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VERTICAL LANDS AND HORIZONTAL GODS: IS EAST "EAST" AND WEST "WEST"?

Abstract

The article aims at characterizing vertical and horizontal types of cultural heritage dissemination. It offers an essayistic reflection on selected cultural examples from the East and the West which are relevant for the understanding of the multileveled and multidimensional nature of the role of cultural heritage in intercultural relations. The examples discussed in the article include: Buddhism, Hellenism, the history of Gdańsk/Danzing and the Great Empire of Manchuria. Although deliberately no final conclusions are drawn, the article provides a point of departure for a deeper understanding of cultural globalization.

Keywords: Königsberg/Kaliningrad, Gdańsk/Danzig, Japanese food, Empire of Manchuria, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the Constitution of Japan, intellectual property rights, *Honji suijaku* theory, *mitate*, Gandhāran Buddhist art, *genius loci*, Rudyard Kipling

CULTURAL HERITAGE – VERTICAL STRATA

Let us consider cultural heritage vertically and horizontally. That is to say, specify a location and dig down into it in a vertical manner through time, just as an archaeological excavation would, or specify an object or an idea and survey its diffusion over the land in a horizontal manner.

VERTICAL LAND WITH STRATA - KÖNIGSBERG/KALININGRAD AND GDAŃSK/DANZIG

Digging down into the history of a specific site, one confronts vertical strata or layers. Each of them is nothing but cultural heritage. Each one of us

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stands on a different stratum. The stratum on which one stands is one's identity and pride. Therefore, one's interpretation of the history of the site differs according to the stratum on which one stands.

A good example of this would be Königsberg or/and Kaliningrad (Kostiashov, 2019). The old Prussian settlement of Twangste was conquered by the Teutonic Knights in 1225 and became the German city of Königsberg. Immanuel Kant was born and spent most of his life in this city where he died in 1804.

In 1944, during the Second World War, the British bombed the city, with the Soviets besieging and taking it in 1945. As a result of the Potsdam Conference in 1945, this city with its high strategic importance was annexed by the Soviets. On July 4, 1946, the Soviet authorities renamed Königsberg as Kaliningrad after the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mikhail Kalinin, who was a close associate of Stalin.

The German population was forcibly expelled in 1946–1949, in order that the city would be repopulated with Soviet citizens. The city's language of administration was changed from German to Russian. Soviets saw the old city as a symbol of German imperialism and not only destroyed numerous historical sites of the city including Königsberg Castle, which was replaced by the never-completed "House of Soviets", but also banned teaching the history of the German era to extricate the city from fascism and advance a policy of Russification. Stalin branded the native inhabitants of the city as Slavs. Thus, the Soviets built a new city with a new history.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the Kaliningrad Oblast became a Russian exclave on the Baltic Sea. In the Post-Cold War era, the Russian inhabitants of Kaliningrad who rejected socialism tried to re-identify themselves. In this process, "German" as a semantic space or stratum that had been concealed under the stratum of Soviet rule was not only revived but became something to be proud of.

However, when there is such a dispute over interpretations of strata, swift political actions do not always cause desirable consequences in international relations. What we have to execute, therefore, is eternal fine tuning.

Another tragic example would be Gdańsk, the site where on September 1, 1939, the Germans fired some of the first shots of the Second World War. In a notable speech by Adolf Hitler made in the city on September 19, 1939, he said:

Ich betrete zum ersten mal einen Boden, der von deutschen Siedlern ein halbes Jahrtausend vor der Zeit in Besitz genommen worden war, da die ersten Weißen sich im heutigen Staate Neuyork niederließen. [...] Ein halbes Jahrtausend länger ist dieser Boden deutsch gewesen, war deutsch geblieben und wird – dessen können alle überzeugt sein – deutsch bleiben! (Speech of Adolf Hitler, 1939)

(For the first time I step on this land, of which German settlers took possession half a millennium before the first white people began settling in what is today the city of New York. [...] For half a millennium this land has been German and has remained German, and – of this you may rest assured – it will remain German!)²

And further:

Danzig war deutsch, Danzig ist deutsch geblieben und Danzig wird von jetzt ab deutsch sein, solange es ein deutsches Volk gibt und ein Deutsches Reich besteht. (Speech of Adolf Hitler, 1939)

(Danzig was German, Danzig has remained German and Danzig shall be from now on German as long as there exist German people and a German Reich.)³

However, this statement turned out not to be true. The historic center of the city, destroyed during the war, was rebuilt in 1950's and 1960's. In this reconstruction process, the German influence was erased (Kalinowski & Bingen, 2005, pp. 89f). It was not only a cultural cleansing but some scholars even say that "Manipulation of history and memory was popular practice in the parts of national history and heritage to meet the current political demand", and that "Manipulation and censorship were implemented in many fields, including cultural and heritage landscape" (Czepczyński, 2008, p. 82).

A land is the pride of its people. It is on that pride the people stand. Therefore, the most fundamental cultural heritage is the land, or *der Boden*, the German term Hitler repeatedly used in his speech in 1939. And the land can be dyed a new color by a new power to form a new stratum which forms the basis of its identity on which new people stand. Thus,

² English translation by the author.

³ English translation by the author.

vertical multiple-colored strata are formed on one site. The view differs according to the stratum people stand upon. The history of a given land is stronger than its ethnic group and its ancestry. Although it is the people who create the history of a land, the people themselves are at the mercy of the history of this land.

JAPAN AS CASANIER

As far back as the 15th dynasty of ancient Egypt (ca. 1650–1550 B.C.E.) a non-Egyptian foreign rule was established by the Hyksos ("rulers of foreign lands") from West Asia who had invaded and conquered Egyptian territory. Ever since then, there have been a multitude of other cases of forced rule by different people throughout world history, with Königsberg/Kaliningrad or Gdańsk/Danzig being just symbols of this phenomenon.

