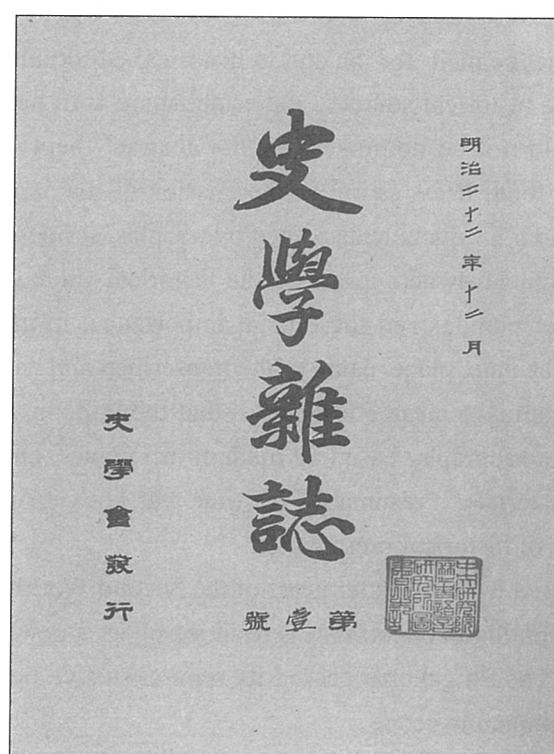


Footnotes in Japanese Historical Writing: the Evidence of the *Shigaku zasshi*



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1. A BRIEF HISTORY OF *SHIGAKU ZASSHI*

The Shigakukai (Historical Society of Japan) was founded in 1889 with a monthly bulletin, *Shigakukai zasshi*, published by Daiseikan 大成館; in 1892, the publication was renamed *Shigaku zasshi*, and the publisher changed to Fuzanbō 富山房. The inaugural issues of the journal carried contributions from Shigeno Yasutsugu 重野安繹, Kume Kunitake 久米邦武, and others in the Japanese history department at Tokyo Imperial University. Issue five saw the participation of Ludwig Riess (1861-1928), a visiting professor at Tokyo Imperial University, and former student of Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) at the University of Berlin. In an article titled, “Suggestions for the Editing of *Shigakukai zasshi*” (*Shigakukai zasshi henshū ni tsuite no iken* 史学会雑誌編集に付ての意見), Riess called for an end to historical editorializing, and urged a new emphasis on gathering historical sources, and establishing firm historical facts. Arguing that the journal should not be dominated by the abstract theories of which Japanese scholars tended to be fond, Riess saw it as the mission of the *Shigaku zasshi*, rather, to inspire scholars to search for documents owned by temples, shrines, and private individuals, and to make document owners aware of the historical value of the sources in their possession. He further emphasized the crucial importance, in gathering materials, of ascertaining precisely the date, place, name of the transcriber, and nature of the sources.

As these concerns make clear, Riess hoped that the bulletin would lead the way in forging a Japanese historiography based on modern techniques, one solidly grounded on authentic historical materials. Presumably, the time was not yet ripe for commentary on the stylistic protocols of historical presentation.

The journal faltered from the latter years of the Second World War through the early postwar period, but monthly publication was resumed under a new policy beginning with volume 58 in 1949. The Shigakukai ceased its semi-exclusive ties to the University of Tokyo, and became national in scope.

The first issue of Volume 58 was prefaced with the following comment:

Since its founding in 1889 as the most prestigious learned society in Japanese historical science, our Shigakukai has undertaken many projects. In particular, our bulletin, *Shigaku zasshi*, has carried numerous outstanding articles and thus contributed positively to the development of the field, as is universally recognized. The severe difficulties in operation that we have experienced as a result of the Great War and its aftermath are thus a matter of deepest regret. We now stand ready to rebuild the Shigakukai, firmly determined to make a fresh start. We are prepared to undertake a complete overhaul of the society journal and run the society by committee, putting out a monthly journal full of new information.

2. THE STYLE OF ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN *SHIGAKU ZASSHI* (1937-1944)

Currently all articles published in *Shigaku zasshi* are footnoted. This style, however, did not become standard until after 1945. As will be explained later, the first article with footnotes to be published in *Shigaku zasshi* appeared in 1913; for many years after that, the journal contained a mix of articles with and without footnotes.

I conducted a simple survey of 198 articles published in the *Shigaku zasshi* during the eight-year period from 1937 (Vol. 48) through 1944 (Vol. 55). In the case of articles published serially, each installment was counted separately. Although there were no dramatic changes in style during these years, the survey gives some sense of the situation in the transition period prior to the establishment of a standard format.

