

ヨーロッパ人の目から見た日本とオスマン 帝国

ドイツ語圏における比較

JAPAN AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE EYE OF THE EUROPEAN BEHOLDER A COMPARISON

二国間交流セミナー (京都大学, 文学部第7講義室)

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PROGRAMME – CONFERENCE REPORT – SUMMARIES

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Travelogues

CONFERENCE REPORT

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The interdisciplinary joint seminar, which took place at the University of Kyoto on 1st and 2nd June 2019, compared perceptions of Japan and the Ottoman Empire in the Holy Roman Empire during the Early Modern Period. By doing so, the seminar responded to a researched desideratum: While perceptions of the Ottoman Empire have been the focus of research for decades, interest in the perception of Japan is recent and research has focused mostly on Jesuit missions and the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Comparisons of Japan and the Ottoman Empire, however, are lacking. Organised by Haruka Oba (Kurume University, Japan), Arno Strohmeier (ÖAW, INZ, Vienna and University of Salzburg), Marion Romberg and Doris Gruber (both ÖAW, INZ, Vienna), the seminar brought together specialists from Europe and Japan as well as their broad material base, ranging from diplomatic correspondence to travelogues, plays, and sculptural and pictorial sources.

YOSHIHISA HATTORI (Kyoto) inaugurated the seminar with an introduction on 'Historiography in Japan and Austria'. In light of this year's celebration of the 150th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Austria and Japan, he presented insights into his academic and personal experiences in both countries and highlighted the mutual benefits of cooperation and exchange.

This was followed by ARNO STROHMEYER (Salzburg/Vienna) who laid the theoretical and methodological groundwork by discussing 'otherness' as a category of research and posing the questions: What does 'otherness' mean? How can 'otherness' be further analysed? Why should we analyse the images of the Ottoman Empire and Japan in the Holy Roman Empire in the 21st century? He characterised 'other-

ness' as an elementary anthropological phenomenon that can be found in all historical contexts and fruitfully explored throughout all epochs. While he emphasised that 'otherness' is a social construct and inseparably connected with individual or collective self-images he suggested two cognitive dimensions that allow further analysis: difference and distance. He also pointed out that the analysis of 'otherness' today can allow us to gain deeper understanding of how identities are constructed as well as the process of understanding that can cause the 'foreign' to dissolve into the 'familiar'. Research on the Early Modern Period, he accentuated, can offer orientation on these highly topical processes.

The first session focused on the Jesuits and their world missions. TOBIAS WINNERLING (Düsseldorf) compared perceptions of foreign political and religious systems and showed that analogies to European systems played a major role but developed in different ways. Concerning Japan, starting with Francisco de Javier SJ in his first letter from Kagoshima in 1549, Jesuit missionaries were thought to have identified a religious leader like the pope in the tennō and a secular ruler like the Holy Roman Emperor in the shogun. Although the Jesuit order itself soon refrained from comparing Japan politically to the Holy Roman Empire, the concept still proliferated, especially in German language tracts from the late 16th century onwards. This concept was also employed to the Ottoman Sultan and Mufti. This way, an analogy between the Ottoman Empire and Japan was established and resulted in a likening of Japanese Buddhism to Islam. Winnerling argued that this perception changed in respect to the Ottoman Empire in the early 18th century as the religious establishment was no longer likened to the Roman Church or the

pope. In the case of Japan, Winnerling proclaimed a different development as, despite new evidence, the topical comparison of tennō to pope and shogun to Holy Roman Emperor continued to be visible in the works, for example, of Engelbert Kaempfer. However, the exact nature of this process, as Winnerling pointed out, needs further investigation.

AKIHIKO WATANABE (Tokyo) focused on Jesuit school literature by analysing two literary works written in classicizing neo-Latin, both performed in the Munich Jesuit Gymnasium in 1665 (BSB CLM 1554 195r–222r). The first one focused on the Battle of Saint Gotthard and Franz Graf von Fugger-Weißenhorn-Nordendorf (1612–1664), and the second on the martyrdom of Nagasaki in 1597 and one of the Japanese Christian converts, Ginsei Ogasawara. Watanabe showed that the two works are in many ways similar as both texts are thematically linked by the idea of Christian victory, part of the same distinctly European tradition of classical neo-Latin literature, produced in close temporal proximity to each other and written for the same audience/readership. Watanabe showed that both works feature numerous echoes of Greco-Roman tradition but adapted it in different ways. While the first play presented the Ottomans as overwhelmingly negative and barbaric, the second one on Japan contains a somewhat greater amount of specific information regarding pagan Japan, and the Japanese characters themselves are modelled more on Greco-Roman stock types than the actual historical figures reported in Jesuit sources.

Expanding this comparison, the second panel focused on exoticism in theatre. MICHAEL HÜTTLER (Vienna) provided broad insights into perceptions of the Ottomans in European (Music) Theatre from the 17th to the 19th century. These images, he argued, continue to influence European perceptions of the Ottoman Empire up to the present day. Referring to a wide range of plays, Hüttler showed that the cultural transfer between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire (and vice versa) in music and theatre had a twofold dimension. It was, on the one hand,

connected with actual travelling diplomats and artists while on the other hand, many 'products' of Western artists, such as paintings, 'Singspiele' and dramatic texts were pure orientalist fantasies. In diachronic perspective, he showed that the image of the Ottomans was dichotomous as well, changing from cruel and barbaric to exotic and noble. This process, as Hüttler demonstrated, was closely connected to sociocultural and military events, resembling the military thread of the Ottomans and the failed siege of Vienna in 1683 or the rise of the Enlightenment.

