

**Changing Perceptions of Japan in South Asia in the New Asian Era:  
The State of Japanese Studies in India and Other SAARC Countries**

アジア新時代の南アジアにおける日本像  
インド・S A A R C諸国における日本研究の現状と必要性

Edited by UNO Takao

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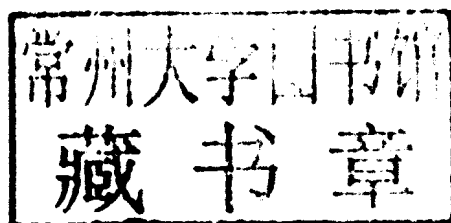
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**International Symposium**

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宇野隆夫編

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## 序文／Foreword

インドでは紀元前 3000 年紀にインダス文明が栄え、紀元前 1000 年紀に仏教が始まりました。この古代文明や宗教はインドの領域にとどまらず広い地域に広まって、各地の社会・文化の発展に貢献しました。東アジア・日本にも、古代インドに起源をもつと考えられる多くの文化があります。

中世に海のシルクロードが盛んになると、インドには東アジア・東南アジアと西アジアをつなぐ貿易拠点都市が栄えて、経済交流が活発化して近代に至りました。また近代には美術・宗教をはじめとする分野で日印の直接的な交流が始まり、第 2 次大戦後には政治・経済・文化の多くの分野における交流が一層活発化しています。

国際日本文化研究センターは毎年、海外の日本研究拠点において、日本研究の振興と研究者の交流をはかるための海外シンポジウムをおこなっていますが、2009 年度にはインド・日本の長い交流の歴史を背景として、シンポジウム「アジア新時代の南アジアにおける日本像ーインド・SAARC 諸国における日本研究の現状と必要性」をインド・デリーのジャワハル・ネルー大学において開催いたしました。

本シンポジウムには日本・インド・バングラディシュ・ネパール・スリランカから 25 名におよぶ日本研究者に参加いただき、古代から現代におよぶ考古学、仏教、芸術、文学、政治、経済、社会学の最新の研究成果を発表していただきました。本書はその成果報告書であり、今後の日本研究と研究者交流に大きく寄与するものと考えます。

本シンポジウムは、プラットウ・アブラハム・ジョージ教授をはじめとするジャワハル・ネルー大学のスタッフ、国際交流基金ニューデリー日本文化センターはじめ、多くの機関、方々から多大な協力を得て実施したものです。本シンポジウムの開催に協力頂いたすべての方々に、改めて厚くお礼申し上げます。

国際日本文化研究センター教授（シンポジウム実行委員長）

宇野隆夫





## 目次／Contents

### 序文／Foreword

宇野隆夫 UNO Takao .....	5
----------------------	---

### 基調講演／Keynote Speech

#### Towards Building a Multi-dimensional India-Japan Partnership

K. V. KESAVAN.....	13
--------------------	----

インド・日本の多角的パートナーシップの構築に向けて

### ◆第1セッション◆ 仏教文化／Buddhist Culture

#### 糞掃衣の変遷

松村薫子 MATSUMURA Kaoruko.....	23
-----------------------------	----

Transition of the Buddhist rag robe

#### The Attractions of Classical Japanese Literature for Indian Students

Anita KHANNA.....	37
-------------------	----

インド人学生にとっての日本の古典の魅力

#### 須弥山世界の言説と図像をめぐる

小峯和明 KOMINE Kazuaki.....	45
--------------------------	----

On tales and images of Mount Sumeru

#### 仏伝（釈迦の伝記物語）の日本の変遷——高知県いざなぎ流祭文

小松和彦 KOMATSU Kazuhiko.....	57
----------------------------	----

The Transformation of the Biographical Story of the Shakamuni-Buddha: A Case of Mythological Stories of the Izanagisection of Kochi Prefecture

