

First Contacts of Czechs and Slovaks with Japanese Culture (Up to World War I): The Major Publications and Personalities

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This study concentrates on the first contacts in various fields, namely on the problem of the first Czech materials on Japan, of the first missionaries, travelers, scholars, writers and entrepreneurs, who introduced unknown aspects of Japanese culture to the territory of present Czechoslovakia. The basic idea of this research is to conceive the period from the 16th century to the end of World War I as "prehistorical" from the point of the development of Japanese studies. Future analysis of the specific development of Japanese studies ought to consider the above-mentioned background and focus on the problem of how the present state was affected by the tradition.

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FIRST DOCUMENTS IN THE CZECH LANGUAGE

The oldest document mentioning Japan in the Czech language is an adopted translation of Marco Polo's "*Il Milione*" of the 13th century. It was translated into Czech about 1400 (the exact date is unknown). The translation lost much of the attractiveness of the original by its philological crudeness and, consequently, has never become widely or generally known. The only preserved copy of the manuscript¹ was owned by Václav Hanka,² a Czech National Renaissance movement leader—a

1 Jireček, J.(1876): *Rukověť dějinám literatury české do konce XVIII.věku. Ve způsobě slovníka životopisného i knihoslovného*. Praha, B. Těnský —cf. also Horák, B.(1950): *Marco Polo a jeho cestopis*; In, Polo, M, *Million*, Orbis, Praha, pp.12-14.

2 Václav Hanka was a librarian of the Museum of the Kingdom of Bohemia. In 1818-1819, and again in 1827-1828, he declared discovery of old manuscripts, all of which were counterfeits manufactured by the finder.

mediocre poet and writer, but an ardent collector of national monuments. Hanka stirred the 19th century's cultural activists and public by compilation of the counterfeit manuscripts of *Zelená Hora*³ and *Dvůr Králové*,⁴ which he alleged to have discovered. For the rest of the century belief or doubt about this discovery by him were the main controversial issues of national conscience, while Hanka's positive role as a collector sank into oblivion.

Another important piece of historical material concerning the relations between the two countries is related to the Jesuit missionary activities in Nagasaki, where after the foundation of the Jesuit colony in 1580, the mission, dispatched by Japanese Christian Daimyos to Europe, was constituted. The mission of four Japanese envoys, sent in years 1582-1590 to the Portuguese king and to Pope Gregory XIII, was originally intended as part of Father Alessandro Valignano's campaign to persuade Rome on the necessity of the "accommodation theory" which Valignano, as Visitor-General of the Jesuit Mission in the East, proposed, with a particular account of what he viewed as the exclusively "unique" character of the Japanese culture.⁵ The incapability of Rome to understand Valignano's arguments invalidated later not only the Mission whose members met a tragic end, but it also condemned all Christianity in Japan, or even the Far East, to temporary failure.

It is not clear how the written reports of Christian envoys got into Bohemia. The four envoys—Ito Mancio, Chijiwa Miguel, Nakaura Juliano and Hara Martino—reached Rome in 1585 and presented their lords' letters which were dated of 1582. A high number of prints describes the activities of this mission. Seventy-eight prints of this kind were listed and described by Adriana Boscaro⁶ in 1973. Fourty-nine of these prints are dated as early as 1585. Two of them, both in Latin, were printed in Prague (by Michael Peterle). They are Boscaro's No. 7, which is described as Peterle's reprint of No. 2, edited by Franciscus Zannetus in Rome, and No. 23, a five-page translation of No. 20, published in Italian by Alessandro Benaci of Bologna. No. 7 is the *Exemplum Literarum Quae Roma Mediolanum Missae, Et Ex Italico Idiomatico In Latinum versae sunt, de ingressu ad publicum Consistorium, duorum Legatorum, qui missi sunt a duobus potentissimis Iaponiae Regibus & tertio principe, recens ad*

- 3 The manuscript "found" at *Zelená Hora*, one of the major counterfeit manuscripts. Some scholars originally maintained it had been written in the 8th or 9th century.
- 4 The manuscript "found" at *Dvůr Králové*, allegedly of the 13th century. Besides there were other counterfeits; *Píseň vyšehradská*, *Milostná píseň krále Václava*, etc. This fact is worth mentioning here, as it throws a shadow of doubt also on the translation of M. Polo. However, at present there is agreement on its originality.
- 5 Schütte, J. Fr.P. (1968) : *Introductio ad historiam societatis Iesu in Japonia 1549-1650*. Institutum Historicum Soc. Roma. Froes, L. (1938): Segunda parte da Historia da Japam, que trata das couzas, que soceda [sic] rão nesta V. Provincia de Hera de 1578 por diante, começado pela conversão del rey de Bungo. n(1578-1582) Capítulos I a XLIII da Segunda parte da Historia de Japam/editados e anotados por João do Amaral Abranches Pinto e Yoshitomo Okamoto. . . . Sociedade luso . . . , Froes, L. (1942): *La première ambassade du Japon en Europe. Monumenta Nipponica* Monograph 6.
- 6 Boscaro, A. (1973): *Sixteenth Century European Printed Works on the First Japanese Mission to Europe, A Descriptive Bibliography*. Brill, Leiden.

Christianam fidem conuersis, vt summo Pontifici obedientiam praestent (Reports Presented to at the Public Consistory to . . . Pope Gregory XIII by the Messengers of the Japanese Kings to Rome on March 13, 1585). It is held by the National Library in Vienna (cf. Boscaro) and also by the National Library of the CR in Prague (No 51 C S). No. 23 has the title *Acta Consistorii Puplice (sic) Exhibiti A. S. D. N. Gregorio Papa XIII. Regum Iaponiorum Legatis Romae, Die XXIII. Martii. M. D. LXXXV.* (*An Example of the Letters which were sent from Rome to Milano and translated from Italian to Latin, on the Arrival of the Two Messengers Envoyed by the Japanese Kings . . . at a Public Consistory.* . . .), reprinted from Boscaro.

Beside the two Latin prints, there exist three others, printed in Bohemia in the Czech language and passed over by Boscaro without notice. The full title of the first print reads *Hystorya welmi utiessenā a radostná o rozssírzení Wiery krzestianské w weychodních krajinách* (*A Very Consoling and Rejoicing History of the Promotion of the Christian Belief in Eastern Countries*). Three copies are supposed to exist: one in the National Library of CR in Prague, one in the National Library in Brno and another one in the library of the National Museum of Prague. All three are reported to be highly damaged and fragmentary, and during my stay in Prague, only one of them, that in the National Museum collection, was 'available for inspection. However, this print is without its front page, so that all data and the full title are available only from descriptions in old book records (*Knihopis* . . . , Footnote 7). The data in the files of the National Museum Library are evidently based on the book records, too.

The second print is *Sprāwa toho wsseho/co se gest dālo w Ržijmě w obecne Konsystōri Papeže a Kardinālluw/Když gest neyswētegssý w Bohu Otec a Pān/Pan Rzehōr XIII. Papež slyssenij dāwal/Poslūm Krāluow japonských/XIII. dne Měsýce Brezna/to gest w Sobotu pred Zwěstowānij Panny Marye Dīwky Cisté ec. Létha M. D. Lxxxv.* (*A Report on All that Happened in Rome in the General Consistory of the Pope and Cardinals, when Pope Sir Gregory XIII., the Saintly Father and Lord in God, Granted an Audition to the Messengers of the Japanese Kings on 13 March, i.e. on the Saturday before the announcement to the Holy Virgin Mary, etc. A. D. 1585*). The text is evidently a Czech version of the *Acta* (Boscaro's text No. 7), but there are some minor differences with the Czech reader in mind, and namely a long preface *Krzestianskému ctenārzi* (*To the Christian Reader*), added probably by the publisher himself, i.e. by the Bishop of Olomouc Stanislav Pavlovský of Pavlovice. There is also a final note at the end of the text, apologizing for lack of information on the presents of the Mission to the Pope and to the King of Spain. The text is preserved at the National Library of CR and at the University Library at Olomouc.

The third print is introduced as the third part of another text, namely as *Trzetí díl Hystorye o obrācení pohanuw* (*Third Part of the History of the Conversion of Pagans*), printed also in Olomouc in 1585 and kept in the collections of the National Museum Library in Prague.

We shall confine our observations on the content of the three prints only to the fact that the former two prints contain mostly materials obtained on the basis of the direct

reports by the Mission, while the third print contains also letters of Missionaries since 1579 (cf. description below).

All three prints are provided with an independent translation of a brief description of Japan, given in the *Acta* as *Brevis Descriptio Insulae Iaponicae Ex Relatione Legatorum, in qua attinguntur mores, religio, exercitia habitus, vietus, temperies coeli & nonnulla alia illius populi, vna cum ijsque obtulerunt Magno Duci Hetruriae, ex Italico sermone latinitate donata* (*Short Description of the Japanese Island, based on the Reports by the Messengers, mentioning the Customs, Religion, etc.*), with minor differences in the Czech version (e.g. in *Hystorya* ... it reads: “*Krátké poznamenánij o samém ostrově Japonu* ...”, in *Správa* ... : “*Krátké poznamenánij o samém ostrovu Japonu* ...”, in *Trzetí díl* ... : “*Krátká poznamenanij* ...”, etc.).

As to the first print (*Hystorya* ...), Pelcl, Jungmann, Zlobický and Bartoš⁷ give as the year of the first edition “1581” (with a question mark in round brackets). The Protestant editor Alexander Aujezdecký of Litomyšl is given as the editor, and the comment adds that the text had been “dispatched from Rome” by Wilhelm of Rosenberg “just one year before that”. All these data are more than dubious—a book, containing reports presented in Rome in 1585, naturally, cannot date before this year. Besides, Alexander Aujezdecký of Litomyšl was a Protestant editor, who would never have published a report to the Roman Pope, and he had already died in 1577. His successor in Litomyšl was the Catholic Ondřej Gaudenz, but there is no

7 The mentioned works have been summarized in the *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století. rediguje doc. František Horák. Díl II. Tisky z let 1501-1800. Část IX. Ročník XVIII. Sešit 251-263* (1967). Praha, Academia. Cf. also Jungmann, J. (1849): *Historie literatury české aneb: Saustavný přehled spisů českých s krátkou historií národu, osvětlení a jazyka*. druhé vydání. Praha, F. Řivnáč. A mention of the second of the three prints, which can be found in the *Knihopis* under No. 17332 (State Library File No. 54 H 2042) and its confrontation with the Latin original are in. Vasiljevová, Z.: *Chekosurovakia-Nihon bunka Kōryū no rekishi to genjō*. In: *Nihon to Tōō shokoku no bunka kōryū ni kansuru kiso teki kenkyū*, 日本と東欧諸国の文化交流に関する基礎的研究・1981年9月国際シンポジウムの報告集, (Footnote 101), pp.32-55. The print is partially described in Vasiljevová, Z. (1989): *An Unknown Sixteenth Century Czech Print on the Japanese Mission to Rome. Asian and African Studies*. Veda, Bratislava 24: 125-136, including a confrontation with its Latin original. Contradictory to the title of the latter study, the study admits that this print is known in Czechoslovakia, not only from standard Czech book records and from general histories of Czech literature, but that it had been mentioned also in J. Kořenský (1910): *Podruhé v Žaponsku*. J. Otto, Praha J. Otto, p.106 J. Otto. The other two documents on Japan (*Knihopis* No.2655, State Library File No.54 AD 40, add./125 and *Knihopis* No. 3032, State Library File No. 35 F 19 (?), National Museum Library File No. MK 30 C 26) have not yet been described even to this extent. Their mention in Pelcl, Jungmann and Zlobický, as summarized in the *Knihopis*, is connected with serious mistakes. I have noted this fact and published some details on the three prints for the first time in oral form in my lecture “*From the History of Czechoslovak-Japan Relations*”, organized by the Japanese Embassy in Czechoslovakia in 1987, and in written form in Fiala, K. (1988): “*Za tajemstvím* ...”, *Lidová demokracie*, Praha 10.6., and in Fiala, K. (1989): “*Japonsko a my: Cesta k vzájemnosti*”, *Nový Orient*, Praha 3:76-79.

evidence on the relation of the print to Litomyšl (perhaps a typographic confrontation could show more). Last but not least, the detailed records of the Rosenberg clan⁸ contain no evidence on a visit of a Rosenberg⁹ to Rome either in 1580 or at any thinkable later date.

