである。

次に、以上のような「歴史正典」とは別の「歴史」、あるいは、日本語以外の言語によって「記述された」日本、及び、黄色人種について概観してみよう。

日本の開国後、日本から提供された文献が西欧語に翻訳されるとともに、日本に長期滞在した Ernest Mason Satow のような外交官、Basil Hall Chamberlain や Lafcadio Hearn のようなお雇い外国人、Isabella Lucy Bird などの紀行文、そして西欧のジャーナリストによって「日本」が西欧に紹介されただけでなく、岡倉天心、新渡戸稲造などによって英語で伝えられた。そのような直接的・間接的に描かれた日本イメージに加え、断片的な情報を基に異国趣味、もしくは人種的偏見によって色付けされた「日本」イメージも生産され、世界中に流通されることになる。そのような日本語以外の言語を介して形成され流通された個々の「日本」イメージの中でも、本稿で注目したいのは「侵略者」としてのそれである。

西欧語による言説において、「怠惰」・「退行」・「強欲」・「肉欲」などのネガティブなイメージで非西欧人が表象されていたことは、オリエンタリズム批判の研究で明らかにされている。<sup>10</sup>しかしながら、ドイツ帝国の皇帝 Wilhelm II が広めた「黄禍(yellow peril)」のローガンにより、これまで「従順」・「不活発」・「消極的」と考えられてきた黄色人種に対し

<sup>10</sup> たとえば、Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988)を参照。

て、西欧諸国に対する潜在的「侵略者」としての新たな「黄色人種」イメージが 19 世紀末から 20 世紀初頭にかけてロシア帝国を含む西欧圏に広まったのであった。新興の軍事国家としての日本の台頭が、この「西欧への侵略者」イメージの拡散の主要な要因であったことは間違いないだろうが、この「黄禍」という造語が示すように、「黄禍論」の対象は日本という特定の国家ではなく「異教徒の黄色人種」に向けられたものであった。たとえばイギリス人作家 M. P. Shiel が 1898 年に出版した黄禍論小説 *The Yellow Danger* で描かれる東洋対西洋の世界戦争において、西欧を侵略しようとする首謀者が日本人と中国人の混血であるように、<sup>11</sup> 西欧圏において「日本人」と「中国人」のイメージは差異よりも重なり合う部分が多かったといえる。つまり、日本人や中国人という「下位区分」はさほど重要ではなく、自分たちとは異なる宗教や文化を持つ「黄色人種」の無数の個が近代化し団結して誕生するかもしれない「総体」、そしてそのような潜在的な「総体」に対する恐怖こそが、「黄色人種」に「侵略者」イメージを付与し、「黄禍論」を生み出したといえるだろう。

しかしながら第 2 次世界大戦後の世界に流通する「歴史正典」においては、日本人と中国人の「下位区分」が非常に大きな意味を持つことになった。その「歴史正典」では、「黄禍論」が予言した西欧に襲いかかるイナゴの大群のような「黄色人種」の不気味なイメージではなく、「世界征服」を企む「日本」とその一番の犠牲者である「中国」という対照的なイメージが描かれている。もっとも、「非歴史=虚偽」とされた 1930 年代の日本の「歴史正典」においては、真逆ともいえるべきイメージ、対抗言説が充満していたのであるが。

次節においては、この巨大な塊としての「黄色人種」から「侵略者日本人」へのイメージ転換とその拡散を、1930 年代後半に書かれたイギリス小説を使ってスケッチしてみよう。

## 5. 「侵略者日本人」イメージの拡散

イギリス人作家 Val Gielgud が 1937 年に出版した *Outrage in Manchukuo* では、40 年前に書かれた M. P. Shiel の黄禍論小説とは違って悪巧みを企てるのはドイツ人と日本人である。<sup>12</sup> ドイツ人 Rudiger von Maltzan 大尉と日本人 Okuma 大佐らは、ハリウッド女優 Scarlet Royal を唆して中国に来させ、満州に向かう列車移動中にロシア人に拉致凌辱されたことにして、そのショッキングなニュースをアメリカのメディアで大々的に取り上げさせることで、アメリカ人の対ソ連感情を悪化させようとするが、新婚旅行の裏で諜報活動を行うイギリス人の主人公らによって Maltzan 大尉の手から Royal は無事救い出され、彼らの企みは打ち碎かれる。その際 Maltzan 大尉は殺され、一方 Okuma 大佐の方は忠君の務めを果たすことができなかったことを詫びるため、「陸軍省」の建物の階段で「ハラキリ」により自害する。

