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**The Formation and Development
of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's Ideas
on Southeast Asia in 1919-1945**

**1919～1945年における松本信広の対東南アジア認識
の形成及び展開**

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 1 serves as an introduction to the following chapters. First, Chapter 1 explains the background and significance of the study. Second, it provides an overview of the life of the Japanese scholar Matsumoto Nobuhiro whose ideas on Southeast Asia are target of this study. Third, Chapter 1 presents a summary of previously conducted research on Matsumoto Nobuhiro. Fourth, the chapter states the research objectives. Fifth, the theoretical framework is discussed, followed by an explanation on the methodology of this study. Finally, the scope and limitation of this study is described.

1. Background and significance of the study

This thesis researches Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ideas on Southeast Asia in the pre-war period. Matsumoto Nobuhiro¹ (1897-1981) was a Japanese scholar who is famous for being one of the two founders of Southeast Asian studies in Japan (the second founder is Yamamoto Tatsuro) and as an important personality in Japan-Vietnam relations. Matsumoto brought a significant amount of literature on Southeast Asia and Vietnam to Japan,² created an enabling

¹ This thesis mentions the Japanese names in the Japanese order: the surname first and then the given name. The Japanese characters of the Japanese names can be found in the list of the Japanese names on page 392.

² Iwai, Daie, "Nagata Yasukichi shūshū Annam bon mokuroku," *Shigaku*, dai 14 kan, dai 2 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1935, pp.101 (283)-109 (291); Yamamoto, Tatsurō, "Betonamu kenkyū shiryō no shōkai to shuppan," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen*, dai 3 kan, Geppō dai 3 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 3-5; Wada, Hironari, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro kyōju jūrai no Vetonamu shahon sanshu ni tsuite - Nihon-Chūgoku no kindaika to Vetonamu," *Shigaku*, dai 35 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1963, pp. 431-434; *Keiō gijuku toshokan zō Matsumoto bunko mokuroku*, Keiō gijuku daigaku Mita jōhō sentā, 1991; Wada, Masahiko "Matsumoto Nobuhiro hakase jūrai no Annan hon ni tsuite - Keiō gijuku toshokan Matsumoto bunko shozō Annan hon kaidai" (Jō), *Shigaku*, dai 62 kan, dai 1/2 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1992, pp. 165-183; Wada, Masahiko "Matsumoto Nobuhiro hakase jūrai no Annan hon ni tsuite - Keiō gijuku toshokan Matsumoto bunko shozō Annan hon kaidai" (Ka), *Shigaku*, dai 63 kan, dai 1/2 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1993, pp. 165-183; Hayashi, Masako, "Betonamu hon ni tsuite - 'Tōyō bunko

environment for research on Southeast Asia in Japan, not to mention also that he published his research on Southeast Asia. His pioneering work on Southeast Asian studies gained the appreciation of many Japanese scholars such as by those specializing in Vietnam studies (Suenari Michio,³ Frédéric Roustan,⁴ Shimao Minoru,⁵ Kawamoto Kunie⁶), by those specializing in Southeast Asian studies (Japan Society for Southeast Asian Studies⁷), anthropologists (social anthropologist Shimizu Akitoshi⁸ and cultural anthropologist Yamashita Shinji⁹), folklorists (Ito Seiji,¹⁰ Ito Mikiharu)¹¹ and historians (Koyama Shiro)¹². Furthermore, Matsumoto is also known as a pioneer in advocating Southern genealogy among the Japanese mythologists (Obayashi Taryo,¹³ Hirafuji Kikuko).¹⁴

Matsumoto studied at the Futsūbu School (普通部 grammar school) and the University of

zō Betonamu hon shomoku' ni miru Nihon tonō kakawari," *Atomi gakuen joshi daigaku bungaku fōramu*, 9, Atomi gakuen joshi daigaku, 2011, pp. 188-127.

³ Suenari, Michio, *Betonamu bunka jinruigaku. Bunken kaidai. Nihon kara shiten*, Fūkyōsha, 2009, p. 224.

⁴ Roustan, Frédéric, "From Oriental Studies to South Pacific Studies: The Multiple Origins of Vietnamese Studies," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 2011, pp. 1-42.

⁵ Shimao, Minoru, "Betonamu. Tōnan Ajia shi he no tei to tenkai," *Tōnan Ajia shi. Kenkyū no hatten*, Tōnan Ajia gakkai 40 shūnen, Kinen jigyo iinkai, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009, pp. 110-113.

⁶ Kawamoto, Kunie, "Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sanjūnen," *Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, dai 24 gō, 1992, pp. 1-2.

⁷ Tōnan Ajia gakkai, *Tōnan Ajia shi. Kenkyū no hatten*, Tōnan Ajia gakkai 40 shūnen, Kinen jigyo iinkai, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009, p. 12.

⁸ Shimizu, Akitoshi, *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, ed. by J. v. Bremen, A. Shimizu, Curzon, Richmond, Surrey, 1999, p. 149, 165, note 28.

⁹ Yamashita, Shinji, *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2004, pp. 104-105.

¹⁰ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 234.

¹¹ Itō, Mikiharu, "Nihon shinwa to Ryūkyū shinwa," *Nihon shinwa to Ryūkyū*, Kōza Nihon no shinwa, dai 10 kan, Yūseidō shuppan, 1977, p. 2-5.

¹² Kōyama, Shirō. *Shigaku*, dai 51 kan, dai 1 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1981, pp. 237-238.

¹³ Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Nihon shinwa no kenkyū," *Kokubungaku kaisetsu to kinkanshō*, 37-1, 1972, p. 163. Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzokugaku no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 162-164.

¹⁴ Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shakaigakuteki kenkyū - Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō," *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 33-41; Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no shinwagaku," *Shūkyō to fashizumu*, Suiseisha, 2010, pp. 311-347; Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Nihon shinwa no kenkyū," *Kokubungaku kaisetsu to kinkanshō*, 37-1, 1972, p. 163.

Keio Gijuku (慶応義塾). After his graduation from Keio University, he became employed as a teacher at the Futsūbu School. Then, from 1924 to 1928, he studied Oriental studies at Sorbonne University in France where he received his doctoral degree. After his return to Japan, he became Associate Professor at his Alma Mater Keio University (promoted to Professor in 1930). In 1935, he became a founding member of the Japan Ethnological Society (日本民族学会). In 1939, he became a researcher together with Yamamoto Tatsuro at the Research Institute for South Asian Culture (南亜細亜研究所). Furthermore, he was a founding member of the Keio University Linguistic Institute (慶応義塾語学研究所, re-established as the Keio University Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies 慶應義塾大学言語文化研究所 after the war) in 1942 and of Asia Research Institute (亜細亜研究所) in 1943. He was the chairman of Mita Historical Society (三田史学会) in 1965, a founding member and the third chairman of the Japan Society for Southeast Asian Historical Studies (東南アジア史学会, the present Japan Society for Southeast Asian Studies 東南アジア学会).¹⁵

Matsumoto received several awards for his academic works. His book *The Peoples and Cultures of Indochina*¹⁶ was awarded by the Scholar Promotion Fund of Keio University¹⁷ and became listed among the recommended readings by the Japan Publishing Culture Association in

¹⁵ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982. *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982. Sakurai, Yumio, “Tōnan Ajia shi no yonjūnen,” *Tōnan Ajia shi. Kenkyū no hatten*, Tōnan Ajia gakkai 40 shūnen, Kinen jigyo iinkai, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009, p. 12.

¹⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942.

¹⁷ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, p. 694.

1943.¹⁸ Furthermore, he received the Keio Gijuku Award for his paper “Ethnology and Fukuzawa Sensei” in 1951.¹⁹ In 1955, the French government presented him with an award for his contribution to the Japanese-French cultural exchange, called Les palmes académiques.²⁰ His contribution to the study of Japan’s historical relations to Southeast Asia was so well known that the Japanese government dispatched him to Hong Kong to start an introductory course for establishing Japanese studies at the Hong Kong Chinese University.²¹ Matsumoto’s lecturing in Hong Kong was realized owing to his relationship with two scholars of Keio University Kani Hiroaki (*1932) and Trần Kinh Hoà (陳荊和, Chin Kei Wa, 1917-1995) who worked as teachers there.²²

Matsumoto dedicated his work mainly to his alma mater, Keio University, where he was Professor from 1930. He was Dean of the Keio University Faculty of Letters, director of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies, president of the Mita Historical Society of Keio University and member of the Science Council of Japan.²³ He became Professor Emeritus of Keio University in 1969.²⁴ Due to his contributions, he is often commemorated on important

¹⁸ Takeda Ryuji “Indoshina no minzoku to bunka (Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Iwanami shoten shokō,” *Shigaku*, dai 22 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1943, p. 119 (489).

¹⁹ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, p. 694.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Kani, Hiroaki, “Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei to Honkon kōkogaku” “Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei wo shinobu,” *Kodaigaku Jānaru*, dai 194 gō, Nyū saiensusha, 1981, pp. 27-30.

²² Ibid. Kawamoto, Kunie, “Shiki ni mukau keigan – Chin Kei Wa hakushi wo itamu,” *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, dai 28 gō, Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, 1996, pp. 12, 16. “Chin Kei Wa zenshochō keireki, kenkyū jisseki ichiran,” *Sōdai Ajia kenkyū*, dai 15 gō, Sōka daigaku Ajia kenkyūjo, 1994, pp. 148-149. Ōsawa, Kazuo, “Dainan jitsuroku to Matsumoto Nobuhiro,” *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, p. 689.

²³ “Kōkogaku nyūsu”, *Kōkogaku jānaru*, 189 gō, 1981, p. 32

²⁴ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, p. 695.

anniversaries at Keio University.²⁵ Additionally, he co-initiated the foundation of the Linguistic Institute (1942), the Asia Research Institute (1943), and the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic studies (1962).²⁶ All these institutes were also related to Southeast Asian studies and the last one became the center of Southeast Asian studies in Japan in the post-war period.

Matsumoto's ideas formed the foundations for the future generation of Japanese researchers to work off. Matsumoto is said to have instigated interest in Southeast Asia with his students.²⁷ Among his students are Vietnam specialist Kawamoto Kunie, specialist in Vietnamese history Takeda Ryuji, ethnoarchaeologist Chikamori Masashi, folklorist Ito Seiji, scholar in Oriental history Kani Hiroaki, archaeologist Esaka Teruya, scholar in French literature Matsubara Hidekichi. All of the aforementioned scholars became professors at Keio University. Amongst them, in particular, Kawamoto Kunie's work is the most appreciated since he contributed to the development of Vietnamese studies in Japan, by both his research and guidance. Kawamoto is noted for educating a scholar of Vietnamese history at Keio University,

²⁵ "Mita no shigakusha profiru," *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1991, p. 343; Kawakita, Nobuo, "Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu kyōin tantō kamoku ichiran," *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1991, p. 357; Kawamoto, Kunie, "Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sanjūnen," *Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, dai 24 gō, 1992, pp. 1-12; Itō, Seiji, "Minzokugaku, Fōkuroa, Tōyō shigaku no hazamade" (Dainikai zadankai, Mitashigaku no hyakunen wo kataru), *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1991, pp. 253-263; Esaka, Teruya, "Mita no kōkogaku" (Dainikai zadankai, Mitashigaku no hyakunen wo kataru), *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1991, pp. 245, 249, 250; *Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sōritsu 50 shūnen kinen kōenkai – kinen shimpojiūmu*, 2012nen 10gatsu 13nichi.

²⁶ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Rokkōshuppan, 1982, p. 694. Kawamoto, Kunie, "Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sanjūnen," *Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, dai 24 gō, 1992, pp. 1-2.

²⁷ Roustan, Frédéric, "From Oriental Studies to South Pacific Studies: The Multiple Origins of Vietnamese Studies," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 2011, p. 20. Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

Shimao Minoru.²⁸ Out of all of Matsumoto's students, Chikamori's ethnoarchaeological²⁹ research is closest to Matsumoto's legacy because Matsumoto combined ethnology and history in his research of Southeast Asia, and Chikamori combined ethnology and archaeology in his research of the Southern Pacific.³⁰ However, the main difference was that Matsumoto's research was a combination of ethnology and Oriental history on Southeast Asia. Thus, none of his students took over his research. The reason was that ethnology in its development separated from Oriental history and started giving preference to more convincing evidences from archaeology. In this sense, Matsumoto's research became outdated. From this perspective, Matsumoto's contribution to the Japanese academia lays in his foundation work for various academic disciplines, especially Southeast Asian studies and Vietnamese studies.

Interestingly, the content of Matsumoto's research is discussed in detail mostly by scholars of Japanese mythology, such as Obayashi Taryo, Hirafuji Kikuko and Ushijima Iwao (牛島巖).³¹ These scholars pointed out the significance of Matsumoto's research in arguing the

²⁸ Kawamoto, Kunie, *Vetonamu bōkoku shi ta* (1966), *Betonamu no uta to rekishi* (1967), *Minami Betonamu seiji han no shōgen* (1974), *Shōkai Betonamu go jiten* (2011)

²⁹ Ethnoarchaeology is an interdisciplinary discipline combining ethnography and archaeology. It emerged in the 1960s as an ethnographic study of living cultures with the purpose to provide ethnographic analogies for the interpretation of archaeological data. David, Nicolas; Kramer, Carol, *Ethnoarchaeology in Action*. Cambridge World Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 2, 6, 10, 43. "Ethnoarchaeology," *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 2, edited by Levinson, David; Ember, Melvin, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1996, pp. 396-399.

³⁰ Chikamori, Masashi, *Sangoshō no minzoku kōkogaku - Renneru shima no bunka to tekiyō* (1988), *Sangoshō no keikan shi - Kukku shotō chōsa no ronshū* (2008), *Sangoshō to ningen - Porineshia no fūdonōto* (2012).

³¹ Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Nihon shinwa no kenkyū," *Kokubungaku kaisetsu to kinkanshō*, 37-1, 1972, p. 163. Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzokugaku no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978; Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shakaigakuteki kenkyū - Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō," *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004; Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no shinwagaku," *Shūkyō to fashizumu*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 311-347; Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Nihon shinwa no kenkyū," *Kokubungaku kaisetsu to kinkanshō*, 37-1, 1972, p. 163; Ushijima, Iwao, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Mishina Sōei, Oka Masao ni okeru Nihon shinwa no kenkyū," *Kokubungaku kaisetsu to kinkanshō*, 37-1, 1972,

Southern origin of the Japanese myths. This means that Matsumoto's research of Southeast Asia was also important for the development of Japanese mythology.

2. Matsumoto Nobuhiro's life history

This section will present an overview of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's life history with a special focus on the period 1919-1945 which is the scope of this thesis. The aim of this section is to provide the reader on how his upbringing and early scholastic endeavours shaped his academic career. The following table provides a brief overview of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's life.

Table 1: Matsumoto Nobuhiro's life chronology³²

1897, 11 October	Born in Tokyo
1910	Enrolled in the Keio Gijuku Futsūbu School (慶応義塾普通部), met with Kawai Teichi who taught him ethnology
1915-1920	Enrolled in Keio University (慶応義塾大学), majored in history
1918	Went on a school trip to Korea, Manchuria and China with the Alpine Club
1918	Met with founder of folklore studies, Yanagita Kunio
1920	Employed as a lecturer at the Keio Gijuku Futsūbu School
1924-1928	Majored in Oriental Studies at Sorbonne University, Paris; met with Marcel Mauss, Marcel Granet, Jean Przyluski
1928	Published his theses <i>The Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic Languages: A Comparative Study of Vocabulary</i> and <i>The Essay on the Japanese Mythology</i> in Paris
1928	Became Associate Professor at the Keio University Faculty of Letters
1930	Became Professor at the Keio University Faculty of Letters
1931	Published <i>The Research of the Japanese Myths</i>
1932	Published "Theories of Ancient Culture"
1933	Went on a research trip to Indochina thanks to his friend Émile Gaspardone at the École Française d'Extrême-Orient in Hanoi

pp. 174-177.

³² Based on chronology in *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, pp. 693-5.

1935	Participated in the foundation of the Japan Ethnological Society (日本民族学会)
1937	Went on a research trip to the South Pacific islands with the Japan Society of Oceanian Ethnography
1938	Began teaching ethnology at Keio University
1938, 1939	Went on research trips to China as a member of the archaeological mission at the Chinese continent of Keio University
1939	Became a researcher at the Research Institute for South Asian Culture (南亜細亜研究所) with Yamamoto Tatsuro
1941	Published <i>Jiangnan Survey</i>
1942	Co-founded the Keio University Linguistic Institute (慶応義塾大学語学研究所)
1942	Published <i>The Peoples and Cultures of Indochina, Introduction to the Annamese Language, South Seas Books Catalogue</i>
1943	Received an award from the Keio University Scholar Promotion Fund for his book <i>The Peoples and Cultures of Indochina</i>
1943	Co-founded the Keio University Asia Research Institute (慶応義塾大学亜細亜研究所)
1947	Started research of boats with Yanagita Kunio
1951	Started again teaching ethnology at Keio University
1955	Received an award for his contribution to Japanese-French cultural exchange, Les palmés académiques from the French government
1956	Published <i>The Japanese Myths</i>
1956-1957	Organized a research mission to Thailand, Laos and Cambodia to investigate rice-cultivation culture of Southeast Asian people
1962	Co-founded the Keio University Institute of Cultural and Linguistic studies (慶応義塾大学言語文化研究所)
1963	Became a member of the Science Council of Japan (日本学術会議)
1965	Published <i>Indochina Research</i>
1965	Became president of the Mita Historical Society (三田史学会)
1966	Published <i>Southeast Asia</i>
1967	Taught an introductory course of Japanese studies at the Hong Kong Chinese University
1968	Published <i>Collection of Papers on East Asian Peoples</i>
1969	Published <i>Small History of the Vietnamese People</i>
1969	Became Professor Emeritus of Keio University
1973 or 1974	Visited the Rennel Island in the Solomon Archipelago where his student

	Chikamori Masashi did an archaeological research
1981, 8 March	Passed away in the Keio University Hospital in Tokyo

Matsumoto Nobuhiro was born on 11 October 1897 in Shiba Ward (today's Minato Ward), Tokyo in a family of entrepreneurs.³³ Being the youngest of four brothers, Nobuhiro was given the opportunity to pursue his interests while older sons were expected to follow into their father's footsteps.³⁴ In 1910, he enrolled in the Futsūbu School, a grammar school attached to Keio University. From 1915, he studied at Keio University where he majored in history.³⁵

During his studies, Matsumoto learnt evolutionist ethnology from Kawai Teiichi (1870-1955)³⁶ and received guidance in folklore studies from Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962). Owing to his interest in ethnology, Matsumoto began paying attention to Southeast Asian peoples in the early 1920s.

In 1924, he left for Paris as a self-financed student at Sorbonne University where he obtained doctorate in 1928.³⁷ In Paris, Matsumoto studied sociologist ethnology under famous scholars of the French School of Sociology: Marcel Mauss (1872-1950) and Marcel Granet (1884-1940). In addition, Matsumoto also was influenced by diffusionist ethnology from his guiding professor, Jean Przyluski (1885-1944). It was Przyluski who did research on Indochina and encouraged Matsumoto to pay attention to Southeast Asia.

³³ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, p. 693.

³⁴ *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 38.

³⁵ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, p. 693.

³⁶ Kawai Teiichi, "Tetsugaku to kyōiku," *Ōsaka kōen*, Keiō Gijuku shuppanyoku, 1913, pp. 160-164.

³⁷ *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 41.

After Matsumoto returned to Tokyo, he became Professor at the Keio University Faculty of Letters. He also rejoined Yanagita's group in conducting research on Japanese folklore. In the early 1930s, Matsumoto published his rewritten two doctoral theses from Sorbonne University³⁸ into two works: *The Research in Japanese Mythology* (1931) and "Theory of Ancient Culture" (1932).³⁹ Both books contained discussions on Southeast Asia and argued the existence of Southern genealogy in Japanese culture.

His friendship with scholars from École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), such as Émile Gaspardone (1895-1982) and Henri Maspero (1882-1945),⁴⁰ helped Matsumoto conduct a successful research trip to French Indochina from August to October 1933. In Indochina, Matsumoto collected extensive material on Southeast Asia, including rare Vietnamese chronicles, and observed the mountain ethnic minorities in Tonkin.⁴¹ This trip to Indochina had a great significance because it enabled Matsumoto to establish himself as a founder of Southeast Asian studies. Matsumoto incorporated this new knowledge on Southeast Asia into his course of ethnology that he started to teach at Keio University in 1938.⁴²

³⁸ Matsumoto wrote two doctoral theses, the main thesis *Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques: étude de vocabulaire comparé* (1928) and the supplementary thesis *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise* (1928) and, as it was required by Sorbonne University.

³⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunka, 1931; "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Vol. 10, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932.

⁴⁰ Maspero, Anri, "Senshin jidai no Shina ni okeru saihōbunka no eikyō" *Shina kenkyū*, Keiō Gijuku Mochidzuki kikin Shina kenkyūkai hen, Iwanami shoten, 1930, pp. 399-401; Nobuhiro, Matsumoto, "Indoshina inshōki (I and II)" in *Mita hyōron*, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, No. 437 and No. 440, January and April 1934.

⁴¹ Nobuhiro, Matsumoto, "Indoshina inshōki (I and II)" in *Mita hyōron*, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, No.437 and No. 440, January and April 1934; "Annan ryokōki (daiisshin)," *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 5 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, p. 87.

⁴² Kawakita, Nobuo, "Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu kyōin tantō kamoku ichiran," *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1991, p. 379.

Matsumoto went on further research trips to the Southern Pacific islands in 1937, and to Southern China in 1938 and 1939. However, he did not bring as much material from there as he did from French Indochina.

The growing importance of Southeast Asia for Japanese national policy from the late 1930s provided Matsumoto with new opportunities to develop Southeast Asian studies. During the Greater East Asian War, Matsumoto did not only produce a huge amount of academic work on Southeast Asia, but he also contributed to the foundation of research institutes related to Southeast Asia and to the propagation of Southeast Asian studies. It was during this period that he published a book titled *The Peoples and Cultures of Indochina* (1942).

After the war, he researched about Southeast Asian boats in relation to his common research on ancient boats with Yanagita Kunio from 1947.⁴³ In the years between 1956 and 1957, inspired by Yanagita Kunio,⁴⁴ Matsumoto organized a research mission to Thailand, Laos and Cambodia to investigate the rice-cultivation culture of Southeast Asian people.⁴⁵ In this time, Matsumoto developed the Rice-Cultivation Culture theory which was discussed in relation to the Laurel-Forest Culture theory. Such ideas became popular among scholars investigating common

⁴³ Itō, Seiji, “Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei no omoide to kodai fune no kenkyū” “Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei wo shinobu,” *Kodaigaku Jānaru*, dai 194 gō, Nyū saiensusha, 1981, pp. 27-30; Esaka, Teruya, “Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tono chōsa kaiko,” “Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei wo shinobu,” *Kodaigaku Jānaru*, dai 194 gō, Nyū saiensusha, 1981, pp. 27-28. Ishii, Kenji, “Kodai suitei fune yasei gō no omoide,” *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen*, dai 2 kan, geppō dai 2 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 3-6. “Minzokugaku kōkogaku kenkyūshitsu no Kujūkuri chōsa,” *Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyū kiyō. Ningen to shakai no tankyū. Kujūkuri chōsa*, Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyūka, 2013, pp. 231-232.

⁴⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kaisetsu” *Nihon bunka no kigen* (3). *Minzokugaku* 1, Heibonsha, 1971, p. 40.

⁴⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Tōnan Ajia no inasaku bunka no sōgō chōsa shuisho*, Nihon minzoku kyōkai, 1957.

basic culture.⁴⁶

In 1962, Matsumoto played an important role in the foundation of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic studies at Keio University,⁴⁷ one of the important centers of Southeast Asian studies in Japan. After he became Professor Emeritus of Keio University in 1969, he continued lecturing at various universities.⁴⁸ He visited Rennel Island in the Solomon Archipelago at the age of 77 since Keio University researchers including Chikamori Masashi conducted ethnoarchaeological research there in 1973-1974.⁴⁹ He passed away at the Keio University Hospital in Tokyo at the age of 83 on 8 March 1981.⁵⁰

3. Previous research

Existing research on Matsumoto Nobuhiro can be categorized into two groups: first, studies written for the purpose to clarify historical development of various related disciplines in Japan, and second, research written for the purpose to present Matsumoto's contribution to the Japanese academic circles.

⁴⁶ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 238.

⁴⁷ Kawamoto, Kunie, "Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sanjūnen," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, dai 24 gō, 1992, pp.1-12.

⁴⁸ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, p. 695.

⁴⁹ Itō, Seiji, "Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, p. 130. Arima, Makiko, "Hito, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Kikan jinruigaku*, 5-1, Shakaishisōsha, 1974, p. 155.

⁵⁰ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, p. 695.

3.1. Previous research on historical development of various related disciplines in Japan

The first group of academic research examined the significance of Matsumoto's research in the history of ethnology, mythology, Southeast Asian studies and Vietnamese studies. The authors of these previous works are anthropologists (Shimizu Akitoshi, Yamashita Shinji)⁵¹, folklorist (Ito Mikiharu)⁵², mythologists (Hirafuji Kikuko, Obayashi Taryo),⁵³ human sociologist (Sato Yoshiyuki)⁵⁴ and scholars in Vietnamese studies and Southeast Asian studies (Suenari Michio,⁵⁵ Frédéric Roustan,⁵⁶ Shimaō Minoru,⁵⁷ Japan Society for Southeast Asian Studies).⁵⁸

The majority of these previous studies (except for Hirafuji Kikuko's research) did not focus on Matsumoto's work, only referring to Matsumoto as one of the many personalities in the history of various disciplines. Shimizu and Yamashita mentioned Matsumoto as one of the first Japanese ethnologists. Ito Mikiharu, Hirafuji and Ōbayashi researched Matsumoto as a

⁵¹ Shimizu, Akitoshi, *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, ed. by J. v. Bremen, A. Shimizu, Curzon, Richmond, Surrey, 1999, p. 149, 165, note 28.; Yamashita, Shinji, *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2004, pp. 104-105.

⁵² Itō, Mikiharu, "Nihon shinwa to Ryūkyū shinwa," *Kōza Nihon no shinwa*, dai 10 kan, Yūseidō shuppan, 1977, pp. 1-25.

⁵³ Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shakaigakuteki kenkyū – Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō," *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 33-41. Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no shinwagaku," *Shūkyō to fashizumu*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 311-347. Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Nihon shinwa no kenkyū," *Kokubungaku kaisetsu to kinkanshō*, 37-1, 1972, pp. 162-164; Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzokugaku no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 401-406.

⁵⁴ Satō, Yoshiyuki, "Iha Fuyu no Matsumoto Nobuhiro ate shokan. Meiji-Taishō no gengogaku, sono 9," *Gakuen*, No. 821, 2009/3, pp. 102-109.

⁵⁵ Suenari, Michio, *Betonamu bunka jinruigaku. Bunken kaidai. Nihon kara shiten*, Fūkyōsha, 2009, p. 224.

⁵⁶ Roustan, Frédéric, "From Oriental Studies to South Pacific Studies: The Multiple Origins of Vietnamese Studies," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 2011, pp. 13, 17, 19, 20, 21.

⁵⁷ Shimaō, Minoru, "Betonamu. Tōnan Ajiashi he no teii to tenkai," *Tōnan Ajia shi. Kenkyū no hatten*, Tōnan Ajia gakkai 40 shūnen, Kinen jigyo iinkai, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009, pp. 110-113.

⁵⁸ Tōnan Ajia gakkai, *Tōnan Ajia shi. Kenkyū no hatten*, Tōnan Ajia gakkai 40 shūnen, Kinen jigyo iinkai, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009, p. 12.

mythologist. Suenari and Roustan focused on Matsumoto as a pioneer in Vietnamese studies. Shimao and Japan Society for Southeast Asian Studies presented Matsumoto as the founder of Southeast Asian studies. The majority of previously conducted research rarely devoted a concrete section on Matsumoto's writings to put forward their argument on Matsumoto. Thus, it is clear that they (except from Hirafuji) went through some of Matsumoto's works without examining them thoroughly. Therefore, they did not probe for Matsumoto's concrete ideas by which he was thought to have contributed to the foundation of the above mentioned disciplines.

From the first category, Yamashita Shinji presented an evaluation of Matsumoto's ethnological work on Southeast Asia. In his paper "Constructing Selves and Others in the Japanese Anthropology: The Case of Micronesia and Southeast Asian Studies," Yamashita mentioned Matsumoto as a "historical ethnologist of Indochina" that sought "Japan's homeland in Southeast Asia."⁵⁹ However, Yamashita wrote only half a page on Matsumoto's research. Therefore, his examination of Matsumoto's ideas was insufficient.

Mythologist Hirafuji Kikuko examined Matsumoto's writings by focusing on his research in mythology starting from his doctoral work on Japanese mythology in 1928. She mainly paid attention to the influence of the French School of Sociology which is pronounced in Matsumoto's writings on mythology.⁶⁰ Consequently, she did not examine Matsumoto's writings

⁵⁹ Yamashita, Shinji, *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2004, pp. 104-105.

⁶⁰ Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shakaigakuteki kenkyū – Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō," *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 33-41.

from the early 1920s which was before the influence of the French School of Sociology and she discussed only some diffusionist influences on Matsumoto's research. Moreover, Hirafuji emphasized Matsumoto's contribution to Japanese mythology by arguing the importance of the Southern genealogy.⁶¹ However, since she focused on Matsumoto's writings from the mythological standpoint, she did not examine Matsumoto's writings on Southeast Asia. Therefore, she argued that Matsumoto was an advocate of the Southern genealogy. However, she mainly referred to Matsumoto's book *The Research of the Japanese Myths* published in 1971.⁶² Thus, she did not answer the question on why Matsumoto became an advocate of the Southern genealogy from the late 1920s.

3.2. Previous research on Matsumoto Nobuhiro's contribution

The second group of previously conducted research consists of papers written by Matsumoto's students and colleagues. These were produced for the main purpose of either commemorating Matsumoto Nobuhiro on his anniversaries or for other special events held at Keio University. Their authors belonged to various disciplines: folklore studies (Ito Seiji⁶³), Vietnamese studies (Kawamoto Kunie,⁶⁴ Osawa Kazuo⁶⁵), ethnoarchaeology (Chikamori

⁶¹ Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shakaigakuteki kenkyū – Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō," *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 34, 40.

⁶² Ibid, pp. 38-40.

⁶³ Itō, Seiji, "Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, pp. 117-131; "Matsumoto Nobuhiro - 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, pp. 225-242; "Minzokugaku, Fōkuroa, Tōyō shigaku no hazamade" (Dainikai zadankai, Mitashigaku no hyakunen wo kataru), *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1991, pp. 253-263; "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992; "Sumiyaki chōsha no hanashi – Yanagita Kunio to Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shigaku*, dai 75 kan, dai 2/3 gō, 2007, pp. 211-231.

⁶⁴ Kawamoto, Kunie, "Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sanjūnen," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo*

Masashi⁶⁶), archaeology (Esaka Teruya,⁶⁷ Yawata Ichiro,⁶⁸ Shimizu Junzo⁶⁹), history (Koyama Shiro⁷⁰), ethnology (Mabuchi Tōichi⁷¹), cultural anthropology (Iwata Keiji⁷²), and Southeast Asian studies (Yamamoto Tatsuro⁷³). They presented Matsumoto's contribution to these disciplines mentioned above. These authors based their writings mostly on their memoirs with Matsumoto Nobuhiro. Consequently, their writings generally do not mention Matsumoto's ideas in relation to his works. For example, Chikamori mentioned his memories with Matsumoto during the research in Kujūku Village in the 1950s,⁷⁴ and Kawamoto Kunie wrote on Matsumoto's contribution to the establishment of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies.⁷⁵

An exception to this is Ito Seiji. Out of all of Matsumoto's students and colleagues, he

hōkokushū, Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, dai 24 gō, 1992, pp. 1-12.

⁶⁵ Ōsawa, Kazuo, "Dainan jitsuroku to Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, 679-691.

⁶⁶ Chikamori, Masashi, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro no 'Genmin no kenkyū'," *Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyū kiyō. Ningen to shakai no tankyū. Kujūkuri chōsa*, Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyūka, 2013, pp. 235-239.

⁶⁷ Esaka, Teruya, "Mita no kōkogaku" (Dainikai zadankai, Mitashigaku no hyakunen wo kataru), *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1991, pp. 69-78 (243-252).

⁶⁸ Yawata, Ichirō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen: Tōnan Ajia bunka to Nihon*, dai 3 kan, geppō dai 3 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 1-3.

⁶⁹ Shimizu, Junzō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen II: Ancient Boats*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 403-408.

⁷⁰ Kōyama, Shirō, "Fuhō," *Shigaku*, dai 51 kan, dai 1 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1981, pp. 237-238.

⁷¹ Mabuchi, Tōichi, "Odayaka de fukutsu no daisempai" *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen*, dai 2 kan, geppō dai 2 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 1-3.

⁷² Iwata, Keiji, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen: Tōnan Ajia bunka to Nihon*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 447-454.

⁷³ Yamamoto, Tatsurō, "Betonamu kenkyū shiryō no shōkai to shuppan," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen*, dai 3 kan, Geppō dai 3 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 3-5.

⁷⁴ Chikamori, Masashi, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro no 'Genmin no kenkyū'," *Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyū kiyō. Ningen to shakai no tankyū. Kujūkuri chōsa*, Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyūka, 2013, pp. 235-239.

⁷⁵ Kawamoto, Kunie, "Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sanjūnen," *Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, dai 24 gō, 1992, pp. 1-12.

who wrote the most number of papers on Matsumoto's contribution.⁷⁶ Ito presented a most compact overview of Matsumoto's academic career including references to some of Matsumoto's writings in order to emphasize Matsumoto's broad contribution to Keio University and the Japanese academia. He perceived Matsumoto as an interdisciplinary scholar,⁷⁷ and thus, focused on the significance of Matsumoto Nobuhiro as the founder of various academic disciplines. He wrote a paper "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – a Pioneer in Southern Theory" in which he emphasized Matsumoto's role as a pioneer in Southern theory.⁷⁸ However, he did not make any reference to a concrete section in Matsumoto's writings. Thus, his research of Matsumoto's ideas was more based on his experience as Matsumoto's student and fellow researcher than on Matsumoto's writings. From all of his papers on Matsumoto's work, Ito cited Matsumoto's writings only in his paper comparing Matsumoto's and Yanagita's folkloristic researches.⁷⁹

Many of the previous researchers including Matsumoto's students and colleagues

⁷⁶ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei no omoide to kodai fune no kenkyū" "Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei wo shinobu," *Kodaigaku Jānaru*, dai 194 gō, Nyū saiensusha, 1981, p. 30; "Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei wo shinonde," *Minzoku kenkyū*, dai 46 kan, dai 1 gō, Nihon minzoku gakkai, 1981, pp. 125-127; "Memories of Matsumoto Nobuhiro Sensei and Research of Archaic Boats" No. 194, 1981.9, pp. 27-30; "Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, pp. 117-131; "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, pp. 225-242; "Minzokugaku, Fōkuroa, Tōyō shigaku no hazamade" (Dainikai zadankai, Mitashigaku no hyakunen wo kataru), *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1991, pp. 253-263; "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, pp. 13-26; "Sumiyaki chōsha no hanashi - Yanagita Kunio to Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shigaku*, dai 75 kan, dai 2/3 gō, 2007, pp. 211-231.

⁷⁷ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei no omoide to kodai fune no kenkyū" "Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei wo shinobu," *Kodaigaku Jānaru*, dai 194 gō, Nyū saiensusha, 1981, pp. 27-30; "Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, p. 126. "Matsumoto Nobuhiro - 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 241.

⁷⁸ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro - 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, pp. 225-242.

⁷⁹ Itō, Seiji, "Sumiyaki chōsha no hanashi - Yanagita Kunio to Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shigaku*, dai 75 kan, dai 2/3 gō, 2007, pp. 211-231.

(Yamashita, Hirafuji, Obayashi, Ito Seiji, Ito Mikiharu, Esaka, Iwata, etc.) argued that Matsumoto was an advocator of Southern theory, claiming that Japanese origins came from the South, especially in Southeast Asia or the Southern Pacific. However, Chikamori Masashi claimed that Matsumoto Nobuhiro did not believe in the Southern origin of the Japanese nation and that Matsumoto's evaluation is a result of the fact that the origins of the Japanese nation were a big issue in his era.⁸⁰ From the late 19th century, Western scholars proposed various biased hypotheses about the Japanese origins, thus, Japanese made effort to formulate their own theories on this issue of the national importance. Chikamori argued that Matsumoto did research on common basic culture (archaeo-civilization) instead of the Southern origin.⁸¹ However, Chikamori admitted that he is not familiar with Matsumoto Nobuhiro's pre-war ideas.⁸² In fact, the reference to archaeo-civilization appeared in Matsumoto's writing in 1956 in his book *The Japanese Myths* in which he reconsidered his ideas on the Japanese myths.⁸³ According to the preface of this book, it seems that Matsumoto borrowed the concept of archeo-civilization from Marcel Mauss's student André Varagnac in the post-war period. Also Matsumoto's teacher Yanagita Kunio mentioned basic culture (*kisō bunka*, 基層文化) after the war.⁸⁴ Since this

⁸⁰ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo. Chikamori, Masashi, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro no 'Genmin no kenkyū'," *Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyū kiyō. Ningen to shakai no tankyū. Kujūkuri chōsa*, Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyūka, 2013, p. 235.

⁸³ "At present, the people of the new generation are active in the Parisian academic circles. For example, the people who listened to Mauss's lectures, such as Varagnac, etc., they advocate a new academic discipline "archeo-civilization," indicating the direction where the folkloristic should advance." Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Hashigaki," *Nihon no shinwa*, Ibundō, 1956.

⁸⁴ "In the popular tradition [studies], there are people arguing cultural sedimentation (gesunkene Kultur) that

thesis focuses on Matsumoto's writings during 1919-1945, it will not discuss the concepts of archaeo-civilization and common basic culture.

4. Research objectives

The analysis on previously conducted research reveals that although Matsumoto was pointed out to be the founder of Southeast Asian studies by many scholars, there is basically no detailed research of his ideas on Southeast Asia. Furthermore, many scholars argued Matsumoto's advocacy of Southern genealogy without establishing a connection between Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia and the path, which led Matsumoto to advocate Southern genealogy. Thus, the objective of this study is to clarify the formation and development of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ideas on Southeast Asia from Matsumoto's writings in the period 1919-1945. Ultimately, it seeks to investigate the formation of Matsumoto Nobuhiro as the founder of Southeast Asian studies.

5. Key concepts

This thesis is an empirical research in intellectual history that examines Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ideas on Southeast Asia that were based on his ethnological research. Therefore, this thesis employs two concepts: Southeast Asian studies and ethnology. Both Southeast Asian studies and ethnology are Western concepts that were introduced to Japan. Before adopting the

was proposed by German Naumann etc. Namely, that the culture of the upper class gradually sunk into the layer of common people and is spread among all the people of the country. This fact surely exists. On the contrary, basic culture is taken in consideration; in fact the flows of these two cultures are constantly negotiating with each other." Yanagita, Kunio, "Minkan denshō," *Minzokugaku jiten*, 1969 (first edition 1951), p. 579.

Western concepts of Southeast Asian studies and Southeast Asia, the Japanese had their own concepts related to these research areas: South Seas studies (*Nanyō kenkyū*, 南洋研究) and the South Seas (*Nanyō*, 南洋). In addition, the Japanese also used the Chinese concept of the South Seas (*Nankai*, 南海). Therefore, this section will discuss concepts of Southeast Asian studies, South Seas studies and ethnology.

5.1 Southeast Asian studies and South Seas studies

This thesis focuses on Matsumoto as the founder of Southeast Asian studies in Japan. Therefore, it takes the perspective of Japan's Southeast Asian studies (*Tōnan Ajia kenkyū* 東南アジア研究). Southeast Asian studies were officially established in the 1950s when the regional concept of Southeast Asia came into general use. According to Shimizu Hajime's historical research of the Japanese geography textbooks, the concept of Southeast Asia as a region appeared in 1917.⁸⁵

This thesis deals with the period 1919-1945 that comes before the official establishment of Southeast Asian studies in Japan. Vietnam specialist Shimao Minoru presented Matsumoto Nobuhiro as the founder of Southeast Asian and Vietnamese studies in the 1930s.⁸⁶ Also, this thesis will show that Matsumoto adopted the concept of Southeast Asia in the 1930s from the Western ethnologists doing research on Southeast Asia in his writings on Indochina. (See Section

⁸⁵ Shimizu, Hajime. "Kindai Nihon ni okeru 'Tōnan Ajia' chiiki gainen no seiritsu (I)," (Shō-chūgakkō chiri kyōkasho ni miru), *Ajia keizai*, 28 (6), *Ajia kenkyūjo*, 1987, p. 26.

⁸⁶ Shimao, Minoru, "Betonamu. Tōnan Ajiashi he no teii to tenkai," *Tōnan Ajia shi. Kenkyū no hatten*, Tōnan Ajia gakkai 40 shūnen, Kinen jigyō iinkai, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009, p. 110.

3.1. Concepts of South Seas and Southeast Asia in Chapter 4.)

The Japanese geographical concept of Southeast Asia (*Tōnan Ajia*, 東南アジア) was researched by historian Ishii Yoneo. Ishii argued that Japan's Southeast Asia encompasses both continental and insular Southeast Asia that includes Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and the Philippines.⁸⁷ This definition relatively corresponds to Matsumoto's concept of Southeast Asia because he focused on Indochina and Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages as this thesis will show. From this perspective, it can be said that Matsumoto emerged as the founder of Southeast Asian studies in Japan in the 1930s when the term of Southeast Asia was rarely used and Southeast Asian studies had not yet been established in Japan.

In addition, this thesis will employ the concept of South Seas studies (*Nanyō kenkyū*, 南洋研究) which was the predecessor of Southeast Asian studies in Japan in the pre-war period. The concept of South Seas studies was based on the Japanese regional concept of the South Seas (*Nanyō*, 南洋) and the Chinese regional concept of the South Seas (*Nankai* 南海) which appear in Matsumoto's writings from the mid-1920s (see Section 5.1. Matsumoto's Concept of the South Seas in Chapter 3).

A study of the concept of the South Seas (*Nanyō*, 南洋) from the Japanese geography textbooks was presented by Shimizu Hajime. According to Hajime, the concept of the South

⁸⁷ Ishii, Yoneo, "Tōnan Ajia no shiteki ninshiki no ayumi," *Tōnan Ajia no rekishi*, Kōbundō, 1991, p.3.

Seas *Nanyō* existed in Japan in the late 18th century and encompassed in particular the countries of Indochina. However, its interpretation was ambiguous.⁸⁸ Furthermore, as stipulated in the League of Nations mandate, Japan acquired the Marshall Islands, the Carolinas, the Marianas, and the Palau Islands in 1919. These Southern Pacific islands attracted Japanese attention as an important part of the South Seas. In the pre-war period, the contemporary Japanese divided the South Seas into the Inner South Seas (*Uchi Nanyō*, 内南洋) which was under Japanese control and the Outer South Seas (*Soto Nanyō*, 外南洋) which was out of Japanese control.⁸⁹ Thus, the Japanese regional concept of the South Seas (*Nanyō*) in Matsumoto's era encompassed not only continental and insular Southeast Asia, but also the Southern Pacific islands.

In addition to the Japanese regional concept of the South Seas (*Nanyō*), the Japanese commonly used the Chinese regional concept of the South Seas (*Nankai*). This was pointed out by Ishida Mikinosuke who also presented the definition of *Nankai* as the region stretching from Indochina Peninsula (French Indochina, Thai), Burma and Malay Peninsula, to Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Ceylon in the West, to Indonesian Archipelago in the South and to Philippines in the East.⁹⁰ This means that the Chinese concept *Nankai* overlapped for a large part including Southeast Asia with the Japanese concept *Nanyō*, and the main difference was that

⁸⁸ Shimizu, Hajime. "Kindai Nihon ni okeru 'Tōnan Ajiya' chiiki gainen no seiritsu (I)," (Shō-chūgakkō chiri kyōkasho ni miru), *Ajia keizai*, 28 (6), Ajia kenkyūjo, 1987, p. 8. Yamashita, Shinji, *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2004, p. 107.

⁸⁹ Shimizu, Hajime. "Kindai Nihon ni okeru 'Tōnan Ajiya' chiiki gainen no seiritsu (I)," (Shō-chūgakkō chiri kyōkasho ni miru), *Ajia keizai*, 28 (6), Ajia kenkyūjo, 1987, pp. 9-11.

⁹⁰ Ishida, Mikinosuke, *Nankai ni kansuru Shina shiryō*, Seikatsusha, 1945, pp. 2-3.

Nankai encompassed also Indian Ocean and excluded Southern Pacific islands.

5.2. Ethnology

Ethnology is an academic discipline that studies the culture of various ethnic groups. The term ethnology was coined by a Slovak historian Adam František Kolár in 1783.⁹¹ The meaning of the term changed during the course of its history. Ethnology as a research of culture of various peoples emerged from discussions on human origins based on evolutionism in the first half of the nineteenth century. In its early stage, ethnology developed in close relation with physical anthropology, history and folklore studies before it separated and became an independent discipline. In Japan, ethnology became an independent academic discipline in 1935.⁹² At approximately this time, Matsumoto became the founder of Southeast Asian studies. Thus, Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia in the years 1919-1933 were formed in the period when the borders of ethnology with other academic disciplines were ambiguous. Consequently, this thesis will also discuss Matsumoto's ethnological research that overlapped with history and folklore studies.

This thesis will apply the commonly used classification of ethnologists for the evaluation of Matsumoto's pre-war work. Due to the scope of the thesis which covers the years from 1919

⁹¹ "Ethnography and ethnology," *The Dictionary of Anthropology*, edited by Barfield, Thomas, Blackwell Publishers, 1997, p. 157.

⁹² "Nihon minzoku gakkai setsuritsu shuisho," *Minzokugaku kenkyū*, dai 1 kan, dai 1 gō, Nihon minzoku gakkai, Sanseidō, 1935, pp. 219-222.

to 1945, there are basically three categories of pre-war ethnology taken into consideration: evolutionist, diffusionist and sociologist ethnology.⁹³

Evolutionist ethnology developed from the evolutionist presumption that all peoples including peoples considered civilized started their evolution from a primitive stage. Evolutionist ethnologists focused mainly on primitive culture (life condition of primitive people) by deducing it from similarities in the primitive stage of various peoples. Therefore, they surmised that all peoples are equally innovative. On the contrary, diffusionist ethnology was based on the presumption that there existed a limited number of cultural centers from which culture spread among other peoples in different regions. Therefore, diffusionist ethnologists researched about the origins of various cultures and believed that similarities between two different cultures were the result of cultural diffusion from a cultural center and thus only certain peoples were innovative.

Sociologist ethnology was also based on the belief that all people shared a common primitive culture like evolutionist ethnology, but it focused on the research of primitive society of various peoples in general. While evolutionist ethnologists believed the development of culture was affected by the natural environment of the peoples, sociologist ethnologists believed that culture was determined mainly by society. Therefore, this thesis will use this classification of ethnology in order to evaluate how Matsumoto interpreted Southeast Asia in each period.

⁹³ *The Routledge Dictionary of Anthropologists*, Routledge, London, New York, 1997. King, Victor T., Wilder, William D., *The Modern Anthropology of South-East Asia. An Introduction*, Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2005 (first edition 2003).

Previous research (namely Hirafuji Kikuko and Ito Seiji) emphasized the influence of sociologist ethnology on Matsumoto's work or interpreted Matsumoto within the context of diffusionist ethnology (namely Yamashita Shinji and Ito Seiji). This thesis will characterize Matsumoto as an evolutionist, sociologist and diffusionist ethnologist and will point out the limitation of Matsumoto's classification as a sociological and diffusionist ethnologist in each period from 1919 to 1945. For the reason of this Matsumoto's classification, this thesis will examine theories related to evolutionism, such as cultural evolutionism, Social Darwinism, Orientalism, climate theory, and the theory related to the political background Pan-Asianism in Matsumoto's works on Southeast Asia. The theoretical background of each concept will be explained in the relevant chapters.

6. Methodology

6.1. Data collection

This thesis is a qualitative research. The data was collected from papers and books (Waseda University Library, Keio University Library, Toyo Bunko and the National Diet Library), from unstructured interviews with Matsumoto Nobuhiro's student Chikamori Masashi at Keio University (23 August 2012, 13 October 2012 and 10 December 2012) and from the observation of the symposium and social gathering at the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies at Keio University (13 October 2012).

6.2. Data analysis

The author of this thesis conducted content analysis of the data. First, she analyzed relevant writings of Matsumoto Nobuhiro, his teachers (Kawai Teiichi, Yanagita Kunio, Tanaka Suiichiro, Hashimoto Matsukichi, Kato Shigeshi, Marcel Granet, Marcel Mauss, Jean Przyluski), his teachers' teachers (Wilhelm Wundt, James George Frazer) and other scholars that influenced Matsumoto (Wilhelm Schmidt, Watsuji Tetsuro). Then, she compared the content of Matsumoto's writings with the content of other writers' writings. Finally, she analyzed all the content in relation to the historical background.

7. Scope and limitations

The scope of this thesis is limited to Matsumoto's ethnological researches on Southeast Asia only in the period 1919-1945 since this thesis focuses on Matsumoto as the founder of Southeast Asian studies that emerged in the 1930s. The starting year 1919 is determined by Matsumoto's first mention of Southeast Asia in his writing. The year 1945 is set as a watershed in history of Southeast Asian studies due to the end of the Greater East Asian War. Therefore, the thesis does not deal with Matsumoto's research in the post-war period.

Since the thesis focused on Matsumoto's ethnological research, it examined Matsumoto's connection with his important teacher Yanagita Kunio, who is profiled as the founder of folklore studies, only to the extent relevant to Matsumoto's ethnological research on Southeast Asia. Thus, the author of this thesis did not compare all of Yanagita's writings with Matsumoto's writings.

Furthermore, the author of this thesis did not check the original arguments of diffusionist scholar Robert Heine-Geldern who exerted an important influence on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia in the 1930s. This was because Heine-Geldern's works were not available to the author and because the author cannot read German. For this reason, the author estimated Heine-Geldern's influence on Matsumoto only from Matsumoto's references to Heine-Geldern in Matsumoto's writings.

Finally, the author of the thesis did not analyze the propaganda of Japan's Southern Advance and Pan-Asianism in the Japanese media due to the reason of insufficient time and space. Thus, the author's arguments on the influence of this propaganda on Matsumoto Nobuhiro's writing are hypotheses based on the author's knowledge of the historical background in Japan in the 1930s and in the first half of the 1940s, and on her experience with Socialist propaganda to which she was exposed to during the 15 years of her life in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Chapter 2: The Development of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's Ideas on Southeast

Asia in 1919-1923

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the emergence of Matsumoto Nobuhiro as an ethnologist in the period 1919-1923 when Matsumoto was a student at Keio Gijuku (1910-1920) and worked as a teacher at Keio Futsūbu School (1920-1924). It is important to study the beginnings of Matsumoto's ethnological career because Matsumoto's Southeast Asian studies emerged from his ethnological study on Southeast Asia. Therefore, this chapter will inquire why Matsumoto became an ethnologist under the influence of his teachers and how he discussed Southeast Asia in his ethnological writings in the period 1919-1923.

In general, the early 1920s was the age of evolutionism. The Japanese adopted Western civilization which was thought to occupy the top tier of civilization from the viewpoint of cultural evolution theory.⁹⁴ The aim of this adoption was to reach an equal footing with the Western powers. In addition, the Japanese considered territorial expansion indispensable to their progress and to their national power which was in accordance with Social Darwinism, a theory that argued only the fittest could persevere in the struggle for survival.⁹⁵ Thus, the Japanese

⁹⁴ Cultural evolutionism was a theory based on a hypothesis that culture evolves through stages, beginning from a primitive stage and then advancing to a civilized stage. Therefore, culture evolutionists tended to hypothesize on the stage of certain cultures that they discussed.

⁹⁵ Social Darwinism was a theory developed from Darwin's argument that natural selection determines the outcome of competition. It was applied to human society arguing that competition or the struggle for survival is inevitable and is necessary for human progress.

adopted cultural evolutionism and Social Darwinism as basic theories for the formation of their relations with nations and regions abroad.

Evolutionism formed the basis of Matsumoto's thinking also because Matsumoto received westernized education at Keio Gijuku. He studied at Keio Gijuku from junior high school to university, a period covering a span of 10 years. The framing philosophy of Keio Gijuku was based on the ideas of Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901) who preached the adoption of Western civilization and Democracy. Although on one hand, Fukuzawa argued for the equality of all people, on the other hand, he also emphasized that Japan had to become westernized in order to be treated equally with Western countries. Thus, Matsumoto was raised in an environment where westernization was considered a decisive factor for achieving equal treatment. Consequently, despite being taught Democracy, Matsumoto still considered Western peoples superior because they were more westernized than the Japanese. In other words, he believed the degree of westernization determined a peoples' superiority. Therefore, he considered the Japanese to be more superior than non-Western peoples because they absorbed western civilization. His bias will be demonstrated through an analysis of Matsumoto's writings on Southeast Asia in this thesis.