Further the bibliographic records present the Jesuit Balthasar Hostounský as the author of the book.¹⁰ However, numerous sources on this man, reprinted in the *Český slovník bohovědný* (*The Czech Theological Dictionary*)¹¹ reveal his highly limited knowledge of the Czech language and a number of harsh conflicts with the Jesuit Order, to which he originally undisputably belonged. His capacity can be questioned also from other points of view.

The *Český slovník bohovědný*, which considers Hostounský the author of the *Hystorya*, may be viewed as a typical complex material, fusing wrong data with those which are correct. It assigns the *Hystorya* to Hostounský, who could be only an editor or co-editor, but hardly the translator.¹² Further the dictionary quotes for the first edition, the incredible data "Litomyšl 1581", while the date of the reported "second edition" (Olomouc, 1585) seem more probable. The data "Olomouc 1585"

8 Břežan, V.(1985): *Životy posledních Rožmberků*, Svoboda, Praha.

9 Wilhelm of Rosenberg-Vilém z Rožmberka. One of the two last members of this big South-Bohemian clan, a zealous Catholic aristocrat.

10 Balthasar Hostounský was active as a Jesuit in Poland. After his return to Bohemia he is reported to have almost completely forgotten the Czech language. After a dispute with his Order he left for Rome to ask for a mission, but failed and returned under most miserable conditions (cf. *Český slovník bohovědný*, Footnote 11).

11 *Český slovník bohovědný*, I-V(1912-1932), I. A—Isaac. Pořádá J. Tůma . . . , V. Kotrba, Praha. (Czech Theological Dictionary).

12 The text being analyzed by the author now is filed in the *Knihopis* . . . (Footnote 7) under the number 3032 (State Library 35F19, National Museum Library MK 30 C 26). The oldest description found is in Pelcl's catalogue *Bibliothek oder Verzeichniss aller in böhmischer Sprache gedruckten Bücher von den ersten Werken bis 1798* (bývalá Nosticova knihovna, Praha). The description is identical to that by Jungmann and Zlobický, etc., i.e. it is taken over from the predecessors without revision. An interesting slightly different description is in Eulert, Christ. (1854): *Geschichte des Buches und Steindruckes*, Brno, p.41, which gives the following data: "Hostounský, 1585, 8. (bei Milichthaler ?)". This could support my view that the so-called "second edition" may have been actually the first. The data on the printer remind us of the data on Správa toho wsseho . . . , described in the *Knihopis* . . . under No.17332, 554 with Jungmann, (State Library File No.54 H 2042, State Library File No.54 H 2042 and 54 B 132 add. 8, Univ. Library of Olomouc 54 B 132 add. 8) as follows: "Vytisťeno nákl. Stanislava Pavlovského, biskupa Volomouckého, Olomouc, Friedrich Milichthaler (?) 1585. Přes ital. a latinu do češtiny (Printed on S. Pavlovský's expenses . . . , F. Milichthaler . . . , translated to Czech via Italian and Latin, abbr. transl. of the data K. F.)." F. Milichthaler, son of Linhart Milichthaler of Nürnberg, was active as a printer in Olomouc from 1567 to 1592 (Jireček, J. (1876), the quoted work, cf. Footnote 1 Vol.II, p.33; Volf, J. (1926): *Dějiny českého knihtisku do r. 1848*, Praha, pp.130-131. The quality of the translation is very high and witnesses about high quality of the translator's Czech expression, so that the version about Hostounsky as the translator is unprobable. There is another minor old print concerned with Japanese plants in the State Library, namely *Knihopis* No. 2655 (File No. 54 AD 40).

are also supported by the third of the mentioned prints, *Trzetí díl Hystorie o obrácení pohanůw* (*The Third Part of the History of the Conversion of Pagans*), which is described on front page as edited by Bishop Pawlowský in 1585. The book contains reports on Japan dated since 1579. Also the report *Správa toho vsseho, co se gest dālo w Rzímě . . .* (*A Report on All that Happened in Rome . . .*), edited in Olomouc in 1585 and including the *Krátká poznamenání o samém ostrowě Japonu* (an obviously new translation of the Short Record(s) on the Very Island of Japan) is almost completely included in this book. The front page assigns the text again to Hostounský, whom we are inclined, however, to think of as the editor of the volume.

It appears that approximately in 1585, side by side with a big Catholic printing-house in Prague, printing in Latin, the "provincial" printing-house in Olomouc under Bishop Pavlovský's supervision worked intensively on Czech translations of Catholic texts, in order to counter the effects of the Czech Protestant literature, which boasted at the end of the century with projects, like the first complete translation of the Bible from Hebrew and Greek (the so-called *Bible Kralická*).

There is also an old map of Japan in the insufficiently studied collections in Prague, the origin of which is now being examined by the author of this paper. At the present stage it seems that it can be stated only that there remains still a number of undescribed documents which were brought to Bohemia via other European countries due to the international character of the Roman Catholic Church.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FIRST MISSIONARIES

The oldest report, connecting the stay of a concrete person in Japan with the person's origin in Bohemia, can be found in Mathias Tanner's work "*Die Geschichte der Soz. Jesu . . .*" (*History of the Jesuit Society . . .*), issued in Prague in 1683.¹³ According to this work one of the most important missionaries, executed by fire in Japan after prohibition of promotion of the Christian belief, Carlo Spinola (1564-1622), is supposed to have been not only "the only son of the Bohemian Knight, Count Ottavio of Spinola, the Chief Stable Master at the court of the Czech king Rudolf II", but is also supposed to have been born "in Prague". Strangely enough, neither in Ioannes Miller's *Historia Provinciae Bohemiae* (*History of the Czech Province*¹⁴), in the correspondence of the "Great Augustine Spinola" in Prague (late 18th century), concerning the history of his family in Bohemia with Count Josef

13 Tanner, M. (1683): *Die Geschichte der Sozietas Jesu in Böhmen*, Praha.

The text gives on the p.375 the data: "Taffalorischer Geschlecht . . .", but also "zu Prag in Böhheim zu Welt kommen" (no legible page number). Other data are similar with Procházka (Footnote 17), who has evidently used them, probably as a direct source for his book.

14 Miller, I.: *Historia provincial Bohemiae Societatis Jesu*, a manuscript available at the National Library of ČR, Card XXIII/104. There is no mention in the *Analecta Bollandiana* (t.185 concerned with Bohemia), nor in other standard materials (Stöger, Sotwel).

Špork,¹⁵ nor in Dlabáč's personal notes¹⁶ any mention on Carlo can be found.

Miller's data seem to have been direct source for Martin Procházka's "Missie jesuitská" (The Jesuit Mission) of 1865,¹⁷ which repeats them from Tanner's German text in an almost literary translation to Czech and concludes (in a note under the text): "Therefore, we consider him to be a Czech Jesuit (transl. from Czech)". The story is presented also in Jaroslav Durych's novel *Služebníci neúčiteční* (*Useless Servants*), I.-IV., published in Czech in Rome in 1969.¹⁸ Although the work is a piece of literary fiction, the author, a bigoted Catholic writer, with profound interest in history, refers to reported historical materials, including records of Spinola clan. The description, presenting the little Carlo as a boy, who was born in Prague and grew until, at the age of 12, he was sent to his uncle Philippe for education, seems unfounded. Carlo's mother is reported in the story as a Bohemian, for whom Ottavio gave up his planned priest's career and left for Prague. Ottavio is further reported to have become for this reason the black sheep of the family, and his Bohemian wife is introduced in the novel as a person for whose name "no place was found even at the very margin of the clan stem of the Spinolas of Genoa".

This Czech tradition of the Bohemian origin of Blessed Carlo is still vivid in Prague, as can be judged from the signboard "Blahoslavený Karel Spinola ("Blessed Charles Spinola"), which was carried by a child during the Celebrating Missa to the Honour of a new Saint, St. Agnes, in November 1989 in St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague.¹⁹

Symbolically enough, the remnants of the Japanese Catholic martyrs of 1622 are celebrated at St. Nicholas Church at Malá Strana, Prague. The tradition of Spinola's martyrdom in Bohemia is also documented by the so-called "Merchants' Songs" (Kramářské písně) of Opava, dating back to the 18th century (now kept mostly privately by individuals in Prague and Opava).

How much truth, however, is actually in the conjecture on the relation of Carlo Spinola to the territory of Bohemia? Presently it can be stated only that there is some clear evidence on Carlo's father. In the South-West part of St. Vitus' Cathedral at the Prague Castle we can find a big brown grave-stone of 1592, with a Latin inscription on "Octavio Spinula (sic)", the highest Stable Master at the court of Rudolf II, which

15 Archiv hraběcí rodiny Šporků, Praha, Strahov, namely letter, etc. ŠPORK III.14: Augustinus Spinola.

16 Dlabáč, Fr., a head of the Premonstrate Monastery at Strahov, fragments of his record, designed as documents for a religious history of Bohemia, are preserved in the State Library.

17 Procházka, M. (1865): *Missie jesuitská*, Praha.

The text presents the following data: "jediný syn českého kavalíra, hraběte Oktavia Spinoly, podkoního, čili štollmistra krále českého Rudolfa II (the only son of the Czech knight Octavio Spinola, the highest stable master of the Czech king Rudolph II)", p.65. Brief information (provided by the author of this study) on the problems outlined here is in a note in Boháčková, L. Winkelhöferová, V. (1987): *Vějíř a meč*, Praha, p.11.

