

“Made in Japan”: An Introduction to Recent Tokyo-based German Historical Research on Modern Japan (1853–1945)

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I. Introduction

In 1988, one year before the Berlin wall collapsed – and with it the whole post-war international system – the German Institute for Japanese Studies (Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien, DIJ) was founded in Tokyo. In 2003, the DIJ therefore looks back on fifteen years of research. In March that year, another important German academic institution in Tokyo, the German East Asiatic Society (OAG, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens), celebrates its 130th anniversary. And finally, 2003 marks the 150th years since Perry first arrived with his black ships. These three anniversaries seem to be reason enough to reflect on what has been published by both institutions in the field of Modern Japanese History (1853–1945) since the foundation of the DIJ. Limitations in topic and time frame were necessary, as it is far beyond the scope of this introductory article to cover all the research done at the DIJ, or to include each publication of the OAG. Those interested may look at the homepages of both institutions, where publication lists are available (DIJ: www.dijtokyo.org, OAG: www.oag.jp).

A group of German diplomats and professors (mostly from Tokyo) as well as merchants (mostly from Yokohama and Hyōgo) met on the birthday of Emperor Wilhelm I (March 22) to establish the OAG. Founded in 1873 in Tokyo, it is easily one of the oldest “modern” societies in Japan. The German-speaking OAG is registered as a Japanese *kyōkai*. The raison d’être of the society has remained unchanged since the early Meiji period, i.e. fostering the understanding of East Asia, focusing mostly – but not exclusively – on Japan. Hundred-thirty years of history are too long to be summarized here. ¹⁾ Only a few points shall be mentioned. After the OAG was lucky to escape the great Kantō earthquake with only limited losses, the society was less fortunate in 1945. The OAG suffered the same fate as most of Japan’s capital: its Tokyo home (including the greatest part of the old library) burned down on May 25. It took the OAG until 1956 to build a new home in Akasaka 7 chōme, which gave way to the current OAG-House in 1979. The society always had Japanese members as well; one of the most prominent was Gotō Shinpei. Generally, OAG-membership fluctuated enormously over the years. Starting with 71 founding fathers, the society reached a membership of over 1300 in 1940/41. Ten years later the number was down to 106. It peaked again at around 800 in 1993/94. Currently there are roughly 500 members. ²⁾ Right after its foundation the OAG started to publish German research on Japan in a series called *Mitteilungen der*

OAG (MOAG). In 1926, the society began issuing a periodical, the so-called *Nachrichten*, which carried announcements and transcripts of selected lectures.³⁾ After WWII, the *Mitteilungen* continued until more than 100 volumes were printed. Since the 1980s the OAG has been publishing one or two distinct books every year. Beginning in 1974 the society started a paperback series, *OAG aktuell* (since 1996: *OAG Taschenbuch*), in which mostly shorter manuscripts appear twice or three times a year. Besides, 1962–1991 the OAG published German translations of distinctive Japanese articles in two series, entitled *Kagami* (1962–1969) and *Japan direct* (1982–1991) respectively. The OAG so far organized six conferences of German Japanologists, the papers of which were published in separate volumes under the title *Referate des [1. ~ 6.] Japanolgentages*.

The DIJ, opened in 1988, stands in a long tradition of German scientific research institutes abroad, beginning with the founding of the German Archaeological Institute (1829) – with branches in Rome and Athens – and continuing with the establishment of the German Historical Institute in Rome (1888) and the Art History Institute in Florence (1897). After WWII, the Oriental Institute in Beirut (1961) and various Historical Institutes were established in Paris (1958), London (1975), Washington (1987), and Warsaw (1993). Initiated by a memorandum of the German Oriental Society, a non-governmental foundation was established in February 1988, named in honor of the renowned German Japanologist Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866). The foundation was financed by the federal budget and sponsored the institute in Tokyo,⁴⁾ which nonetheless is independent in scholarly affairs. The DIJ, located in Kudan-minami near Yasukuni shrine, intends to deepen the knowledge of modern Japan and of Japanese-German relations. To attain these goals, the director⁵⁾ and about twelve specialists of different fields carry out research relevant to modern and contemporary Japan in history and the humanities, social sciences, and economics. They host monthly study groups in these three areas, research and document Japan-German relations, and organize lectures and conferences on various topics. The DIJ provides doctoral fellowships, seeks cooperations with Japanese institutions and scholars, and works towards building a complete library focusing on Japan-related literature in German. Its collection is available to scholars from all over the world. Additionally, the DIJ has a prolific scope of publications including its yearly peer-reviewed journal *Japanstudien* (often focusing on one specific topic) with original contributions and a substantial review-section, and an extensive monograph series *Monographien* (many works being based on DIJ symposia). Furthermore, *Miscellanea* and *Working Papers* inform about results of current research projects. Finally, it publishes a series of in-depth bibliographies (always extensively indexed and most included items being examined *de visu*). Directly linked to the concerns of this article among the latter are a bibliography of 1,777 bibliographies, catalogues, and lists of Western-language material (including Russian, Polish and Hungarian) relating to Japan [No. 22]. Moreover, there is a substantial collection of 3,696 books, articles and brochures in addition to more than 800 M.A.- and Ph.D.-dissertations, structured in twenty-eight categories, relating to Japanese emigration to and Japanese-Americans in North America since the foundation of the first communities in Hawaii and California in 1868 [No. 23]. The last relevant bibliography is a compilation of the available material in German, English and French

on the “(inter) cultural relations” between Japan and the West – concentrating on the processes of this bi-directional reception and assimilation – since 1853, providing detailed annotated summaries for all of its 1663 included texts [No. 8].

