

The Study of Medieval History of Europe in Japan  
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My task today is to present to you rather in general terms the history and present state of the study of medieval history of Europe in Japan. As is well known to the students of modern history of Japan, an intellectual interest in conditions of the peoples in remoter parts of the world was roused in Japan first by the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It appears, however, that historical descriptions in Japanese of the European peoples came much later, only early in the nineteenth century, geographical descriptions of the world at large including Europe going far ahead of historical ones (1). These earlier histories of Europe written in Japanese need not detain us here. We jump to the second half of the nineteenth century. After the Revolution of 1867 a system of public education was gradually introduced in the 1870s and an outline history of Europe and America seems to have been taught from the secondary schools upwards in this system. It may be pertinent to observe here that history of European nations attracted attention of the Japanese primarily as a success story of the "Great Powers" from which lessons were to be learned for her own future "success".

In 1877 the University of Tokyo was established as the first university of the Western type in Japan and a department of history was opened in 1886 in this university. In 1887 Ludwig Riess was invited from Germany to teach in the newly established department of history in the University of Tokyo and this became the true start in Japan of the study of European history. Riess was a man of Jewish descent who studied constitutional history of England at Berlin under Hans Delbrueck (2). The latter was a pupil of Karl von Noorden and Heinrich von Sybel who were themselves trained by Leopold von Ranke (3). It is not quite without reason then to say that the school of Ranke was transplanted to

1. 酒井 三郎『日本西洋史学発達史』(東京, 1969) pp. 3-5, 7, 10ff. (Hereafter quoted as Sakai, op. cit.).

2. C. E. McClelland, The German Historians and England (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 195, 252. His works include Geschichte des Wahlrechts zum englischen Parlament im Mittelalter (1885). 3. Op. cit., pp. 242, 250, 254.

Japan by Riess. A more apt remark would be to say that he transplanted the historical method born in Europe to the Japanese soil. Riess returned to Germany in 1902 and after this the school of European history in Tokyo University was maintained by Kumazo Tsuboi 坪井九馬三 who held one of the two professorships from 1893 to 1923 and Gempachi Mitsukuri 箕作元八, the other professor, 1901-1919. The latter had studied in Germany and France under Bernhard Erdmannsdoerffer, Max Lenz and Francois Aulard and taught modern history of Europe in Tokyo (4). It was under Professor Mitsukuri that the first generation of Japanese medievalists appeared (5).

The man whose name is to be mentioned first in this context is Noburu Orui 大類伸 who obtained the first degree in 1906, taught at Tokyo as associate professor of European History, 1921-24, went to Sendai and established a school of medieval history in Tohoku University which has become one of the centres of medieval studies in Japan since then (6). His monumental work, 『西洋中世の文化』 (The Civilization of Europe in the Middle Ages, Tokyo, 1925), was the first general history of medieval Europe written by a Japanese. In this book he paid special attention to intellectual and artistic achievements of Europeans in the middle ages. Elegance of his style and vivacity of his narrative soon gained him wide popularity among the Japanese reading public of the time.

Takayoshi Kamei 亀井高孝 who obtained the first degree in 1909 and taught Western History for a long time at the First High School (Ichi-ko, 第一高等学校) is known as the first Japanese student of Byzantine history (7).

Seinosuke Uyemura 植村清之助 obtained the first degree in 1910 and later established a school of medieval history in the University of Kyoto. He

4. 箕作元八『滯欧「藤梅日記」』井手文子・柴田三千雄編 (東京, 1984)

5. 東京大学百年史編集委員会編『東京大学百年史』8巻 (東京, 1984-87), 『部局史』I, p. 238.

6. Sakai, op. cit., pp. 110-117.

7. Sakai, op. cit., p. 104 ; Kamei's principal work is 『東ローマ帝国史』 (東京, 1948).

specialized in the earlier middle ages and his major work, 『西洋中世史の研究』  
(Studies in Medieval History of Europe, Tokyo, 1930 ) dealt with the Germanic  
Invasions and its aftermath. He died in 1928 at an early age (8) .

Kenji Yamanaka 山中謙二 was much younger than the three pioneering Japanese  
medievalists mentioned above, although he also was a pupil of Professor  
Mitsukuri. He finished the undergraduate course in 1918 and became the first  
medievalist to hold a professorship of European History in Tokyo University in  
1939. He spent the better part of his academic career in Tokyo University,  
being on its teaching staff from 1924 till 1954, and thus brought up many  
medievalists who became active in the 1940s and after. A doctorate was  
conferred on him by the University of Tokyo in 1947 for his work, 『フシーテン運  
動の研究』 (Studies in the Hussite Movements, Tokyo, 1948 ) .

