

# 菊与刀

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM  
AND THE SWORD

中英对照全译本

[美] 露丝·本尼迪克特 著

*Ruth Benedict*

盛世教育西方名著翻译委员会 译



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美国文学卷

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世界图书出版公司

上海·西安·北京·广州

图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

菊与刀：英汉对照 / (美) 本尼迪克特著；盛世教育西方名著翻译委员会译. —上海：上海世界图书出版公司, 2015.10

ISBN 978-7-5100-9938-0

I. ①菊… II. ①本… ②盛… III. ①英语—汉语—对照读物②民族文化—研究—日本 IV. ①H319.4: K

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2015)第 191883 号

卷学文国美

本教全洲英中

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[美] 鲁思·本尼迪克特 著

盛世教育西方名著翻译委员会 译

上海世界图书出版公司 出版发行

上海市广中路 88 号

邮政编码 200083

北京盛华达印刷有限公司印刷

如发现印刷质量问题，请与印刷厂联系

(质检科电话：010-84897777)

各地新华书店经销

开本：880×1230 1/32 印张：13 字数：412 000

2015 年 10 月第 1 版第 1 次印刷

ISBN 978-7-5100-9938-0/H-1337

定价：31.80 元

<http://www.wpcsh.com.cn>

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## 前言

通过阅读文学名著学语言，是掌握英语的绝佳方法。既可接触原汁原味的英语，又能享受文学之美，一举两得，何乐不为？

对于喜欢阅读名著的读者，这是一个最好的时代，因为有成千上万的书可以选择；这又是一个不好的时代，因为在浩繁的卷帙中，很难找到适合自己的好书。

然而，你手中的这套丛书，值得你来信赖。

这套精选的中英对照名著全译丛书，未改编改写、未删节削减，且配有权威注释、部分书中还添加了精美插图。

要学语言、读好书，当读名著原文。如习武者切磋交流，同高手过招方能渐明其间奥妙，若一味在低端徘徊，终难登堂入室。积年流传的名著，就是书中“高手”。然而这个“高手”，却有真假之分。初读书时，常遇到一些挂了名著名家之名改写改编的版本，虽有助于了解基本情节，然而所得只是皮毛，你何曾真的就读过了那名著呢？一边是窖藏了50年的女儿红，一边是贴了女儿红标签的薄酒，那滋味，怎能一样？“朝闻道，夕死可矣。”人生短如朝露，当努力追求真正的美。

本套丛书的英文版本，是根据外文原版书精心挑选而来；对应的中文译文以直译为主，以方便中英文对照学习，译文经反复推敲，对忠实理解原著极有助益；在涉及到重要文化习俗之处，添加了精当的注释，以解疑惑。

读过本套丛书的原文全译，相信你会得书之真意、语言之精髓。

送君“开卷有益”之书，愿成文采斐然之人。



|           |                                       |     |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|-----|
| CHAPTER 1 | ASSIGNMENT: JAPAN .....               | 1   |
| 第一章       | 任务：研究日本 .....                         | 1   |
| CHAPTER 2 | THE JAPANESE IN THE WAR .....         | 26  |
| 第二章       | 战争中的日本人 .....                         | 26  |
| CHAPTER 3 | TAKING ONE'S PROPER STATION .....     | 55  |
| 第三章       | 各安其位 .....                            | 55  |
| CHAPTER 4 | THE MEIJI REFORM.....                 | 98  |
| 第四章       | 明治维新 .....                            | 98  |
| CHAPTER 5 | DEBTOR TO THE AGES AND THE WORLD..... | 126 |
| 第五章       | 历史和社会的负恩者 .....                       | 126 |
| CHAPTER 6 | REPAYING ONE-TEN-THOUSANDTH.....      | 147 |
| 第六章       | 报恩于万一 .....                           | 147 |
| CHAPTER 7 | THE REPAYMENT 'HARDEST TO BEAR' ..... | 172 |
| 第七章       | “最难承受”的回报 .....                       | 172 |
| CHAPTER 8 | CLEARING ONE'S NAME .....             | 187 |
| 第八章       | 洗刷污名 .....                            | 187 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| CHAPTER 9 THE CIRCLE OF HUMAN FEELINGS ..... | 228 |
| 第九章 人情世故 .....                               | 228 |
| CHAPTER 10 THE DILEMMA OF VIRTUE .....       | 251 |
| 第十章 道德的两难 .....                              | 251 |
| CHAPTER 11 SELF-DISCIPLINE .....             | 294 |
| 第十一章 自我约束 .....                              | 294 |
| CHAPTER 12 THE CHILD LEARNS .....            | 325 |
| 第十二章 儿童学习 .....                              | 325 |
| CHAPTER 13 THE JAPANESE SINCE VJ-DAY .....   | 383 |
| 第十三章 投降后的日本人 .....                           | 383 |
| 中英对照全译本系列书目表 .....                           | 409 |

