

# Civilizations

No.23 2018

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文明

文明

Civilizations

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東海大学文明研究所

Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University

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東海大学文明研究所



**文明**  
Civilizations

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東海大学文明研究所



## 語源から考える「文明」

「文明」という言葉は、何か壮大なイメージを喚起する一方で、日々の生活のなかで生じる具体的な出来事と結びつけて用いられることが少ない。実際、検索エンジンで「文明」と入力して画像の検索結果を眺めてみると、古代文明の分布が記された世界地図や、ピラミッドを始めとする古代の巨大建造物の写真が上位を占める。英語で「civilization」と入力すると多少結果が変わる印象を受けるが、これは同名タイトルで発売されているビデオゲームの画面イメージが上位に位置しているためで、少しスクロールしてみると日本語の場合と同じように古代の建造物の写真が増えてくる。

しかし、もともと「文明」という言葉が用いられ始めた当初、事情は大きく違っていたようである。よく知られている通り、現在の意味で「文明」を日本語で初めて論じた書物は、福澤諭吉の『文明論之概略』（1875、以下の引用は1931年岩波文庫版）である。同書で福澤が強調しているのは、科学技術の知識と自由主義経済を基盤として発展したヨーロッパ諸国の「西洋文明」から学びつつ、いかにして日本を独立した国家として確立できるか、という論調である。福澤は、英語で「文明」という概念が「野蛮 (savage)」に対比されることを念頭に置きつつ、以下のように文明の定義を論じている。

「文明とは人間交際の次第に改りて良き方に赴く有様を形容したる語にて野蛮無法の独立に反し一国の体裁を成すと云ふ義なり」(p. 45)

「文明とは人の身を安楽にして心を高尚にするを云ふなり衣食を饒にして人品を貴くするを云ふなり」(p. 48)

「文明とは人の安楽と品位との進歩を云ふなり又この人の安楽と品位とを得せしむるものは人の智徳なるが故に文明とは結局、人の智徳の進歩と云て可なり」(p. 48)

これらの引用から見て取れる興味深い点は、福澤が「衣食足りて礼節を知る」という故事の発想になぞらえて文明を論じていることである。文明は、人々の身を安楽にして心を高尚にし、結果的に人々の品位を向上させることである。それは、衣食住のように人々の生活を物質的に豊かにすることだけでも成り立たないし、貧しいまま品位だけを正しくすることを精神的に求めても成り立たない。人々の生活の物質的な次元と精神的な次元、両者がともに向上するというのが文明であり、それは結局、ひとつの国家をとともに形成する人々の「智徳の進歩」によって可能になるという。

語源から考えてみても、人々の振る舞い方が一定の方向に向かって進歩していくことは「文明」の定義に見合う。文明に対応する英語 civilization は、「civil = 市民の、市民的な」に接尾辞「-ize = 化する」が加わって「civilize = 市民化する」という動詞になり、さらに、動作・結果・状態を表す接尾辞「-ation」が加わったものである。したがって、civil-ize-ation の語源的な意味は、「市民化していく過程」や「市民化した結果」ということになる。つまり、「civilization」という言葉は「市民」とは必ずしも呼べなかった状態にあった人々が、一定のしかたで「市民」と呼ぶうる存在に変化していく動的なプロセスをもととは意味するのである。市民的 (civil) の語源にはラテン語 civitas (都市：英語 city) があるので、ここでいう「市民」は、基本的には都市に住む人々のことを指す。

こうして、語源に問い尋ねてみると、「文明 (civilization)」とは、「都市に生活する人としての市民になっていく過程」を意味することになる。福澤はここで言う「都市」を近代的な国民国家という当時

の文脈でとらえ、文明を国民全体の「智徳の進歩」だとした。では、現代の私たちはどのような観点で「都市」をとらえ、そこに生活する人々である「市民」を考えればよいのだろうか。また、そこで要請される市民化の過程である「文明」をどのように構想すればよいのだろうか。文明が「市民化」という動的なプロセスであるとするなら、市民としての人々がどこからどこへ向かおうとしているのか、あるいは向かうべきなのか、一定の見通しとともに提示されるのであれば、文明について何かを考えたことにはならないだろう。

グローバル化、情報社会、地球環境問題など、現代における文明を語るうえで重要な文脈はいくつもある。しかしここでは、あえて近代社会の問題について一言述べておきたい。精神分析家であり社会心理学者でもあったエーリッヒ・フロムは、その主著『自由からの逃走』（1941、以下の引用は日高六郎訳・1951年東京創元社版）において、近代社会に生きる人々の自由をめぐる逆説的な行動について指摘している。フロムによると、近代社会は合理主義的な価値観にもとづいて、中世以来の封建的身分制を廃止し、人々に市民としての自由を保障する方向で進歩した。具体的には、市民革命によって身分制が廃止されただけでなく、産業革命と資本主義の進展によって農村という地域共同体の束縛を離れて都市で生きられるようになった。

ただ、こうして、自分の生き方を自分で決められるという基本的な自由を手にした人々は、他方で、家柄や帰属先だけで人生が定まらないことも自覚するようになり、一種の寄る辺なさの感情を抱え込むことになってしまったのである。フロムは次のように指摘する。

中世社会の伝統的な絆から自由となったことは、個人に独立の新しい感情をあたえたが、それと同時に、個人に孤独と孤立の感情をもたらし、疑いと不安でいっぱいにし、新しい服従と強制的な非合理的活動へ個人をかりたてた (p. 120)

フロムの著作は、1930年代のドイツを生き抜いた人々が、なぜ民主的な社会で自由を謳歌しながら、かえって逆説的にナチス・ドイツの全体主義を支持する方向に流れてしまったのか、という問題意識から書かれている。彼によると、近代社会は生き方の自由を肯定した社会なのだが、その自由を受け止めかねて不安になった人々が自由から逃走し、全体主義を招来したのである。

現在の社会について、1930年代に一脈通じる状況が訪れつつあると感じている人々が多いのではないだろうか。人々は、社会が目まぐるしく変化する中で自分の生き方を定められず不安を抱え、カリスマ的な指導力のあるリーダーが登場するとそうした人物に何かを期待してなびいてしまうように見える。あえて名前を出さなくても、読者の念頭に思い浮かぶ世界政治の指導者は複数いるだろう。私には、現代社会のこのような傾向が「市民化」のあるべき姿であり、「文明」であるとはやはり思えない。近代社会が獲得した自由を捨てる方向ではなく、その自由内に内在する可能性と限界を見据えたうえで、あるべき社会と個人の姿を見出すことこそ、今日の文明論として必要な作業ではないだろうか。

東海大学文明研究所所員  
現代教養センター教授  
田中彰吾

# Special Issue: Dialogue between Civilizations

Yoichi Hirano and Shogo Tanaka

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The world today holds all kinds of risks. Human society, on the one hand, suffers from natural threats such as earthquakes and eruptions, and on the other hand, is unable to break out of the chaos of human rights violations, while widening disparities between rich and poor, and ideological and religious conflicts. At the root of such situations lies in the fact that science and technology that supports the civilization today does not always function for the peace of the human race but furthers human desires. At present, it is critical to note that the human race examines the future of the civilization on a global scale both individually and collectively.

With this background, the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Symposium was held at Tokai University European Center under the joint auspices of Tokai University Institute of Civilization Research (March 8-9<sup>th</sup>, 2018). The theme of the symposium was “Dialogue between Civilizations” with the view to discuss the problems of civilizations from a broader perspective. Although the past two symposia were titled “Civilization dialogue between Europe and Japan,” we decided to change its title as above. Historically, Japan and Europe have their own characteristics and this in itself makes it meaningful to examine the differences between the two and the influences on each other. However, it is also a fact that the situation in Japan has itself undergone significant changes in the 150 years since the Meiji Restoration. At present, Japan too has committed itself to westernization given the wave of globalization. Therefore, whether it is Japan or Europe, it is now desirable to consider Civilization Studies on a global scale. Further, it is necessary to examine not the framework of region or country, but to study the value consciousness of the individual or the group towards civilization, and the ideal individual culture that supports that value consciousness. Here in this special issue, we included eight original papers that were presented in the symposium.

# Lacquered Chambers in Denmark

Chiaki Genji Tokai University

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## 1. Introduction

When different areas of the world interact, their civilizations and cultures influence each other. One such example is the reception of Japanese lacquerware in Europe. From the mid-sixteenth century to the eighteenth century a considerable amount of it went to Europe. Starting around the mid-seventeenth century, japanning, an imitative lacquering technique, developed as well. Today in both art and other kinds of European museums one finds many Japanese lacquerwares. Particularly from seventeenth and eighteenth century European royalty and nobility's Eastern lacquerware collections we can detect an admiration and very favorable assessment of, as well as high interest in, these rare craft objects from Japan that were covered in black.

In Denmark, Eastern lacquerware was received in this way, and even rooms made with it were created. Japanning was used not only for craftworks but also the decoration of rooms. In this paper, I will consider the relationship of Denmark and Japan, focusing on lacquered chambers, one application of japanning in Europe.

## 2. Japanese and European Trade

### 2.1 Historical Background

Lisbon, London, Amsterdam, and Copenhagen were major trade ports that imported Japanese art from the sixteenth century into the mid-seventeenth century. It appears that through these trade ports people from various countries acquired and brought home imported lacquerware. However, due to the Tokugawa shogunate closing Japan to the outside world in 1639, trade with the country became limited to China and the Netherlands. As a result, European countries, unable to import lacquerware directly from Japan, were forced to purchase it by way of China and the Netherlands. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, this turned Amsterdam into the major trade port that handled Japanese artwork, and it was from there that craftworks, including Japanese lacquerware, came to be brought to various places in Europe. In this way, the country that led trade became the major one for distributing East Asian trade products, including Japanese artworks and craftworks.

### 2.2 Interactions Between Denmark and Japan

In Denmark, Christian IV established the Danish East India Company in 1616. It primarily engaged in trade with East Asia, and we can imagine that it thus had adequate opportunities to acquire Japanese artworks and craftworks. However, it appears that it was difficult for the country to trade directly with Japan. By 1639, it is said that the Dutch East India Company spoke with Hirado and Edo so that Danes would not come close to the country. Even so, from the end of the sixteenth century onwards the relationship between the Netherlands and Denmark was favorable, both culturally and commercially.

In 1729 the Danish East India Company was dissolved. However, three years later the Asiatic Company was established, and the country re-opened trade with a focus on China. Due to this trade the volume of imports from East Asia (primarily China) increased. However, it appears that the company did not try to widen its scope of trade so that it could expand its market to Japan. Denmark acquired Eastern lacquerware through the Netherlands and the Danish East India Company (later, the Asiatic Company). Since Denmark also had its own trading company, it probably had many opportunities to come into contact with Japanese lacquerware when engaging in trade in East Asia besides through the Netherlands. In fact, it is said that in 1725 there were between eight and nine thousand Northern Europeans in Amsterdam, and we can imagine that that Danes hired by the Dutch East India

Company had opportunities to visit Japan as part of the crew of Dutch trade ships. Therefore, it was probably comparatively easy to acquire information about Japan in Denmark and other Northern European countries.

### 3. Lacquered Chambers in Denmark

#### 3.1 The Emergence of Lacquered Chambers

From the mid-seventeenth century to the eighteenth centuries, rooms called “lacquered chambers” that were made using japanning appeared. Not only were these small rooms Eastern-style with lacquered furniture, but they also featured flat lacquer panels on all the walls. Here, not only were there Japanese lacquerware, but also large lacquerware furniture from China were disassembled and used. The wall panels were also made with japanning. In the background to people being able to turn lacquerware into room decorations was the rapid progress of japanning techniques.

Many lacquered chambers were made, primarily in Western Europe. In the seventeenth century they were also made in the Netherlands and Germany, and in the eighteenth century spread to the likes of Germany, Poland, Australia, France, Russia, Sweden, and Italy.

In Germany, Gérard Dagly was in charge of making japanned furniture and repairing Eastern lacquerware furniture at the Berlin Palace’s workshop. Palace interior decoration work in general was also left to him. Additionally, as part of his activities as a palace japanning artisan, Martin Schnell was also involved in interior decoration, also in Germany. The Frères Martin, who were active in eighteenth century France, similarly decorated the interior of rooms. Furthermore, from 1749 to 1756 Etienne-Simon Martin is said to have created japan wall panels for the Palace of Versailles.

In this way, artisans who did japanning at the time were involved in decorating the interiors of palaces. There are some cases in which they made actual pieces as well.

#### 3.2 The Princess’s Lacquered Chamber at Rosenborg Slot

In Denmark’s Rosenborg Slot exists a room made with lacquer panels called The Princess’s Lacquered Chamber. This chamber was made in 1665, before the time of Dagly and the Frères Martin. It is one of the oldest lacquered chambers in existence today. The panels in the room use japanning, and feature raised gold on a black surface, clearly copying Japan’s *takamakie* (raised lacquerwork). The depicted patterns copied illustrations found in a travel record published by Johan Nieuhof of the trade embassy sent to Qing China by the Dutch East India Company between 1655 and 1657, as well as those found in Japanese-made lacquerware owned by the Danish royal family. One finds many figures wearing Chinese-style clothes as well as plants and animals depicted in an Eastern way. However, there is also a lizard, as well as a bird reminiscent of a cockatoo. Very interestingly, in Figure 1 we can see a “snake that has grown wings” on the bottom right lacquer panel. It appears that the artist was trying to draw an Eastern dragon.

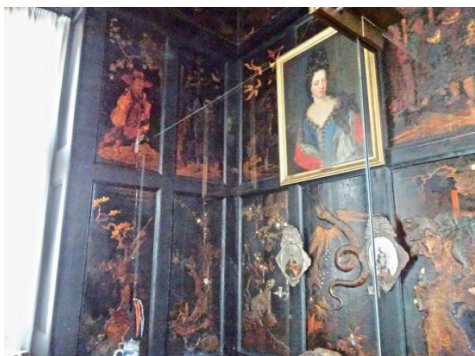


Fig. 1

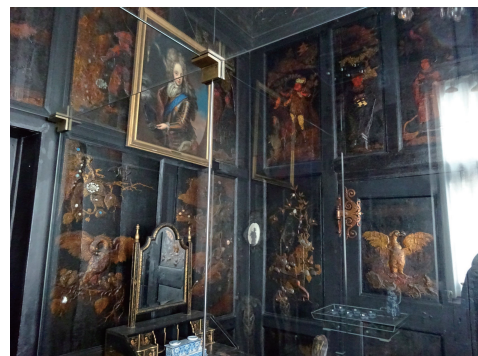


Fig. 2



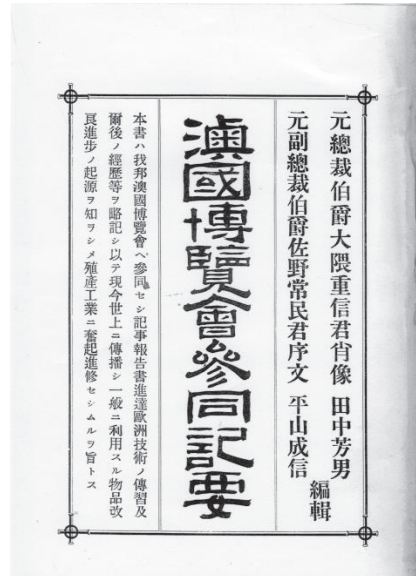
As a whole, the room skillfully combined the East as imagined by Europeans and imitations of the patterns and techniques of Japanese lacquerware. Furthermore, this room was made at an extremely early time. It is an example of japanning being incorporated into Eastern-style room decorations before the appearance of Germany's Dagly and Schnell.

#### **4. Conclusion**

In Europe, Eastern lacquerware, including that made in Japan, received high acclaim. Many aristocrats in kingdoms made furnishings and decorated rooms that incorporated elements of orientalism, *chinoiserie*, and so on. This was made possible by japanning, which had rapidly developed starting around the mid-seventeenth century. This technique appears to have been widely used when creating other craftworks as well as buildings. While, along with developments in trends and tastes, the patterns used would change from Eastern-like ones to those familiar to Westerners, it appears that japanning continued to mature. In the European world creating this technique based on Japanese lacquerware and applying it to furnishings and then lacquered chambers, we can see an example of cultural transference where the reception of a technology and culture produced a new field.

# The 1873 Vienna World Exposition and Japan's Participation: Focusing on Japan's Industrial Promotion Policy in the Early Meiji Period

Nobukata Kutsuzawa Tokai University



“Okoku Hakurannkai Sandou Kiyou”  
(Brief on Participation in the Austrian Exposition)  
Yosio Tanaka and Narinobu Hirayama (eds.)  
Tokyou Insatsu 1897  
(Possession of Nobukata Kutsuzawa)

## 1. Introduction

When a “World’s Fair” (referred to below as the “Vienna World Exposition” ウイーン万国博覧会) was to be held in 1873 in Vienna, Austria, in the center of Eastern Europe, the Japanese government participated on a nationwide basis. The aim was to present Japan as a unified nation state to the outside world, promote the “industrial promotion policy” 殖産興業政策 (which was a slogan of the government at the time), to get a clear picture of the state of advanced European industry and its manufacturing products, and to learn and implement the techniques and technologies to modernize the country. Alexander von Siebold, who was in Japanese government employ at the time, was involved with the Exposition as an assistant to Tsunetami Sano, 佐野常民 who was vice-president of the Japanese administrative staff for the Exposition. Also, von Siebold’s younger brother Heinrich played a role. Heinrich was a temporary trainee interpreter at the Austro-Hungarian embassy in Japan, and he was appointed as a liaison officer for the Japanese government with the Exposition’s administration.

Thus, the Japanese government originally decided to participate in the Vienna World Exposition ウイーン万国博覧会 with the major national purpose of furthering the promotion of industry 殖産興業 in Japan; however, with the involvement of the Siebold brothers, another task emerged – that of introducing Japan to Europe. In tracing the circumstances by which the Meiji government ended up participating in the Vienna World Exposition ウイーン万国博覧会, and furthermore in following how technical training and deployment was subsequently undertaken, let us here draw mainly on “Okoku Hakurankai Sandokiyo” 『澳國博覽會參同紀要』 (edit. Yoshio Tanaka & Narinobu Hirayama, 田中芳男・平山成信 1897, which constitutes a detailed report on the Vienna World Exposition, ウイーン万国博覧会. Aside from this, let us also examine what perceptions of Japan’s traditional culture and technology arose, both in Japan and abroad, as occasioned by this train of events.

Tsunetami Sano  
佐野常民  
(1822-1902)



Alexander von Siebold (1846-1911)  
and  
Heinrich von Siebold (1852-1908)



〈Photo in Vienna in 1874〉 (Possession of Brandenstein-zepelin)

## 2. The Circumstances of Japan' s Participation in the Vienna World Exposition

These events started at a meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in March 1871, when Heinrich Ritter von Calice, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador to Japan, proposed to Nobuyoshi Sawa, Japan's Minister of Foreign Affairs 外務卿沢宣嘉, that Japan should furnish exhibits for an exposition to be held in Vienna in 1873 to commemorate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the accession of Emperor Franz Joseph I. The Japanese government eventually decided to take part in the Exposition at the end of the year, and discussions were held on what kind of exhibits should be sent. The government's plan to join the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会 became a matter of broad public knowledge in January 1872, when the Grand Council of State made a proclamation on the subject.<sup>1)</sup>

We can see from the proclamation that the general aim was to scour Japan widely for outstanding products and articles, and to promote overseas trade for the national interest by exhibiting them abroad. In May, Tsunetami Sano, who was Kobu-taijo 工部大丞佐野常民 (the Senior Secretary of the Ministry of Engineering), became a third-class officer at the Ministry and became responsible for administering the Exposition. He was also appointed as an Investigator. Thus, involved with the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会, Sano submitted a "Memorandum on Exhibits for the Austrian Exposition" 「澳国博覧会出品に関する伺書」<sup>2)</sup> to the Central Council 正院 in June, laying out the objectives for joining the Exposition as follows: Firstly, raising overseas interest in Japan by exhibiting the country's natural and man-made products abroad. Secondly, undertaking survey research on the state of European industry, and acquiring education and training on each of the specialized areas involved. Thirdly, building an exposition site in Japan as well, and holding such events at home in the future. Fourthly, acknowledging how Japanese products were evaluated overseas, and considering ways to increase exports. Finally, researching the cost price of well-known goods and articles from a wide range of countries, and gather data to promote overseas trade. From the Memorandum, we can see that the idea of joining the Exposition as an extension of a policy to survey the situation abroad and to adopt and utilize what was found to be advantageous. Also, to realize the second aim, on-site specialized overseas training was recommended for each technician in each field.

On the basis of Sano's proposals, the Central Council 正院 decided in September to send technical workers with the delegation. In October, Councilor Okuma 大隈参議 was appointed as the president of administration for



the Exposition, with Investigator Sano as vice-president. Nobuakira Yamataka 山高信離, along with other staff of the Ministry of Finance 大蔵省, was appointed as the secretary for the team. Tsunetami Sano 佐野常民, who was to travel to Austria as vice-president of the delegation, was from the domain of Saga. In 1848, he began attending the Tekijuku 適塾 academy in Osaka, run by Koan Ogata. 緒方洪庵 After his studies there, he learned scientific subjects such as Physics and Chemistry from Genboku Ito 伊東玄朴 in Edo. He led a delegation of domain samurai from Saga to the Paris Exposition of 1867 パリ万国博覧会, and after the event had finished, he made an inspection tour of navy and industry in the Netherlands and Britain, returning to Japan in 1868. After his return, he introduced reforms to his domain's military organization, but he then began working for the national Meiji government in 1870. Nobuakira Yamataka 山高信離, the Exposition team's secretary, was a native of Hamamatsu domain 浜松藩. In 1865, he was chosen as a member of the first student intake at Yokohama French Academy 横浜仏蘭西語学所, and he sailed to France for the Paris Exposition with the official rank of Sakuji-bugyo 作事奉行格 (Commissioner for Buildings). After the Exposition, he continued his stay in France as a foreign student, but after the restoration of Imperial rule he was recalled by the Meiji government. He then, too, gave his services to the new regime. We can see from the careers of both Sano and Yamataka that these administrators had studied Western languages and culture during the closing years of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and furthermore that they had both gained direct experience of Western civilization in Paris, London and other locations.

While delegates of this caliber were being chosen, search was launched for products and articles to be exhibited at the Exposition. In this process, it is worth noting the views of the foreign contract workers who had been hired by the Japanese government and who formed part of the Japanese delegation to the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会. Alexander von Siebold (who was working for the Central Council at the time) was of the opinion that in order to raise interest toward Japan in Europe, Japan needed to send very large-scale exhibits to the Exposition. The outcome was that objects of a grand size were chosen for the Exposition; these included the golden dolphins from Nagoya Castle, 名古屋城の金鯱 a life-size replica of the Great Buddha of Kamakura 鎌倉大仏 in papier-mâché, and a model of the pagoda of the Yanaka-Tennoji temple 谷中天王寺五重塔 in Tokyo.<sup>3)</sup> Neither should we overlook the opinions of Gottfried Wagener, another of the foreign contract workers. Wagener was a native of Hanover, Germany. After earning a doctorate at the University of Göttingen, he moved to Japan for employment as a soap-works technician in Nagasaki, arriving in 1868. He also was a technical advisor in the production of pottery at Hizen Arita. 肥前有田 After the abolition of the feudal domains and their replacement by local-government prefectures, Wagener left for Tokyo, where he got a teaching post at the Daigaku-Nanko academy 大学南校, lecturing in fields such as Physics and Chemistry. He was involved with the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会 as a technical advisor for sourcing articles for exhibit. Wagener, too, was of the opinion that the better course would be to present traditional craft goods rather than products of technologies as yet still immature in Japan, and he put a great deal of effort into sourcing handicraft goods in Kyoto and other locations. We can see that both von Siebold and Wagener aimed to raise awareness of Japan worldwide by exhibiting traditional Japanese objects.<sup>4)</sup>

### 3. Scenes from the Vienna World Exposition

The objects chosen for display at the Exposition were loaded onto a ship of the French mail Company, along with most of the administrative staff, technicians and other delegation members. Departing Yokohama in January 1873, they docked at Trieste after a voyage of fifty days. From there, they traveled to Vienna by rail. The entire party for the Exposition consisted of seventy-two members. Akekiyo Sekizawa, 関沢明清 one of the event administrators, had been sent on ahead to make arrangements for receiving the party and the transported objects. He also contacted the local press with articles and a list of the Japanese exhibits for advertisement.

From Sekizawa's material, we can see that traditional Japanese craft goods such as lacquerware, pottery, and

copperware had been chosen on the basis of the recommendations made by Siebold, Wagener and other organizers. After all the preparations, a splendid opening ceremony for the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会 was finally held on May 1 in Vienna's Der Wiener Prater park, before a crowd of tens of thousands and with the Emperor Franz Joseph in attendance. The countries taking part included Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, the United States, China, Turkey, and Persia; there were over twenty countries altogether. On May 5, the Emperor and Empress, with a retinue of nobles and notables, visited the Japanese garden which had been constructed at the Japanese pavilion, crossing the newly constructed garden bridge.

On June 3, the Tomomi Iwakura Mission 岩倉使節団 – which was traveling across America and Europe to negotiate the revision of treaty – arrived in Vienna, and the Mission visited the Exposition. Kunitake Kume 久米邦武, who was charged with making the official record of the Mission's doings, wrote a special report on the scene of the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会, titled “Ui-n Bankokuhakurankai Kenbunnoki, 「維納万国博覧会見聞ノ記」” in his general record of the Tomomi Iwakura Mission 岩倉使節団, “Tokumeizenkentaishi Beioukairanjikki.” 『特命全權大使米歐回覧実記』 Kume reports that among the various exhibits, the pottery, lacquerware, cloisonné ware, inlay works, straw crafts, and dyed leatherwork had been especially well received. In particular, the folding fans that the Japanese put on sale had flown off the shelves, leading to local Viennese manufacturers producing their own; these locally produced versions had also proved an instant hit. Indeed, Japanese products did very well at the Exposition, winning an honor certificate and a total of 218 awards. Total sales of samples while the Exposition was in progress reached 83,200 Austrian gulden. After 186 days, the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会 drew to a close on November 2.<sup>5)</sup>

In regard to the other objective of joining the Exposition – technological training and transfer – Sano decided to select just a few of the delegation for it. To cover their expenses, 6,000 yen was allowed to be drawn down from the proceeds of sales at the Exposition, and the project thus went ahead as planned, with government funding. Sano and Wagener visited each area of Europe to observe the trainees' progress, met with their instructors, and made requests for tuition.

#### **4. On-Site Technical Training of the Participants and their Activities Post-Return**

Having finished all of his administrative work for the Exposition, Sano arrived back in Yokohama in December 1874. In January of the following year, he presented a “Report” to the government, and followed this up by having it printed and widely circulated to the public. So here, let us look at what kind of training the technicians were given in various parts of Europe after the Exposition, what they did after their return home, and how they contributed to the advancement of Japanese manufacturing and technology.

Naganobu Sasaki 佐々木長淳, who reported on sericulture, was from the domain of Fukui 福井藩. He had been dispatched to America in 1867 as a buyer for military supplies. After his return, he worked as an importer of weapons and books. He subsequently found work with the Meiji government, taking on the technical post of Kankouryo of the Ministry of Engineering. 工部省勤工寮 Sasaki joined the Vienna World Exposition as an employee of the Investigative Office for Cloth Manufacture and for the Repair of Architecture and Machines. After the Exposition, he went to a sericulture laboratory in the town of Görz in Austria, where he studied sericulture and the care of silkworms. After returning to Japan in 1874, he joined the Naito Shinjuku Experimental Laboratory of the Ministry of Home Affairs 内務省内藤新宿試験場, where (among other achievements) he detected pébrine (“pepper disease”; a disease of silkworms) first in Japan under the microscope. In 1877, he set up a spinning facility for waste thread 屑糸紡績所 at Shinmachi, Midono County, Gunma Prefecture 群馬県緑野郡新町; the facility was managed by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Kaijiro Noutomi 納富介次郎, who reported on ceramics, came from the domain of Ogi 小城藩. In 1862, he went to Shanghai. Attending the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会 as an inspector of ceramic

illustrations and composition, he went to a porcelain manufacturing plant in Elbogen, Bohemia, where he studied the production of plaster models; he did so in the company of Chujiro Kawahara 河原忠次郎, who reported on porcelain manufacturing. Noutomi also toured the ceramics manufacturing center of Sèvres in France before returning to Japan. After coming back, he took up the inspector's post of Kangyoryo of the Ministry of Home Affairs, 内務省勸業寮 where he advocated the adoption of Western methods of ceramic production. In 1877, along with Makoto Shioda, 塩田真 he set up the Edogawa Ceramics Manufacturing Plant 江戸川製陶所 in Shinogawamachi. 新小川町 There, he worked as a technical specialist, with Chujiro Kawahara as the factory head.

Other specialists, such as Sen Tsuda 津田仙 (reporting on horticulture) and Seisuke Tanaka 田中精助 (reporting on telegraphic manufacturing processes etc.) were active in their respective fields after they returned to Japan. We can discern the following from these reporters' subsequent careers and activities: Firstly, technicians such as Naganobu Sasaki 佐々木長淳 and Sen Tsuda 津田仙 had already had experience of the West. Looking at their achievements, we can say that they combined the Western studies they had engaged in during the closing years of the Tokugawa Shogunate with the concerted introduction of modern scientific technology, and that they proactively built on their experience to open up research in new fields. Secondly, specialists such as Kaijiro Noutomi 納富介次郎 and Seisuke Tanaka, 田中精助 who undertook survey research on European manufacturing and introduced new technologies in Japan, went on to found new business in this area. Here we see the transfer of expertise and enterprise from government to the private sector, and we can understand this as an important development with the sell-off of government-managed factories when considering the flow of technological training and innovation in early Meiji-period Japan.

Now let us turn to participants of the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会 other than the reporters discussed above. While visiting Europe, Tsunetami Sano 佐野常民 – the vice-president of the delegation established the Hakuai-sha 博愛社 (precursor to the Japanese Red Cross Society 日本赤十字社) in 1877 with the Red Cross which he had inspected while visiting Europe as a model. Nobuakira Yamataka, 山高信離 who attended the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会 as a member of administration, subsequently worked on the administrative teams for the Philadelphia Exposition フィラデルフィア万国博覧会 (1876), the Paris Exposition パリ万国博覧会 (1878), and the Sydney Exposition シドニー万国博覧会 (1879), while also contributing to the running of the first and second Naikokukangyohakurankai 内国勸業博覧会 (national industrial expositions). The foreign contract worker Gottfried Wagener, who was also on the team that went to the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会, used his contacts on the ground in setting up training courses for the technicians, and he also was an advisor to the first and second Naikokukangyohakurankai 内国勸業博覧会 (national industrial expositions). Meanwhile, after his return from Europe, Alexander von Siebold rejoined the translation section of the Central Council administration 正院翻訳課 in 1875, after which he eventually secured an employment contract with the Ministry of Finance. We have evidence that he appears and was active in a wide variety of situations of Japanese modernization thereafter. Such include reporting of structure of overseas countries, cooperation in surveying overseas constitutions, and activities in negotiations for the revision of international treaty terms.<sup>6)</sup>

On the commercial side of the endeavor, both the tea merchant Gisuke Matsuo 松尾儀助 and the tool-dealer Kanesaburo Wakai 若井兼三郎 ran stalls at the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会. At Sano's suggestion, they set up a trading company in Vienna called the Kiryu Kosho Kaisya. 起立工商会社 Also, in 1874, after their return, they secured special contracts with the British Alexander Park Company and the Viennese merchant Carl Trau for the export of ceramics, copperware, silk, cotton, lacquerware, leather, fans, and paper products, among other articles. During the eighteen years until the company was dissolved, the firm exhibited at eleven world expositions, and contributed to the promotion of Japanese exports by opening a branch in New York in 1877, and another in Paris the following year. We should note that the such trading company for the export of Japanese handicraft goods was established occasioned by the Vienna World Exposition ウィーン万国博覧会.<sup>7)</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

As we have seen above, Japan's participation in the 1873 Vienna World Exposition ウイーン万国博覧会 triggered major advances in the promotion of the country's industrialization. Through technical trainees who had participated in the World Exposition and received technical training, Western modern research and technology was implemented in various fields. Secondly, we also need to pay attention to the role played by the foreign contract workers involved with the Vienna World Exposition ウイーン万国博覧会. Alexander von Siebold leveraged his participation in the Exposition to pass on Japanese exhibits to institutions such as the Oriental Museum of Vienna, the Austrian Kunsthistorisches Museum, and the Technisches Museum Wien, along with the Leipzig Museum of Ethnology in Germany, where they formed an important component of these institutes' collections of traditional Japanese handicraft goods and ethnological materials.<sup>8)</sup> Gottfried Wagener also went on to play an important role in the introduction of modern Western civilization into Japan, and the promotion of the country's industrial growth. He was an advisor for both the Philadelphia Exposition フィラデルフィア万国博覧会 and the Naikokukangyohakurankai 内国勸業博覧会 (national industrial expositions) in Japan, and was involved in the establishment of Tokyo Shokko Gakko 東京職工学校(Tokyo Institute of Technology) in 1881.

Another point that deserves attention here is the way in which the Vienna World Exposition ウイーン万国博覧会 occasioned the creation of the Kiryu Kosho Kaisya 起立工商会社 as a firm specializing in the export of traditional Japanese handicraft goods. Through its export of traditional Japanese handicraft goods, this company made a major contribution to the development of the international trading sector in Japan. And this was not the firm's only achievement. It also developed the talents of staff members who subsequently worked overseas, such as the art dealer Tadamas Hayashi. 林忠正<sup>9)</sup> Thus, we can conclude that Japan's participation in the Vienna World Exposition ウイーン万国博覧会 was highly significant in two aspects. One was the development of modernized industries in Japan. The other, as presented in the activities of actors such as the Siebold brothers and the Kiryu Kosho Kaisya 起立工商会社, was the development of the traditional Japanese craft industries.

### Notes

- 1) “*Okoku Hakurankai Sandokiyo*” (Brief on Participation in the Austrian Exposition), Yoshio Tanaka & Narinobu Hirayama (eds.), Johen P. 9–P. 10, Tokyo Insatsu, 1897
- 2) “*Okuma Monjyo*”(Document of Okuma) Kancho kankei Monjyo (5) hakurankai kyousinkaibu(Government office -affiliated document (5) part of Exposition, Fair
- 3) “*Okoku Hakurankai Sandokiyo*” (Brief on Participation in the Austrian Exposition), Yoshio Tanaka & Narinobu Hirayama (eds.), Johen P. 16, Tokyo Insatsu, 1897
- 4) Mitukuni Yosida “*Oyatoi-gaikokujin Sangyou*” (Foreign employee Industry) P77, kajimasyupankai 1968
- 5) “*Okoku Hakurankai Sandokiyo*” (Brief on Participation in the Austrian Exposition), Yoshio Tanaka & Narinobu Hirayama (eds.), Johen P. 40, Tokyo Insatsu, 1897
- 6) Nobukata Kutsuzawa “*Alexander von Siebold Ryakunenpo to Nihonseifu tono Koyokankeisiryō nituite* (Abbreviation chronological table of Alexander von Siebold and Hiring historical document of Japanese Government) P. 14–P. 15, Narutakikiyo No.15 2005
- 7) “*Okoku Hakurankai Sandokiyo*” (Brief on Participation in the Austrian Exposition), Yoshio Tanaka & Narinobu Hirayama (eds.), Gehen P. 188–P. 195, Tokyo Insatsu, 1897
- 8) Josef Kreiner “*Heinrich von Siebold--Nihonkōgaku Minzokubunka Kigenron no Gakushi kara--*”(Heinrich von Siebold –History of study of origin idea in Japanese ethnology and Japanese archeology) P. 238–P. 240, “Syoshiboruto Ezokenbunka (Ezo record of H. von Siebold personal experience) Heibonsya 1986
- 9) Akio Haino “*Kinsei no Makie*” (Lacquer work in Earlymodern) P. 17, Tyuokoronsya 1994

\* Person explanation of this article depend on “*Okoku Hakurankai Sandokiyou*”(Brief on Participation in the Austrian Exposition) Yoshio Tanaka & Narinobu Hirayama (eds.), “*Meijiisin jinmeijiten*” (Meiji Restoration person's name encyclopedia) “*Umiokoeta Nihon jinmeijiten*” (Japanese person's name encyclopedia beyond the sea) nitigai asosie-tu 1985, “*Nihonkinndai Sisotaikei 14 kagaku to gijyutu*” (Japanese modern through outline No14 Science and technique) iwanamisyoten 1989

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- Nobukata Kutsuzawa, "Meiji roku-nen Wien bankoku hakurankai to Nihon no sando" (The Vienna World Exposition of 1873 and Japan's Participation) in *Nihon no kindaika to chishikijin* (Japan's Modernization and the Intellectuals), Tokai University Press, 2000
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- Nana Miyata and Peter Pantzer, *Syonensyasinka no mita Meiji Nihon- Michael Moser Nihon taizaiki* -(Meiji Japn which the boy Photographer watched- Description of stay of Michael Moser in Japan-) benseisya 2018



# The Austrian photographer Michael Moser (1853-1912) and early Meiji-Japan with a special focus on the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873

Nana Miyata Austrian Academy of Sciences

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1: "Michael Moser, a photograph in Yokohama"  
(Michael Moser, Photograph in Yokohama) © Alfred Moser

## 1. Introduction

Japan and Austria will celebrate the 150th year of their diplomatic relationship in 2019. The Austrian photographer Michael Moser (1853-1912), even whose name has remained almost unknown until today, witnessed the very beginning of this relationship and left documents as well as photos of Japan which went through the so-called Meiji-Restoration in 1868. Although he was only 16 years old, when he came to Japan as a member of the Austro-Hungarian Expedition to East Asia in 1868/69, he decided to stay further in Japan for 7 years in total.

First, this paper shortly introduces his life, his stay in Japan, and the characteristics of the documents such as diaries, letters, and essays. Then after, we will focus on his record of the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873 and conclude the historical importance of the materials related to Michael Moser.

## 2. Short biography of Michael Moser (1853-1912)

### 2.1 From Altaussee to Vienna

Michael Moser was born as the second son of seven children between Joachim Moser (1806-1920) and Eva Maria Moser in a rural district Altaussee in Austria. At the age of 13 years old, Michael came across the prominent Austrian photographer Wilhelm Burger (1844-1920), who visited this district for the purpose of taking photos of its beautiful landscape. The biography of Michael Moser entitled "A world traveller from Steiermark – the Experience of Michael Moser from Altaussee, who was brought up on a farm" (Ein steierischer Weltfahrer – Erlebnisse des Bauernsohnes Michael Moser aus Altaussee)<sup>1)</sup>, written by the well-known Austrian novelist Peter Rosegger (1843-1918), who became acquainted with Michael Moser shortly after Michael's return from Japan to Austria in 1876, tells us about their fateful encounter in a vivid manner: According to this biography, Michael showed keen interest in Burger's camera and photography, and started to work in Burger's photo atelier in Vienna

as an apprentice soon after their encounter in Altaussee.

Around that time, Wilhelm Burger taught in the Institute for Physics at the University of Vienna, where his uncle Andreas von Ettingshausen (1796-1878) was intensively engaged in the research on the photographic techniques (in particular, daguerreotype photography), and applied for the post of the official photographer of the Austro-Hungarian Expedition to East Asia. It was the decision of the first secretary of the Expedition, Karl Ritter von Scherzer (1821-1903) that they would let a photographer instead of a painter accompany the expedition for keeping visual records of each destination during their journey. On the recommendation of Karl von Scherzer, who was enthusiastically fond of photography and had informed understandings of Burger's excellence as a photographer, Wilhelm Burger was successfully assigned to the post, and Michael Moser gave ready consent to go along with Burger on his journey to East Asia. In this way, Michael Moser came to Japan in 1869 at the age of 16 years old.

## 2.2 To Japan: The Austro-Hungarian Expedition to East Asia during 1868 and 1869

There had been already a ground swell of concluding trade treaties with Japan in the 1850s in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, even before a treaty was concluded between Japan and America in 1854. Especially the merchants of the Austro-Hungarian Empire were astutely aware of the necessity of exploring overseas markets, and they had an international trading port in Trieste. However, the Empire had to tackle with a couple of problems within Europe, namely the movement for Italian unification in 1859 and 1866, the war with Denmark over Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, the war with Prussia in 1866, and the death of emperor Maximilian of Mexico, the younger brother of the Austrian emperor, who was court-martialed and shot in Mexico in 1867.