HARUKA OBA (Kurume) scrutinised the depiction of Japanese villains in the 17th century Jesuit drama. Starting from a painting in the Jesuit church in Innsbruck, which shows three Japanese Jesuits crucified by a fellow kinsman in Nagasaki in 1597, she pointed out that European artists distinguished between 'bad' and 'good' Japanese, at least at times, by drawing on specific images of otherness. She showed that martyrs and their supporters were partly depicted as similar to Europeans, for example, with white skin, while 'bad' (read: pagan) people were portrayed as Turks. This method of portraying opposition between parties of different religions can also be found in theatre plays. By drawing on familiar concepts of otherness, the playwrights and artists were able to explain the hostility between Christians and pagans in Japan to the European audience. But, as Oba emphasised, more images and plays need to be collected and analysed to gain a deeper insight into this aspect.

The second workshop day started with the panel 'Otherness in Travelogues'. DORIS GRUBER (Vienna) assumed that travelogues are, like any media, strongly interconnected. To map these interconnections Gruber introduced a new concept of intermediality that builds on the theories of Gérard Genette, Irina O. Rajewsky and Werner Wolf, and aims to unite all relations between (different) media and allow semi-automatic analysis. In this concept, intermediality has five main subcategories linked to the coding of the information: intertextuality, interpictureality, intermusicality, intermateriality, and intercontextuality.

Each of them has several subcategories. The digital humanities project 'Travelogues: Perceptions of the Other 1500–1876 – A Computerized Analysis' is currently testing the practical application of this concept on German language travelogues stored in the Austrian National Library. By doing so the project team wants to answer the question of which travelogues were the most influential, why this was the case and what this tells us today about perceptions of otherness in general, especially about transformations of (certain) stereotypes and prejudices in the German speaking world.

Following her talk, MICHAEL HARBSMEIER (Roskilde) took a different approach on the same source type. He focused on the concept of hospitality (Jacques Derrida & René Schérer) and presented it as a key to a better understanding of the ways in which travellers have been treated and received as guests by the hosts representing the countries, societies or empires they visited. Focusing more precisely on accounts of early modern travellers to Japan and the Ottoman Empire, Harbsmeier argued that any generalisation across the different experiences of pilgrims, merchants, soldiers, diplomats, scholars, tourists or any combination of these roles seem impossible, as all have been hosted and treated as strangers and guests in so many different ways. For the purpose of comparison, however, Harbsmeier singled out three broad categories of travellers represented in accounts on Japan as well as the Ottoman Empire: merchants/traders, diplomats and captives. In respect of the Japanese hosts, Harbsmeier identified one common pattern: they invariably identified and interrogated their guests intensively before serving food, shelter and entertainment.

In the fourth panel the focus laid on images and goods. SUSANNE FRIEDRICH (Munich/Erfurt) highlighted the role of merchandise in Early Modern European perceptions of Japan. She pointed out that during the 17th and early 18th centuries most Europeans more likely came into touch with Japanese

goods or by reading learned tracts about Japan rather than with people who had been there. Adopting the material culture approach of historians such as Anne Gerritsen or Giorgio Riello, she analysed the role of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in these processes. Since 1639, the VOC was the only European trading company allowed to trade with Japan. It exported a broad range of products from Japan, yet only a handful of luxury items were explicitly called 'Japanese' on reaching the European market. Using lacquer work and tea as examples Friedrich showed which notions about their country of origin were transmitted by, or alongside, these products. She concluded that one cannot speak of a single and coherent image of Japan in Early Modern Europe, but rather of a conglomerate of different aspects, accentuated unequally by various actors, of which the VOC was just one.

MARION ROMBERG (Vienna) shifted the focus to rural culture by analysing mural paintings in parish churches and especially the iconographic tradition of personifications of Asia. She pointed out that mural paintings play a special role among pictorial sources due to their 'stabilitas loci' and accessibility. She showed that the iconography of the four continents was very popular in South Germany during the 18th century. Based on the source corpus freely accessible in the database 'Continent Allegories in the Baroque Age' (<https://continentallegories.univie.ac.at>) Romberg identified two iconographic traditions of personification of Asia: It was linked either to a white European with an exotic headdress or to an Ottoman sultan. Romberg concluded that personifications of Asia transported a culturally religious image, formed by stereotypes and not geopolitical realities. The dominant criteria remained the denominational belonging. The main message of the Continent Allegories, Romberg argued, was the world united in faith and the triumphant church. Asia, as the other, was defined by a Europe that saw itself as the defender and source of Christian faith and which needed to be converted or was already part of the Catholic world community. Romberg concluded by referring to previous talks in the JS on how the image of the Japanese and the Turk

was intermixed. The determination of the contemporaries' identification of the Asia personification with a special ethnographical group such as the Turk or Japanese depended on the active knowledge of the spectator (e.g. artist, clergy, patron, parish), which needs further analysis in respect to the diffusion of knowledge about Japan.