II. Reviews

One of the earliest exponents of the new contacts between Japan and the West was the German merchant Friedrich August Lühdorf. His eight-month stay in Hakodate and Shimoda (May 1855–January 1856) was remarkable for several reasons. Not only was Lühdorf one of the first foreigners coming to Japan after the signing of the “treaty of Kanagawa” (1854), but also his stay was considerably longer than that of the average visitor of those days, mostly sailors of American vessels or thrill-seeking globetrotters eager to get a short glimpse of this “exotic” country. Lühdorf’s intention to engage in trade with Japan as an individual, too, was highly unusual as the trade with Asian countries up to then mostly had been a privilege of European trade associations such as the Portuguese, the English or the Dutch East India Companies. Moreover, through a document written in German and Dutch, handed over to his assigned interpreter Hori Tatsunosuke in August 1856, he asked the Japanese officials for a treaty with “the German Nation” – a unity that did not exist prior to national unification in 1871. Lühdorf’s letter however never reached the Shogunate as Hori only used it to practice and improve his own handwriting and language skills (p. 39). This merchant’s long forgotten endeavors and the subsequent failure of his ambitious plans for a trade agreement with Japan – two years before the US-Japanese treaty on trade was signed in 1858, the first in a row of “unequal treaties” – are brought back to light by Holmer Stahncke in his small but insightful contribution [No. 32].

The first official Prussian East Asian Expedition of 1860/61 under Count Fritz zu Eulenburg is dealt with in another publication by Stahncke [No. 33]. Utilizing accounts by members and participants of all rank, he describes this expedition from its arrival in Edo until its departure after the successful signing of a treaty with the Shogunate on January 24, 1861 (included as a facsimile reproduction in its German and Japanese version). Stahncke draws a detailed picture of the members’ various experiences: reports on life in the legation at Akabane and the city of Edo with its castle, temples, and public bath-houses; contacts with commoners and merchant, fire-fighters, officials or clashes with hostile Samurai. They also describe trips and excursions into the city’s surroundings, the Shogunal escort and the way of horse keeping by the *bettō*. The selected letters, diaries and official reports are carefully commented upon with reference to the historical events in Japan and political prerequisites within Europe for such an expedition to take place. Moreover, they give a lively first-hand account of Japan and in particular the life in Edo at this crucial time.

Once diplomatic relations were established, a vast array of reciprocal influences between these two states emerged. Based on an international symposium held in Berlin in September 2000, the seventeen articles in Gerhard Krebs’ edited volume on Prussia and Japan [No. 15] shed light on a broad range of topics within this bilateral relation. Prussian influences on Japan are dealt with in areas such as constitution and the legal system (Ando, Röhl), historiography (Mehl), the education system (Möller), German missionary work in Meiji Japan (Wippich), or the military (Krebs) to name but a few.

Japanese influences on Prussia are discussed in connection with the reception of Japanese art (Walravens), the establishment of Japanese language classes at Berlin University's Seminary for Oriental Languages (Brochlos) and the reception of Confucianism in early German enlightenment (Lee). Further articles deal with economic-industrial affairs (Rauck, Horiuchi), the Japanese image of Prussia in a historic perspective (Nakai), or the Iwakura-mission in Prussia (Wattenberg). This volume includes English summaries of all articles.

Some years before the Meiji government sent the famous Iwakura-mission on its trip around the world, the Tokugawa Shogunate already in 1862 sent a group of thirty-eight retainers and servants to Europe – among them the later-to-be-prominent Fukuzawa Yukichi. Focusing on this delegation's stay in Berlin in summer 1862 and utilizing articles published in sixteen local journals and newspapers, Günter Zobel [No. 36] manages to draw a vivid picture of their many official and unofficial encounters. An audience with the Prussian King Wilhelm I on July 21, 1862, marked the diplomatic highlight (pp. 16-19). Besides several other official receptions and invitations to theaters or concerts, the delegation also found ample time for their own – and certainly the Shogunate's – interests and goals: visits to factories, workshops, hospitals, the University and military drills. Although permanently accompanied by the “watchdogs” (*metsuke*) of their group, the delegation to a certain extent could also mingle with the crowds. Some got their pictures taken in a local photographic studio (p. 34), some got their teeth checked and corrected at a dentist (p. 26), and some wondered about the newest Western fashion in a department store (p. 30). Zobel's colorful account is completed by short bibliographic sketches of all the delegation's members, facsimile reproductions of some of the used articles, as well as reprints of photos and sketches taken at different occasions throughout the Japanese group's stay in Berlin.

The following works to be introduced can all be summarized under the category of “historical sociology.” Renate Herold's study on the socialization of children in Tokugawa and Meiji Japan [No. 7] does not intend to give an all-inclusive historical account on this topic, but rather to provide some insight on the most important and common customs, rites and patterns of behavior. Her account is mostly based on Yanagita Kunio's ethnographic and anthropologic studies. Within this frame she discusses the cultural importance of fertility or things to observe while being pregnant and during delivery (pp. 2-15), and several “first” encounters of the new child such as shrine visits or the ritual first meal and birthday (pp. 19-23). She explains baby-words, songs, games and toys (pp. 32-37), several forms of adoption as well as parents, siblings and third-person's roles in keeping and educating the child (pp. 39/40, 49-53). She also describes schooling and festivals during adolescence, the children's integration into peer-groups and their treatment within criminal law. Other interesting aspects cover customs and rites at early death, birth control and abortion (pp. 60-65). All in all, Herold gives a fascinating picture of historic behaviors during the socialization of children in Japan.