While the first generation of Japanese medievalists were being brought up  
in Tokyo University, other centres of medieval studies were emerging elsewhere.  
These can be found in schools of economic history of various universities.  
Kentaro Nomura 野村兼太郎 who founded a school of economic history of Europe  
in Keio University was not a medievalist himself, although he wrote several  
articles relevant to the economic history of medieval England (9) . However,  
his pupil and successor, Shohei Takamura 高村象平, is a medievalist indeed and  
his principal work, 『西洋中世都市の研究』 (Studies in Medieval European Towns,  
2 vols, Tokyo, 1980 ) , contains valuable papers on the Hanseatic League and  
its member towns. Among the medievalists brought up in his school may be  
named Minoru Yasumoto 安元稔, Tadashi Nakano 中野忠, Toshio Sakata 酒田利夫,  
historians of medieval English towns, and Teruo Shiba 斯波照雄, the historian of  
Luebeck, who are all active at present.

The reference to Keio University brings in its train the name of its rival,

8. Sakai, op. cit., pp. 101-4, 198.

9. Sakai, op. cit., pp. 132-4. He is known as an exponent of Sir William  
Ashley's theory of English economic history.

Waseda University where Yoshitaka Komatsu 小松芳齋 opened a school of economic history of Europe in the 1930s. He studied under Richard Henry Tawney at London School of Economics and Political Science and was actively engaged in the study of agrarian conditions of England in the middle ages. His numerous articles have been edited and published in two volumes (10).

Another important centre of medieval studies which emerged in the 1930s was the Tokyo College of Commerce, later Hitotsubashi University, where Shinshichi Miura 三浦新七 established a school of European history. He studied in Leipzig under Karl Lamprecht in 1903-12. However, it was Senroku Uyehara 上原専禄 and Shiro Masuda 増田四郎 pupils of Miura, who brought the school of medieval history of Hitotsubashi University to its present position of high esteem. Uyehara studied in Vienna under Alphons Dopsch in 1923-25 and both he and Masuda chose economic history of the earlier middle ages as their field. Masuda, the younger of the two by some ten years and a productive writer, is now nearly eighty years old and still giving some impact on Japanese students of medieval Europe by his fresh publications (11). He was also a pioneer in the study of medieval European towns in Japan. The merit of Hitotsubashi school lies in its source method and fullness of documentation. Uyehara and Masuda between them brought up many medievalists of note among whom may be counted Kin-ichi Watanabe 渡辺金一, the Byzantinist, Kunio Konno 今野国雄, the ecclesiastical historian, Kingo Yamada 山田欣吾, the constitutional historian of medieval Germany, Shin-ichi Yonekawa 米川伸一, the economic historian of England, Koichiro Shimizu 清水広一郎, the urban historian of Italy, Kinya Abe 阿部謹也 working on social history of Germany in the later middle ages, Ichiro Nagai 永井

10. 『封建英国とその崩壊過程』(東京, 1944); 『イギリス封建制の成立と崩壊』(東京, 1971).
11. 『ヨーロッパ中世の社会史』(東京, 1985). Masuda's works are too numerous to be quoted here. They can be found in Appendix to the Festschrift in his honour: 栗原福也・山田欣吾・米川伸一編『ヨーロッパ - 経済・社会・文化』(東京, 1979), pp. 474-494. Uyehara's monographs were collected in the following two volumes: 『ドイツ中世史研究』(東京, 1942); 『ドイツ中世の社会と経済』(東京, 1949). His collected works are now in the press. For the history of the school of history of Hitotsubashi University, see 増田四郎「歴史学」(『一橋論叢 一橋大学創立80周年記念号 一橋学問の伝統と反省』1955); 山田欣吾「西洋史」(一橋大学学園史刊行委員会編『一橋大学学問史』東京1986).

一郎, the historian of medieval Wales, and Satoshi Kumano 熊野聡, the historian of medieval Norway.