The exception to this is Japan. Of course, the perception or belief that Japan is a racially and ethnically homogeneous nation is incorrect. In Japan, there are not only Yamato people (Wajin π) but also other ethnic groups, such as the indigenous Ainu people and Ryukyuan people, and others. However, compared with other nations of the world, the situation in Japan, which has never been colonized by others, is rather simple.

The exception to Japan's long history of self-rule is the presence of the Allied Powers from 1945 to 1952, which marked the only time in Japanese history that it has been occupied by a foreign power. The Japanese constitution was comprehensively overhauled by the Allied Powers and the Emperor's power was strictly limited.

However, this situation only existed until Japan's sovereignty was fully restored when the San Francisco Peace Treaty became effective on April 28, 1952 (with the exception of Okinawa, which followed in 1972). Moreover, the Allied Powers' aim was not to conquer and then rule Japan but to implement the terms of the Potsdam Declaration and to establish and introduce parliamentary democracy by suppressing militaristic nationalism. General Douglas MacArthur, in his position as SCAP (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers), sought to "restore security, dignity and self-respect" to the Japanese people (Manchester, 1978, p. 472). The Dai-ichi Seimei building that once served as the headquarters of SCAP still stands *in situ* overlooking the Imperial Palace.

The Kawauchi campus of Tohoku University also possesses its own strata; along the axis of time, the stratum of the castle of the feudal lord

Date Masamune, the garrison of the 2nd division of the Imperial Japanese Army, that of General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Allied Powers and, currently, Tohoku University which constitutes today's stratum. Indeed, it is all quiet on the eastern front regarding GHQ-related cultural heritage artifacts, which cause almost no problem in today's Japan.

Japan Expanding – Japanese Strata in Dai-Manshū-Teikoku 大満州帝国 (Great Empire of Manchuria)

In the 19th century, a new Western institution, namely "the museum", fell upon Asia as an effective tool of colonization (Haga, 2020). The early museums in Asia were all institutions planted by European colonists, except for Tokyo Imperial Museum which was founded by the Japanese themselves in 1872, that is in Meiji 5 (Seki, 2005). In order to catch up with Western civilization, Meiji Japan imported Western institutions and systems, and under its industrialization policy, built this museum.

Subsequently, Imperial Japan "rightly" used the museum system to justify the ruling of its own colonial territory. This is best exemplified by the foundation of the Manshū-Koku National Museum (満州国国立博物館 Manshū-Koku Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan) in 1935, which became an institution aimed at representing the culture and enhancing the prestige of $Mansh\bar{u}$. 4

According to Ohide Naoko (2014), at the beginning, once the museum had opened, the culture of the Qing dynasty (清朝, 1616–1912) was the main theme in its displays, which was obvious as the region where the dynasty was founded in 1616 was located in Manchuria. After 1939, the museum became a place to exhibit the results of archaeological surveys conducted by Japanese archaeologists in $Mansh\bar{u}$. As a result, artifacts of the Kōguryō (高句麗, 1st century B.C.E.—668), Balhae (渤海, 689—926) kingdoms and the Liao dynasty (遼朝, 916—1125) were exhibited to create the history of $Mansh\bar{u}$, while the Qing dynasty or Sino elements were gradually reduced in number.

Historically, Balhae had a close relationship with Japan from the Nara period onward. Japanese scholars insisted that Balhae was a Manchurian

⁴ Please note that this does not refer to "Manchuria" which is a geographical zone but *Manshū* which is the generic name of *Manshū-Koku* (State of Manchuria) and *Dai-Manshū-Teikoku* (Empire of Great Manchuria), which were nations with limited international recognition and which were *de facto* under control of Imperial Japan. In short, they were puppet states of Imperial Japan.

dynasty, in order that history of $Mansh\bar{u}$ would be united with Japanese history and thus separated from Chinese history. This theory offered historical reality to the Imperial Japanese policy of "Japan and $Mansh\bar{u}$ as one (日満一体 Nichi- $Man\ ittai$)", namely a strong alliance between the two. Moreover, one $Wad\bar{o}kaichin$ coin (和同開珎), the oldest official Japanese coinage, minted in 708 at the end of the Asuka period and the beginning of the Nara period, was excavated from $Mansh\bar{u}$, and this archaeological evidence proved a close relationship between the two going back to antiquity and was regarded as a "national treasure of both Japan and $Mansh\bar{u}$ ". The Liao dynasty, which destroyed the Balhae kingdom, also possessed great importance. As its center was in $Mansh\bar{u}$ and it did not expand beyond the Great Wall (長城) toward the south, the Liao dynasty was the key to creating the history of $Mansh\bar{u}$ as being one separate from that of China.

All of this was very much convenient to the suzerain, Imperial Japan. Its archaeologists excavated the stratum of $Mansh\bar{u}$ that met the intention of their Empire so well. Since the historical science displayed in museums served the Empire very well, one could also say that Japan thoroughly understood and assimilated this Western concept of the museum very well.

There was no problem with this, of course, as long as the Japanese kept themselves within their own archipelago. Lee O-young (1982) may be correct in pointing out that the Japanese are good when aiming inwardly within this archipelago, and the Japanese are bad when extending outwardly to mainland Asia and the Pacific. Indeed, this expansion of the nation's identity often proved to be a failure. Perhaps, the Zen doctrine of "being satisfied with one's lot in life (吾唯知足 ware tada taru [wo] shiru)" should be applied on a national scale also.

WAR AS A MEANS OF GLOBALIZATION - THE CONSTITUTION OF JAPAN AS ITS FRUIT

War is a clash of civilizations. Thus, war inevitably produces globalization, especially world wars. Not just during the First World War, or especially the Second World War, but ever since human beings started to practice agriculture and started to hold on to land or property, have we indulged in this way of cultural exchange, namely war.

However, war is not a part of a human being's instinct. Indeed, it is one's bond to the land resulting from agriculture, which itself constitutes

a culture, that, as we will see below, has generated wars among us. Although the slaying of Abel by Cain itself was the very first incident of this type, it was just one murder and not a war. However, it is interesting that Abel was a shepherd and Cain was a farmer with the latter being considered by some to be an originator of evil, violence and greed.