Based on the evolutionist belief, the Japanese started constructing their relations towards the Asia-Pacific region. After the First World War, Japan received the League of Nations mandate

over the islands in the Southern Pacific,⁹⁶ in addition to the Ryukyu Islands (1879) and Taiwan (1895). In this period, Japanese called all the regions lying South of Japan as the South Seas (*Nanyō*, 南洋) and indicated them as “southward” (*Nampō*, 南方). After acquiring this former German territory, the Japanese government founded the South Seas Development Company (1921) and the South Seas Bureau (1922) for the administration over the region.⁹⁷ However, in these early stages of the Japanese exploration of the South, priority was put on the economic exploitation of the newly acquired territories. Yet interestingly enough, Japan paid much more political attention to the Asian continent (mainly countries like China and Korea) and consequently, the region of the South Seas was perceived to be far less important. Therefore, in the early 1920s, Japanese knowledge on the South Seas remained limited and thereby the region of Southeast Asia, also, remained completely unknown to the Japanese people.

Considering the lack of Japanese people’s interest in Southeast Asia, Matsumoto was afforded a rare opportunity to study about Southeast Asia from Western ethnology which compared the culture of various ethnic groups including Southeast Asian peoples. Under the influence of evolutionism, ethnology was emerging in significance in connection with cultural history, physical anthropology and folklore studies. Especially from the late 1870s, Japanese scholars were faced with the task in clarifying Japanese origins since they were confronted with

⁹⁶ Japan expanded its control to the South of the Marshall Islands, the Carolinas, the Marianas, and the Palau Islands in 1919.

⁹⁷ Shimizu, Akitoshi, *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, Richmond, Surrey, Curzon 1999, p. 144.

various biased theories on Japanese people produced by Western scholars.⁹⁸ Therefore, it became an issue of national importance to interpret Japanese origins from the Japanese perspective, and within the context of mankind's early history.

Since the discourse on Japanese origins was regarded essential, it was joined by modern educated young men from wealthy families, such as Matsumoto Nobuhiro. These young intellectuals did not need to worry about their future and could spend their time pursuing their interests. Thus, by their participation in the discussion of Japanese origins, they contributed to the development of ethnology even though ethnology had yet to be established as an independent academic discipline in the 1920s.

Matsumoto began studying ethnology and folklore studies during his studies at Keio University in the late 1910s. He majored in history at Keio University,⁹⁹ but he met excellent teachers of ethnology and folklore studies such as Kawai Teiichi and Yanagita Kunio. Among previous researches, Matsumoto's disciples, Ito Seiji¹⁰⁰ Chikamori Masashi,¹⁰¹ etc., and mythologists, Obayashi Taryo¹⁰² and Hirafuji Kikuko¹⁰³ claimed Yanagita Kunio's importance

⁹⁸ In 1879, American zoologist and orientalist Edward Sylvester Morse presented a hypothesis based on the evidences from his excavation in Ōmori shell mound that the Japanese ancestors were cannibals.

⁹⁹ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Rōkkōshuppan, 1982, p. 693.

¹⁰⁰ Itō, Seiji, "Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, p. 119. Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 231. "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

¹⁰² Obayashi, Taryō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzokugaku no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 406.

¹⁰³ Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shakaigakuteki kenkyū – Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō," *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, p. 38.

in Matsumoto's research in general. However, this research will show that also other teachers, especially Kawai Teiichi, played a significant role in the formation of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ideas on Southeast Asia.

The following sections will examine the beginnings of Matsumoto's research on Southeast Asia. First, this chapter will clarify the influence of Japanese scholars on Matsumoto's study of ethnology including Matsumoto's methodology. Second, this chapter will examine Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia.

2. The influence of Japanese scholars on Matsumoto's study of ethnology

This section will demonstrate through the analysis of Matsumoto's writings in 1919-1923 that Matsumoto became an armchair ethnologist in 1920. It will show that Matsumoto learnt ethnology based on unilinear evolutionism. Since Matsumoto had not studied abroad in the period 1919-1923, it means that he studied ethnology from his teachers in Japan. Therefore, this section will examine the influence of Matsumoto's teachers on his study of ethnology based on unilinear evolutionism. First, it will discuss the influence of his teachers of ethnology, Kawai Teiichi and Yanagita Kunio. Then, it will clarify the influence of his teachers of history, Kato Shigeshi and Hashimoto Masukichi.

2.1. The influence of Kawai Teiichi on Matsumoto's study of ethnology

Matsumoto's relationship with Kawai Teiichi's ideas had crucial importance for

Matsumoto's interest in ethnology primarily because Kawai Teiichi (1870-1955) studied under German ethnologist Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920),¹⁰⁴ and had a personal relationship with Matsumoto even before Matsumoto began his studies at Keio University. It was in this way, Matsumoto was exposed to Kawai's ideas on mankind for many years.

Matsumoto met Kawai when he entered Keio Futsūbu School (high school) in 1910. At that time, Kawai was director of Keio Futsūbu School and Matsumoto was impressed by his speech on his first day at Keio Futsūbu School.¹⁰⁵ Matsumoto's memoirs present evidence that Matsumoto was attracted to Kawai's personality: "Director Kawai was good-natured and also had a strict hand. Thus, thanks to his policy and power, the spirit of the Futsūbu School was simple and sturdy."¹⁰⁶ Matsumoto appreciated Kawai also for his knowledge gained through his studies in Germany: "Sensei [Kawai] studied in Germany, and we think that it was he who built up the essence and the system of Futsūbu School."¹⁰⁷ Therefore, Kawai Teiichi occupied an important place in Matsumoto's life even before Matsumoto's entry into Keio University in 1915.

Matsumoto's close relationship with Kawai continued during the time Matsumoto studied and worked at Keio University. This fact is proven by Matsumoto's contribution to the collection of papers published on the occasion of Kawai's sixtieth birthday in 1931. In this collection,

¹⁰⁴ *Keiō gijuku hyakunenshi*. Chūkanzen. Keiō gijuku daigaku, 1960, p. 320.

¹⁰⁵ Matsumoto, Chie in Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 12.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 14.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 15.

Matsumoto published his paper “Problems of the Austro-Asiatic languages” which means that he discussed the topic of Southeast Asian languages.¹⁰⁸ At the end of his paper, Matsumoto expressed his tribute for Kawai as follows: “I dedicate this paper as my congratulation to Professor Kawai and I pray for his happiness. I have studied for ten years under him from Futsūbu School till my graduation at Faculty of Letters, and I became interested in the issues of the mankind for the first time thanks to his lecture ‘ethno-psychology’ [*minzoku shinrigaku*, 民族心理学]; I am really happy to be able to express my gratitude to him.”¹⁰⁹ In short, it is clear that Matsumoto began studying ethnology from Kawai’s lectures on ethno-psychology¹¹⁰ at Keio University.

Matsumoto’s interest in Kawai’s ethnology is evident from his early writings. In his first paper “The Record from Travel to Sayama,” Matsumoto wrote: “The habit of the mountain worship in Japan that is a land of volcanoes, especially its development in Musashino is an interesting research topic in ethno-psychology.”¹¹¹ Then, Matsumoto cited Wilhem Wundt’s ethno-psychology in his further writings. In “The Mountain Legends in Fudoki¹¹²,” Matsumoto mentioned: “Wilhelm Wundt in his *Ethno-Psychology* talks about the rituals of praying for the

¹⁰⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ōsutoroajiago ni kan suru shomondai,” *Kawai kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, Kawaikyōju kanreki shukugakai, 1931, p. 481-522.

¹⁰⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ōsutoroajiago ni kan suru shomondai,” *Kawai kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, Kawaikyōju kanreki shukugakai, 1931, pp. 519-520.

¹¹⁰ Kawai Teiichi’s lecture is mentioned as “psychology” (心理学) in the syllabus in 1910-1920 and as “ethno-psychology” (民族心理学) in 1921-1944. Kawakita, Nobuo, “Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu kyōin tantō kamoku ichiran,” *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1991, pp. 359, 369, 374.

¹¹¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Sayama kikō,” *Tōkōkō*, I, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1919, p. 124.

¹¹² Fudoki (風土記) ancient records from the Japanese provinces. Matsumoto drew on the local myths, rituals, and poems contained in these records.

fertility as a form of early deity worship...”¹¹³ Further, Matsumoto drew on Wundt’s work in all of his writings in 1919-1923, including his graduation thesis “The Research of the Family in Ancient China.”¹¹⁴ Thus, Matsumoto’s writings show that Matsumoto studied Wilhelm Wundt’s ethnology under Kawai’s guidance.

Kawai Teiichi studied ethno-psychology during his stay at the Jena University and the Leipzig University in Germany from 1899 to 1905.¹¹⁵ This means that he received Wilhelm Wundt’s direct guidance in the German environment. The conception of German ethnology at that time was shaped by Adolf Bastian’s ideas of psychic unity of mankind¹¹⁶ which included refusal of Darwinism.¹¹⁷ This universalism was based on the hypothesis of the unilinear evolution for all peoples. Also Wilhelm Wundt was a representative of universalism as his argument in *Elements of Folk Psychology* shows: “Though of diverse origins, people may nevertheless belong to the same group as regards the mental level to which they have attained.”¹¹⁸ Thus, Kawai adopted evolutionist ethnology based on unilinear evolutionism from Wundt and taught its principles to Matsumoto in his lectures in ethno-psychology.

¹¹³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu,” *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 40.

¹¹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū” (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 441.

¹¹⁵ Kawai kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū, Kawai kyōju kanreki shukugakai, 1931, p. 6.

¹¹⁶ In his theory of the psychic unity of mankind, Adolf Bastian argued that all peoples, regardless their ethnicity, have common elementary ideas (*Elementargedanken*) and therefore the primitive thinking is same for all peoples. Bastian, Adolf, *Ethnische Elementargedanken in der Lehre vom Menschen* (1895), <https://archive.org/details/ethnischeelemen00bastgoog>

¹¹⁷ Penny, Glenn H. *Objects of Culture. Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill and London, 2002, pp. 18-22.

¹¹⁸ Wundt, Wilhelm, *Elements of Folk Psychology. Outlines of a Psychological History of the Development of Mankind*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1916 (German edition in 1912), p. 5.

Universalism in ethnology was based on the hypothesis of the unilinear evolution of mankind. The typical method of evolutionist ethnology was using comparative research for various ethnic groups which aimed to find a universal primitive culture by examining common points among various ethnic cultures. Universalism was advocated by many Western ethnologists including Tylor and Frazer, and of which were adopted by another of Matsumoto's teachers, Yanagita Kunio. Therefore, Matsumoto's adoption of universalism from these scholars will be also discussed in Section 2.2. (The influence of Yanagita Kunio on Matsumoto's study of ethnology).

Matsumoto recognized his adoption of unilinear evolutionism in 1921. In his graduation thesis "The Research of the Family in Ancient China," Matsumoto claimed: "Nobody believes that the trajectory of the human evolution is only one, that the condition of the social organization through which civilized nations have gone exists among the uncivilized ethnic groups of the mankind now. Of course, activities of the races take different form according to their different goals and circumstances, and their trajectories of the evolution are different. However, the thinking existing among the races is generally same for all ethnic groups; it is no doubt that there is a limited universality that peoples develop on the common trajectory."¹¹⁹ Using this as a basis, Matsumoto compared similar cultures of various contemporary primitive peoples, such as the primitive peoples of Australia, India, Africa, Cambodia, Kamchatka,

¹¹⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū" (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 412.

Northern America, Southwest China, Tonkin, Melanesia, Oceania, Tibet, Uyghur, Morocco, New Guinea, and contemporary Arabian and Semitic people with ancient Japanese and Chinese peoples in his writings.¹²⁰ As it turned out, although Matsumoto was aware about the differences among various peoples, he researched about the similarities among peoples and advocated universalism based on unilinear evolutionism.

As a result of the adoption of universalism, Matsumoto paid attention to the similarities, and not to the differences among peoples which were discussed by Social Darwinism based on multilinear evolutionism. Consequently, unlike Matsumoto's teachers in history,¹²¹ Matsumoto did not discuss the struggle for survival of Social Darwinism in his writings in 1919-1923. This fact is apparent from Matsumoto's graduation thesis "The Research of the Family in Ancient China" where he pointed out the peaceful life of primitive peoples: "... even though there is a hypothesis that the primitive society was always in state of fighting, this does not correspond to the relatively peaceful situation of the barbarians now."¹²² Therefore, due to Kawai's influence, Matsumoto studied Wundt's ethnology based on universalism that claimed a common culture for all primitive people, and of which was not based on Social Darwinism.

¹²⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū" (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 419, 437, 439. "Shina kosei to tōtemizumu" (1921-1922), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 454, 462, 472, 473, 478, 479, 482-5. "Kodai Shina minzoku no sosenshaishi," *Shigaku*, dai 1 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1922, pp. 50, 67.

¹²¹ Social Darwinism is expressed in the following works of Matsumoto's teachers: Tanaka, Suiichirō, "Seiji to fujin," *Ōsaka kōen*, Keiō Gijuku shuppankyoku, 1913, p. 356. Tanaka, Suiichirō, "Chūkōron," *Ōsaka kōen*, Keiō Gijuku shuppankyoku, 1913, p. 114. Hashimoto, Masukichi, *Tōyōshi kōza ikki*, Jitaiko gokanmatsu, Ji taiko, Kokushi kōshūkai, 1926, p. 1. Kanokogi, Kazunobu, *Bunmei to tetsugaku seishin*, Keiō Gijuku shuppankyoku, 1915, p. v. *Sentō-teki jinseikan*, Bunsendō shobō, 1943 (first edition 1917), p. 335.

¹²² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū" (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 440-441.

However, it is impossible to trace the influence of Kawai's ideas on Matsumoto's ideas on his writings. This is because the syllabus of Kawai's lectures in ethno-psychology is unavailable and because Kawai did not publish any works on ethnology. As Kawai's work "Philosophy and Education" suggested, Kawai's main field was education.¹²³ Therefore, Kawai could not provide Matsumoto full guidance in ethnology. Thus, Kawai's significance for Matsumoto's study of ethnology was that Kawai introduced ethnology to Matsumoto by teaching him the basics of evolutionist ethnology, especially on those forwarded by Wilhelm Wundt.

In summary, although Kawai was not Matsumoto's supervisor at Keio University, he had a significant impact on Matsumoto's research in general. Kawai's contribution to Matsumoto's education consisted of introducing Matsumoto to the basic ideas of evolutionist ethnology. Kawai taught Matsumoto namely on universalism by the German scholar Wilhelm Wundt who based his hypothesis on unilinear evolution. Consequently, Matsumoto paid attention to the common primitive culture in the human evolution and did not mention the issue of the struggle for survival although he lived in the era of Social Darwinism. Further discussion on Matsumoto's adoption of Wundt's ethnological approach will be in Section 2.4.1. (The ethnological methodology).

2.2. The influence of Yanagita Kunio on Matsumoto's study of ethnology

In addition to Kawai's guidance in ethnology, Matsumoto Nobuhiro's study of ethnology

¹²³ Kawai, Teiichi, "Tetsugaku to kyōiku," *Ōsaka kōen*, Keiō gijuku shuppankyoku, 1913, pp. 118-164.

was influenced by Yanagita Kunio's guidance in folklore studies. At that time, Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962) was known as a writer of Japanese folklore who did extensive field work in the Japanese countryside. In this period, there was no clear distinction between ethnology and folklore studies and both disciplines were based on the evolutionist perspective of culture. Thus, due to these historical circumstances, Matsumoto studied ethnology also from Yanagita Kunio although Yanagita Kunio focused on the Japanese folk culture.

Matsumoto became Yanagita's student due to his interest in the mountains in 1918. Matsumoto was member of the Keio University Alpine Club and visited Yanagita in order to ask him for a lecture about life in the mountains for the Alpine Club.¹²⁴ From that time onwards, Matsumoto began visiting Yanagita's house and subsequently Yanagita became Matsumoto's long-life teacher. Yanagita lent Matsumoto back numbers of journals on folklore studies and relevant books, and encouraged him to study folklore.¹²⁵ However, Matsumoto joined Yanagita on his field work only once - in the summer of 1920 when they trekked through Tohoku.¹²⁶ Therefore, Yanagita's guidance to Matsumoto consisted mainly of providing the theory of folklore studies which shared similarities with ethnology.

Matsumoto's connection with Yanagita is apparent from the publication of their papers in

¹²⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Yanagita Kunio 'Kainan shōki' to 'Kaijō no michi' – minzoku to minzoku ni tsuite" *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p.332.

¹²⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Tōhoku no tabi," *Teihon Yanagita Kunioshū*, Geppō 1, Chikumashobō, 1962, p. 3.

¹²⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Sayama kikō," *Tōkōkō*, I, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1919, pp. 123-127. "Iwate no Kōgen yori," (1920) *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 364-373. "Tōhoku no tabi," *Teihon Yanagita Kunioshū*, Geppō 1, Chikumashobō, 1962, pp. 360-363.

the same journal of the Keio University Alpine Club. Matsumoto published his writings on the mountain belief “The Mountain Legends in Fudoki” and “The Research of Mount Tai” in the journal of the Keio University Alpine Club *Tōkōkō*.¹²⁷ At the same time, Yanagita contributed his long paper on Musashino (“Miscellaneous Talks on Musashino”) to this journal.¹²⁸ Yanagita’s influence on Matsumoto’s paper is apparent from the fact that these two papers by Matsumoto examined the issue of mountain beliefs which is a topic in folklore studies. Moreover, in “The Mountain Legends in Fudoki,”¹²⁹ Matsumoto discussed the Japanese legends, such as a legend that traced the origins of the celestial god of Kabire Pass¹³⁰, which is material for folklore studies. In this way, Matsumoto’s early ethnological papers used folklore material.

Matsumoto’s work “The Mountain Legends in Fudoki” reflects the undifferentiated coexistence of ethnology and folklore studies in this period.¹³¹ Thus, Matsumoto began receiving Yanagita’s guidance when Yanagita was exploring his way in folklore studies by studying European ethnology and folklore studies. Yanagita’s paper “What is ethnology?”

¹²⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu,” *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, pp. 23-40. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Taizan no kenkyū,” *Tōkōkō*, III, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1921, pp. 34-40.

¹²⁸ Yanagita, Kunio, “Musashino zatsuwa,” *Tōkōkō*, I, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1919, pp. 18-37. “Zoku Musashino zatsuwa,” *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, pp. 1-18.

¹²⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu,” *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 23.

¹³⁰ Kabire Pass (賀毘禮峰) is a mountain pass on the Tokaidō in the Niigata Prefecture in Japan.

¹³¹ Ethnology became established as a separate academic discipline in 1935 when the Japan Ethnological Society was formed by Japanese ethnologists. “Nihon minzoku gakkai setsuritsu shuisho,” *Minzokugaku kenkyū*, dai 1 kan, dai 1 gō, Nihon minzoku gakkai, Sanseidō, 1935, pp. 219-222.

expresses Yanagita's effort to define his "ethnology" in relation to Western research.¹³²

Yanagita's opinion on the naming of ethnology proves his outlook on the situation facing Western and Japanese academic circles: "For example the most influential scholars in what we call folklore studies (*minzokugaku*, 民俗学), such as Tsuboi Shogoro sensei and Professor E. B. Tylor, did not use the word ethnology at all; they called the discipline anthropology while it had the same content as ethnology in France; from the beginning to the end they spoke and wrote under the name of anthropology."¹³³ Therefore, Yanagita taught Matsumoto not only about Japanese folklore but also introduced him to Western ethnological research.

Yanagita shared with Matsumoto his knowledge of works of English ethnologists Edward Burnett Tylor and James George Frazer who were leading scholars of universalism based on the belief in unilinear evolution. This was because Yanagita respected them as founders of folklore studies and their works as the basis of folklore research.¹³⁴ In concrete terms, Yanagita transmitted Matsumoto Tylor's theory of remnants which formed the foundations of ethnology in general. Yanagita was aware of the significance of Tylor's theory: "Sir James Frazer who adopted the daring theory of his teacher Tylor, indicated most politely the so-called barbarian remnants in civilization and he put the same method in the third volume of *Folklore of the Old Testament*. This is a method by which we can know the previous era of many peoples of today

¹³² Yanagita, Kunio, "Ethnology to ha nanika" (1926), *Teihon Yanagita Kunioshū*, dai 25-kan, Chikumashobō, 1964, pp. 232-47.

¹³³ Ibid, p. 234.

¹³⁴ Ibid, pp. 234, 254.

and of the past from now on.”¹³⁵ Therefore, it is clear that Yanagita respected Tylor’s and Frazer’s research because he was interested in their theory of remnants. Tylor and Frazer contributed to the development of universalism because they applied the theory of remnants on the different peoples. Thus, Yanagita also became a universalist by adopting the theory of remnants.

In his theory, Tylor defined the remnants¹³⁶ as “processes, customs, and opinions, and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home, and they thus remain as proofs and examples of an older condition of culture out of which a newer has been evolved.”¹³⁷ Thus, according to Tylor, remnants meant phenomena of the previous culture remaining in the following stages of the cultural development. On the basis of this theory, Tylor claimed that the historical development of the people can be traced from these remnants.¹³⁸ In addition, based on universalism, he argued that the stages of different races can be compared if there are similarities between their cultures.¹³⁹

Matsumoto’s adhesion to Tylor’s theory of remnants is clearly expressed in Matsumoto’s writings. In his graduation thesis “The Research of the Family in Ancient China,”

¹³⁵ Yanagita, Kunio, “Ethnology to ha nanika” (1926), *Teihon Yanagita Kunioshū*, dai 25-kan, Chikumashobō, 1964, p. 254.

¹³⁶ Tylor used the term “survival” for remnants. However, this word would be confusing with the term “the struggle for survival” of social Darwinism. Therefore, the author of this thesis chose to use the term “remnants” from the Japanese word 残存 (zanson) used in Matsumoto’s writings.

¹³⁷ Tylor, Edward Burnet, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. 1, John Murray, London, 1873, p. 16.

¹³⁸ Ibid, p. 17.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p. 7.

Matsumoto wrote as follows: “The thinking and activities of the archaic peoples is practiced in the thinking and the activities of many uncivilized peoples today. To do research on the archaic thinking, ideas and system based on the knowledge about the contemporary uncivilized people is one method on which the researcher in ancient history should be based.”¹⁴⁰ He applied Tylor’s theory of remnants also in his paper “The Family in Ancient China and Totemism”: “Therefore, please allow me to follow the traces of totemism through the family names [姓] as the remnants of the system in the previous period in the society of that time and through the legends related to them.”¹⁴¹ Thus, Matsumoto thought that the remnants of primitive culture can be found both among the contemporary primitive peoples and in the legends.

Matsumoto applied Tylor’s theory of remnants for the first time on the Japanese culture under Yanagita’s influence in 1920. Yanagita’s interpretation of the theory of remnants can be found in his writing “Miscellaneous Talks on Musashino” in which Yanagita published in the Journal of Keio University Alpine Club. In this paper, Yanagita explained how to trace the ancient elements in the present people and how to reconstruct the past condition of Musashino from its present appearance.¹⁴² Matsumoto followed Yanagita’s example in researching the remnants in Japanese folklore. In his paper “The Mountain Legends in Fudoki,” he wrote: “The

¹⁴⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū” (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 425.

¹⁴¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kosei to tōtemizumu” (1921-1922), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 461.

¹⁴² Yanagita Kunio “Musashino zatsuwa,” *Tōkōkō*, I, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1919, pp. 32-33.

simple ideas of ancient men about mountains were recorded as traces in various legends remaining in ancient records. Thus, a good material about the thinking of ancient men is stored especially in Fudoki selected by Emperor Gemmei's court in the sixth year of Wadō Era [713]. Let me take two legends and let me try to research the beliefs of ancient people related to the mountains.”¹⁴³ Matsumoto published his paper in the Keio University Journal *Tōkōkō* and mediated also the publication of Yanagita's paper in the same journal.¹⁴⁴

Matsumoto became interested in mountain beliefs because he became acquainted with Yanagita's opinions about the life of the Japanese people in the mountains.¹⁴⁵ Yanagita was concerned with the relationship of country people with their natural environment in general. This is apparent from his first work *The Tales of Tōno* (1910) and also from his paper “Miscellaneous Talks on Musashino” that he published in the same journal with Matsumoto's writings on the mountains.

Matsumoto's interest in the relationship of people to the mountains can be found in his early writings. In his travel notes “From Kōgen in Iwate,” he pointed out the crucial role of mountains in the religious life of common people in it. For example, he called the mountains “sacred mountains which are the core of the beliefs of inhabitants in this plain” or “mountains

¹⁴³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu,” *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 23.

¹⁴⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 25. *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 28.

¹⁴⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Yanagita Kunio ‘Kainan shōki’ to ‘Kaijō no michi’ – minzoku to minzoku ni tsuite” *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p.332.

ruling the beliefs of villagers” etc.¹⁴⁶ He elaborated his ideas on the mountain beliefs in his two papers “The Mountain Legends in Fudoki” and “The Research of Mount Tai” where he compared the Japanese and Chinese mountain beliefs with the culture of other ethnic groups.¹⁴⁷ These writings revealed that under Yanagita’s influence Matsumoto considered mountain beliefs an important topic in folklore studies and ethnology.

Matsumoto’s personal ties with Yanagita grew so important that Matsumoto never left the circles of folklore studies. Matsumoto maintained correspondence with Yanagita even when either one of them stayed in Europe. This is apparent from Yanagita’s diary entry made in Switzerland where Yanagita mentions receiving Matsumoto’s letters.¹⁴⁸ After Yanagita returned from Europe, he started teaching folklore studies (under the name of anthropology) at Keio University due to Matsumoto’s efforts in 1924. It was historically the first course in folklore studies at Keio University.¹⁴⁹ After Matsumoto came back from France, he took over Yanagita’s course. However, its conception was rather based more on ethnology than folklore studies.¹⁵⁰ Despite their complicated relationships¹⁵¹ and the separation of folklore studies from ethnology

¹⁴⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Iwate no Kōgen yori” (1920), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 364, 369, 374.

¹⁴⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu,” *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, pp. 23-40. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Taizan no kenkyū,” *Tōkōkō*, III, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1921, pp. 34-40.

¹⁴⁸ Yanagita, Kunio, “Suisu nikki” (1922), *Teihon Yanagita Kunioshū*, dai 3 kan, Chikuma shobō, 1963, pp. 290, 302.

¹⁴⁹ Itō, Seiji, “Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro,” *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, p. 121.

¹⁵⁰ Arima, Makiko, “Hito, Matsumoto Nobuhiro,” *Kikan jinruigaku*, 5-1, Shakaishisōsha, 1974, p. 156 (an interview with Matsumoto Nobuhiro), p. 156.

¹⁵¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro “Origuchi san no koto” *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 394.

in the 1930s, Matsumoto cherished this precious connection until Yanagita's death in 1962.

According to Chikamori Masashi, Yanagita never officially recognized Matsumoto as his disciple, but Matsumoto considered Yanagita to be his true mentor.¹⁵² Matsumoto's close relationship with Yanagita is evident not only from Yanagita's diary, but also from the fact that Matsumoto contributed to the journal in the second volume out of the thirty one volumes of Yanagita's works collection in 1962.¹⁵³

In summary, Yanagita became Matsumoto's long-life teacher in the period when Yanagita was doing research on European ethnology and folklore studies. Thanks to this, Matsumoto deepened his knowledge of evolutionist ethnology that he received from Kawai Teiichi by studying the theory of ethnology and folklore studies from Yanagita. Matsumoto's interest in Yanagita's research started from mountain beliefs in which Matsumoto wrote several papers on. Matsumoto studied from Yanagita also Tylor's theory of remnants which formed the foundation of evolutionist ethnology. Yanagita's ideas had persisting influence on Matsumoto's research because Matsumoto kept his personal relationship with Yanagita until Yanagita's death although Matsumoto became the founder of Southeast Asian studies and Yanagita became the founder of folklore studies in Japan.

¹⁵² Chikamori used to pay a New Year's visit to Matsumoto's house on the 2nd of January because Matsumoto attended Yanagita's house on the 1st of January. Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August and 13 October 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

¹⁵³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Tōhoku no tabi Teihon Yanagita Kunioshū*, Geppō 1, Chikumashobō, 1962, pp. 2-4.

2.3. The influence of Japanese historians on Matsumoto's study of ethnology

Kawai's and Yanagita's influence on Matsumoto's ethnology was most significant. However, Matsumoto could adopt an ethnological approach to history because some of his teachers, such as Kato Shigeshi (1880-1946) and Hashimoto Masukichi (1880-1956), were influenced by cultural evolutionism in their historical research and researched ancient culture. Originally, Matsumoto chose to study history because he admired the personality of Tanaka Suiichiro (1873-1923), the head of the department of history at Keio University, who was famous for his research of Oriental history.¹⁵⁴ However, Tanaka was not concerned with ancient history to the degree that Matsumoto was. Therefore, Matsumoto followed Kato and Hashimoto who were lesser-known researchers of Oriental history.

In general, historians in Matsumoto's era were believers in Social Darwinism. For example, Hashimoto framed his lecture on the ancient Orient with the theory based on the survival of the fittest by arguing that although peace is an ideal for human life, it can never be completely attained because wars are inevitable since they serve as "a trial of the survival of the fittest."¹⁵⁵ Therefore, Matsumoto's teachers of history were followers of Darwinism which emphasized the differences between the peoples in contrast with Matsumoto's belief in universalism. Nevertheless, Matsumoto and his teachers in history shared the theory of cultural

¹⁵⁴ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 227-228. "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 13.

¹⁵⁵ Hashimoto, Masukichi, *Tōyōshi kōza ikki*, Jitaiko gokanmatsu, Ji taiko, Kokushi kōshūkai, 1926, pp. 1.

evolutionism that there were stages in the cultural evolution of various peoples.

Thus, Matsumoto received cultural evolutionist influence from his teachers in history:

Kato Shigeshi and Hashimoto Masukichi. For example, Matsumoto's teacher in Oriental history Hashimoto Masukichi pointed out the importance of Oriental history from the perspective of cultural evolution. In his lecture on ancient Oriental history, he wrote: "...only when we clarify the history of the people of the Asian genealogy which was neglected in contrast to the history of the people of the European genealogy, that a larger reality can be seen, where we, the Asian people are also involved in the cultural development of the world..."¹⁵⁶ Hashimoto taught Matsumoto about China not only in the classroom, but also on a school trip to Korea, Manchuria and China in summer 1918.¹⁵⁷ Further, Matsumoto studied the development of Chinese culture in Kato Shigeshi's classes of history on Chinese society.¹⁵⁸ Since the study of the Chinese history demanded the use of the Chinese documents, Matsumoto developed his attachment to the ancient Chinese writings as the sources on Chinese culture under Hashimoto's and Kato's guidance. For this reason, he later considered the Chinese-written Vietnamese documents to be important for the study on Vietnamese culture.

The influence of Hashimoto's and Kato's teaching on ancient Chinese history appears in

¹⁵⁶ Hashimoto, Masukichi, *Tōyōshi kōza ikki*, Jitaiko gokanmatsu, Ji taiko, Kokushi kōshūkai, 1926, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵⁷ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Rokkōshuppan, 1982, p. 693. Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, pp. 228.

¹⁵⁸ Kawakita, Nobuo, "Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu kyōin tantō kamoku ichiran," *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1991, pp. 362-363. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 40.

Matsumoto's writings. Concretely, Matsumoto wrote four papers on the ancient Chinese culture: his graduation thesis "The Research of the Family in Ancient China," "The Family in Ancient China and Totemism," "Ancestor Worship of People in Ancient China" and "Research of the Shrine and the Millet" in the early 1920s.¹⁵⁹ It seems that Matsumoto was inspired by Kato's lectures on the history of Chinese society when he wrote these papers since Matsumoto mentioned that Kato's lectures provided him with many materials on Chinese society for his graduation thesis.¹⁶⁰

Masukichi's and Kato's opinions appeared in Matsumoto's graduation thesis "The Research of the Family in Ancient China." Matsumoto discussed them as a part of the existing research on the family (姓) in ancient China.¹⁶¹ He mentioned Hashimoto's theory that the institution of the family (姓) had appeared in China in order to distinguish between the tribes due to differences in the customs, languages, etc. Furthermore, Matsumoto brings up Kato's theory on the institution of the family (姓). This theory was developed in order to clarify kinship relations in a large kinship group formed by many hamlets.¹⁶² However, Matsumoto criticized the detailed discussion of his teachers as "insufficient" and "too abstract."¹⁶³ Since Matsumoto

¹⁵⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū," *Mita hyōron*, dai 3, 4, 5 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1921, pp. 411-452. "Shina kosei to tōtemizumu," *Shigaku*, dai 1 kan, dai 1 gō, 1921, dai 2 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1922, pp. 453-490. "Kodai Shina minzoku no sosenshaishi," *Shigaku*, dai 1 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1922, pp. 49-71. "Shashoku no kenkyū," *Shigaku*, dai 2 kan, dai 1 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1922, pp. 493-513.

¹⁶⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū" (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 451, Note 1.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, pp. 417-425.

¹⁶² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū" (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 417-418.

¹⁶³ Ibid, pp. 418-419, 424.

adopted ethnological theory of exogamy in his thesis,¹⁶⁴ it is obvious that he gave preference to ethnology in historical research. Therefore, the role of Matsumoto's teachers of history was introducing Matsumoto to evolutionist theories related to Chinese ancient history which were discussed together with ethnological theories since ethnology in this period was evolutionist ethnology.

Another of Masukichi's and Kato's contribution to the formation of Matsumoto's ideas on primitive culture was that they introduced works of Western Sinologists to Matsumoto. Among them, Matsumoto was fascinated especially by the ideas of French Sinologists Édouard Chavannes (1865-1918) and Marcel Granet (1884-1940) who in turn, received influence from evolutionist ethnologist James George Frazer since Frazer was also active in the French academic circles.¹⁶⁵ Matsumoto's interest in Chavannes' and Granet's work also suggests that Matsumoto preferred ethnological approach in historical research.

The references made in Matsumoto's writings in the early 1920s showed that Matsumoto drew from Chavannes' monumental books *The Memoirs of Sima Qian* (1895) and *Mount Tai* (1910). *The Memoirs of Sima Qian* contained the translation of the Chinese classical book *The Records of the Grand Historian* (史記) and Chavannes' commentary to it. *Mount Tai* examines

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 424, 440-450.

¹⁶⁵ "Frazer, James George" *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, compiled by J. A. Venn, Part II, Volume II, Cambridge the University Press, 1944, p. 570-571. Yanagita Kunio praised Frazer's wife after meeting Frazer in Switzerland. (Yanagita, Kunio, "Ethnology to ha nanika" (1926), *Teihon Yanagita Kunioshū*, dai 25-kan, Chikumashobō, 1964, p. 235.)

the history of Chinese cult worship practiced at Mount Tai. From *The Memoirs of Sima Qian*, Matsumoto used Chavannes' definition of the family (姓) as a large family system in his graduation thesis "The Research of the Family in Ancient China."¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, Matsumoto adopted Chavannes' ideas on Chinese religious thinking from *Mount Tai* (1910) in his papers "The Research of Mount Tai" and "Research of the Shrine and the Millet." Thus, Matsumoto used Chavannes' works as a source for his ethnological papers on the primitive culture in ancient China.

From Granet's works, Matsumoto was significantly influenced by the book *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China* (1919).¹⁶⁷ As Chavannes's student, Marcel Granet performed research on ancient China. However, he focused on the sociological phenomena since he was also a disciple of sociologist Émile Durkheim.¹⁶⁸ Therefore, he believed in the common cultural basis of different races and he hence mentioned also about Southeast Asian customs. Among others, Granet paid attention to the mating customs: "The plays of love songs are of general use in the majority of aboriginal populations of Southwest China and Tonkin, and in Tibet, they have existed in the ancient Japan."¹⁶⁹ Matsumoto picked up Granet's idea connecting the seasonal

¹⁶⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū" (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 412.

¹⁶⁷ Granet, Marcel, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*, second edition, Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1929 (first edition 1919).

¹⁶⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Furansu ni okeru Shina kenkyū," *Shina kenkyū* Keiō gijuku Mochidzuki Kikin Shina kenkyūkai-hen, Iwanamishoten, 1930, pp. 386-389. "Granet, Marcel," *Encyclopedia of religion*, second edition, Macmillan Reference USA, Detroit, 2005, pp. 3654-3655.

¹⁶⁹ Granet, Marcel, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*, second edition, Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1929 (first edition 1919), p. 146.

festivals with the Japanese custom of *utagaki* (love songs banquet)¹⁷⁰ in his paper “The Mountain Legends in Fudoki”: “In ancient Sukhotai Land, single men and women freely choose their spouse, and after living one year together, they were permitted to freely decide the course of their action. Considering the above mentioned examples, *utagaki* was not simply a habit that was practiced only in ancient Japan, but was discovered to be practiced among many uncivilized men.”¹⁷¹ Thus, Matsumoto adopted Granet’s argument that the custom like the Japanese custom of *utagaki* is typical for primitive people including Southeast Asian peoples.

In summary, Matsumoto studied cultural evolutionist theories, which shared common traits with ethnology, from his teachers in history, Kato Shigeshi and Hashimoto Masukichi. This was because cultural evolutionism also formed the theoretical framework for the historical research. Owing to Kato’s and Hashimoto’s guidance, Matsumoto also developed his habit of using Chinese writings for the research of ancient Chinese culture. However, Matsumoto did not accept his teachers’ arguments in his graduation thesis and he applied an ethnological theory for exogamy. In addition, Kato and Hashimoto introduced Matsumoto works by French Sinologists Edouard Chavannes and Marcel Granet who were influenced by evolutionist ethnology in their research of ancient Chinese culture. From Chavannes’ works, Matsumoto adopted namely Chavannes’ interpretation of the Chinese religious beliefs. From Granet’s ideas, Matsumoto paid

¹⁷⁰ *Utagaki* (歌垣) is an ancient Japanese custom associated with fertility and celebrating the beginning of spring and autumn. Japanese peasants would gather together on the tops of mountains to sing, dance, eat and drink. Songs and poems from *utagaki* were recorded in the collection *Manyōshū* (cca 759).

¹⁷¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu,” *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 38.

attention namely to the mating customs of the primitive people which were preserved among the contemporary primitive people of Southeast Asia. Thus, Matsumoto's teachers in history mediated Matsumoto some ideas of the French scholars on China and Southeast Asia.

2.4. The influence on Matsumoto's methodology

The discussion on the influence of the Japanese scholars on Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ethnology showed that Matsumoto's ethnology was shaped by influences from ethnology, folklore studies and cultural history. Since ethnology and folklore studies used the same approach at this time, Matsumoto combined two methodological approaches in his research of primitive culture: ethnological and historical approach. The reason why historians also discussed ethnological theories was because there were no written records about prehistoric times, and archaeologists presented only a few discoveries in that time. The following subsections will discuss Matsumoto's application of ethnological and historical methods specifically.

2.4.1. The ethnological methodology

Matsumoto's ethnological methodology was based on his belief in unilinear evolutionism and universalism that Matsumoto adopted from Yanagita and Kawai, of which they themselves were following Western evolutionist ethnologists: Tylor, Frazer and Wundt. Consequently, Matsumoto believed in universality of the primitive culture for all peoples, and, like Western

evolutionist ethnologists, compared the ancient culture of the civilized people (in Matsumoto's case: Japanese and Chinese) with the contemporary culture of the people that were considered primitive. Thus, Matsumoto adopted comparative research as an ethnological methodology. Furthermore, he borrowed ethnological interpretations of the primitive culture by Western scholars' theories deduced from this comparative research. Due to his belief in the universality of the primitive mind, he assumed that ethnological interpretations of the primitive culture could be applied to the culture of any primitive peoples.

First, Matsumoto advocated the necessity of comparative research for historical study in his graduation thesis "The Research of the Family in Ancient China": "Therefore, we can research the character of the ethnic groups of ancient China, and by comparison with the similarities of the present uncivilized ethnic groups, we can clarify the insufficiencies in the legends, writings, customs, systems etc. existing in ancient China."¹⁷² In the same paper, Matsumoto claimed "In the research of the social system of ancient Chinese people, it is necessary to consider the comparison with the system of the different races which are at the same stage of the mental development with them [Chinese] and clarify the true character [of the Chinese social system]."¹⁷³

He applied comparison in his other papers. For example, Matsumoto compared Sumatran

¹⁷² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū" (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 412.

¹⁷³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū" (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 425.

contemporary culture with the ancient Japanese custom *utagaki*. In “The Mountain Legends in Fudoki,” he wrote, “In Sumatra, the Rechihi tribe believes that the Sun is man, the Earth is woman, and think that the Earth will bear fruits by the relation of the two, thus they place a big flat stone under the fig tree and they organize a festival every year ... The fact that *utagaki* has a religious meaning probably comes from the important element that is an agriculture festival.”¹⁷⁴

The quoted Matsumoto’s arguments demonstrate that his comparison was very superficial. He did not explicitly state which elements of the Sumatran custom correspond to which elements of the Japanese custom. Consequently, Matsumoto’s comparison was in fact an association based on matching of somewhat similar customs of different cultures. This practice using rationalist deduction and induction was common for many evolutionist scholars in Matsumoto’s era.

Second, Matsumoto adopted ethnological theories interpreting primitive culture. He adopted especially Frazer’s theory of totemism (*Tōtemizumu*, トーテムイズム, belief in totem) in his paper “The Family in Ancient China and Totemism.” He learnt about the existence of totemism among Southeast Asian peoples and used this theory for claiming the existence of totemism in ancient China.¹⁷⁵ Matsumoto’s adoption of the Western ethnological theories will be discussed in Section 4.2. (Matsumoto’s application of ethnological theories on Southeast Asia).

As a result of Kawai’s influence, Matsumoto called this ethnological approach

¹⁷⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu,” *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 39.

¹⁷⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Shina kosei to tōtemizumu* (1921-1922), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 484-5.

“psychological research.” He borrowed it from Wilhelm Wundt’s ethno-psychology. He claimed that it was the proper method to examine cultural history in “The Research of the Family in Ancient China”: “...it is necessary to research about the ideas of the archaic people towards the soul in its place related to ancestor worship. In starting a psychological research like this, we can learn about the origin and significance of the clan system.”¹⁷⁶ In the same thesis, Matsumoto criticized previous works for not conducting the psychological research: “I must say that it is unfortunate that existing research on the family [姓], which did not use this psychological research and this comparative method, could not clarify its meaning.”¹⁷⁷ Thus, due to Kawai’s mediation of Wundt’s ethnology, Matsumoto considered ethnological approach to ancient history better than the orthodox historical approach.

Also, Matsumoto adopted interpretation of the ancient or primitive culture from Yanagita as it was shown in Matsumoto’s writings on the mountain beliefs in Section 2.2. (The influence of Yanagita Kunio on Matsumoto’s study of ethnology). Using Tylor’s theory of remnants, Yanagita Kunio interpreted the culture of the ancient Japanese people from their daily customs in his folklore studies. Yanagita believed that this theory helped explain why Japanese customs in the countryside retained its ancient form.

However, contrary to Yanagita, Matsumoto researched primitive culture mainly from books. Though he could not collect material on foreign peoples by himself, he did not base his

¹⁷⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū” (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 425.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, pp. 426.

research findings from field work as Yanagita did, but on the written accounts of the various primitive peoples around the world. Therefore, Matsumoto became an armchair ethnologist like Frazer and not a field worker like Yanagita who did research on Japanese folklore.

2.4.2. The methodology of historical science

Matsumoto received training in the methodology of historical science from his supervisor Tanaka Suiichiro at Keio University Faculty of Letters. Matsumoto attended Tanaka's lectures on historical research methods, modern historical readings on the Orient, and the modern history of China. Matsumoto appreciated Tanaka's teaching efforts even though there were only four students including Matsumoto in the class. In addition to this, Matsumoto joined the regular meetings of an academic organization called the Mita Historical Society founded by Tanaka.¹⁷⁸ Owing to Tanaka's guidance, Matsumoto studied modern historical science introduced to Japan by Ludwig Riess (1861-1928) because Tanaka was one of Riess' students.¹⁷⁹ Consequently, Matsumoto learnt methods of historical science based on the evidences drawn from historical documents.

Due to this historical training, Matsumoto used historical records in his ethnological research. He drew from the Japanese annals *Nihonshoki*, *Fudoki*¹⁸⁰ in his paper "The Mountain

¹⁷⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Tanaka hakushi wo itamu," *Mita hyōron*, Mita hyōron hakkōjo No. 316, December 1923, pp. 26-27. *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 40.

¹⁷⁹ "Mita no shigakusha profūru," *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1991, p. 343.

¹⁸⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu," *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, pp. 23, 33, 35.

Legends in Fudoki.” For example, he indicated his source as *Nihonshoki*: “In *Nihonshoki*, Vol. 11, it is written that, Shōmu Emperor watched *utagaki* at Suzaku Gate.”¹⁸¹ Furthermore, he referred to Chinese historical records such as *Records of the Grand Historian* (史記) and the *Classic of History* (書經).¹⁸² For example, Matsumoto drew from *Records of the Grand Historian* in his paper “The Family in Ancient China and Totemism”: “The same legend is mentioned in *Zhou Records of the Great Historian*.”¹⁸³ Thus, Matsumoto used the historical records of legends as material for primitive culture in his ethnological research.

This means that Matsumoto’s concern for the primitive culture prevailed also in his historical research. This is also made clear from Matsumoto’s criticism on Tanaka’s history: “His view on the history was beyond the trends of the time, he sympathized rather with the old style of historical perspective than with the historical philosophy [*rekishi tetsugaku*, 歴史哲学], but he did not impose it to students.”¹⁸⁴ Therefore, Matsumoto considered Tanaka’s work as old-fashioned since its pure historiography was based completely on historical documents.

Moreover, as an ethnologist, Matsumoto had doubts about the credibility of the historical records.¹⁸⁵ This is apparent in his statement in his graduation thesis “The Research of the

¹⁸¹ Ibid, p. 35.

¹⁸² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Taizan no kenkyū,” *Tōkōkō*, III, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1921, p. 3. “Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū” (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 412.

¹⁸³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kosei to tōtemizumu” (1921-1922), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 470.

¹⁸⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Tanaka hakushi wo itamu,” *Mita hyōron*, Mita hyōron hakkōjo No. 316, December 1923, p. 27.

¹⁸⁵ This doubt was typical for ethnology as Wilhelm Schmidt suggested in his book: “Nevertheless, it still holds good what Ratzel in his day already emphasized, that history is not dependent upon the existence of written sources.” Schmidt, Wilhelm, *The Culture Historical Method of Ethnology. The Scientific Approach to*

Family in Ancient China”: “Many of Chinese classic texts are of relatively recent period, and there are many forgeries among them, thus, they largely lack the credibility.”¹⁸⁶ Matsumoto’s teacher Yanagita Kunio shared his distrust in written documents. Yanagita criticized historians for using unreliable documents in his paper “Miscellaneous Talks on Musashino”: “... senseis who research the history of Musashino should not easily agree with such kind of quick conclusion; they give too much weight to the oral tradition or old records of the locality. Only few old records are older than 200 years, many of them are oral tradition written three or four generations ago. Moreover, there is rare evidence that there is no mistake in the oral tradition, it is so to speak, a reference, which means that there should be other materials for presumption...”¹⁸⁷ Due to doubts about the credibility of the written documents, Yanagita conducted his research from material collected by his field work from the existing customs among the people in the Japanese countryside.

However, Matsumoto collected his material only from works of other scholars and from old documents. Therefore, he thought that the comparison with the contemporary culture of the primitive peoples recorded in other scholars’ work could make up for the deficiency of the old documents: “... by comparison with the similarities of the present uncivilized ethnic groups, we

the Racial Question, translated by S. A. Sieber, Fortuny’s, New York, 1939, p. 17. (*Handbuch der Methode der kulturhistorischen Ethnologie*, 1937).

¹⁸⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū,” *Mita hyōron*, dai 3, 4, 5 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1921, p. 411.

¹⁸⁷ Yanagita, Kunio, “Musashino zatsuwa,” *Tōkōkō*, I, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1919, p. 30.

can clarify the insufficiencies in the legends, writings, customs, systems etc. existing in ancient China.”¹⁸⁸ For this reason, Matsumoto combined the material from the old documents with the material on the contemporary primitive people in his writings.

As a result of Matsumoto’s adoption of the ethnological methods, Matsumoto’s approach to research of ancient history was different from historians Tanaka Suiichiro, Hashimoto Masukichi and Kato Shigeshi. In this sense, his graduation thesis “The Research of the Family in Ancient China” represented an exception in the historical circles of Keio University because Matsumoto adopted the ethnological theory of exogamy from Endo Ryukichi’s theory of totem clans based on Frazer’s theory of totemism in it.¹⁸⁹ This approach taken by Matsumoto was criticized by orthodox historians at Keio University. Namely, Hashimoto argued the impossibility of reconstruction of the very ancient past due to the lack of supportive material and refused application of totemism for the clarification of the ancient Chinese family.¹⁹⁰ This was because, unlike Matsumoto, Hashimoto did not believe in universalism and therefore he denied ethnological methods based on the hypothesis of the universal primitive culture. However, despite this rejection, Matsumoto kept applying the comparative method and the theory of totemism in his further writings. Thus, as a result of adoption of the ethnological methodology, Matsumoto became an ethnologist although he received formal training in the historical science.

¹⁸⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū” (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 412.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, pp. 417-425.

¹⁹⁰ Hashimoto, Masukichi, *Tōyōshi kōza ikki*, Jitaiko gokanmatsu, Ji taiko, Kokushi kōshūkai, 1926, pp. 132-134.

In conclusion, Matsumoto emerged as an ethnologist since he gave preference to his ethnological methodology for examining history over the existing historical methodology. From the ethnological methodology based on universalism, Matsumoto adopted comparative research, combining it with Western scholars' ethnological theories, and supplemented it with material from historical documents. Matsumoto chose to combine ethnological methodology with historical methodology because he shared Yanagita's doubt about the credibility of the historical documents. However, Matsumoto's teachers in history, such as Hashimoto, were not universalists and disagreed with Matsumoto's ethnological approach to ancient history. Thus, by following Yanagita, Matsumoto became an evolutionist ethnologist despite majoring in history and despite being criticized by historians.

3. Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ideas on Southeast Asia

The previous sections suggest that Matsumoto Nobuhiro discussed Southeast Asia from the perspective of cultural evolutionism and universalism. Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia can be traced from his early writings in 1919-1923. In this time, Southeast Asia was an unexplored region for the Japanese people. Therefore, Matsumoto could not gain sufficient knowledge about Southeast Asia because of the lack of sources in Japan. Oriental history in which Matsumoto majored did not cover Southeast Asia at all,¹⁹¹ and none of his teachers had

¹⁹¹ Hashimoto, Masukichi, *Tōyōshi kōza ikki*, Jitaiko gokanmatsu, Ji taiko, Kokushi kōshūkai, 1926.

any connections to Southeast Asia. Still, Matsumoto began discussing Southeast Asia in his papers on the ancient Japanese and Chinese cultures.

In the period 1919-1923, Matsumoto did not use geographical terms the South Seas or Southeast Asia in his writings. He only mentioned some examples of the primitive peoples in Southeast Asia, such as the Reichihi tribe in Sumatra in his paper “The Mountain Legends in Fudoki”¹⁹² and the tribes Mán, Thái, Noi and Lolo living in Indochina in his paper, “The Family in Ancient China and Totemism.”¹⁹³ Matsumoto discussed these Southeast Asian peoples among many other peoples in comparison with ancient Japanese and Chinese peoples.¹⁹⁴ In this respect, it is clear that he was not especially interested in Southeast Asia.

From Southeast Asia, Matsumoto paid attention only to primitive peoples, namely to the culture of the tribes that consisted of marginalized people, living in relative isolation from the influence of the majority culture. Hence, he did not discuss the culture of the majority races in Southeast Asia, such as the Vietnamese, Cambodians or Laotians who were considered semi-civilized. Consequently, Matsumoto’s image of Southeast Asia was limited to the marginalized peoples that he considered primitive.

The absence of the geographical naming of Southeast Asia reflects Japan’s situation in

¹⁹² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu,” *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 39.

¹⁹³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kosei to tōtemizumu” (1921-1922), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 484-5.

¹⁹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū” (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 419, 437, 439. “Shina kosei to tōtemizumu” (1921-1922), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 454, 462, 472, 473, 478, 479, 482-5. “Kodai Shina minzoku no sosenshaishi,” *Shigaku*, dai 1 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1922, pp. 50, 67.

the early 1920s. Japan only received the South Pacific Mandate in 1919. Therefore, the public interest in the region of South Seas was still low. Also Matsumoto's teacher Yanagita had just started his discussion on Japan's connection with Southern regions (Yanagita's opinions on the Southern culture will be discussed in Chapter 3 Section 4.3. The influence of ideas of Southern culture in Japan). Thus, since the Japanese did not, in general, pay attention to the Southern regions, Matsumoto mentioned the Southeast Asian peoples as one example out of the many holders of the primitive culture.