It was only in 1868 that the navy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire could accommodate the expedition with warships, and they chose the corvette Friedrich and the frigate Donau. Wilhelm von Tegetthoff (1827-1871) was initially designated as the Admiral and Plenipotentiary of the expedition. He was, however, charged as the Chief of the Naval Section of the War Ministry (Chef der Marinesektion der Kriegsministerium) in March 1868, and Anton von Petz (1819-1885) was appointed newly to the post. Under his command, the Austro-Hungarian expedition to East Asia dispatched from Trieste on a special mission of concluding treaties with Siam (Thailand), China, and Japan on the 18th October 1868. On the way to their final destination Japan, they called at, for example, Algiers of Algeria, Cape of Good Hope, Anyer as well as Sumatra of Indonesia, Singapore, Bangkok of Siam / Thailand, Saigon of Vietnam, Hongkong, and Shanghai. Both ships of Friedrich and Donau arrived in Nagasaki



2: "Cochin China, the hand of a rich Vietnamese"  
(Cochin China, Hand eines reichen Anamiten [Vietnamese]) © Alfred Moser

in September 1869 and moved through Kobe to Yokohama. The treaty was signed in Tokyo on the 18th October 1869, exactly on the day in just one year after leaving Trieste. Since the negotiation came to agreement in ten days, it was called as “treaty of ten days” in Austria.

As for this journey, the first secretary Karl Ritter von Scherzer (1821-1903) and the Admiral Anton von Petz (1819-1885) left official reports and records, and a few expedition members including Scherzer and Michael Moser kept diaries privately. The official photographer of the expedition Wilhelm Burger took photos of each destination in company with Michael Moser as his assistant. It is important to note, however, that some photographs were not taken by Burger: He bought some photos from local photographers. For example, Michael made a remark in his diary that Burger bought the following photo with a wealthy Vietnamese with long nails from a local photographer.

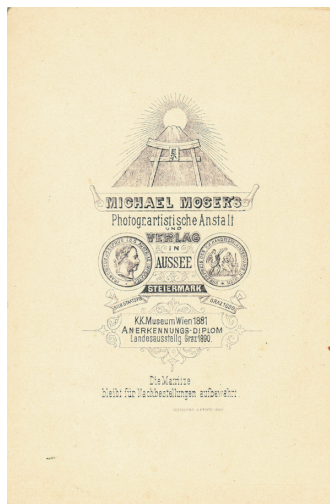
### 2.3 His stay in Japan from 1869 to 1876

After having completed their mission, both ships of Friedrich and Donau dispatched Yokohama on the 14th November 1869. Michael Moser decided to stay further in Japan though. Why? As possible reasons for his decision, two facts can be indicated; first, he was terribly suffered from seasickness and got ill for the half of the whole journey from Trieste to Nagasaki according to his diary. After having experienced such a hardship during the first sea voyage, Michael could have recoiled from an other voyage by ship. Second, he seemed to get fond of Japan soon after his arrival in Nagasaki. He mentioned in his diary as follows:

Nagasaki is the most beautiful port among those which we have ever seen. [...] The whole district is here a place of true beauty and reminds me of my hometown in Austria.<sup>2)</sup>

Michael could have found a possibility for establishing himself in Japan.

Michael started to work as a servant in a hotel, jointly kept by a German and a British. In the essay, which was written in retrospect after his return to Austria in 1885, he reviewed those days that the job provided him with the opportunities for getting acquainted with other European people and practicing Japanese and English languages.<sup>3)</sup> Nevertheless, it appeared not to be worthwhile job for him, and he longed for working through making use of his knowledge and techniques of photography. One day, a German, who owned photo devices and essential chemicals, but could not utilize them on his own, approached Michael with the offer of opening a photo atelier.<sup>4)</sup> They have a wooden house built in Yokohama soon and run it until it was completely destroyed by a typhoon. In serious



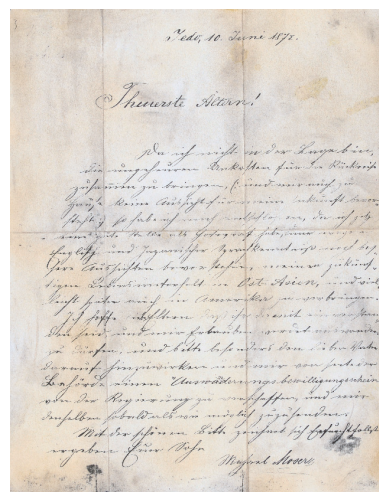
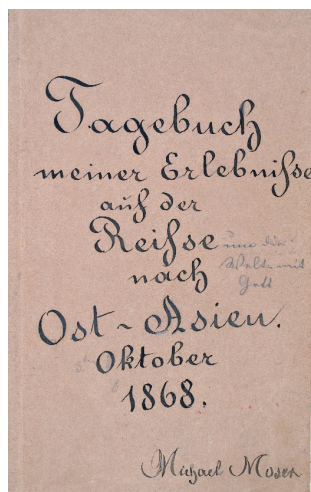
3: Michael Moser's mount with Mount Fuji, rising sun, and torii © Alfred Moser



straits, Moser visited the Scot journalist and publisher John Reddie Black (1826–1880) and started to work for his fortnight photographic magazine *The Far East* from around November in 1870 until he was employed as a specially appointed interpreter for the Japanese commission for the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873.

After coming back to Japan, he worked for the Japanese government and participated in the Japanese commission for the World Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 where he was infected with a typhoid fever and decided to go back to Austria. After his return to Altaussee, he worked as an interpreter for the Japanese commission for the World Exposition in Paris in 1878, but never visited Japan again. Nevertheless, it is remarkable on the design with Mount Fuji, rising sun, and *torii* (gateway at the entrance to a Shinto shrine) of his mount that he kept fond memories of Japan while working as a prominent photographer in Aussee.

He married Franciska Fruhwirth (1863-1946) in 1889 and they blessed with a son Philipp (1890-1978) one year later. Michael Moser died of apoplexy in 1912 at the age of 59 years old.



4 (left): Michael Moser's diary during 1868 and 1869  
 5 (right): Michael Moser's handwritten letter to his parents on the 10th June in 1871  
 © Alfred Moser

### 3. Michael Moser's photographs and documents

Michael Moser has his photo atelier built in Bad Aussee next to Altaussee. After Michael's death, his wife Franciska kept running this atelier in joint management with Michael's younger brother Eusebius who had also learned photography from Wilhelm Burger in his photo atelier in Vienna. After Franciska's death, the atelier was changed into a shoe store by the new owner, and the glass negatives of Michael Moser were brought to Kammerhofmuseum in Bad Aussee which has had the glass negatives, some prints, and the first diary (1868 / 69) of Michael Moser in their custody since then. The visual images of the glass negatives can be transformed into transparencies and digital images of high-definition. They make it possible to focus on the photographic subjects through magnifying them so that we can see them in details clearly, which is different from albumin prints.

Michael Moser's grandson, Alfred Moser (1947-) owns two volumes of the photo albums of Michael Moser, both of which are related to Japan.<sup>5)</sup> Besides a number of those photographs, which show the landscapes and people of the countries which Michael visited, in particular Japan, he left diaries, letters, and essays. Michael was not of a person of social eminence. Thus, the contents and characteristics of his diaries are totally different from those of diplomats or 'important actors' in history. However, Michael went into details of what he experienced each day. In his letters, he reported his circumstances and certain customs in his destinations to his parents, a younger brother, and a priest in his hometown in details. Together with photos, these documents enable us to see early

Meiji-Japan in a vivid manner. In the following part, the characteristics of each document are summarized.

#### <Diaries>

There are four hand-written diaries (two volumes counted as a book). The first one was kept as the assistant of Burger on the journey from Trieste in 1868 to Nagasaki in 1869. This depicts the landscapes, manners, and customs of the countries the expedition visited in details. We can read this diary as the supplementary document of the official reports of the Expedition to East Asia. The second one was kept on the journey from Yokohama in 1872 when he participated in the commission for the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873. This diary was ended with his remark on his return to Altaussee while working for the Japanese commission for the Vienna World Exposition. The third one was started to keep in January in Vienna and ended in May in Yokohama in 1874, which tells us his journey from Vienna through the stay in Venice for studying a photo technique “moonlight photography” by Carlo Naya (1816–1882) to Yokohama. On this journey, Michael was assigned by Tsunetami Sano (1822–1902) to investigate what happened to the cargos of the exhibits in the ship Nil. The fourth diary covers his journey from Yokohama to Ogden on his way to Philadelphia as the member of the Japanese commission for the World Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. The diary on his journey from Ogden to Philadelphia and from Philadelphia to Aussee was to read only in a newspaper (*Gmundner Wochenblatt*)<sup>6)</sup>.

#### <Letters>

Besides these diaries, 21 pieces of letters were found in total, which had been addressed mainly to his parents, his younger brother Heinrich, and a priest in Altaussee during 1868 and 1877. Unfortunately, the large part of the original letters went missing. However, they were published in newspapers (*Grazer Volksblatt* and *Der Sonntagsbote*) in those days, since the priest found the value of making Michael’s itinerary public to the wider readership.

#### <Essays>

After his return to his hometown in 1876, he published two essays on his stay in Japan in a local journal (*Steierische Alpen-Post*)<sup>7)</sup>. The one, which was written under the title “Michael Moser’s experience and adventure in Japan” (Michael Mosers Erlebnisse und Abenteuer in Japan) in 1885, covers the whole time that Michael started to stay in Yokohama in 1869 and returned from Philadelphia to Altaussee in 1876. The other one was published under the title “Blossom festivals in Tokyo” (Blütenfeste in Tokio) in 1888.

It is important to underline some characteristics peculiar to Moser’s perspective and language in these documents. Here is an example. It was about the first encounter with Japanese men in Nagasaki.

The Japanese are the most naked nation among those whom we have seen so far. Because they have just a white cloth of three fingers width around their waist [*fundoshi*]. [...] They have a peculiar hairstyle: They have shaved their head top and forehead entirely. They have combed their long hair towards their head top and wore a topknot like a ca. 5 inches hair-sausage (braid), on which they put brilliantie, and laid it to the front.<sup>8)</sup>

His text was not written in the standard German language, but an Austrian dialect of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and quite often grammatically not correct. And with no rhetoric expressions. In addition, he often coined unique terms such as “hair-sausage”.

As it is obvious, however, Michael had keen powers of observation, and he was really good at depicting the visual images in an unforgettable manner. He was also good at catching the pronunciation of unfamiliar words such as *daimyo* (in German spelling, *daimio*) in Japanese language. In this way, the number of his vocabulary

increased and the style of his text was improved at an incredibly high speed in a short time. Michael mentioned that he mastered the Japanese and English languages within one year, which seems quite persuasive.

### 3.1 The Vienna World Exposition in 1873



6: "Michael Moser in Vienna in 1873"  
(Michael Moser in Wien 1873) © Alfred Moser

For the Vienna World Exposition in 1873 (1. May – 31. October), he was employed as a specially appointed interpreter for the Japanese commission. Michael boarded a French ship "Phase" together with Japanese delegates and the other European members such as Heinrich von Siebold (1852-1908). They departed Yokohama on the 29<sup>th</sup> January in 1874 and arrived in Trieste on the 21<sup>st</sup> May. Michael reached Vienna on the 23<sup>rd</sup> March where he firstly met his younger brother Heinrich and people from Altaussee living in Vienna. A newspaper reported on Michael that he was "a photographer with a highly honoured position" and so versed in Japanese language that he was employed as an interpreter for the World Exposition in Vienna by the Japanese government.<sup>9)</sup>

The Japanese commission built culturally typical installations for Japan such as shrine and garden in the venue of the World Exposition in Prater in Vienna where the Emperor Franz I. and Empress Elisabeth visited in person. The Japanese exhibits as well as products highly attracted the visitors' interests, and the souvenirs such as Japanese fans were sold like hot cakes (see the paper by Pantzer). Michael worked like a busy bee in this souvenir shop.

I had a lot of things to do during the World Exposition. From 5:30 am to night, I had to be there in the site of the exposition. First, I was requested to check whether the cargos of the exhibits had safely arrived. Then after, I was assigned a job to have an oversight of the workmen. I was in charge of even little complaints and failures, so I ran around and did the writing everywhere as if I had gone daft. All delegates of the Japanese committee praised and trusted me for my work. [...] When the preparation of the Japanese exhibition hall was almost completed, I was assigned an other job to work at the Japanese booth. My task was to calculate the taxes of the Japanese goods and to be there for selling them and interpreting. In addition, I had opportunities

to run to the court [police] together with Japanese people for thieves turned out quite often.



7: Japanese commission for the World Exposition in Vienna, 1. January 1874 © Alfred Moser

Michael gained permission for returning to Altaussee to visit his parents together with his younger brothers Heinrich and Eusebius, both who worked in the photo atelier of Wilhelm Burger in Vienna as well. Michael's diary, which was kept in 1874, is concluded with the visit to Altaussee.

This group photo of the Japanese commission was taken on the 1st January in 1874 in Vienna on a proposal made by Tsunetami Sano.

Michael Moser is the 2nd person from the left in the top column. Tsunetami Sano is sitting in formal dress in the middle and Gottfried Wagener (1831-1892) in Sano's left. Michael Moser noted down about this day in his diary.

On the 1st January, [...] around 10am we (Japanese) gathered all together for extending our wishes to Sano for a Happy New Year. [...] We went to the photo atelier "Adele" all together and have our photo in a group of 25 people taken on the request of Sano. Among them, only Dr Wagener [Gottfried Wagener] and I were the European. Sano was in formal dress. [...] In the evening, music was played in a typically Japanese style. They enjoyed singing and dancing. Wakai [Kanesaburo Wakai, 1834-1908], Iwahachi [Noriaki Iwahashi, 1835-1883] and Shioda [Makoto Shioda, 1837-1917] did them particularly well.<sup>10)</sup>

Gottfried Wagener, Kanesaburo Wakai, and Makoto Shioda are the important committee members, as Kutsuzawa mentioned in his paper (see Kutsuzawa's paper).

The World Exposition in Vienna gave considerable success to Japan and the Japanese government decided to make use of the profits for offering some specialists among the exposition commission the opportunities for studying and receiving training in their line further in Vienna, as Kutsuzawa made a remark on the "technological training" in his paper. The minister resident Tsunetami Sano allowed Michael Moser to go back to Japan, since Sano was satisfied with his work. In addition, Sano selected Michael Moser as one of those specialists and required him to study a certain photo technique from an Italian photographer Carlo Naya (1816-1882) in Venice at the expense of Japanese government. Sano chose Carlo Naya for Michael Moser on his own, most probably because Naya also participated in the Vienna World Exposition and Sano knew his excellence as a photographer, especially in respect to the technic of the so-called "moonlight photo".<sup>11)</sup> For the purpose of showing this photo technique, Moser received a favour of seeing the Japanese emperor after his return to Japan. Moser described in his diary, how Sano conveyed the decision of proposing "technological training" to the committee members, and the day



when they departed from Vienna.

On the 6th January, [...] all those involved in the exposition were summoned to Sano. [...] He [Tsunetami Sano] made speeches in which he addressed thanks for their work during the exposition on behalf of the Japanese government. [...] He said to us that we should study hard so as to be able to acquire professional knowledge and techniques in respective profession. He said to me that I could go back to Japan again, since I carried out my work really well. However, I still have to study photography hard here. The Japanese government will defray the costs. [...] <sup>12)</sup>

On the 9th, I was summoned to Sano at 6am, although he was still in bed. [...] At 5pm, the committee members also departed. Shioda [Makoto Shioda], Tanaka [Yoshio Tanaka, 1838-1916], Ishida [Tametake Ishida], Ichikawa [Iwao Ishikawa], Wakai [Kanezaburo Wakai], Matsu [Gisuke Matsuo, 1836-1902] and Seisuke Tanaka. The last person will go back to Japan via Paris. On the 12th I departed to Marseille together with two girls who worked for Stillfried [Raimund Baron von Stillfried, 1839-1911].<sup>13)</sup>

Raimund von Stillfried (1839-1911) is a well-known Austrian photographer, who worked already in the end Edo- and early Meiji-Japan. He opened a tea house near to the site of the World Exposition in Vienna during that time. It was, however, criticized as a brothel by the Austrian aristocrats, and it marked deficits.<sup>14)</sup> Therefore, the Japanese government bore the travel expenses of the Japanese employees, and it was the reason why Moser accompanied two Japanese girls to Marseille.



8: Stillfried's "tea house" near to the site of the World Exposition<sup>15)</sup>

As Pantzer mentioned in his paper, the Japanese exhibits attracted the Austrian visitors of the World Exposition. Some artists embarked on a trip towards Japan so as to see the aesthetics of Japan on their own and some merchants started to deal in diverse Japanese products such as tea, ceramics, lacquerware, and kimono. Carl Trau, on whom Kutsuzawa remarked in his paper, had opened his shop named "The first tea merchant in Vienna" in 1850 and asked Moser to buy some Japanese products for Trau.

In the afternoon, I purchased iodine and methyl green for making "moonlight-photos" and daily necessities. At half past four I said good-bye to Mr. Trau [Carl Trau]. He entrusted me with 750 Napoleon [gold] so that I could buy some goods for him in Japan.

In fact, Moser brought a number of Japanese objects to his hometown. Here is a photo of his room named “The Japanese room” in his parents’ house. Unfortunately, a large part of this collection went lost during the following World Wars.



9: “The Japanese room in Altaussee” (Das japanische Cabinet in Altaussee) © Alfred Moser

Michael’s diary tells us also that Michael Moser was one of those who were appointed by Tsunetami Sano to investigate what happened to the cargos of Japanese exhibits in the ship Nil of Messagerie Maritime: The Nil was caught by a storm and sank into the sea near the Izu-Penninsula together with about 190 cargos of the Japanese exhibits for the World Exposition in Vienna on the 20<sup>th</sup> March in 1874. On the way back to Japan, Moser was in charge of investigating what happened to them.

In the midday on the 18th [May] I went ashore together with Fujiyama and Saburo [Osaki]. [...] For we were obligated to investigate the condition of the cargos of the Japanese exhibits. Unfortunately, we turned to know that the first 191 cargoes sank all together with the ship Nil. [...] A Japanese named Yoshida was also sunk into the sea. He had studied silk fabric in Lyon for two years where he got on board. What we could do was only to write to Mr. Sano, and Mr. Fujiyama did it.<sup>16)</sup>

On the 26th [May], the wind slacked off and the weather cleared up from time to time. [...] The coast of Japan was steadily in sight, but it was impossible to have a distant view. Japanese people argued with deep nostalgia that they could see Mt. Fuji, but they could not actually due to thick clouds. In the afternoon, Izu-no-oke, namely the Izu Peninsula came into view. At this point or in the distance of 30 steps, we saw the mast of the ship Nil stuck out of the sea.<sup>17)</sup>

The name of Michael Moser was recorded as a member of the Japanese committee in Japanese documents. However, his role has remained unknown at all until his documents had been discovered. Moser’s diary sheds new light on the backstage events of the Japanese committee members during the exposition and offers more evidence to the research on the world exposition in Vienna.

#### 4. Conclusion:

In Short, the documents of Michael Moser cover a wide range of issues regarding Meiji-Japan, and one of them is the Vienna World Exposition. The information, which Moser offers, can be regarded as “missed puzzle pieces” for

the historical research on respective topics. Michael Moser's documents enable us to extend the research arena, which cannot be carried out only based on the administrative documents so far.

## Notes

- 1) Rosegger, P. (1877) „Ein steierischer Weltfahrer. Erlebnisse des Bauernsohnes Michael Moser aus Altaussee“. *Heimgarten*.
- 2) Original text in German language: „Nagasaki ist der schönste Hafen, den wir bis jetzt gesehen haben. [...] die Gegend ist hier wunderschön und erinnert uns ganz an die Heimath.“ (Michael Moser's Diary in 1868/69)
- 3) „Die Stelle in dem Gasthause war für mich insofern von Vortheil, als mir die Gelegenheit geboten ward, mit manchen der hier ansässigen Europäer bekannt zu werden. Auch übte ich mich dabei in der japanischen und englischen Sprache.“ (Michael Moser's essay in 1885)
- 4) Michael Moser's eleventh letter, written on the 20th August 1870.
- 5) The complete list of albums are to be found in Miyata, N. and Pantzer, P., trans. by Miyata, N. (2018) *Shōnen shashinka no mita Meiji-Nihon: Michael Moser no nihon taizai-ki* [Meiji Japan in the eyes of a young photographer: The documents of Michael Moser's days in Japan] Tokyo: Bensei-shuppan.
- 6) *Gmundner Wochenblatt*, Gmunden, 26th volume., No. 28, 11. July 1876.
- 7) *Steierische Alpen-Post*, Aussee, 1. volume, 1885 No. 10 (7. June 1885), No. 11 (14. June 1885), No. 12 (21. June 1885), No. 13 (28. June 1885), No. 14 (5. July 1885), No. 15 (12. July 1885), and No. 16 (19. July 1885); *Steierische Alpen-Post*, Aussee, 4. volume, 1888 No. 1 (1. January 1888) and No. 2 (8. January 1888).
- 8) Original text in German language: „Die Japanesen sind die nacksten Leute, welche wir bis jetzt gesehen haben. Denn sie haben gar nur ein etwa 3 Finger breites weißes Tüchl um die Mitte herum gebunden. [...] Sie haben einen eigenthümlichen Kopfputz: der Kopf ist oben rasiert als wie ein Kahlkopf und auch auf der Stirn ganz rasiert. Die langen Haare nach oben gekämmt und haben oben ein zierlich gemachtes etwa 5 Zoll langes Haarwürstl (Zöpfl) nach vorne auf die Stirn liegen, welches mit Wachs Bomade [= Pomade] eingeshmirt ist.“ (Michael Moser's Diary in 1868/69)
- 9) „[...]eine ganz respektable Stellung als Photograph und so bedeutende Kenntnisse der japanischen Sprache in Wort und Schrift, daß er von der japanischen Regierung, anlässlich der Wiener Weltausstellung—nebst anderen Europäern—als Dolmetsch gedungen wurde.“ (*Gmundner Wochenblatt*, 12. Juni 1873)
- 10) Original text in German language: „1. Jänner, [...] Vormittag 10 Uhr mußten wir (Japaner) alle beim Minister erscheinen, um Neujahr zu wünschen, [...]gingen wir alle zusammen ins Atelier *Adèle*<sup>10</sup> und ließen uns auf Wunsche des Minister *Sano* in einer Gruppe großen Formats fotografi[e]ren, im ganzen 25 Personen. Von Europäern war bloß Doktor *Wag[e]ner* und ich, Minister *Sano* war in Gala Uniform. [...] Der Abend wurde auf echt japanischer Weise mit Musik und Aufführung von Tänze[n] (*Fujishima*) und Gesänge[n], wovon sich Herr *Wakai*, *Iwahashi* und *Schioda* (spielte auch gut *Samisen*) besonders hervorthaten.“ (Michael Moser's diary in 1874)
- 11) Please refer to Miyata, N. and Pantzer, P., trans. by Miyata, N. (2018) *Shōnen shashinka no mita Meiji-Nihon: Michael Moser no nihon taizai-ki* [Meiji Japan in the eyes of a young photographer: The documents of Michael Moser's stay in Japan] Tokyo: Bensei-shuppan.
- 12) Original text in German language: „Am 6. Jänner, Hl. Drei König[s]tag, mussten wir wiederum alle was von der Ausstellungskommission war[en] beim Minister erscheinen, aber diesmal wurden andere Saiten aufgezoogen; da mussten wir uns im Salon alle in einem Kreis vor dem Minister herum sitzen. Zuerst hielt er eine Anrede, das[s] er uns im Namen der Regierung danke für unsere Dienste bei der Weltausstellung. [...] bei mir sagte er: weil ich immer so brav war, so darf ich wieder nach Japan mitreisen, aber soll mich hier noch tüchtig in der Fotografie ausbild[en]. Die Kosten dafür zahlt alles die jap[anische] Regierung, [...]“ (Michael Moser's diary in 1874)
- 13) Original text in German language: „Am 9<sup>ten</sup> mußte ich schon um 6 Uhr früh zum *Minister*, der jedoch noch im Bett lag. [...] Um 5 Uhr Nachmittag ist auch die Commission abgereist: als Herr *Schiwoda* [*Shioda*], *Tanaka*, *Ishida*, *Ischikawa*, *Wakai*, *Matzu* und *Tanaka Se[i]suke*, letzterer reiste über *Paris*. – Am 12. [Jänner] reiste ich [mit] den 2 Mädchen von *Stillfried*, welche jetz[t] auf Kosten der Regierung zurückreisen, nach *Marseil[l]e*.“ (Michael Moser's diary in 1874)
- 14) Krejsa, J. and Pantzer, P. (1989) *Japanisches Wien* [Japanese Vienna]. Vienna: Herold, pp. 35–38.
- 15) *Allgemeine Illustrierte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung*. Vienna, Volume III, No. 8, 12. June 1873, p. 90.
- 16) Original text in German language: „18. [Mai], zu Mittag fuhr ich mit *Fusiyama* und [Ōsaki] *Tosaburo* an's Land. Der erste Gang war in das *Bureau der Messageries Maritimes*, welches gleich am Landungsplatz war, um zu erkundigen, wie es mit den japanischen Kisten steht. Aber leider erfuhren wir, das[s] die erste *Sendung* von 191 Kisten mit dem „*Nil*“ total zugrunde gegangen sind. [...] Mit dem „*Nil*“ ging auch [ein] Japaner namens *Yoshida* zu Grunde, derselbe kam von *Lyon*, wo er seit 2 Jahren die Seidenweberei lernte. Jetzt konnten wir nichts anderes thun als wie wieder einen Brief an Herrn *Sano* zu schreiben, was Herr *Fusiyama* auch gleich that.“ (Michael Moser's diary in 1874)

- 17) Original text in German language: „26. [Mai], der Wind schwach und dan[n] und wan[n] schien die Sonne, aber die See war noch sehr hoch und das Schiff schaukelte heftig. Man sah immer Land von der Küste von Japan, aber der Himmel war so bewölkt, [dass] eine Fernsicht unmöglich war. Und sehnten sich die Japaner und behauptete[n], den *Fusiyama* zu sehen, was aber der dicken Wolken wegen kaum möglich war. Nachmittag kamen wir in Sicht von Idzu no oke [recte Iruma oki] /: *Cap Idzu* :/ wo wir etwa 30 Schritt von die *Mastbäume* vom „*Nil*“ aus dem Meere herausschauen sah[en].“ (Michael Moser’s diary in 1874)

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# The World Exposition in Vienna in 1873:

Japan's role and influence among all participating nations

New Sources

Peter Pantzer University of Bonn

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The idea of establishing and organizing world expositions had many reasons. The foremost was obviously the industrialization started from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. And within less than twenty years, boosted by economic and political interests, Japan became an internationally recognized partner and respected actor.

For Japan, the opening of their country towards the West made a distinguished progress in respect to compete with other nations, which changed Japan from an agricultural into an industrial society consequently.

It was the economy that encouraged Japan to develop themselves to an industrialized nation. Japan adjusted themselves to the values of the West in a perfect way for the shortest time without dismissing their own values. The Vienna World Exposition played an important role for the new government of Japan which aimed at modernizing their country: Japan was enough prepared in terms of economy to show their outstanding and excellent products.



Nr. 449. Japanische Galerie. Perspective.

1. Entrance into the Japanese exhibition hall

The Japanese Government received the official invitation from the Austro-Hungarian envoy in January 1872. Japan had not plenty of time for preparing their exhibition: Just one year and three months until the opening in Vienna. Nevertheless, Japan did it, and furthermore with much success. In case of the Vienna World exposition, Japan took part for the first time as a whole country, in other words as a unique entity. The committee was also accompanied by a large number of experts in respective arenas for the purpose of nailing one's colours on the mast. The West learned also a lot vice versa, unexpectedly from Japan.

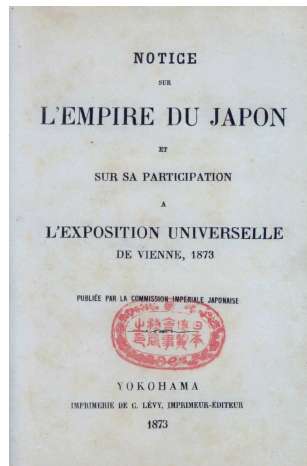
The most important task for the committee was to select Japanese showpieces and representative national

products as the exhibits in Vienna. To make sure, rehearsal exhibitions were held in Tokyo and Kyoto to see what could be attractive for visitors for the purpose of making a good impression on other countries over the sea.

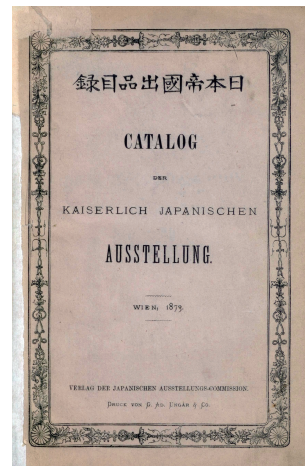
## What was exhibited?

The Japanese Exhibition Committee edited two publications for visitors who might become more interested in Japan and their exhibits. The «*Notice sur l'Empire du Japon et sur sa participation a l'Exposition Universelle des Vienne, 1873*» was already published in Yokohama in February 1873, which informs readers of the geography, history, commercial data, government of Japan, and all the names of the members who organized and accompanied the exhibition committee.

The catalogue, which listed the Japanese exhibits, a selection of art, crafts, and industrial as well as agricultural objects, was printed in German language and published in Vienna within quite a short time. There are no hints regarding who translated it from Japanese into German; nevertheless, we can guess that it might be Heinrich v. Siebold who accompanied the Japanese delegation and was quite fluent in colloquial Japanese. Furthermore, he may have started to translate the Japanese manuscript together with a native Japanese colleague on board of the ship to Vienna. They arrived in Trieste on the 21<sup>st</sup> March and two days later in Vienna by train. Time was not left enough for proof-reading and checking the accuracy of the manuscript before it was printed.



2. *Notice sur l'Empire du Japon*



3. Catalogue of the Imperial Japanese Exhibition

The World Exposition opened on the 1<sup>st</sup> May, which was only a few days after the Japanese delegation started to prepare the catalogue for printing, unpacked all exhibits, and arranged them whilst finishing laying out the Japanese garden on time. It required the Japanese team to work quite intensively.

The German catalogue entitled *Catalog der Kaiserlich Japanischen Ausstellung* was divided into 25 groups.<sup>1)</sup>

I: Mining, Iron and Steel Works. II: Agriculture, Forestry, Wine, Fruit Growing and Horticulture. III: Chemical Industry. IV: Food and Culinary. V: Textile and Clothing Industry. VI: Leather Industry. VII: Metalworking Industry. VIII: Timber Production. IX: Earthenware and Glass Industry. X: Small Ware and Fancy Goods. XI: Paper Fabrication. XII: Graphic Arts. XIII: Engineering Industry and Transportation. XIV: Scientific Instruments. XV: Musical Instruments. XVII: Navy Matters. XVIII: Architecture and Construction Industry. XIX: Citizens' Residential Houses and Interior Decor. XX: Farmhouse. XXIII: Religious Arts. XXIV: Weapons and Antiquities. XXV: Paintings.

Since the translator did not have enough time for preparation, the publisher could not offer much information in details. For example, the size of the objects and the names of manufactures were not completely stated. And just "painting" [*Malereien*] and numbering consecutively from 1 to 42 together with the information of common names

such as *Watanabe* or *Shibata* do hardly help us to know which artists exhibited their objects in fact and which pieces of particular artists or manufacturers were displayed indeed. Therefore, it has turned to be a task for scholars today to explore the information on respective artists or manufacturers. In fact, they were the famous contemporary artists Watanabe Shōka 渡辺小華 (1835–1887) and Shibata Zeshin 柴田是真 (1807–1891), both of whom are well known as leading representatives of the so-called *Nihonga*-art of paintings today. Now we have easier access to such information – Watanabe was mentioned in the group XXV just as No. 1 & 2, Shibata in the same section as No. 35 – 38 without any concise amplifications. It requires scholars to studiously compare the mentioned items on this catalogue with more authentic sources.

The Japanese scholar Yokomizo Hiroko completed an accurate list entitled “Draft for Japanese Catalogue of Vienna Universal Exhibition (Sections of Arts and Crafts)” with detailed information. Prof. Yokomizo made use of a handwritten manuscript from the exhibition committee and published these documents in three consecutive issues in the periodical 『美術研究』 with the English subtitle *The Bijutsu Kenkyu. The Journal of Art Studies* by the Department of Fine Arts, Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties during 1993 and 1994.<sup>2)</sup> This accurate list is a precise record of what Japan exhibited in Vienna. Those Japanese original drafts have been stored in the Tokyo National Museum which functioned as the Exhibition Bureau at its beginning in 1872, which was appointed to collect items from all over Japan and exhibit them in Vienna.

This Vienna World Exhibition exerted influence on the Japanese art and crafts in various ways and in many regards. “It functioned”, according to Prof. Yokomizo, “as a stimulus for the export of Japanese crafts and the import of the technique of western craft, along with organization of national exhibitions. And the word *bijutsu* was introduced as the translation of “art” for the first time.”

The reason why the West were so much impressed by the Japanese art and why Japan could bring the Japanese aesthetics into the European art was the perfection, both in terms for selling and catching the eyes.

## **Between East and West**

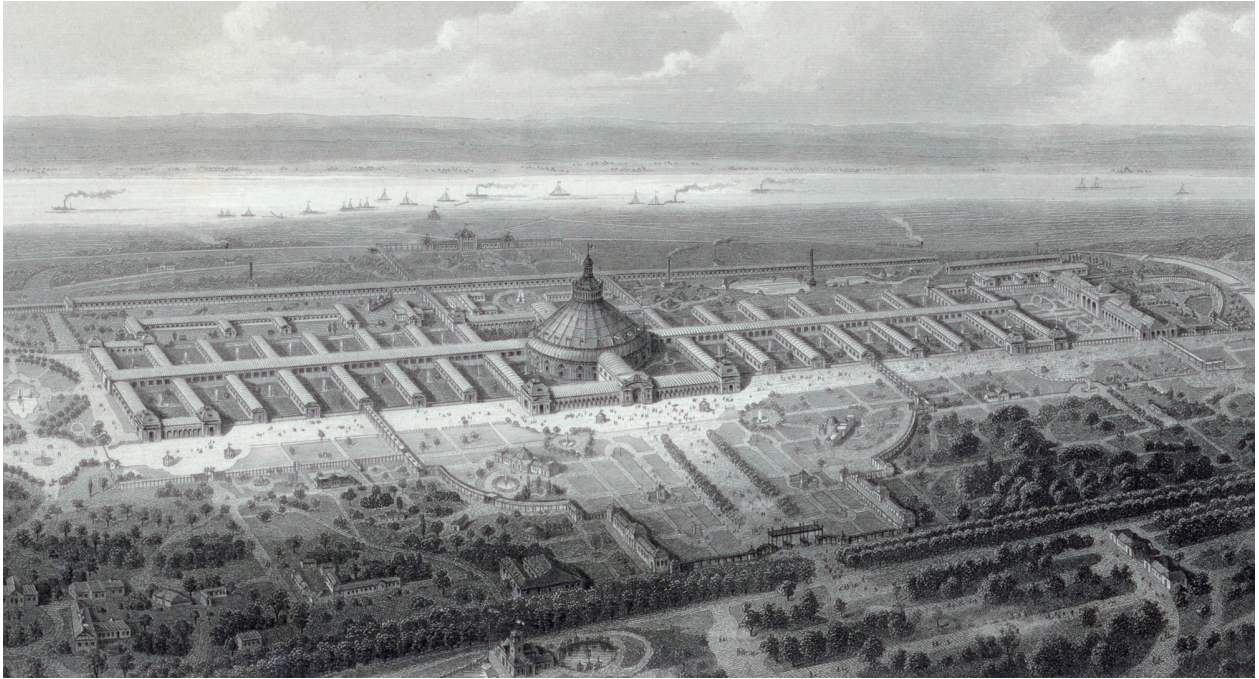
The Western nations focused on showing their economic and political strength but those countries, which participated in the World Exposition for the first time, had a different target. Of course, growing up their economy was in mind, but principally they wanted to present their own traditions and culture in order to show their long history, surely without missing the opportunities for relating to the Western economy. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was situated in a perfect geographical place, since the former four world expositions (two in London, two in Paris) were oriented to the Western significantly. The countries of Eastern Europe and beyond were much attracted by the central location of Vienna.

A commentator pointed out the fact that Vienna mediated between the two worlds of the Orient and Occident as the cultural centre of the Monarchy where various historical roots and languages gathered all together. Besides Japan, Egypt, the Osman Empire, Persia, Thailand and China participated also in this exposition for the first time. Japan exhibited their items mainly for the purpose of showing their industry and culture. The Japanese delegation was the largest one, consisting of almost 70 members, who were experts in respective fields. They induced surprise, amazement and recognition within the contemporary media.

Japan was introduced on the title pages of many Viennese newspapers. The newspaper “*Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*” (= “Pictorial Viennese Special Edition”) showed the Japanese exhibits on the front-page for many times, and a number of other illustrations were introduced inside of this newspaper additionally. Looking through all these local newspapers, which were published in the capital as well in the countryside of all regions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, enables us to know the fact that Japan was the country that was mostly reported and illustrated among all other nations in the Austrian newspapers during the exposition.

These illustrations fostered the curiosity and let journalists write extremely long comments which made





4. Main building of the exposition venue with the eastern and western wings.  
Bird's-eye view.  
(The utmost East of the exposition venue was reserved for Japan and the utmost West for America)

contribution to extend the knowledge about the country of Japan in many ways. Let us have a look into a citation from one Viennese newspaper, describing a sketch of the Japanese bazaar where some souvenirs were sold: The significance of what Japan demonstrated was “the neatness of the products” and “the rarity of such a design”. Therefore, this “longing(s) of the Viennese people for purchasing genuine Japanese items” were of much advantage for the Japanese sellers. And then we read: “Approximately about 3,000 Japanese fans were sold every day...”<sup>3)</sup>

What happened to all those valuable objects after the exhibition? Unfortunately, there are no exact records. But it is not too exaggerated to say that a really large scale of them were sold. A daily newspaper reported on the 29<sup>th</sup> May, even less than a month after the opening, that the King of Belgium visited the section of Japan at the venue. He requested the exhibitor of the precise information about particular exhibits through an interpreter, and thereafter expressed his delights to him. The King was now a good purchaser.<sup>4)</sup> There were many more interested parties besides the King of Belgium who were delighted to acquire the products which looked exotic, new, and attractive.

Quite a few objects were donated to, sometimes exchanged with the objects from European museums, which were mostly artefacts such as lacquer ware, porcelain, paintings, and whatever represented Japanese art, taste and everyday life.<sup>5)</sup> For the purpose of celebrating the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Japan's participation in the Vienna World Exposition, all those items, which had been collected by the Austrian Museum for Applied Art (MAK) and the Museum of Ethnology (today “Weltmuseum”) in Vienna were displayed for wider audiences.<sup>6)</sup> Many of these objects are nowadays displayed around the clock since they are a valuable witness of the Japanese past and its influence on European art.<sup>7)</sup>

The remaining part of the exhibits, valuable or historically important items such as the ridge turret (*shachihoko* 鯨鏢) from the roof of the Nagoya Castle and a giant drum (*dataiko* 大太鼓) from Nikko, a classical music instrument for playing the court music (*gagaku* 雅楽), were returned to Japan. Unfortunately, some items went lost because of a typhoon as the cargo ship sank on the coast along the Izu Peninsula just before arriving in Yokohama in the spring of 1874.

In short, Japan was quite successful in attracting the visitors of the Vienna World Exposition. Whatever came

from the Orient, was civilized. The economy of European countries had apparently more power. Their artefacts were produced plentifully in a huge scale. But all those products from the Far East were in no ways in an inferior position. Japanese products had style and represented the sense of Japan as well as their tradition of thousand years, which were all delighted with harmony.

When the world exhibition opened on the 1<sup>st</sup> May, neither the garden nor the exhibition hall was fully completed, but the visitors were not disenchanted since they could watch how the Japanese craftsmen and their superiors prepared professionally.

## **Eufemia von Kudriaffsky**

### **A close witness of the Japanese Exhibition**



5. Eufemia von Kudriaffsky, *Vier Vorträge*, 1874

There is a respectable source with much accuracy, which might not be well known yet. Just a few months after the Viennese world exhibition was closed, a book was published entitled „*Japan. Vier Vorträge*“ (“Japan. Four Lectures”). The book has been published by Wilhelm Braumüller, Imperial-Royal court-publisher and book-dealer in Vienna.

The authoress was a highly educated woman, poet and painter in Vienna, whose name was Eufemia von Kudriaffsky (1820–1881). She wrote this book on Japan shortly after the Vienna World Exposition, based on her own experience and her close connection to the Japanese representatives.

Kudriaffsky started her book by dealing with the topic of the Japanese culture, in particular in connection with the Vienna World Exposition as she visited on her own. In the preface, she mentioned it was two books what she had known about Japan before she visited the Vienna World Exposition for many times. One was entitled “*Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern: Jezu mit den südlichen Kurilen, Krafto, Koorai und den Liukiu-Inseln, nach japanischen und europäischen Schriften und eigenen Beobachtungen bearbeitet. Ausgegeben unter dem Schutze Seiner Majestät des Königs der Niederlande*“ in 7 volumes by Philipp Franz von Siebold (Leiden, 1832–1858). The other book was entitled “*Tales of Old Japan*” by Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford (London, 1871). But she acquired all other knowledge in the meetings with the Japanese nationals who came in course of the world exposition to Vienna. She apparently learned a lot from her Japanese counterparts.