18 Durych, J. (1969): *Služebníci neúčiteční*, I.-IV., Křesťanská akademie, Řím.

19 Celebrating Mass on the occasion of the Sanctification of Blessed Agnes was celebrated by the Archbishop of Prague František Tomášek on November 25, 1989.

proves that Carlo's alleged father really died in Prague. The stone was moved here during reconstruction of the church at the beginning of this century, while the original position of the grave and the fate of Ottavio's remnants remain unknown.²⁰ There is a clear similarity between the portraits of Carlo and his supposed father's image on the grave. The grave-stone itself is evidence for a part of the story, while other data, concerning Carlo's place of birth and childhood, are not so easily available. On the contrary, all serious documents and literature of non-Bohemian origin, argue for Genoa as the place of Carlo's birth.²¹ Taken into consideration that Carlo was declared Blessed by the Roman Catholic Church already in 19th century, his biography can be considered to have been studied by the Roman Catholic Church thoroughly.

The strongest argument for the Genoa origin of Carlo Spinola is his biography *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola (P. Carlo Spinola's Biography, Milano 1629)*,²² written by his relative Fabio Ambrosio Spinola only seven years after Carlo's death. The book was published in Italian in 12 editions and appeared also in Japanese (1985).²³ Carlo's birth is reported as follows: "Nacque Carlo l' anno 1564, in Genoa per diszendenda da quei Signori, che sono Conti di Tassarolo; luogo discosto da quella citta una giornata in circa" (Carolo was born in 1564, in Genoa, of the descendants of the Spinolas, who are the Counts of Tassarolo; at a place separated from the city by about a day (of journey)". This may also refer to Spinola's palace in Tassarolo, north of Genoa.

As to Carlo's studies abroad, only a short stay in Spain is mentioned.

Also Fr. Bento Fernandes wrote in December 1622 (Japsin, 60, 224v) "Era natural de Genua, da casa e familia dos Spinolas (he was born in Genoa, in the house and family of Spinolas . . .)."²⁴

An interesting comment on the problem has been provided to me by Fr. Juan Ruiz de Medina, Fr. Josef F. Schütte's successor in the Jesuit Institute in Rome. He was so kind to comment on this:

"The doubt about his birthplace could only be solved if there would be some

20 The data in the available guidebooks are confused.

21 Ono M. (1925): *Kirishitan no Zyunkyōsha*. (Christian Martyrs) Tokyo, Shunjū-sha, p.179; Anezaki M. (1945): *Kirishitan Hakugai Jisshi no Jinbutsu Jiseki*. Tokyo, Dōbunkan, pp.3-20 do not mention Prague at all. 小野 実 (1925): 『切支丹の殉教者』東京, 春秋社, 大正11年8月: 「彼れは独逸皇帝ルドルフ二世の龍臣タサロ伯の子で, ……」 (179ページ). 姉崎正治: 『切支丹迫害実史の人物事跡』, 同文館, 昭和20年.

22 Spinola, F. A.(1628): *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola. F. Cordeletti*, Milano.

23 The Latin translation of 1630 (*Vita P. C. Spinolae* . . . , (1630) Antwerp, available at Kyoto Univ. Library) gives an enlarged version of data and describes Carlo's origin as follows: "Auem Augustinum . . . (habebat)", "Ostremus (Augustini filius), Octavius et ipse Rodolpho secundo . . . magnus stabuli magister . . . Hoc parente ortus est Carolus, qui peracta infantia, exultaque primis Grammaticae rudimentis pueritia, in Hispaniam (per quem nescio causam) contendit . . ." Data on Spinola's activities are also in Polišíenský, J. (1984): *Prameny k portugalským objevným plavbám*, add. of the *Sborník Národního muzea, Praha*, and Polišíenský, J. (1990): *Česká touha cestovatelská*, Praha.

24 Frater Fernandes, B. (1660): *Japsin* Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome: 224 v.

documents of the Spinola family, and still better, if the testimony of his baptism could be found, at Genoa, eventually at Tassarolo or perhaps at Praha (Prague), which would not be an easy task."²⁵

According to Tanner, Carlo Spinola was a fanatic Catholic who decided for martyrdom against of his father's will. His activities in Japan from 1602, resulted in 1616 in arrest, followed by severe imprisonment ("in a wooden cage", according to Tanner and Procházka).

As Carlo's private records, quoted in his biography,²⁶ describe, he was arrested after giving a release to his momentary weakness for European food. He searched for the food in the house of Protestant Christian missionaries, but they denounced him to Nagasaki authorities.²⁷ His heroic refusal of conversion, facing death at the stake with 16 other Christians, is justly evaluated as the most typical case of heroic martyrdom. Spinola decided on martyrdom at least as early as his days in the Seminar in Nola, which he entered in 1584.

There is yet another set of references concerning a man, who doubtless really belonged in those times to the Bohemian Province of the Jesuit Order, and who is reported in the Bohemian materials to have resided in Japan. The oldest clear reference to this is in the work of a Czech National Renaissance Movement leader F. M. Pelcl (in German Pelzel)'s most prestigious work of 1786.²⁸ It is also repeated in the Czech manuscript of the private notes of Fr. Dlabáč²⁹ from the Premonstrate Monastery at Strahov (published and printed in Czech in the journal *Dobroslaw*).³⁰

According to Pelcl and Dlabáč, the first individual missionary of the Czech Province was the mathematician and astronomer Wenzeslaus Pantaleo Kirwitzer (in other sources Korbizer or Kyrwitzer), who was born in Kadaň in 1588, reached Japan via Goya, after a stay in Eastern India and China, and "died in Meaco" (a name for Kyoto) in 1626.

However, the year and the situation of Christians in Japan in that period make this

25 Frater J. G. Ruiz De Medina explained his view on the problem in detail in a reply to me, dated 8 April, 1988.

26 Quoted acc. to Anezaki (姉崎), cf. Footnote 21.

27 The denunciation story is based on the above-mentioned autobiography and on subsidiary information, obtained from Carlo's letters and summarized in Japanese literature on Carlo Spinola.

28 Pelcl (Pelzel), Fr. (1786): *Böhmische, Mährische und Schlessische Gelehrten aus dem Orden Jesus*, Prag, p.18—The data are quoted in a distorted form by Rieger in his *Velký Riegerův slovník* under "Kirwitzer", adding he was "první z jesuitů českých (the first of Czech Jesuits)": "R. 1620 přibyl do Goy, odtud došel po 2 měsících do Macaa v Číně a po krátkém se zdržení odplul do Japanu, kde však už 22. kv. 1626 zemřel (In 1620 he arrived in Goa, after two months left for Macao in China and after a short stay sailed to Japan, where, however, he died already on May 22, 1626)". The mistake is evidently supported by the bibliographic data: "Literae de Martyrio p. Ioannmis Bapt. Machadi soc. Iesu, qui anno 1617 in Japonia passus est (1622)".

29 Dlabáč, Fr.: manuscript of the "*Pamětní listové*", cf. Footnote 30.

30 *Dobroslaw, časopis paní a dívek*, Pamětní listové(1821), Praha, Díl III, sv.1, str.104: "Pak zas z Makaa do Japanye odjel, leč ale dlouho živ nezůstal (Then he left Macao for Japan, however, he did not live long after that)".

assertion eo ipso highly improbable. In spite of this, we find the story also later, quoted by numerous Czech Catholic sources. An example are Kurfist and Vraštil's study on Bohemian missionaries a list of them in the volume *Zprávy z bývalé české provincie tovaryšstva Ježíšova (Reports from the Once Bohemian Province of the Jesuit Order, 1918–1938)*,³¹ and also František Kalista's study *Cesty ve znamení kříže (Voyages in the Sign of the Cross, 1941)*.³²

The key to proper understanding of Pelcl's story can be searched for in Pelcl's work itself. Already eight years before the mentioned work, in 1788, Pelcl published for the first time Bohuslav Balbinus' book *Bohemia docta (The Learned Bohemia)*³³ on the basis of a manuscript from 17th century. According to this book, Kirwitzer died in Macao in China in 1626.

Although it is easy to imagine the substitution of Meaco for Macao as a simple mistake, there had to be another evidence, too, without which a famous scholar like Pelcl would never have assumed the risk of such "correction". To understand this point, a few details from Kirwitzer's biography are necessary. One of the pieces of information, which is highly esteemed by Pelcl, concerns his asserted authorship of the report on the martyrdom of the Portuguese Missionary Ioannes Baptist Machado in Japan in 1617. However, Kirwitzer left Europe in 1618, in 1619 he compiled his famous book *Observationes cometarum (Observation of Comets)* ... on study of comets in India in 1618, which can be found e.g. in one volume together with works by the Bohemian resident Ioannes Kepler, and in 1620 he reached Macao. Perhaps the latest works by Kirwitzer were his *litterae annuae* of 27 October and 28 November 1625.³⁴ This is sufficient evidence that Kirwitzer wrote on Machado (*Litterae de martyrio P. Ioannis Baptistae Machadi ... (Letters on the Martyrdom of P. Ioannes Baptista Machado ...)*),³⁵ as quoted by Pelcl, on the basis of indirect evidence, without staying in Japan. The story of Kirwitzer's Japanese stay was perhaps reinforced by certain pieces of indirect, and actually only apparent evidence, like references to his "leaving Europe for Japan" (a plan, which had to be abandoned due to Japan's anti-missionary policy) and to his reported residence in the "Japanese Province" of the Order.³⁶

31 *Zprávy z české provincie tovaryšstva Ježíšova* (1918–1938), Praha (a convolute, preserved in the National Library of ČR).

32 Kalista, Fr. (1943): *Cesty ve znamení kříže*, Praha.

33 Balbinus, B. (1778): *Bohemia Docta*, first ed. by F. M. Pelzel, Praga. Balbinus writes correctly: "Obiit Macai 1626".

34 *Litterae annuae* (sin.) 1625 (Kirwitzer: 27 October, 28 November). They are the strongest evidence against the "1618" and "1624" decease theory, which is also wide-spread (It is mentioned also in the abbrev. data in my article in *Asahi Shimbun Newspaper* 朝日新聞 1990. 5.10, 日刊). My papers of 1988 and 1989, mentioned in Footnote 7, preferred the "1626" theory. Here I am also inclined to consider Montanha (Footnote 41), who is reported to quote "1626" directly from Kirwitzer's supposed grave, as the most reliable source.

35 *Litterae de martyrio P. Ioannis Baptistae Machadi 1617*, as quoted in Pelzel, Footnote 28, p. 18.