As Jean-Jacques Rousseau says:

Mettons un moment ces idées en opposition avec l'horrible sistème de Hobbes; et nous trouverons, tout au rebours de son absurde doctrine, la guerre est née de la paix, ou du moins des précautions que les hommes ont prises pour s'assurer une paix durable. (Rousseau, Vol., III, p. 610)

(Comparing this idea against Hobbes's horrible system, we will find out that contrary to his absurd doctrine, war is born from peace, or at least, from precautions that human beings took to assure sustainable peace.)⁵

The author's perception is that Hobbes's theory "war of all against all" indicates the hunting and gathering stage while Rousseau's "precaution" concerns agrarian society and states. As Rousseau also says:

Nous allons voir les hommes unis par une concorde artificiele se rasembler pour s'entre égorger et toutes les horreurs de la guerre naître des soins qu'on avoit pris pour la prévenir. (Rousseau, Vol., III, note 12, p. 608)

(We will see that by artificial concordance united people come together to slaughter each other and all horrors of war born by the care that they have taken to prevent it.) 6

He says, moreover:

l'état de guerre ne pouvant naître des simples rélations personnelles, mais seulement des relations réelles. (Rousseau, Vol., III, p. 357)

(a war situation could not be born from simple personal relations but only from real relationships.)⁷

⁵ English translation by the author. Cf. Orikata (2016, pp. 23–48).

⁶ English translation by the author.

⁷ English translation by the author.

War is, in many ways, a "great" and "real" means of cultural exchange. The greater it is, the more extensive and deeper globalization caused by war is, insofar as altering the enemy's local fundamental order.

An "antonym" of justice is another's justice. Rousseau retorted that a war between states takes the form of an attack on sovereignty and social contract, which is an attack on the enemy state's constitution (Rousseau, Vol., III, note 12, pp. 607f, 611; Kato, 2009, p. 25). A victorious country's final aim is not just to occupy enemy territory and to incorporate enemy soldiers to its own forces. Indeed, it is for a victorious country to alter a vanquished country's fundamental systems of justice and social order, i.e. its constitution. This is exactly what occurred during the post-war process of the Second World War, especially in Japan. Therefore, this 18th century philosopher foresaw a Second-World-War-type war which ends with unconditional surrender.

A defeated Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration, whose "Section 10" reads:

The Japanese government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established. (cf. Potsdam Declaration 1945)

In this way was Japan forced to amend its constitution radically.

In February 1946, a committee headed by Japanese government minister Matsumoto Jōji made its "Matsumoto Proposal" (『憲法改正要綱』 Kenpō-kaisei-yōkō or 『松本試案』 Matsumoto-shian) public and which was presented to GHQ. However, it was merely an amendment of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan and its principle of "Imperial sovereignty", which states that sovereignty resides in the person of the Emperor, remained unchanged. In alignment with "The Declaration of Humanity" (「人間宣言」 Ningen-sengen) by Tennō (天皇 Emperor) Hirohito on January 1, 1946, at the request of GHQ, in which the Emperor denied his being a living god, in the "Matsumoto Proposal" only the wording regarding property of the Emperor was changed from "divine" (神聖 shinsei) to "extreme reverence" (至尊 shison). SCAP MacArthur rejected it and the

⁸ 『憲法改正要綱』*Kenpō-kaisei-yōkō* or 『松本試案』 *Matsumoto-shian*, submitted to GHQ on February 28, 1946. (Retrieved May 9, 2020, from National Diet Library Digital Collections, https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/3947829).

new Constitution of Japan was mostly written by the Americans based on the "MacArthur Draft", and enacted in May 1947. This constitution provides a parliamentary system of government and guarantees certain fundamental rights. Under its terms, the Emperor of Japan is "the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people" (cf. Japanese Constitution 1946) and exercises only a ceremonial role acting under the sovereignty of the people.

Occasionally, globalization serves to eradicate local traditional cultures and replaces them with a homogeneous popular culture. The Constitution of Japan is one of the extreme forms of this globalization with the intention of eradicating local traditional culture. The long-lasting traditional Japanese local culture and social order were thus replaced by homogeneous popular culture, i.e. parliamentary democracy.

However, we have to bear in mind that this development has brought about seventy-five years of peace up to the year 2020. In addition, the author likes to believe that in some way we are accomplishing a phrase present in the Preamble of the Constitution: "We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace" (cf. Japanese Constitution 1946).

CULTURAL HERITAGE – HORIZONTAL DIFFUSION AND ABSORPTION

Now, let us specify an object or idea and survey its diffusion over the land in a horizontal manner. Additionally, we can examine local culture in a time of globalization. Does globalization serve only to eradicate local traditional cultures and replace them with homogeneous popular culture?

AGRICULTURE IS CULTURE - WHEAT AND FU (麩)

As agriculture is culture, cultivated plants and domestic animals are cultural heritage. Thus, of course, food also constitutes historical and cultural heritage.

Let us examine a case related to the cultivated plant wheat and the bread-like food fu (Satō, 2016, pp. 246f), the latter which is made of wheat. Fu is manufactured as follows: first, the starch (70–80%) is washed out of the wheat by using large amounts of pure water in order to obtain protein

(10%) and then the remaining gluten is steamed to gain raw *fu* which will be boiled and dried to gain long-lasting dried *fu*.

Please note that the place of origin of wheat is what is now Syria and Iraq. These areas compose a dry desert region where it is impossible to manufacture fu by using large amounts of pure water. Subsequently, wheat gradually diffused eastward through the Eurasian continent until finally meeting large amounts of water in the monsoon region in Asia where fu production was possible and where fu was first created. High-protein fu became quite popular in Asia, which was accelerated by the Buddhist diet regarding animal-based food as taboo. From the Ming dynasty of China, fu was brought to Japan in the early Muromachi period.