The 198 articles may be divided into the following categories.

Japanese history	95
Oriental history	89
Western history	<u>14</u>
Total	198

The number of footnoted articles in each category is indicated below, by year.

	Japanese history	Oriental history	Western history
1937	8/10	11/11	3/4
1938	12/12	8/10	2/2
1939	11/12	12/12	0/0
1940	9/12	12/12	4/4
1941	13/14	9/9	0/1
1942	13/14	11/12	1/1
1943	11/13	11/11	1/1
1944	6/8	12/12	1/1
* Note: X/Y indicates that of a total of Y articles, X had footnotes.			

As the above chart makes clear, the proportion of essays on Western history published in *Shigaku zasshi* was quite small in comparison to those on Japanese or Oriental history—a trend that faithfully reflects the circumstances of the society's inception. As the inaugural issue of *Shigakukai zasshi* explained:

The aim of publishing this magazine is to conduct historical research and elucidate methods of editing Japanese history. To this end, we have established five categories. [First, there will be] articles dealing with the compilation of Japanese history and historical research; in addition, articles in scientific fields related to historical science (i.e., anthropology, linguistics, chronology, geography, etc.); articles deemed useful for reference on the history of foreign countries, will likewise be included.

This primary aim guiding historical studies in the early modern era, in sum, was the compilation of a history of Japan.

3. THE STYLE OF ARTICLES WRITTEN AT TOKYO IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY BY RIESS AND HIS STUDENTS

When the Tokyo University Faculty of Literature was founded in 1877, the Department of Japanese and Chinese Literature offered little more than a single course in ancient Chinese history. Nine years later, in 1886, the University of Tokyo became a state-governed Imperial University, and a new course was added in Chinese history. The following year saw the creation of three new departments—History, English Literature, and German Literature—with a slightly more elaborate curriculum. The History Department included lectures on Japanese history, but in 1889 a new Department of Japanese History was founded which offered, in addition to courses on Japanese history, courses on historical science and Chinese history as well. Thus the peculiar situation came about of a newly-created Department of Japanese History offering courses on the history of China—an apparent anomaly that may be understood in part as a reflection of the contemporary geopolitical reality of confrontation between Japan and Qing China. The *Shigakukai* was founded to tie together this multidepartmental sprawl of historical studies at Tokyo Imperial University within the frame of a single academic organization. Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉 (1865-1942), to whom I shall return shortly, took an active role in establishing the society while he was still a student. The history course offerings at the University continued to undergo complex modifications, but in 1909 a Department of Oriental History was created to cover the history not only of China but of the entire Orient.

Riess was invited to teach in the History Department of Tokyo Imperial University in 1887, and remained a member of the faculty until 1902. Among his students were Murakami Naojirō 村上直次郎 (history of diplomacy in medieval Japan; professor in the Department of Education of Taipei Imperial University, 1928-1935); Murakawa Kengo 村川堅固 (ancient Western history; studied abroad at the University of Munich); Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉 (Oriental history); Kōda Shigetomo 幸田成友 (medieval Japanese history and social economic history; younger brother of fiction writer Kōda Rohan 幸田露伴); Uchida Ginzō 内田銀蔵 (Japanese economic history); Kida Sadakichi 喜田貞吉 (Japanese history); Kuroita Katsumi 黒板勝美 (Japanese history); Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助 (history of Japanese Buddhism); and Riess's son-in-law, Abe Hidesuke 阿部秀助 (Japanese economic history).

With the exception of Murakami Naojirō, all of these young and promising scholars published articles in the *Shigaku zasshi*.^① Only Shiratori Kurakichi, however, published an article with notes-and this contribution, as we shall soon see, was late in coming. Riess apparently never sought to teach his students the fine points of academic format. But then Riess's own contributions to the bulletin also lacked notes.^②

4. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FOOTNOTING AND REFERENCES

Since his student days, the Oriental historian Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉 maintained a strong interest in Riess's lectures, seeing in them an attempt to move beyond the conventional theories and methods of the past to a modern, European-style approach to history. Riess's lectures emphasized the methodology of historical research, and in particular the importance of a critical stance toward historical sources. With the exception of some who attempted to build up historical studies outside academia, and the germs of new historical research glimpsed in the latter half of the early modern period, the judgment that the modern study of history in Japan began with Riess is not far off the mark.