## Chapter 1 Assignment: Japan

## 第一章 任务：研究日本

THE Japanese were the most alien enemy the United States had ever fought in an all-out struggle. In no other war with a major foe had it been necessary to take into account such exceedingly different habits of acting and thinking. Like Czarist Russia before us in 1905, we were fighting a nation fully armed and trained which did not belong to the Western cultural tradition. Conventions of war which Western nations had come to accept as facts of human nature obviously did not exist for the Japanese. It made the war in the Pacific more than a series of landings on island beaches, more than an unsurpassed problem of logistics. It made it a major problem in the nature of the enemy. We had to understand their behavior in order to cope with it.

The difficulties were great. During the past seventy-five years since Japan's closed doors were opened, the Japanese have been described in the most fantastic series of 'but also's' ever used for any nation of the world. When a serious observer is writing about peoples other than the Japanese and says they are

在曾令美国殚精竭虑作战的对手之中，日本是最令人捉摸不透的敌人。这个强敌的思维方式和行为举止与我们简直南辕北辙，使得我们不得不严阵以待，这在历次战争中都是破天荒的事情。就像我们曾经在 1905 年与之作战的沙俄一样，我们所面对的是这样一个全副武装、训练有素的民族，他们并不归属于西方的文化传统。西方国家已经接受的那些基于人性的战争惯例，对日本人来说则是不存在的。这种分歧令太平洋战争不仅仅是一系列岛屿的登陆作战以及无法超越的后方支援问题，首要难题变成了研究敌方的秉性。知己知彼，方能应战。

要解决这样的问题实在困难重重。自从日本打开国门至今的 75 年时间里，人们形容日本人时总是使用诸如“但是，又……”之类的这些令人眼花缭乱的词句，这是世界上其他国家都望尘莫及的。当一个严谨认真的观察者在记录除日本之外的民族时，并不太可能会在



unprecedentedly polite, he is not likely to add, 'But also insolent and overbearing.' When he says people of some nation are incomparably rigid in their behavior, he does not add, 'But also they adapt themselves readily to extreme innovations.' When he says a people are submissive, he does not explain too that they are not easily amenable to control from above. When he says they are loyal and generous, he does not declare, 'But also treacherous and spiteful.' When he says they are genuinely brave, he does not expatiate on their timidity. When he says they act out of concern for others' opinions, he does not then go on to tell that they have a truly terrifying conscience. When he describes robot-like discipline in their Army, he does not continue by describing the way the soldiers in that Army take the bit in their own teeth even to the point of insubordination. When he describes a people who devote themselves with passion to Western learning, he does not also enlarge on their fervid conservatism. When he writes a book on a nation with a popular cult of aestheticism which gives high honor to actors and to artists and lavishes art upon the cultivation of chrysanthemums, that book does not ordinarily have to be supplemented by another which is devoted to the cult of the