36 These references are based on the item concerning Kirwitzer in Pelzel, Footnote 28.

As Fr. J. Ruiz de Medina suggests, Kirwitzer evidently belonged to the Japanese Jesuit Province in exile in Macao and was never allowed to enter Japan. This is also clear from E. Lamalle's report on Machado of 1640,³⁷ and proved by the list of missionaries compiled by J. Dehergne,³⁸ who suggests, that Kirwitzer belonged to the Japanese Jesuit Province in exile in Macao and was never allowed to enter Japan. Again, there is confusing variety of versions concerning Kirwitzer's death, e.g. Sommervogel³⁹ et al., propose as a possible year of death "1624(?) in Macao", suggesting the death in Japan in 1626 as another version, and Huonder,⁴⁰ mentioning also "a short stay in Japan", quotes even such extreme deviations from the standard data as "1618" and "1642 (sic!)". As the place of death he gives, incredibly enough, the Kai-feng Province in China. Naturally, these extreme deviations from the standard seem to be highly improbable. It would be worthwhile to search for the possible roots of these stories.

The most veritable source seems to be Fr. Montanha in *Archivo Historico de Ultramay*,⁴¹ who witnesses, in 1659, the presence of Kirwitzer's grave under the name Vicislao (= Václav or Wenceslaus), who died on May 22, 1626, in the Jesuit church in Macao.

The extent of the missionaries' cult is documented by Xavier's statue on the Charles Bridge in Prague, one of the most famous on the bridge (the present statue is a replica). However, it is hardly possible that any other missionaries could really reach Japan before the Meiji period (cf. Dehergne, p.409c).⁴²

BENYOWSKY'S ACTIVITIES AND HIS RELATION TO SLOVAKIA

Other information on an early visitor to Japan from the territory of the present Czechoslovakia concerns Count Morice August Benyowsky. His blown-up memoirs were edited in English in London, in 1789, and in Dublin, in 1790, on the basis of

37 Lamalle, E.(1640): *La propagande en faveur du P. Nicolas Trigault*. In, *Archivum Sotietatis Iesu*, Rome.

38 Dehergne, J. (1973): *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 a 1880*. Letoutzey et Ané, Brussels.

39 Backer, A.,D.J.(1890-...): *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus IV: XII 225-226*. Schöpens, Bruselsi Pickard, Paris. According to this material Kirwitzer is also supposed to have died in Macao.

40 Huonder, Anton (1912-1914): *Die Mission auf der Kanzel und im Vereïn*. Breisgau Freiburg, II., p.189: "Kirwitzer (bei Franco Pantaleon KOBIZER), P. Wenceslaus (Austr.), geb. 1588 zu Kadaň (Böhmen), eingetr. 1606, ging 1618 nach China, wo er 1620 anlangte. Er starb in Kai-föng-fu 1642 (al.22 Mai 1626 zu Macao) ... Bei Kircher, Magnes (ed. 1654) p.315 wird er Kobizer genannt ..."

41 Montanha, Fr. (1659). In: *Archivo Historico del Ultramay*.

42 Dehergne 1640-(cf. Footnote 38), p.409.

an original French manuscript. This was followed by a German edition in 1790, and later by a French, Dutch, Swedish, Polish, and also Czech edition, which appeared in Prespurk (present Bratislava) in 1808.⁴³ The work, published for the first time already four years after Benyowsky's death, has become very popular in Europe and America and inspired authors of a number of novels and dramas.

Morice Benyowsky was born in the northern part of the Hungarian Empire, i.e. on the territory of the present-day Slovakia, in the little town of Vrbové (Verbó in Hungarian) in the Nitra Province on 20 September 1746, as a son of Colonel Samuel Benyowsky and Rosalia Anna Revay.⁴⁴ A great part of his life (or at least a great part

- 43 The first edition, alleged to be a translation from a French original, was "*The Memoirs and Travels of Mauritius August Count de Benyowsky, Magnate of the Kingdom of Hungary and Poland. . . . Translated from an Original Manuscript*" (1790). London, William Nicholson, Dublin. The first German edition was "*Reisen durch Sibirien und Kamchatka. Aus dem englischen übersetzt (1790). . . . Forster, Berlin*". The first Swedish edition is "*Grefwens Mauritz August von Benioviskis Lafnadslopp och Resov of honom sjelf beskrefne (1791)*", Stockholm. It was followed by the Dutch edition "*Gedenkschriften en Reizen. Naar de engelsche voortaalende in het oordpronglyk handschrift overgezet*" (1791), 1-4, Harlem, the Polish edition "*Historia podróży i osoliwskich zdarzeń sławnego szlachcica polskiego i węgierskiego z francuskiego tłumaczona*" (1797), 1-4, Warszawa and the Czech edition "*Pamětné příhody hraběte Beňovského, na větším díle od něho samého sepsané, v výtah pak uvedené a přeložené od Samuela Čerňanského*" (1808), Prešpurk, Insstytut literatury slovenské. The first Japanese edition Benyofusukī-Kōkaiki (ed. S. Mizuguchi, J. Numata, ベニョフスキー航海記 (水口志計夫訳, 沼田次郎共編記) Tōyō Bunko 160, publ. by Heibonsha 1970, 東洋文庫 160 is precious for extensive supplements, containing available Japanese materials, translations of Dutch, Russian and other materials and confrontation of the original letters by Benyowsky with the data in his diary. The contrast of Benyowsky's Travels . . . with Japanese materials and two Russians' diaries, discussed in the Japanese edition, will not be repeated here (cf. also 来日西洋人事典・日外アソシエーツ (1983), 東京 Rainichi Seiyōjin Jiten, Nichigai Asoshiēto, Tokyo. pp.379-380). The studies contained in 「ベニョフスキー航海記」 Benyofusukī-Kōkaiki critically reviews Benyowsky's life and his stay in Japan, discovering the data which were counterfeit and restoring the historical truth. Unfortunately, Benyowsky's alleged nationality "Hungarian" is not questioned in the book, and the most probably correct Slavonic transcription of his surname (ベニョフスキー) is explained only as a convenient transcription (cf. p.4). The fact that the first Czech edition preceded the first Hungarian edition, (cf. Jókai, Mori (1888): *Grof Benioviski 1-4*, Budapest), shows however, that there was, at least at the beginning of 19th century, some awareness of the possibility of Benyowsky's Slavonic origin. The Slavonic origin would explain also motivation for Benyowsky's activities in Poland. The Japanese edition is not concerned with the nationalist aspects of the problem. The first Czech edition of the book, which is presently considered to have been of enormous importance for Slovak national conscience, is described in the comments of the Japanese dictionary as "Slovak". However, it is omitted in the bibliography of major translations.

The reports on an international symposium on Benyowsky were published in Érd, Hungary, as a special issue of the journal *Földrajzi muzeumi tanulmányok*/(1987), Érd, 3. For Benyowsky's bibliography, Cf. *Encyklopédia Slovenska* (1977), I. A-D, Bratislava.

- 44 Benyowsky obviously falsified the date of his birth, moving it to 1741, in order to comply with his stories according to which he was supposed to have been "a general of the Theresian Army" (cf. 水口志計夫 (1970) in: ベニョフスキーについて (S. Mizuguchi: Benyofusukī ni tsuite) in ベニョフスキー航海記 (Footnote 43), p.5.

of his youth) was spent in the territory of Slovakia. This territory covered in those times only one quarter of the Hungarian territory. However, due to the occupation of the Hungarian territory and of Southern Slovakia by the Ottoman Empire after the battle of Mohacs in 1526, a half of all Hungarian nobility lived here. In Slovakia, in the little town of Spišská Sobota, Benyowsky also met his wife Zuzanna Hönsch, whose low birth is quoted as evidence for his adherence to Slovak nationality (cf. Footnote 46).

As a young boy Benyowsky joined the Theresian army and received the education necessary for a military career. Before 1764 he was already the second deputy commander of the Hungarian Breysaki infantry regiment.

In 1768, Benyowsky was imprisoned in the castle of Lubovňa for an attempt to organize a military troop, which is evidently the first documented manifestation of his organizing gift. Obviously, he somehow escaped and deserted, as in 1769 he was already fighting in Poland on the side of the Bar confederacy against the Russians, who captured him and escorted to Kazañ. From there he managed to escape to Petrograd (St. Petersburg), where he was once again taken prisoner and in 1770 sentenced for this to exile in Kamchatka. After an unsuccessful attempt to participate in initiating the Bolcheresk uprising, he escaped on a small ship Sankt-Peter, with some ninety-six men aboard, to Japan. This unusual entry to Japan took place in 1771.⁴⁵

Benyowsky was identified in Japan by a Dutch version of his name Aladar van Bengoro (perhaps based on a misreading of the graphic form Bengovski by Dutch officials), and abbreviated as Aus (which evidently refers to a Latin form for Austrian). Taking into consideration J. Numada, in his 『航海記』 (*Kōkaiki*) and the extensive materials quoted by him,⁴⁶ it seems that there is sufficient evidence that Benyowsky stayed in 日和佐 (*Hiwasa*) at the Awa Province, and most probably also in 佐喜浜 (*Sakigahama*) at the Tosa Province on the Shikoku island, and on the islands Amami Oshima (in those times belonging to the Satsuma Province) and Okinawa. Six German letters to the director of the Dutch factory in Nagasaki, one of which accuses Russia of military ambitions, turned the attention of the Bakufu military policy towards the northern part of Japan. Meanwhile, in Russia, the escape of a ship to an unknown country with detailed information on the defence system of Russian frontiers incited prosecution of the scholars engaged in Oriental studies. An extraordinary military council was summoned, and municipal walls on the Petropavlovsk fortress were reinforced.⁴⁷

45 Benyowsky's flight from Russian custody is described in detail already in *Životopis a zápisy hraběte M. Beňovského*, Budapest (1890), and recently in Davidson, A. B. (1979): *Zov dal'nykh morej*, Moskva, and in Davidson, A. B. (1979): *Oblik dalekoi strany*, Moskva.

46 A careful examination of Benyowsky's route in Japan and its confrontation with other materials is in J. Numata: *Nihon ni okeru Benyofusukū* 沼田次郎：日本におけるベニョフスキー in ベニョフスキー航海記 (cf. Footnote 43) pp.223-241.

47 Cf. Footnote 45.

Further adventures of Count De Benyowsky were no less spectacular.