Since no Japanese scholars discussed about Southeast Asia at this time, Matsumoto drew information about Southeast Asia from Western scholars. In his paper "The Family in Ancient China and Totemism," he cited a French scholar's arguments concerning Southeast Asia in his paper "The Family in Ancient China and Totemism" (1921-1922): "In general, customs similar to totemism are practiced among races of Indochina even now. According to Henri Maspero's research, the tribes Thai and Noi have a custom of a taboo concerning the names of the family and the objects of the same names."¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, it can be assumed that Matsumoto learned about Southeast Asian culture also from Marcel Granet's book *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China* (1919) because he observed closely the mating customs in his paper his paper "The Mountain Legends in Fudoki" where he discussed the Japanese custom *utagaki* (Section 2.3 The influence of the Japanese historians on Matsumoto's study of ethnology).

¹⁹⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina kosei to tōtemizumu" (1921-1922), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 484-5.

Therefore, Matsumoto's writings show that Matsumoto drew on findings from French scholars on Southeast Asian culture.

This section will examine how Matsumoto discussed Southeast Asian peoples in his writings. First, it will show that Matsumoto was concentrated on primitive culture in Southeast Asia and then it will discuss Matsumoto's application of the Western ethnological theories on his ideas of Southeast Asian culture.

3.1. Southeast Asian culture as a primitive culture

This section will examine how Matsumoto discussed Southeast Asia in his ethnological writings. It will show that Matsumoto perceived that Southeast Asian peoples were primitive because he considered their marital custom promiscuous and their religious thinking naïve.

Matsumoto often used word "primitive" or "uncivilized" in his writings, but he did not specify its meaning in relation to other stages in the human evolution. He followed the practice of many ethnologists who discussed only the primitive culture without defining its stage in the evolutionary process. Among them, eminent ethnologist James George Frazer who was one of Matsumoto's most cited authors did not present any sequence of stages in his works. Frazer was obviously concerned with the lower stages of the development since he used terms "primitive," "barbarous," "ruder" and "savage."¹⁹⁶ Likewise, Matsumoto used the term "primitive" for

¹⁹⁶ Frazer, James George, *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, Wordsworth Reference, 1993, pp. XI, 2, 6, 10, 48, etc.

indicating the lower stage in the human evolution like Western ethnologists.

Matsumoto's writings suggest that Matsumoto considered Southeast Asian culture to be primitive. In his paper "The Mountain Legends in Fudoki," he introduced his comparison of the ancient Japanese culture with the culture of other primitive peoples in these words: "I do not have space to compare *utagaki* broadly with the customs of uncivilized peoples [*mikaijin*, 未開人] to build an argument now, so I will just mention a few examples."¹⁹⁷ Then, he took note on the marital custom of people from ancient Sukhotai (Thai kingdom): "In ancient Sukhotai Land, single men and women freely chose their spouse, and after living together for one year, they were permitted to freely decide the course of their action. Considering the above mentioned examples, *utagaki* is not simply habit that was practiced only in ancient Japan, but it is a common habit broadly discovered among many uncivilized peoples [*mikaijin*, 未開人]."¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, he added the custom of the contemporary people in Sumatra which was cited in Section 2.4.1. (The ethnological methodology, page 64).¹⁹⁹

The three quotations from Matsumoto's paper show that Matsumoto treated Southeast Asian peoples as uncivilized, primitive peoples in his comparison with the ancient Japanese culture. Thus, he borrowed the method of the Western ethnologists who used the comparison with the contemporary primitive peoples for reconstructing the ancient culture of the

¹⁹⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu," *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 36.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 38.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 39.

contemporary civilized peoples in accordance with universalism. In Matsumoto's writing, all the compared customs of ancient Japan, ancient Sukhotai and the contemporary Rechihi tribe in Sumatra suggested a promiscuous relationship between men and women from the perspective of the contemporary modern peoples whose marriage norms were greatly different. In this was, Matsumoto's idea had origins in the hypothesis of evolutionist scholars that the primitive peoples were promiscuous. In other words, Matsumoto adopted the idea of the Western ethnologists that ancient Japanese people and contemporary Southeast Asian peoples were primitive and promiscuous because they did not follow a marital custom like contemporary civilized peoples.

In addition, Matsumoto considered Southeast Asian peoples to be naïve because he borrowed the Western scholars' opinion that naivety was a typical feature of primitive culture. Matsumoto's belief in the naivety of the primitive people is apparent from his vocabulary. He pointed out the naivety of the ancient Japanese people in "The Mountain Legends in Fudoki": "Naïve ideas of ancient people [*kodaijin no sobokuna kangae*, 古代人の素朴な考え] concerning mountains were recorded as traces in various legends remaining in ancient records."²⁰⁰ In "Ancestor Worship of People in Ancient China," he touched upon the ancient Chinese people in the following: "From the naïve psychology [*sobokuna shinri kara*, 素朴な心理から], they called the soul by names *hun* [魂], *hunqi* [魂氣] or *zhiqi* [知氣]."²⁰¹ Moreover,

²⁰⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu," *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 23.

²⁰¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai Shina minzoku no sosenshaishi," *Shigaku*, dai 1 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1922, p. 49.

Matsumoto suggested that considering this primitive thinking, naivety is a common opinion held by modern Japanese people on their early beginnings. This is clear from his words in “The Research of Mount Tai”: “Now we laugh at the stupid superstitions of the ancient people, then maybe generations of few thousand years later will laugh at many ancestral idols of our present time.”²⁰²

From the above mentioned quotations in three of Matsumoto’s writings, it can be concluded that Matsumoto considered primitive peoples to be naïve because of their religiosity. This was not an unusual perception of an educated Japanese man who believed in evolutionism. This opinion was based on the Western scholars’ argument that science was superior to religion and symbolized the top of the human cultural evolution. Thus, in Matsumoto’s era, many scholars argued the naivety of religious thinking. Matsumoto’s favorite ethnologist, James George Frazer even applied this approach to Christianity.²⁰³ Thus, it was common for believers in evolutionism in Matsumoto’s era to surmise cultural inferiority of contemporary Southeast Asian peoples due to this perceived naivety stemming from their religious thinking.

Matsumoto’s ethnological study shows that Matsumoto was concerned with the primitive spirit of the primitive people within the realm of religiosity. Consequently, he did not discuss the national spirit although it was usual in his time. For example, Fukuzawa Yukichi,²⁰⁴ the founder

²⁰² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Taizan no kenkyū,” *Tōkōkō*, III, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1921, p. 40.

²⁰³ Frazer, James George, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament: studies in comparative religion, legend and law*, 1919.

²⁰⁴ Fukuzawa, Yukichi, *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2008, p.

of Keio Gijuku, or Matsumoto's teachers, such as Tanaka Suichiro or Kanokogi Kazunobu discussed the Japanese national spirit. Matsumoto's teachers had an idea that the national spirit existed at the level of the nation-state which was considered important in Matsumoto's era. However, Matsumoto did not reflect on Tanaka's ideas or Kanokogi's ideas on the national spirit in his writings but this did not mean he was unimpressed by them.²⁰⁵ This is because Matsumoto focused on the research of people who did not have any notion of the nation-state. As it turned out, in contrast with his teachers, Matsumoto perceived the spirit to encompass the entire humanity in the primitive stage of the human evolution

In summary, Matsumoto brings up Southeast Asian peoples because he considered them the holders of primitive culture. Based on universalism, he believed that this comparison with Southeast Asian culture could contribute to an improved understanding on the ancient culture of Japan and China. From the Western ethnologists, Matsumoto adopted the argument that the Southeast Asian peoples' marital customs were promiscuous and their thinking was naïve. This is because Matsumoto believed in the evolutionist hypothesis that religious thinking occupied the lower stages of human evolution, and that a modern thinking dictated by science was the highest stage. Thus, due to this ethnological approach, Matsumoto's image of Southeast Asia was limited to its primitive culture of marginalized people that he considered culturally inferior to the contemporary Japanese and Chinese people.

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²⁰⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 39.

3.2. Matsumoto's application of ethnological theories to Southeast Asian culture

This section will discuss Matsumoto's application of the Western ethnological theories on Southeast Asian culture for its interpretation. Matsumoto's adoption of Western ethnological theories has been already suggested by previous research which pointed out the importance of Western scholars in Matsumoto's work. Ito Seiji²⁰⁶ and Chikamori Masashi²⁰⁷ claimed the importance of French scholar Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. Furthermore, Chikamori Masashi argued the importance of British scholar James George Frazer.²⁰⁸ Therefore, this section will examine the influence of Lévy-Bruhl's and Frazer's theories on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asian peoples. In addition, it will touch also upon the influence of Wilhelm Wundt's theories since Matsumoto was obviously affected by Wundt's ethnology as it has been discussed in Section 2.1 (The influence of Kawai Teiichi on Matsumoto's study of ethnology).

According to Ito Seiji²⁰⁹ and Chikamori Masashi²¹⁰, Matsumoto was interested in the interpretation of the primitive culture by French sociologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857-1939). Matsumoto studied Lévy-Bruhl's ideas upon the recommendation of Russian folklorist Nevsky

²⁰⁶ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 230. , "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 120.

²⁰⁷ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 13 October 2012 and 10 December 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 230. "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 120.

²¹⁰ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 13 October 2012 and 10 December 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

to whom Matsumoto was introduced to by Yanagita Kunio.²¹¹ As the titles of Lévy-Bruhl's books *The Mental Functions in the Inferior Societies* and *The Primitive Mentality*²¹² suggest, Lévy-Bruhl developed a theory about the mentality of the primitive people in the inferior stage of cultural development. According to his theory, primitive people do not perceive the world like the civilized people despite having the same senses and cerebral structure because their mentality is mystic and pre-logic.²¹³ This corresponds to Matsumoto's ideas that Southeast Asian culture has a naïve culture. However, Matsumoto did not refer to Lévy-Bruhl's works in his writings. Therefore, Lévy-Bruhl's concrete influence on Matsumoto is not clear.

On the contrary, the influence of James George Frazer's and Wilhelm Wundt's interpretation of the primitive culture can be traced in many of Matsumoto's writings. Matsumoto absorbed the theories of James George Frazer and Wilhelm Wundt because they were important for Matsumoto's teachers Yanagita Kunio and Kawai Teiichi.

In particular, Frazer's influence is significant for Matsumoto's ethnology. This is because Matsumoto was also influenced by Frazer's ideas during his studies at Sorbonne University (1924-1928) under the scholar of the French School of Sociology who treated Frazer as their teacher. (The influence of Matsumoto's studies in France on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast

²¹¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Tōhoku no tabi," *Teihon Yanagita Kunioshū*, Geppō 1, Chikumashobō, 1962, p. 3. Itō, Seiji, "Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, p. 120.

²¹² Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* (1910), *La mentalité primitive* (1922).

²¹³ Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, Librairie Félix Alcan, Paris 1922 (7th edition), pp. 37, 457.

Asia will be discussed in Chapter 3.) Moreover, Matsumoto's continuous reference to Frazer shows persisting importance of Frazer's ideas for Matsumoto even in the 1930s and 1940s.²¹⁴ In this fashion, Matsumoto's adoption of Frazer's ethnological theories helped classify Matsumoto as an evolutionist ethnologist.

In relation to the primitive culture of Southeast Asian peoples, Matsumoto adopted the theory of animism, totemism and magic from Frazer and Wundt. Matsumoto studied about animism (belief in souls) and totemism (belief in totem) from Frazer's books *The Golden Bough* (1890-1915) and *Totemism and Exogamy* (1910) and Wundt's book *Elements of Folk Psychology. Outlines of a Psychological History of the Development of Mankind* (1912).

First, Matsumoto discussed the culture of the contemporary primitive peoples of Southeast Asia in relation to animism. In his writing "The Mountain Legends in Fudoki" (1920), Matsumoto pointed out animism was practiced amongst primitive people: "The ancient people considered the soul the same as the breath, and thought that it floated in the heaven after the death."²¹⁵ Against this backdrop in the general belief of primitive people in souls, Matsumoto refers to the belief of a Sumatran tribe in the same paper (see the quotation on page 64).²¹⁶

²¹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Chamu no yashizoku to 'yashi no mi' setsuwa," *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 6 gō, 1933, p. 449; Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nihon shinwa ni tsuite," *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi*, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 13; "Furansu ni okeru minzokugakuteki kenkyū," *Nihon minzokugaku kenkyū*, (ed. by Yanagita), Iwanami shoten, 1935, pp. 383, 386; "Jōdai Indoshina no kōkogakuteki kenkyū ni tsuite - Korani joshi kizō dozoku hyōhon wo chūshin ni" (1937), *Indoshina minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942.11, p. 165; "Annan shiryō ni arawareru Indoshina sanchi minzoku," *Andō kyōju kanreki Shukuga kinenronbunshū*, Andō kyōju kanreki Shukuga kinenkaihen, Sanseidō, 1940, p. 1010.

²¹⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu," *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 24

²¹⁶ Ibid, p. 39.

However, Matsumoto did not engage in a detailed analysis of this Southeast Asian belief. This means that he only associated it with the concept of animism provided by Western ethnologists. In this manner, Matsumoto thought that animism existed among the contemporary primitive people Southeast Asia because their belief somehow corresponded to the ethnological concept of animism.

Second, Matsumoto pointed out totemism (belief in totem) among the contemporary primitive people of Southeast Asia. For example, Matsumoto wrote in “The Family in Ancient China and Totemism”: “In general, customs similar to totemism are practiced among races of Indochina even now. According to Henri Maspero’s research, the tribes Thai and Noi have a custom of taboo concerning the names of the family and the objects of the same names. The family Lau cannot eat bamboo shoots ... And this taboo cannot be removed even by purification. Further, families of Thai and Noi people have ruling power over the tiger. Then, they have taboo of the cat meat or of hunting. Further, they call the dead tiger their grandfather and must conduct funeral rites for him.”²¹⁷ Thus, Matsumoto pointed out totemism in the contemporary primitive people of Southeast Asia by citing Western researchers’ findings concerning Southeast Asian culture. In this respect, he believed that the contemporary primitive people of Southeast Asia had totemism because it was argued by Western ethnologists. He namely believed in Frazer’s arguments on totemism as it is shown in his paper “The Family in Ancient China and Totemism”:

²¹⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Shina kosei to tōtemizumu* (1921-1922), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 484-5.

“There is no doubt that Frazer’s theory considering sufficiently the material about totemism is most credible in the dispute of this kind.”²¹⁸ By pointing out totemism of these Southeast Asian peoples in his paper “The Family in Ancient China and Totemism,” Matsumoto attempted to demonstrate the existence of totemism in ancient China.²¹⁹

Third, Matsumoto also borrowed Frazer’s theory on magic. In his book *The Golden Bough*, James George Frazer presented his theory of sympathetic and contagious magic and argued that the belief in magic was an error “deduced immediately from elementary process of reasoning.”²²⁰ Matsumoto adopted this theory of magic in his paper “The Family in Ancient China and Totemism”: “It is because the uncivilized people believe in the close relation of the name and the object of the same name. For bringing growth to the animals and plants that they eat, they appeal to the magical methods. These methods are sympathetic or imitative magic and contagious magic.”²²¹ Since evolutionist ethnologists considered belief in magic typical for the primitive peoples, Matsumoto most likely surmised that contemporary Southeast Asian primitive people believed in magic.

However, Matsumoto did not understand the theories of Western ethnologists properly. For example, he claimed to have adopted the theory of totemic clans in his graduation thesis

²¹⁸ Ibid, p. 454.

²¹⁹ Ibid, p. 461, 490.

²²⁰ Frazer, James George, *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, Wordsworth Reference, 1993, pp. 19, 54-56.

²²¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kosei to tōtemizumu” (1921-1922), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 459.

“The Research of the Family in Ancient China”: “I finally followed the theory of totemic clans.”²²² But, he did not discuss the belief in totems in this thesis at all. Instead, he mentioned many theories by Western scholars on exogamy (*izoku kekkon*, 異族結婚)²²³: “Therefore, I will discuss various theories related to exogamy, and I will introduce Morgan’s and Frazer’s theories.”²²⁴ Thus, Matsumoto mistook exogamy for totemism in his graduation thesis. It is because, according to Frazer, exogamy was considered a typical feature of the primitive people who had totemism.²²⁵ This means Matsumoto did not have sufficient understanding of Frazer’s theories on totemism and exogamy.

In summary, Matsumoto believed that ethnological theories could shed light on the naïve culture of the primitive peoples including contemporary Southeast Asian peoples. For this reason, he adopted theories of Western ethnologists interpreting the culture of these primitive peoples. He tried to explain Southeast Asian culture by theories of animism, totemism and magic which were developed by James George Frazer and Wilhelm Wundt. However, he matched the data on Southeast Asian customs with these ethnological concepts based on a few similarities and without any further analysis. The reason for this is that he did not understand the Western

²²² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū” (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 425.

²²³ Frazer defined exogamy as “the rule which obliges a man to marry a woman of a different clan from his own”. Frazer, James George, *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, Wordsworth Reference, 1993, p. 152.

²²⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū” (1921), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 440.

²²⁵ Frazer, James George, *Totemism and Exogamy. A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society*, Vol. IV, Macmillan and Co., London, 1910, p. 8.

ethnologists' theories sufficiently as this can be illustrated by his mistake of totemism for exogamy. Thus, he only mentioned ethnological theories in combination with the examples drawn from Southeast Asian primitive culture which exhibited characteristics somewhat corresponding to the Western theories.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of Matsumoto's writings in 1919-1923 revealed that Matsumoto only begun discussing about Southeast Asia when he begun studying evolutionist ethnology in relation to the issue of Japanese origins as a student of history at Keio University. At that time, Southeast Asia was an unexplored region for the Japanese people and ethnology had not yet been established as a scientific discipline. Notwithstanding, under Yanagita's guidance, Matsumoto became strongly interested in ethnology which examined culture of various primitive peoples including contemporary Southeast Asian peoples. Thus, due to his ethnological research, Matsumoto began studying about Southeast Asia although it was generally unknown in Japan.

The previous research emphasized Yanagita's influence on Matsumoto's research. This study demonstrated that Matsumoto became an evolutionist ethnologist because of Yanagita's and Kawai's influence. It showed that Matsumoto adopted ethnological methodology and universalism in unilinear evolutionism of James George Frazer from Yanagita and of Wilhelm Wundt from Kawai. In addition, this thesis clarified also that historians, Kato and Hashimoto played a role in the formation of Matsumoto's ethnology at the beginning of his Southeast Asian

studies.

This chapter confirmed that folklorist Yanagita Kunio played an important role in Matsumoto's beginnings in ethnological studies. This was because ethnology existed in close connection with folklore studies at this time. Under Yanagita's guidance, Matsumoto began studying mountain beliefs. Yanagita introduced Matsumoto to various theories on folklore studies and ethnology including Tylor's theory of remnants which Matsumoto adopted in his ethnological research. Yanagita became Matsumoto's main teacher. Consequently, Yanagita also had influence on Matsumoto's research in later periods when Matsumoto emerged as the founder of Southeast Asian studies, even though Yanagita broke ranks with him and became the leader of Japanese folklore studies.

From his teachers in history, Kato Shigeshi and Hashimoto Masukichi, Matsumoto studied the cultural evolutionist approach to ancient history of China. The reason lies in the disciplinary trends at the time, where cultural evolutionism theories were shared by ethnologists and historians; even though many historians including Matsumoto's teachers were believers in Social Darwinism. Furthermore, these teachers in history introduced Matsumoto to works by Western Sinologists who were influenced by James George Frazer's evolutionist ethnology, such as Chavannes and Granet. Thus, the role of Matsumoto's teachers in history consisted of mediating the historical material related to ancient China from the evolutionist perspective.

In his writings, Matsumoto employed both historical and ethnological methods. He

combined these two methods because he thought that existing historical documents did not provide sufficient evidence on the primitive stages that civilized people underwent. For this reason, he also used the ethnological comparative method and ethnological theories that he borrowed from Western scholars. However, Matsumoto's teachers in history, such as Hashimoto, rejected Matsumoto's ethnological style of researching ancient history because they were opponents of universalism which formed the theoretical basis of mainstream ethnological methodology.

From this ethnological perspective, Matsumoto discussed Southeast Asian peoples in the period when the Japanese people were not yet concerned with the Japanese advance in the region called the South Seas. For this reason, Matsumoto did not use any geographical terms related to Southeast Asia, but only referred to names of Southeast Asian ethnic groups. Since he discussed Southeast Asian peoples among many other peoples, it meant that Matsumoto had not yet focused on Southeast Asia as a region in the period 1919-1923.

Based on unilinear evolutionism, Matsumoto discussed Southeast Asian culture as a primitive culture in his ethnological writings on the ancient Japanese and Chinese cultures. Since no Japanese scholars were interested in Southeast Asia, Matsumoto gathered material on Southeast Asian peoples from Western ethnologists' writings. Thus, he considered Southeast Asian peoples to be primitive due to the influence of Western ethnologists.

Like Western ethnologists and modern educated Japanese men in his era, Matsumoto

considered primitive peoples, such as contemporary Southeast Asian peoples, to be naïve and thus culturally inferior due to their religious beliefs. It is because Matsumoto thought that science represented the top of the human culture. In addition, he adopted also the Western ethnological theories, such as theory of animism, totemism and magic from James George Frazer and Wilhelm Wundt, as scientific explanations on the primitive culture also in relation to contemporary Southeast Asian peoples. Nonetheless, his application of these theories was superficial because he simply matched examples of Southeast Asian culture with arguments made by Western scholars. Thus, Matsumoto did not present any original ideas on Southeast Asia in comparison with Western ethnologists.

In summary, in the period 1919-1923, Matsumoto began conducting research on Southeast Asia because he wanted to compare the ancient Japanese and Chinese cultures with the culture of contemporary Southeast Asian peoples in order to clarify Japanese and Chinese origins. From the perspective of evolutionist ethnology, his study established connection between Southeast Asian culture and the Japanese and Chinese cultures located in the primitive stage of evolution.

Chapter 3: The Development of Matsumoto's Ideas on Southeast Asia in

1924-1932

1. Introduction

In the period 1924-1932, Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ideas on Southeast Asia were formed first, during his studies at Sorbonne University (1924-1928) which deeply affected his entire scholarship, and second, by Yanagita Kunio's influence. His study in France was a unique experience since Matsumoto was introduced to the Western academic circles and hence had access to knowledge unavailable in Japan. In particular, he broadened his knowledge of Southeast Asia through his encounters with scholars well versed in the subject.

In 1924, Matsumoto arrived in France to discover many new things. In the 1920s, Europe was recovering from the damages of the First World War. Yet France, being one of the key members of the Triple Entente, was on the winning side and entered an era of academic prosperity. Thus, in 1924, when French academic circles represented one of the world's most influential centers in Oriental research,²²⁶ Matsumoto was enrolled as a self-financed student in Oriental studies at Sorbonne University where he attended lectures at École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes and École Pratique des Hautes Etudes of the Sorbonne University.²²⁷ During the time of his study in Paris, Matsumoto Nobuhiro witnessed the

²²⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 41.

²²⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Furansu ni okeru Shina kenkyū," *Shina kenkyū* Keiō gijuku Mochidzuki kikin Shina kenkyūkai-hen, Iwanamishoten, 1930, pp. 386, 389. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Le japonais et les langues*

foundation of the Institute of Ethnology with the support of the Ministry of Colonies at Sorbonne University in 1925.²²⁸ This was an event of great importance for Matsumoto as an ethnologist because it represented a significant step in the establishment of ethnology as an academic discipline in France.

Matsumoto's stay coincided with the golden age of the French School of Sociology. Marcel Mauss, the leader of the School, published his famous work *The Gift* in 1923-1924. This writing, in which Mauss compared societies of the primitive people with the ancient European societies, exerted strong influence on the ethnological circles and academic circles in general. Matsumoto studied sociological research under Marcel Mauss and his disciple Marcel Granet. He was especially inspired by Mauss' analysis of the Southern Pacific society and Granet's analysis of ancient Chinese society in relation to Southeast Asia.

In the French ethnologist circles, Matsumoto came in contact also with scholars doing research on Southeast Asia because France had established a research institute École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) in Indochina in 1901.²²⁹ One of the researchers of Indochina, Jean Przyluski, became Matsumoto's supervisor. Przyluski transmitted to Matsumoto his deep interest in Indochina. Moreover, since French scholars conducted a local research in foreign areas under

austroasiatiques: étude de vocabulaire comparé, Paris, P. Geuthner, 1928, p. 1. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 2.

²²⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Pari yori," *Minzoku*, da 2 kan, dai 1 gō, Minzoku hakkōjo, 1926, p. 141.

²²⁹ EFEO was founded in December 1898, but its title was decided in January 1900 and its institutional stability was assured by a French presidential decree of 21 April 1901. Clémentine-Ojha, Catherine, Manguin, Pierre-Yves. *A Century in Asia. The History of École française d'Extrême-Orient 1898-2006*, Edition Didier Millet, EFEO, 2007, p. 18.

Western (mainly French) rule, they also brought back various specimens with them. Therefore, Paris provided Matsumoto with plenty of occasions to see artifacts from distant countries including those of Southeast Asia which were exhibited in museums, such as the Guimet Museum or the National Archaeological Museum.²³⁰

Hence, not only was Matsumoto able to study under the leading scholars of Oriental studies including Indochina studies, but he was also able to see objects from Southeast Asia and other regions with his own eyes. In short, his studies in Paris brought Matsumoto Nobuhiro a chance to develop more as an ethnologist with a special interest in Southeast Asia under the influence of the French School of Sociology.

In the meantime, the Japanese awareness of the South Seas grew slowly due to the Japanese territorial acquisition of the Southern Pacific islands called the South Seas islands (*Nanyō shotō*, 南洋諸島) in 1919. The first research center specializing in ethnography of the South Seas under the Japanese Empire was established in Taiwan (Taihoku Imperial University) in 1928. Coincidentally, Matsumoto's teacher Utsushikawa Nenozo (移川子之蔵, 1884-1947) was charged with opening ethnological studies there.²³¹ Therefore, Matsumoto ended his studies at Sorbonne University at the time when the South Seas studies in Japan was about to come to the

²³⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques: étude de vocabulaire comparé*, Paris, P. Geuthner, 1928, p. 1.

²³¹ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 232. Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzokugaku no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 401. Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shakaigakuteki kenkyū – Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō," *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 33-41.

life.

Matsumoto Nobuhiro's French education was unique in Japan because he was the first Japanese scholar in Oriental studies and ethnology to be awarded an academic degree in France.²³² He immediately became Associate Professor of Oriental history at the Keio University Faculty of Letters in 1928.²³³ However, as Chikamori Masashi pointed out,²³⁴ hardly anybody understood Matsumoto's aspirations concerning ethnology and Southeast Asia. The reason is that the academic situation in Japan was different from France. This was because in contrast to France, ethnology had not been officially established in Japan yet. Moreover, while it was quite common to do research about Indochina in France, Southeast Asia remained almost unexplored by Japanese scholars. Only a few Japanese scholars, such as Utsushikawa or Yanagita, became interested in the region of the South Seas. Their attention was focused on the Southern regions under Japanese control, such as the Ryukyu Islands, Taiwan and the Southern Pacific islands under the Japanese mandate. Due to these conditions in 1924-1932, Matsumoto could neither teach ethnology that he learnt at Sorbonne University yet, nor could he broadly share his interest in Southeast Asia.

As a result of this situation in Japan, Matsumoto employed the Japanese geographical

²³² Kamiyama, Shirō, "Fuhō," *Shigaku*, dai 51 kan, dai 1/2, Mita shigakkai, 1981, p. 237. Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 14.

²³³ Kawakita, Nobuo, "Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu kyōin tantō kamoku ichiran," *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1991, p. 373.

²³⁴ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August and 13 October 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

concept of the South Seas in his research on Southeast Asia. Among the previous researchers on Matsumoto, Hirafuji Kikuko, in her writing argued that Matsumoto paid attention to the Southern genealogy of the Japanese myths under the influence of the French School of Sociology “The Sociological Research – the Influence of the French School of Sociology in Matsumoto’s Research of the Mythology.”²³⁵ In his paper “Matsumoto Nobuhiro – a Pioneer of Southern Theory,” Ito Seiji mentioned that Matsumoto became gradually interested in Indochina under Przyluski’s influence.²³⁶ Furthermore, Ito claimed that Matsumoto began exploring the South Seas myths upon Marcel Mauss’ recommendation in his several writings on Matsumoto.²³⁷ However, Ito also argued that Matsumoto planned to write a supplementary doctoral thesis on mythology including a comparison with the Northern culture, but Utsushikawa Nenozo instigated him to change it and include the Southern culture.²³⁸ Thus, according to the previous research, Matsumoto received various influences from both the French and the Japanese scholars in his study of the South Seas.

However, previous research did not discuss these influences in detail; and did not establish the connection between these influences and Matsumoto’s ethnological research of

²³⁵ Hirafuji, Kikuko, “Shakaigakuteki kenkyū – Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō,” *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 34, 38.

²³⁶ Itō, Seiji, “Matsumoto Nobuhiro – ‘Nampōsetsu’ no kaitakusha,” *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 231.

²³⁷ Itō, Seiji, “Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro,” *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, p. 122. “Matsumoto Nobuhiro – ‘Nampōsetsu’ no kaitakusha,” *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 236. “Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon,” *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 14.

²³⁸ Itō, Seiji, “Matsumoto Nobuhiro – ‘Nampōsetsu’ no kaitakusha,” *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 232.

Southeast Asia. Since Matsumoto discussed Southeast Asia as a part of the Japanese concept of the South Seas, this chapter will examine under which influences Matsumoto did research on the South Seas, and especially on Southeast Asia, during his studies at Sorbonne University during the period 1924-1932. First, it will explore the influence of sociologist ethnology; second, the influence of evolutionist ethnology; and third, the influence of diffusionist ethnology on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia.

2. The influence of sociologist ethnology on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia

The influence of the French School of Sociology on Matsumoto's research has been emphasized by many previous researchers. Matsumoto himself was aware of this sociological influence as it is obvious from the foreword of his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*: "I published this thesis *The Research in Japanese Mythology* in the series 'French Studies', because I received the influence of Professor Yanagita Kunio, and at the same time I have also received lectures from professors such as Granet, Mauss and Przyluski ... It gives me a great pleasure that in this book I can present to readers some research methods of their sociologist-style in mythology, especially the French academic style."²³⁹

As Matsumoto's statement suggested, the sociologist style was typical for the ethnology produced by the scholars of the French School of Sociology. As sociologists, Matsumoto's

²³⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 2.

French teachers Mauss and Granet specialized in the research of primitive societies. They were followers of James George Frazer's evolutionist ethnology based on unilinear evolutionism. Therefore, they believed in universalism of the primitive culture. Since the foundations of Matsumoto's ethnology were formed by universalism and unilinear evolutionism, the ideational basic of Mauss and Granet was similar to Matsumoto at that time. In addition, Matsumoto's ethnological research placed a focus on the society, which was a new approach used by French sociologists of this period.

This section will examine the sociological influence on Matsumoto's writings during 1924-1932. First, it will discuss Matsumoto's relationships with the scholars of the French School of Sociology, especially Marcel Mauss and Marcel Granet. Then, it will analyze the influence of Mauss' theories on Matsumoto's writings during 1924-1932. The influence of Matsumoto's supervisor Jean Przyluski will be discussed in Section 4 (The influence of diffusionist ethnology on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia) because Przyluski taught Matsumoto diffusionist ethnology even though Przyluski also presented works influenced by sociologist ethnology.

2.1. The relationship of Marcel Mauss and Marcel Granet with Matsumoto

Nobuhiro

The sociological influence on Matsumoto's ethnology consisted concretely of the direct

influence of the French scholars who taught Matsumoto Nobuhiro during his studies at Sorbonne University in 1924-1928. Most notable among these scholars were Marcel Mauss (1872-1950), the leader of the French School of Sociology at that time, and Mauss' disciple Marcel Granet (1884-1940).

2.1.1. Matsumoto Nobuhiro's relationship with Marcel Mauss

Matsumoto studied primitive culture under Marcel Mauss' guidance. Matsumoto considered Mauss "the foremost person in the research of religions of primitive peoples."²⁴⁰ Mauss taught this subject at the École Pratique des Hautes Études of Sorbonne University where Matsumoto was enrolled.²⁴¹ Matsumoto became Mauss' admirer after he started attending his lectures upon Granet's recommendation from 1924.²⁴² Matsumoto claimed that Mauss' lectures were among the most useful classes for his research of ancient culture.²⁴³

Moreover, Matsumoto also attended Mauss' lectures at the Institute of Ethnology.²⁴⁴ As Durkheim's eminent disciple, Mauss naturally became leader of the sociological circles. But together with other scholars such as Lucien Lévy-Bruhl and Paul Rivet, he also played a significant role in these circles because as a sociologist, he used the results of ethnographic and

²⁴⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Gendai Furansu ni okeru Tōyōgaku," *Fransu no shakaigakka. Gendai ni okeru shokeikō*, Fransu gakkai, 1930, p. 596.

²⁴¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Furansu ni okeru Shina kenkyū," *Shina kenkyū* Keiō gijuku Mochidzuki kikin Shina kenkyūkai-hen, Iwanamishoten, 1930, p. 390.

²⁴² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 41.

²⁴³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Preface," *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928.

²⁴⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annan ryokōki (daisanshin)," *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 10 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, p. 101 (1935).

ethnological research as sources for his sociological research. Consequently, Mauss' work was also of great interest for ethnologists. For this reason, Matsumoto noted closely the fact that Mauss presented the guidelines for the collection of research material: "Mauss promptly accepted assignments to make the collection guidelines for ethnography, and he held lectures on it in the research institute every year; but they [the guidelines] were not published."²⁴⁵ Thus, Matsumoto studied various approaches ranging from sociology to ethnology.

Matsumoto considered Mauss' research as a general model for the research of primitive culture including Japanese culture. In his paper "Folklore Research in France," Matsumoto emphasized the importance of Mauss' research for ethnology: "Of course Mauss' guidelines cannot be simply applied to the research of social phenomena of a country with a high civilization like Japan, but as I mentioned above, there are many primitive elements remaining in the society of the civilized peoples. And especially when observing the social phenomena historically, the standard of the ethnological observation is a good lesson for reference."²⁴⁶

As universalist, Mauss compared various ethnic groups in order to clarify the common basics of human society. In his famous work *The Gift*, Mauss examined in particular, the primitive society of the contemporary Polynesian, Melanesian, and North West American peoples and compared them with ancient Semitic, Greek, Roman, Hindu, Germanic, and Celtic

²⁴⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Furansu ni okeru minzokugakuteki kenkyū," *Nihon minzokugaku kenkyū*, (ed. by Yanagita), Iwanami shoten, 1935, pp. 365-6.

²⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 377.

customs in order to clarify the gift as a social phenomenon that is applicable to the entire mankind.²⁴⁷ Thus from Mauss' approach, Matsumoto thought that Mauss' ideas were relevant for the research of the primitive stage of any culture including Japan and Southeast Asia. For this reason, Matsumoto adopted Mauss' theories in his ethnological writings as will be discussed in Section 2.2. (The sociological influence on Matsumoto Nobuhiro's writings).

2.1.2. Matsumoto's relationship with Marcel Granet

Matsumoto could practice Mauss' research methods under his teacher Marcel Granet who had a close relationship with Mauss. Matsumoto described Granet's relationship with Mauss in his paper "Folklore Research in France" (1935): "Granet is Mauss' friend, he applies Mauss' method most accurately in his research of China."²⁴⁸ Thus, Matsumoto was aware that Granet adopted Mauss' sociological methodology in his ethnological research of ancient China.

Matsumoto was very interested in Granet's research because it was related to the study of ancient China, a subject that Matsumoto researched in the early 1920s. Before his studies at Sorbonne University, Matsumoto read Granet's writings *Ancient Festivals and Songs of China*²⁴⁹ and *The Sororal Polygyny and the Sororate in Feudal China*²⁵⁰ in which Granet discussed

²⁴⁷ Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift*, translated by W. D. Halls, Routledge, London, 1990.

²⁴⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Furansu ni okeru minzokugakuteki kenkyū," *Nihon minzokugaku kenkyū*, (ed. by Yanagita), Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, 1935, p. 382.

²⁴⁹ Granet, Marcel, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*, second edition, Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1929 (first edition 1919).

²⁵⁰ Granet, Marcel, *La Polygénie sororale et le sororat dans la Chine féodale*, Leroux, Paris, 1920.

Chinese culture in comparison with Southeast Asian culture. Matsumoto drew from them for his writings on the mountain beliefs and the culture of ancient China in the early 1920s.²⁵¹ For this reason, Matsumoto visited Granet immediately after his arrival to Paris and asked for his permission to attend his lectures.²⁵²

Matsumoto considered Marcel Granet a special person because Granet studied sociology under its founder, Émile Durkheim like Marcel Mauss and at the same time was also a student of Édouard Chavannes, who was considered to be the founder of French Sinology.²⁵³ Granet researched Far Eastern religions as a chair of geography, history, and institutions of the Far East at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes.²⁵⁴ In Granet's course of Far Eastern religions, Matsumoto studied about the religious ceremonies from the Chinese documents. Studying from old documents was a requirement that French teachers at Sorbonne University imposed on their students who were studying about Oriental culture.²⁵⁵ The research of old documents was typical for Granet, as Matsumoto wrote: "Granet makes the effort to make conclusions from documents limited exclusively on China. Therefore, Granet's research has a

²⁵¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu," *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, pp. 23-40. "Shina kodai seishi no kenkyū," *Mita hyōron*, dai 3, 4, 5 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1921, pp. 411-452. "Marcel Granet; La Polygynie sororale et la Sororate dans la Chine féodale: Études sur les formes anciennes de la polygamie chinoise, Paris, 1920," *Shigaku*, dai 1 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1922, pp. 625-626.

²⁵² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 41.

²⁵³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Furansu ni okeru Shina kenkyū," *Shina kenkyū* Keiō gijuku Mochidzuki kikin Shina kenkyūkai-hen, Iwanamishoten, 1930, p. 386-389. "Granet, Marcel," *Encyclopedia of religion*, second edition, Macmillan Reference USA, Detroit, 2005, pp. 3654-3655.

²⁵⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Gendai Furansu ni okeru Tōyōgaku," *Fransu no shakaigakka. Gendai ni okeru shokeikō*, Fransu gakkai, 1930, p. 596.

²⁵⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Furansu ni okeru minzokugakuteki kenkyū," *Nihon minzokugaku kenkyū*, (ed. by Yanagita), Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, 1935, p. 390.

close relationship to the interpretation of the documents, and I think that this is Granet's strong point."²⁵⁶ In short, from Granet, Matsumoto learnt how to discover important data about ancient Oriental culture from written documents which was different from Yanagita's field work approach.

In summary, Matsumoto learnt from Mauss and Granet the sociological approach to ethnological research of the primitive culture based on universalism. In addition, Mauss' and Granet's ethnology contributed to the development of Matsumoto's interest in contemporary Southeast Asia, Southern Pacific, and ancient China.

2.2. The sociological influence on Matsumoto Nobuhiro's writings

This section will discuss Mauss' and Granet's sociological influence on Matsumoto Nobuhiro's writings during 1928-1932. Among the previous researchers, Ito Seiji,²⁵⁷ Obayashi Taryo,²⁵⁸ Hirafuji Kikuko,²⁵⁹ Furuno Kiyoto,²⁶⁰ and Ushijima Iwao²⁶¹ pointed out the

²⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 383.

²⁵⁷ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei wo shinonde," *Minzoku kenkyū*, dai 46 kan, dai 1 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1981, p. 126. "Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, pp. 117-131. "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, pp. 225-242. "Minzokugaku, Fōkuroa, Tōyō shigaku no hazamade" (Dainikai zadankai, Mitashigaku no hyakunen wo kataru), *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1991, pp. 253-263. "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 13.

²⁵⁸ Obayashi, Taryō, "Nihon shinwa no kenkyū," *Kokubungaku kaisetsu to kinkanshō*, 37-1, 1972, p. 163. "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzokugaku no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 401-406.

²⁵⁹ Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shakaigakuteki kenkyū - Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō," *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 33-41; "Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no shinwagaku," *Shūkyō to fashizumu*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 311-347.

²⁶⁰ Furuno, Kiyoto, "Nihon shinwagaku no shinkenkyū - Matsumoto Nobuhiro shi no kingyō shōkai," *Minzoku*, dai 4 kan, dai 1 gō, Minzoku hakkōjo, 1928, pp. 153-154.

²⁶¹ Ushijima, Iwao, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Mishina Sōei, Oka Masao ni okeru Nihon shinwa no kenkyū," *Kokubungaku kaisetsu to kinkanshō*, 37-1, 1972, pp. 174-177.

influence of the French School of Sociology on Matsumoto's research. Namely, Ito wrote in his article "Matsumoto Nobuhiro and His Academic Achievements":²⁶² "The French School of Sociology at that time was at its height; moreover, it has listed prominent authorities of Jean Przyluski, Marcel Granet, Henri Maspero, etc. Matsumoto sensei had contacts with them and received a decisive influence from them." Ethnologist Obayashi Taryo linked Matsumoto's name with the French School of Sociology in his "Commentary": "Matsumoto was an ethnologist and an Orientalist connected to the line of the French School of Sociology of Mauss, Granet, etc."²⁶³ Furthermore, mythologist Hirafuji Kikuko examined Matsumoto's research in relation to the influence of the French School of Sociology in her writing "The Sociological Research – the Influence of the French School of Sociology in Matsumoto's Research of the Mythology."²⁶⁴

Among the previous researchers, only Hirafuji Kikuko specified the influence of the French School of Sociology on Matsumoto's research. She characterized the influence from a sociological perspective which examines the primitive culture from the viewpoint that myths are associated with rites.²⁶⁵ This aspect of the French sociological influence on Matsumoto's research will be discussed in the Section 2.2.3. (The theory of the seasonal festivals). However, there are also other sociological ideas that appeared in Matsumoto's writings during 1928-1932.

²⁶² Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 13.

²⁶³ Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzokugaku no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 401.

²⁶⁴ Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shakaigakuteki kenkyū – Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō," *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 33-41.

²⁶⁵ Ibid, pp. 34, 36, 37, 38.

Therefore, this section will examine Matsumoto's adoption of sociological theories in relation to his ideas on Southeast Asia in order to evaluate the significance of the sociological influence on Matsumoto's research of Southeast Asia.

2.2.1. The idea of the social benefit of primitive culture

Under Mauss and Granet's guidance, Matsumoto gained insight about the social benefit of the primitive culture for civilized people. Mauss claimed the significance and benefit of primitive customs for the existing modern society in his essay *The Gift*: "As we shall note that this morality and organization still function in our own societies, in unchanging fashion and, so to speak, hidden, below the surface, and as we believe that in this we have found one of the human foundations on which our societies are built, we shall be able to deduce a few moral conclusions concerning certain problems posed by the crisis in our own law and economic organization."²⁶⁶ Mauss words contain a contradiction because he argued that the morality and organization of the primitive customs remained under the surface of the modern society although they had in fact already disappeared in modern world for the reason of being outdated. This is because Mauss believed in the theory of remnants according to which some elements of the primitive culture were preserved unchanged in the modern culture. On this basis, he claimed importance of the primitive culture for the modern society.

²⁶⁶ Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift*, translated by W.D. Halls, Routledge, London, 1990, p. 4.

A similar appreciation of primitive society can be found in Matsumoto's writings. In his paper "The Utility of the Folklore Studies", Matsumoto argued: "... what meaning does the clarification of the ancient customs have? ... By reviving the research of these festivals and rites, we can discover the material that will be the remedy for correction of several problems, such as the decline of the religious heart which is the malady of the present society."²⁶⁷ Thus, like Mauss, Matsumoto believed that the primitive culture could provide helpful hints for the modern society. Since Matsumoto studied the Southeast Asian culture in relation to the Japanese culture, it means that he believed that the study of Southeast Asian primitive culture could also be useful for the modern Japanese people.

2.2.2. The theory of the gift and of the potlatch

Like many people in France at that time, Matsumoto, too, became deeply impressed by Marcel Mauss' book *The Gift* (1923-1924). Among various Mauss' theories of religion of the primitive people, Matsumoto adopted namely Mauss' theory of the gift, including the concept of the potlatch.

In his book *The Gift*, Mauss presented a study of the gift as a social phenomenon and discussed ideas of the primitive people related to it. Mauss defined the gift as a "total social phenomenon" because it reached all spheres of social life. Hence, according to Mauss, the gift

²⁶⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Minzokugaku no kōyō," *Minzokugaku*, Minzokugakkai, dai 5 kan, dai 1 gō, 1933, p. 16.

meant the special form of performing total services and the distribution of goods.²⁶⁸ In the same book, Mauss also introduced the concept of the potlatch, a festival gathering during of which gifts were exchanged.²⁶⁹ According to Mauss, the potlatch of the American Indians represented a highly developed type of total services because it consisted of rites, legal and economic services, and promoting tribal members in political rank, among others. In this potlatch, the distribution of the wealth served as a tool of political power.²⁷⁰ Mauss pointed out that the social and political power exercised during the potlatch included also spiritual power which resided in wealth.²⁷¹

From his French teachers Mauss and Granet, Matsumoto learnt that the social phenomena of the primitive people, such as potlatch, are universal for many peoples. For example, he was drawn to Granet's statement in his book *Dances and Legends of Ancient China* that the idea of the potlatch existed also in ancient China.²⁷² Under the influence of his French teachers, Matsumoto claimed the existence of customs related to the gift and the potlatch namely in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*.²⁷³

Matsumoto employed Mauss' theory of the gift for the interpretation of the Japanese and

²⁶⁸ Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift*, translated by W. D. Halls, Routledge, London, 1990, p. 3.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, pp. 6-7, 18, 21, 35-39, 42-46.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 6.

²⁷¹ Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift*, translated by W. D. Halls, Routledge, London, 1990, p. 8.

²⁷² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Furansu ni okeru minzokugakuteki kenkyū," *Nihon minzokugaku kenkyū*, Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, 1935, p. 383. Granet, Marcel, *Dances et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, Les Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1926, pp. 57, 58, 606, 611, 613-1615, 619.

²⁷³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 26.

Ainu legends in his paper “A Study of a Legend of Hospitality towards Strangers”²⁷⁴ and in the first chapter of his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*.²⁷⁵ In these writings, Matsumoto paid attention to the customs of hospitality among ancient Japanese and Ainu people that he drew from Japanese documents (*Hitachi Fudoki*, 713) and from works of Japanese folklorists, for example Kindaichi Kyōsuke’s *The Legends of Ainurak*.²⁷⁶ He pointed out similarities between Japanese, Ainu and American Indian customs of gift giving. The American Indian customs were same with those mentioned by Mauss.²⁷⁷ This means that Matsumoto’s application of the gift theory was matching the material available in Japan with the theory and examples mentioned by Mauss. A difference from Mauss’ discourse was that Matsumoto discussed the gift giving not only among the people, but also in relation to the god because the Japanese legend encompassed this topic.²⁷⁸ In this way, Matsumoto showed the existence of gift giving as a total social phenomenon among ancient Japanese and Ainu peoples.

In addition, Matsumoto adopted Mauss’ concept of the potlatch in his writings.²⁷⁹ In *The Research of the Japanese Myths*, Matsumoto mentioned his definition of potlatch as a banquet organized by the chief in order to distribute the wealth: “...the chief invites all the people,

²⁷⁴ Matsumoto Nobuhiro, “Gaisha kantai densetsu kō,” *Shigaku*, Mita shigakkai, dai 9 kan, dai 1 gō, 1930, p. 26.

²⁷⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 1-40.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 1, 12.

²⁷⁷ He cited same books like Mauss in his *The Gift*, for example Franz Boas’s *Tsimshian Mythology* (1909-1910), Waldemar Jochelson’s *The Koryak* (1908), Waldemar Bogoras’ *The Chukchee* (1904-1905). Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 18, 24, 31.

²⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 40.

²⁷⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ainu no potlacchi” (1930), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 327-330.

organizes a big banquet and shares the property. This is a habit known among the American Indians as potlatch. If one does not distribute the offerings and the property, one cannot hold new privileges. In these tribes, the property is accumulated in order to be divided.”²⁸⁰ This indicates that Matsumoto adopted Mauss’ concept of the potlatch as Mauss defined it from the case of the American Indians. Matsumoto claimed the existence of the potlatch among Ainu based on the comparison of the potlatch in the Tsimshian tribe in North Western America with the story in the Ainu’s poem “The Song Sung by the Owl God Itself.”²⁸¹ Matsumoto drew the material on the Tsimshian tribe from Boas’s *Tsimshian Mythology* which was also cited in Mauss’ *The Gift*, and he referred to Chiri Yukie’s *Collection of Ainu Mythology* for the material on Ainu.²⁸² In short, in order to demonstrate the existence of the potlatch among the Ainu, he matched an Ainu legend with the custom of the American Indians discussed in Mauss’ *The Gift*.

Matsumoto argued that Ainu tales contained an important aspect of the potlatch, “the competition for the total gift among the people,” because the hero of the tale organized a banquet and became the chief of the village.²⁸³ From his statement, it seems that Matsumoto paid attention to the aspect of competition described in Mauss’ *The Gift*: “In certain kinds of the potlatch, one must expend all that one has, keeping nothing back. It is a competition to see who

²⁸⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 19. Another reference to Mauss’ *The Gift* is in other chapters on pp. 95, 126.

²⁸¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ainu no potlacchi” (1930), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 327-330.

²⁸² Ibid, pp. 327, 329.

²⁸³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ainu no potlacchi” (1930), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 328.

is the richest and also the most madly extravagant.”²⁸⁴ However, Matsumoto did not describe this kind of competition; he only pointed out the fact that the hero became rich and organized a banquet. Nevertheless, Matsumoto followed Mauss’ concept of the potlatch as an occasion where a man receives social and political status.²⁸⁵ In this respect, he wanted to emphasize that the hero of the Ainu tale only became chief of the village at the moment he organized the banquet.²⁸⁶

In summary, Matsumoto used Mauss’ theory of the gift and the potlatch for the interpretation of Japanese and Ainu culture by combining some data from Mauss’ *The Gift* with the data available in Japan. Matsumoto’s application of these theories was somewhat different from Mauss’ original theory because of the character of the Japanese material that Matsumoto used. Matsumoto did not apply these theories on Southeast Asian peoples because neither Mauss nor other French scholars discussed them in relation to these theories.

2.2.3. The theory of the seasonal festivals

Matsumoto was influenced by the sociological theory of seasonal festivals in which Mauss argued that rituals were associated with myths. Matsumoto mentioned about adopting Mauss’ theory that myths had their origins in the rites that were preserved in the seasonal festivals.²⁸⁷ Matsumoto recollected about this theory in his “Commentary” in the book *The*

²⁸⁴ Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift*, translated by W. D. Halls, Routledge, London, 1990, p. 37.

²⁸⁵ Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift*, translated by W. D. Halls, Routledge, London, 1990, p. 6.

²⁸⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 38-39.

²⁸⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kaisetsu” *Nihon bunka no kigen* (3). *Minzokugaku* 1, Heibonsha, 1971, p. 13. Matsumoto’s opinion on the relation of the myths and the rites: Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie*

Origins of the Japanese Culture: “Marcel Mauss who lectured on the religion of uncivilized people at the École des Hautes Études of Sorbonne claimed importance of comparison of the Japanese myths with the Polynesian myths, and together with Marcel Granet argued that the myths are in fact rites, that the myths cannot exist without performed rites.”²⁸⁸ Thus, Matsumoto intentionally followed Mauss’ and Granet’s theory that rites were closely connected with myths.

This influence of Mauss’ and Granet’s theory of the seasonal festivals has been already pointed out by Hirafuji Kikuko in her writing “The Sociological Research – the Influence of the French School of Sociology in Matsumoto’s Research of the Mythology.”²⁸⁹ Hirafuji examined Matsumoto’s research of the Japanese myth in relation to Matsumoto’s evaluation of the French influence on his writing in 1978.²⁹⁰ She namely emphasized: “When we look at Matsumoto Nobuhiro’s research of the myths, we can see a strong influence of Mauss’ ideas of the French School of Sociology especially in establishing relations between the myths and rites.”²⁹¹ However, she discussed this issue very briefly. This section will explore the influence of the theory of seasonal festivals and examine its relation to Matsumoto’s ideas on Southeast Asia.

In fact, Matsumoto learnt about the significance of the social phenomenon of the seasonal festivals (*kisetsu sai*, 季節祭) before his study in France. Matsumoto encountered this research

Japonaise, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, pp. 50, 76, 90.