说完他们极其有礼貌之后，又加上一句，“但是，他们又很傲慢无礼、专横武断。”而当他说这个民族天下第一顽固的时候，也不会添上一句，“可是同时他们又极易接受高度的创新。”当他说一个民族唯命是从时，他也不会解释说他们并非那么容易被集权控制。当他说他们忠诚大方时，他也不会声称，“他们同时又心怀异端，满腹怨怼。”当他说他们十分勇敢，便不会再极尽描述他们的怯懦退缩。当他说他们总是顾忌他人的看法而行动，他不会说他们有着强到可怕的自我认知。当他形容他们的军队如同机器一般整齐划一、纪律严明，他不会形容这部队里的士兵是怎样不服管教到了违抗军令的地步。当他形容一个民族是如此虔诚真心地仰慕西方文化，他不会夸张地渲染他们保守得顽冥不化。当他写一本书讲述一个民族是多么狂热地爱好美学，对表演者和艺术家给予极高的赞美，在培育菊花方面极具艺术天赋，他不会又另外写一本书来补充说，这个民族同样狂热地崇尚剑道和武士的至高荣耀。



sword and the top prestige of the warrior.

All these contradictions, however, are the warp and woof of books on Japan. They are true. Both the sword and the chrysanthemum are a part of the picture. The Japanese are, to the highest degree, both aggressive and unaggressive, both militaristic and aesthetic, both insolent and polite, rigid and adaptable, submissive and resentful of being pushed around, loyal and treacherous, brave and timid, conservative and hospitable to new ways. They are terribly concerned about what other people will think of their behavior, and they are also overcome by guilt when other people know nothing of their misstep. Their soldiers are disciplined to the hilt but are also insubordinate.

When it became so important for America to understand Japan, these contradictions and many others equally blatant could not be waved aside. Crises were facing us in quick succession. What would the Japanese do? Was capitulation possible without invasion? Should we bomb the Emperor's palace? What could we expect of Japanese prisoners of war? What should we say in our propaganda to Japanese troops and to the Japanese homeland which could save the lives of Americans and lessen Japanese determination to fight to the last man? There were violent disagreements among

然而，所有这些截然不同的矛盾却成为研究日本论著中的经纬脉络。而这些都是无比真实的。刀与菊，都是这幅民族画卷的组成要素。日本人的确极富侵略性又极度温顺；既崇尚武力又推崇美学；既傲慢专断又有礼有节；既固执教条又顺应潮流；既惯于服从又不甘于被人驱使摆布；既忠贞不屈又容易叛逃；既刚猛无比又胆小怯懦；既十分保守又对新的生活方式敞开胸怀。他们极度在意他人对自己行为的看法，但当其他人对他们的恶行一无所知时，他们自己却又被负罪感所折磨。他们的士兵训练有素，纪律严格，但却桀骜难驯，内心反叛。

既然了解日本已经成为美国的重要课题，我们就不能对这些双面矛盾和其他许多同样恼人的问题视而不见了。重重危机接踵而至。日本人接下来会怎么做？有没有可能让日本不战而降？我们是否应该直接轰炸天皇的宫殿？我们可以从日本战俘身上获得什么信息？在对日本军队及日本本土进行政治宣传时，我们应该说什么才能挽救美国人的生命，并削弱日本人那种决心战斗到最后一人的钢铁意志？而即便是在那些对日本人了解至深的专家中也有很激烈的分歧。如果战争平息，为了维

those who knew the Japanese best. When peace came, were the Japanese a people who would require perpetual martial law to keep them in order? Would our army have to prepare to fight desperate bitter-enders in every mountain fastness of Japan? Would there have to be a revolution in Japan after the order of the French Revolution or the Russian Revolution before international peace was possible? Who would lead it? Was the alternative the eradication of the Japanese? It made a great deal of difference what our judgments were.

In June, 1944, I was assigned to the study of Japan. I was asked to use all the techniques I could as a cultural anthropologist to spell out what the Japanese were like. During that early summer our great offensive against Japan had just begun to show itself in its true magnitude. People in the United States were still saying that the war with Japan would last three years, perhaps ten years, more. In Japan they talked of its lasting one hundred years. Americans, they said, had had local victories, but New Guinea and the Solomons were thousands of miles away from their home islands. Their official communiqués had hardly admitted naval defeats and the Japanese people still regarded themselves as victors.