For the last panel, the speakers switched to the perception of Japan and the Ottoman Empire beyond the Holy Roman Empire. HITOMI OMATA RAPPO's (Tokyo) highlighted a European catholic perspective. She showed that since the Middle Ages, in Europe, and especially in France, Islam was often described as 'idolatry', in the sense of the 'wrong religion of others'. This continued until the Modern Period, but in the 17th century, as European perceptions of Islam gradually shifted towards the idea of an independent and different religion, another country gradually replaced it as the symbol of idolatry: Japan. Rappo pointed out that this process had many facets. While French humanists such as Jean Bodin, Blaise Pascal or Voltaire were relatively fast to recognise Islam as an acceptable other, and even as another religion, early 17th century sources, especially missionary works, tended to blend both Japan, Islam and even Protestants in the same, negative category and found themselves, for a brief period, on the crossroads of a series of originally distinct narratives portraying them as two related variations of 'otherness'.

GENJI YASUHIRA (Tokyo) took up this line of argument while switching to the Lands of the Dutch Republic and perceptions of Japan by Reformed Protestants. He argued his case based on Johannes Hoornbeeck's book *De Conversione Indorum et Gentilium* (1669) which painted the Japanese in the darkest possible colours: as idolatrous pagans without intelligence. By applying the concept of material religion, Yasuhira demonstrated that Hoornbeeck's negative image of the Japanese was determined by two interrelated factors: his disdain for Japanese Buddhism and bonzes and his understanding of the causes and effects of Christian persecution in

Japan. Hoornbeeck condemned Japanese Buddhism as the worst form of idolatry, tacitly comparing it with Catholicism. To Yasuhira, this construction of 'otherness' seems typical of the early modern confessional age and he highlighted that the image of Japan depicted in Hoornbeeck's *De conversione* notifies us of the necessity of more studies on Early Modern protestant perceptions of Japan.

A final and lively discussion headed by Haruka Oba and Arno Strohmeier concluded the workshop. It became obvious that perceptions of both Japan and the Ottoman Empire were manifold during the Early Modern Period and any comparison needs to keep this plurality in mind. In some papers, however, patterns emerged that united or separated the perceptions of both empires. In respect to specific actors and audiences it seems likely that, at least for a brief period during the 16th and 17th centuries, people in the Holy Roman Empire perceived Japan and the Ottoman Empire—representing Islam—as two related variations of 'otherness'. Up to the 18th century, this changed, and both empires were more likely perceived as distinct entities with specific attributes. However, the necessity for a systematic and comparative study of the mechanisms of perceptions of 'otherness' and its representations in the Holy Roman Empire in Early Modern times became obvious. This lack especially concerns Japan.

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WORKSHOP PROGRAMME

June 1

- 12:30–13:00 Opening & Registration
- 13:00–13:10 Welcome
Haruka OBA | Kurume University
Marion ROMBERG | Austrian Academy of Sciences
- 13:10–13:20 Historiography in Japan and Austria
Yoshihisa HATTORI | Kyoto University
- 13:20–14:05 "Otherness" as a Category for the Historical Research of Interculturality in Early Modern Times
Arno STROHMEYER | Austrian Academy of Sciences and University of Salzburg
- 14:05–14:15 Short Break

Panel I: Jesuits and their World Mission

Chair: Michael HARBSMEIER | Roskilde University

- 14:15–15:00 Perceiving Religion and Politics as Interrelated Strands of Encountering Non-European Others
Tobias WINNERLING | University Düsseldorf
- 15:00–15:45 Implacable Tyrants and Cold Scythians:
Japanese and Turkish Antagonists in Jesuit School Literature
Akihiko WATANABE | Otsuma Women's University, Tokyo
- 15:45–16:00 Coffee Break

Panel II: Exotism in Theatre

Chair: Hitomi Omata RAPPO | Sophia University (PD), Tokyo

- 16:00–16:45 The Ottoman Empire as Presented by European (Music) Theatre
Michael HÜTTLER | Don Juan Archive, Vienna
- 16:45–17:30 The Depiction of Japanese Villains in Jesuit Drama
Haruka OBA | Kurume University

June 2

Panel III: Otherness in Travelogues

Chair: Michael HÜTTLER | Don Juan Archive, Vienna

- 09:00–09:45 Japan and the Ottoman Empire in Travelogues. New Possibilities of Semi-Automatized Text Analysis
Doris GRUBER | Austrian Academy of Sciences
- 09:45–10:30 Comparing Hospitality: Early Modern European Travellers as Guests among their Japanese and Ottoman hosts
Michael HARBSMEIER | Roskilde University
- 10:30–10:45 Coffee Break

Panel IV: Circulating Knowledge by Images and Goods

Chair: Tobias WINNERLING | University Düsseldorf

- 10:45–11:30 Curious Goods and Merchant's Stories:
On the Role of Merchandise in Early Modern European Perceptions of Japan
Susanne FRIEDRICH | LMU Munich
- 11:30–12:15 The ‚East‘ in South German Parish Churches in the 18th Century
Marion ROMBERG | Austrian Academy of Sciences
- 12:15–13:30 Lunch Break

Panel V: Beyond the German Speaking Lands

Chair: Doris GRUBER | Austrian Academy of Sciences

- 13:30–14:15 Narrating the Lands of Idolatry: Japan and the Ottoman Empire in Early Modern France
Hitomi Omata RAPPO | Sophia University (PD), Tokyo
- 14:15–15:00 Material Religion in the Dutch Reformed Protestantism:
Japanese Image of Johannes Hoornbeeck (1617-1666)
Genji YASUHIRA | Musashi University (PD), Tokyo
- 15:00–15:15 Coffee Break

Conclusion

- 15:15–17:30 Arno STROHMEYER | Austrian Academy of Sciences
and University of Salzburg
Haruka OBA | Kurume University

'OTHERNESS' AS A CATEGORY FOR HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON INTERCULTURALITY DURING THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