²⁸⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kaisetsu” *Nihon bunka no kigen* (3). *Minzokugaku* 1, Heibonsha, 1971, p. 13.

²⁸⁹ Hirafuji, Kikuko, “Shakaigakuteki kenkyū – Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō,” *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, pp. 33-41.

²⁹⁰ Hirafuji, Kikuko, “Shakaigakuteki kenkyū – Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō,” *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, p. 34.

²⁹¹ Ibid, p. 35.

technique for the first time in Granet's book *Ancient Festivals and Songs of China* in Japan.²⁹²

He also read about it in the book *The Melanges of History of Religions* where Mauss pointed out that the rituals of the festivals could be studied from the myths with which they were connected.²⁹³ Thus, Matsumoto knew about this theory before his studies in France and was trained in the application of this theory during his studies at Sorbonne University under Mauss' and Granet's guidance.

Matsumoto's attention on the connection between the myths and the rites can be found in his doctoral thesis *The Essay on the Japanese Mythology* and in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*. In his thesis *The Essay on the Japanese Mythology*, Matsumoto interpreted some parts of the Japanese myths by making comparisons with Japanese customs. For example, he argued that Amaterasu Ōmikami in the Japanese myths was perceived to be both a priestess and a goddess at the same time because Japanese priests disguise themselves as gods during the festivals.²⁹⁴ He also pointed out the relation of the seasonal festivals with the myths in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*.²⁹⁵ He explained his reasons for this most clearly in his article "Woman That Does Not Laugh": "When we examine the actions taken during a festival by associating a myth with a seasonal festival as much as possible, we can understand the

²⁹² Granet, Marcel, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*, second edition, Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1929 (first edition 1919). Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Fudoki ni arawaretaru santake densetsu," *Tōkōkō*, II, Keiō gijuku taiikukai sangakubu nenpō, Shuppan kagaku sōgō kenkyūjo, 1920, p. 38.

²⁹³ Mauss, Marcel, Hubert, Henri, *Mélanges d'histoire des religions*, Félix Alcan, Paris, 1909, p. III. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Ōshūjin no Kyokutō kenkyū," *Shigaku*, dai 8 kan, dai 1 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1929, p. 23.

²⁹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, pp. 76-77.

²⁹⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 4, 48, 51, 177, 219, 271, 272.

numerous links of its reasons which were unknown until now.”²⁹⁶ Therefore, he believed that the interpretation of the myth from the comparison with the rite could contribute to the understanding of the primitive people’s thinking in relation to the myth and festival.

Matsumoto paid attention to three kinds of festivals: the harvest festival in autumn, the mating festival in spring and the requiem festival in winter. First, he discussed the harvest festival in order to explain the legend of Mount Tsukuba in *Hitachi Fudoki*. The legend praised the merit of treating a god visiting Mount Tsukuba. Matsumoto connected the legend with the custom of the offerings given to the god during the harvest festival (*niinamesai*, 新嘗祭). He surmised that the ancient Japanese people considered the harvest festival as an occasion to give lavishly.²⁹⁷ This argument obviously comes from Mauss’ theory of the gift and potlatch because the shared commonality in the legend of Mount Tsukuba and the harvest festival was the act of giving to the god and every participant of the festival.²⁹⁸

Second, Matsumoto discussed the spring festival based on Granet’s book *Ancient Festivals and Songs of China*.²⁹⁹ From Granet’s book, Matsumoto learnt about the existence of the custom where men and women exchange love songs during the spring festival in ancient China and in contemporary Southeast Asia. Matsumoto accepted Granet’s opinion that a similar

²⁹⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Warazaru onna” (1932), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen III: Tōnan Ajia to Nihon*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 423.

²⁹⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 4.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 40.

²⁹⁹ Ibid, pp. 160-164, 205-206.

mating festival was practiced in ancient Japan as *utagaki* or *kagai* (singing banquet).³⁰⁰

Furthermore, he also learnt about the Southeast Asian ritual of young people's going around the pillar from Jean Przyluski.³⁰¹ Matsumoto introduced this custom to the Japanese readers in his paper "Spring Festival of Miao Tribe and the Pillar."³⁰²

Matsumoto applied this idea of the spring festival of combining the customs of song exchange and going around the pillar in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*. Concretely, he suggested that a pillar might have been built on the place where *utagaki* was held in ancient Japan. Furthermore, he claimed that this custom of going around a pillar was described in the Japanese myth of Izanagi and Izanami, and on this basis, he suggested that this custom was recorded in the myth because it was practiced during *utagaki*.³⁰³ Thus, in his application of the theory of connection between the ritual and the myth, Matsumoto linked the contemporary Southeast Asian ritual with the ancient Japanese custom of *utagaki* and with the Japanese myth of Izanagi and Izanami because of the similarity among the spring festivals in Japan and Southeast Asia.

Third, Matsumoto interpreted the Japanese myth of the celestial cavern from its association with the requiem festival (*chinkonsai*, 鎮魂祭) in his doctoral thesis *The Essay on*

³⁰⁰ Ibid, pp. 40, 160, 161. Granet, Marcel, *Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine*, second edition, Librairie Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1929 (first edition 1919), p. 147, 278-279.

³⁰¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "La Marche Autour de la Colonne," *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, p. 124.

³⁰² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 197, 204-208. "Miao zoku no haru no matsuri to hashira," *Minzoku*, Minzokugakkai, dai 5 kan, dai 3 gō, March 1933, pp. 190-192.

³⁰³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 205-206.

the *Japanese Mythology* and in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*. Matsumoto discussed the part of the myth in which the Sun Goddess emerges from the celestial cave and brings sunlight to the Earth. First, Matsumoto rejected Revon's hypothesis that this part described the end of the solar eclipse.³⁰⁴ Instead, Matsumoto presented a hypothesis emphasizing the return of the sunlight at the end of the winter in connection with the requiem festival which is held in winter.³⁰⁵ Matsumoto literarily wrote in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*: "It is sure that the ancient Japanese believed that the winter festival and the myth of Goddess' revival are associated."³⁰⁶ He demonstrated it by pointing out the similarity of the dance in the myth of the celestial cavern and the dance in the requiem festival.³⁰⁷ Thus, this is the only case when Matsumoto presented his original hypothesis which he interpreted from the comparison of a myth with a festival.

Although Matsumoto emphasized the importance of the seasonal festivals several times, he often did not discuss them in detail. An exception is found only in the case of the requiem festival.³⁰⁸ The insufficient discussion on the seasonal festivals was not missed by Matsumoto Nobuhiro's colleague at Keio University, Matsumoto Yoshio who demanded more evidences

³⁰⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, p. 81. *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 102.

³⁰⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, pp. 81-90. *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 102-108.

³⁰⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 106.

³⁰⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, pp. 86-88. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 107.

³⁰⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 4, 6, 7, 26, 40, 48, 51, 118, 127, 177, 205, 206, 207, 219, 261.

from the seasonal festivals in his criticism of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*.³⁰⁹ Moreover, despite comparing the festivals with the Japanese myths, Matsumoto Nobuhiro did not use the data from his observations of the Japanese festivals.³¹⁰ On the contrary, Matsumoto Nobuhiro drew on the festivals from Japanese documents and from the research done by Japanese and Western scholars.

In summary, the examination of the influence of Mauss' theory of the seasonal festivals on Matsumoto's ideas showed that Matsumoto applied this theory in combination with other ideas put forth by Western scholars. Matsumoto combined the theory of seasonal festivals with Mauss' theory of the gift in his discussion of the harvest festival, and with Granet's idea of *utagaki* and Przyluski's opinion of the Southeast Asian ritual of young people's going around the pillar in his discussion of the spring festival. In addition, he presented his original idea on the relation of the Japanese myth with the rituals in his discussion of the requiem festival. Thus, among others, Matsumoto mentioned Southeast Asian culture in his application of Mauss' theory of seasonal festivals.

2.2.4. The theory of the unity of religious and political power

Matsumoto was influenced by the theory of the unity of religious and political power.

³⁰⁹ Matsumoto, Yoshio, "Nihon shinwa no kenkyū (Matsumoto Nobuhiro cho, Dōbunkan hakkō)," *Shigaku*, Mita shigakkai, dai 11 kan, dai 1 gō, 1932, p. 138.

³¹⁰ For example, Matsumoto described the festival of Hayachine Shrine that he observed in Iwate. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Iwate no Kōgen yori," (1920) *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 36

This theory was presented by James George Frazer, and other Western scholars including Matsumoto's teachers Marcel Mauss and Marcel Granet, adopted it. Under their influence, the theory of the unity of religious and political power formed the framework of Matsumoto's supplementary doctoral thesis *The Essay on the Japanese Mythology*.

The concept of the unity of religious and political power among the primitive people was introduced by James George Frazer in his book *The Golden Bough*. Frazer demonstrated this by using the cases of the king-magician and king-god among various peoples.³¹¹ His ideas were adopted by many western scholars including Matsumoto's teachers. For example, Mauss' admitted the influence of Frazer's theory of kings-priests-gods on his ideas in *The Mélanges of History of Religions* (1909): "Mr. Frazer drew attention to these interesting characters - at the same time kings, priests and gods which appear in many religions and whose periodic death or murder is a true sacrifice, of the kind we call the sacrifice of the god."³¹² Furthermore, Mauss discussed the political and religious power of the giving in his writing *The Gift*.³¹³

Under these influences, Matsumoto adopted this theory of the unity of religious and political power in his doctoral thesis *The Essay on the Japanese Mythology* which he wrote owing to Marcel Granet's guidance.³¹⁴ In his doctoral thesis, Matsumoto sought to examine the organization of the Japanese mythology by analyzing politico-religious centers in ancient

³¹¹ Frazer, James George, "Priestly Kings," "Magicians as Kings," "Incarnate Human Gods," *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, Wordsworth Reference, 1993, pp. 9-11, 83-106.

³¹² Mauss, Marcel, Hubert, Henri, *Mélanges d'histoire des religions*, Félix Alcan, Paris, 1909, p. II.

³¹³ Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift*, translated by W. D. Halls, Routledge, London, 1990, pp. 30, 37, 71.

³¹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, Preface.

Japan.³¹⁵ From the analysis of the Japanese myths, Matsumoto discovered the existence of three centers of the religious tradition (Izumo, Yamato and Kyushu). Matsumoto characterized each of these religious cults by the description of their gods. Then, he analyzed the relationship between the gods of each religious center. On this basis, he argued that the Yamato Clan with the solar cult incorporated the myths of two other centers, Izumo and Kyushu because Yamato Clan subjugated them politically.³¹⁶ Finally, he concluded that the spread of the Yamato cult of the Sun Goddess resulted from the integration of conquered cults due to the unification of the country.³¹⁷ Thus, Matsumoto adopted the theory of the unity of religious and political power in his research on the religious political organization of ancient Japan after the unification of Japan by the Yamato Clan.

In addition, Matsumoto also adopted the concept of the priest-king which reflected the unity of religious and political power. First, in his *The Essay on the Japanese Mythology*, Matsumoto pointed out the existence of the “the priest-governor” on the basis of Japanese historical documents. He wrote that the hereditary priest of Izumo Shrine guarded the sacred fire and the sacred water at the same time he ruled Izumo Province as governor in ancient Japan.³¹⁸ Then, Matsumoto applied the concept of the priest-king on the interpretation of the role of the shamaness (*miko*, 巫女) of the solar cult. Based on the hypothesis of the existence of the

³¹⁵ Ibid, p. 1.

³¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 37, 70, 71, 100, 109.

³¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 1, 109, 112.

³¹⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, pp. 61-62.

priest-king in primitive cultures, Matsumoto claimed that the shamaness who controlled the sun worship was both a religious and political chief of the tribe and that the myth of the Sun Goddess (Amaterasu Ōmikami) was probably created in that period.³¹⁹ However, Matsumoto did not discuss the political aspects of this shamanness. He only pointed out the separation of the worship of the Sun Goddess from the imperial court during the reign of Sujin Tenno (97-29 BC) based on the information gathered from the Japanese annals *Nihonshoki*.³²⁰

In summary, Matsumoto adopted Frazer's theory of the unity of religious and political power under Mauss' and Granet's influence. Granet's guidance helped Matsumoto examine the Japanese myths as a reflection of the religious-political organization of ancient Japan after the unification by Yamato Clan. In addition, Matsumoto also adopted the concept of the king-priest in which he applied to the personage of the Izumo governor and of the solar cult shamaness in Japanese history. Interestingly, Matsumoto did not apply this concept on Southeast Asia until 1940, although he already knew about one case of king-shamans in Southeast Asia from Frazer's book *The Golden Bough*.³²¹

2.3. Summary

During the period 1924-1932, Matsumoto used sociological theories for the interpretation

³¹⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 262.

³²⁰ Ibid, p. 263.

³²¹ "...there is a legend of two states 火舎 and 水舎 describing the contacts of the famous king of fire and king of water of Jarai, thus it is important material for ethnology ... The kings of these two countries are famous as existing magician-kings, they are described also in the Volume 2 of Frazer's *The Golden Bough*." Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annan shiryō ni arawareru Indoshina sanchi minzoku," *Andō kyōju kanreki Shukuga kinenronbunshū*, Andō kyōju kanreki Shukuga kinenkaihen, Sanseidō, 1940, pp. 1011-1012.

of Japanese legends, myths and customs. This means that he combined the theories of the French scholars with the research material available in Japan. Matsumoto's main contribution was introducing the theories and the methods of the French School of Sociology to Japan. From the ethnological aspect, Matsumoto presented his original theory only once – in his interpretation of the requiem festival. Everything else was simply the result of combining Western theories with existing Japanese material. He rarely applied the sociological theories to the Southeast Asian culture because the French sociologists did not focus on this region. Granet discussed Southeast Asian customs, but was more concerned with ancient Chinese society. Therefore, it is clear that sociologists contributed to Matsumoto's interest in Southeast Asia in 1924-1932, however, their inspiration did not make Matsumoto focus on Southeast Asia.

Moreover, the influence of sociological theories of his teachers Mauss and Granets is most visible in the period 1924-1932. It is because Matsumoto introduced the French sociological theories namely in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*,³²² and did not apply them in his further works. In general, he was not very successful in engaging the attention of other Japanese ethnologists in his sociological discussions. Only a young Tokyo University scholar, Furuno Kiyoto (1899-1979) wished to share sociological ideas with Matsumoto due to his fascination with the research of the French School of Sociology.³²³

³²² Matsumoto rewrote *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise* (1928), expanded it by papers written after his return to Japan and published the compillatio under the title *The Research of the Japanese Myths (Nihon shinwa no kenkyū)*, 1931).

³²³ Arima, Makiko, "Hito, Matsumoto Nobuhiro", *Kikan jinruigaku*, 5-1, Shakaishisōsha, 1974, p. 156 (an interview with Matsumoto Nobuhiro).

The dulled enthusiasm among Japanese ethnologists on the subject was also caused by the fact that not many Japanese mastered French language at that time. The delayed translation of French ethnologists' books to the Japanese language explains the Japanese disinterest in sociologist ethnology. Mauss' famous work *The Gift* (1923-1924) was published in Japanese in 1938.³²⁴ The first translation of Marcel Granet's book to the Japanese language was *Festivals and Songs of Ancient China* (1919) in 1943.³²⁵ One of the reasons for the delay was the difficulty of the language. This is suggested by Yamada Yoshihiko, the translator of Mauss' *The Gift*, in the introductory remarks to Mauss' book.³²⁶

Furthermore, after his trip to Indochina in 1933, Matsumoto changed course and subscribed to mainstream ethnology based on diffusionism which also shaped the research of Western scholars on Indochina (this will be discussed in Chapter 4). Sociologist ethnology based on unilinear evolutionism became irrelevant also because it was in contradiction with diffusionist ethnology based on multilinear evolutionism which argued that the common culture was a result of cultural diffusion to different people. Diffusionist ethnology prevailed in Japan in the mid-1930s. Thus, Matsumoto can be characterized as a sociologist ethnologist as Hirafuji Kikuko and Ito Seiji suggested, but only during the period 1924-1932. The insufficient influence of sociologist ethnology on Matsumoto's research is suggested also by an argument of

³²⁴ Mōsu, Maruseru, (translation by Yamada Yoshihiko), *Taiheiyō minzoku no genshi keizai : kosei shakai ni okeru kōkan no keishiki to riyū*, Nikkōshoin, 1943.

³²⁵ Gurane, Maruseru, (translated by Tsuda Itsuo), *Shina kodai no sairei to kayō*, Kōbundō shobō, 1938.

³²⁶ Yamada, Yoshihiko, "Hanrei," Mōsu, Maruseru, *Taiheiyō minzoku no genshi keizai: kosei shakai ni okeru kōkan no keishiki to riyū*, Nikkōshoin, 1943, p. 2.

Matsumoto's colleague Mabuchi Tōichi (1909-1988), a social anthropologist who categorized Matsumoto as a cultural anthropologist.³²⁷

3. The influence of evolutionist ethnology on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia

The influence of unilinear evolutionism was apparent in the earliest period of Matsumoto's ethnological career, but it appears also in Matsumoto's writings during the period 1924-1932. This was because unilinear evolutionism formed the basis of the ideas of Matsumoto's teachers at Sorbonne University: Marcel Mauss (1872-1950), Marcel Granet (1884-1940) and Jean Przyluski (1885-1944). These teachers in turn had received influence from the British evolutionist ethnologist James George Frazer (1854-1941).

The French School of Sociology maintained a strong relationship with James George Frazer for many years. It began with personal contacts forged by Émile Durkheim (1858-1917), the founder of the French School of Sociology, with Frazer. Durkheim's eminent disciple Marcel Mauss did research on the primitive society based on Frazer's theories of magic and totemism. Mauss expressed his indebtedness to Frazer in his common writing with his colleague Henri Hubert in *The Mélanges of History of Religions*: "Mr. Frazer drew attention to these interesting characters - at the same time kings, priests and gods which appear in many religions and whose periodic death or murder is a true sacrifice, of the kind we call the sacrifice of the god. [Frazer's]

³²⁷ Mabuchi Tōichi, "Odayaka de fukutsu no daisempai," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen*, dai 2 kan, geppō dai 2 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 2.

The Golden Bough explained to us the nature and the function of these persons which he described in a large collection.”³²⁸ Thus, Mauss adopted Frazer’s notion of the king-priest which Mauss considered a significant sociological phenomenon in the evolution of human society. Mauss admired Frazer’s work to the extent that he translated some of his writings into English and sent them to Frazer to receive his comments in the 1920s.³²⁹ Thus, it is apparent that Mauss respected Frazer as his teacher especially after his teacher and uncle Émile Durkheim passed away in 1917. Since Mauss’ ideas inspired Granet, both Mauss and Granet were strongly influenced by Frazer’s theories.

Matsumoto shared Marcel Granet’s opinion about Frazer’s concept of totemism. Granet argued that totemism did exist in ancient China in his work *Dances and Legends of Ancient China* (1926)³³⁰ and analyzed the ancient Chinese culture based on Frazer’s theory of exogamy in this book. Matsumoto also believed in the existence of totemism in China.³³¹ First, Matsumoto proposed a hypothesis on the existence of totemism and exogamy in China in his papers at Keio University “The Research of the Family in Ancient China” and “The Family in Ancient China and Totemism.” Upon getting Granet’s support, Matsumoto confirmed his hypothesis in his paper “The Clan ‘Coconut tree’ and the Popular Tale ‘Coconut’ of Cham People”: “Of course, there are some sources on totemism in China, and I too advocate the theory

³²⁸ Mauss, Marcel, Hubert, Henri, *Mélanges d’histoire des religions*, Félix Alcan, Paris, 1909, p. II.

³²⁹ Liebersohn, Harry, *The Return of the Gift*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 149, 195, 200.

³³⁰ Granet, Marcel, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, Les Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1926, pp. 38, 52, 602, 606.

³³¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 136.

that totemism existed in China.”³³²

In addition, Matsumoto learnt another interpretation of totemism from the writings of his guiding professor Jean Przyluski “Totemism and Vegetalism in India.”³³³ In this work, Przyluski concluded that totemism is a result of the geographical influence. For example, tropical zones gave birth to plant totems as a reflection of its enormous vitality of flora there.³³⁴ Przyluski’s interpretation was a large divergence from the sociologist thinking that considered the influence of society as the most important factor in the formation of culture.

Matsumoto noticed this difference between Przyluski and the French sociologists, but he still chose to introduce Przyluski’s theory in his writing “Theories of Ancient Culture.” Hence, Matsumoto evidently did not insist on the sociological perspective to totemism. Although Matsumoto did not fully accept it, he respected Przyluski’s opinion as an interesting hypothesis: “The above mentioned Przyluski’s idea is completely opposite to Durkheimist thinking in examining the religions of the oldest human races; it is a new theory reversing the flag. But, I feel a bit anxious because this important issue was discussed only on several pages. Southern Asia has specific geographical features and human races, so it is difficult to do research on the history of their religion only by one method; thus I must admit, and I agree that it is original to

³³² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Chamu no yashizoku to ‘yashi no mi’ setsuwa,” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 6 gō, 1933, p. 449.

³³³ Przyluski, Jean, “Totemisme et vegetalisme dans l’Inde,” *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions*, 1927 in Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 208. “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, pp. 51-53.

³³⁴ Przyluski, Jean, “Totemisme et vegetalisme dans l’Inde,” *Revue de l’Histoire des Religions*, 1927 in Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 208. “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 52.

apply Przyluski's new interpretation of totemism and vegetalism.”³³⁵ In other words, Matsumoto acknowledged the theory of Mauss and Granet as well as that of Przyluski because he thought that diversity of Southeast Asia required a variety of approaches. According to Shiraishi Masaya, civilization includes both factors of the social interaction among the people and interaction of the people with the natural environments.³³⁶ In this sense, Matsumoto's embracing of both theories corresponds to Shiraishi's definition.

In short, it is obvious that Matsumoto continued applying Frazer's theories because they were used by leading scholars of the French School of Sociology: Mauss, Granet and Przyluski. The following sections will examine the significance of Frazer's theories for Matsumoto's interest in Southeast Asia during the period 1924-1932 when Matsumoto was influenced by sociologist ethnology.

3.1. The influence of the theory of totemism and exogamy

Frazer's theories of totemism and exogamy belonged to the principal theories discussed by the scholars of the French School of Sociology. In addition, since Matsumoto had already employed the theories of totemism and exogamy in his graduation thesis at Keio University, he had the chance to develop his understanding of these theories under the guidance of his French

³³⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 208. “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 52-53.

³³⁶ Consultation with Shiraishi Masaya, Professor of the Waseda University Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies, 24 November 2014, Waseda University.

teachers.

As a result of the French sociologists' influence, Matsumoto learnt about sociological aspects of totemism and exogamy. Matsumoto's statement in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths* suggests that Matsumoto understood the meaning of totemism as a social phenomenon connected with religious ideas: "When we consider the origins of legends, we can trace the life of the ancient villages in them to a very distant antiquity. As we can find in the traces of the old social life such as totemism, potlatch, etc. in Ainu's legends, the legends of Fuji and Tsukuba from Hitachi Fudoki also give the modern people glimpses of the ancient religious ideas that the ancient Japanese had."³³⁷ Thus, under Mauss' and Granet's influence, Matsumoto thought that totemism could be discussed as a social phenomenon in Japan. However, Matsumoto did not discuss it in this way. He just claimed the existence of totemism as he did in his other writings during the period 1919-1923.

Concerning the existence of totemism, Matsumoto proposed a theory that its traces could be found in the Japanese legend of Princess Toyotama. In more concrete terms, he suggested that the killing of an animal in the legend was an expression of totemism in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*: "... it can explain important aspects in legends, such as the legend of Princess Toyotama. That is, to acquire the animal crest means to kill and send off the animal. ...this is a variation of a story where the outer soul was expressed in the form of an animal, a

³³⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 39.

story about acquiring an totem-emblem through of which a young man can succeed [in the society].”³³⁸ His claims were based on comparing the legend of Princess Toyotama with the Ainu legend of the owl god which he interpreted as an expression of totemism.³³⁹ In Section 2.2.2. (The theory of the gift and of the potlatch), it was argued that Matsumoto pointed out the similarities between an Ainu tale and a North American Indian tale that had totemism. Thus, Matsumoto’s reason for suggesting totemism in the Japanese legend Princess Toyotama was the similarity found in both tales in the phenomenon of killing an animal. This means that Matsumoto did not try to find evidence for the belief in the totem in the legend of Princess Toyotama in order to demonstrate totemism in this legend. Rather, he matched the Japanese legend with an Ainu tale on which totemism could be proved due to similarities with a North American Indian tale.

Besides totemism, Matsumoto pointed out exogamy (*izoku kekkon*, 異族結婚) in the legend of Princess Toyotama. In his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*, Matsumoto discusses a tale in which a young man fails to hunt down an animal, the animal escapes back to its country where animals live like people. The young man follows him to this country, heals an injured woman of a different tribe who is in fact the animal, becomes rich because of marrying the woman and returns home.³⁴⁰ Matsumoto interpreted the legend as a form of exogamy after he had mentioned about the existence of exogamy among the Tsimshian tribe in America in the

³³⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 96-97.

³³⁹ Ibid, p. 96.

³⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 97.

same book.³⁴¹ Thus, he came to a conclusion that the marriage of Princess Toyotama was an exogamic tie because of this comparison with North American Indian culture. As it turned out, Matsumoto did not examine the phenomenon of exogamy in itself in the legend of Princess Toyotama, but he referred to the similarity with the Indian culture which was considered to have exogamy by Western scholars.

Furthermore, Matsumoto employed the theory of plant totems that was discussed by his teacher Jean Przyluski in his paper “The Clan ‘Coconut tree’ and the Popular Tale ‘Coconut’ of Cham People.”³⁴² This paper was a study of totemism in Indochina and it was the only study that Matsumoto dealt exclusively with totemism in which he pointed out the use of coconut and betel palms as plant totems among the Cham people. In fact, Matsumoto was using Frazer’s accounts of totemism in Indochina (*Totemism and Exogamy*) as pointers, and he connected them with Wilhelm Schmidt’s theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages. Since the Austro-Asiatic languages are distributed in Indochina, Matsumoto suggested that totemism was typical for the area inhabited by the Austro-Asiatic peoples.³⁴³ First, Matsumoto argued that totemism might have existed in Đông Sơn Culture in Indochina although the people of this culture had already reached a relatively high stage of civilization based on Przyluski’s opinion.³⁴⁴ Then, Matsumoto attempted to prove the existence of plant totems among the Cham people through an analysis on

³⁴¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 95.

³⁴² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Chamu no yashizoku to ‘yashi no mi’ setsuwa,” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 6 gō, 1933, pp. 449-465.

³⁴³ Ibid, p. 449.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 455.

their legends which told about the existence of two clans – the Betel Palm Clan and the Coconut Palm Clan.³⁴⁵ The common characteristic of these legends was that they paid attention to the significance of the plants which Matsumoto took as an evidence of totemism. Thus, Matsumoto combined Przyluski's interpretation of Frazer's theory of totemism with Schmidt's theory of Austro-Asiatic languages in this research.

In summary, Matsumoto discussed totemism and exogamy in the Japanese culture in connection with non-Japanese cultures including Southeast Asian cultures. Thus, he surmised the existence of totemism in ancient Japan based on the similarities of the Japanese legend with non-Japanese cultures which were considered to have totemism by Frazer and French scholars. Therefore, Matsumoto did not examine totemism in the Japanese culture, but rather explored the similarities of the Japanese culture with the non-Japanese primitive cultures including those of Southeast Asia. Thus, his research of totemism and exogamy was an association of data from the Japanese legend with Western scholars' theories and with the data of the non-Japanese primitive cultures including Southeast Asian primitive culture.

3.2. The influence of the theme of taboo

Among Frazer's theories, Matsumoto Nobuhiro also adopted the theory of taboo. James George Frazer presented his discussion of taboo in four of his chapters from *The Golden Bough*.

³⁴⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Chamu no yashizoku to 'yashi no mi' setsuwa," *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 6 gō, 1933, pp. 456, 457, 459.

Frazer defined taboo as a negative application of magic in reference to his theory of the sympathetic and contagious magic.³⁴⁶ Frazer divided the taboo according to its target: “Tabooed Acts,” “Tabooed Persons,” “Tabooed Things,” and “Tabooed Words.”³⁴⁷ However, the scholars of French School of Sociology did not touch upon this topic much. Mauss only makes a passing reference to taboo in his *The Gift*.³⁴⁸

The theory of taboo appeared for the first time in Matsumoto’s graduation thesis “The Research of the Family in Ancient China” in relation to totemism which contained the taboo of killing the totem animal.³⁴⁹ After his studies in Paris, Matsumoto applied the theory of taboo in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths* where he presented two opinions on taboo. First, he discussed the case of breaking the taboo in the exogamic couple which resulted in the separation of the couple in the legend of Princess Toyotama. Matsumoto explained that the man broke his wife’s taboo by seeing her in her animal form or by breaking the rule of her totem.³⁵⁰ Then, he presented an opinion on taboo concerning fire and the realm of the dead in the legend of Izanagi and Izanami: “... he lighted the fire in the place where it was forbidden, this is the opposition to taboo...”³⁵¹ However, Matsumoto did not specify the mentioned taboos. Thus, it

³⁴⁶ Frazer, James George, *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, Wordsworth Reference, 1993, p. 19.

³⁴⁷ Frazer, James George, “Tabooed Acts,” “Tabooed Persons,” “Tabooed Things,” “Tabooed Words,” *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, Wordsworth Reference, 1993, pp. 194-262.

³⁴⁸ Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift*, translated by W.D. Halls, Routledge, London, 1990, p. 20.

³⁴⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina kosei to tōtemizumu” (1921-1922), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 454, 482, 485.

³⁵⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 87, 215.

³⁵¹ Ibid, p. 150.

can be said that Matsumoto pointed out taboos in general without any further discussion.

3.3. The influence of the theory of the spiritual power

Matsumoto adopted the theory of spiritual power which was originally suggested by James George Frazer's theory of magic. In his book *The Golden Bough*, Frazer described the belief in magic according to a man's ability to possess a special power, such as controlling natural forces. Frazer claimed that this belief in the special power is universal for people in the lower stages of human evolution.³⁵² Although Frazer did not use the term "spiritual power" to address this special power, his concept of the belief in spiritual power spread among the Western scholars. The term "spiritual power" appears in the ideas of Matsumoto's French teachers who adopted Frazer's theory of the belief in magic and spiritual power. For example, in his book *The Gift*, Mauss claimed that he found the existence of the concept of the spiritual power which plays an essential role in the social life of the native peoples of Polynesia, Melanesia and the Indians of the American Northwest.³⁵³ Concretely, Mauss wrote that the spiritual power, which he called *mana*, was an essential element in potlatch, the seasonal festival, because it was the source of authority and wealth.³⁵⁴

³⁵² Frazer, James George, *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, Wordsworth Reference, 1993, pp. 54-91: Chapters "Sympathetic Magic," "Magic and Religion," "The Magical Control of the Weather," "Magicians as Kings".

³⁵³ Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift*, translated by W. D. Halls, Routledge, London, 1990, pp. 8, 10-13, 30, 38-39, 48, 75.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, pp. 8, 10.

Matsumoto adopted the concept of the spiritual power in his interpretation of the legends in Japan. Matsumoto presented it as a belief in a special power possessed by people with high morality, contained in the fishing instruments, and possessed by god's descendants.

First, he pointed out the primitive belief in the spiritual power stemming from moral virtues in the Ainu legend of the owl god and in the Japanese legend Princess Toyotama in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*. Matsumoto claimed that the Ainu hero received the spiritual power of the animal god because of his moral qualities (*dōtokuteki seishitsu*, 道德的性質) and this spiritual power (*reiryoku*, 靈力) made the hero a rich man and a chief of the village.³⁵⁵ Matsumoto explained that the hero possessed a high moral character because the owl god let the hero kill him and thereby letting the hero win the hunting competition.³⁵⁶ Hence, according to Matsumoto, the Ainu people believed that the spiritual power was transferred from the animal god to the hero.

Furthermore, he implied from the legend of Princess Toyotama that the ancient Japanese people also thought that the spiritual power came from moral excellence.³⁵⁷ This time Matsumoto explained that the hero possessed the spiritual power because of his moral virtues which was proven by the fact that he became rich and won against his older brother: “Also in Princess Toyotama Legend greedy Umisachihiko became poor and subjugated, and

³⁵⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 96, 98, 99. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ainu no potoraacchi” (1930), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 330.

³⁵⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 97.

³⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 44-45.

Yamasachihiko acquired treasures from a different tribe and became the winner. A loyal person, that is a bounteous person, in the tradition of tribal spirit will become the winner in the end rather than a selfishly motivated person.”³⁵⁸ From these points, Matsumoto conjectured that the ancient Japanese people believed that the hero obtained spiritual power due to his moral qualities.

Second, Matsumoto brings to attention from the Japanese legend of Princess Toyotama, that there existed a belief that spiritual power resided in fishing and hunting tools. In his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*, Matsumoto argued that the ancient Japanese people believed that the success of a hunt was determined by spiritual powers which was also contained in their fishing or hunting tools.³⁵⁹ However, as seen from his other cases, Matsumoto neither explained the basis of this Japanese belief, nor did he provide any evidence demonstrating this belief in the spiritual power of the fishing hook which was an important tool in the legend of Princess Toyotama. Thus, Matsumoto only presented another hypothesis of the ancient Japanese belief in the spiritual power.

Third, Matsumoto presented a theory that the ancient Japanese believed in the existence of the spiritual power coming from the descendants of a god or a deity. In his study of the Japanese legend of Princess Toyotama in *The Research of the Japanese Myth*, Matsumoto pointed out that Princess Toyotama was believed to possess spiritual power since she was descended from a sea god. Through this hereditary process, the same power was also transmitted

³⁵⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 98-99.

³⁵⁹ Ibid, pp. 44-45.

to her offspring.³⁶⁰ In addition, Matsumoto claimed that Princess Toyotama was a shamaness (*miko*, 巫女) because she had spiritual abilities (*reinō shutoku*, 靈能取得).³⁶¹ According to Matsumoto, this meant that the hero of the legend could win against his older brother because he too could acquire spiritual power through his wife, Princess Toyotama.³⁶² Hence, Matsumoto assumed that the ancient Japanese people believed in the transmission of the spiritual power from the wife to the husband. As it turned out, Matsumoto connected the concept of the belief in spiritual power with the theory of exogamy since he concluded that the ancient Japanese people believed in acquiring spiritual power through exogamic marriages (a marriage with a woman of a different tribe). Ultimately, Matsumoto presented three hypotheses on the Japanese ancient belief on how the hero in the Princess Toyotama legend obtained spiritual power in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myth*.

Moreover, in the writing “Theories of Ancient Culture”, Matsumoto offered a different interpretation of the origin of spiritual power in the same story of Princess Toyotama. In this version, Matsumoto argued that the hero became rich and secured victory over his brother because he received “the magical power” (*juryoku*, 呪力) from the sea god.³⁶³ Matsumoto used term “spiritual power” (*reiryoku*, 靈力) as well as “magical power” (*juryoku*, 呪力) to indicate the same belief that the ancient people had in special powers. In this way, he tried to imagine

³⁶⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 50-51, 155.

³⁶¹ Ibid, pp. 50-51.

³⁶² Ibid, pp. 44-45.

³⁶³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 154-155.

various interpretations of the ancient Japanese belief in spiritual power without bringing up evidence on such beliefs. However, despite using various terms and different explanations of the special powers, he always pointed out only one effect: to become rich and politically influential. In this point, Matsumoto's theory reflects Mauss' definition of the spiritual power in *The Gift*.

3.4. The influence of the theme of fertility

From Frazer's theories, Matsumoto also adopted the theory of fertility based on the Western interpretation of the myth of Demeter, the goddess of agriculture. James George Frazer developed this theme in the three chapters of his book *The Golden Bough*.³⁶⁴ Matsumoto further drew from papers of various French scholars of European folklore studies (such as Salomon Reinach and Paul-Louis Couchoud) and applied this theory on the Japanese myth of the celestial cave in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*.³⁶⁵

In its chapter "The Ritual of Laughter and the Myth," Matsumoto draws comparisons between the Sun Goddess and the goddess Demeter on the basis of their similarities in approaching the theme of fertility. Both goddesses were regarded as the source of fertility, and it was believed that the world turned in chaos when they became angry. Therefore, much effort was made to recover their humor so that the world could emerge from darkness and restore life.

³⁶⁴ Frazer, James George, "Demeter and Persephone," "The Corn-mother and the Corn-maiden in Northern Europe," "The Corn-mother in many Lands," *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, Wordsworth Reference, 1993, pp. 393-447.

³⁶⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 111.

According to the Japanese myth, the angry Sun Goddess hid in a celestial cave and could only be persuaded to come out with the dance of the Goddess Amenouzume.³⁶⁶ What Matsumoto was attempting to do was using this Western theory of fertility in order to explain the purpose of the dance of the Goddess Amenouzume in the myth of the celestial cave.

Matsumoto gathered that that the ancient Japanese people believed the dance served the purpose of invoking the fertility of nature. In the chapter “The Ritual of Laughter and the Myth,” Matsumoto argued: “Exposing the female genitals... is a way to recall wealth and fertility to the angry ‘nature’ ... In both the Greek myth and the Japanese myth, the laughter evoked by the dancer’s conduct is ceremonial. Owing to this laughter, the life that was thought to be stopped was resurrected.”³⁶⁷ This idea did not originate from Matsumoto since the similarity between the myth of Demeter and the Japanese myth of the Celestial Cave was pointed out by Salomon Reinach, a French specialist in the history of religions.³⁶⁸ Matsumoto’s originality lies in his presentation of these myths together with an Ainu myth that contains a motive of repulsing a demon by a woman’s naked body: “A myth where a woman exposes her bosom and thus brings the light to the world can be discovered also among Ainu tribes.”³⁶⁹ Thus, Matsumoto emphasized the common motive of recovering the fertile power in the Greek, Japanese and Ainu

³⁶⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 101-129. Frazer, James George, “Demeter and Persephone,” *The Golden Bough. A study in magic and religion*, Wordsworth Reference, 1993, pp. 393-394.

³⁶⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 119.

³⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 111.

³⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 120.

myths.

In addition, Matsumoto touched upon this topic again in the paper “A Woman That Does Not Laugh.” However this time, he employed Frazer’s motive of the Goddess Demeter for the interpretation of a cruel queen in the Chinese legend of the King You of Zhou (周幽王). He argued that the topic “a woman that does not laugh” was probably borrowed from the story of an angry goddess which symbolized infertile nature.³⁷⁰ This means that Matsumoto applied Frazer’s theory of the goddess of fertility on the Chinese legend on the basis of a common motive of making a woman laugh. However, in this case of the Chinese legend, he did not attempt to prove the role of the queen as the goddess of fertility. In this way, Matsumoto’s discussion of the Chinese legend was mainly matching the legend with the popular topic of the goddess of fertility in the Western circles.

3.5. Summary

During his studies at Sorbonne University in 1924-1928, Matsumoto studied the application of James George Frazer’s theories from the scholars of the French School of Sociology. Since Matsumoto did not have the sociologist approach in his application of Frazer’s theories to the primitive culture, he was basically an evolutionist ethnologist although he received sociologist influence.

³⁷⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Warazaru onna” (1932), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen III: Tōnan Ajia to Nihon*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 424-425.

Under the evolutionist influence, Matsumoto employed Frazer's concepts of totemism, exogamy, taboo, spiritual power and fertility in his writings. He applied them on the Japanese and Ainu cultures based on the similarities with Southeast Asian, Chinese and other cultures because Western scholars employed these theories on interpretation of these various cultures. Consequently, he combined the Western scholars' theories with data of the cultures. Thus, his contribution was this combination by which he introduced Frazer's theories to the Japanese readers and connected them with Japanese and Ainu cultures. In addition, he also introduced up to a certain degree Southeast Asian culture to the Japanese readers when he discussed the theory of totemism in relation to Southeast Asia. In short, as seen during the period 1919-1923, Matsumoto discussed Southeast Asia under the influence of evolutionist ethnology, but he did not give it special importance.

4. The influence of diffusionist ethnology on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia

This section will examine the influence of diffusionism on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia before Matsumoto's trip to French Indochina in 1933. In the twentieth century, evolutionist ethnology was challenged by ideas of various diffusionist schools. Contrary to evolutionists, diffusionists did not believe in the universal cultural foundation of mankind because they imagined culture as something that spreads from a center towards different peoples which implies various cultural foundations. Consequently, their interpretation on the similarities

between the two different cultures came as a result of the contacts between these cultures, where a more civilized culture influenced a less civilized culture.³⁷¹ Thus, in contrast with evolutionist ethnologists, diffusionist ethnologists argued that people were different by their origin and that similarities between different people were caused by influence from abroad.

First, this section will examine the diffusionist influence of Schmidt's and Przyluski's theory of Austro-Asiatic languages on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia in France. Second, it will explore the influence of other Western diffusionist theories on the Southern Pacific culture. Third, this section will discuss diffusionist influence on Matsumoto's ideas in Japan, especially Yanagita's influence, and point out the contradictions in Matsumoto's ideas due to concurrent evolutionist and sociologist influences.

4.1. The influence of the theory of Austro-Asiatic languages

This section will investigate the influence of the theory of Austro-Asiatic languages on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia. The theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages is a genealogical theory of many languages being distributed across continental Southeast Asia and India.³⁷² Matsumoto studied this theory from his advisor Jean Przyluski who adopted it from

³⁷¹ Gaillard, Gérald, "III The turn of the century. The Diffusionist Schools," *The Routledge Dictionary of Anthropologists*, Routledge, London, New York, 1997, pp. 40-41.

³⁷² The Austro-Asiatic languages – language family of languages distributed in continental Southeast-Asia. They are also referred to as Mon-Khmer languages. This language family includes languages Munda, Khasi-Palaungic, Khmuic, Pakanic, Vieto-Katuic, Bahnaric, Khmer, Pearic, Nicobarese, Aslian, Monic, Shompen.

Austrian linguist and ethnologist Wilhelm Schmidt. The theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages played a central role in Matsumoto's doctoral thesis at Sorbonne University and significantly influenced Matsumoto's further writings.

4.1.1. The significance of Wilhelm Schmidt and Jean Przyluski for Matsumoto's adoption of the theory of Austro-Asiatic languages

Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954), founder of the Vienna Diffusionist School, introduced his theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages in his paper "The Mon-Khmer Peoples, a Link between the Peoples of Central Asia and Austronesia" in 1906.³⁷³ This theory created a sensation in the linguistic and ethnological circles because it pointed out the connection between India and Southeast Asia. In his linguistic research, Schmidt proved that the languages of Munda and Khasi in India, Mon-Khmer languages and some languages of Indochina and Malay Peninsulas belong to the same language family or in other words, have the same origin. Thus, Schmidt's theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages was related to Southeast Asia and had great importance for linguistics and ethnology in general.

Schmidt's theory of Austro-Asiatic languages was very attractive for Matsumoto's teacher Jean Przyluski. Przyluski was chair of Indochina studies at the College de France of

³⁷³ Schmidt, Wilhelm. "Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Braunschweig, new series, 5, 1906, pp. 59-109.

Sorbonne University and researched about the influence of Austro-Asiatic peoples in India.³⁷⁴

He also presented a research on Vietnamese folklore and Indian Buddhism. As Matsumoto suggested: “He [Przyluski] employs the folkloristic methods in his Indological research and explores ancient Buddhism.”³⁷⁵ Thus, Przyluski researched about Indochina and India – two regions whose linguistic links Schmidt had proven in his research on the Austro-Asiatic languages.

As a result of Przyluski’s interest in the Austro-Asiatic languages, he became a specialist in the field in France. This is apparent from his contribution to the French dictionary *The Languages of the World*. Przyluski wrote the part on the Austro-Asiatic languages in this dictionary, which was published by the Linguistic Society of Paris in 1924.³⁷⁶

In his research, Przyluski attempted to prove a wider influence of the Austro-Asiatic languages in India. In his paper “Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan,” Przyluski argued that Sanskrit “acquired important loans from the languages of the non-Dravidian populations.”³⁷⁷ He suggested that these non-Dravidian languages were Austro-Asiatic languages.³⁷⁸ Thus, Przyluski

³⁷⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Furansu ni okeru minzokugakuteki kenkyū,” *Nihon minzokugaku kenkyū*, (ed. by Yanagita), Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, 1935, p. 384. “Gendai Furansu ni okeru Tōyōgaku,” *Fransu no shakaigakka. Gendai ni okeru shokeikō*, Fransu gakkai, 1930, p. 591.

³⁷⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Furansu ni okeru minzokugakuteki kenkyū,” *Nihon minzokugaku kenkyū*, (ed. by Yanagita), Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, 1935, p. 384.

³⁷⁶ Meillet, *Les Langues du Monde*, É. Champion, Paris 1924, pp. 385-403.

³⁷⁷ Przyluski, Jean, “Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan,” *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, translated by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi Culcatta, Culcutta University Press, Senate House, Culcutta, 1929 (French edition in 1923), p. 4.

³⁷⁸ Przyluski, Jean, “Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan,” *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, translated by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi Culcatta, Culcutta University Press, Senate House, Culcutta, 1929 (French edition in 1923), pp. 9, 14, 15, 17, 21, 24, 25, 30.

clearly believed that the sphere of the Austro-Asiatic languages in India was not limited only to the languages of Munda and Khasi, but affected also the Aryan language - Sanskrit. In this sense, Przyluski suggested that the Austro-Asiatic languages originally spread across the entire territory of India. Hence, Przyluski attempted to prove the existence of the Austro-Asiatic sphere in Southern and Southeast Asia.

Matsumoto was impressed by Przyluski's research on the influence of the Austro-Asiatic languages in India "Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan." Its impact was so strong that Matsumoto introduced Przyluski's research to Japanese readers in his paper after returning to Japan. In his article "The Far Eastern Research of Europeans," Matsumoto argued that Przyluski had proved the existence of the vocabulary originating from the Austro-Asiatic languages in the vocabulary of Sanskrit.³⁷⁹ In addition, Matsumoto introduced further of Przyluski's writings.³⁸⁰ From Przyluski, Matsumoto learnt that the Austro-Asiatic influence was not limited only on the sphere of the language: "Moreover, in his paper *Totemism and Vegetalism in India*, Mr. Przyluski mentions about the influence that ancient tribes of the Austro-Asiatic genealogy exerted upon the Indian religion."³⁸¹ Therefore, Matsumoto's writings demonstrate Matsumoto's deep interest in Przyluski's claim of the Austro-Asiatic influence in India.

He actively informed Przyluski that he discovered similarities between the Japanese

³⁷⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Ōshūjin no Kyokutō kenkyū (I)," *Shigaku*, dai 8 kan, dai 1 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1929, pp. 24-25.

³⁸⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, pp. 46-52.

³⁸¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 46.

vocabulary and the vocabulary of the Austro-Asiatic languages. Przyluski, who was deeply concerned with the Austro-Asiatic languages at that time, encouraged Matsumoto to inquire about the similarities between the Austro-Asiatic languages and the Japanese language.³⁸² Matsumoto spent a summer holiday at Przyluski's summer house in Chamonney Valey.³⁸³

4.1.2. Matsumoto's adoption of the theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages

Under Przyluski's influence and guidance, Matsumoto wrote a doctoral thesis *The Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic languages: A Comparative Study of Vocabulary*.³⁸⁴ In the thesis, Matsumoto attempted to prove the affinity of the Japanese language with the Southern languages by the comparison of the roots of the words. He declared that he was able to prove the relationship between the Japanese people and the Austro-Asiatic peoples. He identified 113 common word roots: "... anyway, we can affirm that the Austro-Asiatic element played an important role in the formation of the Japanese language. In the anthropological, archeological and ethnological domains, the proof was already made that there are relations between the Japanese and Austro-Asiatic peoples; no surprise to these relations if they would have transmitted by a common linguistic element. ...we have successfully approached step by step

³⁸² Arima Makiko, "Hito, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Kikan jinruigaku*, 5-1, Shakaishisōsha, 1974, p. 156 (an interview with Matsumoto Nobuhiro).

³⁸³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Furansu daigaku," *Sanshokuki*, dai 42 gō, Keiō Gijuku Daigaku tsūshin kyōikubu, 1951, p. 2.

³⁸⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques: étude de vocabulaire comparé*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928.

113 Japanese roots of Austro-Asiatic words, and this number is not absolute: new researches permit, without doubts, multiple examples. In these conditions, we are convinced about the broad relation of Japanese and Austro-Asiatic languages.”³⁸⁵

However, his argument on the cause of the similarities between the Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic languages was contradictory because he claimed that there were the Japanese roots of words in the vocabulary of the Austro-Asiatic languages. At the same time, he emphasized the importance of the Austro-Asiatic element for the formation of the Japanese language.³⁸⁶ His sentence on the Japanese roots of words in the Austro-Asiatic vocabulary was probably a mistake because Matsumoto never presented an argument of the Japanese influence on the Austro-Asiatic languages. Nevertheless, it is clear that Matsumoto adopted Schmidt’s theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages following the model of Przyluski’s comparative research of the Sanskrit vocabulary with the vocabulary of the Austro-Asiatic languages. Therefore, Matsumoto claimed the influence of the Austro-Asiatic languages in Japan in the similar way Przyluski claimed the influence of the Austro-Asiatic languages in India.

Nonetheless, Matsumoto misinterpreted Schmidt’s theory in his doctoral thesis. This was because he compared the Japanese and Ryukyu languages with the Austro-Asiatic languages and the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) languages³⁸⁷ despite entitling the thesis *The Japanese*

³⁸⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques: étude de vocabulaire comparé*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, p. 96.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 96.

³⁸⁷ Austronesian languages, or Malayo-Polynesian languages, are distributed in maritime Southeast Asia, Oceania and Madagascar. Few Austronesian speakers are also in continental Southeast Asia.

and the Austro-Asiatic languages: A Comparative Study of Vocabulary.³⁸⁸ This means that, unlike Schmidt, he did not distinguish between the Austro-Asiatic languages in continental Southeast Asia and the Austronesian languages in insular Southeast Asia and the Pacific as separate language families. This fact was criticized by Schmidt at the Congress of German Linguists in Vienna in 1930. At this conference, Schmidt noted that Matsumoto used the term “the Austric languages” for indicating two groups of the Austro-Asiatic languages and the Austronesian languages.³⁸⁹ Przyluski also misinterpreted Schmidt’s theory in his preface to Matsumoto’s thesis.³⁹⁰ Since the research of language genealogies was in its embryonic stage, it was natural that various interpretations of the Austro-Asiatic language family existed. Thus, it is clear that Matsumoto adopted Przyluski’s interpretation and included the Austronesian languages into the Austro-Asiatic languages following Przyluski’s instruction.

Moreover, Schmidt rejected the conclusion of Matsumoto’s thesis *The Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic languages: A Comparative Study of Vocabulary* that the Austro-Asiatic languages played a significant role in the formation of the Japanese language. Schmidt declared that there was no genealogical relationship between the Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic languages. In addition, Japanese linguist Kobayashi Hideo also dismissed the results of Matsumoto’s linguistic

³⁸⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques: étude de vocabulaire comparé*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, pp. 45-93.

³⁸⁹ Schmidt, Wilhelm, “Nihongo to Ōsutorisshugo tonon kankei” (“Die Beziehungen der austrischen Sprachen zum Japanischen”), *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, transl. by Matsumoto Nobuhiro, 1942, p. 357.

³⁹⁰ Przyluski, Jean, “Preface,” in Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques: étude de vocabulaire comparé*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, p. VII.

research due to the lack of evidences in 1928.³⁹¹ Matsumoto defended his thesis against Schmidt's criticism in his Japanese writing arguing that Schmidt misunderstood his purpose and that Matsumoto discussed only the relationship between the Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic languages, and not their common genealogy.³⁹²

Obviously, Matsumoto was confused about the meaning of the comparison of the Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic cultures due to the concurrent influence by evolutionist, sociologist and diffusionist ethnologists. While evolutionists and sociologist ethnologists searched for common elements of the various cultures to clarify the cultural basis of the mankind, diffusionist ethnologists compared various cultures (languages) in order to clarify their genealogy and then pointed out the common origin of the compared languages. Consequently, Matsumoto interpreted the common culture by two ways. First, he was based on the evolutionist-sociologist hypothesis of universal primitive culture when he compared various peoples' customs. Second, he followed the hypothesis of cultural diffusion when he compared languages.

However, Matsumoto had the support from some French scholars. In addition to Przyluski, diffusionist ethnologist Paul Rivet (1876-1958), acknowledged Matsumoto's

³⁹¹ Kobayashi, Hideo, "Nihongo no shozoku mondai – Matsumoto Nobuhiro shi no kingi wo yomu," *Minzoku*, dai 4 kan, dai 1 gō, Minzoku hakkōjo, 1928, p. 165.