### ◆第2セッション◆ 近現代文学／Modern Literature

#### インド、中国における石川啄木及び宮澤賢治受容概要と今後の展開の可能性

望月善次 MOCHIZUKI Yoshitsugu.....	67
--------------------------------	----

An Overview of the State and Degree of the Receptiveness of Ishikawa Takuboku and Miyazawa Kenji in India and China and a Conjecture on the Promulgation

<b>Japanese Literature Studies in India: Recent Development and Challenges</b>	
Unita SACHIDANAND.....	77
インドにおける日本文学研究の現状——今日の発展と課題	
日本文学研究の国際的な理論構築に向けて	
中川成美 NAKAGAWA Shigemi.....	113
Towards a Construction of International Japanese Literature Studies' Theory	
Yone Noguchi and India: Towards a Reappraisal of the International Conflict between R. Tagore and Y. Noguchi	
Madoka Nagai HORI 堀まどか.....	119
野口米次郎とインド——タゴール・野口論争の再検討へ向けて	
<b>Indian Translation of Modern/Contemporary Japanese Literary Works: An Appraisal</b>	
P. A. GEORGE.....	129
インドにおける日本近現代文学作品の翻訳とその評価	
◆第3セッション◆ 視覚芸術／Visual Art	
Women of Ukiyo-e	
Sampa BISWAS.....	143
浮世絵における女性像	
タゴール、ノンドラル・ボシュと荒井寛方——20世紀前半におけるベンガルと日本の文化交流の一斑	
稲賀繁美 INAGA Shigemi.....	161
The Interaction of Bengali and Japanese Artistic Milieus in the First Half of the Twentieth Century (1901–1945): Rabindranath Tagore, Arai Kanpō, and Nandalal Bose	
手塚治虫、インドに会う——仏教、ガンジー、『火の鳥』	
細川周平 HOSOKAWA Shūhei .....	195
Tezuka Osamu Meets India: Buddhism, Gandhi, and the <i>Phoenix</i> (Hi no tori)	
<b>Contemporary Art Currents between Japan and India</b>	
Anu JINDAL.....	205
日本とインドにおける現代美術の交流と傾向	
<b>Indo-Japanese Cultural Relations in the Twentieth Century India</b>	
SHASHIBALA.....	221
20世紀インドにおけるインド・日本の文化関係	
◆第4セッション◆ 政治・経済・社会学／Politics, Economics, Sociology	
<b>Japan's Policy towards South Asia: Shifting Paradigms</b>	
Lalima VARMA.....	231
南アジアに対する日本の政策——パラダイムの転換	

Political Culture of Japan: Relevance for Bangladesh	
U. A. B. Razia Akter BANU.....	241
日本の政治風土とバングラデシュにとってのその意義	

The Radhabinod Pal Dissentient Judgment and Nationalism in Post-War Japan	
Takeshi NAKAJIMA 中島岳志.....	253
パール判決書と戦後日本のナショナリズム	

## ◆第5セッション◆ 南アジアの日本文化受容／South Asia's Reception of Japanese Culture

Indian Studies of Prewar Japan: Continuity and Change	
Sushila NARSIMHAN.....	275
インドにおける戦前日本研究とその変遷	

Perception of Japan in India—Past and Present: A View from Santiniketan	
Gita A. KEENI .....	287
過去と現在におけるインドの日本に対する視点——シャンティニケタンからの考察	

The Impact of Japanese Traditional Theatre on Ediriweera Sarachchandra's Drama	
Kulatilaka KUMARASINGHE.....	301
日本の伝統演劇が Ediriweera Sarachchandra の脚本に与えた影響	

## ◆第6セッション◆ 考古学／Archaeology

GPS/GISを用いた考古学的研究	
宇野隆夫 UNO Takao.....	311
Archaeological Research with GPS/GIS	

Review of Prehistoric Cultures of Gujarat and Need to Develop Accurate Settlement Gazetteer	
Kuldeep K. BHAN.....	325
グジャラート先史文化の紹介と正確な遺跡地名表の整備の必要性	