While wheat is a "global" cultural heritage, fu is monsoon area "local" creation. Cultural heritage is not only maintained and popularized, but also creatively developed in new forms in given localities. In addition, purely Asian soy-sauce is a harmony of western wheat, eastern monsoon water, and soybeans. Almost every food and way of cooking is the fruit of a marriage between global and local resources.

Beef eating was introduced into Meiji period in Japan and encouraged by the government. Thus, it became a symbol of Western civilization and cultural enlightenment. *Sukiyaki* (鋤焼) made with beef became popular and now it is exported around the world, with this Japanized meat-based food becoming a symbol of Japan. In brief, a "global" product, introduced to "local" Japan, has become "global" once again. Moreover, the local Japanese food sushi is now a global food with a great diversity that is beyond the Japanese people's imagination.

Today, not only seeds of cultivated plants but also sperm cells and fertilized eggs are considered as cultural commercial heritage, or even intellectual property and are, therefore, protected by law. For example, in April 2020 Japan enacted bills to protect *wagyu* (和牛),⁹ Japanese beef cattle, to prevent unfair competition over the livestock's genetic resources that have been improved through endeavors in Japan.

⁹ "Act against Unfair Competition over Livestock Gene Property" (tentative translation by the author) (「家畜遺伝資源不正競争防止法」 *Kachiku-idenshigen-fuseikyōsō-boushihō*) and "Revised Act on Improvement and Increased Production of Livestock" (tentative translation by the author) (「改正家畜改良增殖法」 *Kaisei-kachiku-kairyo-zoshoku-hō*).

MITATE (見立て) AND HONJI SUIJAKU (本地垂迹説) THEORY - YŌKAN (羊羹) AS LOCAL MANIFESTATION (SUIJAKU) OF GLOBALIZATION (HONJI)

Another good example of a local product of globalization would be yōkan. The Japanese consider it as a typically Japanese special product often served with green tea. Natsume Sōseki (夏目漱石) in his novel Kusamakura (『草枕』) says: "In every aspect yōkan is a piece of art. No Western confectionary gives you such pleasure as yōkan" (Natsume, 1907, p. 67). Tanizaki Junichirō (谷崎潤一郎) in his essay Inei-raisan (『陰翳礼讃』) describes yōkan as the essence of Japanese aesthetic value on subtle meditative darkness where, on the contrary, he speaks in disparagingly of western cream as shallow and simple-minded (Tanizaki, 1939, p. 28).

Although it may be a symbol of Japanese beauty, $y\bar{o}kan$ is not of Japanese origin, as it too came from the Eurasian continent. $Y\bar{o}$ (\rightleftharpoons) of $y\bar{o}kan$ literally means "sheep (meat)", while kan (\ncong) means "hot soup". This is a common food in Central Eurasia; hot soup of mutton or meat gelatin jellied when cold. When it was introduced to Japan with Zen culture during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods, however, mutton was replaced by azuki-beans and meat soup by jellied azuki-bean paste.

This act of replacing original items by selected local substitutes that are close at hand is called *mitate* (見立て). For example, the Chinese art theme "Eight Views of Xiaoxiang" (瀟湘八景) around the Chinese Lake Dongting in Xiaoxiang region was imitated around the Japanese Lake Biwa in Ohomi region as "Eight Views of Ohomi" (近江八景 *Ohomi-hakkei*) by Japanese yearning for advanced and cultivated Chinese culture. Indeed, the Japanese are very good at this approach of absorbing foreign or global ideas into its land or home surroundings by localizing them.

Honji suijaku theory can be understood, in a way, as a kind of mitate in a Buddhist environment. This is the theory that believes that Indian Buddhist deities choose to appear in Japan as native Japanese kami (神 "Japanese god") in order to more easily convert and save the Japanese. In other words, it is a belief that some kami are local manifestations (suijaku 垂迹 "trace") of Buddhist deities (honji 本地 "original ground").

Japan receives new ideas from the outside world and arranges them into Japanese styles. Acceptance (reception but not intrusion) and arrangement (transformation to repurpose) is an effective and peaceful way of introducing foreign ideas and gods into local society in order to creatively develop them into new forms. Japan is not only capable of receiving these new ideas, it is very good at repurposing them.

HELLENISM AS ANCIENT GLOBALIZATION - GREEK GODS IN BUDDHIST ART

Today's globalization mainly concerns worldwide Americanization. Its analogues in the ancient world would be "Hellenism" in the West and "Sinocentrism" in the East. In those ancient globalizations, especially in the former case, the classical cultural traditions of "East" and "West" were interestingly reinvented in new cultural contexts.

"Hellenism" means the phenomenon by which Greek culture and civilization spread and diffused outside Greece to foreign people. Obviously, this is from the "Hellen (Greek)" point of view. Today, this ancient global phenomenon which is seen as "Hellenistic" in the Eurasian continent, is considered to be the diffusion of Greek civilization into the East. Therefore, what is always emphasized is that Greek Western civilization had the splendid power and appeal to diffuse into the East; as if it were the flow of water from the "high" West to the "low" East.

Indeed, here one may consider, for example, "the Great Departure scene" (出家踰城図 Shukke-yujō-zu), namely the scene when Siddhãrtha leaves the city of Kapilavastu in search of Enlightenment at the age of twenty-nine. An often-depicted female figure wearing a city-wall-crown in the scene in Gandhāran Buddhist art has been interpreted as Tyche, the Greek guardian goddess of the city (Foucher, 1905, pp. 36f; Tanabe, 2006, pp. 200, 235f, 273). Her presence asserts that the event took place in the city. Although the author agrees with this opinion, the scenes may be divided into two types according to the position of Tyche; the "Right type" (Fig. 1) and the "Left type" (Fig. 2).

The "Right type" is a visualization of the Buddhist sutra *Lalitavistara* with Tyche personifying the city (cf. Haga, 2014, pp. 11–36; Haga & Haga, 2017, pp. 503–608).

The author argues, in light of recent studies on Hellenistic Greek art, that depicting Tyche in the "Left type" has a further meaning than just the personification of the city. Tyche, "fortune" in Greek, is shown in the scene as a goddess of fate and of a dramatic reversal of fortune. Because of this function, she was eagerly worshipped in the Hellenistic World.