The first article in *Shigaku zasshi* with references (参照) functioning as notes (註) was "A Study of Koryo Borders (Part One)" 『高句麗疆域沿革考 (第一回)』 by Shiratori's junior colleague Yanai Watari 箭内互, then a professor at Daiichi Kōtō Gakkō 第一高等学校. The article appeared in Vol. 24, no. 13, in 1913-fully 24 years after the magazine's founding. Until then, no article in the bulletin had carried either notes or references. Shiratori's own first use of references in *Shigaku zasshi* was in 1917 (Vol. 28, no. 8). Interestingly, a later two-part article by Yanai published in Vol. 26, nos. 7 and 10, included no references, despite his earlier use of them.

It may be conjectured that the contributions of Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原隲藏(1870-

① The first appearances of publications by these students of Riess are as follows:

1900 Vol. 11, No. 1 Uchida Ginzō (then lecturer in history in the Department of Japanese History, Tokyo Imperial University)
Vol. 11, No. 9 Tsuji Zennosuke (then a graduate student in the Department of Japanese History, Tokyo Imperial University)
1902 Vol. 13, No. 2 Kuroita Katsumi (then lecturer in the Department of Japanese History, Tokyo Imperial University)
1905 Vol. 16, No. 4 Kida Sadakichi (then book screener for the Education Ministry)
1908 Vol. 19, No. 1 Murakawa Kengo (then associate professor at Tokyo Imperial University)
Vol. 19, No. 3 Abe Hidesuke (then on the faculty of Keio University)
1915 Vol. 26, No. 8 Kōda Shigetomo (then on the faculty of Keio University)

② Riess's contributions to *Shigaku zasshi*:

"Ancient Documents Pertaining to Japanese History in The Hague, Netherlands" (*Orankoku hēgushi ni okeru nihon rekishini kansuru kobunsho*) 和蘭国へグ市ニ於ル日本歴史ニ関する古文書 Vol. 7, no. 8, 1896.

"Heinrich von Treichke" [phonetic] (ハインリッフォントライチュケ) Vol. 7, no. 8, 1896.

"History of the British Trading House at Hirado" (*Hirado ni okeru eikoku shokan no rekishi*) 平にける英国商館の歴史 Vol. 10, nos. 1 and 2, 1899.

"Why the Portuguese Were Expelled from Japan (1614-1639)" (*Porutogarujin nihon yori hochiku serareshi genin (1614-1639 nen)* 葡萄牙人日本より放逐せられし原因(1614-1639年) Vol. 10, nos. 4, 5 and 6, 1899.

1931), then professor of Oriental history at Kyoto Imperial University, played a key role in stimulating other Japanese historians to attach notes and/or references to their essays. In the span of a few years, Kuwabara published a rapid succession of scholarly articles with detailed references, his byline appearing in vol. 26 no. 10 (1915), vol. 27 nos. 2, 7, 8, and 9 (1916), vol. 28 no. 9 (1917), and vol. 29 no. 7 (1918) of *Shigaku zasshi*. His writings were shining models of systematic annotation. Although Kuwabara also attended Riess's lectures, his name is not included in the list above because he was enrolled in the Sinology, rather than History Department. It should be noted that his essays employ an academic style completely different from Riess's.

The emergence of footnoted articles in *Shigaku zasshi* at the beginning of the Taisho era (1912-1925) harmonizes with the recollection of historians who would, in retrospect, identify the Meiji-Taisho transition more generally as a turning point in the evolution of historical studies in Japan.

Takayanagi 高柳 : Would you say it was around the end of the Meiji era that history first began to take shape as an academic discipline in Japan?

Nakayama 中山 : The end of Meiji sounds about right.

Niimi 新見 : Yes, until then all anybody did was examine the authenticity of historical texts. Essays by professors of Japanese history back then are all concerned with that and nothing else. Criticism of materials.

Ōkubo 大久保 : You can tell from the kinds of articles they used to run in *Shigaku zasshi*. Mostly they have titles like "About Such-and-such" or "Thoughts on Such-and-such."

Takayanagi 高柳 : In short, the field of history began to come into its own as an academic discipline sometime around the end of Meiji.^③

5. THE MAIDEN ISSUE OF SHIRIN 『史林』

What motivated Kuwabara Jitsuzō's to add detailed notes to his articles? In interpreting the development of Japanese historiography, the question is one we cannot ignore. As noted above, Kuwabara was a student in the Sinology Department of the Faculty of Liberal Arts at Tokyo Imperial University. Back then, Oriental history was treated as a subset of Sinology. It was Kuwabara's ambition to establish Oriental history as an academic field parallel to Western history. After graduation, he taught at the Daisan Kōtō Gakkō 第三高等学校, and then took a post in 1899 at the Tokyo Kōtō Shiha Gakkō 東京高等師範学校; in 1909, after two years of study abroad in Manchuria, he returned to Japan and became professor at Kyoto Imperial University. Dissatisfied with the Qing dynasty tradition of critical studies (*kōshōgaku* 考証学), Kuwabara sought to replace it with a new approach to history based on scientific princi-

③ Igi et al, "Round-table discussion," 1959.

ples. This fresh, scientific vision of history is presumably what led Kuwabara to compose well-documented treatises fully comparable to the best of Western historical writing.