大衆小説は、文学史でキャノンと位置付けられる文学作品とは違い、一般に流布しているステレオタイプのイメージを活用して小説世界を構築しようとする。それゆえ、出版当時は一般読者に受け入れられやすいのであるが、時間とともに消え行く運命にある。その

<sup>11</sup> Matthew P. Shiel, *The Yellow Danger* (Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998).

<sup>12</sup> Val Gielgud, *Outrage in Manchukuo* (London, Toronto, Melbourne and Sydney: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1937).

意味で文学作品としての価値は低いといえるのであるが、他方、移ろいゆく表層文化を知る上でいわば地層に埋まった化石のような役割をしてくれる。上記の *The Yellow Danger* では、白人に対して劣等感を持つ一方あるイギリス人女性に対して強い恋情を抱く貧相で狡猾な日本人と中国人の混血の男が、その女性に素っ気なく拒絶された腹いせにイナゴの大群のようなアジア人を率いてヨーロッパに襲いかかる小説世界を作り上げているのに対して、*Outrage in Manchukuo* の場合は、狡猾なナチス・ドイツの将校とサムライ日本の将校が侵略者のイメージを付与され、一方ロシア人は友好的に、そして中国人は従属民のイメージで描かれている。ここで注目すべきことは、1941 年 12 月の日本軍による真珠湾攻撃やマレー半島への侵攻後に日本のイメージが悪化したのは当然であるが、依然として欧米人の間で黄色人種に対する差別意識が厳然と存在している一方で、<sup>13</sup>容姿も、言語も、文化も区別のつかない「黄色人種」という巨大な塊の中から、1937 年の時点ですでに「日本・日本人」が「侵略者」として特化されてイメージ化されていることである。もちろん日本の中国大陆における軍事侵攻がその主たる原因であることは間違いないであろうが、「黄禍論」時代のように軍国主義国家日本が他の黄色人種を引き連れて西欧諸国を脅かすというシナリオが前景化することはなかったと思われる。あくまでも日本という特定の国家による侵略というシナリオである。では、なぜこの巨大な塊としての「黄色人種」から「侵略者日本人」というシナリオに改訂されたのか。本論では、この「改訂」に中国が欧米に向けて発信した英語によるプロパガンダが少なからず影響を与えたとみる。もっとも、日本も反中国のキャンペーンを行っていたのであるが、結果的には、日本国内はともかくとして世界でのそのプロパガンダの効力は全くなかったといえる。したがって、日中十五年戦争の実戦での攻防の情勢に反して、日本と中国の情報戦は中国側に分があったといえるだろう。

## 6. おわりに

本稿において、「歴史」創作とその「正典化」のメカニズムを中心に理論的に考察したのであるが、その考察の有効性の検証として、次回の「1930 年代の日・中の『歴史』創作について (2)」においては、1920 年代末から 1945 年までにプロパガンダのために作成された中国側の英語による印刷物と日本側の英語（及び日本語）による印刷物の幾つかを比較分析することで、中国人による「満洲国の歴史」創作と、日本人による「満洲国の歴史」創作を通して戦われた日・中の情報戦（言説レベルの覇権争い）の様態を詳らかにする。

※本稿は、2020-2023 年度日本学術振興会科学研究費助成事業による基盤研究 (C)「近代」の反復と多様性——「東と西」の知の考古学的解体に関する研究（研究課題：20K00388）の研究成果の 1 つである。

<sup>13</sup> たとえば、BBC のテレビドラマを下敷きにした小説 *Tenko* (『点呼』) において、英領シンガポールにおける中華系シンガポール人への人種差別が描かれている。Anthony Masters, *Tenko* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1981).

