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## Contents

1	Introduction .....	1
1.1	State of research .....	2
1.2	Outline of this thesis .....	4
1.3	Note on names and transliteration.....	4
1	Primary sources of Japanese mythology .....	5
2.1	Imperial chronicles .....	5
2.1.1	<i>Kojiki</i> .....	5
2.1.2	<i>Nihon shoki</i> .....	6
2.1.3	<i>Sendai kuji hongî</i> .....	8
2.2	Clan transmissions .....	9
2.2.1	<i>Kogo shûi</i> .....	9
2.3	Old local chronicles .....	9
3	The Japanese and European intellectual background .....	10
3.1	The beginnings of the <i>kokugaku</i> scholarly tradition and the emergence of Restoration Shinto.....	11
3.2	The European intellectual background and the inception of modern religious studies ..	12
4	The studies of mythology by the English and German-speaking pioneers of Japanology ....	16
4.1	Introduction of the pioneers and their arrival to Japan .....	16
4.1.1	Opening of Japan .....	16
4.1.2	British diplomacy and Meiji Japan .....	17
4.1.3	<i>Oyatoi gaikokujin</i> and Japan's modernization.....	20
4.1.4	The “German phase” of Meiji-modernization .....	21
4.2	Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929).....	21
4.2.1	Academic work.....	21
4.2.2	Satow and the <i>kokugaku</i> scholarship .....	25

4.2.3	Satow's interpretation of Japanese mythology .....	28
4.2.4	Satow and the future studies of Japanese mythology.....	33
4.3	Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) .....	34
4.3.1	Academic work .....	34
4.3.2	Chamberlain and the <i>kokugaku</i> scholarship .....	38
4.3.3	Chamberlain's interpretation of Japanese mythology .....	42
4.3.4	Chamberlain and the future studies of Japanese mythology .....	48
4.4	William George Aston (1841-1911).....	48
4.4.1	Academic work .....	48
4.4.2	Aston and the <i>kokugaku</i> scholarship .....	53
4.4.3	Aston and his interpretation of Japanese myths .....	56
4.4.4	Aston and the future studies of Japanese mythology .....	65
4.5	Karl Adolf Florenz (1865–1939).....	66
4.5.1	Academic work .....	66
4.5.2	<i>kokugaku</i> scholarship in Florenz's works .....	72
4.5.3	Florenz's interpretation of Japanese myths .....	79
4.5.4	Florenz and the future studies of Japanese mythology .....	85
5	Conclusion.....	85
	Appendix .....	90
A.	Chronological list of Ernest Satow's works .....	90
B.	Satow's bibliography in numbers .....	94
C.	Chronological list of Basil Hall Chamberlain's works.....	96
D.	Chamberlain's bibliography in numbers .....	101
E.	Chronological list of William George Aston's works .....	103
F.	Aston's bibliography in numbers.....	106
G.	Chronological list of Karl Florenz's works .....	107
H.	Florenz's bibliography in numbers.....	110

Bibliography .....	111
Works by William George Aston .....	111
Works by Basil Hall Chamberlain.....	112
Works by Karl Florenz .....	113
Works by Ernest Mason Satow .....	115
Other works .....	117
Abstract (English).....	123
Abstract (German) .....	124





# 1 Introduction

The colonization of new territories in the nineteenth century stimulated both public as well as academic interest in exotic cultures and Japan was no exception. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868 Japan became more hospitable to foreigners and information about Japan became more accessible. Japan's culture and social customs became the subject for the new academic discipline, which we now call Japanology, or Japanese Studies. Religion and mythology were perceived as some of the most important traits of one's cultural tradition. The western world was able to gain a first impression of Japanese mythology through the works of the English and German-speaking Japanologists residing in Japan. Chief among these are

- Ernest Satow (1843–1929) and his studies of *Engi shiki norito*, the Japanese ritual prayers<sup>1</sup>, published 1879–1881 (Satow 1879a, 1879b, 1881);
  - Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) and his annotated translation of *Kojiki* published 1883 (Chamberlain 1883b);
  - George Aston (1841–1911) and his annotated translation of *Nihon shoki* published 1896 (Aston 1896a, 1896b);
  - Karl Florenz (1865–1939) and his translation of *Kogo shūi* as well as partial translations of *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*, *Sendai kuji hongei*, *Fudoki* and *Ōharai norito*<sup>2</sup> (Florenz 1892, 1901, 1903, 1919)
- [hereinafter collectively referred to as “pioneers”].

These works became the medium through which the new European theories and methodology reached Japan and thus helped to shape the modern mythological research. It is therefore the primary goal of this thesis to elucidate the general attitude of these pioneers towards mythology as well as their modes of interpretation. I intend to find out possible underlying concepts inherent

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<sup>1</sup> The *Engi shiki* 延喜式 (927) is a collection of rules and procedures for implementing penal codes, administrative codes, and supplementary laws. The first 10 volumes of *Engishiki* deal with the Jingikan 神祇官, the Department of Shrine Deities, including ceremonial laws and *norito* 祝詞, the prescribed ritual prayers. *Norito* contained in *Engi shiki*'s 8th volume are the oldest surviving *norito* and are usually referred to as *Engi shiki norito* 延喜式祝詞. For more information on this text see Bock 1970, Philippi 1990 and N. Naumann 1997.

<sup>2</sup> The respective Japanese sources will be properly introduced in chapter 1.

in their work and to identify the most important differences in their approaches. I further emphasize how the Japanese and Western academic traditions intersect in their works.

The interest in religion and mythology was not shared exclusively by the above mentioned pioneers. There were a number of other Japanologists, who published on mythology in the same time period. The main French Japanologists, whom I exclude, are Leon de Rosny (1837-1914), George Bousquet (1846–1937), Michel Revon (1867–1943) and Jean-Marie Martin (1886–1975)<sup>3</sup>. Some of the reasons of my exclusion of French-speaking scholars was the indifferent reception of their works in Europe and Japan, and the fact that Japanese studies in France reached a scientific level comparable to English and German studies on Japan only in the 1920s, when German and English schools had already investigated religious materials from ancient or non-Western cultures and begun to discuss problems of methodology (Inoue 2005). I also exclude the Austrian linguist August Pfizmaier (1808-1887), who translated parts of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* in 1865-1867 (Pfizmaier 1865a, 1865b, 1867) and published his translations in the *Proceedings and Memoirs of Austrian Academy of Sciences*. Pfizmaier never visited Japan and his works were mostly unknown in Europe as well as Japan.

The main forces behind the research of Japanese mythology in the late 19th and early 20th century were the introduced English and German-speaking pioneers. It is therefore reasonable to ask if we can speak of an Anglo-Germanic school of Japanese mythology studies.

## 1.1 State of research

Interest in the beginnings of Japanology has been growing from the early 1990s. This is best illustrated by the recent publication of collected works of the pioneers of this discipline. In 1997 Ganesha published, under the Synapse Edition, a complete collection of William George Aston's works (Aston 1997). As a part of the same series, 12 volumes of Ernest Satow's major works were reprinted in 1998 (Satow 1998) and his collected papers followed in 2001 (Satow 2001). In 2000 an 8 volume reprint of the major works of Basil Hall Chamberlain was published in the

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<sup>3</sup> De Rosny's career as a Japanologist was not unlike August Pfizmaier's, who also never visited Japan and whose works were not well received. Bosquet never dealt with the primary sources of Japanese myths and based his studies of Shinto (which were in the 19th century synonymous with Japanese mythology) on secondary sources and his own ethnographical data. Revon and Martin both started to publish their first works on Japanese religion only in 20th century.

same series (Chamberlain 2000). In 1998 the Asiatic Society of Japan celebrated its 125th anniversary with a reprint of the papers of its great pioneers Aston, Satow and Chamberlain (Aston et al. 1998). In 2002 Satow's articles and Florenz's article on *norito*, initially published in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan (TASJ)*, were reprinted in a separate publication by Paul Kegan (Satow and Florenz 2002). Satow's diaries, correspondence and other writings continue to be edited and published by Ian Ruxton from the Kyushu Institute of Technology (Satow 2008, 2010, 2014, 2016). The Pitt Rivers Museum at the University of Oxford made available the correspondence of the prominent British anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) with Aston and Chamberlain as a part of its Virtual Collections (Tylor 2012).

My thesis deals with the works of these pioneers who wrote on Japanese myths. The main sources for my study are their annotated translations of Japanese myths and their writings on Shinto religion, since Shinto studies and mythological research were inseparable at that time. My secondary publications on Satow, Chamberlain and Aston, relevant for my thesis are Ruxton's biographical articles (Ruxton 1996, 1997) and Ota Yūzō's work *Basil Hall Chamberlain: Portrait of a Japanologist* published in 1998 (Ota 1998). In contrast, I was able to find a significantly higher number of publications on Karl Florenz.

Interest of German Japanologists in origin of the academic discipline began to emerge in the 1980s and aspired to answer questions of how Japanology started, how it was institutionalized, and under what premises the first Japanologists worked. This stimulated renewed interest in the work of Florenz, who is considered to be the father of German Japanology. In 1985 a symposium on Florenz and the beginnings of Japanology was held at the University of Hamburg, resulting in eight papers from eight different scholars on various aspects of Florenz's work<sup>4</sup>. In 1995 Satō Masako wrote her doctoral dissertation dealing with Florenz's influence on the development of modern academic disciplines in Japan, including mythological research (Satō 1995). In 2001 Michal Wachutka published his work *Historical Reality or Metaphoric Expression? Culturally formed contrasts in Karl Florenz' and Iida Takesato's interpretations of Japanese mythology* (Wachutka 2001). Wachutka's interests overlap with mine, as he traces approaches, popular in

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<sup>4</sup> Printed in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (NOAG)* 137 in 1985. I only used the following 4 articles: Dettmer 1985, Lewin 1985, N. Naumann 1985 and W. Naumann 1985.

nineteenth century Europe, applied to Florenz's studies of Japanese myths as well as the intersection between European and Japanese scholarship in Florenz's work.

## **1.2 Outline of this thesis**

Within the scope of this thesis I put special emphasis on the question: "Which Japanese sources did these pioneers choose to study?" As an introduction to this question, I will present the primary sources of Japanese mythology including information on compilation, authorship, language, contents and the historical reception of these texts (chapter 1).

In chapter 3 I briefly approach the topic of pre-modern Japanese mythological scholarship as well as the most important modes of thought and academic paradigms of nineteenth century Europe. The description of research in Japan is necessary in order to appreciate the Japanese secondary sources these pioneers worked with. The description of European academic background will help to elucidate the underlying questions of why these pioneers took up the topic of Japanese myths, with what agenda they approached Japanese mythology and what methodology they employed. Finally, giving background to both academic worlds helps to comprehend how these different scholarly traditions intersect in their work.

Chapter 4 includes my main research and contains 5 subchapters. The first subchapter is a short summary of the relevant biographical information of the pioneers and is followed by my analysis of the influences in the works of these pioneers and their treatment of secondary sources. My analysis consists of four additional subchapters, each dealing with one of the pioneers. I intend to position the pioneers in relation to the contemporary European and Japanese scholarly traditions as well as to each other.

## **1.3 Note on names and transliteration**

I transcribed the Japanese words according to the modified Hepburn romanization system, with the exception of the direct quotes. Japanese (and other non-English) words not naturalized in English are set in italics. Japanese names are initially given with the last name first, later on with the last name only. Japanese pre-modern authors will be addressed only by first name after the initial entry.

# 1 Primary sources of Japanese mythology

The oldest remaining Japanese mythological sources can be divided as follows:

- imperial chronicles: *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki* and *Sendai kuji hongi*
- clan transmissions: *Kogo shūi*
- old local chronicles: *Kofudoki*

The two works that are today often perceived as the orthodox sources for Japanese mythological canon are *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* (collectively referred to as *kiki* 記紀). Both of these two oldest chronicles from 8th century AD were sanctioned by the Imperial Court.

## 2.1 Imperial chronicles

### 2.1.1 *Kojiki*

*Kojiki* 古事記, considered the earliest surviving written record of Japan's history, was presented to the court in 712 AD and is signed by Ō no Yasumaro 太安万侶 (?-723)<sup>5</sup>. *Kojiki* includes a preface<sup>6</sup> written in literary Chinese by Yasumaro, which includes valuable information on the formation of the text. According to the preface, Tenmu Tennō 天武天皇 (?-686) was concerned with the state of the historical records, i.e. imperial records *teiki* 帝紀 and fundamental dicta *honji* 本地<sup>7</sup> and ordered a certain Hieda no Are 稗田阿礼 (dates unknown) to memorize these texts<sup>8</sup>. However, what Hieda no Are learned was not written down until Tenmu's niece, Empress Genmei 元明天皇 (661-721), finally commanded Ō no Yasumaro with this task.

Yasumaro in his preface justifies the usage of a distinct logographic style which considerably departs from literary Chinese. The prosaic part of *Kojiki*'s main text employs a modified and systemized logographic style based on Classical Chinese. This style, called *hentai kanbun* 変体

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<sup>5</sup> For more on Ō no Yasumaro see Lurie 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Before the discovery of Yasumaro's grave in 1979, the authenticity of *Kojiki*'s preface was considered rather skeptical due to the lack of any reference in the allegedly only eight years older *Nihon Shoki* (Antoni 2012a:12; Lurie 2011:225, 247).

<sup>7</sup> For more on *teiki* and *honji* see Sakamoto 1991:43-45.

<sup>8</sup> For more on Hieda no Are's role in the compilation of *Kojiki* see Seeley 1991:43 and Antoni 2012a:12-13.

漢文<sup>9</sup>, using Chinese characters for meaning, usually follows Chinese grammatical rules and uses both Chinese and Japanese syntactic structure. Poems contained in *Kojiki* are transcribed phonographically.

*Kojiki*'s main text is loosely organized into sections for successive sovereigns and divided into three volumes. The 1<sup>st</sup> volume, usually referred to as the *Age of gods* 神代, starts with the narration of the creation of heaven and earth, the creation of the Japanese islands and gods and ends with the heavenly descent of Amaterasu's 天照 grandson Ninigi 邇邇芸 as well as the deeds of his children and grandchildren. The 2<sup>nd</sup> volume follows the reigns of the legendary and semi-historical sovereigns from Jinmu Tennō 神武天皇 (711-585 BC) to Ōjin Tennō 応神天皇 (200-310 AD)<sup>10</sup>. The 3<sup>rd</sup> volume narrates the events during the reigns of Japanese sovereigns starting with Nintoku Tennō 仁徳天皇 (257-399) and ending with Suiko Tennō 推古天皇 (554-628).

*Kojiki* was generally neglected during Heian (784-1185) and medieval periods (1185-1603) and it is believed to have been quite unreadable, even shortly after its compilation (Isomae 2010:20-21). The oldest surviving manuscript is the *Shinpukuji manuscript* 真福寺本, copied in years 1371-1372, and the first printed three-volume edition, usually referred to as the *Kan'eiban Kojiki* 寛永版古事記, is from the year 1644<sup>11</sup>.

### 2.1.2 *Nihon shoki*

*Nihon shoki* 日本書紀, also titled *Nihongi* 日本書紀,<sup>12</sup> was presented to the court in 720 AD. *Nihon shoki* does not include a preface describing the circumstances of its compilation. Theories on *Nihon shoki*'s origins therefore inevitably differ among scholars<sup>13</sup>. The prominent Japanese

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<sup>9</sup> For more information on *hentai kanbun* see Lurie 2011:228-231.

<sup>10</sup> All the dates of reigns as well as dates of birth and death prior to Kinmei Tennō 欽明天皇 (509-571 AD) are considered as historically unreliable. I use *Kamigrafi* as the source for the dates of Tennō reigns ("Tennō" n.d.).

<sup>11</sup> For more detailed information on the different surviving manuscripts and editions of *Kojiki* see Antoni 2012a:20-21, Burns 2003:40-70 and Wachutka 2001:46.

<sup>12</sup> Both translations of *Nihon shoki* by Aston and Florenz are titled *Nihongi*. However the discourse on *Nihongi* encompassed in the medieval period a broad variety of text on *Nihon shoki*, not just the original text, which is why I avoid this term. For more on this issue see Isomae 2010:24-30 and Sakamoto 1991:30-33.

<sup>13</sup> One theory later adopted by Aston suggests that *Nihon shoki*'s compilation began in 714 AD with the command issued by Empress Genmei. According to Sakamoto Tarō this theory is implausible, because *Nihon shoki*'s internal

historiographer Sakamoto Tarō 坂本太郎 (1901 -1987) proposed the theory that after Tenmu appointed Hieda no Are to the task of putting the *teiki* and *honji* into order the task proved to be simply too complex for one person and therefore Tenmu turned it into a full-scale government project, which resulted into the compilation of *Nihon shoki*. (Sakamoto 1991:34-38)

*Nihon shoki*'s written style can be, with the exception of proper nouns and phonographically transcribed songs, described as literary Chinese. Each chapter has a relatively independent style and wording which suggests that the text was apportioned to a number of compilers<sup>14</sup>.

*Nihon shoki* consisted of 31 volumes, of which 30 volumes are preserved to the present-day. The first two volumes of *Nihon shoki* contain the *Age of gods* and end with the birth of Jinmu Tennō (711-585 BC). The *Age of gods* volumes differ from the remaining volumes of *Nihon shoki* by not using the annalistic style and adding many different versions of one episode recorded under the heading “a certain book says” 一書曰<sup>15</sup>. The following 28 volumes start with the reign of Jinmu Tennō and end with an account of Jitō Tennō (654-703) strictly following the annalistic method for the recording of historical events modeled upon Chinese sources giving the day, month and year for every entry. The last volume of *Nihon Shoki*, which seems to have contained the genealogy tables, is now lost<sup>16</sup>.

*Nihon shoki* has been traditionally counted as the first of the 6 national histories of Japan *rikkokushi* 六国史, that served as the authoritative source for the Japanese past. Its status as the first official Japanese dynastic history explains the existence of a high number of manuscripts. The oldest surviving copy of *Nihon shoki*'s first volume is the Shitennōji manuscript 四天王寺本, which dates from the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD. The first printed edition of the whole 30 volumes dates back to 1610.

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evidence suggest that a number of compilers worked with a lot of different written sources over longer period of time than six years. For more see Sakamoto 1991:36-42.

<sup>14</sup> For more on this issue see Lurie 2011:233 and Sakamoto 1991:38-42.

<sup>15</sup> Some episodes such as the section narrating the birth of the eight great Japanese islands in *Nihon Shoki* include as much as ten or more variants. These variants can be attributed to discrepancies in the material sources or may have been the *Nihon shoki*'s manuscripts of from different stages of its compilation. For more information on this issue see Sakamoto 1991:52.

<sup>16</sup> For more on the contents and organization of the text see Sakamoto 1991:40-76.

### 2.1.3 *Sendai kuji hongî*

*Sendai kuji hongî* 先代旧事本紀, also referred to as *Kujiki* 旧事紀, is a chronicle that narrates the imperial history from a viewpoint of Suiko Tennō (554-628). It was allegedly compiled in 620 AD and rediscovered in 936. An entry in *Nihon shoki* states that in 620 AD Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 (574-622) and Soga no Umako 蘇我 馬子 (551-626) compiled an historical record. According to its preface *Sendai kuji hongî* was compiled by Soga no Umako and Shōtoku Taishi. The internal evidence sets the compilation date at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD by a member of the Mononobe family 物部氏<sup>17</sup>.

*Sendai kuji hongî* is written in literary Chinese. It consists of 10 volumes. The first four volumes narrate the *Age of gods* with some deviations from *kiki*. The 5<sup>th</sup> volume outlines the origins and genealogies of the Mononobe and Owari families 尾張氏. The following 4 volumes narrate the imperial history until the death of Shōtoku Taishi and the last volume contains a list of individual provinces and the genealogies of their *kuni no miyatsuko* 国造, provincial governors.

From the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD until the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, *Sendai kuji hongî* was considered to be Japan's oldest record. It was especially revered by the promoters of Ise Shinto and Yoshida Shinto in the middle ages. *Sendai kuji hongî*, together with *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, were called the tripartite scriptures of Yoshida Shinto. In the 18th century, Japanese scholars refuted the alleged authorship by Shōtoku Taishi and the work was doomed as fraudulent and derivative from *kiki* ever since<sup>18</sup>. The oldest existing copy was made in 1521-1522 by Urabe Kanenaga 卜部兼永 (1467-1536) and is named after him the Urabe Kanenaga copy 卜部兼永写. The first printed edition appeared in 1644.

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<sup>17</sup> For more information on the issue of compilation and authenticity of *Sendai kuji hongî* see Teeuwen 2007.

<sup>18</sup> For more on this issue see Bentley 2006 and Teeuwen 2007.



## 2.2 Clan transmissions

Clan transmissions *ujibumi* 氏文 were records kept by the respective clans that documented their mythology and history<sup>19</sup>. It is sufficient for the purpose of this thesis to introduce only one of the surviving clan transmissions - *Kogo shūi*.

### 2.2.1 *Kogo shūi*

*Kogo shūi* 古語拾遺 was presented to Heizei Tennō 平城天皇 (774-824) in 807 AD. It was written by Inbe no Hironari 齋部広成 (dates unknown), a member of the Inbe family 齋部氏. The Inbe family, along with the Nakatomi family 中臣氏, was in charge of festival rites at court. *Kogo shūi* is based on the clan transmissions of the Inbe and Hironari wrote it to correct what had been omitted in the imperial chronicles. At the same time he intended to repair the status of his family and their hereditary jurisdiction over imperial rites which were, according to him, unjustly claimed by the members of the powerful Nakatomi.<sup>20</sup>

*Kogo shūi* is written in literary Chinese. The work consists of 1 volume divided into 5 major segments: 1) preface; 2) ancient traditions set in the *Age of gods*; 3) events since the time of Japan's first emperor Jinmu (711-585 BC); 4) 11 omissions; and 5) the ancient legend concerning the deity Mitoshi 御年. The oldest manuscript is from 1225 and is named after the era of its compilation, the Karoku manuscript 嘉禄本.

## 2.3 Old local chronicles

Local chronicles *Fudoki* 風土記<sup>21</sup> or old local chronicles *Kofudoki* 古風土記 is a general title given to a set of governmental documents compiled in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>22</sup> based on the imperial

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<sup>19</sup> The social function of these texts was to chronicle each clan's service to the court and subsequently advocate the legitimacy of its social position within the court. Isomae Jun'ichi portrays the relationship between these clan histories and the national histories as a dual structure consisting of a confined memory of the state and the plurality of disparate clan memories which constituted the formation of written history in antiquity (Isomae 2010:21-23). For more on the issue how clan transmissions and imperial chronicles interconnected in the past see also Bentley 2002:39-46.

<sup>20</sup> Many scholars consider this work as nothing more than an unfounded letter of complaint against a rival family. However there is a lot of evidence in different historical sources, that supports Hironari's claim. For more on this issue see Bentley 2002:19-30 and Katō and Hoshino 1926:1-5.

<sup>21</sup> The title *Fudoki* was likely modeled after Chinese works and has been attached to these local record in retrospect. *Fudoki* had at the time of their presentation to the court no specific title. After 925 all official documents and records

edict from 713 AD<sup>23</sup>. These records were prepared by the provincial offices of the respective provinces.

*Kofudoki* were written in literary Chinese and follow specific composition modeled upon Chinese works. The chronicles are divided into subchapters for each district. As stated in the imperial edict, which led to their creation, *Kofudoki* include: 1) names of districts and villages; 2) various kinds of minerals, animals, and vegetation; 3) suitable and unsuitable areas for crop production; 4) origins of the names of mountains, rivers, plains, and moors; and 5) old stories and strange events as remembered by the elderly in the area.

As official reports, *Kofudoki* lost their importance shortly after their creation and were only used as sources for other works or government policies. In subsequent periods *Kofudoki* were generally stored away and only sought in order to solve land disputes. Until the modern period the *Kofudoki* were, with small exceptions, ignored as the sources for Japanese antiquity and mythology<sup>24</sup>.

Most *Kofudoki* have not been preserved. Of the five surviving *Kofudoki*, only *Izumo fudoki* is a complete manuscript. The *Harima fudoki*, *Hitachi fudoki*, *Bungo fudoki*, and *Hizen fudoki* are either incomplete, abbreviated or disorganized. The only manuscript that dates from the Heian period (794-1185) is the Sanjōnishike manuscript 三條西家本 of *Harima fudoki*<sup>25</sup>.

### 3 The Japanese and European intellectual background

The works on mythology by the pioneer Japanologists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century represent an intersection of two distinct scholarly traditions. I will first introduce the early modern Japanese scholarship then the religious studies in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe.

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of local matters were called *Fudoki*. Thus Japanese scholars adopted the term *Kofudoki* for the local chronicles from 8<sup>th</sup> century (Aoki 1997:2-3).

<sup>22</sup> All of the remaining *Kofudoki* are believed to be written in the first half of 8<sup>th</sup> century AD, but dates of compilation of the individual *Kofudoki* differs. For more on this issue see Aoki 1997:3-4.

<sup>23</sup> For more on the imperial edict and the compilation of *Kofudoki* see Aoki 1997:1-3.

<sup>24</sup> For more on the reception of these text and their historical use see Aoki 1997:21-25.

<sup>25</sup> For more on the remaining manuscripts as well as early printed copies of *Kofudoki* see Aoki 1997:28-31.

### 3.1 The beginnings of the *kokugaku* scholarly tradition and the emergence of Restoration Shinto

The concept of mythology originated in the West and did not exist in Japan prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Japanese term for myth, *shinwa* 神話, is believed to have come into use after 1900. Prior to the modern era Japanese scholarship dealt with mythology only in context of the historical scholarship (Isomae 2010:33; Wachutka 2001:92).

The early-modern period (1550-1850) gave birth to comparative *kiki* studies by both the rationalist school and the *kokugaku* 国学 school. The rationalist school, represented by the works of Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657-1725), developed methods of historical criticism such as 1) the comparison of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*; 2) the referencing of Chinese textual sources, and 3) the utilization of new archeological material. The *kokugakusha* 国学者 scholars approached the *kiki* texts with emphasis on language, which they believed could elucidate the ancient mind. Their philological approach was in many ways comparable to their European counterparts in 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Isomae 2010:91; Wachutka 2001:43,47)

The philological research of the *kokugaku* school represented by Kamo no Mabuchi 賀茂真淵 (1697-1769) and Kada no Azumamaro 荷田春満 (1706-1751), intended to prove the supremacy of the native Japanese tradition which has been, since antiquity, overshadowed by Chinese culture. In contrast to the rationalists the *kokugakusha* did not explain the *Age of Gods* in a euhemeristic way. For them, myths represented expressions of the idealized ancient Japan before it became corrupted by foreign Chinese influence. Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801) made philological enquiries into the ancient Japanese sources in order to glean from those texts a native Japanese tradition called *kodō* 古道 [literally "the way of the antiquity"]<sup>26</sup>. His masterwork is the 44-volume philological commentary of *Kojiki* titled *Kojikiden* 古事記伝 (1798<sup>27</sup>). Hirata Atsutane 平田篤胤 (1776 – 1843) did not focus on the old written sources, as the *kokugakusha* before him had, but focused more on the philosophical research of *kodō*.

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<sup>26</sup> For more on Norinaga's *kodō* and his work see Isomae 2010, ch. 4 and ch. 5.

<sup>27</sup> More than half of the 44 volumes of *Kojikiden* was published posthumously. For more information see Mori 2007c.

According to Atsutane the way to reconstruct *kodō* was to purify the Shinto doctrine from the Buddhist, Confucian and Chinese elements.

The *kokugaku* scholarship of the early-modern period marks the break from the earlier syncretic Shinto and the advent of Fukko Shinto 復古神道. According to Atsutane, Fukko Shinto [also Restoration Shinto]<sup>28</sup> is an idealized form of Shinto, which as a part of *kodō* existed in Japan before the arrival of Buddhism in 8th century AD. Fukko Shinto was very popular in academic and political circles in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Japan and became one of the ideological foundations of what has later been called State Shinto<sup>29</sup> (Mori 2007a). It is therefore no surprise that Fukko Shinto and its ideas by leading *kokugaku* scholars also had an impact on the first religious and mythological studies of the pioneer Japanologists.

### **3.2 The European intellectual background and the inception of modern religious studies**

The European colonization of new territories in the 19th century sparked new interest in the previously unknown social customs and religions of these regions. This interest was not limited to the academic world but was shared by the general public, which consequently led to large quantities of ethnological data on the contemporary primitive cultures produced by travelers, missionaries and civil servants. The newly discovered countries and people were often identified on the basis of their religious beliefs and practices. New data led to new theories and approaches as these had to be philosophically and theologically explained. New material that further stimulated the emergence of modern religious studies were the archeological finds revealing the existence of pre-historic civilizations in and outside of Europe. (Wachutka 2001:13-15)

The import of newly discovered ancient texts and scriptures worked as a catalyst for the religio-historical studies. The emerging Romanticist movement tended to interpret these in terms of emotion, spirituality and myth. Their investigations of the ancient texts and scriptures further gave the basis for comparative research on Indo-European linguistics and mythologies. It were the prominent German romanticists, such as Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) and Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling (1762-1854), who set the

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<sup>28</sup> The other denominations include Pure Shinto, Kodō Shinto and Kokugaku Shinto.