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Arno STROHMEYER
Austrian Academy of Sciences and University of Salzburg

'Otherness' is one of the most basic experiences of our time. Processes such as globalisation and digital transformation have led to a certain cultural homogenisation, but at the same time, they also intensify experiences with otherness when they arise. Otherness is one of the greatest challenges of the modern age. Mass migration, fear of foreigners, difficulties of cultural integration, and problematic demographic developments as the ageing of society show that it is essential to be able to cope. Since otherness is not a new experience unique to our time, but an elementary anthropological phenomenon that can be found in all historical contexts, it is a subject that can be explored usefully in all epochs. In this paper, basic theoretical considerations surrounding 'otherness' as a category of research are discussed. In focus are three questions concerning 'what', 'how', and 'why.' What does 'otherness' mean? How can 'otherness' be further analysed? Why should we analyse the images of the Ottoman Empire and Japan in the Holy Roman Empire in the 21st century?

hensive alterity discourses. 'Otherness' communicated in this way has two cognitive dimensions, namely, the formation of difference and distance. On the one hand, it is about the construction of identity, while on the other hand, it is about a process of understanding that can cause the foreign to dissolve into the familiar. In a time of comprehensive and accelerated change that leads to a shortening of the present, history offers important orientation aids by pointing out the historical dimensions of current problems. The analysis of 'otherness' in the early modern period expands the understanding of 'otherness' in the 21st century. Causal and sense connections draw a line linking past, present, and future. However, it should be borne in mind that 'otherness' is a feature of a relationship, a subjective assessment, and a social construction that is inextricably linked to self-images.

As a result, it can be noted that the classification as 'other' is always a result of a subjective assignment, which is why it is essential to analyse the perspective of those who perceive something as 'other' or 'strange'. 'Otherness' is thus always a social construction and inseparably connected with individual or collective self-images. There are different ways to communicate 'otherness', for example, the use of the term or related words, asymmetric counter-concepts (e.g. Christians and pagans), and linguistic figures, such as comparisons and analogies (*rhétorique de l'altérité*). These expressions of 'otherness' can condense into 'images' that can take on different manifestations. Important components of these 'images' are stereotypes. Such components are embedded in compre-

PERCEIVING RELIGION AND POLITICS AS INTERRELATED STRANDS OF ENCOUNTERING NON-EUROPEAN OTHERS

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Tobias WINNERLING
University Düsseldorf

When Europeans first encountered Japan, they quickly read the features of the land and the society through European lenses. Two things were of prime interest to them, namely, the political and the religious systems. Most of the early European travellers to Japan were missionaries, who made religious interpretation schemes prevalent, but the same people soon compared the political system of Japan with that of Europe. Starting with Francisco de Javier SJ in his first letter from Kagoshima in 1549, they thought to have identified a religious leader like the pope in the *tennō* and a secular ruler like the Holy Roman Emperor or in the shogun. Simultaneously, they tried to make sense of the religious landscape of Japan, especially Buddhism. At first, because of its outward similarities, the Jesuit missionaries linked it to Catholic Christianity, but soon they started perceiving it as a mockery of the true church, invented by the devil.

Although the Jesuit order itself soon refrained from comparing Japan politically to the Holy Roman Empire, the concept was still proliferated, especially in German-language tracts from the late 16th century onwards. As Japan was cast as functionally and structurally analogous to the Holy Roman Empire, a conception embodied in the analogy between the Emperor and the *shogun*, it became similar to the Ottoman Empire in these early modern German tracts, which was treated in the same way. The Ottoman Sultan was seen as equivalent to the Holy Roman Emperor, not only in power but also functionally and structurally, and the Ottoman Mufti as analogous to the pope. The analogy that was established this way between the Ottoman Empire and Japan, both of which were seen as analogous in terms of the Holy Roman Empire, also applied to the concepts formed concerning the creeds that their spiritual leaders, the pope-like

tennō and *mufti*, were seen as presiding over. From the 17th century onwards, Japanese Buddhism was likened to Islam in early modern German learned discourses in that both faiths were seen as deriving from leading figures who were thought of as impostors, false prophets deceived by the devil, and Siddharta Gautama in its Japanese form, Shakyamuni butsu, was paralleled with Muhammad to establish this. Clergy and 'monks' of both faiths were accordingly subjected to the same topical prejudicial criticisms, namely hypocrisy, voluptuousness, and sodomy.

In the early 18th century, this perception changed with respect to the Ottoman Empire, the religious establishment of which, although still accused of the same sins, was no longer functionally or structurally likened to the Roman Church, and the comparison of the mufti with the pope was abandoned. In the case of Japan, such a development seems not to have taken place regardless of new evidence being collected; the topical comparison of *tennō* to the pope and *shogun* to the Holy Roman Emperor is still visible, for example, in the works of Engelbert Kaempfer. These developments were most likely connected to political and military developments, although the exact nature of these discursive entanglements still needs to be established.

IMPLACABLE TYRANTS AND COLD SCYTHIANS: JAPANESE AND TURKISH ANTAGONISTS IN JESUIT SCHOOL LITERATURE

Akihiko WATANABE
Otsuma Women's University, Tokyo

In April to June of 1665, a pair of literary works written in classicising Neo-Latin was performed in the Munich Jesuit Gymnasium (BSB CLM 1554 195r.-222r). The two works, thematically linked by the idea of Christian victory, offer a possibly unique opportunity to compare the treatment of two non-European forces within the distinctly European tradition of classicising Neo-Latin literature produced in close temporal proximity to each other by the same author for the same audience/readership.