He also visited Taiwan and Macao, where he sold the ship and cargo against the will of the crew.⁴⁸ In December 1771 with a handful of companions, he embarked on two French ships in Canton to sail via Île De France and Madagascar back to Europe, which he reached in April 1772. Upon his arrival, Benyowsky submitted to the French government his plans to colonize Taiwan, but he was charged, instead, with establishing trading posts in Madagascar.⁴⁹ During his first stay in Madagascar (1774–1777) he managed to unite the island and proclaim himself king, but he was removed from the post and had to return to France.⁵⁰ In order to come again to Madagascar and accomplish his plans he turned to the British government, but in vain. Later, after he was pardoned for his desertion from the Austrian army by Empress Maria Theresa and appointed a colonel by her son Emperor Joseph II, his aspirations turned to the United States.⁵¹ With monetary support from the London Scientific Society de Magellan and with Franklin's aid, he managed to obtain the ship "Intrepid" for a new expedition to Madagascar⁵² and left on October 25, 1784. However, in Madagascar he was attacked by French military troops, which were supposed to capture him, but, on May 24, 1786, they eventually killed him.⁵³

As Viera Paulíková—Šilhanová puts it, "Morice Benyowsky was and still remains a figure of controversy. Doubts have been cast on his youthful career as well as on his vivid account of his later exploits. The arguments have continued ever since. It is clear that Benyowsky possessed an unusually complex personality, the explication of which defies easy categorization. Benyowsky's reputation has been recently revived in Europe, America as well as Madagascar itself, as evidenced by an evergrowing number of books and studies. Recent research has attempted to reassess the accomplishments of Morice Benyowsky in the light of modern scholarship and, if possible, to reach some conclusions about the underlying motivations and deep-seated drives of this complex character."⁵⁴

48 Documents on Benyowsky are filed e.g. in the following archives: USA: *Library of Congress, American Philosophical Society Library*, Great Britain: *British Museum, The British Library*, France: *Archives Nationales de France* (Section Outre-mer; Colonie de Marine), *Bibliothèque Municipale d'Orsay*.

49 Benyovszky Móric Madagaszkárán (and other studies-1987). In: *Földrajzi muzeumi tanulmányok* 3.

50 For a description of the documents filed under the name *Benyowsky* in the *Archives Nationales de France*, cf. Le Calloch, Bernard (1987): *Benyovszky Móric Dosszijeja a Franumicia Nemzeti Levéltárban*. In: *Földrajzi muzeumi tanulmányok* (1987) 3, pp.21–30.

51 The truthfulness of Benyowsky's diaries is questioned in Vantúch, A.(1980): Keď Móric Beňovský hovorí pravdu. In: *Vlastivedný časopis* Vol.XIX, Bratislava, 3:141–143.

52 Cf. Wagner, S. (1987): Benyovszky Móric Amerikában. *Földrajzi muzeumi tanulmányok*.

53 Cf. Vacher, Paul E.(1970) : *Contribution a l'histoire de l'établissement français a Madagascar par le baron de Benyowsky (1772–1776) d'après de nouvelles sources manuscrites*, Tanarive, and also Lúgosi, Gy.(1984) : Benyovszky Móric Madagaszkáron . . . , *Szazadok* 2:61–390.

54 Paulíková—Šilhanová, V.(1987) : "Beniowsky", an unpublished manuscript of a report at the symposium on Benyowski in Hungary, cf. Note 43, p.7.

FIRST SCHOLARLY STUDIES BY PERSONS OF BOHEMIAN ORIGIN

The most important protagonist of Bohemian origin was doubtless August Pfizmaier (1808-1887), the founder of Japanology at the University of Vienna. He was born in Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), attended the secondary grammar school in Plzeň (Pilsen) and graduated from the Medical Faculty of the Charles University in Prague.⁵⁵ He manifested his philological concern already during his years of study by translating an old Czech poem by the Renaissance poet Bohuslav Hasištejn of Lobkowitz, from Czech to Turkish.⁵⁶ In 1838 he settled in Vienna, where, in 1843, he was appointed an Associate Professor of Arabic, Chinese and Persian. He is considered to be the author of the first European translation of a modern Japanese novel into a European language; the complete facsimile of a Japanese work with woodcut illustrations and a scholarly translation of a novel by Tanehiko Ryūtei⁵⁷ appeared in 1847, six years before Commodore Perry's ships forced their entry into Japanese ports. Pfizmaier also compiled an unfinished Japanese-German Dictionary and studies on the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* and on the Ainu language, availing of Russian sources.

Among his successors was a Bohemian, Prof. Alexander Slawik, leading personality of the present Austrian Japanology.

Meanwhile in Bohemia the Šternberk family concentrated on gathering information on Japan, among others from Siebold, whose letters are preserved in the Šternberk archive in Bohemia.

OUTLINE OF CONTACTS FROM THE MEIJI TO THE END OF WORLD WAR I

It is clear that till 1918 the main stream of cultural influences was related to Vienna. The provincial situation of Bohemia and Moravia (and of course Slovakia) was manifested in the state of affairs, in which personal events and small or subsidiary facts had a decisive impact on the limited exchange between our territory and Japan. Therefore, it is necessary to devote attention to these facts in order to make clear their little known aspects, because even these small facts particularly deeply influenced the educated cultural public in Bohemia and Moravia. Moreover, the surviving relatives of the pioneers of mutual relations, who are an important source of information, cannot be neglected in this survey.

The wave of interest in Japan on the territory of Bohemia dates back to as late as

55 *Japanforschung in Österreich* (1976). Wiener Universität, Wien.

56 Lobkowitz, Bohuslav, v. Hasištejn (Hasištejnský 1832), in *Almanach von Karlsbad*.

57 Ryūtei, Tanehiko (1847): *Sechs Wandschirme in Gestalten der vergänglichen Welt*, ... übersetzt und herausgegeben von Dr. A. Pfizmaier, Wien.

1880's. In 1880, Baron A. v. Hübner's *Promenade autour du monde en 1871* appeared under the Czech title *Procházka kolem světa (A Stroll around the World)*. Two years later A. Brassey's chef d'oeuvre was translated by A. Mourek as *Cesta kolem světa, výlet po lodi Sunbeamu (World Round Trip, A Journey Aboard the Ship Sunbeam)*.⁵⁸

These world-round trip descriptions inspired also the first Czech "world-round-traveller" Josef Korenský (1847-1938), a teacher at a secondary grammar school at Smíchov, Prague. The travel was described in the books *Cesta kolem světa (World-round Trip, Praha 1894)*, in the *Cesty po světě-Žaponsko (World Trips-Japan, Praha 1899)* and in *Podruhé v Žaponsku (Second Time in Japan, Praha 1910)*. A Japanese edition of Korenský's book—明治のジャポンスコ (1985) was translated into Japanese by Fumihiko Suzuki (鈴木文彦),⁵⁹ presenting unique historical information and photographs to the Japanese reader. Almost simultaneously the traveler Stanko Enriko Vráz visited Japan and gathered a considerable amount of materials, which are now concentrated in the Náprstek Museum in Prague.⁶⁰

The World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873 provided a unique chance for experts, who took part at its preparation, for study trips to other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, or even to other European countries. In this context the records, concerning stays of five Japanese experts in Bohemia, e.g. in the glassworks in Suchdol, in the beer factory in Plzeň (Pilsen), in the Kohinoor-Hardmuth pencil factory in České Budějovice (Budweis), Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad), Jáchymov (Iochimstal) and in other Czech factories and manufacture workshops,⁶¹ should perhaps be interpreted as data on multi-purpose stays in Europe, rather than really specific, purpose-oriented samples of residence of Japanese citizens.

In this period also first geographical studies and textbooks on Japan in the Czech language were written by J. Palacký, a Professor of the Prague University.

Another source of relations is represented by the military contacts between the armies of both countries. Many precious names of Czech or Slovak persons who stayed in Japan on the basis of these contacts as trainers of the Japanese Army are preserved on grave-stones at a Yokohama cemetery.⁶² Doubtless, there were many

58 Hübner, A. V. (1880): *Procházka kolem světa*, Praha (a translation of the "*Promenade autour du monde en 1871 (1873)*", Paris); Brassey, A. (1882): *Cesta kolem světa, výlet po lodi Sunbeamu*, Praha.

59 Josefu Kojensuki: *Meiji no Japonsuko. Bohemian no Nihon kansatsu-ki...* Tokyo, Saimarushuppankai. ヨセフ・コジェンスキー(1985): 明治のジャポンスコ・ボヘミアンの日本観察記・鈴木文彦訳・東京・サイマル出版会.

60 The Japanese collections of the Náprstek museum are deposited now at the castle of Liběchov near Mělník, Central Bohemia.

61 Cf. 稲野 強: 日本=チェコスロヴァキア文化交流の歴史と現状(Ineno, Ts.: *Nihon-Chekosurovackia bunka kōryū-shi no rekishi to genjō*). In: 日本と東欧諸国の文化交流に関する基礎的研究 (Footnote 7 and 101).

62 The Foreign Cemetery in Yokohama (横浜市中区山手町の外人墓地), the gate of which was designed by J. Letzel (Unfortunately all metal parts were melted in the last weeks of the Pacific war).

cases of Japanese staying in Prague, too. One of them, a lieutenant Eitarō Nanbu, son of a "court physician", is mentioned by J. Hloucha⁶³ as his first Japanese language instructor.

However, if one attempts to confine the scope of observation to the area of culture, birth of independent fiction and poetry, motivated and inspired by Japanese tradition, deserves specific mention here. As early as 1832 the Slovak poet, writing in Czech, Ján Kollár publishes his famous Pan-Slavic poem *Slávy dcera* (*Sláva's Daughter*), in which an inscription, quoting a poem by the Russian poet Derzhavin, is mentioned. The inscription is reported as owned by the Emperor (which, of course, is a typical mislabel for the Shōgun), and, as Nagayo⁶⁴ suggests, this assertion is based on veritable historical sources.

Another inspired work is an original novel by an outstanding Romantic poet and novelist Julius Zeyer, *Gompáči a Komurasaki* (*Gompachi and Komurasaki*),⁶⁵ which was written on the basis of a number of dramatic and literary versions of the well-known love affair of the 18th century.

In the area of decorative art, the activities of the painter and graphic designer E. Orlik (1870–1932), are to be noted. He was born and grew up in Prague. Later he published also in Brno, although he spent a great part of his creative life in Berlin. His stay in Japan (1900–1902) was filled with studies on Japanese woodblock prints and some papers on it were published in both Brno and Vienna journals.⁶⁶ Orlik was an ardent promoter of Japonism in the graphic arts, being inspired mostly by his admiration for Van Gogh and French impressionists. Their positive efforts to pick up the minute particularities of each detail, his sense for impression and for the colorful beauty of the evanescent Moment, without psychological insight into the transtemporal essence of the phenomena—the principles which complicate the European tradition and return stubbornly to the Central European canvas with the lifting wave of Expressionism—, enchanted the young Orlik and had the decisive impact on the

63 "... Mrs. Náprstek introduced a young baron Eitarō Nambu (sic) to me, an officer of Japanese cavalry, who studied horse-keeping in Bohemia by an order of his government. His father was a court physician until a wave of Japanese Progressism swept him down. After this introduction Eitarō Nambu was often a guest in the St. Thomas beerhouse. His German was poor, so he could not explain much ... "(-concerns years before 1906, transl from Czech by K. F.)", quoted from Hloucha, J.'s self-biography retold in Šmejkal, J. V.(1931): *Milenec Nipponu*. Zem. knihkupectví A. Neubert, Praha, p.34.

64 The poem is Kollár, J. (1832) : *Slávy dcera* (*The Slav's daughter*), Lyricko-epická báseň pěti zpěvých od Jána Kollára, Pešť. The poem was written in Czech by a Slovak poet (The mentions concerning Japan are analyzed in Nagayo Susumu(1988): *Japonské motivy v poéme Slávy dcera Jána Kollára*). (*Comparative and Contrastive Studies in Slavic Languages and Literatures*, 1988, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Tokyo.)

