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Editorial Note

Dear Readers,

猛暑日が続いておりますが、お元気にお過ごしでしょうか。

The issue of *Silva* you have before you is doubly special. Not only is it devoted to popular culture of the Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa eras, but also is the first culture/literature-themed fascicle since 2015. It contains two research papers. Robert Jarosz delves into the fascinating world of spoken narration in early 20th-century visual media, while Yūsaku Suzuki focuses on the trope of the mad scientist in the Pacific War-period science fiction novel, Ikujiro Ran's *Uchū Bakugeki*. You will also find our review of the monumental *Edogawa Rampo Daijiten* which coincides with the centenary of the author's landmark debut short story *Nisen Dōka*.

Apart from the thematic content of this fascicle, we are proud to introduce a unique material by Alfred F. Majewicz. In essence, the text *A new vision and new frontiers of Japanese linguistics. Ainu Language Western Sources in the Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* (12) Ainu Volume is a transcript of a conference presentation delivered by the author during the 2022 online symposium *Practicing Japan – 35 Years of Japanese Studies in Poznań and Kraków*. It incorporates exclusive bibliographic and visual data pertaining to the Western-language sources on the Ainu language. Although the content was initially intended to be incorporated in Majewicz's chapter on the Ainu language studies in the West in the eponymous 12th volume of *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* (HJLL) by Mouton De Gruyter, due to a range of editorial considerations, a significant amount of the paper's substance had to be discarded. For *Silva*, this turned out to be a fortuitous circumstance. Owing to the spatial and content flexibility which we can afford as a biannual e-journal, we now have the privilege to introduce Majewicz's result in the original, unabridged form, including a comprehensive bibliography whose compilation is an academic achievement in its own right, as well as a rich graphic material related to the said bibliography.

We hope you will enjoy the present volume as well as stay tuned for the upcoming Winter 2023 fascicle. Starting with that fascicle, we are planning to expand and invigorate our Reviews section, with the aid of our new review editor, **B.V.E. Hyde** (Durham University).

Finally, it is our pleasure to inform you, that as of July 2023 *Silva* has been included on the Polish Ministry of Education and Science (MEiN) periodical index (40 points).

You are continuously invited to submit your contributions to silva.iaponicarum.quarterly@gmail.com. We are accepting paper proposals for the **Summer 2024** issue until **November 30**, 2023, and expecting your complete papers until **January 15**, 2024.

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RESEARCH PAPERS

Robert Jarosz
Japanese talking pictures: magic lanterns, silent cinema 9
and *kamishibai* in the context of *etoki* storytelling tradition

鈴木優作
帝国主義下のマッドサイエンス——蘭郁二郎「宇宙爆撃」 36
試論——

REVIEWS

Andrzej Świrkowski
Review of Fujii Hidetada, Ochiai Takayuki, Sakamoto Hiroshi, 50
Watanabe Kenji (eds.) *Edogawa Rampo Daijiten*

FEATURED MATERIAL

Alfred F. Majewicz
A new vision and new frontiers of Japanese linguistics. *Ainu* 55
Language Western Sources in the Handbooks of Japanese
***Language and Linguistics* (12) Ainu Volume**

RESEARCH PAPERS

Robert Jarosz¹
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Japanese talking pictures: magic lanterns, silent cinema and *kamishibai* in the context of *etoki* storytelling tradition

ABSTRACT

The paper examines the relations between three different visual media with inherent oral narration which have coexisted in Japan at the beginning of the 20th century – magic lanterns, silent cinema and *kamishibai* (paper theater). The figures of the oral narrators present in these three media, most notably represented by the *benshi*, are intertwined with each other and derive from a much older, transmedial storytelling practice, which in Japan became known as *etoki*. The author explores different roles and modalities of these three media, highlighting their performative aspects and examining the relations of power between all of their agents, including their socio-political background. They are also treated as representatives of a performative visual spectacle. Although the paper focuses on the local context of Japan, the media under discussion come across as significant for the evolution of both the local and international media landscape, fitting the methodology of media archaeology.

KEYWORDS: *etoki*, magic lanterns, *kamishibai*, silent cinema, *benshi*

Introduction

The figure of the oral narrator accompanied by imagery is, on the most fundamental level, connected to two vast and independent histories of human storytelling practices – visual and audial. The primordial figure of the oral narrator served as a carrier of legends, myths, religions, and histories or biographies, helping countless groups or societies to develop a bond and form cultural identity; and visual representations often assisted

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such narrations, facilitating the creation of more distinct mental images of the conveyed story, the construction of visual archetypes and viral effigies. Images are also much more stable and tactile, with a higher chance of surviving through the extensive eras and epochs, contrasting with oral stories, which for the most part of history could only be relayed and received live and on the spot. The technology of sound registration was developed only in the 19th century, millennia after the first visual carriers emerged. Somewhat ironically, in the historical coalescences of those two different but complementary traditions, it is the pictures that usually served a supplementary role. For the majority of human history, narrators were the main aspect and attraction of the spectacle.

In Japan, the “magic quality of voice projection goes back at least to the intoning of Shinto ritual players (*norito*), and the reciters of history (*katari-be*) with roots in prehistory” (Ruch 1977: 305). Carefully nurtured throughout the ages, the oral tradition often coincided with visual aids – one of the oldest forms of this type of practice is *etoki*, which was propagated by Buddhist monks as early as the 8th century. This paper will focus on three different, yet heavily correlated media, which seem to be pivotal examples of a marriage between the visual and the audial modalities – Japanese practices with magic lanterns, silent movie projections with the concomitant figure of the oral narrators known as *benshi*, and paper theater known as *kamishibai*. Although they will be presented in the local context of Japan, they come across as significant for the evolution of both the local and international media landscape. They will be argued to be a part of a longer *etoki* tradition, as their histories are so strongly intertwined that they seem to be directly and intrinsically “related” stemming (or maybe crystallizing) from different parts and aspects of each other’s legacy.

Another important factor in each of the media under discussion is their performative value, partly derived from their connections to the numerous genres of Japanese theatre. The terms *performance* and *performative* will be crucial for their portrayal. Erika Fischer-Lichte defines them both effectively below:

A performance is ultimately created by everyone present and escapes the control of any one individual. In this sense it is contingent. The concept of contingency emphasizes the involvement of all participants and their influence on the course of the performance, including the interplay between these influences. (...) The interplay of their actions and behavior constitutes the performance, while the performance constitutes them as actors and spectators. It is only when they take part in the performance

that individuals turn into actors and spectators. This particular quality of performances is termed “performative” (Fischer-Lichte 2014: 20).

In other words, performative actions always convey some kind of agency, and influence the elements of the spectacle, the audience included. Philip Auslander’s term *liveness*, treated superficially as “bodily co-presence of actors and spectators” (Fischer-Lichte 2005: 23) for the needs of this paper, will also serve to distinguish live spectacles from more mediatized experiences. Through various modes or modalities, the media under discussion create a web of relations between the narrator (performer), the audience, and the socio-political background from which they have both emerged.

The paper will first delineate the definition and short history of *etoki* as a specific medium and as a practice present in Japan throughout the centuries, highlighting its diversity, crucial aspects, and modalities, which will serve as a guideline for understanding other media under discussion. The second section will focus on Japanese magic lantern shows, describing their development, noting the balance between their audial and visual elements, and highlighting the socio-political roles they served. The third section will be devoted to *kamishibai*, a form of paper theater, and its development from an independent street show into a powerful, nation-wide propagandist tool. The last section will focus on silent cinema, accompanied by the figure of narrator-performers known as *benshi*, whose vocal narration initially was the main attraction of the movie projections, only to be gradually superseded by legal standardization and the increasing independence of visual storytelling.

1. *Etoki*

Etoki (絵解き), in its broadest sense, is the practice of vocal narration conjoined with some kind of imagery. It is a performative art, with a strong division between the performer (narrator), who recounts the story contained in the visual medium, and the audience, who gather around to watch and listen. *Etoki* has a long and rich history in Japan, and has undergone a lot of changes throughout the centuries of its popularity, resulting in a plethora of heterogeneous forms, often contradicting one another. The atmosphere during the performances could be relaxed or strictly sacred. *Etoki* could take place in temples or in private noble houses to entertain audiences drawn from the upper classes of society. Or it could be performed in the streets for everybody to see and hear, or even near pilgrimage paths, with the content deeply involved with magico-religious themes. Interactions between the

audience and the narrator were common, often by having an emotive character influencing viewers' feelings and channeling their attention, which left room for manipulation and propaganda.

Because of this diversity, *etoki* can serve as an excellent general taxon² for establishing one branch of medial genealogy – other media, which share crucial elements with it, could be said to belong to the same type or group. That is the case for all of the three media practices under discussion: magic lanterns shows, silent cinema projections accompanied by the *benshi*, and *kamishibai* performances. Each of them could be said to follow the notion of *etoki*, be a part of it, or even be directly called *etoki*, especially in the Japanese context. Even though their histories outside of the country may be less related, judging by their medial ontology, they follow the same or very similar principles. Their Japanese relationships are heavily interconnected, yet not without some crucial differences.

1.1. *Etoki* – history and ancestry

Details about the history of *etoki* are still shrouded in mystery. It has probably been present in Japan since the 8th century, but the oldest mentions of it come from the 10th century³, while the oldest surviving examples date from the middle of the 12th century: the diary of Fujiwara no Yorinaga mentions an *etoki* of the *Pictorial Biography of Prince Shotoku* in 1143 (Kaminishi 2006: 24).

Etoki is certainly not a solely Japanese medium or practice – it came to Japan through Chinese Buddhist monks, and Buddhist themes representing doctrines or biographies of prominent figures were deeply ingrained in its initial topics. The oldest traces of *etoki* as a medium seem to lead to India, where picture-storytelling was practiced by *śaubhikas* in the 1st century BCE (Mair 2019: 1–9), and there are claims (yet doubtful) it could even date as far back as the 5th century BCE. Naturally, much like the figure of the narrator, *etoki* is affined to two huge, separate and primordial traditions – vocal and visual storytelling, both of which have been present in human history for tens of thousands of years. Their various connections are unavoidable, and, unfortunately, in some cases untraceable.

² This is a term derived from the biological way of classifying groups of organisms sharing some common traits. It fits the concept of media genealogy and serves as a good way to understand the relationship between media (and their kindred), but due to differences in cultural and biological evolution, it is unlikely to be applied directly without causing additional nomenclature issues.

³ The diary *Rihō Ō Ki* mentions spontaneous *etoki* given during prince's Shigeakira visit to Jōganji in 931 AD (see Kaminishi 2006: 20).

1.2. Three types of meaning

Before delving into the specifics of *etoki* practices, it is important to understand the term better. Ikumi Kaminishi describes it as follows:

The term *etoki* is made up of two words: *e* ('painting, images') and *toki* ('decipherment, elucidation'). The way the word *toki* modifies the word *e* is grammatically ambiguous so that the conjoined term can be rendered as an 'elucidation of the picture' as well as an 'elucidation by the picture' (Kaminishi 2002: 191).

Kaminishi also lists a third option, based on a property of medieval Japanese – a lack of distinction between the act and the actor. Because of that ambiguity, the term *etoki* can denote three different things at once: the oral performance of explaining; the narrators, who explain the pictures to the live audience; and the images utilized during the performance. The last refers to the idea that images, if they are based upon some kind of text, serve as an explanation of a given text so the text is elucidated *by* the pictures (see *ibid.*, 192). The first *etoki* in Japan were essentially visual sermons, enacted in order to disseminate Buddhist beliefs. Because of that, every element of the performance was inextricably related to the sutras or other Buddhist writings. The images were most often created independently of the narrators by a separate master or groups of masters, who faced the challenge of visually adapting holy texts or hagiographic biographies. The narrator, on the other hand, faced the challenge of *ekphrasis*, or orally describing a picture, which is also an act of adaptation. Because of these tripartite, intersemiotic translations, *etoki* creates a web of complicated relations between its agents – texts, paintings, and performers, all of which have idiosyncratic characteristics and can influence the recipients in distinct ways. The figure of the narrators, their relations with other agents, and the amount of power they have over the audience is of the utmost importance in this paper. *Etoki* narrators (or rather, at this early stage, preachers) had almost total power over the performances. First, they were Buddhist monks of various ranks, so they were well acquainted with Buddhist beliefs. Next, they had to study the holy texts, which were the basis of the images, so they knew exactly what stories were depicted visually, and of what elements they were comprised. And, last, they had to familiarize themselves with the images beforehand in order to effectively guide the audience through the visual landscapes, which were sometimes organized into very complicated structures. Each of those elements could be difficult or impossible to understand without proper guidance or explanation, and that is why *etoki*

were indispensable for the effective proselytizing of Buddhism in Japan and were one of the primary elements of its success.

Etoki began as a religious, liturgical tool, performed by the clergy, and occurring mainly in monasteries. Even at that point, there was a dichotomy among the performers – they could have been high-ranked, elegant monks (*etoki sō*), wearing formal robes, and performing for aristocracy and royalty, or they could have been *etoki hōshi* – lower-ranked monks or monastery brothers without the clerical status, presenting *etoki* for a common audience, often outside the monasteries (Kaminishi 2006: 27–28). From the 13th century onwards, the latter monks evolved into itinerant performers, and, as such, marked a strong rupture in the character of *etoki*.

Over time, these itinerant monks increasingly resembled street performers and showmen. Their performances began to resemble entertainment more than liturgical sermons; the form of the spectacle itself began to be prioritized over the content. The itinerant monks received payment for their performances, which radically altered the relationship between the audience and the performer – they needed to impress the audience or at least be captivating enough to receive payment. Therefore, the attention shifted even more towards the spectacle – it *had* to be more entertaining and enticing.

1.3. Imagery and the performer's power

Three types of images were most commonly used for staging *etoki*. The first type is wall paintings or murals, used mainly in monasteries during the sacral era of *etoki*. They often filled up the whole room, creating a “picture hall” containing religious images related to the Buddhist faith. The second type was *emakimono* – painted hand-scrolls, with a long international history dating back to ancient China and Java (Mair 2019). Most often, they had to be unrolled during the spectacle, but they were sometimes placed on the floor or hung vertically, already fully unrolled. Picture halls oftentimes used a series of vertical hanging scrolls instead of wall paintings. The third type, called *kakejiku* or, more broadly, *kakemono*, can describe any kind of erected imagery, be it unrolled scrolls, mandalas, or simple posters⁴. Each type effectively evoked a different relationship between the performer, image, text and audience.

Etoki preachers used fragmentation to guide their audiences' gaze through the images. The main technique for that, which was possible to achieve in all of the listed types of images, was simply pointing – either with the hand,

⁴ European counterparts of *etoki* from the 14th century, called *Bänkelsang* or *Cantastorie* would fit into this third category. They used printed graphics or posters, and performers usually sang stories depicted in them (see Mair 2019).

or with a long stick, often topped with a feather in order not to damage the picture. By pointing, preachers could further emphasize their narration, governing at which fragment of the picture the audience looked at a specific moment. It is worth noting that *etoki* oral narration followed the chronological order of the story – it was meant to be linear and easily comprehensible. On the other hand, the narrative order of the images could have been problematic to unveil. Wall paintings are especially known for their complicated, non-linear structures and confusing visual traits such as counter-intuitive perspectives (or rather: projections), as well as “juxtaposed and superimposed temporal distances (present and past stories) with geographical distances (domestic and foreign lands)” (Kaminishi 2006: 36). Hence, even when the audience had immediate and continuous access to the picture in its entirety, it was overwhelming and almost impossible for them to fathom without fragmentation, oral narration, or textual instructions. Consequently, the content of the story went through layers of intermedial translations: from the biographies, legends, or myths, to linear Buddhist texts; to non-linear, atemporal paintings; only to be driven back into linearity by means of *etoki ekphrasis*, which helped to unravel their enigma (ibid., 41).

Fragmentation was strongest in the case of *emakimono*, and it is one of the few examples of performers having direct, manual power over the image. By alternately rolling and unrolling the hand-scroll, the narrators were able to create a “frame” of a chosen size for the audience to see. By doing so, they could dictate what, when, for how long, and how much the audience could see, and could further constrain their gaze via pointing. Using *kakemono* could be perceived as the most balanced way of presenting the story – the images were more freely accessible and not overly complicated to comprehend. But they were still comprised of many elements, which *etoki* could elucidate to the audience, leaving them with a full or at least better understanding of the content.

Emakimono epitomizes one more crucial aspect of *etoki* – the presence (or lack) of text during the spectacle. Only a few types of *emakimono* were composed purely of images (those were called *rusōgata-shiki* or *renzoku-shiki*): most of them incorporated some kind of intrinsic text. Some hand-scrolls contained alternations between texts and paintings, and in some, the text was placed inside the paintings; e.g., if the painting depicted human figures, the text could appear above them in the manner of modern-day speech balloons. Intrinsic text left the *etoki* performer with three options: read it aloud on the spot, without changing a word; memorize it before the spectacle and orate it; or improvise, changing the text to satisfy the

audience's needs. Additionally, speech balloons gave the performers a chance to imitate the character speaking, anticipating later *etoki* practices such as the *benshi*'s "dubbing" – *kowairo*. The presence of text has the possibility of confining performers if they were to follow it word by word, but it also leaves space for their imagination and showmanship to come to the fore if the text lines are delivered impressively. Both of these traits became even more important in the history of *kamishibai* and *benshi*.

1.4. Power of reinterpretation

One specific type of *etoki* serves as a good example of the already described properties, as well as serves a representation of the performer's power over the content of the told (and shown) stories – their ability to reinterpret and add meaning to the original substance in response to the audience's needs. *Kumano bikuni* can be regarded as the female counterpart of *etoki hōshi*, and are the last significant category of *etoki* performers. They were Buddhist nuns, present in the region of the Kumano mountains, most prominently in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Their role in Japanese society was complicated – as *kanjin hijiri*, or fundraising religious practitioners, they served by both disseminating Buddhist beliefs and collecting contributions to shrines and temples. This role was also important for the faithful – making donations was believed to result in vicarious merits, improving chances for a better rebirth. Consequently, *kumano bikuni* served a mediatory role between religion and the masses. This transitive state also found its reflection in their status as *etoki* performers.

During the height of their popularity, *kumano bikuni* underwent a strong secularization; as a result, they began to use Buddhist icons and myths instrumentally. They often used mandalas, especially the *Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara* ('Kumano Heart Contemplation Ten Worlds Mandala'), which contained visual depictions of the human life cycle and spiritual pilgrimage, in accordance with Buddhist doctrine, but *kumano bikuni* focused mainly on two aspects of the mandalas – images of hell and messages of hope aimed at women. For the audience, those were the most attractive and resonant themes and images, and the nuns used it for their profit, enticing the audience and playing on their emotions.

Barbara Ruch denotes that *etoki* falls into the category of Japan's literary arts, "whose basic strength lies not in conforming to theoretical aesthetic

codes but upon capturing an audience and delivering an emotional impact”⁵. She elaborates further that this type of literature

is represented by arts that have no history of aesthetic codes, no body of criticism upon which practitioners based their activities. Their primary aim was to draw the listener deeply into an orally delivered narrative and to cause, above all, an emotional response (nostalgia, tears, laughter, pride, joy, astonishment, gratitude, religious conversion) in an audience. Such literary arts were transmitted from practitioner to practitioner mainly through repertory texts and were taught by oral mimesis alone. Perfection was sought in the verbal, aural, and in some cases visual techniques which elicit emotion, not in recondite wording employed to demonstrate erudition nor in the mastery of poetics that ensure the creation of an aesthetic atmosphere (Ruch 1977: 284).

Kumano bikuni developed various strategies for delivering *etoki*, all of which had the common goal of influencing the audience emotively. One of those strategies was choosing and adjusting their stories depending on who was listening, as well as deliberately postponing the most important or interesting parts until a desired sum of money was collected from the audience (Saka 2013: 100). Their hell stories were full of torture and misery that awaited sinners if they did not follow the religious duties required (e.g., manipulating the audience into fear of hell because of infidelity). They also recounted historical tales, most notably *Soga Monogatari* and *Heike Monogatari*. In the latter, the stories weaved by the nuns started to incorporate previously absent love themes. The nuns also changed characters of the Gempei war, especially those hostile to women, into men capable of love (Ruch 1977: 301), serving a much disputed feminist role (see Tokita 2008).

Finally, *kumano bikuni* often presented their narration in the form of confessions or memories, plotting themselves into the fabric of the story. It is possible that they narrated the stories from a first-person perspective. Consequently, by using themselves as a storytelling means – for example presenting themselves as women who were guilty of romantic love, full of contriteness for their sins (Saka 2013: 103) – the nuns *acted* and played a specific role, in order to impress or manipulate the audience. Adding the recitation of poems, songs, and an aim for a specific look, their practices

⁵ Ruch puts in the same category also *heikyoku*, *sekkyō bushi*, *kowaka bukkyoku*, *kojōruri*, *kayō*, and later *bunraku* and *kabuki* (Ruch 1977: 284).

became much more embedded into theatrical customs and had a much higher performative value than earlier instances of *etoki*.

For millennia, the hallmark of oral narrator figures was to assume “the seat of religious authority through the ‘magic’ act of decipherment” (Kaminishi 2006: 11)⁶. But *etoki* history proves that this magico-religious authority can shift and still prevail in a more secular and performative environment. *Etoki* narrators, even while using altered, non-religious means, still possessed power over the deciphered pictures and the gathered audiences, imposing on them a new, reinterpreted version of the textual or visual content. The stories of three different manifestations of *etoki* will show how diverse modalities and forms it can adopt while still possessing conterminous traits.

2. Metamorphoses of the magic lanterns

The history of magic lanterns in Japan begins roughly where the *etoki* halted its trail – in the streets, somewhere between the sacred and the secular. Conditions for magic lanterns’ arrival developed in Japan through a combination of two other practices – the already mentioned *kanjin* displays, whose goal was to collect alms from Buddhist practitioners, and *kaichō*, or public exhibitions of relics (Głownia 2019: 34). These two practices gradually underwent secularization, mixing carnivalesque entertainment, food vendors, and freak shows with the sphere of Buddhist sacrum, ultimately leading to *misemono*. In short, *misemono* was the practice of “private exhibitions of unusual items, individuals, or skills, conducted (...) for the purpose of financial gain” (Markus 1985: 501). This type of public, eclectic display of everything new or attractive, served as a fecund basis for introducing and assimilating magic lanterns into an otherwise secluded country.

Magic lanterns are projecting devices that originated in the Netherlands around the year 1659 by the hands of Christiaan Huygens (Mannoni 2000). In the 19th century, they developed into a blooming industry, producing lanterns in the thousands along with various optical equipment needed for a plethora of projection types. Magic lanterns (also called *laterna magica* or *sciopticon*) used glass slides as their primary image carriers. The images were initially made by hand using water paint, but were later mass-produced in millions using lithography or even photography. Slides contained visual representations of any topic imaginable, from simple comic characters to historical figures, abstract patterns, or complicated visual effects or sceneries. The main function of the lantern is to project and enlarge the

⁶ The figure of *dalang* in Javanese *wayang beber* serves as a good example of this in a different culture (see Mair 2019).

content of the slides onto a wall or screen, so that everyone gathered in the room can see them – the very essence of the word “projector”. They were nothing less than a visual hegemon, dominating Europe and America, fertilizing the ground (and technical equipment) for the gradual arrival of cinema at the end of the 19th century.