The manuscript of this book was based on the lectures for a women’s society, in which she covered a wide

range of Japanese culture and society. And, to be underlined, drawn from information and personal conversations Eufemia von Kudriaffsky learned on the spot in Vienna. The second page of this book was dedicated to a Japanese lady, with whom the authoress met in Vienna, and apparently developed a close friendship.

*“My dear gifted student,  
the wife of  
Hiromoto Watanabe,  
The First Secretary of the Imperial Japanese Legation in Vienna,  
Lady  
Tei Watanabe  
In a sincere friendship”*

Who was this lady Tei Watanabe (渡辺貞)? She was the spouse of Watanabe Hiromoto. She accompanied her husband, who was sent for the newly installed Japanese Legation in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. According to some sources, she was the only woman among the Japanese high society who visited Vienna for the first time. It remains unknown under which circumstances Watanabe and Kudriaffsky met, but the Viennese lady had a good reputation as the daughter of a famous engineer and a very active journalist. She had already written a good number of essays in journals for many years. Her biography was then already incorporated into the renowned dictionary *“Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich”*.<sup>8)</sup> She was also fond of botany, which was apparently a further reason to be attracted by Japanese culture.<sup>9)</sup>

Kudriaffsky was quite keen on studying different cultures. According to her, non-European exhibits such as



6. Eufemia von Kudriaffsky with a Japanese umbrella

clothes, food products, tools, and of course arts and industrial products offer a clue for understanding the manners and customs of respective countries. “The countries outside Europe”, she cited in her book, “evoked much interest among visitors, from young people to old people, from common people to people of high society, from foreigners to local people.

She was, however, most attracted by Japan. “Japan won all visitors’ sympathies”. She evaluated what were represented among the Japanese exhibits in the following way. The Japanese nation possesses “Gesunden Verstand”





7. Longing for Japan. The first Austrian painter and the first Austrian industrialist on their trip to Japan (1873/74)

(Rational understandings), “Echte Moral” (Genuine sense of ethics) and “Frischen Humor” (comfortable sense of humour).

Kudriaffsky analysed the reason in her way: “Why”, was her question. Is it because of the attractiveness attributed to the art products in general? Or the amazing progress initiated by the Japanese government? Or the intelligence of the people from Japan? Or maybe the mysterious veil that steadily covered the country and its people in some way, although Japan was on the way to adjust themselves to the European customs and values? Or is it just all of them together?

On one point, Kudriaffsky cited the words of Mrs. Watanabe Tei: “The social rank of the women in Japan is on a high level, men and women respect each other.” “Japan” – Kudriaffsky concluded in her book – “is the logo and the slogan of this large-scale and extensive world-fair.”

The authoress, having a close connection to the Japanese committee, mentioned that this excellence of Japan, which was shown in the Vienna World Exposition, stimulated her to write a book on Japan and introduce Japanese culture to the Austrian readership.

She also kept records in this book about her meetings with some Japanese representatives, among others with Hirayama Seishin<sup>10)</sup>, with whom she conversed in French. She was invited by the Japanese delegates for their meetings at home. And with Sano Tsunetami.<sup>11)</sup> Sano was on the top of the legation as the principal, fulfilling the specific tasks during the exposition, and simultaneously as the first Japanese envoy to Austro-Hungary. Sano Tsunetami invited Miss Kudriaffsky (she remained unmarried) for the gathering on the 11<sup>th</sup> November in 1873 in respect to Meiji-Tenno’s birthday. She became fond of Japanese music: At this event three people sang a spring song about plum blossoms, and further two people played the music instrument *shamisen*; one of these two was Mrs. Watanabe. How interesting it would be, Kudriaffsky wrote on her quite optimistic view in her book, if she could listen to a complete Japanese concert. It should not be impossible, she cited, since the connections between Japan and Austria were assiduously developing.

Kudriaffsky wrote further essays on Japan. “Japan and literature” in the journal *Das Ausland* (1873)<sup>12)</sup> and three consecutive feuilletons about Japan in the *Vorarlberger Landes-Zeitung* in the year after the world exposition closed.<sup>13)</sup>

Kudriaffsky died too early, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1881. She was still 61 years old.<sup>14)</sup> A few years later the lady Watanabe Tei (sometimes read Sada) visited Vienna again from Japan. Again as the companion of her husband Watanabe Hiromoto, who developed himself as a high ranked diplomat in the meantime and the new Japanese envoy to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.<sup>15)</sup> How beautiful it would be, if those two ladies could have met each other

again, discussed on what the most positive achievement of the Vienna World Exposition was, and exchanged their opinions about the cultural dialogue between Austria and Japan.

## The Popularity of Japan

Whenever we read the then newspapers reporting Japan during the World Exposition in Vienna, we find positive descriptions. Here, let us cite a short comment from the weekly newspaper "*Weltausstellungs-Zeitung des Floh*".<sup>16)</sup> "The heroes of our exhibition are indisputably the Japanese. Everybody is asking them. A lady leaving the exhibition site without wielding a Japanese fan or swinging a Japanese handkerchief, would think that her visit would have been failed. Neither at the Imperial Court nor in all circles of our society, no receptions were held without Japanese guests. And what is the reason for such a popularity?"

For one paper, it is the sagacity. For other papers, the aesthetic sense. And that was the reason why many visitors of the World Exposition longed to visit Japan by themselves. Since the Suez Canal opened, it was easier, especially for the natives of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to get a short cut to the Far East geographically. And those who could not go there, for whatever reason, delighted themselves by admiring art objects from Japan or even collecting them with much ease and enthusiasm.

One of those who embarked on a trip to Japan was the industrialist and art collector Josef Baron Doblhoff-Dier in collaboration with his comrade, the famous painter Julius Blaas. They left Vienna for the Far East in the second half of October in 1873, even before the exhibition closed. In his published diary, Doblhoff wrote that all the impressions were gathered in this "temple of labour". Doblhoff means the Vienna World Exposition "aroused my desire to travel to set forth on this journey in a vivid manner".<sup>17)</sup>

Doblhoff and the painter Blaas were the first visitors to Japan from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. But not the last. Other artists and connoisseurs followed them. It was the birth of the delight and the attraction of Japan within the artistic world, either to see this country in person or to incorporate Japan and the Japanese sense of beauty into their own aesthetic sense, which is nowadays called Japonisme.

## Notes

- 1) Actually 22 sections because three sections (XVI, XXI & XXII) are missing resp. not inserted in this catalogue.
- 2) 横溝廣子「ウイーン万国博覧会出品目録草稿（美術工芸編）」編集：東京国立文化財研究所美術部，I - III, No. 357 (July 1993), p. 38-74, No. 358 (Dec. 1993), p. 31-59 & No. 359 (March 1994), p. 30-68 (after Yokomizo's marriage the family name changed to KUROKAWA Hiroko 黒川廣子；recent position *Tokyo University of the Arts - University Art Museum* 東京藝術大学大学美術館 教授).
- 3) *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*. 2nd Vol., No. 170, 22 June 1873, p. 4
- 4) *Internationale Ausstellungs-Zeitung. Beilage der Neuen Freien Presse*. Nr. 3148, 29. Mai 1873.
- 5) „Die Erwerbungen auf der Weltausstellung“, in: *Mittheilungen des k. k. Oesterreich. Museums für Kunst und Industrie (Monatsschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe)*, Wien, Vol. 5, 1. Jan. 1874, No. 100, p. 23/24; 1. Apr. 1874, No. 103, p. 77/79.
- 6) *Herbert Fux, Japan auf der Weltausstellung in Wien 1873*. Wien: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst / Österreichisch-Japanische Gesellschaft, 1973 (26. Juli – 2. September), 98 p.
- 7) Anna Minichberger: *Die Japanischen Lackarbeiten der Wiener Weltausstellung von 1873 im Österreichischen Museum für Angewandte Kunst*. Wien, 2007 (master's thesis, University of Vienna); accessible: <http://othes.univie.ac.at/400/> ([http://othes.univie.ac.at/400/1/11-30-2007\\_0107426.pdf](http://othes.univie.ac.at/400/1/11-30-2007_0107426.pdf))
- 8) Constantin v. Wurzbach (ed.), Wien 1860, Vol. 13, p. 306/307
- 9) The Museum for Applied Art in Vienna keeps more than 500 water colours of plants she created, painted from nature, including Japanese plants f. e. flowering quince (*Cydonia japonica*) (3949/142 or 3949/445).
- 10) 平山成信 (1854-1929), Vorname auch Narinobu; Regierungsbeamter, 1924 Baron
- 11) 佐野常民 (1822-1902)；diplomat and politician, Founder of the Red Cross in Japan, Count.
- 12) „Japan und seine Literatur“, *Das Ausland. Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde*. Vol. 46, 1873, No. 38, p. 741-746
- 13) „Japan“, *Vorarlberger Landes-Zeitung*. Bregenz, 1874, Nr. 92 (15. Aug.), S.1-2; Nr. 95 (25. Aug.), S.1-3; Nr. 101 (8. Sept.), S.1-2; u.a. weitere Beiträge: „Neujahr in Japan“, *Die Heimat. Illustriertes Familienblatt*. Vol. 2, 1877, Nr. 14, S.230-231; „Höflichkeit in



Japan“, *Das Ausland*. Vol. 50, 1877, No. 30, p. 592-594.

- 14) An obituary was published in the *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, January 5, 1881, p. 5 (“... Miss von Kudriaffsky, a modest, pleasant person ..., a spirited writer, a gifted painter of flowers, a scholar of art history, a peerless noble character has departed this life”).
- 15) Watanabe Hiromoto 渡辺洪基, also read as Watanabe Kōki (1848–1901); after his diplomatic service in Vienna during the world exposition he fulfilled quite a few important obligations in Japan, two years mayor of Tokyo, afterwards the first rector of the Imperial Tokyo University. Envoy in Vienna 1890/1892.
- 16) *Der Floh. Politische, humoristische Wochenschrift*. Wien, 1873, No. 46, Supplement.
- 17) Josef Freiherr von Doblhoff. *Tagebuchblätter von einer Reise nach Ostasien 1873–1874. Mit photographischen Abbildungen von J. Löwy nach Skizzen des Malers Julius Blaas*. Wien 1874/75, 3 Vols. (Japan is described in the 3rd vol. pp. 1–174 with 3 photographs after oil paintings by Julius Blaas done in Yokohama, March 1874)

### Illustrations / photographs

- 1 *Entrance into the Japanese exhibition hall*. Albumen-Print, Josef Löwy (Vienna Photographic Association), 1873; 19,0 × 25,0 cm (36,0 × 48,0 cm) (from a private collection)
- 2 *Notice sur l'Empire du Japon*, 1873. Title page (private collection)
- 3 *Catalog der Kaiserlich Japanischen Ausstellung*, 1873. Cover (Private collection)
- 4 *Das Weltausstellungsgebäude in Wien. Aus der Vogelperspektive* (“The world exposition building in Vienna. Bird’s eye view; Copperplate print (Private collection)
- 5 Eufemia von Kudriaffsky, *Vier Vorträge*, 1874, Cover (private collection); the cover design was inspired by Friedrich Heyer von Rosenfeld (1828–1896) who also drew a proposal for the first Japanese decoration of the Rising Sun on behalf of Iwakura Tomomi
- 6 Eufemia von Kudriaffsky, portrait photograph (Wien Bibliothek / Vienna City Library). Legacy Euphemia von Kudriaffsky, collected by Jos. Böck, Wien; undated (about 1875), H.I.N.-92669 / Ia 115300, p. 3)
- 7 Julius von Blaas (1845–1922), „Zwei Japanreisende“ (“Two Japan Travellers”), pencil & chalk drawing, sign. “J. Blaas 1874” (sitting Josef v. Doblhoff, standing J. Blaas), 31,0 × 22,0 cm (private collection)

# The Role of Symbols in the Formation of Nationalism in France: On Caesar and Vercingetorix

Mina Adachi Tokai University

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## 1. Introduction — Raising the Question

In the nineteenth century, the idea of the modern nation-state was growing in Europe. Generally speaking, a nation-state promotes the formation of a “nation” as one community, embracing all the people in the domain of the state within this logic. Based on this principle, people share language, culture, and value consciousness. In this way, the modern nation-state enhances its own nationalism, and in this process, the mechanisms of national unification are introduced, one of which is the symbol.

France is one such example, a nation that experienced political disturbance between the French Revolution and the formation of the Third République. The Second French Empire is considered a transitional period, which prepared for the modern nation-state. In France, the national symbol changed, from a representation of authority to one of democracy, between the Second French Empire and the Third République. Specifically, it was the transition from images of the Roman Empire and Emperor Caesar to the Gallic hero Vercingetorix that indicated the political shift and transformation of the state structure in that period. This paper discusses the transition of the national symbols, as well as the relation between the ruler and the nation in the period of formation of the nation-state.

## 2. A Note on Symbols

Ernst Cassirer says in his *An Essay on Man* (1944):

“... definition of man as an *animal symbolicum* ... That symbolic thought and symbolic behavior are among the most characteristic features of human life, and that the whole progress of human culture is based on these conditions, is undeniable.”<sup>1)</sup>

Therefore, humans are beings who think and behave in response to symbols.

A “symbol” is a kind of sign that, in itself, operates as a recognizable object. A “sign” is a representation of something that exists, and this representation produces a meaning. Ferdinand de Saussure analyzed the structure of a sign in relation to language theory. The most important notion of his theory is the dual elements of “signifiant” (a sound pattern or a representation) and “signifié” (a meaning or a concept) in language. Here, these dual elements are considered reverse sides of each other, and this idea forms the basis of his semiotic theory. Thus, a sign consists of “signifiant” as a representation and “signifié” as a meaning, and both of these have an impact on receivers. Although Saussure discussed sign theory in the form of a dyadic relation, Charles Sanders Peirce introduced a triadic relation, which consisted of “sign,” “object,” and “interpretant.” According to Peirce, a “sign” is a representation of something, and an “object” is that “something.” In addition, the “interpretant” is the meaning or notion created in a receiver’s mind through a sign. In other words, it can be said that a sign is positioned as a medium that connects “objects” and “interpretation.” Therefore, based on Peirce’s theory, a sign (the representation of something) is understood by receivers as a concept (a meaning), and the meaning of a sign can be formed by the receivers’ interpretation.

We can look at the role of a “symbol” in the same way. A symbol is one type of visual sign, and can have a big impact on people. This is because when a certain thing is recognized as a symbol, the matter that is related to it is

also recalled, almost unconsciously. In Peirce's sense, a symbol is both the representation and the object. What is most important should therefore be the "interpretant." It is this element that gives significance to the symbol, because a symbol shapes an image in the receivers' mind, and that image influences and even dominates them. This is the function of a symbol as "interpretant."

National symbols are often closely related to nationalism or patriotism. For example, the representative national symbol of France, Jeanne d'Arc, symbolizes the patriotic spirit. She is positioned as a popular heroine who saved France during the Hundred Years' War and contributed to the growth of popular nationalism and patriotism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In this paper, we focus on France moving from a period of absolute monarchy to the formation of the modern nation-state by way of the Revolution, and examine two representative symbols found in the historical process. One is the Roman Empire and the emperor Caesar, and the other is the Gallic hero Vercingetorix. The former was used in the period of absolute monarchy after Louis XIV, as well as during the Napoléonic Empire after the Revolution. However, it is the latter that was used as a patriotic symbol at the time of transition from the second imperial period of Napoléon III to the Third République. These were made national symbols by the statesmen and systems of the time, and can be considered to have directed the flow of each age.

What is the role or function of a national symbol? Things that are vivid reminders of the existence and dignity of statesmen are often positioned as national symbols. Under the nationalism oriented around the power of a reigning ruler, a symbol controlled by that ruler becomes a national symbol, standing for the ruler's will of authority and domination, and simultaneously forcing people's agreement whether they like it or not. Therefore, a national symbol forms an image in people's minds, which is what Peirce calls "interpretant" in his theory.

### **3. The symbolization of the Caesar and the Roman Empire**

#### **(1) Absolute Monarchy—Louis XIV and the Roman Empire**

A remarkable example of the establishment of national symbols can be seen in the "Sun King," Louis XIV. He used the ancient Roman Empire and Roman emperors as national symbols. He wanted his identity and the ancestors of his homeland to be identified with ancient Rome, and liked to equate himself with several rulers, particularly Augustus or Constantinus Augustus.

The linking of such dignity and authority to Louis XIV was mostly led by his entourage, especially Cardinal Mazarin, Nicolas Fouquet, and Cardinal Colbert. Cardinal Mazarin applied his political interest to the impact of arts on public opinion. With the help of Nicolas Fouquet's literary skills, Cardinal Colbert tried to highlight the king's achievements through literature and poesy, investing the king with the historical image of ancient Rome. Above all, in the Academy of Art that was organized at the time, records of the "King's history" and "King's heroic behavior" were compiled, connecting the king to Roman Emperor Augustus.

The identification of Louis XIV with the Roman emperor increasingly formed an image of "Louis=Auguste." The Louis=Auguste schema, in which the Roman emperor and the French king were seen as one and the same, was formulated as the embodiment of the emperor's public image. In addition, the symbolization of Louis XIV as the "Roman Emperor" can be seen in the statue of the emperor in the style of a Roman equestrian statue, and the image of the king of France being the legitimate heir of the Roman Empire was established through a careful strategy. Louis XIV incorporated the spectacle of the Roman emperor into his own image, implying that it was unquestionably he who was the symbol of public power of the state.

*"Louis XIV sois compris comme Louis-Auguste implique qu'une partie de ses sujets se saisissent eux-mêmes à travers ce mythe, qu'ils analysent leur vie et la politique comme française-romaine, comme une nouvelle manifestation de l'essence impériale autonomisée. Cela implique qu'on crée des signes de cette Rome*

ressuscitée, à travers les arts, la littérature ou la musique. D'où les allures romaines qu'affectionnent les contemporaines de Louis XIV, les héros romains auxquels ils s'identifient au théâtre ; d'où la romanité des fêtes de cour dans lesquelles ils se retrouvent pour s'inventer comme Anciens.”<sup>2)</sup>

Finally, the Roman Empire was included as a national symbol based on the idea that the right to the throne of France was conferred by the Pope, as successor to the Roman Empire. However, at the same time, there is no denying that Louis XIV was proud that he had risen above the Roman Empire. Thus, the symbolization of the Roman Empire was a strategy of Louis XIV to demonstrate his transcendence.

## (2) The First Empire—Napoléon I and Emperor Caesar

The example of French leaders viewing themselves as the heirs and embodiment of the ancient Roman civilization was passed down by Napoléon I, even after the French Revolution. This idealization of Rome was supported through the titles of positions in the national government, the accession as emperor, and through objects such as the Arc de Triomphe and bronze statues. Considering that the First République built after the French Revolution was built through fear politics, Napoléon I, who was sensitive to the trends of the populace, sensed that the people wanted a centralized and absolute ruler. In the same way as Louis XIV, Napoléon I superimposed the spectacle of a Roman emperor onto himself and constructed the image of himself as “Emperor” Napoléon who would lead France to glory.

However, in terms of political transition, Napoléon I was completely different from Louis XIV. Neither the Roman Empire nor any Roman emperor had played a role to support Napoléon I. After the French Revolution, Napoléon I was perhaps aware that he had gained the position of emperor through his own achievements. Because of the collapse of the old monarchic systems, based on the divine right of kings or hereditary systems, Napoléon I could ascend all the way to the king's seat. Thus, it was neither by being the successor of a Roman emperor, nor through the hands of the Pope that Napoléon I became emperor.

For Napoléon I, the Roman emperor was nothing but a splendid emblem of power. Napoléon I, by likening himself to the Roman emperor, made people aware that he reigned over them with the absolute power. It was due to this that the “Emperor Napoléon” appeared as a national symbol for the people who experienced the French Revolution. After that, Napoléon I was able to develop his “Bonapartism” unopposed.

## **4. The Shift in Symbol From the Roman Emperor to Vercingetorix**

### (1) Napoléon III and the Roman Emperor

As mentioned above, the national symbol in France had been the Roman emperor through the period of the monarchy to the reign of Napoléon I after the French Revolution, despite the difference of its implications in each period. However, during the period of the second French emperor, the national symbol began to change, perhaps as a result of the formation of the modern nation-state. King indicates as follows:

“Napoléon (III) seems to have faced a dilemma... Napoléon was perhaps appealing to national unity by promoting Vercingetorix in the form of a gigantic statue but giving prominence to Caesar on the more intellectual basis of his writings.”<sup>3)</sup>

Here, it can be said that Vercingetorix came to be hailed as the national symbol in place of the Roman emperor, who had been the symbol until then. Nevertheless, it seems that Napoléon III still maintained the Roman emperor as an ideal image, stating as follows:

“... , mais n'oublions pas que c'est au triomphe des armées romaines qu'est due notre civilisation; institutions, mœurs, langage, tout nous vient de la conquête.”<sup>4)</sup>

In fact, Napoléon III was interested in the Roman emperor and his history, because he considered himself to be the successor of Bonapartism. Napoléon III (who was called Louis Napoléon at that time) was the president, elected by the provisional government established after the February Revolution. This was a popular election, but the right to vote was limited to men over the age of 21. Despite this, the number of voters increased from 250,000 in 1846 to 9,000,000 in 1848. In total, 97% of new voters participated in this election, which Napoléon III won with 74% of the votes. His victory was supported by regional peasants. Among the peasants, several kinds of parties were included, i.e. right party, left party, etc. This indicates that his support base was not solid, but such uncertainty was advantageous for him. After the June Days uprising, people, who preferred to a conservative direction, voted more neutral candidate. Because he did not proclaim clearly any principles and attitudes in politics.

Under the intermingled situation, it seemed that Napoleon III concealed his idea toward Bonapartism. At the end his first term as president, Napoléon III dissolved the assembly by coup d'état, and assumed the imperial title, Napoléon III. Thus, his coronation displayed his inheritance of Bonapartism from Napoléon I. As a result, the reign of Napoléon III displayed several opposing factors, such as democracy and authoritarianism, sovereignty of the people and absolute power, and patriotism and egalitarianism.

As explained above, it was natural that Napoléon III should adopt the title of “Roman Emperor” as a national symbol. Formally, he needed the glory of the Roman Empire as his support. However, despite his respect for the Roman emperor, his attitude was a little different from the rulers before him in that he seemed to idolize Napoléon I as a kind of Roman Emperor. For example, he created a national holiday on August 15 (le quinze août), which was Napoléon I's birthday. Moreover, it was only the national holiday celebrated across various regions of France. Thus, for Napoléon III, the nuance of Caesar as a national symbol was different from Louis XIV and Napoléon I. The most important agendas for Napoléon III were to end the February Revolution and assimilate his reign. He aimed to position himself as the successor of Bonapartism, through the symbolization of Napoléon I.

Because of its formation process, the Second Empire of Napoléon III was increasingly criticized by various groups. For example, Victor Hugo published “Napoléon-le-Petit” and “Châtiment” as criticism, although he had declared his support for Napoléon III when the latter was president. In addition, faced with difficult aspects of politics and diplomacy, Napoléon III's Empire came to a turning point in the 1860's, which resulted in the transition to the so-called “Parliamentary Emperor” (Liberal Emperor). For example, he abolished several kinds of bans, and liberalized trade. In this way, his system of rule was transformed to one more supported by the people.

## (2) The Shift of the National Symbol During Napoléon III's Reign

The shift in Napoléon III's recognition of the state is reflected in his use of national symbols. From 1865–1866, he was engaged in writing “Histoire de Jules César,” because he thought of Caesar as signifying the intellectual base of France. However, while Napoléon III had effectively inherited the policy of idealizing ancient Rome, he also focused on Vercingetorix of Gaul, who was vanquished by Caesar. He excavated the ruin of Alésia, the region of the battle between Rome and Gaul, uncovering the exact site of the war. Therefore, it is supposed that Vercingetorix, a hero of Gaul, emerged for Napoléon III as another national symbol.

Why did Napoléon III excavate the remains of the battlefield of Gaul, which had never been given consideration in French history? A possible reason was given by Anthony King, who quoted the writing of Napoléon III:

“United Gaul, in a single nation, fired by a single spirit, can defy the world, Napoléon III, Emperor of the French, in memory of Vercingetorix.”<sup>5)</sup>



Here we can get a glimpse of Napoléon III's political intention in unifying the state and winning people's favor. In addition, his attitude included tactics to strengthen the national identity against a crisis of foreign policy. In other words, it is plausible that he focused on Vercingetorix as a means to create French racial unity. However, he was surely not anxious for the unity of the nation to intervene in his reign.

This highlights Napoléon III's situation. He laid out two opposing national ideologies as national symbols during the Second Empire: an ideology of ancient Rome bestowing benefits to France, and an ideology of Gaul (Gallia[L]) as the motherland. However, it is also true that he saw Napoléon I as the symbolization of Caesar. Therein lies the political structure of Bonapartism, in which everything is centered on Napoléon I, and this was reflected in the formation of the national symbol. People were participating more actively in the social system after the Revolution. Thus, while the Second Empire of France was a period of despotic rule, it was also a political system in which it was not possible to disregard people's intentions, and Napoléon III therefore had to strategically and deliberately represent two symbols that were opposed to each other.

This can be thought of as a change in the objective meaning of the symbol. If one keeps in mind the true intentions of Napoléon III, it seems that the significance of the national symbol wavered between highlighting his own power and his allegiance to the nation of France. Thus, it represents a turning point in the meaning of national symbols in the formation of French nationalism. There was a change from individual worship toward the king and the emperor, to a national ideological apparatus that aimed for national integration. Although such a transformation would be seen in the democratic system of the ensuing Third République, it is ironic that it was Napoléon III who paved the way for this transformation.

## 5. The Symbolization of Vercingetorix in the Third République

During the Third Republic, Vercingetorix came to be hailed as the national symbol in place of the Roman emperor. Vercingetorix became a more affirmative symbol to the nation than during Napoléon III's reign, which resulted in the realization of the spirit of République, as well as of Vercingetorix as a national symbol.

Vercingetorix is the "hero" of France (Gaul / Gallia [L]) who fought against the Roman army in Alésia. However, this causes a paradox, as Caesar would go on to be considered "the aggressor and oppressor" of France, although he had previously been symbolized as the origin of France. During that time, the schema of the two symbols, Caesar as "the aggressor and oppressor" of France and Vercingetorix as the representative patriot, were gradually formulated. As a result, a decisive symbol shift can be found.

In 1877, a textbook for elementary school children titled "Le tour de la France par deux enfants" (The tour of France by two children) was published by G. Bruno. Since the publication of its first edition, six million copies were printed by 1901. The textbook consisted of a dialog between two boys, Jean-Joseph and Julien, with some comments by the narrator of the book. The text described Vercingetorix's battle of Alésia and Caesar's treatment of Vercingetorix (execution) as follows:

- Hélas! Dit Jean-Joseph avec amertume, il était bien cruel, ce César.
- Ce n'est pas tout, Jean-Joseph, écoutez:  
Enfants, réfléchissez en votre cœur, et demandez-vous lequel de ces deux hommes, dans cette lutte, fut le plus grand.  
Laquelle voudriez-vous avoir en vous, de l'âme héroïque du jeune Gaulois, défenseur de vos ancêtres, ou de l'âme ambitieuse et insensible du conquérant romain?
- Oh! S'écria Julien tout ému de sa lecture, je n'hésiterais pas, moi, et j'aimerais encore mieux souffrir tout ce qu'a souffert Vercingetorix que d'être cruel comme César.
- Et moi aussi, dit Jean-Joseph. Ah! Je suis content d'être né en Auvergne comme Vercingetorix.<sup>6)</sup>

In the citation, the two boys describe Caesar as a cruel conqueror, and praise Vercingetorix as the guardian hero of their motherland. In addition, the narrator's comment leads them and young readers through the transition of the national hero from the Roman emperor to the Gallic Hero.

In this way, even elementary school children were taught the schema that Vercingetorix was the noble hero of the motherland. A remarkable version of Vercingetorix as the hero is the sculpture by Emile Chatrousse (*Aux Martyrs de l'Indépendance Nationale*, 1870). This sculpture depicts Saint Jeanne d' Arc and Vercingetorix lined up holding hands, the former having saved the country during the Hundred Years' War, and the latter the hero of Gaul who confronted the conqueror Caesar. Vercingetorix is regarded as a hero of France, perhaps even more so than Jeanne d' Arc.

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper, we discussed the meaning and role of national symbols in the formation of French nationalism from the period of absolute monarchy to the Third République, focusing on two national symbols, the Roman Emperor and Vercingetorix, as case studies. National symbols, whether they are the ideas of the rulers or the people, have an impact on people's minds and can inspire them. This is connected to the notion of "interpretant" introduced in Peirce's semiotic theory. In that sense, the two national symbols can be considered as representative examples.

During the reign of Louis XIV, we can see the process by which he incorporated the image of the Roman Emperor and symbolized himself as "Louis=Auguste," finally giving the impression that he himself was the symbol of public power of the state. After the French Revolution, in the Third Republic gained by the people, the national symbol shifted from the representation of an absolute monarch to that of Napoléon I, a military general. However, despite the differences of their intentions, Louis XIV and Napoléon I both looked to Roman Emperors as the national symbol upon which to base themselves.

Napoléon III had somewhat different intentions. His rule was founded on two contradictory aspects: an absolute monarch, and a ruler who was close to the people. The transition of the political situation is reflected by the significance he gave to national symbols. Thus, the Roman emperor and Vercingetorix can be considered national symbols in the formation of French nationalism during that period.

However, this raises the question of why he gave new consideration to Vercingetorix. It is probably because he was anxious for a historically older foundation of the state of France, i.e., Gaul, and for this reason constructed the statue of Vercingetorix, an ethnic hero of Gaul. It is not clear whether, at this point, he was positioning the notion of Gaul as a common element for the French nation. However, his introduction of Vercingetorix prepared for a future transition of the national symbol.

As a consequence, his efforts to construct the heroic statue of Vercingetorix generated historical awareness among the French at that time. As mentioned in Section 4, Napoléon III favored the spirit of Bonapartism, as seen through his creation of a national holiday on Napoléon I's birthday. This signifies that he did not adopt the spirit of the Revolution, but rather that of the reign of Napoléon I. Similarly, his focus on ancient Rome can be found in his writing, "*Histoire de Jules César*," where he aimed to present the details of the heroic emperor's war.

Therefore, both Napoléon I and Napoléon III took the Caesar as a national symbol, but their attitudes toward the Roman emperor were different. Napoléon I, after the Revolution had rejected Roman tradition and heritage, developed a more liberal state, incorporating new features. It is probably because of this that Napoléon I identified himself with Caesar. Napoléon III also equated Caesar and Napoléon I, but he focused on Vercingetorix in the story of Caesar, highlighting him as a national hero. However, it is not clear whether he thought of Vercingetorix as being equal to Caesar.

In the discussion above, what is important is the fact that Napoléon III introduced the symbol of Vercingetorix into the state history. Vercingetorix became a common factor for the French nation and was positioned as a base

of their ethnic origin. The symbol did not play a role politically for “the unification of the state;” rather, it supported “the unification of national consciousness and mentality.” In fact, during the Third République, it was applied for the unification and integration of components of the nation-state. However, it was Napoléon III who paved the way for this, and it is therefore important to discuss Napoléon III’s political attitude and aims along with the nation’s understanding and vision for both their ruler and his state.

Certainly, national symbols have an impact on people’s minds and inspire them. Between the Second Empire and the Third République, the national symbols shifted from the Roman Emperor to Vercingetorix. The latter encouraged a new consciousness of France as a nation. Through this, one can appreciate the role and importance of national symbols.

#### **Acknowledgment:**

The author wishes to thank Professor Michel Thompson for his invaluable suggestions and advice.

#### **Notes**

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# A Case Study of the Kaka'ako District in the Island of O'ahu: From a Consideration of Gramscian Notion of *Counter-Hegemony*

Yuki Takatori Tokai University

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## 1. Introduction

In 1898, the Hawaiian kingdom under Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown and its territory annexed by the United States. Hawai'i eventually became the 50th state in the United States of America in 1959. After the annexation, both indigenous language and culture in Hawai'i were greatly affected: in addition to the Hawaiian language, English became one of the official languages there. Traditional Hawaiian culture declined slightly; the mainland American way of life was imposed onto the traditional Hawaiian way of life. Here, we can consider this situation as English dominance in Hawai'i. There have been dominant assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior since the domination has founded.

From the 1970s onward, however, a prominent social movement, the "Hawaiian Renaissance", emerged. The main purpose of the movement was to regain and revitalize traditional Hawaiian language and culture. The renaissance launched several initiatives in order to achieve this aim: supporting Hawaiian language immersion programs; traditional Polynesian Hokule'a voyaging; traditional products by Hawaiian craftsmen and artists; the revival of Hawaiian music and hula; and more (Kanahele, 1979). The movement is ongoing and is still in the process of developing.

In this study, the author especially focuses on one of many possible areas: the Kaka'ako district, where the movement has only recently begun. The area is located in the southeast part of the island of O'ahu and is near the Ward Centre and Ala Moana. The area was famous for its warehouses and was well known as a place for second-hand car dealerships. The area has of late begun to develop in a different direction: there have been many renovations including the construction of many condominiums, causing significant change to the aesthetic qualities of the area. Although the area is now under development, Kaka'ako was and is still considered a good place to focus study. Because of the nature of the locality, much research has been devoted to investigating marine activities, medicine, and history. The area has not been completely renovated, however, local people have been trying to keep its 'traditional identity' as much as possible. They have tried to preserve their cultural heritage and the cultural heritage of traditional Hawaiians in spite of this major development. In terms of the movement mentioned above, the area can be considered as one of the significant places of cultural revitalization. To name several examples, this area has seen the creation and promotion of several traditional events, including "Our Kaka'ako," "SALT at our Kaka'ako," "POW! WOW! Hawaii," and "Honolulu Night Market".

In a discussion of this 'Kaka'ako cultural revival', the author applies the theory of counter-hegemony, a notion developed by Gramscian theorists. The theory is defined as "the way people develop ideas and discourse to challenge dominant assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior" (Cox & Schilthuis, 2012, p. 1). The author visited and observed the area in March 2017 and March 2018. Building from many disparate observations, the author attempts to demonstrate how people at Kaka'ako are trying to preserve the cultural heritage of Hawai'i. From the viewpoint of counter-hegemony, the cultural revival movement at Kaka'ako can be seen as one of the most significant endeavors to achieve the goal of regaining and revitalizing traditional Hawaiian language and culture.

## 2. A Brief History of English Domination in Hawai 'i

In the history of Hawai'i, one of the biggest changes was the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. Nature-



oriented lifestyles of the Native Hawaiians inevitably started to change into more modern and civilized western livelihood (Nakajima, 1993). Travelling to/from Hawai'i increased, and it caused some new diseases; the number of the Hawaiian language speakers decreased. Schütz (1994) mentioned that many European countries arrived in Hawaii for exploration, business, and religious belief. The Hawaiian language used to have only an oral form; it began to take form as a written language with the expansion of Christianity and the Bible started in 1820. American Protestant missionaries brought Christianity into Hawaii from New England who wanted to convert all Hawaiian people to change their religious beliefs. The missionaries developed an alphabet system in the Hawaiian language in accordance with the publication of the Bible.

In 1887, King David Kalakaua was forced to promulgate the new constitution by American Caucasian people, and the Hawaiian Kingdom started to shrink. In 1893, the Hawaiian Kingdom under the Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown and its territory annexed by the United States; the royal power was forfeited and the Kingdom ended (Nakajima, 1993 and Yaguchi, 2002).

During the annexation process, both indigenous language and culture in Hawai'i were heavily affected. In addition to the Hawaiian language, English became one of the official languages there; Hawaiian was prohibited in a public space. The law, Act 57, sec. 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai'i, officially prohibits the use of Hawaiian. Matsubara (2000) referred the law:

The English Language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools, provided that where it is desired that another language shall be taught in addition to the English language, such instruction may be authorized by the Department, either by its rules, the curriculum of the school, or by direct order in any particular instance. Any schools that shall not conform to the provisions of this section shall not be recognized by the Department. (p. 51)

Reinecke (1969) summarized the historical process of the number of Hawaiian and English schools and students. Table 1 in the appendix demonstrates that Hawaiian language schools decrease year-by-year corresponding to the prosperity of English language schools during the mid-1800s to 1900. Not only this language policy, but we also shouldn't neglect the truth that parents of Hawaiian children eagerly let their child receive an English education for their future (Nakajima, 1993). Hawaiian-language newspapers also decreased and English-language newspaper increased to the local people. Native speakers of Hawaiian dramatically decreased in the late 1970s; 90% out of 2,000 people were over 70 years old *Kūpuna*, native elderly people in Hawai'i (Matsubara, 2004). Consequently, the status of English had risen and the status of Hawaiian downgraded; the speakers of the Hawaiian language decreased. Eventually, in 1959, Hawai'i became the 50th state in the United States of America. Even though very few Native Hawaiians have remained, a lot of social aspects were heavily changed into the *haole* —Caucasian—dominated society (Reinecke, 1969, Schütz, 1994).

Traditional Hawaiian language and culture faced with disappearance. These were almost dying, but not completely vanished. The number of a native speaker of Hawaiian was under 0.1% of the state-wide population, and the language has been largely displaced by English on the Hawaiian islands except Ni'ihau island (Lyovin, 1997). Traditional Hawaiian culture also declined slightly: hula and surfing were banned because these activities were considered as 'too sexual' activities for people who believe in Christianity. The mainland American way of life was imposed onto the traditional Hawaiian way of life.

### **3. A Brief Introduction of *Hawaiian Renaissance***

From the 1970s onward, a prominent social movement—the “Hawaiian Renaissance”—emerged. The main purpose of the movement was to regain and revitalize traditional Hawaiian language and culture. ‘The darkest periods’ of



[Figure 1]: A wall-art of the monarchy of Hawai'i in front of Hawaiian Monarch, a condominium]

Hawai'i and 'the age of Americanization' has finished, and the era of 'De-Americanization' and 'Hawaiianization' has started (Yamanaka, 1993, Nakajima, 1993, and Nettle, D. & Romaine, S., 2000).

The renaissance launched several initiatives in order to achieve this aim, supporting Hawaiian language immersion programs; traditional Polynesian Hokule'a voyaging; traditional products by Hawaiian craftsmen and artists; the revival of Hawaiian music; and, more (Kanahele, 1979). The movement is ongoing and is still in the process of developing. The author visited and observed the central area of O'ahu in March 2017. There are a number of attempts trying to regain cultural heritages of Hawai'i. For example, Figure 1 is a wall-art of the monarchy of the Hawaiian Kingdom painted in front of a condominium, Hawaiian Monarch. It represents seven kings and one queen: Kamehameha the 1st to the 5th, Lunalilo, Kalākaua, and Lili'uokalani. We are not sure who decorated the wall; however, this well-painted wall-art demonstrates a pride of the Hawaiian people and the deep connection between the Hawaiian royal heritage and the people.

Figure 2 is a signboard standing at the front lobby of Outrigger Reef Waikiki Beach Resort. This signboard is for an exhibition of canoe voyaging: "O Ke Kai Series" meaning "Of the sea" in Hawaiian. This exhibition was from 9am to Noon in March 2017; this Series is the quarterly event that started 16 years ago. The main purpose of the event is that it "supports the continuing efforts of the friends of Hokule'a and Hawai'i'iloa to ensure the traditional Hawaiian canoe building and restoration skills are passed on to future generations" (Outrigger Hotels Hawaii, 2018). Since this educational Series have begun, Outrigger "has continued to share authentic Hawaiian culture with its guests through partnerships and programming". They not only continue to provide this experience, but also Outrigger Resorts "is mindful to be authentic ambassadors of aloha while also being sensitive to local cultures and customs". Local cultures and customs include a management and hospitality process called "Ke 'Ano Wa'a" or "The Outrigger Way", which was initially shaped more than 20 years ago by Dr. George Kanahele, the Hawaiian scholar (ThisWeek

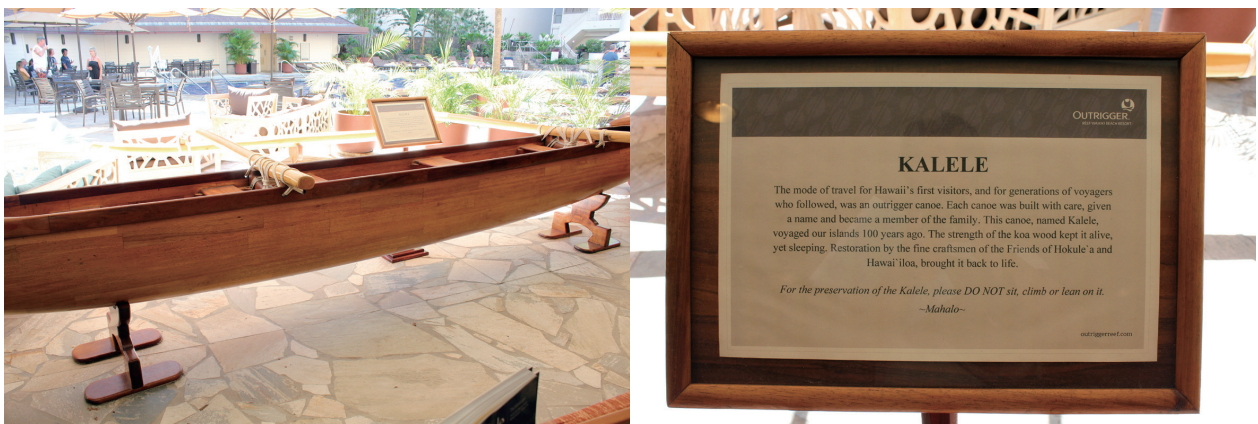


[Figure 2: An exhibition of canoe voyaging at Outrigger Reef Waikiki Beach Resort]



Hawaii, 2018).