65 Zeyer, J. (1884): *Gompáči a Komurasaki*, Praha.

66 Orlik, E.(1902) : *Anmerkungen über den Farbenholschnitt im Japan in 1900. Die graphischen Künste*, 25, Wien, pp.31–34, Orlik, E. (1902) : *Vom japanischen Farbenholschnitt, Mitteilungen des Mährischen Gewerbe-Museums* 20, Brünn (Brno), pp.17–25, Orlik, E. (1902) : *Mappen aus Japan*, Brünn 1902.

formation of his personality. Meanwhile, the head of Czech Art Nouveau, Alfons Mucha, a painter vigorously influenced by Japonism, was ripening in a broad cultural environment, between Paris and Prague.

The first Czech who settled and married in Japan, used Japanese fluently and has an unpassable merit for development of industries in Japan, was Eng. Karel Jan Hora (1880-1970?) from Bílé Poličany. By the age of 14, the young Hora expresses in his diary his wish to travel to Japan and live there. He realized this dream after his studies in the U. S. In 1900 or 1904, he translated the book *Bushido* by Inazō Nitobe from English. In 1905 he passed to Japan, where he became a department chief of the Osaka Gas Company. Shortly after in 1906, he married Fuku of the prestigious family of Takemoto and, in 1913, founded a construction company with Jan Letzel. Three Austrians of Czech origin—Hora, Letzel and Hloucha met in 1906 in Japan and the magazine *Český svět* reports on their stay in detail under the headline “*Český den v Japonsku*” (*The Czech Day in Japan*).⁶⁷ Some interesting material, including photographs of Hora, his wife and two children—Charles (also Karel, iun.) and Waka can be found in Alois Svojsík’s book *Japonsko a jeho lid* (*Japan and her People, 1913*).⁶⁸

However, already in 1915, with the coming of the war, Hora decides to return home. He left Japan for U. S., Sweden and Holland, and, after a short return, for Shang-hai, where he waited for a ship to Europe.⁶⁹ This was almost simultaneous with the opening ceremony of their common project with architect J. Letzel, which was the Commercial and Industrial Center (産業奨励館) in Hiroshima (the present Atomic Bomb Dome 原爆ドーム). Later, Hora is found as representative of the Škoda works in India, and finally in South Africa.

67 *Český den v Japonsku*, 7.3. 1906, *Český svět*, Praha. Here we read: “... jako 14 letý si dopisoval s Vrázem a Kořenským ... (as a fourteen-year old boy he kept correspondence with Vráz and Kořenský)”. On Kořenský cf. Boháčková, L. (1987) : *Červen 1987 v Náprstkově muzeu*—J. Kořenský, Náprstkovo muzeum, Praha. On Vráz’s travel to Japan cf. “E. St. Vráz-cestovatel”, *Lidová demokracie*, Praha 20.2.1957. In 1904, before his arrival to Japan, Hora is alleged to have published a Czech translation of the short-story Haru in the Czech magazine *Lada*, and in 1907 in Chicago, a novel “*Fuku. Novoroční povídka* (*Fuku, A New-Year’s Short-story*)”, reflecting the name of Hora’s young Japanese wife, acc. to *Japanforschung in Österreich* (cf. Footnote 55). Details on Hora’s life before his departure from Japan are in the comments of the post-script of Nagayo’s translation of J. Havlasa’s アイヌの秋 (Footnote 95). Hora’s “translation” Nitobe Inazō: *Duše Japonska*, Praha (acc. to *Japanforschung in Österreich*, Footnote 55, published for the first time in 1900?, the generally known edition is of 1904 by J. Pelel), is actually a free translation of the English version of 「武士道」 (*Bushidō*). There is also Hora’s work Notes on Kamo Chōmei’s Life (1907), *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol.34, Part IV: 81-97 (bearing similarity with the manuscript *Kamo Chōmei’s nameless selection*) and an article on K. J. Hora in *Transactions ...*, Vol.34, Part I, (1906), pp.45-48, giving 1904 as the year of translation of Nitobe. cf. also Kōgyō zasshi (工業雑誌) M39, 345: 33.

68 Svojsík, A (1913) : *Japonsko a jeho lid*, první vyd., Praha.

69 Hora’s letter to his German uncle “Ottokar” from Shang-hai, dated of 17 August 1915 (in the possession of the author of this article).

An important source of information on K. J. Hora's Japanese wife, Fuku Horová-Takemoto⁷⁰ is the book *Moje matka cizinecká legie (My Mother, The Foreign Legion)*,⁷¹ written by K. J. Hora's son, Ch. Hora, exiled in France. Fuku died in an old-people's home in Czechoslovakia in 1965.⁷² K. J. Hora's son Ch. Hora, in spite of false death reports in Czechoslovakia, lived in Corsica till August 1989,⁷³ while K. J. Hora's daughter Waka died in Czechoslovakia in 1947.⁷⁴

In relation to the territory of Bohemia also the painter Countess Mitsuko Coudenhove-Kalergi of the Aoyama family, who married the Austrian commercial representative in Japan during his stay in Tokyo from 1893 to 1895, should be mentioned here. After being expelled from family estates in the territory of the new Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, she returned to Bohemia during World War II (her son Gerolf, the famous translator of Japanese poetry, was since 1939 the Austrian General Consular in Prague) and died here in World War II.⁷⁵

70 Fuku Horová-Takemoto was the fourth daughter of 竹本久敬 (Hisayoshi Takemoto). Hisayoshi's grandson 竹本敬一 (Keiichi Takemoto), still lives in Nagoya. The author of this article is grateful for the data on the Takemoto family to Mrs. 吉沢鈴子 (Reiko Yoshizawa) (cf. Footnote 87), who is writing a book on Fuku Takemoto and to Mr. 栗栖 継 (Kei Kurisu). — Left alone already before the war (in 1933 ?) by her husband, Fuku upbrought her daughter Waka and Ch. Hora in Czechoslovakia alone.

71 Hora, K. (1977): *Moje matka cizinecká legie*. Sixty-eight Publishers, Toronto, (reported French edition 1971). According to this book its author's father Karel Jan Hora left Shang-hai with his family in 1917, returned to Bohemia and settled in Poděbrady on 10 Oct. 1918. The family experienced the Day of Czechoslovak Independence (28 Oct., 1918) there. In 1933 father returned to Czechoslovakia and, sending his son to Ecuador, left again for India. Ch. Hora, iun. (2.Dce.1908, Yokohama-8.Aug.1989, Corsica), fought for Czechoslovakia's independence during World War II as a lieutenant of the French Army. He returned to Czechoslovakia in 1945 after his mother's request not to fight her motherland Japan and became an officer of the Czechoslovak Army. However, he had to escape again under most dangerous conditions after the February Communist coup d'état in 1948. He changed his Czechoslovak citizenship for French, and entered the Foreign Legion in order to "fight for freedom," as he explains in his book. He was a top officer of the Foreign Legion until the Legion's abolition and was decorated with 13 top decorations. In his book Ch. Hora describes his parting from his mother in February 1948 and remembers her words that it is better "to die standing" than live on the knees. He fought in Vietnam, Korea, Tunisia and Algeria, and was falsely reported by the Czech authorities as dying in Vietnam as early as 1954. The book reports on K. J. Hora, sen., as living in Johannesburg, S. Africa, still in 1957(p.262).

72 Cf. Footnote 87.

73 *Daily Telegraph*, 31.Aug.1989, reports that "Ch. Hora" (=Karel Jan Hora, iun.) died on 8 August 1989. Ch. J. Hora's granddaughters Jarmila and Diana Lumsdaine live in England. There is also a distant relative Jarmila Foukal, living in Canada.

74 K. J. Hora's daughter Waka's son, Karel Erben, M. D., still lives in Poděbrady in Bohemia. There is also Mrs. M. Frýbová, a niece of K. J. Hora who lives in Prague. The author is obliged to her for K. J. Hora's letters and detailed information.

75 Mitsuko and her posteriors are well-known in Japan (particularly due to publicity from NHK and other mass media). However, as far as we know, there is still no sufficiently scholarly study of this Austro-Hungarian Countess of Japanese origin, although the Pan-European movement, founded by her son, belongs to important streams of modern European thought. The Japanese

Another Japanophile, Joe Hloucha (1881–1957), devoted his life to the collection of Oriental art and to writing Romantic novels and short stories in the Japonerie style. The first catalogue of his collection is available still from his secondary grammar school years—it already contained about 300 pieces of art in that period.⁷⁶

Still before his first trip to Japan, Hloucha issued his quasi-autobiographic Japonerie *Sakura ve vichřici* (*Cherry-blossoms in the Windstorm*, 1905),⁷⁷ on the tragic love of a foreigner to a Japanese girl, who, after being refused her uncle's assent to marry him, commits suicide. The work depicts relatively faithfully manners and life in Japan. It became a bestseller, which appeared in 20 editions and opened for Hloucha the way to his long private stays in Japan in 1906 and 1926.⁷⁸ It was this success which led Hloucha's uncle to pass half of his shares in the St. Thomas beerhouse in Prague to Joe, and this enabled Joe to become not only a writer and traveller, but also an entrepreneur and collector on a large scale.

During his trip to Japan in 1906, when the reminiscence of the Russo-Japanese war was still vivid, Hloucha witnessed the lifting wave of national self-consciousness. The Japanese victory itself was a big surprise for Austrians of Slavonic origin, who read about the war mostly in a special Czech newspaper founded to this purpose, which was inclined to blow up any Russian success in the war.⁷⁹ Authentic experience of a cheerful post-war atmosphere belongs to the most interesting aspects of the romantic novel *Tamasan aneb Moje paní Chrysanthéma* (*Tamasan or My Lady Chrysanthemum*, Praha 1906), inspired by Pierre Loti, which describes supposed several-months' marriage bond with a Japanese girl.

In the year 1908, when Eng. Václav Havel was completing construction of the Lucerna Hall in the central part of Prague, namely the part facing the Vodičková street, Hloucha, who just returned from Japan, rented a room. This was later adapted into the restaurant Černý kůň. J. Hloucha, together with his brother, opened a tearoom Yokohama there, which he describes, according to Šmejkal, as a "Japanese alley brought to the underground space (transl. from Czech)."⁸⁰ For the *Český svět* it is "a Japanese teahouse and confectionery with original decorations, including miniature houses with paper-walls and bamboo-made furniture, Japanese counter-facts, lampions, statues of gods and decorations. Also the serving personnel were dressed in colorful Japanese costumes."⁸¹

source as one of the sources of this "European" tradition is underappreciated also in Europe, due to the influence of Euro-centrism.

76 Hloucha's collection was submitted to the Czechoslovak state and is now part of the Náprstek museum collection at the castle of Liběchov.