Kanmer: A Multicultural Site in Kachchh, Gujarat, India	
J. S. KHARAKWAL <i>et al</i> .....	355
カーンメール——多文化的なカッチ遺跡（インド・グジャラート州）	

プログラム／Program	377
執筆者／Contributors	



基調講演／Keynote Speech



# Keynote Speech:

## Towards Building a Multi-dimensional India-Japan Partnership

K. V. KESAVAN

*Observer Research Foundation*

At the outset, I would like to thank the organizers of this international seminar for extending to me the honour of delivering the Keynote Address. Both Nichibunken and the JNU are leading institutions that have made significant contributions to the understanding of Japan and its culture. I therefore consider it a honour to speak before this August audience.

Fifty seven years have passed since India and Japan signed a bilateral peace treaty and established their diplomatic relations. During this long period, though bilateral ties have witnessed several vicissitudes, there have always been strong currents of goodwill and warmth binding them together. Indo-Japanese relations have entered a new phase since 2000 when the two sought to fashion a global partnership. Until recently, their interests were primarily limited to economic matters, but today they are more diversified and encompass a wide range of subjects including nuclear disarmament, maritime security, energy cooperation, climate change, regional community building and UN reforms. The signing of a Declaration on security cooperation by India and Japan in October 2008 marked the culmination of a process that had started in 2000. Very few would have expected such an important development to materialize so quickly because until about ten years ago, India had hardly ever figured in any Japanese discourse on the emerging Asian security landscape. But today it is difficult to think of such security discussions in Japan without reference to India. There is a fundamental shift in the Japanese assessment of India's role in the shaping of a new Asian security architecture. One can also discern a major change in the mutual perception of each other's national interests and foreign policy goals. New convergences have tended to grow creating unprecedented opportunities for both to move in the direction of building a multi-dimensional partnership.

The path that both India and Japan had traversed for over fifty years was strewn with numerous pitfalls and yet the leaders of the two countries showed great wisdom and statesmanship to overcome those hurdles. Relations between Japan and India go back to the sixth century AD when Buddhism was introduced into Japan and it became a powerful vehicle of transmitting Indian influence. The Japanese acquired a great deal of knowledge about Indian culture and philosophy from China and Korea. Many Hindu gods and goddesses later came to be worshipped in the Buddhist rituals with Japanese names.

In the following centuries, Buddhism exerted a great influence on Japanese culture and religion. Even today, thousands of Japanese undertake a long pilgrimage to Buddhist monuments in India and Sri Lanka. Though both had very useful contacts, they were not as numerous as those between Japan and China. This address will not focus on the pre-war Japan-India relations and the significant contributions made by a galaxy of personalities from both countries like Rabindranath Tagore and Tenshin Okakura, who indeed laid the foundations of the future Indo-Japanese ties.

The evolution of Japan's post-war relations with most Asian countries was largely governed by two factors—the legacies of the war and the compulsions of the cold war politics. The impact of these factors was more severe in the case of Southeast Asian countries which had been militarily occupied by Japan. The prolonged negotiations for just and adequate reparations indicated the intensity of their antipathy to Japan. Cold war considerations further vitiated the resumption of normal relations. The early post-war Japanese diplomacy faced one of the most serious challenges in Southeast Asia. But South Asia provided a soothing contrast. Since none of these countries had experienced the crudities of the Japanese military administration, they could show a fair degree of objectivity and even sympathy for Japan's entry into the comity of nations. As a member of the Far Eastern Commission (FEC), India was involved in the formulation of policies for Japan and unlike most members of the FEC, it displayed a remarkable understanding of Japan's aspirations. It argued in favour of terminating the occupation as quickly as possible, because it believed that an unduly long occupation would be inconsistent with the Allied objectives of promoting democratic processes in Japan. It also strongly advocated that Japan should be encouraged to assume greater responsibilities in the international sphere and it therefore supported its entry into various global bodies.