Some of the still observed aspects can also be found in Osamu Shōji's memoirs, based on letters and interviews with Helga Sentivany [No. 25]. Osamu describes his childhood and adolescence in Kasahara, a small village in the province Ibaraki, during the 1930s and 40s. His account allows for an insight into one boy's world of experience,

shaped by the social traditions and culture he grew up in and overcast by the shadows of the coming war – which makes Osamu’s story, besides its more specific “Japanese” aspects, universally applicable. He recounts everyday village-life with its close contact to nature and describes in detail the situations, games, plays and adventures at home, at school ⁶⁾ and particularly outside in the forest. This memoir, a window into Japanese rural life before and during WWII, is accompanied by photos of Kasahara and by sketches of the tools and toys that Osamu and his friends used in their youth.

A further social aspect in historic context, divorce in Meiji Japan, is discussed by Harald Fuess [No. 5]. Why is there such an “unusual high” number of divorces in early Meiji – as remarked by several contemporary Western observers – with its peak according to official statistics being 3.39 divorces per 1 000 inhabitants in the year 1883 (nearly double the post-WWII peak of 1.78 divorces in 1997)? And why was there such a sudden drop and steady decline following 1899? Fuess explains this phenomenon by exploring the customary law in early Meiji Japan until 1898: the various forms, methods and social implications of “marriage” and “divorce” depending on area and stratum, as for instance indicated by different words used for different concepts. After a long debate, in 1898 the new Japanese civil code (*minpō*) was passed, in the course of which the various concepts, words and implication of what constitutes a “divorce” were standardized and restricted. Contrary to several former practices, from now on only something describable as “dissolution of an officially registered marriage between two living persons” fell under that law and consequently was counted from then on in the statistics as a proper “divorce.” Focusing on the contemporary discourse on legal regulations and customary laws in preparation of the civil code of 1898, this short paper helps to understand the relation between state and family ⁷⁾ in that era.

Given the significant influence of Prussian law and German advisors in a vast variety of sectors, it is not so surprising that the Meiji political system and its legal aspects, effecting Japanese society at least until 1945, have always been topics in German research on Japan. Ando Junko deals with the reception and assimilation of German influences in the formation and later interpretation of the Meiji constitution [No. 1]. ⁸⁾ Part one describes the Japanese historic and intellectual background that led to develop a constitution based on the German model. The book’s second and third part portray the concepts and views of the four main German advisors: Rudolf von Gneist and Lorenz Stein, from whom Itō Hirobumi sought advice in Berlin and Vienna respectively, as well as Hermann Roesler and Albert Mosse, who both were involved in drawing up the constitution as on-site advisors in Japan. The fourth part introduces the resulting Meiji constitution and its constitutional reality. ⁹⁾ The appendix gives two of Roesler’s drafts, the whole text of the constitution and a glossary of Japanese names and terms. The considerable differences in the four advisor’s analysis obviously provided insight into certain interpretative latitudes within German constitutionalism itself, allowing the Japanese to choose what fit best their own ideas. The fact that its essential features already existed in a list of eighteen points drawn up by Inoue Kowashi in 1881 – about a year before Itō Hirobumi was sent to Europe to prepare the constitution – shows this apparent intention. The result was a constitution that in form corresponded technically to European standards but was molded in its interpretation by two ambivalent indigenous conceptions of how to govern.

Albert Mosse [No. 21] was among the Germans who spend some years in Meiji Japan and left diaries, letters and notes that tell of their first-hand encounters with Japan's changing society. These make a fascinating reading for their valuable information not found in official documents.¹⁰⁾ Employed to reorganize regional administration, Mosse had to harmonize his drafts of a new law governing local authorities (*jichi buraku seisōan*) with the yet to proclaim constitution. He thus made extensive study trips throughout the country, describing in detail the encountered nature and landscapes. However, instead of having the chance to freely go among the common people, he mostly could only meet with village officials – a complaint often brought up by government-employed foreigners at that time. Hundreds of Mosse's letters from Japan, written during his time as legal advisor (1886–1889) are kept today at the Leo Baeck-Institute in New York. Official and private, entertaining and pensive things in daily contacts paint an interesting picture of foreigners in Meiji Japan and bring a past epoch vividly back to life. Mosse's advice to make rice "tastier" by adding sweetened red wine or jam (p. 179) must have shocked the Japanese but is amusing to read. His letters however reveal some poignant circumstances as well. Being a Jew, he apparently suffered from anti-Semitism by some of his fellow countrymen. For his contributions to Japanese modernization however, Mosse was highly praised. Shortly before his leave, he writes: "*I am being handed from Minister to Minister, treated by Princes etc. and am to have an audience with the Emperor, which is very difficult to obtain here*" (our transl., p. 505). The appendix of this insightful work gives Mosse's contract with the Japanese government, a genealogy, and detailed bibliographical information of all Japanese mentioned in his letters.

Georg Michaelis, a colorful political personality who during WWI even shortly was German chancellor (July–Oct. 1917), also left many letters and a diary of his stay in Japan (1885–1889) where he taught at the School of the Society for German Studies (*Doitsu-gaku kyōkai gakkō*) in Tokyo. A carefully commented edition by Bert Becker makes them available to a broader audience [No. 2]. Michaelis' detailed and lively description of the country and its people are an interesting historic account from a German perspective. He portrays pointedly, partially humorous and partially ironic and satirical, the German colony in Tokyo-Yokohama as well as Japanese dignitaries and ordinary people. First, Japanese customs and etiquette are strange and inscrutable to him, but after a while his judgment changes and his letters also demonstrate this young jurist's mental development. He is very interested in Japanese history and religion, comments on domestic politics during those transitory years, and thoughtfully describes his observations during many travels in Japan. Michaelis' travelogue of 1886 for instance is one of the best reports on Ezo (Hokkaidō) and the Kuril Islands. As up to then no foreign traveler ventured equally far into the eastern part of Ezo, his notes are a unique source on Ainu affairs and the process of Japanese expansion into their territory.