77 Hloucha, J.(1905) : *Sakura ve vichřici*, Praha.

78 Hloucha's stays in Japan were realized in 1906 and 1926. On Hloucha cf. general information in Šmejkal, J. V.(1931): *Milenec Nipponu*. Zem knihkupectví A. Neubert, Praha, and Boháčková, L.(1981): "*Srpen 1981 v Náprstkově muzeu v Praze, Joe Hloucha 1881–1957*. Náprstkovo muzeum, Praha.

79 The supposed "big victories" of the Russian Army in the so-called Russo-Japanese war were systematically reported (and blown-up) in Czech language periodicals.

80 *České slovo* on "Yokohama", 13 August 1908.

81 Cf. Footnote 94.

In June 1908 an anniversary exhibition was opened in Prague and a Japanese tearoom was temporarily moved there (actually, according to Šmejkal, the final installation in the Lucerna took place after the exhibition in 1909). The contemporary *České slovo*⁸² writes about the tearoom at the exhibition as about "Japan, which comes to you, without expecting you to dare a long journey (transl. from Czech)". A house with "a large blue roof, lifted on all four corners in Japanese style, and curved above the entrance, white unvarnished walls, big, round windows, with adhesive paper tapes, a round corridor provided with railings, colorful lampions under the roof, and the gate 'torii'.

Can you expect anything more? . . . Of course, no mats are here, as no Prague citizen would be ready to sit down on the floor in the Japanese style and take off his shoes (transl. from Czech)."

A letter by architect Letzel from Japan to his teacher Prof. Kotěra presents a less enthusiastic evaluation of the photographs published in the press. According to his opinion, Hloucha's knowledge of Japanese architecture and style of life was insufficient, as Hloucha's stay had been very short, and nothing of the neat miniature beauty of Japanese architecture was present in his "bombastic entrepreneur's mind". Letzel criticized Hloucha for placing a "torii", which can stand only in front of a Shinto shrine, in front of a restaurant or a lived in house.⁸³ On the other hand, if we can believe Šmejkal (cf. Footnote 80), who was Hloucha's friend, Kotěra himself highly appreciated Hloucha's teahouse.

As Letzel predicted, the "torii" was finally really placed in front of a lived in house. Hloucha bought a restaurant in the Tiché údolí (valley) in Roztoky near Prague, labelled it with the name "Sakura" and decorated the "torii" in the garden with statues of guardian animals. Besides, an arched bridge was constructed as an approach to the "Japanese Pavillion" on the slope of a mountain and real lived in house of Hloucha was built by the side of this big building. In spite of these constructive efforts Hloucha sold the object after several years, when he moved to the Hřebenka area.

Also the teahouse in the Lucerna, which was after World War I no more profitable, gradually declined. Eng. V. Havel in his memoirs comments: "Young girls in real kimonos waited there and ('the Japanese coffee shop') was very popular in those days . . . During the first World War brothers Hlouchas gave up the business (acc. to Šmejkal six years after the foundation of the restaurant, K. F.) and my father rented the room to a certain Mr. W. Walter who changed it into a night coffee club with music performance."⁸⁴

As documents in the historical archives of the Lucerna management show, in 1924

82 *Český svět*(1908), Praha.

83 J. Letzel's letter is published in *Umění a řemesla*, cf. Footnote 94.

84 Havel, V. (sen.)(?): *Mé vzpomínky, sv. IV*, Praha, Samizdat pre-print (year unknown), pp. 61-62, the first official edition to appear in 1990—Cf. also unarranged material in the Lucerna Archive under the title "20 let Lucerny".

the place was changed into a Winter Garden, which was altered in 1927 into a unique “really popular restaurant” with student waiters. Thus, Japanese restaurants disappeared from Prague for more than half a century.

Hloucha's contact with Japan deepened his love for this country and found its expression in his large collections of Japanese art and handicraft. Hloucha, together with his friends Prof. Salač and the graphician A. Novák, publisher of the review *Hollar*, was also a collector and connoisseur of European art, namely of Gothic sculpture.

Hloucha was also engaged in writing books on Japan,⁸⁵ like *Mezi bohy a démony* (*Among Gods and Daimons*, 1929) and *Japoněcky* (*Japanese Ladies*, 1931). The first complete catalogue of Hloucha's collection is dated 1943. The authorities bought up the collection in the fifties, shortly before Hloucha's death, and moved it to the Náprstek Museum.

Another pioneer of the relations between both countries was the above-mentioned architect Jan Letzel (1881–1925).

Letzel, born in Náchod in North-Eastern Bohemia, studied architecture under Prof. Jan Kotěra, the founder of a famous Art Nouveau school. He was one of the most gifted of Kotěra's disciples, as is clear from their correspondence. Letzel lived in Japan till 1920, and visited it once again in 1922–3, when he witnessed the Big Kanto Earthquake. According to his letters he experienced it (in the restaurant Seiyō-ken, on the top floor of the just finished Marunouchi Building, where he was taking his breakfast). He described the view as a horror which even Emperor Nero would not have seen.

In Czechoslovakia only two buildings remind of Letzel's skill—the part of the entrance and the caffè of the present hotel Europa at Venceslas square in Prague, and a spa pavillion in Mšené. However, in Japan several buildings were erected, which became highly prestigious. The most famous is the above-mentioned building of the Industrial and Business Center of Hiroshima (cf. above). The building was completed on August 15, 1915, almost exactly thirty years before its destruction in World War II. Although, its skeleton structure still stands as a reminder. Letzel also constructed the Seishin Gakuin Hospital building in Tokyo and a building at the Sophia University complex, and he is reported to have built an unidentified hotel in Tokyo. According to F. Fujita's oral statements in Prague in the sixties (in a conversation with the author of this study), the hotel constructed by Letzel remained untouched during the earthquake in 1923. She noticed the name was Czech and later published her subsequent findings.⁸⁶ According to Mrs. Yoshizawa,⁸⁷ K. J. Hora, who was a

85 This was stimulated particularly by his second trip to Japan in 1926.

86 藤田文字(1969)：「チェコ人だった原爆ドーム設計者」『世界』東京。Fujita, Fumiko: “Chekojin datta Genbaku Dōmu Sekkeisha”(1969) *Sekai* 285.8, pp.185–188.

87 Cf. an extensive interview 「海を渡った「元気印」明治女」(Umi wo watatta 「genki-jirushi」 Meiji onna) with Mrs. 吉沢 (Yoshizawa) in 朝日新聞 (Asahi Shinbun) 1988.9.8 (日刊, 東京のみ).

friend of Letzel,⁸⁸ was also actively engaged in this architectonic project. Actually, both entrepreneurs owned a common construction and machinery company in the Ginza, called "Letsuru endo Hora."⁸⁹ However, at the moment of completion of the Dome, Hora had already left Japan.

In Japan Letzel got acquainted with other Czech architects, Raymond and Fořtšyn.

After his summoning back to Czechoslovakia⁹⁰ from the post of the first Czechoslovak Commercial representative at the Czechoslovak Legation in Tokyo,⁹¹ Letzel had to return to his home country, where he had already lost all contacts, being destined to most hard and humiliating conditions. Many mediocre architects took almost all his jobs.⁹²

The words from Letzel's letters to Kotěra about the Japanese, who have sense for real architectonic art and about their hearty welcome, contrast with his, as it seems, justified worry, concerning numerous intrigues at home.

In 1924, the lonely Letzel⁹³ entered a hospital for mental diseases,⁹⁴ and, shortly

88 Svojsík, A.(1913): *Japonsko a jeho lid*, Praha.

89 The company "Retsuru. endo. Hora" was located at Ginza, 4 chōme, Tokyo.

90 Letzel is supposed to have been surveyed by Japanese police as an Austrian after 9 August, 1916. He became an "extra-ordinary secretary" (臨時書記官) and commercial attache at the Czechoslovak Legation on 27 August, 1919, was summoned back to Czechoslovakia on 31 March, 1920 and was dismissed from the Foreign Service on 7 September, 1920 (on the basis of materials in 外交資料館, Gaikō Shiryōkan, Tokyo).

91 In 1919, J. Letzel was able to find a job at the Czechoslovak Legation, Tokyo, for his adopted daughter Hana Mahrt (25.4.1901-?.9.1971). According to Letzel's letters, she was daughter of a German father and Japanese mother. (J. Letzel mentions her for the first time in a humorous tone as his "first child" in a letter to his mother of 2.May,1910.) H. Mahrt had also a brother, Otto Mahrt. According to Japanese materials, kept at フェリス女学院, Hana was daughter of 伊藤コウ(K. Itō), and her mother's second husband's surname was 新井 (Arai). She married in 1920 in New York to Syrovovskii, an American citizen of Russian origin and had two children —Catharine and Alex. Both died at a comparatively early age. Hanako's portrait can be seen on a number of photographs, taken by Letzel. She is supposed to have been also an object of the oil-painting kept with Letzel's relatives in Brno, which are alleged to have been painted by Letzel himself.

92 In his letters after the survival of the Big Earthquake, Letzel complains of his ill-fate, expressing hope that his survival this time could "change his fortune for the better". This proves his awareness of his lack of success in those times.

93 Letzel was never officially married, although his letters from Japan mention a number of women. He had also the so-called "Japanese wife" (日本妻)— Chiyoko Mitsuboshi 三星千代子. We find her on many postcards and photographs together with Hana. The letters by Letzel are kept partially in the archive of Náchod, and some privately by his nieces in Náchod and in Brno. Other letters are in the property of Prof. Kotěra's family. Letzel's problem has been studied in Japan by Mrs. Yoshizawa and Mrs. Murai Shimako (e.g. *Asahi Shinbun* 朝日新聞 1987.12.26 夕刊, 1988.2.25 夕刊, 1988.8.3 日刊, 1989.4.5 夕刊, 1989.5.14 夕刊, 1990.6.22 夕刊, etc.), but there are no scholarly publications, while in Czechoslovakia the problem has been studied from the point of architecture (cf. Footnote 94). There are also some articles by a certain "Doubrava" in the newspaper *Mladá fronta* and other Czech newspapers during 1987, but they seem to be reducible to the information provided by J. Lukeš.

94 A report by J. Lukeš in *Umění a řemesla* (1987), Praha, 4, suggests that Letzel died of a mental

after that, died and was buried in a common grave in the yard of the hospital.

The following noteworthy case of contact between both countries is the first trip to Japan by Jan Havlasa (real name Jan Klecanda 1883–1964). His main works are *Japonským vnitrozemím* (*Around Japan's Inland*, Prague 1912), *Japonský podzim* (*Japan's Autumn*, Praha 1930), *Japonské jaro* (*Japan's Spring*, Praha 1932), and also *Cesta bohů* (*The Way of Gods*, Praha 1926) and *Blouďení duší* (*The Erring Souls*, Praha 1931).⁹⁵ The basic data on Jan Havlasa have been gathered and carefully analyzed by Nagayo, so that it is not necessary to add much to these facts. What is perhaps of particular interest are the letters between Jan Havlasa and the sculptor and painter Ladislav Šaloun,⁹⁶ which provide us with a large amount of information on those aspects of his stay in Japan, which cannot be found in his works. The problem of Havlasa's diaries has not yet been explained in a satisfactory way, as Havlasa left after the war for Chile,⁹⁷ and, shortly after the Communist coup d'état in 1948, for the U. S., where he spent the rest of his life in complete isolation from his home country.