In June, however, the situation began to

持稳定，需要对日本人实施永久军事管制吗？我方的军队是否要做好在日本每一座山林的要塞中与那些穷途末路的极端分子打游击战的准备？在世界和平的曙光降临之前，日本会不会爆发一次法国或俄国式的革命？谁将主导这次革命呢？还是说日本这个民族将注定消亡？我们对这些问题的推断都存在巨大的不同，没有确切的定论。

1944年6月，我被委派做研究日本的工作。我的任务是使用作为一个文化人类学家所能应用的所有技术，解密日本这个民族的原貌。那年夏季伊始，我国对日本的大规模反击才刚刚拉开序幕。美国本土的人们还坚持说对日战争还要持续3年，也许10年，甚至更久。在日本，人们谈起这场战争，都认为会持续100年之久。他们说，美军虽然取得了局部胜利，但是新几内亚和所罗门群岛离日本岛还有数千英里之遥。日本的官方媒体压根不承认日本海军的失败，日本国民依然视他们自己为胜利者。

然而，到了6月，局势开始发

change. The second front was opened in Europe and the military priority which the High Command had for two years and a half given to the European theater paid off. The end of the war against Germany was in sight. And in the Pacific our forces landed on Saipan, a great operation forecasting eventual Japanese defeat. From then on our soldiers were to face the Japanese army at constantly closer quarters. And we knew well, from the fighting in New Guinea, on Guadalcanal, in Burma, on Attu and Tarawa and Biak, that we were pitted against a formidable foe.

In June, 1944, therefore, it was important to answer a multitude of questions about our enemy, Japan. Whether the issue was military or diplomatic, whether it was raised by questions of high policy or of leaflets to be dropped behind the Japanese front lines, every insight was important. In the all-out war Japan was fighting we had to know, not just the aims and motives of those in power in Tokyo, not just the long history of Japan, not just economic and military statistics; we had to know what their government could count on from the people. We had to try to understand Japanese habits of thought and emotion and the patterns into which these habits fell. We had to know the sanctions behind

生扭转。欧洲开辟了第二战场，最高司令部给予欧洲战场2年半的军事优先权已经取得显著成果，战胜德国已经是指日可待的事情。在太平洋上，我军已经登陆塞班岛。这场伟大的战役也宣告了日军最终的战败。自那以后，我们的士兵便频频与日军近距离作战。而且，从新几内亚、瓜达尔卡纳尔、缅甸、阿图、塔拉瓦、比亚克等战役中，我们清楚地知道，我们所面对的敌人是多么可怕而又令人敬畏。

因此，到了1944年6月，对于我们的敌人——日本的许多疑问作出解答就变得至关重要。这些问题，无论是军事上的还是外交上的，不管是来自高层的指示，还是出于在日军前线散发宣传小册子的需要，每一条解答都须是真知灼见。在日本发动的全面战争中，我们必须要了解清楚的，不仅是东京统治力量的动机和目的，不仅是日本漫长的历史，也不仅是经济、军事上的统计数据。我们必须了解的是，日本政府指望从他们的民众身上获得什么？我们必须试着去理解日本人的思维习惯和情感模式，以及这些习惯所形成的固定模式。我们必须弄清是什么在背后牵制着这些行动和意志。我们必须将自

these actions and opinions. We had to put aside for the moment the premises on which we act as Americans and to keep ourselves as far as possible from leaping to the easy conclusion that what we would do in a given situation was what they would do.

My assignment was difficult. America and Japan were at war and it is easy in wartime to condemn wholesale, but far harder to try to see how your enemy looks at life through his own eyes. Yet it had to be done. The question was how the Japanese would behave, not how we would behave if we were in their place. I had to try to use Japanese behavior in war as an asset in understanding them, not as a liability. I had to look at the way they conducted the war itself and see it not for the moment as a military problem but as a cultural problem. In warfare as well as in peace, the Japanese acted in character. What special indications of their way of life and thinking did they give in the way they handled warfare? Their leaders' ways of whipping up war spirit, of reassuring the bewildered, of utilizing their soldiers in the field — all these things showed what they themselves regarded as the strengths on which they could capitalize. I had to follow the details of the war to see how the Japanese revealed themselves in it step by step.