# アレクシス・ライト『地平線の叙事詩』

——先住民文学と難民文学をつなぐ水平（地平）線——

小 杉 世

## 1. はじめに

この原稿は「書評」のようなものとして書く心づもりをしていたが、標記の翻訳本<sup>1</sup>が執筆時点で発行されていないため、実際に手にとって、日本語翻訳版の解説などを讀んだ上で原稿を書くことができなかった。アレクシス・ライト (Alexis Wright) の『地平線の叙事詩』の原題は ‘Odyssey of the Horizon’ であり、2017年に開催されたヴェネツィア・ビエンナーレのオーストラリア部門の作品として選ばれたトレイシー・モファット (Tracey Moffatt) の展示 *My Horizon*<sup>2</sup>の大型カタログ図版本におさめられた短編である。筆者はこの展覧会を見ることはかなわず、キュレーターのナタリー・キング (Natalie King) が編集したカタログ図版本で読んでいる。ヴェネツィア・ビエンナーレには、これまでもニュージーランド在住のサモア人舞台芸術家レミ・ポニファシオや日系サモア人のアーティストであるユキ・キハラなど、オーストラリア・ニュージーランドからのアーティストが参加してきた。トレイシー・モファットはブリズベン生まれのアボリジナルのアーティストであり、写真や映像作品で知られる。本稿では、モファットの *My Horizon* と、アレクシス・ライトの短編 ‘Odyssey of the Horizon’、および、ライトの新作長編小説 *Praiseworthy* (2023) について、紹介したい。

## 2. インスタレーション・アートにおける難民表象

昨年プロジェクト論文 (小杉 2022) のなかで筆者は、エリザベス・デロリー (Elizabeth DeLoughrey) が『人新世のアレゴリー』 (*Allegories of the Anthropocene*, 2019) で論じたドミニカ共和国のアーティスト、トニー・カペラン (Tony Capellán) の廃物を利用して制作した「カリブ海」(‘Mar Caribe’) をはじめとする一連のインスタレーションがカリブ地域における難民収容の問題や看守による難民のレイプなどの社会問題を呈示していることにふれ、オセアニアにおける「パシフィック・ソリューション」とよばれたオーストラリアの難民政策との関連性に言及した。カペランの廃物利用のインスタレーションは、先進国の作り出すプラ

<sup>1</sup> アレクシス・ライト『地平線の叙事詩』有満保江訳（現代企画室、2023年）。6月に現代企画室が出版記念講演会を企画している。

<sup>2</sup> ‘Tracey Moffatt, *My Horizon*, Venice Biennale 2017’ ([https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WBhOFp\\_wF8c](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WBhOFp_wF8c)), accessed 31 March, 2023.

スティックゴミなどの廃物が第3世界の環境を侵害すること、地球温暖化の影響で被害がより大きくなる川の氾濫によって、川の流域の貧しい民家が浸水して生活の遺物が下流の海岸に堆積すること、また、一見存在しないかのように見える境界線が海にも存在すること (DeLoughrey 105)、有刺鉄線に象徴される国家権力によってからめとられ排斥され「廃物」化される存在といった多重なメッセージがこめられている。<sup>3</sup>

小説家のアレクシス・ライトもまた『カーペンタリア』(Carpentaria, 2006) や『スワン・ブック』(The Swan Book, 2013) など、これまでの長編小説のなかで、「廃棄物」あるいは「廃物」化される存在をよく描いてきた (Kosugi 2018、小杉 2018、2019)。

### 3. ティモシー・モファット *My Horizon* と冒頭詩「ホモ・サケル」

キュレーターのアタリー・キングが編集したモファットの *My Horizon* のカタログ図版本は、写真と映像からなる4つの展示 ‘Body Remembers’、‘Passage’、‘Vigil’、‘The White Ghosts Sailed In’ のセクションからなり、複数のアーティストや作家、詩人が文章を寄せている。‘Passage’ には赤ん坊を抱く黒人女性の写真が、また、‘Vigil’ には難民を満載したボートが難破する瞬間をみまもる複数の白人ハリウッド俳優たちの表情を映した映像作品が、そして最後の ‘The White Ghosts Sailed In’ (これも展示は映像作品) には、アレクシス・ライトの ‘Odyssey of the Horizon’ がおさめられている。