"The Great Departure" was the most dramatic turning point in the life of Siddhartha – Buddha. It was the volte-face moment from the former to the latter, from the Profane to the Sacred, from Chakravartin to Buddha. As Polybius observes (29.21.3-6), Hellenistic Tyche was a mighty goddess who even utterly annihilated the Persian, Darius Ⅲ, that were the master



Fig. 1. *The Great Departure*, Grey schist, h. 26 cm, w. 34 cm, Gandhāra, 2nd-4th century C.E. (Private collection Europe).



Fig. 2. *The Great Departure*, Grey schist, h. 21 cm, w. 28 cm, Gandhāra, 2nd-4th century C.E. (Private collection Japan).

of the whole world and allowed an unknown Macedonian, Alexander the Great, rule over all. Subsequently, a Buddhist Tyche, the goddess of fortune, is blessing the departure of Siddhartha and letting Buddha rule over the whole universe in the "Right type" of "the Great Departure scene".

This new interpretation by the author indicates that the Gandhāran side had a fair knowledge of Greek art and civilization. Understanding very well the functions and attributes of Greek gods and goddesses, the East exclusively and selectively absorbed elements of Western civilization in order to adapt them into Eastern cosmology and, therefore, to form an even richer Eastern civilization. Thus, Greek or Western iconography had the power to diffuse into the East. The author adds to this that the Eastern civilization had the power and ability to draw aspects of Western civilization into their own civilization in order to enrich themselves in a cultural sense.

BUDDHA AND HERACLES - WHEN TWO STRONG MEN STAND FACE TO FACE

The same can be said in the case of Sitting Buddha and Heracles (Fig. 3) from Hadda, Afghanistan. This robust attendant of Buddha, wearing a beard and holding a χλαμύς (chlamys) cape (Nemean lion skin) over his shoulder, is clearly Heracles, and that of the Lysippos type. What is very interesting is that here he changed his weapon from the usual Western club to the Buddhist vajra that destroys not a lion but worldly carnal desires (煩悩 bonnō). Heracles was appointed as Buddha's attendant because of his great military prowess and the fact that he was the best bodyguard possible. There is still another reason, the author believes. Because Heracles had traveled a lot due to his twelve labors and other adventures, he was well versed in the topography of the world. He was the best guide possible for Buddha who kept traveling in order to preach in the latter half of his earthly life. This indicates again that the East had great knowledge of the West, and based on this, one may argue that the East selected and absorbed the West in order to enrich its civilization. (To our great disappointment, this robust hero with his master was destroyed by a mighty Soviet tank during the Afghan War of 1979-1989.)

There is also a gold medallion (Fig. 4) excavated from Tillya Tepa in Afghanistan, which dates to the 4th quarter of the 1st century B.C.E. On one side of it, a roaring lion with an open mouth is depicted with a legend in Kharoshthi "Sih[o] vigatabhay[o]" (the lion who dispelled fear). On the

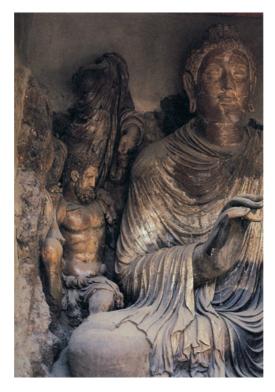


Fig. 3. *Sitting Buddha and Heracles,* Hadda, Afghanistan, 6th century C.E. (destroyed).



Fig. 4. *Gold medallion (privately minted coin)*, Tomb no. 4, Tillya Tepa, Afghanistan, gold, diameter 1.6 cm, the 4th quarter of the 1st century B.C.E. (National Bank of Afghanistan).

other side, a naked man with $\chi\lambda\alpha\mu\dot{\nu}$ cape and $\pi\dot{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\varsigma$ ($p\acute{e}tasos$) hat who rolls the wheel of the Buddhist doctrine is depicted with the legend "Dharmacakrapravata[ko]" (rolls the wheel of the law).

The man is interpreted as Heracles, which makes this the very first anthropomorphic representative image of Buddha. This is because after nirvana for a long period only Buddha's footprint or the wheel of Dharma were allowed to depict as figurative symbols of Buddha, and no human-like image of Buddha was allowed to be created.

In fact, no other Greek god and hero other than Heracles pursued life and death that can be of any resemblance to Siddhartha – Buddha. Moreover, when Buddha was perceived as a visual image or icon, its function as an object of worship in this world was to mediate and connect this earthy world with heaven. No other divinity of India and of the East is more analogous to this Greek hero (god Heracles) than human Siddhartha (holy Buddha).

The author claims that here West and East met, as Kipling states, "When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth" (Kipling, 1889).

GLOBALIZATION ≒ AMERICANIZATION?

Today's most influential country is considered to be America or the "American Empire" whose products and culture have diffused horizontally and globally. This phenomenon is well expressed by the terms like "Coca-Colonization" (for products), "McDonaldization" (for franchise business contracts) or "Disneyfication" (for lifestyles). If "an empire is primarily a money-making concern" as George Orwell proclaims (Orwell, 1942), America is by all means an "empire".

In Japan, Coca-Cola was already being imported in the Taishō period and it appears in a poem by Takamura Kōtarō (高村光太郎) published in 1914 as a symbol of superficial modernism in Tokyo (Hayashi, 2003, pp. 20–23). In 1925, it appeared in a letter by Akutagawa Ryūnosuke (芥川龍之介). The first McDonald's store in Japan was opened in 1971 in a popular upscale district Ginza in Tokyo. Tokyo Disneyland was opened in 1983. Through these and other factors, Americanization in Japan has deeply advanced.