Magic lanterns came to Japan around the year 1770 – more than a hundred years after their development. They were firstly presented at crude *misemono* exhibitions, serving as an entertaining technical curiosity from abroad, as the Netherlands was the only country permitted to export scientific equipment to Japan under the *sakoku* policy. The lanterns were quickly adopted, and by 1779 they had been modified to better suit Japanese realities. Made from light wood rather than heavy and more thermally conductive brass, they became known as *kage-e megane*.

The development of magic lanterns in Japan can be divided into three main periods. In the first period, which lasted up until the first half of the 19th century, lanterns were used mainly for entertainment purposes. They were then called *kage-e dōrō* and *saishiki kage-e*, denoting equation to the tradition of shadow plays, or called *yōtō*, emphasizing the magical character of the projected pictures (Kusahara 2021: 182). In this period, lanterns were capable of creating interesting, magical illusions and transformations and of showing famous landscapes and tales (ibid., 184). Two next periods, *utsushi-e* and *gentō*, will be described in more detail.

2.1. *Utsushi-e*

The beginning of the second period is generally dated to the dawn of the 19th century, and associated with Kumakichi Kameya – a kimono designer and *rakugo* storyteller. Because of his artistic background, storytelling skills and knowledge about Western science, he was well oriented to cultural needs at the time, and had every ingredient needed to create a new format of audio-visual entertainment, which he had called *utsushi-e* (see Kusahara 2021). This format contains crucial differences from the European tradition, making it a distinctly Japanese version of the magic lantern shows.

Firstly, *utsushi-e* was heavily influenced by the theatre. The stories presented were often taken directly from *kabuki* or *bunraku* plays, serving as a cheaper and more accessible counterpart to the otherwise exclusive theater. Furthermore, the exhibited stories were much longer than those in the first period, containing popular legends and stories about warriors, samurais, or ghosts (Głównia 2019: 36).

Secondly, the visual techniques were greatly improved. The shows took place in darkened rooms, and the lanterns were placed behind the screen

in order to hide their mechanisms from audience sight. As a result, the audience saw only floating, ephemeral shapes or characters made from light, without any trace of their origins. Those pictures were far from static – because they were made from wood, Japanese magic lanterns were very light and could be easily picked up and operated manually. Thus, images exhibited in *utsushi-e* spectacles were characterized by their mobility and liveliness. The operator-performers often had the lanterns attached to their bodies, so that when they moved, the picture projected from the lantern moved as well, conjoining the visual with the corporeal. The overall effect is that every component visible on the screen was made live on the spot by the performers' actions, resulting in a kind of real-time animation. Utilizing two to eight lanterns at once, the visual arsenal of *utsushi-e* was very broad – Kobayashi Genjirō lists 11 different ways to manipulate the visible picture, including zooming, fading, and changing light intensity (Kusahara 2021: 192). Utilizing overlapping images, *utsushi-e* could create a scenography and a “multiplane” made from light, adding depth to projected scenes – some images could serve as a background or landscape, and some as foreground characters.

Lastly, *utsushi-e* exploited vocal narration, music, and sound effects, again in a manner similar to *kabuki* and *bunraku*. The narrator was most often a standalone figure, seated at the side or beneath the screen, visible to the audience. Sometimes there were multiple narrators interchanging the oration, as spectacles could last up to a couple of hours. The narrator(s) not only explained what the currently displayed pictures depicted, but acted alongside them, mimicking the characters or various sound effects. Sometimes they would also play a percussive instrument to create rhythm or further highlight the visual action – in a way, playing the same role as the pointing practices described earlier.

The crucial aspect of *utsushi-e* is that the aural components of the spectacle did not dominate it. In most instances of *etoki*, it is the oral narration that creates the main axis of narrative reference – the visuals serve merely a supportive role. *Utsushi-e* developed a balanced experience between the new, complex and attractive visual strategies and the older, well-established oral traditions. The narrators also had a broad arsenal of techniques at hand, including, for example, *jōruri*, a melodic narration accompanied by a *shamisen*, or *rakugo* storytelling, which employed changing pitch and tones or producing various onomatopoeia to enliven the spoken story, further immersing the audience. Certainly, there were situations during *utsushi-e* spectacles where it was only the vocal narration that pushed the story forward, with nothing visible on the screen. Because of the slides'

limitations, both in number and in content, it was the narrator who had to either fill in the story or fuse together otherwise unrelated sets of slides into a coherent narration⁷.

Their plasticity notwithstanding, the visual track of the spectacle had to be obeyed by the narrators. The presented narration was the effect of teamwork and preparation during the production, most probably involving multiple rehearsals. Slides were numbered and shown in a specific order, in a planned sequence (Kusahara 2021: 184), so it is highly probable that the narrators used scripts, and, as in the manner of *etoki*, the presence of text effectively confined the narrator's actions.

In one of the many handbooks written about European professional magic lantern projections (more lectures than spectacles), the authors underline the aspect of communication between the orator and the lantern operator; they propose that some kind of signals should be established or prepared beforehand, to avoid showing improper slides or confusing their order (Gage and Gage 1914: 19–20). It is hard to imagine the situation being different for *utsushi-e* – the strong need for synchronization between sound and picture, especially with more dynamic projections of dozens of elements, almost ruled out the possibility of improvisation on either end. The projectionists had to visualize what the narrator was saying, but the narrator also had to follow the formerly established story created with available visual resources. So, although the spectacle itself was conducted live, the preparations must have been strictly structuralized and organized beforehand in order to ensure a smooth performance. As a result, *utsushi-e* is an intriguing example of dynamic relationships between subjugated oral narration and ever more complicated, yet not fully independent imagery.

2.2. *Gentō*

The third period of magic lantern development in Japan began around the second half of the 19th century and reintroduced European, heavy, immobile types of lanterns. They were more technically advanced and referred to as *gentō*. This period exemplifies two important characteristics of the *etoki* tradition while being tailored to the realities of the Meiji era.

New types of magic lanterns were imported from the West and introduced to Japanese audiences by Sei'ichi Tejima, a technical educator, around 1874. He advocated for the educational use of the magic lantern throughout the country. By the end of the decade, the Ministry of Education took up his plan, introducing *gentō* as an official tool for education in schools,

⁷ Once again, the aspect of fragmentation and seamless conjoining noted in *etoki* is present here.

in universities, and for the general public, sometimes even free of charge (Głownia 2019: 38). This is a radical shift from the entertainment-oriented spectacles, and a comeback to the original *etoki* application. Even the Buddhist entourage implemented *gentō*, as a tool for proselytism.

However, there was an important difference: with the approval of the country's officials, *gentō* underwent national institutionalization involving production and distribution of lanterns and slides. Shows and performances turned into lectures, and various images projected from the stationary, visible lantern served a supplementary role to the "narration" of teachers or public orators. The audience, now in the form of children, students, or citizens, was expected to stay passive and focused during the presentation, as opposed to the earlier, rather lively and engaging mode of reception. For *gentō* lectures, it is the content that served a dominant role, although it can still be considered as *etoki* and as a performative situation. That being said, more spectacular shows (now called *gentō-kai*), conducted in a Western manner, still subsisted. This was the same with *utsushi-e*, and these three different types of projections coexisted for at least four decades⁸.

Institutionalization combined with education often can be a fertile ground for national propaganda, and this is the last important notion of *etoki* usage. *Gentō* lectures developed during the period of the Meiji restoration, and hence were widely used as a way of presenting Japan's history as well as the ethical and moral values that fitted the "enlightenment" era and its various consequences.

During the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), the propagandist possibilities of *gentō* were most heavily exploited. In those cases, the government used visibility as a tool for disseminating patriotic values and filling the public space with images of the ongoing war in order to develop a collective national mentality (Głownia 2019: 39). *Gentō* projections were the perfect tool for national nurture, and this time the audience was encouraged to take part in the spectacle. Various sources mention exuberant, communal reactions like collective singing, screaming, clapping, crying of joy or stamping in anger (ibid., 40). The narrator's role in these kind of *gentō* "shows" (or rather: "gatherings"), is similar to the *kumano bikuni* practices – they were influencing and channeling the emotions of the audience, inciting their attention, and promoting desirable beliefs: this time only patriotic and national rather than

⁸ Overhead projectors, used widely for lectures to this day, can also be argued to be a small technical advancement from vertical magic lanterns. In Japan, overhead projectors have also been integrated into *kamikiri* spectacles.

Buddhist. Some spectacles also functioned as a fundraising tool, transferring collected donations to charities or using them to support military operations.

3. *Kamishibai*

Following the chronological order of the discussed media, *kamishibai* should be placed last. But its connections to magic lanterns are in many ways stronger than to silent cinema, so it is best to describe it beforehand.

Kamishibai literally translates to ‘paper theater’ and this term perfectly describes it. Having existed in the Meiji era under the name *tachi-e*, it used rectangular, paper cutout puppets⁹ contained in a small and portable wooden proscenium called a *butai*. Borrowing themes and characters from *bunraku* or *kabuki* theater, it served as a miniature and more accessible counterpart. Due to its small size and the character of materials it used, *tachi-e* was inexpensive to make, stage and view.

The short era of *tachi-e* was quickly occluded in 1929 by a new, similar version – *hira-e*, which substituted individual cutout figures with bigger, flat paper pictures, shown in a succession, serving as a slideshow. Both of those spectacles could and had been named *kamishibai*, but it was *hira-e* that became prevalent and popular.

Kamishibai represents the type of *etoki* in which the narrator-performer can manipulate the images, in this case by changing the boards with paper drawings. As a result, they also have power over the viewers’ gaze, constricting it to the individual “slides”, which themselves were surrounded by the wooden frame of the *butai*. Performers can also use pointing as another method of fragmentation, and have the possibility of changing the boards more quickly or slowly, creating smooth or dynamic changes adapted to the oral narration. To further emphasize vital moments of the story, instruments like drums, gongs, or *hyōshigi* were used. The performers were also dressed similar to the chanters in *kabuki* spectacles – theatrical customs and nuances were still very much present (McGowan 2010a: 5).

3.1. *Gaitō kamishibai*

Because of its small size and poor visibility, *kamishibai* was better suited to being performed on the streets rather than in parlors, fitting the *misemono* phenomenon. This street form has been baptized *gaitō kamishibai* (‘street

⁹ Thanks to the use of paper cutouts as puppets, *tachi-e* spectacles are deeply related to puppet and shadow theater, and are visually similar to *utsushi-e* because, just as in lantern shows, figures displayed on a black background seemed like they were floating. *Kamishibai* in general is also linked to the peep-show *nozoki karakuri*, which used a series of changing pictures but was viewed more individually through the openings and lenses, which enlarged pictures located inside a wooden construction.

paper theater'), thereby initiating the true history of the paper theater. The best audience turned out to be children, and this fact heavily influenced *kamishibai*. Due to its mobility and the public entourage, the payments for shows were not based on an entry fee but rather gathered by selling candies and snacks to the preadolescent audience before the spectacle.

An important feature of *kamishibai* is its position on the peripheries of society. The storytellers, known as *kamishibaiya*, often came from the lower classes, as exhibiting paper theaters was a comparatively easy way to make money. The only things needed for performances were a few paper or cardboard sheets for drawings, a small wooden theater with two doors (*butai*), and a way to transport them, which most often turned out to be a bicycle. *Kamishibaiya* performed their spectacles for a couple of hours daily, travelling through different neighborhoods, almost as itinerant forms of *etoki* or *utushi-e* did. This cheap production process turned out to be crucial during the Great Depression in the 1930s, which also afflicted Japan. With unemployment rates escalating, hundreds of new *kamishibaiya* emerged, making use of the unofficial status of the street theater to make a living.

Children in the audience and the storytellers were often from the same neighborhood – hence from the same socio-economic background – which greatly facilitated a local and communal atmosphere of the spectacles. Partly because of that, *kamishibai* established unique interactions between the audience and the performer, making use of its liveliness aspect – for example, performers commissioned quizzes and verbal or visual puzzles between the stories, and children who answered them correctly were rewarded with additional candies. The aspect of emotive impact and enticing audience attention, known from the *kumano bikuni* practices, is clearly prevalent in *kamishibai* – single performances usually consisted of stories from three different genres, e.g., exciting action adventures, sentimental melodramas, and comic stories (McGowan 2015: 14), to fulfill the whole range of the audience needs. The somatic aspect is also worth noting – children gathering around the small theater scene often had to amass together, forming a tight cluster (Orbaugh 2015: 41).

Instead of adapting well-known tales or theater plays like *tachi-e*, stories for *hira-e kamishibai* were often created anew. This gave birth to more opportunities for inciting the attention of the audience by presenting new, captivating characters that had a chance of becoming viral – especially popular were admirable child-heroes like Golden Bat, often acknowledged as one of the first illustrated superheroes. *Kamishibai* also used an episodic format for its stories, which, thriving on anticipation, guaranteed children

would come back the following day to hear the rest of the story. This was vital during the Great Depression – living on the verge of poverty, the performers’ chances of survival hinged on their ability to entertain their preadolescent audience.

The performers most often did not create their own drawings, but rather had them rented from various rental places or artists. What is important is that the “scripts” for those rented images (and hence – stories) were passed to the *kamishibaiya* orally and rather cursorily, so most often a considerable amount of improvisation was involved in the performances.

3.2. Education, propaganda and further standardization

The unofficial character of *gaitō kamishibai* spectacles lasted for less than two decades. By the second half of the 1930s, as in the case of *utsushi-e*, educational practices eclipsed the entertainment period. Yone Imai, inspired by *gaitō* techniques, started using *kamishibai* for disseminating Christian topics in a way more fitted and attractive to children; and Ken’ya, Matsunaga seeing the growing educational (and commercial) potential of the spectacles, in 1938 formed the Educational Kamishibai Federation.

More institutionalized entities started to appear, producing and distributing *kamishibai* suited for more elaborate environments, like schools and households. Matsunaga began publishing his stories in educational journals, “with instructions on how to color and cut out the pictures and the text and then apply them to stiff cardboard. This innovation allowed educators even in rural areas of Japan to ‘recreate’ Matsunaga’s stories in their classrooms” (McGowan 2015: 16), laying the foundations for what will become *tezukuri kamishibai*, or hand-made versions of *kamishibai*. Because of that popularization, more than 30,000 *kamishibaiya* were in operation nationwide by 1931 (McGowan 2010a: 6).

The advent of published *kamishibai* attracted the government’s attention and resulted in further regulations concerning the content of the stories. The form also underwent a crucial change – from 1938, the authorities “demanded the stories be written on the backs of the cards so that they could monitor content” (ibid.). Requiring the narrators to read the text verbatim radically changes their ontology – from storytellers, they turn to merely a medium (or rather a tool) for conveying the desirable message. This further facilitated educational and propagandist content.

In the first half of the 1940s, during the second Sino-Japanese War and the dawn of World War II, censorship and propaganda intensified. During this period, 70% of *kamishibai* produced were destined for adults rather than children (McGowan 2010b). Teachers and local authorities were specifically

trained to deliver *kamishibai* “properly”, and “audiences were expected to listen in silent reverence. Any unsolicited interaction with the storyteller might have suggested political unrest” (McGowan 2015: 18). With the financial backing of the government, the total number of published *kamishibai* had reached over 800 thousand by 1942 (ibid.). The formerly cherished communal aspect of the performance-ritual was transformed into an idea of national togetherness (*kyōkan*), creating a countrywide spectacle, with the government in the role of the omnipresent *etoki*, dispersing and elucidating its dogma through the pictures.

4. *Benshi* and silent cinema

The history of silent cinema and its relation to the *benshi* narrator-performers combines many topics already discussed in the case of other media, but in a way highly interwoven and condensed only to around four decades. The key difference lies in the scale of organization needed for the proper existence of cinema; it requires a much higher level of industrialization and institutionalization, involving numerous entities like production houses, distribution and advertisement systems, guaranteed imports and exports, and more robust places for projections. Proper, dynamically changing technical conditions must also be assured for each of those aspects. Understood broadly in that manner, the cinematic apparatus involves thousands of people and an immense amount of organization in order to endure.

The Kinetoscope and the Cinematograph were imported to Japan around 1896 as the first devices for projecting films, and, once again, fitted the *misemono* practice as one of dozens of technical novelties at the time. Because the first films presented lasted from only a couple of seconds up to half a minute, their exhibitions were often elongated by supplementing with an orator who explained the mechanisms involved in projection. Those orators are considered to be the predecessors of the *benshi* figure.

The ongoing association of cinema with *misemono* determined its social role and modes of recipience. In accordance with the European notion of *cinema of attraction* (Gunning 1990), silent films projections were not focused on the narrative and filmic content, but rather on the performative aspect. The overall experience itself was crucial, brimming with a live and communal atmosphere. Unlike in European history, the first instances of cinema in Japan were rather expensive, aimed at the higher strata of society, especially those interested in the Occident. After some development, motion picture content lasted up to twenty minutes, but the shows ranged from two to three hours because of the complicated procedures needed for projection. In this first period, *benshi* greeted the

audience, introduced them to potentially unfamiliar concepts (such as the projection mechanisms) and shared background knowledge related to the content of the movies. During the many breaks in the spectacles (caused, for example, by changing movie reels) *benshi* served as entertainers, guaranteeing a continuous experience.

The precise role played by the *benshi* dynamically shifted in tandem with the development of cinematic apparatus and advancements in its storytelling capacity. Treated syncretically, *benshi* performers are akin to the narrators in previously described media – other than describing the mechanisms, they could elucidate the content of the pictures. This was especially important in Japan, because of the sudden introduction of movies with mostly foreign content; this act of explaining was labeled with the term *setsumei*. Their narration was not always neutral; *benshi* supplemented the screenings with their personal comments, being able to impose on the audience their own feelings and (re)interpretation of the projected films. Through voice modulation and mimicry (called *kowairo*), as well as melodeclamation or singing, they could enliven the ongoing action, intensifying the viewer's immersion. Furthermore, the music and sound effects affiliated with their performances, in the form of *hyōshigi*, flutes, *shamisen* or even full orchestras, should not be omitted¹⁰.

4.1. *Benshi's* power

Overall, *benshi* served a mediatory role between the audience and the content of the picture, channeling their understanding and inciting their reactions. It is easy to imagine that *benshi* could consolidate short movies created and shown independently, similar to the *utsushi-e* practice of creating a coherent story from different slide sets. This power also encompassed the content – moving pictures did not have to have a fully coherent structure because of the *benshi's* superimposed explication.

It is true that *benshi* dominated the way of experiencing the new medium and became the very first stars of the industry, forestalling and outmatching the importance of actors and the other personas involved in film production. They were an indispensable part of projections and advertising practice – participating in a movie with a different *benshi* could result in an entirely

¹⁰ It is worth noting that *benshi* was a profession that required certain physical predispositions and a lot of preparation before the show. They performed four to five times per day, each day of the week (Dym, n.d.), operating without the microphone and moving between the theaters or cities. In the history of European magic lanterns, there was a similar position of professional lecturers, who were hired to give speeches and presentations about a variety of topics, preparing or memorizing dozens of scripts and travelling hundreds of kilometers per day (see Borton 2015). *Benshi* may be seen as a very close relative of this kind of itinerant compe-re-performer profession.

different experience. But the audience also possessed some power – much like in the case of *kamishibaiya*, the *benshi*'s performance and delivery (called *bensetsu*) were constantly judged by the participants. Numerous *benshi* competed for fame and popularity, but their success depended on the whims of the audience, and only a fraction of the performers managed to become truly recognizable.

The *benshi* figure was in many ways authoritative and sovereign, and (partly because of the weak social status of motion pictures) *benshi* were not regulated in any way for around twenty years, leaving them free to orate anything they wished. But, much like *kamishibaiya*, they could not avoid regulations forever. As early as 1911, a study regarding the educational use of cinema was conducted. Citing various problems with its social role, it included the dangers of the *benshi* being “unfit in language and attitude”, advising against showing movies to children, and exhorting that films and the *benshi* should be carefully selected (Gerow 2010: 69). Another essay from 1910 criticized the *benshi* for “drinking” and “lechery” (Fujiki 2006: 78).

In 1917, the Tokyo Police Department introduced a licensing system, holding certifying examinations for the *benshi*, testing their cultural knowledge and the social roles of cinema (ibid.). The regulations increased to the point of police officers attending the theaters to monitor whether or not the *benshi* were “changing the plot of the movie into something immoral” (Omori 2021: 201). It is important to highlight that, initially, *benshi* were not inherently connected to the film industry but were rather affiliates, hired specifically for the exhibitions. But after the licensing system and regulations, they started serving the contradictory roles of educators and narrators, simultaneously gaining importance and losing freedom. They became an official part of the industry but also started getting more and more subordinate to elements outside of their power and control.

4.2. The textualization of the *benshi*

The problematic relationship of power between the text and the performers, always important and regulative in the *etoki* tradition, is probably most vivid and dynamic in the case of the *benshi*. The introduction of intertitles – text boards inserted into the films' structure, transcribing the dialogue or explaining action – perforce intervened with *benshi*'s power over the image. With the textual narrative embedded in the moving pictures, *benshi* could no longer impose their own interpretation but began to be subdued by the movies. Conversely, the introduction of written dialogues, visible to everyone, helped to develop the *kowairo*, or mimicry practice, delivering

the lines of different characters with modulated voices. In the first years of the practice, *kowairo* was performed by a group of four to six narrators, and “sometimes even the [movie] actors themselves sat behind the screen and delivered their lines alongside the *benshi*” (Dym, n.d.), which resembles modern-day dubbing, but conducted live.

One more force impacted the *benshi* through the use of text – the Pure Film Movement (*jun'eigageki undō*), spanning from 1915 to 1925. Inspired by global cinema aesthetics and standards, its members, such as Norimasa Kaeriyama, wanted to renovate the “anachronistic elements of Japanese cinema” (ibid.), which included theatrical borrowings such as female impersonators and the *benshi*. Their efforts to improve the cinematic “language” focused not only on the visual aspects, but also on the organization and status of the film industry, with a strong emphasis on the textual layers of cinema. They favored the frequent use of intertitles and demanded screenplay renovations and regulations in order to supersede previous habits, theatrical and simple, written in a style fitting *benshi* performance manners. Kaeriyama also introduced a new term for denoting movies – *eiga* (‘projected picture’), instead of *katsudō shashin* (‘moving picture’) used thus far, liberating cinema from the connotation with *misemono* practices. As Chika Kinoshita phrased it, the sphere of exhibition was to be deprived of control over the significance of film, endowing it with full textual autonomy (Kinoshita 2011: 24).

When it comes to the *benshi*, one of the direct effects of the Pure Film Movement was the abolishment of introductory remarks (*maesetsu*), stripping the *benshi* of the authority of being the “host” of projection. The result was an eclectic *setsumei*, encompassing narration, commentary, and mimetic dialogue all at once, while the film was being projected (Dym, n.d.). Somewhat ironically, this initiated the so-called Golden Era of *benshi* performances, the peak of their popularity and strength, partly resulting from the government’s legitimization. But the effects on the overall industry were more drastic. As Aaron Gerow (2010: 18) lists: the modes of cinematic narration were altered, the star system was solidified, the institution of the author-director formed, the screenplay was established and codified, and in 1925, national censorship was constituted, radically changing the cinema’s status and organization. Because of the regulations, film distributors were required to submit the film’s print and two copies of the *benshi* script (Kinoshita 2011: 15), further ensnaring *benshi* within the borders of text¹¹. Even though *benshi* were still expected to go beyond those

¹¹ One more practice can be of value here, namely the film transcriptions and synopses published in various movie magazines (see Bernardi 2001: 172–178) which further textualized cinema and

scripts during the performance, the sheer fact of having a textual basis (and censorship) normalized the experience to some extent, stripping from it dissimilarity and performative value.