カタログ図版本の冒頭には、アボリジナルの詩人 Romaine Moreton の詩「ホモ・サケル」(‘Homo sacer’) が掲載されている。‘My people are buried here Beneath the cracked earth of the clay pan’ という詩行で始まる18行からなるこの詩は、最初の6行で ‘My people are buried’ という表現をたたみかけるように繰り返し、この土地にドリーミングの時代から生きてきた先祖、また植民地化の歴史のなかで命を失った何世代ものアボリジナルたちの存在を想起させる。7~8行目の ‘My people Home of the sacred/ Homo sacer Staring through the Horizon’ では、先祖たちの眠る「聖なる土地」(Home of the sacred) に根差して生きてきた ‘My people’ を「北極と北極星をこえて再び南へと伸びる」「地平(水平)線の向こうをみつめるホモ・サケル(聖なる人間)」とよぶ。太陽の光にさらされた剥き出しの肌(‘Our bare skin/ This sun-kissed life’) の「聖なる人間」が、「よその土地からやってきた幽霊たち」(‘Ghosts from another land’), 「銃を手に持ち」(‘Gun in hand’), 「私たちの海岸に難破した」(‘Shipwrecked upon our shore’) 白人たちによって、なきものにされ、「今や剥き出しの生」(‘Now bare life’) を生きる存在、「ホモ・サケル」(‘homo sacer’) に転じてしまったという歴史的推移の皮肉をうたっている。

この詩は、アボリジナルのガラス・アーティストのイワニ・スケース (Yhonnie Scarce) の作品に表象される植民地主義の暴力にさらされてきたアボリジナルの存在と重なる。<sup>4</sup> そし

<sup>3</sup> Tony Capellán, ‘Poetics of Relation’ (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zT5WnhJqx9A>), accessed 25 March, 2023.

<sup>4</sup> 小杉世「帝国のホモ・サケル—太平洋核実験をめぐる当事者性と芸術の想像力」(2023 出版予定)、および小杉 (2016)で論じている。イワニ・スケースの新作「オーフォード・ネス」(国際芸

てまた、カタログ本の最後のセクション ‘The White Ghosts Sailed In’ におさめられたアレクシス・ライトの ‘Odyssey of the Horizon’ のテーマ、白人たちの到来をアボリジナルがどう受け入れたかに関連してくる。

#### 4. アレクシス・ライト「地平線の叙事詩」(‘Odyssey of the Horizon’)

ライトのこの短編は、白人たちが到来する以前のシドニー湾の海岸に打ち寄せる嵐の波の描写と、白人たち (‘the white ghosts’) の到来に怯えて海岸を叫びながら駆け巡る風の精霊 (‘[t]he old wind spirit guarding the coastline’ 114) の描写から始まる。ライトは長編小説『カーペンタリア』の冒頭において、虹蛇が大地に下り、蛇行する川をつくる壮大なアボリジナルのコスモロジーを描いたが、6 節からなるこの短編小説もまた壮大な広がりをもつ。アボリジナルの神話的世界観が、古代ギリシャの海や風をあらわす神々をはじめとして、世界の諸文化の神話とつながりをもつ点や、古代から現代まで世界の様々なところで起こってきた人間の移動<sup>5</sup>、鳥や昆虫など小さな生きものたちを描く点でも、長編小説『カーペンタリア』や、人間の難民だけでなく、気候変動の影響で生息地を失ってアボリジナルの住む核汚染された沼に降り立つ黒鳥の群を描いた前作の長編小説『スワン・ブック』などとも共通する。

下記の引用は短編の第 1 節 ‘the old wind’ の冒頭である。

The waves you see will continue to heave and wash away boundaries of imagined borders, and mighty storms of the times will erode and break down the walls we build in our minds to imprison ourselves, just as the barricades erected with steel and barbwire to keep other people out will be broken. There are no boundaries in the ocean’s currents stirring the waters. . . . We breathe air mingled with the breath of others. . . . (‘Odyssey of the Horizon’, 114, 下線は引用者)

