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「文明の落差」克服ののちに——岩倉使節団以後を顧みる——

Closing the Civilization Gap: The Aftermath of the Iwakura Mission

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岩倉使節団に託された要務のひとつは、西洋の制度や文物の視察・調査だった。西洋列強による植民地化回避のため列強を師としての近代国家建設は急務であり、使節団は訪問先でさまざまな見聞を重ね、彼我の「文明の落差」の実態把握に努めた。ロンドンを訪れた折の『実記』は以下の記述を載せる——「当今欧羅巴各国、ミナ文明ヲ輝カシ、富強ヲ極メ、貿易盛ニ、工芸秀テ、人民快樂ノ生理ニ、悦樂ヲ極ム（中略）歐洲今日ノ富庶ヲミルハ、一千八百年以後ノコトニテ、著シク此景象ヲ生セシハ、僅ニ四十年ニスキサルナリ」（傍点原文ママ）。懸案の「落差」は40年に過ぎないとの認識を得たのだった。「文明の落差」を測ろうとする姿勢には、使節団外遊時とほぼ同じ頃、福沢諭吉が『文明論之概略』で論じた「野蛮→半開→文明」に通じる文明の発展段階説がうかがえる。のち明治日本は、日清日露の両戦役に勝ち条約改正を成し遂げ近代国家の仲間入りを果たした。条約改正の成就是、奇しくも使節団出立から40年を闊した1911（明治44）年だった。「文明の落差」は明治の御代のうちに克服できたのである

追いついたはずの西洋文明と近代日本との関係は、以後どう展開したのか。夏目漱石は、不自然な「外発的な開化」を余儀なくされる国民は神経衰弱に陥るとの悲観的な見通しを語った（「現代日本の開化」）。第一次大戦後世界の五大国の一角を占めるようになった日本は、ワシントン体制から次第に離脱する道を歩み始め、その過程でかつて輝かしい目標だった「文明」は精神性を欠いた物質偏重主義と同義とみなされ

One of the key tasks with which the Iwakura Mission was vested was observing and studying Western institutions and culture. To avoid being colonized by the Western powers, Japan urgently needed to build a modern state on the Western model. The mission made exhaustive observations at each stop and attempted to gauge the extent of the civilization gap between Japan and the West. The description of the mission's visit to London in the chronicle of its journey, *Beiō kairan jikki* (*A True Account of a Journey of Observation Through the United States of America and Europe*), includes the following passage:

Today, the countries of Europe are all highly civilized. They are extremely wealthy and powerful, their commerce is booming, they have superlative technology, and their peoples enjoy great happiness from living in comfort...*Europe achieved its present prosperity after 1800, and only in the past forty years have these traits become so pronounced.* [emphasis in the original]

The gap in question, the chronicler concluded, was a mere 40 years. This attempt to measure the civilization gap reflects a view of the stages in the evolution of civilization that has much in common with Fukuzawa Yukichi's description of how civilization progresses from barbaric to semi-civilized to civilized—a view enunciated at roughly the same time as the mission in his *Bunmeiron no gairyaku* (*An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*). Meiji Japan was, following its victories in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars and its success in revising the unequal treaties, later to join the ranks of the modern nations. The task of revising the treaties was, by a curious coincidence, completed in 1911, 40 years after the Iwakura Mission departed Japan. The civilization gap was closed

るに至る。第二次大戦で一敗地に塗れた日本を待ち受けていたのは、「文明の裁き」と喧伝された対日戦争犯罪裁判だった。文明を求めて岩倉使節団が日本を出立してから三四半世紀を経て、かつて希求した文明により裁かれたことになる。提示された「文明である連合国が非文明＝野蛮である日本を裁く」という枠組みを前に、竹山道雄は、近代文明こそ被告でありその正負両面の検討こそ肝要と訴えた（「ハイド氏の裁判」）。ここには明治期の文明の発展段階説の系譜に連なる「文明一元論」を看取できる。一方、対日裁判への批判的姿勢では竹山と軌を一にするインド代表判事ラダビノッド・パルは、起訴状の意味では全被告は無罪と判定したが、その主張には竹山とは異なり「文明多元論」があると竹内好は指摘した（「日本とアジア」）。本報告では、岩倉使節団を起点として近代日本の文明への眼差しの変遷・展開を顧みて概観することとしたい。

during the reign of Emperor Meiji.

How did modern Japan's relationship with Western civilization, with which it was supposed to have caught up, subsequently unfold? Natsume Sōseki, in *Gendai Nihon no kaika* (The civilization of modern Japan), was pessimistic about Japan's prospects, stating that any nation forced to undergo an unnatural "civilizing process under external stimulus" was liable to suffer a nervous breakdown. Japan, having become one of the world's five great powers after World War I, gradually moved away from the Washington Treaty system. In the process, civilization, once such an alluring goal, came to be seen as synonymous with soulless materialism. After its crushing defeat in World War II, what awaited Japan was a series of war crimes trials grandiosely described as the "judgment of civilization." And so, three-quarters of a century after the Iwakura Mission left Japan in quest of civilization, Japan was put on trial by the very civilization that it had once emulated. Observing the staged spectacle of the civilized Allies passing judgement on uncivilized, barbaric Japan, Takeyama Michio, in "Haido-shi no saiban" (The trial of Mr. Hyde), asserted that modern civilization should be the one in the dock: examining both its good and bad sides was essential. Here we can identify a "civilizational monism" traceable to the Meiji-period concept of stages in the evolution of civilization. Like Takeyama, Radhabinod Pal, the Indian justice at the Tokyo Trial, was critical of the tribunal, arguing in his judgment that all the defendants were not guilty of the charges in the indictment. His position did, however, differ from Takeyama's in that it was grounded in "civilizational pluralism," as Takeuchi Yoshimi notes in *Nihon to Ajia* (Japan and Asia). In this presentation I will attempt to look back on how modern Japanese views of civilization have evolved since the Iwakura Mission.