<sup>29</sup> For more information on the politization of Fukko Shinto see Antoni 1998 and Scheid 2013.

philosophical basis for the study of mythology. They interpreted myths as a form of expression of the 'Absolute' in a particular stage of human development. (Wachutka 2001:15-17)

Building on the romantic tradition, Karl Otfried Müller (1797-1840), who studied the origins of Greek mythology, envisioned myths as emotional expressions of historical reality. The purpose of his inquiries into mythology was not an intuitive study of the basic ideas behind myth but a careful historical study of the development of different mythological traditions. Müller used etymology to study local differences in cult and mythological traditions. Building on the same romantic tradition as Müller, brothers Jakob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786-1859) regarded myths as popular expressions of reality of a distant pagan past. They collected the current oral traditions of Indo-European people, where common ancestry could be assumed, and studied the parallels and overlaps in their motives. Their inquiries initiated the historical-comparative research of both linguistics and mythology. (Wachutka 2001:18-20)

The Sanskrit scholars Adalbert Kuhn (1812-1881) and Wilhelm Schwartz (1821-1899) tried to explain myths as human attempts to express impressive natural phenomena through language. With the use of contemporary comparative linguistics they tried to distinguish certain natural phenomena in the names of the Indo-European gods and deities. Their attempts to find coherence of the various mythologies and linguistic materials were important for the study of mythology as well as of the emerging linguistic anthropology at a time when language-families had just been discovered. The German-born British scholar Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900) also studied Indo-European myths using comparative philology and is often seen as the representative scholar of the comparative religious studies in mid-nineteen century. He saw heroes and gods as a result of a misunderstanding of epithets and metaphors whose meaning were simply lost in the course of time. Although his attempts to explain the origin of myths through degeneration of language have been strongly criticized in his time, his work strongly influenced later comparative philological studies on religious texts. (Wachutka 2001:20-21, 27-28)

As the previous paragraphs show, there was not just one unified European tradition in the study of mythology. The 19<sup>th</sup> century is marked by the emergence of a new anthropological approach which was influenced by the theory of evolution. This approach can be generally seen in opposition to the preceding approaches by the romanticists. The grounds for the religio-historical studies of this time have been laid down by the British evolutionist David Hume (1711-1767),

who is called the forefather of British anthropology. Hume's theories were further developed by the upcoming generation of prominent British anthropologists Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1907) and Sir James George Frazer (1854 - 1941). The British contemporary anthropology worked with two basic premises: 1) linear development of time and history [as well as religion] is expressed in clearly distinguishable stages; and 2) the psychic uniformity of humankind [evolutionism] enables a comparative approach. (Wachutka 2001:22,28-30)

Herbert Spencer traced the origin of religion to ancestor-worship. According to Spencer, the ghosts of ancestors were transformed into gods. To explain fetishism [the worship of animals, plants, and inanimate objects], Spencer used Müller's theory of degeneration of language. He believed that the primitive man distinguished individuals by personal traits expressed with some well-known objects [fetishes]. After a few generations the metaphorical nature of the name was forgotten and the progeny started to venerate the fetish as their ancestor. This theory has been referred to as the solar-myth-theory, because Spencer used the popular solar deities to illustrate it. (Spencer 1870)

Edward Burnett Tylor is often mentioned together with Herbert Spencer, but there are significant differences in their approach. Most importantly, Tylor's work was grounded in the ethnology. The ethnologists studied the primitive tribes [both ancient and contemporary] as groups at an earlier stage of development. The two seemingly opposing theories within ethnological discourse about the character of social development are: 1) the psychological unity [evolutionism] of humankind, and 2) the diffusion of culture [diffusionism]. While evolutionism explains the cultural parallels through the underlying psychological uniformity, diffusionism worked with the assumptions that all cultures originated from one culture center [heliocentric diffusion theory] or from a limited number of culture centers [culture circles theory]. The diffusionists further believed that each society is influenced by others and that the process of diffusion is both contingent and arbitrary (Winthrop 1991:83–84).

The theory of diffusionism was often seen in opposition to evolutionism. Most of the early ethnologists uncritically searched the available sources for the proof of either the psychic unity of mankind or diffusion. Tylor believed in the „like working of men's minds under like

conditions“ (Lowie 1937:76-77), while constantly producing proof of cultural borrowings (Lowie 1937:72). Therefore he applied both principles of explanation depending on where the researched material led him. In the case of religion, Tylor recognized animism [deification of inanimate objects] as the first stage of development from which the higher forms evolved<sup>30</sup>. As opposed to Müller’s linguistic concept, Tylor explained the origin of myth to be resting upon a psychological delusion whereby the archaic primitive cultures simply confused the objective with the subjective because they were at a very low stage of development limited by their own sensory and psychological perceptions. (Murphy 2006:173; Wachutka 2001:28-30)

William Robertson Smith (1846-1894) also employed the anthropological approach in his religio-historical studies. He described the origin of myth as an explanation of the ancient religious practice, which has been forgotten in the course of time [similar to Müller’s concept of the decay of language]. Smith’s theory created a heated discourse in the anthropological circles, often referred to as the myth-ritual controversy,<sup>31</sup> which was also voiced in the works of James Frazer, but with the opposite conclusion. Frazer further divided all cultures into three evolutionary stages: 1) magic; followed by 2) religion; and the final stage 3) science. Ritual was an intermediary stage between the stage of magic and the stage of religion. (Wachutka 2001:32-33)

The purpose of the preceding paragraphs was to summarize the most important approaches of the religio-historical studies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe. I showed that there was not a single unified European tradition but a number of different, sometimes overlapping, sometimes opposing theories and approaches. However, according to Michael Wachutka there are some common underlying concepts which stood in clear contrast to the Japanese scholarship of this time: European scholars of religion 1) considered the mythological narrative as fictitious description of something else that needed to be explained and 2) based their theories on the premise of universality of evolution and human mind. (Wachutka 2001:34)

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<sup>30</sup> According to Tylor’s theory, the primitive man tried to explain his experiences with life, death, unconsciousness and arrived at the conclusion that there has to be another spiritual side to one’s existence outside of the physical world which he came to worship. This worship [animism] was supposed to be the first primitive stage of religion which was succeeded by fetishism, polytheism until reaching its final stage of monotheism (Murphy 2006:173).

<sup>31</sup> The concern in the so-called myth-ritual controversy was not the connection between mythology and religious practice, but the question of what came first (Wachutka 2001:32).

## 4 The studies of mythology by the English and German-speaking pioneers of Japanology

### 4.1 Introduction of the pioneers and their arrival to Japan

#### 4.1.1 Opening of Japan

By the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Western powers pressed the opening of Japan to trade. After the forceful opening of Japan (1853–1854) by the fleet of the United States, the Japanese Shogunate felt obliged to sign the Treaty of Kanagawa with the United States and the Friendship Treaty with the United Kingdom, which were later augmented by similar treaties with France, the Netherlands and Russia<sup>32</sup>. The unequal treaties followed China-derived colonial policies<sup>33</sup>, granting Western powers open ports with extra-territorial rights and consular representation and jurisdiction. The following years were therefore marked by the influx of European and American diplomats, merchants, globetrotters and Christian missionaries who were previously banned in Japan.

Many of the newly arrived foreigners developed an interest in Japanese studies. In 1872, the Asiatic Society of Japan (ASJ) was founded by the resident English-speaking foreigners in Japan. A year later, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (OAG), a German East Asiatic Society like ASJ, was founded by the German-speaking residents. The printed transactions [Mitteilungen in case of OAG] of these societies became the main platform for resident foreigners in Japan, who engaged in Japanese studies. The first list of members of ASJ is an accurate representation of the early Japanologists (anon. 1874:vii-viii). These can be divided into four groups [listed in descending order from the largest to smallest group<sup>34</sup>]:

- British consuls and diplomats such as Ernest Satow (1843-1929), William George Aston (1841-1911) and Harry Smith Parkes (1828-1885)<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Later also with Prussia, Austro-Hungarian Empire and Spain

<sup>33</sup> Although all European countries and the United States forced unequal treaties upon China, British diplomacy played the major role.

<sup>34</sup> The members of ASJ in 1872 included mostly diplomats and *oyatoi gaikokujin*. Merchants and missionaries were in minority unlike societies elsewhere in Asia. (Otness 1995:240)

<sup>35</sup> Parkes was one of two vice-presidents of ASJ and Satow was one of five of the Society's Council members, whose purpose was to elect candidates for membership of ASJ.



- Foreign professionals (*oyatoi gaikokujin* お雇い外国人), represented amongst others by British linguist Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935) and American lecturer William Elliot Griffis (1843-1928)<sup>36</sup>
- Merchants such as Alan Owston (1853-1915) from United Kingdom and Colgate Baker (dates unknown) from the United States
- Christian missionaries, represented amongst others by Americans such as James Curtis Hepburn (1815-1911) and Samuel Robbins Brown (1810-1880)<sup>37</sup>

The Japanologists I am introducing in my thesis as pioneers in the study of Japanese myths belong to the two largest groups of resident foreigners - British diplomats and *oyatoi gaikokujin*.

#### 4.1.2 British diplomacy and Meiji Japan

The standard-bearers of early Japanese Studies were the British employed in the diplomatic and consular services in Japan such as Satow, Aston and Parkes (Ota 1998:38-39). Ernest Satow was appointed as a student interpreter in the British Consular Service and joined the British Legation in Edo (now Tokyo) in 1862 at the age of 19. The 23-year old fresh graduate William George Aston joined Satow at the British mission in Edo in 1864 and began working in the same position as the two years younger Satow. Satow's and Aston's similar age and education in linguistics caused them to quickly become friends. In 1865 Sir Harry Smith Parkes became Consul General to Japan. Parkes, who served before as an interpreter to the British Legation in China during the turbulent years 1843-1854, and who resurrected the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1864, understood the importance of acquiring Japanese language and other information by British diplomats.

When Parkes arrived in Japan in 1865, he found it on the brink of a civil war between the Tokugawa Shogunate and imperial loyalists seeking to restore political power of the Imperial family. Parkes enforced the official British policy of neutrality towards both parties until the outcome of the conflict was clear. By the end of 1868 the United Kingdom, United States and France had given up their neutrality in support of the incipient Imperial government. Interestingly, Ernest Satow wrote a series of 3 articles for the *Japan Times* already in 1866

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<sup>36</sup> Although Griffis is known primarily as an orientalist, in Japan he taught chemistry and physics.

<sup>37</sup> Hepburn was the first president of ASJ and Brown was one of two vice-presidents.

dealing with the question of unequal treaties, their fraudulent signing by Shogun and the need for their ratification by the Japanese Emperor and other feudal lords. These articles indirectly dealt with sovereignty in Japan, which lay not in the hands of Shogun, but confederation of feudal lords and the Emperor. Satow published the articles anonymously, because the service rules of the British Legation forbade him to write comments on the immediate political situation in Japan. However, he had the articles translated into Japanese and published them in the form of a pamphlet titled *Eikoku sakuron* 英国策論, which came out under his name<sup>38</sup>. Most of the contemporary Japanese believed that it represented the views of the British Legation [despite the official policy of neutrality]. Thus, some of Parkes' subordinates, such as Satow, were able to predict the outcome of the civil war much sooner and aided the restoration of imperial power before 1868.

Satow and Aston were advancing in their careers in the British Consular Service. Satow became Japanese Secretary in 1867 and in 1876 was promoted to Second Secretary to the British Legation in Edo. He became personally acquainted with a number of prominent Japanese statesman such as Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視 (1825-1883), Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909), Ōkubo Toshimichi 大久保利通 (1830-1878), Kidō Takayoshi 木戸孝允 (1833-1877) and Inoue Kaoru 井上馨 (1836-1915), who became Satow's close friend. Aston was promoted to Assistant Japanese Secretary of the British Legation at Edo in 1875, and from 1880 to 1883 worked as consul at Hyogo.

Satow and Aston were compelled by Parkes to inquire into many different Japan-related topics. Their inquiries into Ainu, Ryukyu and Korea and their respective languages had also been dictated by the current political situation. Russian interests in Korea, Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands prompted Parkes to strengthen the British presence in Korea and support the Japanese claim to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. Aston's and Satow's task was to supply Parkes with information about these territories. They began studying Korean from the late 1870s, because Parkes felt the need for an intervention in Korea<sup>39</sup>, which was at the time controlled by Russia (Hoare 2013:130-131)<sup>40</sup>. In 1883 Parkes sent Aston to Korea to negotiate a treaty. From 1884 to

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<sup>38</sup> For more information on *Eikoku sakuron* and its possible role as catalyst in the Meiji Restoration see Ruxton 2017.

<sup>39</sup> For more information on the British intervention in Korea, referred to as Port Hamilton Affair, see Royle 2017.

<sup>40</sup> For more information see Hoare 2013.

1886 Aston resided in Seoul as First British Consul General for Korea. He returned to consular duties in Edo as Secretary of the British Legation in 1885, but retired after 4 years due to health problems. From 1888 until his retirement in 1889 Aston was president of ASJ. (Kornicki n.d.; Longford 1911)

In comparison to Aston, Satow's career only began to take off at this time. After a period of home leave in 1883, Satow was appointed Consul-General in Bangkok in 1884. The following year he was promoted to the British Diplomatic Service as a Minister Resident. In 1888 Satow was appointed Minister to Uruguay. In 1893 he became Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Morocco, where he was involved in a succession dispute when the Sultan died. From 1895 until 1900 Satow returned to Japan as Minister Plenipotentiary and presided over ASJ. In 1900 Satow departed for Peking, which was amidst the Boxer Rebellion, and was made Minister Plenipotentiary in 1902. He returned to England in 1906 and retired from Diplomatic Service the following year. (Todd 2007:2-3)

Parkes remained in his position during the crucial years of both Aston's and Satow's careers in Japan from 1865 until 1883. Chamberlain summarizes Parkes contribution as follows:

Sir Harry's practical wisdom was shown, among other things, in the training of his officers; [...] he developed the intelligence of each in its special line, and thus, if I may use such an expression, founded a school. His stimulating influence raised the members of the consular service to the position of chief authorities on all subjects connected with Japan. It was probably with that object in view that he, from the first, took a leading part in the labours of the Asiatic Society of Japan. [...] Never were Japanese studies in a more active and fruitful state than when under the supervision of this great man. [...] (Dickins/Lane-Poole 1894:358)

From 1876 to 1878 Parkes was president of ASJ. During this time he encouraged the ASJ members to pursue different Japan-related topics, including ancient Japanese literature.

The President [Parkes] remarked on the philological value of Mr. Chamberlain's paper ["The Maiden of Unai" (Chamberlain 1878)], and also on the ethnological importance of the study of the early literature of the Japanese, not only of the medieval time but also that of a more ancient date. He alluded to the previous contributions of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Aston in this comparatively unexplored field of research, and hoped that it would continue to receive their attention and that of other competent members of the Society. [...] (anon. 1878:400)

The time of Parkes as a Head of the British Legation in Edo coincides with Satow's publications on Shinto and Japanese mythology.

#### 4.1.3 *Oyatoi gaikokujin* and Japan's modernization

With the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan abandoned its previous anti-foreign policy. The newly created Meiji government agreed that Japan, in order to gain equal status with the Western powers and achieve revision of the unequal treaties, required programmatic learning of Western knowledge. The fifth article of the Charter Oath, promulgated at the enthronement of Emperor Meiji, proclaimed that "knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule". This article was put into practice by sending Japanese students abroad as well as by employing foreign experts *oyatoi gaikokujin* to aid in Japan's modernization. The overwhelming majority of the hired foreigners were British, followed by French, Americans and some Germans. The number of government-employed *oyatoi* rose from the beginning of the 1870s and reached its peak of 524 persons between the years 1874 and 1875 with. After 1875 this number slowly declined, although a considerable number of foreign experts remained in Japan until the 1890s. (Umetani 1971:71-72)

In 1872 the 22 year old Basil Hall Chamberlain embarked on a long voyage to recover his health. In 1873, after visiting Australia and China, Chamberlain arrived to Japan. Ōta Yūzō suggests that Chamberlain probably brought letters of introduction from influential people to Japan, because of the warm treatment he received upon his arrival from Harry S. Parkes and his wife<sup>41</sup>. Through Parkes' mediation Chamberlain became acquainted with Satow and Aston and they became good friends. From 1874 until 1886 Chamberlain worked as an English teacher at the Imperial Naval Academy. In 1886 he became a professor of linguistics at the Department of Japanese language and at the newly created Philology Department of the Imperial University<sup>42</sup>. He left his position at the Imperial University in 1890 due to health problems. From 1890 onwards, Chamberlain continued to travel between Japan and Europe until 1911, when he finally settled in Geneva. (Ota 1998: 42, 202-205)

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<sup>41</sup> Shortly after his arrival to Japan, Chamberlain fell ill and was invited to stay with the Parkeses to recuperate. (Ota 1998:42)

<sup>42</sup> Now University of Tokyo

#### 4.1.4 The “German phase” of Meiji-modernization

In the 1880s relations between Japan and Germany were on the rise<sup>43</sup>. Although, the numbers of government-employed *oyatoi* from other countries were gradually declining after 1875, the number of German *oyatoi* rose in the early 1880s (Umetani 1971:82). Many Japanese students travelled to Germany to acquire both a formal education and practical knowledge. In 1886, at the age of 21, Karl Florenz finished his studies of linguistics and philology at the University of Leipzig. During his studies Florenz met the Japanese student Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1854–1944). He continued his studies at the newly opened course of oriental languages in Berlin, where Inoue taught Japanese language. In Berlin Florenz became acquainted with many Japanese students, including Mori Ōgai 森 鷗外 (1862-1922) and Ariga Nagao 有賀長雄 (1860–1921). In 1888 Florenz accompanied Ariga on his way home to Japan. In the same year Florenz became a member of OAG. Thanks to Ariga's help, Florenz was hired as a lecturer of German language and literature at the Imperial University the next year. In 1891 Florenz was appointed professor for German language and literature. In 1893 he was appointed professor for linguistics at the Philology Department, a position previously held by Chamberlain with whom he had an amicable relationship. Florenz continued to teach at the Imperial University until 1914. In 1914 Florenz briefly presided over OAG, but returned the same year to Germany, where he became the first professor of Japanese Studies. (Lewin 1985:31; Satō 1995:133-177)

## 4.2 Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929)

### 4.2.1 Academic work

Throughout his life Satow published 15 books, including 1 dictionary and 2 travel guide books as well as 78 articles<sup>44</sup>. His academic work can be divided into three periods. The first, and Satow's most productive period, coincides with his first stay in Japan from 1862 until 1883.

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<sup>43</sup> The phase of increased cultural and intellectual exchange between Japan and Germany began in the early 1880s. In 1881 the German Studies Society, Doitsu Gaku Kyōkai 獨逸學協會, a society complementary to OAG, was founded by some of the most prolific pro-German Japanese scholars and politicians, among them Aoki Shūzō 青木 周藏 (1844-1914) and Katsura Tarō 桂 太郎 (1848-1913). The School of German Studies Society, Doitsu Gaku Kyokai Gakkō 獨逸学協会学校, opened in 1883 and offered German language and legal studies classes. The participation of Germany on the Triple-Intervention in 1895 and acquisition of colonies in China and South-Pacific in 1898 and 1899 caused the bilateral relationship between Japan and Germany to cool off. For more see Spang 2015.

<sup>44</sup> For the complete list of Satow's works see appendix A.

Satow's focus during this creative phase lay in Japanese language and politics. During his second creative period, from 1884 until his retirement, Satow's diplomatic career required extensive travel. He published significantly less and mostly on Japan and Siam<sup>45</sup>. During his third creative phase, which lasted from 1906 until his death in 1929, Satow published mainly on international law and politics.

#### **4.2.1.1 1864-1883: Satow's first stay in Japan**

During his first stay in Japan, which lasted 19 years, Satow published 51 journal articles, including 4 reviews of publications on Japanese language<sup>46</sup>, and 1 encyclopedia article. He also published 6 books including 2 travel guides, 1 dictionary and 1 exercise book for students of Japanese language. Prior to the foundation of the ASJ<sup>47</sup> Satow published in a number of East Asiatic journals, most notably in *The Japan Weekly Mail*, *The Chinese and Japanese Repository*, *The Japan Herald* and *The Japan Times*. After its foundation in 1872 this Society, and its *TASJ*, became the main platform for Satow's work<sup>48</sup>.

In 1864 Satow published his first article "A Correspondent at Yokohama" in *The North China Herald*<sup>49</sup>, in which he describes the circumstances of the execution of two Japanese men suspected of murdering two English military officials. All of Satow's articles from the 1860s were motivated by his work for the British Consular Office, i.e. they dealt with either Japanese language or Japan's political situation. Also, Satow's inquiries into Ryukyu, Ainu and Korea and their respective languages were dictated by the political interests of the British Legation as I previously described.

From the early 1870s Satow started to explore other Japan related topics in his work such as history, geography, literature, religion, mythology and cultural traditions. Satow was also an enthusiastic traveler and published the accounts of his travels in the Japanese interior in a series of articles between 1872 and 1873 in *The Japan Weekly Mail*. In 1873 he published a translation of *Kinse shiriaku*, a history of modern Japan after its opening in 1853 (Satow 1873). In the

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<sup>45</sup> Formerly used exonym for Thailand, especially Central, Eastern, Western, and Southern Thailand.

<sup>46</sup> Includes reviews of 2 grammars of Japanese language by Aston.

<sup>47</sup> The first volume of *TASJ* appeared in 1874 and collected papers read in front of the Society in 1872 and 1873.

<sup>48</sup> For the overview of all journals, in which Satow published see appendix B.

<sup>49</sup> First published in 1850, *The North China Herald* was considered the most influential Chinese journal printed by foreigners during treaty period 1842-1943.

following year Satow published *Japanese chronological tables*, which begin in 660 BC with the mythological accession of the first Japanese emperor (Satow 1874a). In the same year he published an article "The Shiñ-tau Temples of Ise" (Satow 1874c), which introduces the shrine in Ise, its architecture, rituals as well as the worshipped deities. He was the first foreigner to visit the Ise Shrine in 1872. Satow also published an article on Japanese language and literature in *The American Cyclopædia* (Satow 1874b) by George Ripley (1802-1880) and Charles Anderson Dana (1819-1897).

In 1875 Satow published "The Revival of Pure Shiñ-tau" in the *TASJ* (Satow 1875b). In this article Satow introduces the Japanese authorities on Shinto, namely Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1796), Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) and Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) whom I have already introduced. In the article Satow summarizes their educational background and main works. In the same year he published a guide book to Nikkō (Satow 1875a).

In 1878 Satow published in the *TASJ* a number of articles on Japanese customs and their origin, more specifically an article on the use of fire-drill ( Satow 1878e) and articles on the introduction of tobacco and Korean pottery to Japan (Satow 1878b, 1878c). In the same year Satow published, together with Frederick Victor Dickins (1838–1915), an article titled "Notes of a visit to Hachijō in 1878" (Satow 1878a), which is both a geographical account of the island as well as a detailed ethnographical report of its inhabitants, including their distinct customs. In 1878 Satow also published an article titled "The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese" in *The Westminster Review*<sup>50</sup> (Satow 1878d). In the following year he published the first two articles from his series of translations of *norito* 祝詞 – the Japanese ritual prayers<sup>51</sup> – with detailed annotation titled "Ancient Japanese Rituals" (Satow 1879a, 1879b).

In 1880 Satow published an article in the *TASJ* titled "Ancient Sepulchral Mounds in Kaudzuke", which describes, besides the archeological finds, the ancient burial customs in Japan (Satow 1880). In 1881 Satow co-published with Albert George Sidney Hawes (1842-1897) *A Handbook for Travelers in Central & Northern Japan*, which also includes descriptions of a large number

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<sup>50</sup> During the mid-1850's this journal came to represent the views of elite radical British intellectuals and evolutionists including Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), William Benjamin Carpenter (1813-1885), Robert Chambers (1802-1871) and Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895). Huxley later proclaimed himself "Darwin's bulldog", paving the way for Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) publication of *On the Origin of Species* (1859). (Nelson 2010)

<sup>51</sup> For my introduction of *norito* see footnote <sup>1</sup> on page 4.

of shrines (Satow and Haves 1881). In the same year Satow published his last translations of *norito* titled “Ancient Japanese Rituals, Part III” (Satow 1881). In the following year, Satow published in the *TASJ* his last two articles before he left Japan. These articles deal with the history of printing in Japan and Korea (Satow 1882a, 1882b).

All of Satow's articles, which either directly or indirectly deal with Japanese mythology, were published in this phase of his academic career.

#### **4.2.1.2 1884-1906: Satow in East Asia and elsewhere**

As I mentioned earlier, between 1884 and 1906 Satow significantly advanced in his diplomatic career, which required him to travel to different parts of the world. Although he continued to write, the amount of his publications significantly decreased. In the 21 years following his initial departure from Japan Satow published 8 articles and 5 books. In the 1880s Satow started to publish on Siam, where he served from 1884 until 1887. However, most of his academic works still focused on Japan<sup>52</sup> and the majority of his articles appeared in the *TASJ*.

The topics of Satow's published books and articles were manifold, most dominantly Japan's modern history. His only religion-related articles in this phase were two articles on Japanese Buddhism, published in 1894 (Satow 1894a, 1894b).

#### **4.2.1.3 1906-1929: Retirement**

During his 23 year long retirement Satow published 18 articles and 4 books. In the 1900s Satow published 1 preface and 1 article in collective volumes on Chinese modern history (Satow 1907; Satow 1909), but most of his academic work focused on international politics and law. He ceased to publish in the *TASJ* and most of his articles appeared in renowned British journals, most notably *The Quarterly Review* and the prominent *Cambridge Historical Journal*.

In 1917 Satow published his acclaimed *A Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (Satow 1917). His last and best known publication on Japan was his memoir titled *A Diplomat in Japan* from 1921 (Satow 1921).

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<sup>52</sup> 5 of 8 journal articles and 3 of 5 books published in this time period were Japan-related. 3 article and 1 book were related to Siam. 1 book was on Korean geography.



## 4.2.2 Satow and the *kokugaku* scholarship

### 4.2.2.1 Satow's Japanese sources

Satow's first article related to Japanese mythology, titled "The Shiñ-tau Temples of Ise" (Satow 1874c), was published in 1874. It introduces the Ise Shrine, its worshipped deities Toyouke 豊受 and Amaterasu 天照 as well as the mythological narratives in which these deities appear. The myths are literal translations from Hirata Atsutane's *Koshi seibun* 古史精文 (1811-1818). *Koshi seibun* is the Japanese history starting with the *Age of gods* and compiled by Atsutane with great editorial liberty. An analysis of its text has shown that Atsutane wove together a narration by combining and mixing a number of different sources, sometimes within the same sentence (Bowring 2017: 278). In the same article Satow describes *Koshi seibun* as "Hirata Atsutane's compilation of myths from most reliable sources" (Satow 1874c:109). In an article on Japanese literature from the same year he refers to *Koshi seibun* as "the whole of the mythological books worked up into a continuous and consistent form" (Satow 1874b:562).

In a encyclopedia article on "Japanese Language and Literature" (Satow 1874b) Satow groups the commentaries on Japanese mythology under a separate category titled "Literature of the Shinto religion", where he enumerates other Shintoist sources and commentaries by scholars of different Shintoist sects. It is apparent that he considered Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1796), Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) and Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) as authorities in this field (Satow 1874b: 562–563, 1878d:28). Satow drew the information for his studies on Shinto mostly from the works of these three Japanese scholars.

In his article "The Revival of Pure Shiñ-tau" from the following year Satow introduces the main works of Mabuchi, Norinaga and Atsutane. He introduces his earlier source *Koshi seibun* as follows:

[... *Koshi seibun*] is a compilation founded on the texts of the Ko-zhi-ki [*Kojiki*], Ni-hoñ-gi [*Nihon shoki*], Ko-go-zhifu-wi [*Kogo shūi*], Fu-do-ki, Ku-zhi-ki [*Sendai kuji hongī*], Norito and several other of the ancient books, with some slight conjectural additions of his own, and is written in the style of the Ko-zhi-ki. Many native scholars are of opinion that he has gone too far in altering the ancient texts, and prefer the originals, inconsistent and contradictory as they sometimes are, but this is a matter on which I have not had time to form an opinion. (Satow 1875b:49)

Under the influence of the Japanese scholarship Satow started to differentiate various sources of Japanese mythology. In his article from 1878 "The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese" Satow recognizes two sources of Shinto: 1) the mythological parts of *kiki*; and 2) Shinto rituals described in *Engi shiki* (Satow 1878d:30).

In his future studies of Shinto Satow chose to investigate the prayers of Shinto rituals instead of Shinto mythology. As the main Japanese sources Satow mentions:

- *Ōharae kotoba sanjōben* 大祓詞三條辨 (1874) by Nemoto Manae 根本真苗 (dates unknown)
- *Norito seikun* 祝詞正訓 (1858) by Atsutane<sup>53</sup>
- *Ōharae kotoba gogoshaku* 大祓詞後釈大祓詞後々釋 (1817) by Fujii Takanao 藤井高尚 (1764-1840)
- *Amatsu noritokō* 天津祝詞考 (1815) by Atsutane
- *Ōharae no kotoba goshaku* 大祓詞後釈 (1796) by Norinaga
- *Noritokō* 祝詞考 (1768) by Mabuchi (Satow 1878d:27, 1879a:101)

Satow's notes to his translations of *norito* (Satow 1879a, 1879b, 1881) often include mythological episodes correlating to the translated rituals and their differences in primary sources. While quoting from *Kojiki* he refers to Norinaga's *Kojikiden* and when he quotes *Nihon shoki* he refers to *Nihongi shūchū*<sup>54</sup> (Satow 1879b:417). Satow's most quoted secondary Japanese sources are Norinaga and Mabuchi. He does not mention any contemporary writers, with the exception of one mention of Hori Hidenari 堀秀成 (1819-1887), a prominent linguist and *kokugakusha*, whom he calls friend and teacher (Satow 1879a:114).

Koyama Noboru researches Satow's book collection in the Cambridge University Library. He mentions as Satow's main *kokugaku* teacher Wada Shigeo 和田重雄 (dates unknown). According to Koyama Satow employed Shigeo in 1874 to help him with his studies of Shinto and *kokugaku*. Koyama thinks that Satow's handwritten notes suggest that Satow started his studies by reading the works of Atsutane. Satow's use of Atsutane's *Koshi seibun* as his source

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<sup>53</sup> Written by Atsutane and published posthumously by Hirata Kanetane 平田鐵胤 (1799-1880).

<sup>54</sup> Satow transcribes it as *Nihongi shifuchiyuu*. Unfortunately I was not able to determine, which work he meant.

for Japanese mythology in his first article related to Shinto suggests the same (Satow 1874c). (Koyama 2016:21)

In his works Satow relied exclusively on the works of the *kokugaku* scholars. His brief reference to Iwagaki Tōen 岩垣松苗 (1774-1849)<sup>55</sup> is Satow's sole mention of rationalist scholarship. He introduces Iwagaki's explanation of Amaterasu hiding in the cave during a solar eclipse, which aligns with his own interpretation (Satow 1874c: 112).