There is display of a canoe model named Kālele (Figure 3), and some wooden materials and tools (Figure 4) at the exhibition. The author asked the staff about the canoe, the materials and the tools. She responded that it is very important to use nature-grown materials to make canoes. Especially, koa wood, Hawaiian-originated wood, is very useful (A wood shown in the middle of Figure 4). Among other materials, people like to use koa as long as possible. It is not only very tough, but also the more you use it, the more it becomes beautiful. The ancient Hawaiians made large canoes from drift logs floated from the Northwest part of America; “*koa* was the wood from which they preferred to make their beautiful treasured canoes” (Krauss, 1993, p. 48). Canoe builders, *kahuna kālai wa‘a*, used to be able to get those nature-grown materials in the Hawaiian Islands; it became very hard to find nowadays. Instead of them, glass fiber, carbon, or plastic is used as a material.



[Figure 3: A model of canoe, Kālele]



[Figure 4: Wooden materials and tools for canoes]



Cultural artifacts are displayed at the exhibition. Figure 5 includes (1) *lauhala*, the Hawaiian-originated leaves of the *hala* tree, weaving accessory (lau=leaf, hala= the name of tree), (2) *'ohe hano ihu* (The Hawaiian bamboo nose flute; 'ohe=bamboo, ihu=nose, hano=flute), (3) *olonā* fiber rope or cordage, (4) Hawaiian wood carving (upper left to right). All of them are Hawaiian cultural products, and they represent a traditional culture of Hawai'i<sup>1)</sup>. Lauhala and *olonā* are Hawaiian native plants. People use them to make accessories, tools, or materials for various purposes.



[Figure 5: Cultural artifacts displayed at the exhibition]

Figure 6 shows an actual cultural experience at the exhibition.

The man sitting in the chair is playing *'ohe hano ihu*. He plays it with his nose, which is a notable feature of the instrument<sup>2)</sup>. Two people are sitting on the floor and preparing materials for this experience. The seat they are sitting on and the baskets in front of them are typical *lauhala* weaving products; the leaves on the weavings are *lauhala*. People never pull them off the tree, but they only collected fallen leaves. There is a spirit of aloha or a deep sense of compassion for nature in their mind.



[Figure 6: Cultural artifacts displayed at the exhibition]

#### 4. The Theory of Counter-Hegemony

The theory of counter-hegemony is originally derived from the concept of hegemony, a notion developed by Italian political thinker Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci (1971) defined the concept of hegemony as “the ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group” (p. 12). His reference to ‘spontaneity’ constituted a very fundamental part of his concept of hegemony. Spontaneity is also important in terms especially of looking the concept from a role of subordinates. Subordinates’ role is not only a crucial part for acquiring hegemony. It is also significant in discussion of *a war of position*, which is an important concept for building the theory of counter-hegemony.

Cox (1983) explained Gramsci’s concept of a war of position: it “slowly builds up the strength of the social foundations of a new state” (p. 165), and only it can bring about structural changes. Ahmed (2016) mentioned, it “involves the slow development of an oppositional, revolutionary culture within the dominant culture” (p. 156). We need to have a certain people to lead in a war of position strategy; “the role of the party should be to lead, intensify and develop dialogue within the working class and between the working class and other subordinate classes which



could be brought into alliance with it” (Cox, 1983, p. 168). Subordinates or what Gramsci called ‘the working class’ has an important role in the process for achieving counter-hegemony: “in order to build its cultural influence or counter-hegemony among various classes and groups, a party needs to communicate with them in a way that is easily understandable to them” (Ahmed, 2016, p. 157). Here, we need to concern a role of subordinates or the working class because they should be involved with in order to successfully build counter-hegemony.

The theory of counter-hegemony has developed by Gramscian theorists. Pratt (2004) referred counter-hegemony in relation to a war of position: counter-hegemony “is generally used to describe the creation of an alternative hegemony on the terrain of civil society in preparation for a ‘war of position’” (p. 332). Cohn (2012) mentioned, “Gramscian theorists encourage disadvantaged groups to develop a ‘*counterhegemony*’ as a means of extricating themselves from subservience to hegemonic forces in the core” (p. 65). Ramesh (2017) summarized important points of the theory:

Counter hegemony names challenges to the elite hegemony and attempts at creating alternative historical and political discourses, where elite and ruling classes discourses are challenged and reframed within an alternative sociological and historical ideological framework centred on deliberative social forces. (p. 283)

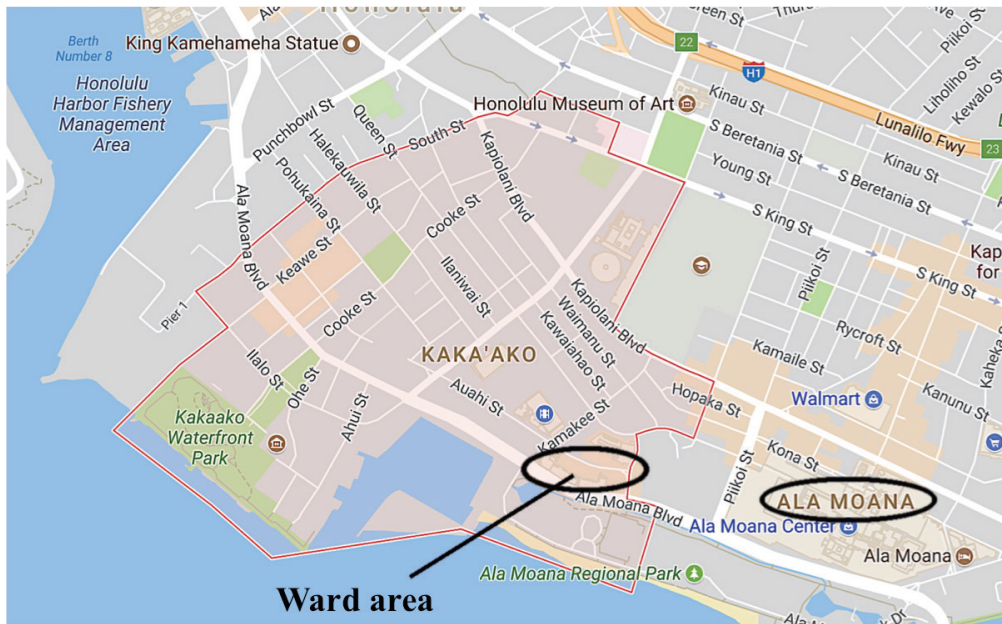
The concept of counter-hegemony is variously defined. Crehan (2002) mentioned that counter-hegemony is “capable of challenging in an effective way the dominant hegemony”; it “emerge[s] out of the lived reality of oppressed people’s day-to-day lives” (p. 5); “an alternative ethical view of society that poses a challenge to the dominant bourgeois-led view” (Cohn, 2004, p. 131); it is “a kind of social reorganisation, where human beings are conceptualised primarily as social beings with complex needs, which require careful social policy programming and state intervention (Ramesh, 2017, p. 283). Cox and Schilthuis (2012) succinctly defined, “the way people develop ideas and discourse to challenge dominant assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior” (p. 1). In this study, we consider counter-hegemony as a critique standpoint to existing hegemonic power or dismantle hegemonic power by opposing status quo and the legitimacy in political situation with a certain number of people.

## **5. A Brief Introduction of Kaka ‘ako**

### **5.1. Historical background**

The area is located in the southeast part of the island of O‘ahu and is near the Ward area (including the Ward Centre) and Ala Moana (Figure 7). The area was famous for its warehouses and was well known as a place for second-hand car dealerships. Because of the locality, much research (99 % of research) has been devoted to investigating marine activities, medicine, and its history.

Kaka‘ako used to be an area comprised of fishing villages, fishponds and salt ponds in ancient times. Pa‘akai, salt, was considered as a very important thing like gold and Kaka‘ako’s salt ponds were of major importance to the area to Native Hawaiians. Residential construction began and diverse immigrant “camps” grew in the 1800s. Industrial roots at Kaka‘ako began with the foundation a metal foundry and machine shop, namely the Honolulu Iron Works. Along with the residential construction, small stores, churches, schools (include Pohukaina School next to Mother Waldron Park), and parks were built. At that time, “Kaka‘ako grew and became a community built on a blue-collar work ethic, social activism and a strong sense of family”. The area changed from the residential area to a commercial district in the mid-1900s. Residents were displaced by small businesses and entrepreneurship which were grew as wholesaling, warehousing and other industrial businesses (Salt At Our Kaka‘ako, 2018a). Therefore, “Kaka‘ako’s history is rooted in industry, entrepreneurship and cultural diversity” (Our Kaka‘ako, 2018a). Figure 8 shows that there are still a certain number of industrial businesses, representatively, car repair services and automotive services, and some warehouses in this district.



[Figure 7: A map of the Kaka'ako district, the Ward area and Ala Moana]



[Figure 8: Car repair service and automotive service at the Kaka'ako district]

## 5.2. Redevelopment of the Ward area and renovation of the Kaka'ako district

The Ward area (and the Ward Centre) has of late begun to develop in a different direction: there have been many renovations including the construction of many condominiums, causing significant change to the aesthetic qualities of the area. Figure 9 shows that the Ward area is developing with high buildings and condominiums; even more will come in the near future.

There are some portraits under the building of the right picture in Figure 9. Figure 10 shows some photographs on the wall taken by Lenny Kāhōlo, Hawai'i based photographer. In the photographs, people are standing by the beach at Ala Moana Beach Park: the woman in the left is standing alone, and the woman in the right is standing and holding her baby. Kāhōlo took more photographs and put them on the wall just like the pictures in Figure 10. There is also a self-portrait of him as you see in Figure 11; it introduces his backgrounds and includes his explanations on the photographs. He explains these portraits as follows: "This series of portraits explores the reciprocal relationship that as people and place interact. ... these photographs illustrate our inseparable ties to the natural world and remind us of our responsibility to balance environmental sustainability and development". With his thoughts and photographs, we could see that there is a spirit of aloha for nature in people's mind. Not only the development and progression are important, but sustainability and connections with nature are also significant for Hawaiin people.



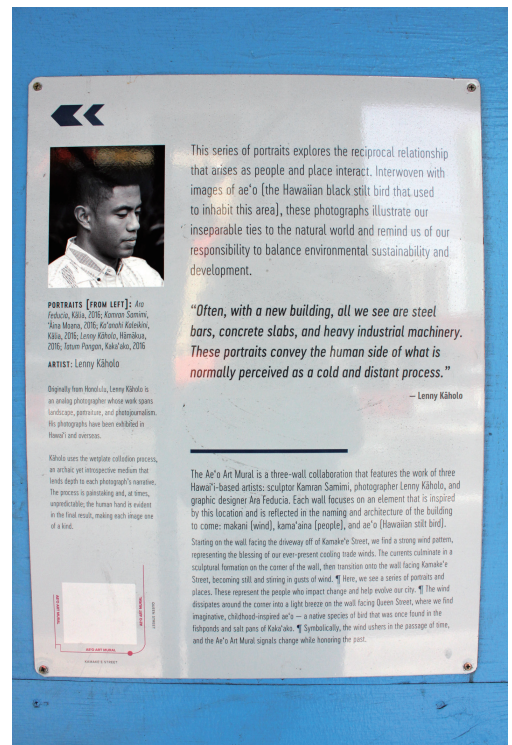


[Figure 9: Renovations of the Ward area]



[Figure 10: Photographs taken by Lenny Kāhola]

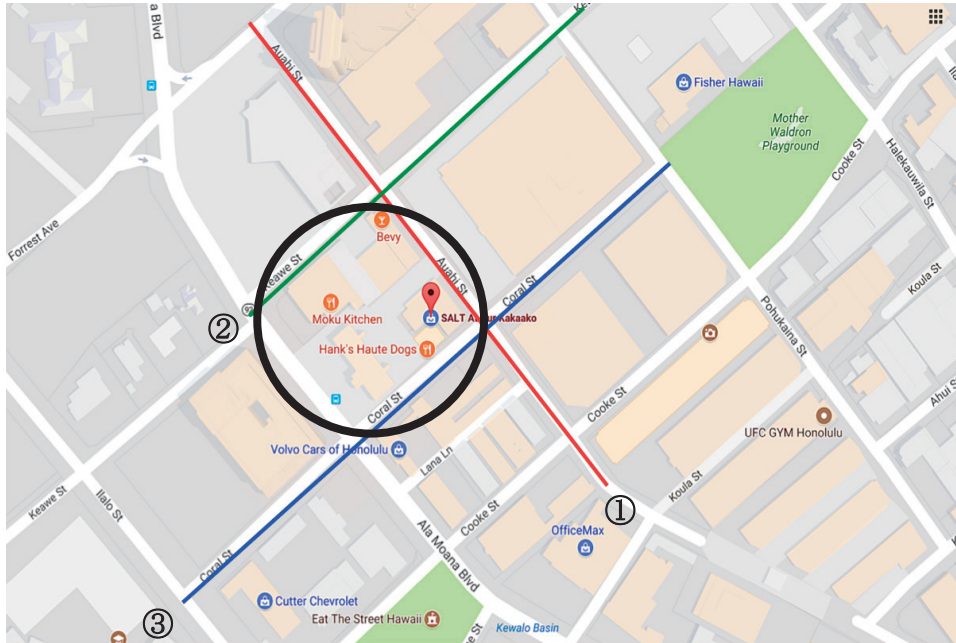
In the present, the evolution of Kaka’ako continues. A dynamic community is flourishing on the three main street, Auahi street, Keawe street, and Coral street while keeping the spirit of hard working and entrepreneur. At Our Kaka’ako, the businesses, restaurants, incubators, and gathering places are providing “a catalyst for exciting new ideas and innovations, rooted in historical values but interpreted in a progressive way. Our Kaka’ako continues to honor the spirit of the past while looking forward to the future” (Our Kaka’ako, 2018a). Salt At Our Kaka’ako (2018b) described this situation in a similar way: “Rooted in Hawaiian cultural values, Our Kaka’ako is built on empowering creativity, cultivating innovation and building a truly unique, local community”. Although the Ward area is developing again and the Kaka’ako district is renovating, we have the people with the soul of sustainability of the places and the spirit of the past.



[Figure 11: A self-portrait of Lenny Kāhola]

## 6. A Case Study of the Kaka 'ako District

In terms of the Hawaiian Renaissance movement mentioned above, the Kaka'ako district can be considered as one of the significant places of cultural revitalization. To name several examples, this area has seen the creation and promotion of several traditional events, including "Our Kaka'ako", "SALT at Our Kaka'ako", "POW! WOW! Hawaii", and "Honolulu Night Market".



[Figure 12: A detailed map of the Kaka'ako district]

Figure 12 shows a detailed map of the Kaka'ako district: the first line is Auahi street; the second line is Keawe street; the third line is Coral street. The focused area is circled in the figure in which several traditional events are held. Among them, we focus on Our Kaka'ako and SALT at Our Kaka'ako projects.

Our Kaka'ako project sets three slogans. Although they are long 'proclamations', it is worthwhile to mention. We see their visions and purposes through them (all slogans are retrieved from Our Kaka'ako, 2018b, and emphasizes are added by the author):

### 1. Our Kaka'ako is a community

Our Kaka'ako encompasses nine city blocks in the heart of Kaka'ako centered around the arts, culture and creative hub on Auahi, Keawe and Coral streets. It's an emerging epicenter for Hawai'i's urban-island culture that is an incubator for a variety of artists, chefs, influencers and entrepreneurs. Rooted in Hawaiian cultural values, Our Kaka'ako is built on empowering creativity, cultivating innovation and building a truly unique, local community.

### 2. Our Kaka'ako is a legacy

Our Kaka'ako is a project by Kamehameha Schools. Kamehameha Schools was founded through the will of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the last direct descendant of King Kamehameha I. The Schools' mission is to create educational opportunities to improve the well being of Native Hawaiians. Through her legacy, Kamehameha Schools has been endowed with over 363,000 acres of land statewide, 98% of which is in agriculture and conservation. Today, these commercial



assets almost entirely fund the Schools' statewide educational system serving over 47,000 learners. Kamehameha Schools is committed to the smart, progressive and culturally appropriate stewardship of the lands. Our Kaka'ako is a part of that commitment. Building a thriving neighborhood fostering connections and rooted in education, authenticity and creativity. Kamehameha's goal is to build a thriving, urban neighborhood that is rooted in authenticity, creativity, and cultural responsibility. As with all of our commercial projects, it must also effectively support the Kamehameha Schools mission of furthering the education of Hawaiian children.

### 3. Our Kaka'ako is a vision

Already a dynamic setting for new ideas and forward thinking, Our Kaka'ako will continue to evolve over time as redevelopment continues to renew the community. Walkable, sustainable, people-friendly neighborhoods. Open-air gathering places to socialize and share ideas. Homes for a diversity of O'ahu residents and families of various income levels. All rooted in the authentic and progressive spirit found in Our Kaka'ako today. So, come visit and take part in the revitalization of a special place. Watch it change. Watch it evolve. Watch it develop into one of Hawai'i's most unique and talked about neighborhoods. Our Kaka'ako is your Kaka'ako.

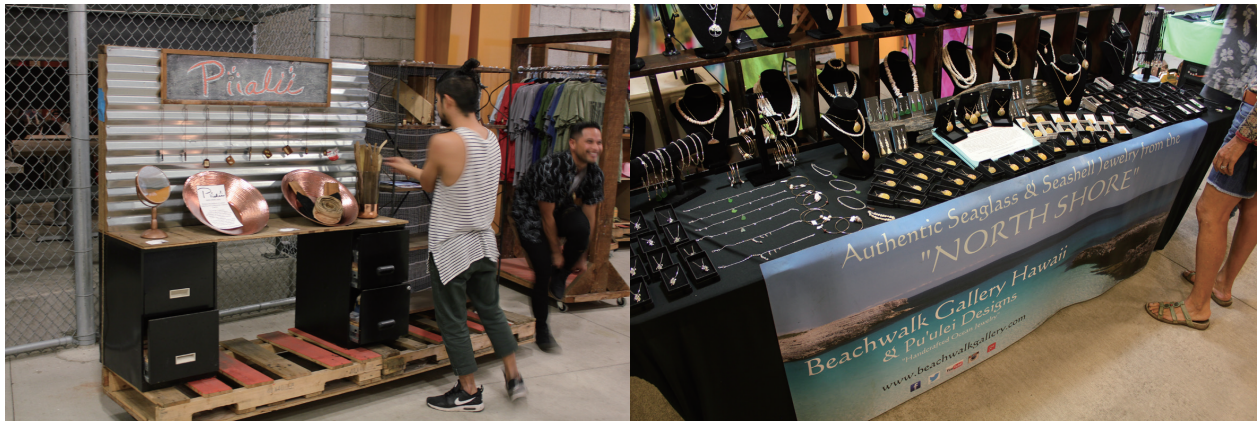
The other thing, although cannot be separated, is that SALT at Our Kaka'ako project ("SALT"). SALT is a dynamic city block designed for exploration and engagement, and it has a space for local culture, food, shopping and innovative events; it is "Honolulu's epicenter". The inspiration of the design of SALT is from "Kaka'ako's history and re-imagined for Honolulu's future". Not only SALT offers the space for people to gather, but it also supports Kamehameha Schools' mission of furthering the education of Hawaiian children (Salt At Our Kaka'ako, 2018c). As we mentioned, people not only have the soul of sustainability and the spirit of the past, but also they are providing education and looking for the future.

Several shops open at monthly Pa'akai Marketplace, "the cultural showcase", which brings artists, crafters, cultural practitioners, and performers of Hawai'i together and celebrates Native Hawaiian culture. This is a collaboration event with PAI Foundation; the aim of the foundation is "to preserve and perpetuate Hawaiian cultural traditions for future generations". Local people sell Hawaiian cultural merchandises; we will see some of them (Salt At Our Kaka'ako, 2018d).

*Pi'iali'i*, the left side of Figure 13, sells original artifacts "inspired by the intersections of past, present and future". By integrating different materials, Hawaiian koa wood, copper, brass, and pigskin suede, "the Pi'iali'i collection continues to push the boundaries of cultural innovation through its designs". They also bridge the traditions of lauhala weaving and contemporary Hawaiian fashion featuring all original modern and traditional Hawaiian lauhala jewelry and accessories handcrafted by Pi'iali'i Lawson, a practitioner and teacher of Hawaiian lauhala weaving (retrieved from Pi'iali'i homepage)<sup>3</sup>.

*Noa Noa*, a merchant shown in Figure 14, handles traditional Hawaiian products: the store "presents a profusion of patterns and colors in traditional Hawaiian and Pacific island tapa and ethnic designs from around the world" (retrieved from Noanoa). Noa Noa produces aloha shirt, mu'u mu'u dresses, bags, accessories and more. Their productions not only include Hawaiian patterns, but also Polynesian and Pacific patterns as well. The author talked to the shopper and asked about features of their products, especially accessories with some flowers and plants inside (shown in the right side of Figure 14). She replied that one of the most important things is to use native Hawaiian materials (in this case, native flowers and plants grown in Hawai'i), so that people can feel and know traditional heritages of Hawai'i through these accessories. The author actually bought one of them, and a





[Figure 13: Cultural merchandises at SALT]



[Figure 14: NOA NOA, a traditional Hawaiian shop, at SALT]

small piece of paper with some explanations of the flowers came with it. This is one of the ways to let people know about nature in Hawai'i and a heritage of Hawai'i.

The author talked to two men at the shop, *Makawalu*, shown in Figure 15. They responded that we make these potteries made from Hawaiian mud. The author asked the reason for using the mud; they said that we make the potteries from the mud because we could feel some sort of Hawaiian spirit here. The man on the right is Jonathan Ah Sing, a Kamehameha School senior. He “discovered a passion for clay, and founded Makawalu Ceramics to take his ideas further (Tanigawa, 2017)”. He mentioned a deep sense of emotion in his interview (some translations for Hawaiian words and emphasizes are added by the author):

It's been a growing passion intertwining culture, clay and just mana-ful<sup>4)</sup> creations. That's what we're about. Proliferating Native Hawaiian art, sharing it with others, and just watching it evolve for the future generations. That's what we're all about. ... Our kūpuna<sup>5)</sup> tell us stories, right? We grew up hearing their stories, their mo'olelo<sup>6)</sup>. But when we become kūpuna, what are the stories our keiki<sup>7)</sup> going to give on? So it's our responsibility. A living breathing, evolving culture will constantly be creating new mo'olelo, new stories to tell (Tanigawa, 2017).

He pointed out that Hawaiian people have a responsibility to educate keiki, the next generations, through an old mo'olelo and a new mo'olelo, and traditional Hawaiian cultural creations. They keep challenging to create a new story while they inherit and transmit stories from their kūpuna. He is not only trying to preserve art pieces of Native Hawaiians, but also to look for children to be interested in what Native Hawaiians have done and what people are doing now.



[Figure 15: The shoppers of *Makawalu*, a handmade pottery shop, at SALT]

## 7. Discussion

Under the historical influence of the United States, Hawaiian language, culture, and even thought processes have all changed. The way Native Hawaiian people live, think, and act was inevitably changed by the huge influence from the United States. American assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior deeply penetrate traditional society. English as one of the official languages is not only one of the biggest changes in Hawai'i, but we also should not neglect cultural impacts on Hawai'i

Because Hawai'i became the 50th state of the United States, we cannot deny the truth that there are a certain number of American cultures there. People believe in different religion, Christianity; people eat at McDonald's, Burger King, Subway, Starbucks, and more fast food restaurants; people use an iPhone and MacBook as a communication tool; people go to Walmart, Longs Drugs, Target, Whole Foods Market, and more supermarkets; people enjoy shopping at Macy's, Nordstrom, Bloomingdale's, Saks Fifth Avenue, and more department stores. All of them came from the mainland, the United States, and they are everywhere in Hawai'i. Although they are for the tourism industry in some ways, people in Hawai'i consume cultures of the mainland. Figure 16 exemplifies that companies from the United States are merged into Hawaiian society by adapting and blending a portion of Hawaiian culture and language. Target supermarket is on the left side, and Auntie Anne's Pretzel is on the right side. Target puts a linguistic sign "ALOHA" with some motifs of Hawaiian flowers in front of the store. Similarly, Auntie Anne's displays the poster with "ALOHA" and surfboard on the left along with their signature pretzel.

Even in the historic town, Hale'iwa, we have McDonald's (on the left) and Starbucks (on the right) (Figure 17). McDonald's in Hale'iwa is different from what we usually imagine. The exterior of the store seems to be moderated and adapted to the atmosphere of the town. Although we do not have images, they have Hawaiian local menus: a Portuguese sausage, eggs, and rice platter; a SPAM, eggs and rice platter; and a local deluxe breakfast platter that includes Portuguese sausage and SPAM with eggs and rice (KHON, 2017). The author took these pictures last March, and Starbucks are newly opened. Some people were sitting outside and enjoyed coffee there.





[Figure 16: American companies at Ala Moana Center]



[Figure 17: Fast food restaurants at Hale 'iwa, the historic town]

People may feel a sense of affinity when they have some familiarity or closeness; so do Hawaiian people. Hawaiian people might feel comfortable when they have some sort of 'Hawaiian smells'. American companies try to and make Hawaiians to be accustomed to their culture; it is better than nothing. In this way, American capital companies have successfully penetrated into Hawaiian society, and Hawaiian people may have lost their tradition and heritage.

However, people are eager to preserve traditional Hawaiian language and culture in various ways with the Hawaiian Renaissance movement. One of the examples of the movement is seen at the Kaka'ako district. People are trying to show their aspiration for keeping the traditional heritage of Hawai'i, and many people are involved with. From a consideration of counter-hegemony, we regard the movement at Kaka'ako as a 'counteractivity' for American domination. As Carroll (2007) said, "For counter-hegemonic groups, the social relations that might sustain an alternative way of life are immanent, emergent, or need to be invented" (p. 54). The case study demonstrated that people in this area gather and try "to challenge dominant assumptions, beliefs, and established patterns of behavior" (Cox & Schilthuis, 2012, p. 1).

Counter-hegemony demands "some notion of a leading and directing role which seeks to transform not just anything, but the most important social structures and relations. Hence the transformational model of social activity must be linked to some kind of [counter-]hegemonic project. It requires a strategic element that gives it purpose and direction" (Joseph, 2002, 214). We consider that the whole projects at Kaka'ako are one of the counter-hegemonic projects in Hawai'i, and people involved with are a counter-hegemonic group. They are standing critically against hegemonic power of America, and they are trying to dismantle it. They are longing to re-establish their pride as Hawaiians, while the United States is linguistically (English as an official language) and culturally

(American ways of living) dominant in Hawaiian society.

One of the most prominent things is that people are using a variety of social networking services as an information tool or a communication device: facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and so on. All of the shops above have at least one of them; thanks to advanced technology, people are now able to access various sources if they are interested in the movement. The information revolution gives us an opportunity of costless communication regardless of a distance. It also provides the production of alternative media that has become a key role of counter-hegemony (Hackett and Carroll, 2006). Utilizing media devices is “the overwhelming importance to counter-hegemony of reclaiming or creating the means and forms of communication necessary for subaltern groups to find their voices and to organize both locally and globally” (Carroll, 2006, p. 27). We think that cutting-edge technology is one of the biggest factors for people to get together so easily and make the movement wider and wider both locally and globally.

## **8. Concluding Remarks and Future Research**

Under the historical influence of the United States, Hawaiian language, culture, and even thought processes have all changed. American assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior deeply penetrate traditional society. Hawai‘i has experienced or is experiencing not only linguistic changes, but also cultural changes: English became one of the official languages, and there are a number of companies from the United States. However, there is hope to save traditional Hawaiian language and culture, because of the Hawaiian Renaissance as seen at Kaka‘ako. People gather for some projects: “Our Kaka‘ako”, “SALT at Our Kaka‘ako”, “POW! WOW! Hawaii”, and “Honolulu Night Market”.

From observations at the Kaka‘ako district, the author demonstrates how people there are trying to preserve the cultural heritage of Hawai‘i. They are not only trying to keep their heritages, but they are also challenging to educate future generations through various activities. From the viewpoint of counter-hegemony, the cultural revival movement at Kaka‘ako can be seen as one of the most significant endeavors to achieve the goal of resurgence, regaining, and revitalizing traditional Hawaiian language and culture.

For future research, we would acquire a holistic understanding of linguistic revitalization and cultural revitalization in Hawai‘i and discuss the research theme. Even though the linguistic perspective is not covered in this study, the author will focus on the linguistic perspective and the cultural perspective. For the former, the author continues a qualitative interview research with students who take Hawaiian language lectures at University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa; for the latter, the author continues an observation research in town and might have a qualitative interview research with people who actually are participating the current revitalization movement.

**Appendix**

Table 1. The historical process of the number of Hawaiian and English schools and students (Data is from Reinecke, 1969)

Year	1848	1855	1868	1878	1880	1882	1884	1886	1888	1890	1892	1894	1895	1897	1902
Total Number of Schools	631	386	266	222	210	201	200	172	179	178	168	176	187	192	203
Total Number of Students	19,844	11,226	8,404	6,991	7,164	8,046	8,723	9,016	8,770	10,006	10,712	11,307	12,616	14,552	18,382
Number of Hawaiian Language Schools	624	363	221	170	150	134	114	77	63	36	28	18	3	1	0
Number of Students of Hawaiian Language Schools	19,644	10,076	6,323	4,344	4,078	3,528	2,841	2,018	1,370	768	552	320	59	26	0
Percentages	99.0	89.7	75.2	62.1	57.0	43.8	32.6	22.4	15.7	7.7	5.2	2.8	0.5	0.2	0.0
Number of English Language Schools	7	23	45	52	60	67	86	95	116	142	140	158	184	191	203
Number of Students of English Language Schools	200	1,150	2,081	2,647	3,086	4,518	5,882	6,998	7,400	9,238	10,160	10,987	12,557	14,996	18,382
Percentages	1.1	10.3	24.8	37.9	43.0	56.2	67.4	77.6	84.3	92.3	94.8	97.2	99.5	99.8	100.0



## Notes

- 1) See Krauss (1974) as a reference.
- 2) About 'ohe hano ihu, see Kanahele (1979), Moyle (1990), Nishikawa (2016), and Roberts (1926).
- 3) The right side of Figure 12 is the shop called *Beachwalk Gallery Hawaii*. As the name of the shop indicates, they mainly sell shells' accessories. See <http://www.beachwalkgallery.com/> as a reference.
- 4) "mana" means "Supernatural or divine power, mana, miraculous power" (Pukui and Elbert, 1986, p. 235).
- 5) "kūpuna" is "Plural of *kupuna*" and *kupuna* means "Grandparent, ancestor, relative or close friend of the grandparent's generation, grandaunt, granduncle", *Ibid.*, p. 186.
- 6) "mo'olelo" means "Story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, journal, log, yarn, fable, essay, chronicle, record, article", *Ibid.*, p. 254.
- 7) "keiki" means "child, offspring, descendant, progeny, boy, youngster, son, lad, nephew, son of a dear friend", *Ibid.*, p. 142.

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# The Efficient Use of Cultural Resources in Ethnic Tourism: Case study of Southeast Asian Countries

Nana Okayama Tokai University

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## 1. Development of Tourism in Southeast Asia

Since the late 1950s, international tourism has been expanding rapidly mainly in developed countries. Even now this expansion is accelerating all over the world (UNWTO, 2015, p.2). Especially, many international tourists have come to Southeast Asian countries. This area's international tourism growth is twice the rate compared to those of other areas (UNWTO, 2014, p.2), because the area attracts considerable numbers of tourists from European and North American developed countries, owing to its distinctive cultural traits. Indeed, in Southeast Asian countries, the international tourists enjoy trekking in unspoiled tropical rainforest, diving into the sea with beautiful coral reefs, eating local food which they have never savor before, watching traditional dance and so on. Sometimes tourists from the developed countries enjoy exotic sensation of experiencing different customs and even feel some kind of nostalgia for their simple life styles. In other words, the local people always exposed to a curious gaze from the Western tourists, and they are obliged to play the role of native "savage" in front of the tourists. Observing such situations many researchers have emphasized the risk of acculturation or disruption of original cultures in the worst case. While tourism has good effects on local peoples, especially in the economic aspects, researchers and various international organizations have warned about the negative impacts of tourism on their cultures in the near future. To avoid such impacts, the new concepts of "Sustainable tourism", "Responsible tourism", "Eco-tourism", etc. have been born (UNWTO, 1999, pp.2-6). Most of the Southeast Asian countries had expected that tourism is the best way to acquire foreign money and create jobs, meanwhile they have just turned their attention to the highly probable situation where the irreversible cultural problems are getting serious. Tourism has always such a big dilemma.

## 2. Ethnic Tourism in Southeast Asia

Among the various problems, the most serious problem in Southeast Asian countries is cultural conflict. International tourists bring not only money but also several different values and patterns of consumption. Correspondingly local people's behavior have been influenced and changed by foreigner's behavior. Tourism generally creates a relative hierarchical relationship between *hosts* and *guests*. When tourist come into direct contact with local people, this hierarchical relationship appears more remarkable.

The aim of direct contacts is to see or to participate in the intrinsic cultures and life styles of native local people or minorities, who are differentiated socially and politically from the dominant groups in their home countries. Such a form of tourism is often called ethnic tourism, or other various terms; native tourism, aboriginal tourism, indigenous tourism etc. Essentially, these terms themselves do not imply discrimination or scorn for native minorities, but it is undeniable that such forms of tourism are provoked by the tourists' interest in observing relatively primitive life-styles and consequent poverty of minorities. The root of the interest is a kind of prejudice brought about by or creating the hierarchical relationship between *hosts* and *guests*. Bunten and Graburn describe these terms as artefacts of the colonial encounter (Bunten and Graburn, 2018, p.3), in other words, it can be said that the modern host-and-guest relationship is originated from the former one between the ruler and the ruled.

In this essay, I adopt the word "ethnic tourism" among aforementioned terms: indigenous, aboriginal and native tourism, because "ethnic tourism" seems to be much more suitable dealing with the Southeast Asian situation, compared with other terms easily reminding us of colonial dominated or suppressed condition. Especially

in American and Australian continents, the semi-colonial condition has continued, even now producing conflicts between ruling Whites and ruled indigenous peoples in various scenes, and indigenous, aboriginal tourism and native tourisms are frequently used to appeal for the restoration of social justice for the sake of the oppressed peoples. Mercer who researched indigenous tourism in Australia said that indigenous tourism development and social justice issues concerning aboriginal rights cannot be discussed separately (Mercer, 2005, p.143). Certainly, Southeast Asian countries experienced a colonized history, and the influence of colonial rule still remains in various socio-cultural aspects. But after independence, each country is nationally unified by the indigenous peoples themselves, and there is no such conflict or suppression as seen in Americas and Australia. Moreover Southeast Asian countries' governments generally don't tend to use tourism for the purpose of restoring indigenous rights. Therefore, ethnic tourism appears suitable to describe Southeast Asian tourism as a term of neutral meaning.

According to Weiler and Hall, ethnic tourism entails some form of face-to-face experience with local people by visiting their land to observe or participate in local customs, rituals and other traditional activities (Weiler and Hall, 1992, p.84). In other words, ethnic tourism is always based on tourist desire for exoticism. Ethnic tourism in Southeast Asian countries is fashioned mainly by showcasing of the traditional culture and people's life to tourists. Culture and tourism are never separable from one another, because indigenous life-styles are the tourist resource close to hand and some kinds of spectacle for the foreigners. In such type of tourism, the local people will be exposed to the "tourist gaze" directly. So, we have to consider well how and why have appeared the "tourist gaze" toward to local people.

### **3. Types of Ethnic Tourism**

Ethnic tourism is one of the cultural tourism that focuses on the culture of ethnic minority. Today many countries, especially in Southeast Asia, as a part of national strategy, strive to augment inbound tourism, an easy way of which is the promotion of ethnic tourism. The ethnic tourism in Southeast Asia can be classified into three types as Dramatization type, Separation type and Intact type, according to how to show ethnic culture.

Dramatization type: This type of ethnic tourism artificially dramatizes indigenous ethnic cultures. In other words, local people try to show "ethnicity" that international tourists expect. Quite a number of examples of this type of ethnic tourism can be seen in Southeast Asia. This is because the government has actively promoted ethnic tourism to acquire foreign money for the economic development of the "Nation". For example, in Sarawak, the government of Malaysia began the earnest promotion of Borneo tourism in the early 1990s (Hattori, 2010, p.22). Ethnic tourism is the core of Borneo tourism. Various touristic facilities were established place to place. Especially, Sarawak Cultural Village (abbreviate as S.C.V. in below) established in 1989 is visited by many international tourists (Sarawak Cultural Village HP). Sarawak's population comprises of several local ethnic groups, namely the Iban, the Bidayuh, the Orang Ulu, the Melanau and other minor tribes in addition to the Malays, Chinese and Indians. In S.C.V., tourists can enjoy their traditional cultures in just half a day. On the 17 acre's premises, there are traditional houses which symbolized each ethnic groups and a big hole where a cultural show is held. In each traditional house, symbolic goods are displayed and people donning traditional costume demonstrate traditional cookies, toys, handicrafts and so on, which tourists are able to buy. So, that's why S.C.V. is called as "Living Museum". Cultural show is the most popular attraction in S.C.V. In this show, tourists can see each ethnic group's traditional dances all at once. In Malaysia, there are many similar kinds of cultural village. These cultural villages play some parts in the safeguarding and succession of traditional culture. And we can say it is "gateway" to know their ethnic cultures. But on the other side, to get more and more tourists, local people act more and more exciting and exotic way to show their own cultures. This exaggeration leads foreign tourists to see their dramatized action as their own cultural heritage unconsciously. And for the next step, tourists want to see their cultures in the context of everyday life, so they expect homestay experience. It's not serious as long as the dramatization is realized only

in the touristic facilities, such as S.C.V., but when tourists expect the same dramatization for the local people's real village life, the serious problem occurs. Because the local people are demanded to act ethnic people's role dramatically in accordance with tourists' expectation. Finally, it causes hostilities between hosts and guests, resulting in the decline of the local people's will to receive guests. So this kind of ethnic tourism can threaten the local people's life and their traditional cultures. In most cases that ethnic tourism is carried out in developing countries or region, like the case of Sarawak, the government takes the initiative as a part of national policies. As Richter said that "tourism is a highly political phenomenon" (Richter, 1989, p.2), we must assert that the government's responsibility is very serious. But government's attention is not paid to the cultural continuity and the quality of life (QOL) of ethnic minorities, giving priority to the national economic interests. These economic interests are usually restricted to the immediate short-term profits. Tourism styles with which ethnic minorities at the frontline feel uncomfortable or burdensome cannot be sustainable in the long-term perspective. In fact, a number of ethnic people in Sarawak have stopped hosting international tourists, and lost their motivation.

**Separation type:** In this type of ethnic tourism, the host people separate two aspects of culture, one for the touristic aim and the other for their own life. It means tourists cannot easily enter into local people's daily life area. The ethnic tourism in Bali, Indonesia is the classical example of this type. Bali is one of the most famous tourist destinations in Southeast Asia. About 4.9 million international tourists visit for a year (Ministry of Tourism Republic of Indonesia, 2017). Bali's tourism culture is created under the Dutch colonial regime. This movement is termed "the Balinization of Bali" (Yamashita, 1999, p.178). For example, the now famous *kecak* dance and *barong* dance were arranged for tourists by a group of Western intellectuals headed by Water Species, the German artist and musician who lived in Bali in the 1930s. The *kecak* dance was originally a male chorus which accompanied a trance ritual. But he recreated it into a spectacular dance drama, adopting the Ramayana (Hindu drama). In consequence, it has become understandable for the Western tourists. The original form of *barong* dance was a part of *Calonarang*, a Balinese traditional ritual dance played for safety and peace of villagers. It takes 4 hours. Species remake it more shortly and mildly, because the original ritual is too long and too shocking for tourists. For Balinese the traditional holy rituals are so important and meaningful that they don't want to show it to tourists as an entertainment. So by creating special cultural contents for the tourists, they succeeded in separating tourists from their daily life. As a result of the cultural invention, Bali has been inviting many foreign tourists without spoiling its proper culture.