『カーペンタリア』の結末のサイクロンは、愚かな確執を繰り返す白人たちの住む町もその周縁のアボリジナルの集落も等しく洗い流してしまうが、上記の引用においても、嵐で空と海、海と陸の区分がなくなる原初の混沌のような自然は、「境界線」や「壁」や「有刺鉄線」のバリケードで、他者を締め出そうとする、あるいは狭い心のうちに自分自身を閉ざそうとする人間の営みを無化するものとして描かれる。

第 2 節 ‘of belonging to Country’ において、語り手は次のように問いかける。

Would these people, in this first contact with the white ghost people, have gathered together in a huddle of bullies hell-bent on out-bullying each other in order to form an operation sovereign border policy, and prepared for war with the invaders by carving a million spears for a million warriors, or built a

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術祭「あいち 2022」) については一谷智子が『南半球評論』第 38 号の編集後記でふれている。

<sup>5</sup> ナタリー・キングは、この展示が ‘the timeless narrative of forced migration’ (My Horizon, 8) を想起させると序文で書いている。

stone wall around the entire country to imprison themselves by keeping everybody else out? Or else created off-shore detention camps in a poor neighbouring country for locking up these boat people for the rest of their natural lives? No. . . . perhaps [they] sought knowledge, reciprocal understanding to uphold their ancient laws, to keep the country alive, to keep it from becoming dangerous. (115, 下線は引用者)

上記引用の下線部は、経済援助と引き換えに、周辺国パプアニューギニアのマヌス島やナウルの収容施設に難民収容を請け負わせるオーストラリアの難民政策（パシフィック・ソリューション）を批判している。その批判の根底には、先住民でありながら、自分たちの国のなかで土地を奪われ、また、「盗まれた世代」のハーフカーストの子供たちが、施設に収容され自らの根差す文化や土地や家族から隔てられて育ったというアボリジナルたちが体験した植民地主義の暴力の歴史に対する批判と、「難民」扱いされる存在への共感がある。

「白い幽霊たち」の最初の到来後に入植者たちが押し寄せ、「侵略」がとどまることはなく、アボリジナルたちが「影の人々」(‘shadow people’ 115) になる過程を描くが、同時に語り手は、船に満載されこの流刑植民地に送られた人々の多くがわずかな罪を犯したために流刑となった余剰人員であること (‘a lot of poor souls convicted of some crime, mostly petty’ 115) にもふれており、後半の現代の難民の姿とも重なる。

第3節 ‘the memory of reeds’ では、入植者からアボリジナルたちが受けた暴力が生々しく語られ、目の前で夫を殺され、子供を抱いて逃げるアボリジナルの女性の逃避行が描かれる。その女性のはかつてイタリア半島北部からアドリア海のヴェネツィアの湿原に逃げ込んだ人々(‘war-torn people’ 117) の姿に重ね合わせられている。

She carried her baby away, as she ran blindly through the swamp lands to escape, just like those frightened people, running for their lives, had once followed their Neptune sea God among the salty marshes of the Adriatic Sea, and hidden in the small islands among the channels and shoals of a Venetian lagoon, where they lived like birds on platforms of wattle and the shoots of the willow tree. (117)

第4節 ‘the swallows’ house’ では、モファット展示の ‘Boddy Remembers’のセクションの写真と呼応し、おそらくは「盗まれた世代」のハーフカーストのアボリジナル女性と思われるかつて「馬の背に乘せられて」白人たちのもとに連れてこられた女性が、キッチンの窓から地平線を眺める様子が語られる。第5節 ‘where a nightingale sings’ は、展示の ‘Passage’のセクションの赤ん坊を抱く黒人女性の写真、そして展示の ‘Vigil’のセクションの難民船の難破の映像とゆるやかに関係する。兵士に道端でレイプされてできた赤子を抱いて砂漠をこえ、やっと港に行きついて難民船に乗り込む瞬間の（そして船が転覆し暗い水に沈む瞬間の）黒人の母親の心情が母親の視点と、男の子の赤ん坊の視点から情動的に語られ、ナム・リー