German colonial considerations that might have played some part in Michaelis' trip to Ezo are rooted in suggestions made by Max von Brand in 1865. Rolf-Harald Wippich's biographical portrait of this diplomat [No. 34] – participant in von Eulenburg's first Prussian mission to Japan, and between 1862 and 1875 first permanent German representative – elucidates political events as well as the history of German-Japanese

relations during the Bakumatsu- and early Meiji-period. Von Brand's activities were crucial in establishing diplomatic and cultural relations. He initiated the founding of the OAG (pp. 110-16) and during his period as diplomat in Peking (1875–1893) still influenced German politics towards Japan. This book includes several sketches showing von Brand, originally published in *The Japan Punch*.

Also Japanese have been subject of German biographical interest. Fukai Eigo was born as son of a former samurai shortly after the Meiji Restoration in 1871. Though the self-conception of his class suffered due to the feudal system's collapse, his generation accepted the new standards. Despite being an autobiography, Fukai's account ¹¹⁾ can be read as the story of a man who swam with the strongest and most influential current of his times, making him, in a way, a typical representative of the new generation. Whereas samurai – unless working as magistrate of finance (*kanjōbugyō*) – traditionally considered themselves as elevated above the ordinary world of trade and commerce, Fukai's generation was more discriminating in its judgment. Public administration and private economy for them opened up new possibilities of respected careers as they thus could contribute to Japan's advancement. The first seven chapters of his personal narrative – marking Fukai's transition from Samurai to Banker – have been translated and commented upon by Michael Stein ¹²⁾ [No. 6].

On the opposite side – fighting all his life against nepotism in the political mainstream – stands Tanaka Shōzō (1841–1913). Ulrich Dehn [No. 3] gives insight into this man's fascinating life as troublesome member of the first national parliament for eleven years and “father” of the modern civil-rights and ecological movement. Japan's first modern scandal on major environmental damages, illustrating the negative aspects of Japan's rapid modernization ¹³⁾, centered on the Ashio copper-mines and the territory along the Watarase river at the end of the 19th century. The lethal pollution of that area and the hushing up of its consequences, for the first time showed the tight connections between politics, administration, and the financial persuasiveness of heavy industry magnates – obviously political procedure a century ago worked very much alike. Tanaka's ultimately unsuccessful fight against these collaborating giants reveals the difficulty of establishing citizens' action groups in a country that had just started to practice democratic decision-making.

Some more works dealing with Germans in Japan, shall be introduced here. Jürgen Lehmann, who was director of the German School Kobe (DSK) in the 1980s, not only presents a short history of that school but also of Germans in Kansai [No. 18]. The DSK had to deal with an immense fluctuation of students, whose numbers varied from seven to nearly hundred-fifty at times, reflecting the fluctuation of the local German community. The number peaked for the first time after some German families moved to Kobe in the wake of the great Kantō earthquake. In 1941 many Germans fleeing from the Dutch Indies (Indonesia) were stranded in Japan due to the German attack on the USSR. The majority of them stayed in Kobe, leading to a twofold increase in students. Furthermore, it is interesting to read about the reluctance of many Kansai-Germans when it came to Nazi-ideology (p. 31). Teaching Hitler's racism in a school where many students were half-Japanese was virtually impossible (p. 38-39).

Josef Kreiner's book [No. 16] ¹⁴⁾ deals with a number of Germans, Austrians and Dutch, who have somehow left their mark on Tokyo. The volume combines features

of a travel-book with scholarship: Each of the fourteen essays describes something to see and ends with suggestions for further reading. Some of the most famous Germans in Japan however, i.e. Erwin Bälz or Richard Sorge, are not covered. The book starts off with an essay about Dutchman Jan Joosten, who in 1598 came with the same ship as William Adams (Miura Anjin) and was an advisor to the shogun just like the latter. Joosten lived for some twenty years on one side of an old castle ditch. The reader learns that the place name “Yaesu” comes from “Jan Joos-gashi,” i.e. the side of Jan Joosten (p. 23). Other interesting articles include one about German plans for a modern government district in Tokyo (pp. 107-121). Even though architect Wilhelm Böckmann had a long audience with Meiji-tennō in the mid-1880s, only the Ministry of Justice’s old edifice was built according to these plans and can still be seen today. The book makes an enjoyable reading.

The following group of books deals with general trends of Japanese history before WWII.¹⁵⁾ Rolf-Harald Wippich [No. 35] presents the transcript of fifty congratulatory letters of ordinary Germans, sent to the Japanese War Ministry during the 1894/95 war with China.¹⁶⁾ There is an outline of the Sino-Japanese war and a chapter on widespread militarism in Germany around 1900 (pp. 21-34), in which the editor interprets these letters as a safety valve for German contemporary jingoism. The modernity of the war-technique used, combined with the exoticism of place and personal names led – according to Wippich – to the excitement in Germany, where the war was extensively covered in newspapers and magazines. The editor concludes that there was no feeling of a “yellow peril” in Germany but sheer excitement about the victories of the “Prussians of the East,” whose success was linked to Japan’s earlier adaptation of Prussia’s military example.