**Intact type:** In this type of ethnic tourism, local people invite tourists to their daily life area to show their cultures without any modification, so that tourists are able to experience their ordinal life. Homestay programs in Brunei Darussalam are one of the examples of this type. Brunei government began the efforts to develop tourism in 1990s. One pillar of this effort is Community-Based Tourism (CBT), in which local communities take the initiative to create optimal plans to promote tourism that make the best use of unique features of the local area and local people's trait and traditional cultures (Okayama, 2017, p.20). Akinyi defines CBT as a form of tourism where the local community has substantial control over, and involvement in, its development and management, and a major proportion of the benefits remains within the community (Akinyi, 2015, p.71). In other words, CBT consider sustainability of local community. Then the government makes a national project, named Kenali Negara Kitani (KNK: it means "get to know your own country"). This project support Bruneian people to get opportunities to know and rediscover their own cultures. Local people make homestay programs mainly based on the concepts proposed by the government. In Brunei as a multicultural country, some ethnic groups, such as the Iban, have maintained their traditional life styles. Now some groups of the Iban invites tourists to their traditional longhouse. Tourists spend their time communicating with local people, and enjoying different everyday life from their own. In the longhouse homestay, tourists can eat traditional foods, make handicrafts, hear their history, see traditional charm made by shamans and so on. Local people proudly show not only their traditional culture but also



modernized and westernized daily lives reflecting their current life cultural value. Many scholars say that tourists desire to experience “*hi-nichijo*(非日常)” or “extraordinary” life to escape from their “*nichijo*(日常)” or daily life, and that ethnic tourism offers the desired cultural experiences to tourists. But in Brunei, local people show their own cultures as just different pattern of ordinal life, or “*i-nichijo*(異日常)” that is another ordinal life (Motani, 2016, p.24). In other words, local people never want to act the exaggerated ethnic or exotic role. They attract foreign tourists at their natural pace.

#### **4. Cultural Resources in Ethnic Tourism**

Southeast Asian countries have obtained some profitable results in the tourism industry, but a number of problems are occurring, so that it is necessary to seek out new ways of tourism. In any type of ethnic tourism, local people's life is the most important cultural resources. So, we have to consider well how it should be shown to tourists and at the same time, we should find the way to protect their own life from tourism. Dramatization type of ethnic tourism has high ability to attract foreign tourists. But this dramatization making “*hi-nichijo*” for tourists has generally eroded local people's everyday life. So this type of ethnic tourism is not recommendable to sustain the local societies. Separation type of ethnic tourism can protect local people's ordinal life and culture by offering special cultural contents that fulfill tourist's desire. In other words, local people keep tourists away from everyday life area. On the contrary, intact type of ethnic tourism willingly invites tourists to local people's life area. And local people show their ordinal life as “*i-nichijo*” for tourists to build a friendly relationship between hosts and guests. This relationship can make local people learn about other cultures and values from tourists, and both hosts and guests respect each other's “*nichijo*” through tourism.

Ethnic people's life and culture is not a show or spectacle, it is just different pattern of everyday life. Ethnic tourism should be carried out protecting the host people's life real. To realize this purpose, not only tourist agencies, but also all local people must actively participate all together and try to see the best way of ethnic tourism for themselves. There is no royal road for sustainable ethnic tourism. But any type of ethnic tourism must make more affluent the lives and cultures of ethnic minorities. Then the tourists will be blessed with good opportunities to understand other people's lifestyle and cultural values.

#### **5. What is “Sustainability” in Ethnic Tourism?**

Since the latter half of the 20th century when the tourism industry grew rapidly, many scholars argue about "sustainable tourism", the applied concept of "sustainable development". UNEP and UNWTO defined sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities"(UNEP and UNWTO, 2005, p.12). This phrase teaches us that tourism is a complex phenomenon embracing environmental, social, cultural, and economic realms. But in the developing countries, because almost all of the governments have been long prioritizing economic growth as their exclusive goal, they seems to have forgot to fix their eyes on other realms of human life. It means they focus only on the sustainability of the economy. Essentially, sustainable tourism is a form of tourism aiming to attain sustainable development, safeguarding the local people's culture and society concurrently with promoting socioeconomic development. According with this subject, we have to consider both economic development and local people's QOL. In addition, ethnic identity is not fixed and bequeathed from the past (Wood, 1997, p.18), so that ethnic tourism should change its form and meaning flexibly responding to the present life styles of ethnic peoples. Intact type of ethnic tourism, which has promoted the continuity of the ethnic cultural resources with incentives of local communities, seen as Brunei's example, should be thought as one of the new appropriate direction of sustainable tourism. Before anything, what is truly necessary is the sustainability of the community. Especially in ethnic tourism in which the main attracting points are ethnic communities and their

cultures, we must pay due attentions to the preservation of local communities' own characteristics.

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## WEB site

Sarawak Cultural Village

History from <https://www.scv.com.my/history>.

# The house as symbolic representation of the self

Silvia Wyder University of Derby, United Kingdom

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## Introduction

In this paper I will first give an outline of my research topic by addressing methodology and methods, to be followed by reflections on the arts. From there I will then move on towards architects' and art therapy patients' art-works, focusing on notions of culture, and the self and culture within the context of mental health. I will end with tentative conclusions.

My thesis' research builds upon two concepts: the first being that the *house* and its aesthetic representations may symbolically represent the self since each human being is in some ways concerned with the presence, or absence of *house* in whatever form.

The second is that art therapy, art and architecture can be investigated to understand specificities within, but also relations to the other fields, and together represent a rich basis for interdisciplinary and cross-cultural knowledge production.

## Methodology and Method

The overarching methodological approach to my research is mixed method, which combines qualitative phenomenological material with quantitative data. My phenomenological approach of inquiry is related to Carel, who suggests: "Studying lived experience is not a variant form of scientific enquiry, but a method for examining pre-reflective, subjective human experience as it is lived prior to its theorization by science" (2016, pp. 1-2).

The totality of qualitative material<sup>1)</sup> will consist of a literature review regarding *house* specific art therapy literature, photographic documentation of participants' paintings and drawings, thematic analysis of their spoken narratives based on my observational note taking (written down after each art therapy session referring to each participant), registered and transcribed 29-item semi-structured interview questionnaire narratives (Wyder, 2015), registered and transcribed material stemming from the closing sessions, as well as psychiatrists' reports, and lastly photographic documentation of artists and architects art-works and written material (e.g. theory of architecture, art theory, artists' and architects' interviews and so forth).

Quantitative data is collected by means of two psychometric tests: the Impact of Event Scale-Revised questionnaire, a self-report measure by Weiss and Marmar (1997) verifying possible symptoms of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder; and the Basler Befindlichkeits-Skala by Hobi (1985) testing wellbeing.<sup>2)</sup>

Furthermore, the *final analysis* will be performed according to phenomenological 'coding' based on the totality of the gathered material and data. In other words, this method comprises "scrutinising the material for commonalities that reflects categories or themes" (University of Hertfordshire, 2015, p5) referring to notions of *interiority* and *exteriority* and the space in between.

Fieldwork is carried out in several countries and cultures, as well as in either psychiatric clinics or universities, with adult populations, with the exception of Paris where the participants are adolescents. The communication language in all places / countries of my research between the participants and myself is that of the local culture. However, for example, during my fieldwork at the University of Vienna, architecture theory department, there was no Austrian student attending my focus group workshops; as a consequence, verbal interactions with students and/or some interviews were carried out in English, French, Italian as well as German.

So far, art therapy fieldwork was carried out at the psychiatric clinic in Wil in Switzerland during six months in 2016. Two focus art therapy groups including eight patients provided first aesthetic and narrative material and

data. Last year's (2017) period of fieldwork took place at the Technical University in Vienna with architecture students. Current fieldwork is taking place at the Hôpital Pitié-Salpêtrière in Paris including adolescents, and my last period of PhD-related clinical fieldwork will be carried out in Tokyo again with adults in November 2018. To date, my focus group sample's participants are (at minimum) of French, French/Northern African, Croatian, German, Serbian, Hungarian, Swiss French and Swiss Italian cultures and countries.

The approach during all my periods of fieldwork is that of focus group sessions, in which up to five participants work in the same space-time situation. As described by Hogan (2014, p. 110) "the artworks are produced and discussed with the art therapist either individually or as a group". Hence, I 'visit' each participant several times throughout a studio session, which generally is of 90 minutes. At the same time, other verbal exchanges among the participants themselves, at times including me, at other times not, do take place. Each session is different and there is thus an on-going high requirement on the art therapist's ability to spontaneously and flexibly adapt to each new situation afresh, be it based on participants' artworks, their narratives, or interactions with self and others.

In line with Hogan's description referring to the inner and aesthetic process of art therapy (2014, p. 111), I consider that "the way the art work is constructed, reworked - areas obliterated and reshaped - can be deeply revealing, giving immediate access to areas of inner-conflict and ambivalence. Discussion of these aspects may come to the fore. How the work is subsequently handled or destroyed can also become relevant, as it is an object embodied with emotions".

Moreover, in line with Schaverien, (1999, p. 105) regarding the interpretation of artworks "there are, firstly, no rules governing interpretation of pictures", and secondly, "interpretation, like diagnosis, is a matter of relationship: that of patient to the picture and therapist; and that of therapist to patient and picture". Hence, I do not offer top-down or reductionist interpretations of participants' artworks.

## **Art material**

The art material consists of water and acrylic colours, colour pencils, felt pens, various types and softness of graphite pens and pencils, Japanese ink (liquid and ink stone), rulers, pencil sharpeners, Asian ('sumi-e', or 'shôdo'), and 'Western' paint brushes, A3 and 50 × 70 cm sized paper.

The choice of Japanese ink has been made deliberately by me in order to offer this material to participants in Europe (participants of mostly, but not exclusively, European cultural backgrounds). The same material will also be provided to Japanese patients (or perhaps non-Japanese persons) in Tokyo at the end of this year. It was my intention to furnish a material that is traditionally not of European origin to the totality of this study's participants, and vice versa.

## **Artists' house representations**

In order to address the topic of the *house*, cultural notions and the self, I will exemplify these in the following through *house* representations by artists' and art therapy patients' art-works, and by architects' built structures.

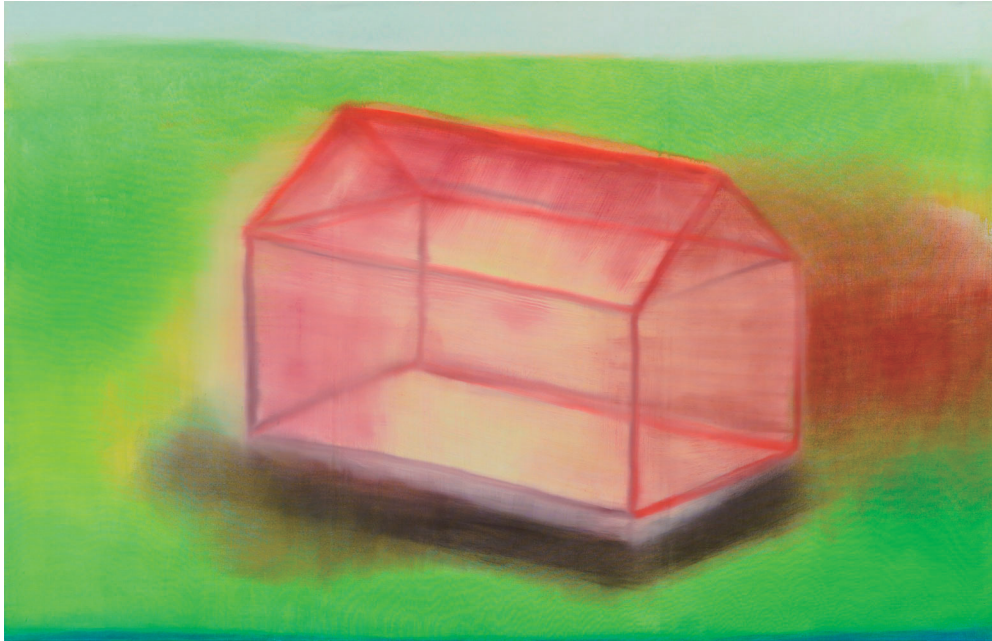
### **Miriam Cahn**

To introduce the topic of *the house* I would like to start with an example coming from the arts via the Swiss painter Miriam Cahn, who is one of the artists I have interviewed (in her studio-house in the Swiss mountains). For years Ms Cahn's artworks and writing addressed war, feminism and forced displacement, but similarly, she said in an interview: "Throughout my life I reflected on simplification..." and she adds that "this "Baukörper" (built body, an architectural term) is the way I am thinking" (TR-ANSFER, 2018).

In respect to her *house* paintings, she stated: "My house paintings represent myself". These depictions demonstrate rich, vivid colours that have simultaneously a dream-like quality. Further, her paintings are often



carried out in a translucent manner, where the inside and outside are at times almost suspended. The notion of the *house* as a physical built body providing shelter could thus be called into question as the paintings suggests that one could almost walk through the walls and penetrate into the inner space of the house. One might wonder how possible inhabitants of such houses might feel inside, whether they would feel safe, or whether Ms Cahn's houses are not intended to be inhabited by people? Do they perhaps 'only' serve as symbolic representations of the artist's own self, an artistic way of self-portrayal? Could this be the reason why there are never other persons visible in her house-paintings? If persons are depicted in her paintings it is mostly in relation to nature or war.



©Miriam Cahn, Bau (construction/building), 18.5.16  
©New South Wales for the 21st Biennale of Sydney

In her early career during the 1980s, the house was already a topic of hers when she produced house-drawings in her hometown of Basel on the concrete pillars of a highway, which of course was illegal, and I suppose a political act.

Nowadays, Ms Cahn is living in the same village, Stampa, where the Swiss sculptor Alberto Giacometti was born. It is located in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland named Bregaglia. There she acquired an industrial estate a few years ago and, in collaboration with the architect Armando Ruinelli, having his practice in a close-by village called Soglio, she conceived a project in common. The artist and the architect thus jointly designed her contemporary architecture studio-house; the concrete structure seems to be suspended in a similar way, as the above house painting seems to be floating above the ground.

Whilst interviewing Mr Ruinelli, he stated that it was a very interesting and unusual collaboration; the architect was thus working with a client who is not only an artist, whose aesthetic preoccupations are indeed houses themselves. Furthermore, regarding the geographical and cultural situation, he said in an interview: "Bregaglia is a dark, deep and very narrow valley, and that has an immediate impact; it affects the psyche of the people in general, and certainly also influences the architecture. I think a lot of the influences of the place where you live are subconscious. A valley like Bregaglia is something you carry within; it conveys very strong sensations of light, of loneliness, of *chiaroscuro* [there is no direct sunlight for weeks in Winter]. I don't think about these things every time I design a project, but they do influence the way I work" (TR-ANSFER, 2018).



Magazzino & Atelier Miriam Cahn, Architect A. Ruinelli,  
Ansicht Nord, photograph@Ralph Feiner, 7208 Malans, CH, n.d.

## Heidi Bucher

A very different approach to address the topic of the house can be seen in the artworks of Heidi Bucher. Her oeuvre consists of sculptures, as here below the blue "Ahnenhaus" (ancestors' house) demonstrates, and also consists of performance and installations works.



Heidi Bucher, "Ahnenhaus" [ancestors' house] & 'peeled' off walls of parents' house, 1980-82 (swissinstitute.net)  
©Collection Mayo and Indigo Bucher, Courtesy Freymond-Guth Fine Arts, Zürich

The above visible, hanging wall-work of Heidi Bucher is named, "Häutung" (skinning). She literally 'peeled' off the walls of her childhood and parents' house in Winterthur, Switzerland. Heike Munder wrote: These sculptures consist of a "... joint process of embalming and stripping elaborated by casting her parent's house walls with a latex embalmmnt. After making the skinning she hung it from the flagpole of the house like a trophy and

let it flutter like an animal's entrails". Hence, depending on the context, either the notion of *interiority*, or of *exteriority* applies.

What is left behind is a *house* "cleansed" of the traces of the past. The translucent, hanging wall-sculptures evoke themes of memory, in my view, of catharsis, of documentation and transformation of parental house spaces; it is a performative and auto-archaeological enterprise. The process of skinning is an appropriation of all the layers of patina, and, as a result, an opportunity to free oneself of the past. The house can then be occupied in a new way and we can rewrite history, Munder stated (2015, all citations, pp. 57, 58).

Furthermore, the curator Bice Curiger, who had worked for Heidi Bucher, stated in an interview regarding the "Ahnenhaus": "I felt very strongly that the past was kind of overpowering for her [Bucher]. So she took the skin of the past away, so to say". The interviewer Simon Castets said that: "A reading of her works that sees it as a sort of rebellious attitude toward the bourgeois conservatism of Winterthur society which her family was part of" (2015, p. 77).

### **'House' versus 'Home**

At this point, I consider it important to differentiate between *house* and *home* but also to point out some culturally-grounded language distinctions.

In German, according to Grimm's dictionary, the word *house* refers to a common linguistic root with *skin* as well as blanket, rescue, clothing, armour, leather and shelter. It has thus a rather external connotation, which is either related to, or part of the body; hence, notions of inside and outside apply.

Interestingly, in some regions of Japan, in women's speech I (in the sense of referring to one-self) can also be expressed with the term *house*, that is *uchi*, which seems, according to Bonnin and Nishida (2014, p. 179), rather to point to *interiority*, as also the Japanese character for wife, "okusan", suggests, that it is the woman who is in the house, similarly as e.g. "Hausfrau" in German or "housewife" in English. The location of self, or rather the female self, seems to traditionally be situated in the *inside* of an inhabitable space.

In my opinion, and perhaps from a Westerner's perspective, the *human body*, this outer physical envelope, could be considered a metaphor for the *house* in the figurative symbolic sense. The *house* can thus be this exterior, structural form that can be representing the self in an individual manner; it may however also integrate other 'selves', that is auxiliary persons.

The *house*, as well as the *human body*, are generally perceived from the outside by most people; what happens inside remains largely hidden. Hence, one could suspect that there are *external*, visible properties that allow us to draw conclusions about the *interior*. A cracked facade suggests that it might not be an entirely new house, just as wrinkles on the skin of a human being indicate a certain age.

Finally, a *house* is always a *house* that can incorporate a *home*, or not. In contrast, a *home* can hardly exist without being located inside a *house*.

### **Architecture**

The Japanese architect Sou Fujimoto (2013, p. 164) nicely elaborates: "Architecture is not simply about making interior space, nor about exterior space, but to generate relationships between the two".

These notions regarding the material built space, as well as the complexities of the inner, psychological space and how and why these are symbolically re-presented and lived by human beings is the endeavour of my research.

Since my research question addresses the *house* via two- and three-dimensional expressions, the inclusion of, or the extension into, the field of architecture does, in my view, impose itself. Architects' aesthetic and material

choices, sources of inspiration, socio-cultural backgrounds, reflections related to cultural and geographical locations, to name just a few, may provide further valuable theoretical insights and material along with that of art therapy patients and artists. Hence, such considerations provide a rationale to include architecture in this research. Victor Buchli clearly establishes a direct link between architectural structures and human beings by asserting that "bodies and buildings are difficult to disentangle". And he elaborates further: "The embodiment of built form serves as more than an anthropomorphic representation of the human life, or body, but is literally itself an extended and collective form" (2013, p.157).

Furthermore, some architecture theorists incorporate a phenomenological stance into their thinking by linking architecture to the human body and its lived experiences through our senses. Pallasmaa notes: "The eyes want to collaborate with the other senses. All the senses, including vision, can be regarded as extensions of the sense of touch - as specialisations of the skin. They define the interface between the skin and the environment - between the opaque interiority of the body and the exteriority of the world" (1996, p. 45). Interestingly, Pallasmaa also refers to the skin, which seems to have a common German linguistic referring to the *house*, as we could see above.

## Architects' houses

### Sou Fujimoto

The below photograph shows the architect Sou Fujimoto standing within his Serpentine Gallery's '*Cloud Pavilion*' (2013) in London. As is the case in Ms Cahn's painting, the Cloud Pavilion is characterised by permeability, transparency, but also emphasises structure. Due to this transparent form, the *inside* and *outside* are practically suspended, representing a notion often encountered in traditional, as well as contemporary Japanese architecture. Here, the see-through structure can be considered as filled space, but difficult to inhabit, whereas in Ms Cahn's house- paintings the interior seems to be void; the inner space could, however, or not, become occupied.

According to Yormakka (2003, 2006/7, p. 192) "the notion of emptiness or space in itself formed the basis of perhaps the most influential architectural theory of the early 20th century". He is referring to Hans Auer (1883) who wrote that "space is the soul of a building and that architecture is an art insofar as it deals with the creation of spaces".



Architect Sou Fujimoto poses with his Serpentine Pavilion — photo by Ben Stansall/Getty  
<http://www.curbed.com/2014/11/6/10026218/sou-fujimoto-innovators-award-serpentine-pavilion>



The architecture theorist Pallasmaa critically examines (most likely) Western ways of perception via sight. He notes:

The perception of sight as our most important sense is well grounded in physiological, perceptual and psychological facts. The problems arise from the isolation of the eye outside its natural interaction with other sense modalities, and from the elimination and suppression of other senses, which increasingly reduce and restrict the experience of the world into the sphere of vision. This separation and reduction fragments the innate complexity, comprehensiveness and plasticity of the perceptual system, reinforcing a sense of detachment and alienation (1996, p. 43).

### **Christian Kerez**

Rather in stark contrast to Fujimoto's Serpentine Pavilion is Christian Kerez's "House with Lakeview" in Thalwil, Switzerland. It distinguishes itself via enwrapped, concrete and dense materiality.

In an interview with psychoanalyst Dr Knellessen, Kerez refers to the "corporeality of bunkers". He said: "This physical presence is not something dull or formless, but rather a shape which is first directly physically perceived, and only discloses itself intellectually or mentally at a second glance, that is it can only become meaningfully, or mentally perceived and defined with time. And to this extent, it is the *body* that interests me - as a *hiding place*".

His statements could be seen as an analogy of encounters between human beings and of the therapeutic process; the unearthing of inner material, but also of deeply buried unconscious content that may remain inaccessible for the person her-himself, as much as for the outside observer. However, giving new aesthetic forms to such meanings may lead to, with time, a fruitful personal transformation and to better being.

### **Art and art Therapy**

For a very long time in human history, individuals have used various art forms to express themselves during healthy times or to survive their suffering through rituals of passage and transformation. Art making can thus be considered as a profound human expression and strategy to celebrate life, as well as a coping strategy of survival in response to crises. One might think of the prehistoric Lascaux cave paintings where e.g. a multitude of hands could be understood as individuals' wishes to demonstrate their existence and as a way of communication; hence, art is, and was, clearly of crucial importance for human beings (Foresta, 2018).

More recently, during the 20th century, the works of psychiatric patients aroused particular interest in psychiatrists such as Walter Morgenthaler in Switzerland, Marcel Réja in France, Hans Prinzhorn in Germany, or Leo Navratil in Austria. These psychiatrists realised that artistic expressions can allow people to express their fears, concerns, memories, traumas, which can be difficult to verbalise. A patient may not always be aware of his or her issues, but things may emerge in the form of a painting. Such artworks allow patients to communally address possible pains together with art therapists through a means of aesthetic and verbal communication within a safe and protected space.

Art-making can however also be, or become a new form of persons' ways of being, and can lead to accessing, or rediscovering personal resources and hence in becoming more resilient. Furthermore, art can also be situated in the realm of beauty, not in a superficial sense of aestheticism, but linked to a philosophical form of human expression.

Further, by linking phenomenology to psychotherapy, and in my view also to art therapy, Thomas Fuchs writes:

A phenomenological stance is indispensable if we want to gain a genuine, unprejudiced understanding of the patient's experience. A [art] psychotherapist inspired by phenomenology will move away from trying to change the inner states of the patient and instead focus on his *lived space*, i.e. his pre-reflective or implicit way of living with others. And they will, in particular, use the therapeutic relationship as a field for extending the patient's lived space and for changing his implicit relationship patterns (2007, p. 423, 424).

According to Fuchs "in play and in art" the person "enters a world of '*als ob*' ('as-if'), a kind of alternative world (Scheinwelt), not in the illusionary-deceptive sense, but in the sense of freedom from immediate oppressive, or unbearable reality" (2008, p. 203), which might be an explanation for the observed phenomena. By becoming active in sculpting or drawing, this creative process can represent a way to emerge from a passive, suffering state by transforming it into a more active, individual, and self-determined position. Fuchs writes: "The pictorial and artistic production is the externalisation of this inner freedom, the retransmission of the imagination into the material and visible world - an act that always remains an experimental and experiential act, 'Probehandeln', since it situates itself in the framework of art" (2008, p. 204). In other words, e.g. art therapy sessions allow patients to explore individual ways of being through the use of art media in a safe and protected environment, which in this case can be considered as a safe *Spielraum* (referring to a physical and mental play-space-time experience) where new patterns and forms can be explored and tested.

Furthermore, becoming active is related to the ability of "play", which has been conceptualised by Gadamer, who wrote (1977, pp. 29-30):

The first evidence we need to make is that play is an elementary function of human life, so that human culture without an element of play is not conceivable at all. It is worthwhile visualising the elementary givenness of human play within, related to its structures so that the play element of art becomes visible not only as a negative freedom of functional, expedient connections or purposes, but by becoming apparent as a free impulse.

When do we talk about play, and what is implied by it? Certainly, it is first the continuously repeating back and forth of a movement. ... It is obvious what characterises the back and forth, that neither the one end nor the other end is the goal of the movement in which it comes to rest. It is also clear that such a movement is characterized by a specific play-space (*Spielraum*).

As an example, one might recall one's own childhood and the pleasure-provoking experience of swinging back and forth on a large swing, or of repeatedly climbing up and sliding down a slide!

Gadamer further wrote,

...this will give us special consideration for the question of art. The freedom of movement, which is meant here, also implies that this movement must have the form of self-movement. Self-movement is the basic characteristic of the animate ('des Lebendigen'). ... Play now appears as a self-movement, which by its movement does not seek purpose and objectives in itself, but the movement of the movement, which is, so to speak, a phenomenon of surplus, the self-representation of actively partaking of life ('Lebendigseins').

Hence, Knill elaborated, the goal of art therapy (or in his case expressive arts therapy) is to achieve a "*Spielraumerweiterung*" (2005), an expansion of the patient's space of play; it suggests to ridding oneself, ideally,

of these inner constraints that restrain free play. These notions have to be understood as an analogy of humans' ways of being in the world, to the freedom, or ease one hopes to acquire through play and art therapy.

### **Art therapy patients' house representations**

Suggesting a specific theme, in this case the *house*, may allow to work through previous difficult, or even traumatic experiences by offering the person a framework, or structure within a space-time continuum in a reassuring and safe situation. The topic can provide participants with a sense of structure, as it also allows construction, a holding space, as well as an accompaniment via the art therapist's inner stance (innere Haltung).

Further, devoting one's self to the topic of the *house* can provide an aesthetic and inner access to all kinds of past or current experiences. These may also consist of early painful childhood memories, trauma, or posttraumatic stress symptoms (PTSD) and their long-term consequences; as is often the case at the time of the traumatic occurrence, the person might have been literally speechless and thus art therapy can allow to aesthetically, as well as verbally express such issues. Yet, how, when and why (or possibly not at all) participants embrace the topic is within their own hands.

Regarding the topic, as well as inner content, one might refer to Gaston Bachelard (1957, p. 6) who wrote: "It [*the house*] is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories and dreams of mankind".

### **Patients' vignettes**

#### **Ms M.S. "Elternhaus" (parents' house)**

For some years Ms M.S. (42 years) has suffered from multiple sclerosis and attended the psychiatric clinic in Eastern Switzerland due to her depression, alcohol dependence, and personal neglect issues. It was in this clinic where I did an extended period of fieldwork (two weekly sessions during five months).

Ms M.S. had grown up in Southern Germany in a beautiful old mansion, with a back and front garden. As her parents got divorced Ms M.S.'s mother, together with her and two younger siblings, moved to Eastern (Swiss German speaking) Switzerland, where she first had, a) to learn the local language (as it is very different from the German spoken in Germany), and b) got called names by her fellow school children, as she didn't understand them, and had an accent in the earlier days of living in this area.

Furthermore, having settled in a high-rise apartment block in a small town, the new family living situation was in stark contrast to their previous one, a rather bourgeois house. Ms M.S.'s narratives about her childhood and youth were impregnated with sadness, anger, and imposed responsibilities she had to perform in regards of her younger siblings, as the mother was often ill.



Ms M.S., "Elternhaus" (parent's house), 2016

Towards the end of the period of my clinical fieldwork and after having worked together for five months, it appeared that Ms M.S. might also have a Jewish background, which according to her, had never been talked about in her family.

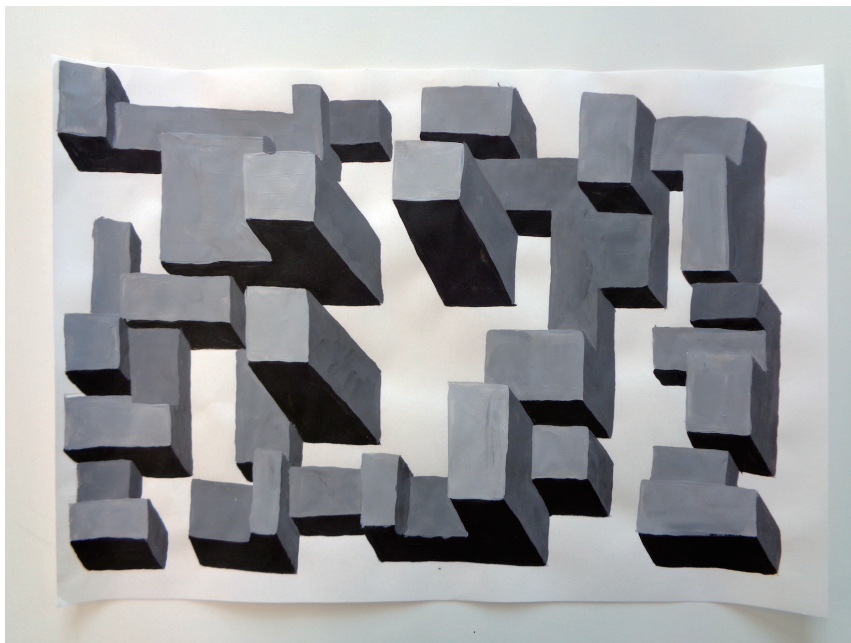
The painting shows Mrs M.S. primary family house (2016). On the left is the ill-loved, almost detestable front facade of the house; in the middle, the floor where Ms M.S.'s room was; and on the right, the inner backyard, preferred by Ms M.S. All three paintings are excerpts of the family's *house* and *home*.

Interestingly, Ms M.S. referred to her father when speaking of the left, exterior painting, by saying: "Aussen hui, innen pfui!" In German this saying indicates that behind a beautiful façade hides the "real", that is ugly, "face" of a person.

One could thus say that for Ms M.S. concentrating on the topic of the house over an extended period of time represented a process of coming to terms with her own past, as well as alleviating her current inner, as well as bodily suffering. Very importantly, however, she had succeeded to access her own creative resources and discovered herself as an artist; she started painting not 'only' in the clinic, but also at home, and even succeeded to publicly show her paintings.

### **Mr Kn.'s "Nachbarschaften" (neighbourhoods)**

Mr Kn. (34 years) was suffering from a bipolar affective disorder, with at times heavy periods of depressive episodes with psychotic symptoms. He experienced himself as an outsider, describing himself to have been exploited and "instrumentalized" by his adolescent colleagues. Once, he had also attempted suicide through jumping from a high bridge. As a consequence, Mr Kn. was constrained to use a wheel chair for some time; nowadays he is however able to walk again even though he is slightly limping. During the time he attended my workshops (for a duration of three months) he got married to an African lady, and found a part-time job.

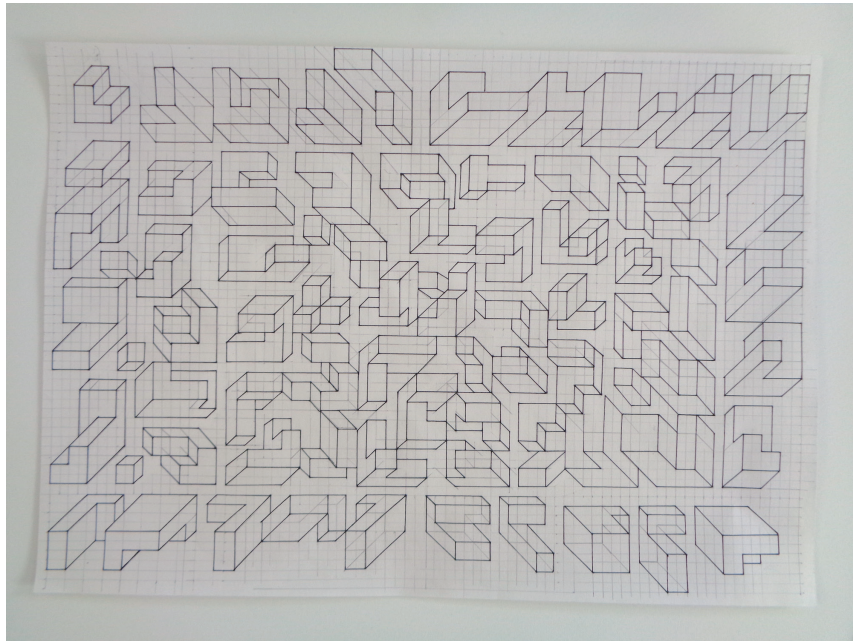


Mr. Kn. "Nachbarschaften (neighbourhoods), 31.5.2016

When I went to 'visit' him (that is, sitting next to him at his table) during the art therapy workshop, he said that he had wished to expand the area of the "neighbourhoods". Then he said he wanted to spread it out in mirror-inverted form but that he had made a mistake. He showed me the spot on the drawing and it seemed to me as if the house structures would rather be an interior empty space.



Mr Kn. explained that he wishes to merge the two forms of neighbourhoods as he did before into one drawing, but also to integrate a perspective (he does not use the word perspective), which would go in opposite ways, that is, showing four dimensions.



Mr. Kn. "Nachbarschaften (neighbourhoods), 28.6.2016

As he is incapable of drawing straight lines due a tremor, I suggested taking a photograph of his initial hand drawing, which he thereafter reworked with his computer, in order to obtain "straight" lines. So he did (above, 2nd drawing, 2016), and was extremely pleased to have achieved what he had in mind.

With time, Mr Kn. started to talk more with the other patients' present during the studio workshops. His taciturn and withdrawn way of being started to slightly be opening up towards the exterior world.

My impression was that the topic of the *house* allowed him to go beyond the individual closed-in, anxiety-loaded self (city spaces). At the same time it seemed to have provided him, literally speaking, with an internal structural support 'system', or grid.

As Buchli pointed out (2013 p. 71), with the influence of the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, architecture begins to reassume a central significance in the understanding of human societies through his concept of "house societies".

### **The self**

Gallagher and Zahavi (2008, p. 219) start their chapter 'self and person' with the fundamental question of asking: "What is a self"? They continue this inquiry: "Does it exist for real, or is it a mere social construct or perhaps a neurologically induced illusion? If something like a self exists, what role does it play in our conscious lives, and when and how does it emerge in the development of the infant?"

Addressing "neuro-scepticism and the no-self doctrine", Gallagher and Zahavi write that the French philosopher Sartre claimed

that a correct phenomenological investigation of lived consciousness will simply not find an ego, whether understood as an inhabitant in, or possessor of consciousness. ... When I am absorbed in reading a story, I have a consciousness of the narrative and a pre-reflective self-awareness of the reading but, according to Sartre, I do not have any awareness of an ego. As long as we are absorbed in the experience, living it, no ego

will appear. The ego emerges only when we adopt a distancing and objectifying attitude to the experience in question, that is, when we *reflect* upon it. As Sartre put it, the ego appearing in reflection is the object and not the subject of reflection' (2008, p. 220).

## **Culture**

There are various definitions of what culture can be; this includes perspectives of similar notions, however also rather divergent ways of conceptualising it. Personally, I feel relatively comfortable with T.S. Eliot's definition of culture, even though the term 'class' needs to be seen, I suppose, in respect to his *Zeitgeist*. He noted:

The term culture has different associations according to whether we have in mind the development of an individual, of a group or class, or of a whole society. Culture of the individual is dependent upon the culture of a group or class, and that the culture of the group or class is dependent upon the culture of the whole society to which that group or class belongs. Therefore it is the culture of the society that is fundamental, and it is the meaning of the term 'culture' in relation to the whole society that should be examined first' (1948, 1962, p. 1). In respect to contemporary times, Mathews (2007, p. 47) points out: "Cultural borders have become porous, with people, goods, and ideas ceaselessly moving across societal boundaries". And he adds (p. 48): "Cultural identity today is in this state of flux, neither culturally "pure" nor culturally "free", but somewhere in the middle".

## **Notions of self and culture**

With respect to the *cross-cultural nature* of my inquiry, even though I refer to *Eastern* and *Western* peoples, and also to *exteriority* and *interiority* regarding aesthetic, as well as inner content, I do not consider these notions as dichotomous but rather as belonging to a spectrum of perspectives.

My stance regarding the notions of 'Eastern' and 'Western' cultures are in accord with Bhui's (2012, MSc audio lecture) definition:

Similarities across cultures should never be underestimated, and generalisations have dangers particularly in that it leads to stereotyping of individuals. I don't see any other way of exploring this without generalising, saying "Western", and "Eastern". However by doing so I am not implying that East and West are anymore than traditions from the past. These are current states of mind rather than the geographical regions, and there is East in the West, and West in the East.

According to Rosenberger's research elaborated in Japan (1994), which could in my view symbolically be associated to or with the topic of the *house* because of its references to the *inside* and *outside*:

The self is born and reborn through positioning in various sets of cultural ideas and practice. Self's meaning derives from its position in relation to other meanings - meanings of other selves, other relationships, other groups, and so on - and from its movement among these positions (Henriques et al. 1984, Smith, 1988, Weedon, 1987) (Rosenberger, p. 67).

Interestingly, in her view the

"third dimension of self [in Japan]", which she refers to movements in psycho-spiritual energy, *ki*, movements in relationship through the taking and giving of indulgence, *amae*, and movement in context of formality and

informality (Rosenberger, p. 67).

A third dimension of self played out through positioning within different contexts, signified such as outer/inner (*soto/uchi*), front/back (*omote/ura*), and on-stage meaning/off-stage meaning (*tatemaeh/honne*) (Lebra 1976, Doi 1986, Bachnk 1987).

Contexts are more outer (*soto*) if they are organized according to rules agreed upon by the group and if social hierarchy is emphasised. These are more public situations in which people affirm the formal or stage meanings of their groups, often in relation to other groups.

Contexts are more inner (*uchi*) [house] if they are organised to encourage emotionally expressed harmony and intimate relations. Here people affirm their informal, backstage relations with others, forming an inner group of people (Rosenberger, p. 69).

### Two types of self-definition according to Markus & Kitayama, 1991

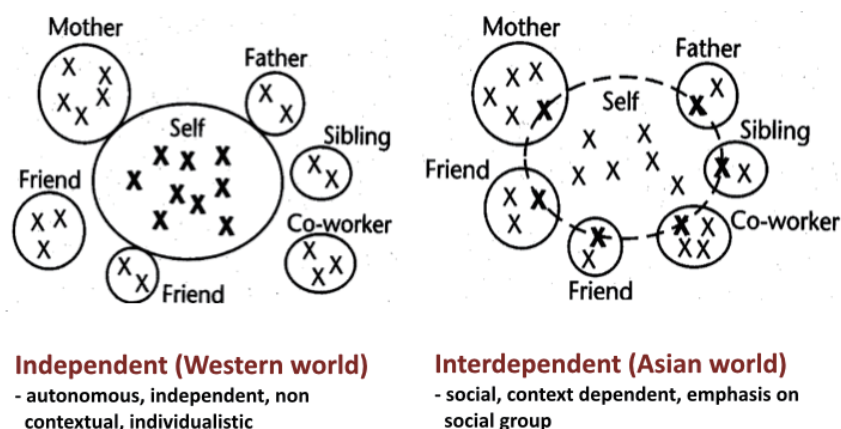
In line with Markus & Kitayama (1991, p. 225) "Western notions of the self as an entity containing significant dispositional attributes, and as detached from context, is simply not an adequate description of selfhood". ... According to them "independent construals", are also referred to as "individualistic, egocentric, separate, autonomous, idiocentric, and self-contained"; they link it to a rather "Cartesian, dualistic tradition in Western thinking". In contrast, the "interdependent construal of the self" shares notions of "socio-centric, holistic, collective, allo-centric, ensembled, constitutive, contextualist, connected, and relational". This kind of selfhood is considered to be grounded in Confucian, Hindu, or monistic philosophical traditions (pp. 227-228).