The work performed in April, a verse narrative of the Battle of Saint Gotthard titled *Epinicion* (or victory-song), had, as its central figure, Franz Graf von Fugger-Weißenhorn-Nordendorf (1612-1664), who served in this conflict. It belongs firmly to the tradition of Greco-Roman epic and tells how the hero obeyed the summons of Mars to resist Ottoman incursion into Europe, went on to fight despite being overwhelmed by the numerically superior enemy, and while falling in battle, issued a last prayer for victory to Mars, which was answered in the form of a French contingent that brought victory to the Christian side. The Ottomans in this work are treated in an overwhelmingly negative, and at the same time, vague and classicising language. They are named using ancient ethnic terms like Getae, Odrysii, Daci, Thraces, and even Achaemenides, which are nations that appear in Greco-Roman literature as barbaric entities on the fringe of civilisation. The term *Maumethigenae*, meaning Muslims, appears just once, while *Turcae*, an ethnic term used widely elsewhere in early modern Latin, is conspicuously absent from this work.

The dramatic piece, which was performed two to three months after the *Epinicion* but is placed before it in the manuscript, features, as its central character,

a certain Victor (Ginsei Ogasawara n. d.), a historical Japanese Christian convert whose deeds are reported in the Jesuit accounts of the so-called 26 Martyrs. The plot revolves around the conflict between the octogenarian Victor, who insists on armed resistance against persecution, and his son Andreas (Andreas Ogasawara n.d.), another historical figure, who preaches the proper Christian path of peaceful martyrdom. In the end, Andreas wins and the two, together with other converts, march off to be martyred. This work, too, features numerous echoes from classical literature such as the father-son conflict and stock characters like those of the angry old man and meek young man familiar from the Greco-Roman comic tradition. Compared to the *Epinicion*, the play contains a somewhat greater amount of specific information regarding pagan Japan and uses terms like Amida, Xaca, and bonzii referring to the prevailing Buddhist religion. But the Japanese characters themselves are modelled more on Greco-Roman stock types than actual historical figures reported in Jesuit sources.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AS PRESENTED BY EUROPEAN (MUSIC) THEATRE

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Michael HÜTTLER
Don Juan Archive, Vienna

From a historical perspective, the cultural transfer between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire (and vice versa) in music and theatre is on the one hand connected with actual travelling diplomats and artists. On the other hand, many 'products' of western artists, such as paintings, Singspiele, dramatic texts, etc. are pure orientalist fantasies. Influenced by reports from travellers, artists at home re-interpreted their stories and created new pieces of art. Travelogues by diplomats and artists transported a certain image of the Ottomans that was conveyed to the recipient, especially through theatre.

By reflecting relevant historical events (e.g. Siege of Vienna, 1683), this image presented 'the Turk' in a rather cruel way, but as soon as the military threat of the Ottomans diminished, they became the subject of comedies, opera buffa, or enlightenment ideas. Accordingly, 'the cruel Turk' became a 'noble ruler' and, with his exotic way of life, including a harem with seductive beautiful women, inspired erotic fantasies (operas by Christoph W. Gluck or Joseph Haydn, Lustspiele by August v. Kotzebue, etc.). The 'Turkish' subject inspired artists' work throughout Europe already in the 17th century (Shakespeare's *Othello*; comédie-ballet *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* by Molière and Lully), while the Enlightenment philosophers (Voltaire, Lessing) elaborated the relationship between Christians and Muslims. A most well-known example to a wide audience today is W. A. Mozart's *Abduction from the Seraglio* (1782). Also, vice versa – European theatre was performed in embassies in Istanbul; Jesuit missions performed their educational plays not only in the capital but also on the islands of the Aegean. Later, the sultan engaged European composers to 'modernise' Ottoman cultural life. Famous European artists who travelled to Constantinople include Giacomo Casanova (1744), Lord Byron (1810),

Franz Liszt (1847), Giuseppe Donizetti (the so-called Donizetti pasha, as from 1828, became the Instructor General of the Imperial Ottoman Music till his death in 1856), and Callisto Guatelli (Director of the Naum Theatre in Pera from 1840. From 1856, he succeeded Donizetti as Instructor General of the Imperial Ottoman Music until 1900).

The 'Turkish' theatre plays and operas are a part of the European canon in the context of different ideologies and have influenced the image of the Ottoman Empire in the eye of the European beholder until today. Back then, as well as today, 'Turks' on the theatre stage are synonymous with the 'Muslim Other'; they represent Islam, embody an exceptional position of women, and personify a different social status. Exotic dervish-rituals, harem fantasies, and a dichotomy of gruesome vs. noble rulers coin the picture of the Turkish-oriental 'Other'.

In the 17th and early 18th centuries, before and a few years after the failed Siege of Vienna in 1683, the presentation of Turks was mainly connected with propagandistic and didactic reasoning and the focus was on the exotic other culture, gruesome practices of the ruler and the potential threat they personified, especially for the Habsburg Lands, among others, because of the long common border in the east and south-eastern Europe, where the frontiers kept shifting back and forth and the direct contact zones there. During the 18th century and later, the narrative strategies of the authors became more and more influenced by enlightenment ideas. Rulers became nobler, women became stronger and more influential, and religion became more ambivalent. The Sultan shows clemency.