Oriental history was first offered in Japan at the Gakushūin or Peers' School, and taught by Shiratori Kurakichi. Shiratori went on, in 1911, to become professor of Oriental history at Tokyo Imperial University. The fact that Shiratori had graduated from the History Department of Tokyo Imperial University, while Kuwabara was a graduate of the Sinology Department may well have affected the two men's relationship, but the matter awaits further inquiry. Although Shiratori was directly influenced by Riess, Kuwabara's essays were, as we have already noted, far more modern in their presentation.

1915 saw the first appearance of an article by Kuwabara in the *Shigaku zasshi*. In 1916, just one year later, a history study group was inaugurated in the Faculty of Literature of Kyoto Imperial University with a bulletin named *Shirin* 史林. The articles in *Shirin* did not all have notes. Still, scattered through its pages were full-length treatises (genuine research papers) with notes and references of various sorts. Even shorter reports on research in progress occasionally cite references. In general, the articles in *Shirin* display greater attention to footnoting than contributions in *Shigaku zasshi*.

There is recorded testimony relating to Kuwabara Jitsuzō's use of annotation. Six men who either studied directly under Kuwabara or were around him spoke together in a round-table discussion. They included Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定 (Oriental history), Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 (Chinese literature), Kaizuka Shigeki 貝塚茂樹 (Oriental history), Kuwabara Takeo 桑原威夫 (son of Jitsuzō 鷗造; French literature), Tamura Jitsuzō 田村実造 (Oriental history), and Mori Rokuzō 森鹿三 (Oriental history, legal history, and historical geography).

The following is an excerpt from their discussion:

KAIZUKA: Professor Kuwabara [Jitsuzō] had the utmost regard for his sources. I would say he even surpassed Professor Haneda Tei 羽田亨 in that respect. He would verify everything; he always felt it was a terrible inconvenience when there was no index. If the need arose he would scour the *Twenty-four Dynastic Histories* from beginning to end.

KUWABARA [TAKEO]: He made cards for the purpose.

KAIZUKA: He made notecards, so there must be boxes of them somewhere. That's what gave him such supreme confidence when offering his opinion. He would say flat out, "I researched such-and-such a matter, and this is the way it is." He was able to make strong assertions. It's a very difficult thing to do. He certainly was a great man. No one else could do that.

YOSHIKAWA: To say that something *isn't* mentioned is certainly difficult. Saying that it *is* mentioned is not so hard.

TAMURA: Speaking of indexes, whose idea was it for us to make indexes for all those works in the *Twenty-four Dynastic Histories-The Records of the Grand Historian, The Han History, The Later Han History, and the Liang History, Jin History, and Yuan History?*

KAIZUKA: It must have been Professor Kuwabara. The scrupulous notes he attached to his

articles were the fruit of that research.⁴

Kaizuka's comments reveal that Kuwabara Jitsuzō's method of annotating his research had indeed attracted the attention of contemporary historians. Later in the same discussion, Miyazaki speculates that Kuwabara's scholarship may have been closely linked to his exceptional proficiency in mathematics. Echoing this, Kuwabara's son, Takeo, remarks that his father's view of scholarship was highly scientific and shaped by his mathematical training, and that he conceived of history as a science. Although the influence of Western history on Kuwabara's academic style is easily imagined, his application of that style to the study of Oriental history may well reflect his innate scientific bent.

To summarize, my hypothesis is that in the second decade of the twentieth century, Kuwabara Jitsuzō, a professor at Kyoto Imperial University who devoted himself to establishing Oriental history as an academic discipline in Japan, played a critical role in reshaping the form of Japanese historical writing. Kuwabara is deservedly well-known for his superb studies on the history of east-west negotiations, but until now his influence on the *style* of historical presentation has been overlooked. Further research on this aspect of Kuwabara's contribution would doubtless shed fresh light on the development of Japanese historiography. His relations with friends and teachers while a student at Tokyo Imperial University, too, await more detailed investigation.

⁴ Yoshikawa, 1976.

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