#### 4.2.2.2 Satow's employment of Japanese sources

In the last paragraph of "The Revival of Pure Shiñ-tau" Satow proposes how to employ Japanese sources in the study of Shinto:

The object of this paper being merely to give some account of the views entertained by a school of modern writers on Shiñ-tau [Shinto], no attempt has been made to determine which of their opinions are in accordance, and which at variance, with the real nature of this religion. It is, however, manifest that such of their conclusions as are founded on the alleged infallibility of the ancient records or on any premises, which involve the miraculous or supernatural must for those many reasons be discredited; and the real nature and origin of Shiñ-tau must be decided by the usual canon of historical criticism. The most effectual means of conducting the investigation would be a comparison of the legends in the *Ko-zhi-ki* [*Kojiki*] and *Ni-hoñ-gi* [*Nihon shoki*], and the rites and ceremonies concerning which the *Norito* and other parts of *Yeñ-gi Shiki* [*Engi shiki*] afford so much information, with what is known of other ancient religions. A correct interpretation of the extant texts is the first requisite, and in arriving at this the philological labors of Kamo, Motowori and Hirata, imperfect as their results must naturally be, will be of immense assistance. At the same time, in order to estimate the exact value of these results, the safest method would be to follow the order proposed by Motowori for studying the old literature, and to begin by a careful analysis of the language of the *Geñ-zhi* [*Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (1004-1012)] and other *Monogatari*, which form the key to the *Mañ-yefu-shifu* [*Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (759)]; for without an accurate knowledge of the latter, the proper reading of the Chinese characters in which *Ko-zhi-ki*, *Ni-hoñ-gi* and *Norito* have been written down cannot be known with any degree of certainty. By carrying out this programme, and following in the footsteps of the native scholars, it would be alone possible to check their work and at the same time arrive at correct conclusions, for it is very clear that the last word has yet to be said on the subject of Shiñ-tau. (Satow 1875b:87)

This passage illustrates how Satow combined both Japanese and Western approaches. Satow proposes to use the philological interpretations by the *kokugakusha* and to compare both Shinto mythology and Shinto rituals with other ancient religions. In his article from 1879 Satow distinguishes the study of *kiki* myths and *norito* as two distinct methods to investigate ancient Shinto (Satow 1879a:96). Satow advocates his choice for *norito* based on Mabuchi's philological

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<sup>55</sup> Satow quotes Iwagaki's *Kokushi ryaku* 國史略 (1826).

investigations<sup>56</sup>. Satow further adopted from the works of the *kokugakusha* the general notion of an ancient, purely Japanese religious tradition, which is based on their perception of Fukko Shinto<sup>57</sup>.

Despite his use of their works, Satow was critical of the *kokugaku* scholarship. His harshest criticism is to be found in the article “The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese”:

[...] The necessity incumbent upon an orthodox adherent of the ancient creed, of accepting every myth as a statement of indisputable fact, renders it impossible for him [*kokugakusha*] to adopt modes of interpretation which to the student of comparative mythology appear both obvious and necessary. [...] It is their constant predisposition thus to confuse cause and effect, together with their habit of seeing a mysterious signification in every inconsistent fable which they are unable to interpret, that renders the native expositors of the ancient religious books such untrustworthy guides in the search after a clue to their true meaning and import. (Satow 1878d:55)

Satow's criticism was directed at their deliberate refusal of the rationalization of the myths, which stood in opposition to his own comparative approach.

#### **4.2.3 Satow's interpretation of Japanese mythology**

##### **4.2.3.1 The relationship between myth and ritual**

As I already mentioned, Satow perceived Shinto mythology and Shinto ritualistic practice as two equal parts of Shinto religion. He chose to study Shinto ritual prayers, because 1) the study of mythology would require a translation of *kiki* which was at that time not yet at hand (Satow 1878d:31); 2) he considered *norito* to be the oldest Shintoist texts<sup>19</sup>; and 3) he was convinced that religious practice precedes the creation of myth. He illustrated his theory of rite as an origin of myth in his article dealing with origins of cleansing-myth *misogi* 禊 and ritualistic lustration titled “The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese”:

[...] Far from feeling bound to interpret the account of Izanagi's [伊邪那岐] washing which is given in the "Notices of Ancient Things" [*Kojiki*] as the origin of the rite of lustration, we can only see in it a poetical myth intended as a means of giving additional sanctity to a long-established practice. (Satow 1878d:55)

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<sup>56</sup> According to Mabuchi *norito* are the oldest remaining literary materials of the indigenous Japanese people with the exception of the poems contained in *kiki*. He thinks it “likely that *norito* had been transmitted orally, without any alternation, for generations before they came to be written down” due to the purely phonographical transcription of the liturgies in question. (Satow 1878d:56-57, 1879a:98-99)

<sup>57</sup> An introduction of Fukko Shinto is to be found in chapter 3.1.

Satow's conception of the relationship between mythology and ritualistic practice reflects the popular myth-ritual discourse and the theories of prominent Scottish anthropologist William Robertson Smith<sup>58</sup>.

#### 4.2.3.2 Ancestor-worship, Nature-worship and the origin of Shinto

Satow's proposed theory of development of Shinto is in unison with his considerations of myth as an explanation for previously existing religious practice. Satow, in his inquiries as to the origin of Shinto which he presented in the article "The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese", comes to the conclusion that origins of the ancient Shinto lie in ancestor-worship and veneration of the dead as follows:

[...] we have seen reason to suggest that out of the practice of burying with dead chieftains objects of value or utility, there arose a belief in the existence of invisible beings of superior power and goodness, who presided over various departments of natural phenomena, and that these spirits, by a process not traceable in every case, were for the most part identified with the ancestors of living persons. It was a matter of course to make the same offerings to these deified abstractions as had hitherto been made to real ancestors, and the rule once established was applied in the worship of all the gods, whatever their origin. These rites and ceremonies formed the practical manifestations of objective religion, which everywhere comes earlier in the order of development, while subjective religion, the notions of good and evil, and the consciousness of sin against the supernatural beings who rule man's fate, attain a definite form much later. (Satow 1878d:48)

Satow considered nature-worship having its origins in ancestor-worship as a later stage of religious development as follows:

[...] deified powers of Nature, which in one or two cases have been identified with the ancestors of certain chiefs, but are unusually not connected by fancied pedigrees with the human race. The most obvious explanation of this is that the deification of the powers of Nature sprang up much later than the worship of deceased human beings, and that the ceremonies which had been imagined in honour of ancestors were adapted to the service of the new objects of veneration. (Satow 1878d:33)

According to Satow's theory, by the time of creation of the first Japanese myths [*Age of gods*], Japanese religion has passed its primordial stage and ascended to its second stage, which can be described as nature-worship. In accordance with this theory, Satow interprets some myths/deities as natural occurrences/powers of nature, as for instance:

- Amaterasu 天照 as a deification of sun (Satow 1874c:112, 1878d:44-45, 1879a:121-122) and the episode of her hiding in the cave during a solar eclipse (Satow 1874c:112)

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<sup>58</sup> William Robertson Smith was introduced in chapter 3.2.

- etymology of the names of the wind-deities Amenomihashira 天御柱 and Kuninomihashira 国御柱 as "the thing that bridged over the distance from heaven" (Satow 1879b:417-419)

The popular European scholar who had the most impact on Satow was Herbert Spencer, who also perceived ancestor-worship as the first stage of religious development. Spencer's works were widely known and read during the 1870s at the beginning of Satow's career as a Japanologist. Although Satow does not mention Spencer in any of his writings on Japanese mythology, Spencer's ideas are clearly inherent in Satow's work, especially in the article from 1878, which appeared in the same journal as Spencer's writing (Satow 1878d). The similarity of their theories of religious development are best illustrated by their explanation of the deification of sun.

Satow's theory as to how the sun came to be identified with ancestors of Japanese Emperor is as follows:

[...] The question how the sun came to be identified with the mikado's [Japanese emperor] ancestors is probably to be answered in the same manner as the question of the origin of pedigrees beginning with animals. Used as epithets denoting strength, fierceness, swiftness, and other personal qualities, valued by men whose life was spent in the chase, they lost their symbolical meaning in the mouths of descendants of the first bearers of such names, who ended by believing that their original ancestors were the animals themselves. A similar metaphorical use of the word *hi*, sun, has been followed by similar consequence in Japan. [...] *Hiko* and *hime* evidently signified sun male and sun female: they were applied at first as titles of honour, and as such are constantly found forming part of the names of legendary as well as historical mikado of the two sexes. It is not hazardous supposition that the practice of calling the monarch a sun-male [*hiko*] led in time to the belief that he was really of the same race as the luminary, especially as the title *kami*<sup>59</sup>, which started by meaning chief, was, as we have already pointed out, applied to both with very little distinction of signification. (Satow 1878d:45)

Spencer, with his solar-theory, arrives at the same conclusion. Even his argumentation is almost the same as Satow's:

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<sup>59</sup> Satow introduces the etymology of the word *kami* which originally meant „head“ and hence „chief“ and considers it as proof that deified chieftains were the first Japanese deities (Satow 1875b:34). This etymology dominated the field of Japanese interpretation since the 14th century and was accepted by both rationalists such as Arai Hakuseki and the *kokugakusha* (Satow 1875b:34). This etymology was accepted and used by both Chamberlain and Aston (Aston 1896a:7-8; Chamberlain 1883b:xix-xx; Satow 1875b:42). More recent scholarship doubts this proposed etymology and there is not enough evidence for any alternative etymological explanation. For more on this issue see Holtom 1940 and Vance 1983.

[...] When we remember how the arrival of a triumphant warrior must affect the feelings of his tribe, dissipating clouds of anxiety and brightening all faces with joy, we shall see that the comparison of him to the sun is quite natural; and in early speech this comparison can be made only by calling him the sun. As before, then, it will happen that, through a confounding of the metaphorical name with the actual name, his progeny, after a few generations, will be regarded by themselves and others as descendants of the sun. And, as a consequence, partly of actual inheritance of the ancestral character, and partly of maintenance of the traditions respecting the ancestor's achievements, it will also naturally happen that the solar race will be considered a superior race, as we find it habitually is. (Spencer 1870:542)

In his work Spencer often refers to Friedrich Max Müller who interprets the origins of myths as a result of a misunderstanding of epithets and metaphors. While attempting to explain the origins of fetishism and ancestor-worship, Spencer often combines his anthropological and Müller's philological approach. Although Satow does not give any credit to either Spencer or Müller<sup>60</sup> and only mentions his Japanese secondary sources, Spencer's as well as Müller's approach and argumentation are clearly visible in his work.

#### 4.2.3.3 The ethnological interpretation

Beside the anthropological influences, Satow's studies of *norito* show a strong influence of contemporary ethnography and ethnology. Most of the contemporary ethnographers studied the cultures for common culture traits [customs], while the ethnologists attempted to explain origins of the common culture traits. The two popular theories within etymological discourse that explained cultural parallels were: 1) the psychological unity [evolutionism] of humankind; and 2) the diffusion of culture [diffusionism].

Satow often highlights the independent origins of Japanese religion prior to the import of Buddhism as a strong evidence for the theory of evolutionism:

[...] unquestionably the most interesting to students of comparative religion is the Shiñtau [Shinto] of the primitive Japanese, because if we can separate it from the spurious counterfeits and adulterations which are presented to us as Shiñtau, we shall probably arrive at a natural religion in a very early stage of development, which perhaps originated quite independently of any other natural religion known to us, and that would certainly be of value, as showing one way in which a natural religion may spring up." (Satow 1879a:96)

Also, in the case of lustration as a ritualistic practice of the ancient Japanese, Satow considers it more likely to have developed independently than been imported from the continental cultures:

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<sup>60</sup> Satow definitely knew Müller's work on philology and mentions him and his theories on numerous occasions in his article "Transliteration of the Japanese syllabary" (Satow 1879c: 242,244,254). Satow's correspondence further suggest that he, Chamberlain, Aston and Müller knew each other (Satow 2008:37,46; Satow 2016:35,60,94,106).

[...] But we think that the mere fact of similar conceptions having existed in another country among another race of people than the Japanese is not sufficient to establish the theory that they could only have originated in a single centre, from which they spread in various directions wherever the circumstances were favourable, or facilities for their transmission might be supposed to have existed. (Satow 1878d:56)

Satow, through the religious customs and mythology, reflected the political and social reality of the archaic Japanese. In his studies of *norito* Satow tried to work out mythological motifs and religious customs that would allow comparison with other cultures:

- shoulder-blade divination and its comparison with Kyrgyz (Satow 1878d:35-36, 1879b:429-432)
- ritualistic use of fire-drill (Satow 1878d: 36-37, 1878e)
- phallic worship (Satow 1878d:42)
- pollution and its ritualistic purification by water and its comparison with Peruvian Incas (Satow 1878d:48-56)

Satow's most interesting interpretational attempt from the list above is his explanation of origin of *tsumi* 罪 [offence] in the religious context<sup>61</sup>, which invokes ritual purification. According to Satow, the ambiguous term *tsumi* and understanding of pollution in ancient Japan carries seeds, which could have developed into a moral code, but its development was prevented by the introduction of Buddhism and the Chinese penal code in the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD.

To explain how the division between the 'earthly' and 'heavenly offences' may have arisen, Satow speculates that the 'heavenly offences' correspond with offences in the community of agriculturists living in the midst of a population of hunters and fishermen. Satow works with the theory that immigrants, who originally settled in Izumo<sup>62</sup>, were agriculturists. The immigrants and original inhabitants of the Japanese archipelago pursued their hereditary occupations for a long time separately, instead of amalgamating. According to Satow, the word 'heavenly' could

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<sup>61</sup> Satow describes the etymological origins of the Japanese word for offence, *tsumi*, as “a word starting with a general, undefined, obscure signification, fully corresponding to the vague notion of the men who use it, gradually becomes restricted in its application, to one of the ideas which emerge out of the chaos, thus obtains a distinct and unequivocal meaning, while other new terms are adopted to express the remaining products of the medley” (Satow 1878d:51). His approach to the possible etymology of *tsumi* derives from Müller’s theory on the degeneration of language.

<sup>62</sup> Izumo 出雲国 is a historical province of Japan (located in the eastern part of today's Shimane prefecture in Chūgoku region) and one of the ancient geo-political centers of Japan. For more on the historical geopolitical centers and ethnogenesis of Japan see Hudson 1999.



be adopted to express whatever was characteristic for the mode of life of the superior group – agriculturists who came via the sea. The word 'earthly' is, in this context, attributed to the general population of the Japanese archipelago<sup>63</sup>. (Satow 1878d:49-52)

The only non-Japanese sources Satow mentions are called in for comparison of the above listed customs with other cultures. Satow refers to works [unspecified] by Voltaire (1694–1778), *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reichs* (Pallas 1771) by Peter Simon Pallas (1741-1811), *Primitive Culture* (Tylor 1871a, 1871b) by Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917) and *Researches into the early history of mankind and the development of civilization* (Tylor 1865) also by Tylor.

#### **4.2.4 Satow and the future studies of Japanese mythology**

Satow was the first Japanologist to apply the comparative approach to the study of Shinto depending heavily on the works of Japanese *kokugakusha*. In his conscious choice of *norito* as the main subject of his studies, we can also trace the myth-ritual debate which dominated the European religious studies at this time. Satow's studies greatly influenced all following pioneer Japanologists who inquired into this topic.

William George Aston described him as “the founder of our knowledge of Shinto” (Aston 1907: 341) and stated that “the serious student may safely neglect all that precedes these [Satow’s] epoch-making articles” (Aston 1907:82). Florenz held Satow in high regard and published a translation of *norito* as the last part of Satow’s series “Ancient Japanese rituals” (Florenz 1899). Aston, Chamberlain and Florenz frequently refer in their work to Satow's articles on the *kokugaku* scholarship, Shinto shrines and *norito*. Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904), in his “Japan: An attempt at interpretation”, like Satow tried to interpret Shinto by means of Spencer’s laws of religious development. He relied, in his investigation of Shinto, almost exclusively on Satow as his primary source (Hearn 1904:487).

Satow was personally acquainted with all other pioneer Japanologists I present in my thesis, i.e. Aston, Chamberlain and Florenz (Satow 2010: 38,180). He exchanged correspondence with both

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<sup>63</sup> The topic of immigrant groups in Asuka and Nara periods (538-794), their prominence at court and the penetration of their cults and practices to Japan is the topic of research of Michael Como, Associate Professor at the Columbia University (Columbia University Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures 2018).

Chamberlain and Aston after he left Japan (Satow 2008, 2010, 2014, 2016). Satow continued to support Chamberlain and Aston in Japanese studies and discussed with them Japan-related topics in letters while he was on diplomatic missions in other countries. The depth of their friendship and Satow's support is best illustrated by the fact that he, in his later years, gifted Chamberlain and Aston with the majority of his books on Japan. The greater part was given to Aston to provide him with materials for research after retirement in England (Satow 2008: 318). It is not an overstatement to say that Aston would not be able to finish his translation of *Nihon shoki* (Aston 1896a, 1896b) and to publish his major works on Shinto (Aston 1905, 1907) without Satow's support. Satow's diaries and correspondence reveal that he continued to shape discourse on Japanese mythology long after he departed Japan and pursued his diplomatic career.

### **4.3 Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935)**

#### **4.3.1 Academic work**

Chamberlain published 5 poems, 85 articles and 22 books<sup>64</sup>. His academic work can be divided into three periods. Chamberlain's first creative period started in 1873, when he arrived in Japan, and ended with his retirement in 1890. The main focus of his works lay on Japanese and Ainu languages, history and literature. After his retirement Chamberlain traveled regularly between Japan and Europe and the number of his publications significantly decreased. He continued to publish on the Japanese language, translations from Japanese literature and developed a new interest in the language and culture of Ryukyu<sup>65</sup>. In 1911 Chamberlain finally settled in Geneva and published only sporadically from then on.

##### **4.3.1.1 1873-1890: Chamberlain's residency in Japan**

Chamberlain resided and worked in Japan 16 years. During this time Chamberlain published 3 poems, 41 journal articles, 1 preface to a book and 16 books. The main platform of Chamberlain's articles was the *TASJ*, but he published in a number of other European periodicals such as *The Cornhill Magazine*, *The Chrysanthemum*, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* and others. Chamberlain also published in Japanese periodicals. Most

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<sup>64</sup> For the complete list of Chamberlain's works see appendix C.

<sup>65</sup> Ryukyu Islands, also known as Nansei, is a chain of islands including Okinawa that stretch southwest from Kyushu to Taiwan.

of his Japanese articles appeared in *Rōmaji zasshi* ローマ字雑誌 and *Tōyō gakugei zasshi* 東洋學藝雜誌<sup>66</sup>.

Chamberlain's interests at the beginning of his academic career were Japanese literature, theatre and poetry<sup>67</sup>. Chamberlain's first publication was a translation of *Jitsugokyō* 実語教, a textbook of elementary education from the end of the Heian Period (794-1185 AD) (Chamberlain 1876). In 1878 he published a translation of the "The Maiden of Unai", a story from the oldest Japanese anthology of poetry *Man'yōshū* 万葉集 (759) as well as the more recent poems based on this Japanese folktale (Chamberlain 1878). At a meeting of the ASJ in 1880 Chamberlain read his article titled "Suggestions for a Japanese Rendering of the Psalms" (Chamberlain 1880a). This article contained twelve poems translated by him into, what he refers to as, "archaic tongue" – mimicking the language of *Man'yōshū*. Chamberlain became famous for his exceptional knowledge of colloquial Japanese as well as *kanbun* 漢文 and *bungo* 文語<sup>68</sup>. In the same year Chamberlain published his well-known anthology of Japanese poetry titled *The classical poetry of the Japanese* (Chamberlain 1880b).

The number of Chamberlain's publications on various Japan-related topics increased steadily after 1880. Besides Japanese poetry and classical literature, Chamberlain developed an interest in mythology and ethnography. In 1882 Chamberlain introduced his annotated translation of *Kojiki* to ASJ, which was first published in 1883 as an appendix to the *TASJ* (Chamberlain 1883b). His annotated translation consists of the main text (translation) and footnotes. The footnotes include mainly translational remarks, etymologies of particular words and differences in *Nihon shoki*. Chamberlain's translation is preceded by an introductory preface, which includes precious clues to the understanding of Chamberlain's approach to Japanese mythology, as well as his treatment of Japanese secondary sources, and will be discussed later on.

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<sup>66</sup> For the overview of all journals, in which Chamberlain published his articles see appendix D.

<sup>67</sup> 8 of 10 articles published by Chamberlain before 1880 were on Japanese theatre and poetry.

<sup>68</sup> *Kanbun* is a method of writing in Chinese with Japanese grammatical transformations and readings indicated by annotation. *Bungo* is the literary form of the Japanese language of the Heian period (794-1185). Both *kanbun* and *bungo* were used in Japan from the Heian period (794-1185 AD) until the early Shōwa period (1926–1989). However Ota Yūzō suggests that Chamberlain often consulted native speakers, more concretely his Japanese teachers Suzuki Tsunemasa (unknown) and Tachibana Toseko (unknown). (Ota 1998:43,45-46)

In 1882 and 1883 he published 3 articles in *The Chrysanthemum*, which dealt with *Kojiki* and Japanese philology. In 1883 Chamberlain published an article titled “On two questions of Japanese archeology”, in which he criticized the French Japanologist Léon de Rosny (1837-1914) and his acceptance of the Japanese work *Uetsufumi* 上記<sup>69</sup> as a historical source, as well as the belief in the existence of *jindai moji* (Chamberlain 1883a). In the same year Chamberlain published an ethnographical study on the island Izu Ōshima (Chamberlain 1883c). In 1885 he published an article titled “On the various styles used in Japanese literature”, which dealt with Japanese literary forms and language (Chamberlain 1885).

In 1886 Chamberlain became a professor of linguistics at the Department of Japanese Language and Philology of the Imperial University. The following four years, until his retirement in 1890, were the most productive in Chamberlain’s life. During this time he published 20 articles and 14 books, including a Japanese reader and 2 Japanese grammars. Most of the articles were language-oriented and he started to publish in Japanese periodicals. He published two articles on Japanese language reform, including an article on the initial literary reform called the *genbun itchi* movement 言文一致<sup>70</sup>. He further published, for the European general public, a series of Japanese and Ainu fairytales<sup>71</sup>. All of Chamberlain’s fairy-tale collections were on crepe paper with colorful illustrations by Japanese artists, and published by Takejiro Hasegawa 長谷川武次郎 (1853–1938)<sup>72</sup>.

Another topic, which sparked Chamberlain’s linguistic and ethnographical interests at this time, were the language and culture of Ainu, the indigenous inhabitants of Hokkaido, the Kurile Islands, and Sakhalin<sup>73</sup>. Chamberlain became a collector of Ainu artifacts, which he later

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<sup>69</sup> Allegedly ancient history of Japan discovered in 1837, whose contents significantly differ from standard Japanese histories. The preface states that the text was compiled in 1223, but this date is generally unaccepted. It is written in *toyokuni moji* 豊国文字, also called *jindai moji* 神宮文字.

<sup>70</sup> The successful *genbun itchi* movement of the late nineteenth-century Japan literally means “unification of the written and spoken language”. The initial objective of the reformers was, however, to create a new Japanese writing style based on European languages with which they could write new European-style novels and more easily translate European works into Japanese.

<sup>71</sup> In total Chamberlain published 1 collective volume of Japanese folktales and 4 folktales separately. He further published 3 collective volumes of Ainu folktales.

<sup>72</sup> Hasegawa was an innovative Japanese publisher specializing in illustrated books in European languages on Japanese subjects. He published for Chamberlain, Hearn, Florenz and a number of other famous Japanologists (Baxley 1999-2018).

<sup>73</sup> From the 1870s Satow and Aston also started to inquire into Ainu language and culture. Their interest was I already mentioned caused directly by Hokkaido’s new political significance. As a result of the political situation

donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum of Anthropology<sup>74</sup>. In 1887 Chamberlain published 2 books and one article with Ainu folk-tales. In the same year appeared Chamberlain's most extensive study of Ainu titled *The language, mythology, and geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino studies*, which includes a comparison of mythological episodes found in *Kojiki* with Ainu folk-lore recorded by Chamberlain (Chamberlain 1887). In 1887 and 1888 Chamberlain published two articles on Ainu language. In 1888 The Folk-Lore Society published a reprint of Chamberlain's article "Aino Folk-Tales", initially printed as an article in its Journal, with a preface by Edward Burnett Tylor (Chamberlain 1888). In 1888, 1889 and 1890 he published 2 more articles and 1 book with Aino folktales.

The most productive period of his life came to an end in 1890, when he resigned his position in the Imperial University. In the same year Chamberlain published his masterpiece *Things Japanese* (Chamberlain 1890). This cyclopedical work was clearly meant for the general English-speaking public and attempted to give an overview of a great number of Japan-related topics. Chamberlain continued to edit it for the rest of his life<sup>75</sup>.

#### **4.3.1.2 1891-1911: Chamberlain's travels between Japan and Europe**

During his retirement, until his final departure from Japan in 1911, Chamberlain published 1 poem, 41 articles, 2 study books of Japanese language and 1 travel guide. The majority of his articles were published in *Nihon eigaku shinshi* 日本英学新誌, a magazine for the Japanese students of English language and literature founded in 1892. He continued to publish in the *TASJ*, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* and other English and Japanese periodicals.

In 1891 Chamberlain co-authored with William Benjamin Mason (1853 -1923) the well received guidebook titled *A handbook for travelers in Japan* (Chamberlain and Mason 1891). In 1893 Chamberlain published an article titled "Notes on some minor Japanese religious practices",

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the Meiji government stopped portraying Ainu as the barbarous "others" of the northern frontier, but employed a new rhetoric of "former aborigines" within its borders (Godefroy 2012: 201–206). The early depictions of Ainu by European travelers as hairy savages and the newly employed portrayal by Meiji government of Ainu as uncivilized Japanese sparked interest of the European anthropologists and ethnologists including Chamberlain.

<sup>74</sup> The Pitt Rivers Museum Online Catalogue, Category: Chamberlain & Ainu, Nos. 1892.56. 22-1892.56.69

<sup>75</sup> The first edition appeared in 1890, and the final sixth edition was published in 1939, only few months before Chamberlain's death.

which briefly describes some charms for pilgrims and a few other religious objects he collected in Japan (Chamberlain 1893).

Although Chamberlain's main focus in this creative period was Japanese language and poetry, Chamberlain started to publish on the language and culture of Ryukyu. Beside 1 bibliography and 3 articles on Ryukyuan language, Chamberlain published 5 ethnographical articles on Ryukyu and their customs.

#### **4.3.1.3 1912-1935: Chamberlain's retirement in Geneva**

After 1912 until his death 23 years later, Chamberlain never returned to Japan. During this time he published 1 poem, few translations<sup>76</sup> and 3 books.

His last significant publication on Japan was his separately printed lecture titled *The Invention of a New Religion* from 1912 (Chamberlain 1912). This lecture stresses the use of *kiki* as scriptures of the new Japanese State Religion and criticizes Japanese historiography and their assessment of *kiki*'s mythological parts as historical works. Chamberlain further discusses use of *kiki* as a foundation for national propaganda, which prohibited any scientific inquiry into *kiki*'s historicity (Chamberlain 1912:2–7).

Chamberlain's major works during his final years in Geneva were all in French. These include an anthology of French poetry (Chamberlain 1927), important revisions to the French edition of *Things Japanese* (Chamberlain 1890) and his philosophical work *Encore est vive la souris: pensées et réflexions* (Chamberlain 1933), which appeared only 2 years before Chamberlain's death, can be described as a broad philosophical statement on Chamberlain's life and times<sup>77</sup>.

#### **4.3.2 Chamberlain and the *kokugaku* scholarship**

##### **4.3.2.1 Chamberlain's Japanese sources**

In the preface to his translation of *Kojiki* Chamberlain introduces the most important Japanese sources for the study of this text. After the first two printed editions of *Kojiki* from 1644 and 1687, Chamberlain introduces the main Japanese source for his translation – Motoori Norinaga's

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<sup>76</sup> Chamberlain published 1 translation of a poem in a Japanese journal and few other translations in the *Specimens of English translation from eminent writers*.

<sup>77</sup> For more on this work see Julian 1994.

*Kojikiden* 古事記伝 (1798). Chamberlain treats Norinaga's commentary as another edition of *Kojiki*'s text. Besides other "later and less important editions" of *Kojiki*, Chamberlain enumerates a number of other secondary sources as follows:

- *Itsu no kotowaki* 稜威言別 (1850-1894) by Tachibana Moribe 橘守部 (1781-1849)
- *Itsu no chiwaki* 稜威道別 (1844) by Moribe
- *Kamiyo no masagoto tokiwagusa* 神代正語常磐草 (1827) by Hosoda Tominobu 細田富延 (1783-1828)
- *Koshichō* 古史徴 (1819) by Hirata Atsutane
- *Koshiden* 古史伝 (1812-1825<sup>78</sup>) by Atsutane
- *Kamiyo no masagoto* 神代正語 (1789) by Norinaga
- *Nihon shoki tsūshō* 日本書紀通証 (1762) by Tanikawa Kotosuga<sup>79</sup> 谷川士清 (1709-1776)
- *Tōga* 東雅 (1717) by Arai Hakuseki (Chamberlain 1883b:x–xi)

Chamberlain refers in the notes to his translation of *Kojiki* mostly to Norinaga<sup>80</sup>, Moribe and Atsutane (Chamberlain 1883b).

#### 4.3.2.2 Chamberlain and the primary sources of Japanese mythology

In the preface of his translation of *Kojiki*, Chamberlain explains why he decided to translate this work. He describes it as “the most important monument” of Japanese literary tradition, “because it has preserved for us more faithfully than any other book the mythology, the manners, the language and the traditional history of Ancient Japan” (Chamberlain 1883b:i). As a linguist, Chamberlain used linguistics to advocate his choice for *Kojiki*, as did Satow before him – with the help of leading *kokugaku* commentators. Although Chamberlain recognized that *Kojiki* is not free of Chinese influence, as the work itself is transcribed in Chinese characters, he and “most of the learned native literati [*kokugakusha*]” still valued it higher than *Nihon Shoki*. *Kojiki*'s

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<sup>78</sup> *Koshiden* was written by Atsutane in years 1812-1825. At the time of Atsutane's death in 1843 the manuscript was incomplete, but it was finished by Yano Harumichi 矢野玄道 (1823-1887), a *kokugaku* scholar of the Hirata school. The first publication of the whole work is from 1911.

<sup>79</sup> Chamberlain transcribes Tanikawa's first name as Shihei.

<sup>80</sup> Most quoted is naturally Norinaga, whose *Kojikiden* Chamberlain used as the main source for his translation.

composition was considered “more genuine”, because it did not adopt Chinese phrases while narrating the histories of Japanese emperors and heroes “before Japan’s intercourse with China began”. According to Chamberlain, *Kojiki*’s *hentai kanbun* should be interpreted as a “first clumsy attempt at combining two divergent elements” of the Japanese spoken language and Chinese writing (Chamberlain 1883b:vi). *Kojiki*’s hybrid writing style can be subsequently used to advocate its authenticity as, in Chamberlain’s opinion, no forger would produce a text in such inconsistent style. My impression is, however, that Chamberlain treated *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* as two accounts of the same mythological tradition and saw their only difference in the employed phraseology and writing style (Chamberlain 1883b:i-vi,xxii). Chamberlain attributes the deviations in the myths of *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, such as the names of the primary gods<sup>81</sup>, to “later growths, and perhaps indeed mere inventions of individual priests” (Chamberlain 1883b:lxiv).