の『ボート』におさめられた最後の短編 ‘The Boat’などの様々な難民文学を連想させる。多くの故郷を失った人々（‘tens of thousands of the world’s displaced people’ 119）が地平線や水平線を超えて、生を求めてさまよう様子に焦点をあてるこの短編は、先住民のアボリジナルと世界の様々な難民たちの生をつなぐ文学となっている。

最後の第6節 ‘the vigil’ は、それらの人々がどんな人たちであったのかを想像することを読者にいざなう（‘What were their names? Who were they? It makes you wonder’ 120）。しかし、そのあとに続くパラグラフでは、冒頭に出てきた「壁」や「有刺鉄線」で他者を締め出す人間の警戒心を ‘we’ という主語を用いて再び語る。

... Walls of barbwire, sheets of steel, bricks, stones, reinforced cement, and the prisons we constructed in the mind to keep others out require constant vigilance. *They can’t come here.* Godlike, we have become an army of watchers, to anxiously guard ourselves against a world of strangers. (120-21、下線は引用者)

様々な立場の人々の視点をつなぐこの作品はまさに、地平線とそのかなたの水平線に思いをはせて、多方向の記憶を理解する想像力を読者に問いかけている。

## 5. おわりに

アレクシス・ライトは2023年4月に新作の長編小説 *Praiseworthy* を出版した。727頁のこの長編小説を論じるのは、また別の機会としたいが、冒頭の章 ‘New Gods’ に言及される「地球温暖化と地球規模のウイルス感染によってもたらされる惑星的な大災害」（‘planetary catastrophes of global warming or global viruses’ 3）という句は、前作の長編小説『スワン・ブック』で描かれた地球温暖化と核汚染の近未来の世界を思わせ、また昨今の現実の世界、つまり、人新世の問題である気候変動とも関連して、今後も生じるかもしれない様々な新たなウイルスのパンデミックという「ウイルス新世」ともいうべき状況を映してもいる。

ライトと同じくメルボルン在住のアボリジナル作家トニー・バーチ (Tony Birch) は、気候変動について論じたエッセイ ‘Climate Change, Recognition and Social Place-Making’ において、‘Across northern Australia and throughout the Pacific, Indigenous communities may soon be displaced from country and suffer forced relocation. The loss of country will have a devastating impact on the spiritual, physical and social wellbeing of affected communities’ (357-58) と述べ、カーペンタリア湾岸地域やノーザン・テリトリーなどのオーストラリア北部地域と太平洋島嶼部が共通して直面している気候変動の問題、土地を失って移住を余儀なくされることが、先住民コミュニティにもたらす精神的、物理的、社会的な影響に言及している。これはマーシャル諸島の詩人キャシー・ジェットニル・キジナー (Kathy Jetñil-Kijiner) が ‘Tell Them’ という詩で、‘[...] we/ are nothing/ without our islands (167) と訴えていることでもある。今後、ジェットニル・キジナーの率いる Jo-Jikum のような NGO の活動と、オーストラリアの先住民作家たちの



実践的文学や社会活動との連携について見ていきたい。

※本稿は基盤研究(B)「豪マイノリティ作家の21世紀の課題解決に向けたネオ・コスモポリタニズム文学研究」(研究代表者:加藤めぐみ、課題番号22H00653)の助成を受けている。

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執筆者紹介（掲載順）

木村茂雄（KIMURA, Shigeo）

名古屋外国語大学現代国際学部 教授  
大阪大学人文学研究科言語文化学専攻 名誉教授

ガデミ アミン（GHADIMI, Amin）

大阪大学人文学研究科言語文化学専攻 超領域文化論講座 講師

安保夏絵（AMBO, Natsue）

中部大学人文学部英語英米文化学科 助教

ラハマン マムヌール（RAHMAN, Md. Mamunur）

イスラム大学人文社会科学学部 教授

伊勢芳夫（ISE, Yoshio）

大阪大学人文学研究科言語文化学専攻 名誉教授

小杉世（KOSUGI, Sei）

大阪大学人文学研究科言語文化学専攻 超領域文化論講座 教授

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