4.3. The mediatization of the *benshi*

The popularity of the *benshi* gradually faded away after the introduction of sound cinema in the 1930s and 1940s. Yet, there is one aspect of their slow demise that seems crucial for the *etoki* tradition, and it is the matter of mediatization. In the 1930s, silent films with *benshi* narration and sound films coexisted, but also two transitory formats emerged, involving something called a ‘sound band’ – an audio track, which was post-synchronously added to an otherwise silent movie. One format of those sound bands used music and sound effects, still leaving intertitles to convey dialogues and narration, but the other format replaced intertitles with a recording of the *benshi*’s narration (Freiberg 1987).

The existence of *benshi* narration as an audio recording marks the beginnings of mediatized *etoki* – an audio-visual display involving a narrator or performer inseparably merged with the image. The vocal narration turns internal, synchronous and almost subordinate to the visual. By discarding the *benshi* and gradually switching to sound cinema, the moviegoing experience became more of a *séance* rather than a spectacle. Utilizing the visual “language” to convey a story independent of the exogenous narration¹², it confined the aspects of *liveness* and communality. *Séance* guarantees a technologically mediatized yet complete sensory engagement, immersing viewers in a vastly different, often more individual and tacit mode of reception.

Conclusion

Japanese magic lanterns, silent cinema and *kamishibai* coexisted and crossed paths in Japan during the 1920s and 1930s. Conjunctions between them were

benshi narration. It did not have a strong direct impact on the *benshi*, but allowed every reader to know the content of movies outside of theaters and without the *benshi*’s influence.

¹² One point in the history of the European visual media landscape can be thought of as a starting point for the independence of the image as a narrative force in audiovisual spectacles (Jarosz 2021). The 18th century introduced the development of theater hydraulics, as well as a medium called *eidophusikon*, and technologies involved in at least four different kinds of panorama paintings (on this topic see also Huhtamo 2013). This was a unique moment when the scenography in theaters began to be an attraction on its own, equal with the spectacle or actors. The visual media, probably for the first time, did not need narrators to convey their sophisticated stories. In the Japanese context, perhaps the advancements in *kabuki* scenography could also be treated as such. Special effects, hydraulics, and perspective backdrops all strengthened the illusion and immersion guaranteed by the visual side of the spectacle. Cinema certainly follows (or concludes) this process, with the ongoing development of a visual storytelling “language”.

inevitable, influencing presented themes or topics, their forms or modes of recipience. They have also infused the national visual and aural imagination in similar, yet different ways. Each of them carries various traces of the *misemono* practice and the opulent theater tradition, serving as new carriers for centuries-old epics, legends and folktales. Each of them can also be understood and categorized as either a medial relative of the *etoki* tradition or a direct representative of it, while still possessing its autonomous characteristics.

In the case of *etoki*, the fundamental, dynamic coalescence of oral and pictorial layers, both with independent and rich histories, results in a plethora of possible modes of spectacle, serving explanatory, educational, or entertaining roles. Treating media as members of the same medial group can highlight various convergence points, which are sometimes difficult to trace individually. Through their mutual analysis, general schemes of functionality and development can be deduced, even with media stemming from different socio-technological backgrounds, either local or global. In the Japanese context a good example of a contemporary relative of *etoki* could be anime voice-actors, *seiyū*, whose practices resemble *benshi*'s *kowairo* or *kagezerifu*, but achieved in a fully mediatized manner, embedded into the visual layer of animation. Treating *etoki* as a wider medial practice or strategy for supporting visual media with vocal commentary, an inapparent connection could also be projected onto audio-visual media currently present globally, such as television anchors, sport commentators, or let's players, especially in a form of live broadcasts or livestreams.

The perplexing aspect of intersemiotic translation was highlighted here – oral narratives in *etoki* always redefine pictorial narratives to some extent, and the pictures can possess a dual character: of an independent narrative source, and of a pictorialization, a redefinition of written texts or separate oral narratives, which have preceded the act of *etoki*. Those translations are fueled further by interactions between the audience and the performer, resulting in virtual “texts” – live spectacles. Additional themes mentioned in this paper, like the consequences of affiliating narrators with the written texts serving as scripts, and detailed power relations between the performer and the audience are undoubtedly important, and can be fruitful for further studies.

The narrator can be placed at the very center of the discourse about *etoki* practice with regard to their social status, specific roles, and capabilities. Their repertoire consisted of oral techniques and variables like rhythm, volume, intonation, tempo, clarity, accuracy, fluency (Fujiki 2006: 71),

wordplay, melodeclamation, or chanting; but also, of performative aspects like clothing, choreography, or, most notably, various interplays and interactions with the audience, which could influence and incite them directly or implicitly. If the stories relayed by narrators were of national provenance, they turned into important disseminators of culture, an effective medium for the audience to cultivate their cultural identity.

The narrators served contradictory roles. Their impact could be miniscule and benign, or it could serve an immense religious, national, or broadly propagandist agenda. They were subjective interpreters as well as objective explainers; authoritative figures and educators, as well as prestidigitators; powerful, sovereign storytellers, mere gods' servants, or tools in the hands of the government. Their social status was, surprisingly, for the most part, low, contrasting with their function and on-stage (or while-performance) status. As a result, they gave their services to all of the social strata. Falling somewhere between beggars and gurus, between the textual, the visual and the auidial, between the communal and private, *etoki* storytellers filled many contingent niches, creating a heterogenous amalgamate of medial and social practices.

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帝国主義下のマッドサイエンス——蘭郁二郎「宇宙爆撃」試論—— Mad-Science under Imperialism: Ran Ikujiro's "Space Bombing"

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the critiques of the imperial world image in Ikujiro Ran's unpublished work *Space Bombing*. In this work, the researcher Murao, who works at the Borneo branch of the Institute of Magnetics, studies a "microscopic world" in which microscopic humans live in an atomic structure. He falls into the delusion that there are a minimal world within the atomic structure and a larger world where Earth is considered as a single atom. This paper argues that Murao's perception was based on the scientific knowledge of the scientist Hantarō Nagaoka. The cosmology reflects the wartime image of the world, and we argue that the larger world implies the Western world, the human world implies Japan, and the minimal world implies the colonial world. Moreover, we suggest that Murao's mad science indicates that the imperial world's configuration is not an absolute domination vs.no-domination relationship, but merely a relative relationship, and that the clashes between civilizations are able to be interpreted as insane.

KEYWORDS: Sci-fi, mad-science, imperialism, Pacific War

はじめに

探偵小説界の領袖江戸川乱歩は、第二次近衛内閣の体制下に大政翼賛会結成を経た一九四〇年における文学状況を次のように記録している。

文学はひたすら忠君愛国、正義人道の宣伝機関たるべく、遊戯の分子は全く排除せらるるに至り、世の読み物すべて新体制一色、ほとんど面白味を失うに至る。探偵小説は犯罪を取扱う遊戯小説なるため、最も旧体制なれば、防諜のためのスパイ小説のほかは諸雑誌よりその影をひそめ、探偵作家はそれぞれ得意とするところに従い、別の小説分野、例えば科学小説、戦争小説、スパイ小説、冒険小説

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などに転ずるものが大部分であった（新保、山前 2003-2006/29 : 42）。

探偵小説は「犯罪を取扱う遊戯小説」として自肅を余儀なくされ、謎とその解明という元来の形式性を残した様々なサブジャンルへと転進していった。続けて乱歩は次のように述べる。

中にも海野十三君が最も出色であった。彼は「新青年」に日米未来戦という風の科学戦争小説を書いて大いに世評を博し、又、少年科学小説で甚だふるった。私の少年ものは影をひそめ、探偵作家の少年ものでは海野君が最も歓迎せられ、それについて蘭郁二郎君の少年ものがよく読まれた（同）。

中でも軍事科学を扱いとりわけ時代に適応したのが科学小説だったのだ。乱歩が言及したように、この一翼を担ったのが蘭郁二郎（一九一三～四四）である。蘭は東京高等工学校電気工学科を卒業し日本電気に勤務したという理系畑の経歴を持つ。「足の裏」（一九三五）や「夢鬼」（一九三六）など彼の初期作品は乱歩の影響が強く怪奇幻想性が濃厚であったが、地底の高度な文明国を巡る日本とR国との科学戦を描いた長篇「地底大陸」（一九三八）が成功を収めてから、蘭は流行科学小説作家として一躍名を挙げる。蘭の科学小説について権田萬治（権田 1975 : 256-257）は、「兵器の開発中心」で「時折とってつけたように軍事スパイが現われたり、滅私奉公の皇軍の思想が説かれたりする」ことから「苛酷な軍国主義的な社会状況の中で、かなりの偏向を強いられたともまた否定できないように思われる」と評し「文明批評の欠如」を指摘している。だが一方で、海野十三「空襲葬送曲」（一九三二）が増刷禁止となった事などから長山靖生（2018 : 174）は「探偵小説の禁止や総動員体制促進が、直ちに軍事冒険小説の隆盛につながったわけではない」と言う。蘭の科学小説も、必ずしも時局に迎合した作品ばかりではない。横井司（2013 : 356）は、蘭の生前未発表作「宇宙爆撃」および「同じアイデアを扱った別ヴァージョン」である「電子の中の男」（『学生と錬成』一九四二・一〇～四三・二）の存在が権田の「文明批評の欠如」という指摘に対する「反証となるのではないだろうか」と述べている。「宇宙爆撃」の結末には次のような、原子エネルギーの利用への警鐘が示されている。

原子破壊によって生ずる莫大なエネルギーなどというものが、一般人に誰でも利用出来るほど科学が進み、そして通俗化したならば、我々の文化は、飛躍的な大進歩を見るであろうと楽しく思っていた。しかしそれがもし一狂人の手に弄ばれるようになったならば、この地球は、いつ、幾億の人類とともに、モッ葉微塵に粉砕されるか知れないのだ（蘭郁二郎：282）²。

同作は「電子の中の男」と異なり未発表であるからこそ、このような明瞭なメッセージが記述されているのだろう。

本稿はこの「宇宙爆撃」を対象に、原子エネルギーのような科学文明への懐疑という意味での批評性のみならず、太平洋戦争という時代背景への批評性について考察する。まず作中で磁気学研究所ボルネオ支所に所属する科学者・村尾の妄想の科学的背景に触れ、次に原子構造における「極小世界」と「極大世界」といった世界観に着目し、さらに本作に帝国主義的世界観への批評が伏在することを論じたい。

1. 村尾のマッドサイエンスと長岡半太郎

「宇宙爆撃」の梗概は以下の通りである。東京の磁気学研究所にボルネオ支所ができ、所長と主任木曾礼二郎が残り、石井みち子と村尾健治が行くことになった。以降、物語は東京の木曾とボルネオのみち子・村尾との手紙のやり取りからなる。村尾が研究に熱中するあまり徐々に狂い出し、原子構造内には「極小世界」があり、一方で人間の太陽系を原子構造とする「極大世界」があると妄想を抱く。さらに村尾は水銀換金を目的とした「原子爆撃による元素の変換」を試みるが、同様に「極大世界」が人間の世界に対して陽子による「宇宙爆撃」をする可能性を恐れ、地球が破壊される前に「地球自爆」の方法を考えるようになる。村尾から「ケッコウシマス」との電報が来て木曾は驚くが、「ケッコウシマス」の誤りであった。近くに駐屯していたみち子の兄僚一の勧めで、村尾とみち子は結婚するのだ。

本章では、村尾のマッドサイエンスの二つの面とそれらの科学的背景を論じる。第一に、原子構造の観察に端を発するフラクタル的な宇宙の構造である。村尾によれば原子とは「一つの中心の核のまわ

²以下、「宇宙爆撃」本文の引用は、同書に拠る。

りを幾つかの高速度の電子がぐるぐる廻っているもの」で、この構造は「太陽という一つの核を持ち、水星、金星、地球、火星、木星、土星、それから天王星、海王星」という太陽系と似ている。また「大きさというものが一体どんなものか、甚だあやしい」「大きさは絶対ではありません、いつも相対的な仮りのものです」と村尾は物質の大きさを相対的に認識していた。それならば、実は人間の生きる太陽系が「より大きな世界」の中の原子であって、同様に人間が認識する原子の中にもより小さな世界があり「電子の三番目の奴には、地球という名前がつけられていて、人間という超微生物が充満している」可能性がある」と村尾は妄想する。

第二は、水銀換金の技術である。「サイクロトロン」の強力磁場を利用する爆撃によって、電子を核からもぎ離し、水銀から一つの電子を斥け、金に変換する。村尾は水銀換金のために「極小世界」に対して自らがこの「原子爆撃」をしていることから、「極大世界」が人間の住む地球という一つの電子に、同様の「爆撃」をしてくる不安を感じる。その証拠が磁気嵐や彗星といった現象であるという。それならば「巨人」に人間の存在を知らせるため、「巨人」の「宇宙爆撃」に対して「地球自爆」を遂行すべきとの考えに村尾は至る。以上が村尾のマッドサイエンスのあらましである。

この村尾の発想には、東京帝国大学教授などを歴任した磁気学研究でも知られる物理学者長岡半太郎の業績が背景にある。長岡は一九〇四年、中央にある正電荷を帯びた原子核の周りを、負電荷を帯びた電子が回る原子モデルを提唱し(Nagaoka 1904)、これは以降の原子モデルの原型となった。そして、長岡自身が原子構造について、「謂はゞ一つの世界であります世界と申しますと地球一つより尚複雑なもの……まア一つの太陽系に似たものであると考へて居ります」と言い(長岡 1924)、「この模型は惑星型原子模型と言はれ、丁度諸惑星が太陽を中心として廻転してある様に、陽電気を帯びた原子核を中心として陰電気を帯びた電子がその周囲を廻転してあるのである」(科学知識普及会編 1938:12)とあるように、長岡による原子モデルは太陽系に擬えて説明され、その概念は後に一般的科学知識として普及していた。この長岡による原子モデルと太陽系の比喩が、村尾の宇宙観の背景にあると考えられる。

さらに長岡はこの原子構造の発見を踏まえた上で、二四年九月に水銀換金実験を成功したと主張し、「顕微鏡下の水銀に燦爛たる純金の粒／歎喜に慄えて居る長岡博士昨日理研で結果を発表した」

（『時事新報』1924）、「学者と世間—長岡博士の発明に就て—」（『朝日新聞』1924）など、ジャーナリズムの注目を浴びた。原子番号八〇である水銀から「核を攪乱して」陽子を「追い出す」ことで「七十九番の金が得られる」（『時事新報』1924）とする実験である。この水銀換金実験が、「水銀の八十個の惑星から一個を叩き出してしまえば、七十九個の惑星を持った金というものが得られる」とする村尾の「原子爆撃」の背景にあると考えられる。

加えて、水銀換金実験への「一時水銀中毒を伝えられたほどの精進ぶり」で「日露戦争も知らない」と云はれたほど熱中した当時の原子構造の研究（佐々木弘雄 1935：197）という尋常でない熱中ぶりや、水銀換金が「可能性証明を以てこの種の実験を打ちきり」（堀川豊永編 1942：292）と実現に至らなかった点も、村尾の研究における狂熱と現実からの乖離を想起させる。

2. 極小国と植民地世界

本章では、村尾の妄想における「極小世界」を戦時中の植民地との関わりから論じる。村尾は、「極小世界」即ち「彼等の住む地球である電子」が、自らの水銀換金実験によって「爆撃」の危機に晒されていると妄想する。

彼等は、そんなこととは夢にも知らず、研究し、生活し、恋愛し、闘争し、飽食し、そして又科学は吾等の手にあると誇示しているかも知れないのです、しかしながら、僕たちにとってはそのようなことはどうでもいいことです、意に介さぬことであります、水銀の八十個の惑星から一個を叩き出してしまえば、七十九個の惑星を持った金というものが得られるのです、叩き出した一個の惑星が何処に行こうとも、又その惑星の上に生活している生物がいようとも、そんなことは知ったことでないし、又現在は知るすべもありません（本文二七四頁）。

「僕たち」の生きる世界がより小さな世界に対して、世界の大きさの相違による圧倒的な力の優劣を背景に、暴力的に介入することで経済的な利益を得る。その小さな世界は、相対的な大きさの差異を除けば人間世界と同じで、住民には「研究し、生活し、恋愛し、闘争し、飽食し」という日常がある。しかし「僕たち」にとって彼ら

の生活は重要ではない。このような人間世界と「極小世界」の関係は、帝国主義下の帝国と植民地の関係の暗喩と捉えられよう。

帝国とは、ある国家がべつの政治的・社会的実質的な政治主権を牛耳るような、公式あるいは非公式の関係のことである。それは強制、政治的協力、経済的・社会的・文化的依存によって達成される（サイド 2006 : 41）

とマイケル・ドイルが定義するように、帝国主義は帝国が植民地に対して軍事的な優劣関係を背景に、強制的に主権を掌握・行使し、経済的な搾取を伴う関係にある。このような帝国主義は一八八〇年頃から波及し、「ヨーロッパとアメリカ大陸を除く世界の大半が、一握りの国々のうちのいずれかの公式の統治もしくは非公式な政治的支配の下に置かれる領土として、正式に分割された」（ホブズボーム 1993 : 80-81）。日本もこの趨勢に参入し日清戦争では台湾を、日露戦争では樺太南部を領有し、一九一〇年には韓国を併合、一九三二年には満州国を建国した。さらに四〇年には東南アジアへ侵略を開始した。

この論点について本作で注目すべきは、村尾が狂気に陥る場所が東京の磁気学研究所のボルネオ支所であるということだ。一九四〇年七月に第二次近衛文麿内閣は東南アジア地域を含む「大東亜共栄圏」の確立を国策として明示し、資源獲得のため武力による南進政策を打ち出した。イギリスとオランダの植民地であったボルネオはこの南進政策の範疇にあり、一九四一年一二月に日本軍が侵略を開始し占領、皇民化教育を推進した。「電子の中の男」の発表年および本作において当地が占有され支所が新設されていることに鑑みると、ボルネオが新しい占領地となったこの時期に本作は執筆されたと思われる。ここで研究所の人物たちにおける、東京とボルネオに対する認識を整理してみる。物語の発端は、新設のボルネオ支所への人事異動の発表であった。所長は助手の木曾に残る理由を次のように説明する。

——支所はあくまでも支所だ、一応精鋭をすぐって行くことは当然だけれど、しかしだからといって全部行ってしまつては困る、昭南島がいかにも便利だとはいっても東京をそこに移すわけにはいかんようにね、東京は地理的には少し遠くはあつても、矢張りこ

ここで大東亜に号令すべきところだからね（本文二六二頁・傍線は引用者による・以下同）。

所長は、東京と昭南島の間到大東亜帝国の中枢と占領地という歴とした序列関係を認識している。また、木曾はボルネオ行きの決まった村尾に当地を、未だ西欧化されない「世界の暗黒島」だから、「取りのこされていたボルネオに先ず東亜文化の一燈をつける」ためだと説明する。ここには日本からボルネオへの啓蒙意識に仮託した、大東亜帝国による植民地化の正当化志向が現れている。以上のように、東京に残る所長と木曾には、帝都東京を中心とした大東亜帝国の版図拡大の意志と、辺境の地「暗黒島」ボルネオを啓蒙し支配下に置く、序列意識がみられる。

ではボルネオ支所に移った村尾とみち子の認識はどうか。二人による木曾宛ての手紙から確認していこう。みち子は「四月と十月の季節風交替期のほかは雨も少く健康地だといわれましたけれど、ほんとうに、こんなに住みよい所とは思いませんでした」とボルネオが「住みよい所」であることを実感している。村尾の場合はより顕著で、

僕は内地が世界第一の風光明媚といわれていたことに少々疑問を持って来ましたが、（中略）とにかく僕は内地を出れば悉くが瘴癘の地であるという考えをもっていたら間違いだ、といたいのです、第一僕たちがボルネオに出発するといった時に、体に気をつけなければいかんといって、おそろしい不健康地に行くように思っていた友人もいますが、それは結局英国なんかの宣伝に乗っているんです（本文二六八頁）、

とボルネオがむしろ東京よりも「健康地」であることを強調している。さらにみち子によれば、

その村尾さんの気焔と申せば東京の夏のように湿度の高いところで、ちゃんと洋服を着てネクタイをしているなんて馬鹿気た話だ、ここは東京ほど暑いと感じないのに開襟シャツに半ズボンで何処でもとおるんだからね、などといっています。（本文二七一頁）

と村尾は、ボルネオの気候の良さだけでなく、気候に関する東京の習慣を「馬鹿気た」とまで批判している。こうした内地への批判はさすがに過激な物言いであったか、発表に至った「電子の中の男」では「東京の夏に比べたら却ってこの方がしのぎがよいぜ」「こんなに住みいいところだとは思っていませんでした」というほどで、トーンを穏やかに抑えている。また、「電子の中の男」と異なり、本作は書簡の往復という形式のプロットを採用することで、東京にいる所長と木曾、ボルネオにいる村尾と彼を代弁するみち子、それぞれの立場を対照的に描いたといえる。

こうしたボルネオへの好意的な評価と東京への批判が赴任直後に綴られ、村尾は研究の「準備が整い、ぽつぽつ実験に取りかか」る。そして「原子爆撃による元素の変換」に着手し、原子の研究に触れるにつれ、「大きさというものが一体どんなものか、甚だあやしいものである」という発想から、原子の中に太陽系があるのではないかというマッドサイエンスに急速に傾倒してゆく。つまり村尾のマッドサイエンスを支える相対的な認識は、原子研究に先立って、すでに世界の気候風土の比較においてみられるのだ。村尾は内地が「第一の健康地であるかどうか」に疑問を抱いた後に、続けて言う。

地球の自転の方向からいって、亜欧大陸、米洲大陸など大陸の西側が健康地である筈です、内地やニューヨークなど大陸の東側に在るものは、それよりも劣るとも優ってはいないでしょう、といって何も絶対的ではありませんけど……、（中略）ボルネオは健康地です、つくづくそうわかりました、猛獣毒蛇もいません、鱧は少しいます、しかし東京にだって蛇はいるのですから、愕くにあたりません（本文二六八頁）。

村尾は内地が「第一の」健康地ではなかったという確信から、世界各地の気候やボルネオと東京の野生生物の生態の比較に対する、相対的な認識を手に入れている。そして、帝国の中枢東京と「暗黒島」ボルネオの優劣が、少なくとも気候風土においては相対的な関係であって、あるいはボルネオが優位にある点もある、という内地の所長や木曾にはない認識に村尾は至った。この気候風土をめぐる帝国と植民地に関する相対的な認識が、村尾の原子構造をめぐる相対的な「極小世界」「極大世界」の存在という発想の前に配置されている。それならば、村尾の想定する、「極小世界」に相対的な力

の優劣を背景に暴力的に介入し経済的な利益を得る人間世界と、相対的な大きさの相違を除けば人間世界と同じで、日常生活がある「極小世界」とは、戦時下における帝国日本と植民地・占領地の暗示として捉えられるのではないか。

3. 極大世界と西欧世界

さらに村尾は、「極小世界」の対極に位置する、人間の住む地球と太陽系を一つの電子と原子とする、より大きな「極大世界」を妄想する。「けれどもこれは僕たちの実験室の中にある実験材料の中の原子の話、しかしこれと同様なことが、この、現に僕たちが生活している太陽系の地球についても、いえぬことでしょうか」と言う。村尾が「極小世界」に水銀換金のため「原子爆撃」を試みて一電子をなす惑星を破壊するように、「極大世界」の「超大巨人」が彼らの世界における一電子である人間世界の地球を、同様の実験のために破壊してしまうかもしれない。地球人はこの危機を知らず「笑い、怒り、歌っている」が、村尾は「何か総毛立つような恐怖を感じずにはいられ」ない。