#### 4.3.2.2 Chamberlain’s criticism of the Japanese scholarship

Chamberlain recognized that “the native authorities cannot be dispensed with”. At the same time, he voiced his criticism towards them as their statements ought to be “carefully weighed and only accepted with discrimination by critical European investigator” (Chamberlain 1883b:x–xi). Like Satow before him, Chamberlain was discontent with the deliberate refusal of the rationalization of the myths by the majority of the *kokugaku* scholars.

Ota Yūzō, in his work *Basil Hall Chamberlain: Portrait of a Japanologist*, describes Chamberlain as “a pioneer in the field of Japanese history” on account of “his rigorous critical scrutiny of the traditional history of Japan to sift real historical events and mere legends and myths without reliable factual foundation” (Ota 1998:50). According to Ota, Chamberlain’s strong criticism of the Japanese treatment of *kiki* was focused on two major points. The first is the interpretation of *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki*, including the *Age of gods* as the historical accounts of Japan’s antiquity. Second is the acceptance of *kiki*’s chronology which sets accession to the throne of the first Japanese Emperor in 660 BC – nine centuries before writing was introduced to Japan. Ota based his assessment of Chamberlain’s contribution on his lecture *The Invention of a New Religion* from 1912 (Chamberlain 1912). It must be emphasized that this article represents

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<sup>81</sup> You can find a table with the primary gods of both *kiki* on *Kamigraphie* (“Japanische Schöpfungsmythen” n.d.).



the last stage of Chamberlain's works on Japan. I think that it was the Japanese aggressive territorial expansion policy, and increasingly oppressive academic climate, which urged Chamberlain to voice his criticism towards Japanese academics<sup>82</sup>. Chamberlain did not consider himself an authority on Japanese history and he referred to Aston and others on the “whole question of the credibility of the early history of Japan” (Chamberlain 1890: 202–203).

Chamberlain's Japanese secondary sources included authors who tried to rationalize the mythological narrations found in *kiki*. He recognized that the Japanese academic discourse did not consist of one uniform scholarly tradition, but of a multitude of different approaches, sometimes found within the work of a single author, which illustrates the following quote:

This fact of the continuity of the Japanese mythology and history has been fully recognized by the leading native commentators, whose opinions are those considered orthodox by modern Shintoists; and they draw from it the conclusion that everything in the standard histories must be equally accepted as literal truth. All persons however cannot force their minds into the limits of such a belief; and early in the eighteenth century a celebrated writer and thinker, Arawi Hakuseki, published a work in which, while accepting the native mythology as an authentic chronicle of events, he did so with the reservation of proving to his own satisfaction that all the miraculous portions thereof were allegories, and the gods only men under another name. [...] In the nineteenth century a diluted form of the same theory was adopted by Tachibana no Moribe, who, although endeavoring to remain an orthodox Shintoist, yet decided that some of the (so to speak) uselessly miraculous incidents need not be believed in as revealed truth. [...] they are what he calls *wosana-goto*, i.e. “child-like words,” and thinks that they were invented for the sake of fixing the story in the minds of children, and are not binding on modern adults as articles of faith. (Chamberlain 1883b:lix–lx)

Although Chamberlain's Japanese sources included authors who tried to rationalize the myths, he considered the leading *kokugaku* scholars as the authorities regarding the study of *Kojiki*. Chamberlain used Norinaga's commentary *Kojikiden* as primary source for his translation of *Kojiki*. Beside the superiority of *Kojiki* as an authentic historical source, Chamberlain adopted from the works of the *kokugakusha* also the general notion of ancient Shinto, which is based on *fukko shintō*. Furthermore, although Chamberlain criticized the *kokugaku* scholars for their treatment of the mythological parts of *kiki* as history, he still included the summary of *kiki* 's *Age of gods* in an article titled „History and Mythology“ in his cyclopedical work on Japan, *Things Japanese* (Chamberlain 1890).

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<sup>82</sup> His disapproval of Japanese aggression is evident also in his correspondence (Ota 1998:59).

### 4.3.3 Chamberlain's interpretation of Japanese mythology

Considering Chamberlain's perception of the information contained in *Kojiki*, let us consider the following quote:

[...] Their assistance, likewise, even after the resolution of the Japanese mythology into several component parts, must be called in by the specialist to help in deciding how much of this mythology should be interpreted according to the "solar" method now so popular in England, how much should be accepted as history more or less perverted, how much should be regarded as embodying attempts at explaining facts in nature, and what residue may be rejected as simple fabrication of the priesthood in comparatively later times. (Chamberlain 1883b:lxv)

Chamberlain interpreted the origins of *Kojiki*'s mythological narration in 3 ways:

- perverted history [i.e. descriptions of the early political and social state of ancient Japan]
- embodying attempts at explaining facts in nature
- later fabrications

Chamberlain considered the later fabrications as something that needs to be recognized in order to distinguish the genuine Japanese tradition:

Soon after the date of its [*Kojiki*'s] compilation, most of the salient features of distinctive Japanese nationality were buried under a superincumbent mass of Chinese culture, and it is to these "Records" [*Kojiki*] and to a very small number of other ancient works, such as the poems of the "Collection of a Myriad Leaves" [*Man'yōshū*] and the Shintō Rituals, that the investigator must look, if he would not at every step be misled into attributing originality to modern customs and ideas, which have simply been borrowed wholesale from the neighbouring continent. (Chamberlain 1883b:i)

After recognizing the later fabrications of the text, what remained were the original customs and ideas of ancient Japanese, i.e. perverted history and embodying attempts at explaining facts in nature.

#### 4.3.3.1 Myths as perverted history of ancient Japanese

By means of his "analysis of the religious and political features revealed to us by a study of the books containing the Early Japanese traditions [*kiki*]", Chamberlain makes some original discoveries, which do distinguish him from his contemporaries (Chamberlain 1883b:lxix-lxxiv).

Chamberlain suggests that Japan, in its early history, which can be traced through the mythological narration of *kiki*, does not show any evidence of political organization of ancient

Japan. Japan's political organization began to form only during the reigns of its first emperors. The political power, however, remained split under a large number of local chieftains without any signs of centralization of power:

Descending from heaven to earth, we find little during the so-called „Divine Age“ [*Age of gods*] but stories of isolated individuals and families; and it is not till the narrative of the wars of the earlier Emperors commences, that any kind of political organization comes into view. Then at once we hear of chieftains in every locality, who lead their men to battle, and are seemingly the sole depositories of power, each in his microscopic sphere. The legend of Jim-mu [Jinmu Tennō] itself, however, is sufficient to show that autocracy, as we understand it, was not characteristic of the government of the Tsukushi tribes; for Jim-mu and his brother, until the latter's death, are represented as joint chieftains of their host. Similarly we find that the „Territorial Owners“ of Yamato, and the „Rulers“ of Idzumo, whom Jim-mu or his successors are said to have subjugated, are constantly spoken of in the Plural, as it to intimate that they exercised a divided sovereignty. (Chamberlain 1883b:1xx)

Chamberlain further finds evidence that large territories in Northern and North-Eastern Japan were inhabited by Ainu and considered entirely outside of the sphere of influence of the Imperial Court, and remained so until comparatively recent times (Chamberlain 1883b:1xxii).

Chamberlain also discovered the presence of topographical breaks in the *Age of gods*, which he interprets as three possible geopolitical centres<sup>83</sup> that may have existed on Japanese islands in the antiquity: 1) Izumo; 2) Yamato<sup>84</sup>; and 3) Tsukushi<sup>85</sup> (Chamberlain 1883b:lii-lix). According to Chamberlain, the existence of these centers resulted in three legendary cycles that were woven together to create, what we identify now as, the mythological accounts of *kiki*, which further complicates the inquiry into its origin:

With regard to the origin, or rather to the significance, of the clearly fanciful portions of the Japanese legends, the question here mooted as to the probability of the Japanese mythology being a mixed one warns us to exercise more than usual caution in endeavouring to interpret it. In fact it bids us wait to interpret it until such time as further research shall have shown which legends belong together. For if they are of heterogeneous origin, it is hopeless to attempt to establish a genealogical tree of the gods, and the very phrase so often heard in discussions on this subject.- „the original religious beliefs of the Japanese,“- ceases to have any precise meaning; for different beliefs may have been equally ancient and original, but distinguished geographically by belonging to different parts of the country. (Chamberlain 1883b:1xxiii-lxiv)

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<sup>83</sup> For more on the historical geopolitical centers and ethnogenesis of Japan see Hudson 1999.

<sup>84</sup> Yamato 大和国 is a historical province of Japan (located in the present-day Nara Prefecture) and one of the ancient geo-political centers of Japan. Most likely owing to the fact that this province was an early seat of centralized imperial power, Yamato came to refer to all of Japan.

<sup>85</sup> Tsukushi 筑紫国 is a historical province of Japan (located within present-day Fukuoka Prefecture in Kyushu).

#### 4.3.3.2 Myths as attempts at explaining facts in nature and the origins of Japanese mythology

Chamberlain's only definition-like depiction of ancient Shinto is to be found in his *Things Japanese*. He describes it as a „name given to the mythology and a vague ancestor and nature-worship which preceded the introduction of Buddhism into Japan“ (Chamberlain 1890:874). In one instance in *Kojiki's* preface, Chamberlain compares Shinto to the known religions such as Buddhism, Christianity and Islam and concludes that „the religion of the Early Japanese was not an organized religion. We can discover in it nothing corresponding to the body of dogma, the code of morals and the sacred book authoritatively enforcing both, with which we are familiar in civilized religions [...]. What we find is a bundle of miscellaneous superstitions rather than a co-ordinated system“ (Chamberlain 1883b:lxii).

Chamberlain states that many of the Shintoist deities “correspond to what we should call personifications of the power of nature, though personification is a word which, in its legitimate acceptation is foreign to the Japanese mind”. Chamberlain was critical of others declaring origins of Japanese mythology, based on superficial common features with mythologies of other cultures, and even doubted the existence of an originally Japanese religious [mythological] tradition.

In the closing remarks of his preface to *Kojiki*, Chamberlain discusses the theories on the origin of religion, i.e. the solar-theory developed by Herbert Spencer and the theory of degeneration of language proposed by Max Müller that I have already mentioned (Chamberlain 1883b:lxxv-lxxvi). Chamberlain suggests “very particular caution in the application to Japanese legends of a method which has elsewhere been fruitful of great results” (Chamberlain 1883b:lxxvi). Chamberlain's criticism towards the uncritical application of theories developed for study of the Indo-European mythology to any mythological text is well conveyed by his following quote:

[...] Those who are personally acquainted with the Japanese character will probably incline to [...] point out that, though some few Japanese legends or portions of legends can be traced to false etymologies invented to account for names of places, and are therefore true myths in the strict acceptation of the term, yet the kindred process whereby personality is ascribed to inanimate objects, - a process which lies at the very root of Aryan mythology, - is altogether alien to the Japanese genius, and indeed to the Far-Eastern mind in general. Mythology thus originated has been aptly described as a “disease of language”. But all persons are not liable to catch the same disease, neither presumably are all languages; and it is hard to see how a linguistic disease which consists in mistaking a metaphor for a reality can attack a tongue to which metaphor, even in its tamest shape, is an almost total stranger. [...] (Chamberlain 1883b:lxxv)

Chamberlain was, and remained, skeptical towards Müller's and Spencer's theories and their application to Japan, although a number of his contemporaries, such as Satow<sup>86</sup> and Hearn, held them for the most scientific mode of interpretation, when dealing with Japanese mythology<sup>87</sup>.

#### 4.3.3.3 Ethnological interpretation of the mythical narratives

As already mentioned, the two seemingly opposing theories within etymological discourse about the character of social development are 1) the psychological unity of humankind [evolutionism]: and 2) diffusion of culture. Most of the early ethnologists searched the available sources for the proof of either evolutionism or diffusionism. The British scholar Edward Burnett Tylor, who knew Chamberlain<sup>88</sup> and greatly influenced his work, applied both of these principles of interpretation, depending on where the researched material led him.

Tylor, whose prime interest laid in primitive social customs and religions, made also brief inquiries into Japanese mythology. His interest in Japan was substantiated in the form of a lecture on Japanese mythology and the subsequent publication of "Remarks on Japanese Mythology" (Tylor 1877)<sup>89</sup>. Tylor introduces a partial translation of *Kojiki* as his primary source. He names Baba Tatsui 馬場辰猪 (1850-1888) as the translator of the text, whom Tylor met during Baba's studies in England. In this article, Tylor describes Japanese mythological tradition as a mixture of three principal elements: Buddhist and Chinese borrowings (both early and from

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<sup>86</sup> However this does not mean that Chamberlain was not fond of Satow's work. On the contrary, he mentions Satow and his translation of *norito* (Satow 1879a, 1879b, 1881) on various instances and even names him as his main source for the English and Latin equivalents of Japanese botanical names. Furthermore Satow's correspondence with Aston (Satow 2008) suggest that Satow and Chamberlain were good friends, who shared interest in Japanese studies and exchanged correspondence.

<sup>87</sup> Ota even suggests that these theories and Chamberlain's unwillingness to accept them ultimately led to the end of Chamberlain's friendship with Hearn who greatly admired Spencer and his work. For more on this point see Ota 1998:140–154.

<sup>88</sup> Tylor wrote to Chamberlain and they both contributed to the anthropological Pitt Rivers Museums (Tylor 2012). Tylor also wrote preface to Chamberlain's reprint of "Aino Folk-Tales, which originally appeared as journal article (Chamberlain 1888).

<sup>89</sup> Tylor's article features the story of creation as follows: „Thus, the legend of Creation starts with an original chaos, in which the female and male elements, the *me* and *o* (Chinese *yin* and *yang*), were not yet separated; but water, air, and earth were mingled, like the yolk and white of an egg mixed up, till matter divided itself by the heavy parts sinking to form the earth, while the light parts rose and became the heaven.“ (Tylor 1877:55-56). This story of creation is however to be found in *Nihon shoki* and not *Kojiki*. Michael Wachutka found a second instance in the story of creation which speaks for Tylor's source being *Nihon shoki* instead of *Kojiki* and speculates that it was either the translator of text confused the two chronicles or that Tylor, who was not aware of the different versions in *kiki*, got this information from one of August Pfizmaier's partial german translations of *Nihon shoki* (Wachutka 2001:87). The second explanation seems doubtful as Pfizmaier translated both *Nihon shoki* as well as *Kojiki's Age of gods* (published in two parts in 1865 and 1867).

the time of compilation of *kiki*) and „genuine Japanese stratum, containing nature-myths“ (Tylor 1877:56). Chamberlain's view of the origin of information in *Kojiki* is the same as follows:

[...] let us now see whether any information relative to the early religious and political state of the Japanese can be gleaned from the pages of the "Records" [*Kojiki*] and of the "Chronicles" [*Nihon Shoki*]. There are fragments of information,- fragments of two sorts,- some namely of clear import, others which are rather a matter for inference and for argument. [...] (Chamberlain 1883b:lxii)

Both Chamberlain and Tylor identified imports of two kinds: 1) imports of later date, which coincide with the compilation of *kiki*; and 2) early imports. Chamberlain interpreted the earlier imports as disseminations of culture [diffusion<sup>90</sup>] before documented historical contact with continental Asia. Chamberlain felt that these early cultural imports were ignored by the Japanese scholarship and raised the question how to treat these imports (Chamberlain 1883b:lxviii-lxxx).

In the fourth subchapter of *Kojiki*'s preface titled „Manners and customs of the early Japanese“, Chamberlain attempts to reconstruct how the society and everyday life of people inhabiting the Japanese archipelago in antiquity looked like (Chamberlain 1883b:xxvii-l). Using *Kojiki*, other ancient textual sources and archeological material, Chamberlain searches for various Japanese customs and their origins. His interests intersect with Tylor's interests on topics like:

- divination (Chamberlain 1883b:xxiv; Tylor 1871a:70-76,112)
- fire-making (Chamberlain 1883b:xxviii; Tylor 1865:ch.9)
- stone- and iron-working (Chamberlain 1883b:xviii; Tylor 1865:ch. 8)
- cooking and eating habits (Chamberlain 1883b:xxiv; Tylor 1865:ch. 9)
- societal structure (Chamberlain 1883b:xli-xlvi; Tylor 1865:481-495)
- burial practices (Chamberlain 1883b:xlvi-xlvi; Tylor 1871a:481-495; 1871b:24-31, 392-398)
- mythological motifs (Tylor 1871a: ch. 8-10)

Chamberlain further compares these practices with Chinese to discover diffusion of technological advancement or customs from the Chinese culture. He considers the continental influences in the earliest myths and customs of the Japanese as a proof for the theory of diffusion of culture. In contrast to Satow, Chamberlain thought „that in almost all known cases culture has

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<sup>90</sup> Chamberlain uses the term 'diffusion' on two occasions in his preface (Chamberlain 1883b:xxv, xxviii).

been introduced from abroad, and has not been spontaneously developed“ (Chamberlain 1883b:lxviii).

His approach to ancient customs is well illustrated by his remarks on divination of the early Japanese:

In some instances, too, the Chinese usage had so completely superseded the native one as to cause the latter to have been almost forgotten excepting by the members of the Shintō priesthood. This happened in the case of the Chinese method of divination by means of a tortoise-shell, whose introduction caused the elder native custom of divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer to fall into desuetude. Whether indeed this native custom itself may not perhaps be traced back to still earlier continental influence is another question. So far as any documentary information reaches, divination through the shoulder-blade of a deer was the most ancient Japanese method of ascertaining the will of the gods. (Chamberlain 1883b:xxiv)

Divination by shoulder-blade was one of the customs that intrigued Tylor, Satow and Chamberlain. I think it is safe to assume that Tylor's and Satow's interest preceded Chamberlain's. Tylor contextualized divination in general (Tylor 1871a:70-76) and already remarks on the practice of shoulder-blade divination in *Primitive culture* (Tylor 1871a:112). Chamberlain exchanged correspondence with Tylor about obtaining a scorched tortoise-shell or scorched shoulder-blade for the anthropological Pitt Rivers Museum (Tylor 2012), to which both Tylor and Chamberlain contributed<sup>91</sup>.

Chamberlain's ethnological approach is also visible in his studies of Ainu<sup>92</sup>. In the article "The Language, Mythology, and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan, viewed in the light of Aino Studies", Chamberlain compares the mythological episodes found in *Kojiki* with Ainu folk-lore that he himself recorded (Chamberlain 1887). Chamberlain believed that comparison of mythology and language may reveal "what sort of relationship, if any, exists between the two races [Japanese and Ainu], and to shed light on the obscure problem of the nature of the population of the Japanese Archipelago during late prehistoric times" (Chamberlain 1887:2). This approach may be criticized as ahistoric by the modern reader but was actually not uncommon in ethnology. The early ethnologists, such as Charles Jean-Marie Letourneau (1831-1902) and

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<sup>91</sup> According to their correspondence Aston also sent some Japanese artifacts to the Pitt Rivers Museum (he and Chamberlain may have been commissioned by Tylor to do so).

<sup>92</sup> Tylor also showed an interest in the Ainu studies. He wrote an introduction to Chamberlain's *Aino folk-tales* praising his efforts as "excellently handled" (Chamberlain 1888: v) and drawing the reader's attention to Chamberlain's article "The Language, Mythology, and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan, viewed in the light of Aino Studies" (Chamberlain 1887).

John Lubbock (1834-1913), also used the "naive equation of modern primitive groups with the primeval savage" in their works (Lowie 1937: 24).

#### **4.3.4 Chamberlain and the future studies of Japanese mythology**

Chamberlain's study of *Kojiki* and Japanese antiquity inspired other fellow pioneer Japanologists. Both Florenz's "Die staatliche und gesellschaftliche Organisation im alten Japan" (Florenz 1889b) and "The Family and Relationships in Ancient Japan (Prior to 1000 A.D.)" (Aston 1895a) freely draw upon Chamberlain's philological study of the mythological and historical parts of *Kojiki*.

Chamberlain's translation of *Kojiki* didn't only have a major influence on the English-speaking scholars dealing with Japanese mythology, but was highly valued by the native commentators as well. The authority on Japanese intellectual history Muraoka Tsunetsugu 村岡典嗣 (1884-1946) described all of Chamberlain's writings as "the first in importance" (Ota 1998:47). In 1900 Iida Nagao 飯田永夫 (1828-1900) translated Chamberlain's preface to *Kojiki's* translation into Japanese under the title *Nihon jōkoshi hyōron* 日本上古史評論 (Chamberlain 1900).

Until 1969 Chamberlain's translation remained the only complete translation of *Kojiki's* text in Western language<sup>93</sup>. The more recent translations are to be attributed to Donald Philippi (Philippi 1968), Klaus Antoni (Antoni 2012b) and Gustav Heldt (Heldt 2014). Although more recent translations are available, Chamberlain's translation of *Kojiki* is still read and used for the study of Japanese mythology.

### **4.4 William George Aston (1841-1911)**

#### **4.4.1 Academic work**

During his life Aston published 8 books including 4 grammars, 48 articles<sup>94</sup>. His academic work can be divided into two periods. The first creative period lasted from 1871 until 1889 and is characterized by Aston's focus on linguistics. The second period started upon his return to Britain

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<sup>93</sup> There was a number of partial translation including Florenz's *Die historischen Quellen der Shinto-Religion* in 1919 (Florenz 1919).

<sup>94</sup> For the complete list of Aston's works see appendix E.



in 1889 and lasted until his death in 1911. During this time, Aston explored in his research a number of Japan and Korea-related topics with focus on religion and anthropology.

#### **4.4.1.1 1871-1889: Aston's stay in Japan**

Aston's first publication was *A Short Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language* (Aston 1871). It appeared in 1871, 7 years after his arrival to Japan. With this publication began the first phase of Aston's academic career, which lasted 18 years. He authored 4 grammars of both written and spoken Japanese as well as 13 journal articles. Aston's first 2 articles were published by different journals. After its foundation in 1872 the *TASJ* became the main medium for Aston's articles during his stay in Japan. 9 out of Aston's 13 articles in this phase were published in the *TASJ*<sup>95</sup>.

The majority<sup>96</sup> of Aston's articles were on Japanese, Korean, Ainu and Ryukyuan languages, or translations of Japanese classical literary works. Aston's initial inquiries into Ainu, Ryukyuan and especially Korean language were, as I previously described, motivated by his work for the British Legation and the newly increased political importance of these territories. From 1879 until 1900 Aston published 4 articles on Korean language and 2 translations of Korean literature. The majority of Aston's Korea-related articles were, however, published in his second creative phase after his retirement from diplomatic service.

The topics of his non-language related academic articles were also dictated by Aston's professional interests, such as a translation of a Japanese pamphlet propagating trade with foreigners, an article on Japanese rash modernization and histories of political conflicts.

During his last year in Japan, Aston published his paper "Early Japanese History" in the *TASJ* (Aston 1889). This article deals with the discrepancies between *kiki* and other historical sources of East Asia. This was the first article by Aston, which ventures beyond his linguistic and political (diplomatic) interests. In reaction to this article, Chamberlain remarked:

The destruction of the fables that are current under the name of early Japanese history and the partial reconstruction of a true early history of this country being one of my special hobbies, it need scarcely be said how great appears to me to be the value of the paper which has just been read. Mr Aston seems to have a special talent for finding his way about in dark and misty places. [...] (anon. 1889:ix)

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<sup>95</sup>For the overview of all journals, in which Aston published his articles see appendix F.

<sup>96</sup>5 articles were on Japanese, Korean, Ainu and Ryukyuan linguistics. 2 articles were translations of Japanese literary classics.

The article was very well received and Aston was, thereafter, considered the "principal historian member" of the Asiatic Society of Japan (Farrington 1976:89-90). In *Things Japanese* Chamberlain referred to Aston on the "whole question of the credibility of the early history of Japan" (Chamberlain 1890:202–203).

#### **4.4.1.2 1890-1911: Aston's retirement**

The second phase of Aston's academic career started in 1890, when the 48-year-old Aston settled in Britain, and lasted 21 years until his death. In this phase Aston published 4 books, 27 journal articles and 8 encyclopedia articles.

During the 1890s Aston continued to publish in the *TASJ* and journals of other Asiatic societies. At the same time he started to publish in modern anthropological journals. In 1899 Aston published an article on Japanese mythology in the *Folk-Lore*, a journal published by the British Folk-Lore Society, and a medium very different from the *TASJ*. The 1890s are also marked by Aston's visible shift in focus from linguistics to religion as well as the increasing influence of popular anthropological theories in his academic work. His last article on Japanese language, titled "Japanese Onomatopoes and the Origin of Language", from 1894, focused less on linguistics and more on the anthropology of Japanese language (Aston 1894a).

In 1894 Aston published an article titled "The 'Hi no Maru,' or National Flag of Japan", in which he attempts to trace the origins of the Japanese national flag to Chinese banners (Aston 1894b). In 1895 Aston published two articles on Korean language – the first titled "The Önmun: When Invented?" in the *TASJ*, and the second article titled "Writing, Printing, and the Alphabet in Corea", published in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Aston 1895b, 1895c). In both of these articles Aston criticizes the theory proposed by Hirata Atsutane (1776-1843) and adopted by Léon de Rosny (1837-1914) that *hangul*, the Korean alphabetic script, is derived from *jindai moji* 神代文字 allegedly unique Japanese characters thought to have existed in ancient Japan before the introduction of Chinese writing<sup>97</sup>. In the same year, Aston published a paper titled "The Family and Relationships in Ancient Japan (Prior to 1000 A.D.)" in which he explores family, incest, marriage, names and titles in ancient Japan, based on his inquiries into *kiki* and a few other historical sources (Aston 1895a). This article

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<sup>97</sup>For more information on *jindai moji* see Mori 2007b.

draws upon Chamberlain's preface to his translation of *Kojiki* (Chamberlain 1883b:i-lxxxix), and Aston mentions him frequently.

In 1896 Aston published his famous translation of *Nihon shoki* titled *Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* in two volumes, as a supplement to *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society* (Aston 1896a, 1896b). Aston's translation represents the first complete translation of *Nihon shoki* in Western language. The translation of one of the primary sources of Japanese myths is especially important for my thesis, and it will be analyzed later in more detail. In 1899 Aston published his first article in *Folk-Lore* titled "Japanese Myth" (Aston 1899b) as well as his highly valued *A History of Japanese Literature* (Aston 1899a)<sup>98</sup>.

The first decade of this phase was marked by Aston's transition from a linguistic scholar into an investigator of Japanese Shinto religion. This transition period ended in 1900. In 1900 Aston also published his last more extensive article in the *TASJ*<sup>99</sup>. All of Aston's works after 1900 focus on Shinto and religion, with the exception of a biographical article on Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤 諭吉 (1835-1901) (Aston 1902a).

In 1900 Aston published his first article in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (Aston 1900). In this article, titled "The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao", Aston traces the origin of Japanese *gohei* 御幣, wooden wands used in Shinto rituals, and concludes that their original meaning, as a representation of an offering, has been lost in the course of time and they began to represent the deity itself. He traces the Ainu wooden wand, called *inao*, to Japanese origin and associates it with another ritualistic wand called *kezuri kake* 削りかけ. His article from 1902 titled "Gohei and Inao" (Aston 1902b) was Aston's first publication in the journal *MAN a Monthly Record of Anthropological Science*. It is, in his own words, a "note" to the previous article, in which he states that *kezuri kake* 削りかけ were, at least in some cases, phallic emblems. In 1902 Aston also published an article, in which he

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<sup>98</sup> Aston did not intend to write a work on Japan's history of literature. His *A History of Japanese Literature* (Aston 1899a) was commissioned by Edmund William Gosse (1849-1928). A letter from Chamberlain suggests that Gosse first turned to Chamberlain, who turned Gosse down due to health problems and recommended Aston in his stead. (Koyama 2016:36)

<sup>99</sup> In 1911 the *TASJ* published Aston's "Takamagahara". This article is however only half page long and was written as reaction to an attempt to interpret *takamagahara* 高天原 in Japanese myth as actual place instead of the "plain of high heaven" (Aston 1911).

criticizes Engelbert Kämpfer's account of Shinto titled "Kämpfer as an Authority on Shinto" (Aston 1902c).

In 1905 Aston published his most extensive work on Shinto - *Shinto: the Way of Gods* (Aston 1905). This work is divided into 14 chapters. The first chapter briefly summarizes both ancient and modern sources of Shinto, while chapters 2-5 contain the theoretical framework of Aston's work. Chapters 6-8 summarize the Japanese mythological narration and the Japanese pantheon. Chapters 9-13 address priesthood, worship, morals, ceremonies and magic in Shinto. The last chapter deals with the modern sects of Shinto.

Aston's subsequent publication, *Shinto, the ancient Religion in Japan* (Aston 1907), provides no new information. A closer study of this work reveals that it is only a rearranged and shortened account of passages from *Shinto: the Way of Gods* (Aston 1905), without its theoretical part.

In 1906 Aston also published an article on ancestor-worship (Aston 1906). In 1908 Aston published an article titled "Shinto" in *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society* (Aston 1908), which summarizes his previous accounts of Shinto (Aston 1905, Aston 1907). In 1909 the journal *T'oung Pao* published two of Aston's articles, "Correspondance: To the Editor of T'oung-pao" (Aston 1909b) and "Are the Norito Magical Formulae?" (Aston 1909a), in which he criticizes the French Japanologist Michel Revon (1867-1943) and his evaluation of *norito* as magical formulas. The article "Sacrifice in Shinto" was published posthumously in 1912 (Aston 1912b). After 1900 Aston published in total 13 journal articles, and 7 of them were published by anthropological journals.

Aston also contributed a number of articles on Japan and religion, as well as the main "Shinto" article (Aston 1920) in general, to Hastings's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Hastings's *Encyclopedia* was written between 1908 and 1927, and its entries were authored by experts in their respective fields. The *Encyclopaedia* embraces the whole range of theology and philosophy, together with aspects of anthropology, mythology and others<sup>100</sup>.

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<sup>100</sup>Revon contributed to *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* as well. On the subject of Japanese religion and its representation in this cyclopedia see Holtom 1923.

If we consider the contents of Aston's article from the last decade of his life, we can clearly see that he devoted increasingly more time to a study of European philosophical works on religion, than to the study of Japanese sources.