Kühnen writes in his chapter "Kultur und Kognition" that "individuals' understanding of their ego, or the self, plays a central role in the emergence of cultural differences in thinking". According to him, "culture influences our understanding of ourselves, and the mental representation of one's own person... (2014, p. 190)".

Hence, he is referring to Markus and Kitayama and writes, whilst addressing Eastern and Western Cultures: "The extent of individualism, respectively the collectivism of a culture is accompanied by differences in the self-conception of its members, that is along the dimension of independency and interdependence".

"Through the combination of cross-cultural studies", Kühnen (2014) writes that "independency favours a

Two types of self-definition according to Markus & Kitayama, 1991



Ulrich Kühnen, 2014. Kultur und Kognition. Wie das Selbst das Denken formt.

generally context-independent perception and judgment tendency, but interdependence promotes context-dependent, and more holistic thinking (p. 203)".

## **Culture and Mental Health**

Not only within one culture (if culture could still be considered as 'solitary' notion in contemporary times), but also within different cultures, the way *how* mental health is perceived varies. What is considered to be 'normal' within a specific culture or society can be dramatically different across the world. Also *how* ways of people's sufferings are being expressed varies widely and can lead to misunderstandings if the mental health worker isn't aware of these distinctions.

The, in my view, very useful following points have been elaborated by Oyedeji Ayonrinde (all citations: MSc lecture 2012). They represent an important approach for raising cultural awareness and sensitivity for mental health professionals:

- Culture sanctions what behaviour, attitudes or thoughts would be acceptable within a population. Culture plays an etiological, or contributory role in some disorders; it influences clinical presentation *and* interpretation of such presentations.
- Culture plays a role in determining, the recognition, labelling, as in names given to, an explanatory model of disorders, how people make sense of the disorder.
- Culture determines the treatment options, and care pathways within a society, and sanctions of what would be acceptable as a form of treatment, or not.

## **Discussion**

Drawing on the above examples stemming from the art therapy patients', artists' and architects' art-works, as well as from additional preliminary material from several periods of fieldwork, it appears that the topic of the *house* is a promising approach in investigating notions of ill health, PTSD or trauma. Working with psychiatric patients via art therapy allows them to express a wide range of emotions, past and present painful ones, as well as to also address positive experiences. Further, this allows to look back and re-examine earlier paintings, which are the witnesses of the patient's mental state at a given time, which can additionally reveal a possibly occurring transformation.

That is, looking at participants' paintings together with the art therapist allows to refresh a person's aesthetic, narrative and inner individual realm and can facilitate a newly emerging sense of selfhood. Hence, the topic of the *house*, by its universal qualities, as well as by the nature of its corporeality, allows for a large spectrum of personal aesthetic, as well as narrative explorations, which would be rather difficult to address, if the theme would e.g. be *tree*.

The works of the patients involved in the study to date indicate that the topic has triggered reactions, and has allowed them to visually and verbally address very personal issues. For example, one patient who had experienced the war in Serbia as a child painted a house whose roof remained open, and one corner of the house seemed to have been bombed, exposing the living room and its covered up furniture. As Hogan writes: "There is the opportunity to be immersed (in the flow) using intuition, serendipity, spontaneously enjoying the tactile embodied nature of the experience - what many call 'creativity' (though often without defining what they mean). In this indeterminate space individuals or groups of people can become highly attuned to what is emerging - it is an emergent space" (2017, p. 157).



Extending this notion of space, Steets (2015, p. 192) in regard to architecture suggests: "When buildings become 'symbols', they stand for something that transcends the reality of the everyday world and that can not be adequately expressed in linguistic signs, such as an abstract moral principle, a collective idea, or even the presence of something 'holy' ". Her statement clearly suggests that architectural space can lend itself to symbolise various inner, as well as societal and cultural contents. For Ms M., after having spent six months in a closed ward, the topic allowed her to initially draw the interior community space of the clinic, before thereafter depicting a 'house' incorporated in a horse's belly, thus starting to venture into an outside space.

An interesting example of culturally embedded materiality linked to the topic of the house is Urs Fischer's *bread house*; it is, as the title suggests, entirely made out of bread loaves and has the size of a cottage. In my view, given this construction material, his house is clearly situated in Western culture. Furthermore, the selection of a material by an artist, architect or art therapy patient can thus be seen as an indicator, or representation of her/his cultural background. Additionally, this house's materiality could also be used in order to raise questions of culturally grounded 'prohibition', of what and why some aesthetic expressions are (or not) acceptable by a given society. For example, a person following a strict Christian belief may be disturbed by the use of bread as a construction material. That is, which material or visual expression is selected by a person or study's participant can be highly emotionally and culturally charged and could even be perceived as disturbing by some.

An example of Eastern notions of a culturally embedded *house* are the tea house sculptures of the Chinese artist Ai Weiwei, as these are entirely made of compressed Pu-Erh tea-leaves. The sculptures consists of one ton of densely accumulated tea-leaves (2009), which firstly points to a type of Chinese tea, and thus to notions of food-related origins, and of course possibly to the tea ceremony as well. It could however also be seen as a culturally loaded reference to Chinese history because of the sculpture's physical weight. Further, both *house* sculptures, Ai Weiwei's as well as Urs Fischer's bread-house, establish a link to the sensorially and culturally grounded characteristics referring to both European as well as Chinese cultures.

Finally, I would like to come back to the inner correspondence between architecture and the psyche. As the architect Kerez (2012, p. 139) said in an interview regarding the relationship between architecture and psychoanalysis: "This process is not just a journey of discovery on which you go from one unforeseen wonderful encounter to the next, but rather describes a dungeon-like turning, which is however not machine-like - the tenth round is simply different from the ninth and the first. Each repetition involves the chance of a realization, one might say, and I think that's the way it is done in conceiving [architectural ideas] as well." Hence, art-works therefore not only lend themselves to investigate the individual self, but represent also a means to address inner, cultural, as well as societal constructs and aesthetic expressions.

## Conclusion

My research addresses the question whether (or not) the *house* may be considered as a symbolic representation of persons' selves in European and Japanese cultures, but also within similar cultural and geographical locations. So far, based on several observations, it appears that art-works depicting the *house* may indeed be linked to persons' individual ways of being, but also seem, at times, to express past or current traumatic life events. Future analysis after having terminated the periods of fieldwork by the end of this year should provide more insight and will allow a more detailed analysis of representational *house*-related phenomena.

However, following my ontological stance, I assume that human beings have an *interiority*, and thus *house* representations that can only partially be accessed. This implies that, at best, gathered knowledge will be fragmentary and – in spite of any attempts at gaining objective knowledge – it will remain *incomplete and subjective*, allowing for divergent, but nevertheless equally valid observations, analysis, and knowledge production of obtained data and material.

The obtained multi-dimensional data will hopefully generate an extended understanding, and lead to recommendations for art therapy practice and theory cross-culturally in terms of *if, when, how, and for whom* art therapy settings suggesting the topic of the *house* can prove to be helpful in terms of addressing, and ideally overcoming past traumatic experiences by aesthetically *constructing, or rebuilding persons' selves*.

Finally, it is my goal and hope that the findings of my research will also be useful in order to raise cultural, and ethnic sensitivity and awareness in order to avoid unhelpful preconceptions.

To conclude, I wish quote the French philosopher Henri Maldiney who extensively wrote about art and psychiatry: "La présence marginale du thérapeute, par le climat de confiance qu'elle ménage, non seulement autorise, mais libère l'informe".

"The marginal presence of the [art] therapist, by the climate of confidence that she/he ensures, not only authorizes, but frees the amorphous / formless" (2009, p. 8). "The formless" in my sense can either refer to inner content, as much as to human beings' aesthetic and verbal expressions; through the art therapy process, ideally, transformation of this inner form can emerge, leading to restoration of the suffering self.

## Notes

- 1) After ethical clearance and participants' consent has been obtained
- 2) Gesamt-Antrieb

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# The Relation Between Human Activities and the Natural Environment: An Essay on the Introduction of Environment-Related QOL\*

Takuo Nakashima and Yoichi Hirano Tokai University

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## 1. Preface — Problématique

Environmental issues are among those that need the most attention in today's numerous global problems. The climate change represented by global warming, for instance, is giving a major effect on our daily lives, as seen in droughts resulting from abnormal weather and floods accompanying heavy rain. Recently we have also witnessed changes in the Earth itself such as in volcanic eruptions and earthquakes. Although it is unclear how much of these changes in the natural environment are rooted in human activities, it is certain that part of the cause lies in the structure of modern society which is advancing its scientific and technological civilization.

In Japan, the Kumamoto and Aso regions experienced a major earthquake in April 2016 and human society there has suffered enormous damage, including much personal injury. At the same time, the earthquake also brought significant damage to the natural environment, particularly in the Aso region. Earthquakes are normally a natural phenomenon. However, when one considers the damage that these earthquakes wreak on human society, it is essential that we be constantly aware of changes in the natural environment. Moreover, the problem we face today is, if we believe that our civilization is damaging nature, how will humans confront nature and coexist with it?

This paper examines the relationship between human activities and the natural environment from this perspective. When considering global sustainability in particular, people are required to maintain the natural environment while they seek rich lives. Here I shall examine the relationship between changes in nature and human activities, our understanding of the Earth's environment, and levels of life satisfaction as the premises upon which this discussion is based. From each of these premises I will also introduce and examine the general concept of "environment-related QOL" for posing the question of how the environment ought to be for humans.

## 2. Premise 1— Human Activity and Changes in Nature

It goes without saying that modern civilization has developed based on science and technology. The technology which on the one hand has brought comfort to human society has on the other hand damaged natural environments through global warming, the pollution of the oceans, and radioactive contamination, for example. In short, human activity itself has occasionally exploited nature and occasionally destroyed that nature.

This is in one sense the double edged nature of technology. The development of technology directs humanity towards a mode of existence in conflict with nature without our realizing it. For instance, humans form cities surrounded by concrete, build tall buildings, and reside and live in these buildings. Our technology has allowed us to take various measures in expectation of earthquakes and severe storms. However, nature is not to be contained within the confines of human imagination. Changes in nature exert a significant pressure on us as humans and occasionally wreak damage upon society in the form of natural disasters. In short, changes in nature can become "negative elements" for human society.

Earthquakes, one of these natural disasters, are natural actions which have occurred over a long time span and for the Earth these are "normal" changes which have been repeated over and over throughout its 4.6 billion year history. This is the same for the living organisms which reside on the Earth. Earthquakes are "natural disturbances" and they result in "ecological disturbances." In short, ecosystem extinctions and regeneration and new creation occur as a result of the Earth's activity and from there new ecosystems are formed in nature. Individual organisms



face the problems of how to confront nature (exposure), how much change in nature they can endure (vulnerability), and how well they can recover their original state once they have been disturbed (resilience).

Earthquakes cause great loss for human activities, such as in the destruction of buildings and the loss of life. In this sense earthquakes are a “negative element” (a hazard) for human society. However, humans develop within nature and we inevitably confront environmental disturbances as we sometimes encroach upon nature to make a living. Consequently, just as with other types of organisms, humans face the problems of exposure to nature, vulnerability to nature, and resilience to natural disasters (such as earthquake disasters). Actually, in so far as humans have exploited nature for their livelihoods, spaces of human life are exposed to nature and are vulnerable.

Even so, human intellect has striven to cope with nature. Continued efforts have been made at self-restraint in human actions which cause changes to nature such as with global warming. It is difficult to prevent natural disasters such as earthquakes, but people have taken measures at disaster prevention and disaster reduction in order to at least try to curb the damage.

However, nature normally has self-cleaning abilities. If human activities exceed the nature’s capacity and if this develops into something irreversible, human ability will not be able to call forth the “resilience” of the Earth. In this sense, we have no choice but to consider the fact that we have entered a period for looking at our civilization in a new light. In short, we must think about global sustainability.

### **3. Second Premise — Seeing the Global Environment in a New Light**

A number of movements have developed across the world in response to global changes in the environment. Below I introduce two recent efforts to deal with environmental problems.

#### **(1) The Anthropocene**

In 2000, Nobel Prize laureate Paul Crutzen, together with Eugene F. Stoermer, proposed the concept of the “Anthropocene.”<sup>1)</sup> This concept refers to the current geological situation on Earth. The geological epoch in which we currently live is called the Holocene. However, Crutzen argues that the remarkable progress of recent human activity has created a new stage in global history. Indeed, humans have increased their consumption of the Earth’s resources, increased emissions of CO<sub>2</sub> and nitrogen oxide, and caused atmospheric pollution. In addition, humans have caused new compounds to accumulate in the environment in the current period. Humans already have the ability to exceed nature’s capacity for revitalization and have transformed the Earth as its new rulers. Up to the present period, natural changes created geological changes and these changes accumulated in the Earth’s strata. However, in the present period, the results of human activities have engraved themselves in the Earth’s strata—this is the period referred to as the “Anthropocene.”

Crutzen and Stoermer tried to detect the beginnings of the Anthropocene in the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century. This is because one can see significant influence on the Earth by human activity over more than 200 years beginning with the invention of the steam engine. They were concerned about the continued prosperity of the human race in the Anthropocene and they pointed out that the current period is one of global crisis for humanity.<sup>2)</sup> We are in need of environmental management that is globally sustainable.

On the topic of the Anthropocene, J. Zalasiewicz relates the following, although it is meant somewhat ironically.<sup>3)</sup> After tens of thousands of years, we will find things in the stratum of what we call now the “Anthropocene” such as concrete, plastic, and radioactive materials and new compounds which did not originally exist in the natural world. Furthermore, there will be archeological sites such as mining tunnels and the remains of urban subways. And the artificial heart valves and joint replacements seen in the bones of excavated humans serve as proof of human technology.

The problem here is what has caused the change in the Earth’s environment. If the Anthropocene comes to an

end in the far future and the cause of this is human science and technology, that is exactly the problem. In this sense, we can possibly understand the concept of the Anthropocene as a warning bell for modern civilization.

## (2) Planetary Boundaries

Another movement can be seen in the “planetary boundaries” proposed by Johan Rockström and his colleagues at the Stockholm Resilience Center.<sup>4)</sup>

As indicated above, modern civilization is rooted in science and technology and has put more and more of a burden on nature. As a result, it has caused critical changes in ecosystems and climate changes such as global warming. Rockström states the following. “During the Holocene, environmental change occurred naturally.” Because these changes arose within the scope of the capacity of the Earth’s system, the rich natural environment enabled the development of human beings. However, while science and technology have on the one hand provided rich lives to human beings, they have at the same time burdened the environment through excessive development that exceeds the Earth’s capacity. Science and technology have thus robbed the Earth of its resilience.

Working from this perspective, Rockström gives the following nine processes and examines the boundaries of the Earth’s system. These indicate the boundaries (limits) at which humans can live without problems on the Earth.

- Process 1 Climate change
- Process 2 Ocean acidification
- Process 3 Stratospheric ozone depletion
- Process 4 Nitrogen and Phosphorus cycle
  - (4a - Nitrogen cycle (part of a boundary with the Phosphorus cycle))
  - (4b - Phosphorus cycle (part of a boundary with the Nitrogen cycle))
- Process 5 Global freshwater use
- Process 6 Change in land use
- Process 7 Rate of biodiversity loss
- Process 8 Atmospheric aerosol loading (not yet quantified)
- Process 9 Chemical pollution (not yet quantified)

Rockström sets the thresholds and quantitative indices for these processes as the range within which humans can safely live without exceeding the capacity of the Earth’s system (however, processes 8 and 9 have not yet been quantified). As a result, Rockström indicates that we have already exceeded the Earth’s boundaries for processes 1, 7, and 4a. He expresses his concern that climate change from process 1 is headed towards irreversible climate change as a result of radiative forcing and the concentration of CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere which are causing global warming. On the other hand, ecosystems are significantly contributing to the maintenance of the Earth’s environment. Consequently, the loss of biodiversity from process 7 increases the vulnerability of terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems and increases the vulnerability of the natural environment such as climate change and the acidification of the oceans. Furthermore, in the nitrogen cycle of process 4a, the increase in nitrogen oxide emitted by industries, including from the use of agricultural fertilizers, weakens the resilience of ecosystems.

Rockström does not reference the Anthropocene in this article, but he rings a warning bell about the human activity today that is having a major effect on maintaining the conditions of the Holocene. The thresholds presented by the planetary boundaries are boundaries for preventing irreversible change that would make the Earth’s environment lose its resilience. In order to maintain the Earth’s environment, we need to coexist with nature so that human activity and the capacity of nature are kept in balance.

#### **4. Third Premise — Human Life and the Earth's Environment**

##### **(1) Raising an issue as to How the Environment is Understood**

Human civilization is standing at a crossroads. This is because global sustainability is tied to both human activity and the natural environment. Consequently, we must consider the following two points.

“Humans seek to maintain their livelihoods (i.e. civilization) and to make further progress.”

“Humans need to conserve and maintain the natural environment which surrounds them.”

These issues contain elements that are fundamentally opposed to one another. As Rockström points out, the natural environment of the Holocene period enabled the high level of development of civilization. However, it is a fact that the progress of technology beginning in the 18th century has damaged nature and caused a variety of problems. For instance, the climate change which we are currently experiencing and which resulted from the development of civilization has brought natural disasters to human society and humans are frantically trying to cope with this. How can humans pursue abundance in their own lives while maintaining the natural environment? A breakthrough solution is needed to secure rich lives for humanity while maintaining the natural environment.

Humans fundamentally seek satisfaction in their lives—their own civilization. This satisfaction is not simply individual but rather is desired on the level of society. This is because individuals value future society for how it will extend their own lives and they hope for the continuation of society. However, the continuation of today's society will at the same time also cause a crisis arising from the destruction of the natural environment. Thinking in this way, we must be conscious of the environment in our values of human life in order to make the above two points simultaneously possible. Said differently, we must incorporate the maintenance of the environment as part of human life and tie this into satisfaction as a whole.

##### **(2) About QOL (Quality of Life)**

Today we use QOL (quality of life) as a concept to express one's life satisfaction. The “life” in quality of life expresses “the essence of human existence as it relates to life and death” on the one hand and “the conditions of one's everyday life” on the other. Consequently, QOL means “the quality of human existence and life.” For instance, in terminal medical care QOL refers to good living condition for the patient. Even if the patient is facing death, one honors that person's humanity and aims to improve their life so that they are able to enjoy what remains of their life.

In this way, QOL is often used for health and medicine, but historically this has not always been the case. QOL in a broad sense refers to satisfaction and abundance in life generally, including daily life and work. In short, improving the QOL or increasing the QOL means that humans on an individual and society-wide level are able to have satisfying lives. The emergence of a concept similar to QOL is said to go back to the period of the Industrial Revolution in the 18th century. The Industrial Revolution in the United Kingdom promoted urbanization and industrialization, but amidst the poverty and environmental pollution of this period the ordinary people gained “a desire for a higher standard of living.” As a result, QOL appeared as a way of thinking about “the difference between individual expectations and the reality of livelihoods.”

However, as is well known today, President Nixon in the United States was the first to explicitly introduce the concept of QOL. The environmental problem of photochemical smog was already an issue of concern for citizens in the Johnson presidency. Accordingly, in the presidential election Nixon supported the improvement of standards of living through improving the environment, argued that “We need a high standard of living, but we also need a high quality of life”, and clearly incorporated the concept of QOL into his policies.<sup>5)</sup> Consequently, we can see that

the concept of QOL was historically first used to examine the richness of the environment in which humans lived.

In the 1970s QOL was discussed as happiness and satisfaction in the lives of individuals and in the 1980s it was developed in the field of health insurance. Even before then, WHO (the World Health Organization) played a significant role in the establishment of QOL standards in the fields of human health and medicine. Actually, in 1947 WHO defined health as follows.

“Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.”<sup>6)</sup>

We could say that this definition is the prototype for today’s health-related QOL standards.

WHO also defined QOL in the 1990s (WHOQOL).

“WHO defines Quality of Life as individuals’ perception of their position in life in the context of culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concerns.”<sup>7)</sup>

Currently WHO has determined six areas for the evaluation of QOL<sup>8)</sup> and has established 26 items as indices for the evaluation of QOL.

It is also understood from the above definition from WHO that QOL indicates an individual’s satisfaction and sense of peace physically and mentally resulting from their perception of what a healthy life is. However, generally “there are no clear definitions for QOL.” Many different kinds of QOL have been examined in research up to the present and even the name is not always the same.<sup>9)</sup> It is also possible to think of QOL as a “psychological volume” composed of people’s subjective awareness.

Consequently, a “QOL for mankind” is possible conceptually, but it is neither realistic nor necessarily appropriate. Because QOL means a kind of “satisfaction” at the individual level, one has to clearly indicate one’s targets and objectives. In short, the essence of QOL is considering satisfaction in concrete objectives that individuals are aware of in order for them to live their own life.

## **5. Towards the Introduction of Environment-related QOL**

### **(1) Introducing Environment-related QOL as an Expansion of the QOL Concept**

Based upon the concept of QOL from the previous section, I examine the possibility of pursuing a rich human society which incorporates the maintenance of nature in its values.

QOL is a concept which can be introduced across a wide section of human life. For instance, there is even research which defines “information-related QOL” as “a variety of kinds of satisfaction and soundness obtained through the suitable use of the user’s information literacy in the information environment.”<sup>10)</sup> In addition, there is research which has developed the “quality-adjusted life years” index for securing QOL in people’s livelihoods and economic efficiency in the expansion of living space which accompanies urbanization.<sup>11)</sup> This research also examines “safety and security” for natural disasters. Furthermore, it is also possible to understand QOL broadly as an environment that is socially meaningful and which surrounds humanity. For instance, the EU defines quality of life as “8+1 dimensions.”<sup>12)</sup>

This paper attempts to introduce environment-related QOL (eQOL) from the dual perspectives of “a rich human life and the maintenance of the natural environment.” The concept of eQOL is based on global sustainability supporting today’s civilization and human life. Human life is always vulnerable and exposed to nature. It is therefore closely tied to environmental problems and natural disaster. However, nature does more than threaten humanity. Rather, the problem that is important for humans is how to “enjoy” our coexistence with nature. eQOL



standards are a set of values and a measure for satisfaction obtained through the process of “enjoying” one’s life sustainably within the given environment. Consequently, in eQOL standards for humans the simultaneous maintenance of global sustainability possesses equal significance.

## (2) eQOL Constituent Concepts

In order to define an eQOL we need clear targets and objectives. Furthermore, we need constituent concepts in order to achieve an eQOL and we need a basis from which to judge whether the constituent concepts are reasonable and valid.

Perspectives on how people think about the natural environment are diverse and complex. When looking at nature as a physical subject outside of humans, nature is a resource for humans and an object of cultivation. At the same time, nature can become a threat to the continuance of human life. On the other hand, nature can also be a psychological support for humans, as in the ocean being a source of healing for humans. In the same way, nature may also be the target of tourism or recreation. Fundamentally, the meaning of nature differs according to the positional relationship of humanity to nature. This is because while there is a perspective which understands nature as an object to be controlled by humanity, there is also a perspective which regards humans as part of nature.

The following viewpoints have been determined by considering eQOL in response to each of these perspectives.

(eQOL (I) : e-QOL for the natural environment including the ecosystem

(eQOL (II): e-QOL for humans confronting the environment

Here, eQOL (I) means the maintenance of the natural environment. In short, this is a viewpoint which finds satisfaction and value in the maintenance of the natural environment independent from human activity. eQOL (II) means considering nature amidst its connections to humanity, both in physical and psychological terms. It is believed that in the end a perspective which combines these two will form a complete eQOL.

The following is a list of possible constituent concepts for eQOL.

[1] Physical Value for the State of Nature

[2] Mental and Emotional Value for the State of Nature

[3] Diminishment of Natural Hazard

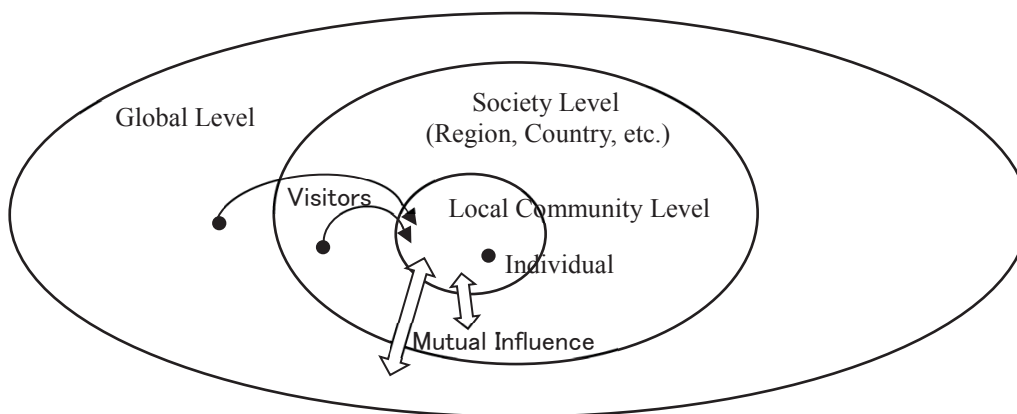
[4] Social Value for the State of Nature

Here, [1] indicates on the one hand the maintenance of the natural environment as it is while at the same time meaning the maintenance of nature with consideration for human use. However, a major premise of this point is the coexistence of humanity and nature or, in another word, global sustainability. It is significant that [2] is fundamentally dependent on a consciousness of the personal value of nature. In addition, humans must always protect their own life from natural disaster. Therefore, [3] is also a major factor. And lastly, the social consciousness of value in [4] consists of the satisfaction that humans themselves derive from the maintenance of the natural environment in a way that coexists with humans.

Generally, QOL indicates the satisfaction of an individual in relation to a target. However, eQOL is not simply restricted to the individual level. This is because in the end we must consider the maintenance of the environment for the continuation of life for the whole of humanity. Even so, we must also consider the development of each step for eQOL, such as from the individual to the group or from the region to the whole (see Fig. 1).

- Step 1: Satisfaction from and consciousness of the value of the local natural environment in which one lives.  
(Consciousness from the individual to the local community)
- Step 2: Outsiders' satisfaction from and consciousness of the value of maintaining the natural environment in a region.  
(Tied to the nurturing and development of one's own consciousness of value)
- Step 3: Sharing among a wider area of satisfaction from and consciousness of the value of the natural environment in each local community.  
(The diffusion of a consciousness of value from the individual to local communities to broader communities)
- Step 4: Diffusion of several models at the country level and globally.

Here, I have considered the maintenance of the local environments in different regions at the individual and group level. This consists of the satisfaction of the local group (eQOL indicators). These will have external effects as well through tourism and educational activities. In this way eQOL standards, including many activities for the maintenance of the environment, will be cultivated and the standards will develop from a regional to a national or global scale.



(Fig. 1) Diffusion and Cooperation of eQOL

## 6. Conclusion

It is not easy to achieve both comfort for human activities and sustainability for the natural environment. This is because human activities are always confronted with natural threats (exposure and vulnerability). However, this does not mean that natural disasters consist only of negative elements for the humans who have formed cities surrounded by concrete through the high level of development of their material civilization. They provide opportunities to rediscover the fact that humans coexist with nature. For instance, because of the tsunami which exceeded 15 meters in height in the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011, communities are now building breakwaters which can cope with this. However, there is no guarantee that the next tsunami will be limited to this scale. The barrier walls between the human and the sea (which provides food on the one hand and provides psychological healing on the other) themselves contain negative elements.

For that reason, the question of how humans will live in the natural environment is a problem tied to inner human psychology. It is here that we find the significance of examining environmental problems as a discourse on civilization.

## Notes

- \* This article is based on the Research Report on Core-Project of Environmental Studies 2017: Hirano, Y. & Nakashima, T., “Research Report on the Core-Project 2017 of Mori-Sato-Kawa-Umi” (Woods-Field-River-Sea) – an essay on the concept of eQOL”, *BUNMEI (Civilization)*, Institute of Civilization Research, Tokai University, No.22, 2017, pp.35–44, (in Japanese).
- 1) Stoermer had already coined the notion of “anthropocene” in the 1980s, in a sense, but took it up as a global subject with Crutzen in 2000.  
Crutzen, P. J. & Stoermer, E. F., “The Anthropocene”, *IGBP Global Change Newsletter*, 41, 2000, pp.17-18,  
also see: Crutzen, P. J. & Stoermer, “Geology of Mankind”, *Nature*, 415 (23), 2002,
  - 2) Crutzen and Stoermer indicate the following factors as major catastrophes for our planet: 1) an enormous volcanic eruption, 2) an unexpected epidemic, 3) a large-scale nuclear war, 4) an asteroid impact, 5) a new ice age, and 5) continued plundering of Earth’s resource by partially still primitive technology.
  - 3) Jan Zalasiewicz, “A History in Layers”, *Scientific American*, 315, 2016, pp.30–37
  - 4) Rockström, J. et al., “A safe operating space for humanities”, *Nature*, 461(24), 2009, pp.472–475
  - 5) Richard Nixon, 221 - *Statement Announcing the Creation of the Environmental Quality Council and the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality May 29, 1969*  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2077>
  - 6) “Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.”,  
quoted from “*CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION*” (Basic Documents, Forty-fifth edition, Supplement, October 2006)  
[http://www.who.int/governance/eb/who\\_constitution\\_en.pdf](http://www.who.int/governance/eb/who_constitution_en.pdf)
  - 7) “*WHOQOL Measuring Quality of Life*” (1997)  
[http://www.who.int/mental\\_health/media/68.pdf](http://www.who.int/mental_health/media/68.pdf)
  - 8) 1) Physical health, 2) Psychological health, 3) Level of Independence, 4) Social relationship, 5) Environment, 6) Spirituality/Religion/Personal beliefs
  - 9) e.g. HQOL: health-related QOL, NHQOL: non-health-related QOL
  - 10) Kazuaki Miyamoto & Soichi Sakabe, “Development of Information-related QOL in Information Society”, *Socio-Informatics*, “Nihon Shakai-Joho-gakkai Zenkokutaikai ronbunshu”, The Society of Socio-Informatics, 22(0), 2007, pp.186–189
  - 11) Noriyasu Kachi et al., “A Quality of Life Index Measured by Life Year for Evaluating Residential Areas and Its Application to Examining Policies to Control Urban Sprawl”, *The Japan Society of Civil Engineers*, Vol.62, No.4, 2006, pp.558–573 (in Japanese)
  - 12) Homepage: “*Eurostat (Statistics Explained)*”  
[http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Quality\\_of\\_life](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Quality_of_life)  
The indices of QOL are fixed as follows:  
1) material living condition 2) productive or main activity, 3) health, 4) education, 5) leisure and social interaction, 6) economic and physical safety, 7) governance and basic right, 8) natural and living environment, 8) overall experience of life.

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- Crutzen, P. J. & Stoermer, E. F., “The Anthropocene”, *IGBP Global Change Newsletter*, 41, 2000, pp.17–18.  
Crutzen, P. J. & Stoermer, “Geology of Mankind”, *Nature*, 415 (23), 2002.  
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Kachi, N. et al., “A Quality of Life Index Measured by Life Year for Evaluating Residential Areas and Its Application to Examining Policies to Control Urban Sprawl”, *The Japan Society of Civil Engineers*, Vol.62, No.4, 2006, pp.558–573 (in Japanese).  
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- Richard Nixon, 221 - *Statement Announcing the Creation of the Environmental Quality Council and the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Environmental Quality May 29, 1969*  
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2077>  
“*Eurostat (Statistics Explained)*”  
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# 相模國小田原藩における大災害からの復興と改革・仕法

—吉岡家の俸禄米をめぐる—

馬場弘臣 教育開発研究センター教授

[論文]

## A study of the Reconstructing Approach and Reformation from the Catastrophe in Odawara Feudal Clan, Sagami Province: Focus on the examination through Compensation of the Yoshioka Family

Hiroomi BABA

Professor, Tokai University Center for Educational Research and Development

At the past, I analyzed an effects of the Genroku Earthquake (1703) and Eruption of Mt. Fuji (1707) and restoration process from those two disasters in Odawara Feudal Clan, Sagami Province. I used historical materials which shows all tributes ("Nengu") in Odawara Feudal Clan and individual villages. (Hiroomi, Baba (2014) "The Genroku Earthquake and Eruption of Mt. Fuji (vol.1): From the Data of Land Tax in Sagami Province Odawara Feudal Clan" *Civilization*, 19: 33-43. Hiroomi, Baba (2016) "The Genroku Earthquake and Eruption of Mt. Fuji (vol.2): From the Analysis of Land Tax Payment Notice of Villeges in Odawara Feudal Clan, Sagami Province" *Civilization*, 21: 1-21.) I wanted to examine an effects and restoration process in the long-term transition at both papers. As a results of those two papers, I will analyze it from the situation of tributes given to the finance and politics of the Odawara feudal Clan in the long-term transition in this paper. From those analysis, I examined an effects and how it's affected to the clan government and clan finance, also examined how Clan reacted and how they implemented a policy for those situations. I used the tributes (rice allowance) of Yoshioka Family who had 340 "koku" compensation in the Odawara Feudal Clan.

At the results, after two disasters, payment from Clan to Yoshioka Family was declined until mid-18century (around Meiwa era 明和), about 50 years. After that point, it returned by slow degree, and Odawara Feudal Clan finance became stabilized also. Especially, there were two policies which made this situation. One was the Odawara Feudal Clan introduced the "Jyomensei" Fix rate manner 定免制 at 1794 (kansei 寛政 9). Another was the New "Netorimai shiho" Standard collecting manner 根取米仕法 and "Kinkatawatashi shiho" Cash payment mannner 金方渡仕法 implemented to compensation system around early 19century when Odawara Feudal Clan lord "Tadzane Ookubo" 大久保忠真 started the restoration. However, after Odawara Earthquake and expedition of Matthew Calbraith Perry in 1853 (kaei 嘉永 6), Odawara Feudal Clan finance got worse because of extraordinary disbursement for the crushing military duty which all noble family "Fudai" 譜代 Clan must have responsibility to spend. Finally compensation system purely and simply collapsed.

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### 1. 本稿の課題 — 藩政の見取り図 —

かつてないほど近年は、災害そして防災に対する意識が高まっている。2011年3月11日に発生した東日本大震災とそれにともなう大津波、2014年9月27日、かつては死火山といわれていた御嶽山の噴火、そして2016年4月14日・16日と立て続けに起こった熊本大地震、2018年9月6日の北海道胆振東部地震等々、これに台風や暴風雨による被害を加えれば、日本列島は毎年、何らかの大災害に襲われているといっても過言ではないであろう。そうした状況を反映してか、

近年は、災害史に関する研究の出版も相次いでいる<sup>1)</sup>。

このような歴史的な大災害と個別藩政史および幕政史との相克、それが現在における筆者の最大の関心事である。研究対象である相模國小田原藩にとって、1703(元禄16)年の大地震と1707(宝永4)年の富士山噴火による被害が、その後の藩政を大きく規定していったことについては、くり返し述べた。とくに筆者の関心は、災害の実態や藩当局および領民の対応といった課題もさることながら、災害から復興の過程を長いスパンで統計的に分析していくことである。その大きな指標となるのが年貢徴収の問題であると考え、第1に藩領全体の年貢収納がどのように変化していくのかを分析し<sup>2)</sup>、続いて第2に藩領村々を①米作地帯、②畑作地帯、③中間地帯の3つのグループに分けて、それぞれの年貢収

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量の変化について検討してみた<sup>3)</sup>。その結果、大災害が継続して起こった元禄～宝永期(1688～1711)以前の年貢収量に戻るには、約100年の歳月が必要であったことと、その復旧過程の画期について明らかにした。そこで次の課題は、これらの年貢収納が、家臣の生活にどのような影響を与えたかということである。

江戸時代の経済は、米納年貢制を基本とし、その米を売買することで幕府や藩の運営、そして将軍・大名・家臣の生活が成り立っていた。将軍あるいは大名が家臣に対して与えた土地、もしくは現物の米や給金などを俸禄<sup>ほうろく</sup>という。土地を与えられるといっても江戸時代の場合は、徴税権を主とした支配権であり、これを地方知行<sup>じかたちぎょう</sup>といい、藩庫から切米・切石・扶持米(1日米5合を支給)といった名目の米や給金を支給されたものを蔵前取<sup>くらまえどり</sup>といった。ただし、地方知行の中には、石高のみを残し、実際には藩庫からそれに相応する米を支給することもあり、この場合は一般に、蔵前知行<sup>くらまえちぎょう</sup>と呼ばれている。外様大名領では幕末まで地方知行が残っている場合も多いが、譜代大名領、とくに関東の譜代大名領では蔵前知行に移したものがほとんどのようである。この分類でいえば、小田原藩の家臣は、蔵前知行と蔵前取からなっており、ここで藩から支給される米を俸禄米<sup>ほうろくまい</sup>といい、こうした制度を総称して俸禄制という。

そこで、年貢に関する問題に続いて本稿では、こうした俸禄米の支給状況について検討したい。俸禄米の支給が増減する理由については、家臣の側と藩当局の事情の二つに大別できよう。家臣の側については、賞罰などによる知行高の増減や家格の上昇・下降の問題、そして役職の有無による手当て、さらには藩などからの米金借用の問題があげられる。藩当局が俸禄に与える影響はさらに多様である。まず第1は藩の収入の問題で、これには藩領域の増減や領知替えをはじめ、凶作や災害などを含む天候や自然条件による年貢の増減などがある。また幕府からの軍役賦課や藩邸・城郭の修築、藩主家の冠婚葬祭、昇進、初入部などの臨時支出、非常時支出の問題もまた大きな要因であった。年貢の減少や臨時支出は、当然のことながら藩借の問題となる。高額の利息がかかる近世社会では、その返済、返済の延期、新規借用などがくり返されていくし、それ以外にも領民や家臣からの御用金、先納金、借入金などもあった。こうした藩財政の窮乏化は、藩当局の機構や行財政などの改編・改革の問題へと連なっ

ていく。藩政の改革は、より直接的に家臣の俸禄米の改編を促す要因ともなった。

このような種々の要因を顧みたと本稿では、小田原藩固有の問題として、大災害が家臣の俸禄米に対してどのような影響を与えたのかについて検討してみたい。これが第1の課題である。次に俸禄米の問題は、前述したように、藩財政を考えていく上でもっとも重要な指標となる点に注目したい。藩の支出の中では家臣に支給する俸禄米がもっとも大きなウエイトを占めており、近世中期以降における藩財政の窮乏化とそのための俸禄米カットは、藩の宿命ともいえるものである。小田原藩の場合、そこに元禄大地震と富士山噴火という大災害が大きな規定要因となったのであった<sup>4)</sup>。逆に考えれば、俸禄米の支給に関する動向は、その時期における藩政の推移を如実に表わしているといえよう。すでに筆者は、化政・天保期の藩政改革と俸禄米の関係に検討してみたことがあるが<sup>5)</sup>、本稿では、この際の検討を再確認するとともに、ここでは検討できなかった、改革後の状況から幕末維新にかけての藩政について概観してみたい。すなわち、俸禄米の問題を通じて、藩政の見取り図を描いてみることに、それが第2の課題である<sup>6)</sup>。

## 2. 「吉岡由緒書」と小田原藩の俸禄米

本稿で分析の対象とするのは、知行取340石の家臣である吉岡家の俸禄米である。小田原藩の場合、1,500石が知行高としてはもっとも大きく、もっとも小さい知行高が30石であった。知行高からみれば吉岡家は、土分のなかで中の上位に位置する家柄である。また、小田原藩における家臣の家格は、御番帳入(侍分)―御番帳外―組抜・組並―組附に分類されている。御番帳入が正式の士分であり、御番帳外は徒士身分に相当すると考えられ、組附は足軽層を編成したもので、組抜・組並はこの中間にあたる。さらに小田原藩の格席(席次)は、藩の役職を基礎としており、吉岡家は「番頭」の家筋にあたる。番頭は軍事において正式の士分層を統率する立場にある役職であり、いわゆる番方の上位に位置するものであった。幕府や藩の組織は、軍事部門である番方と、庶務や行財政を担当する役方に分けられていた。組織自体が軍事を基礎として形成されているため、家格的には番方が重視されるが、泰平の世が続くにしたがって役方の役割が重視される傾向にあった。