Other centres include schools of legal history of Tokyo University and that of Hitotsubashi University. The former was founded by Michisaburo Miyazaki 宮崎道三郎 who was a historian of Japanese law. He was succeeded by Kaoru Nakada 中田薫 who, a historian of Japanese law as he was, had an active interest in comparative law and encouraged his pupils to study laws of various other nations. His interest in laws and institutions of medieval Europe was followed up by one of his successors, Masahata Kubo 久保正幡, who was the real founder of the school of medieval studies in the Law School of Tokyo University (12). His pupils include Terushiro Sera 世良晃志郎 who founded a school of European legal history in Tohoku University, Yuji Sasaki 佐々木有司, the student of Civil Law in the middle ages, and Michihiko Fuchi 淵倫彦, the canon law specialist. The school of European legal history in Hitotsubashi University was founded by Sanehide Machida 町田実秀 whose specialist study was concerned with the principle of majority rule in the middle ages (13). He was succeeded by Aritsune Katsuta 勝田有恒 who concentrates his attention on the problem of the 'Reception' in medieval and early modern Germany. Sera's school in Sendai also produced a few medievalists.

Another centre which I have left hitherto untouched is the school of economic history of Europe of Tokyo University. This was founded by Yoshio Hon-iden 本位田祥男 who appreciated the importance of comparative approach in the study of economic history. Though he was no medievalist, his encouragement of comparative approach produced in the School of Economics of Tokyo University a school of comparative economic history led by Hisao Otsuka 大塚久雄 who vigorously pursued studies in the rise of industrial capitalism in Western Europe and the origins of modern civil society in the West. This school was most active from the late 1930's till 1960 and had a profound influence in these

12. His principal work is 『西洋法制史研究』 (東京, 1952) which dealt with Germanic and Romanic elements in Frankish law.

13. 『多数決原理の研究』 (東京, 1958) .

years upon medieval studies in Japan in general. They looked upon contemporary Japanese society as semi-feudal and stressed the contrast between semi-feudal structure of Japanese economy and society on the one hand and civil society of the West with its industrial capitalism on the other, urging an intensive study of the process by which feudal society and economy was overcome and replaced by modern industrial capitalism and by which modern civil society was formed in Western Europe. By so urging they inspired many a younger student with ardour for study of such a process in various parts of Europe and thus contributed much to the advancement of Japanese studies in social and economic history of medieval and early modern Europe (14).

We have made a brief survey of schools of medieval studies which sprang up in institutions of higher education in Japan. In so doing I have deliberately spared the story of further development of the Department of European History of the University of Tokyo and its off-shoots. It is time we return to this topic. Concurring with the school of comparative economic history in the School of Economics a school of modern history under Toshiki Imai 今井登志喜 was active in the Department of European History. Imai was another pupil of Mitsukuri's and later joined the teaching staff of the Department in 1921, staying on until his retirement in 1947. He tried to cast off the old-fashioned political history of the style of Ranke and to introduce a new style of historical writing which he called social history. He was probably also the first historian who saw the importance of urban studies and urban history (15). The combined influence of Imai's school and Hon-iden's school produced a group of important scholars and teachers among whom Hisao Otsuka whom I have already mentioned, Tomoo Matsuda 松田智雄 and Kohachiro Takahashi 高橋幸八郎 were the most distinguished (16). They were not necessarily medievalists and none the less they had an interest in and an eye for the middle ages in the sense I have already discussed.

14. For Otsuka's publications, see 『大塚久雄著作集』10巻（東京，1969）。

15. 『都市発達史研究』（東京，1951）；『英国社会史』2巻（東京，1957）。

16. 高橋幸八郎「所謂農奴解放について」（『史学雑誌』51, 1940）。He was a professor at 京城帝国大学 some time in the early 1940's.

On the other hand the school of medieval history in the proper sense of the word under Kenji Yamanaka produced the second generation of medievalists led by Yojo Horigome 堀米庸三. Horigome's chief interest laid in the peculiarities of medieval state, how it differed from modern state, the role feudalism played in medieval state, and how the latter was transformed into modern one. He studied these theoretical problems chiefly drawing on evidences from German history and occasionally introducing English and French cases for comparison (17). He was also the founder of a school of medieval history at Hokkaido University where he taught from 1947 to 1956 when he succeeded Yamanaka at Tokyo. Other scholars who went into the study of medieval history under the influence of either Imai or Yamanaka included Masayoshi Tanaka 田中正義, the proponent of Germanist view of Anglo-Saxon England, Rikuro Imaki 今来陵郎, the urban historian who opened a school of medieval history in Kyushu University, Tomosuke Hashiguchi 橋口倫介, the ecclesiastical historian who established a school of medieval history at Sophia University, Hiroshi Mori 森洋, the specialist of early medieval France and the successor of Imaki at Kyushu University, Tadao Kitamura 北村忠夫, the constitutional historian of medieval Germany who founded a school of medieval history in Nagoya University, Makio Shindo 進藤牧郎, the first Japanese historian of the Czechs in the middle ages, Yoshinobu Aoyama 青山吉信, the proponent of Romanist view of Anglo-Saxon England and the rival of Tanaka, Yoko Miyoshi, the economic historian of medieval England who is with us here, Shozaburo Kimura 木村尚三郎, the historian of medieval France, Shigeyuki Fujita 藤田重行, another economic historian of medieval England, Ichiro Tochikawa 椽川一朗, the economic historian of medieval France and Germany, Hiroshi Fujiwara 藤原浩, the historian of medieval England who died early, Yoji Tanaka 田中陽児, the historian of medieval Russia, Shigeto Toriyama 鳥山成人, the historian of medieval Eastern Europe, Masami Watanabe 渡辺昌美, the historian of the Catharist heresy and medieval southern France, and Masayoshi Uozumi, the historian of German towns who is with us here.