#### 4.4.2 Aston and the *kokugaku* scholarship

##### 4.4.2.1 Aston's translation of *Nihon shoki* and the Japanese sources

In 1895 Aston released his translation of *Nihon shoki*, which to this day represents the only complete translation of this work in Western language. Aston's primary source for his translation was *Shoki shūge* 書紀集解 (1785) by the *kokugaku* scholar Kawamura Hidene 河村秀根 (1723-1792)<sup>101</sup>. Aston's translation does not differ from Chamberlain's in structure as it consists of a main text, including variants, and extensive footnotes. Most of his notes are translated from *Shoki shūge* and *Nihon shoki tsūshō* 日本書紀通証 (1762) by the *kokugaku* scholar Tanikawa Kotosuga 谷川士清 (1709-1776)<sup>102</sup>. (Aston 1896a:vii-viii; Koyama 2016:46)

On account of his other Japanese sources, Aston refers his readers to a "copious list of them", which "will be found in Dr. Florenz's Introduction"(Aston 1896a:viii). Florenz stated, however, that his list included works which Aston did not use for his translation of *Nihon shoki*:

Während Aston sich, was Spezialkommentare zum NIHONGI anbelangt, im allgemeinen auf die Benutzung von *Kawamura's SHOKI-SHŪGE* (書紀集解) und *Tanigaha's NIHON-SHOKI-TSŪSHŌ* (日本書紀通証) beschränkt hat, habe ich mir den unschätzbaren Vorteil nicht entgehen lassen, die Forschungen der letzten Jahrzehnte, welche einen sehr bedeutenden Fortschritt über die älteren Werke hinaus bedeuten, gebührend zu berücksichtigen, namentlich Professor *Ihida's* (飯田武郷) *NIHONSHOKI-TSŪSHAKU* (日本書紀通釋), den bei weitem besten Kommentar zum NIHONGI, und *Shikida's NIHONGI-HYŌCHŪ* (日本紀標註). (Florenz 1901:i)

Other mentioned Japanese authors are Norinaga and Atsutane, whom Aston describes in his preface as chief authorities:

Amongst native Japanese writers the chief authorities have been the famous scholars Motoōri and Hirata. Their religious and patriotic prejudices often lead them to take views from which a

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<sup>101</sup> Kawamura was an student of Yoshimi Yoshikazu 吉見幸和 (1673-1761). Yoshimi believed in historical investigation of ancient texts and critized the mystical interpretations of *Nihon Shoki* prevalent in the medieval periods.

<sup>102</sup> Tanikawa was a follower of Yamazaki Ansai's 山崎闇斎 (1618~1682) teachings and Suika Shinto 垂加神道, which attempted to synthesize neo-Confusian metaphysical and ethical concepts with the traditions of various Shinto schools.

European reader is forced to dissent, but no Western scholar can hope to rival or even to approach their vast erudition, clothed as it is in an easy and graceful style, undisfigured by pedantry. The translator gladly seizes this opportunity of expressing the strong admiration which he has long entertained for them. [...] (Aston 1896a:viii)

Aston uses relatively few Japanese sources compared to his contemporaries, because he clearly used their works for reference. As he stated in his preface, the "writings of Messrs. Chamberlain and Satow have been placed under frequent contribution, and for the latter part of the work, the scholarly German translation of the *Nihongi*, by Dr. Florenz, has been of the greatest possible assistance" (Aston 1896a:vii).

In contrast to the other introduced Japanologists, Aston did not write his main works on Japanese mythology and Shinto whilst he was in Japan. He was, therefore, dependent on the books he brought to England. In 1892 Satow gave away the greater part of his books to Aston, in order to provide Aston with the materials for his research after his retirement to England. Koyama Noboru 小山 騰 discovered that more than 80 percent of Aston's collection, which he later donated to the Cambridge University Library, belonged originally to Satow. Aston had two copies (his own and Satow's) of both *Shoki shūge* and *Nihon shoki tsūshō* - the main sources of his translation of *Nihon shoki*. Many of Satow's books include his handwritten notes, and Koyama thinks that Satow could have had a far more reaching influence on Aston's work than is generally believed (Koyama 2016:10,15,46).

Aston held Satow and his work in high esteem. Although Aston strongly criticized Spencer's theories, he never voiced anything other than praise for Satow, who also adopted Spencer's solar theory of "complimentary naming after the Sun" in his article "The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese" (Satow 1878d:45).

#### **4.4.2.2 Aston and the primary sources of Japanese mythology**

Aston's translation is preceded by an introduction, which examines the relationship between *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki* and *Sendai kuji hongei*, *Nihon shoki*'s authorship, language, chronology and reception (Aston 1896a:xi-xxii). As regards chronology, Aston deems it defective, as do his contemporaries Satow, Chamberlain and Florenz, and refers readers to his article "Early Japanese History" (Aston 1889), which elaborates on this point. Aston's general evaluation of the

composition and style does not differ from his contemporaries and *kokugaku* scholars. On this point Aston remarks:

[...] Chinese ideas and traits of Chinese manners and customs are frequently brought in where they have no business. In the very first paragraph we have an essay spiced with Chinese philosophical terms which reads strangely incongruous as a preface to the native cosmogonic myth. [...] (Aston 1896a:xvi)

Aston further quotes Florenz, to illustrate how the Chinese influences in *kiki*'s texts complicate the inquiry into Japanese history:

But what is far more misleading than these naive inventions is the confirmed habit common to the writers both of the *Kojiki* and of the *Nihongi*, though the latter are the greater offenders, of throwing back, no doubt more or less unconsciously, to more ancient times the ideas of their own age, when the national thought and institutions had become deeply modified by Chinese influences. [...] (Aston 1896a:xvi-xvii)

On account of *Sendai kuji hongi*, Aston states that Norinaga and Atsutane unjustly discarded this work as a forgery. Aston writes that Norinaga ignores the amount of original material in the mythological part of this work. Aston further thinks that the similarities between *Sendai kuji hongi* and *kiki* may be explained by use of common source material for their compilation. Aston also states that *Sendai kuji hongi* contains material which is necessary for a complete study of Shinto. As further sources of Japanese myths, Aston mentions *norito*, *Fudoki* and *Kogo shūi*. (Aston 1896b:431-432)

Aston concludes that *Nihon shoki* should be perceived as the authority on early Japanese history, while as a "repertory of Japanese myth and legend" *Kojiki* is "the fuller of the two, and contains legends which the *Nihongi* passes over" (Aston 1896a:xix). Clearly, Aston treated *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* as two accounts of the same mythological tradition. He recognizes that the preference of Japanese scholars for *Kojiki* is quite new:

[... *Nihon shoki*'s] pre-eminence as a source of knowledge of Japanese antiquity was never contested until quite recent times. Even Motoori acknowledges its value, although his religious and patriotic prejudices lead him to give a preference to the *Kojiki*, which is less profoundly tainted by an admixture of Chinese ideas. (Aston 1896a:xix)

In 1899 Aston published an article titled "Japanese Myth", in which he summarized the mythical narrative in *kiki*, which "form the basis of the Shinto religion" in general. In this article he makes one very new observation, which other contemporary Japanologists failed to acknowledge:

It may be questioned whether the ancient myths of Japan are, in the strict sense of the word, "folklore." Their birthplace and home seems to have been the Court of the Mikado rather than the nation at large, and their original depositories were doubtless the two hereditary corporations termed *Nakatomi* and *Imbe*, which were attached to this court for the vicarious performance of the Mikado's sacerdotal functions. (Aston 1899b:295)

Aston was the first Japanologist to recognize that the mythological narration in *kiki* is not to be considered as verbal tradition of the ancient Japanese in general.

#### 4.4.3 Aston and his interpretation of Japanese myths

In the footnotes to his translation of *Nihon shoki*, Aston did not restrict himself to translational remarks and cross-references between other ancient textual sources, as did Chamberlain in his translation of *Kojiki* (Chamberlain 1883b). Aston also included interpretational attempts, observations on cosmogony and comparisons with myths of other cultures. He refers to the following works for comparison of ancient customs and mythological parallels of other cultures:

- *The Night of the Gods* by John O'Neill (1837-1895), published in 1983
- *Custom and Myth* by Andrew Lang (1844-1912), published in 1884
- *Myth, Ritual and Religion* by Lang, published in 1887
- *Primitive Culture* by Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917), published 1871
- *The Golden Bough* by James George Frazer (1854 - 1941), published in 1890
- Eugène Goblet d'Alviella's (1846-1925) contribution to *The Hibbert Lectures* published in 1892

In the article "Japanese Myth" (Aston 1899b) Aston for the first time addressed Japanese mythology in general. In this article, as well as his following works on Shinto, Aston revisits the same points he already raised in the footnotes of his translation *Nihon shoki* for instance:

- the jewel spear of heaven *ameno nuhoko* 天沼矛, as an evidence of existence of phallic worship in ancient Japan (Aston 1896a:11, 1899b:299)
- pillars (*hashira*) in the names of deities, as a survival of earlier idol-worship of wooden posts (Aston 1896a:3, 1899b:300)
- erection of a nuptial hut after marriage, to prevent ritualistic pollution by child-birth (Aston 1896a:12, 1899b:299)



- the custom of setting a sick child adrift, comparison with Moses (Aston 1896a:15, 1899b:300)
- comparison of Izanami 伊邪那美 in the underworld with Proserpine myth (Aston 1896a:24, 1899b:300-301)
- Izanagi's 伊邪那岐 lustrations after his visit of the underworld by cleaning in water, and comparison with other cultures (Aston 1896a:26, 1899b:302)
- ancestor-worship not of deceased parents, but of a remote mythical personage - anthropomorphic deity (Aston 1896a:27, 1899b:302)
- comparison of the creation of deities by Izanagi's cleansing with the Chinese Pangu myth (Aston 1896a:28, 1899b:302-303)
- translation of Susanoo 須佐之男 not as an "impetuous male", but as "a male of Susa" - Susa being a town in Izumo, a prehistoric centre of Shinto worship (Aston 1896a:19, 1899b:305)<sup>103</sup>
- Amaterasu 天照 hiding in a cave as day and night myth, instead of solar eclipse (Aston 1896a:41, 1899b:306)
- original function of the Inbe clan as "abstainers" (Aston 1896a:42, 1899b:307)
- dance of Ame no uzume 天宇受売 as the origin of *kagura* dance in Shinto rituals and the ritualistic function of chanting numerals (Aston 1896a:44-45, 1899b:307-308)
- comparison of Susanoo's slaying of the serpent with the Andromeda myth (Aston 1896a:53, 1899b:308)
- comparison of Sukuna bikona's 少名毘古那 arrival by sea clothed with bird skins with customs of northern tribes in Kurile Islands (Aston 1896a:62, 1899b:309)
- Chinese origin of the episode with Hoori 火遠理 and Hiko Hohodemi 日子穗穗手見 (Aston 1896a:61-62, 1899b:312-313)

In his works, Aston revisits the above mentioned points to advocate:

- the ethnological interpretations of mythological episodes

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<sup>103</sup> Aston under the influence of Karl Florenz's work later reversed his etymology back to "impetuous male" and identified Susanoo as storm-deity (Florenz 1901:319-320; Aston 1905:137).

- his theory of religious development [starting with nature-worship and ending with spiritism]

#### 4.4.3.1 The ethnological interpretation

Most of the above mentioned points contained in Aston's footnotes to his translation of *Nihon shoki* describe ancient Japanese customs that penetrated into mythology. He further works out mythological motifs, which are to be found in other cultures, and if possible interprets it as cultural borrowing, as did Chamberlain in his translation of *Kojiki*. This is best illustrated by his interpretation of sun-worship in Japan and its continental origins:

Sun-worship, which is the central feature of Shinto, probably dates back to a time when the Japanese had not yet left their continental home. This is a widespread cult among Tartar tribes. (Aston 1899b:297)

Aston developed and applied to Shinto a theory of religious development, which I address in the following chapter. The application of this theory to Shinto was another tool, which could help uncover cultural borrowings. According to Aston, ancient Shinto has reached the second stage of religious development, anthropomorphism. Japanese mythology, however, includes few abstract deities, such as deities Izanagi and Izanami representing the male and female principle, which are, according to Aston's theory, far beyond the stage of Japan's religious progress. Aston ascribes the possible origin of Izanami and Izanagi to early imports from continental Asia<sup>104</sup>:

[...] We must remember, however, that the Japanese myths as we have them date from a period three centuries after the introduction of Chinese learning into Japan, and that there was communication with China hundreds of years earlier still. It would, therefore, not be strange if some knowledge of the fundamental principle of Chinese philosophy and science had reached the Japanese long before the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* were written. (Aston 1905:169)

Aston, however, later reversed his view of sun-worship and its continental origin. Instead, he states that sun-worship is so wide-spread that no inference can be drawn and that Japanese mythology in general developed independently from outside sources as follows:

No inference can be drawn from the circumstance that Sun-worship is common to them [the Japanese] with many North-Asiatic races. The Sun is, or has been, worshipped almost everywhere. There is distinct evidence of a Korean element in Shinto, but, with the little that we know of the old native religion of that country, anything like a complete comparison is impossible. Some have recognised a resemblance between Shinto and the old state religion of

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<sup>104</sup> As I mentioned in the previous chapter the early imports from the continental Asia in Japanese myths were first recognized by Chamberlain.

China, and it is true that both consist largely of Nature-worship. But the two cults differ widely. [...] A few similarities exist between Shinto and the religion of the Ainu of Yezo, a savage race which once occupied the main island of Japan. But it is reasonable to suppose that in this case the less civilised nation has borrowed from its more civilised neighbour and conqueror rather than *vice versa*. It is significant that the Ainu words for God, prayer, and offering, are taken from the Japanese. If the Malay or Polynesian element, which some have recognised in the Japanese race, has any existence, it has left no trace in religion. Such coincidences as may be noted between Shinto and oceanic religions, myths and practices are attributable to the like action of common causes rather than to inter-communication. The old Shinto owes little to any outside source. It is, on the whole, an independent development of Japanese thought. (Aston 1907:2-3)

In theory, mythological parallels in a religion with independent origins equaled a proof of an evolutionary model which explains cultural similarities by common cognitive/psychological structures. Similarly to Chamberlain, Aston applied in his studies of Japanese mythology both ethnological theories of 1) dissemination of culture [diffusionism]; and 2) of psychic unity of mankind [evolutionism]. Aston's conclusion about the independent origins of Shinto was, however, opposite to Chamberlain's.

#### **4.4.3.2 Aston's theory of religious development**

In the third part of the article "Japanese Myth", under the caption "the place of Shinto in the science of religion", Aston tries to categorize the "myths in which Shinto is embodied" (Aston 1899b:313-322). According to Aston, Japanese myths "assumed their present shape uninfluenced by alien ideas", and their nomenclature is "for the most part transparent and reveals the nature and functions of the deities more clearly than is usual in mythology" (Aston 1899b:313).

Aston describes 3 fundamental stages of religious development (Aston 1899b:314-315):

1. animism of natural phenomena - not unlike Tylor in his *Primitive Culture* (Tylor 1871a, 1871b)
2. anthropomorphic stage - ascription of human physical and moral qualities to deities of nature, followed by the idea of a natural object being inhabited by an unseen but not incorporeal anthropomorphic deity
3. spiritist stage - belief that natural phenomena attributed to the action of an invisible and incorporeal power (in the earlier phase, the anthropomorphic deity is belied to have a spiritual counterpart, while later the deity itself becomes a spiritual being)

Aston provides us with an illustration for the better understanding of the mentioned categorization:

I. The Sun is alive (Animism).

II. The Sun is (a) a man, a father, a chief, a king, or (b) is a material object ruled by an unseen, but not incorporeal being with human form and passions (Anthropomorphism).

III. The Sun is (a) a material object ruled by an anthropomorphic being which has a spiritual double, or (b) is animated by a spiritual being (Spiritism).

These stages do not succeed one another like geological strata, but overlap. Spiritism may and does appear at an early stage of anthropomorphic development, while on the other hand the most advanced religions find it hard to relinquish grosser conceptions which belong to an earlier stage of progress. (Aston 1899b:315)

Aston further analyzes Shinto and its pantheon based on the categorization above, and concludes:

The most superficial examination of Shinto will satisfy us that it is substantially an anthropomorphic religion. Its deities are for the most part personified powers, elements and objects of nature. [...] But, except in the case of a few principal deities, the process of personification has not gone far. Many so called deities have hardly got beyond the first, or animist, stage of progress. (Aston 1899b:315)

Aston analyzes both Norinaga and Atsutane's interpretation of Shinto and makes the conclusion that, while the former perceives Amaterasu as the sun itself, the latter speaks of the Japanese sun deity as "being born on earth and subsequently appointed to rule the sun", which means a significant step towards spiritism, as defined by Aston (Aston 1899b:319). The only trace of a development towards more spiritualistic religious thought is marked by the use of the term *mitama* 御霊, which translates as "spirit ". However, Aston adds that it is more "make-believe rather than belief, that the gods [...] are *dwelling* in the places where they are worshipped" (Aston 1899b:320). Of the later development of spiritism, namely the identification of deities with spirits, Aston does not find any evidence, and ghosts are absent in the ancient literature as well. (Aston 1899b:319-321)

With his theory of religious development and its application to Japan, Aston clearly profiles himself as an evolutionist and unintentionally reveals the weakness of early evolutionism, which describes development [of religion in this case] as an unilineal process that always follows the same pattern.

#### 4.4.3.3 Double current of religious thought

In his most extensive work on Shinto, *Shinto: the Way of Gods* (Aston 1905), Aston slightly modified his theory of the religious development. In his new depiction of the "double current of religious thought", deification of humans and personification of inanimate objects are two equally possible venues of religious development. Aston derives this representation of religious development from the works of French scholar Eugène Goblet d'Alviella (1846-1925)<sup>105</sup> and German theologian Otto Pfleiderer (1839-1908). D'Alviella and Pfleiderer, however, did not think that personification or deification presupposes the other (Aston 1905:11). Aston adopted their theory, but maintained his view that personification or animism of powers [nature] lies at the beginning of religious thought, which is illustrated by the following quote:

If we accept the definition of a God as a sentient being possessed of superhuman power, it follows that the idea of God may be arrived at in two ways. We may ascribe sense to those superhuman elemental powers of whose action we are daily witnesses, or we may reverse this process and endow sentient beings, especially men, with powers which they do not actually possess. In other words, the idea of God may be arrived at either by personification or by deification.

Strictly speaking, the first of these processes is the only legitimate one. The second involves the assumption that man may be or may become God. But without questioning the reality of an intimate union of the human with the divine, both in this world and the next, it is better to maintain a clear distinction between these two terms. Ultimately, after the errors of anthropomorphism, polytheism, and spiritism have been eliminated, the two methods of arriving at the idea of God yield the substantially identical formulas:

A. God = infinite power + absolute humanity.

B. God = absolute humanity + infinite power. (Aston 1905:10)

Aston further developed distinct phases of conception of deities during the process of personification as well as deification. In the case of personification, Aston added one more phase to his original categorization in his article "Japanese myth" (Aston 1899b:315) as follows:

I. The Sun (Moon, Wind, Sea, &c.) is alive.

II. The Sun is a man, a father, a chief or a king - first rhetorically, and then literally.

III. The Sun is a material object, ruled by an unseen but not incorporeal being with human form and passions.

IV. The Sun is (a) a material object ruled by an anthropomorphic being which has a spiritual double, or (d) is animated by a spiritual being. (Aston 1905:16)

Aston portrays the phases of conception in the case of deification as follows:

I. X, alive or dead, is a great man, worthy of our love, reverence, gratitude, or fear.

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<sup>105</sup> Both Aston and d'Alviella contributed to Hastings's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.

II. X, sometimes when alive, more frequently when dead, is possessed of superhuman powers, usually borrowed from those of nature, such as the control of the weather and the seasons, and of diseases.

III. X's powers reside not in his body but in a more or less spiritual emanation from it. (Aston 1905:37)

#### **4.4.3.4 Aston and his criticism of ancestor-worship and fetishism**

The ancestor-worship, or its absence in Shinto, has a special place in Aston's work. In his first article on Japanese mythology (Aston 1899b), Aston addresses the deification of ancestors as follows:

The deification of human beings, by which something of the superhuman power and glory already recognised in natural deities is reflected back upon heroes, ancestors, or sovereigns, does not occupy an important position in Shinto. As already pointed out, the ancestral gods are not really deified ancestors but existing deities who have been converted into ancestors, or others invented for this very purpose. The deification of living and deceased mikados and princes belongs to a comparatively recent period, and is open to strong suspicion of Chinese influence. (Aston 1899b:323)

In his article from 1902, Aston criticizes the German scholar Engelbert Kämpfer (1651-1716) and his presentation of Shinto with hero-worship and ancestor-worship as its leading feature, which he blames for the distortion of Shinto in later works (Aston 1902c:182). He repeated his opinion of ancestor-worship, as stated above, again in *Shinto: the Way of Gods* (Aston 1905:44-46). In 1906 Aston released an article titled "Ancestor-worship in Japan", in which he attributes ancestor-worship as the veneration of dead ancestors solely to the borrowings from Chinese culture. At the end of this article, Aston remarks that "the views expressed in this paper are in substantial agreement with those of Dr. Florenz, the principal German authority on the subject" (Aston 1906:37).

In his article "Sacrifice in Shinto", published posthumously in 1912, Aston revisits the writings of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and his theory on development of ancestor-worship and sacrifice, previously addressed by Aston in other works (Aston 1905:211, 1908:345). Spencer employed the view that sacrificial offering developed because of fear of gods and deities as follows:

The Japanese evidence lends no support to Herbert Spencer's assumption that "rites performed at graves, becoming afterwards religious rites performed at altars in temples, were at first acts done for the benefit of the ghost, either as originally conceived, or as ideally expanded into a deity." The old Shinto record does not even mention ghosts. It abhorred everything connected with the dead. Attendance at a funeral made a man temporarily unclean and unfit to perform Shinto

services. The Nihiname harvest rite [*niinamesai* 新嘗祭] is fully explicable as a natural expression of gratitude to a beneficent power and owes nothing to the worship of the dead. It is true that there is frequent mention of food-offerings or other honours to the dead. But it is the deceased man who is honoured. There is no expansion of a ghost into a deity. In Japan the deification of men, alive or dead, is a secondary phenomenon unknown to the older cult. Not one of the older deities can be recognised as promotions from the ranks of dead men. They are, in so far as their origin can be traced, nature-powers or the servants or children of nature-powers. Gifts to living men were already familiar to the first worshippers of such deities and are far more likely to have been the prototypes of religious offerings. (Aston 1912b:7)

Aston further comments on the applicability of Spencer's solar-theory of "complimentary naming after the Sun" to Shinto as follows:

- I. The King or sage is like the Sun.
- II. He is (rhetorically) a Sun, or the Sun's brother or offspring.
- III. He is actually descended from the Sun in the *n*th generation, the intermediate links of the genealogy being a, b, c, d, &c., and he is therefore himself a divinity.

Herbert Spencer, in his 'Sociology,' says: "There are proofs that like confusion of metaphor with fact leads to Sun-worship. Complimentary naming after the sun occurs everywhere, and where it is associated with power, becomes inherited. [...] In such cases, then, worship of the ancestor readily becomes worship of the Sun. [...] Nature-worship, then, is but an aberrant form of ghost-worship." Surely this is an inversion of the true order of things. Why do kings bear the name of Sun, or child of the Sun ? Is it not because the Sun is already looked upon as a glorious being (a God?) with whom it is an honour to be associated? [...] Worship of the Sun must be anterior to the very existence of Mikados, and there are certainly more substantial reasons for it than the transfer to him, suggested by metaphorical language, of the reverence paid to human sovereigns or ancestors. (Aston 1905:40-41)

The fundamental ideas on development of Japanese religion or absence of ancestor-worship are inherent in all of his works on Shinto. Although Aston in time slightly altered his initial theory of religious development by adding deification of humans (Aston 1905:36-64), he maintained the opinion that "there can be no deification until the idea of deity has been arrived at previously, for example, by the personification of natural powers" (Aston 1905:10-11).

Spencer's theories were, without alteration, adopted by the writer Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904). In *Shinto the ancient religion of Japan* Aston listed Hearn's study under selected works bearing on Shinto, but described it as "Sympathetic insight, admirable style, blind acceptance of H. Spencer's philosophy, imperfect knowledge" (Aston 1907:82). Aston's harshest criticism of both Spencer and Hearn is as follows:

It is difficult to reconcile the fact that the cardinal rite of Shinto is an expression of gratitude to a beneficent being with Herbert Spencer's view that all ceremony originates from fear [...]. Lafcadio Hearn calls the older Shinto a religion " of perpetual fear." But this gifted writer knew

very little about Shinto, and was only applying it to Herbert Spencer's statement quoted above. He describes Herbert Spencer as " the wisest man in the world," differing therein from Thomas Carlyle, who thought him " just a poor creature." (Aston 1912b:6-7)□

Besides Spencer's solar-theory, Aston also criticized Spencer's terminology. Spencer referred to the deification of all inanimate objects as " fetishism" (Spencer 1870:313). Aston criticised the use of the term "fetish" as follows:

The meaning of the word fetish has become so blurred by indiscriminate use that there is a temptation to discard it altogether. It is frequently applied to all concrete objects of devotion, including not only great nature-gods, like the earth and sun, but their symbols, images, and seats of their real presence, which have no intrinsic divinity of their own, and are only worshipped by reason of their association with genuine deities. [...] The indiscriminate application of the term fetish to objects of all these five classes is highly inconvenient, especially when we come to discuss the question whether fetishism is a primitive form of religion. The answer depends entirely on the kind of fetish which is intended. (Aston 1905:122-123)

The disarray of technical terms and the multitude of their definitions prompted Aston to study terminology, which came to fruition in his article on "Fetishism" in Hastings's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (Aston 1912a). Aston begins his article saying that "Few words have been used with so bewildering a variety of applications as 'fetish' and 'fetishism'", and enumerates the definitions and application of these terms in the works of Auguste Comte (1798-1857), Spencer, Tylor, D'Alviella and others (Aston 1912a). Aston advises scholars against the use of this ambiguous term.

#### **4.4.3.5 Myth and ritual in Aston's works**

In the theoretical part of his extensive study on Shinto, *Shinto: the Way of Gods* (Aston 1905), Aston addresses the relationship between myth and ritual, and concludes that in some cases myth precedes the ritual, while in other cases the myth is based on a pre-existing rite as follows:

[...] No general rule can be laid down in these cases. Every such question must be decided according to the available evidence. A myth is a narrative, and a ceremony a kind of dramatic performance. It will not be disputed that dramas have been founded on narratives, and that narratives are sometimes taken from dramas, as in the case of Lamb's 'Tales from Shakespeare.' Novels are every day dramatized, and the reverse process, though not common with ourselves, is familiar in Japan. (Aston 1905:83)

On account of cleansing with water, for example, Aston agrees with Satow's theory that the rite of religious ablution preceded the myth of Izanagi's washing (Aston 1905:83).



Aston's understanding of pollution, ritualistic ablution as seeds of moral code and future law, significantly differs from Satow's. According to Aston, Pfeleiderer's and Max Müller's theory that "the beginnings of all social customs and legal ordinances are directly derived from religion" does not apply to Shinto as follows:

Moreover, the Ohoharahi<sup>106</sup> is wanting in the first essential of a criminal law. It provides no fixed punitive sanction. It is true that the culprit was in some cases obliged to supply at his own cost the necessary offerings for the ceremony, and that practically this amounted to a fine. The original intention, however, was not to punish the offender, but to avert the wrath of the Gods. And it must be remembered that individual cases of purification were exceptional. For the offences of the nation generally, which it was the main object of the Ohoharahi to absolve, no punishment was practicable, or indeed dreamt of. The Ohoharahi fines of purificatory offerings may have contributed to a system of criminal law, but they were certainly not its main source. The case of Japan seems to prove that, in many cases at least altruistic morality, even in the crystallized form of law, is in advance of religion. (Aston 1905:246-247)

Aston was also very critical of Michel Revon and his interpretation of the offences listed in the *Ōharae norito* 大祓祝詞 as the Japanese code of morals and their comparison with the biblical Decalogue. According to Aston "the Japanese offence was ritual, the Jewish moral" (Aston 1907:64-66).

#### 4.4.4 Aston and the future studies of Japanese mythology

Aston's translation of *Nihon shoki* remains, up to this day, the only complete translation in Western language of this ancient work, and is therefore consulted by students of Japanese mythology up to this day. Aston's influence on the Japanese scholarship is, however, questionable as he wrote all of his works on Japanese mythology after his departure from Japan. His most extensive works on Shinto were, however, translated into Japanese. *Shinto: the Way of Gods* (Aston 1905) was translated by Honaga Shigesuke 補永茂助 (1881-1932) and Shibano Rokusuke 芝野六助 (dates unknown), and published as *Nihon shintōron* 日本神道論 in 1922 (Aston 1922). *Shinto, the ancient Religion in Japan* (Aston 1907) was translated by Shiraishi Kinoshige 白石喜之助 (1870-1942) and Yamamoto Setsu 山本節 (dates unknown), and published as *Shintō: Nihon no kodai shūkyō* 神道:日本の古代宗教 in 1930 (Aston 1930).

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<sup>106</sup> Japanese purification ritual *Ōharae* 大祓

## 4.5 Karl Adolf Florenz (1865–1939)

### 4.5.1 Academic work

During his life Florenz published 11 books and 28 articles<sup>107</sup>. His academic work can be divided into two periods: 1) his stay in Japan, from 1888 to 1914 (27 years); and 2) the time from his return to Germany in 1915 to his demise in 1939 (25 years). Most of Florenz's work in the first period focused on Japanese language, poetry, literature and religion. During the second period Florenz published, mostly, on Japanese literature and religion.

#### 4.5.1.1 1888-1914: Florenz in Japan

Florenz's scholarly career began upon his arrival to Japan in 1888. During his stay in Japan Florenz published 14 journal articles, 2 newspaper articles and 2 encyclopedia articles. He further published 9 books, including translations of 3 poetry collections, 1 drama and 1 collection of folktales. 11 of Florenz's articles from this period as well as the original supplement fascicles of *Nihongi* (Florenz 1892), *Japanische Mythologie* (Florenz 1901) and *Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur* (Florenz 1906b) were published in the German counterpart of the *TASJ*, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* (*MOAG*). Florenz published only 1 article in Japanese language, in a Japanese periodical, and 1 article in English language in the *TASJ*<sup>108</sup>. At the beginning of his career, Florenz's interests lay in the Japanese poetry, literature and history.

Florenz started to publish immediately after his arrival to Japan. In the year of his arrival, Florenz published his first article in the *MOAG* titled "Beiträge zur chinesischen Poesie, in metrischen Übertragungen, mit Einleitung, Commentaren und Originaltexten" (Florenz 1889a). Florenz's interest in history, combined with a profound sinologic knowledge acquired during his studies, steered the 23-year-old scholar towards the study of ancient texts. In the following year, Florenz published his first Japan-related article "Die staatliche und gesellschaftliche Organisation im alten Japan" (Florenz 1889b). This article is a philological study of social and political organization in *Nihon shoki*. It freely draws upon Chamberlain's philological study of the semi-historical and historical parts of *Kojiki*. Chamberlain's results revealed that ancient

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<sup>107</sup> For the complete list of Florenz's works see appendix G.