表1. 大久保家13代一覽

代	諱	受領名 官途名	通称	生年月日 没年月日	享年	小田原藩主 就任・退任年月日	藩領高	藩名	備考
1	忠世		新十郎 七郎右衛門	天文元年(1532) 文禄3年(1594)9月15日	63	天正18年(1590)8月 文禄3年(1594)9月15日	4万5,000石	相模小田原	
2	(忠泰) 忠隣	治部少輔 相模守	千丸 新十郎	天文22年(1553) 寛永5年(1628)6月27日	76	文禄3年(1594)9月15日 慶長19年(1614)正月19日	6万5,000石	相模小田原	改易
3	忠常	加賀守	新十郎	天正8年(1580) 慶長16年(1611)10月10日	32		2万0,000石	武蔵騎西	
4	忠職	加賀守	仙丸 新十郎	慶長9年(1604) 寛文10年(1670)4月19日	67		2万0,000石 5万0,000石 7万0,000石 8万3,000石	武蔵騎西 美濃加納 播磨明石 肥前唐津	吉岡実疑仕官
5	(教広) 忠朝	出羽守 加賀守	奎之助	寛永9年(1632)11月13日 正徳2年(1712)9月25日	81	貞享3年(1686)正月21日 元禄11年(1698)10月16日	8万3,000石 9万3,000石 10万3,129石 11万3,120石	肥前唐津 下総佐倉 相模小田原 "	小田原再拝領
6	(教忠) (忠能) (忠恒) 忠増	安芸守 隠岐守 加賀守	大内蔵	明暦2年(1656)3月4日 正徳3年(1713)7月25日	58	元禄11年(1698)10月16日 正徳3年(1713)7月25日	11万3,120石	相模小田原	元禄大地震 富士山噴火 城付領上知
7	(忠英) (忠郁) 忠方	大蔵少輔 加賀守	伝吉郎	元禄5年(1692)6月15日 享保17年(1732)10月3日	41	正徳3年(1713)9月12日 享保17年(1732)10月3日	11万3,120石	相模小田原	
8	(忠数) 忠興	出羽守 大蔵大輔	伝吉郎	正徳4年(1714)12月19日 明和元年(1764)10月29日	52	享保17年(1732)11月19日 宝暦13年(1763)9月10日	11万3,120石	相模小田原	城付領全復帰
9	(忠清) 忠由	大蔵少輔 安芸守 加賀守	万次郎 半次郎	元文元年(1736)11月19日 明和6年(1769)10月8日	34	宝暦13年(1763)9月10日 明和6年(1769)10月8日	11万3,120石	相模小田原	
10	忠顕	加賀守	直次郎 七郎右衛門	宝暦10年(1760)10月28日 享和3年(1803)8月8日	44	明和6年(1769)11月24日 寛政8年(1796)正月18日	11万3,120石	相模小田原	
11	忠真	出羽守 安芸守 加賀守	新十郎	天明元年(1781)12月2日 天保8年(1837)3月9日	57	寛政8年(1796)正月18日 天保8年(1837)3月9日	11万3,120石	相模小田原	藩政改革
12	忠愨	加賀守	仙丸 伝吉郎	文政12年(1829)4月18日 安政6年(1859)11月30日	31	天保8年(1837)5月6日 安政6年(1859)11月30日	11万3,120石	相模小田原	ペリー来航
13	忠礼	加賀守	準之助	天保12年(1841)12月2日 明治30年(1897)8月10日	57	安政6年(1859)12月27日 明治元年(1868)9月27日	11万3,120石	相模小田原	京都警衛 甲府城代
14	忠良	相模守	岩丸	安政4年(1857)5月5日 明治10年(1877)3月29日	22	明治元年(1868)10月2日 明治4年(1871)7月14日	11万3,120石	相模小田原	

註)「代」の赤文字は養子相続。諱の赤文字は老中就任者を示す。「藩領高」「藩名」「備考」の赤字は、吉岡家が仕官したことを示す。

表2. 吉岡家8代一覽表

代	姓名	家督	没年	行年	備考
1	吉岡実疑		元禄9年(1696)9月18日	72	芸州吉岡七左衛門長子也 寛永18年(1641)大久保家召抱え
2	吉岡重政	貞享4年(1687)12月28日	延享2年(1745)10月8日	70余	
3	吉岡信定	享保14年(1729)12月21日	安永3年(1774)12月2日	90	大久保一身又右衛門忠行五男
4	吉岡信正	宝暦11年(1761)6月28日	寛政11年(1799)1月24日	70	
5	吉岡信郷	天明4年(1784)5月15日	享和3年(1803)10月17日	50	
6	吉岡信基	享和3年(1803)12月6日	天保11年(1840)12月5日	55	
7	吉岡信之	天保5年(1834)5月21日		60	
8	吉岡信徳	文久2年(1862)3月4日		45	

註) 天保14年「和州高取吉岡主税方差遣候吉岡家系図控」(小田原市立図書館寄託吉岡卓也家文書)より作成

吉岡家の俸禄米に関する基礎的なデータを提供するのは、同家に伝来した「吉岡由緒書」である<sup>7)</sup>。「吉岡由緒書」は、吉岡家初代の実疑<sup>さねよし</sup>が大久保家に仕官した1642(寛永19)年から廃藩置県後の1872(明治5)年にいたる同家の一家家譜で、4冊からなっている。本稿ではとりあえずこれらを一括して「吉岡由緒書」としてあつかうが、これは吉岡家7代の信之がまとめ、8代の信徳が書き継いだものである。ここでは、江戸時代大久保家の概略を表1として、また、表2として吉岡家各代の当主についてまとめておいた。

「吉岡由緒書」には、吉岡家各代の家督、職務、扶持の増減、賞罰、事跡から家内・親類筋の法要、さらには藩政に関する記事が年を追って書き上げられている。「吉岡由緒書」自体は、1834(天保5)年に家督を継いだ7代信之が、隠居後にまとめ始めたものと考えられることから、とくに近世後期から幕末・維新时期についての記事が詳細である。また、近世中後期には、4代信正・5代信郷・6代信基が御勝手方(御賄方)を勤めていた関係で、藩財政を中心とする藩政の動向についても詳しく知ることができる。さらに、7代信之と8代信徳は、番頭の家柄だけに、幕末維新にむけて海防動員や京都警衛、天狗党追討、戊辰箱根戦争等に深く関わっており、かなり詳しい記述がみられる。その反面、近世前期の記事にはなお曖昧なものもあるが、信之自身が当時の史料や、親戚・知人に聞き取ってなるべく正確な内容を著述することに心懸けていることは評価できよう。

なお、実疑が仕官した当時、大久保家は、播磨国明石藩(兵庫県明石市)を城地としていた。小田原藩大久保家では、戦国時代における三河以来の旧臣をはじめとして、仕官した土地が一つの家格を示していた。まとめると吉岡家は、家格的には知行高340石で、御番帳入・番頭の格席、明石仕官の家柄ということになる。

そこで興味深いのは、「吉岡由緒書」には、同家の俸禄米支給に関する記事が少なからず見受けられるということである。とくに1803(享和3年)以降は、一時期を除いて毎年の俸禄米が確認できる。小田原藩の「御家法」では、知行高100石に対して108俵の割合で俸禄米が支給される仕来りとなっていた。通常これを「四ツ物成」と言い、知行高100石に対して40%、すなわち40石が俸禄米となるのであるが、小田原藩は1俵=3斗7升の俵詰めであったから、108俵が支給されるというしくみであった。吉岡家の知行高は340石であ

るから、366俵6斗6升が本来支給されるべき俸禄米であった。こうした俸禄米を小田原藩では「御渡米<sup>おわたしまい</sup>」と称している。改めていうまでもなく、俸禄米の支給は藩財政の状況に左右されるものであり、これが悪化すれば当然のことながらその削減がはかられるようになる。小田原藩の場合、このような削減措置を「減米<sup>げんまい</sup>」と称し、その削減分を引いた残りの分、すなわち実収入分を「手取米<sup>てとりまい</sup>」と称していた。「吉岡由緒書」に記されているのはこの手取米である。ただし、藩当局から拝借金を借りている場合にはこの手取米も全額が支給されるというわけではなく、その利足分(「差上米<sup>さしあげまい</sup>」という)や年賦返済分(「引取米<sup>ひきとりまい</sup>」という)が差し引かれた。「吉岡由緒書」にはこれらの「差上米」や「引取米」についての記載はみられないが、単に省略したのか、拝借金自体を受け取っていないのかについては不明である。こうした差し引き分がある一方で、役職に就任した場合には「役米<sup>やくまい</sup>」が、また、臨時の役目を負ったりした場合には役料や「別被下<sup>べつくだされ</sup>」と称して米金銀が支給されたり、収納の状況や役替えに応じて「余米<sup>よまい</sup>」や「増米<sup>ぞうまい</sup>」などといった名目で別に米金が支給されることもあった。また、俸禄米の支給額は、毎年11月に当年の収納状況を確認した上で決定されたから、実際にこれが支給されるのは12月から翌年の11月までの期間であった。各家臣には11月付けで「御物成相渡通<sup>おものなりあいわたしかよい</sup>」と称する給付書が配付された。これはその年の状況に応じて各人の手取米の額を決定した上で、先の諸点を計算して総支給額を算出し、これに月割の支給額を添えて通知したものである。俸禄はそれぞれの「家」に対して支給されるものであり、これを「家禄<sup>かろく</sup>」と称している。

### 3. 俸禄米問題からみた小田原藩政の展開

表3は、「吉岡由緒書」に記載された吉岡家に対する俸禄米の支給状況をすべて書き抜いたものである。また、グラフ1は、これをグラフ化したもので、青棒が手取米で、これに役米や余米などを加えて図示した。これらをもとに、以下5つの節に分けて、俸禄米と藩政の展開について検討していきたい。

#### 3-1. 大災害後の俸禄米

「吉岡由緒書」の中で最初に家中俸禄米に関する記事が登場するのは、富士山噴火から5年後、1712(正徳2)年のことである。

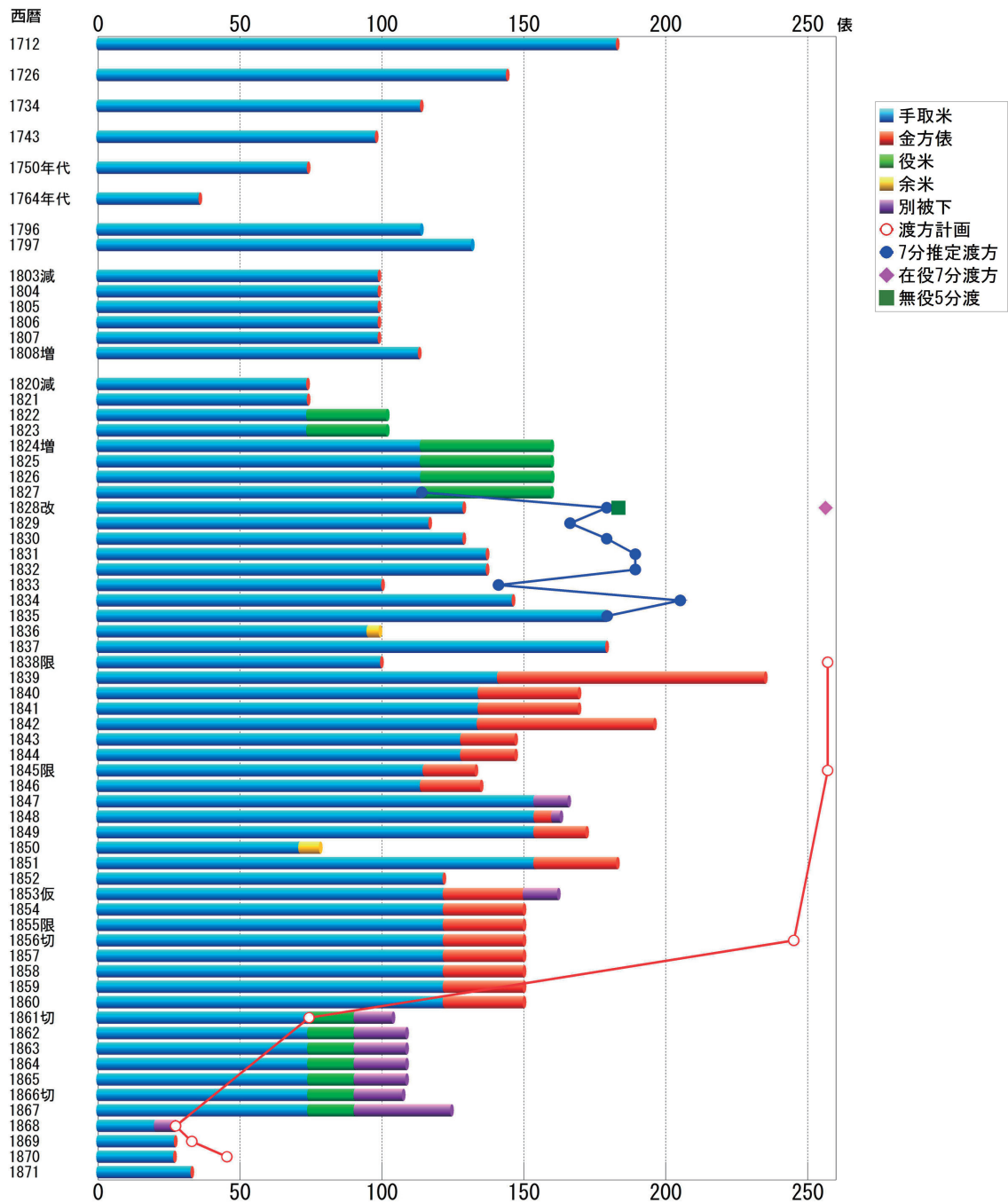


表3. 吉岡家の俸禄支給

西暦	年号	仕法	歩掛	手取米(俵)	%	金方渡	銀(貫文)	俵換算	役米	余米	別被下米	扶持米総計(俵)	%
1712	正徳 2		0.5	183.05400	50.0							183.054000	50.0
1726	享保11		0.4199	144.32000	39.4							144.320000	39.4
1734	享保19		0.3106	114.01935	31.1							114.019350	31.1
1743	寛保 3		0.2717	98.10000	26.8							98.100000	26.8
1751	宝暦年中			74.22202	20.2							74.222020	20.2
1764	明和年中			36.00000	9.8							36.000000	9.8
1796	寛政 8			114.01935	31.1							114.019350	31.1
1797	寛政 9		0.3647	132.00000	36.0							132.000000	36.0
1803	享和 3	減米											
1804	文化 1			99.17000	27.0							99.170000	27.0
1805	文化 2												
1806	文化 3												
1807	文化 4			99.17267	27.0							99.359150	27.1
1808	文化 5	増米	0.3	113.35000	30.9							113.350000	30.9
1820	文政 3	減米		74.00000	20.2							74.000000	20.2
1821	文政 4			74.22203	20.2							75.091820	20.5
1822	文政 5												
1823	文政 6			74.00000	20.2				28			102.000000	27.8
1824	文政 7	増米	0.3106	114.00000	31.1							160.000000	43.6
1825	文政 8												
1826	文政 9			114.10935	31.1				46			160.109350	43.7
1827	文政10			114.00000	31.1							160.000000	43.6
1828	文政11	改革	-0.3	129.00000	35.2							129.000000	35.2
1829	文政12		-0.35	117.00000	31.9							117.000000	31.9
1830	天保 1		-0.3	129.00000	35.2							129.000000	35.2
1831	天保 2												
1832	天保 3		-0.26	137.25900	37.4							137.259000	37.4
1833	天保 4		-0.45	100.36260	27.4							100.362600	27.4
1834	天保 5		-0.2	146.35000	39.9							146.350000	39.9
1835	天保 6		-0.3	179.34336	48.9							179.343360	48.9
1836	天保 7		-0.5	95.17689	26.0					4.29982		100.106710	27.3
1837	天保 8		-0.3	179.34336	48.9							179.343360	48.9
1838	天保 9	年限	-0.5	100.00000	27.3							100.000000	27.3
1839	天保10		-0.025	141.13764	38.5	37.2.2	3.588	94.078440				235.216080	64.2
1840	天保11			134.35020	36.6	14.1.0	0.648	35.241240				170.221440	46.4
1841	天保12												
1842	天保13		-0.15	134.00000	36.5	25.0.0	0.75	62.196562				196.196562	53.5
1843	天保14		-0.05	128.19240	35.0	7.2.2	5.172	19.102860				147.295260	40.2
1844	弘化 1												
1845	弘化 2	年限	-0.455	115.00000	31.4	7.2.0		18.277500				133.277500	36.3
1846	弘化 3		-0.525	114.00000	31.1	8.2.0		21.092500				135.092500	36.8
1847	弘化 4		-0.4	154.00000	42.0						12.00000	166.000000	45.3
1848	嘉永 1		-0.59	154.08288	42.0	2.2.0	4.224	6.157620			3.00000	163.240500	44.5
1849	嘉永 2		-0.325	154.00000	42.0	7.2.0		18.277500				172.277500	47.0
1850	嘉永 3		-0.65	71.14344	19.4					7.2554		79.028840	21.6
1851	嘉永 4			154.00000	42.0	11.3.0		29.138750				183.138750	49.9
1852	嘉永 5		-0.075	122.00000	33.3							122.000000	33.3
1853	嘉永 6	仕法	-0.12			11.1.2	1.5	28.185000		12.0799		162.299680	44.3
1854	安政 1												
1855	安政 2	年限											
1856	安政 3	切替	根0.67	122.03478	33.3							150.219780	41.0
1857	安政 4												
1858	安政 5												
1859	安政 6												
1860	万延 1												
1861	文久 1	切替	根0.25								3.36075	78.303030	21.4
1862	文久 2												
1863	文久 3										18.19980	93.142080	25.4
1864	元治 1			74.31228	20.3								
1865	慶応 1												
1866	慶応 2	切替									17.00000	91.312280	24.9
1867	慶応 3										34.00000	108.312280	29.5
1868	明治 1			20.28000	5.5						7.00000	27.280000	7.4
1869	明治 2			27.31572	7.4							27.315720	7.4
1870	明治 3		-4	27.05700	7.4							49.117000	13.4
1871	明治 4			33.20000	9.1							33.200000	9.1

註) 小田原市立図書館寄託吉岡卓也家文書「吉岡由緒書」より作成





グラフ1. 吉岡家の俸禄支給

一、去ル元禄十六年大地震、宝永四年富士山焼上り、駿豆相御領分砂降<sup>(8)</sup>ニテ御取固相減、御物入多、御借財相嵩候ニ付、昨卯年被 仰出有之、御家中手取米五分<sup>(9)</sup>之御渡方ニ相成候ニ付、当年より減米ニテ高三百四十石御渡米百八十三俵五升四合也

すなわち、1703（元禄16）年の小田原大地震と、1707（宝永4）年の富士山噴火による砂降りの被害によって年貢の収納が激減した上に、出費と借財が嵩んだことから、昨卯年＝

1711（正徳元）年に家中手取米を5分＝半減とする旨が仰せ出された。実際に吉岡家では1711年から規定額の半分である183俵余が御渡米として支給されるようになったという。一般的には、このように俸禄米がカットされることを「<sup>かりあげ</sup>借上」<sup>かりまい</sup>「借米」などといい、とくに半分にカットされることを「<sup>はんち</sup>半知」というが、小田原藩では用語としては使われていない。最初に断っておくが、この後、吉岡家の手取米がこの183俵を超えることはなかった。

前述したように、「吉岡由緒書」では、江戸時代前期から中

期にかけての記述は少ないが、確認できる限りを列挙してみよう。

(享保 11 年)

一、今年御勝手御不如意二付、以来御家中減米被 仰出、高三百石以上四分一厘九毛九弗渡、高三百四十石、手取百四十四俵三斗式升余

(享保 19 年)

一、同年より又候御家中減米被 仰出、高三百石以上三分一厘六弗渡、高三百四十石、手取百十四俵一升九合三勺五才

(寛保 3 年)

一、今年御勝手御増借二付、御家中減米被 仰出、高三百石以上二分七厘一毛七弗渡、三百四十石御渡米九十八俵一斗余

(宝暦年中)

一、此頃御勝手次第御増借にて追々減米被 仰出、宝暦年中より高三百石以上別て多分二減、三百四十石、米七十四俵式斗二升二合二才

表 3 とグラフ 1 にも明らかなように、1726 (享保 11) 年—144 俵余 (41.99%)、1734 (享保 19) 年—114 俵余 (31.06%)、1743 (寛保 3) 年—98 俵余 (27.17%)、1751 (宝暦元) 年代—74 俵余 (20.4%) と、まさに地滑りのように手取米が減少していくのである。ただし、これは知行高 300 石以上という制限付きであり、これ以下の層については不明ではあるが、減米の措置が施されたことは確かであろう。いずれにせよ、ここでは「今年御勝手不如意二付」「今年御勝手御増借二付」「此頃御勝手次第御増借にて」といった文言が書き添えられており、元禄大地震と宝永富士山噴火以降は、借金が嵩んで急激に財政が逼迫していくようすをみてとることができる。

もちろん、こうした状況に藩当局が手をこまねいていたわけではない。当時の藩主忠興は、1757 (宝暦 7) 年 4 月に「江戸・小田原御暮方根元之不足故」に「此度御改」めを命じた。この際、吉岡家の当主信定は年寄役を勤めていたが、同時に嫡子信正も部屋住みの身分で郡奉行に任じられている。忠興の「御暮方改正仕法」については、今後さらに検討が必要であるものの、その後の状況が必ずしも好転したわけではない。

明和年中 (1764~71) には、「先御代 (忠興) より追々御増借二相成、当御代 (忠由) 必至と御差支にて御渡米次第二相減」となったために、高 1,000 石の上級家臣でも手取米はわずか 60 俵 (5.5%) で、小給の者にいたっては、月々の端米を袋に入れて渡したことから、これを「明和之袋米」と称して現在に語り継いでいるという。吉岡家でも当時は月々 3 俵ずつを支給されるのみで、これは 12 か月で換算すれば 36 俵となり、支給率はわずか 9.8% と、10% を割り込む低さであった。吉岡家では当時、そのために下女 1 人のほかは召使いを抱えることもままならなかったという。忠興の「御暮方改正仕法」もむなしく、明和期はまさに、家臣の俸禄米の支給、したがって藩政の窮乏化という点では最低の時期であった。したがって次代の忠由は、襲封の翌年の 1764 (宝暦 14) 年 1 月に「御賄方御趣法」の改正を命じた。しかしながら、忠由自身は、それから 5 年後に病没しており、改正の是非を判断することは難しい。

ただし、別稿であきらかにしたように、富士山噴火後、被害の大きい村々については、幕府に上知された上で、小田原藩領には代知が与えられたから、年貢額に関していえば、それほど大きな落ち込みがあったわけではない<sup>8)</sup>。とはいえ、元禄大地震における城と城下の復興にも多大な費用がかかっていたし、代知には播磨国 (兵庫県) や美濃国 (岐阜県) などの遠隔地を含んでいたため、年貢収納や支配について支障が大きかったのも確かであろう。年貢の収量以上に、俸禄米の支給状況は逼迫していたのである。さらには、上知された村々の全域が返還された 1747 (延享 4) 年以降の方が、より問題は深刻であった。その意味では 1750 代から 1770 年代 (宝暦~明和期) にかけて、俸禄米が最低を記録することは当然であったといえよう。また、これも別稿で、1770 (明和 7) 年に、田方反取額を一斉に上げて年貢の増徴を図ったことを指摘したが<sup>9)</sup>、この時期に、俸禄米の支給が限界に達していたこともまた確認できよう。

### 3-2. 藩主忠真の改革と根取米仕法

「吉岡由緒書」では、明和期以降の記述がしばらく欠けているので、その後の状況については明らかにし難いが、天明の飢饉を除いて、遅くとも寛政期 (1789~1801) には復調の兆しがみられるようである。次の史料は、「吉岡由緒書」1797 (寛政 9) 年 11 月 11 日付けの記事である。

是迄明和年中格外之減米以来少々ツハ相緩候得共、天明度飢饉等二て御物成相減、揚米・御借米等有之、御渡方不取極、例年百俵以上手取候年ハ無之、寛政二至り少々相増候得共、為差有余無之、明和後は迄廿四年之間下式、三人（中略）右被 仰渡之通当暮被 仰出有之、来午年より御家中三分六厘四毛七弗之渡二相成く但、三百石以上之御渡也、三十石六分六厘六毛、御扶持五人分九分七厘余、高三百四十石にて百三十二俵余、手馬飼立候者えは別段御手宛有之、依之三、四百石取以上之者ハ多分手馬牽入候得共、右御手宛も有之儀二付、御賄方之者ハ何れも手馬ハ飼不申候由、此頃之召仕、若党壹人、中間貳人、下女貳人差置候由

明和年中（1764～72）に格外的減米を命じられて以降、少しずつ増加傾向にはあったけれど、天明の飢饉によって物成（年貢）が減少したために「揚米」「御借米」などがあって、俸禄米の支給が定まらず、例年 100 俵以上を支給されたことはなかったという。そして寛政年間（1789～1801）に入ってまた少々増額となったが、さしたる有余もなかった。ところが、この度、300 石以上の御渡米が 3 分 6 厘 4 毛 7 弗（36.47%）、133 俵余が支給されることになったため、明和期以降これまでの 24 年間は下人を 2,3 人しかおけなかったものが、この頃には若党 1 人、中間<sup>ちゅうげん</sup> 2 人、下女 2 人をおけるようになったというのである。

こうした俸禄米支給の変遷は、この時期の年貢収量の変遷と見事に合致する。とくに寛政期の年貢収量の増加については、1794（寛政 6）年の増徴定免制の導入が大きかった。小田原藩はこの年の 3 月に、藩財政の窮乏により宝永富士山噴火による砂降以来の減免処置を停止し、年貢額を増徴した上で、定免制を導入することを命じた<sup>10)</sup>。ただし、ここでいう定免制は、田畑各等級の反取額を一定にするものであり、10 か年を年季として更新されたが、1794 年以降は、定免の反取額が変更されることは基本的にはなかった<sup>11)</sup>。そしてその後、1796（寛政 8）年 1 月 18 日には、藩主忠顕が 37 歳で、16 歳の忠真に家督を譲っているものの、その後の俸禄米は増減をくり返すことになる。

1803（享和 3）年には、「今年より後御渡方相減」じるということで、吉岡家の手取米は 99 俵 1 斗 7 升余となった。わずかながら、また 100 俵を切ったわけである。この年、23 歳

になった忠真は、旧弊の改革を宣言しており、俸禄米の減米もその一環であったと考えられる。ところが、1812（文化 9）年には、「今年より御渡方相増」と俸禄米支給が増額となり、300 石以上は 3 分（30%）余の手取となり、吉岡家は 113 俵 3 斗 5 升余が支給された。これがさらに 1820（文政 3）年には「御勝手御如意二付、当暮より三ヶ年間宝暦度之通之御渡方二被 仰出候」となった。表 3、グラフ 1 に明らかなように、吉岡家の手取米は、宝暦年中（1751～64）と同様に 74 俵余となった。そしてこの年限となる 1824（文政 7）年にはまた増額となって、以後 4 年間は 114 俵が手取米として支給された。このように、複数年にわたって同じ額の俸禄米が支給されるようになるのもこの時期の特徴といえよう。ただし、1822（文政 5）年には役米 28 俵が支給され、1824 年には 46 俵に増額されている。役米は、吉岡家の当時の当主信基が、御賄方（御勝手方）年寄役に任命されたことと、1824 年の役米増額は、俸禄米増額に関係してのものと思われる。また、この間に藩主忠真は、1804（文化元）年に寺社奉行・奏者番兼帯、1810（同 7）年大坂城代、1815（同 12）年に京都所司代となり、1818（文政元）年に老中に就任している。

いずれにしても、こうした俸禄米支給の増減は、年貢米収量の増減とは必ずしも一致しない。文化～文政期（1804～30）の年貢米は、富士山噴火以降ではもっとも高額で安定しており、とくに 1821（文政 4）年には藩領全域で最高額を記録しているのである<sup>12)</sup>。したがってこの間の増減は、年貢米の増減を反映したものというよりも、忠真の幕閣昇進にともなう出費に関係したものといえよう<sup>13)</sup>。そして 1827（文政 10）年 11 月、忠真は「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」を宣言した。改革もさらに大きな転機をむかえたのであった。

「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」は、積もり積もった借財の整理を第一の課題として、10 か年を期限として徹底した節約をめざそうというものであった。そのために関東における領地の朱印高（表高）の内 4 ツ物成、すなわち朱印高（表高）の 40%を「土台」と定める。具体的には、関東の朱印高 5 万 3,430 石余の 4 ツ物成（40%）が 3 万 2,057 石余で、3 斗 7 升詰めの俵に換算すると 8 万 6,642 俵余となり、そのうち田方米を 7 万 4,867 俵余、畑方金を 4,737 両余と見積もっている<sup>14)</sup>。小田原藩では、米 1 石＝金 1 両＝永 1 貫文という換算方式が採用されている<sup>15)</sup>。これを当てはめれば、米と金の比率はおおよそ 85%対 15%である。そしてそれぞれの米金



高は、18世紀末からの実際の年貢米永の収納量から算出されたものであることが指摘できよう。この計算式（3斗7升詰め俵米を石に換算し、畑方永1貫文→金1両→石1石としてこれに加えて年貢総量とする）によると、関東の領地では1798（寛政10）年に年貢総量が朱印高の40%を超えたのを皮切りに、以後1822（文政5）年までの25年間で40%を越えた年が19回を数えているのである<sup>16)</sup>。

すなわち、これらを根拠としたのが関東朱印高の「四ツ物成」という基本財源であり、このうちの40%を藩主や御台所の入用に、60%を家臣の俸禄米にあてること、そのために10か年の間格別の儉約を命じるというのが改革の基本方針であった。このように、「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」は、何よりも藩財政の再建をめざしたものであったが、実際には、役職の統廃合と兼職による役人のリストラ、当主の隠居と代替わりの推進、御番帳入の内、蔵米取の家臣の知行取への転換など行財政の全般にあたるものであった。これらについてはすでに詳しく検討している<sup>17)</sup>、ここでは一番の主眼となる俸禄米の問題についてまとめておくことにしよう。「吉岡由緒書」には次のような記述がみられる。

一、十一月御改革被 仰出、在役之者三百石以上七分或ハ六分渡、以下歩落、無役三百石以上五分渡、其以下歩落之御渡ニテ、高三百四十石、根取百八十三俵余、当年分掛御手伝被 仰付候間、来丑年手取米之三分減ニテ百廿九俵

これには少し補足が必要なので、表3およびグラフ1も参考にしながら、説明しておきたい。前述したように、従来の規定では、本来支給されるべき俸禄米に対して〇分渡というように支給率を乗じて各人の手取米が決定されていた。ところが、この時の改革では、まず知行高と役職についているか否かを基準に、一定の率を乗じて基本的な支給額を決定した。これを「**根取米**」<sup>ねとりまい</sup>といい、この方法を小田原藩では**根取米仕法**と呼んでいる。さらにここから「**御手伝引**」<sup>おてつだいびき</sup>（あるいは単に「御手伝」）と称して、この年の豊凶や財政事情に応じて、〇分減というように一定の額が差し引かれることになったのである。これを「**歩掛**」<sup>ぶがけ</sup>といい、そこから段階的に支給率を上げていくことを「**歩開**」<sup>ぶひらき</sup>といい、逆に下げていくことを「**歩落**」<sup>ぶおち</sup>といった。「吉岡由緒書」の記事によると、在役の者、すなわ

ち役職に就いている者は、300石以上は7分（70%）ないしは6分（60%）渡しで、無役であれば300石以上は5分（50%）渡しとなっている。在役か無役かによって根取米の額が異なるのである。ただし、ここでいう「歩落」は、御手伝引きのことである。したがって本来は、知行高が少なくなるほど根取米の支給率は上がることになる。

勝手方年寄であった吉岡信基は、改革に際して、新たに勝手方頭取となった服部十郎兵衛と対立し、結果、勝手方年寄役の職を解かれている。信基の主張は、詰まるところ、まだまだ財政が厳しい中では、俸禄米の支給を増額することには反対ということであった。相反することではあるが、「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」では、俸禄米の支給を増額することが一つの目標であり、これは同改革における家臣団再編の意志を示すものであったと考えられる<sup>18)</sup>。いずれにしても、これによって吉岡家は無役となったために5分根取米が適用された。したがって根取米が183俵余、ここから当年分の御手伝引3分（30%）が差し引かれて129俵となっているのである。在役7分であれば179俵余となり、その差額は実に50俵余におよんでいる。そこで表4は、在役7分の場合の支給分も概算で出して作成した表である。また、グラフ1では、在役7分渡の場合の推定支給額を青丸で図示し、折れ線グラフでその推移を示した。また、赤菱形のしるしは、本来支給される根取米の額を、緑四角のしるしはこれも本来支給される無役5分支給の額を示している。

実際、無役であっても1833（天保4）年の天保飢饉の際を除けば、それ以前よりも手取米が増えていることが確認できよう。もし、在役であったなら、御勝手方年寄役を勤めていた時期の手取米と役米を加えた支給額よりも多くなっているのである。表4で確認できるように在役と無役の差は、少ない年で40俵余、多い年では58俵余の差になっている。ただし、1835（天保6）年には、吉岡信寛（後、信之）が目付役を拝命したことにより、以後は7分の根取米となっている。

表5は、1833（天保4）年段階における根取米と御手伝引についてまとめたものである。この段階では、100石以上と30石以下を基準として、その間が歩開となっている。御手伝引は、100石と30石の間が歩落である。この表に明らかのように、御番帳入も御番帳外も根取米7分と6分にわかれており、30石以下は9分と8分5厘、無役は5分と8分、「小児」「役金差出候者」はいずれも3分である。また、大年寄・



表 4. 吉岡家の根取米支給計画と実支給額

西暦	年号	仕法	歩掛	扶持米総計	支給率(%)	藩主	渡方計画	無役5分渡	7分推定渡方	7分渡差額					
1827	文政10			114.000000	31.1	忠真	256.2756	183.33	114.000000						
1828	文政11	改革	-0.3	129.000000	35.2				179.178720	50.178720					
1829	文政12		-0.35	117.000000	31.9				166.245240	49.245240					
1830	天保 1		-0.3	129.000000	35.2				179.178720	50.178720					
1831	天保 2		-0.26	137.259000	37.4				189.273504	52.014504					
1832	天保 3		-0.26	137.259000	37.4				189.273504	52.014504					
1833	天保 4		-0.45	100.362600	27.4				141.008280	40.645680					
1834	天保 5		-0.2	146.350000	39.9				205.045680	58.695680					
1835	天保 6		-0.3	179.343360	48.9				179.343360						
1836	天保 7		-0.5	100.106710	27.3										
1837	天保 8		-0.3	179.343360	48.9										
1838	天保 9		年限	-0.5	100.000000				27.3	257.0148000					
1839	天保10			-0.025	235.216080				64.2						
1840	天保11			-0.225	170.221440	46.4									
1841	天保12	-0.225		170.221440	46.4										
1842	天保13	-0.15		196.1965625	53.5										
1843	天保14	-0.05		147.295260	40.2										
1844	弘化 1	-0.05		147.295260	40.2										
1845	弘化 2	年限		-0.455	133.277500	36.4	257.0148000								
1846	弘化 3			-0.525	135.092500	36.9									
1847	弘化 4			-0.4	166.000000	45.3									
1848	嘉永 1			-0.59	163.240500	44.5									
1849	嘉永 2			-0.325	172.277500	47.0									
1850	嘉永 3			-0.65	79.028840	21.6									
1851	嘉永 4			183.138750	50.0										
1852	嘉永 5		-0.075	122.000000	33.3										
1853	嘉永 6		仮仕法	-0.12	162.299680	44.3									
1854	安政 1				150.219780	41.0									
1855	安政 2		年限 切替		150.219780	41.0				245.1072445					
1856	安政 3			根0.67		150.219780									41.0
1857	安政 4					150.219780									41.0
1858	安政 5				150.219780	41.0									
1859	安政 6				150.219780	41.0									
1860	万延 1				150.219780	41.0									
1861	文久 1	切替			根0.25	78.303030	21.4	74.3122800							
1862	文久 2		93.142080	25.4											
1863	文久 3		93.142080	25.4											
1864	元治 1		93.142080	25.4											
1865	慶応 1		93.142080	25.4											
1866	慶応 2		切替			91.312280	24.9								
1867	慶応 3					108.312280	29.5								
1868	明治 1			27.280000	7.4	27.2800000									
1869	明治 2			27.315720	7.5										
1870	明治 3		-4	49.117000	13.4										
1871	明治 4			33.200000	9.1										

註) 小田原市立図書館寄託吉岡卓也家文書「吉岡由緒書」より作成

御家老・年寄・御用人は7分で御手伝引はない。諸組附は8分で同じように御手伝引は設定されていない。注目すべきは、御番帳入の摂河郡奉行と代官が9分5厘、御番帳入の摂河御奉行手代・開発方小頭兼帯が同じく9分5厘で御手伝引が設定されていないことであろう。遠国である関西の飛び地領を管理することが配慮されたことはいままでのない。また、御番帳入で根取米7分に指定されたのは役方、6分は番方が主であったといえよう。ここにも当時の役方重視、す

なわち藩の行財政を取り仕切る役人を重視する方針が表われている。

藩主忠真の藩政前期は、俸禄米が増減する傾向にあるが、それも一定の期間同額であることも特徴であった。そして1828(文政11)年の「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」では、これまでの俸禄米支給の方法であった減米一手取米方式から、在役か無役かを基準とした根取米一御手伝引方式へと根本的な改正が図られたのである。在役の場合は、とくに御番帳入

表5. 1827（文政11）年の根取米支給計画

区分	役職	根取米支給率			御手伝引		
		100石以上	99～30石	30石以下	100石以上	99～30石	30石以下
御番帳入	<b>大年寄/御家老/年寄/御用人</b>	<b>0.7</b>					
	大目付/御側目付/寺社奉行/町奉行/郡奉行/御目付/大勘定奉行/御普請奉行/御屋敷奉行/山奉行/大金奉行/吟味役/御代官/改役/御貨物取立役	0.7	歩開	0.9	-0.25	歩合落減(歩落)	-0.0833
	御旗奉行/御鑓奉行/御持頭/御先手頭/箱根伴頭/根府川伴頭/御使番/御近習/御手道具預/御道具目付/箱根横目/奥医/御案役/御使者役/御武具預/御数寄屋方/御料理人頭/所々御関所御番士/上々様附/主税殿用向取扱	0.6	歩開	0.85	-0.25	歩合落減(歩落)	-0.0833
	<b>摂河郡奉行/摂河御代官</b>	<b>0.95</b>					
	<無役>	0.5	歩開	0.5	-0.25	歩合落減(歩落)	-0.0833
	<小児/役金差出候者>	0.3	歩開	0.6	-0.25	歩合落減(歩落)	-0.0833
御番帳外	立合役/御雑用奉行/浦代官/山代官/御屋敷方下役/御道具目付下役/御蔵役/本木奉行/御勘定人/御肴奉行/寺社奉行手代/町奉行手代/郡奉行手代/川除方/開発方/御大工頭/御大工棟梁/葺師棟梁/砂官棟梁/御雇方取扱	0.7	歩開	0.9	-0.25	歩合落減(歩落)	-0.0833
	坊主組頭/伊賀役/御右筆/御右筆所書役/米見役/炭薪預/御船方/鞍道具預/飼料方/平坊主/上々様御番人/御中間小頭	0.6	歩開	0.85	-0.25	歩合落減(歩落)	-0.0833
	<b>摂河郡奉行手代・開発方小頭兼帯</b>	<b>0.95</b>					
	<無役>	0.5	歩開	0.8	-0.25	歩合落減(歩落)	-0.0833
	<小児/役金差出候者>	0.3	歩開	0.6	-0.25	歩合落減(歩落)	-0.0833
諸組附		0.8					

註) 拙稿「小田原藩における俸禄米と行財政」『地域史研究と歴史教育』（熊本出版文化会、1998年）表2を修正して引用

の役方が優先された。しかしながら、この改正は俸禄米を減額するためではなく、むしろ増額することが企図されたことに注意する必要があるだろう。その背景として、とくに文政期（1818～1830）にかけて年貢収量が回復し、元禄大地震と富士山噴火以前の水準に近くなったということを指摘しておきたい<sup>19)</sup>。

### 3-3. 改革の継続と金方渡

藩政改革については、その政策内容や意義、成果について検討することは当然のことではあるが、得てして、改革のその後についてはあまり明確でない場合が多いように思われる。本稿で「藩政の見取り図」を課題にするのも系統的に藩政の推移をみていきたいためである。

「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」は、1838（天保9）年が年限で

あったが、この前年、1837年3月9日に忠真自身が死去し、その後は嫡孫の仙丸がわずか9歳で襲封している。それでは、年限を迎えて忠真の改革はどのようになったのであろうか。

結論からいえば、忠真の「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」の基本である関東朱印高のうち4つ物成を「土台」とし、そのうちの40%を藩主や御台所の入用に、60%を家臣の俸禄米にあてるという方針は維持されている。その上で今度は1839年から7か年限で継続されることになった。ただし、俸禄米の支給方法については、大きな変更があった。

一、同月十一日、御改革年限二付御渡方相改、高三百石以上七分渡、其以下百石余迄歩開、百石八分渡、其以下三十石余迄歩開、三十石以下九分渡、手取米之内百石以上四分五厘通金方渡、其以下三十石余迄