The author himself as a typical Americanized Japanese felt relieved when he entered a McDonald's in Taksim Square in Istanbul to find cheesy (but expensive) familiar food. The same was true upon entering a KFC in Cairo, even though he had a rather frightening experience there, because it is nothing but a symbol of the "American Empire" and, therefore, a significant target of attack. Even just outside of Red Square near the Kremlin, there is a McDonald's. It seems there are KFC stores in Iran and Winnie the Pooh-like creatures in North Korea. Whether it was authentic or not, the author saw a Domino's Pizza in Thimphu, the capital of the Kingdom of Bhutan. A Neolithic vase dated around 5,000 B.C.E. with Coca-Cola logo was "found" (created) by Chinese modern artist Ai Weiwei, scornfully criticizing how deep in space and time Americanization has penetrated global culture. Oh, America, as the world-famous McDonald's commercial slogan says, "i'm lovin' it"!

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS - TO BE NOR NOT TO BE

Not only the trademarks but also such things as the know-how of these American companies are registered. Indeed, they are protected cultural and commercial property.

Traditionally, however, cultural property was not protected. For example, the Chinese system of characters was copied and imported into Japan. Such things as rice cultivation techniques, bronzeware and ironware techniques, Buddhism, Ritsu-ryō (律令, the set of criminal laws, administrative laws, procedural laws and civil laws), city planning philosophy and technology were all brought from mainland Asia to Japan. Although Japan has not paid for their copyrights yet, it is only earnestly and deeply grateful for the gracious benefits received from the Chinese and other advanced civilizations. The newly risen ancient Greek civilization also copied a lot for free, for example, figurative art from advanced Egyptian civilization. It is true that such skills as the iron smelting techniques of Hittites, and Chinese silk, and Venetian glass-making were all protected trade secrets and their rational monopolistic form brought copious profits to the states involved. In the end, however, the details of how to make them were leaked and they were reproduced elsewhere, a development which brought immense wealth to the world. Civilizations copied other civilizations mutually for centuries and this is how the world civilizations have developed.

Today, we understand very well the importance of intellectual property rights. This encourages the creation of new intellectual goods and intangible ideas that bring benefits to our world and advance it to a further phase. At the same time, intellectual property rights could lead to intellectual monopolies. *Ay, there's the rub*.

TRON (The Real-time Operating-system Nucleus, more precisely Industrial TRON embedded OS) (cf. TRON Forum) is an "open architecture" real-time operating system kernel design project started by Prof. Dr. Sakamura Ken of Tokyo University in 1984. The most widespread and widely used OS (Operating System) in today's world is not Windows, MacOS, Android, nor iOS, which are used for personal computers and smartphones. The number of microchips used in these devices is only about 5% of all microchips used throughout the world. Of the remaining 95% of microchips used, about 60% of these have TRON embedded within them.

As the most globally widespread OS, TRON is truly "open architecture" software, created more than a decade before the "Free Software Movement" and "Free Culture Movement" started in the late 1990's. As TRON's source code and specification are open to the public license for free, anyone can use it or modify it as one wishes free of charge. Furthermore, one does not have to declare procurement of it nor to release what one has modified for its own purpose. At the same time, however, one can claim intellectual property rights based on the parts one has created. This is not how other "Open Source" operating systems, such as Linux are run. Prof. Sakamura did not have the intention of making a profit for himself but wanted a global society to develop truly freely by using TRON. The author remembers the joyful boyish twinkle in the eyes of Prof. Sakamura when he was confronted with the Zuse Z3 preserved in Deutsches Museum in Munich, namely the world first programmable fully automatic digital computer made by Konrad Zuse in 1941.

Thus, whether 'tis nobler in the mind to enjoy the benefit of a finite-set or infinite-set, with a short-range or a long-range "Weltanschauung", that is the question.

CORONAVIRUS SARS-COV-2 AS HISTORICAL AND, THEREFORE, GLOBAL CULTURAL HERITAGE

If we define cultural heritage as products of human activity, the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus is surely one of them. It is a product of our cultural and social activities. Indeed, the coronavirus pandemic is nothing but one of the most prodigious phenomena of today's globalization as a crown we have worn throughout our long human history.

In the distant past, among people whose lifestyles were based on hunting and gathering, the constituent numbers of each human group were very small and the groups were scattered in open savannahs. Once the majority of these small groups became immune, contagious viruses had no place else to go; thus, neither endemics nor epidemics could occur.

About ten thousand years ago, when agricultural culture began, people started to live and work closer together. This is when epidemics of influenza occurred for the first time in human history.

And ever since the ancient Sumerian city-civilization of southern Mesopotamia rose, where the "Three Cs ($\lceil 3 \times \rceil$) san-mitsu; Closed spaces, Crowded places with many people nearby and Close-contact settings)" were formed, pandemics were the inevitable outcome. Today in the world, there are more than 370 major cities with populations of over one million people. About a half of the almost eight billion people around the world live in these cities. Moreover, since the invention of the airplane, people travel more and more pan-globally and in greater and greater numbers. Thus, the 2020 pandemic was inevitable.

We should bear in mind that 99% of human history so far was marked by a nomadic lifestyle based on hunting and gathering. Agrarian society and city-civilizations are very recent ways of living and we are not yet accustomed to these novel and abnormal living conditions. Of further interest is that, globally, countries worked out singular countermeasures against the virus, which was localization. And even this coronavirus, with its many cons, has pros, opens new horizons to human beings just as previous viruses did. Viruses are cultural heritage and pandemics are nothing but the fruits of our progress toward a global civilization.

Somebody has said that now BC means "Before Corona". Then AD would be "After Disaster". What will "AD" look like? This virus has forcefully shown us interesting inner aspects of our civilization that previously we could only faintly see, and has radically changed our social attitudes with such an acceleration to a phase we did not yet think we would reach. In the "AD" era, do we want to restore everything back to its former normal situation? We should think about what we do not want to resume and welcome and embrace the once-in-a-lifetime rapid change that we have paid for with blood, sweat, and tears.

 $^{^{10}}$ "Avoid the 'Three Cs' (3密)" is "Important notice for preventing COVID-19 outbreak" announced by Prime Minister's Office and Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan in March 2020.