³⁹² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Ōsutorikku gozoku ha hatashite sonzai nasuya," *Shigaku*, dai 10 kan, dai 1 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1931, p. 96. Schmidt, Wilhelm, "Die Beziehungen der austrischen Sprachen zum Japanischen," *Wien Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Vol. I, Wien, 1930, pp. 239-252 opt. cit. in Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, pp. 94-95. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Ōsutoroajiago ni kan suru shomondai," *Kawai kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, Kawaikyōju kanreki shukugakai, 1931, pp. 513-519.

conclusion on the Austro-Asiatic influence on Japan. In his book *Sumerian and Oceanian*, Rivet discussed theories claiming the influence of Southern culture including Przyluski's and Matsumoto's opinions.³⁹³ Rivet wrote in relation to the result of Matsumoto's doctoral thesis: "O. Gjerdman signalized a great number of lexical accords between Ainu and the Austronesian languages ... Furthermore, a Japanese scholar, Matsumoto brought evidence on similarities between the same languages and the Japanese language."³⁹⁴ This means that Rivet also disagreed with Schmidt's definition of the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages. Hence, the opinion on the Austro-Asiatic influence encompassing Austronesia was shared by some scholars in the French ethnological and linguistic circles. For this reason, Matsumoto could continue to claim the validity of his comparative research of the Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic languages.

Matsumoto republished his linguistic research from his doctoral thesis *The Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic languages: A Comparative Study of Vocabulary* in his paper "Problems of the Austro-Asiatic languages"³⁹⁵ and in his writing "Theories of Ancient Culture."³⁹⁶ His only correction was that he decreased the number of the common root words of the Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic languages from 113 to 97.³⁹⁷ He again argued the close relationship of the

³⁹³ Rivet, Paul, *Sumérien et Océanien*, Librairie ancienne honoré champion, La Société de linguistique de Paris, Paris, 1929, p. 11.

³⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 9.

³⁹⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Ōsutoroajiago ni kan suru shomondai," *Kawai kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, Kawai kyōju kanreki shukugakai, 1931, pp. 481-522.

³⁹⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, pp. 81-95.

³⁹⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Ōsutoroajiago ni kan suru shomondai," *Kawai kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, Kawai kyōju kanreki shukugakai, 1931, p. 512. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku*

Japanese language with the Austro-Asiatic languages (*Ōsutoroajia go*, オーストロアジア語) without defining the relationship specifically: “From this table of correspondences, it is clear that the vocabulary of the Japanese language has a close relationship with the vocabulary of the Austro-Asiatic language family. But what kind of conclusion can be drawn from it? Is it the common origin of the Japanese language and the Austric language family? At the present point, we cannot state it clearly. But, should we admit that both languages had contacts and mixed up, and the Japanese language borrowed the vocabulary from the Austric languages? It is also difficult to give a safe answer to it. Today the only proven fact is that the Southern elements played an important role in the formation of the Japanese language.”³⁹⁸ Thus, although Matsumoto did not know how to interpret the similarities between the Japanese language and the Austro-Asiatic languages, he accepted the diffusionist interpretation of the Austro-Asiatic influence on the Japanese language because his teacher Jean Przyluski and Paul Rivet argued about the Austro-Asiatic influence.

However, Matsumoto did not only agree with Przyluski’s opinion on the Austro-Asiatic influence in India. He also surmised the existence of the Austro-Asiatic elements in China. In his paper “Theories of Ancient Culture” (1932), he first paid attention to the archaeological fact that the stone implements found in China were not made by the ethnical Chinese.³⁹⁹ Then, he

taikei, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 93.

³⁹⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ōsutoroajia go ni kan suru shomondai,” *Kawai kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, Kawai kyōju kanreki shukugakai, 1931, p. 513. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikai*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 94.

³⁹⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikai*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 5.

claimed that he believed in the contacts of the Austro-Asiatic languages and the Chinese language.⁴⁰⁰ Finally, he followed Przyluski's opinion that the Southern culture influenced the Chinese culture: "According to Mr. Przyluski, the custom of the spring festival is a living topic in China's tales in which a girl throws a ball and chooses her spouse like this, and this is the influence of Southward [*Nampō*, 南方] peoples on the China's culture."⁴⁰¹ Thus, under Przyluski's influence, Matsumoto did not take the theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages only as a linguistic theory, but he imagined a zone of the Austro-Asiatic culture which encompassed India, Southeast Asia, China and Japan. Since he believed in the diffusionist theory of Southern influence, he surmised that the Austro-Asiatic culture spread from a center in Southeast Asia to India, China and Japan.

In summary, Matsumoto adopted Wilhelm Schmidt's theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages under Jean Przyluski's influence. This theory established a genealogical connection between some languages of Southeast Asia and India. However, Matsumoto adopted Przyluski's interpretation of Schmidt's theory which emphasized the influence of the Austro-Asiatic languages including Austronesian languages not only from the linguistic perspective, but also from the ethnological perspective. Thus, Matsumoto mixed the Austro-Asiatic language family with the Austronesian language family and linguistic genealogy (Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian) with ethnological genealogy. This ambiguity is typically seen further in

⁴⁰⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 77.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, p. 109.

Matsumoto's works.

Under Przyluski's influence, Matsumoto began arguing the Austro-Asiatic influence in Japan, India, and China. Matsumoto's research of the Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic languages was criticized by many scholars including Wilhelm Schmidt. Still, Matsumoto received support of the French scholars, such as Jean Przyluski and Paul Rivet, who argued the distribution of the Austro-Asiatic languages over a much larger territory than Schmidt had proposed. Thus, as a result of Przyluski's influence, Matsumoto became a proponent of the Southern theory advocating Japan's connection with the South, especially with Southeast Asia.

4.2. The influence of the theory of Southern Pacific influence

In addition to Jean Przyluski's influence, Matsumoto was inspired by other diffusionist ethnologists' theories on the Southern Pacific influence. This section will examine the influence of the French diffusionist Paul Rivet (1876-1958) and the American diffusionist Roland B. Dixon (1875-1934) on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia. Dixon's influence has been already pointed out by Hirafuji Kikuko.⁴⁰²

During his studies at Sorbonne University, Matsumoto was exposed to Paul Rivet's diffusionist ideas on the Southern Pacific. Paul Rivet was the director of the anthropological

⁴⁰² Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shakaigakuteki kenkyū – Matsumoto Nobuhiro no shinwa kenkyū ni okeru Furansu shakaigakuha no eikyō," *Shinwagaku to Nihon no kamigami*, Kōbunkan, 2004, p. 38.

department of the Parisian Museum of Natural Sciences.⁴⁰³ At the time Matsumoto was in Paris in 1924-1928, Rivet presented writings on the diffusion of the Southern Pacific culture: *Melaneso-polynesians and Australians in America*,⁴⁰⁴ *Australians in America*,⁴⁰⁵ and “Malayo-Polynesians in America.”⁴⁰⁶ It can be surmised that Matsumoto also attended Rivet’s lectures. This is because Rivet’s works were the second foreign work that Matsumoto introduced to the Japanese readers after his return to Japan. First, Matsumoto wrote about Przyluski’s work on the Austro-Asiatic influence in India, and then he presented about Rivet’s works on the South Pacific influence in America in his paper “Far Eastern Research of Europeans (II).”⁴⁰⁷ Matsumoto also mentioned about Rivet’s research in his paper “The Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic Languages.”⁴⁰⁸ In addition, he pointed out the most recent book by Rivet, *Sumerian and Oceanian* (1929) in his article “Problems of the Austro-Asiatic languages”⁴⁰⁹ and in his paper “Theories of Ancient Culture.”⁴¹⁰ Through his references to Rivet in his writings, it is apparent that Matsumoto paid attention to several of Rivet’s works in 1929-1932 when Matsumoto presented his research of the Austro-Asiatic languages.

⁴⁰³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ōshūjin no Kyokutō kenkyū (II),” *Shigaku*, dai 8 kan, dai 3 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1929, p. 43 (365).

⁴⁰⁴ Rivet, Paul, *Les Mélaneso-polynésiens et les Australiens en Amérique*, Picard, Paris 1924

⁴⁰⁵ Rivet, Paul, *Les Australiens en Amérique*, Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, Paris, 1925.

⁴⁰⁶ Rivet, Paul, “Les Malayo-Polynésien en Amérique”, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Nouvelle Série, XVIII, 1926, pp. 143-145.

⁴⁰⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ōshūjin no Kyokutō kenkyū (II),” *Shigaku*, dai 8 kan, dai 3 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1929, pp. 43-60 (365-382).

⁴⁰⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nihongo to Ōsutoroajiago,” *Shigaku zasshi*, Shigakkai, dai 40 kan, dai 1 gō, 1929, p. 111.

⁴⁰⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ōsutoroajiago ni kan suru shomondai,” *Kawai kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, Kawai kyōju kanreki shukugakai, 1931, pp. 519.

⁴¹⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, pp. 55-57.

First, Matsumoto became interested in Rivet's idea of the connection between Australia, Oceania and the American continents. Rivet attempted to prove a close relationship of a North American language with the Austronesian languages in his booklet *Australians in America* and a close relationship of a South American language with Australian languages in his paper "Malayo-Polynesians in America" through the comparison of the vocabulary.⁴¹¹ Matsumoto believed in Rivet's research findings as he wrote in his paper "Far Eastern Research of Europeans (II)": "On 12 December 1924, the Nestor of the French linguistic circles Antoine Meillet reported about two of Rivet's researches in the Academie des Inscription et Belles-Lettres and supported his theory as valuable. As Rivet says, the existence of a close kinship relation between South Seas languages [*Nankai go*, 南海語] and the languages of the American continent is difficult to believe quickly, but the mutual contacts among them should be confirmed; [Rivet's] research shed some light on the difficult issue of what are the origins of the American languages, we can say that it indicated the direction of the future research."⁴¹² Matsumoto expressed his support of Rivet's conclusion in his paper "Theories of Ancient Culture": "Rivet demonstrated that the North American language family has relations with Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia languages."⁴¹³ These statements suggest that Matsumoto

⁴¹¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Ōshūjin no Kyokutō kenkyū (II)," *Shigaku*, dai 8 kan, dai 3 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1929, p. 43 (365). Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Ōsutoroajiago ni kan suru shomondai," *Kawai kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, Kawai kyōju kanreki shukugakai, 1931, p. 519. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 55.

⁴¹² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Ōshūjin no Kyokutō kenkyū (II)," *Shigaku*, dai 8 kan, dai 3 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1929, pp. 43-44 (365-466).

⁴¹³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 60.

considered South Seas languages (*Nankaigo*, 南海語) a very broad language family that included the Austro-Asiatic languages and the languages of Oceania and Australia (that encompasses also Austronesian languages). This is also visible from Matsumoto's incorporation of the Austronesian languages in the Austro-Asiatic language family in his doctoral thesis *The Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic languages: A Comparative Study of Vocabulary* (1928).

Second, Matsumoto discussed Rivet's idea about the connection of the Sumerian language with the Austronesian languages from Rivet's book *Sumerian and Oceanian*. Matsumoto presented Rivet's comparative research in his paper "Theories of Ancient Culture."⁴¹⁴ Matsumoto agreed in general with Rivet's conclusion about the similarity of the Sumerian language with the South Sea languages (Australia, Tasmania, Melanesia, Indonesia, Mon-Khmer etc.): "From these examples, we can see that the vocabulary of the Sumerian language is very similar to the vocabulary of the South Sea languages."⁴¹⁵ In his comparative research, Rivet included also the Mon-Khmer languages from the Austro-Asiatic language family.⁴¹⁶ Thus, Matsumoto shared Rivet's argument that the South Seas languages (including Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages) expanded over a large territory since they came in contact with the Sumerian language.

It has been mentioned earlier that Matsumoto borrowed Przyluski's idea of the Austro-Asiatic zone spreading from India in the West to Japan in the East. Under Rivet's

⁴¹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, pp. 55-57.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, p. 57.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid, p. 57.

influence, Matsumoto imagined this cultural zone to be even broader – reaching as far as America. Consequently, Matsumoto perceived Southeast Asia with the Austro-Asiatic languages as a core of a larger South Seas culture that expanded in many directions in the ancient times.

Matsumoto's concern for the South Seas was supported by the leader of the French School of Sociology - by Marcel Mauss. Mauss discussed Melanesian and Polynesian culture in his book *The Gift* and recommended Matsumoto to consider the comparison of the Japanese and the Oceanic myths. Matsumoto brings this up in the second edition of his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*: "The comparative research of resemblance between the Japanese myths and the myths of Pacific islands was recommended to me in Paris by Marcel Mauss, the great master in the research of primitive religions..."⁴¹⁷

However, there was an important difference between Mauss' and Matsumoto's approach to the South Seas. Mauss considered the Southern Pacific culture to be suitable for researching the basis for the modern society in general as was discussed in Section 2. (The influence of sociologist ethnology on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia). Matsumoto shared Mauss' opinion, but he also tended to discuss the Japanese contacts with the South Seas culture and emphasized the influence of South Seas culture under the various diffusionist influences. This means that Matsumoto's discussion of the South Seas languages was diffusionist in contrast to the sociological approach of Marcel Mauss. Nevertheless, it is clear that Mauss also encouraged

⁴¹⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa kenkyū*, Ibundō, 1956 (2nd edition), p. 1.

Matsumoto to pay attention to Southern culture.

As a result of Mauss' recommendation, Matsumoto became interested in the Southern Pacific myths researched by diffusionist scholar Roland B. Dixon. Matsumoto read Dixon's book *Oceanic*⁴¹⁸ because it represented a basic reading on Southern Pacific mythology at that time. Moreover, Dixon who was Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University was the teacher of Matsumoto's teacher Utsushikawa Nenozo (1884-1947). Coincidentally, Utsushikawa visited Matsumoto in Paris before he established ethnology at Taihoku Imperial University in Taiwan in 1928. During this time, Matsumoto helped Utsushikawa to collect necessary literature on the South Seas in Paris.⁴¹⁹ Therefore, it was most probable that Utsushikawa also encouraged Matsumoto to study the South Seas and shared with him more about Dixon's ideas. Thus, under Mauss' and Utsushikawa's influence, Matsumoto considered Dixon's work on Oceanic mythology very significant.

In his book *Oceanic*, Dixon classified various Oceanic myths into two types: the genealogical (evolutionary) type and the creative type.⁴²⁰ Furthermore, he divided Oceania into five different regions (Polynesia, Melanesia, Indonesia, Micronesia, and Australia) according to the characteristics of their mythology.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁸ Dixon, Roland Burrage, *Oceanic*, Marshall Jones, Boston, 1916.

⁴¹⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 177. "Kodai bunkaron" *Gendai shigaku taikai*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 178. Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 232

⁴²⁰ Dixon, Roland Burrage, *Oceanic*, Marshall Jones, Boston, 1916, pp. 2, 5, 18.

⁴²¹ Ibid, pp. xi, xiv.

From Dixon's book, Matsumoto adopted the classification of the myths on the genealogical or evolutionary type and the creative type and paraphrased the Oceanic myths in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*.⁴²² Against this theoretical background, Matsumoto singled out the similarities of the Japanese myth concerning the creation of Heaven and Earth with the Polynesian myth of the evolutionary type: "The first half of the Japanese myth of the creation of the world has similar points with this evolutionary myth of Polynesia."⁴²³ This approach to the Japanese myth was later adopted by Ōbayashi Taryō.⁴²⁴ In this sense, Dixon's book supported Matsumoto's belief in the Southern influence on the Japanese culture although Dixon himself did not discuss it at all.

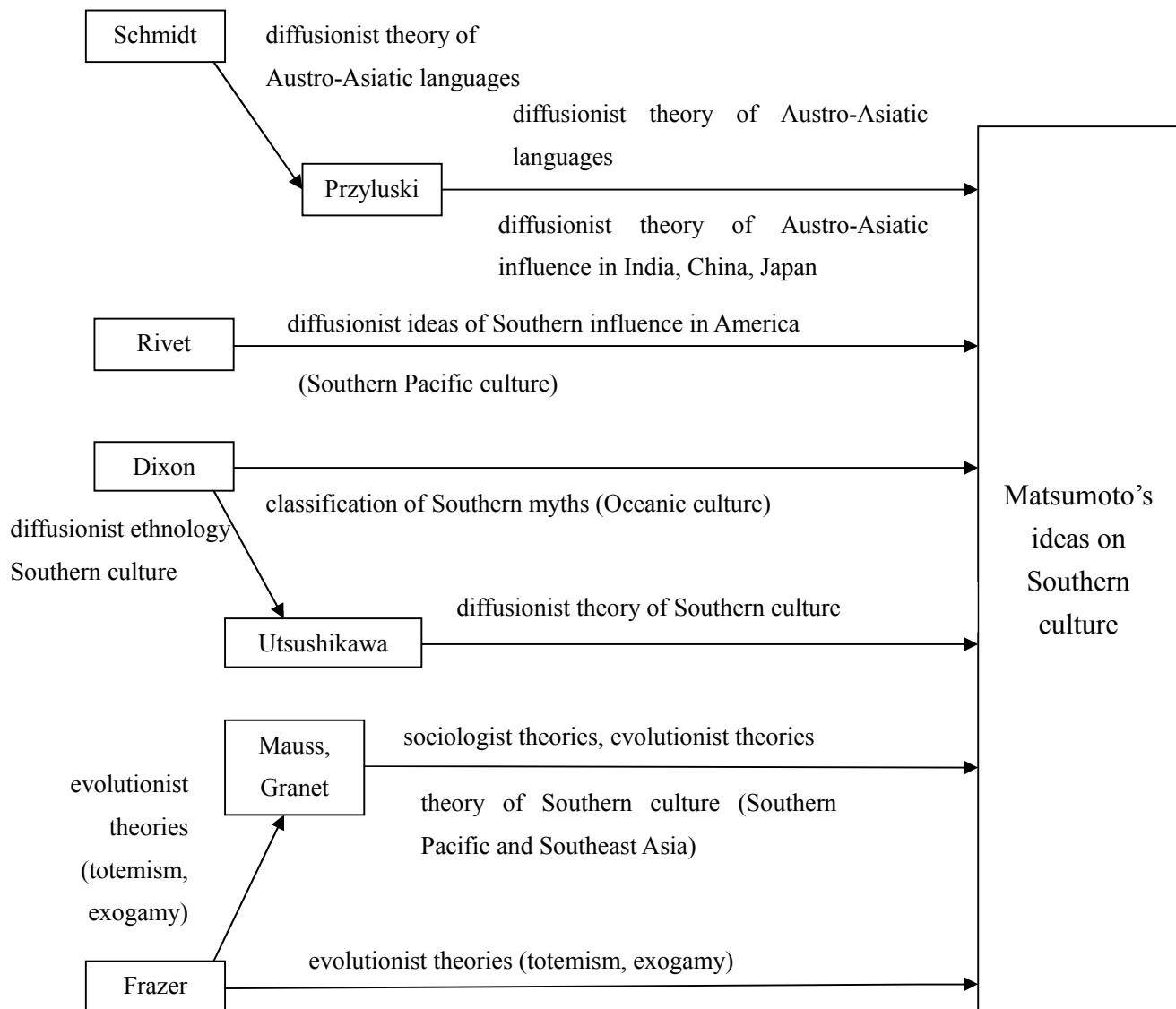
In summary, Matsumoto became deeply interested in Southern culture due to influence by diffusionist scholars and instigation from sociologist Marcel Mauss. From Rivet's ideas, Matsumoto developed a hypothesis that the South Seas including Southeast Asia was a cultural zone where the Southern culture spread in ancient times. In addition, Matsumoto found similarities between the Japanese myths and the Oceanic myths contained in Dixon's research. In this way, Matsumoto regarded the findings in Dixon's book as evidence of the Southern Pacific influence which was argued by Rivet.

⁴²² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 178-179.

⁴²³ Ibid, p. 181.

⁴²⁴ Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Sōzōgata shinwa," *Nihon shinwa no kigen*, Kadokawa shoten, 1961, pp. 58-64. Ōbayashi also compared the Japanese myths with Oceanian myths in Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Tsuranaru Tōnan Ajia, Oceania," *Shinwa no keifu: nihon shinwa no genryū wo saguru*, Seidosha, 1986, pp. 221-315.

Chart 1: Influences on Matsumoto's ideas of Southern culture in France



4.3. The influence of ideas of Southern culture in Japan

Before his studies in France, Matsumoto was exposed to diffusionist ideas of Southern culture in Japan. This section will examine the influence of Japanese ideas about Southern culture on Matsumoto's writings.

First, Matsumoto's ideas on Southern culture were influenced by Yanagita's account of

his experience in the eastern coast of Kyushu and the Ryukyu Islands. Yanagita traveled there from December 1920 to March 1921.⁴²⁵ As a result of this research trip, Yanagita wrote several essays which were published first in a series of articles in the Asahi Newspaper in 1921 and were included in his book *Small Records from Seas in South* (*Nankai shōki*, 海南小記) in April 1925.⁴²⁶ However, Yanagita's influence did not have any impact on Matsumoto's writings in the early 1920s. Matsumoto mentioned Ryukyu myths in relation to the Japanese myths for the first time in his French doctoral thesis in 1928.⁴²⁷ Then, he compared a Ryukyu legend with a Japanese myth in his book *The Research of the Japanese myths*.⁴²⁸ This means that Yanagita's ideas on Southern culture became significant for Matsumoto only after he received the influence of Western scholars arguing importance of Southern culture during the years 1924-1928.

Matsumoto wrote that the Okinawa trip had an enormous impact on Yanagita. According to Matsumoto's statement, Yanagita organized a research meeting in which he argued the importance of Okinawa. In addition, Yanagita organized the Southern Islands Discussion Meeting (*Nantō danwakai*, 南島談話会) to deliver his research of Okinawa in 1922.⁴²⁹ Matsumoto also wrote that Yanagita originally planned to go on this research trip with his friend Orikuchi Shinobu (1887-1953), but they did not meet on the way due to technical problems in

⁴²⁵ Fukuta, Ajio, *Yanagita Kunio no minzokugaku*, Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1992, p. 257. *Yanagita Kunio: sasayakanaru mukashi shō kokyō shichijūnen shō*, ed. by Okaya Kōji, Nihontoshosentā, 1998, p. 245.

⁴²⁶ Ibid, pp. 245-246.

⁴²⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, p.

⁴²⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 188.

⁴²⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Yanagita Kunio 'Kainan shōki' to 'Kaijō no michi' – minzoku to minzoku ni tsuite" *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 333.

their communication.⁴³⁰ Thus, it is clear that Matsumoto was present at Yanagita's research meetings concerning the travel to Okinawa and also knew the details of Yanagita's journey.

Yanagita's ideas in *Small Records from Seas in South* had a significant influence on the formation of Matsumoto's ideas of Southern culture. The most important opinion was Yanagita's argument on the migration across the ocean to the Japanese islands. According to his book *Small Records from Seas in South*, Yanagita believed in "great migration of the ancient oceanic people" which changed the culture of the Japanese islands by mixing with the native people.⁴³¹ Based on this hypothesis, Yanagita examined various connections of the Japanese islands with the south. For example, he pointed out that the sweet potato in Kyushu originally came from Southern China.⁴³²

However, despite this idea of Japan's connection with South, Yanagita did not argue the Japanese origins abroad Japan. His interest in Southern culture was mainly interest in culture spread in the Southern parts of the Japanese Empire, such as Kyushu, Ryukyu and Taiwan. For example, he proposed a theory that the origin of the Japanese tale of Potato Digger Millionaire is in Kyushu.⁴³³ In this way, Yanagita was diffusionist looking for the Japanese origins in Southern Japan.

⁴³⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Yanagita Kunio 'Kainan shōki' to 'Kaijō no michi' – minzoku to minzoku ni tsuite" *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 333.

⁴³¹ Yanagita, Kunio, *Kainan shōki*, Sōgensha, 1945 (first edition 1925), pp. iv-v.

⁴³² Ibid, p. 4.

⁴³³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Imohori chōsha" (1930), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 309-310.

Matsumoto adopted Yanagita's idea of a transoceanic migration from the South. In his French doctoral thesis on mythology *Essay on the Japanese Mythology*, Matsumoto argued that the advent of the first Japanese emperor in Hyūga in the Japanese myths has "allusion to migrations of the Japanese people from South-East to North-East."⁴³⁴ In this context, Matsumoto pointed out "the influence of Southern civilization" in Kyushu where Hyūga was a religious political center.⁴³⁵

Second, in Yanagita's folklore circles, Matsumoto came in contact with Iha Fuyu (1876-1947) who founded the Japanese Ryukyu studies. Yanagita's relationship with Iha Fuyu was undoubtedly strengthened by their meeting in Naha in January 1921.⁴³⁶ Matsumoto's relationship with Iha was discussed by Sato Yoshiyuki who attempted to analyze Iha's letters to Matsumoto.⁴³⁷ Matsumoto respected Iha as an influential scholar in Ryukyu studies. Matsumoto took note of Iha's research of the Okinawan dialect in his doctoral thesis *The Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic Languages: A Comparative Study of Vocabulary*.⁴³⁸ Furthermore, he drew on Ryukyu legends from Iha's book *Old Ryukyu* (1911) in his doctoral thesis *Essay on the Japanese Mythology*.⁴³⁹ This reveals that Matsumoto obviously knew to some extent Iha's work in

⁴³⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, p. 104.

⁴³⁵ Ibid, p. 104.

⁴³⁶ Matsumoto, Mikio, "Yanagita Kunio no Ryūkyū tabi," *Yanagita Kunio to umi no michi: "Kainan shōki" no genkei*, Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2003, pp. 108.

⁴³⁷ Satō, Yoshiyuki, "Iha Fuyu no Matsumoto Nobuhiro ate shokan. Meiji-Taishō no gengogaku, sono 9," *Gakuen*, No. 821, 2009/3, pp. 102-109.

⁴³⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques: étude de vocabulaire comparé*, Paris, P. Geuthner, 1928, p. 11.

⁴³⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, pp. 114-115.

linguistics as well as in folklore studies.

Third, Matsumoto read books related to Taiwanese culture. In *Essay on the Japanese Mythology*, he referred especially to Sakima Kōei's *Legends of Southern Islands* (南島説話, 1922) and Sayama and Onishi's *The Collection of Traditions of Taiwanese Aborigines* (生蛮伝説集, 1923).⁴⁴⁰ In these books, Matsumoto drew from the legends of the marriage between a brother and a sister and the myth of the separation of the heaven from the earth in the appendix "Analogies between the Japanese myths and the myths of southern peoples."⁴⁴¹ Matsumoto mentioned the same Taiwanese legends in his Japanese book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*.⁴⁴² In other words, he used the legends and myths in these books on Taiwan in order to point out their similarities with the Japanese ancient culture.

Fourth, Matsumoto was probably affected by writings of journalist and politician Takegoshi Yosaburo (1865-1950) who was advocator of Japan's Southern Advance. Takegoshi graduated Keio University. In 1910, he published records from his travel to Dutch East Indies, French Indochina and Yunnan in China, where he went in 1909, in his book *Records from Southern Countries*.⁴⁴³ Here, he pointed out that he could imagine prehistoric relationship between the Japanese and Malaysian peoples based on similarities between the two cultures.⁴⁴⁴

Thus, Matsumoto could learn from Takegoshi about the Japanese connection with the South Seas

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 119, 122, 123, 125, 126.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 113-126.

⁴⁴² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 196-197.

⁴⁴³ Takegoshi, Yosaburō, *Nankokuki*, Nippon hyōronsha, 1942 (1st edition 1910), p.134.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 272.

in the ancient times.

In summary, Matsumoto came in contact with the research of Southern culture in Japan in the early 1920s before his studies in France. Although there existed some travel records from Southeast Asia, the Japanese research of Southern culture was generally limited to Okinawa and Taiwan which were annexed to the Japanese Empire in the late nineteenth century. The research of these regions was the starting point of South Seas studies in Japan because it was easy to access them in comparison with of other Southern regions. Moreover, since Yanagita made the effort to promote Okinawa studies, these South Seas studies also had relations to Japanese folklore studies. Under this influence, Matsumoto began thinking about the significance of the Southern culture for Japan. Like Yanagita, Matsumoto believed that the Southern culture was brought across the sea to Kyushu. For this reason, he made comparison of myths and legends from Japan with those from Ryukyu, Taiwan, Southeast Asia and Southern Pacific. In short, Matsumoto and Yanagita can be considered to be followers of diffusionism since they both believed that the Southern culture was imported to Japan.

4.3.1. Matsumoto's concept of the South Seas

The discussion on the diffusionist influence on Matsumoto's ideas showed that Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia were inseparably linked with his ideas on the South Seas and the Southern culture. It is because Matsumoto interpreted the theory of Austro-Asiatic

languages, including those of Austronesian languages in connection with Southern Pacific areas and with Southern Japan. This reflects the Japanese geographical context of the South Seas. Therefore, this section will examine Matsumoto's use of the term of the South Seas in his writings.

During the period 1924-1932, Matsumoto used two geographical concepts including Southeast Asia: the Japanese concept *Nanyō* (南洋) and the Chinese concept *Nankai* (南海). For example, he wrote *Nanyō* in "Theories of Ancient Culture": "However, as Dixon has surmised, the oral tradition of Thai ethnic in the mountains of Indochina is similar to the South Seas tradition [南洋伝統]."⁴⁴⁵ At the same time, he used also the term *Nankai* (南海): "Therefore, for research of civilization of ancient India, it is necessary to consider the South Seas [南海], especially folklore of manners and customs of Indochina's primitive people as a comparative source."⁴⁴⁶ These quotations suggest that Matsumoto gave preference to the Chinese concept *Nankai* when he also covered Indian region in his discussion. In addition, he used the word South Seas languages (*Nankaigo*, 南海語) as synonymous with Austro-Asiatic languages: "[Paul Rivet] argues that all South Sea languages [*Nankai go*, 南海語] of Australia, Tasmania, Melanesia, Indonesia, Mon-Khmer, etc. are similar."⁴⁴⁷ It is because Khasi and Munda languages from Mon-Khmer languages are spoken in India. However, the Chinese concept *Nankai* did not originally include Australia, Tasmania and Melanesia. Therefore, it seems that

⁴⁴⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, pp. 104-191.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid, pp. 104-105.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 55.

Matsumoto's concept of *Nankai* was the Japanese concept of *Nanyō* enlarged by the Indian region.

Therefore, in his vocabulary for South Seas, Matsumoto mixed *Nanyō* (南洋) and *Nankai* (南海) and was ambiguous in distinguishing between Southeast Asia and the Southern Pacific region. This was because while he held the Japanese and Chinese notions of the South Seas, he also adopted Western concepts of Austro-Asiatic languages encompassing Austronesian languages and the Western concept of the Oceanic region. Nevertheless, it is clear that Matsumoto chose to pay attention especially to the South Seas in the sense that it was a region lying South of Japan.

4.3.2. Matsumoto's advocacy of the Southern Theory and contradictions in Matsumoto's ideas

Due to his interest in the South Seas under the diffusionist influence, Matsumoto became an advocater of the Southern Theory which argued the importance of the South Seas for Japan. At that time, the Southern Theory represented a minor stream in contradiction with the Northern theory that emphasized the Japanese contacts with the Asian continent, especially with China and Korea. However, Matsumoto's teacher Yanagita Kunio claimed the importance of the Southern culture. This situation enabled Matsumoto to follow Yanagita's stance in Japan. Thus, this section will examine Matsumoto's advocacy of the Southern Theory in Japan.

Matsumoto took the opposite stance against the Northern influence following his teacher

Yanagita Kunio. Yanagita who made the effort to establish the origins of the Japanese tradition in Japanese territory disliked any reference to foreign influence on the Japanese culture as Ito Seiji pointed out.⁴⁴⁸ Matsumoto emphasized Yanagita's anti-foreign approach: "Yanagita avoided the discussion mentioning examples from abroad, avoided calling the tales of *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* myths and disliked calling the Japanese *Mikodō* [巫女道] by the name Shamanism from the continent."⁴⁴⁹ Thus, Yanagita was critical towards the Northern Theory that advocated the influence of the Northern Asian continent on the Japanese culture.

Matsumoto became fully aware of Yanagita's opposition to the Northern Theory especially in 1930. In this year, Matsumoto presented a paper "The Tale of Potato Digger Millionaire" in which he compared a Japanese tale with a Korean tale. On the basis of the similarity between the Japanese and the Korean tales, Matsumoto claimed that "the old legend of Hachimangū genealogy has quite a deep and logical connection with Korea" and that "we may consider that these myths and legends were imported to Japan together with the crafts that arrived from the continent."⁴⁵⁰ This study by Matsumoto was diffusionist because he claimed the Korean origins of the Japanese tale in his conclusion.

⁴⁴⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Yanagita Kunio 'Kainan shōki' to 'Kaijō no michi' – minzoku to minzoku ni tsuite" *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 336-338. Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhito to imohiru chōsha no hanashi," *Nihon bunka no kigen*, dai 3 kan, Geppō dai 3 gō, 1978, pp. 5-8. Itō, Seiji, "Sumiyaki chōsha no hanashi – Yanagita Kunio to Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shigaku*, dai 75 kan, dai 2/3 gō, 2007, pp. 211-231. Yanagita, Kunio, "Kigenron kentō," *Minkan denshōron*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1934, pp. 69-73.

⁴⁴⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon bunka no kigen*, dai 3 kan, "Minzokugaku 1," Heibonsha, 1971, p. 12.

⁴⁵⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Imohori chōsha" (1930), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 310.

In this paper, Matsumoto proposed a hypothesis different from Yanagita's theory who argued that the origin of the tale of Potato Digger Millionaire is in Usa Hachimangū of Kyushu.⁴⁵¹ Yanagita responded in anger to Matsumoto's argument. Yanagita's reaction had a strong effect on Matsumoto. Matsumoto described this episode in his paper "Yanagita Kunio's 'Notes from South Sea' and 'The Sea Route' – about the Race and the Folklore"⁴⁵² and also Ito Seiji discussed this problem in his writings "Matsumoto Nobuhiro and the Tale of Potato Digger Millionaire"⁴⁵³ and "The Tale of Charcoal Burner Millionaire – Yanagita Kunio and Matsumoto Nobuhiro."⁴⁵⁴ In addition, Ito mentioned that Matsumoto hesitantly told his students that he was scolded by Yanagita.⁴⁵⁵ Since Yanagita was Matsumoto's life-long teacher, Matsumoto had to accept Yanagita's opposition. Therefore, for the sake of maintaining a good relationship with Yanagita, Matsumoto took a critical stance towards the Northern Theory and became prudent when claiming Japanese origins from abroad.

Matsumoto criticized the Northern Theory in his paper "Theories of Ancient Culture":

"We should reconsider the attitude of researchers whose existing researches pay attention only to the relationship with the Northern continent, and there is only one thing to say: we should

⁴⁵¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Imohori chōsha" (1930), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 309-310.

⁴⁵² Matsumoto Nobuhiro explained this Yanagita's opposition as the opposition of ethnology and folklore studies. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Yanagita Kunio 'Kainan shōki' to 'Kaijō no michi' – minzoku to minzoku ni tsuite" *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 336-338.

⁴⁵³ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhito to imohori chōsha no hanashi," *Nihon bunka no kigen*, dai 3 kan, Geppō dai 3 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 5-8.

⁴⁵⁴ Itō, Seiji, "Sumiyaki chōsha no hanashi – Yanagita Kunio to Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shigaku*, dai 75 kan, dai 2/3 gō, 2007, pp. 211-231.

⁴⁵⁵ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhito to imohiru chōsha no hanashi," *Nihon bunka no kigen*, dai 3 kan, Geppō dai 3 gō, 1978, p. 6.

consider [the Japanese] contacts with the South Seas.”⁴⁵⁶ Thus, he claimed importance of the contacts of the Japanese culture and the Southern culture while admitting the influence of the Northern culture.

Since the Northern theory argued mainly the Chinese influence on the Japanese civilization, Matsumoto aimed at denouncing the importance of the Chinese influence by claiming the importance of the South Seas. In his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*, Matsumoto wrote: “I do not think that gods expressing a relatively high philosophical thinking, such as two gods Takamimusubi and Kamimusubi, were formed in Japan for the first time as a result of the Chinese influence. The god like Io in the New Zealand’s myth exists as immortal and myriad of things and he is a supreme god. If such a god can exist, then it is not necessary to estimate that the Japanese spiritual ability at the time of creating the myth was so low; therefore, I cannot think that the ability to believe in higher gods like Musubinokami did not develop until the reception of the Chinese thinking.”⁴⁵⁷ Thus, the comparison of the Japanese and Southern Pacific myths served Matsumoto as a counter-argument against the Northern Theory.

Yanagita’s attitude to the folklore studies had significant influence on Matsumoto’s discussion on the Southern influence. Matsumoto did not specify Southern influence on the Japanese culture although he argued for it twice in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*

⁴⁵⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Ōsutoroajiago ni kan suru shomondai,” *Kawai kyōju kanreki kinen ronbunshū*, Kawai kyōju kanreki shukugakai, 1931, p. 513. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikai*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 94.

⁴⁵⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 177. “Kodai bunkaron” *Gendai shigaku taikai*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, pp. 181-182.

published in Japan.⁴⁵⁸ He described the Southern influence only in his doctoral thesis *An Essay on the Japanese Mythology* published in France: “The myth of god Hikohohodemi presents a local color that manifests influence of the southern civilization. ... Moreover it guards the maritime character. We cannot suppose that this myth was imagined by inhabitants of the Yamato Province, the site of the imperial power, a country surrounded by mountains. It is probable that the origins of this account come from a tradition transmitted by certain maritime tribes of Kyushu, probably the Hayatos, and that it was later assimilated by official myths and incorporated into the mythic history of the imperial family.”⁴⁵⁹ From this quotation, it is evident that Matsumoto characterized the Southern influence as an influence of a maritime culture in his book published in France. In this way, Matsumoto’s diffusionist argument was generally limited on the proclamation of the Southern influence on the Japanese culture. Matsumoto did not examine from where and how the Southern culture was transmitted to Japan or what influence it specifically exerted on the Japanese culture.

Moreover, while pointing out the maritime influence from South on Japan, Matsumoto also argued that the myths are a result of the environment of the country: “...the myths of a nation are a specific product of its country and have close relations with the seasonal festival of the region.”⁴⁶⁰ He emphasized that the Japanese cults were compatible with the Japanese

⁴⁵⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, pp. 165, 273.

⁴⁵⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, p. 212.

⁴⁶⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 177. “Kodai bunkaron” *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 125.

land.⁴⁶¹ He thought that the belief of the primitive people was formed by various cults of the natural gods or of the personified nature.⁴⁶²

These arguments reflect Yanagita's approach from evolutionist ethnology by which he interpreted Japanese folklore from the common people's relation to their natural environment. In addition, the argument of connection with seasonal festivals came from the sociologist ethnologists. Matsumoto also specifies in his paper "Theories of Ancient Culture" that his teacher and sociologist ethnologist Marcel Granet had preferred comparisons with various ethnic groups living in a region with a similar climate.⁴⁶³ Thus, Matsumoto also had a hypothesis based on evolutionist and sociologist ethnology that the oceanic character was the original Japanese trait coming from the Japanese natural environment.

This contradiction in interpreting the oceanic character of the Japanese culture was caused by the inconsistencies in Yanagita's ideas and by contradicting ideas of Matsumoto's French teachers Mauss, Granet and Przyluski. Yanagita stood by his rule to interpret the Japanese folklore as a national culture – in relation with the Japanese environment in accord with evolutionism. Although he believed in the existence of Japan's transoceanic connection with Southeast Asia, he claimed the origins of the Japanese culture in the Southern parts of the Japanese Empire. Thus, he argued the Southern genealogy in the Japanese culture, but rejected

⁴⁶¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 177. "Kodai bunkaron" *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 125.

⁴⁶² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 148.

⁴⁶³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron" *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 125.

the claim of its foreign origins. In addition, although Mauss suggested Matsumoto to compare the Japanese myths with Southern Pacific myths, he did not support the theory of Southern influence. On the contrary, Przyluski was known for promoting Austro-Asiatic (that is Southern) influence. Thus, Mauss and Granet believed in the similarity of the Japanese and Southern Pacific myths due to their hypothesis of the common primitive culture as a result of similar natural environments. However, Przyluski thought that the similarity meant there was a Southern influence in Japan. All these opinions caused contradictions Matsumoto's writings since Matsumoto tried to follow the opinions of all his teachers.

Thus, as previous researches have already argued, Matsumoto became an advocator of the Southern Theory in opposition to the Northern Theory. However, the circumstances were complicated. First of all, Yanagita's critical attitude to the Northern Theory played a key role for Matsumoto's advocacy of the Southern Theory in Japan. Second, Matsumoto could become advocator of the Southern Theory owing to his studies in Western diffusionist ethnology claiming the diffusion of Southern culture from Southeast Asia and from the Southern Pacific. Third, Matsumoto did not argue for the origins of the Japanese culture abroad because it was against the opinion of his main teacher Yanagita on Japanese culture. Thus, Matsumoto had to compromise between his and Yanagita's ideas in his advocacy of the Southern Theory.

4.4. Summary

The analysis of Matsumoto's diffusionist arguments demonstrated that Matsumoto started focusing on Southeast Asia under the influence of diffusionist scholars. He had some knowledge of Southern culture in relation to the South Seas from Yanagita Kunio before going to France. However, he could not learn about Southeast Asia from Yanagita because Yanagita's research was limited to Japanese territory including the Ryukyu Islands and Taiwan. On the contrary, in France, Matsumoto studied theories of diffusionist scholars whose research was closely related to Southeast Asia, such as Przyluski's theory of the Austro-Asiatic influence and Rivet's theory of the Southern Pacific influence, and Dixon's theory of Oceanic myths. After his return to Japan, Matsumoto introduced French scholars' theories to the Japanese academic circles because Yanagita's interest in Southern culture enabled Matsumoto to advocate Southern theory emphasizing the South Seas.

In this period, Matsumoto perceived Southeast Asia as a part of the Japanese and Chinese geographical concepts of the South Seas, which also included the Southern Pacific. In addition to these concepts, Matsumoto adopted Przyluski's interpretation of the Austro-Asiatic languages, including also the Austronesian languages; other French scholar's theories on the Southern Pacific culture; and Yanagita's theory on Southern culture. Matsumoto borrowed these scholars' arguments on the diffusion of this Southern culture to other regions, such as India, China, America and Japan. Therefore, under this diffusionist influence, Matsumoto perceived Southeast

Asia as a center of a cultural zone, from which its influence spread to various directions, including Japan.

5. Conclusion

The analysis of Matsumoto's writings in 1924-1932 in this chapter showed that Matsumoto was influenced by sociologist, evolutionist and diffusionist ethnology during this period. However, it was demonstrated that, among these influences, Matsumoto focused on Southeast Asia mainly because of the diffusionist influence. This was a change in comparison with the previous period when Matsumoto cast only a cursory glance at Southeast Asia due to the influence of evolutionist ethnology.

First, Matsumoto received the influence of the French School of Sociology since Marcel Mauss and Jean Granet introduced him sociological theories at Sorbonne University. In addition to the sociological theory of the seasonal festivals mentioned by Hirafuji Kikuko, this thesis proved that Matsumoto also adopted the theory of the gift and the potlatch, and the theory of the unity of religious and political power. Sociologists applied these theories universally on any race because they were unilinear evolutionists who studied the human society in general. Therefore, neither Mauss nor Granet were concentrated on Southeast Asia. Only Granet discussed Southeast Asian culture in relation with ancient Chinese customs. Consequently, it became clear that Matsumoto did not focus on Southeast Asia under their sociological influence.

Moreover, although Matsumoto adopted some sociological ideas, he wrote only one work from a purely sociological perspective. This is found in his doctoral thesis *The Essay on the Japanese Mythology* (1928), which was completed under the guidance of Marcel Granet. Thus, Matsumoto did not become a sociologist ethnologist after a four-year study under the leading scholars of the French School of Sociology. This is because he studied not only sociologist theories, but also evolutionist and diffusionist theories at Sorbonne University. Moreover, his Japanese teacher Yanagita Kunio was not a sociologist, thus, it was difficult for Matsumoto to employ sociologist approach after his return from France. Consequently, Matsumoto adopted Mauss' and Granet's sociological ideas only superficially by matching them with the material of the Japanese and Ainu culture in the majority of his writings. Therefore, his contribution lies in introducing French sociological concepts to the Japanese academic circles.

Second, Matsumoto Nobuhiro was again influenced by evolutionist ethnology during his studies in Paris, because his French teachers borrowed James George Frazer's ideas. From Matsumoto's writings during the period 1924-1932, it became apparent that Matsumoto employed Frazer's theories of totemism and exogamy, taboo, the spiritual power and the theme of the goddess of the fertility. Generally, Matsumoto applied these theories mainly on the Japanese and Ainu cultures. Thus, Matsumoto again combined theories by Western scholars with the most available material in Japan which was not related to Southeast Asia.

Among the evolutionist ethnological theories, Matsumoto observed closely totemism and

exogamy because they were discussed by his teachers Marcel Granet and Jean Przyluski. He used totemism for the interpretation of the Japanese legend of Princess Toyotama. He wrote a paper on totemism in Southeast Asia entitled “The Clan ‘Coconut tree’ and the Popular Tale ‘Coconut’ of Cham People.” Thus, under the influence of evolutionist ethnology, Matsumoto paid attention to Southeast Asia as a region of totemism. He had already pointed out totemism in Southeast Asia in his early period 1919-1924. However, other evolutionist ethnological theories did not make Matsumoto more interested in Southeast Asia during the period 1924-1932.

Third, Matsumoto was influenced by diffusionist ideas based on multilinear evolutionism during his studies in France. Namely, he adopted Wilhelm Schmidt’s theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages in Southeast Asia and India from his teacher Jean Przyluski. Przyluski’s interpretation of the theory was different from the original Schmidt’s theory because Przyluski believed in the wide expansion of the Austro-Asiatic culture also encompassing Austronesia and claimed Austro-Asiatic influence in Japan and China. Matsumoto adopted Przyluski’s version of the theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages in his doctoral thesis *The Japanese and the Austro-Asiatic Languages: A Comparative Study of Vocabulary* (1928). However, Matsumoto’s research was criticized by Western and the Japanese scholars alike. Only a few French scholars, such as Jean Przyluski and Paul Rivet, supported Matsumoto’s conclusion that the Austro-Asiatic languages had any relation with the Japanese language. Nevertheless, as a result of adopting the theory of Austro-Asiatic languages, Matsumoto became aware of the necessity to research Southeast Asia

and the South Seas.

In addition to the theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages, Matsumoto studied the diffusionist works of Paul Rivet and Roland B. Dixon on Southern Pacific. Also from their research, Matsumoto obtained an image of a vast cultural zone in the South Seas which expanded into various directions in the ancient times. Therefore, it is clear that Matsumoto's interest in Southeast Asia deepened as a result of the diffusionist influence by the Western scholars.

Besides this diffusionist influence from Western scholars, Matsumoto came in contact with diffusionism in Japan when he learnt Yanagita Kunio's ideas of Southern culture. From Yanagita, Matsumoto borrowed the idea of the Southern influence through the migration of the oceanic people from the South to Japan, and criticized the Northward theory on the Japanese culture. However, in Japan, Matsumoto did not have the chance to study more about the Southern regions because Japanese research on the South Seas, and especially of Southeast Asia, was almost non-existent. Thus, owing to his studies at Sorbonne University, Matsumoto had knowledge on Southeast Asia and the South Seas to advocate the Southern Theory together with Yanagita in Japan in contrast to the main-stream Northern Theory.

As a result of various influences from Western and Japanese scholars, Matsumoto faced contradictions in his thinking originating from the differences between evolutionist and sociologist ethnology on the one hand and diffusionist ethnology on the other hand. From

evolutionist Yanagita, and sociologists Mauss and Granet, Matsumoto learnt that the Japanese culture is formed by the influence of the natural environments, thus the similarities between Japanese and other peoples were caused by the resembleness of their natural environments. At the same time, Matsumoto also presented a diffusionist opinion that the oceanic trait in the Japanese culture was imported from the Southern oceanic culture. It is because he borrowed Rivet's and Yanagita's argument of diffusion of the Southern culture. Consequently, Matsumoto had two interpretations of the oceanic trait in the Japanese culture: first, an evolutionist and sociologist interpretation based on unilinear evolutionist that this trait was the result of the similar natural environments; second, a diffusionist interpretation based on multilinear evolutionism that this trait was the result of the Southern influence.

Torn between two approaches, Matsumoto did not attempt to deepen his discussion in any of these directions. Unlike Yanagita, he did not further examine connection between the Japanese culture and the Japanese natural environment although he adopted sociological theory of the seasonal festivals. Nor did he try to clarify more about the Southern influence in the Japanese culture, for example by inquiring what elements of Southern culture were imported, from where and how they were brought to Japan. Nonetheless, despite this reluctance, it is obvious from his discussion of Southern culture that Matsumoto believed in significance of Southeast Asia and South Pacific for Japan. In this way, Matsumoto Nobuhiro became an advocator of the Southern theory and a researcher of Southeast Asia during the period

1924-1932.

In sum, previous researchers argued that Matsumoto was an advocator of Southern genealogy and was influenced by the French School of Sociology. However, this thesis pieces together evidence that Matsumoto employed not only sociologist theories, but also evolutionist and diffusionist theories, among which the last ones mostly inspired Matsumoto's interest in Southeast Asia.

Chapter 4: The Formation of Matsumoto's Ideas on Southeast Asia in

1933-1939

1. Introduction

The change in Japan's international situation in the 1930s influenced Matsumoto's academic career. While Japan appeared to play by the rules as a member of the international community in the 1920s, her imperialistic ambitions assumed frontstage in Japan's Northern and Southern advance, especially as her involvement in China intensified during the 1930s. Similarly, while Matsumoto studied in France in the 1920s, he conducted several field trips to Asia and the Pacific in the 1930s. These trips can be divided into three groups according to their destinations.

First, Matsumoto went on a research trip to French Indochina in summer 1933 and stopped by Hong Kong on his way back to Japan. This trip was financed by the Keio University Mochidzuki Foundation shortly after the conclusion of the Japan-French Trade Agreement (13 May 1932), which was also applied to Japan-Indochina relations.⁴⁶⁴ This was followed by a conclusion of the Customs Treaty between Japan and French Indochina in 1934.⁴⁶⁵ Matsumoto boarded a ship Surabaya belonging to OSK Company which began providing a direct connection between Kobe and Haiphong at the end of 1932.⁴⁶⁶ The timing shows that Matsumoto went to

⁴⁶⁴ "Customs agreement conclusion between Japan and Indochina," National Archives of Japan, Showa Financial Historical Materials No.4 Vol.137, Reference code: A08072515300

⁴⁶⁵ "Documents relating to customs treaty between Japan and French Indochina," Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Documents relating to customs treaty between Japan and French Indochina, Reference code: B04013588500.

⁴⁶⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina inshōki (I)," *Mita hyōron*, dai 437 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 24.

Indochina when the Japanese began entering the Indochina market.

Second, Matsumoto visited the Southern Pacific islands of Palau, Tenian, and Saipan under the administration of the Japanese; and New Guinea under the Dutch in 1937. Japan continued occupying these islands, which it received under the mandate of the League of Nations after World War I, despite its withdrawal from the League on 27 March 1933. The reason was the growing involvement of Japanese companies in the region which was also accompanied by the migration of Japanese people to make up for the labor shortage. While there were only 3,600 Japanese scattered over these islands in 1920, the Japanese population exceeded 50,000 in 1937. Moreover, Matsumoto visited the Southern Pacific islands owing to the support of Nanyo Kohatsu K. K. (Nan'yō Kōhatsu Kaisha, 南洋興発会社) which prospered from the cultivation of sugarcane in Micronesia.⁴⁶⁷ Nanyo Kohatsu K. K. had close relations with a group of Japanese ethnologists of which Matsumoto was member. Hence, Matsumoto's trip to the Southern Pacific islands was conducted during the time of Japanese colonization and economic expansion there. This means that Matsumoto had contacts with the people preaching Japan's Southern advance.

Third, Matsumoto participated in two research trips to China as part of the group dispatched by Keio University with the support of the Keio University Mochidzuki Foundation in 1938 and in 1939. Matsumoto's reports from this travel clearly showed that Matsumoto could

⁴⁶⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Waga Nan'yō wo miru," *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, p. 6.

get access to the Chinese historical relics as a result of the Japanese occupation of the Chinese territory. At the same time, Matsumoto did not remain in the dark about the effects of the occupation as he witnessed the war damages on the historical sites when he visited Shanghai, Nanjing and Hangzhou several months after the Marco-Polo Bridge Incident (7 July 1937), the Nanjing Incident (13 December 1937) and the Battle of Shanghai (13 August – 26 November 1937). In other words, Matsumoto's accessibility to these sites of academic interest was facilitated by the Japanese military's acquisition of Chinese territory following the Second Sino-Japanese War.