Twenty years after these letters were sent, Japan and Germany fought each other over the small German foothold in the Shantung province in China. Following the editor’s short outline of Tsingtau’s history as a German colony (1897–1914), Heinz van der Laan’s eyewitness account of the Japanese siege of Tsingtau is reprinted [No. 17]. He wrote his manuscript in a Japanese POW camp in 1917, which partly explains the nationalistic rhetoric. The report itself features many interesting photos and some (extensive) poems by other inmates. It all starts in Kobe, where van der Laan lived as a young clerk. He mentions that many Japanese (“*Banzai, Banzai*”) as well as some Englishmen and Americans bid farewell to the Germans, leaving for Tsingtau (pp. 24-27). After a short description of the colony, he explains particularities of the defense infrastructure, including the intriguing fact that there was only one old plane available (p. 59). Even biological warfare was already a topic (p. 53), with a Japanese intruder mentioned who wanted to poison the colony’s water reservoir with typhus bacteria. On the last pages of the manuscript the author vividly describes the final days of the siege. The book ends with a telegram by Emperor Wilhelm II, the inventor of the “yellow peril” slogan, thanking his subjects for their heroic defense effort.

The expulsion of Germany from East Asia must have been to the liking of the early advocates of Pan-Asianism. In a paper written in English, Sven Saaler [No. 27] deals with the origins of this concept. He draws a fine line between “(Pan-) Asianism” and “Greater Asianism” (pp. 6-8). He stresses the fact that “Asia” as a geographical term is a European concept. For most Japanese of the Meiji and Taishō period “Asia”

comprised of Japan, Korea and China, while some included Manchuria, Mongolia and the Russian Far East as well. Due to its independence and quick progress, Japan was the early champion of East Asian intellectuals and politicians, until the annexation of Korea in 1910 “*manifested the dilemma of using the pan-Asian ideology to legitimize Japanese colonial rule over parts of Asia*” (p. 12). Saaler links the turning-point of Pan-Asianism, i.e. the change from an “*idealist culturalist movement*” (p. 4) to “*Japan’s major foreign policy guideline*” (p. 5) with the development of the early patriotic societies (*seiji kessha*) in the late Meiji period (pp. 19-22), presenting Konoe Atsumaro and his “Society for Common East Asian Culture” (*Tōa dōbun-kai*) and its successors as a case study. In his conclusion Saaler writes: “*still today pan-Asian ideology is used, in retrospect, to legitimize Japanese expansion as a purely defensive act to defend the country against ‘the West’ or to ‘liberate Asia’*” (p. 27). This work includes a substantial bibliography.

Erich Pauer’s book [No. 26], based on a 1990 conference, deals with German-Japanese technology transfer from the Bakumatsu period to the 1980s.¹⁷⁾ Each of the twelve articles – half by Japanese authors – is followed by a transcript of the discussion. The book offers theoretical background (Braun, Pauer, Rahn), an overview of the period before 1914 (Rauck) as well as case studies, which range from electronic giant Siemens’ direct investment before WWI (Kakenaka) to Japanese companies producing in West Germany (Botskor). Braun’s paper is a good introduction to related theories. As there were different periods and types of “horizontal transfers” between fully industrialized, communist or developing countries, none of the available models is comprehensive. Theories that are valid for the transfer between the Cold War political “East” and “West” cannot convincingly be applied for transfers between the geographical “East” (Asia) and “West” (Europe, USA). Pauer’s own article (pp. 48-69), spotlighting the particularities of and diachronic changes within German-Japanese transfer, serves as a second, more focused introduction to the topic.

The final set of works to be introduced here, covers the inter-war¹⁸⁾ and war years. Gerhard Krebs [No. 11] deals with cases of German lese-majesty against the Japanese Emperor during the Nazi era. In his introduction Krebs shows that many Nazi officials were critical of the Japanese Emperor system. Their impression was that a true totalitarian state-structure was impossible as long as the Emperor was present. In his 1939 Ph.D.-thesis Günther Wenck¹⁹⁾ portrayed the Tennō as politically passive, as a tool in the hands of Japan’s real leaders (pp. 12-15). In 1940, pacifist dramatist Georg Kaiser’s play “Der Soldat Tanaka” was performed in Zurich (pp. 15-20). It portrayed the Tennō as an active head of state, responsible for the exploitation of the poor farmers by fostering gigantic military expenses. Both interpretations were – for different reasons – sharply criticized by Japanese officials, who demanded an excuse by Wenck and pressured Swiss officials to stop the performance of “Tanaka.” According to Krebs, Swiss compliance was mostly the result of Bern’s fear of possible German repercussions.

What is hinted here, namely the notorious “Axis,” is the topic of another book, edited by Gerhard Krebs and Bernd Martin [No. 12]. This volume “*provides a revealing look behind the facade of the notorious Berlin-Tokyo Axis, which until now has been assessed more on the basis of its propagandistic announcement than its inherent weaknesses*” [*Monumenta Nipponica* 50: 2 (1995), p. 273]. The nine articles published here not only cover general diplomatic and military aspects of the co-operation (Krebs, Martin), but also offer interesting

insights into the personnel of the Japanese embassy in Berlin (Tajima) as well as its architecture and construction (Duelfer). Following this, Erich Pauer presents an overview of German-Japanese technical cooperation between 1930 and 1945. A further strong point of the book is its uncommon focus on the cultural basis of the Axis. There are contributions on the Japanese reception of “heroic” German literature (Kimura), on Nazi-Germany’s Japanese Studies (Worm) as well as on Japan’s policy towards Jews (Kreissler). With only very few Jews in Japan, these policies applied more to some of the occupied countries, most explicitly Singapore. The book closes with Schauwecker’s exceptional article about music and politics.²⁰⁾