Ballad for the Future — By Vertical *Genius Loci* and Horizontally Wandering Gods

Genius loci

A *genius loci* is a protective local spirit. One of the most famous is the protective goddess of the polis Athens, the "maiden" (= $\pi\alpha\rho\vartheta\dot{\epsilon}vo\varsigma$ parthénos) Athena whose temple is Parthenon. Through a contest against Poseidon, which is the theme of the west pediment of her temple, the goddess was selected by people as their benefactor, i.e. their *genius loci*.

In ancient Roman religion, *genii locorum* were widely venerated, and they were often depicted in art. This philosophy was inherited by many European cities which had a *genius loci* or *patronus* who was a Christian patron saint. There was a prevailing tendency amongst European cities to have a *patronus* in order to raise the city's global presence. For example, in 828 C.E., Venice stole the body of the Saint Mark the Evangelist from Alexandria and had it brought to the city; thus, the saint became the *genius loci* of the city. On the mosaic on the façade of the Saint Mark's Basilica where the *reliquiae* are preserved, the scene at the customs inspection in Alexandria is depicted. The saint's body was transported in a box covered with pork, so that the Islamic custom officials felt abhorred and shied away from it without inspecting the cargo properly. This was a cunning scheme by *furbi*, or wily Venetian merchants.

If a *genius loci* is a benefactor selected by the local people through an act of justice, such as in the case of Athena of the *parthénos*, could the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Mikhail Kalinin be regarded as the *genius loci* of Kaliningrad appointed by Stalin? This depends on the past and present inhabitants of this locality.

IS EAST "EAST" AND WEST "WEST"?

At the same time gods themselves wander globally, just as we have seen in the cases of Greek-Roman gods absorbed into Central Asian culture, which, of course, later diffused further east, even as far as Japan. The *genius loci* of Kapilavastu, capital of the Shakyas clan where Siddhartha lived, was represented as the Hellenistic goddess Tyche. In addition, the very first anthropomorphic representative image of Buddha was Heracles.

As Rudyard Kipling says in his famous *The Ballad of East and West* (Kipling, 1889, pp. 233–236):

Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the two shall meet, Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat;

but he explicitly disavows it in the very next lines read:

But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth, When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth.

Just as described in these lines, ancient gods from the ends of the earth met each other quite often, as we have seen above. Interestingly, ancient cases where Greek gods, Buddha and others deities also met took place in the region of "the North-West Frontier", namely the boundary of the British Indian Empire of present-day Pakistan, where the event between Kamal, a tribal chieftain and a British colonel's son described in this Kipling poem came about, which only suggests the importance of this area, Gandhāra.

Just as with this British Indian Empire, globalization means a phenomenon that crosses nations' borders. Once Imperialism and Communism with the slogan "Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch! (Workers of the world, unite!)" (Marx & Engels, 1848) constituted this phenomenon. Kipling himself was a good example of the fruit of imperialism. He was born in Bombay (Mumbai) in the British Raj (the rule of British Crown over the Indian subcontinent, as part of the British Empire) in India as an Anglo-Indian (19th century term for people of British origin living in India). He was raised in an environment with "strong light and darkness" (Kipling, 1937, p. 5). Apart from his works, such as *The Jungle Book* (Kipling, 1894) and Kim (Kipling, 1901), he himself was the fruit not only of globalization but also of his locality, occupying an existence between two worlds, just like his creatures Mowgli and Kim, who have both their advantages to aid them and crosses to bear. At the end of the "Tiger! Tiger!" of The Jungle Book, Mowgli says, "the Man Pack have cast me out. [...] Wolf Pack, ye have cast me out too. The jungle is shut to me and the village gates are shut. Why? [...] fly I between the villages and the jungle" (Kipling, 1901, p. 133).

Every human factor, of course including Kipling, is conditioned by one's time. Indeed, as George Orwell writes, "Kipling belongs very definitely to the period 1885–1902" (Orwell, 1942, p. 102). Thus, Kipling says in

"The White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippines Islands" (*The Times*, February, 4, 1899)¹¹:

Take up the White Man's burden –
Send forth the best ye breed –
Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait in heavy harness
On fluttered folk and wild –
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

This is a poem of "globalization" which then was in the form of "imperialism" that exhorts the West to assume control of the East, because the White Man is morally obligated to rule the Non-White Man and encourage his progress to the world of civilization. In fact, another English author, who also was born in India, was George Orwell who rebuked Kipling for being "a jingo imperialist, [...] morally insensitive and aesthetically disgusting" (Orwell, 1942, p. 100) and seeing imperialism as "a sort of forcible evangelizing. You turn a Gatling gun on a mob of unarmed 'natives', and then you establish 'the Law', which includes roads, railways and a court-house" (Orwell, 1942, p. 102).

It cannot be denied that Kipling was an imperialist. He is said to have shortened the distance between England and India more effectively than the Suez Canal. As mentioned above, he himself was a result of imperialism, and he once said: "England is a wonderful land. It is the most marvelous of all foreign countries that I have ever been in" (Cohen, ed., 1965, p. 51). Thus, England was a foreign country connected to him by imperialism.

However, first of all, one has to remember that the Zeitgeist conditions every humanistic factor. Karl Marx's understanding of nations at this time in *Das Kapital* was as follows:

Das industriell entwickeltere Land zeigt dem minder entwickelten nur das Bild der eignen Zukunft. (The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed the image of its own future.)

¹¹ Cf. *Notes by Mary Hamer*. Retrieved May 9, 2020, from http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg_burden1.htm.

Eine Nation soll und kann von der anderen lernen. (One nation can and should learn from others). (Marx, 1867, Vorwort)¹²

This was the general understanding of the time and the basis of the reasons and excuses to colonize other countries. Kipling too was a man of his time.

But still, one can see beyond that in Kipling's writings. One only has to read carefully what he has written on the East to find out that he was not merely an imperialist.

He came to Japan first in 1889 and stayed for four weeks. In 1892 he came to Japan for the second time, this time as part of his honeymoon, then staying for two months. As we will consider below, his observations on Japan are evidently well disposed to this non-Western heathen world.