DEPICTION OF JAPANESE VILLAINS IN JESUIT DRAMA

Haruka OBA
Kurume University

In the Jesuit church in Innsbruck, there is a picture that was drawn in the middle of the 17th century, which presents three Japanese Jesuits who were crucified in Nagasaki in 1597. If we take a closer look, we can notice that placed below these three Jesuits is a woman who looks almost like a European noble lady, collecting the blood of the martyrs with a cloth. On the extreme right side of the picture, we see a man who probably ordered the crucifixion and the martyrdom. He wears a turban, like a Turk, which is decorated with a feather of a bird. Similar to this is the copper engraving, which was inserted into a drama text *Agnese martire del Giappone*, published in 1783. This drama deals with the martyrdom of a Japanese lady named Agnes, who was crucified during the great martyrdom in Higo in the south of Japan in 1603. She was the wife of Simon Takeda, who appears several times as a protagonist in Jesuit plays in Austria in the 17th century. In this picture, Agnes looks almost like a European noble lady. In contrast, the leader of martyrdom is portrayed as a Turk.

From these examples, we can hypothesise that the Japanese martyrs and their opponents were partly portrayed as Europeans and Turks in the Early Modern era because the prolonged opposition between Christians in Europe and Muslims in the Ottoman Empire was familiar to contemporary Europeans. As a result, this construction could be used to portray the hostility between Christians and pagans in Japan, so that European people could easily understand what happened in Japan.

Based on the contemporary documents related to the drama, the depiction of people in pictures and the Jesuit plays could be almost the same. According to the dramaturgy of Franz Lang S.J. (1654–1725),

the posture of the theatre performer should imitate sculpture, painting, or engraving. Therefore, we can assume that the Japanese people portrayed in Jesuit dramas had also been portrayed in contemporaneous pictures and engravings. Based on this, the evil Japanese could be presented as a Turk in a Jesuit play.

However, how exactly were the good Japanese depicted? If the evil Japanese were portrayed as Turks, were the good Japanese also portrayed as Turks or, maybe, as Europeans, so that the opposition between Christians and pagans would become clearer? According to the pictures, good Japanese were often presented as neither European nor Turkish but as exotic, and their complexion was often white. Since the Jesuits regarded Japan as the first civilised country in East India, it appears that some Jesuits found European elements, like white skin, in Japanese people, as some previous studies already mentioned. In the future, more pictures and plays should be collected and compared to each other to clarify the variety of the depiction of the Japanese and the purposes of the depictions.

JAPAN AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN TRAVELOGUES: NEW POSSIBILITIES OF SEMI-AUTOMATISED TEXT ANALYSIS

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This paper introduced the concept of ‘intermediality’, designed for semi-automatic analysis and, more specifically, for a digital humanities project working with a large-scale text corpus of German language travelogues printed between 1500 and 1876. Doris Gruber assumed that, like any media, travelogues are strongly interconnected, as the texts, pictures, materiality, and specific context of each travelogue are necessarily related to other travelogues and/or media. The degree of interconnection, however, varies depending on each source.

To map these interconnections, Doris Gruber suggests a concept of intermediality that builds on the theories of Gérard Genette, Irina O. Rajewsky, and Werner Wolf and aims to unite all relationships among (different) media. In this concept, intermediality has five main subcategories linked to the coding of the information, namely, relationships coded in text (intertextuality), pictures (interpictoriality), music (intermusicality), the material form (intermateriality), and the context (intercontextuality). Each of these categories has several sub-categories, starting with the differentiation ‘code-internal’, e.g. texts relating to texts or pictures relating to pictures, and ‘code-external’, e.g. texts relating to music or pictures relating to materiality. All subsequent categories are either ‘marked’ (referenced within the coding) or ‘unmarked’ (not referenced within the coding).

The interdisciplinary project *Travelogues: Perceptions of the Other 1500–1876 – A Computerized Analysis*, funded by grants from the FWF (I 3795-G28) and the DFG (398697847), is currently testing the practical application of this concept on German language travelogues kept at the Austrian National Library. By so doing, the project team wants to answer the ques-

tions regarding which travelogues were the most influential, why this was the case, and what this tells us today about perceptions of otherness in general and about the transformation of (certain) stereotypes and prejudices in the German-speaking world in particular. More details and current activities are announced on the project’s website:

<http://www.travelogues-project.info>.

COMPARING HOSPITALITY: EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS AS GUESTS AMONG THEIR JAPANESE AND OTTOMAN HOSTS

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The concept of hospitality as recently explained and redefined by Jaques Derrida and a number of anthropologists based on the work of René Schérer is a key to a better understanding of the ways in which travellers have been treated and received as guests by the hosts representing the countries, societies, or empires they visited. Focusing more precisely on the accounts of early modern travellers to Japan and the Ottoman empire, it seems impossible to arrive at any generalisations regarding the differences between the experiences of pilgrims and merchants, soldiers and diplomats, scholars and tourists, or any of the combinations of these roles of visitors who have all been hosted and treated as strangers and guests in many different ways.

For the purpose of comparison, however, I single out three broad categories of travellers represented in the corpus of both the Japanese accounts and the Ottoman Empire accounts to see if any pattern exists. Contrasting the accounts of travelling merchants and traders with the reports from diplomatic missions and the experiences of travellers who were taken captive by the Ottomans in the Mediterranean to the shipwrecked taken into custody by the Japanese authorities, reveals the same pattern on the part of the Japanese hosts, that they invariably identified and interrogated their guests intensively before serving food, providing shelter, and providing entertainment.