<sup>108</sup> For the overview of all journals, in which Florenz published his articles see appendix H.

Japan was governed by feudal territorial rulers, who were partially or totally outside the sovereign's political power (Chamberlain 1883b: lxi-lxiii; Florenz 1889a: 164-165)<sup>109</sup>.

In 1892 Florenz began to publish his partial translations of *Nihon shoki* under the title *Japanische Annalen*. Five individual fascicles of Florenz's translation of *Nihon shoki*'s books 22-30 were published between 1892 and 1897 as a supplement to *MOAG*. The first fascicle includes an introduction (Florenz 1892:i-xxxii), which describes *Nihon shoki* in relation to *Kojiki*, *Nihon shoki*'s compilation and its language. Florenz's translation also lists available manuscripts and printed editions of *Nihon shoki*, used Japanese commentaries (Florenz 1892:xiv-xxi) as well as an 8-page long index of all Japanese and Chinese sources cited in footnotes (Florenz 1892:xxv-xxxii). His annotations to *Nihon shoki*'s translation consist of exhaustive cross-references between Chinese sources, law edicts and ceremonial laws as well as short translatory remarks. Florenz sometimes includes in footnotes whole passages commenting on the political events (Florenz 1892:9,22-23). His early inquiries into Japanese ancient texts were motivated by his interest in law and political organization of Japan's antiquity. Florenz advocates his choice of the last volumes of *Nihon shoki* by their historical value<sup>110</sup> as they also cover the period of their compilation<sup>111</sup> (Florenz 1892:iv-v).

In 1894 Florenz published his first translated collection of Japanese poetry, under the title „Dichtergrüsse aus dem Osten“ (Florenz 1894). This poetry collection contained 30 poems from *Man'yōshū*. In the following 2 years, Florenz published 2 further poetry collections and 1 collection of Japanese fairy-tales, translated into German language. All of his poetry and folk-tale collections were printed on crepe paper with beautiful illustrations and published by Takejiro Hasegawa, who previously published Chamberlain's folk-tale collections.

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<sup>109</sup> Florenz's two main Japanese sources beside *Nihon shoki* were articles by his friends from Germany, Ariga Nagao and Inoue Tesujirō. Florenz was able to publish his article on political organization in *Nihon shoki* soon after his arrival to Japan thanks to his profound knowledge of Chinese and Japanese acquired in Germany (Dettmer 1985:9-10). Florenz states that he made the first concept of this article with Ariga's help already long time ago (Florenz 1889b:164). However, Florenz's goal and research questions differed significantly from his Japanese colleagues. For detailed analysis of this article see Satō 1995, ch. 3.2.

<sup>110</sup> It was equally important to Florenz that *Nihon shoki* was not translated in Western language yet (Florenz 1892:i-ii).

<sup>111</sup> The 6th and 7th century AD was a time of great social and political change, when Japan adopted Chinese writing, historiography and many Chinese institutions. Florenz valued *Nihon shoki* not despite its borrowings from foreign sources, but because of them. This reasoning was diametrically opposed to that from Aston and *kokugaku* scholarship. Florenz believed that a careful study of the text can reveal the social and political changes in Japan during these turbulent times. (Florenz 1892:9,22-23).

In 1899 Florenz published his only article written in the English language in the *TASJ*, i.e. the 4<sup>th</sup> part of the series "Ancient Japanese Rituals" (Florenz 1899). This series of translations of ritual prayers *norito* was originally started by Ernest Satow (Satow 1879a, 1879b, 1881). Florenz, in continuation of Satow's translation series, attempts "to use as much as possible Satow's phraseology, in order to preserve in the English rendering the same uniformity of style which exists in the Japanese text" (Florenz 1899:1-2). Florenz chose to translate the ritual prayer of the Great Purification *ōharae* 大祓, which he describes as "one of the most important and solemn ceremonies of the Shintō religion" (Florenz 1899:3). His article consists of translation, notes and detailed introduction, which is structured in 11 chapters. The introduction traces *ōharae* in Japanese historical sources, describes its proceedings according to different ceremonial laws as well as its present form (Florenz 1899:3-49). The last two introductory chapters summarize Florenz's considerations of legendary origins of *ōharae* (Florenz 1899:49-55) and his assessment of the theory that the transgressions, which necessitate purification as described in the *ōharae norito*, are the first source of criminal law in Japan (Florenz 1899:55-58).

In 1901 Florenz published his annotated translation of the mythological parts of *Nihon shoki* titled *Japanische Mythologie: Nihongi "Zeitalter der Götter." Nebst Ergänzungen aus andern alten Quellenwerken* (Florenz 1901). His translation includes an extensive appendix with mythological episodes from *Kojiki* (Florenz 1901:255-275) and different *Fudoki* (Florenz 1901:282-308), which are missing in *Nihon shoki's* narration. Florenz further included genealogies of deities from *Sendai kuji hongi* (Florenz 1901:275-282), a summary of genealogies of deities found in *Nihon shoki* (Florenz 1901:309-312) and an index of nature deities in various Japanese sources (Florenz 1901:312-318). Wachutka states that rather than an annotated translation of *Nihon shoki* Florenz's *Japanische Mythologie* is "a collection of 'the whole set of original ancient documents' on Japanese mythology" (Wachutka 2001:62).

In 1903 Florenz's translation of *Nihon shoki's* books 22-30 were reprinted as a 2nd revised edition in one volume (Florenz 1903). If Florenz ever intended to translate the whole *Nihon shoki*, he must have abandoned the idea after publication of Aston's translation (Aston 1896a, 1896b)<sup>112</sup>. In the short preface, which precedes the introduction to Florenz's revised edition of

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<sup>112</sup> According to Naumann Florenz initially intended to translate whole *Nihon shoki*, but abandoned the idea later (N. Naumann 1985:39). Wachutka agrees with Naumann that Florenz's initial intention to give a complete critical

*Japanische Annalen* from 1903, Florenz addresses the fact that he and Aston chose to translate the same work:

Ist es bei der verschwindend geringen Anzahl von kompetenten Arbeitern auf dem Gebiete der altjapanischen Philologie, Archaeologie und Kulturgeschichte einerseits zu bedauern, wenn zwei Kräfte, vom Zufall und von gleichen Neigungen geführt, dieselben Aufgaben zu lösen trachten, obwohl doch so unendlich viel anderes noch zu thun übrig bleibt, so liegt doch anderseits in diesem Zusammentreffen auch wieder ein erlösendes Moment: man darf annehmen, dass bei vereinten Kräften etwas mehr heraus kommt als durch die Anstrengungen des Einzelnen. Ich hoffe, dass die vorliegende Neubearbeitung, die ich freilich in nur kurzer Zeit herzustellen gezwungen war, auch bei höheren Anforderungen nicht versagen möge. Wenn dies der Fall sein sollte, so verdanke ich dies Resultat vor allem dem Buche ASTON'S. Wo ich in der Interpretation von dem hochgeschätzten Meister der Japanologie einmal stärker abweiche, ist es mit Bedacht geschehen, doch möchte ich keineswegs für meine Auffassung immer den Vorzug beanspruchen. (Florenz 1903:i-ii)

In 1903, 4 years after Aston's *A History of Japanese Literature* (Aston 1899a), Florenz began to publish *Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur*, which is often described as "one of his most important works" (Lewin 1985:34). It was initially published in 5 parts between 1903 and 1906. In 1906 the work was reprinted in one volume (Florenz 1906b). His overview of Japanese literary history includes the development of the ancient Japanese writing system and follows Japanese prose and poetry up to the modern era. It amounts to an impressive number of 642 pages, including index<sup>113</sup>.

In 1906 Florenz further published an article titled "Der Shintoismus" (Florenz 1906a) in the collective volume of *Religionen des Orients und die Altgermanische Religion*, a collective volume edited and published by the Danish historian of religion Johannes Edvard Lehmann (1862-1930). Besides the mythological narratives, Florenz's detailed treatment of Shinto includes an overview of main rituals in the course of Japanese history and remarks on architecture, art and other aspects of Shinto. Following this article, Florenz published 4 more articles on various topics before he settled in Germany.

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translation of *Nihon Shoki* was never realized as the second part of *Nihon Shoki* (volumes 3-21) was never published. Wachutka speculates that Florenz may have finished the translation of whole *Nihon shoki*, but the finished manuscript could have been destroyed in the air raid of World War II, during which Florenz's translation of *Man'yōshū* and all *norito* have been burned. (Wachutka 2001:58-59)

<sup>113</sup> For a complex assesment of Florenz's work on literary history of Japan see W. Naumann 1985. For an analysis of contents of *Geschichte der japanischen Litteratur* with focus on influences of modern Japanese literary history on Florenz and Florenz's influence on modern Japanese scholarship see Satō 1995, ch. 1.

In his article on Shinto from 1906 (Florenz 1906a), Florenz, for the first time, addressed Japanese mythology from the viewpoint of religious history. As mentioned earlier, his original focus was on philological studies of the Japanese state and society in the antiquity (Florenz 1889b), which motivated his annotated translation of *Nihon shoki's* later volumes (Florenz 1903). *Nihon shoki* led Florenz to the study of Japanese mythology, which resulted in his annotated translation of mythological parts of *Nihon shoki* and other Japanese ancient sources in 1901 (Florenz 1901). In the introduction to his revised translation of *Nihon shoki* from 1903 Florenz states that he wrote *Japanische Annalen* with German historians in mind (Florenz 1903:ii), while the intended audience for his *Japanische Mythologie* were the German researchers of mythology (Florenz 1903:ii). Florenz's article on Shinto from 1906 (Florenz 1906a) marks the final shift of his interest from mythology to the history of Shinto religion.

#### **4.5.1.2 1915-1939: Florenz in Germany**

During his 25-year long stay in Germany, Florenz published 2 books, 2 encyclopedia articles, 7 journal articles and 1 newspaper article. He published significantly less than in Japan and abandoned the topic of Japanese language entirely. The two main topics of Florenz's works following his return to Germany were Japanese literature and religion. During this time, Florenz published only one article in the *MOAG* and the rest of his articles were published by different German periodicals, with the exception of his last article, which appeared in the newly founded *Monumenta Nipponica*.

In 1919 Florenz published his major work, written during his stay in Germany, titled *Die historischen Quellen der Shinto-Religion. Aus dem Alt-Japanischen und Chinesischen übersetzt und erklärt* (Florenz 1919). This work contains translations of the first book of *Kojiki*, together with the first two books and part of the third book of *Nihon shoki* and *Kogo shūi*. Florenz's work presents the first translation of *Kogo shūi* into a Western language. In the introduction to *Die historischen Quellen der Shinto-Religion* Florenz explains his simpler annotation style and describes his intended audience as non-Japanologist scholars of religion.

Der Kommentar vermeidet Erörterungen rein philologischer Art, erklärt aber alle wichtigeren japanischen Worte, soweit deren Verstehen zur Sachkenntnis beiträgt. Das Hauptgewicht wurde bei den Anmerkungen auf das Sachliche gelegt, und ich hoffe in ihnen genügend Stoff herbeigeschafft zu haben, um den Religionsforschern, welche nicht Japanologen sind, ein klares Verständnis der oftmals schwierigen Materie anzubahnen. (Florenz 1919:viii)

In 1922 Florenz wrote an introductory article to religions of modern Japan titled "Allgemeiner Überblick [über die Religionen Japans]" for collective volume *Das Licht des Ostens. Die weltanschauungen des mittleren und fernen Asiens - Indien - China - Japan - und ihr Einfluss auf das religiöse und sittliche Leben, auf Kunst und Wissenschaft dieser Länder* (Florenz 1922)<sup>114</sup>.

In 1925 Florenz published an article titled "Die Japaner" (Florenz 1925a) in a collective volume *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* edited by Edvard Lehmann. Lehmann was also the editor of the collective volume, which published Florenz's article on Shinto in 1906 (Florenz 1906a). The 160 pages-long article "Die Japaner" represents Florenz's last encounter with Japanese myth from a religious-historical viewpoint. In the same year Florenz published *Wörterbuch zur altjapanischen Liedersammlung Kokinshū* (Florenz 1925b). Some materials for this dictionary were initially given to Florenz by Chamberlain, 30 years prior to this publication (Florenz 1925b:vii).

In 1926 Florenz published an article "Liederreigen und Liebeswerben in Altjapan" in der *Ostasietischen Literaturzeitung* (Florenz 1926). This article traces the ritualistic singing *utagaki* 歌垣 in *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*. In 1928 Florenz published a translation of ritual prayer *amatsukami no yogoto* (Florenz 1928) from a collection of legal commentaries *Ryō no shūge* 令集解 (859-876). His only article published in the *MOAG* from this time was an article on Japanese poetry titled "Die Elegie in der älteren japanischen Literatur" from 1933 (Florenz 1933).

In 1938, one year before his death, Florenz was given the honor to inaugurate the first edition of new Japanological journal *Monumenta Nipponica* - for which he chose an annotated translation of a Nō-drama (Motokiyo 1938) by Seami Motokiyo 世阿弥 元清 (1363-1444).

The topics of Florenz's investigation of Japan show parallels with all previous Japanologists introduced in this thesis. Florenz translated the ritual prayers *norito* by following Satow's example, and translated Japanese poetry, as did Chamberlain before him. Florenz's points of interest intersect, most often, with Aston's as both of them studied Japanese history, the history of literature and translated *Nihon shoki*. Even their academic careers show curious parallels, as both of them focused in their later creative period on investigating Shinto from the viewpoint of

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<sup>114</sup> The individual articles on Japanese religions and art were written by other authors.

history of religion. One point that sets Florenz clearly apart from Aston is the study of Japanese language. While the Japanese language was the main subject of Aston's studies in the first phase of his academic life, for Florenz it represented a tool to investigate other aspects of Japanese culture, especially history, literature, mythology and religion (Florenz 1901:iv-v)<sup>115</sup>.

#### 4.5.2 *kokugaku* scholarship in Florenz's works

One aspect that sets Florenz's academic work apart from other introduced Japanologists is his use of Japanese secondary sources. From the beginning of his studies, Florenz was making use of the most recent Japanese scholarship.

Main sources of Florenz's translation of *Nihon shoki*<sup>116</sup>:

- *Nihon shoki tsūshaku* 日本書紀通釋 (1902-1903<sup>117</sup>) by Iida Takesato 飯田武郷 (1828-1900)
- *Nihongi hyōchū* 日本紀標註 (1891) by Shikida Toshihara 敷田年治 (1817-1902)
- *Nihon shokiden*<sup>118</sup> 日本書紀傳 (unknown<sup>119</sup>) by Suzuki Shigetane 鈴木重胤 (1812-1863)
- *Shoki shūge* 書紀集解 (1785) by Kawamura Hidene 河村秀根 (1723-1792)
- *Nihon shoki tsūshō* 日本書紀通證 (1762) by Tanikawa Kotosuga 谷川士清 (1709-1776)

The main source for Florenz's first translation of *Nihon shoki* in 1892 (Florenz 1892) as well as his *Japanische Mythologie* (Florenz 1901) was Iida Takesato's *Nihon shoki tsūshaku*, which started to come out in 1889. *Nihon shoki tsūshaku* was still being published (1889-1903) whilst Florenz worked on *Japanische Annalen*. The majority of references to older works are secondary references taken from Iida's extensive commentary (Florenz 1892:xix). Florenz also emphasizes

<sup>115</sup> For detailed analysis of Florenz's work on Japanese linguistics see Lewin 1985.

<sup>116</sup> This list was put together from Florenz's bibliographical references in his works from 1892, 1901 and 1919 (Florenz 1892:xviii-xix, 1901:i-ii, 1919:x). The works are listed in descending order from the youngest to oldest.

<sup>117</sup> Iida finished his work and it started to come out in 1889. The author died during the publication, which was resumed in 1902 and ended in 1903.

<sup>118</sup> Florenz included *Nihon shokiden* in his main Japanese secondary sources first time in 1919 (Florenz 1919:x). In his translation from 1892 Florenz mentions that Iida's *Nihon shoki tsūshaku* is based largely on *Nihon shokiden*, which he however could not get his hands on (Florenz 1892:xix).

<sup>119</sup> *Nihon shokiden* consists of more than 100 volumes and most of them were published posthumously. In 1862, a year before Shigetane's death, only 30 volumes were published. The first printed edition of the whole work was published posthumously in 1910-1912.



the indispensable help and support he received from his colleagues<sup>120</sup> at the Imperial University, including Iida<sup>121</sup>.

Abgesehen von den gedruckten Kommentarwerken, ist mir auch mannigfache Förderung in mündlicher Belehrung von einigen japanischen Kollegen zu teil geworden, namentlich von den Herren Professoren Kumazō Tsuboi [Tsuboi Kumezō 坪井九馬三 (1858-1936)], M. Kurokawa [Kurokawa Mayori 黒川真頼 (1829-1906)], T. Ihida [Iida Takesato], und S. Mikami [Mikami Sanji 三上参次 (1865-1939)], sowie von meinen Freunden den Herren T. Fujishiro [Fujishiro Teisuke 藤代 禎輔 (1868-1927)] und T. Takeuchi [Takeuchi Daisō 竹内大造 (unknown)]. (Florenz 1901:ii)

For his next translation of *ōharae norito* Florenz used the newest available Japanese sources as well (Florenz 1899:2). These included<sup>122</sup>:

- *Norito benmō* 祝詞弁蒙 (1895) by Shikida Toshiharu 敷田年治 (1817-1902)
- *Noritoshiki kōgi* 祝詞式講義 (1894) by Ōkubo Hatsuo 大久保初雄 (unknown)
- *Noritoshiki kōgi* 祝詞式講義 (1892) by Tanomo Haruyama 春山頼母 (unknown)
- *Norito ryakkai* 祝詞略解 (1882-1883) by Kubo Sueshige 久保季茲 (1830-1886)

In *Die historische Quellen der Shintō-Religion* Florenz lists the main sources for his annotated translation of *Kojiki* and *Kogo shūi*, which he published after his return to Germany in 1919 (Florenz 1919:x).

The main sources of Florenz's translation of *Kojiki*<sup>123</sup>:

- *Kojiki hyōchū* 古事記標注 (1848) by Toshiharu Shikita (1878).
- *Kojiki kōgi* 古事記講義 (1892) by Saeki Ariyoshi 佐伯有義 (1867-1945)
- *Kojikiden* 古事記伝 (1798) by Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730-1801)

The main sources of Florenz's translation of *Kogo shūi*:

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<sup>120</sup> For more information on Florenz's Japanese friends and colleagues see Wachutka (Wachutka 2001:181-183).

<sup>121</sup> For more information on Florenz's and Iida's relationship see Wachutka (Wachutka 2001:78-81).

<sup>122</sup> Florenz further mentions the lectures by Motoori Toyokahi 本居豊穎 (1834-1913), his colleague on Imperial University (Florenz 1899:2).

<sup>123</sup> This list was put together from Florenz's bibliographical references in his work from 1919 (Florenz 1892:xviii-xix, 1901:i-ii, 1919:x). Although Florenz translated parts of *Kojiki* for his *Japanische Mythologie* in 1901. However he treated *Japanische Mythologie* as annotated translation of *Nihon shoki* and his sources were therefore Chamberlain's translation and commentaries on *Nihon shoki*, *Nihon shoki tsūshaku* and *Nihongi hyōchū* (Florenz 1919).

- *Kogo shūi kōgi* 古語拾遺講義 (1891) by Saeki Ariyoshi 佐伯有義 (1867-1945)
- *Kogo shūi kōgi* 古語拾遺講義 (1884) by Kubo Sueshige 久保季 (1830-1886)
- *Kogo shūi seikun* 古語拾遺正訓 (1885) by Shibata Hanamori 柴田花守 (1809-1890)

Unlike Satow, Chamberlain and Aston, Florenz clearly distinguished between *kiki*'s editions and their commentaries. In his preface to *Nihon shoki*'s translation, Florenz lists available manuscripts of *Nihon shoki* (Florenz 1892:xv-xvi) and differentiates between 4 different printed versions (Florenz 1892:xx-xxi). He includes a list of Japanese commentaries as well as an 8-page long index of all Japanese and Chinese sources cited in footnotes (Florenz 1892:xxv-xxxii). None of the introduced Japanologists, besides Florenz, distinguished between the main Japanese sources and secondary references (Florenz 1892:xix).

Florenz's criticism of the native Japanese commentators concentrates on two major points:

- preference of *Kojiki* over *Nihon Shoki* as an historical source, based solely on the degree of sinization of its text
- etymology of the names of deities

#### 4.5.2.1 Florenz's evaluation of primary sources of Japanese myth

The adoption of whole passages from Chinese sources, which significantly lowered *Nihon Shoki*'s value in the eyes of the present Japanese commentators as well as Chamberlain and Satow, did not influence Florenz's preference for *Nihon Shoki*. As I already mention Florenz favored *Nihon shoki* rather than *Kojiki* as a historical source for the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Der Umstand, dass die Verfasser des Nihongi an den alten mythischen Ueberlieferungen sich hier und da eine Freiheit erlaubt haben und die alten Kaiser und Helden schon vor Einführung der chinesischen Kultur und Sprache in schwungvollen chinesischen Tiraden sprechen lassen, scheint mir jedoch nicht so sehr zum Nachteil des Nihongi gegenüber dem Kojiki auszufallen, als dies in Chamberlain's Augen der Fall ist. [...] (Florenz 1892:iii)

Florenz criticized the use of *Kojiki* over *Nihon Shoki* by the *kokugaku* scholars based solely on the argumentation that *Nihon Shoki* is too sinicized to be used for the study of Japanese history, religion and/or philology.

[...] Dass die Abweichungen des Nihongi vom Kojiki (abgesehen von ganz groben und für den Kundigen meist auf ersten Blick erkenntlichen chinesischen Propfseisern) im allgemeinen auf schon länger bestehende Verschiedenheiten in der Ueberlieferung und nicht auf blossse Willkür

und Fälschungssucht der Verfasser des Nihongi zurückgehen, halte ich für ausgemacht; dies beweisen z.B. die in beiden Werken (in phonetischer Silbenschrift) angeführten alten Lieder, deren öftere Verschiedenheiten (entweder Varianten in einem und demselben Liede, oder gänzlich verschiedene Lieder) für nicht ungeteilte Ueberlieferungen lebhaft sprechen. *Kojiki* und *Nihongi* bilden somit, für ihre frühesten Darstellungen wenigstens, eine ziemlich glückliche Ergänzung zu einander. [...] (Florenz 1982:iii)

Florenz attributed most of the discrepancies in *Kojiki* and *Nihon Shoki* to their deeper underlying differences. This insight sets him clearly apart from other Japanologists (including Aston) as well as *kokugaku* scholars. However, this does not mean that Florenz treated *kiki* as accounts of two different mythologies with separate cosmogonies. Florenz treated *Kojiki*, *Nihon Shoki*, *Sendai kuji hong*i and *Fudoki* as accounts of the same mythological tradition. In his *Japanische Mythologie* (Florenz 1901) Florenz attaches to the translation of first two books of *Nihon shoki* mythological episodes from *Kojiki* and different *Fudoki* as well as genealogies of deities from *Sendai kuji hong*i, which "are missing" in *Nihon shoki*'s narration. In his introduction he mentions the need to shape ordered Japanese mythology based on the presented sources as a task for the future scholarship.

[...] Aus den vorliegenden Rohstoffen eine wirkliche geordnete japanische Mythologie zu gestalten, ist eine Aufgabe der Zukunft, die jetzt schon zu unternehmen noch verfrüht sein dürfte. (Florenz 1901:v)

Florenz's intention with this publication was to create a nearly complete source book on Japanese mythology.

Um über das JINDAI-KI hinaus eine zulängliche Anschauung der alten japanischen Mythologie zu bekommen, ist in den Anmerkungen dem KOJIKI, KOGOSHŪI und den NORITO reichlich Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt worden; auch das KŪJIKI [*Sendai kuji hong*i], das freilich in seiner jetzt vorliegenden Gestalt seit Motowori's Kritik von den japanischen Historikern als ein späteres und unzuverlässiges Machwerk betrachtet wird [...] wurde gelegentlich berücksichtigt. Der Appendix enthält ferner eine Anzahl von wichtigeren im NIHONGI fehlendend Mythen, welche dem KOJIKI und den echten alten FŪDOKI entnommen sind. [...] (Florenz 1901:ii-iii)

Florenz considered all works mentioned above as equally important sources of Japanese mythology. In his later work, *Die historische Quellen der Shintō-Religion* (Florenz 1919), Florenz includes in addition to *kiki Kogo shūi*, and excludes *Sendai kuji hong*i. He advocates his exclusion of the last source, not only by the different aim of *Die historische Quellen der Shintō-Religion*, but also by *Sendai kuji hong*i's authenticity. Thus, his attitude towards *Sendai kuji hong*i changed during the 18 years between *Japanische Mythologie* and *Die historische Quellen der Shintō-Religion* (Florenz 1901, 1919). Florenz did not exclude *Sendai kuji hong*i by simply

repeating the findings of Japanese scholars - on the contrary, he included it in his earlier work *Japanische Mythologie* (Florenz 1901). His exclusion of *Sendai kuji hong*i in his later work *Die historische Quellen der Shintō-Religion* (Florenz 1919) indicates that he made an informed decision based on careful investigation of the text.

Mit diesen beiden Werken [*Kojiki* und *Nihon Shoki*] faßte man früher noch ein drittes Geschichtswerk, das *Kujiki* [...] zusammen, aber wir haben dieses letztere Werk aus der Reihe der authentischen Quellen auszuschneiden, denn das echte, im Jahre 620 vom Prinzen Shōtoku-taishi verfaßte *Kujiki* ist 645 durch Feuer vernichtet worden, und das vorhandene gleichnamige Werk ist eine sehr viel später aufgemachte Fälschung, wenn es auch im einzelnen alte gute Materialien enthalten mag. Dagegen haben wir in die erste Gruppe als gleichwertig mit den beiden zuerst genannten Quellen das einbändige *Kogoshūi* [...] einzureihen. [...] Sein Verfasser, Hironari, ein hoher Shintōkultbeamter, hat es gewissermaßen als einen Nachtrag zum *Nihongi* zusammengestellt, wobei ihn die Absicht leitete, seiner Familie, einem der uralten Priestergeschlechter, wieder zu der einstmals besessenen maßgebenden Stellung im Shintōkult zu verhelfen. Es ist ein unschätzbare Beitrag zur Geschichte der inneren Entwicklung des Shintō zu Beginn der eigentlich historischen Zeit. [...] (Florenz 1919:vi)

Florenz criticized the Japanese native philologists, who studied myths as historical accounts, trying to find the truer (meaning mostly older) myth.

Offenbar haben wir mit zwei alten und deshalb wohl gleichwertigen Ueberlieferungen zu thun, und ich halte dafür, dass wir nicht berechtigt sind die eine oder die andere Version als falsch zu verwerfen oder wegzuzinterpretieren. Die japanische Mythologie weist auch abgesehen von diesem Falle [differences in the episode of creation of gods *kamiumi* 神産み] vielfache Verwirrungen und Widersprüche auf; sie entbehrt überhaupt einer festen planmäßigen Entwicklung. Welche reichere Mythologie der Erde wäre aber von solchen Defekten ganz frei? Reichtum an Varianten zeugt gerade von immer wieder thätiger mythischer Schöpfungskraft des Volkes, und nur der kann von ihnen unangenehm betroffen werden, welcher die Mythen mit geschichtlicher Wahrheit verwechselt und deshalb nach dem Grundsatz, dass die historische Wahrheit nur eine sein kann, sich immer nur für eine Fassung erklären, den anderen Fassungen aber als Fälschungen am Zeuge flicken will. (Florenz 1901:34)

Florenz perceived the mythological variations in Japanese ancient sources positively. The variations of particular mythological episodes in *Nihon shoki* was one of the reasons for his appreciation of it as mythological source material.

Vierliert aber so das *Jindai-ki* [*Age of gods* - first two volumes of *Nihon shoki*] an Form, so gewinnt es andererseits an Reichhaltigkeit des Stoffes, und die wissenschaftliche Forschung muß gerade für dieses verworrene Sammelsurium besonders dankbar sein. Es ist uns dadurch aus dem alten Ueberlieferungen vieles Wertvolle erhalten geblieben, was sonst bei besserer Durcharbeitung zweifellos verloren gegangen wäre. Ich kann mich schon deshalb der einseitigen Ueberschätzung des *Kojiki*, welche durch MOTOWORI [Motoori Norinaga] und seine Schule gegenüber dem *Nihongi* bei den Japanologen aufgekommen ist, nicht anschließen. Ich erkenne dabei keineswegs die Gefahren der Verdunkelung und Entstellung, welche durch die Tendenz des chinesisch geschriebenen *Nihongi*, ein Seitenstück zu den vorbildlichen chinesischen Geschichtswerken sein

zu wollen, heraufbeschworen werden. Aber Kenntnis der chinesischen Literatur ist im Allgemeinen ein ziemlich guter Schutz gegen Irreführung. (Florenz 1925a:270-271)

As mentioned earlier, Florenz did not see the sinization of *Nihon shoki's* text as a major flaw, and he thought he could identify borrowings from Chinese historical sources. Furthermore, he thought that text-criticism [Textkritik] and comparative mythology can be used to explain some of the variations in Japanese mythology. I have selected Florenz' treatment of the mythological creation of Sun-deity and Moon-deity to illustrate his approach:

Ich vermute, dass wir in der [...] mitgeteilten Erzählung von der Entstehung der Sonnengöttin und des Mondgottes die ursprüngliche japanische Sage besitzen, während wir in der hier [one of the variations of the *Nihon shoki's* main text, same as *Kojiki*] gegebenen Version vielleicht chinesischen Einfluss erkennen müssen, nämlich eine Anpassung an die Sage von P'an-ku. [...] An und für sich ist es natürlich nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Japaner eine ähnliche Sage von der Entstehung der Sonne und des Mondes hatten, ohne deshalb von den Chinesen geborgt haben zu müssen [...]. Aber die *Doppelform der Sage* scheint mir verdächtig. [...] Ausserdem handelt es sich ja keineswegs um Entlehnung der Sonnenlegende aus China, sondern nur um eventuelle Anähnlichung eines einzelnen Zuges aus der chinesischen Mythologie. (Florenz 1901:60-61)<sup>124</sup>

Aston, who translated the whole *Nihon shoki* in 1896, raises in his introduction similar points and regularly mentions the use of Florenz's translation. Aston's evaluation of Japanese ancient sources of myths is, overall, in unison with Florenz's, and he uses direct quotes from Florenz's work (Aston 1896a:xv).