身作为美国人作出行动时的预置前提放在一边，尽可能不轻易地断下结论，认为在特定的情况下，我们怎么做，日本人就会怎样做。

我的任务十分艰巨。美国与日本正处于战时，在战争中把错误都推到敌方头上是很容易的事情；但要想了解你的敌人是如何通过他自己的眼睛看待生活的，可就难上加难了。但这又是必须完成的任务。问题在于日本人会如何反应，而不是我们站在他们的角度会如何反应。我必须尽可能地把日本人在战争中的行为，作为我所拥有的“资产”来理解他们，而不是作为“负债”影响到我的判断。我必须审视他们作战时的方式，并暂时不将这个问题看做是一个军事方面的问题，而是一个文化问题。同和平时期一样，在战时，日本人的行为方式也独具特色。他们在对待战争时不经意流露的细节揭示了哪些他们日常生活和思维方式的特征？他们的将领鼓舞士气、安抚国民，以及在战场上运筹帷幄的方式——所有这些都会说明哪些才是他们自认为可被利用的优势力量。我必须不放过战争中的每个细节，去洞察日本人如何一步步地在蛛丝马迹中暴露自己。

The fact that our two nations were at war inevitably meant, however, a serious disadvantage. It meant that I had to forego the most important technique of the cultural anthropologist: a field trip. I could not go to Japan and live in their homes and watch the strains and stresses of daily life, see with my own eyes which were crucial and which were not. I could not watch them in the complicated business of arriving at a decision. I could not see their children being brought up. The one anthropologist's field study of a Japanese village, John Embree's *Suye Mura*, was invaluable, but many of the questions about Japan with which we were faced in 1944 were not raised when that study was written.

As a cultural anthropologist, in spite of these major difficulties, I had confidence in certain techniques and postulates which could be used. At least I did not have to forego the anthropologist's great reliance upon face-to-face contact with the people he is studying. There were plenty of Japanese in this country who had been reared in Japan and I could ask them about the concrete facts of their own experiences, find out how they judged them, fill in from their descriptions many gaps in our knowledge which as an anthropologist I believed were essential in understanding any culture. Other social

然而我们两国正在交战的事实却无可避免地成了我致命的弱点。这意味着我不得不放弃实地调查的念头，而这正是文化人类学家最重要的研究方法。我不能去日本深入他们的家庭，亲眼去见证他们日常生活中的方方面面，分清哪些是起关键作用的，哪些是无关紧要的。我无法观测他们如何经过复杂的思想斗争而作出决定的过程。我看不到他们的子孙是如何成长的。约翰·恩布里写的《须惠村》是人类学家进行实地调查后写出的唯一一部有关日本乡村的著作，它的价值是无法估量的，然而我们在1944年遇到的关于日本的许多问题，在那本书撰写的时候还没有被提到。

尽管存在着这样巨大的难题，但作为一个文化人类学家，我对某些可被使用的技术和条件还存在些许信心。至少我还可以仰仗文化人类学家十分依赖的方法——与被研究的人群面对面接触。在美国居住着许多土生土长的日本人，我可以向他们询问他们亲历的许多具体事例，查明他们得出结论的方法，利用他们的描述来填补我们知识储备中的许多空缺；在我看来，这种知识对于一个需要了解其他任何一种文化的人类学家而言，都是不可或缺的。同时期的其他一些从事日本研究的社会科学家，则是



scientists who were studying Japan were using libraries, analyzing past events or statistics, following developments in the written or spoken word of Japanese propaganda. I had confidence that many of these answers they sought were embedded in the rules and values of Japanese culture and could be found more satisfactorily by exploring that culture with people who had really lived it.