Japanese-Spanish relations between the 1936 and 1945 were directly influenced by Axis policies. Krebs [No. 10] deals with many interesting details about these influences, focusing on the bilateral intelligence co-operation (pp. 16-26) as well as on Spain’s meandering pass through WWII. Franco’s aim was to keep non-European powers out of Europe. His strong anti-communism prevented any realization of plans to include Spain into a possible Berlin-Rom-Moscow-Tokyo grand alliance – desired by some because of Spain’s geo-strategic position vis-à-vis Gibraltar (pp. 11-15). After the war turned against the Axis in 1942/43, Franco approached the allied powers. The Spanish dictator had a very uncommon perspective: he argued that there were separate wars going on, the first being the one between Germany and the western powers, in which Spain was neutral; the second was against the USSR, in which Spain was pro-German; and finally the war between Japan and the western powers, in which Spain was on the side of the West – the last statement being part of Franco’s new pro-western strategy (pp. 27, 32-33). Japanese and Spanish interests clashed in the Philippines, the final break occurring after Japan’s useless defense of Manila, which led to the destruction of most of the old colonial city. Spain, which until then represented Japanese interests in allied countries, cut its diplomatic ties with Japan. After the war, both countries made their way back into the international community based on the prevailing anticommunism of the Cold War era.

The next book [No. 24] brings us from developments in southern Europe to its northern extremities. Onodera Yuriko, the wife of Japanese Army-Attaché to Latvia and Sweden Onodera Makoto (1936–1938, 1940–1945), describes both her life as a Japanese woman in North-Eastern Europe as well as her husband’s activities, of which she knew extensively due to the fact that she deciphered and encoded all the messages from and to Tokyo. Her manuscript was first published in Japanese in 1985.²¹⁾ The translation was done by Onodera’s son and German daughter-in-law and later edited by Gerhard Krebs. His introduction and notes (pp. 283-294) correct some of Onodera’s misinterpretations. Krebs is, for example, very skeptical about the real chances of Onodera Makoto’s peace feelers in Shanghai 1938/39 (pp. 4, 68-89). Towards the end of the book, Makoto’s short but intriguing description of his time in the Sugamo prison is cited (pp. 257-259).

Another of Krebs’ writings [No. 13] shifts the focus from European questions to Japan’s relation with Southeast Asia. After a short outline of the different stages of Japan’s expansionism, the author shows that many Asians originally agreed with the slogan of a “war of liberation.” With Japan’s increasing exploitation of East Asia, disillusionment led to a growing resistance. Differences in population, local resistance

or co-operation as well as natural resources made a consistent system of running Japan's wartime empire difficult to establish. However, there was a second reason for this lack of uniformity: preparing itself for a war against the USSR, the army originally was against any southward invasion, resulting in a lack of military as well as geopolitical reconnaissance of the area (p. 11). After elaborating on the regional divergence in the governing of the empire, Krebs summarizes: Burma and the Philippines were run like the Japanese puppet state Manchukuo, while Thailand and Indochina had the character of protectorates, and Malaya and Indonesia endured a colonial style of government (p. 36). Local armies set up by the Japanese, were instrumental to expel the former colonial powers in the postwar era. Nationalistic and socialist groups, who had co-operated against Japan's occupation, later caused civil wars amongst themselves in Indochina and elsewhere (pp. 38-40). The book ends with an interesting chapter on Japan's Southeast Asia policy after 1945.

By merely looking at the title, one would expect Fuess' book [No. 4] to raise similar topics. Nevertheless, the eleven articles in this volume are either concerned with the inner-Japanese basis of the empire or with aspects of Sino-Japanese relations between the 1930s and 1950s. The book, published in English, was praised: "*Many articles will serve as a baseline for future research.*" [*Monumenta Nipponica* 54:4 (1999), p. 540]. After an introduction by Indian Professor Praesejit Duara, three separate sections follow. The first deals with the ideological (Szpilman), organizational (Lynn) and bureaucratic (Mimura) basis of Japanese imperialism. The second focuses on the Japanese empire, stressing economic aspects rather than political or social ones. Gerth elaborates on anti-Japanese boycotts in China, Gotō-Shibata covers the strong links between the economy and the military, discussing Shanghai in 1931 as a case study, while Schneider writes about Japan's prewar economic expansion. The last section deals with the legacy of Japan's empire. Yang elaborates on limited Sino-Japanese economic co-operation right after the war. Braddick discusses Sino-Japanese diplomatic contacts at a time when official relations did not exist. Finally, Glaubitz takes up the topic of relations between China, the USSR and Japan after WWII, focusing on what he sees as clever Chinese manipulation of Japan's public opinion.

Finally there is Gerhard Krebs and Christian Oberländer's book on the impacts of "1945" on Asia and Europe [No. 14], marking with this incisive date the last book to be mentioned. Its twenty-one English articles are presented in four chapters: I. "The United States and Germany," II. "The European Nations," III. "East Asia" and IV. "Southeast Asia and Oceania." This book covers many different countries and aspects that cannot be discussed here in extensive detail. In his preface, Josef Kreiner summarizes that "*events in the European battlefields influenced decision-making in Asia and vice versa. Therefore the essays in this volume reinforce the conclusion that – at least in the twentieth century – the history of Asia and Europe is one.*" Drawing this broad conclusion from the effects of one event – even if it was undoubtedly one of the most important ones in the 20th century – however seems to overstress the kinship between Asia and Europe, who both remain largely ignorant of each other's affairs.