#### 4.5.2.2 Florenz's criticism of native philology

The second object of Florenz's criticism are the etymologies of specific names and terms according to Japanese authors, which he sees as the evidence for the desolate condition of Japanese philology. Florenz considered, as the only reasonable method of inquiry into the etymology of Japanese, ancient names through the comparative linguistics with other kindred languages.

Ein offenes Wort sei mir in Sache der Etymologien, welche keinen unbeträchtlichen Raum in der vorliegenden Arbeit einnehmen, gestattet. Ich habe die feste Ueberzeugung, dass die bisherige Methode der Erklärung, mit der Absicht alles und jedes zu erklären und jedes Wort immer weiter in sinnbedeutende Elemente zu zerlegen, des Guten zu viel thut. [...] Die gegenwärtige japanische Sprachwissenschaft ist auf rein japanischer, mithin einseitiger Grundlage aufgebaut, und es kann daher billiger Weise kaum mehr von ihr verlangt werden, als sie in der That geleistet hat. Wenn ihre Leistungen auch nicht mit denen der Inder sich messen können, so bestehen sie doch mit Ruhm neben denen der meisten Völker, welche aus eigenem Zeuge schufen. Wie die moderne

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<sup>124</sup> See also Florenz 1919:140.

Indogermanistik in dem etymologischen Wirrwarr der einzelnen indogermanischen Sprachen nur durch Vergleichung der Idiome des ganzen Sprachgebietes Luft und Licht geschaffen hat, so ist eine wirklich zuverlässige, wissenschaftliche japanische Etymologie auch nur unter reichster Benutzung der Resultate aus einer Vergleichung des Japanischen mit seinen verwandten Sprachen denkbar. So lange uns diese Lichtquelle verschlossen ist, bleibt freilich weiter nichts übrig, als auf dem bisher betretenen Wege mit möglichster Umsicht, Vorsicht und Bedächtigkeit weiterzuschreiten. [...] (Florenz 1901:iii-iv)

According to Wachutka, Florenz was not able to directly apply the philological text-criticism he was trained in during his studies in Germany (Wachutka 2001:100). Florenz saw his main task as critical investigation of the etymologies supplied by native Japanese scholars.

[...] Die Aufgabe des europäischen Erklärers geht vorläufig im allgemeinen nicht viel weiter, als aus den Hypothesen der japanischen Philologen die wahrscheinlicheren auszuziehen. [...] (Florenz 1901:4)

Florenz voices the same concern with Japanese etymology in his last translation from 1919. Florenz's commentary from 1919 is more reserved and critical. In comparison with his earlier translation, Florenz renounces a lot of etymologies and mentions of his secondary sources through reference to the older annotated translation of 1901. He further avoids notes of a purely philological kind altogether.

[...] Als einen mich persönlich wenig befriedigenden Bestandteil meines Kommentars möchte ich die etymologischen Erklärungen, besonders die der alten Götternamen, bezeichnen. Die japanische Etymologie steht nämlich noch nicht auf der Höhe einer wirklichen Wissenschaft. Selbst die besten einheimischen Philologen sind auf diesem Gebiet nur unsicher tastende Dilettanten, und ein wesentlicher Fortschritt wird kaum zu erwarten sein, solange die japanische Worterklärungskunst auf einseitiger nationaler Grundlage fußen bleibt und nicht in der Lage ist, in der vergleichenden altaischen Sprachforschung eine zuverlässigere Basis zu gewinnen. Deshalb habe ich mich auch noch in dieser Arbeit ungern entschließen müssen, meistens in der herkömmlichen Weise zu etymologisieren, freilich mit möglichster Vorsicht und selbstverständlich unter Beobachtung der bekannten lautphysiologischen Gesetze. (Florenz 1919: viii)

Florenz struggled with Japanese philology throughout his academic career. More than 30 years after he began to study Japanese ancient textual sources, he still deemed his etymological commentary (based on native Japanese philological works) of ancient Japanese texts unsatisfactory. Nevertheless, Florenz was still able to produce very different results from the Japanese *kokugaku* scholars<sup>125</sup>.

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<sup>125</sup> For an analysis of interpretational differences between Florenz and his main Japanese secondary source *Nihon shoki tsūshaku* see Wachutka 2001, ch. 3.2.

### 4.5.3 Florenz's interpretation of Japanese myths

As I already stated, Florenz's first study of *Nihon shoki* freely drew upon Chamberlain's philological study of *Kojiki* as a source of political and social circumstances of ancient Japanese (Florenz 1889b:164-165). Chamberlain, and other introduced Japanologists, including Florenz, considered the mythological parts of *kiki* to be a valuable source of historical data, as well as their later volumes:

[...] In der Tat ist in den mythischen Erzählungen des japanischen Götterzeitalters weit mehr enthalten als bloße Mythe. Erinnerungen an wirkliche historische Vorgänge der Urzeit, wenn auch verschwommen, lassen sich hier und da entdecken und leidlich deuten, und ein ziemlich umfassendes, oft mit genauen Einzelheiten ausgestattetes Bild des Kulturzustandes der vorgeschichtlichen Japaner läßt sich aus den zerstreuten Angaben entnehmen und zeichnen. [...] Die uns überall in der japanischen Mythologie enggentretende Personifizierung der Naturkräfte ist ein Erzeugnis des festen Glaubens der Japaner an die Wesenhaftigkeit dieser Mächte [...] (Florenz 1925a:271-272).

Florenz's approach to Japanese mythology is similar to Chamberlain's. Florenz interpreted the Shinto deities as personifications of nature, and the mythological narration as perverted history, which contains valuable information on the cultural heritage [Kulturgut] of the ancient Japanese.

#### 4.5.3.1 Myths and the cultural heritage of ancient Japanese

Many of the points Florenz raises in annotations to his translations of Japanese myths (Florenz 1901, 1919), intersect with Aston's<sup>126</sup>, as for instance:

- the jewel spear of heaven *ameno nuhoko* 天沼矛, as an evidence of existence of phallic worship in ancient Japan (Florenz 1901:14, 1919:12)
- pillars *hashira* in the names of deities, as survival of earlier idol-worship of wooden posts (Florenz 1901:5-6, 1919:10)
- erection of nuptial hut and/or birthing hut after marriage, to prevent ritualistic pollution by child-birth (Florenz 1901:15, 1919:13-14)
- Izanagi's 伊邪那岐 lustrations after his visit of the underworld, by cleaning in water and comparison with other cultures (Florenz 1901:57, 1919:25-26)

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<sup>126</sup> In his preface to *Japanische Mythologie* Florenz states that, before he was able to publish it, Aston published his translation of the *Nihon shoki* (Aston 1896a, 1896b; Florenz 1901). Florenz further writes that although his translation was finished prior to Aston's publication, he went through it one more time (Florenz 1901:i).

- dance of Ame no uzume 天宇受売, as the origin of *kagura* dance in Shinto rituals and the ritualistic function of chanting numerals (Florenz 1901:189-190, 1919:155)

Florenz, however, made some original discoveries of ancient customs in Japanese mythology, such as:

- the custom of walking around a pillar, as a ritual of marriage celebration (possibly future central pillar of the nuptial hut) (Florenz 1901:15, 1919:13-14)
- nail-plucking, as a form of lustration (Florenz 1901:118, 1919:162)
- the custom of attaching a straw rope *shirikumenawa* 端出之縄 at the entrance of an abandoned cave, where somebody had died (Florenz 1901:102-103, 1919:40-41)

#### 4.5.3.2 Nature-cult as the original element of Shinto

Florenz describes Shinto in the primitive period, until the first half of 6th century AD, portrayed in *kiki* and ceremonial laws as a compound of two major elements - of a polytheistic nature worship and of an ancestor-worship. According to Florenz, the ancestor-worship became a dominant feature of the Shinto religion only after 5th century AD, when Japan was under a strong cultural influence of China. The parts of Japanese mythology dealing with genealogies are, according to Florenz, clearly of a younger creation, whilst the cult of nature-powers is the "original and purely Japanese" mythological element. (Florenz 1901:253, 1906a:191-192)

Florenz perceived the oldest deities of the Japanese mythological pantheon to be personified powers of nature. His unique interpretations of some deities and motifs of Japanese myths are in accordance with this theory:

- interpretation of the Floating Bridge of Heaven *ama no ukihashi* 天浮橋 as a rainbow (Florenz 1901:13, 1919:12-13)
- identification of Susanoo 須佐之男 as a storm god (Florenz 1901:29,319-320; 1919:29)<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> The interpretation of Susanoo as storm-deity was not Florenz's original idea. The connection between Susanoo and storm was first made by the American professor of comparative religion Edmund Buckley (1855-?). Buckley worked in Kyoto as teacher between 1886 and 1892, which coincides with both Aston's and Florenz's stay in Japan.



- possibility of interpretation of Hiruko as an earlier male sun-deity, which became a leech-child 蛭子 due to etymological misunderstanding (Florenz 1925a:286)<sup>128</sup>
- interpretation of the murder of food-deity Toyouke 豊受 by Susanoo, as the destruction of rice harvest by typhoon<sup>129</sup> (Florenz 1925a:289)

Florenz describes the Shinto pantheon of nature-powers, personified as anthropomorphic deities who act as ancient Japanese people:

Nach dem Muster des eigenen menschlichen Empfindens ist die ganze Natur beseelt aufgefaßt, und in den so geschaffenen Figuren der Götterwelt erkennen wir überall die allgemein menschliche Züge, besonders aber die des primitiven Japaners, mit seinen körperlichen, geistigen und sittlichen Eigenschaften. (Florenz 1925a:272)

Although Florenz did not address Japanese mythology in terms of stages of religious development, as did Aston, Florenz's conception of Japanese deities as anthropomorphic personifications of nature-powers is in unison with Aston's. Also, Florenz's assesment of the dominance of ancestor-worship in Shinto as a later development is in accordance with Aston's (Aston 1906:37; Florenz 1925a:296-297). Aston held Florenz and his investigations of Japanese mythology in high regard, and often mentions Florenz as his source. Aston later changed his translation of Susanoo as a "male of Susa"<sup>130</sup> to "impetuous male", in accordance with Florenz's theory of Susanoo being a storm-deity (Florenz 1901:319-320).

#### 4.5.3.3 The ethnological interpretations of myth

Florenz's most comprehensible assesment of Japanese mythology and its origin is to be found in his last article on Shinto, under the heading "Die Herkunft des Shintō":

Die anthropologischen Untersuchungen ERWIN BAELZ<sup>131</sup> haben dargetan, daß das japanische Volk ein Mischvolk ist, bei dem sich noch heute in der Zusammensetzung drei Haupttypen

<sup>128</sup> Most of Florenz's interpretation of Japanese nature deities and other mythological motifs including Susanoo as storm-deity and Floating Bridge of Heaven being a rainbow remain consistent in his works. His interpretation of Hiruko did change however. His initial translation of Hiruko as leech-child [Blutegel-Kind] only reproduces interpretations of this deity by the *kokugaku*-scholars (Florenz 1901:20). In his article from 1906 Florenz notes that Hiruko can be a star-deity without any further explanation (Florenz 1906a:194). In his final article on Japanese mythology from 1925 Florenz presents his theory of Hiruko being an older male sun-god, which mistakenly came to be rendered as leech-child (Florenz 1925a:286).

<sup>129</sup> Florenz made the interpretation of the myth of Toyouke's murder by Susanoo as the destruction of rice harvest by typhoon first time in 1925 (Florenz 1925a:289).

<sup>130</sup> Aston initially translated name of Susanoo as "a male of Susa" - Susa being a town in Izumo, a prehistoric centre of Shinto worship (Aston 1896a:19, 1899b:305).

<sup>131</sup> German physician and anthropologist Erwin Bälz (1849-1913)

unterscheiden lassen: der Typ der Ainu als derjenige der Ureinwohner Japans, der koreische oder mongolische Typ der vom nordasiatischen Kontinent über Korea eingewanderten, und der malayische Typ der aus dem südlichen Archipel nach Kyūshū und von da ostwärts eingedrungenen Stämme. Eine kritische Betrachtung der Mythologie unserer Urkunden läßt uns gleichfalls erkennen, daß darin Bestandteile verschiedener Herkunft vorliegen, deren eine Gruppe von den koreischen, die andere von den aus Süden kommenden Einwanderern beigesteuert worden ist. Ich unterschiebe daher, abgesehen von einem großen Bestande, der universalen Natur ist, im alten Shintō Elemente kontinentaler und ozeanischer Herkunft. (Florenz 1925a:269)

Florenz used comparative mythology and compared his results with what is known of the anthropology of the Japanese people. His conclusion was the same as Chamberlain's, that the Japanese mythology is, at least partly, of mixed origins. Furthermore, his investigations of both Shinto myths and rituals resulted in the discovery of the same three mythological circles, representing the early geopolitical centers of ancient Japan, as did Chamberlain before him:

Der alte Shintō ist, wie schon oben bemerkt, das Ergebnis der Verschmelzung der religiösen Anschauungen der kontinentalen und ozeanischen Einwanderer und einer darauf fußenden Weiterentwicklung. In der mythischen Erzählung wie im öffentlichen Kult ist das der erobernden und herrschenden Klasse Angehörige, das ozeanische Element, in den Vordergrund getreten; es ist aufgepflanzt worden auf die breite Unterschicht der religiösen Ueberlieferungen und Bräuche, welche vom Kontinent stammen, denen noch lange die Masse des gewöhnlichen Volkes huldigte, welche das Zentrum ihres geistlichen Widerstandes in Idzumo hatten. Hie Amaterasu, hie Susanowo [Susanoo] und Oh-kuni-nushi<sup>132</sup>. Der politische Antagonismus zwischen den Kyūshū-Stämmen, die den Kult der Sonnengöttin Amaterasu mitbrachten, und den Idzumo-Stämmen, hat mythologisch seine Verkörperung in dem Zwist zwischen Amaterasu und ihrem schabernackfrohen Bruder, dem Idzumo-Helden Susanowo, sowie zwischen deren Nachkommen gefunden. Auf Grund der Nennung von Oertlichkeiten in den mythischen Erzählungen können wir drei Mythen-Sagenkreise feststellen: den *Kyūshū*-, den *Idzumo*- und den *Yamato*- (späterer Hauptsitz der erobernden Stämme) Zyklus. (Florenz 1925a:269)

In contrast to Chamberlain, Florenz did not only correlate the anthropology of the Japanese people to the origins of Japanese mythology in general, but used it to interpret particular mythical episodes as well. One example is the antagonism of Amaterasu and Susanoo, mentioned above. The second is the heavenly descent of Amaterasu's grandson Ninigi in Kyushu:

NINIGI steigt herab, aber nicht nach Idzumo, wie man aus den vorhergehenden Erzählungen schließen sollte, sondern auf den Gipfel des Berges Takachiho in Himuka (Hyūga, Süd-Kyūshū). Die Erzählung greift also unbewußt in die Erinnerungen an die Ureinwanderung der Südstämme nach den südlichen Kyūshū zurück, und Ereignisse vorhistorischer Zeit, welche der Unterwerfung der Idzumo-Stämme lange vorhergegangen sind. (Florenz 1925a:283)

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<sup>132</sup> Ōkuninushi 大国主, Susanoo's mythical descendant

Similarly to both Chamberlain and Aston, Florenz applies both ethnological explanations of religious/cultural origin: 1) diffusionism; and 2) evolutionism. However, he was much more elaborate in his study of the first [diffusionism], in the form of tracing the imports of foreign mythological traditions in Japanese myths and rituals. The latter [evolutionism] finds expression only in comparisons of motifs with other cultures, which are to be found in annotations to his translations (Florenz 1901, 1919).

In the preface to his *Japanische Mythologie*, he expressed his regret that he did not possess enough books to do so in greater scope:

Vergleichungen mit Mythen anderer Völker sind in einer Reihe von Fällen herbeigezogen worden. Leider konnte es nicht in der wünschenswerten ausführlichen Masse geschehen, da mir nur eine sehr beschränkte Anzahl von Büchern aus der grossen Mythen- und Sagen-Litteratur hier zur Verfügung steht. (Florenz 1901:iii)

In the instances where Florenz makes a comparison with myths of other cultures, he draws his references from the same works as Aston:

- *The Night of the Gods* by John O'Neill (1837-1895), published in 1983
- *Custom and Myth* by Andrew Lang (1844-1912), published in 1884
- *Myth, Ritual and Religion* by Lang, published in 1887
- *Primitive Culture* by Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917), published 1871

#### 4.5.3.4 Relationship between myth and ritual

Florenz addresses the relationship between Japanese mythology and rituals as follows:

The origin of the ceremony of purification is ascribed by Japanese scholars, to two mythical occurrences related in chapters 10 and 17 of the Kojiki, and the corresponding passages of the Nihongi. It is hardly necessary to remind the critical student that, in point of fact, the two mythical occurrences are not the origin of the ceremony, but on the contrary the framing of the myths, presupposes the existence of the ceremony. [...] (Florenz 1899:49)

Florenz's evaluation of the relationship between myth and ritual is the same as Aston's. Both Aston and Florenz recognized *kiki* and *norito* as equally important sources for the study of ancient Shinto. In contrast to Aston, Florenz took an active interest in the Shinto rituals and his annotations to his translations of Japanese myths often includes ethnographical accounts of Shinto ceremonies and details from the ritual prayers *norito* (Florenz 1901, 1919)

In 1899 Florenz published his translation of the ritual prayer of the Great Purification *ōharae*. His translation appeared as the 4<sup>th</sup> part of the series "Ancient Japanese Rituals", originally started by Ernest Satow (Satow 1879a, 1879b, 1881), whom Florenz held in high regard. The motivation for his article was as follows:

In volumes VII and IX of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan *Sir Ernest Satow* has published an English translation, with commentary, of the NORITO, or Ancient Japanese Rituals. His three papers on this subject constitute one of the monumental works of Japanese philology. Unfortunately the learned author has not seen his way to give us more than the smaller moiety of the Rituals (nine out of twenty eight) which is the more regrettable as no abler hand could have undertaken the task. It is difficult for anybody, and rather bold, to continue a work begun by a Satow, for the inferiority of the continuation will be only too palpable. As the Norito belong, however, to the most important, interesting and beautiful products of Japanese literature, a reliable translation of all of them is an urgent necessity, and the present writer has therefore ventured to come forward and supply the omission. [...] (Florenz 1899:1)

Florenz's article is not just a translation of the ritual prayer. It contains a detailed introduction, which is structured in 11 chapters. In the last two chapters Florenz evaluates the theory that the transgressions, which necessitate purification as described in the *ōharae norito*, are the first source of criminal law and penal law in Japan. Florenz concludes that the rituals main purpose was the purification of the offender, and any consequences the offender had to bear in the course of the ritual were just effects of purification as follows:

It will therefore be safe to state that in the case of an individual Harahe, a punishment was indeed inflicted on the wrongdoer; but it was inflicted for the sake of the whole procedure of purification, not for the sake of the punishment of banishment as such. This procedure bore an entirely religious character, and had no other aim than to settle the account with the gods. We may therefore conclude that the Criminal Law of ancient Japan belonged to the category of the so-called, sacred Criminal Laws ("Sacrales Strafrecht"). (Florenz 1899:57-58).

While Aston simply described the offences of *ōharae* as ritual offences in contrast to the moral offences of the biblical Decalogue, Florenz struggled with how to categorize the offences in *ōharae norito*. He amended his initial view of these offences as sacred criminal laws, and described them in his later article as the only source of primitive ethics in Shinto (Florenz 1906a:194). In his last article on Shinto Florenz reversed his view, stating that the offences of *ōharae* are not ethical, but eudaemonistic (Florenz 1925a:330).

#### 4.5.4 Florenz and the future studies of Japanese mythology

In 1914, upon his return from Japan, Florenz became the first chair at the newly created Institute of Japanology at Hamburg University [then Kolonialinstitut Hamburg]. This Institute was the first established institution in Germany for the academic study of Japan. Florenz laid the grounds for this discipline and is recognized as the grounding father of German Japanology. Nelly Naumann, the most influential German scholar of Japanese mythology of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, stated that Florenz's works and results are, for the most part, still relevant to this day (N. Naumann 1985:44).

However, Florenz did not only influence the German scholars. As a professor at the Imperial University, Florenz was in contact with a lot of eager young impressionable Japanese students. Satō Masako, in her work, discovered intersections between Florenz's work with that of his Japanese contemporaries, including one of the Japanese pioneers of comparative mythology Takayama Chogyū [Rinjirō] 高山樗牛 (1871–1902). Furthermore, Satō suggests that Florenz and his *Japanische Mythologie* was one of the causes of the Susanoo-dispute in 1899<sup>133</sup>, which is widely recognized as the beginning of modern Japanese research on Japanese mythology. (Hirafuji 2013:75-76; Satō 1995:84-97)

Florenz' initial translation of *Kogo shūi* was followed by Katō Genchi's (1873-1965) translation into English in 1926, and the most recent translation was published in 2002 by John R. Bentley as part of his work titled *Historiographical trends in early Japan* (Bentley 2002; Florenz 1919; Katō and Hoshino 1926). Florenz was the first scholar to translate parts of *Kofudoki* to Western readers (Florenz 1901). The complete translation is from Aoki Michiko from 1997 (Aoki 1997).

## 5 Conclusion

In my thesis I introduced the main English and German-speaking pioneers of Japanese mythology. The grouping of Satow, Chamberlain and Aston is not new. As the founder of The Japan Society, Arthur Diosy (1856–1923), put it:

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<sup>133</sup> Although, *Japanische Mythologie* was first published in 1901, it was submitted as Florenz's doctoral thesis to the Imperial University in 1898 and Florenz was granted the Japanese degree in 1899. For more on the Susanoo-dispute see Satō 1995:84-97.

It may safely be said that there are no three men in the whole world who know more about the Japanese language, ancient and modern, about the literature, the history, the mythology, and the ethnography of Japan than these three men of science, Satow, Chamberlain, and Aston, who honour our Society by belonging to it and by taking a lively and active interest in its work. (anon. 1895:189-190)

If Florenz was a member of The Japan Society, Diosy would not be able to exclude him from his enumeration. During my inquiries into the life and work of these pioneers I found further reasons to include Florenz in my thesis. All 4 introduced pioneers were educated in linguistics and literature. All resided and worked in Japan for more than 20 years. All published in Asiatic journals and were considered authorities in the field by their contemporaries.

Most importantly, there existed some kind of continuity in their work - which can be traced in their selection of topics, translations, use of secondary Japanese sources and their approach to Japanese mythological texts, although they differed in their interpretations of many smaller issues. This continuity may have been partially caused by their personal acquaintance and friendship, but I think the primary causes were their academic achievements in this emerging discipline and the high regard they had for each other's work.

### **Continuity in translating Japanese mythology**

Satow translated *norito* (Satow 1879a, 1879b, 1881), Chamberlain *Kojiki* (Chamberlain 1883b), Aston *Nihon shoki* (Aston 1896a, 1896b) and Florenz *Kogo shūi* and *Kofudoki* (Florenz 1901, 1919). Florenz also translated parts of *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki* and intended to translate the whole *Nihon shoki*, had Aston not been faster. Nevertheless, Aston clearly drew from Florenz research. Furthermore, Florenz succeeded both Satow, in translating *norito* (and even styled it as a part of the same series), and Chamberlain in his study of *Kokinshū* (Florenz 1925b).

### **Continuity in their work with Japanese secondary sources**

After Satow's initial inquiry into Japanese mythology and the *kokugaku* scholarship (Satow 1875b, 1879a, 1879b, 1881), his work became the stepping stone for both Chamberlain and Aston. More so in Aston's case because, as I previously mentioned, Satow gifted Aston a great part of his book collection on Japan to accommodate his studies after he retired in England. Both Chamberlain and Aston started their inquiries by studying the works of Norinaga and Atsutane.

Florenz, although, having the access to the newest scholarship, did not omit the works of earlier *kokugaku* scholars.

Japanese *kokugaku* scholarship and Western scholarship had some superficial common points. Both used philology to elucidate the ancient narratives, and both layed emphasis on the etymology of names of gods. These common points seemingly predestined the *kokugaku* scholarship to be used by the Western pioneers. The motivation behind the inquiry into Japanese myths by the *kokugaku* scholars and by the pioneer Japanologist was, however, quite different. While *kokugaku* scholars attempted to discover the origin of the uniquely Japanese cultural tradition, the Western Japanologists were rather interested in the origin of religion and mythology at large. Furthermore, the Western philology was grounded in comparative linguistics, whilst the Japanese philology was based solely on inquiry into Japanese sources. All of the pioneers, and especially Florenz, therefore, struggled with the Japanese philology and etymologies throughout their academic career.

### **Continuity in their approach to Japanese mythology**

Although Satow's interpretation of origin of sun-worship is derived from the works of Herbert Spencer, whom both Chamberlain and Aston often critized, both of them build upon Satow's works. Satow's proposed approach to Shinto and the two possible venues to its study, by inquiring into its 1) mythology; or 2) rites, was recognized by all other introduced Japanologists. His initial studies of *norito* set the grounds for the future mythological studies and their form (Satow 1879a, 1879b, 1881). Satow's inquiries of ancient Japanese customs, such as the ritual use of fire-drill and shoulder-blade divination, were adopted in works of all introduced pioneers.

Chamberlain was the first to recognize mythological material as a source of historical data about the social and political organization of Japan (Chamberlain 1883b). Both Aston and Florenz's articles freely draw upon Chamberlain's study (Aston 1895a; Florenz 1889b). Furthermore, Chamberlain was the first Japanologist to recognize prehistoric imports from continental Asia, which was recognized in the works of both Aston and Florenz. Chamberlain's concept of the mixed nature of Japanese mythology was further developed by Florenz in his works (Florenz 1906a, 1925a).

Aston's own considerations of ancient Japanese traditions from his translation of *Nihon shoki*'s *Age of gods* were adopted in Florenz's translations (Aston 1896a, 1896b; Florenz 1901, 1919). Also, Aston's theory of religious development found expression in Florenz's work (Aston 1905; Florenz 1925a). In turn Aston adopted, almost without alteration, Florenz's assesment of Japanese primary sources [Florenz translated parts of *Nihon shoki* prior to Aston] (Aston 1896a, 1896b; Florenz 1892). In this way each of the introduced pioneers built upon the works of his predecessors, not unlike their Japanese counterparts.

### **Anglo-Germanic school of Japanese mythology studies**

The continuity in the works of the introduced pioneer Japanologists speaks for the existence of what could be called the Anglo-Germanic school of Japanese mythology studies, which began with Satow and continued until Florenz. The main common underlying notions inherent in works of its representants are also characteristic for the Western scholarship in the 19th century, such as:

- the search for the origin of religion [anthropology of religion]
- comparative approach
- ethnological interpretation of the origins of culture/religion

The Anglo-Germanic school of Japanese mythology studies further repeated the development of this discipline in Europe. After the initial enthusiastic adoption of Spencer's theories of unilineal evolutionism by Satow, we can trace gradually growing skepticism towards its overly simplistic theories and methodology in the works of his successors.

### **Implications for the modern Japanese mythological research**

As I previously mentioned, the concept of mythology originated in the West and did not exist in Japan prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Japanese term for myth, *shinwa* 神話, is believed to have come into use after 1900. The time of inception of the mythological scholarship in Japan coincides with the time of Chamberlain's, Aston's and Florenz's academic careers during their Japanese residencies. It seems very plausible, therefore, that they contributed to it in some way, especially Chamberlain and Florenz, who worked as teachers at the Imperial University in Edo surrounded by young impressionable students of comparative linguistics.



With the exception of Satō Masako's work on Florenz and his influence on the development of modern academic disciplines in Japan (Satō 1995), there are no works that address this highly interesting issue. This work can also be seen as the groundwork for the future study of the role these pioneers may have played at the beginning of Japanese mythological scholarship.