超大巨人の宇宙爆撃によって、この地球がむざむざと宇宙の外に叩き出され、むなしく崩壊することは、とても坐視するに忍び難い思いです、地球文明が飛散する前に、なんとかして超大巨人に、彼等にとってはただの電子でしかない地球の上に、このような科学文化があったことを知らしめたいのです、それには、唯一つの方法しかありません。つまり地球人自ら地球を爆砕するのです（本文二七六頁）。

「地球自爆」というせめてもの抵抗によって、電子の減少による元素の自然変換が行われ、「超大巨人」は爆砕した地球の存在に気づくであろう。この自爆は「原子破壊のエネルギー」によって遂行可能である。

さて前章にて論じたように人間世界と「極小世界」とを帝国日本と植民地の暗喩と捉えられるならば、「極大世界」と人間世界は欧米列強と帝国日本の暗喩として考えるべきだろう。植民地に対して日本は当時軍事的・経済的に優位にあったわけだが、西欧諸国に対しては劣位にあった。第二次世界大戦は連合国からすればファシズム諸国に対抗し民主主義を守り抜く反ファシズム戦争であったのに対

し、枢軸国からすれば英仏蘭など植民地・占領地を広く所有する「持てる国」に対し「持たざる国」が領土再分割を求める帝国主義戦争という性質を帯びていた(油井 2005: 241-242)。「米國及英國ニ對スル宣戰ノ詔書」に「經濟上軍事上ノ脅威ヲ増大シ以テ我ヲ屈從セシメムトス斯ノ如クニシテ推移セムカ東亞安定ニ關スル帝國積年ノ努力ハ悉ク水泡ニ歸シ帝國ノ存立亦正ニ危殆ニ瀕セリ事既ニ此ニ至ル帝國ハ今ヤ自存自衛ノ爲蹶然起ツテ一切ノ障礙ヲ破碎スルノ外ナキナリ」(大蔵省印刷局編 1941)とあるように、太平洋戦争開戦の理由は米英による経済上・軍事上の脅威の増大に対する日本の「存立」の危機感と表明されていた。つまり、自らよりも優位な世界が自らの世界を脅かすために先手を打って攻撃を仕掛けたとされていたのだ。この先制攻撃である一九四一年一月八日の真珠湾攻撃においてすでに、後に神風特別攻撃隊により広く知られる所謂「特攻」、必死の「特別攻撃隊」が特殊潜航艇によって編成され、戦死した隊員九名は「軍神」として崇められている(『東京日日新聞』1942)。捨て身の先制攻撃によって強大な世界に小世界の存在を知らしめる、その行為は村尾が妄想した狂気の「地球自爆」と、思想と方法において通じている。

以上のように、本作における「極大世界」一人間世界一「極小世界」という謂わばフラクタルな世界観は、執筆時の太平洋戦争下における、西欧ー日本ー日本の植民地という序列構造的な世界観を暗示するものであった。そもそも、近代日本が西欧に対しては「小国」、東・東南アジア諸国に対しては「大国」と自らを認識してきたことについては、伊達聖伸(2021: 45-65)の指摘がある。伊達によれば、日本は明治期以降の近代化の過程において「西洋列強に対して「小国」であるという意識を持ちながら、国内的には、またアジアの近隣諸国に対しては「大国」として振る舞う態度を身につけ、とりわけ日清・日露戦争以降は西洋に対しても「大国」として渡り合おうとする傾向を強めた」が、それは「小国意識」の「劣等感の裏返し」であったという。日本が「小国」意識と「大国」意識のあいだを揺れ動いてきたとする。この指摘を踏まえるならば、本作における世界構造は、第二次世界対戦時に頂点に達する、日本が認識していた三層構造の世界観における、植民地侵略の認識と、より強大な帝国との帝国主義戦争との認識という二重の意識の反映と言えるのではないか。

4. 帝国主義批判としてのマッドサイエンス

みち子が悪戯で水銀の一粒を仁丹に置き換えて金槌で粉碎したために、村尾は実験室の水銀が変質したと思ひ込む。村尾はこれを電子世界に住む者たちの自爆と捉える。そして「地球自爆」の敢行を決意するが、同時に村尾は痛惜の念をも綴る。

声と文字以外の感応の方法によって、生物間の意志が疎通出来る方法が見つけられてあったならば、或いは僕の爆撃しようとしている電子上の極小人間、又、我々の地球を爆撃しようとしている超大巨人と、互いに了解し合うことが出来たかも知れませんが、それは最早、今の中に合わぬことになってしまいました（本文二七九頁）。

ことばによらない「感応」の力による、極小人間や超大巨人との意思疎通の可能性。この村尾の思考はこう捉えられよう。ことばすなわち「音と文字」、これを現実世界に即して考えるならば、各国各民族が用いる諸言語である。言語の異なる諸国家諸民族、西欧・日本・植民地等が、その差異を乗り越えて意思を疎通し、理解し合うことが本来できたかもしれない。しかし、「今」現在の、覇権を争う帝国主義の世界において他国・他民族の意向を一つ一つ聞いていては自国存立が危ういことは自明だ。そうして世界は太平洋戦争へ突入し、もはや「心と心、魂と魂とが交流」することは不可能なのである、と。

おわりに

本作は、同時代の西欧の連合国という日本にとっての強大国との「自存自衛」のための争い、小国を植民地化・占領地化するというアジア・太平洋の二面的性格を、「極大世界」・人間の世界・「極小世界」として寓意化し、本来互いに持続可能であったかもしれない世界間の関係が崩壊する、狂った物語として表現した。マッドサイエンスの表現を通じて、同時代の太平洋戦争の勃発を世界の狂いとして批評してみせたのだ。

紙幅の都合で論じられなかったが、探偵小説におけるマッドサイエントイスト表象、戦中における科学とナショナリズムといった点に

については未だ展開の余地がある。こうした面からの更なる考察が必要である。

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REVIEWS

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Fujii Hidetada, Ochiai Takayuki, Sakamoto Hiroshi, Watanabe Kenji (eds.) 2021. *Edogawa Rampo daijiten* [the Edogawa Rampo encyclopedia]. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan.

Even seventy years after his death Edogawa Rampo remains a ubiquitous force in Japanese (pop) culture. New editions of his novels are reissued regularly by major publishing houses and are readily available in every bookstore, while numerous adaptations, homages, pastiches and references to his work appear steadily in various media. The latest examples are a TV series produced by NHK to commemorate the centenary of Rampo's literary debut, *Tantei romansu – Dear Detective from RAMPO with Love* (Detective romance), and a theatre reading of *Kotō no oni* (*The Demon of the Lonely Isle*, 1929–1930) staged by Kenta Fukasaku in Tokyo. However, one does not need to look to adaptations of Rampo's work into other media, in order to witness the influence of his iconography on the popcultural landscape of Japan, as his idiosyncratic take on crime fiction has left its mark on numerous aspects of Japanese post-war popular culture, with his influence acknowledged by such important creators as Masaki Tsuji and Hayao Miyazaki.

Despite the impact of Rampo, his work has rarely been the focus of academic research. The situation has changed somewhat in the 21st century, with more willingness in Japanese academia to conduct proper studies of popular literature, but up until now almost all analyses of the work of “the father of Japanese crime fiction” had been conducted by essayists specializing in the genre rather than researchers. As such, a vast number of texts devoted to Rampo and his literature have been addressed to the general reader. What is more, these writings are usually deeply indebted to Rampo himself, as there is no doubt that his essays on *tantei shōsetsu* (detective novel) collected in such volumes as *Tantei shōsetsu yonjūnen* (Forty Years of Crime Fiction, 1954–1961) or *Gen'eijō* (The Castle of Illusion, 1951–1954) remain the most widely-read and influential works dealing with the history and evolution of crime fiction in Japan. Therefore, as Morio Yoshida has noted in his discussion of the latter collection, the most trusted account

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on the *tantei shōsetsu* had been written by one of the genre's main creators, making his version of its history the canonized one. One can hardly argue that a new academical approach, that would largely eschew the established conventions of the popular view on Japanese crime fiction has been long overdue.

Edogawa Rampo Daijiten (hereafter the ERD) is an expansive 900-page volume that had been long in the making. Its origin dates back to the exhibition *Edogawa Rampo to taishū no 20-seiki* (Edogawa Rampo and the 'Mass' 20th Century), which opened in Tōbu Department Store in Ikebukuro in 2004. Organized by Rikkyō University to commemorate the acquisition of the Edogawa Rampo Ikebukuro residence (where he had lived from 1934) along with the writer's vast library and archive, the exhibition's planning proved difficult, as a similarly themed event had been on display in the same place only a year before. That earlier exhibition covered Rampo's life and work through his personal belongings, which left the organizers no alternative, but to look for a novel way to talk about the author. They decided to avoid the standard biographical approach, and placed Rampo in the context of his times and the mass culture (*taishū bunka*) that had seen rapid growth in early Shōwa Japan. This proved fruitful and a decision was made to expand the scope of the exhibition and create a Rampo encyclopedia that would follow the same principles.

This is, of course, not the first publication of this type. Lexicons devoted to Rampo include *Edogawa Rampo shōsetsu kiiwādo jiten* (Keyword Dictionary of Edogawa Rampo's Fiction, 2007) and *Edogawa Rampo-go jiten* (Edogawa Rampo Dictionary, 2020). The first of these is a thorough breakdown of Rampo's "keywords" i.e. the names of characters, places and motifs, which is a helpful resource for the most dedicated Rampo aficionados, while the second one is a smaller, richly illustrated character and motif compendium aimed at more casual readers. The ERD differs from them in many aspects, being an academic reframing of Rampo through the context of his epoch and not the other way round.

The ERD is divided into four parts. Part One, *Ningen Rampo*, focuses on the author's biography. It includes entries on places connected to Rampo, important events that formed his literary persona, as well as his interests, quirks and hobbies. The second part, *Shakai* (Society) is concerned with the socioeconomical backdrop and cultural phenomena of Taishō and early-Shōwa Japan. *Misuterii* (Mystery) is the name of the third part which is devoted to Western and Japanese authors of crime fiction and their relation to Rampo. The final part, *Media*, contains mainly entries on various

printed media associated with Ranpo and early 20th century mass culture. The appendices include chronological tables and a list of first publications and book editions of Ranpo's works.

All in all, the volume contains 219 entries written by seventy scholars, among whom we encounter not only specialists from the field of contemporary literary studies but also media theorists, sociologists and historians. This allows for a much broader view of pre-war mass culture than found in previous works on Ranpo. In the explanatory notes, the editors state that their goal was: "to break away from the usual disconnected perceptions of Ranpo as the pioneer of Japanese crime fiction, the author of children's literature, or the lord of the castle of illusions² and to bring about an all-encompassing and academic reappraisal of Ranpo by placing him and his work in the broader context of mass culture." Have they achieved this goal? In the opinion of this reviewer the answer can only be a resounding yes. All entries take the form of deeply thought-out articles, and no items feel like afterthoughts. There is no doubt that the final lineup of entries is the result of careful selection. Unnecessary filler such as lengthy plot summaries, which is the usual bane of similar publications, is nowhere to be found.

One of the most important achievements of the encyclopedia may be the lack of overreliance on the words of its main subject. Of course, no scholar of *tantei shōsetsu* needs to be reminded that Ranpo's autobiographical writings, while reliable for the most part, contain a considerate amount of autocreation, as well as many inaccuracies, which are a natural result of being compiled often many years after the described events had taken place. On the other hand, the sheer number of texts in which Ranpo discusses his life and career makes them an invaluable source for every researcher. However, the editors and authors of this encyclopedia, in accordance with their goal of academic accuracy, decided on a critical approach, evident especially in the first part of the volume. Thus, the biographical entries never feel like a retread of the same facts known to every Ranpo fan, and contain a vast amount of new or corrected information. The same goes for the articles detailing Ranpo's relationship with other writers of crime fiction. For example, entries on Jun'ichirō Tanizaki or Kōji Uno are remarkable attempts to straighten out inaccuracies found in oft-repeated anecdotes. Equally, if not more impressive, are the parts of the encyclopedia devoted to the mass culture of pre-war Japan. The

² This is a reference to the aforementioned *Gen'eijō*.

entry “Ero-guro-nansensu” (erotic-grotesque-absurd) is an especially valuable example of a largely misinterpreted cultural phenomenon being reexamined.

While the publication is not without some minor flaws (like the slightly redundant biographical information on writers discussed in Part Three, or the scant number of illustrations), it is an indispensable volume for every researcher of Edogawa Rampo, *tantei shōsetsu*, or *taishū bunka*, and will surely usher in a new era of Rampo studies and an imminent academic reappraisal of not only the author of *Nisen dōka* (*The Two-Sen Copper Coin*, 1923), but also the whole of Japanese crime fiction.

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FEATURED MATERIAL

Alfred F. Majewicz¹

A new vision and new frontiers of Japanese linguistics. *Ainu Language Western Sources in the Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics* (12) Ainu Volume

Introduction

The goal of the present anniversary text* on the subject rich in great pompous words (*vision, frontiers, new*) but tamed with the restrictions formulated in its a bit mysterious subtitle is to introduce *the largest* – in scope, proportions, and resources involved so far – international project in the field of Japanese linguistics emerging from Japan, under the auspices of what stands behind the acronym NINJAL.

First then – what is NINJAL? Still in the shadow of the US occupation of Japan following World War II, on November 21, 1948, an institution labeled National Japanese Language Research Institute (*Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjō* 国立国語研究所) was founded as an “independent administrative agency” with the aim to “scientifically study, survey, promote, and to guard and secure the proper usage of the Japanese language”².

As in many other countries with similar respective “state ~ official language”-related “independent” (interestingly – of what?) institutions established, the said Institute was intended to prioritize, and focus on, language purity, characteristically understood “[political] correctness” and language planning and policy for what was “one ethnically homogenous (“nation-”) state with one homogeneous language”, and thus immune to any “minority-protection” issues and conventions on the assumption best and most straightforwardly pronounced by Japan’s then prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in October-November 1986 that there was “no minority race in

*which constitutes a transcript and documentation of the presentation delivered under the title as above on March 25 at the International online Conference *Practicing Japan – 35 Years of Japanese Studies in Poznań and Kraków* ポズナン&クラクフ日本学専攻科設立35周年記念学会 (March 24-26, 2022).

¹ Professor emeritus of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. A linguist, anthropologist and orientalist. The author of roughly four hundred academic publications, including roughly eighty monographs. The editor of the multi-volume *The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski*. Recipient of the Order of the Rising Sun (2002), a honor awarded by the Emperor of Japan. Contact: majewicz@amu.edu.pl.

² A summary quotation from various official documents.

Japan” as defined by the 1948³ *United Nations Declaration on Human Rights*, hence there are no minority rights or minority attributes to protect in his country Japan (repeated later by many leading Japanese politicians long after, and in spite of, research and legal advancements – e.g. Tarō Aso in 2005)

It turned out, however, that the Institute staff started treating seriously also the other “priority”, namely the “scientific study” and the greatest, in this author’s view, challenge resulting from this “fancy” for academic involvement (read: disobedient academicians all of a sudden demonstrated interest in academic research !) appeared to be a dictionary of the *Okinawan language* (not <Okinawan dialect(s)> !), dated (in the Preface p. 2) as early as Shōwa 38 (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo 1975, cf. Picture 2.⁴) !

Almost exactly 61 years after its foundation (on October 1, 2009), the Institute underwent a “re-establishment” to constitute “the sixth organization of the Inter-University Research Institute Corporation *National Institutes for the Humanities*”⁵ --- under its Japanese name seemingly unchanged but wrapped up snugly in additional narrations, the English name expanded to National Institute for Japanese Language *and Linguistics* (Picture 1.).



Picture 1.

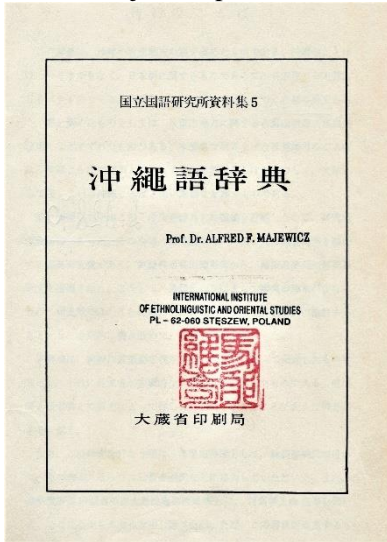
One of the first NINJAL initiatives, after the said re-establishment, was a research “project of compiling a series of comprehensive handbooks covering major fields of Japanese linguistics” to be published, with the

³ Interestingly, almost the same date appears for the second time in this short fragment of the present text.

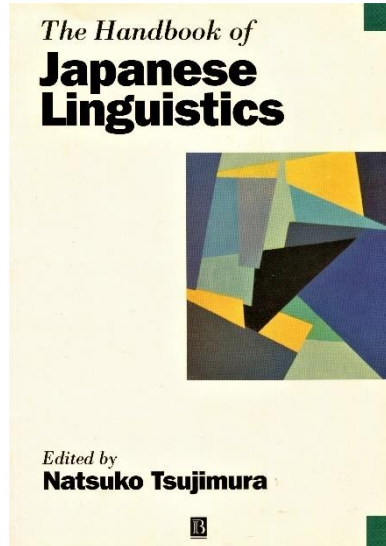
⁴ For technical and practical reasons conditioned by aims (especially sufficient overall legibility), the size proportions and original colors as well as (il)legibility of details in presented iconic material have not been rigorously observed.

⁵ The remaining five being the National Museum of Japanese History, the National Institute of Japanese Literature, the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, the Research Institute for Humanity and Nature, and the National Museum of Ethnology.

cooperation from, and by De Gruyter Mouton under the label *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics*, abbreviated to <HJLL>. The cover displayed in Picture 4 is electronic-only and symbolic but reflects the cover design of the entire HJLL series which is briefly, and best, advertized on the back cover of individual volumes: “surpass[ing] all currently available reference works on Japanese in both their scope and depth”, “*provid[ing]* a comprehensive survey of nearly the entire field of Japanese linguistics for the general academic community as well as for specialists [...]”, and *including* a balanced (what an elegant word!) selection of contributions by *established linguists* from Japan as well as outside Japan summariz[ing] *milestone achievements* [...], *provid[ing] overview[s] of the state of the art*, and *pointing to future directions of research in the field*”⁶. And it is precisely the reason for the attributives <NEW>, <VISION>, and <FRONTIERS> in the title of this jubilee presentation.



Picture 2.



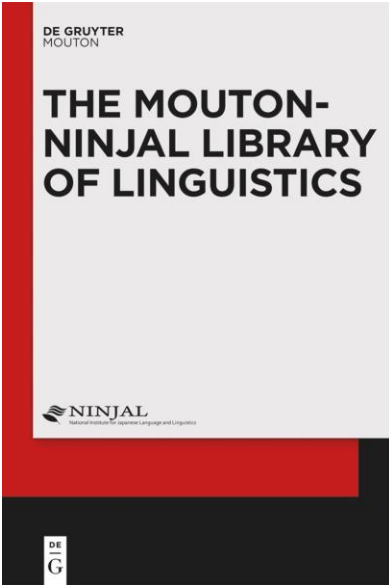
Picture 3.

The series label reminds this author of a, familiarly sounding, another established (and also collective) work, namely Tsujimura 1999 (3.) with its

⁶ Again, summary quotations from the back cover and the General Editors (Masayoshi Shibatani and Taro Kageyama)’s “Preface” in individual volumes; italics AFM.

16 chapters by 18 contributors and 556 pages, but what is striking when one compares it with HJLL is the volume – at least twenty times larger in the case of the latter. Compare also the contents of Tsujimura (consecutive chapters: “Accent”, “Mora and Syllable”, “The Phonological Lexicon”, “Variationist Sociolinguistics”, “Scrambling”, “Reflexives”, “Passives”, “Causatives”, “Quantification and *wh*-Constructions”, “Words Formation”, “Tense and Aspect”, “Lexical Semantics”, “First Language Acquisition”, “Sentence Processing”, “Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics”, and Sociolinguistics: Honorifics and Gender Differences”) with the titles only of the respective planned volumes of HJLL:

1. *Handbook of Japanese Historical Linguistics*
2. *Handbook of Japanese Phonetics and Phonology*
3. *Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation*
4. *Handbook of Japanese Syntax*
5. *Handbook of Japanese Semantics and Pragmatics*
6. *Handbook of Japanese Contrastive Linguistics*
7. *Handbook of Japanese Dialects*
8. *Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics*
9. *Handbook of Japanese Psycholinguistics*
10. *Handbook of Japanese Applied Linguistics*
11. *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages*
12. *Handbook of the Ainu Language.*



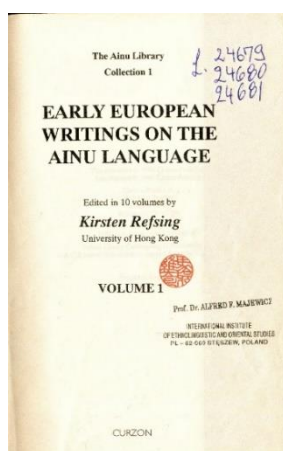
Picture 4.

Now comes the time for this writer's personal confession: I had the privilege and honor to have been invited to join the team of these selected "established" linguists – prospective contributors of individual chapters in individual volumes – with the proposal to author a chapter on "early European records of the Ainu language" planned for volume 12. For some time I kept trying to evade that doubtlessly honorable proposal on the grounds that respective reference materials did exist and that there were "established linguists", other than me, renowned for their research and accomplishments in the discipline and thematic sphere. The pressure, nevertheless, continued to insist on the need for a new look at, and assessment of, the existing legacy, and allegedly

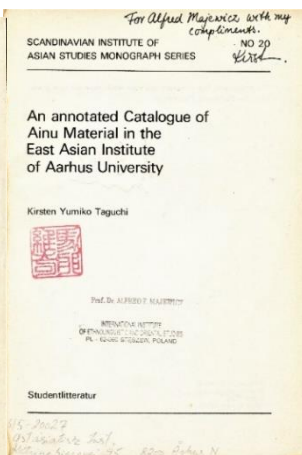
involved also persons I dared recommend for the job.... Instead, they apparently succeeded in recommending me.

In the first place, I drew the attention of the NINJAL project managers to the editor of the impressive 25-volume *Ainu Library*, Kirsten Refsing; Picture 5. is the title page of volume 1 of the ten-volume anthology of "early European" works devoted to the Ainu language (EEWL), constituting one of the four subseries of that *Library*⁷. Refsing also compiled *i.a.* a catalog of Ainu materials held at Aarhus University (Taguchi 1974, 6.) and is mentioned in this text. Among further examples of competent and reliable bibliographies to base the preparation of the needed chapter on to be mentioned in this context were Adami (1981, 1991; Picture 7.), Dettmer (1967–97), Dobrotvorskiy (1875b), Piłsudski (1912: XXV– XXVI), and Irimoto (1992).