III. Conclusion

In this respect we hope that our review essay helps to broaden the awareness within

the English-speaking community of current German historical research on modern Japan.

Due to the numerous and diverse fields covered, a general synopsis is impossible. Nevertheless, two centers of interest can be deduced: On the one hand, biographical works, mostly focusing on Germans who came to Japan in the Meiji period, and on the other, the wide field of German-Japanese diplomatic relations. The remaining works reveal precedence of individual scholars' interests over his or her affiliation with either the DIJ or the OAG.

IV. Bibliography of Introduced Works

“Place: publisher” of all works is “München: Iudicium,” except for OAG aktuell/Taschenbuch, which is “Tokyo: OAG” or otherwise stated.

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2. Becker, Bert (ed.), *Georg Michaelis: Ein preußischer Jurist im Japan der Meiji-Zeit. Briefe, Tagebuchnotizen, Dokumente 1885–1889*. [OAG] 1999, 678 p.
3. Dehn, Ulrich, *Tanaka Shōzō: ein Vorkämpfer für Menschenrechte und Umweltschutz*. [OAG aktuell; 62] 1995, 82 p.
4. Fuess, Harald (ed.), *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy*. [DIJ Monograph; 22] 1998, 253 p.
5. Fuess, Harald, *Warum gibt es so viele Ehescheidungen in unserem Land des schönen Familiensystems? Die Ehescheidung im Japan der Meijizeit*. [DIJ Working Papers; 99/4] Tokyo, 1999, 23 p.
6. Fukai, Eigo [Michael Stein (trans.)], *Vom Samurai zum Banker*. [OAG] 1988, 90 p.
7. Herold, Renate, *Zur Sozialisation des Kindes im Japan der Tokugawa- und Meiji-Zeit*. [OAG aktuell; 60] 1993, 94 p.
8. Hijiya-Kirschner, Irmela (ed.), *Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Japan und dem Westen seit 1853: Eine annotierte Bibliographie*. [DIJ Bibliography; 6] 1999, 1164 p.
9. Hijiya-Kirschner, Irmela (ed.), *Canon and Identity – Japanese Modernization Reconsidered: Trans-Cultural Perspectives*. [DIJ Miscellanea; 14] 2000, 198 p.
10. Krebs, Gerhard, *Japan und Spanien 1936–1945*. [OAG aktuell; 32] 1988, 54 p.
11. Krebs, Gerhard, *Tenno-Beleidigungen während des “Dritten Reiches”*. [OAG aktuell; 57] 1992, 30 p.
12. Krebs, Gerhard/ Martin, Bernd (eds.), *Formierung und Fall der Achse Berlin-Tokyo*. [DIJ Monograph; 8] 1994, 256 p.
13. Krebs, Gerhard, *Japan und Südostasien: von der Besatzungszeit bis zur Nachkriegsordnung*. [OAG aktuell; 64] 1995, 74 p.
14. Krebs, Gerhard/ Oberländer, Christian (eds.), *1945 in Europe and Asia: Reconsidering the End of World War II and the Change of the World Order*. [DIJ Monograph; 19] 1997, 410 p.
15. Krebs, Gerhard (ed.), *Japan und Preußen*. [DIJ Monograph; 32] 2002, 356 p.
16. Kreiner, Josef, *Deutsche Spaziergänge in Tokyo*. 1996, 214 p.
17. Laan, Heinz van der [Rolf-Harald Wippich (ed.)], *Erinnerungen an Tsingtau: Die Erlebnisse eines deutschen Freiwilligen aus dem Krieg in Ostasien 1914*. [OAG

- Taschenbuch; 75] 1999, 125 p.
18. Lehmann, Jürgen, *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Schule Kobe*. [OAG aktuell; 34] 1988, 58 p.
 19. Lokowandt, Ernst (ed.), *Referate des 1. Japanologentags der OAG in Tokyo*. 1990, 220 p.
 20. Lokowandt, Ernst, *Das japanische Kaisertum: Religiöse Fundierung und politische Realität*. [OAG aktuell; 35] 1989, 26 p.
 21. Mosse, Albert und Lina [Shirō Ishii, Ernst Lokowandt, Yukichi Sakai (ed.)], *Fast wie mein eigen Vaterland: Briefe aus Japan 1886–1889*. [OAG] 1995, 535 p.
 22. Ölschleger, Hans Dieter/ Stalph, Jürgen, *Japanbezogene Bibliographien in europäischen Sprachen; Eine Bibliographie*. [DIJ Bibliography; 1] 1990, 296 p.
 23. Ölschleger, Hans Dieter/ König, Eva/Ölschleger, Barbara, *Japaner in der Neuen Welt: Eine teilannotierte Bibliographie von Werken zu japanischen Einwanderern in Nordamerika in europäischen Sprachen*. [DIJ Bibliography; 4] 1997, 1038 p.
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 31. Schinzing, Robert/ Weegmann, Carl von, *Die Geschichte der OAG – 1873 bis 1980*. Tokyo: OAG, 1982, 132 p.
 32. Stahncke, Holmer, *Friedrich August Lühdorfs Handelsexpedition nach Japan*. [OAG aktuell; 39] 1989, 78 p.
 33. Stahncke, Holmer (ed.), *Preußens Weg nach Japan: Japan in Berichten von Mitgliedern der preußischen Ostasienexpedition 1860–61*. [OAG] 2000, 262 p.
 34. Wippich, Rolf-Harald, *„Strich mit Mütze“: Max von Brandt und Japan – Diplomat, Publizist, Propagandist*. [OAG aktuell; 65] 1995, 149 p.
 35. Wippich, Rolf-Harald, *„Haut Sie, daß die Lappen fliegen“: Briefe von Deutschen an das japanische Kriegsministerium während des Chinesisch-Japanischen Krieges 1894/95*. [OAG Taschenbuch; 67] 1997, 102 p.
 36. Zobel, Günter, *„Die Japanesen in Berlin“: Der Besuch der ersten japanischen Expedition von 1862 im Spiegel der Presse*. [OAG Taschenbuch; 79] 2002, 108 p.