CURIOUS GOODS AND MERCHANTS' STORIES: ON THE ROLE OF MERCHANDISE IN EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN PERCEPTIONS OF JAPAN

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Susanne Friedrich argued that during the 17th and early 18th centuries, most Europeans more likely came in touch with Japanese goods than with people who had been to Japan or who had read learned tracts about the country. Therefore, studying objects and the stories told about the goods by their sellers adds considerably to a more nuanced description of how perceptions of Japan were formed. Adopting the material culture approach of historians like Anne Gerritsen or Giorgio Riello, Friedrich analysed the role played by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) during those processes.

Since 1639, the VOC was the only European trading company allowed to trade with Japan. It exported a broad range of products from Japan, yet only a handful of luxury items were explicitly called 'Japanese' when they reached the European market. Using lacquer work and tea as examples, Friedrich showed which notions about their country of origin were transmitted by, or alongside, these products. The VOC's marketing strategy attached some special meaning to both. With regard to lacquer work, 'Japanese' symbolised the finest quality. The directors used the designation as a kind of trademark, signalling high-quality products. Presents given to European rulers as well as Asian potentates, especially the accompanying letters and descriptions, attest that the VOC adopted this strategy in Europe and Asia. Concerning tea, German, English, and French discourses encompassed notions about Japanese tea that derived from statements by Dutch traders, introducing it to the market by the name of the emperor and claiming that it is the best and therefore the most expensive sort. Another element of the discourses clearly stemming from Dutch sources was the distinction between the Japanese and the Chinese ways of preparing tea. In its

self-representation, the VOC emphasised its connections with Japan as a unique selling point. Yet, Japan was also part of the VOC's overall presentation of Asia. The descriptions of the visit of Maria de Medici to the East India House of Amsterdam as well as the cabinet of curiosities, which the VOC installed in that house, reveal that it exoticized Asia as a sensual rush of colours, smells, and tastes.

Japan was part of the East Indian sensual fairyland at one point in time and a country of highly specialised artisans and exquisite products at another. Due to the VOC's marketing strategies, European consumers were confronted with an idiosyncratic and blurred presentation of Japan. However, Japanese objects needed contextualisation for its buyers. In the wake of these stories for marketing, knowledge about Japan was transferred and also transformed. Against this background, one cannot speak of a single, coherent image of Japan in Early Modern Europe but rather of a conglomerate of different aspects, accentuated unequally by various actors, of which the VOC was just one.

THE 'EAST' IN SOUTH GERMAN PARISH CHURCHES IN THE 18TH CENTURY

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Authors like Larry Wolff, Ivan Parvev, and Edward Said used to answer the question of how people imagined the East by using sources commonly produced for the social elite. Consequently, the question, not yet answered until now, is, how might the farmer, the butcher, and the people living in the rural areas have imagined the East in the 18th century? What sources are available for us to be able to answer this question at all? The search for pictorial sources is obvious since image-based argumentative structures played an important role in early modern times. Romberg argued that they were part of a presentation, authentication, and authorisation process of knowledge, which spread knowledge and discourses, and formed mentalities. In early modern times, various communication channels were available, through which information might have reached the rural communities and by which perceptions might have been formed. Research on the communication and media history of the early modern time has shaken the traditional image of the small-scale oriented and static rural society. The exploration of multiple publics, thematically linked communication processes, the interaction of new media with direct oral, and body-bound interactions have opened new horizons. Knowledge about foreign lands rarely came in the form of a living exotic person into the village, but – as was shown by Susanne Friedrich in the talk – rather indirectly via goods and pictorial and written sources, thereby shaping a unique as well as biased perception of the country from which these originated, or rather about which they informed.

Among visual sources, mural paintings take on a special role as they show great potential from a communication history perspective. Their *stabilitas loci*, their monumentality, their partly rich narrative, and

their accessibility—meaning their communication space—ensure that the visualised and permanently displayed message influences the spectator's perception over time on the one hand and, on the other hand, that today's researchers can reconstruct, analyse, and understand the social and cultural context of the medium's production as well as its spatial and functional reception conditions. Many mostly medieval village churches in Southern Germany, which suffered decay, destruction, and capacity problems around 1700, were transformed into a *theatrum sacrum* through joint efforts of clergy, parishes, and fraternities over the next century. Dating back to the 16th century, the continent allegories expanded from monasteries and palaces to parish churches, where they reached their bloom around the middle of the 18th century. Focusing on the personification of Asia in South German parish churches, the talk illustrated how its fast dissemination and its presence in a place where all people went regularly might have defined the image of the East in people's minds and, hence, might have created a consciousness of the East.

Based on the source corpus freely accessible in the database called *Continent Allegories in the Baroque Age* (<https://continentallegories.univie.ac.at>), Romberg identified two iconographic traditions of personifications of Asia, that is, it was linked either to a white European with an exotic headdress or to an Ottoman sultan. Romberg concluded that the personifications of Asia transported a culturally religious image, formed by stereotypes, and not geopolitical realities. The dominant criteria remained the denominational belonging. The main message of the *Continent Allegories*, Romberg argued, was the world united in faith and the triumphant church. Asia, as the 'other', was defined by Europe, which saw itself

as the defender and source of the Christian faith and which needed to be converted or was already part of the catholic world community. Knowledge was spread across the parish by means of informal teaching processes. Experts on iconographical or religious matters taught the ignorant. The continent allegories were also likely among the objects of such agency processes, with their attributes found in the pictorial program of the parish church, and these, in part, rather exotic attributes would not only have shaped the villagers' mental image of an elephant or crocodile but also his or her mental map of the world, especially of the East and its denominational 'other'. Romberg concluded by referring to previous talks in the JS on how the image of the Japanese and the Turk was intermixed. The determination of the contemporaries' identification of Asia's personification with a special ethnographical group such as the Turk or Japanese depended on the active knowledge of the spectator (artist, clergy, patron, parish), which needs further analysis with respect to the diffusion of knowledge about Japan.