Due to the Japanese expansion, Matsumoto went on research trips to various locations of which two (Indochina and the Southern Pacific islands) had connections to Japan's Southern Advance. The aims of his research trips were to collect Western works on Southeast Asia and Vietnamese books published in French Indochina,⁴⁶⁸ the observation of the native culture in the Southern Pacific islands⁴⁶⁹ and to join an excavation survey in China⁴⁷⁰ respectively. However, in China, things took an unexpected turn when Matsumoto was invited to join a Japanese team working on the requisition of specimens from Chinese museums. Though it was a departure from his original plans, Matsumoto spent time organizing Chinese research reports and classifying archaeological artifacts.⁴⁷¹ In addition, on these trips, Matsumoto met with the local inhabitants

⁴⁶⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina inshōki (I)," *Mita hyōron*, dai 437 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, p. 26.

⁴⁶⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nan'yō guntō ryokō nisshi," *Shigaku*, dai 16 kan, dai 3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1937, p. 77.

⁴⁷⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kōnan hōkoki," *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan, dai 4 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1939, p. 3.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid, p. 4.

and observed their culture. Consequently, Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia were not based only on the research produced by other scholars but also on Matsumoto's personal experiences.

Despite his various objectives and destinations, all of Matsumoto's trips were connected with his research of Southeast Asia. This is because Matsumoto adopted Heine-Geldern's diffusionist hypotheses that the contemporary inhabitants in continental Southeast Asia had their origins in China and that the ancestors of the inhabitants in maritime Southeast Asia and the Pacific came from continental Southeast Asia in ancient times.⁴⁷² Moreover, Matsumoto shared Przyluski's diffusionist opinion that Southeast Asian culture influenced Chinese culture. This means that Matsumoto thought that ancestors of contemporary Southeast Asian peoples influenced Han people in the period when they resided on the Chinese territory in close contact with Han people. Then, ancestors of contemporary Southeast Asian peoples were pushed by expansion of Han people to Southeast Asia where they subjugated original inhabitants or forced them to move to the mountains or migrate to maritime Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Therefore, the locations of Matsumoto's trips corresponded to the places discussed by diffusionist theories related to Southeast Asia.

Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia in 1933-1939 were strongly influenced by diffusionism which became the mainstream of ethnology in the 1930s, both in the world and in Japan. The first congress of the International Anthropological and Ethnological Society in

⁴⁷² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina minzoku," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 3. "Indoshina gengo no keitō," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 38.

London in summer 1934 showed that diffusionism dominated the world's ethnological circles.⁴⁷³

Following this event, the Japan Ethnological Society was established based on diffusionist principles in January 1935.⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, the leader of the Vienna Diffusionist School Wilhelm

Schmidt visited Tokyo in May 1935 and delivered a lecture advising the Japanese scholars to reject evolutionist ethnology and implement the diffusionist research methods in ethnology.⁴⁷⁵

Schmidt also mentioned the difficulty in spreading diffusionist methods throughout France since evolutionist methods was overwhelmingly more popular there.⁴⁷⁶ In this way, Matsumoto, who was also partially evolutionist and partially sociologist ethnologist, had to avoid mentioning his ideas from evolutionist and sociologist ethnology and give priority to diffusionism.

Nevertheless, the establishment of ethnology as an academic discipline in Japan enabled Matsumoto to introduce ethnology at Keio University. He started teaching ethnology at Keio University in 1938.⁴⁷⁷ Even though, the detailed content of his lectures remains unknown. Matsumoto presented an overview of various ethnic groups which was what Chikamori Masashi (*1935) learnt in Matsumoto's class of ethnology in the 1950s.⁴⁷⁸ Matsumoto probably

⁴⁷³ "Nihon minzoku gakkai setsuritsu shuisho," *Minzokugaku kenkyū*, dai 1 kan, dai 1 gō, Nihon minzoku gakkai, Sanseidō, 1935, pp. 219-220.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid, pp. 219-222.

⁴⁷⁵ Schmidt, Wilhelm, *Nihon no minzokugakuteki chii tankyū he no atarashiki michi*, Kokusai bunka shinkōkai, 1935, (translated to Japanese by Oka Masao), p. 3.

⁴⁷⁶ Schmidt, Wilhelm, *The Culture Historical Method of Ethnology. The Scientific Approach to the Racial Question*, translated by S. A. Sieber, Fortuny's, New York, 1939, p. 75. (*Handbuch der Methode der kulturhistorischen Ethnologie*, 1937)

⁴⁷⁷ Kawakita, Nobuo, "Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu kyōin tantō kamoku ichiran," *Shigaku*, dai 60 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mita Shigakkai, 1991, p. 379.

⁴⁷⁸ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

incorporated his new knowledge from materials that he collected in French Indochina in his lectures on ethnology.

In the same period, Matsumoto maintained his relationship with Yanagita Kunio who was a leader of Japanese folklore studies. Thus, despite the separation of ethnology and folklore studies in 1935, Matsumoto continued his participation both in ethnological and folkloristic circles. This is also apparent from the fact that Matsumoto published two papers on Japanese myths although he was busy with writing various papers on Indochina in 1934.⁴⁷⁹ Furthermore, Matsumoto's article "A Supplement to Akashi Teiichi's On Relation of Magical Objects and Astronomy in 'the Annamese Variation of the Legend of the Old Otter'" reveals that Matsumoto shared Yanagita's opinion on the diffusion of the legends.⁴⁸⁰

From the above discussion, it is clear that Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia were developed by his research trips to French Indochina, the Southern Pacific islands and China under the dominance of diffusionist ethnology during the period 1933-1939. Among previous researches, Shimaō Minoru pointed out Matsumoto's contribution to the foundation of Southeast Asian studies in Japan in the 1930s.⁴⁸¹ Also, Frédéric Roustan discussed the significance of Matsumoto's trip to Indochina for Matsumoto's foundation of Vietnamese studies in the

⁴⁷⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nihon shinwa no kanken" (1934), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 311-319. "Nihon shinwa ni tsuite," *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi*, Iwanami shoten, 1934, pp. 1-44.

⁴⁸⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Akashi Teikichi 'Rōnorachi densetsu no Annan den' no reibutsu to tenmon no kankei, tsuiki" (1935), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 153-155.

⁴⁸¹ Shimaō, Minoru, "Betonamu. Tōnan Ajiashi he no teii to tenkai," *Tōnan Ajia shi. Kenkyū no hatten*, Tōnan Ajia gakkai 40 shūnen, Kinen jigyō iinkai, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009, p. 110.

1930s.⁴⁸² Therefore, this chapter will examine Matsumoto's formation as the founder of Southeast Asian studies and the development of his ideas on Southeast Asia during the period 1933-1939. First, this chapter will discuss the significance of Matsumoto's research trips in securing his position as the founder of Southeast Asian studies and his contribution to the Japanese academic circles. Then, it will examine the presence of Orientalism and the climate theory in Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia.

2. The significance of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trips for the establishment of Southeast Asian studies in Japan

Ito Seiji claimed that Matsumoto's trip to Indochina represented the start of establishing Matsumoto's "position as a pioneer in Southeast Asian studies."⁴⁸³ Ito mainly emphasized that Matsumoto brought Vietnamese annals to Japan.⁴⁸⁴ Ito was not alone in this assertion, as many other researchers pointed out Matsumoto's contribution lay in his collection of Vietnamese books.⁴⁸⁵ However, there are also other important aspects of Matsumoto's trips that need to be

⁴⁸² Roustan, Frédéric, "From Oriental Studies to South Pacific Studies: The Multiple Origins of Vietnamese Studies," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 2011, p. 13.

⁴⁸³ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 18. "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 234.

⁴⁸⁴ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon," *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 18-19. "Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei wo shinonde," *Minzoku kenkyū*, dai 46 kan, dai 1 gō, Nihon minzoku gakkai, 1981, p. 126.

⁴⁸⁵ Iwai, Daie, "Nagata Yasukichi shūshū Annam bon mokuroku," *Shigaku*, dai 14 kan, dai 2 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1935, pp. 101-109 (283-291); Yamamoto, Tatsurō, "Betnamu kenkyū shiryō no shōkai to shuppan," *Nihon bunka no kigen*, dai 3 kan, Geppō dai 3 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 3-5; Wada, Hironari, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro kyōju jūrai no Vetnamu shahon sanshu ni tsuite - Nihon-Chūgoku no kindai to Vetnamu," *Shigaku*, dai 35 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1963, pp. 431-434; *Keiō gijuku toshokan zō Matsumoto bunko mokuroku*, Keiō gijuku daigaku Mita jōhō sentā, 1991; Wada, Masahiko "Matsumoto

looked at. This section will investigate the significance of Matsumoto's travels abroad in the 1930s from Matsumoto's writings in order to understand better Matsumoto's contribution to the foundation of Southeast Asian studies.

2.1. Significance of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trip to French Indochina

This section will examine the significance of Matsumoto's research trip to French Indochina for Matsumoto's career as a pioneer in Southeast Asian studies. First, it will discuss the experience and the knowledge that Matsumoto acquired on this research trip. Furthermore, it will shed light on the contribution that Matsumoto brought to the Japanese academic circles from his research trip to French Indochina.

2.1.1. Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trip to French Indochina

Matsumoto Nobuhiro's trip to French Indochina represented an important watershed in Matsumoto's studies of Southeast Asia because Matsumoto experienced Indochinese culture directly and acquired a wealth of research material on Indochina. Matsumoto visited Vietnam, namely the research institutions and museums established there by the French government. His purpose was to collect research material on Southeast Asia which was lacking in Japan. This

Nobuhiro hakase jūrai no Annan hon ni tsuite - Keiō gijuku toshokan Matsumoto bunko shozō Annan hon kaidai" (Jō), *Shigaku*, dai 62 kan, dai 1/2 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1992, pp. 165-183; Wada, Masahiko "Matsumoto Nobuhiro hakase jūrai no Annan hon ni tsuite - Keiō gijuku toshokan Matsumoto bunko shozō Annan hon kaidai" (Ka), *Shigaku*, dai 63 kan, dai 1/2 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1993, pp. 165-183; Hayashi, Masako, "Betonamu hon ni tsuite - 'Tōyō bunko zō Betonamu hon shomoku' ni miru Nihon tono kakawari," *Atomi gakuen joshi daigaku bungaku fōramu*, 9, Atomi gakuen joshi daigaku, 2011, pp. 188-127.

suggests that Matsumoto was aiming to establish Southeast Asian studies in Japan through this travel.

Matsumoto visited French Indochina in summer 1933. Originally, he had a chance to go to China, but he decided to go to French Indochina instead.⁴⁸⁶ The reason was that he became interested in Indochina under the influence of his teacher Jean Przyluski during his studies at Sorbonne University in 1924-1928. Moreover, Matsumoto's friend Émile Gaspardone (1895-1982) was a researcher at the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) in Hanoi at the time; thus Matsumoto was working under the best conditions to fulfil his purpose in Indochina. With Gaspardone's help, Matsumoto visited EFEO facilities in Vietnam and brought back to Japan Western works on Southeast Asia and a collection of Vietnamese books. In EFEO in Hanoi, Matsumoto also met the Korean scholar Kim Yung-kun (金永鍵, born in Japan in 1910) who worked there as assistant in 1932-1940.⁴⁸⁷ Kim presented many works on the Vietnamese culture and Vietnam's relations with abroad including the history of the Japanese people in Vietnam.⁴⁸⁸ However, Matsumoto mentioned about Kim only once when he introduced his writing about the Vietnamese drifted to Japan in 1936.⁴⁸⁹

Matsumoto departed from Kobe on 29 July 1933 and arrived in Haiphong on 8 August

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo. Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 233.

⁴⁸⁷ Yun, De-yon, "1930-1940 nendai no Kin Ei-ken to Betonamu kenkyū," *Tōnan Ajia kenkyū*, dai 48 kan, dai 3 gō, Kyōto daigaku tōnan Ajia kenkyū sentā, 2010, pp. 317, 320.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid, pp. 314-333.

⁴⁸⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Tsuiki," *Minzokugaku kenkyū*, dai 2 kan, dai 1 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1936, pp. 66-69.

1933.⁴⁹⁰ He considered his study in the library of the EFEO in Hanoi to be the best time of his research trip: “Approximately for one month and a half, I was researching through the Annamese [=Vietnamese]⁴⁹¹ books, being helped by kind Annamese public servants in the reading room where the fan was turned on. This was the most wonderful memory of my voyage.”⁴⁹² Matsumoto’s impressions reveal that his delight came from being able to attain his main goal in Indochina which was the acquisition of the written sources.

Furthermore, Gaspardone took Matsumoto on a trip by car to Cao Bằng Province in Tonkin on 2 September 1933.⁴⁹³ Matsumoto could observe there peoples of various ethnic minorities, such as Thái (Tho), Mèo, and Mán, especially in their natural environment.⁴⁹⁴

Then, Matsumoto went to Huế by train. He visited the royal palace with the historical archive and royal tombs there.⁴⁹⁵ In the historical archives, he started negotiating with authorities in attempt to acquire copies of the *Annals of the Đại Nam* (*Đại Nam Thực lục*, 大南實錄) which were the much coveted annals of the last Vietnamese dynasty Nguyễn: “The Annals of the Đại Nam is a precious writing that has not been even partially introduced in Japan, and the goal of my trip was to bring a part of them to Japan. I negotiated directly with Phạm Quỳnh,

⁴⁹⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (I),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 437 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁹¹ Annam is an old naming for Vietnam. Annamese means Vietnamese.

⁴⁹² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (I),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 437 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 27.

⁴⁹³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (II),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 440 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 24.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 25.

⁴⁹⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (III),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, pp. 10-11.

but I got the answer that they would only permit me to print only a section of the introduction.”⁴⁹⁶ In Huế, Matsumoto also visited the Association des Amis du Vieux Huế with its small library and the Khải Định Museum in the royal palace.⁴⁹⁷ Finally, Matsumoto went by car to Đà Nẵng (Tourane) and to Hội An (Faifo) on the 17 September. He stopped at Đà Nẵng for the sole purpose of seeing the Cham museum. Then, he visited the Japanese bridge and the Japanese graves in Hội An where a Japanese town used to stand.⁴⁹⁸ He could visit them because he learnt about them from Kim Yung-kun who described Japan-related places in his writings.⁴⁹⁹ In short, Matsumoto visited museums, archives and places related to Japan in Southern Vietnam.

Matsumoto was among the few Japanese who travelled in Vietnam of French Indochina at that time. Since Matsumoto was fluent in French due to his studies in Paris, he had no problems in communicating with the French and the French-speaking Vietnamese. During his stay in Vietnam, Matsumoto could see the French quarters, meet Vietnamese intellectuals who received French education, and witness the lives of the everyday folk in Vietnam, an experience important to Matsumoto because the commoners were the ones that preserved their traditional customs. In addition, he could also observe ethnic minorities living in the mountains of Tonkin. Matsumoto’s experience was unique among Japanese scholars because he was probably the first Japanese to visit Indochina for academic purposes. Unfortunately, Matsumoto’s notes from

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 13.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid, pp. 13-16.

⁴⁹⁹ Yun, De-yon, “1930-1940 nendai no Kin Ei-ken to Betonamu kenkyū,” *Tōnan Ajia kenkyū*, dai 48 kan, dai 3 gō, Kyōto daigaku tōnan Ajia kenkyū sentā, 2010, pp. 326-327.

Indochina reveal little about his ideas concerning the native people of Indochina whose culture interested him. It is probably because Matsumoto was not a field worker by nature and therefore, did not have the habit of writing down notes from his observations. Consequently, the most visible output of Matsumoto's trip to Indochina were the Western writings and Vietnamese books that he brought back to Japan and subsequently introduced to Japanese readers.

2.1.2. The significance of Matsumoto's research trip to French Indochina

This section will explore why Matsumoto's research trip to Indochina had crucial importance for Matsumoto's career as the founder of the Southeast Asian studies in Japan. It will show that, owing to this travel, Matsumoto made knowledge of Indochina in various forms available to the Japanese people, and this contribution made him one of the two founders of Southeast Asian studies. The section will discuss three of Matsumoto's contributions to Japanese academic circles. First, Matsumoto collected research material on Indochina and Southeast Asia and brought them back to Japan. Second, Matsumoto introduced Western research (mainly of French and German scholars) on Indochina to Japanese readers in his writings. Third, Matsumoto brought back the latest information on the situation in Indochina through his writings.

First, Matsumoto contributed to the Japanese academic circles by physically bringing Western works on Indochina, Vietnamese books and stoneware fragments excavated in

Indochina to Japan. The books were stored in the library of Keio University, in Toyo Bunko and the archaeological specimens were preserved in Oyama Research Institute of Prehistory in Shibuya Ward in Tokyo.⁵⁰⁰ The list of books brought by Matsumoto formed an important part of *The Bibliography of South Seas: the Collection of Keio University Library* that he published together with his colleague Hosaka Saburo in 1942.⁵⁰¹ Thus, Matsumoto's trip to Indochina had significance not only for Keio University, but also for other institutions in Japan.

Matsumoto collected not only Western books on Southeast Asia, but also Vietnamese annals which were very rare in Japan at that time. Originally, Matsumoto was not interested in Vietnamese books, but former Consul General in Hanoi Nagata Yasukichi suggested Matsumoto to buy them in Vietnam. Matsumoto confessed his ignorance after hearing Nagata's advice: "I felt I was stupid for being satisfied with the existing Chinese documents and French studies in the history of Annam."⁵⁰²

Consequently, Matsumoto supported Nagata's effort in importing books written in classic Chinese by the Vietnamese authors to Japan. They managed to bring 92 Vietnamese books, of which 40 were collected by Matsumoto.⁵⁰³ These books were donated to Toyo Bunko. In this

⁵⁰⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Jōdai Indoshina no kōkogakuteki kenkyū ni tsuite - Korani joshi kizō dozoku hyōhon wo chūshin ni" (1937), *Indoshina minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942.11, p. 161.

⁵⁰¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro; Hosaka, Saburō, *Nan'yō bunken mokuroku: keiōgijuku toshokan shozō*, Keiō gijuku Mochizuki Shina kenkyū kikin, 1942.

⁵⁰² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annan ryokōki (daiisshin)," *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 5 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, p. 87.

⁵⁰³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina inshōki (I)," *Mita hyōron*, dai 437 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 27. List of the books in: Iwai, Daie, "Nagata Yasukichi shūshū Annam bon mokuroku," *Shigaku*, dai 14 kan, dai 2 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1935, pp. 105- 109 (286-291).

way, the Vietnamese books that Matsumoto brought to Japan became part of the first collection of Vietnamese books in Japan.

The news of this unique collection was reported in the Japanese academic circles. Iwai Daie, an employee of Toyo Bunko, described the circumstances of the donation and presented a list of the donated Vietnamese books in his paper “The Catalogue of Nagata Yasukichi’s Collection of the Vietnamese Books” in 1935.⁵⁰⁴ Iwai also mentioned Matsumoto’s role in the donation of the books: “... last year [1934], by the mediation of Professor of Keio Gijuku University, and a respected friend, Matsumoto Nobuhiro and former Consul General in Hanoi, Indochina, Nagata Yasukichi (research fellow at Ministry of Foreign Affairs at present), we got a donation of 92 volumes and 550 pieces of the Annamese books.”⁵⁰⁵ Thus, Matsumoto’s and Nagata’s contribution in providing the Vietnamese books was acknowledged by the Japanese academia.

These Vietnamese annals became significant especially during the Vietnam War when it was impossible to access the documents in Vietnam. Matsumoto contributed to their availability in Japan and made effort to their publication especially after his retirement from Keio University.⁵⁰⁶ In 1941, Indochina Research Society founded by Matsumoto published *The*

⁵⁰⁴ Iwai, Daie, “Nagata Yasukichi shūshū Annam bon mokuroku,” *Shigaku*, dai 14 kan, dai 2 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1935, pp. 101- 109 (283-291).

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 102 (284).

⁵⁰⁶ Kawamoto, Kunie, “‘Dainan jitsuroku’ chimei sakuin - Jo narabi ni hanrei,” *Dainan jitsuroku chimei sakuin*, Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, 2002, p. iii.

Annals of Đại Nam (大南一統志, *Đại Nam nhất thống chí*).⁵⁰⁷ Then, the Keio University Linguistic Institute put in print various Vietnamese annals,⁵⁰⁸ such as six volumes of *The Chronicles of Đại Nam* (大南實錄, *Đại Nam thực lục*) in 1961-1972,⁵⁰⁹ and three volumes of *Complete Annals of Đại Việt* (大越史記全書, *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*) in 1984-1986.⁵¹⁰ Several Japanese scholars close to Matsumoto including those unrelated to Vietnamese studies cooperated on their publication.⁵¹¹ The edition of *The Chronicles of Đại Nam* and *Complete Annals of Đại Việt* was realized also owing to a Vietnamese scholar born in Taiwan, Trần Kinh Hoà (陳荊和, Chin Kei Wa, 1917-1995), who worked for EFEO in Hanoi in 1943-1945 and was one of the leading scholars of Vietnamese studies in Japan.⁵¹²

Matsumoto reported about his trip to Indochina and the books at a research meeting of Japan Historical Society and Mita Historical Society.⁵¹³ In addition, Matsumoto introduced Vietnamese books in his papers in the journal of the Mita Historical Society *Historical Science*. First, Matsumoto published a list of the books stored in Vietnam in his writings “Appendix (A

⁵⁰⁷ *Dainan ittō shi*, dai1shū, dai2shū, Indoshina kenkyūkai, 1941.

⁵⁰⁸ Kawamoto, Kunie, “Jo narabi ni hanrei,” *Dainan jitsuroku chimei sakuin*, Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, 2002, p. iii.

⁵⁰⁹ *Dainan jitsuroku*, 1-6, Keiō gijuku daigaku gogaku kenkyūjo, 1961, 1963, 1968, 1962, 1971, 1972.

⁵¹⁰ *Daietsu shiki zensho: kōgōbon*, jō, chū, ka, Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo fuzoku Tōyōgaku bunken sentā kankō iinkai, 1984-1986. Ōsawa, Kazuo, “Dainan jitsuroku to Matsumoto Nobuhiro,” *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, pp. 686-688.

⁵¹¹ Takeda Ryuji, Ito Seiji, Maejima Shinji, Makino Shinya, Wada Hironari, Shimizu Shunzo, Esaka Teruya, Ōsawa Kazuo, Kawamoto Kunie, Wada Masahiko, etc. Ōsawa, Kazuo, “Dainan jitsuroku to Matsumoto Nobuhiro,” *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Kyōshuppan, 1982, pp. 687-690.

⁵¹² “Chin Kei Wa zenshochō keireki, kenkyū jisseyi ichiran,” *Sōdai Ajia kenkyū*, dai 15 gō, Sōka daigaku Ajia kenkyūjo, 1994, p. 148. Kawamoto, Kunie, “Shiki ni mukau keigan – Chin Kei Wa hakushi wo itamu,” Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo kiyō, dai 28 gō, Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, 1996, pp. 13-14.

⁵¹³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annam ryokōdan,” *Shigaku zasshi*, dai 45 kan, dai 2 gō, Shigakkai, 1934, pp. 255-257.

Catalogue of the Annamese Books Stored in EFEO in Hanoi)” and “Appendix (A Catalogue of the Annamese Books in the Imperial Archive of Viet Nam).”⁵¹⁴ Then, he introduced the *Annals of Đại Nam* and Gaspardone’s work in “The General Catalogue of Đại Nam thực lục” and “Two Materials on the Annamese History – The Annals of Đại Nam and Bibliography Annamite.”⁵¹⁵ According to Kawamoto Kunie, these Vietnamese books written in Chinese characters served as a stepping stone for the establishment of Vietnamese studies in Japan, especially when it was difficult to study the Vietnamese language, even though many scholars could read Chinese.⁵¹⁶ Thus, Matsumoto’s introduction of the Vietnamese books to the Japanese academic circles in 1934-1935 contributed to the foundation of Southeast Asian studies in Japan.

Furthermore, Matsumoto brought the archaeological specimens of Indochina stoneware to Japan. Owing to his friendship with Émile Gaspardone, a research fellow of the EFEO, Matsumoto met famous French archaeologist Madeleine Colani (1866-1943). He managed to obtain some archaeological specimens excavated by Madeleine Colani as an official donation by the EFEO. From the perspective of Japanese archaeology, it was a significant contribution since he brought new artifacts to Japan. Matsumoto claimed: “The stoneware dated to the so called Bac Sonian and Hoa Binhian periods which have been used for the first time by Ms. Colani and

⁵¹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Hanoi Futsukoku kyokutō gakuin shozō Annan hon shomoku dōtsuiki,” *Shigaku*, dai 13 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1934, pp. 785-786 (203-204). “Tsuiki (Betonamu ōshitsu shozō Annan honshomoku),” *Shigaku*, dai 14 kan, dai 2 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1935, pp. 337-341.

⁵¹⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan shijō no nijishiryō: *Đại Nam thực lục* to *Bibliography Annamite*,” *Shigaku*, dai 15 kan, dai 1 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1936, pp. 111-132.

⁵¹⁶ Kawamoto, Kunie, *Dainan jitsuroku chimei sakuin*, 1, Keiō gijuku daigaku gengobunka kenkyūjo, 2007, pp. xi-xiii.

could not have been seen in Japan until now.”⁵¹⁷ Matsumoto presented a paper on these fragments of stonewares at a research meeting held by the Japan Anthropological Society.⁵¹⁸ Also, he introduced them in his paper “On Archaeological Research of Ancient Indochina – with Focus on the Folk Specimens Donated by Ms. Colani.”⁵¹⁹

Second, Matsumoto introduced Western works in Indochina. He wrote a paper describing the history and work of the EFEO in Hanoi in “The French Research of Indochina.”⁵²⁰ Furthermore, he summarized the Western writings on history and culture of Indochina in his papers: “The Korean Legend of the Old Otter and Its Annamese Variante,”⁵²¹ “On Bronze Drums of Indochina,”⁵²² “The Vietnamese Materials 2,3 on Bronze Drums,”⁵²³ “The Annamese Tooth Blackening,”⁵²⁴ “The Culture of Indochina,”⁵²⁵ “The Genealogy of Indochina Languages,”⁵²⁶ “The Peoples of Indochina,”⁵²⁷ “A Supplement to Akashi Teiichi’s On Relation

⁵¹⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Jōdai Indoshina no kōkogakuteki kenkyū ni tsuite - Korani joshi kizō dozoku hyōhon wo chūshin ni” (1937), *Indoshina minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, p. 161.

⁵¹⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Jōdai Indoshina no kōkogakuteki kenkyū ni tsuite - Korani joshi kizō dozoku hyōhon wo chūshin ni” (1937), *Indoshina minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942.11, p. 161.

⁵¹⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Jōdai Indoshina no kōkogakuteki kenkyū ni tsuite - Korani joshi kizō dozoku hyōhon wo chūshin ni” (1937), *Indoshina minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942.11, pp. 161-187.

⁵²⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Furansujin indoshina kenkyū,” *Tōa, sangatsugō*, Tōa keizai chōsakyoku, 1934, pp. 109-118.

⁵²¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Rōnorachi densetsu no Annan iden,” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 12 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, pp. 1010-1019.

⁵²² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no dōki ni tsuite” (1933) *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen III: Tōnan Ajia to Nihon*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 253-454.

⁵²³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Dōki ni kan suru ni, san no Betonamu shiryō” (1935), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen III: Tōnan Ajia to Nihon*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 255-257.

⁵²⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annanjin no ohaguro,” *Shigaku*, dai 12 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1933, p. 676.

⁵²⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, pp. 1-44. “Indoshina no bunka ge,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, 9/4, Iwanami shoten, 1935, pp. 49-95.

⁵²⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina gengo no keitō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, pp. 1-44.

⁵²⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, pp. 1-49.

of Magical Objects and Astronomy in ‘the Annamese Variation of the Legend of the Old Otter’,⁵²⁸ and “Languages of Indochina.”⁵²⁹ Summarizing Western researches on Indochina, these papers became pioneer works of Southeast Asian studies in Japan. Later, the majority of the papers were republished in Matsumoto’s book *The Peoples and Cultures of Indochina* (1942) which Suenari Michio listed among the first and foremost sources of cultural anthropology on Vietnam in *The Annotated Bibliography of the Cultural Anthropology of Vietnam. A Perspective from Japan*.⁵³⁰

Third, Matsumoto published several travel records on French Indochina in “Impressions from French Indochina,” “Travel Records from Annam,” “I have Seen Indochina” and “A Talk about the Travel to Annam” during 1933-1934.⁵³¹ Matsumoto referred to the places that he visited with a short explanation of their history. He paid special attention to the monuments related to Japan, such as a Japanese bridge and Japanese graves in Hội An.⁵³² Interestingly, he did not write much about the ethnic minorities in Vietnam, although he claimed that he was

⁵²⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Akashi Teikichi ‘Rōnorachi densetsu no Annan den’ no reibutsu to tenmon no kankei, tsuiki” (1935), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 153-155.

⁵²⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina go,” *Ajia mondai kōza*, dai 8 kan, Sōgensha, 1939, pp. 385-399.

⁵³⁰ Suenari, Michio, *Betonamu bunka jinruigaku. Bunken kaidai. Nihon kara shiten*, Fūkyōsha, 2009, p. 224.

⁵³¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (I),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 437 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, pp. 24-27. “Indoshina inshōki (II),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 440 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, pp. 22-25. “Indoshina inshōki (III),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, pp. 10-16. “Annan ryokōki (daiisshin),” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 5 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, pp. 86-87. “Annan ryokōki (dainishin),” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 5 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, pp. 829-831. “Annan ryokōki (daisanshin),” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 10 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, pp. 931-936. “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, pp. 131-138. “Annam ryokōdan,” *Shigaku zasshi*, dai 45 kan, dai 2 gō, Shigakkai, 1934, pp. 255-257.

⁵³² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (III),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, pp. 14-16.

deeply impressed by them: “But in this region [Cao Bằng], I am interested more in various ethnic groups than in the historical sites.”⁵³³ Obviously, it was easier for Matsumoto to describe the information on Vietnam that he obtained from books than to develop his ideas based on his own observation of the local people.

In addition, he criticized the economic situation of contemporary Indochina in his paper “I have Seen Indochina” printed in *The Diplomatic Revue*.⁵³⁴ Matsumoto argued that Japan should assist France in the development of backward Indochina. In this sense, his opinion was in line with the official policy of Japan’s advance since he visited Indochina shortly after the conclusion of the Japan-French Trade Agreement.⁵³⁵ Matsumoto’s paper reflected the ambitions of Japan’s economic expansion in Indochina.

Moreover, Matsumoto also wrote a paper “The First Crossing of Indochina Peninsula by the Japanese People.”⁵³⁶ In it, he described Iwamoto Chizuna’s exploration trip of Indochina in the late nineteenth century. This paper indicates that Matsumoto became interested also in the history of the relations between Japan and Indochina.

In sum, Matsumoto’s research trip to Indochina had a great significance for the Japanese

⁵³³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (II),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 440 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 25.

⁵³⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, pp. 131-138.

⁵³⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, pp. 131-138.

⁵³⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nihonjin saisho no Indoshina hantō ōdan (I),” *Shigaku*, dai 14 kan, dai 1 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1935, p. 68. “Nihonjin saisho no Indoshina hantō ōdan (II),” *Shigaku*, dai 14 kan, dai 1 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1935, p. 156. “Nihonjin saisho no Indoshina hantō ōdan (III),” *Shigaku*, dai 14 kan, dai 1 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1935, p. 164.

academic circles since it enabled Matsumoto to lay the foundations of Indochina studies and Southeast Asian studies. Originally, Matsumoto only intended to collect Western researches on Southeast Asia in Indochina and to make them available to the Japanese readers. However, he followed the recommendation of former Consul General in Hanoi, Nagata Yasukichi and also brought back books written in classic Chinese by the Vietnamese authors. Thus, he created the first collection of books on Southeast Asia. Furthermore, he also introduced to Japanese archaeological circles stoneware fragments from Indochina. Based on the books gathered in Vietnam, Matsumoto presented a summarized account of Western knowledge on Indochina in his writings on culture, people and history of Indochina to the Japanese readers. In this way, he created the basic literature of Southeast Asian studies in the Japanese language. Finally, Matsumoto's writings brought back first-hand basic information on contemporary Indochina to the Japanese readers.

2.2. The significance of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trip to Southern Pacific islands

This section will examine the significance of Matsumoto's trip to the Southern Pacific islands for his academic career as the founder of Southeast Asian studies. It will focus on how the trip supported Matsumoto's ethnologist career and what contribution it brought to the Japanese academic circles.

2.2.1. Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trip to the Southern Pacific islands

While Matsumoto Nobuhiro focused on acquiring books on his research trip to French Indochina, he sought to conduct ethnographical research in his trip to the Southern Pacific islands in July and August 1937.⁵³⁷ Matsumoto could go on this ethnographical tour owing to his relationship with Nanyo Kohatsu K. K. This relationship developed especially when Matsumoto and his colleagues did classification of the ethnographical objects owned by this company.⁵³⁸

Nanyo Kohatsu K. K. cultivated sugar cane in the Mariannas Islands of Saipan, Tenian and Rota from the early 1920s.⁵³⁹ Matsue Haruji, the director of Nanyo Kohatsu K. K., became interested in ethnography as a result of his business activities on these islands since collecting ethnographical objects was popular in that period. Consequently, Matsue with his employees acquired a large number of these ethnographic objects in New Guinea in July 1932. Furthermore, in 1935, he purchased an ethnographic collection from a Japanese man, Komine Isokichi who lived on the Southern Pacific islands. Unfortunately, the exact place of origin of Komine's ethnographical objects was unknown, but it was clear that they came from Melanesia.⁵⁴⁰ Hence, thanks to director Matsue, a substantial number of the ethnographical objects from the Southern

⁵³⁷ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Rokkōshuppan, 1982, p. 694.

⁵³⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nyū Ginia dozokuhin zushū: Nan'yō kōhatsu kabushiki gaisha shūshū*, jōkan, Minami no kai hen, Nan'yō kōhatsu, 1937, pp. 3-4. Yawata, Ichirō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen: Tōnan Ajia bunka to Nihon*, dai 3 kan, geppō dai 3 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 1-3.

⁵³⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Waga Nan'yō wo miru," *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, p. 6.

⁵⁴⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nyū Ginia dozokuhin zushū: Nan'yō kōhatsu kabushiki gaisha shūshū*, jōkan, Minami no kai hen, Nan'yō kōhatsu, 1937, pp. 3-4.

Pacific islands were transported to Japan.

Matsumoto learnt about the ethnographic collection of Nanyo Kohatsu K. K. from Matsue Ichirō, Matsue Haruji's son, at Keio University in 1934. After Matsue Haruji bought Komine's collection, he needed scholars to organize and classify the ethnographical objects. For this reason, he asked Matsumoto Nobuhiro and his colleagues to do this professional work. On this occasion, the Japan Society of Oceanian Ethnography (*Minami no kai*, 南の会)⁵⁴¹ was established by ethnologists of various universities such as Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Oka Masao , Kobayashi Tomoo, Sugiura Ken'ichi, Nakano Tomoaki and Yawata Ichiro. These scholars started to work on classifying the artifacts in May 1935. Their working quarters was situated in a research room provided by Fukuyama Industry Library.⁵⁴² After the classification work had been finished, Nanyo Kohatsu K. K. sponsored the publication of *The Illustrated Catalogue of the Ethnographical Objects from Melanesia* (composing of two volumes: one in 1937 and the other in 1940) which became the first ethnographical catalogue of the Southern Pacific culture in Japan. Matsumoto wrote its preface in addition to the preface by director Matsue.⁵⁴³ This suggests that Matsumoto was regarded as an authority in ethnography. In short, owing to Nanyo Kohatsu K. K., Matsumoto could join an ethnographical research of objects from the

⁵⁴¹ Literary translation of 南の会 is "The Society of South," however the affiliated scholars themselves translated it into English as "The Japan Society of Oceanian Ethnography" which was also mentioned in Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nyū Ginia dozokuhin zushū: Nan'yō kōhatsu kabushiki gaisha shūshū*, jōkan, Minami no kai hen, Nan'yō kōhatsu, 1937.

⁵⁴² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nyū Ginia dozokuhin zushū: Nan'yō kōhatsu kabushiki gaisha shūshū*, jōkan, Minami no kai hen, Nan'yō kōhatsu, 1937, pp. 3, 5.

⁵⁴³ Ibid, p. 3.

Southern Pacific islands in Japan together with other Japanese ethnologists.

The founding of the Japan Society of Oceanian Ethnography followed the establishment of the Japan Ethnological Society in January 1935.⁵⁴⁴ Among the Japanese ethnologists of that time, Oka Masao was especially important because he was Yanagita Kunio's student like Matsumoto and because he studied diffusionist ethnology under Wilhem Schmidt in Vienna from 1929 to 1935.⁵⁴⁵ This means that Oka joined the Japan Society of Oceanian Ethnography shortly after his return to Japan where he was seen as an authority in ethnology due to his doctoral degree from Wilhelm Schmidt. Oka's importance was visible especially in May 1935 when Wilhelm Schmidt had his lecture on ethnology in Tokyo.⁵⁴⁶ Thus, Matsumoto's participation on the ethnographical research for Nanyo Kohatsu K. K. reflected the rising activity of the Japanese ethnological circles under influence of diffusionist ethnology.

As a result of the cooperation with Nanyo Kohatsu K. K., Matsumoto went on an ethnographical research trip to the Southern Pacific islands in summer 1937. The trip was organized by the Japan Society of Oceanian Ethnography and Matsumoto joined it together with Yawata Ichiro, Sugiura Ken'ichi and Nakano Tomoaki.⁵⁴⁷ They spent four nights on a ship of

⁵⁴⁴ "Nihon minzoku gakkai setsuritsu shuisho," *Minzokugaku kenkyū*, dai 1 kan, dai 1 gō, Nihon minzoku gakkai, Sanseidō, 1935, pp. 219-222.

⁵⁴⁵ Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Kaisetsu," *Ijin sonota: hoka jūni hen Oka Masao ronbunshū*, Iwanami shoten, 1994, pp. 267-278.

⁵⁴⁶ "Nihon minzoku gakkai setsuritsu shuisho," *Minzokugaku kenkyū*, dai 1 kan, dai 1 gō, Nihon minzoku gakkai, Sanseidō, 1935, pp. 219-222.

⁵⁴⁷ *Minzokugaku kenkyū*, dai 4 kan, dai 1 gō, Nihon minzoku gakkai, Sanseidō, 1938, p. 199. Yawata, Ichirō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen: Tōnan Ajia bunka to Nihon*, dai 3 kan, geppō dai 3 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 2.

the Nippon Yusen Kaisha Line from Japan before they reached Saipan in Micronesia.⁵⁴⁸ First, they visited Saipan and Tenian where Nanyo Kohatsu K. K. had its buildings and sugar cane plantations. Then, they went to Palau, where the Japanese administration of the South Seas was located, and to Yap. On Saipan and Palau, they could witness the Japanization of the local people as a result of the Japanese colonization.⁵⁴⁹ Finally, they visited Dutch New Guinea which Matsumoto regarded important for further Japanese economic expansion, and therefore advocated for the Japanese-Dutch cooperation there.⁵⁵⁰ The statement that Matsumoto made corresponded with Matsue Haruji's wish in his preface to *The Illustrated Catalogue of the Ethnographical Objects from Melanesia* which was a "contribution to the understanding and friendship between Holland and Japan though the medium of ethnography."⁵⁵¹ Thus, Matsumoto's ethnographic trip to the Southern Pacific islands reflected Japanese economic ambitions there.

2.2.2. The significance of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trip to the Southern Pacific islands

This section will examine the significance of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's trip to the Southern

⁵⁴⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Waga Nan'yō wo miru," *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, p. 6.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 8

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 11.

⁵⁵¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nyū Ginia dozokuhin zushū: Nan'yō kōhatsu kabushiki gaisha shūshū*, jōkan, Minami no kai hen, Nan'yō kōhatsu, 1937, p. 2.

Pacific islands by the analysis of Matsumoto's contribution to the Japanese academia resulting from this trip. After his return to Japan, Matsumoto reported on this travel to the Japanese academia. First, he discussed his trip at the meeting of the Mita Historical Society on 28 September 1937.⁵⁵² Then, he had a presentation together with the other members of the ethnographical research team: Yawata Ichiro, Sugiura Ken'ichi and Nakano Tomoaki at a meeting of the Japan Ethnological Society on 8 November 1937.⁵⁵³ The content of Matsumoto's presentations is unknown. Furthermore, Matsumoto wrote papers "Seeing Our South Seas" and "Travel Diary to Southern Islands (Saipan, Yap, Palau, New Guinea)" in 1937.⁵⁵⁴

In these writings, Matsumoto gave a general overview on the South Seas from his observation and what he heard from the people that he met there. On the contrary, Matsumoto did not write any details on the culture of the local people or the ethnographical objects that he collected, although he obviously observed the native people of the Southern Pacific islands. The aspect of native culture that interested him most as an ethnologist was limited to requesting for better protection of the native culture which was endangered by the industrialization of the islands by Japanese.⁵⁵⁵ In other words, despite Matsumoto's participation in this ethnographical project, Matsumoto's writings on South Seas dealt with general information on the contemporary

⁵⁵² "Mita shigaku kenkyūkai reikai hōkoku," *Shigaku*, dai 18 kan, dai 1 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 171.

⁵⁵³ *Minzokugaku kenkyū*, dai 4 kan, dai 1 gō, Nihon minzoku gakkai, Sanseidō, 1938, p. 199.

⁵⁵⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Waga Nan'yō wo miru," *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, pp. 6-12. "Nan'yō guntō ryokō nisshi," *Shigaku*, dai 16 kan, dai 3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1937, pp. 77a-109.

⁵⁵⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Waga Nan'yō wo miru," *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, p. 7. "Nan'yō guntō ryokō nisshi," *Shigaku*, dai 16 kan, dai 3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1937, p. 86.

situation in Micronesia and New Guinea and did not mention any ethnographical research there.

The reason for this was probably the same as in the case of his travels in French Indochina – Matsumoto was not a note-taker and did not record data from his observations that a field researcher would normally do.

Since Matsumoto did not collect there any research works that he could summarize and publish, he did not present any ethnographical research reports on the Southern Pacific islands. Thus, Matsumoto's only academic work on the Southern Pacific islands in this period was his cooperation in producing *The Illustrated Catalogue of the Ethnographical Objects from Melanesia*, a work detailing the ethnographical collection of Nanyo Kohatsu K. K. In addition to his writings from the trip and in contributing to the catalogue, he presented a one-page article "A Study on the Name of Sampan" (1936) in which he argued that the origin of the word sampan was in the South Seas.⁵⁵⁶ Hence, his publication on Southern Pacific islands in the 1930s was very small. In retrospect, it can be said that the trip to Southern Pacific islands served mainly in developing Matsumoto's ideas on the Southern culture.

In summary, in comparison with the research trip to Indochina, Matsumoto's trip to the Southern Pacific islands seems less significant. It became clear that Matsumoto produced an academic work on Southern Pacific islands only because he was involved in the organization of the ethnographic collection owned by Nanyo Kohatsu K. K. This means that this trip was an

⁵⁵⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Sanpan meigi kō" (1936), *Tōa minzoku bunka ronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 781.

observatory tour rather than a research trip. In his writings on the Southern Pacific islands, Matsumoto did not mention about Southeast Asia. In this light, the trip did not directly bestow the Japanese academic circles with new knowledge except for a general overview on the Southern Pacific islands. Nevertheless, Matsumoto's exposure to the local environment in the Southern Pacific islands can be regarded as one of the building blocks for the gestation of his future ideas.

2.3. The significance of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trips to China

This section will examine the importance of Matsumoto's research trips to China in summer 1938 and in winter 1939 for his career as the founder of Southeast Asian studies based on his contribution to the Japanese academic circles. First, it will discuss about the trip itself. Then, it will discuss the connection of the trip with Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia and the significance of Matsumoto's writings published from these trips.

2.3.1. Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trips to China

First, Matsumoto Nobuhiro was in China from May to September 1938 after the escalation of the Second Sino-Japanese War.⁵⁵⁷ He went to Shanghai, Nanking and Hangzhou as a member of an archaeological mission of Keio Gijuku University to the Chinese continent. This

⁵⁵⁷ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Rokkōshuppan, 1982, p. 694.

first mission consisted of three teams and Matsumoto's team also included Hosaka Saburo and Nishioka Hideo.⁵⁵⁸

The goal of the first mission was the excavation of relics in Kutang in Hangzhou Province because Matsumoto and his colleagues wanted to verify that the relics there came from the Neolithic Period.⁵⁵⁹ Matsumoto considered the relics to be important because similar relics were found in many places in the South Seas including Hong Kong and Indochina.⁵⁶⁰ He assumed the existence of a connection between Southeast Asia and China since he read theories by Western scholars that argued the ancestors of the Indochina people migrated from China.⁵⁶¹ He believed in the value of relics as evidence of ancient culture.⁵⁶² Thus, he expected that the connection could be proved if there was a similarity between the specimens of Southeast Asia and China since this comparative method was used by Western scholars, such as Robert Heine-Geldern.⁵⁶³ For this reason, Matsumoto's archaeological trip to China formed an important part of his research on Southeast Asia.

Matsumoto left Nagasaki on a ship called Nagasakimaru on 13 May 1938 and arrived in Shanghai on 15 May 1938.⁵⁶⁴ First, Matsumoto and his group visited the Japanese army

⁵⁵⁸ *Kōnan tōsa. Shōwa 13-nendo*, Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu shigakka kenkyū hōkoku; kōshu, dai 1 satsu, Mita shigakkai, 1941, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Senseki junrei," *Mita hyōron*, dai 492 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1938, p. 36. "Kōnan hōkoki," *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 3. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kōnan hōkoki," *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 44.

⁵⁶⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kōnan hōkoki," *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 64.

⁵⁶¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina wo mite," *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, p. 133.

⁵⁶² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron" *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 138.

⁵⁶³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina no bunka jō," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p.

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⁵⁶⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Senseki junrei," *Mita hyōron*, dai 490 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1938, pp. 35, 36.

headquarters to explain their academic mission and to ask for permission to travel. Then, they made a tour of historical sites in Shanghai with an army suite. They also stopped at the Shanghai Research Institute of Natural Sciences where they met Shinjo Shinzo, director of the Institute. Shinjo asked them to help in the research of specimens from Chinese museums that came under Japanese control – or as he put it, “rescue the historical and archaeological specimens from the dust.”⁵⁶⁵ As a result, Matsumoto and his colleagues changed their mind and decided to join Shinjo on his requisition trip.⁵⁶⁶

After negotiating with the army headquarters to organize this trip, Matsumoto and his group went by train to Nanking on 17 May 1938. They witnessed the war damages from the train window. In Nanking, they worked on classifying the specimens and the research reports in the History and Linguistic Institute of the Central Academy.⁵⁶⁷ In short, as a result of meeting with Shinjo in Shanghai, Matsumoto’s main work during his research trip in China became the research of archaeological specimens and research reports scattered in various Chinese museums occupied by the Japanese army.

After Nanking, Matsumoto went on a research trip to Hangzhou from 9 June 1938.⁵⁶⁸ In Hangzhou, Matsumoto worked on classifying the artifacts in the Department of History and

“Kōnan hōkoki,” *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 10.

⁵⁶⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kōnan hōkoki,” *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 4.

⁵⁶⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Senseki junrei,” *Mita hyōron*, dai 490 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1938, p. 36.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid, dai 491 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1938, pp. 35.

⁵⁶⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kōnan hōkoki,” *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 39.

Culture of the West Lake Museum.⁵⁶⁹ In this museum, Matsumoto was fascinated by the room that presented Zhejiang (浙江) culture. He described the room as follows: "...the most interesting thing to us was the room of the ancient Zhejiang culture. ... The room was small ..., on the walls, there were pictures of historical records of Zhejiang and tables of important persons of each part of the Zhejiang history and Zhejiang excavation objects were lined up in the glass boxes."⁵⁷⁰ Among the exhibited specimens in the room, Matsumoto paid attention mostly to the stone axes since similar axes were found in Southeast Asia and Japan.⁵⁷¹

Furthermore, Matsumoto participated in excavations in Hangzhou for ten days. However, the excavation was difficult due to the rainy season.⁵⁷² As Matsumoto stated, the excavations sought to uncover relics from the Neolithic period.⁵⁷³ However, the majority of the unearthed objects were fragments of porcelain produced by the Southern Song Dynasty of the Zhejiang Province.⁵⁷⁴ Therefore, Matsumoto's archaeological excavation in Hangzhou did not meet his research objectives.

Matsumoto went to China for the second time in January 1939 for the purpose of research on Chinese specimens.⁵⁷⁵ This time, his Keio colleagues in this mission were Matsumoto Yoshio,

⁵⁶⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kōnan hōkoki," *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 40.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 41.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 69-71.

⁵⁷² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Senseki junrei," *Mita hyōron*, dai 492 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1938, p. 36.

⁵⁷³ Ibid, p. 36. "Kōnan hōkoki," *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 3. "Kōnan hōkoki," *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 44.

⁵⁷⁴ *Kōnan tōsa. Shōwa 13-nendo*, Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu shigakka kenkyū hōkoku; kōshu, dai 1 satsu, Mita shigakkai, 1941, p. 159.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Rokkōshuppan, 1982, p. 694.

Shibata, Hosaka Saburo, Kitagawa, Mazaki Manri and Mori.⁵⁷⁶ They arrived in Shanghai on 3 January 1937. In Shanghai, they visited the Shanghai Research Institute of Natural Sciences. On the 6 January, they went to Nanking where they worked on the research of the specimens.⁵⁷⁷ Matsumoto was in charge of the ethnological objects.⁵⁷⁸ Matsumoto also made two survey trips to Hangzhou.⁵⁷⁹ In summary, Matsumoto again visited Shanghai, Nanking and Hangzhou on his second trip and continued his work on the research of Chinese specimens.

From the contents of the two trips made by Matsumoto in 1938 and 1939, it is obvious that Matsumoto got access to many Chinese archaeological artifacts and research reports during his stay in Shanghai, Nanking and Hangzhou. These materials, especially specimens similar to those of Southeast Asia and Japan, supported his argument that central China had connections with Southeast Asia and Japan.

2.3.2. The significance of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trips to China

This section will examine the significance of Matsumoto's research trips to China for his ideas on Southeast Asia and for his career as a pioneer in Southeast Asia studies. First, it will demonstrate the connection of Matsumoto's ideas on China with his ideas on Southeast Asia. Then, it will evaluate the significance of these travels from the perspective of academic

⁵⁷⁶ Matsumoto, Yoshio, "Chūshi yūki," *Shigaku*, dai 18 kan, dai 1 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, pp. 145, 160, 163.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid, pp. 147-152.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 152.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid, pp. 153, 160.

contribution to Southeast Asian studies.

From his research trips to China, Matsumoto published travel records, research reports and research papers. First, Matsumoto wrote his travel records under the title “Pilgrimage around the Battlefields” in 1938.⁵⁸⁰ Then, he rewrote these records with some additions in a paper called “Old Records from the Visit of Jiangnan” in 1939.⁵⁸¹ In these writings, Matsumoto described his impressions from the research and from China’s cultural heritage affected by war damages. He mentioned about the similarity of the Chinese specimens with the specimens discovered in Southeast Asia.⁵⁸²

This similarity of the Chinese and Southeast Asian specimens was pointed out also in his research reports on the Chinese artifacts. Matsumoto introduced the excavated objects that went through his hands during his work on their classification in China in “Two Examples of Specimens of Ancient Chinese Culture in Nanking,” “The Outline of the Archaeological Survey in Central China,” “The Catalogue of Archaeological Specimens Collected by Matsumoto’s Team on the Academic Mission in China,” “The Report of the Archaeological Team of the Academic Mission in China,” “The Illustrated Catalogue of Collection of Matsumoto’s Team in Central China from the Academic Mission in China” and “Archeological Studies at Nanking and Hangzhou.”⁵⁸³ As a co-author of the report “Archeological Studies at Nanking and Hangzhou,”

⁵⁸⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Senseki junrei,” *Mita hyōron*, dai 490 gō - dai 493 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1938.

⁵⁸¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kōnan hōkoki,” *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, pp. 529-612.

⁵⁸² Ibid, pp. 64, 69-71.

⁵⁸³ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Rokkōshuppan, 1982, p. 708. *Kōnan tōsa. Shōwa 13-nendo*, Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu shigakka kenkyū hōkoku; kōshu, dai 1 satsu, Mita shigakkai,

Matsumoto pointed out the similarity of the Chinese stone axes with those excavated in Thanh Hoá (Vietnam) and the similarity of the Chinese porcelain with the Vietnamese one.⁵⁸⁴ Thus, Matsumoto contributed to the Japanese academic circles by bringing information about the Chinese specimens and, at the same time, he presented his idea on the connection of the ancient Chinese and Southeast Asian culture based on the similarity of the artifacts.