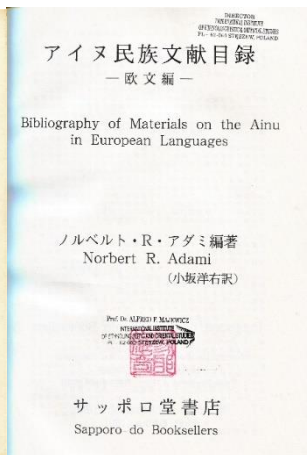
⁷ The other three being EEWCTD, EEWCRF, and EEWI.



Picture 5.



Picture 6.



Picture 7.

In the pursuit of *rapprochement* I was invited to introduce my own concept, or rather vision, of the said chapter structure and content to several meetings and the blueprints seemed accepted while the project was at a fairly advanced stage. What follows are excerpts from a relatively recent (within a year) list of volumes in the NINJAL HJLL series already with the indication of editors of individual books with their respective affiliations and information on the books already released (at that time, eight out of twelve published!):

◆New publication project in progress◆

HANDBOOKS OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS [HJLL] Series

(Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton)

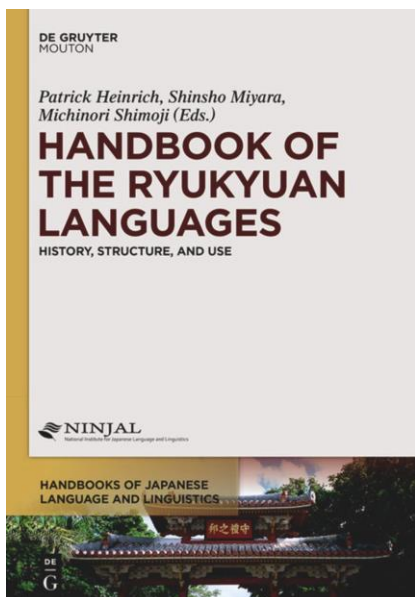
[TOP](#) > シリーズの構成と目次 / Organization of the Series and Contents

シリーズの構成と目次 / Organization of the Series and Contents

[Series Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)

ISSN: 2199-2851, e-ISSN: 2199-286X

1. *Handbook of Japanese Historical Linguistics*
Ed. by Bjarke Frellesvig (Oxford / NINJAL), Satoshi Kinsui (Osaka U / NINJAL) and John Whitman (NINJAL)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
2. *Handbook of Japanese Phonetics and Phonology* **Already Published!**
Ed. by Haruo Kubozono (NINJAL)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
3. *Handbook of Japanese Lexicon and Word Formation* **Already Published!**
Ed. by Taro Kageyama (NINJAL) and Hideki Kishimoto (Kobe U)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
4. *Handbook of Japanese Syntax* **Already Published!**
Ed. by Masayoshi Shibatani (Rice U / NINJAL), Shigeru Miyagawa (MIT) and Hisashi Noda (NINJAL)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
5. *Handbook of Japanese Semantics and Pragmatics* **Already Published!**
Ed. by Wesley Jacobsen (Harvard U) and Yukinori Takubo (U of Kyoto / NINJAL)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
6. *Handbook of Japanese Contrastive Linguistics* **Already Published!**
Ed. by Prashant Pardeshi (NINJAL) and Taro Kageyama (NINJAL)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
7. *Handbook of Japanese Dialects*
Ed. by Nobuko Kibe (NINJAL), Tetsuo Nitta (Kanazawa U) and Kan Sasaki (Sapporo Gakuin University)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
8. *Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics*
Ed. by Fumio Inoue (NINJAL), Mayumi Usami (Tokyo U of Foreign Studies) and Yoshiyuki Asahi (NINJAL)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
9. *Handbook of Japanese Psycholinguistics* **Already Published!**
Ed. by Mineharu Nakayama (Ohio State U / NINJAL)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
10. *Handbook of Japanese Applied Linguistics* **Already Published!**
Ed. by Masahiko Minami (San Francisco State U / NINJAL)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
11. *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages* **Already Published!**
Ed. by Patrick Heinrich (Dokkyo U), Shinsho Miyara (formerly, U of the Ryukyus) and Michinori Shimoji (Kyushu U / NINJAL)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)
12. *Handbook of the Ainu Language*
Ed. by Anna Bugaeva (NINJAL)
[More Information \(degruyter.com\)](#)



Picture 9.

Picture 9. shows, as an example, the cover and back of the already published (2015) volume on *the Ryukyuan languages* which includes descriptions of grammatical structures of six among them besides an impressive amount of other material more general in character (like an “Overview” including *i.a.* sections on “What, if anything, is Ryukyuan?”, the relationship of the Ryukyuan languages with Japanese, “Proto-Ryukyuan” and, of course, on Western studies in the field, “Linguistic features”, “Sociolinguistics” or – separately – “Sociology of language”). The text on the back cover ends with the firm conviction that “the handbook will serve as standard reference work for years to come” – and, actually, that applies to the entire series.

The volume serving here as our case study is yet to appear** but its cover (Picture 10.) and final contents have already been established⁸:

Preface (Masayoshi Shibatani and Taro Kageyama)

Introduction to the Handbook of Japanese Language and Linguistics
(Masayoshi Shibatani and Taro Kageyama)

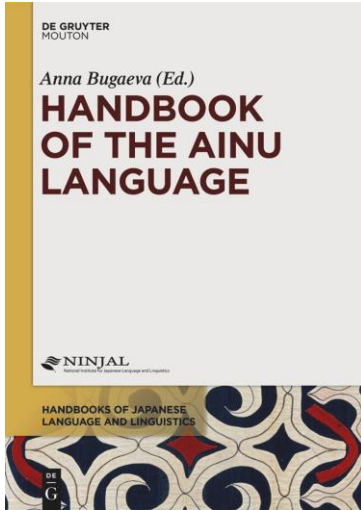
Introduction (Anna Bugaeva)

I. Overview of Ainu studies

1. Ainu: A head-marking language of the Pacific Rim (Anna Bugaeva)
2. Ainu ethnic origins (Juha Janhunen)

** Added November 2, 2022: The book was published earlier than expected , in October 24, 2022, with the price tag €390,00.

⁸ Even the price (€310,00) and pre-paid price (for Poland PLN 1,224.28 as of April 7, 2022) is to be found in the Web.



Picture 10.

3. Major old documents of Ainu and some problems in the historical study of Ainu (Tomomi Satō)
4. Ainu language Western records (Alfred F. Majewicz)
5. The Ainu language through time (José Andrés Alonso de la Fuente)
6. Ainu elements in early Japonic (Alexander Vovin)
7. Language contact in the north (Hidetoshi Shiraishi and Itsuji Tangiku)
8. Hokkaido Ainu dialects: Towards a classification of Ainu dialects (Hiroshi Nakagawa and Mika Fukazawa)
9. Differences between Karafuto and Hokkaido Ainu dialects (Itsuji Tangiku)
10. Ainu oral literature (Shiho Endō)
11. Meter in Ainu oral literature (Osami

Okuda)

12. The history and current status of the Ainu language revival movement (Tetsuhito Ōno)

II. Typologically interesting characteristics of the Ainu language

13. Phonetics and phonology (Hidetoshi Shiraishi)
14. Parts of Speech – with a focus on the classification of nouns (Hiroshi Nakagawa)
15. Verbal valency (Anna Bugaeva and Miki Kobayashi)
16. Noun incorporation (Tomomi Satō)
17. Verbal number (Hiroshi Nakagawa)
18. Aspect and evidentiality (Yasushige Takahashi)
19. Existential aspectual forms in the Saru and Chitose dialects of Ainu (Yoshimi Yoshikawa)

III. Appendices: Sample texts

20. An uwepeker “Retar Katak, Kunne Katak” and kamuy yukar “Amamecikappo” narrated in the Chitose Hokkaido Ainu dialect by Ito Oda (Anna Bugaeva)
21. “Meko Oyasi”, a Sakhalin Ainu ucaskuma narrated by Haru Fujiyama (Elia dal Corso)

Subject index

So, a few comments:

Crucial for decisions shaping the initial version of the requested chapter turned out to be an invitation to present and discuss its vision of mine at the International Conference *North Asia and the North Pacific as a Linguistic Area* convened at Hokkaido University, and particularly the vivid discussions which led to a series of questions and conclusions on which the present survey has been based.

The initial and fundamental question was what actually the potential user would like, and could expect, to find in such a chapter of the *Handbook* with such a title that would satisfy her/his expectations better than the reference material already existing. More specific questions concerned issues such as:

- whether only the so-called “early writings in Western~European languages” should be taken into account and, if so,
- what date should be the chronological end line;
- whether the term “Western~European languages” should cover only the tongues of “the international sphere of influence” or should the chapter also provide information as well as data recorded in metalanguages from the “lesser-used languages” of the West;
- whether source-authors and source-collectors should be limited to “Western” nationals or should the criterion be rather language-oriented (i.e., should sources available in Western languages but written by e.g. Japanese authors be included or excluded);
- how much attention should be paid to the oldest records of the Ainu language, taking into account their significance and usefulness/uselessness for, and function in, the current research.

The overall conclusion was that something different, new, and *value-adding* must be written about what is old and seemingly well-established on this matter to suit/fit the entire series.

Before, the respective surveys were almost exclusively limited to the “history of Ainu studies” in response to the demand limited in the same way. Researchers involved in the history of studies on the Ainu language have been naturally excited by discovering and listing the oldest sources recording a very limited number of words – and this should be cherished and evaluated positively. On the other hand, such records were very imprecise, often resulting from mishearings, false interpretations, errors in notation and/or the misreading of handwriting in rewriting and typesetting for publication. Besides, one has to remember that linguistics as a discipline, with its transcription systems, terminology, etc., did not exist at the time of

collecting such data – so collectors could be *anyone but* linguists. Therefore, there are voices among today’s linguists which oppose taking into account such materials postulating their total negligence and exclusion from research – on the grounds that one cannot rely on nonprofessional, second hand, fragmented, and inaccurate data.

Such records, however, do have their value, above all for a rather small number of well-trained linguists capable of identifying the recorded items and using them for rational purposes, like e.g. studying the historical or regional variations of the language, detecting xenic elements or influences or patterns of influences, looking for forms useful in comparative studies, etc., etc. For historians (and, of course, linguists) such lists constitute, above all, evidence of contacts of voyagers, explorers, travelers, missionaries, etc., with the natives – now known to be the Ainu.

Besides, one has to remember that there is a difference of cosmic proportions in the importance between records of languages completely extinct (or dead but still remembered only by a handful of elders) and languages that still can (and then urgently should) be recorded. Since a language can be assumed to be dead when its transgenerational transmission stops, Ainu should be treated as such – and in such cases *every* record is precious and irreplaceable as a fragment of mankind’s heritage.

Thus, the material for the commissioned chapter offered in its first version had neither chronological nor “national” limits and has been organized into descriptive sections (like e.g. “genetic affinity”, “geographical distribution”, “phonetics”, “grammars and grammatical structure”, “word lists”, “dictionaries”, “dialects”, “texts”, but also “geographic distribution”, “phonographic records”, “onomastics” (rather than toponymics), “inscriptions”, “Japanese sources with English glossing”, and even “unpublished material” and “web-only material”), each followed by its own bibliography. Taken into account for selection were all records known to exist in what is commonly perceived as “Western” languages, regardless of the nationality of authors and other factors enumerated.

This sort of chapter content determined its character – primarily bibliographical, with the bibliography becoming thus classified and only in part overlapping with the existing bibliographies of the Ainu language and Ainu linguistics.

All necessary bibliographical data have been verified for the absolute majority of cases, although one should remember that in many cases the publications referred to were extremely rare and hardly accessible otherwise than in photocopies, and certain data are simply confusing or absent,

including cut-off pagination, the lack of the original title page, the lack of the author's name or varying versions of it provided in different sources, incorrectly interpreted data from the title page by individual bibliographers, errors in bibliographies, etc.⁹. All data in languages using in writing characters other than Roman have been transliterated in Roman characters, followed by the original notation.

The result was rather highly praised but... it was rejected. The text was pronounced to be disproportionately extensive in relation to the remaining chapters and the classified bibliography incompatible with the concept of *the* entire HJLL series. Unbelievably, also the Japanese writing graphics proved to be incompatible with the series with such a label as well.

Below, the title page, contents, and structure of the submitted trial version (subsequently returned for re-editing and revision):

EUROPEAN RECORDS OF THE AINU LANGUAGE ?// WESTERN-LANGUAGE RECORDS OF THE AINU LANGUAGE WITH A CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY ?// AINU LANGUAGE WESTERN RECORDS for NINJAL HJLL volume *Handbook of the Ainu Language*

Contents

1. Introduction

1. 1. Introduction. **Reference**

1. 2. List of abbreviations used in bibliographical data and cross-references

2. General and bibliographies

2. 1. General and bibliographies. **References**

3. Genetic affinity; glottogenesis, comparative word lists; areal studies, typological studies

3. 1. Genetic affinity; glottogenesis, comparative word lists; areal studies, typological studies. **References**

4. Geographical distribution, population, and sociolinguistic perspectives

4.1. Geographical distribution, population, and sociolinguistic perspectives. **References**

⁹ Unfortunately, errors and inexactitudes common in academic publications even today.

5. Phonetics

5. 1. Phonetics. **References**

6. Grammatical (structural) descriptions and grammars

6. 1. Grammatical (structural) descriptions and grammars. **References**

7. Wordlist-type vocabularies, museum catalogs, and lexical studies

7. 1. Wordlist-type vocabularies, museum catalogs, and lexical studies. **References**

8. Dictionaries

8. 1. Dictionaries. **References**

9. Dialects and sociolects

9. 1. Dialects and sociolects. **References**

10. Texts and text interpretation

10. 1. Texts and text interpretation. **References**

11. Phonographic records

11. 1. Phonographic records. **References**

12. Onomastics

12. 1. Onomastics. **References**

13. Ainu “inscriptions”

13. 1. Ainu “inscriptions”. **References**

14. Japanese-language sources with English glossing

14. 1. Japanese-language sources with English glossing. **References**

15. Known significant unpublished material

15. 1. Known significant unpublished material. **References**

16. WWW-only published materials - selection

16. 1. WWW-only published materials. **References**

17. Conclusion

Chapter 3. Ainu language Western records

Alfred Majewicz

1. Introduction

The mainstream academic studies on the Ainu language in the 20th century were the domain of prominent Japanese linguists like Kyōsuke Kindaichi and Shirō Hattori, and linguists specializing in Ainu proper such as e.g. Mashiho Chiri, Itsuhiko Kubodera, Suzuko Tamura, Kyōko Murasaki, and Tōru Asai, and were conducted, with results published, in Japanese. Not for all of them, however, was the primary aim a structural description of the tongue; some of them focused on the astonishingly rich folklore of the Ainu, especially their *epic* called *urakaw urakaw* and their literary values. 1906 is

Picture 11.

I still hold the opinion that the character of the text justified the structural deviation but on the grounds that *it is not my book and not my project* I rearranged the material to meet the expectations of the editors and, on the other hand, to save the maximum possible amount of the information offered in the version as presented above. Picture 11. reflects the *pre-final* title page of the text after the requested adjustments and typesetting.

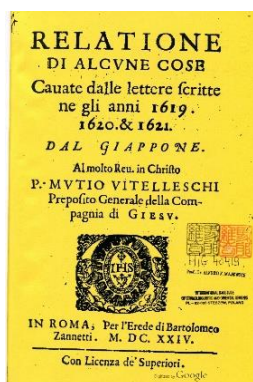
A brief exemplificatory selection of records described in the chapter in question with illustrations displayed during the said anniversary conference which follows¹⁰ was inspired by the title of one of Refsing's papers (2014) perhaps optimally characterizing the history of studies on the Ainu language as ranging "from collecting words to writing grammars".

This little survey starts with the Latin text below believed to be the earliest so far known record of the Ainu language in any Western language in which one finds (only two, but of great importance) lexemes which are definitely Ainu: *ainu moshir* 'the land of the Ainu' and *repun kur* 'alien people from beyond the seas, a foreign land', i.e. WE and the OTHERS. The record is attributed to Jesuit Father Ignacio Moreira (Morera~Monteiro~Montero, attribution said to be uncertain) and dated 1590 or 1591; incidentally, the words were heard and written down not in the *Ainu Land* but in... Kyoto (here quoted after Cieslik 1962:[40], cf. also 40 ff., see also Kodama 1970:14–5).

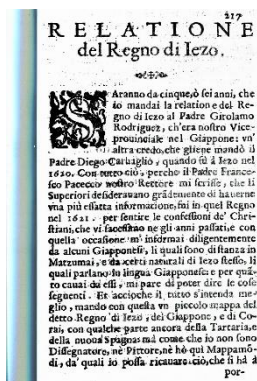
¹⁰ No illustrations have been foreseen to be included in the chapter under scrutiny.

De Iezorum insula

Pars insulae quae hoc loco apponitur, est eius quam Japonenses **Iezorum** vocant, indigenae **Ainomoxori** et iuxta id quod ex incolis cognitum est, ipsi ad alias adhuc insulas, quae ad occasum sunt, commeare solent, imo et ad aliam regionem quae supra Iezorum insulam conspicitur et ad septentrionem tendit, vocaturque **Rebuncur** quam cum Coraica regione continuam esse ipsi Corianses testantur. Gens haec Iezorum inculta et impolita omnino est, robusta tamen et valida satis, pellibus corpora induit, arcus breviores Japonensibus gestat, enses e collo suspendit, aliisque multis rebus potius Tartaros imitatur, quam Japonenses, quibus tamen finitima est ut in hac tabula videre licet. Haec exquisivimus tum ex hominibus Japonensibus tum ex quodam homine eiusdem insulae qui ad Quambacudonum [Hideyoshi] delatus est quo tempore Legatio a Prorege Indiae missa **ad urbem Miacensem** [Kyoto; > *Miyako* ‘the capital’] pervenit¹¹.



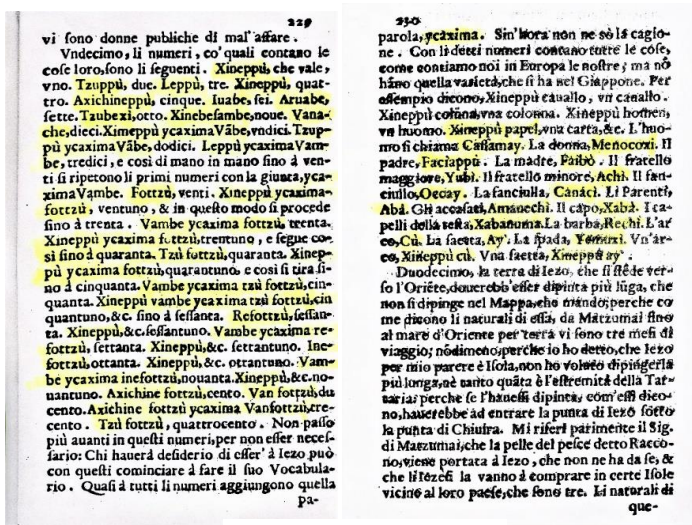
Picture 12.



Picture 13.

Western-language Ainu word lists inevitably start with Jesuit missionary Jeronymo (~Jeronimo ~Jerolamo ~Girolamo ~Jerome ~Hieronim(o)) de Angelis with his 1624~1625 “list of 54 Ainu words”. Actually, the variations on the given name depend on the language in which de Angelis’s text has

¹¹ For this author, the text sounds almost like, and resembles, the famous opening of C. Julius Caesar’s *De bello Gallico commentarii* (*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur*). English translation of Moreira’s text in Kodama 1970:14-5, Japanese translation in Cieslik 1962:106.



Picture 14.

10.	Porei aqui os numeros com que contaõ os Yezos as cousas.	lingoa de Yezo	de Japam	lingoa de Yezo	
1	Xineppu	.....	fitotçtu	Tçufottçu	.....40
2	Tçuppu	.....	futatçu	Xineppu yaxima tçufottçu	.....41
3	Lippu	.....	mitçu	Tçuppu yaxima tçufottçu	.....42
4	Xineppu	.....	yotçu	et sic de caeteris	etc.
5	Axiquineppu	.....	yçutçu	Vambe icaxima tçufottçu	.....50
6	Ivabe	.....	mutçu	Xineppu Vambe yaxima	
7	Arvabe	.....	nanatçu	tçufottçu	.....51
8	Tçubexi	.....	yatçu	et sic de caeteris	etc.
9	Xinebesambe	.....	coconotçu	Refottçu	.....60
10	Vanaçe	.....	touo	Xineppu	.....61
				etc.	etc.
11	Xineppu yaxima		Vambe yaxima refottçu		.....70
	Vambe	.....	jüychi		
12	Tçuppu yaxima		Xineppu Vambe yaxima		
	Vambe	.....	jüni	refottçu	.....71
13	Leppu yaxima		etc.	etc.	
	Vambe	.....	jüsan		
	et sic de caeteris		etc.		

30. sogro ; 51. site. i. competitor, companheiro, cumplice ;

Picture 15.

been written (more precisely, on his signature under the text) or the language of narration about him; astonishingly, there are no such lists in either of the two editions indicated by the dates referred to. Pictures 12.–13. show the 1624 cover and the first page of the description of Yezo¹². Picture 14. shows pages from the first, 1624 edition with Ainu words, marked in yellow,

¹² I.e. Hokkaido; in fact, the name was used to designate all lands north of Japan (= Honshu), Sakhalin, Kuril, Komandor, and Aleutian islands included but, with the time passing and information on those lands growing, its range was more and more limited to finally be used to call what later became Hokkaido.

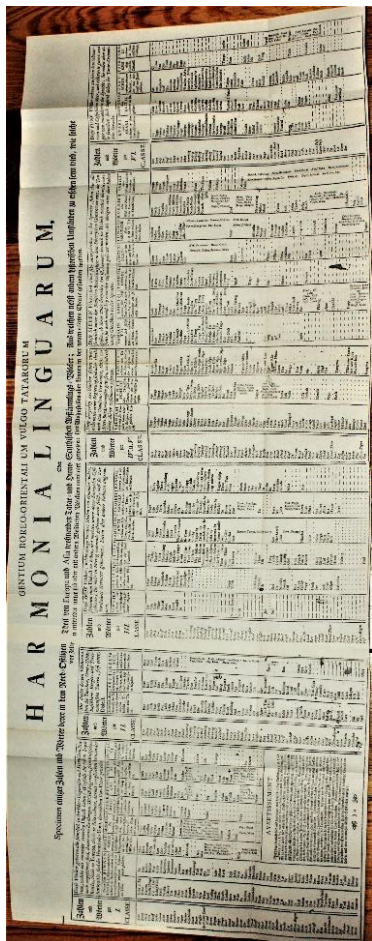
mingled with the text which, mostly, is an explanation of the quinary in the vigesimal counting system in use by the Ainu.

De Angelis's list, nevertheless, does exist in a document in Portuguese dated 1621, see its fragment as published by Cieslik 1962: (36)f., Picture 15.

A list of Ainu numerals (26 lexical items) can also be found in Strahlenberg's *Tabula Polyglotta* 1730 (the seventh column from the right in 16., enlarged in 17.), and the title page of the 1730 book (18.).

Particular number names are easily recognizable, provided one knows them (1 *shinep* [*sinip*], 2 *tub[ichi]* [*tubich*], 3 *reb[ichi]* [*renich*], 4 *inep* [*inip*], 5 *ashkinep* [*askinip*], 6 *iwampe* [*ivanini*], 7 *aruwampe* [*arvampij*], 8 *dobisampe* [*tupsampij* ~ *tubich tubich inip*], 9 *shinibesampe* [*sinip sampij*],

10 *wambe* [*vampij*],... 20 *howat*) – then it is even easy to detect an error (misprint ? – one and four are the same here).