17. 『ヨーロッパ中世世界の構造』(東京, 1976) .

The school of medieval history planted in Kyoto by Uyemura produced his successor in the person of Shigetaka Suzuki 鈴木成高 who, however, was proscribed after the War owing to his writings during the war years and later moved to Waseda University where he established a school of medieval history. The school of Kyoto was later succeeded by Yuji Aida 会田雄次, the historian of Renaissance Italy, Kenjiro Nakamura 中村賢二郎 and Yoshio Sehara 瀬原義生, historians of German towns. Suzuki in Waseda was succeeded by his two pupils, Naoji Nozaki 野崎直治, the historian of rural Germany in the middle ages, and Yoji Noguchi 野口洋二 whose chief interest lies in the period of the Gregorian Reform and Investiture Contest. Suzuki's pupils include Kin-ichi Ogura 小倉欣一, the historian of German towns.

In recent years the most active and productive centres have been schools of Tohoku University, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo University, Kyoto University and Kyushu University followed by Sophia, Keio, Waseda, Tokyo Metropolitan, Nagoya, Osaka and perhaps Hiroshima Universities. The school of medieval history at Hokkaido University was very active and productive while it was led by Horigome and we can still find his pupils in key positions in various Schools of the University. It is to be regretted, however, that it is not as active and productive as it once used to be. Tohoku University in Sendai enjoys a special position in that it has strong representation of specialists of English history in the Schools of Arts, Economics and Law all of whom, even those who are not medievalists any more, have an experience of research in medieval English history. There is also a remarkable centre of research in medieval France and Belgium in Kyushu University where Hiroshi Mori in the School of Arts and Yoshiki Morimoto 森本芳樹, a pupil of Kohachiro Takahashi's, in the School of Economics, coordinate their efforts to swell the ranks of students working on medieval France and Low Countries. Mori studied under Jouon des Longrais at the Ecole des Chartes of Paris and Morimoto under Leopold Genicot at Louvain. Both of them are extremely good supervisors and organizers of research and their influence will be increasingly felt among Japanese students of medieval Europe in the coming years. Morimoto's active



participation in academic activities of French speaking institutions of Europe must also be noted. The school of medieval history at Sophia University has been greatly enlarged and strengthened by Tomosuke Hashiguchi. The University is a Catholic missionary institution and its school of medieval history is strong in ecclesiastical history and medieval Spain.

Finally the school of medieval history in the University of Tokyo at present consists of three professors, two assistants and eight research students of whom six including an assistant are engaged in research overseas, i.e., one in Germany, four in France and one in the U.S. Of the three professors, Professor Kimura, a senior professor, is a pupil of Yamanaka's. Professor Koichi Kabayama 榊山絃一 and I are Horigome's pupils. Kimura and Kabayama are historians of medieval France and I work on England in the middle ages. Each of the two assistants work either on France or on England. Of the eight research students, two work on Germany, three on France, one on Sicily (now in the U.S.), one on Anglo-Norman history and one on Hungary. Thus as you see medievalists now active in Japan extend from the second to the fourth generation of which I myself belong to the third one. I must add also that in the limited space of this paper I am unable to enumerate all the names and works of those medievalists especially of the third and fourth generations. For the names and works of those scholars I hope you will refer to the bibliographical works cited in footnotes of this paper, the fifth fascicule of Shigaku Zasshi's each volume and papers to be read hereafter by my colleagues.