This idea of the connection of Southeast Asia and China in ancient times inspired him to write a research paper “Issues Concerning the Shouldered Axes” in 1938. The main sources of inspiration came from stone axes exhibited in Hangzhou, as well as from Robert Heine-Geldern’s papers on stone axes and from Yanagita Kunio’s ideas on metal tools. Undoubtedly, when Matsumoto saw the stone axes in Hangzhou, he recollected Heine-Geldern’s work “A Contribution to the Chronology of the Neolithic Age in Southeast Asia” (1928).⁵⁸⁵ Matsumoto adopted argument from Heine-Geldern’s works “A Contribution to the Chronology of the Neolithic in Southeast Asia” and “Homeland and Earliest Migrations of Austronesian” claiming the connection of the Mon-Khmer language family (of Austro-Asiatic languages) with shouldered axes in Austronesia, especially Malay Peninsula, and suggested that the distribution of the shouldered axes approximately corresponds to the distribution of the Austro-Asiatic

1941.

⁵⁸⁴ *Kōnan tōsa. Shōwa 13-nendo*, Keiō gijuku daigaku bungakubu shigakka kenkyū hōkoku; kōshu, dai 1 satsu, Mita shigakkai, 1941, p. 90.

⁵⁸⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Yūken sekifu no shomondai,” *Shigaku*, dai 18 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1939, p. 298. Heine-Geldern, Robert, “Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie des Neolithikums in Südostasien,” St. Gabriel-Mödling bei Wien, *Anthropos-Administration*, [ca. 1924], pp. 809-843.

languages.⁵⁸⁶

Matsumoto connected Heine-Geldern's theory with his ideas on the metal farming tools which he developed from Yanagita's theory on the diffusion of the metal tools.⁵⁸⁷ Matsumoto's paper "The Tale of Potato Digger Millionaire" shows that Matsumoto was interested in Yanagita's hypothesis in Japan in 1930: "If the old belief of Hachimangū has a deep relation with peddlers of metal crafts, as Mr. Yanagita presumes, we may consider that such myths and legends were imported to Japan together with the technology that arrived from the continent."⁵⁸⁸

In his paper "Issues Concerning the Shouldered Axes," Matsumoto combined the argument of shouldered stone axes with his ideas on the development of stone tools in relation to central China: "... many metal tools discovered recently have the ancestral form of stone tools in the past. The metal tools of the hoe in ancient China were developed from similar stone tools of hoe; thus we can imagine that the shouldered axes have a close relation to their ancestral form. In confirming this assumption, it is necessary to engage in more excavations in Central China from now."⁵⁸⁹ From this quotation, it is evident that Matsumoto linked the shoulder stone axes in Southeast Asia with these in China as a result of his research trip in China where he witnessed

⁵⁸⁶ Heine-Geldern, Robert, "Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie des Neolithikums in Südostasien," St. Gabriel-Mödling bei Wien, *Anthropos*-Administration, [ca. 1924], pp. 809-843. "Urheimat und früheste Wanderungen der Austronesier," *Anthropos* (XXVII), 1932, pp. 543-619. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Yūken sekifu no shomondai," *Shigaku*, dai 18 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1939, pp. 298, 303.

⁵⁸⁷ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhito to imohiru chōsha no hanashi," *Nihon bunka no kigen*, dai 3 kan, Geppō dai 3 gō, 1978, p. 6.

⁵⁸⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Imohori chōsha" (1930), *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 309-310.

⁵⁸⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Yūken sekifu no shomondai," *Shigaku*, dai 18 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1939, p. 325.

to stone axes in the Zhejiang culture room in Hangzhou. From these points, the paper “Issues Concerning the Shouldered Axes” proves that Matsumoto’s trips to China were important for his ideas on Southeast Asia represented by the Austro-Asiatic language family. The introduction of the connection between the ancient Chinese and Southeast Asian culture was Matsumoto’s only contribution to the Japanese academic circles from this paper.

The significance of Matsumoto’s trip to China for his ideas on Southeast Asia is apparent also from his paper “Issues Concerning the Shouldered Axes”. First, Matsumoto made a presentation “Primitive Farming Tools in Southeast Asia” at a research meeting held by the Mita Historical Society on 31 October 1939.⁵⁹⁰ Then, he included it in his book *The Peoples and Cultures of Indochina*.⁵⁹¹

Thus, Matsumoto’s papers related to his trip to China indicate that Matsumoto tried to establish a connection between China and Southeast Asia through the similarity of the archaeological specimens. This was probably a result of the diffusionist influence since Matsumoto used the diffusionist terms “distribution” (*bumpu*, 分布) and “Southern genealogy” (*Nampōkei*, 南方系) in his writings on China. For example, he wrote about the distribution of shouldered axes and the distribution of Austro-Asiatic languages in his paper “Issues Concerning the Shouldered Axes.”⁵⁹²

⁵⁹⁰ “Mita shigaku kenkyūkai reikai hōkoku,” *Shigaku*, dai 18 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1939, p. 777.

⁵⁹¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Yūken sekifu no shomondai,” *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, pp. 189-223.

⁵⁹² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Yūken sekifu no shomondai,” *Shigaku*, dai 18 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1939, p. 297-298.

To sum it up, Matsumoto's participation in the archaeological mission to China was important for Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia because it enabled him to establish the evidential basis for his belief in the connection between Southeast Asia and China. As a result of his encounter with Shinjo Shinzo in Shanghai, Matsumoto could observe many Chinese artifacts in the History and Linguistic Institute of the Central Academy in Nanking and the West Lake Museum in Hangzhou. Hence, although Matsumoto's excavation survey in Kutang in summer 1938 was not successful, Matsumoto obtained research material on the Chinese ancient culture that he introduced to Japan in his research reports. Owing to this acquired material, Matsumoto could point out the similarities between the Chinese and Southeast Asian specimens which became the evidence to support his claims on the connection between China and Southeast Asia in ancient times. These similarities could be interpreted by both evolutionism and diffusionism. However, Matsumoto did not present any interpretation on them. Though Matsumoto's trip did not directly contribute to Matsumoto's career as the founder of Southeast Asian studies, it did develop his ideas on Southeast Asia.

2.4. Summary

In conclusion, the analysis of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trips during the period 1933-1939 showed that Matsumoto's trip to French Indochina was the most significant for his becoming the founder of Southeast Asian studies and for the development of Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia. Matsumoto did not only bring a large collection of material on Southeast Asia

from Indochina to Japan, but he also presented about it in the Japanese language. In doing so, Matsumoto built up a basis for the establishment of Southeast Asian studies in Japan. In addition, by writing papers on Indochina based on Western researches and the Vietnamese books, he deepened his knowledge on Southeast Asia.

On the other hand, Matsumoto's trips to the Southern Pacific islands and China helped Matsumoto to develop ideas to a lesser extent on Southeast Asia. Matsumoto believed in the connections between continental Southeast Asia with China, maritime Southeast Asia and the Southern Pacific islands. Matsumoto's ideas of these connections were found in his writings from his trips to Indochina and to China. He touched upon similarities discovered between archaeological artifacts in China and Southeast Asia during his stay in China. However, his writings from his trip to the Southern Pacific islands did not mention Southeast Asia. This means that Matsumoto probably did not find suitable material proving the connection between Southeast Asia and the Southern Pacific islands during his stay there.

3. Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ideas on Southeast Asia and Southern Pacific

From the previous section, it is clear that Matsumoto Nobuhiro came into direct contact with the peoples and cultures of Southeast Asia and received a large volume of data related to Southeast Asia. This new experience and new knowledge made Matsumoto strengthen his ideas on Southeast Asia. This section will discuss in detail, the changes in Matsumoto's writings from

the period 1933-1939 and with those produced in the 1920s. First, it will examine Matsumoto's adoption of the Western geographical concept of Southeast Asia in addition to the Japanese and Chinese geographical concepts of the South Seas. Second, this section will discuss Orientalism in Matsumoto's ideas on the peoples of Southeast Asia and the Southern Pacific. Third, it will investigate the influence of the climate theory in his ideas of Southeast Asia.

3.1. Concepts of South Seas and Southeast Asia

During the period 1933-1939, Matsumoto continued using both the Chinese and the Japanese terms for the South Seas *Nan'yō* (南洋) and *Nankai* (南海), as well as the Western term Austro-Asiatic (オーストロアジア) in relation to Southeast Asia and Indochina. For example, he used *Nan'yō* (南洋) in his paper "Annamese Tooth Blackening" where he wrote that chewing areca nuts by indigenous peoples was called "South Seas habit" (*Nan'yō no fūzoku*, 南洋の風俗) in Japan, and that European travelers learn about "this Annamese habit" for the first time when they visit Indochina.⁵⁹³ Or, he mentioned about *Nankai* (南海) in his paper "The Genealogy of Indochina Languages": "Therefore, it is surely not a bold attempt to claim that there is a close relation between the South Seas races [*Nankai minzoku*, 南海民族] and Indochina, and that the origin of their languages was situated in Indochina."⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annanjin no ohaguro," *Shigaku*, dai 12 kan, dai 4 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1933, pp. 96 (676).

⁵⁹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina gengo no keitō," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 38.

In addition, he started also using the term Southeast Asia (*Tōnan Ajia*, 東南アジア) in relation to Indochina. His writing “Culture of Indochina” suggests that he perceived Indochina as a part of Southeast Asia: “Indochina is a large peninsula that juts out in the South East of the Asian Continent and is positioned between the Bengal Bay and China Sea, high mountains that start from Tibetan large plateau and go south, divide in fan shape and embrace river valleys of Irrawaddy, Salween, Menam, Mekong, Red River etc.”⁵⁹⁵ Matsumoto adopted this concept of Indochina as a part of Southeast Asia from the Western scholars. For example, Matsumoto referred to Heine-Geldern for the ethnological data on Southeast Asia in his writing “Culture of Indochina”: “This Geldern’s theory has extreme importance for the history of migration of Southeast Asian races [*Tōnan Ajia no jinshu*, 東南アジアの人種].”⁵⁹⁶ Furthermore, Matsumoto mentioned Southeast Asia in his references to arguments made by many Western scholars, such as Aymonier,⁵⁹⁷ Golubev,⁵⁹⁸ Wilhelm Schmidt, and De Hevesy.⁵⁹⁹ Historian Shimizu Hajime claims that the term Southeast Asia appeared in Japanese geography textbooks for the first time in 1917.⁶⁰⁰ However, this term reflected Japanese colonialist ambition towards Southeast Asia. In contrast to this, in 1933, Matsumoto adopted and used the concept of

⁵⁹⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 20.

⁵⁹⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Chamu no yashizoku to ‘yashi no mi’ setsuwa,” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 6 gō, 1933, pp. 457-458.

⁵⁹⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 24.

⁵⁹⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina gengo no keitō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, pp. 3-4, 38

⁶⁰⁰ Shimizu, Hajime. “Kindai Nihon ni okeru ‘Tōnan Ajiya’ chiiki gainen no seiritsu (I),” (Shō-chūgakkō chiri kyōkasho ni miru), *Ajia keizai*, 28 (6), Ajia kenkyūjo, 1987, p. 26.

Southeast Asia from Western scholars. In sum, during the period 1933-1939, Matsumoto employed the Western concept of Southeast Asia, the Japanese and Chinese concepts of the South Seas without defining them.

3.2. Orientalism in Matsumoto's ideas on the peoples of Southeast Asia

This section will explore Orientalism in Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia. In 2004, the Japanese cultural anthropologist Yamashita Shinji pointed out theory of Japanese Orientalism used by Japanese ethnologists researching the South Seas and argued that these scholars perceived the South Seas as both similar and distant.⁶⁰¹ However, Yamashita discussed the works of Japanese ethnologists in general and did not mention any concrete examples of Orientalist expressions. Therefore, this section will examine Matsumoto's writings in order to provide the evidencial basis for his claims of Orientalism and underline its presence in Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia.

The term Orientalism was coined by Egyptian scholar Edward W. Saïd (1935-2003) in his book *Orientalism* (1978).⁶⁰² He criticized that the framework Western scholars used to perceive the Orient was biased, especially since it reflected a colonial power's attitude towards its subjugated people. In his work, Saïd introduced dichotomies existing in Orientalism: the dichotomy of the West and the East as "we" and "the others"; the rulers and the ruled; and the

⁶⁰¹ Yamashita, Shinji, "Selves and Others in Japanese Anthropology," *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia*, Berghahn Books, 2004, p. 106.

⁶⁰² Saïd, Edward W., *Orientalism*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1978.

civilized and the barbarians respectively.⁶⁰³ Saïd also argued Orientalists were dictated by preconceived ideas about the West's colonial possessions in the Orient, where Western attitudes brought about romanticized notions on the exquisite beauty of the region.⁶⁰⁴ Furthermore, Saïd pointed out the inherent fear that the West had towards the Orient, especially over the possibility that the power balance between the Orient and the Western World could tip in favor of the former.⁶⁰⁵ To further expand on the matter, Saïd developed an interpretation of the Orientalist perspective where the West saw the Orient as a conglomeration of exotic barbarian countries ruled by Western people that might destroy the West some day.

Saïd's concept of Orientalism was introduced to Japan. First, his book *Orientalism* was translated into Japanese in 1986.⁶⁰⁶ Then, in the 1990s, Saïd's concept of Orientalism was applied by Japanese scholars for the interpretation of the Japanese perspective of the Asian and Oceanian peoples before the end of the Second World War. For example, in the paper "Mass Orientalism and Awareness of Asia" (1993), Kawamura Minato argued that the Japanese Orientalism spread among the Japanese public through adventurous stories in comics and journals in the Taishō and Shōwa Eras.⁶⁰⁷ Kang Sang Jung presented his theory of modernity thinking beyond Japanese Orientalism in his book *Beyond Orientalism: Modern Culture*

⁶⁰³ Saïd, Edward W., *Orientalism*, Pantheon Books, New York, (1978), 1991, pp. 2, 5, 7, 49, 57, 95, etc.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid, pp. 57, 60, 252, etc.

⁶⁰⁵ Saïd, Edward W., *Orientalism*, Pantheon Books, New York, (1978), 1991, p. 251.

⁶⁰⁶ Saïd, Edward W., *Orientalizumu*, transl. by Imazawa, Noriko; Itagaki, Yūzō and Sugita Hideaki, Heibonsha, 1986.

⁶⁰⁷ Kawamura, Minato; "Taishū Orientalizumu to Ajia ninshiki," *Bunka no naka no shokuminchi*, Iwanami shoten, 1993, pp. 107-136.

Criticism (1996).⁶⁰⁸ In reaction to this trend to interpret the Japanese attitude to pre-war Asia as Orientalism, in the book *Prospects of Colonial Anthropology*, Nakao Natsumi et al discussed the pre-war ethnological works (especially of field workers) with the attempt to positionate the war and the colony in the formation of Japanese ethnology.⁶⁰⁹ Furthermore, in his paper “Selves and Others in Japanese Anthropology” (2004), Yamashita Shinji argued that Japanese people including scholars, such as Yanagita Kunio, applied Orientalism on the South Seas.⁶¹⁰

Matsumoto Nobuhiro was exposed to the Orientalist perspective in his childhood. This was because he loved adventurous stories that took place in various exotic locations where a hero came in contact with the primitive peoples. For instance, Matsumoto read journals such as *The World of Adventures* (*Bukyō sekai*, 武侠世界), *The World of Explorations* (*Tanken sekai*, 探検世界), to name a few.⁶¹¹ Later, Matsumoto’s Orientalist thinking was developed by his adoption of evolutionism and by his study of Oriental history and ethnology. This was because Orientalism was based on Social Darwinian theories of the struggle for survival and cultural evolutionism in its dichotomies between “the powerful” and “the weak,” and “the civilized” and “the barbarian.”

Orientalism can be discerned from the presence of dichotomies in Matsumoto’s writings.

The following two sections will show that Matsumoto employed the dichotomy of the powerful

⁶⁰⁸ Kansan, Jun, *Orientalizumu no kanata he: kindai bunka hihan*, Iwanami shoten, 1996.

⁶⁰⁹ Nakao, Katsumi, *Shokuminchi jinruigaku no tembō*, Fūkyōsha, 2000.

⁶¹⁰ Yamashita, Shinji, “Selves and Others in Japanese Anthropology,” *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia*, Berghahn Books, 2004, p. 106.

⁶¹¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 37.

and the weak, and the civilized and barbarian in his ideas on Southeast Asia. The third section will discuss Matsumoto's feelings on Southeast Asia's exoticity and similarities with Japan. Regarding the latter, the argument highlighted its specificity to Japanese Orientalism, thus drawing a contrast with Western Orientalism which saw the Orient only for its differences.

3.2.1. Matsumoto's hierarchy of Southeast Asian peoples based on dichotomy of the powerful and the weak

This section will discuss the dichotomy of the powerful and the weak in Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia. It will try to reconstruct Matsumoto's hierarchy of the Southeast Asian peoples, especially with the people in Indochina.

Matsumoto adopted the dichotomy from the theory of the survival of the fittest in social Darwinism which spread alongside the dominance of diffusionist ethnology both in the world and Japan in the 1930s. Since diffusionist scholars considered contacts between various ethnic groups an important condition for the transmission of cultural influence, they paid attention to the history of migration and conflicts of ethnic groups. Consequently, they proposed theories explaining cultural influences on different ethnic groups as a result of foreign invasions. In particular, Matsumoto adopted Robert Heine-Gelners' migration theories on the movement of people to and from continental Southeast Asia in ancient times.⁶¹² As a result of this diffusionist

⁶¹² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina no bunka jō," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, pp. 20, 34, 35. "Indoshina gengo no keitō," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten,

influence, Matsumoto interpreted contacts between different races through the lens of the Darwinist theory of struggle for survival, in which the powerful won over the weak.

In this way, Matsumoto perceived the history of Indochina from a social Darwinist perspective where a cycle of victory and defeat of various Southeast Asian peoples underlined their struggle for survival since times immemorial.⁶¹³ In his paper “The Genealogy of Indochina Languages,” Matsumoto argued: “If we study about the genealogy of Indochina languages, we can learn about the rise and fall of cultures of peoples living on this peninsula.”⁶¹⁴ Matsumoto also interpreted the Japanese ancient history in a similar way in his writing “An Opinion on the Japanese Myths”: “...this migration was not in order to occupy a completely uninhabited land; it was a migration to break into a similar race that occupied the land earlier: to conquer it, assimilate it, and form a new state.”⁶¹⁵ Therefore, he surmised that migrations always involved an armed conflict between a powerful foreign invader and the local people.

First, Matsumoto accepted the Western diffusionist theories about the competition of the original inhabitants of continental Southeast Asia with foreign invaders. Through Matsumoto’s writings “The Peoples of Indochina,” “I have Seen Indochina,” “Travel Records from Annam”

1934, pp. 38, 39. “Furansu ni okeru minzokugakuteki kenkyū,” *Nihon minzokugaku kenkyū*, (ed. by Yanagita), Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, 1935, p. 385. “Jōdai Indoshina no kōkogakuteki kenkyū ni tsuite - Korani joshi kizō dozoku hyōhon wo chūshin ni” (1937), *Indoshina minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942.11, pp. 167, 183, 184. “Yūken sekifu no shomondai,” *Shigaku*, dai 18 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1939, p. 298. “Kōnan hōkoki,” *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan, dai 4 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1939, p. 69. “Indoshina go,” *Ajia mondai kōza*, dai 8 kan, Sōgensha, 1939, p. 391.

⁶¹³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 5.

⁶¹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina gengo no keitō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 3.

⁶¹⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nihon shinwa no kanken” (1934), *Nihon minzokugaku no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 314.

and “Ancient Indochina”, it can be discerned that he considered Negritos, Indonesians and Austronesians as original inhabitants of this area in the Stone Age.⁶¹⁶ He argued that Negritos were originally spread over a vast territory of Indochina, but were expelled by the invasion of Indonesian tribes speaking the Austro-Asiatic languages.⁶¹⁷ In his paper “Languages of Indochina,” Matsumoto wrote: “The earliest wave of the races was Mon-Khmer, one of the Austro-Asiatic tribes, and they entered from the North.”⁶¹⁸ Consequently, Matsumoto thought that tribes speaking Austro-Asiatic languages (and Austronesian languages since Matsumoto tended to use these languages interchangeably) defeated aboriginal Negritos of Southeast Asia. Based on this theory, Matsumoto theorized that Negritos tribes in the Malay Mountains of Sedang and Senoi speak the Austro-Asiatic languages because they adopted them from their invaders.⁶¹⁹ Thus, Matsumoto considered Indonesians speaking Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages to be more powerful than Negritos.

Matsumoto accepted Western diffusionist theories about the invasion of Mongoloid races over Indochina from China in the North during the Neolithic era. This opinion was presented in Matsumoto’s papers “I have Seen Indochina,” “Travel Records from Annam,” “The

⁶¹⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, pp. 3, 26. “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, p. 132. “Annan ryokōki (daisanshin),” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 10 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, p.101. “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, pp. 243-245.

⁶¹⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, p. 244.

⁶¹⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina go,” *Ajia mondai kōza*, dai 8 kan, Sōgensha, 1939, p. 385.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid, p. 387.

Genealogy of Indochina Languages” and “Ancient Indochina.”⁶²⁰ Matsumoto believed that the Mongoloid tribes expelled the aborigine inhabitants, by driving them to the mountains or out of Indochina altogether and forced them to migrate to maritime Southeast Asia. Therefore, he called Indochina “an outlet through which peoples made their way from Middle Asia and spread towards the South Seas”⁶²¹ and “a gateway from the continent to the South Seas islands.”⁶²² For this reason, he assumed that the Indonesian tribes who were oppressed by the Mongoloid tribes had close relations with the contemporary people of Indonesian and Melanesian genealogy living on the islands of the South Seas.⁶²³ In other words, Matsumoto believed that Mongoloid tribes that invaded from the North in the Neolithic Period gradually occupied Indochina and won over the previous inhabitants who spoke Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages. This means that Matsumoto thought that Mongoloid race was more powerful than the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian speakers.

However, Matsumoto also believed that the Mongoloid tribes that invaded Indochina mixed with the aborigine inhabitants to some extent. Matsumoto mentioned namely the case of mixing Vietnamese ancestors from the North with the local inhabitants of Indochina in his paper

⁶²⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan ryokōki (daisanshin),” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 10 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, p. 97. “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, p. 132. “Indoshina gengo no keitō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 4. “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, p. 246.

⁶²¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 3.

⁶²² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina gengo no keitō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 3.

⁶²³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, p. 245. “Indoshina go,” *Ajia mondai kōza*, dai 8 kan, Sōgensha, 1939, pp. 390-391.

“The peoples of Indochina”: “...the territory of these previous inhabitants was attacked from the North and the peoples of Mongolian race ...grasped the power in Indochina; they mixed with the people in the Eastern plains and gave birth to the Annamese people.”⁶²⁴ In short, he thought that the Vietnamese were a mixture of the Mongoloid race and the Indonesian people,⁶²⁵ or in other words, with Mon-Khmer people, that are Austro-Asiatic speakers.⁶²⁶ Therefore, Matsumoto considered the Vietnamese were born from the mixing of the superior Mongoloid race with the inferior Indonesian race speaking Austro-Asiatic languages. This explains his statement in his paper “I Have Seen Indochina” that the Vietnamese belonged to the most inferior people of Mongoloid race.⁶²⁷

Furthermore, Matsumoto considered the Vietnamese to be inferior among Mongoloid people also because the Vietnamese people were under Chinese political influence from the beginning of their history. First, Matsumoto believed that Vietnamese ancestors were among the Mongoloid tribes expelled from their homeland by the expansion of Chinese settlements. This is largely based on the fact Matsumoto accepted the opinion of Western scholars that the migration of the Mongoloid tribes to Indochina was caused by expansion of the Han people in China.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 3.

⁶²⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 34.

⁶²⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina go,” *Ajia mondai kōza*, dai 8 kan, Sōgensha, 1939, p. 391.

⁶²⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, p. 132.

⁶²⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina gengo no keitō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 4. “Kōnan no kobunka” (1941), *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, p. 295.

Second, Matsumoto knew that Vietnam had been a Chinese colony for a thousand years.⁶²⁹

Third, Matsumoto knew about the political influence of China in Vietnam before the establishment of French Indochina.⁶³⁰ From these points, it can be said that the historical facts provided Matsumoto with the evidential basis for his belief in the superiority of Chinese people over Vietnamese people from the social Darwinist perspective.

Nevertheless, within the scope of Indochina Peninsula, Matsumoto considered Vietnamese and Thai peoples powerful. This is because he agreed with French opinion that these peoples played an important role in contemporary Indochina.⁶³¹ The Vietnamese population was largest among the people of Indochina and Vietnam was the most successful in its expansion of power over the Indochina Peninsula before the French aggression. In his paper “Ancient Indochina,” Matsumoto wrote: “The most powerful race in the present Indochina is Annamese people. Their population is 15 million... Their homeland is in Red River Valley and Annam, they expanded South and conquered Cham territory in Central and Southern Annam, and occupied the plains of Cochinchina from Cambodians. If there had been no intervention by France, [Annamese] territory would have been extended more to the West.”⁶³²

⁶²⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, pp. 49-54, 57-58.

⁶³⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, p. 136.

⁶³¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 41. “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, pp. 3, 27. “Indoshina gengo no keitō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 4. “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, p. 237.

⁶³² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, p. 237.

Furthermore, he emphasized the Thai people's importance: "The next influential people after the Annamese are the Thai people."⁶³³ This is most likely because the ethnic group of Thai people was numerous and because Thai people had the only independent state in Indochina Peninsula.⁶³⁴ Nonetheless, Matsumoto considered the Vietnamese people to be more important than the Thai people, although the Vietnamese people, being part of French Indochina under French rule, lost their independence while the Thai people retained theirs.

Matsumoto's opinion can be explained by historical facts before the establishment of the French rule in Vietnam. It is because Vietnam continuously attacked Siam.⁶³⁵ This fact was recorded in Matsumoto's paper "Peoples of Indochina": "Also the Western neighbors, the Thai ethnic group, received unceasing pressure of the Annamese and their borders were invaded."⁶³⁶

However, Matsumoto simply adopted the opinion of the French scholars. This French opinion reflected the fact that the Vietnamese people occupied important position in the French administration of French Indochina while the people of Thai genealogy did not play a significant role in French Indochina. Moreover, Matsumoto did not mention any theories explaining the birth of the Thai people. He did not mention whether if Thai people in Indochina also mixed with Indonesians or not.

⁶³³ Ibid, p. 237.

⁶³⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina minzoku," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, pp. 27, 34.

⁶³⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina gengo no keitō," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 27.

⁶³⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina minzoku," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 4.

In addition, Matsumoto assumed that the Japanese were more powerful than the Chinese in the struggle for survival. He came to this conclusion because he believed in the success of Japanese military power in the Second Sino-Japanese War newspapers as well as his own observations during his research trips to China in 1938 and 1939. In his paper “Pilgrimage around the Battlefields,” he compared the Chinese inferior position in the war with the Japanese as “a mouse in front of a cat.”⁶³⁷ In short, contemporary circumstances provided Matsumoto with “evidences” of Chinese inferiority from the perspective of military and political power.

Finally, Matsumoto considered the Europeans the most powerful race. His paper “I Have Seen Indochina” says that he considered French the most powerful race in French Indochina because they ruled over the local peoples.⁶³⁸ In this way, according to Matsumoto, the European people occupied the top position in the hierarchy of the peoples in Southeast Asia.

In summary, Matsumoto developed an Orientalist perspective of peoples in Southeast Asia based on the social Darwinist theory in which only the fit is selected for victory. By adopting the dichotomy of the powerful and the weak, Matsumoto constructed his hierarchy of peoples in Indochina from their military strength in the known history of Indochina as follows: Negritos, Indonesians (=Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian speakers), Mongoloid, and European peoples from inferior to superior. Matsumoto’s hierarchy of Mongoloid peoples was Thai, Vietnamese, Chinese and Japanese from inferior to superior. Thus, Matsumoto placed the

⁶³⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Senseki junrei,” *Mita hyōron*, dai 490 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1938, p. 37.

⁶³⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, p. 134. “Indoshina no bunka ge,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, IX, Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 95.

Europeans on the top of mankind and the Japanese on the top of Asian peoples. This racist bias suggests that Matsumoto himself as a Japanese had an inferiority complex towards Europeans while having a superiority complex towards different Asian peoples. This thinking was common for the Japanese people in Matsumoto's era. However, due to adoption of the diffusionist theories, Matsumoto was convinced that his Orientalist ideas were supported scientifically by ethnology.

3.2.2. Matsumoto's hierarchy in Indochina based on the dichotomy of the civilized and the primitive

This section will examine the dichotomy of the civilized and the primitive in Matsumoto's writings on Southeast Asia. From this perspective, it will try to reconstruct Matsumoto's hierarchy of cultures in Southeast Asia with the focus on Indochina.

Matsumoto also had an Orientalist bias in his judgement about the cultures of Southeast Asian peoples. He looked into the aspect of civilization in his ideas about the struggle of people in Indochina. This fact can be proved by his writing "The Incident and the Universities" which presents his opinion about the Second Sino-Japanese War: "I do not know how it was in the barbarian period, but in the present, when a race fights another race, we have to give it significance like the fight of cultures."⁶³⁹ This suggests that he believed that the level of cultural

⁶³⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Jihen to daigaku," *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan, dai 3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1938, p. 444.

development determined the outcome of the fight for survival. Consequently, Matsumoto held a bias that a civilized race was always the winner in an armed confrontation with a primitive race.

This idea became especially pronounced after his visit to the Southern Pacific islands where he could witness the dominance of the Japanese people over the aboriginal inhabitants. Matsumoto expressed this opinion clearly in his paper “Seeing Our South Seas”: “When civilized men and primitive men come into contact, it is unavoidable by the laws of the nature that the latter are gradually oppressed. Even in the case of our South Seas, with the development of the Japanese business there, it is accompanied by a difficult fact that the islanders are gradually threatened.”⁶⁴⁰ In short, Matsumoto assumed that the Japanese who were the winners over the native islanders were holders of a superior culture. Therefore, Matsumoto’s hierarchy of Indochinese people can be reconsidered from the cultural evolutionist perspective of the dichotomy between the civilized and the barbarian.

Among the peoples of Indochina, Matsumoto was most interested in the speakers of the Austro-Asiatic languages as representatives of an important civilization of Southeast Asia in the Stone Age and the Bronze Age. He thought that the culture of Austro-Asiatic speakers before the invasion of Mongoloid tribes to Indochina was the primeval culture of Indochina.⁶⁴¹ In relation to this, Matsumoto accepted Robert Heine-Geldern’s theory that the shouldered stone ax was a

⁶⁴⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Waga Nan’yō wo miru,” *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, p. 8.

⁶⁴¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, p. 237.

typical element of the culture of people speaking Austro-Asiatic languages.⁶⁴² Furthermore, Matsumoto surmised that Austro-Asiatic speakers produced megalithic sculptures⁶⁴³ and distributed the famous bronze drums in Southeast Asia and Southern China.⁶⁴⁴ Based on these scientific arguments related to Austro-Asiatic speakers, Matsumoto claimed that Mon-Khmer languages were most interesting among the languages of Indochina since he considered them typical Austro-Asiatic languages.⁶⁴⁵ Furthermore, under the influence of the theory of remnants, he thought that the study of contemporary Moi people, whose language belongs to Mon-Khmer languages, could provide further insight on the ancient culture of Indochina: “This primitive culture of Moi people probably indicates the condition of culture before the influx of the Chinese and Indian civilizations to Indochina.”⁶⁴⁶ Thus, since Matsumoto was captivated by Austro-Asiatic culture as the primeval culture that existed before the import of the Chinese and Indian cultures, he thought that the Sinicized or Indianized cultures of Indochina peoples were more advanced than the Austro-Asiatic culture without Chinese or Indian influence.

However, he did not mention his interpretation of the relation between the culture of Austro-Asiatic speakers and Negritos. This means he ignored the culture of Negritos who were

⁶⁴² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Furansu ni okeru minzokugakuteki kenkyū,” *Nihon minzokugaku kenkyū*, (ed. by Yanagita), Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, 1935, p. 385.

⁶⁴³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, p. 246.

⁶⁴⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, pp. 35, 36. “Furansu ni okeru minzokugakuteki kenkyū,” *Nihon minzokugaku kenkyū*, (ed. by Yanagita), Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, 1935, p. 385.

⁶⁴⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina gengo no keitō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 4.

⁶⁴⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, p. 242.

conquered by the Austro-Asiatic speakers (Indonesians). Thus, Matsumoto considered the Austro-Asiatic speakers to be the holders of the first civilization in Indochina. For this reason, he designated Mon-Khmer languages as “languages of civilization” (*bunmeigo*, 文明語) in his paper “The Genealogy of Indochina Languages.”⁶⁴⁷ Therefore, Matsumoto probably assumed that the Negritos did not have any significant culture.

Matsumoto paid attention to the Chinese and Indian influence in his evaluation of the culture of Indochinese peoples. He accepted the theory that the culture of peoples in Indochina Peninsula was influenced by the Chinese civilization from the North and the Indian civilization from the West.⁶⁴⁸ Among the peoples of Indochina, he considered the Vietnamese people to be “the representatives of the Chinese culture”⁶⁴⁹ because they were Sinicized during Chinese colonization and followed the Chinese model of the state.⁶⁵⁰ Matsumoto learnt historical facts that Sinicized Vietnam conquered Champa and colonized a part of Cambodia whereas the latter were Indianized states.⁶⁵¹ He also knew that states of Thai people, such as Siam and Laos, which were attacked by the Vietnamese, adopted Indian culture.⁶⁵² Thus, Matsumoto believed that

⁶⁴⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina gengo no keitō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 26.

⁶⁴⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Chamu no yashizoku to ‘yashi no mi’ setsuwa,” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 6 gō, 1933, p. 463. “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 4. “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 4. “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, p. 237.

⁶⁴⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 4.

⁶⁵⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 43. “Indoshina no bunka ge,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, IX, Iwanami shoten, 1935, pp. 52, 65.

⁶⁵¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 4. “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō shinkōsha, 1938, p. 237.

⁶⁵² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no

Sinicized peoples (Vietnamese) were stronger than Indianized peoples (Cambodians, Cham, Thai, Laotians, etc.) and he considered Sinicized peoples more civilized than Indianized peoples.

Matsumoto's opinion probably reflects a Sinocentric perspective of the Japanese interpretation of Asian history because the Japanese themselves belonged to the Asian people who received strong Chinese influence. Hence, because of Matsumoto's cultural background and knowledge, it was easy for Matsumoto to agree to the concept that Sinicized culture was superior to Indianized culture.

Furthermore, Matsumoto considered Chinese people to be more civilized than the Sinicized people of Indochina. Since Matsumoto followed diffusionist theory, he considered the influenced people less civilized than the people who exerted the cultural influence. He wrote in his paper "I Have Seen Indochina" that the contemporary Vietnamese were slightly less advanced in the cultural stage than the contemporary Chinese despite being almost the same race with the Chinese.⁶⁵³ In Vietnam, Matsumoto was "surprised by the immense power of the Chinese culture."⁶⁵⁴ He found "the Chinese style" of the Vietnamese architecture less majestic than that of the Chinese architecture he knew of from his visit to China in 1918.⁶⁵⁵ Also, he considered books written in Vietnamized characters Chữ Nôm inferior to books written in

shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 4.

⁶⁵³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina wo mite," *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, p. 135.

⁶⁵⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annan ryokōki (dainishin)," *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 5 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, p. 831.

⁶⁵⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina inshōki (II)," *Mita hyōron*, dai 440 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 23. "Indoshina inshōki (III)," *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, pp. 12, 13, 22. "Indoshina no bunka ge," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, IX, Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 95.

Chinese characters.⁶⁵⁶ Matsumoto evaluated the Vietnamese culture as lower in comparison with Chinese culture probably because he had discovered that the Vietnamese local culture contained elements of the Southern specificity or the Southern style.⁶⁵⁷ He explained that in his paper “Culture of Indochina”: “Annamese arts and crafts are China’s extension, but they were cultivated in a specific climate that was in contact with Indian culture in the West and the South, so they gradually developed their peculiar look...”⁶⁵⁸ Therefore, Matsumoto assumed that the climate of Indochina and Indian influence made Vietnamese culture less advanced than the Chinese culture.

However, Matsumoto considered the Chinese less civilized than the Japanese although the Japanese were also heavily Sinicized people. In his writing “Travel Diary to Southern Islands (Saipan, Yap, Palau, New Guinea),” he disclosed his satisfaction that the superiority of the Japanese over the Chinese was acknowledged by New Guinean people: “In general, I found a pleasant thing when I came to New Guinea, even more than in our South Seas; when aborigines see a Japanese, they greet him ‘Hello, Sir.’ It seems they never greet the Chinese by calling them ‘Sir.’ It is because they have learnt the excellence of the Japanese.”⁶⁵⁹ This reveals that, in the

⁶⁵⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka ge,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, IX, Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 94.

⁶⁵⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (III),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 22. “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 28.

⁶⁵⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka ge,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, IX, Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 95.

⁶⁵⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nan’yō guntō ryokō nisshi,” *Shigaku*, dai 16 kan, dai 3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1937, p. 95.

case of Japan, Matsumoto did not follow the diffusionist theory that Sinicized culture is inferior to the Chinese culture.

Obviously, Matsumoto considered the Japanese more civilized than the Chinese because the Japanese were more westernized. This is visible in Matsumoto's opinion on the level of modern Chinese research: "Chinese archaeological research of earthenware is still in its early infant stage."⁶⁶⁰ Since archaeology was an academic discipline developed by the Western people, Matsumoto criticizes Chinese archaeology for its insufficient adoption of the Western culture. In other words, he considered the Chinese culture to be less westernized than Japanese culture and thus inferior to the Japanese westernized culture.

Moreover, Matsumoto thought that the further advance of the contemporary Vietnamese culture was hindered by the French rule in Indochina. In his paper "Impressions from Indochina," Matsumoto wrote: "But under the French rule, the Annamese, too, cannot sufficiently expand their original culture. Many of them live in misery, sinking in the naivety not different from the past."⁶⁶¹ This citation suggests that Matsumoto was aware that contemporary French policy did not sufficiently contribute to the development of Vietnamese people.

As a solution to the Vietnamese problem, Matsumoto proposed the adoption of the modern Japanese culture. In his paper "I Have Seen Indochina," Matsumoto wrote: "What the

⁶⁶⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Prehistoric Pottery in China, by G. D. Wu, London, 1938," *Shigaku*, dai 18 kan, dai 4 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1940, p. 221.

⁶⁶¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina inshōki (III)," *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 16.

Annamese need is that we stand by their side and supply cheap goods so that we can meet their demand, and thus promote the spirit of progress in them, stimulate their luxurious heart, to develop their industry, to increase their fortune. Furthermore, they need a nation that they could emulate and provide them the model of civilization and production.”⁶⁶² In the same paper, Matsumoto claimed that “there is a too big gap between the French and the native peoples, and the [French] culture is too dissimilar from that of Annamese people.”⁶⁶³ Matsumoto thought that the Japanese were better teachers than French because they were less westernized than Western people and because they successfully digested the Western culture. Especially since Matsumoto himself is an example of a French-educated Japanese.

In accordance with Japanese propaganda, Matsumoto suggested that Vietnamese people should learn Western civilization from Japanese people rather than from French people. This meant that he considered the Vietnamese unable to learn Western civilization from France. If this was the case, then it is likely he either chose to ignore or completely neglected the fact that there was a certain group of Vietnamese that received French education either at home or in France. Eitherways, this poses a problem with his argument especially since he had personally met with this class of Vietnamese intelligentsia both in Paris and Vietnam. He met with a Vietnamese for the first time during his studies at Sorbonne University in 1924-1928.⁶⁶⁴ Moreover, Matsumoto

⁶⁶² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.03.1934, pp. 135-137.

⁶⁶³ Ibid, pp. 135-137.

⁶⁶⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Betonamu minzoku shōshi*, Iwanami shinsho, 1973 (1st ed. 1969), p. 207.

believed that Vietnamese were capable of studying Western science since he evaluated the Vietnamese researchers: “I am glad that recently the folkloristic research is becoming popular among young Annamese scholars.”⁶⁶⁵ He drew from the research of the Vietnamese scholars of the EFEO, such as Nguyễn Văn Khoan, in his writings on the Vietnamese culture.⁶⁶⁶ He even wrote a review of Nguyễn Văn Khoan’s work appreciating Khoan’s academic level: “The author’s description is always a report without any analogy and dogma and I am happy that he mentions the custom of his countrymen faithfully.”⁶⁶⁷ Therefore, Matsumoto knew that Vietnamese were able to adopt Western civilization directly from the European people. This means that he chose to follow the Japanese propaganda because he found it useful for presenting his works on Indochina.

Furthermore, by suggesting that the Vietnamese should learn modern culture from the Japanese, Matsumoto was admitting that the Japanese westernized culture did not reach the level of Western culture. Indeed, after his return from his studies at Sorbonne University, Matsumoto described the high qualities of the French universities in his writings.⁶⁶⁸ In his paper “Present Oriental Studies in France” (1930), Matsumoto claimed that “France still maintains superiority in

⁶⁶⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 8.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 7.

⁶⁶⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nguyen-van-Khoan, Le Repêchage de l’âme, avec une note sur les hôn et les phách d’après les croyances tonkinoises actualles,” *Shigaku kenkyū*, dai 1 kan dai 2 gō, Minzokugakkai, Sanseidō, 1935, p. 176.

⁶⁶⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Gendai Furansu ni okeru Tōyōgaku,” *Fransu no shakaigakka. Gendai ni okeru shokeikō*, Fransu gakkai, 1930, pp. 553-599. “Furansu ni okeru Shina kenkyū,” *Shina kenkyū* Keiō gijuku Mochidzuki Kikin Shina kenkyūkai-hen, Iwanamishoten, 1930, pp. 375-397.

Oriental Researches.”⁶⁶⁹ In 1933, the high level of French Oriental studies was the reason for Matsumoto’s trip to Vietnam where he focused on the collection of Western writings. After visiting the EFEO in Hanoi, Matsumoto admitted that “French researchers are a little bit ahead in Oriental studies.”⁶⁷⁰ Thus, on the basis of his experience as a scholar, Matsumoto considered French culture superior to the Japanese culture because he thought that westernized Japanese culture did not reach the same level with the French culture.

Matsumoto was also aware of the European cultural superiority during his trip to French Indochina. His feelings about his visit of the royal gardens in Hué show that he believed that Europeans were the most excellent race. He described it in his writing “Impressions from Indochina” as follows: “But still, I feel really thankful that I was permitted to enter such a very interesting place equally like Europeans for the reason of being a citizen of the first-class nation.”⁶⁷¹ In other words, although Matsumoto thought that the Japanese were the most superior out of the Asian peoples, he considered Europeans to be the most superior out of all races and wished the Japanese were treated like Europeans.

Matsumoto’s thinking also reflected Japanese efforts for racial equality with Western people in that time. Indeed, in 1933, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in reaction to the Western protest against the Japanese occupation of Manchuria. In addition, Western powers

⁶⁶⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Gendai Furansu ni okeru Tōyōgaku,” *Fransu no shakaigakka. Gendai ni okeru shokeikō*, Fransu gakkai, 1930, p. 553.

⁶⁷⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsujin no Indoshina kenkyū,” *Tōa*, Tōa keizai chōsakyoku, March 1934, p. 118.

⁶⁷¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (III),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 12.

refused its request to acknowledge the racial equality of all peoples. In this context, Japan's inferiority complex in relation to the West had impact on Matsumoto's ideas of Japanese relations with Southeast Asian peoples.

In summary, from the dichotomy of the civilized and the barbarian and the powerful and the weak in Matsumoto's writing, it is possible to reconstruct Matsumoto's cultural hierarchy of the peoples in Indochina Peninsula (see Table 2 below): Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian culture without Indian and Chinese influence, Indianized culture, Sinicized culture, Chinese culture, Japanese culture and European culture from inferior to superior. Consequently, his cultural hierarchy of contemporary people in Indochina was the following: Negritos (Senoi, Sedang) without any significant culture, non-Indianized, non-Sinicized and non-westernized Indonesians or Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian speakers (Moi, etc.); Indianized Indonesians or Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian speakers (Cham, Cambodians, etc.); Indianized and less westernized Mongoloid people (Thai); Sinicized and less westernized Mongoloid people (Vietnamese); more westernized and most Sinized Mongoloid people (Chinese); Sinicized and most westernized Mongoloid people (Japanese) and most westernized Western people (French) from the barbarian to the civilized. In this light, Matsumoto put Japanese people on the top of Asian (Oriental) peoples because they were most westernized.

Table 2: Matsumoto Nobuhiro's hierarchy of peoples in East Asia according to his evaluation of their power and culture

Hierarchy	Culture	Races	Ethnic group
<div> <div>Powerful and civilized</div> <div>↑</div> <div>Weak and barbarian</div> </div>	Western culture	European	French
	Sinicized and most westernized	Mongoloid	Japanese
	Most Sinicized and less westernized		Chinese
	Sinicized and less westernized		Vietnamese
	Indianized and less westernized		Thai
	Indianized, non-Sinicized non-westernized	Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian (Indonesian)	Cham, Cambodians
	Non-Indianized, non-Sinicized, non-westernized	Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian (Indonesian)	Moi
	No significant culture	Negritos	Senoi, Sedang

Matsumoto's concept of cultural hierarchy was based on cultural evolutionism preaching the superiority of Western civilization over Oriental civilization. In addition, it clearly reflects diffusionist theory in which a culture that imposes its influence on a different culture is considered superior to the different culture that it influences. Therefore, contrary to the nationalistic myth of the Japanese people in terms of history of imperial family, Matsumoto's idea of the Japanese cultural superiority did not come from the belief that the Japanese was a nation chosen by gods. (The difference of Matsumoto's ideas on the Japanese people and the nationalist concept will be discussed in Chapter 5.) Moreover, Matsumoto applied the idea of the Japanese leadership in Asia from Japanese propaganda to his writings probably in order to claim

the importance of his ideas on Indochina. Since he interpreted Southeast Asian peoples as culturally inferior to the Japanese people from his ethnological research, the idea of the Japanese leadership over the Southeast Asian peoples came to him naturally.

3.2.3. Exotism and similarity in Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asian and Southern Pacific peoples

Yamashita Shinji claimed that the feeling of similarity was typical for Japanese Orientalism in sharp contrast with Western Orientalists that did not find the Orient similar.⁶⁷² This section will discuss aspects of exotism and similarity in Matsumoto Nobuhiro's Orientalist ideas on Southeast Asia and the Southern Pacific. First, it will examine why Matsumoto considered Southeast Asia to be exotic. Second, it will inquire why Matsumoto considered Southeast Asia to be similar to Japan. Third, it will explore the implication of Matsumoto's attention to similarities between Japan and Southeast Asia.

3.2.3.1. Exotism

Matsumoto perceived Indochina and Southern Pacific islands as exotic during his stays there. In his paper "The Impressions from Indochina," Matsumoto wrote that he was impressed

⁶⁷² Yamashita, Shinji, "Selves and Others in Japanese Anthropology," *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia*, Berghahn Books, 2004, p. 107.

by the exotic appearance of the tropical flora.⁶⁷³ He also described the same feeling in “Travel Records from Annam”: “Also the landscape of the tropical forest is rare to me, in addition to the design of the hamlet with a gate surrounded by a bamboo forest.”⁶⁷⁴ He had the same attitude towards the lands of Southern Pacific islands since he wrote in his paper “Seeing Our South Seas”: “For us, the South Seas are associated with coconut trees; the island without coconut trees seems lonely.”⁶⁷⁵ Thus, it is clear that Matsumoto saw the exoticity of Southeast Asia and Southern Pacific islands in the tropical flora which was a typical Japanese image of the region called the South Seas.

However, many Japanese of Matsumoto’s era perceived the South Seas as not only exotic but a dangerous region as well. For example, Kawamura Minato’s paper on mass Orientalism in Japan showed that the Japanese people of the Taishō and Shōwa Eras imagined the South Seas as a dangerous tropical region where the barbarian race of cannibals and predatory animals lived in the deep forest.⁶⁷⁶

The existence of this Japanese stereotype of the South Seas can be assumed also from Matsumoto’s writings but Matsumoto disagreed with this kind of prejudice. First, he denied the extremely exaggerated negative image of Indochina in his writing “Impressions from

⁶⁷³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (I),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 437 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 26.

⁶⁷⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan ryokōki (dainishin),” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 5 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, p. 829.

⁶⁷⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Waga Nan’yō wo miru,” *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, p. 7.

⁶⁷⁶ Kawamura, Minato; “Taishū Orientarizumu to Ajia ninshiki,” *Bunka no naka no shokuminchi*, Iwanami shoten, 1993, pp. 107-111.

Indochina”: “When I came to these mountains [in Tonkin], I became acutely aware that I do not feel like arriving to a land of malaria or to the territory of barbarians at all. Of course, I drunk quinine as prevention towards malaria, but the nature is milder than I thought and the inhabitants are surely not primitive, but holders of a considerable culture and are gentler than Annamese and childish.”⁶⁷⁷ Second, Matsumoto also found New Guinea different from what was the general Japanese image of the South Seas. In his paper “Seeing Our South Seas,” Matsumoto argued that North of New Guinea is really not such a barbarian place.⁶⁷⁸ There was not so much danger of infectious diseases⁶⁷⁹ and there were no predatory animals or poisonous snakes.⁶⁸⁰ In other words, contrary to many Japanese people, Matsumoto rejected the negative aspects of exoticity of Southeast Asia and Southern Pacific.

In summary, owing to his trips to Indochina and the Southern Pacific, Matsumoto’s exotism of the South Seas was different from the Japanese stereotype of the South Seas in his era. Matsumoto preferred to have rather a positive image of the South Seas. He did not find the local peoples very primitive. However, he also did not consider them to be sufficiently civilized as was shown in the previous section.

⁶⁷⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (II),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 440 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 24.

⁶⁷⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Waga Nan’yō wo miru,” *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, p. 10.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 11.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 12.

3.2.3.2. Similarity

Matsumoto perceived Southeast Asia in a more positive way than many Japanese because he was interested in the similarities between Japan and Southeast Asia as it is apparent from the beginning of his ethnological research. In his writings on Indochina, Matsumoto pointed out the cultural closeness with old Japan. In his “Travel Records from Annam,” Matsumoto wrote: “... the manner and customs of the Annamese people make me think of Japan’s dynastical era, it soothes my nerves...”⁶⁸¹ He paid attention especially to the similar custom of tooth blackening: “When I think that Annamese dye their teeth black, it reminds me of the old custom of our ancestors.”⁶⁸² He also learnt that Vietnamese used similar material for tooth blackening like the Japanese in their past.⁶⁸³ These similarities invoked in Matsumoto an impression that the Vietnamese royal capital Huế resembled the old Japanese capital, Heiankyō: “...many women walking in the street have beautiful white faces with black teeth. The stream of the Perfume River makes me think of the Kamo River, thus everything remind me of Heiankyō.”⁶⁸⁴ In other words, Matsumoto felt the nostalgia of old Japan in Vietnam because the custom of tooth blackening still existed in Vietnam while it had disappeared in Japan.

Matsumoto also noticed the architectonic similarity between some houses in Indochina

⁶⁸¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan ryokōki (dainishin),” *Minzokugaku*, dai 5 kan, dai 5 gō, Minzokugakkai, 1933, p. 829.

⁶⁸² Ibid, p. 831.

⁶⁸³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (I),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 437 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 26.

⁶⁸⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (III),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 10.

and Japan. During his visit in Indochina, Matsumoto observed that local people built houses supported by pillars. In his paper “Impressions from Indochina,” Matsumoto wrote: “Thai people...live in houses supported by pillars with forked roof finals like the Japanese Shintoist shrine.”⁶⁸⁵ Matsumoto mentioned in his writing “The Peoples of Indochina” that the houses on pillars were built by many races of Indochina, such as Tho,⁶⁸⁶ White and Black Thai,⁶⁸⁷ Laotians,⁶⁸⁸ Shans,⁶⁸⁹ Lolo,⁶⁹⁰ Palaun, Wa, Tchin,⁶⁹¹ Siamese,⁶⁹² Cham⁶⁹³ and in some cases by Vietnamese.⁶⁹⁴ In this way, Matsumoto found the Southeast Asian culture close to the Japanese culture because he saw houses supported by pillars in Indochina which reminded him of the Japanese traditional shrine.

Matsumoto was drawn to the concordance in religious customs when he visited a Vietnamese communal house, Đình Bảng. He discovered that the communal house had functions like the Japanese Shinto shrine and that its festivals included portable shrines and secret rituals in the night.⁶⁹⁵ For this reason, he suggested a comparative research in his writing “Impressions

⁶⁸⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (III),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 24.

⁶⁸⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 28.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 29.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 33.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 35.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 40.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid, pp. 41, 42, 44.

⁶⁹² Ibid, p. 34

⁶⁹³ Ibid, p. 10

⁶⁹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (III),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 22.