Picture 16.

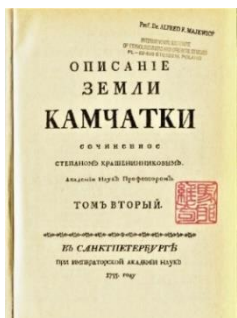


Picture 17.

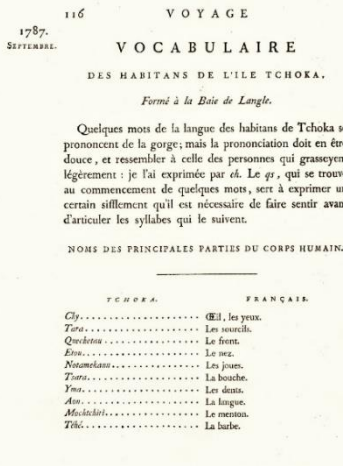
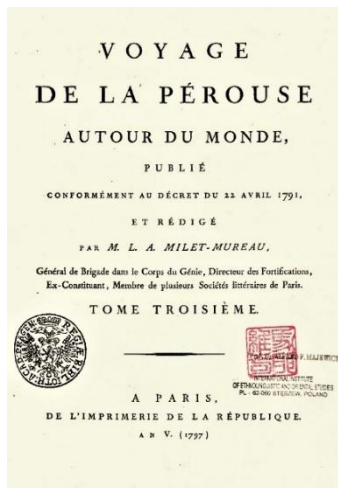
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Picture 18.

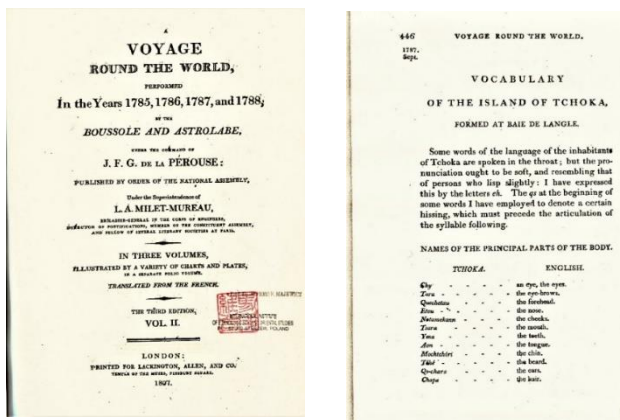


Picture 19.



Picture 20.

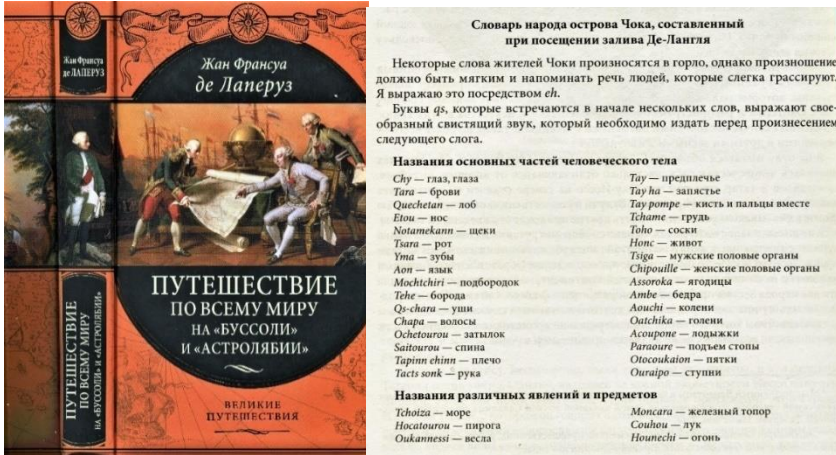
Interesting examples of other such lists of importance for researchers include Krasheninnikov 1755 (cf. original edition as well as its most complete edition of 1949 in 19.; the work includes such lists from several languages; its English translation of 1970, however, completely neglected those precious records), and Lapérouse (French original edition dated <year V> [of the French Revolution] (1797, in 20.);



Picture 21.

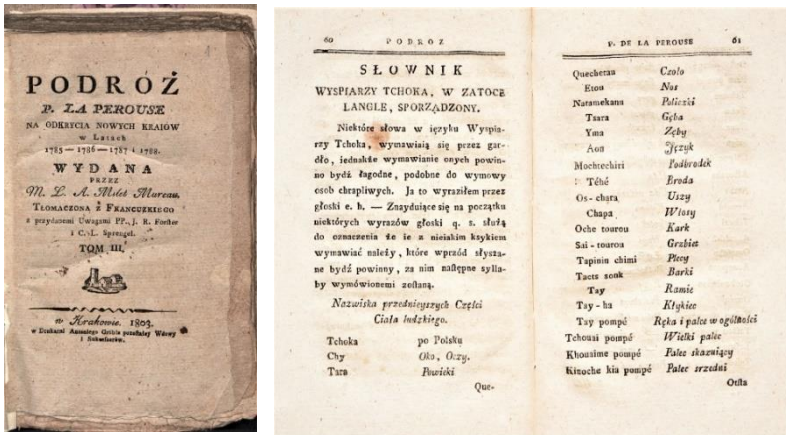
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and its English translation of 1903 (21.): cf. also its Russian deluxe edition of 2014 (22., top):



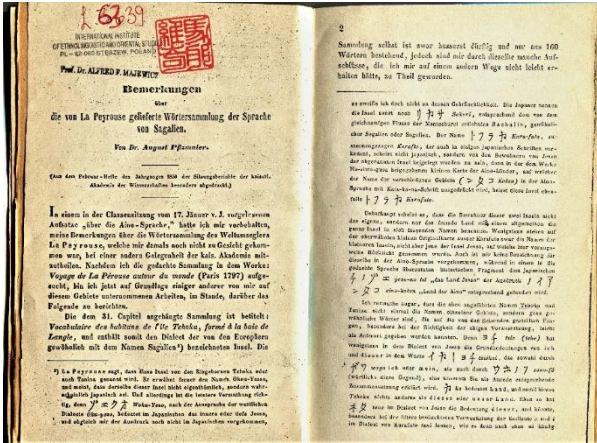
Picture 22.

and – a small surprise for the Polish audience: an Ainu-Polish “dictionary” (23.) (*słownik!*) of 1803).



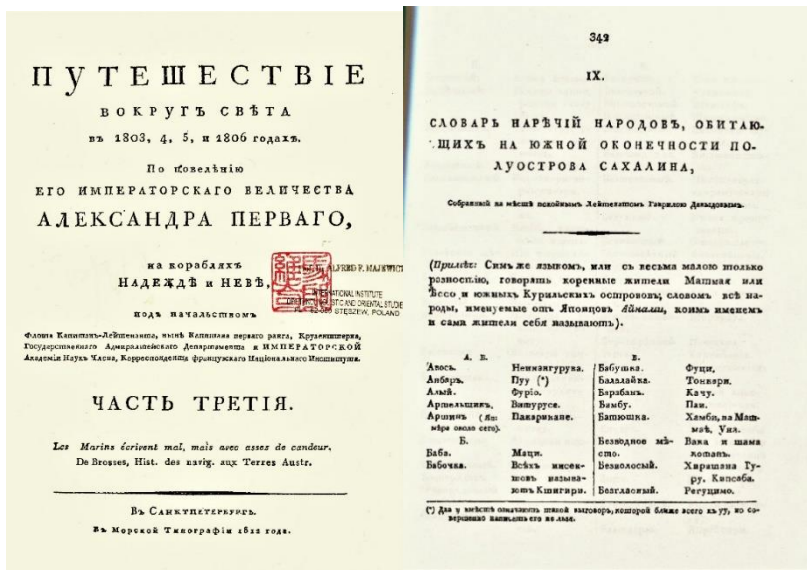
Picture 23.

Tchoka stands here for Sakhalin, the *De Langle Bay* (залив Делангля) is situated on the western coast of the southern part of the island with Пуйнскоуе (Ильинское~Ilyinskiy Ильинский, until 1946 Kusunnai 久春内) settlement and small port (population 4,305 in 1959, and 649 in 2013). This list, so well-known due to numerous translations and editions, was honored with academic treatment as early as 1850 by August Pfizmaier of Vienna University (Picture 24), one of the first Japanologists (known as author of the first known direct translation from Japanese into any Western language of a literary text).

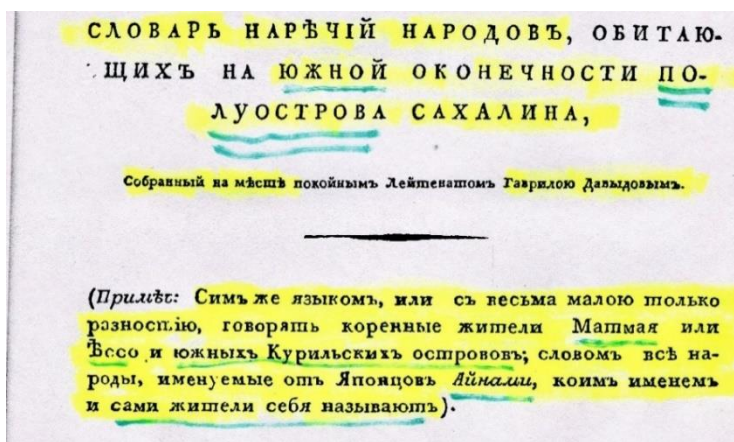


Picture 24.

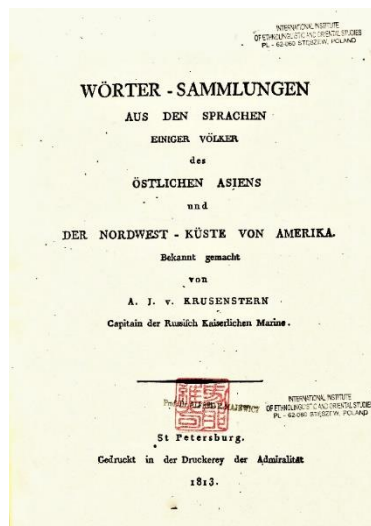
The next name to be mentioned here is Ivan Kruzenshtern and his report from the world circumnavigation in 1802–06 which included (1812) practically a small Ainu-Russian dictionary compiled by his late *lieutenant* Gavriilo Davydov (25.); what is of extreme importance here is the initial note for the first time stating that “the language spoken by the indigenous population of Yeso (*i.e.* Hokkaido), Sakhalin *Peninsula* (!), and southern Kuril Islands – that is all people calling themselves, and being called by the Japanese, *Aimu*, is the same” (26.):



Picture 25.



Picture 26.

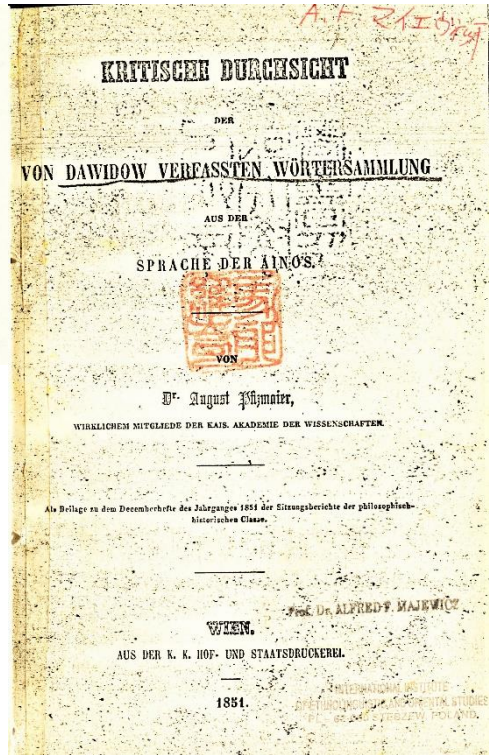


Picture 27.

<p>der Maulbeerbaum <i>lada, lada</i> eine Maus <i>pon iimo</i> das Meer <i>atui, adui</i> das Meer schwilt an <i>schiroroki</i> 960. das Meer fällt <i>schirara</i> das Meer ist still <i>schirano atui</i> die Meerenge <i>muschiri uturu</i> der Meeresboden <i>funi</i> Meerrettig <i>Aschescheri</i> mehr <i>poronno</i> mein <i>tschoggai, korobi</i> ein Meißel <i>nomi</i> mengen, vermischen <i>irampui, ogubui</i> der Mensch <i>guru</i> 970. ein dicker Mensch <i>nidobaki rui guru</i> ein gefährlicher Mensch <i>ioikischi guru</i> ein grober Mensch <i>nipka schambi sramuschkari</i> ein rascher junger Mensch <i>schirikogo piruka</i> ein treuer Mensch <i>Acuromo ogurikai guru</i> ein witziger, scharfsinniger Mensch <i>ioikischi guru</i> die Menschenliebe <i>aino konoburu</i> messen <i>pagarina</i> ein Messer <i>magri</i> Meth. gelber <i>schianin kane</i> 980. Meth. rother <i>furi kane</i> miauen, wie eine Katze <i>zis</i> die Milch <i>loo</i> mit <i>tschongai, otta</i> die Mißgeburt <i>schamu unino anguru</i> mißgünstig <i>anon iguru piskawa</i> mißgünstig der Mitgenosse <i>anoni guru</i> einer Gesellschaft <i>niturufe</i> der Mittag <i>lanoski ebi, unumani ebi</i> um Mittag <i>lookis</i> 990. die Mitte <i>noschida</i></p>	<p>24</p>	<p>in der Mitte <i>noschidaan</i> die Mitternacht <i>annuski</i> Mitternacht, Norden <i>minaschlawa</i> mitnehmen, zusammen nehmen <i>uwegari</i> ein hölzerner Mörsel, ein Mühr <i>nischin</i> die Moltebeere, Schellbeere <i>terigi igon</i> der Monath <i>schidaruri</i> in diesem Monathe <i>tschakuf</i> 1000. im künftigen Monate <i>schinkpa</i> der Mond scheint <i>imalogiwachilof tambi</i> Neumond <i>tschupai bigi piruka</i> Vollmond <i>peuri tambi</i> ein Morast <i>skunnaski tambi</i> morgen, der Morgen <i>nidas</i> jeden Morgen <i>nischiatu</i> Morgen, oder Osten <i>hesch to nisas</i> die Morgendämmerung <i>tschukpigi manki</i> 1010. Morgen- und Abend-Thau <i>scheribgeri koroboki, nischatsu</i> das Moos <i>muwaka</i> die Motte <i>schirusch</i> die Mücke <i>igiri</i> die Mücke <i>masochapp</i> die Mühe <i>unipji ramatschopki</i> sich Mühe geben <i>monraigi, nidarangi</i> mühsam <i>monan</i> murrisch, störrisch <i>imone</i> der Mand <i>schiramburui</i> 1020. den Mand zuheften <i>paru</i> murmeln, leise reden <i>paru seschii</i> muthwillig seyn <i>changuino kakus</i> die Mutter <i>schnoski chabu, mur</i></p>
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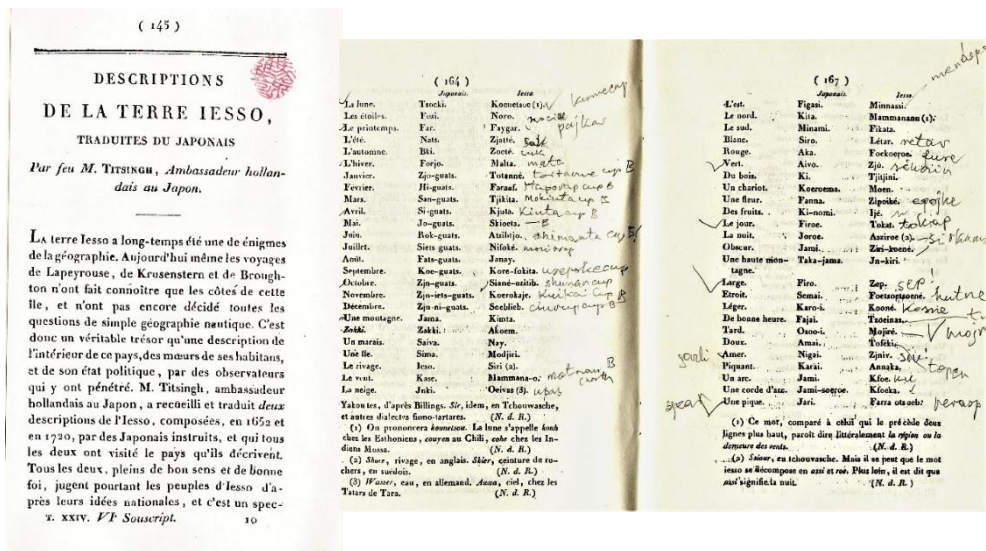
Picture 27. presents Krusenstern's German edition of vocabularies collected during his expedition including, of course, a German-Ainu dictionary. Both language versions contain the same number (1,987) of entries. Unsurprisingly, Davydov's vocabularies were also "critically" studied by Pfizmaier (1851a, Picture 28.).

I.
Wörterfamllung
aus der Sprache
der *Ainos*,
der Bewohner der Halbinsel Sachalin;
der Insel Jesso, und der südlichen Kurilen.



Picture 28.

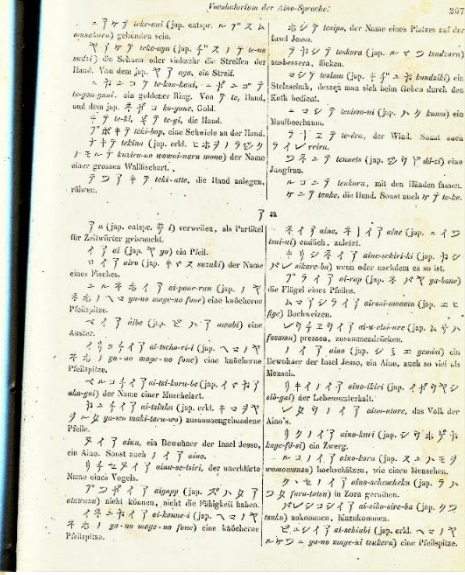
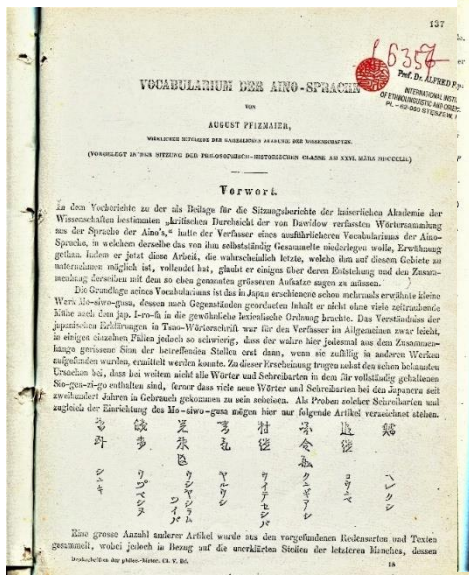
A few more of such data examples: Léon de Rosny's French-Chinese-Korean-Ainu Vocabulary with about 200 words (29.), Walter Dening (1881), about 925 entry words and 38 sentences (30., left and center), James A. Summers (1886, here we reach about 3000 words!; 30., right):, and Isaac Titsingh, Dutch Ambassador to Japan (1814) (106 lexical items, 31.):



Picture 31.

(The handwritten margin notes indicate that someone must have found it of great use! Its usefulness is thus unquestionable).

And thus we come to real dictionaries deserving this name, like the one of 1854 – Ainu-German by Pfizmaier himself. In fact, it is an “adaptation” of an 1804 Japanese-Ainu thematic lexicon known as *Moshiwogusa* (Uehara & Abe), and lists some 3,000 Ainu items noted in the Japanese *katakana* syllabary rearranged in accordance with the clumsy obsolete native Japanese method called *iroha* written here from right to left; (32.) displays title page, sample page, and entries with the <ア イ ノ *aino*> element.



ノ イ 子 aino (jap. ニ 子 ヱ yomisi) ein Bewohner der Insel Jesso, ein Aino, auch so viel als Mensch.

ノ キ イ ノ イ 子 aino-ikiri (jap. イ ガ ヲ ヤ ニ sid-gai) der Lebensunterhalt.

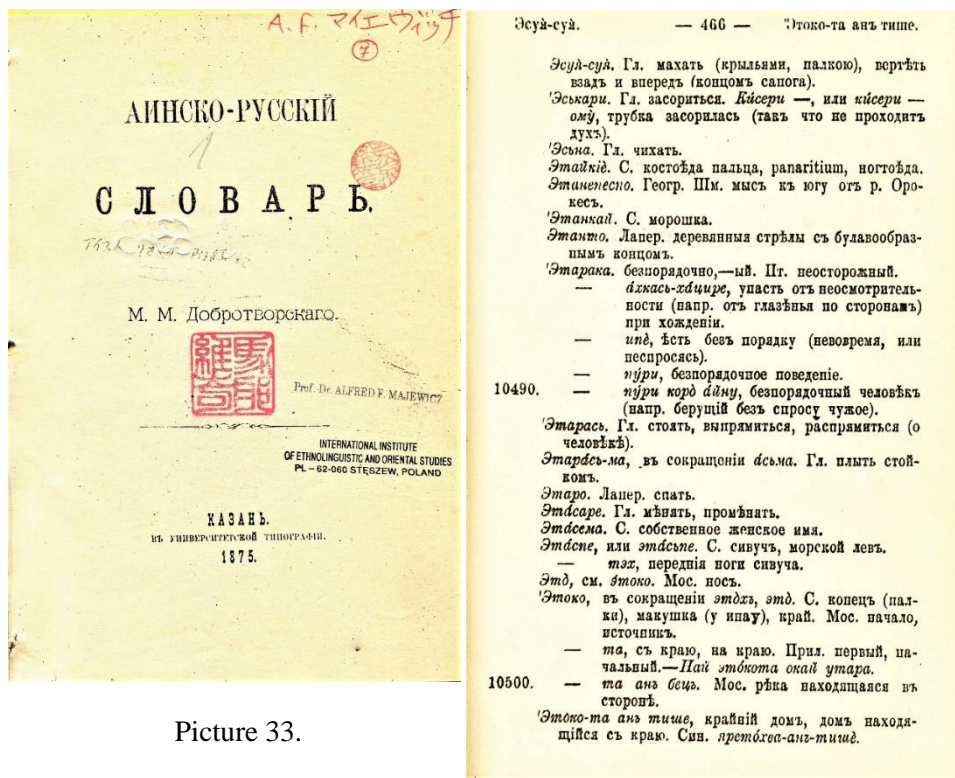
ノ タ ヲ ノ イ 子 aino-utare, das Volk der Aino's.

ノ ク ノ イ 子 aino-kuri (jap. ニ ヲ ホ ゴ フ 子 kage-fô-si) ein Zwerg.

ル コ ノ イ 子 aino-koru (jap. ス ニ ハ モ フ womowansu) hochschätzen, wie einen Menschen.

ク ハ セ ノ イ 子 aino-schescheku (jap. ラ ハ ツ タ fara-tatsu) in Zorn gerathen.

Picture 32.