Notes

- 1) In 1982, a compilation of two articles about the history of the OAG was published [No. 31]. Even though the booklet has some shortcomings – most obviously the fact that the years 1933–45 are dealt with on only two pages – it is nevertheless informative about the first hundred years of OAG history.
- 2) Separate OAG groups as far away as Batavia (Jakarta) and Shanghai as well as in Germany existed between the wars. About seventy of the current members live in Kansai, where the society owns a sub-center, called “OAG-Zentrum/ Studienhaus” in Kobe-Okamoto.
- 3) Until 1945, seventy volumes were published in Tokyo. After 1945, some repatriated members founded a new and separate OAG Hamburg, which continues to publish the *Nachrichten der OAG* (NOAG) as a full-fledged academic journal.
- 4) In 2002 it has been decided to group those Institutions abroad under one umbrella-foundation, named “Stiftung deutscher geisteswissenschaftlicher Institute im Ausland”.
- 5) Prof. Dr. Josef Kreiner of Bonn University was appointed as DIJ’s founding director. In 1996 his position was taken over by Prof. Dr. Irmela Hijiya-Kirschner of Free University Berlin.
- 6) Japans educational politics between 1926 and 1945 is the topic of a detailed article by Josef Bohaczek in No. 19, pp. 136-172.
- 7) In an article in No. 30, pp. 173-192, Fuss concentrates on the changing (propagated) role of “fatherhood” between late Meiji and early Shōwa, by analyzing about a dozen works of educational literature written between 1890 and 1945.
- 8) Ando, currently a research fellow at the DIJ who received her Ph.D. in Germany, also discusses different concepts of sovereignty within the Meiji constitution – referring to aspects of the post-restoration reception of western culture and the incompatibility of Confucianist and Shintoist ideas – in a short article in No. 29, pp. 211-220.
- 9) The Meiji state’s political reality of the institution “emperor” with its ancient religious foundation is the topic of a work by Ernst Lokowandt [No. 20]. He also tries to answer how it was possible that a single emperor, Shōwa-tennō, could represent Japan in such diverse years as during relative political liberty in the 1920s, in the following totalitarian pre-war and war period, as well as during the destruction and poverty of the post-war years and the later affluent society of the 1980s.
- 10) The economist Karl Rathgen, who spent eight years (1882–1890) as professor of political science at the Imperial University in Tokyo and later inherited Max Weber’s chair at Heidelberg, is introduced in an article by Bernhard Großmann in No. 29, pp. 17-38.
- 11) First published as: Fukai, Eigo, *Kaiko nanajūnen*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1941.
- 12) Stein also wrote a detailed and highly recommended “cultural history” of the Japanese courtesan, spanning twelve centuries. (Stein, Michael, *Japans Kurtisanen. Eine Kulturgeschichte der japanischen Meisterinnen der Unterhaltungskunst und Erotik aus zwölf Jahrhunderten*. [OAG] 1997, 695 p.) Although it deals with the relevant periods as well, the scope of this book is much too broad to be considered here.
- 13) An article by Franz Hintereder-Emde in No. 28, pp. 103-118, reflects on Natsume Sōseki’s critique of Meiji Japan’s modernization process. Furthermore, No. 9 also deals with Japan’s modernization – focusing on the question of “invented traditions” as response to the confrontation with the Occident. It is included in an easily available recent review article [*Monumenta Nipponica* 57: 3 (2002), pp. 359-372] and thus not discussed here.
- 14) This 1996 book is not a DIJ publication. However, as Kreiner did most of the related research while being director of the DIJ (1988–96), the authors decided to include it nevertheless.
- 15) It should be mentioned here that Klaus Schlichtmann deals with Japan and the two peace conferences in The Hague (1899 and 1907), in No. 30, pp. 221-243.
- 16) In total there were more than hundred-fifty letters by Germans. The letters here are taken from the booklet *Doitsubun nisshin sensō shukujū*, published in 1900.
- 17) According to Pauer (p. 13), the organizers of the conference unsuccessfully contacted more than twenty companies to talk about the most current technology transfers. Even when they found representatives who were prepared to talk, their superiors vetoed any public lecture, obviously for fear of information leaks.
- 18) Klaus Schlichtmann introduces Japanese suggestions for a regional security pact in the 1930s, in No. 29, pp. 103-115.

- 19) Wenck, Günther, *Die japanischen Minister als politische Führung*. Leipzig, 1939. After the war Wenck became Professor for Japanology at the University of Hamburg.
- 20) Another publication, based on the same conference, is Japanisch-Deutsches Zentrum Berlin (ed.), *Symposium. Die deutsch-japanischen Beziehungen in den 30er und 40er Jahren. 22.-24.06.1992*. Berlin, 1993. In it, shorter German versions of the manuscripts are published. There are a few additional contributions made by Kudō, Krug, Friese and Wietog, while Schauwecker's article is not included.
- 21) Onodera, Yuriko, *Baruto-kai no hotori ni te. Bukan no tsuma no daitōa-sensō*. Tokyo: Kyōdō Tsūshinsha, 1985.