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NARRATING THE LANDS OF IDOLATRY: JAPAN AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN EARLY MODERN FRANCE

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Since the Middle Ages in Europe (especially France), Islam was often described as 'idolatry', in the sense of the 'wrong religion of "others"', despite its clear iconoclasm. This continued until the Modern era, but, in the 17th century, as the European perception of Islam gradually shifted towards the idea of an independent and different religion, another country gradually replaced it as the symbol of idolatry.

By studying the Jesuits' reactions to their encounters with the gods and cults of Japan, and their interpretation in Europe, this presentation demonstrates how the country gradually became the new incarnation of the idolatrous Orient. It, thus, replaced the Islamic world and the Ottoman Empire in many ways, while keeping the same associations with a vague, exotic, oriental, and ancient paganism.

While French humanists, such as Jean Bodin, Blaise Pascal, and Voltaire, were relatively fast to recognise Islam as an acceptable other, and even as another religion (which could be compared to Christianity), this presentation showed that early 17th-century sources, especially missionary works, tended to place Japan, Islam, and even Protestants in the same, negative category. This can be seen in the work of the Jesuit Louis Richeome (1607), in his book *L'idolâtrie Huguenote* (Huguenots' idolatry). In this work, French Protestantism (the Huguenots) is defined as both 'idolatry' and 'heresy', and directly associated with Islam.

This tendency to see the 'idolatries' of Islam and Japan as a similar landscape continued until at least the end of the 17th century. A set of two statues, made before 1700, namely, the *Triumph of the Faith over Idolatry* made by Jean-Baptiste Théodon, and *Religion Defeating Heresy* by Pierre Le Gros, the younger are

still seen in the Jesuit Gesu church in Rome. While heresy here represents Luther and Calvin, the statue of idolatry, symbolised by a dragon, bears an inscription that reads, 'Kami, Hotoke, Xaca, Amida', which are the names of a series of Japanese deities.

An analysis of this symbolic language as a direct continuation of both medieval anti-Islam propaganda and missionary discourses on Japan shows how, especially in French sources, both Japan, and the Ottoman Empire (as the representative of Islam) found themselves, for a brief period, at the crossroads of a series of originally distinct narratives portraying them as two related variations of 'otherness'.

MATERIAL RELIGION

IN THE DUTCH REFORMED PROTESTANTISM: JAPANESE IMAGE OF JOHANNES HOORNBEECK (1617–1666)

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In his book *De conversione Indorum et gentilium* (The Conversion of Indians and Heathens), Johannes Hoornbeeck (1617–1666) paints the Japanese in the darkest possible colour: the idolatrous pagans without intelligence. Why and how did the Dutch Reformed theologian form this negative image of the Japanese? Although no one can deny the importance of the Dutch in making the Japanese image among early modern Europeans, little has been known about how the Dutch Reformed Protestantism – the only public religion of the Republic – created its own image of Japan. In this paper, special attention is paid to the material religion in the Dutch Reformed Protestantism. Material religion is a concept that has attracted many scholars of cultural history and religious anthropology for the past decade. It connotes not only the material culture of religion but also certain religious attitudes towards things and materiality. It is important to know how the Dutch Reformed Protestantism perceived the material religion since the Weberian interpretation of Protestantism presupposes a dichotomy of ‘spirit and matter’ or ‘internalised and externalised religiosity’, regarding the former as the characteristic of Protestantism and thus one of the modernising forces in history.

An analysis of *De conversione*, demonstrates that Hoornbeeck’s negative image of the Japanese was determined by two inter-related factors, namely, his disdain for Japanese Buddhism and bonzes, and his understanding of the cause and effect of the Christian persecution in Japan. Hoornbeeck condemned Japanese Buddhism as the worst form of idolatry, tacitly comparing it with Catholicism. In the eyes of the Reformed theologian, both Buddhism and Catholicism adhered to external and material religiosity, which was understood as superstitious idolatry. Here,

Hoornbeeck’s argument on material religion seems to fit the Weberian model of Protestantism as the internalised religion. Hoornbeeck’s image of Japan was also based on his account of the persecution taking place in Japan in the early seventeenth century. According to him, it was not the Dutch Protestants but the Japanese *bonzes* who caused the cruel massacre of Christians. Misery was even brought to the Dutch in Deshima, who were deprived of the right to practise the Reformed faith publicly and externally. Together with other Reformed representatives, Hoornbeeck insisted that the Dutch in Deshima should enjoy the right to express their religiosity publicly and externally, arguing that Christian believers could not live only with the internal faith. Here, Hoornbeeck’s assertion cannot be understood by the Weberian model of Protestantism, which allegedly rejects materiality and denies the necessity of the externalised experience of the faith as the source of salvation. Hoornbeeck’s argument on materialistic religion appearing in his description of Japan casts doubt on the Weberian understanding of Protestantism. His construction of ‘otherness’ seems typical of the early modern confessional age. The image of Japan in Hoornbeeck’s *De conversione* notifies us of the necessity of more studies on early modern Protestant imaginations of Japan.