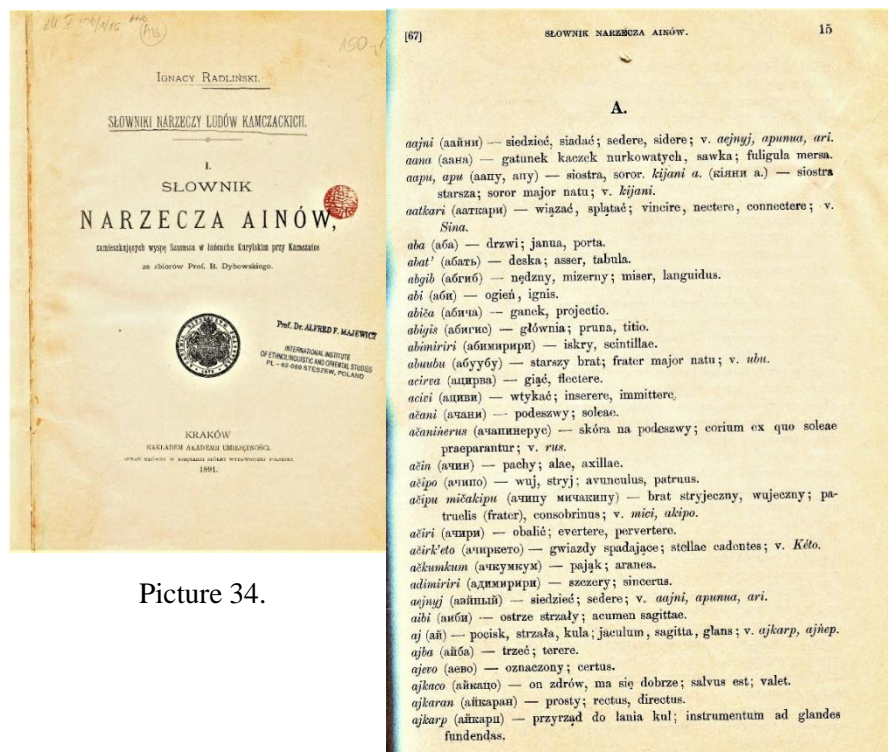


Picture 33.

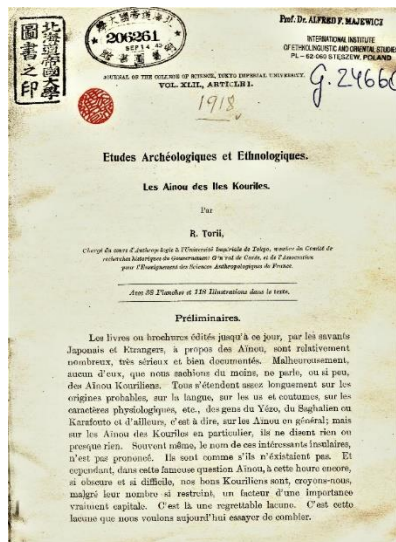
The first dictionary really deserving such designation, however, is a 670-page volume authored by military physician Mikhail Mikhailovich Dobrotvorskiy and published in 1875 (33.) Its dictionary section (Ainu-Russian) extends over 487 pages and includes 10,930 consecutively numbered entry words, with the entries being at times extensive; now a rarity, it was little used by researchers because of the language barrier and inaccessibility.

Inside, its Ainu-language title has been provided: *Айну-русский словарь-словень*. Its importance and content when compared against the background of the entire Western Ainu-language-related production has been described and assessed in Depreradovich et al. 2017 volume devoted to the “Ainu in the eyes of Russian officers” (Majewicz; cf. also Majewicz 2016).

What follows in this survey is a unique dictionary of the Northern Kuril Ainu: the Ainu-Polish-Latin ca 1900-entry lexicon compiled in Kamchatka in early 1880s by zoologist Benedykt Dybowski, edited and published by the philologist Ignacy Radliński, who specialized in the study of religions. It is comparable only with the Japanese pioneering anthropologist Ryūzō Torii’s much shorter Kuril list published in French in 1918. Dybowski’s material proved to be the best ever record of the Northernmost Kuril Ainu language and constituted the basis for about half of the fundamental study by Murayama (1971). (34.) shows the title and a sample page from Dybowski/Radliński’s material as published in 1891.



Picture 34.



50

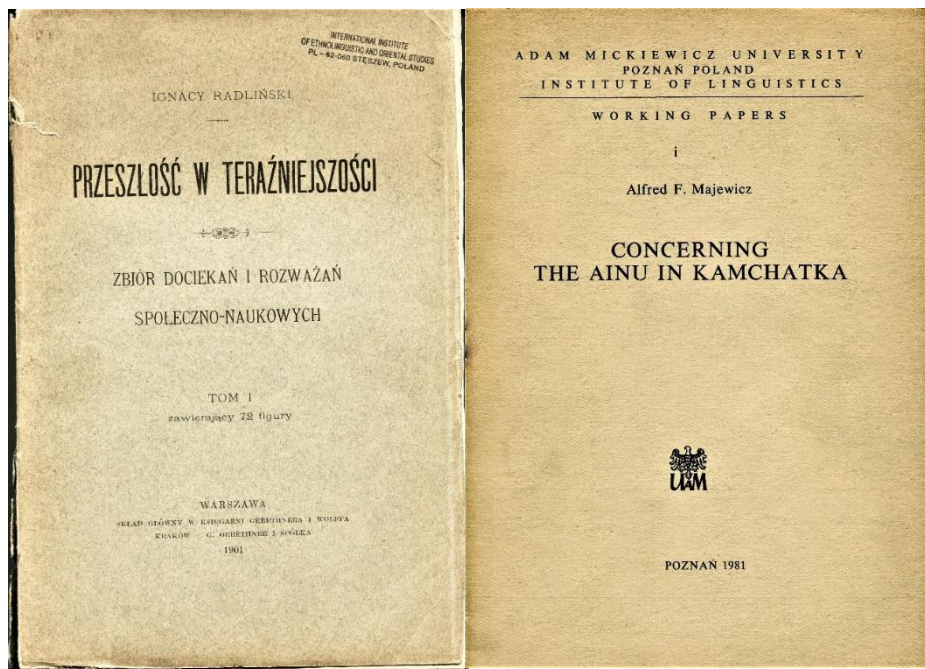
Art. I.—E. Torii.
I. Vocabulaire.

Ce vocabulaire comprendra trois colonnes. Dans la première colonne, nous donnerons les mots Français, traduction la plus exacte possible des mots correspondants Ainou; dans la seconde, les mots Ainou Kouriliens que nous avons recueillis nous-mêmes de la bouche d'insulaires, et dans la troisième, les mots Ainou du Yezo que nous avons tirés du travail „ Ainu gogakon アイヌ語彙 „ de Messieurs K. Jimbo 神保小池 et S. Kanazawa 金澤住三郎. Pour les mots Ainou du Yezo, nous emploierons l'orthographe adoptée par ces Messieurs.

Français	Ainou Kouriliens	Ainou du Yezo
Amont (rivière)	Pé'cha	Ponata
Aval	Pé'koucharon	Panata
Aréensciel	Bayonahi	Bay'ohi
Assisité	Honikotwano	Honah'lo
Année prochaine	Yokorashan'horon	O'ya'n
Année dernière	Ianetoporon	Sak'ni
Année dernière année	Katsooki tambe	Ho'kibi sak'ni
Automas	Tekwakan	Téhook
Aj'poué'hu	Taato	Ta'lo
Autre	Eka'ni	E'kahi
Auoir (par terre)	Ahema	Ma'na
Aller seul	Eimon	Oman
Aller avec quelqu'un	Poyan, Eantorban	Poy
Aller vers	Tchaw	Hoyu'ya'yan osan
Attandre	Tenctori	T'64
Amer	Yashanki	Sh'wa
Arre	Kon	Ira
Argent	Oia (par japonais)	Shim'gani (mot japonais)
Anguille	Sak'ibé	Sak'ibé
Aigle	Shozou koroua	Kaha'yekiti
Aide d'oiseau	Komgo, Teku'uy	Bay.

Picture 35.

Torii 1918 is an impressive study of over 400 pages, including 45 pages of linguistic data from the Kuril and Yezo Ainu tongues; (35.) shows its title page and the beginning of the French-Kuril-Yezo vocabulary. Murayama, however, came to the preemptory conclusion that also “the southern part of Kamchatka was in the 17th century the land of the Ainu” (1968: 57– 58) while Dybowski’s opinion as quoted by Radliński (1901:281-2; cf. Majewicz 1981) *excluded* permanent Ainu settlements on Kamchatka during his stay there as well as in the past as remembered by the Ainu themselves: “The Ainu of the Shumshu island do not recall any case of their ancestors inhabiting the area called today [1879–1882] Kurilian in Kamchatka, namely the vicinity of Lake Kurile (Курильское озеро). [...] When inquiring about the Ainu, the oldest inhabitants of the Yavina village related that islanders from Shumshu had been coming to Yavina almost every spring since time immemorial. They were hunting on the coasts of Kamchatka and in ancient times they were reaching the mouth of Lake (Ozernaya) River where they were fishing. None of the informants recalled any Ainu settlement on the Peninsula”. According to the same source, not a single case of Kamchadal (i.e., Itelmen) settlement on any of the Kurile Islands was known. Moreover, not even a single case of an incidental

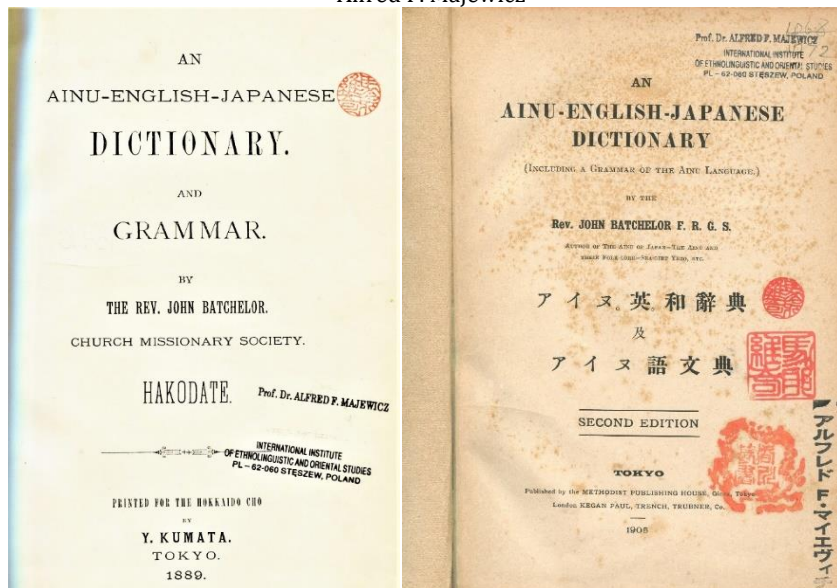


Picture 36.

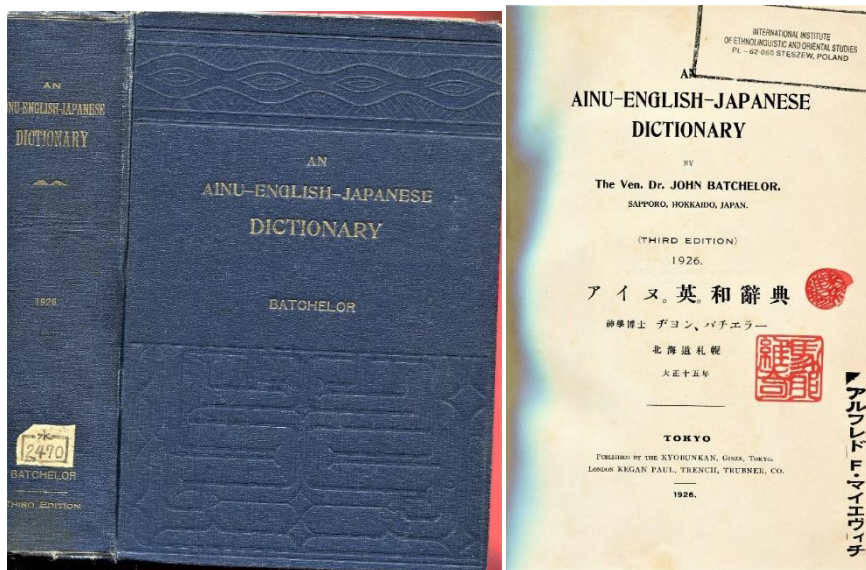
Itelmen visit to any of the Kurile islands had taken place (*ibid.*). The covers of Radliński 1901 and Majewicz 1961 are displayed in (36.).

The most important and influential dictionary today, and the only one for those unable to read Japanese, remains the widely – but certainly unfairly–criticized Ainu-Japanese-English dictionary authored by Presbyterian missionary John Batchelor and published in four consecutively numbered editions (4th 1938 – reprinted several times since 1995, the latest known to this author being 2018 and 2020). Presented here are title pages of the 1st (1889) and 2nd (1905) editions (37.), the cover and title page of the 3rd (1926) edition (38.), a 900-entry appendix to it (1932; astonishingly few people know of its very existence!) and the title page of the 4th edition (1938; 39.).

Alfred F. Majewicz



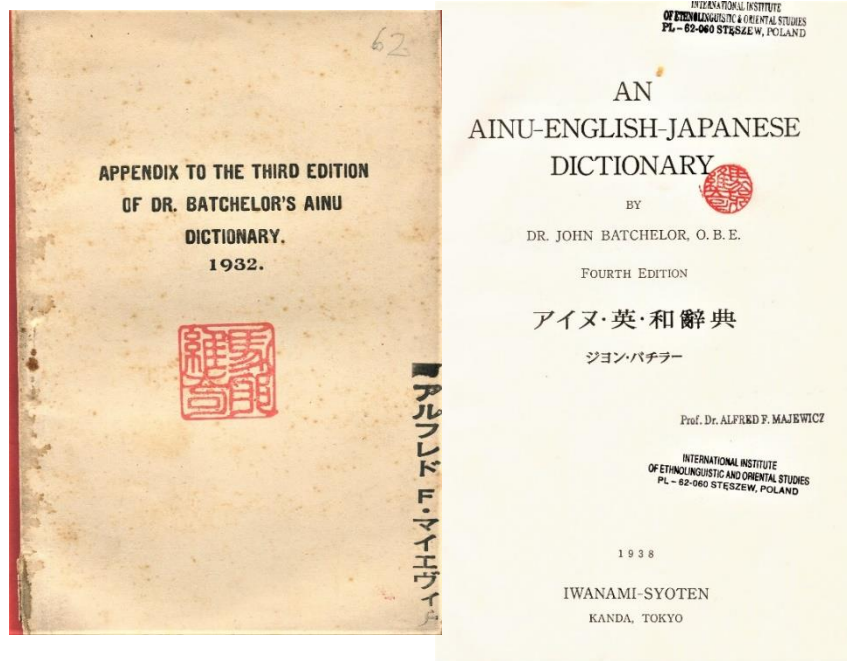
Picture 37.



Picture 38.

A new vision and new frontiers...

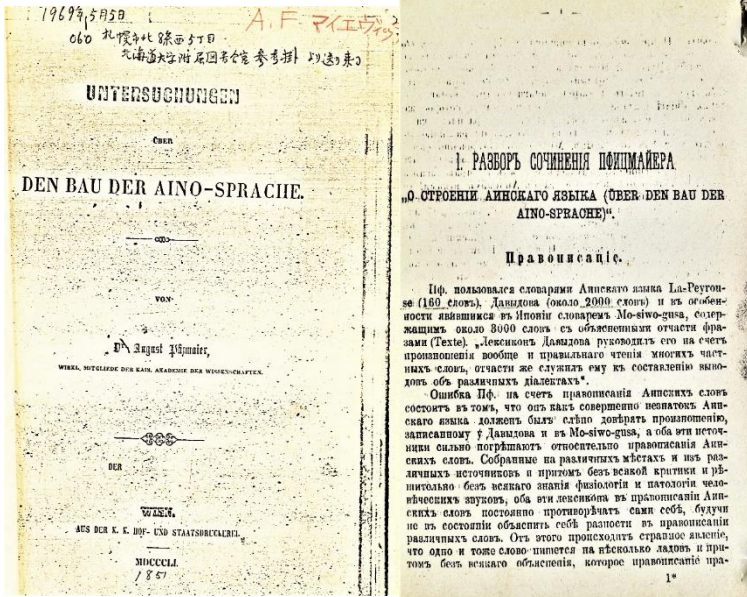
SILVA IAPONICARUM LXIX



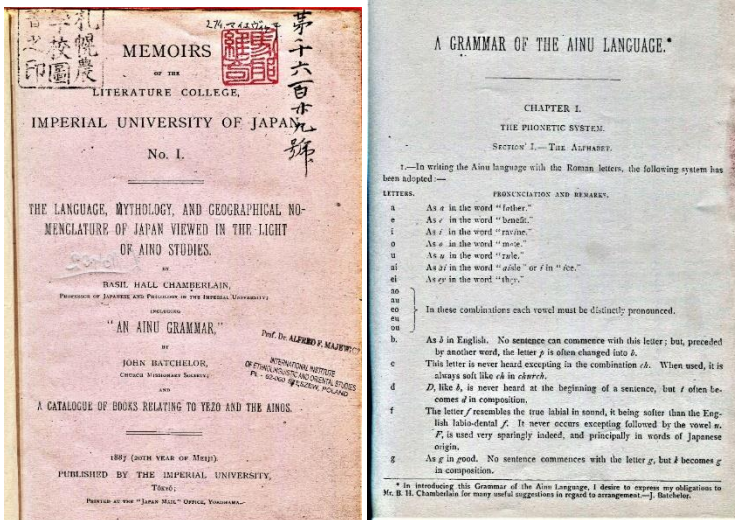
Picture 39.

The first work that could be classified as an Ainu grammar was one of 1851 by Pfizmaier (title page, 40. left), and its “critical analysis” in Dobrotvorskiy’s 1875 dictionary (40. right) became thus the second Ainu grammar.

It was followed by Batchelor’s grammar, first printed 1887 in the first volume of Tokyo Imperial University Literature College journal, which was entirely devoted to the Ainu language (title pages of both in 41.). Its consecutive versions followed in all the four subsequent editions of the dictionary mentioned.

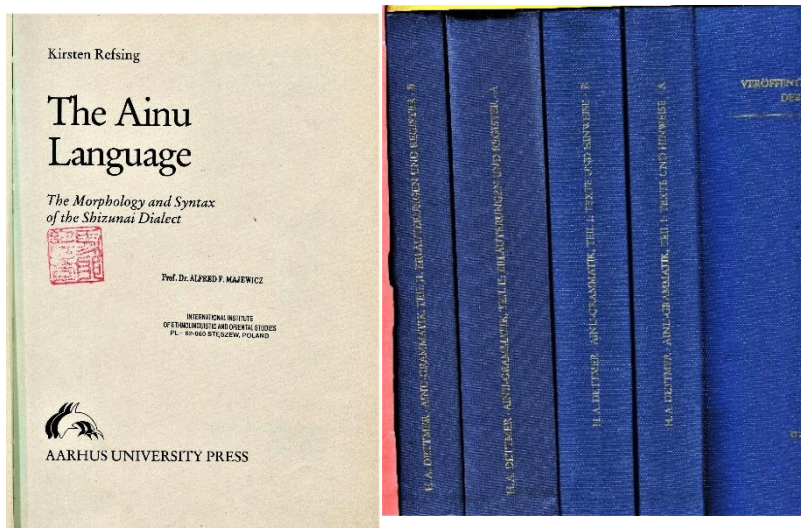


Picture 40.



Picture 41.

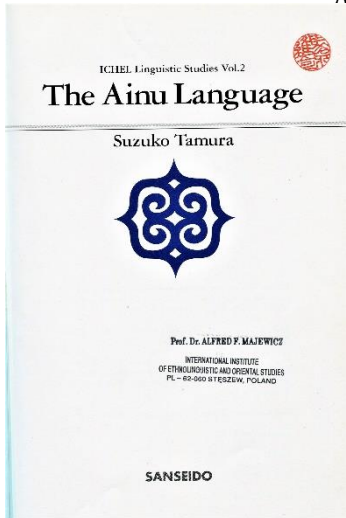
For the first modern grammar written by a trained linguist on the basis of her own fieldwork we had to wait till Refsing 1986 (42., left). The largest and most comprehensive work in the discipline (which will most probably remain such forever) is a huge four-volume 2,040-page 1989–1997 Ainu grammar, written by the German historian of Japan, Hans Adalbert Dettmer, a typically solid German masterpiece of a very specific character which was



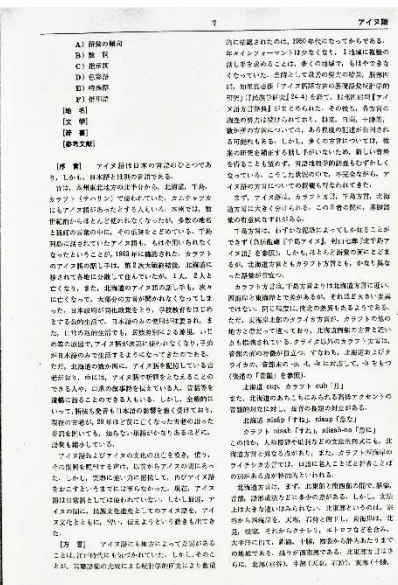
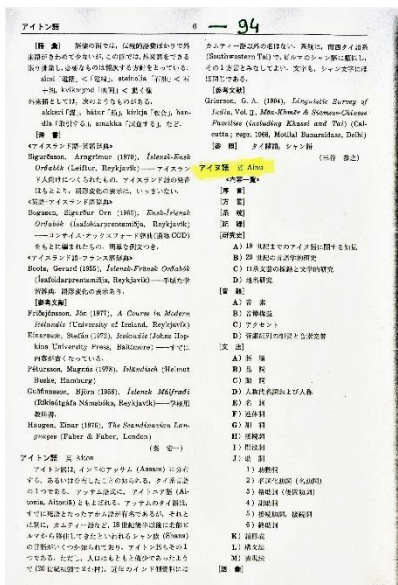
Picture 42.

introduced in detail in the HJLL-12 chapter 3. (For the backs of the edition see 42., right).

This survey still requires mentioning at least four more grammars accessible to wider audiences: one by Tamura (2000, 43. left), a 285-page translation from the monumental Japanese *Sanseido Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (1988, 43. right) entry “Ainugo” expanding over 88 two-column pages (44.), one by Bugaeva (a 2004 grammar of an Ainu idiolect, meaning here the ethnolect of its very last speaker known, together with a text collection in it), one by Shibatani (an outline, 1990), and – a last minute arrival, by Dal Corso (2021, “rewritten Murasaki” 1979, 1976).

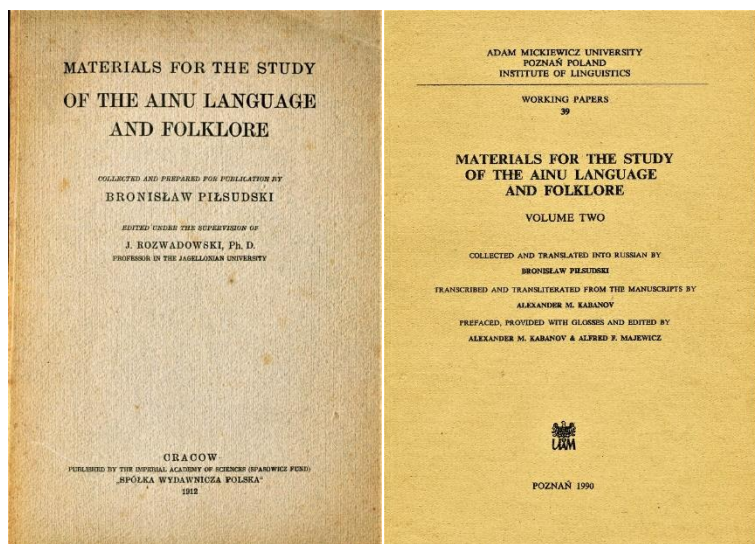


Picture 43.