We now turn to subjects of study. Apart from Orui's work which dealt chiefly with history of art and intellectual history, in the earlier phase of the development of Japanese studies in medieval history of Europe students seemed to prefer topics of social and economic history, and that from German history, topics from English history coming second. With the rise of comparative economic history such studies as seek origins and embryos of industrial capitalism in European societies of the last phase of the middle ages increased in the 1950's. The theory of Otsuka's school emphasized the

disintegration of feudal landownership and village community as theoretical premises for the rise of industrial capitalism and thus induced many students to work on agrarian history of various parts of Europe. This vogue of agrarian studies for the first time brought Japanese students of medieval Europe really in touch with sources and trained them to work through sources. It also taught them the importance of local history and other auxiliary sciences. Elsewhere Horigome's studies in medieval state animated discussions about the ultimate social unit or cell of feudal society. Kimura's intervention in this discussion with evidences from French history first opened students' eyes to medieval history of France (18) .

A new theory of German constitutional history was introduced toward the late 1950's. This denied the existence of common freemen as such in the Frankish period and after, interpreting references to freemen in laws and charters as expressing the existence of a category of people serving the king's special needs and under his special protection. This theory of king's freemen occupied the centre of discussion for a time during the sixties and had influence even on students of French and English history. The rejection of the theory of common freemen had as its corollary the theory of noble lordship which emphasized the universal existence and antiquity of noble lordship among Germanic peoples. This gave rise to a new interpretation of Anglo-Saxon history rivalling the classical Germanist theory which took common freemen for granted. In the field of English history the debate about the nature and proliferation of wage labour was joined by many scholars. The ninth centenary of the Norman Conquest in 1966 also gave occasion to a running discussion about the nature of English feudalism and how the Conquest contributed to the feudalization of England. From these years onwards there occurred a gradual transition of the centre of discussion from the field of social and economic to political and constitutional topics. The study of urban history also gained strength both in English history and history of continental Europe culminating

18. For subjects discussed up to 1982, see 国際歴史学会議日本国内委員会編『日本における歴史学の発達と現状』6巻(東京, 1959-85) .

in the formation of the Comparative Urban History Group in 1971 which still remains one of the most active study group. Increasing industrialization and urbanization of Japanese society in the last two decades surely has had a profound influence upon the minds of historians. In the field of urban history from the seventies onwards the relationship between towns and surrounding countryside is being reexamined. Roughly from the same period in the field of rural history of England sociological studies has been on the increase. The whole question of the Gregorian Reform and Investiture Contest with its historical antecedents and consequences had been subjected to a systematic scrutiny from the middle of the sixties onwards until 1980 when a symposium was held at Tohoku University on this topic. The study of German principalities in its varying aspects has been also a constant subject of discussion from the fifties onwards and works on this subject is still on the increase.

All in all we may conclude that an increasing differentiation and specialization of interests and works has been the most distinctive feature of the evolution of study. Thus it is difficult to summarize in brief the present state of Japanese studies in medieval history of Europe and to indicate the tasks facing students in this field of study. One of the notable aspects which has not been mentioned in this short survey is the increasing influence of the French Annales school. Talks of their works have been much in the air in recent years and the translations of their works and works done under their influence have been carried on at an increasing pace by historians and by students of French literature. It still remains to be seen what practical results the impact of the Annales school and the school of 'social history' will produce in the academic world of Japanese historians.

Another point of criticism to be directed to the Japanese works on medieval history of Europe may start from the fact that apart from a few exceptions most of them are works for home consumption even though they dealt with non-Japanese subjects and they lack a comparative point of view. It may be argued that they

contribute to a better understanding of Western Civilization which has been so dominating an influence in the making of the modern world. But the task of public enlightenment belongs properly to general histories and vulgarizing works not to specialist studies. Still it may be asked if educating ourselves in Western Civilization is the only purpose of specialist studies of European history in Japan or for that matter in East Asia in general. It seems to me that in two respects Japanese works on medieval history of Europe still leave much to be desired. First, most of them do not show the merit of being works of Japanese or to put it in another way authors do not take enough advantage of the fact that they can view medieval history of Europe from an angle different from Europeans or Americans. That they ask the same questions and see them from the same angle as Europeans or Americans is to some extent inevitable and excusable since all academic works follow established methods in each field and works on medieval Europe wherever they are being pursued carry on works begun in Western Europe. Why then, it may be asked, are they done only for home consumption and not open for the use or criticism of scholars overseas? Because there is the major question of the language of publication. It is time, however, this obstacle was overcome and a breakthrough of communication made between Eastern and Western scholars of medieval Europe since they share the same subject of study and it will be a major task of Japanese scholars in the coming years to bring about this breakthrough. In this optimistic note I will close this paper.