## Appendix

### A. Chronological list of Ernest Satow's works

Year	Title	Publication type	Published in journal/encyclopedia
1864	A Correspondent at Yokohama [Particulars relative to the execution of the two Japanese suspected of having been implicated in the murder of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird]	Journal article	The North China Herald
1865	Japanese Account of the Expedition to Simonoseki	Journal article	The Japan Commercial News
1865	The Various Styles of Japanese Writing	Journal article	The Chinese and Japanese Repository
1865	Report of the Trial of the Ronin Shimidzoo Seiji	Journal article	The Japan Herald
1865	Diary of a Member of the Japanese Embassy to Europe in 1862-63	Journal article	The Chinese and Japanese Repository, The Japan Times
1865	The Fall of the City of Chinkiang-fu	Journal article	The Chinese and Japanese Repository
1865	At H.B.M.'s Consulate	Journal article	The Japan Herald
1865	In H.B.M.'s Consulate Court	Journal article	The Japan Herald
1865	Notifications	Journal article	The Japan Herald
1866	[English Policy]	Journal article	The Japan Times
1867	Arrangements for the Establishment of Foreign Settlements at the Port of Hiogo and at Osaka	Journal article	The Daily Japan Herald
1867	The Osaka Convention	Journal article	The Japan Times
1868	Memorial of Okubo Ichizo of the Satsuma Clan	Journal article	The Japan Herald
1870	The Ainos of Yezo	Journal article	The Phoenix
1871	An Episode in Japanese History	Journal article	The Phoenix
1871	The Abolition of the Feudal System in Japan	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1871	Review: A Short Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language, by W.G. Aston	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1871-1872	The History of the Hojo Family: A Fragment from the Nihon Gwaishi of Rai Sanyo	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail

1872	Japanese History, Translated from the Original Chinese. Nihon Gwaishi: Earlier History of the Minamoto Family	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1872	Nihon Gwaishi: Actual History of the Minamoto Family	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1872	Travel in the Interior (About Fuji; Hakone - Atami)	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1872	Travel in the Interior: Yedo to Nikko and Back	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1872	[Review of] A Grammar of the Japanese Written Language, with a Short Chrestomathy, by W. G. Aston	Journal article	The Athenaeum
1873	Notes of Travel: From Kioto to Yedo by the Nakasendo	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1873	Notes of Travel: The Tama Gawa Valley	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1873	Kuaiwa Hen: Twenty-five Exercises in the Yedo Colloquial, for the Use of Students, with Notes	Book	
1873	Notes of Travel: Oyama and Its Neighbourhood	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1873	Kinse shiryaku	Book	
1874	Notes on Loochoo	Journal article	TASJ
1874	The Geography of Japan	Journal article	TASJ
1874	Mr. Lowder's Historical Accuracy	Journal article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1874	Japanese chronological tables	Book	
1874	The Shiñ-tau Temples of Ise	Journal article	TASJ
1874	Language and Literature of Japan	Encyclopedia article	The American Cyclopaedia
1875	The Revival of Pure Shiñ-tau	Journal article	TASJ
1875	A Guide Book to Nikko	Book	
1875	An English-Japanese Dictionary of the Spoken Language	Book	
1878	[Observations upon the Causes Which Led to the Downfall of the Christian Mission in Japan]	Journal article	
1878	The Introduction of Tobacco into Japan	Journal article	TASJ
1878	The Korean Potters in Satsuma	Journal article	TASJ
1878	The Use of the Fire-Drill in Japan	Journal article	TASJ
1878	Notes of a visit to Hachijō in 1878	Journal article	TASJ
1878	The Climate of Japan	Journal article	TASJ
1878	The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese	Journal article	The Westminster review

1879	Ancient Japanese Rituals	Journal article	TASJ
1879	Ancient Japanese Rituals, Part II	Journal article	TASJ
1879	Vicissitudes of the Church at Yamaguchi from 1550 to 1586	Journal article	TASJ
1879	Correspondence: Messrs. Satow and Ishibashi's Dictionary	Journal article	Tokio Times
1879	On the Transliteration of the Japanese Syllabary	Journal article	TASJ
1880	Reply to Dr. Edkins on "Chi" and "Tsu"	Journal article	TASJ
1880	Ancient Sepulchral Mounds in Kaudzuke	Journal article	TASJ
1881	A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan	Book	
1881	[Review of] Handbook of English-Japanese Etymology, by William Imbrie	Journal article	The Chrysanthemum
1881	Ancient Japanese Rituals, Part III	Journal article	TASJ
1882	A Sanskrit MS	Journal article	The Chrysanthemum
1882	Notes on Dr. Edkins' Paper "A Chinese-Japanese Vocabulary of the Fifteenth Century	Journal article	TASJ
1882	On the Early History of Printing in Japan	Journal article	TASJ
1882	Further Notes on Movable Types in Korea and Early Japanese Printed Books	Journal article	TASJ
1884	List of Korean Geographical Names, Forming an Index to the Map of Korea	Book	
1885	Notes on the Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the Seventeenth Century	Journal article	TASJ
1886	Essay towards a Bibliography of Siam	Book	
1888	The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan	Book	
1890	The Origin of Spanish and Portuguese Rivalry in Japan	Journal article	TASJ
1892	The Laos States, Upper Siam'	Journal article	Journal of the Society of arts
1892	Visit to the Ruins of Sukkhotai and Sawankhalok, Siam	Journal article	Journal of the Society of arts
1894	History of the Introduction of Buddhism into Japan	Journal article	Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India
1894	Life of Buddha	Journal article	Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India
1899	The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan	Journal article	TASJ
1899	The Cultivation of Bamboos in Japan	Journal article	TASJ
1900	The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan	Book	

1905	Japan, 1853-1864, or Genji Yume Monogatari	Book	
1907	Preface to The Chinese Empire: A General and Missionary Survey, by Marshall Broomhall	Article in collective volume	
1908	An Austrian Diplomatist in the Fifties: The Rede Lecture Delivered in the Cambridge Senate-House on June 13, 1908	Book*	
1909	The Far East, 1815-71	Article in collective volume	
1909	Preface to Saint Theresa: The History of Her Foundations, trans. Sister Agnes Mason	Preface	
1909	The Foundation of the Third Republic	Journal article	The Quarterly Review
1910	Notices of Books: Dictionnaire des formes cursives des caracteres chinois, par Stanislas Millot	Journal article	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
1911	The Immunity of Private Property at Sea	Journal article	The Quarterly Review
1912	Letter in An Episode from the Life of Count Inouye, by K. Tsudzuki	Letter	
1912	A Monster Dragon	Translation in a textbook	Specimens of English Translation from Eminent Writers
1913	Private Property at Sea in Time of War: A Reply to Lord Avebury'	Journal article	The Nineteenth Century and After
1915	The Silesian Load and Frederick the Great	Book	
1915	The Treatment of Enemy Aliens'	Journal article	The Quarterly Review
1917	Germany's Violations of International Law'	Journal article	The New East
1917	A Guide to Diplomatic Practice	Book	
1918	The "Freedom of the Seas"	Journal article	The New East
1920	International Congresses, Handbooks Prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office	Article in collective volume	
1921	The Reorganisation of Europe'	Journal article	The Quarterly Review
1921	A Diplomat in Japan	Book	
1923	Peacemaking, Old and New'	Journal article	The Cambridge Historical Journal
1925	Pacta sunt servanda or International Guarantee'	Journal article	The Cambridge Historical Journal

1925	The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle'	Journal article	The Cambridge Historical Journal
1927	Donald James Mackay'	Encyclopedia article	The Dictionary of National Biography

\*I treat this separately printed lecture as a book.

The source for my analysis were the reprints of Satow's works by Ganesha (Satow 1998, 2001).

## B. Satow's bibliography in numbers

### Overview of Ernest Satow's publications

Time period	Publication type								
	Articles					Books			
	journal articles	encyclopedia articles	articles in collective volume	other articles*	articles TOTAL	dictionaries	travel guides	other	books TOTAL
1864-1883: First stay in Japan	51	1	0	0	52	1	2	3	6
1884-1906: Travels	8	0	0	0	8	0	0	5	5
1906-1929: Retirement	11	1	3	3	18	0	0	4	4
TOTAL	70	2	3	3	78	1	2	12	15

\* Other articles include a preface, letter and a translation in a textbook.

### Overview of journals in which Ernest Satow published articles

Publication journal	Time period			
	1864-1883	1884-1906	1906-1929	TOTAL
The North China Herald	1			1
The Japan Commercial News	1			1
The Chinese and Japanese* Repository	3			3
The Japan Herald	5			5
The Japan Times*	3			3
The Daily Japan Herald	1			1
The Phoenix	2			2
The Japan Weekly Mail	12			12
The Athenaeum	1			1
TASJ	19	4		23
The Westminster review	1			1
Tokio Times	1			1
The Chrysanthemum	2			2
Journal of the Society of Arts		2		2
Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India		2		2
The Quarterly Review			4	4
The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland			1	1
The Nineteenth Century and After			1	1
The New East			2	2
The Cambridge Historical Journal			3	3

\* 1 article was published both in The Chinese and Japanese Repository and The Japan Times

### C. Chronological list of Basil Hall Chamberlain's works

Year	Title	Publication type	Published in journal/encyclopedia
1876	Jitsu-go-kiyo (The teachings of the words of thruth)	Journal Article	Cornhill magazine
1876	The Death-stone : a Lyric Drama from the Japanese	Journal Article	Cornhill magazine
1877	On the use of " Pillow-words " and " Plays upon words " in Japanese poetry	Journal Article	TASJ
1877	Japanese Miniature Odes	Journal Article	Cornhill magazine
1877	[without title]	Poem in Anthology	<i>Meiji kashū</i>
1878	The Maiden of Unai	Journal Article	TASJ
1878	On the mediaeval colloquial dialect of the comedies	Journal Article	TASJ
1878	Educational literature for Japanese women	Journal Article	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland
1879	Wasaubiyauwe, the Japanese Gulliver	Journal Article	TASJ
1880	The classical poetry of the Japanese	Book	
1880	[without title]	Poem in Anthology	<i>Meiji kaika wakashū</i>
1880	A short memoir from the seventeenth century	Journal Article	TASJ
1880	Suggestions for a Japanese rendering of the psalms	Journal Article	TASJ
1881	Notes on the dialect spoken in Ahidzu	Journal Article	TASJ
1881	A translation of the " Dou-zhi-keu "	Journal Article	TASJ
1882	" Ko-ji-ki, " or " Records of ancient matters "	Book	
1882	The "Kojiki", resume of a paper	Journal Article	The Chrysanthemum
1882	The Emperor Yuriaku and the Old Woman Akaiko	Journal Article	The Chrysanthemum
1883	Notes on Japanese philology	Journal Article	The Chrysanthemum
1883	On two questions of Japanese archaeology	Journal Article	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland
1883	Vries island (Oshima) past and present	Journal Article	TASJ
1884	Notes by Motoori on the Japanese and Chinese art	Journal Article	TASJ
1885	The romanization of the Japanese language	Journal Article	China review



1885	On the various styles used in Japanese literature	Journal Article	TASJ
1885	The so-called " Root " in Japanese verbs	Journal Article	TASJ
1885	<i>Chamberlain shi no uta</i>	Poem in Journal	<i>Romaji zasshi</i>
1886	The fisher boy Urashima	Book	
1886	The serpent with eight heads	Book	
1886	Past participle or gerund? : a point of grammatical terminology	Journal Article	TASJ
1886	A romanized Japanese reader, consisting of Japanese anecdotes, maxims, etc., in easy written style : with an English translation and notes.	Book	
1886	A simplified grammar of the Japanese language	Book	
1886	<i>Eikoku koshi Plunkett kun no enzetsu</i>	Journal Article	<i>Romaji zasshi</i>
1886	Did the so-called " Age-of-God Characters " really exist?	Journal Article	<i>Toyo gakugei zasshi</i>
1886	<i>Kisa go tami no hanashi</i>	Journal Article	<i>Romaji zasshi</i>
1886	<i>A proposal on the reform of the method rendering the Chinese texts into Japanese</i>	Journal Article	<i>Toyo gakugei zasshi</i>
1887	On the quasi-characters called " Yajirushi "	Journal Article	TASJ
1887	The silly jelly-fish	Book	
1887	My Lord Bag-O'-Rice	Book	
1887	Aino Fairy Tales no. 1: The hunter in fairy land.	Book	
1887	Aino Fairy Tales no. 2: The birds party	Book	
1887	An Aino bear hunt	Journal Article	TASJ
1887	The language, mythology, and geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino studies.	Book	
1887	<i>Nihon rekishi wa kaki-naosahi wo yosu</i>	Journal Article	<i>Romaji zasshi</i>
1887	Elements of Japanese grammar	Book	
1887	<i>Gem-bun itchi</i>	Journal Article	<i>Romaji zasshi</i>
1887	<i>Ezogo to nihongo no kankei</i>	Journal Article	<i>Toyo gakugei zasshi</i>
1887	Mr. Henry Norman on the shortcomings of the Yokohama community	Journal Article	The Japan Weekly Mail
1888	Rodriguez system transliteration	Journal Article	TASJ
1888	Reply to Mr. Batchelor on the words " Kamui " & " Aino "	Journal Article	TASJ
1888	A handbook of colloquial Japanese	Book	
1888	Aino folk-lore	Journal Article	Folk-lore journal

1888	Notes on the Japanese Go-Hei, or Paper offerings to the Shinto gods	Journal Article	Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland
1888	A vocabulary of the most ancient words of the Japanese language	Journal Article	TASJ
1888	" [Preface] ". Brief history of dance and music	Preface	
1889	Concerning Mr. Naka's opinion on the ancient chronology of Japan	Journal Article	<i>Bun</i>
1889	Aino Fairy Tales no. 3: The man who lost his wife	Book	
1889	A review of Mr. Satow's monograph on " The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan 1591-1610 "	Journal Article	TASJ
1889	Japanese fairy tales : vol.3 no.13-18	Book	
1890	What are the best names of the " bases " of Japanese verbs?	Journal Article	TASJ
1890	Things Japanese, being notes on various subjects connected with Japan	Book	
1890	Japanese story translated into English. from the Island of Yezo	Journal Article	Newsberry House magazine
1891	A handbook for travellers in Japan	Book	
1892	Notes on some minor Japanese religious practices	Journal Article	Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland
1893	On the manners and customs of the Loochooans	Journal Article	TASJ
1894	The land of perennial life	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	The great learning for women	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	A cure for the theft	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	Ryoshu's picture of Fudo	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	Orchids	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	[ <i>Waka eiyaku</i> ]	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	<i>Iroha renji</i>	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	Extract from the Yamato monogatari	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	Comparing beauty	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	Elegy on the death of the Mikado Tenji	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	On the Loochooan language	Journal Article	Report of the 64th meeting of British Association for the Advancement of Science
1894	The robe of feathers	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	[ <i>Waka eiyaku</i> ]	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	Ribs and skin	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1894	A hint as to how to serve a master	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1895	The Luchu Islands & their inhabitants	Journal Article	Geographical journal

1895	Two funeral urns from Loochoo	Journal Article	Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland
1895	A Comparison of the Japanese and the Luchuan language	Journal Article	TASJ
1895	Essay in aid of a grammar and dictionary of the Luchuan language	Journal Article	TASJ
1895	A frontier soldier's regrets of leaving home	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1895	The death-stone	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1895	Teaching for the young	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1895	Records of ancient matters	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1895	[ <i>Waka eiya</i> ]	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1895	A frontier soldier's regrets of leaving home	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1896	Contributions to a bibliography of Luchu	Journal Article	TASJ
1896	Nakamitsu	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1896	A blunder in a comic stanza	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1897	A preliminary notice of the Luchuan language	Journal Article	Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland
1897	How a poem cured dissolute habits	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1897	[ <i>Waka eiya</i> ]	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1898	A quinary system of notation employed on the wooden tallies termed Sho-Chu-Ma	Journal Article	Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland
1899	Notes on a long-tailed breed of fowls in Tosa	Journal Article	TASJ
1899	A practical introduction to the study of Japanese writing	Book	
1899	[Preface]	Journal Article	<i>Nihongogaku</i>
1899	<i>Romaji shin tsuzurikata hantai iken</i>	Journal Article	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>
1900	<i>Romaji gaki ni taisuru Monbusho he no kengisho</i>	Journal Article	<i>Gengogaku zasshi</i>
1902	Basho and the Japanese poetical epigram	Journal Article	TASJ
1902	On the study of Japanese language	Book	
1904	On Japanese short poem. by the courtesy of Mr. Sasaki.	Journal Article	<i>Teikoku bungaku</i>
1906	Japanese poetical epigrams	Journal Article	<i>Eibun shinshi</i>
1911	Memories of Lafcadio Hearn	Poem in Journal	<i>Kokoro no hana</i>
1912	The invention of a new religion	Book	
1912	<i>Zeneba kohan yori</i>	Poem in Journal	<i>Kokoro no hana</i>
1912	[1 Japanese poem from "Kokinshū"]	Journal Article	<i>Eigo no nihon</i>

1912	[Hints to women, Maxims for daily dudance, The centipede and the snake, Portrait painting, ... ]	Translations in a textbook	
1927	Les rimes impérissables: huit siècles de poésie française	Book	
1933	Encore est vive la souris : pensées et réflexions	Book	

\* not published anywhere until 1948.

The source for my analysis of Chamberlain's academic work is his bibliography published online by Aichi University of Education Library ("Works by B.H. Chamberlain" 2014). I excluded some of Chamberlain's publications, which are listed in the biography. I excluded two pieces of personal correspondence "[Preface]" of *Shin yokyoku hyakuban* and "[2 postcards addressed to Isoo Yamagata and Masanao Sekine]". I excluded the following works, because the publication does not mention Chamberlain and the website (Aichi University of Education Library 2014) fails to mention its sources for the inclusion of these works as well as the scope of Chamberlain's contribution: *Elements of English grammar*, *Directions for the pronunciation of English*, *An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary and grammar* by John Batchelor (1855-1944), *The Monbusho conversational readers* and "The national cult in Japan: a roman catholic study of its opposition to evangelization". I excluded following reprints of Chamberlain's publications, which are listed as new works: *Aino folk-tales* [with introduction by Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917)], *Japanese fairy tales* and *Japanese poetry*. I further excluded "[Literature and history, the lack of idealism, no real reaction, the old way in Japan, the person dies, the house lives]" in *Dux Christus: an outline study of Japan* by William Elliot Griffis (1843-1928), because the mentioned passages are literal quotes from other works previously published by Chamberlain. I also excluded the alleged reprint of the article "On two questions of Japanese archaeology" from 1888. This article should have been according to the bibliography published in 1883 as well as 1888 by the *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. However, I could not find any reprint of this article in mentioned journal from 1888. I also excluded all articles included in this bibliography which were posthumously published as a part of Japanese works on Chamberlain. These articles consist of Chamberlain's personal correspondence and memoirs, which he did not intend to publish.

## D. Chamberlain's bibliography in numbers

### Overview of Basil Hall Chamberlain's publications

Time period	Publication type								
	Articles			Books					Poems
	journal articles	other articles*	articles TOTAL	language study guides	travel guides	fairy tales collections	other	books TOTAL	in journals/ anthologies
1873-1890: Residency in Japan	41	1	42	5	0	8	3	16	3
1891-1911: Travels	41	0	41	2	1	0	0	3	1
1912-1935: Retirement	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	3	1
TOTAL	83	2	85	7	1	8	6	22	5

\* Other articles include a preface to a book and few translations in a textbook.

### Overview of journals in which Basil Hall Chamberlain published articles

Publication journal		Time period			
		1873-1890	1891-1911	1912-1935	TOTAL
Western Journals	Cornhill magazine	3			3
	TASJ	20	6		26
	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland	2			2
	The Chrysanthemum	3			3
	China Review	1			1
	The Japan Weekly Mail	1			1
	Folk-lore Journal	1			1
	Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland	1	4		5
	Newsberry House Magazine	1			1
	Report of the 64th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science		1		1
	Geographical Journal		1		1
Japanese Journals	<i>Romaji zasshi</i>	4			4
	<i>Toyo gakuei zasshi</i>	3			3
	<i>Bun</i>	1			1
	<i>Nihon eigaku shinshi</i>		25		25
	<i>Nihongogaku</i>		1		1
	<i>Gengogaku zasshi</i>		1		1
	<i>Teikoku bungaku</i>			1	1
	<i>Eibun shinshi</i>			1	1
	<i>Eigo no nihon</i>			1	1

## E. Chronological list of William George Aston's works

Year	Title	Publication type	Published in journal/encyclopedia
1871	A Short Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language	Book	
1872	Remarks on Commerce by Kato Sukeichi	Journal article	The Phoenix
1872	Japan	Journal article	Macmillan's Magazine
1872	A Grammar of the Japanese Written Language, with a short chrestomathy	Book	
1874	Russian Descents in Saghalien and Itorup in the Years 1806 & 1807	Journal article	TASJ
1874	Has Japanese an Affinity with Aryan languages	Journal article	TASJ
1875	An Ancient Japanese Classic: The Tosa Nikki or Tosa Diary'	Journal article	TASJ
1877	A Grammar of the Japanese Written Language	Book	
1878	Hideyoshi's Invasion of Korea	Journal article	TASJ
1879	H.M.S. ``Phaeton" at Nagasaki in 1808	Journal article	TASJ
1879	A Comparative Study of the Japanese and Korean Languages	Journal article	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
1879	Memorandum on the Loochooan and Aino Languages	Journal article	The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record
1880	Proposed Arrangement of the Korean Alphabet	Journal article	TASJ
1888	A Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language	Book	
1889	Early Japanese History	Journal article	TASJ
1889	A Literary Lady of Old Japan	Journal article	TASJ
1889	The Particle Ne	Journal article	TASJ
1890	Corean Popular Literature	Journal article	TASJ
1890	Adventures of a Japanese Sailor in the Malay Archipelago, A.D. 1764 to 1771	Journal article	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
1891	Note in Reply to Mr. E. H. Parker	Journal article	TASJ
1892	Observations on Dr. Tsuboi's Discovery of Artificial Caves in Japan	Journal article	The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review
1893	Correspondance: Messrs. Hoffmann and Serrurier's Japanese Dictionary	Journal article	T'oung Pao
1894	The ``Hi no Maru," or National Flag of Japan	Journal article	TASJ

1894	Japanese Onomatopes and the Origin of Language	Journal article	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
1895	The Onmun: When Invented?	Journal article	TASJ
1895	Writing, Printing, and the Alphabet in Corea	Journal article	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
1895	The Family and Relationships in Ancient Japan (Prior to A.D. 1000)	Journal article	Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society
1896	Nihongi: Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697	Book	
1899	Toriwi: Its Derivation	Journal article	TASJ
1899	Japanese Myth	Journal article	Folk-Lore
1899	A History of Japanese Literature	Book	
1900	Chhoi-chhung: A Corean Marchen	Journal article	TASJ
1900	The Classical Literature of Japan	Journal article	Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society
1901	The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao	Journal article	The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
1902	Gohei and Inao	Journal article	MAN a Monthly Record of Athnropological Science
1902	Kæmpfer as an Authority on Shinto	Journal article	MAN a Monthly Record of Athnropological Science
1902	Fukuzawa Yukichi, Author and Schoolmaster	Journal article	Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society
1905	Shinto: the way of gods	Book	
1906	Ancestor-worship in Japan	Journal article	MAN a Monthly Record of Athnropological Science
1907	Shinto, the ancient Religion in Japan	Book	
1908	Shinto	Journal article	Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society
1908	A Japanese Book of Divination	Journal article	MAN a Monthly Record of Athnropological Science
1908	Abandonment and Exposure (Japanese)	Encyclopedia article	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
1908	Adoption [Japanese]	Encyclopedia article	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
1908	Altar [Japanese]	Encyclopedia article	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
1908	Architecture [Shinto]	Encyclopedia article	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
1908	Art [Shinto]	Encyclopedia article	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics



1909	The Incest Tabu	Journal article	MAN a Monthly Record of Atnthropological Science
1909	Correspondance: To the Editor of T'oung-pao	Journal article	T'oung Pao
1909	Are the Norito Magical Formulae?	Journal article	T'oung Pao
1911	Crimes and Punishments	Encyclopedia article	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
1911	Takamagahara	Journal article	TASJ
1912	Sacrifice in Shinto	Journal article	MAN a Monthly Record of Atnthropological Science
1912	Japanese Magic	Journal article	Folk-Lore
1912	Fetishism [Introductory]	Encyclopedia article	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics
1920	Shinto	Encyclopedia article	Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics

The source for my analysis was the reprint of Aston's works by Ganesha (Aston 1997).

## F. Aston's bibliography in numbers

### Overview of William George Aston's publications

Time period	Publication type					
	Articles			Books		
	journal articles	encyclopedia articles	articles TOTAL	grammar books	other publications	books TOTAL
1871-1889: Stay in Japan	13	0	13	4	0	4
1890-1911: Retirement	27	8	35	0	4	4
TOTAL	40	8	48	4	4	8

### Overview of journals in which William George Aston published articles

Publication journal	Time period		
	1871-1889	1890-1911	TOTAL
The Phoenix	1		1
Macmillan's Magazine	1		1
TASJ	9	7	16
The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland	1	3	4
The Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record	1		1
The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review		1	1
T'oung Pao		3	3
Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society		4	4
Folk-Lore		2	2
The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland		1	1
MAN a Monthly Record of Anthropological Science		6	6

## G. Chronological list of Karl Florenz's works

Year	Title	Publication type	Published in journal/encyclopedia
1888	Beiträge zur chinesischen Poesie, in metrischen Uebertragungen, mit Einleitung, Commentaren und Originaltexten	Journal article	MOAG
1889	Die staatliche und gesellschaftliche Organisation im alten Japan	Journal article	MOAG
1891	Zur japanischen Literatur der Gegenwart	Journal article	MOAG
1891	Zur Alliteration in der Japanischen Poesie	Journal article	MOAG
1892	Zur Psychologie des japanischen Witzes	Journal article	MOAG
1892	Nihongi Buch 22-24	Supplement fascicle	MOAG
1894	Nihongi Buch 25-26	Supplement fascicle	MOAG
1894	Dichtergrüsse aus dem Osten	Book	
1895	Nihongi Buch 27-28	Supplement fascicle	MOAG
1895	Nihon shika no seishin to Oshu shika no seishin tono hikakko [Vergleichende Studie über den Geist japanischer Dichtung und europäischer Dichtung]	Journal article	Teikoku Bungaku
1895	Japanische Dichtungen. Weissaster. Ein Romantisches Epos, Nebst Anderen Gedichten, Frei Nachgebildet	Book	
1896	Bunte Blätter japanischer Poesie.	Book	
1896	Japanische Märchen, verdeutscht	Book	
1896	Nihongi Buch 29	Supplement fascicle	MOAG
1897	Nihongi Buch 30	Supplement fascicle	MOAG
1898	Bemerkungen und Berichtigungen zu Lange's Einführung in die Japanische Schrift	Journal article	MOAG
1898	Formosanische Volkslieder. Nach chinesischen Quellen	Journal article	MOAG
1899	Kritische Betrachtungen zu den "Bemerkungen und Berichtigungen." von Prof. Dr. R. Lange	Journal article	MOAG
1899	Ancient Japanese Rituals. Part IV	Journal article	TASJ
1900	Japanische Dramen Terakoya und Asagao	Book	
1901	Neue Bewegungen zur japanischen Schriftreform. Mit Lautphysiologischen Exkursen.	Journal article	MOAG

1901	Japanische Mythologie	Book	
1902	Die Bedeutung des Pronomens "dore". Bemerkungen von R. Lange und K. Florenz.	Journal article	MOAG
1903	Einleitung zu: Tsubosakadera oder die wunderbare Gnade der Goettin Kwannin, Übersetzt von N. Okamoto	Journal article	MOAG
1903	Die wichtigsten chinesischen Schriftzeichen	Book	
1903	Japanische Annalen A.D. 592-697 Nihongi (Buch 22-30) von Suiko-Tennō bis Jitō-Tennō	Book	
1906	Geschichte der japanischen Literatur.	Book	
1906	Die Religionen der Japaner: 1. der Shintoismus	Encyclopedia article	Religionen des Orients und die Altgermanische Religion
1907	Die japanische Literatur	Encyclopedia article	Die Orientalischen Literaturen
1910	Zur Kulturgeschichte der Eta	Lecture/Newspaper article	Deutsche Japan Post
1914	Die wichtigsten Charaktertypen der Japanischen Komödie	Lecture/Newspaper article	Deutsche Japan Post
1914	Deutschland und Japan	article	Deutsche Vorträge Hamburger Professoren
1915	Japan und der Weltkrieg	Lecture/Newspaper article	Kolnische Zeitung
1919	Die historischen Quellen der Shinto- Religion. Aus dem Alt-Japanischen und Chinesischen übersetzt und erklärt	Book	
1922	Allgemeiner Überblick [über die Religionen Japans]	Encyclopedia article	Das Licht des Ostens
1923	Die Brüder Tokutomi	Journal article	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
1925	Die Japaner	Encyclopedia article	Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte
1925	Wörterbuch zur altjapanischen Liedersammlung Kokinshū	Book	
1926	Liederreigen und Liebeswerben in Altjapan	Journal article	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
1927	Die Japanische Komödie und ihre Charaktertypen	Journal article	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen gesellschaft
1928	Ama-tsu-kami no Yogoto "Glückwunschworte der Himmlischen Gottheiten"	Journal article	Ostasiatische Rundschau
1933	Die Elegie in der älteren japanischen Literatur	Journal article	MOAG

1934	Die Feuersbrunst von Hakodate	Journal article	Ostasiatische Rundschau
1938	Manjû oder Nakamitsu: Nô-Drama in 2 Akten	Journal article	Monumenta Nipponica

The source for my analysis of Florenz's publications is his bibliography (Jäger 1935) compiled by his colleague Fritz Jäger (1886-1957).

## H. Florenz's bibliography in numbers

### Overview of Karl Florenz's publications

Time period	Publication type						
	Articles						
	journal articles	encyclopedia articles	newspaper articles*	articles TOTAL	collections of Japanese poetry	other publications	books** TOTAL
1888-1914: Stay in Japan	14	2	2	18	3	6	9
1915-1939: Stay in Germany	7	2	1	10	0	2	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11</b>

\* According to the bibliography by Jäger (Jäger 1935) Florenz's published articles include 3 lectures, which appeared in shortened form in newspapers, i.e. „Zur Kulturgeschichte der Eta“, „Die wichtigsten Charaktertypen der Japanischen Komödie“ and „Japan und der Weltkrieg“.

\*\* I treat Florenz's partial translations of Nihongi as one book, although they initially appeared in 5 individual parts as a supplement to MOAG.

### Overview of journals and newspapers in which Karl Florenz published articles

	Publication journal	Time period		
		1888-1914	1915-1939	TOTAL
Journals	MOAG	11	1	12
	<i>Teikoku Bungaku</i>	1		1
	TASJ	1		1
	Deutsche Vorträge Hamburger Professoren	1		1
	Deutsche Literaturzeitung		1	1
	Orientalische Literaturzeitung		1	1
	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft		1	1
	Ostasiatische Rundschau		2	2
	Monumenta Nipponica		1	1
News papers	Deutsche Japan Post	2		2
	Kolnische Zeitung		1	1

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## **Abstract (English)**

In my thesis I introduce Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929), Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), William George Aston (1841–1911), Karl Florenz (1865–1939) and their academic work with focus on Japanese mythology. I analyze the Japanese and Western sources of the named pioneer Japanologists in order to get an understanding of how these distinct scholarly traditions intersect in their work. I further analyze their interpretations of Japanese myths, which allows me to distinguish the differences and common underlying concepts inherent in their works. Although their partial results may have been different, they have some common characteristics such as the search for the origin of religion, comparative approach and ethnological interpretation of the origins of religion. I was further able to indentify continuity in their selection of topics, translations, choice and use of secondary Japanese sources and their general approach to Japanese mythological texts. This continuity suggests the existence of an Anglo-Germanic school of Japanese mythology studies, which began with Satow and continued until Florenz. This Anglo-Germanic school was initially influenced by an evolutionist paradigm but later shifted towards diffusionism, and therefore repeated the leading discourse within contemporary mythology scholarship in Europe.

## **Abstract (German)**

In meiner Masterarbeit stelle ich Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929), Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), William George Aston (1841–1911), Karl Florenz (1865–1939) und ihre Werke mit Bezug auf japanische Mythologie vor. Ich analysiere die japanischen und westlichen Quellen der vorgestellten Pioniere der Japanologie um zu verstehen, wie sich die unterschiedlichen akademischen Traditionen in ihren Werken überschneiden. Ich analysiere weiter ihre Interpretationen von japanischen Mythen, um die Verschiedenheiten und gemeinsamen Grundideen in ihren Werken aufzudecken. Obwohl sich ihre Teilergebnisse unterscheiden, weisen sie dieselben Grundcharakteristika auf, etwa die Suche nach dem Ursprung von Religion, der komparative Ansatz und die ethnologische Interpretation des Ursprungs von Religion. Weiter konnte ich eine gewisse Kontinuität in ihrer Themenwahl, Übersetzungen, Wahl und Umgang mit japanischen Quellen und ihrer allgemeinen Herangehensweise erkennen. Diese Kontinuität spricht für die Existenz einer Anglo-Germanischen Schule in der japanischen Mythenforschung, die mit Satow begann und von Florenz fortgesetzt wurde. Diese Anglo-Germanischen Schule wurde ursprünglich von einem evolutionistischen Paradigma beeinflusst, verlagerte aber später ihren Schwerpunkt in Richtung des Diffusionismus, womit sie den leitenden Diskurs der gegenwärtigen europäischen Mythenforschung wiederholte.