Picture 44.

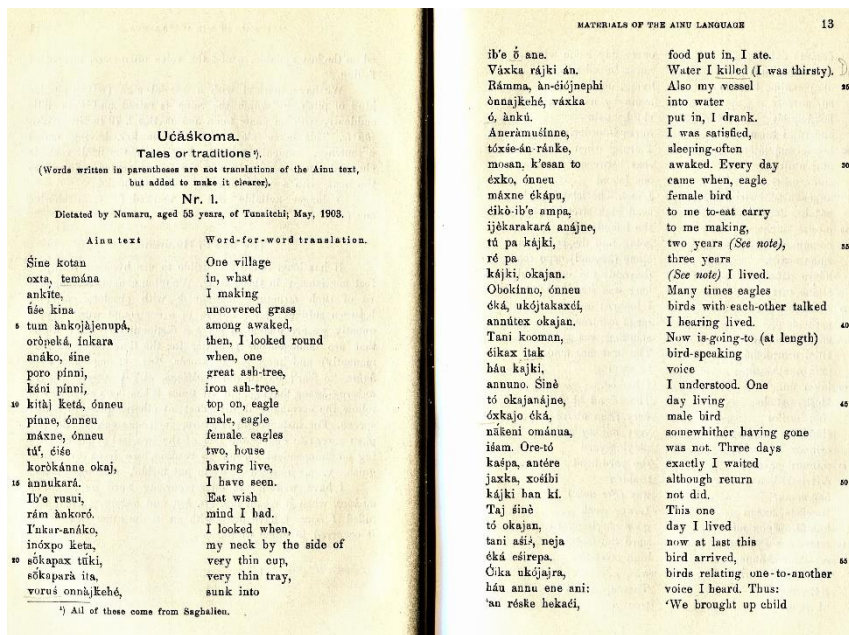
Thus we can smoothly pass to the third (after dictionaries and grammars) most important component of the legacy under review here: text collections, of which we present in the first place that by Piłsudski 1912 (covers of the original edition and its eighty years younger volume two in (45.), while (46.) shows two consecutive sample pages of the 1912 volume) The design adopted became standard for recording and publishing Ainu oral narratives in the discipline, including in Japanese sources¹³. Apart from texts and their translations, the book includes an abundance of commentaries – both linguistic and circumstantial (the book was prepared under the supervision of one of the best linguists of his time Jan Michał Rozwadowski – so the



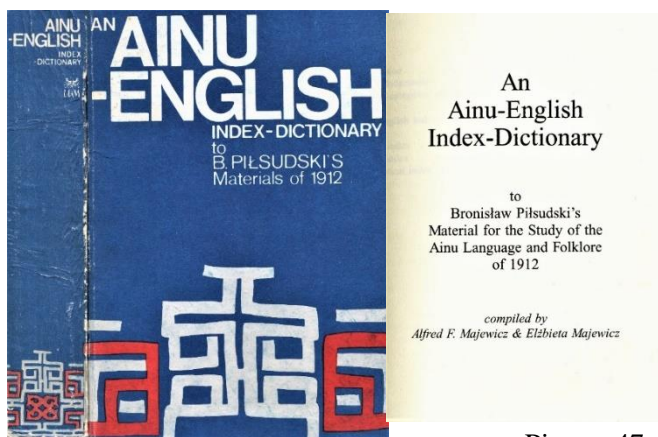
Picture 45.

¹³ According to a very reliable testimony from John Batchelor (1938:6): “Following the excellent method adapted by Piłsudski in 1912, Dr. [Kyōsuke] Kindaichi in 1930–31 printed a large number of Ainu Yukara (legendary songs) with translations in Japanese”. Kindaichi continued using the same method of presentation of the Ainu material also later in his monumental nine-volume edition of the *yukar* (Kindaichi Kyōsuke (vols. 1-9) [&] Kannari Matsu (vols. 1-7) *Ainu jojishi yukara shū*. Tōkyō: Sanseidō (金成まつ筆録・金田一京助訳注 1959–1975. アイヌ叙事詩ユーカラ集. 東京都: 三省堂).

grammatical component of the book could easily be extracted to compile the grammar planned by Piłsudski himself).

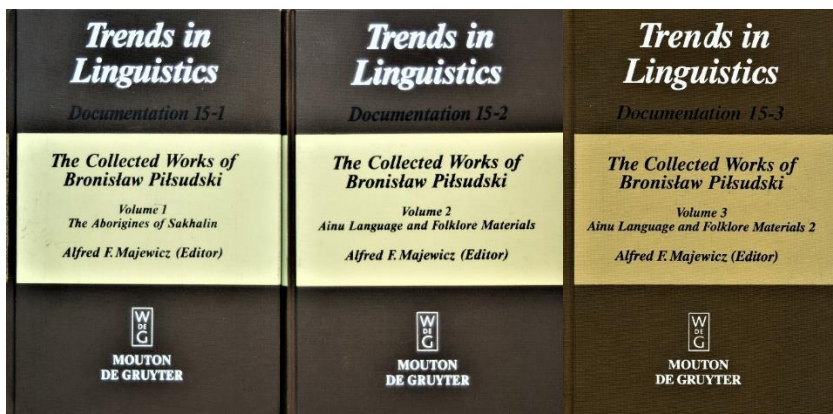


Picture 46.



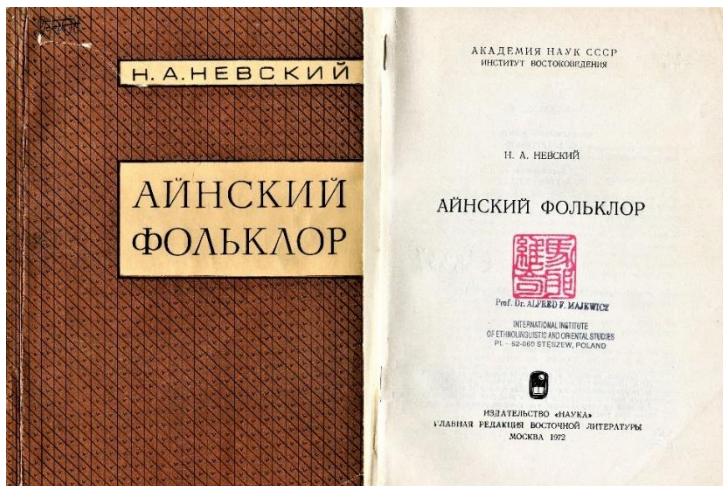
Picture 47.

Piłsudski also collected, compiled, and planned to publish his own Ainu dictionary but the material is considered lost (47. left, the first version of an attempt at reconstructing it; its revised version, 47. right, entered CWBP-2, 309–872; it not only facilitated the use of the 1912 book but proved useful also in further research while still in the making, cf. e.g. Murayama 1992: 240). Piłsudski’s entire Ainu material so-far recovered was included in vols. 1-3 of his *Collected Works* (CWBP; 48.).

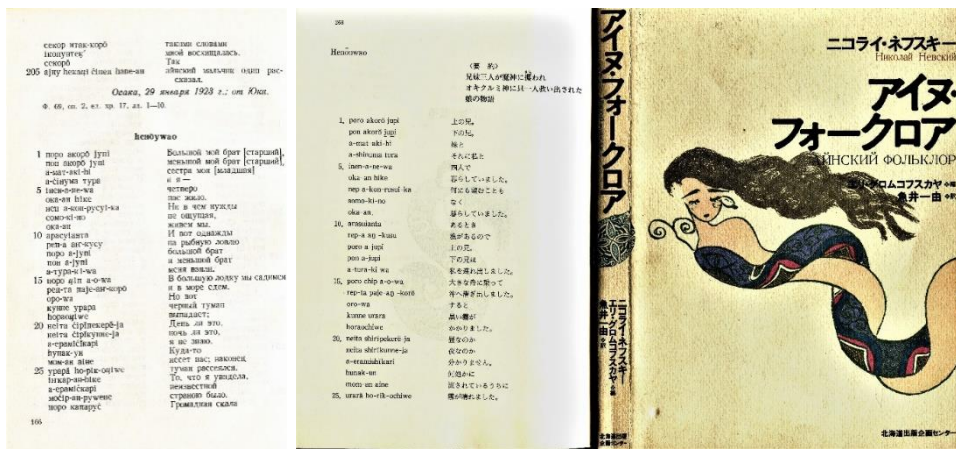


Picture 48.

Comparable to Piłsudski’s text collections can be only those recorded by the Russian linguist and Japanologist Nikolay Nevskiy. His field work was mainly done in early 1920s, publication 1972, cf. 49., cover and title page and 50., a 1991 Japanese retransliteration and translation, arranged with instruction on how to study it if one does not know either Russian or Japanese but has access to both editions.

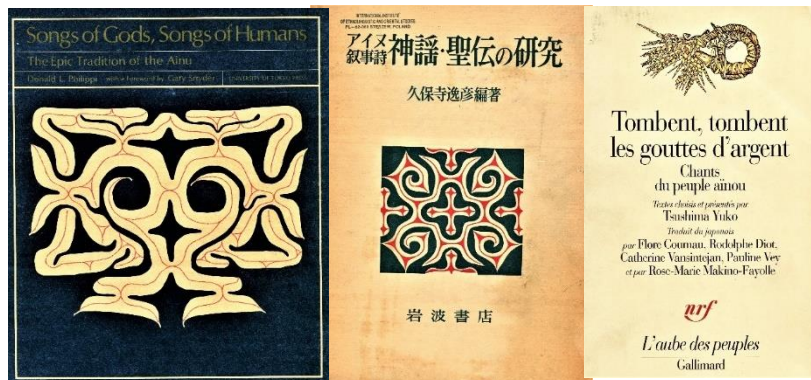


Picture 49.



Picture 50.

One more valuable collection of Ainu texts with interpretation in English is Ohnuki-Tierney 1969, and there are two collections of translations only of Ainu texts – one in English (Philippi 1979, 51. left) with exact references to the original texts facilitating studying them (provided you have access to the original publication – in this case Kubodera 1977, 50. center), the other in French (Tsushima 1996, 51. right), offering the same possibilities.

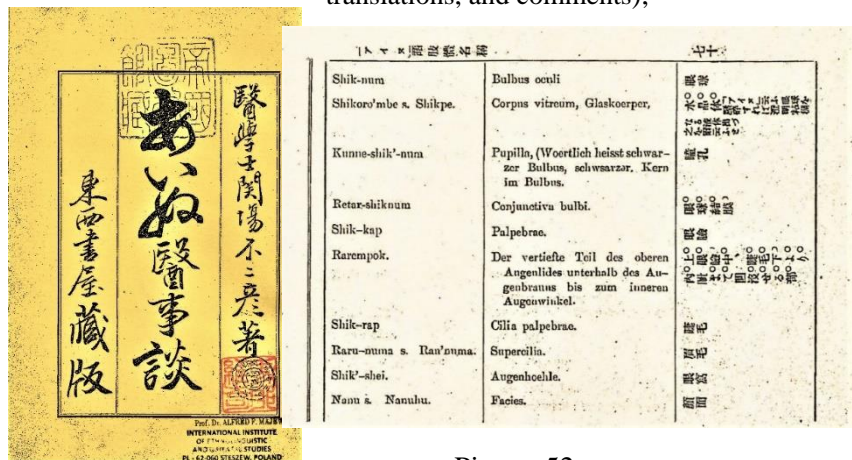


Picture 51.

We shall conclude this survey with examples of :

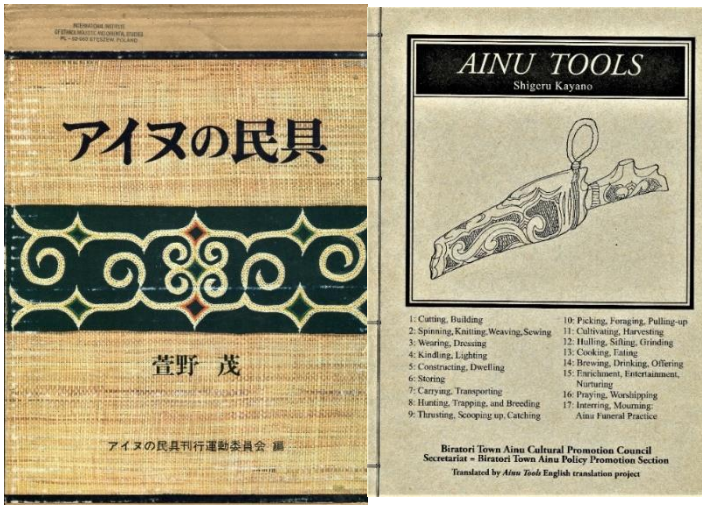
A) non-linguistic works with glossaries or indexes of often unique – and absent from dictionaries – Ainu terminology, never taken into account before, cf.:

- folklore and folkloristic terminology: AAF 1984 and Nakagawa 1995 (in the latter case, a special booklet in English attached with glosses, translations, and comments);



Picture 52.

- terms pertaining to Ainu ethnomedicine and medicine: Sekiba 1896 (52., explanations provided in Japanese, as well as in Latin and German);
- terminology related to Ainu tools (in this case, a pocket size English language companion has been produced to Kayano's impressive in both content and size 1978 monograph (Kayano 2014; 53.);
- terminology related to Ainu traditional religion (Spevakovskiy 1988, at least 666 lexical-item index);
- kinship terminology (Spievakovskiy 1986)
- Christian/Catholic religious terminology (e.g. Ainu-Latin catechism, cf. sample page fragment with *Pater Noster*, Berlioz 1928:46; 53. left, part of an Ainu-Latin classifying list of words and expressions pertaining to Christian religion);
- Ainu place names (a very popular area of Ainu studies in Japan, here are two examples: Batchelor 1925 (54. right) and Chamberlain 1887);



Picture 53.

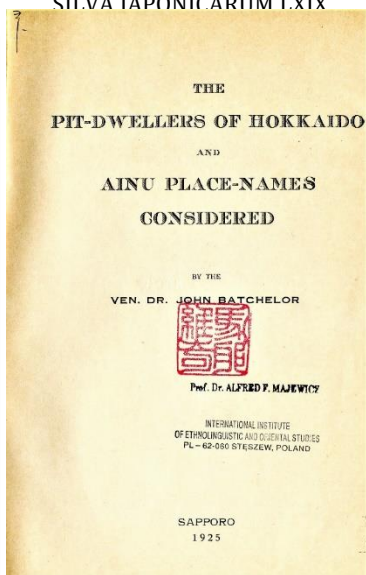
A new vision and new frontiers...

SILVA JAPONICARUM I.XIX

— 46 —

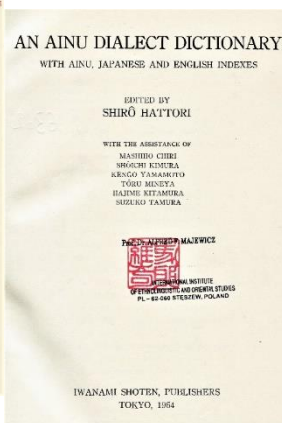
XI. — Utarapa Inon'no Itak.
Oratio Dominica.

Kanto	<i>Cælis</i>	un	<i>nobis</i>
otta	<i>in</i>	kore;	<i>da;</i>
an	<i>qui es</i>	orowa	<i>et</i>
ukoro	<i>noster</i>	un otta	<i>contra nos</i>
Michi,	<i>Pater.</i>	katpak	<i>peccatum</i>
e	<i>tuum</i>	ki	<i>facientibus</i>
reihei	<i>nomen</i>	utara	<i>hominibus</i>
aeoripak	<i>sanctificetur</i>	chi	<i>nos</i>
kuni,	<i>ut,</i>	tusare	<i>dimittimus</i>
e-koro	<i>tuum</i>	korachi,	<i>sicut,</i>
moshiri	<i>Regnum</i>	chikoro	<i>nostra</i>
ek	<i>adveniat</i>	katpak	<i>peccata</i>
kuni,	<i>ut,</i>	neyakka	<i>etiam</i>
kanto	<i>Cælo</i>	tusare wa	<i>dimittere</i>
otta	<i>in</i>	un	<i>nobis</i>
e	<i>tuò</i>	kore;	<i>dignare;</i>
itak	<i>voluntas</i>	orowa	<i>et</i>
a-nu	<i>fit</i>	chi	<i>nos</i>
korachi	<i>sicut,</i>	{aunkoram-	<i>quando</i>
tan	<i>hoc</i>	{nukara-bita	<i>tentamur,</i>
moshit'a	<i>in mundo</i>	wempe	<i>malum</i>
neyakka	<i>etiam</i>	shomo	<i>non</i>
a-nu	<i>fiat</i>	aki	<i>faciamas</i>
kuni	<i>ut</i>	kuni	<i>ut</i>



Picture 54.

B) Japanese dictionaries that are user-friendly for non-Japanese, here exemplified by possibly the two most useful works: Hattori's 1964 dialect classifying dictionary (with data from ten localities, 55.);



1. 人 体 (1-8)

1頭 38. head

八
棍
沙
帯
美
旭
名
宗
權
千

sapá, (-há); paké, -hó (歌?)
sapá, (-ha); páke, paké, (-he)
sapá, (-he)
paké, (-he)
pake
páke, (-he) (N); sápa, (-ha) (H)
páke; sapá (種)
sapá, -ha ~-kehe; paké
sapa, -ha; keykitaykehe (頭頂); 'otusiska, -
crup (マウ. crup の誤植か? →8) (首137. 蝦夷語)

3 とかす to comb, to scrape with a comb

八
棍
沙
帯
美
旭
名
宗
權
千

kiráyekar (他); nuykar
yáymykar
kiráyekar (掛けずる); nuykar (梳く); kárkar
nuykar (他); kató kárkar (きらいにする)
nuykar (他); saynuykar (自) (自分の髪を)
nuykar; sapá nuykar (H)
nuykar
nuykar
ranke (他) (掛けずる); nuykara (他) (梳く)

Picture 55.



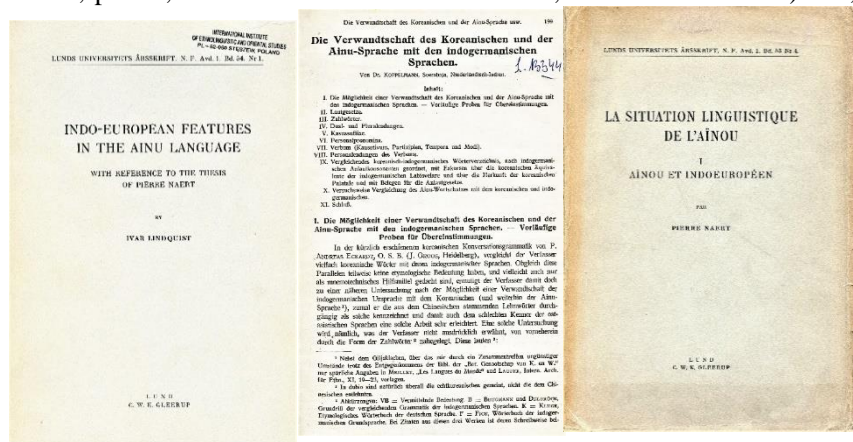
Picture 56.

and Tamura's 1996 Saru River Region Ainu- Japanese dictionary with limited English glossing (cover jacket and a sample page, 56.);

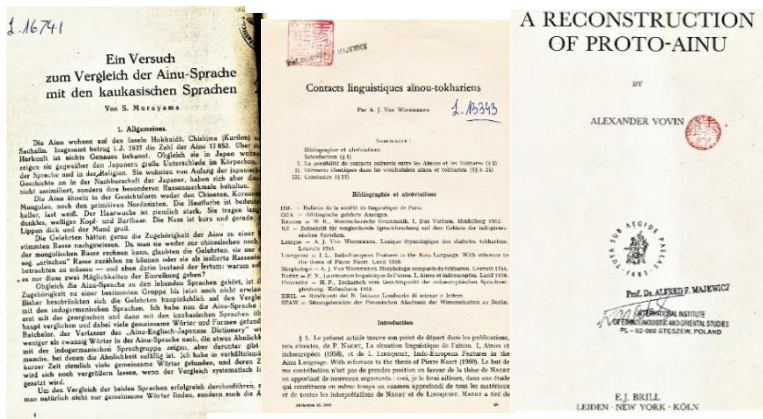
C) rare important works by Japanese authors published in languages other than Japanese – here exemplified by a paper by Asai (1974) on the classification of Ainu dialects;

D) examples of items concerning the origins and suggested genetic affiliations of Ainu, as a matter of fact rejected from the HJLL chapter on the grounds that the material will be covered by other chapters (which I personally doubt, for such cf. EEWI), like Murayama's Caucasian suggestions (1944, 57. left, not in EEWI), Koppelman's ideas (1928, 57.

center; please, observe the Korean involvement, also not in EEWI¹⁴) and,



Picture 57.



Picture 58.

under them, Naert's (1958, 57. right), and related Lindkvist's (1960, 58. left) Indo-European tracing, narrowed by Van Windekens (1960, 58. center) to Tokharian, or a widened search – Patrie (1982) and Vovin (1993, 58. right) – for the roots of the language (see also Torii 1918, Koppelman 1933).

Also rejected principally were also items unpublished and e-published but, aware of their value and importance, this author managed to at least mention

¹⁴ And, actually, one should not expect them in EEWI.

their existence in the chapter, which is to provide much more information than in the present occasional jubilee selection. *Anekoajrajxici. Jajrajg¹eri an. Sonno iyayraykire* – ‘thank you for your attention’.

Abbreviations

- AAF Association for the Ainu Studies // Zaidan Hōjin Ainu Mukei Bunka Denshō Hozonkai 財団法人アイヌ無形文化伝承保存会 Sapporo
- HJLL *Handbooks of Japanese Language and Linguistics*
- IIEOS International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies, Stęszew, Poland
- MLC *Memoirs of the Literature College, Imperial University of Japan* (Tokyo)
- MN Moskva: Nauka Publishers // Москва: Издательство Наука
- OE *Oriens Extremus. Zeitschrift für Sprache, Kunst und Kultur der Länder des Fernen Ostens* (Wiesbaden)
- SKAW *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Classe* (Wien / Vienna)
- TASJ *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (Yokohama; reprint Tokyo: Yushodo Booksellers Ltd)
- UAM Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza (Adam Mickiewicz University)

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The latter reproduced in: Kodama Sakuzaemon 1941. “De Anjerisu-no Ezokoku hōkoku-ni tsuite // On the “Relatione del Regno di Iezo” by de Angelis”. *Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku* 4: 201–296. The title page of the former in Kodama 1970: 18 (sec. 1).

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¹⁵ Berlioz’s probable role was to give “Imprimatur” to the publication.

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Alfred F. Majewicz

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¹⁹ Born Tabbert.

*niemahtsans Licht gegebenen **Tabula Polyglotta** von zwei und dreißigerley Arten Tatarischer Völcker Sprachen und einem Kalmuckischen Vocabulario Sonderlich aber Einer grossenrichtigen Land-Charte von den benannten Ländern und andern verschiedenen Kupfferstichen, so die Asiatisch-Scythische Antiquität betreffen; Bey Gelegenheit der Schwedischen Kriegs-Gefangenschaft in Rußland, aus eigener sorgfältigen Erkundigung, auf denenverstattetenweiten Reisen zusammen gebracht und ausgefertigte von Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg. Stockholm, in Verlegung des Autoris. 26 words in the **Tabula**.*

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