歩落、三十石以下一分五厘通金方渡、但、閏月御渡方無之候

一、年柄二寄御収納高相減候節ハ右減米丈上々様御用途を始、御台所御入用并御家中在役・無役共上下割合を以歩合減被 仰付候

一、臨時御入用有之節、高百石以上二分減、其以下三十石余歩落、三十石以下六厘六毛六弗減迄ハ無役之者御手伝被 仰付、其余は 上々様御用途を始御台所御入用并御家中在役・無役共減歩合被 仰付候、御役高より手取米相増居候丈ハ最初より無役並之歩掛可被 仰付候(中略)

右御渡方高三百四十石、米式百五十七俵四厘内米百四十一俵三分七厘二毛正米渡、米百十五俵六分六厘八毛、此金四十六兩一步・銀一匁三厘二毛金方渡右様被 仰出候得共、当年不作、臨時御物入多二付、来亥年一ケ年ハ別法にて、去ル申年被 仰出候通、酉年同様三百四十石、百俵余之御渡二被 仰付候

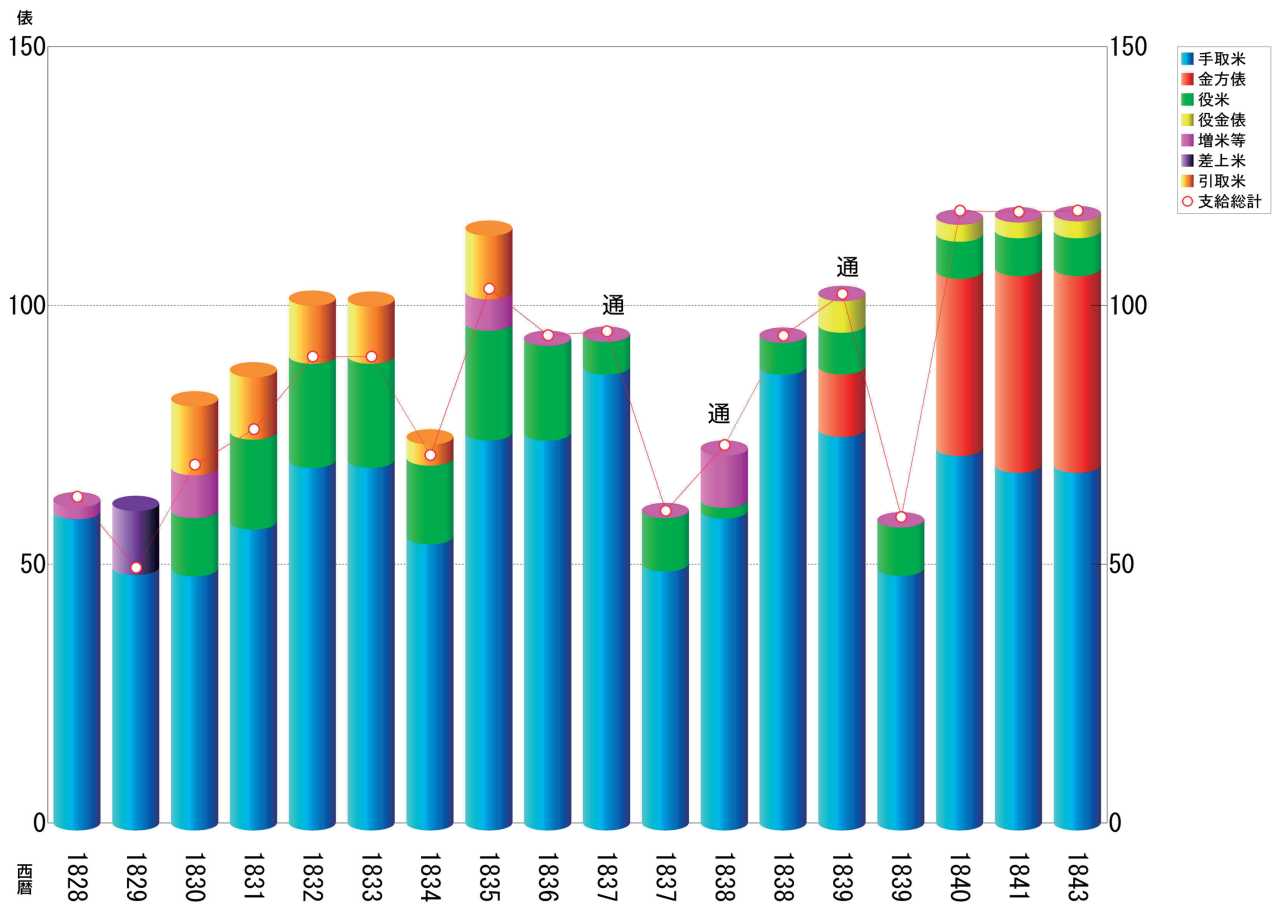
改革年限なので俸禄米支給の改正を申し渡すという。具体的には知行高 300 石以上は根取米 7 分 (70%)、100 石は 8 分 (80%)、30 石以下は 9 分 (90%) とし、それぞれの間はすべて歩開(漸増)とする。さらに注目すべきは、手取米が 100 石以上になる場合は 4 分 5 厘 (45%) を「きんかたわし金方渡」とし、30 石以下であれば 1 分 5 厘 (15%) が金方渡で、その間は歩落(漸減)となっている。すなわち、根取米の一部を金銭で支払うというのである。しかも根取米の割合は前代より細かくなっており、100 石から 300 石までが 8 分となっている。実質的に俸禄米の支給は増えているのである。ただし無役が 5 分 (50%) であることは変わらないようである。さらに年柄によって年貢収納が減少した場合は、藩主御用途をはじめ、台所入用さらには在役・無役にかかわらず一定の割合をもって「歩合減」とすること、臨時入用がある場合は、無役の者であっても知行高 100 石以上で 2 分 (20%) 減、30 石以下で 6 厘 6 毛 (6.6%) 減とし、その間は歩落(漸減)とするという。これによれば、臨時入用でなければ無役には減額の処置は行われないことになる。それ以外でも、場合によって藩主御用途、台所入用ならびに在役・無役にかかわらず歩合減、すなわち段階的に支給減を命じるという。しかも役高より手取米が増えている分については、最初から無役並みの歩掛と

するというのである。

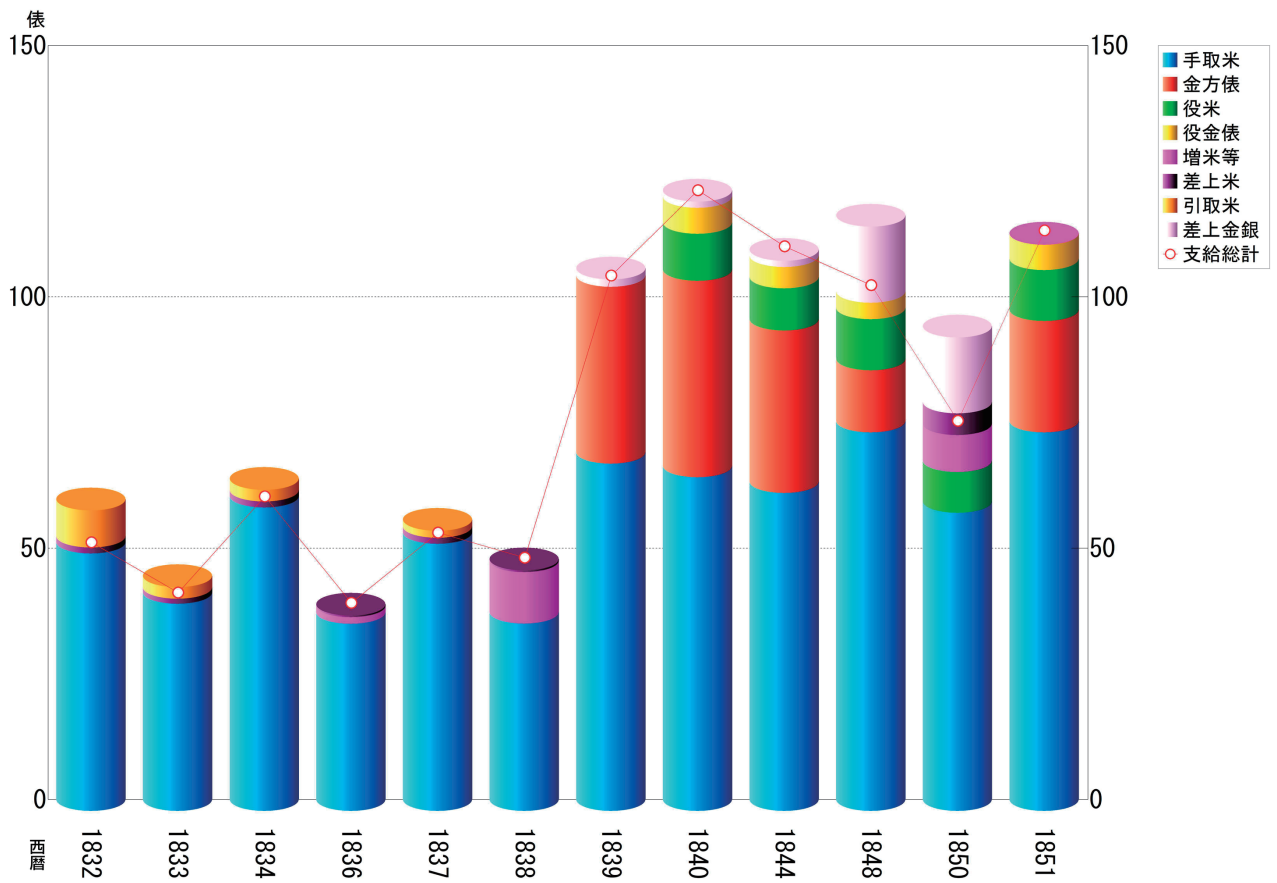
この結果、吉岡家に対する俸禄米は、根取米の計画が 257 俵 1 升 4 合 8 勺と、1828 (文政 11) 年段階とほぼ変わらない。ただし、このうち 141 俵 3 分 7 厘 2 毛を正米渡しとし、残りの 115 俵 6 分 6 厘 8 毛を金 46 両 1 分と銀 1 匁 3 厘 2 毛で支給するというのである<sup>20)</sup>。ただし、来年 1 か年は別法として 100 俵余とするという。しかも 1839 (天保 10) 年の実質的な支給額は、100 石以上に 2 分 2 厘 5 毛の御手伝減を命じられ、正米渡が 134 俵 3 斗 5 升 2 才で、金方渡が金 14 両 1 分と銀 6 分 4 厘 8 毛となっている。グラフ 1 にある赤丸のしるしは、この時の改正によって本来支給されるべき俸禄米の額を示している。以下、俸禄米に関する仕法について切り替えが行なわれる年の、本来の支給額についても赤丸で示し、その間を折れ線グラフでつないだ。ここで注意されるべきは、この赤丸のしるしと 1828 年の「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」で示された本来支給されるべき俸禄米の額と同額であるということである。ただし、その後も 1 度として規定の額が支払われたことはなかった。

このように、改革年限の 1838 (天保 9) 年には、基本方針も根取米仕法も継続されたが、俸禄米についてはさらに大きな改正点があった。何より注目すべきは、根取米の一部を金銭で支給するということであった。ただし、この財源については不明であり、今後の課題と言わざるを得ない<sup>21)</sup>。とはいえ、この時期は、財政的には一応、相対的に安定した時期であったということができよう。それを証明するように、この年限となる 1845 (弘化 2) 年には、「尚又十ヶ年追年被 仰出候」と、俸禄米の支給についてはそのまま継続となっているのである。

表 4 では、金銀支給の分を俵に換算して総計を算出し、グラフ 1 で図示するようにした。これによれば、1839 (天保 10) 年を境に俸禄米支給総額が大幅に増額していることは明らかであろう。こうした傾向は、同じ御番帳入の井沢家や有浦家の事例でも確認できる。井沢家の知行高が 165 石、有浦家が 150 石で、本来の支給米は、井沢家が 172 俵 2 分、有浦家が 162 俵であった。いずれも 300 石未満となるので、吉岡家とは根取米や減米額の比率が異なっている。グラフ 2 は、井沢家に対する 1828 (文政 11) 年から 1843 (天保 14) 年までのうち 15 年分の俸禄支給状況を<sup>22)</sup>、グラフ 3 は、有浦家に対する 1832 (天保 3) 年から 1851 (嘉永 4) 年までのうち 12 年分の俸禄支給状況を<sup>23)</sup> 図示したものである。両家



グラフ 2. 井沢家の俸禄支給



グラフ 3. 有浦家の俸禄支給



の分析でも 1839 年に、金方渡によって俸禄支給が上昇したことを確認することができよう。ただし、それぞれの史料は異なっている。グラフ 2—井沢家の棒グラフのうち、「通」とあるのは、前述した「おもものなりあいわたしかよ御物成相渡通」にある支給額で、それ以外は実支給額の記録を図示した。一方、有浦家の支給額はすべて実支給額である。1839 年以前についていえば、井沢家の方がもともとの知行高が高いこともあるが、それ以上に役米の支給額が大きいようである。ただし、一定度の引取米もあって、その分がマイナスになっている。また、「御物成相渡通」と実支給額との差をみれば、1838 年は別にして、基本的には「御物成相渡通」より実際の支給額は少なくなるようである。統計処理する際に気をつけなければならない点である。

これに対して有浦家の場合は、1839 年の金方渡の支給額が大きいのはもちろんであるが、基本的な手取米の額も大きくなっている。とくに 1844 年の実支給額は井沢家と有浦家はほとんど変わらない。その後、井沢家の実支給額は 1843 年までほぼ同額である。有浦家には、この間の史料が欠けているために単純な比較はできない。ただし、1844 年以降にはまた上下動が大きくなる傾向は、グラフ 1—吉岡家とほぼ同等である。

1838 年の改革年限から 1844 (弘化元) 年までの 7 か年は、金方渡の導入もあって、それまでに比べれば、俸禄の支給額自体は上昇していることが確認できた。ただし、基本的な俸禄米が増加しているわけではなく、1839 年以降の俸禄米の支給額は全体的に下降気味であった。それでも、いつにも増して俸禄の支給額をあげようという意図がはっきりとみえることが特徴であったといえよう。

### 3-4. 仕法年限と仮御法

次の記述は、「吉岡由緒書」1845 (弘化 2) 年 11 月 12 日の記事である。

一、十一月十二日、御法年限之處、尚又十ヶ年追年被仰出候、尤以来閏月有之年ハ別段御渡方被下置候旨も被 仰出候、右二付来午年高百石以上四分五厘五毛減二被 仰出、三百四十石手取米百十五俵余、金七兩貳歩余〈但、閏月ハ金一兩二歩ト錢二百七十四文ツハ渡〉○〈以来米金割合 相手取米之六分米方、

### 四分金方ニ相成ル〉

この年は、1839 年から 7 か年の予定で始まった仕法の年限となる年で、これから 10 年さらにこの方針を継続するという。実施はもちろん翌 1846 年からである。ここで継続されるのは、第一に、関東朱印高のうち 4 つ物成を「土台」とし、そのうちの 40% を藩主や御台所の入用に、60% を家臣の俸禄米にあてるという忠真の「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」以来の方針である。第二に、俸禄米の支給方法も根取米仕法を継続し、なおかつ金方渡の方針も維持するということである。そのため、来年は、100 石以上の知行高に対しては 4 分 5 厘 5 毛 (45.5%) 減らすという。これは、根取米に対して減らすということであって、このマイナス分を引いた値が手取米となる。ただし、ここでは、これまで支給してこなかった閏月も俸禄を支給するという。俸禄をあげるという方針は、若干ではあるが、さらに拡大されているのである。吉岡家の場合は、知行高 340 石に対する手取米が 115 俵余で、金方渡が 7 兩 2 分余となり、閏月には金 1 兩 2 分と錢 274 文の支給となった。そしてこれ以来、手取米と金方渡の割合は、60% 対 40% になるのだという。

その後の経過はというと、表 3 とグラフ 1 に明らかのように、毎年の年貢収納量に応じて減米率が決められ、手取米の額が決定した。もちろん、金方渡も同様である。ところが、1853 (嘉永 6) 年に大きな転機が訪れる。

一、当年御収納之位相分候二付、高百石以上米方一步二厘減、金方在役貳分減、無役四分被 仰出、外二百石以上歩掛多二付、余米別被下有之、高三百四十石手取米百貳十貳俵三升四合七勺八才、別被下米十二俵七升九合九勺、都合百三十四俵余、金十一兩一步貳朱・銀一匁五分〈御役二付分合御用捨分也〉、但、三ヶ年之間右御渡方二被居置候趣被 仰出候〈別被下ハ当年二限候也〉

当年の年貢収納量が確定したので、知行高 100 石以上は根取米から 1 分 2 厘 (12%) 減とし、金方渡は、在役のものについては 2 分 (20%) 減、無役であれば 6 分 (60%) 減とするという。また、100 石以上は「歩掛」つまり減少率が大きいから、余米を別に下されるという。その結果、吉岡家の俸

禄は、在役なので、手取米が122俵3升4合7勺8才に、別被下米として12俵7升9合9勺を加えて合計134俵1斗1升4合6勺8才となり、金方渡が金11両1分2朱と銀1匁5分であった。問題は、3か年はこの支給額に据え置くと記述されていることである。さらに別被下米は、今年度だけの措置であるという。1855年の改革年限まで3年残っていた段階で、手取米と金方渡を固定化するというのであるから、これは「仮御法」と呼ばれた。

この年に何があったのか。一つは、2月2日に起きた小田原地震である。「吉岡由緒書」によれば、この時の地震で御屋形が大破してしまったので、22日に帰城した藩主の忠愨は、大年寄杉浦平太夫の屋敷を宿所にしたという。また、この地震について、4月に幕府から1万両を拝借している。このうち、知行高570石から300石までの家臣には金4両2分が支給されたという。

今一つは、アメリカ東インド艦隊司令官ペリーが浦賀に来航したことである。小田原藩は、ペリー来航の翌日、6月4日から18日までの間、伊豆国下田（静岡県下田市）、小田原浦、大磯照ヶ崎（神奈川県大磯町）に兵を詰めさせている。

改めてグラフ1をみると、1845年の改革年限以降、手取米の支給額は上下の差が激しく、金方渡は抑え気味である。この1853年の仕法では、手取米の額を抑えつつ、金方渡を増額させている。それでも俸禄米の量に換算すれば、150俵程度で、この量に抑えたとみることができよう。しかもその後の俸禄支給は、小田原藩が幕末期の政情に巻き込まれていくことによってさらに大きな変更を迫られることになっていく。

### 3-5. 幕末・維新期の政情と金方渡・根取米仕法の廃止

1855（安政2）年は、1846（弘化3）年から始まった10か年仕法および1852年の仮御法の導入から3か年目にあたり<sup>24)</sup>、その年限、つまり再検討の年にあたる。ところがこの年に「御転法」の取り調べは行なわれたものの、酒匂川の洪水と江戸大地震などで入用が嵩んだために、1853年の「仮御法」の通り据え置きになったという<sup>25)</sup>。実際の改正が行なわれたのは、翌1856年（安政3）年のことであった。次は11月26日の記事である。

一、同月廿六日、御法年限二付、来巳年より御渡方可相改候処、御物入多二付、来巳一ケ年は先是迄之通被差置、来ル午年より高七百石以上六分五厘渡、其以下三百石余迄歩開、三百石六分七厘渡、其以下百石余迄歩開、百石七分八厘渡、其以下三十石余迄歩開、三十石以下八分九厘渡之内百石以上四分二厘五毛通金方渡、其以下三十石余迄歩落、三十石以下一分四厘一毛六弗通金方渡被仰出、高三百四十石手取米貳百四十五俵二分八厘九毛六弗ノ内米百四十一俵一<sup>(ママ)</sup>俵四厘一毛六弗正米渡、同百四俵四厘八毛、此金四十一両貳歩貳朱・銀四匁四分五厘八毛金方渡

この記事によれば、「御法年限」にあたるので、来年分からの俸禄について見直しをしなければならないが、「御物入」が多いので、来年1か年はこれまでの通りとするという。その上で、再来年=1858（安政5）年から以下のように改正するというのである。まず、高700石以上は6分5厘（65%）を支給することとし、以下「歩開」で、高300石は6分7厘（67%）が支給される。以下、高100石余までも「歩開」で100石は7分8厘（78%）、以下30石余までも「歩開」となり、30石以下は8分9厘（89%）の支給となる。ただし、高100石以上は根取米のうち4分2厘5毛（42.5%）を金方渡とし、以下30石余まで「歩落」で、30石以下は1分4厘1毛6弗（14.16%）を金方渡とするという。前述したように、「歩開」は、知行高が少なくなるほど段階的に支給率を上げることがいい、「歩落」は逆に知行高が少なくなるほど段階的に支給率を低くすることを意味する。すなわち、俸禄のうち、正米（現物）で支給される米については、知行高が小さくなるほど支給率は上がるが、金方渡については、知行高が小さいほど逆に金銭で支給する割合が少なくなっていくということである。この結果、高340石の吉岡家では、手取米が245俵2分8厘9毛6弗となるが、このうち、正米渡が141俵4厘1毛6弗で、104俵4厘8毛の分は金方渡となり、その額は金41両2分2朱と銀4匁4分5厘8毛であった。

この時の仕法切替えでは、まず本来支給する予定の額=根取米が、1828年の「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」以降、初めて減少したことが注目されよう（グラフ1. 赤丸のしるし）。しかも、これ以降もこの根取米と金方渡の総額が支給されることはなかった。翌1858（安政5）年以降、「吉岡由緒書」には、

毎年、「別段之訳ヲ以当年之通御渡ニて被差置候段被仰渡候」との記述があり、結果的に1860(万延元)年までは、正米渡・金方渡の総額はすべて150俵余となっている。結局、1854年から1860年までの7年分は、仮御法の際の支給額で一定化することになったのである。この間、1855(安政2)年10月2日には、1853年の小田原地震に引き続いて、江戸大地震が起こっている。また1854年から1860年まではほぼ毎年酒匂川が氾濫して、洪水を引き起こしていた。そのためとくに地方政策を中心に、安政の改革ともいべき政策転換が実施された<sup>26)</sup>。さらにペリー来航後には、伊豆国下田をはじめ、各所への海防動員が行なわれている。開国しても海防に対する軍役が減少したわけではなく、かえって負担は増大していくのであった。

そして1861(文久元)年に改めて「御法年限」をむかえることになった。

一、十一月十日、御法年限之処、御物入多二付、来戌年より五ヶ年之間御家中御渡方、高千五百石一步七厘五毛渡、其以下三百石余迄歩開、三百石二步五毛渡、其以下百石余迄歩開、百石三步二厘五毛渡、其以下三拾石余迄歩開、三拾石以下七分四厘渡被 仰付、高三百四拾石手取米七拾四俵八步四厘四毛〈但、御徒頭二付御役料十六俵三分三厘五毛〉、外二当年豊作二付、別被下三百四拾石手取拾三俵九分七厘五毛

ここでいう「御法年限」とは、1856年に制定された根取米の改正から5か年の年限をむかえたことを示している。しかしながら、この改正による俸禄支給が1度も実施されたことはなく、1853年の「仮御法」の支給額のまま固定化されていたことは、先に分析した通りである。ここでの大きな改正点は、まず第1に、金方渡が廃止されたことで、記事の中には金銭の支給についてはいっさい出てこない。第2は、「御取締中根取之御定被成御置」<sup>27)</sup>と、1828年の「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」以降の根取米が廃止されたことである。上記の記事は、根取米額を示すのではなく、単純に支給すべき手取米の額を示したに過ぎない。ただし、それは「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」以前の「減米」として算出するのではなく、単に支給率として計上している点が今回の改正の特徴であった。その結果、吉岡家が受け取る俸禄は、前年までの正米渡141

俵4厘1毛6弗と金方渡41両2分2朱・銀4匁4分5厘8毛に対して、手取米として74俵8分4厘4毛、御徒頭の役料として16俵3分3厘5毛が支給されることになっている。合計しても91俵1分7厘9毛と正米渡の支給額ですら大きく下回っているのである。ただし、当年は豊作であったことから、「別被下」として、13俵9分7厘5毛が支給されたのだが、これを加えても105俵1分5厘4毛となっている。1860年までの支給額が、金方渡を米に改めると、実質の支給額が150俵2分1厘9毛8弗ほどであったから、40俵以上の減額となったのであった。「別被下米」は、その後若干ではあるが、増加傾向にあったものの、全体的にはかなりの減少であることは間違いない。

俸禄米の支給状況に象徴されるように、この時期の藩財政はより一層、逼迫してきていたのであった。大坂の豪商鴻池家の記録によれば、小田原藩は、1842(天保13)年7月以来、借金の頼談はなかったが、1849(嘉永3)年7月に7年ぶりに頼談があると、その後はたびたび頼談しており、1861(文久元)年から1867(慶応3)年までは、毎年頼談を行なっている<sup>28)</sup>。頼談は、上方商人に対して借金申し込みの相談をすることをいう。その理由も、1861年以前は、領内における連年の洪水や早損の被害、1849年の天守閣破損に江戸上屋敷の類焼、1853年の小田原地震、1855年の江戸地震など、災害に関するものが多く、幕府からの軍役としては海防があげられている程度であったが、1861年以降は、將軍家茂の上洛のために臨時入用、江戸大番役の拜命、イギリス艦隊の横浜集結に対する派兵、京都警衛に甲府城代の拜命等々、明らかに幕府による軍役過多が大きな要因となっていた。とくに1864(元治元)年の禁門の変では、戦闘には巻き込まれなかったものの、陣所が焼失したり、その後も天狗党追討のために敦賀出兵を命じられるなど、過重な負担を強いられることになった。さらに1868(慶応4)年5月には、幕府遊撃隊と官軍との間で藩論が揺れ動いたことから、箱根の山崎を中心とした戦闘に巻き込まれた。戊辰箱根戦争である。

1861年の「御法年限」による俸禄米改正は、また5か年を期限とするもので、1866(慶応2)年が年限となる年であった。しかしながら、その年に俸禄米支給に対する何らかの達が行なわれた形跡はない。「吉岡由緒書」にも関係する記事は出てこない。新たな記事は明治に改元後の11月16日のことであった。ここでは「先般御減禄ヲも被為蒙 仰、且近来引続



格外之御物入二付、御家中空扶持被 仰付候」と、近來は格別に物入りだからと言うことで、「<sup>からぶち</sup>空扶持」が命じられた。これまでの俸禄米支給はすべて廃止するというので、その代わりに6歳以上は1か月1斗5升、6歳以下（未満）は1斗、塩・味噌代として1か年に6歳以上は1分、6歳以下には2朱が支給されることになった。これを「<sup>つらぶち</sup>面扶持」と称した。当時の吉岡家は、5人家族で、内1人が6歳以下であったから、俸禄米が20俵2斗8升、塩・味噌代が1両2朱、萩代（詳細不明）として1両1朱、「別被下」として、高400石から300石までが7俵、当主の信徳がお目付役を勤めていたため、この役料が7俵で、合計34俵2斗8升と金2両1分2朱が支給の総額であった。

翌1869年11月14日には、藩主の忠良が知藩事に任命されたということで、「<sup>じょうろく</sup>定禄」となった。いわゆる定額制である。この時の定禄は、高1500石より500石までが38俵、高490石より100石までが33俵、高90石より30石までが28俵となっている。実質上の手取米は、前年と変わらない。ただし、「当巳年御入用多二付」ということで、吉岡家が該当する高490石から100石までは米27俵3斗1升5合7勺2才が実支給額であった。さらに1870年11月7日には、また定禄が改正され、500石以上は現米20石、100石以上は同17石、99石以下は14石、下土は11石、卒（足軽）は7石六斗となった。吉岡家は現米17石で、この手取米は33俵2斗であったから、実質的な支給額は1869年の定禄とほとんど変わらない。しかもこの年は100石以上は4石減ずることが命じられ、実質手取米は、27俵5升7合であった。結局のところ、前年の支給額より若干ながら減少しているのである。また、翌1871年11月7日には、前年と同様17石で手取米33石2斗が支給される予定であると「吉岡由緒書」には記されている。廃藩置県後のことであり、藩主の忠良は9月3日に、また前藩主の忠礼は、11月19日に移住のために東京に向けて出立している。次年の俸禄米支給が発表された12日後のことであり、実際には支給はされなかったと考えるのが妥当であろう。

## むすびにかえて

本稿では、知行高340石取の家臣吉岡家の俸禄米支給状況を通して、1703（元禄16）年の大地震と1707（宝永4）年の富士山噴火という二大災害からの復旧過程と、近世後期

から幕末・維新时期における藩政の展開について概観してみた。俸禄米を手がかりとして検討した結果、この過程は以下の通り、9つの画期に分けることができよう。表3とグラフ1をもとに改めてまとめてみることにする。

- ① 1707年の富士山噴火から4年後の1711（正徳元）年、藩当局は、家臣への俸禄米支給額（御渡米）を半減することを申し渡した。小田原藩の規定では、知行高100石につき108俵を支給する仕来りであった。340石取の吉岡家では、366俵6斗6升が本来の支給額であったが、以後は183俵余を12か月に分けて支給されることになった。ただし、米の支給だけでみていけば、その後、この183俵余を超える米が支給されることはなかった。
- ② 1711年以降、とくに18世紀の前半は、地滑りのように俸禄米の支給額が減少していった。とくに明和年間（1764～72）に、吉岡家の俸禄米支給はわずか36俵余、支給率9.8%まで落ち込んだ。この時、小給の者たちには月々の端米を袋に入れて渡したことから「明和之袋米」と後年に語りつがれるという有り様であった。つまり、家臣への俸禄米は、宝永富士山噴火後に半減となって以降も、50年余にわたって減少を続けたのであった。
- ③ こうした減少傾向に歯止めがかかるのは、寛政期（1789～1801）のことである。とくに1794（寛政6）年には、富士山噴火後の年貢減免を止めた上で、増徴定免制が導入された。小田原藩の定免制は、年貢量を一定期間同額に保つのではなく、反取額を固定化することを示している<sup>29)</sup>。
- ④ 増徴定免制導入の後、19世紀の前半には、藩主大久保忠真によって藩政の改革が積極的に進められた。その前半期である文化～文政期（1804～30）には、なお、俸禄米の支給は増減をくり返している。ただし、この時期の特徴として、支給額が毎年変わるのではなく、一定期間固定化されたことが確認できた。
- ⑤ 俸禄米の支給方法が大きく変わったのは、1828（文政11）年11月の「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」を契機としてであった。この時の改革で、俸禄米支給には「根取米仕法」と呼ばれる方法が導入された。従来は、「御渡米」から「減米分」を差し引いた俸禄米を手取米として受け取っていたのであるが、根取米仕法では、まず役職を勤めているかどうかで支給率を決めた。役職を勤めていれば、7分（70%）もしくは6分（60%）、無役であれば5分（50%）とする。



これが「根取米」である。ここから「御手伝引」と称して、その年の豊凶などにより、一定額が差し引かれて手取米の額が決定した。

- ⑥「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」の年限となる1838（天保9）年以降（実施は翌1839年から）も、改革の方針も根取米仕法も7か年の継続となったが、この時から新たに根取米の一部を金銭で支給する「金方渡」が始まった。金方渡にも御手伝引は適用されていた。ただし、この財源については不明である。
- ⑦1839年から始まった改革仕法の継続は、1845（弘化2）年に切り替えとなり、10か年の継続が決まった。ところが、1853（嘉永6）年2月に起きた小田原地震と、6月のペリ一航のために、今後3年間は手取額を減らした上で同額とする措置が実施され、これを「仮御法」といった。ところが、この切り替え年にあたる1855（安政2）年は、酒匂川の洪水や江戸大地震のためにさらに据え置きとなり、翌1856年に仕法替えとなった。仕法の期限は5か年で、特記すべきは、1827（文政10）年の「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」以来初めて、根取米の額が減少となったことである。ただし、諸般の事情により、来年は今年と同じように「仮御法」のまま据え置くことが申し渡されたが、結局、この5か年仕法の時期も「仮御法」のまま据え置かれることとなった。すなわち、「仮御法」が導入された1853（嘉永6）年から8年間は、「仮御法」で決定した額がそのまま据え置く措置がくり返されたのであった。
- ⑧1856（安政3）年からの5か年仕法年限となる1861（文久元）年には、また新たに5か年の仕法替えが提示されている。ここでは金方渡と根取米が廃止となった。また、支給の方法も、本来の支給額に対して一定の支給率を乗じて手取米の額が決定されることになった。ここで根取米＝目標額と手取米＝実際の支給額の乖離という問題は回避されることになったが、それは手取米が「仮御法」の支給額から大きく減少した上で、定額となったことを示していた。またこの年限となる1866（慶応2）年に何らかの措置が行なわれた形跡はなく、1861年仕法替えで決定した手取米の額がそのまま支給されている。このように、1861年以降の俸禄米に関する措置は、将軍家茂の上洛のための臨時入用に始まり、江戸大番役の拜命、イギリス艦隊の横浜集結に対する派兵、京都守衛に、天狗党の追討、甲府城代

の拜命等々、幕府による軍役過多と幕末の情勢が大きな要因であったことを確認しておこう。

- ⑨「御一新」をむかえて明治になると、まず1868（明治元）年11月に、旧来の俸禄米支給を廃止して「空扶持」とすることが命じられた。これは家族の人数と構成によって支給額を決めるもので、「面扶持」とも称した。さらに翌1869年11月には、藩主大久保忠良が知藩事を拜命したことで「定禄」、つまり旧来の知行高などの俸禄米の規定額に応じた定額制となった。また、翌1970年にも定禄が改正されたが、明治に入ってから支給額はほぼ一定であり、また江戸期にもっとも低いとされた明和期（1764～72）よりもさらに低い額であった。

吉岡家に対する俸禄米金支給の変化を長期的に検討し、これを藩政の動向と照合して見た結果は以上の通りである。年貢の収納に関するこれまでの研究とあわせて全体的にみれば、宝永の富士山噴火後ほどなくして俸禄米の支給が半減となり、その後、明和期（1764～72）にかけて続落し、寛政期（1789～1801）を境に次第に回復に向かうが、これは年貢の収納状況とほぼ一致した傾向であったといえよう。また、藩主大久保忠真による1827（文政10）年の「十ヶ年御勝手向き改革」は、こうした状況を勘案しながら進めたもので、俸禄米に関しては、根取米仕法という画期的な方策を導入することで、その後の俸禄制の基準となった。そうした状況が大きく変化したのが、大地震とペリ一航という事態に見舞われた1853（嘉永6）年のことであった。その後も天候不順による年貢収量の減少という事情を考慮しつつも、明らかに文久期（1861～64）期以降にみられる俸禄米の大幅な減少は、幕府軍役の過重および政情の激変という社会状況によるものであった。藩政の見取り図という観点でいえば、この段階において俸禄制度は、藩の外的要因によって崩壊していったといっても過言ではないであろう。

#### 注

- 1) 寒川旭『地震の日本史—大地は何を語るか—』（中公新書2007年）、安田政彦『災害復興の日本史』（吉川弘文館2013年）、磯田道史『天災から日本史を読みなおす—先人に学ぶ防災—』（中公新書2014年）、倉地克直『江戸の災害史—徳川日本の経験に学ぶ—』（中公新書2016年）、金菱清『震災学入門：—死生観からの社会構想—』（ちく

- ま新書 2016 年), 北原糸子『日本震災史—復旧から復興への歩み』(ちくま新書 2016 年)
- 個別の災害として, 本稿の対象となる 1707 年の富士山噴火については, 永原慶二『富士山宝永大爆発』(集英社新書 2002 年, 新装版: 吉川弘文館 2015 年), 小山真人『富士山噴火とハザードマップ—宝永噴火の 16 日—』(古今書院 2009 年) が参考になる。また, 事典・辞書としては, 宇佐美龍夫『新編 日本被害地震総覧』(東京大学出版会 1996 年), 北原糸子・松浦律子・玖村玲欧編『日本歴史災害事典』(吉川弘文館 2012 年) を参照されたい。
- 2) 拙稿「元禄大地震と富士山噴火 その 1—相模国小田原藩領の年貢データから—」『文明』(東海大学文明研究所 2015 年)
  - 3) 拙稿「元禄大地震と富士山噴火 その 2—相模国小田原藩領村々の年貢割付状分析から—」『文明』(東海大学文明研究所 2017 年)
  - 4) 下重清『小田原藩』(シリーズ藩物語 現代書館 2018 年) は, 地震や噴火などの被害からの復興が藩領の人々を鍛えたと述べている。
  - 5) 拙稿「小田原藩における俸禄米問題と行財政の改革」森山恒夫教授退官記念論文集『地域史研究と歴史教育』(熊本出版文化会 1998 年)。また, 『小田原市史』通史編 近世(1999 年) 第 9 章 小田原藩の藩政改革(筆者執筆) を参照されたい。
  - 6) 江戸時代前期, 稲葉氏が藩主であった頃の小田原藩財政については, 下重清氏が検討されている。下重清「譜代小田原藩の財政を考える—近世前期を事例に—」『日本史研究』第 664 号(2017 年)。また, 元禄期(1688~1704) の大久保氏小田原藩の財政窮乏について考察したものに, 深谷二郎「相州小田原藩財政の一考察」『横浜市立大学学生論集』第 11 号(1965 年) がある。
  - 7) 吉岡卓也氏所蔵。小田原市立図書館寄託。以下, とくに断らない限り本稿で使用した史料は「吉岡由緒書」による。なお, 「吉岡由緒書」の一部は『小田原市史』史料編 近世 I 藩政に史料 No. 234~265 として収録されている。
  - 8) 註 2) 拙稿「元禄大地震と富士山噴火 その 1」
  - 9) 註 3) 拙稿「元禄大地震と富士山噴火 その 2」
  - 10) 『小田原市史』史料編近世 III 藩領 2 史料 No. 6 など。
  - 11) 註 3) 拙稿「元禄大地震と富士山噴火 その 2」
  - 12) 註 2) 3) 拙稿「元禄大地震と富士山噴火」その 1, その 2。
  - 13) 例えば, 京都所司代就任時の 1817(文化 14) には, 光格天皇の譲位を取り仕切っており, その翌年には老中に就任するために江戸に戻っている。
  - 14) 1845(弘化 2) 年 12 月「御暮方御土台中勘」『明治小田原町誌 上』(小田原市立図書館郷土史料集成 1) 131 頁
  - 15) 註 5) 拙稿「小田原藩における俸禄米問題と行財政の改革」
  - 16) 註 2) 拙稿「元禄大地震と富士山噴火 その 1」
  - 17) 註 5) 拙稿「小田原藩における俸禄米問題と行財政の改革」
  - 18) 註 5) 拙稿「小田原藩における俸禄米問題と行財政の改革」
  - 19) 註 3) 拙稿「元禄大地震と富士山噴火 その 2」。なお, 藩主大久保忠真の藩政改革と報徳仕法の導入については, 松尾公就『二宮尊徳の仕法と藩政改革』(勉誠出版, 2015 年) を参照されたい。
  - 20) 金方渡が, 正米渡を代替するものであったことは間違いないが, その換算方法については, 詳しい記載がないので, 詳細は不明である。ここでは金 1 両に対して 2 俵 5 分 1 厘となっており, 1856(安政 3) 年の段階では, 2 俵 5 分 3 厘となっている。大きな差はないが, 若干, 支給率が下がったことが確認できる。今後の課題としたい。
  - 21) 大阪大学経済学研究科経済史・経営史資料室所蔵鴻池文書「小田原掛合控 二」には, 鴻池家から小田原に毎年 3000 両ほどの送金があることから, 上方近辺の領地からの年貢米売払代金等が金方渡にあてられた可能性は高い。
  - 22) 神奈川県平塚市博物館所蔵 井沢澄子家文書
  - 23) 小田原市立図書館所蔵 有浦家文書
  - 24) 1853 年から数えると, 1856 年は 4 か年目になるが, 俸禄の支給は翌年からになるので, 1856 年が検討年度になる。
  - 25) 『小田原市史』通史編 近世 916 頁~917 頁
  - 26) 拙稿「小田原藩における『取締役』制の展開と組合村」白川部達夫編『近世関東の地域社会』(岩田書院, 2004 年)
  - 27) (文久元年)「覚」(小田原市立図書館所蔵牧野家文書)
  - 28) 大阪大学経済学研究科経済史・経営史資料室所蔵鴻池文書「小田原掛合控」二・三
  - 29) 註 3) 拙稿「元禄大地震と富士山噴火 その 2」

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### 東海大学文明研究所

神奈川県平塚市北金目4-1-1 〒259-1292  
連絡先：湘南校舎F館2F 文明研究所  
電話：0463-58-1211 (EXT 4900, 4902)  
FAX：0463-50-2050  
E-mail：bunmei@tsc.u-tokai.ac.jp

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委員 田中彰吾  
馬場弘臣  
山花京子  
五十嶋みゆき

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神奈川県平塚市北金目4-1-1 〒259-1292  
Telephone: 0463-58-1211 (EXT 4900, 4902)  
Facsimile: 0463-50-2050  
**E-mail: bunmei@tsc.u-tokai.ac.jp**

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