This did not mean that I did not read and that I was not constantly indebted to Westerners who had lived in Japan. The vast literature on the Japanese and the great number of good Occidental observers who have lived in Japan gave me an advantage which no anthropologist has when he goes to the Amazon headwaters or the New Guinea highlands to study a non-literate tribe. Having no written language such tribes have committed no self-revelations to paper. Comments by Westerners are few and superficial. Nobody knows their past history. The field worker must discover without any help from previous students the way their economic life works, how stratified their society is, what is uppermost in their religious life. In studying Japan, I was the heir of many students. Descriptions of small details of life were tucked away in antiquarian papers. Men and women from Europe and

通过研读图书文献，分析历史事件及统计资料，并从日本的书面宣传或是口头宣传的遣词造句中寻觅其进展。而我则坚信，他们所探寻的许多问题的答案都深藏于日本文化的定律及其价值之中，正因如此，从真正置身于这种文化中的人们身上入手，答案将会更令人满意。

这并不意味着我不读书，也不向那些曾在日本生活过的西方人士请教。有关日本的浩瀚著作以及在日本居住过的为数众多的杰出西方观察家都给了我极大的帮助，这是那些到亚马孙河发源地或新几内亚高原等地对无文字部落进行研究的人类学家们所没有的优势。那些部落没有书面的文字，无法将自我付诸纸上。西方人对他们的论述也是寥寥数语，浅尝辄止。没有人知晓他们过去的历史。实地调查的学者们必须在没有任何前人帮助的情况下，发现他们的经济生活方式、社会阶层构成，以及宗教信仰中的上层要义等等。而我在对日本的研究过程中，却可以借鉴许多前辈的研究成果。在古老的文献之中充满了对生活细枝末节的描绘。来自欧美的男男女女将他们的亲身经历详细记载下来，日本人自己也撰写了许多不同凡响的自传著作。不同于其他东方的民族，

America had set down their vivid experiences, and the Japanese themselves had written really extraordinary self-revelations. Unlike many Oriental people they have a great impulse to write themselves out. They wrote about the trivia of their lives as well as about their programs of world expansion. They were amazingly frank. Of course they did not present the whole picture. No people does. A Japanese who writes about Japan passes over really crucial things which are as familiar to him and as invisible as the air he breathes. So do Americans when they write about America. But just the same the Japanese loved self-revelation.

I read this literature as Darwin says he read when he was working out his theories on the origin of species, noting what I had not the means to understand. What would I need to know to understand the juxtaposition of ideas in a speech in the Diet? What could lie back of their violent condemnation of some act that seemed venial and their easy acceptance of one that seemed outrageous? I read, asking the ever-present question: What is 'wrong with this picture'? What would I need to know to understand it?

I went to movies, too, which had been written and produced in Japan — propaganda movies, historical movies, movies of contemporary life in Tokyo and

日本人有着强烈的书写自我的冲动。他们记录自己生活的琐事，也将他们向世界扩张的宏图书于笔下。他们有着惊人的坦率。当然他们也并非毫无保留。没有一个民族会将所有的想法昭告天下。日本人描述日本的时候会将很多重要的事情略去不表，因为这些都是他习以为常的，如同呼吸的空气一样平常。美国人写美国时也一样。尽管如此，日本人依然热爱表露自我。

我阅读这些文献时，就像达尔文说他在创立物种起源理论时的阅读方式一样，对那些我无法理解的事情格外注意。为了理解议会演说中所罗列的那些并不相称的论点，我必须先知道什么？他们为什么对一些看似无关紧要的行为激烈谴责，而对那些明显出格的暴行却轻易接受，这种态度的背后究竟隐藏着什么？我一边阅读，一边不断提出疑问：“这幅绘画的毛病到底出在哪里？”为了看懂，我必须知道些什么？

我还找来不少在日本编写、制作的电影——宣传片、历史片，以及描写东京的摩登生活和乡村生活的影片，看过之后我再去和那些



in the farm villages. I went over them afterward with Japanese who had seen some of these same movies in Japan and who in any case saw the hero and the heroine and the villain as Japanese see them, not as I saw them. When I was at sea, it was clear that they were not. The plots, the motivations were not as I saw them, but they made sense in terms of the way the movie was constructed. As with the novels, there was much more difference than met the eye between what they meant to me and what they meant to the Japanese-reared. Some of these Japanese were quick to come to the defense of Japanese conventions and some hated everything Japanese. It is hard to say from which group I learned most. In the intimate picture they gave of how one regulates one's life in Japan they agreed, whether they accepted it gladly or rejected it with bitterness.