An author of profound and multi-lateral descriptions of Japan is Alois Svojsík, who visited Japan during his trip around the world in 1906 and wrote on it in the book *Japonsko a jeho lid* (*Japan and her People*, 1913). Detailed information, accompanied by rich material, but also with reflections on Japan's society, religion, life and manners, are an important contribution to understanding and evaluation of Japan in this period. Moreover, the book contains serious predictions concerning the future development of Japan up to our days. The way of expression is highly objective; no traces of the fact that Svojsík was a Catholic Priest can be found in his analysis of prospects of Christianity in Japan.⁹⁸ Svojsík's book opened also the way for Eman Siblík's work on Japanese art.⁹⁹

disease, in the hospital of "Katerinky" in Prague, left alone by his family. He is reported to have been buried in the common grave at the courtyard of the hospital (J. Lukěš's allegation). This information has been principally confirmed by the hospital (except for the name of the disease). However, Letzel's relatives maintain now that he died of a heart disease and is buried in Náchod (there is even his name, carved obviously recently, on a grave in the graveyard of Náchod).

95 J. Havlasa's work was introduced to Japan by S. Nagayo (長興進) in the book ハヴラサ, J. (1988): *Ainu no Aki · Nihon no Senjū Minzoku wo Tazunete*, アイヌの秋 · 日本の先住民族を訪ねて Tokyo, Miraisha, which is a Japanese translation of *Japonský podzim*, 1930. The book contains unique information on the Ainu ethnic. However, the Czech sources have not yet sufficiently appreciated Havlasa. In most Czech pre-war encyclopedian dictionaries, like *Masarykův slovník naučný*, he is, evidently unjustly, described as a mediocre novel-writer (Cf. comments in Nagayo's translation, mentioned above). As Havlasa emigrated to the U. S. in 1948, the Czechoslovak official post-war studies and materials usually ignore his name.

96 Havlasa's letters to the sculptor L. Šaloun are in the possession of L. Šaloun's family in Prague (copies available). They prove Havlasa's insufficient appreciation.

97 There is a condolency letter from Havlasa to Šaloun's family, dated of 20 Nov., 1946 from Santiago de Chile. At that time, it seems, he still planned to return to Czechoslovakia. It must have been the Communist coup d'état in Febr. 1948, due to which he finally changed his mind.

98 Cf. *Český slovník bohovědný*, Footnote 11.

99 Siblík, E. (1915): *Japonské umění*, Praha.

Only four years after the first edition of the book Svojsík died tragically, while imprisoned for his activities in the Czechoslovak National Liberation movement "The Czech Maffia."¹⁰⁰

World War I, with its destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and establishment of a new order in Europe was constructively exploited by the Liberation Movement to form an independent republic. The so-called Czechoslovak Legions, consisting of Czech and Slovak emigrants and prisoners-of-war from the Austrian-Russian front to Russia, got into conflict with the revolutionary army in Russia.

The later President of the Republic Tomáš G. Masaryk, who was supporter of a peaceful solution, found a way to negotiations on the withdrawal of the legions in Russia via Japan. In connection with Japan's military support for Czechoslovak legions in Russia Masaryk visited Japan in April 1918 and succeeded in obtaining a concrete agreement on Japanese assistance.¹⁰¹ In September 1918, the Japanese government recognized the Czechoslovak National Council and its legation at Hiroo in Tokyo. The Slovak General Milan Rostislav Štefánik stayed also in Japan in those days (Oct. 12—Nov. 24), trying to persuade the Japanese government to intervene on behalf of the Czechoslovak Legions in Russia.

Later, after October 1918, this legation became also one of the first Czechoslovak Embassies in the world, reflecting the early recognition of Czechoslovakia by Japan. The route for the withdrawal of the Czechoslovak Legions via Japan was a chance for a large number of Czechoslovak people to get into direct touch with Japanese culture.

The contact was naturally reflected also in literature, including fiction and poetry. Particularly well-known are Josef Kopta's *Úsměv nad hrobem aneb Vyprávění o milé'm Japonsku* (*A Smile above the Grave or An Account of the Beloved Country*

100 A. Svojsík died in 1917 in an Austrian prison. The main leaders of the Czech Maffia, including T. G. Masaryk and E. Beneš (both became later presidents of the Czechoslovak Republic), succeeded in escaping abroad. Svojsík was treated as a kind of hostage and later killed.

101 During his activities abroad Masaryk visited Japan and obtained important promises of Japan's military assistance to the Czechoslovak Legions in Siberia, cf. 東京朝日新聞 (*Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun*) 1918.4.15, 4.17 and 4.19, where Masaryk's stay in Japan is reported in detail. Cf. also 吉莊國雄: Kosō, K. (1928): *Gendai Seijika no Saikōhō Tōmasu, Ji. Masarikku* 現代政治家の最高峰トーマス・ジー・マサリック, 改造 (*Kaizō*) Vol.10,2. Also the Slovak General M. R. Štefánik's stay in Japan is worth careful investigation. This, however, cannot be done within the framework of this paper. For further data on these problems cf. also 稲野 強: サブ・レポート 1: Ineno, Ts.; *Saburepōto 1, Meiji-ki ni okeru Nihonjin no Ōsutoria-Hangari-Kan* 明治初期における日本人のオーストリア・ハンガリー観, pp.174-7, attached to the series of studies on relations between Japan and Czechoslovakia in 日本と東欧諸国の文化に関する基礎的研究 (Footnote 7). (The papers related to Czechoslovakia are on pp.24-55). An interesting reflection on what could be called "a Japanese model for the Czechoslovak State" as an alternative promoted by Kořenský, Eliášová, Havlasa, etc., is authored by Joseph Rostinsky (Tokai Univ.), is in Rostinsky, J. (1989): *Japanese Model for Czech Nationality. Proceedings of the Intern. Conference of Orientalists . . .*, Toho Gakkai, Tokyo, pp.158-160. Masaryk's relation to Japan is described in J. Kovtun's book "*Masarykův triumf*" (*Masaryk's Triumph*, the first Czechoslovak edition to appear in 1991.)

of Japan, 1922) and Oldřich Zemek's poetic diary *V zemi vycházejícího slunce (In the Country of the Rising Sun, 1928)*.

The atmosphere of profound interest in the Japanese culture in the new independent state urged the government to search for a new solution for the founding of Oriental studies in Prague, after their separation from Vienna. This was actually done de jure in 1922, by President Masaryk's edition of the law on the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, and confirmed de facto by its actual establishment later. The studies of Japanese history, literature and language were started by Jaroslav Průšek and Vlasta Novotná (later Průšková and Hilská) in the middle thirties.¹⁰²

The period after World War I, is noted for a considerable increase in contacts, far beyond the scope defined by the title of this paper. The passage of the Legions through the territory of Japan became the starting point of a new age in the relations between both countries.

Note: Due to limited space, this paper concentrates only on first contacts in each discipline ("first missionaries", "first travelers", etc.), as this problem has not yet been sufficiently and systematically studied. The author had two purposes in view: to summarize the basic data which are already known, but dispersed, and investigate in detail some of the unknown data and events. Naturally, we can only define the problems which have to be treated in detail later. Information concerning the period after 1918 is given only as far as it is related to persons or problems which are important for an understanding of the period examined here. Bibliographic data are reduced to the minimum, e.g. the name of the publisher of Czech, Slovak and other European publications is given only in the cases in which the publications would be difficult to find and identify.

Translations from third languages, like the famous collection of poems "Nipponari"(1909) by J.M. Emanuel z Lešehradu, are out of the scope of this paper.

102 The post-war development, which gave birth to personalities like Novák, Neustupný, Líman or Jelínek is introduced in Boháčková, L.: (ボハーチコヴァー・リブシエ)(1969): *Chekosurovakia ni okeru Nihongaku. チェコスロヴァキアにおける日本学, 和光大学人文学部研究*; 第4, 5号, Wakō Daigaku Jinbungakubu Kenkyū Nos. 4, 5:pp.109-114, and further in Hilská, V., and coll.: *Problems of Japanese Literature and Society* (includes a bibliography of Prof. V. Hilská), Prague, Charles Univ. 1970 and in フィアラ, K. (1981): *Chekosurovakia ni okeru Nihongo no Kenkyū to Nihongo Kyōiku 13. Kokugo Nenkan*. Tōkyō, Shūei Shuppan, in Fiala, K.(1982): *チェコスロヴァキアにおける日本語の研究と日本語教育13, 国語年鑑・昭和56年, 東京, 秀英出版*: Za PhDr. M. Novákem, *Nový Orient*, Praha, 5:148-149. (an extended English version is in the *Archiv Orientalni*, Prague 4; it contains a bibliography of Prof. M. Novák). An oral report on the history of Czechoslovak Japanese studies and a report on the present state of Japanese studies by the author of this paper appeared in the Nichibunken Newsletter No. 7/1990, pp.5-9.

チェコスロヴァキアと日本の初期の文化交流について

— 主な書物と人物の研究 —

(第一次世界大戦まで)

カレル・フィアラ

要旨：本研究は、各分野の始点を中心として、初期交流史の特徴を探る試みである。日本に関する文献には、マルコ・ポーロ旅行記のチェコ語訳（約1400年頃）と天正遣欧使節による献上文書のチェコ語訳（1585年）があり、またチェコと関わりの深い者として、1622年に長崎で火刑にされた宣教師カロロ・スピノーラを挙げることができる。一方、定説とは異なり、宣教師ヴェンセスラス・パンタレオン・キルヴィツァーは実際には入国できず、マカオで没したことが明らかになった。また、18世紀に渡日したベニョフスキーをスロヴァキア民族の者と見る。19世紀になると、オーストリアの日本学者アウグスト・プフィツマイヤーがボヘミア出身で、ボヘミアと密接な関係を維持していた。明治期に日本を訪れた者にはホロウハ、ヴラーズ、スヴォイスィーク、エリヤーショヴァー、ハヴラサなどがいて、日本に関する知識を熱心に収拾していた。20世紀の初期、画家オルリーク、そして実業家ホラ（現・大阪ガス社の供給部長）とレツル（現・原爆ドームの設計者）の在日中の活躍が注目に値する。また、1918年共和国成立直前、後に大統領となったマサリックの訪日、そして彼の、日本政府との会談の結果を踏まえた日本・チェコスロヴァキア両国間の協力の背景が興味深い。本論はこれらの事実に関する資料を紹介し、定説を見なおしている。