In April of 1892, as he approaches Yokohama harbor, he describes it as follows:

all the water lay out as smooth as the inside of an oyster shell (Cortazzi, Webb, eds., 1988, p. 195)¹³

and

Two children in blue and white, their tanned limbs pink in the fresh air, sculled a marvelous boat of lemon-hued wood, and that was our fairy craft to the shore across the stillness and the mother-o'-pearl levels. (Cortazzi, Webb, eds., 1988, p. 195)

This sensitive and tender depiction of the Japanese landscape speaks for itself.

He scents morning air of Yokohama harbor as follows:

the gentle and insinuating flavour that stole across the light airs of daybreak when the fairy boat went to shore - a smell of very clean new wood; split bamboo, wood-smoke, damp earth, and things that people who are not white people eat - a homelike and comforting smell. (Cortazzi, Webb, eds., 1988, p. 195)

¹² English translation by the author.

¹³ Translated by T. Kanō 加納孝代訳 (2002), *Kipling no Nihon hakken* 『キプリングの日本発見』 (Discovery of Japan by Kipling), Tokyo: Chūōkoron Shinsha 中央公論新社.

Regarding the Japanese language and again about the smell, he is very intimate and favorable in his remarks:

(when *jinrickshaw* coolies) the ghost of familiar words would not grow any clearer till presently the Smell came down the open streets again, saying that this was the East where nothing matters, and trifles old as the Tower of Babel mattered less than nothing, and that there were old acquaintances waiting at every corner beyond the township. Great is the Smell of the East! Railways, telegraphs, docks, and gunboats cannot banish it, and it will endure till the railways are dead. He who has not smelt that smell has not lived. (Cortazzi, Webb, eds., 1988, pp. 195f)

Kipling already knew that sometimes globalization or "civilization" serves to eradicate local traditional cultures:

The globe-trotting millionaires, anxious to spend money with a hose on whatever caught their libertine fancies, had explained to us aboard ship that they came to Japan in haste, advised by their guide-books to do so, lest the land should be suddenly civilized between steamer-sailing and steamer-sailing. When they touched land they ran away to the curio shops to buy things which are prepared for them – mauve and magenta and blue-vitriol things. (Cortazzi, Webb, eds., 1988, p. 196)

Kipling, on the other hand, resisted this temptation: "We, being wise, sit in a garden" (Cortazzi, Webb, eds., 1988, p. 196).

Kipling visited Kamakura where "the great bronze Buddha sits facing the sea to hear the centuries go by" (Cortazzi, Webb, eds., 1988, p. 201). He informs us in anger:

They sell photographs of him [the Buddha] with tourists standing on his thumbnail, and, apparently, any brute of either gender can scrawl his or her ignoble name over the inside of the massive bronze plates that build him up. Think for a moment of the indignity and the insult! (Cortazzi, Webb, eds., 1988, p. 201)

Before Kipling's visit, an American missionary-educator Edward Warren Clark came to Kamakura. He writes about his visit as follows:

Dai-Butz [...] very imposing without, but he is entirely empty within.

After studying the image as a work of art, I climbed up into his capacious lap, and sat upon one of his thumbs [...]. Here I began to sing the long-metre

doxology, to the astonishment of the priest standing below, who could not understand the words, and wondered what the matter was! A year after this I sang the same hymn in Dai-Butz's lap, with half-a-dozen other people; and we told the priest we were praising the TRUE GOD, that the time was at hand when idolatry in Japan was going down, never to rise again, and that even Dai-Butz would no longer be worshipped. (Clark, 1878, pp. 20f).

Kipling was indignant at this neither reverent nor decent behavior of this missionary and composed a poem asking his Christian English brethren to show some respect to "the Buddha at Kamakura".

In the poem of "a Japanese idol at Kamakura" (Clark, 1878, pp. 202–204), he asks one to "Be gentle when 'the heathen' pray / To Buddha at Kamakura!". Here he urges his fellow Englishmen and Americans, who are unquestioning believers of Christ, to look inwards and show remorse for their improper attitude while observing "'the heathen' pray".

And Kipling asks the Westerner as follows:

Yet spare us still the Western joke When joss-sticks turn to scented smoke The little sins of little folk That worship at Kamakura –

He sees things globally in a very fair way:

And who so will, from Pride released, Condemning neither creed nor priest, May feel the Soul of all the East About him at Kamakura.

He sees things from the point of view of Hindu and Buddhist:

And beef-fed zealots threaten ill To Buddha and Kamakura.

And he concludes:

A tourist-show, a legend told, A rusting bulk of bronze and gold, So much, and scarce so much, ye hold The meaning of Kamakura?

But when the morning prayer is prayed, Think, ere ye pass to strife and trade, Is God in human image made No nearer than Kamakura?

In this poem, one sees Kipling's strong determination to try to reel in and connect East and West. As stated in another famous phrase of his: "what should they know of England who only England know?" (Kipling, 1891), one has to know what is global to understand what is local. And one has to always pay respect to the locals. What Kipling wanted to say in his novel *Kim* is that one should accept the situation where contradictory truths exist at the same time in the same space, and that only through tolerance of admitting cultural differences can diverse identities coexist.

In fact, in ancient Central Eurasia, Heracles was Heracles and Buddha was Buddha, and they only enhanced each other. In order to witness that, neither do we have to wait till the day of "God's great Judgment Seat" nor does it have to be at a seat in front of the Christian God or any of the gods of the Abrahamic religions.

In this age of globalization, by protecting a local *genius loci*, local cultural heritages are brought back into existence and form new cultural contexts, thereby enriching the local cultures which in return make the global culture more fertile and diverse. This is how local cultures should meet in a global context in order to create a new global world.

Therefore, the author would conclude that when two strong persons such as "Heracles" and "Buddha", who are local and at the same time global figures, "come from the ends of the earth" and "stand face to face, there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth" (Kipling, 1889, p. 236).

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