During 1950–51, there was a major change in the policy of the US towards Japan and due to the compulsions of the cold war, it now wanted to speed up the peace settlement with Japan. While India was strongly in favour of a prompt settlement, it did not want the whole process to be influenced by the narrow cold war considerations. It argued that the re-emergence of Japan was an event of great significance for the whole of Asia and that any peace arrangement, apart from giving Japan a place of honour, should be comprehensive in order to make it durable. India did not participate in the San Francisco peace conference as it feared that the US-drafted peace treaty did not fully take into consideration the will and wishes of the Japanese people. Instead, India opted to enter into a bilateral peace treaty with Japan, and India was one of the earliest Asian countries to normalize relations with Japan. India's stand on the peace treaty appealed to other Asian countries like Burma and Indonesia which also opted for similar bilateral treaties. Within South Asia, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Pakistan, on the contrary, decided to sign the multilateral peace treaty. India's decision not to press its claim for reparations from Japan created a great deal of goodwill among the Japanese people.

The cold war rivalry continued to exert a great influence on Japan's ties with South Asia in the following decades and the security alliance with the US proved to be a barrier particularly for the non-



aligned countries of the region. India which played a high profile role in the international fora as the spokesperson of the newly emerging Afro-Asian countries simply considered Japan as no more than a 'client state.' There was no proper understanding within South Asia that Japan did not have too many diplomatic options at that time to ensure its own security given its precarious economic conditions and virtual diplomatic isolation. Yet India and other South Asian countries supported Japan's participation in the Afro-Asian conference held in Bandung in 1955.

The 1960s witnessed a sea-change in the complexion of Japan's relations with Asian countries. Following Japan's normalization of diplomatic ties with most Southeast Asian countries, it quickly moved to build up long term economic partnerships with them. As the Japanese economy witnessed a dramatic period of high growth, Southeast Asia became a major market as well as a source of much needed raw materials. The Vietnam War brought into focus the convergence of Southeast Asian strategic concerns with those of Japan. From then on, Japan's interest tended to shift away from South Asia and towards Southeast Asia indicating a basic change in Japan's diplomatic priorities. Japan was, in fact, disenchanted with the political and economic scenario of South Asia. Politically, democracy was yet to strike strong roots in the region and issues like ethnic tensions, disputed border questions, the Kashmir tangle, economic backwardness, illiteracy, unemployment, etc, continued to heighten regional tensions. Economically, most South Asian countries pursued inward-looking, state oriented strategies that did not resonate well in Japan. Another development that caused extreme discomfort to Japan was the growing influence of the Soviet Union in the region. It suspected that by entering into a treaty of friendship with Moscow in 1971, India had virtually given up its traditional policy of non-alignment. Though Japan itself felt greatly concerned about the unfolding US-China rapprochement at that time, it did not properly see the implications of that for India's security. From the Indian perspective, in face of the Washington-Beijing-Islamabad axis, it was left with no other option but to get closer to Moscow. During the Bangladesh war, many in India were disappointed as Tokyo opted to support American policies without much consideration for the objective realities of the South Asian situation.

The global détente (1971–78) enabled Japan to broaden its foreign policy and there was considerable expectation that Japan would pursue a more assertive diplomacy. But unfortunately, the détente itself received a severe shock following the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia (1978) and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (1979). These two incidents saw Japan strongly identifying itself with the Western bloc and extending economic and political support to the position taken by the ASEAN group against Vietnam. Japan was equally concerned about the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as it feared that it would upset the military balance in South Asia. It strongly felt that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan coupled with its friendly relations with India could increase its leverage in the region. It considered Pakistan as vulnerable in view of its close proximity to Afghanistan and extended enhanced economic assistance to it in the following years. Pakistan came under the category of countries which were located close to 'crisis situations' and was considered important from a strategic viewpoint.