In so far as the anthropologist goes for his material and his insights directly to the people of the culture he is studying, he is doing what all the ablest Western observers have done who have lived in Japan. If this were all an anthropologist had to offer, he could not hope to add to the valuable studies which foreign residents have made of the Japanese. The cultural anthropologist, however, has certain qualifications as a result of his

在日本看过一样影片的日本人一一起仔细探讨。和我看待这些电影不同的是，他们看待电影中的男女主角和反派时是以日本人的角度。当我一头雾水的时候，很显然他们都认为很好理解。他们看待剧情和角色的动机也与我不同，他们将电影看做整体的结构，很多事情就说得通了。而在阅读小说方面，我和那些土生土长的日本人的感受更是迥然不同。有些日本人迫不及待地要守护日本的传统文化，而有些日本人则对日本的一切深恶痛绝。很难说这两个群体哪一个让我受益更多。不过有一点是一致的，那就是不管他们对此欣然接受还是苦大仇深地批判，他们所描述的日本普通民众日常生活的近景是一样的。

至于人类学家在研究某种文化时，如果仅仅根据与那种文化中的人直接相关的资料和见闻，那他所做的也就和那些在日本居住过的所有西方优秀观察家们没什么区别。如果一个人类学家只能做到这里，那就不能指望他能为曾经旅日的外国学者做出的珍贵研究成果再添一笔。然而，文化人类学家因为毕竟受过特定训练，他们还有些不一样的本事，也算不枉自己付

training which appeared to make it worth his while to try to add his own contribution in a field rich in students and observers.

The anthropologist knows many cultures of Asia and the Pacific. There are many social arrangements and habits of life in Japan which have close parallels even in the primitive tribes of the Pacific islands. Some of these parallels are in Malaysia, some in New Guinea, some in Polynesia. It is interesting, of course, to speculate on whether these show some ancient migrations or contacts, but this problem of possible historical relationship was not the reason why knowledge of these cultural similarities was valuable to me. It was rather that I knew in these simpler cultures how these institutions worked and could get clues to Japanese life from the likeness or the difference I found. I knew, too, something about Siam and Burma and China on the mainland of Asia, and I could therefore compare Japan with other nations which are a part of its great cultural heritage. Anthropologists had shown over and over in their studies of primitive people how valuable such cultural comparisons can be. A tribe may share ninety per cent of its formal observances with its neighbors and yet it may have revamped them to fit a way of life and a set of values which it does not

出的努力，能为这一拥有繁星璀璨的学者和观察家的领域作出些微薄的贡献。

人类学家知晓多种亚洲和大洋洲的文化。日本的很多社会仪式和生活习俗甚至与一些太平洋岛屿上的原始部落颇为相像。这些类似的行为出现在马来西亚和新几内亚的部分岛屿，也有些是在波利尼西亚。当然，根据这些相似来推断古代也许双方有过移民或互通往来，也不失为一件有趣的事。但对于我来说，了解文化相似性之所以有价值，并不在于这类可能发生的历史关联，而是能够凭借这些相似之处弄清风俗习惯是如何在简单的文化社会中起作用的，并使我根据从中发现的异同之处来进一步了解日本的生活方式。我对亚洲大陆的其他一些国家，例如暹罗、缅甸和中国也有所了解，因此我可以将日本与其他国家民族进行比较，这些民族也都是亚洲瑰丽的文化遗产的一部分。人类学家在研究原始部族的过程中，已经一次又一次地证实，这种文化比较是具有重大价值的。一个部落可能会和它邻近的部落分享 90% 的日常习俗，但也可以通过改变这些习俗，组成一种和周边任何民族都迥异的生活方式和价值观念。在这一衍变的进程中，有些基本的习惯会被摒弃淘