⁶⁹⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (II),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 440 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 22.

from Indochina”: “It is very interesting to compare these points with our primitive Shintoism.”⁶⁹⁶

Since Shintoism was considered to be an original Japanese belief, Matsumoto probably believed that he found similarities between Southeast Asian and Japanese culture before the Chinese influence. Thus, he hoped that the proposed research would help him reconstruct the primitive culture in which he was interested in.

In summary, Matsumoto was captured by similarities between contemporary Indochina and old Japan, such as tooth blackening, the landscape of the city, the architecture of the houses and religious customs. Matsumoto’s attention on its resemblances to Southeast Asian culture was associated with his opinion on Southeast Asia’s backwardness in comparison with Japan because he was reminded of the old Japanese culture when seeing the contemporary Southeast Asian culture. This suggests the dichotomy of the civilized and the barbarian was in Matsumoto’s ideas on the relations of Japan and Southeast Asia.

3.2.3.3. Significance of similarity between Japan and Southeast Asia

Cultural anthropologist Yamashita Shinji proposed a theory that Matsumoto and other Japanese ethnologists had attempted to present Southeast Asia as Japan’s homeland by pointing out the similarity between Southeast Asia and Japan.⁶⁹⁷ Also, mythologist Hirafuji Kikuko wrote

⁶⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 23.

⁶⁹⁷ Yamashita, Shinji, “Selves and Others in Japanese Anthropology,” *The Making of Anthropology in East and Southeast Asia*, Berghahn Books, 2004, pp. 104-106.

that Matsumoto searched for the origins of the Japanese people in the South.⁶⁹⁸ Ito Seiji suggested that Matsumoto considered the research of Southeast Asia important for clarifying the process of formation of the Japanese ethnic culture.⁶⁹⁹ However, Chikamori said that Matsumoto did not believe in the Southern origin of the Japanese people.⁷⁰⁰ From these points, this section will examine the significance of similarity between Japan and Southeast Asia in Matsumoto's writings.

The previous chapter has demonstrated that Matsumoto argued Southern influence in Japan under the diffusionist influence during the period 1924-1932. From this perspective, Matsumoto's attention on the resemblance of Southeast Asian culture with the Japanese traditional culture can be interpreted like as Yamashita and Hirafuji suggested.

However, during the period 1933-1945, Matsumoto did not publish any interpretations on the significance of these similarities between Japan and Southeast Asia in his writings. As it was mentioned in Chapter 3 Section 4.3.2. (Matsumoto's advocacy of the Southern Theory and contradictions in Matsumoto's ideas), Matsumoto was reluctant to claim the foreign origin of the Japanese culture because he was scolded by Yanagita who insisted on a nationalistic interpretation of the Japanese tradition and criticized the search for the Japanese origins abroad. Yanagita believed in the diffusion of Southern culture in Japan. However, he thought that this

⁶⁹⁸ Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no shinwagaku," *Shūkyō to fashizumu*, Suiseisha, 2010, p. 327.

⁶⁹⁹ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 240.

⁷⁰⁰ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

culture spread from the Southern parts of the Japanese Empire. Consequently, Yanagita's scope of Southern culture was smaller than Matsumoto's one. Under these circumstances, even if Matsumoto had a hypothesis of the Japanese origins in Southeast Asia, he could not have claimed it due to his relationship with Yanagita.

Moreover, the previous chapter showed that, despite the diffusionist influence, Matsumoto kept his evolutionist belief in the universality of the primitive mind. This is also visible from the fact that in 1939, Matsumoto mentioned about the similarities of stone axes found in Southeast Asia, Japan, India and America as was shown in Section 2.3. (The Significance of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's research trips to China).⁷⁰¹ Therefore, Matsumoto still may have believed in the common primitive culture of the Japanese, Southeast Asian and Chinese people although he did not present them in his writings.

In addition, in the late 1930s, Matsumoto paid attention also to concordances between the Chinese culture and the Japanese culture during his research trip in China. From his writing "Records from the Visit of Old Jiangnan," it is obvious that he found similarities in the architectonical features: "The scenery of Hangzhou is like Kyoto and Ōtsu together made me feel pleasant and happy like looking at the scenery of my native land."⁷⁰² Thus, the Chinese traditional architecture invoked Matsumoto's nostalgia for Japanese places famous for its traditional architectonical architectural beauty. Furthermore, Matsumoto suggested the need to

⁷⁰¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kōnan hōkoki," *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan, dai 4 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1939, pp. 69-71.

⁷⁰² Ibid, p. 40.

research about the Japanese connection with Central China because he noticed resemblances in the farming life: “The style of peasants near Hanzhou was a Japanese style; it invoked my serious feeling that we should academically research more about the deep relation between Central China and our country.”⁷⁰³ Therefore, Matsumoto had the feeling of cultural closeness not only towards Indochina, but also towards China. In this light, it cannot be argued that Matsumoto considered only Southeast Asia to be Japan’s homeland.

In summary, due to lack of evidence and Matsumoto’s complex background, it cannot be concluded that Matsumoto paid attention to the similarities of Japan and Southeast Asia for the reason that he searched the origins of the Japanese culture in Southeast Asia. Therefore, Yamashita’s interpretation of Matsumoto’s opinions on these similarities is incorrect. However, Chikamori’s opinion that Matsumoto did not believe in the Southern origins of the Japanese culture was not confirmed also because Matsumoto did not mention evolutionism in his conclusion. Thus, Ito’s argument expressed at best Matsumoto’s position of comprehending both the diffusionist and evolutionist perspectives. Nevertheless, it is clear that by noting the similarities closely, Matsumoto considered contemporary Southeast Asian culture to be less civilized than contemporary Japanese culture because it reminded him of the Japanese traditional culture before the influence of the Chinese and Western culture. Consequently, Matsumoto’s opinion of similarity contained the Orientalist dichotomy of the civilized and the barbarian, and

⁷⁰³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kōnan hōkoki,” *Shigaku*, dai 17 kan, dai 4 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1939, p. 39.

the superior attitude towards Southeast Asia.

3.3. The influence of the climate theory on Matsumoto's ideas on the people of Indochina

This section will discuss the influence of climate theory on Matsumoto's ideas on the people of Indochina. The significance of the climate in Matsumoto's discussion has been pointed out by Matsumoto's colleague and cultural anthropologist Iwata Keiji (1922-2013) who wrote in his commentary to Matsumoto's collection of papers: "The first one [approach in Matsumoto's writings] is the climatic approach [*fūdoteki apurōchi*, 風土的アプローチ] to the Southern Region, that is present in continental and maritime Southeast Asia."⁷⁰⁴ Iwata presented his hypothesis that this approach came probably from the influence of the French School of Sociology on Matsumoto's ideas.⁷⁰⁵

As a fact of a fact, the French School of Sociology based on unilinear evolutionism paid attention to the influence of the natural environment on culture. The impact of this sociologist theory can be seen in Matsumoto's writings in the 1920s. In this period, Matsumoto discussed the seasonal festivals that are celebrated due to the people's close relation with the nature. He expressed this influence of the climate on culture in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*: "Myths of a nation are a specific product of its country; it has a close relation with the

⁷⁰⁴ Iwata, Keiji, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen: Tōnan Ajia bunka to Nihon*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 448.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 448.

seasonal festivals of the region inhabited by this nation; therefore, it is easily influenced by its climate.”⁷⁰⁶ In short, in the 1920s, like the French scholars, Matsumoto argued that the climate of each country had influence on the formation of the national culture.

However, he began claiming the negative influence of the climate on the people during his trip to French Indochina in 1933. This was a shift from the 1920s when he did not evaluate the influence of the natural environment as positive or negative. This suggests that Matsumoto’s argument of the negative influence of the climate was not the result of his study under the French scholars. He borrowed this argument from Watsuji Tetsuro’s *Climate Theory* that was well known in the ethnological circles at the time. Therefore, this thesis will examine the influence of Watsuji Tetsuro’s climate theory in Matsumoto’s writings in 1933-1939.

First, this section will discuss Watsuji Tetsuro’s climate theory. Second, it will examine Matsumoto’s application of climate theory in his ideas on Indochina. Third, it will explore contradictions in Matsumoto’s interpretation of Indochina by climate theory. Fourth, this section will explore Matsumoto’s adoption of climate theory in relation to political propaganda.

3.3.1. Watsuji Tetsuro’s climate theory

The theory of the influence of the climate on the development of the people was based on evolutionism which claimed the general impact of the natural environment on the people. In

⁷⁰⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunkan, 1931, p. 177.

Japan, the climate theory was advocated especially by philosopher Watsuji Tetsuro (1889-1960) who was active also in the ethnological and folkloristic circles. Watsuji began developing his climate theory (*fūdoron*, 風土論) on the basis of Martin Heidegger's work *Being and Time* in summer 1927.⁷⁰⁷ Consequently, Watsuji's climate theory was discussed in the Japanese academic circles at the time when Matsumoto Nobuhiro came back from his studies at Sorbonne University in Paris in 1928.

In his climate theory, Watsuji distinguished three types of climate zones: monsoon, dessert and pasture.⁷⁰⁸ Watsuji characterized the monsoon zone as a zone with high humidity and high temperature and claimed that the monsoon climate made people weak in comparison with other types of climate.⁷⁰⁹ In his book *The Climate Theory - a Scientific Study of Mankind*, he literary wrote: "... the people in the monsoon zone are weaker in strength to oppose nature even in comparison with the people from cold countries or people from the dessert. They do not even have a single strength in place where double strength is required."⁷¹⁰ Thus, Matsumoto learnt from Watsuji that the monsoon environment made people weak in comparison with people from other climate zones.

⁷⁰⁷ Watsuji, Tetsurō, *Fūdoron* — *ningen kagakuteki kōsatsu*, Iwanami shoten, 1936, p. 1.

⁷⁰⁸ Watsuji, Tetsurō, *Fūdoron* — *ningen kagakuteki kōsatsu*, Iwanami shoten, 1936, pp. 31-197.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid, pp. 32-33.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid.

3.3.2. Matsumoto's application of the climate theory for interpretation about Indochina peoples

The appearance of the climate theory of Matsumoto's writings on Indochina from 1933 shows that Matsumoto became an advocator of the climate theory during his visit in Vietnam in summer 1933. Vietnam lies in the monsoon zone, thus Matsumoto could easily recollect Watsuji's climate theory that he probably learnt in the late 1920s. Since Matsumoto went to Vietnam in summer, he experienced hot and humid weather and observed the physical weakness of some people there. First, he observed the lack of energy among peoples in Vietnam. Second, he assumed that Indochina history could be interpreted by the climate theory.

First, Matsumoto observed that even French people in Vietnam lacked energy. In his writing "The Impression from Indochina," he wrote: "They [French] do not have the same vivid color of the face as when they stay in Europe. Many of them here are lethargic, lazy and unhealthy. It seems that any excellent race finally changes into an inferior race due to the climate of this land with its heat and high humidity. Now, when I came to Indochina, I can deeply feel the correlation of the climate [*fūdo*, 風土] and the people."⁷¹¹ Furthermore, Matsumoto concluded that it was difficult for French to adapt to the climate, and this was the very reason why the French residing in Indochina went back to France during holidays "to refresh their vital

⁷¹¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina inshōki (III)," *Mita hyōron*, dai 445 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1934, p. 26. "Annam ryokōdan," *Shigaku zasshi*, dai 45 kan, dai 2 gō, Shigakkai, 1934, p. 256.

energy.”⁷¹² In other words, under the influence of Watsuji’s climate theory, Matsumoto’s misinterpreted his observation in Indochina in the sense that hot and humid climate of Indochina made Indochina peoples weak.

This opinion arguing the negative influence of climate on the French people in Indochina was presented also by Takegoshi Yosaburo in his book *Records from Southern Countries*. Takegoshi wrote that the French needed to go back to France for recovery.⁷¹³ In this sense, Matsumoto’s observation of the French in Indochina was same with Takegoshi’s one although Matsumoto visited French Indochina 24 years later than Takegoshi. This suggests that this opinion was common for many Japanese visitors to French Indochina. However, there was a difference because Takegoshi argued that the Chinese in Indochina were unaffected by the hot climate,⁷¹⁴ while Matsumoto did not mention the Chinese in relation to the climate at all.

Furthermore, Matsumoto specified the negative effects of the climate on peoples in Indochina. In his writing “Culture of Indochina,” Matsumoto wrote: “The tropical climate makes a refined mental ability dull ...makes these races, which were active, lazy and weak; this is the strong cause why races of Annam, Thai and Burma who went south were daunted.”⁷¹⁵ Thus, Matsumoto believed that peoples in Indochina became mentally and physically weak because of the tropical climate.

⁷¹² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 5.

⁷¹³ Takegoshi, Yosaburō, *Nankokuki*, Nippon hyōronsha, 1942 (1st edition 1910), pp. 262.

⁷¹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 265.

⁷¹⁵ Ibid, p. 5.

Second, Matsumoto interpreted the history of Indochina peoples by the climate theory. In his writing “Culture of Indochina,” Matsumoto wrote: “If we trace back the decline of Champa, Khmer and Mon which used to flourish in this peninsula, we cannot but help thinking about the important role that the influence of the climate played in their eclipse.”⁷¹⁶ He wrote about Khmer’s decline also in his paper “Languages of Indochina”: “...once they [Khmer] built a monumental architecture of Angkor Vat, but then they lost their vigour...”⁷¹⁷ Both Cham and Khmer people inhabited the Southern part of Indochina Peninsula, had lost the fight against the Vietnamese and Thai people occupying the Northern part of the peninsula. From these points, it seemed to Matsumoto that climate theory could explain the fall of peoples in Southern Indochina.

These arguments appear logically sound in the light of theories of Western historians and ethnologists. Matsumoto read in Western books that that Indochina was gradually occupied by races who invaded from the North, such as Mongoloid tribes in Neolithic Period.⁷¹⁸ (These theories were discussed in Section 3.2. Orientalism in Matsumoto’s ideas on the peoples of Southeast Asia and Southern Pacific.) In this way, equipped with these historical facts, Matsumoto assumed that peoples from colder zones were stronger than peoples occupying hot and humid zone as explained in the climate theory.

⁷¹⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka jō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 5.

⁷¹⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina go,” *Ajia mondai kōza*, dai 8 kan, Sōgensha, 1939, p. 387.

⁷¹⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 3. “Indoshina gengo no keitō,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō gengo no keitō), Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 38.

In summary, the analysis of Matsumoto's writings showed that Matsumoto surmised the weakness of peoples was due to the tropical climate in Indochina based on the weak appearance of the peoples and from the history of their struggle in Indochina. It means that Matsumoto combined the climate theory with social Darwinism where he attributed the weakness that led to the defeat of a people by a stronger invader to the climate. This theory seemed to work because the history of Indochina had many cases where peoples from the North dominated peoples in the South.

3.3.2.1. Contradictions in Matsumoto's application of the climate theory on

Vietnamese people

The previous section showed that Matsumoto borrowed Watsuji's argument of the negative influence of the monsoon zone in explaining the weakness of the peoples in Indochina. However, in contrast to Watsuji, Matsumoto did not present an analysis of the weakness of peoples in Indochina by explaining the concrete effects of the climate on peoples in Indochina. Since he simply added Watsuji's argument of peoples' weakness to his ideas, there are many contradictions in his thinking. First, Matsumoto mentioned various causes of the Vietnamese weakness. Second, he also praised Vietnamese power and discussed the reasons for Vietnamese vigour.

First, Matsumoto claimed that the Vietnamese were weak for various reasons, and it was

not only due to the monsoon climate. The first reason was that the Vietnamese were ruled by French. In his writing “Peoples of Indochina,” Matsumoto mentioned the first reason: “In the nineteenth century, they [Vietnamese] fell under French rule and their growth has been hindered in this point; but their population rose to 15,000,000, and we do not think that their national vitality was completely exhausted.”⁷¹⁹ The second reason was that Matsumoto considered the physical appearance of Vietnamese to be inferior. Matsumoto described his observation of the Vietnamese people in his paper “I Have Seen Indochina”: “They [Vietnamese] are a yellow race of low stature, with fragile limbs and high cheekbones. They probably belong to the most inferior race among Mongoloid species.”⁷²⁰ He expressed a similar opinion also in his paper “Impressions from French Indochina”: “The physical constitution of the Annamese is smaller than the Japanese; moreover their balance is bad and inferior on the whole.”⁷²¹ Thus, Matsumoto associated the lack of spiritual energy of the Vietnamese with their loss of independence and their weak-looking appearance. However, he did not explain if and how these reasons were connected with the monsoon climate of Indochina Peninsula.

Second, despite these reasons for the Vietnamese weakness, Matsumoto still argued that the Vietnamese vitality had not been completely exhausted. He even claimed that Vietnamese were “the most important nation of Indochina.”⁷²² Matsumoto also praised Vietnamese national

⁷¹⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina minzoku,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 4.

⁷²⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.03.1934, p. 132.

⁷²¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina inshōki (I),” *Mita hyōron*, dai 437 gō, *Mita hyōron hakkōjo*, 1934, p. 27.

⁷²² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Jōdai Indoshina,” *Tōyō bunkashi taikei*, Kodai Shina to Indo, Seidōbunkadō

power. In his writing “Culture of Indochina,” he claimed: “We should admire the energy of spiritual power of the Annamese nation whose independence was threatened by Mongols – founders of a great empire in Europe and Asia. The Trần dynasty was successful not only in the North, but also in the South where it defeated Champa...”⁷²³ Despite Matsumoto’s recognition of Vietnamese power, he did not mention that this case contradicts the climate theory because Vietnamese in the South defeated Mongolians coming from the colder region in North. Thus, when Matsumoto adopted Watsuji’s argument of negative influence of monsoon climate he did not consider the cases where Watsuji’s climate theory could not be applied. This means he used Watsuji’s argument on the monsoon climate only for the explanation of the cases of decline.

Instead of denying the climate theory, Matsumoto provided an explanation for the Vietnamese victory over the Mongols. In the writing “Culture of Indochina” Matsumoto also praised the Vietnamese hero Trần Hưng Đạo who battled the Mongols expressing that he “demonstrated a great national spirit.”⁷²⁴ From his argument, it seems that Matsumoto was convinced that Vietnamese spiritual power had its source in the Vietnamese culture: “As the Trần Dynasty raised its national spirit, Vietnamized Chinese characters Chữ Nôm were in use when its self-consciousness was strong.”⁷²⁵ Thus, Matsumoto surmised that the Vietnamese could repulse Mongolian attacks owing to their spiritual energy coming from their Vietnamese culture.

shinkōsha, 1938, p. 237.

⁷²³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka ge,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, IX, Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 65.

⁷²⁴ Ibid, p. 67.

⁷²⁵ Ibid, p. 68.

Consequently, his evolutionist opinion on the Vietnamese power based on the Vietnamese culture was in contradiction with his argument of the Vietnamese weakness due to the monsoon climate.

In another argument, Matsumoto explained the source of the Vietnamese power from the adoption of a foreign culture. In his writing “Culture of Indochina,” Matsumoto claimed: “After the loss of suzerainty, Annam lost its ancient vigour that it had developed by absorbing Han culture, yet absorbing French culture is impossible too.”⁷²⁶ To put it another way, Matsumoto argued that the adoption of the Chinese culture made the Vietnamese strong, but it was not enough to repulse the French aggression. Matsumoto considered Sinization of Vietnamese people to be insufficient for their struggle against French people because he believed that Western civilization was superior to Oriental civilization based on cultural evolutionism. However, even if he had believed that adoption of the Chinese culture helped Vietnamese to beat Mongolian, he did not discuss why the superior Western culture did not help the French and Vietnamese to overcome the hot and humid climate of Indochina. Rationally speaking, if the climate made Vietnamese weak then it made no sense for the Vietnamese to adopt any culture.

These above mentioned Matsumoto’s opinions based on evolutionism show that Matsumoto thought that Vietnamese original culture and the adoption of Chinese culture made the Vietnamese peoples stronger. At the same time, he argued that the monsoon climate made Vietnamese people weak. In this way, Matsumoto’s ideas on Vietnamese people were

⁷²⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina no bunka ge,” *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, IX, Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 93

inconsistent.

3.3.2.2. Matsumoto's application of climate theory and the nationalist propaganda

Like many scholars in the 1930s, Matsumoto chose to combine his arguments with the rhetoric of the nationalist propaganda under the pressure from the political environment. The Japanese nationalist propaganda borrowed ideas from various academic theories including climate theory. In this way, some of Matsumoto's arguments on the influence of climate were adopted from this propaganda.

In his writing "Culture of Indochina", Matsumoto claimed that there were people with excellent spiritual power who overcame the obstacles of nature. Matsumoto suggested that these people were Japanese since he encouraged the graduates of Keio Gijuku to work in the Southern Pacific in his paper "Seeing Our South Seas": "Climate [in the South Seas] is monotonous during one year, without any stimulation, so there is some fear that one loses his vitality. But even this is not anything that cannot be overcome by the spiritual power. I never stop wishing that more and more promising young men advance to the South Seas and contribute to the acquisition of our interests."⁷²⁷ Since Matsumoto mentioned only Japanese people as an example of such excellent people, he suggested that Japanese were a unique nation which did not become weak by the influence of the hot and humid climate.

⁷²⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina no bunka jō," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I, Iwanami shoten, 1934, p. 2.

However this was the only case in which Matsumoto did not use the climate theory for the interpretation of the decline based on the result of the struggle between two ethnic groups. In addition, this argument of the Japanese resistance to the hot climate was in contradiction with Matsumoto's argument in the interpretation of peoples in Indochina based on Watsuji's theory of the monsoon climate. Matsumoto claimed also that superior peoples become weak due to the monsoon climate. He argued that even the French people in Indochina degenerated due to the monsoon climate. Therefore, the idea of the Japanese resistance to the hot climate was also in contradiction with Matsumoto's evolutionist opinion that the Western people were superior to the Oriental people. Matsumoto was not such a nationalist discussing the topic of the Japanese people's uniqueness except one case when he borrowed the argument of the Japanese ability to resist the hot climate from the Japanese nationalist propaganda. Moreover, despite this borrowing, he did not argue that the Japanese should replace the French in the rule over Indochina because of the Japanese unique ability.

Furthermore, Matsumoto adopted the rhetoric of the nationalist propaganda arguing that the Japanese help the peoples weakened by the monsoon climate. He suggested the Japanese help the Vietnamese by providing them the Japanese products and teaching them civilization in his paper "I Have Seen Indochina" as it has been quoted on the page 230-231.⁷²⁸ Hence, Matsumoto borrowed the propaganda rhetoric advocating Japan's economic advance and civilizing mission

⁷²⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina wo mite," *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.03.1934, p. 135.

in Vietnam.

The idea of Japan's civilizing mission in Asia was argued by Pan-Asianism which promoted Japanese advance to Asia. However, Matsumoto criticized Pan-Asianism in his paper "I have Seen Indochina" for *The Diplomatic Revue* in 1934: "Rather than being driven by childish sentimentalism, having sympathy with their loss of the homeland and preaching the Revival of Asia, we should first work on making full use of the abilities of our empire, and show our heart, free of territorial ambitions towards other European colonies in Asia outside of Manchukuo and Mongolia... In reality, preaching vague Pan-Asianism towards the majority of the unreliable China-adoring Annamese, has the effect of alienating the French who are favorable to Japan. I must say that making an unwanted enemy is the worst strategy ever for Japanese foreign policy."⁷²⁹ Matsumoto openly disagreed with Pan-Asianism because he supported friendly relations with France where he lived four years and had friends.

Matsumoto promoted the Japanese advance to French Indochina because he perceived it as part of the Japanese-French economic cooperation. Matsumoto wrote in his writing "I Have Seen Indochina": "The influx of the cheap Japanese goods will bring some profit to Annamese On the one hand, it may suppress the French industry, but on the other hand, it will make this French colony prosper, and from the general situation it will surely benefit both Japan and France. The Japan-French friendship should not be just a useless theory, and it should be first

⁷²⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina wo mite," *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.03.1934, pp. 137-138.

implemented in the land of Indochina close to Japan.”⁷³⁰ Thus, Matsumoto supported the Japanese policy of keeping status-quo in Indochina.

Consequently, Matsumoto’s opinions on French Indochina should be perceived in the context of developing Japanese economic relations with French Indochina from the early 1930s to 1944. At this time, propaganda of the Southern Advance theory argued the peaceful advance through economic cooperation. In this way, Matsumoto’s recommendation for the Japanese to help the Vietnamese people reflected Japanese propaganda towards French Indochina for the purpose of Japanese economic advance. Nevertheless, as a result of these circumstances, Matsumoto became a supporter of Japan’s Southern Advance because the Japanese expansion enabled him to claim importance of his research in relation to contemporary Japanese policy.

In summary, Matsumoto adopted the climate theory because it provided explanations to the decline of peoples in Southeast Asia. Matsumoto’s application of Watsuji’s climate theory was superficial and his arguments explaining the weakness or strength of Indochina people were inconsistent. He assumed the weakness of Southeast Asian peoples due to the monsoon climate judging from their physical appearance and from his social Darwinist interpretation of the history of Indochina people. He simply attributed the weakness to the climate of the peoples who were defeated. His ideas contained many contradictions because he found many reasons for Vietnamese weakness but at the same time, claimed Vietnamese were strong. Further

⁷³⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina wo mite,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.03.1934, p. 137.

discrepancies in Matsumoto's opinions came from nationalist rhetoric that Matsumoto adopted from propaganda preaching Japanese uniqueness and Japan's mission to help weak Vietnamese peoples. These arguments were contained in Pan-Asianism. However, Matsumoto borrowed them from Japan's Southern Advance Theory advocating Japan-French cooperation in French Indochina because he believed in the French-Japanese friendship and because he wanted to add significance to his research by connecting it with contemporary policy.

4. Conclusion

During the period 1933-1939, Matsumoto Nobuhiro became the founder of Southeast Asian studies and developed his ideas on Southeast Asia through his research trips to French Indochina, the Southern Pacific islands and China. The analysis of the significance of Matsumoto's research trips showed that Ito Seiji's hypothesis of the highest significance of his trip to French Indochina was correct. Among his research trips, his travel to French Indochina mostly contributed to Matsumoto's formation as the founder of Southeast Asian studies because it enabled him to bring back a big volume of data on Southeast Asia to Japan and to present them in Japanese to the Japanese academic circles. This contribution was intentional because he chose to focus on Indochina instead of going to China owing to his friendship with the French scholars of the EFEO in Hanoi. Also his trips to the Southern Pacific islands and to China were related to his ideas on Southeast Asia because he perceived these regions as connected with Southeast Asia

due to influence of diffusionist ethnology which prevailed in the 1930s. This fact was proven in Matsumoto's writings on archaeological artifacts from China where he emphasized the similarity of the Chinese artifacts with objects found in Southeast Asia and Japan.

Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia can be interpreted in the framework of Japanese Orientalism. As a scholar in Oriental studies, Matsumoto adopted an Orientalist perspective in relation to Southeast Asia which encompassed the dichotomy of the powerful and the weak, and of the civilized and the primitive. In addition, Matsumoto had the Japanese Orientalist perspective in which he considered Southeast Asia to be exotic and similar at the same time. These categories in Matsumoto's ideas were based on social Darwinism and cultural evolutionism. Namely the Darwinist theory on the selection in the struggle for survival was in the background of the dichotomy.

The presence of the dichotomy of the powerful and the weak in Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia showed that he adopted the theory of natural selection in the struggle for survival which had not appeared in his works in previous periods. This change occurred due to the influence of diffusionist ethnology which interpreted the contacts of various races only within the categories of a winning foreign race and a defeated local race in the struggle for survival. As a result of this diffusionist influence, Matsumoto ignored other alternatives regarding the contacts of the races, such as that the local race could repulse the foreign invasion or an import of foreign culture can occur without military conflict.

In this light, Matsumoto constructed his Orientalist hierarchy of Southeast Asian peoples from his judgement of the struggle among the races in Indochina Peninsula. He considered the winners to be powerful and civilized and the defeated to be weak and barbarian. Based on this theory he held a racial bias that Southeast Asian peoples were inferior to the Japanese while the Japanese were inferior to the Western peoples. Matsumoto's thinking reflected the Japanese effort for achieving equality with the Western peoples in this period.

Matsumoto's belief in the backwardness of Southeast Asian culture is visible also from his interest in the similarities of Southeast Asia and Japan. It is because Matsumoto thought that contemporary Southeast Asian culture resembled the past Japanese traditional culture. Some scholars, such as Yamashita Shinji, explained Matsumoto's attention to similarities with Japan as a search for Japan's homeland in Southeast Asia. However, this argument was not proved in the case of Matsumoto since he explained these concordances ambiguously within the context of relations between Japan and Southeast Asia. Sometimes, Matsumoto presented a diffusionist interpretation of these relations which was the influence of Southern culture in ancient Japan.

In addition, from the Japanese Orientalist perspective, Matsumoto considered Southeast Asia exotic. After his experience in Indochina and the Southern Pacific islands, Matsumoto corrected his opinion about the South Seas encompassing Southeast Asia in the sense that the region was not so dangerous and barbarians do not roam in great numbers as the majority of the Japanese people believed. Moreover, he mentioned only that the exoticity of Southeast Asia was

due to the tropical flora and did not describe any exotic customs since he looked for similarities, not differences with Japan. Thus, the exoticity of Southeast Asia for Matsumoto was limited to its tropical flora.

Finally, Matsumoto adopted Watsuji Tetsuro's Climate Theory for his ideas on Southeast Asia. When he visited French Indochina in 1933, he began using climate theory of the monsoon zone to explain the weakness of the peoples in Indochina. He also believed that he found evidences confirming this theory from the history of Indochina in which Southern races were defeated by invaders from the colder Northern regions. In this way, he combined the climate theory with social Darwinism. However, Matsumoto's adoption of climate theory contained many contradictions especially in his arguments on Vietnamese people. Furthermore, he adopted arguments from Japanese propaganda which were inconsistent with the climate theory, such as the Japanese uniqueness in overcoming the monsoon climate and the Japanese help to the weak Vietnamese people. Although these opinions were preached by Pan-Asianism, Matsumoto borrowed them from the Southern Advance Theory because he believed in Japan-French cooperation in Indochina and wished to draw attention to the contemporary significance of his writings on Indochina.

In summary, owing to his research trip to French Indochina in 1933, Matsumoto became the founder of Southeast Asian studies. His writings on Southeast Asia expose racial bias by social Darwinism under the influence of diffusionist ethnology, Orientalism, Climate Theory and

the Japanese propaganda during the period 1933-1939. Although he considered Southeast Asia to be similar to Japan, he presented it as inferior both in power and culture.

Chapter 5: The Formation of Matsumoto's Ideas on Southeast Asia in

1940-1945

1. Introduction

During the period 1940-1945, Matsumoto's endeavor to develop Southeast Asian studies gained support of the Japanese national policy since Southeast Asia was added to the Japanese project of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Therefore, Matsumoto put effort in the propagation of Southeast Asian studies within the context of the Pan-Asianist policy. As a result, Matsumoto was influenced by Pan-Asianism in his writings on Southeast Asia although he criticized this ideology in the previous period.⁷³¹

In the late 1930s, Tokyo government formulated the strategy for the Southern Advance as a part of the national policy because it was regarded necessary for the Japanese victory in China. On 1 August 1940, Japanese foreign minister Matsuoka Yosuke (1880-1846) announced the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere which also included Southeast Asia.⁷³² After the French capitulation to Germany in June 1940, Japan gained control over French Indochina during the years 1940-1941. First, Japan dispatched its troupes to Northern Indochina in September 1940.⁷³³ Then, it signed the Japan-French Protocol for Joint Defence of French

⁷³¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina wo mite," *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.03.1934, pp. 137-138.

⁷³² McClain, James L., *Japan: A Modern History*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, London, 2002, p. 470.

⁷³³ Hata, Ikuhiko, "The Army Move into Northern Indochina," *The Fateful Choice. Japan's Advance into Southeast Asia, 1939-1941*, Edited by Morley, James William, Columbia University Press, New York 1980, pp.

Indochina (29 July 1941).⁷³⁴ Thus, French Indochina on which Matsumoto concentrated became a part of Japan's Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere before the outbreak of Asia-Pacific War in December 1941.

Japanese military advance to French Indochina also meant integration of Southern Advance Theory into Japanese official policy. Under these new circumstances, so-called "Southward Theory" became popular during the Asia-Pacific War after being neglected in comparison with the main-stream "Northward Theory" in previous years.⁷³⁵ In this new light, Matsumoto's works pointing out the similarity of Southeast Asia and Japan were seen as beneficent because they corresponded to Pan-Asianist argument emphasizing commonalities between the Japanese and other Asian peoples for the construction of common Asian identity.

Consequently, increasing Japanese involvement in Southeast Asia fuelled academic career of Matsumoto Nobuhiro who was gradually profiled as the founder of Southeast Asian studies. In 1939, Matsumoto became a research fellow at the Research Institute for South Asian Culture under the governmental auspice.⁷³⁶ He was also mobilized as a researcher of the Committee for Ethnic Issues collecting information on Southeast Asia in 1940.⁷³⁷ Furthermore, Matsumoto developed effort for developing Southeast Asian studies at Keio University by

179-180, 192.

⁷³⁴ Murakami, Sachiko, *Japan's Thrust into French Indochina 1940-1945*, New York University, 1981, p. 337.

⁷³⁵ Itō, Seiji, "Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, p. 123.

⁷³⁶ Roustan, Frédéric, "From Oriental Studies to South Pacific Studies: The Multiple Origins of Vietnamese Studies," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 2011, pp. 17-18.

⁷³⁷ Yatsugi, Kazuo, *Shōwa dōran shishi*, chū, Keizai ōraisha, 1971, p. 207.

contributing to the establishment of two institutes there. In the same period, Matsumoto was active in various research organizations related to Southeast Asia and the Southern Pacific, such as Indochina Research Society (*Indoshina kenkyūkai*, 印度支那研究会),⁷³⁸ South Seas Association (*Nan'yō kyōkai*, 南洋協会),⁷³⁹ Pacific Association (*Taiheiyō kyōkai*, 太平洋協会),⁷⁴⁰ etc. Thus, Matsumoto expanded his activities owing to the governmental interest in Southeast Asia.

During the period 1940-1945, Matsumoto published many papers on Southeast Asia, especially on Indochina. He wrote articles on linguistic comparison with the Austro-Asiatic languages and on Southeast Asian peoples. Last but not the least, he published a collection of his papers written mainly in the 1930s on Indochina as a book under the title *Peoples and Cultures of Indochina* in 1942. This book received an award of the Keio University Scholar Promotion Fund and became listed among the recommended readings by the Japan Publishing Culture Association that controlled the publication activities in Japan in 1943.⁷⁴¹ Thus, Matsumoto presented many writings on Southeast Asia both from ethnological and linguistic perspectives.

In this way, the era of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere brought significant

⁷³⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Annango nyūmon. Bunpōhen*, Indoshina kenkyūkai, 1942, p. 2. *Annango nyūmon. Kaiwahan*, Indoshina kenkyūkai, 1942, p. 2. Itō, Seiji, “Matsumoto Nobuhiro to gakumon,” *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō gijuku daigaku, dai 24 kan, 1992, p. 18. Yamamoto, Tatsurō, “Betonamu kenkyū shiryō no shōkai to shuppan,” *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen*, dai 3 kan, Geppō dai 3 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 3.

⁷³⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina no minzoku,” *Nan'yō*, dai 27 kan, dai 7 gō, 1940, pp. 26-33.

⁷⁴⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annanjin no kigen,” *Taiheiyō ken*, jōkan, Kawade shōbō, 1944, p. 1 (319).

⁷⁴¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942. Takeda Ryuji, “Indoshina no minzoku to bunka (Matsumoto Nobuhiro, Iwanami shoten shokō,” *Shigaku*, dai 22 kan, dai 4 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1943, p. 119 (489).

changes to Matsumoto's academic career and to his ideas on Southeast Asia. First, this chapter will examine Matsumoto's formation as the founder of Southeast Asian studies in linguistics and discuss Matsumoto's linguistic research of Southeast Asian languages. Second, it will explore Matsumoto's ethnological ideas on Southeast Asia in relation to China and Japan. Third, this chapter will inquire about the influence of Pan-Asianism on Matsumoto's writings discussing Southeast Asia.

2. Matsumoto Nobuhiro's formation as the founder of Southeast Asian studies in linguistics

During the period 1940-1945, Matsumoto developed many activities for boosting Southeast Asian studies especially in the field of linguistics. The significance of Matsumoto's contribution to linguistic studies has been pointed out by Ito Seiji.⁷⁴² Kawamoto Kunie emphasized Matsumoto's role in the establishment of linguistic studies at Keio University.⁷⁴³ This section will examine the development of Matsumoto as the founder of Southeast Asian studies in linguistics, and discuss the importance of his research of Southeast Asian languages.

2.1. Matsumoto's activity for establishment of Southeast Asian studies

During the period 1939-1945, Matsumoto became scholar of three new institutes whose

⁷⁴² Itō, Seiji, "Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, p. 127.

⁷⁴³ Kawamoto, Kunie, "Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sanjūnen," *Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, dai 24 gō, 1992, pp. 1-4.

activity was related to Southeast Asia. The first institute was the Research Institute for South Asian Culture under the governmental auspice. Two other two institutes were established at Keio University. This section will explore significance of Matsumoto's affiliation with these institutes in relation to the development of Southeast Asian studies.

A Vietnam specialist Frédéric Roustan has already written about Matsumoto's appointment to the Research Institute for South Asian Culture (*Minami Ajia kenkyūjo*, 南亜細亜研究所) as a watershed for the foundation of South Seas studies in 1939.⁷⁴⁴ In 1939, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs established this institute with the cooperation of the Intelligence Bureau and the Government of Taiwan. Famous ethnologist and professor of Oriental history at Tokyo Imperial University Shiratori Kurakichi (1865-1942) was appointed as director of the Institute. Matsumoto worked there as director of the Indochina history project together with Yamamoto Tatsuro (1910-2001) who graduated Oriental history at Tokyo Imperial University and conducted research on the Vietnamese history.⁷⁴⁵

This was an important step for Matsumoto's career because he thus joined scholars of different institutions researching Southeast Asia. According to his opinion in his paper "Chinese Research in France," Matsumoto considered the joint research of various scholars as the first step in the progress of the Japanese scholarship to catch up with French level.⁷⁴⁶ From this point of

⁷⁴⁴ Roustan, Frédéric, "From Oriental Studies to South Pacific Studies: The Multiple Origins of Vietnamese Studies," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 2011, pp. 17-18.

⁷⁴⁵ *Minami Ajia gakuhō*, Minami Ajia bunka kenkyūjo, dai 1 gō, 1943.

⁷⁴⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Furansu ni okeru Shina kenkyū" in *Shina kenkyū*, Iwanami shoten, 1930, p. 386.

view, Matsumoto's wish for the mutual cooperation of the Japanese specialists from different institutions became somewhat realized eleven years after his return from Sorbonne University.

However, the achievements of the Institute suggest that the cooperation between its scholars there was not intensive. The Institute published only two volumes of *Southern Asian Research Report* (one in 1943, and the other in 1944) since its establishment in 1939.⁷⁴⁷

Matsumoto only presented one paper "Betel Palm and Banana – A Research in Names of Southward Products and Plants" in the first volume of *Southern Asian Research Report*.⁷⁴⁸

Therefore, it can be assumed that the scholars of this Institute worked mainly for their original institutions. This implies that the establishment of the Research Institute for South Asian Culture did not spur cooperation of the Japanese scholars from various institutions so much. This is also suggested by the fact that Matsumoto criticized the lack of unity of the Japanese scholars in 1942.

In his writing "Southern Cultural Policy and Ethnology," Matsumoto appealed to the Japanese government to "call up for scholars of the whole country, integrate them and make them advance in the direction of the state policy."⁷⁴⁹ Thus, since cooperation among the scholars of the Research Institute for South Asian Culture was small, Matsumoto's work for the Institute was not so significant.

On the contrary, Matsumoto's work at his Alma Mater, Keio University, was more

⁷⁴⁷ *Minami Ajia gakuho*, Minami Ajia bunka kenkyūjo, dai 1 gō, 1943; dai 2 gō, 1944.

⁷⁴⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Binrō to bashō —Nampō san shokubutsu mei no kenkyū *Minami Ajia gakuho*, dai 1 gō, Minami Ajia bunka kenkyūjo, 1943, pp. 17-48.

⁷⁴⁹ Especially in Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nampō bunka seisaku to minzokugaku," *Gaikō jihō*, dai 885 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.10.1941, p. 79.

important. There, Matsumoto was assigned a leading position in the Linguistic Institute (語学研究所) and the Asia Research Institute (亜細亜研究所) which he helped to establish in October 1942 and in January 1943 respectively.⁷⁵⁰ The Linguistic Institute was closed after the war in 1945, but Matsumoto contributed to its reestablishment as the Keio University Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies (in July 1962) which also became one of the Japanese centers for Southeast Asian studies.⁷⁵¹ Therefore, Matsumoto co-initiated the foundation of the Linguistic Institute that was a significant predecessor of a modern center for Southeast Asian studies.

Kawamoto Kunie mentioned Matsumoto's role in the establishment of the Linguistic Institute at Keio University in his paper "Thirty Years of the Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies."⁷⁵² According to Kawamoto, Matsumoto decided to establish the Institute in 1941 because similar institutions were opened at Tokyo Imperial University and Kyoto Imperial University in 1940 and 1939 respectively.⁷⁵³ The first article of the Linguistic Institute regulations from 1942 stated: "the Keio University Linguistic Institute has aim to realize the Greater East Asia building by conducting linguistic research of East Asian, European and American languages."⁷⁵⁴ The Institute had twenty three language departments including

⁷⁵⁰ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Rokkōshuppan, 1982, p. 694. Kawamoto, Kunie, "Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sanjūnen," *Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, dai 24 gō, 1992, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁵¹ *Ine-fune-matsuri: Matsumoto Nobuhiro sensei tsuitō ronbunshū*, Rokkōshuppan, 1982, p. 695. Kawamoto, Kunie, "Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sanjūnen," *Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, dai 24 gō, 1992, pp. 2-3.

⁷⁵² Kawamoto, Kunie, "Gengo bunka kenkyūjo sanjūnen," *Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo hōkokushū*, Keiō Gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, dai 24 gō, 1992, pp. 1-4.

⁷⁵³ Ibid, p. 2.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid, pp. 3-4.

languages of Vietnam, Sanskrit, Pali, etc.⁷⁵⁵ Here, Matsumoto had a Vietnamese assistant Trần Kinh Hoà (陳荊和, Chin Kei Wa, 1917-1995) who later became a specialist on the Vietnamese history and did the editing work for the publication of *Complete Annals of Đại Việt* (*Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*) in Japan.⁷⁵⁶ Thus, Matsumoto contributed to incorporation of Southeast Asian studies into the program of Keio University by introducing the study of Southeast Asian languages because Southeast Asia was considered a part of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.

In order to increase the Japanese awareness of the importance of Southeast Asian languages, Matsumoto put the study of these languages into the context of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. He claimed that the knowledge of Southeast Asian languages was an indispensable condition for making effective cultural policy towards Southeast Asian peoples. In the preface to his book *Introduction to Annamese Language*, he argued: “If one cooperates through the medium of the third language, it is impossible to touch the partner’s heart.”⁷⁵⁷ In other words, he considered the knowledge of local language important for ethnologists and other scholars who should play central role in formation of cultural policy. In his paper “The Southern Cultural Policy and Ethnology,” Matsumoto wrote: “Here I want to emphasize that we must educate researchers who stay, in this case, in Indochina long time enough to understand

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 5.

⁷⁵⁶ Kawamoto, Kunie, “Shiki ni mukau keigan – Chin Kei Wa hakushi wo itamu,” *Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo kiyō*, dai 28 gō, Keiō gijuku daigaku gengo bunka kenkyūjo, 1996, pp. 11-20.

⁷⁵⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Annango nyūmon. Kaiwahan*, Indoshina kenkyūkai, 1942, p. 2.

sufficiently the language of the country.”⁷⁵⁸

In summary, during the period 1940-1945, Matsumoto had many opportunities to develop Southeast Asian studies since research of Southeast Asia became necessary for the official policy of building the Greater East Co-Prosperity Sphere. Matsumoto was active at three newly established institutes which also conducted research on Southeast Asia. Despite his participation on a joint project under governmental auspice, he contributed more to the foundation of Southeast Asian studies by introducing the study of Southeast Asian languages at Keio University. He argued importance of Southeast Asian studies and Southeast Asian languages for the project of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

2.2. The significance of Matsumoto’s research of Southeast Asian languages

Matsumoto’s perspective of Southeast Asian languages in his research differed from his perspective in propagation of Southeast Asian languages for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. It is because Matsumoto as a researcher was not interested in studying modern Southeast Asian languages although he participated on writing the textbook *Introduction to Annamese Language*.⁷⁵⁹ In fact, he was attracted to Southeast Asian languages as a part of the study on

⁷⁵⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nampō bunka seisaku to minzokugaku,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 885 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.10.1941, p. 78.

⁷⁵⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Annango nyūmon. Bunpōhen*, Indoshina kenkyūkai, 1942, p. 2. *Annango nyūmon. Kaiwahan*, Indoshina kenkyūkai, 1942, p. 2. Although Matsumoto is mentioned as an author of the textbook, from the preface to the volume of conversation (*Annango nyūmon. Kaiwahan*, p. 2), it seems that the main work was done by Muramatsu Katsu who lectured the Vietnamese language for the Indochina Research Society from 1941. Muramatsu learnt Vietnamese because she was wife of Emile Gaspardone, Matsumoto’s friend, who stayed as researcher of EFEO in Hanoi.

primitive culture.

Matsumoto's ethnological approach to the significance of Southeast Asian languages was not changed since 1928 when he claimed an important role of the Austro-Asiatic languages in the formation of the Japanese language in his doctoral thesis at Sorbonne University.⁷⁶⁰ It is because he believed in similarities between these languages, but he was also aware of their differences. For this reason, he argued the Southern influence on the Japanese language, and not the Southern origin of the Japanese language. He repeated this opinion in his paper "The Genealogy of Indochina Languages" (1934) which was published in his book *Peoples and Cultures of Indochina* (1942): "The fact supported by evidences is only that the Southward elements played important role in the formation of the Japanese language..."⁷⁶¹ He also expressed same opinion in his papers "A Research on the Japanese Names of Southward Animals and Plants" (1940),⁷⁶² "Japan's Ancient Culture and South Seas" (1942),⁷⁶³ and "The Ethnic-Historical Meaning of the Greater East Asian War" (1942).⁷⁶⁴ Thus, Matsumoto was concerned with the historical role of Southeast Asian languages in formation of ancient Japanese language. Since he did not propose the hypothesis that the Japanese language played important

⁷⁶⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Le japonais et les langues austroasiatiques: étude de vocabulaire comparé*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, p. 96.

⁷⁶¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, p. 282.

⁷⁶² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nampō san dōshokubutsu honpōmei no kenkyū," *Shigaku*, Mita shigakkai, dai 18 kan, dai 1 gō, 1940, p. 166.

⁷⁶³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nihon jōdai bunka to Nan'yō," *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, pp. 315, 334

⁷⁶⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Daitōa sensō no minzoku shitekina igi, *Gaikō jihō*, dai 893 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.02.1942, p. 54.

role in the formation of Southeast Asian languages, it means that he had a diffusionist hypothesis of the influence of the Southeast Asian languages on the Japanese language in the ancient times.

Moreover, he thought that Southeast Asian languages also influenced the Chinese language. In his paper “On the Character Ship,” Matsumoto wrote: “In general, the Chinese language received influence of surrounding languages; especially it received influence of Thai, Meo, Man languages and languages of Mon-Khmer genealogy.”⁷⁶⁵ Since some of these languages belong to the Austro-Asiatic languages, this argument was similar to his opinion in his work “Theories of Ancient Culture” (1932) that Austro-Asiatic languages influenced Chinese language.⁷⁶⁶ In other words, despite propagating the Japanese need for the knowledge of modern Southeast Asian languages, Matsumoto kept being interested more in the historical role of Southeast Asian languages including their influence on the Japanese and Chinese languages.

This fact is also aparent from his linguistic papers. He wrote thirteen linguistic papers related to Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages during the period 1940-1945: “Languages of Indochina,”⁷⁶⁷ “A Research on the Japanese Names of Southward Animals and Plants,”⁷⁶⁸ “On Ancient Name of Cotton,”⁷⁶⁹ “On the Chinese Character ‘Ship’,”⁷⁷⁰ “A Study in Names of

⁷⁶⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Oobu to iu moji ni tsuite” (1941), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 778.

⁷⁶⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 77.

⁷⁶⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina go,” *Ajia mondai kōza*, dai 8 kan, Sōgensha, 1939, pp. 385-399

⁷⁶⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nampō san dōshokubutsu honpōmei no kenkyū,” *Shigaku*, Mita shigakkai, dai 18 kan, dai 1 gō, 1940, pp. 165-202.

⁷⁶⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Momen no komei ni tsuite” (1941) *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 659-690.

⁷⁷⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “‘Oobu’ to iu moji ni tsuite” (1941), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 771-789.

Crocodiles and other Reptiles,”⁷⁷¹ “The Annamese and Mon-Khmer languages,”⁷⁷² “A Research in Domestic Names of the Southward Products and Plants (continued),”⁷⁷³ “Betel Palm and Banana – A Research in Names of Southward Products and Plants,”⁷⁷⁴ “Southern Elements in the Japanese Language,”⁷⁷⁵ “Annamese Language,” “Malay Language,” “Javanese Language,”⁷⁷⁶ and “A Study in Names of Ancient Weapons.”⁷⁷⁷ Five of them represented the introduction of the Southeast Asian languages to the Japanese readers.⁷⁷⁸ Eight of them were attempts at a research in historical linguistics.⁷⁷⁹ Thus, Matsumoto presented more papers on the historical significance of Southeast Asian languages than on modern Southeast Asian languages.

In his linguistic research, Matsumoto adopted the comparative approach to the Japanese, Chinese and Southeast Asian names of plants and animals as the above mentioned titles of Matsumoto’s papers suggested. He applied the method of vocabulary comparison that he learnt

⁷⁷¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Wani sonota hachūrei meigi kō” (1942), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 691-720.

⁷⁷² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan go to Mon-Kumeru go,” *Nihongo*, 2-5, Nampō kensetsu to Nihongo, Nihongo kyōiku shinkōkai, dai 5 gō, 1942, pp. 38-44.

⁷⁷³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Zoku Nampō san dōshokubutsu honpōmei no kenkyū” (1943), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 647-658.

⁷⁷⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Binrō to bashō —Nampō san shokubutsu mei no kenkyū” (1943) *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 721-750.

⁷⁷⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Wagago ni okeru Nampō yōso” (1943), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 539-564.

⁷⁷⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan go,” “Marai go,” “Jawa go,” *Sekai no kotoba*, Keiō gijuku daigaku gogaku kenkyūjohen, Keiō shuppansha, 1943, pp. 73-79, 81-86, 87-90.

⁷⁷⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kodai kōsen gu meishō kō” (1944), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 597-614.

⁷⁷⁸ “Languages of Indochina,” “The Annamese and Mon-Khmer languages,” “Annamese Language,” “Malay Language,” “Javanese Language”.

⁷⁷⁹ “A Research on the Japanese Names of Southward Animals and Plants,” “On Ancient Name of Cotton,” “On the Chinese Character ‘Ship’,” “A Study in Names of Crocodiles and other Reptiles,” “A Research in Domestic Names of the Southward Products and Plants (Continued),” “Betel Palm and Banana – A Research in Names of Southward Products and Plants,” “Southern Elements in the Japanese Language,” “A Study in Names of Ancient Weapons.”

from Jean Przylusky in 1924-1928. For example, Matsumoto made comparison with the Austro-Asiatic languages in his paper “A Study in Names of Crocodiles and other Reptiles” as follows: “What is the naming of crocodile among the South Seas peoples in general? If we include Austro-Asiatic peoples of Indochina, we can mention following examples...”⁷⁸⁰ In this way, his linguistic research was matching archaic Japanese and Chinese words with similar words in the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages.

However, despite employing comparison with Southeast Asian languages in many papers, Matsumoto wrote explicitly only once that he looked for the origins. As Matsumoto’s paper “A Study in Names of Ancient Weapons” suggests, Matsumoto thought that linguistic research of the names of the Japanese weapons could clarify the origins of various words: “It is not only important to research weapons of ancient times archaeologically, but we also must study them linguistically. Namely, I believe that it is important to give hints by researching origins of their namings together with researching their structure and their genealogy from material perspective.”⁷⁸¹ Therefore, only this one writing demonstrates that Matsumoto’s research aimed on finding “the origins.” He specified the origins as “the origins of the namings,” not “the origins of the languages.” Since Matsumoto did only comparison of the vocabulary and argued the Southern influence on the ancient Japanese and Chinese cultures, it can be assumed that, by the

⁷⁸⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Wani sonota hachūrei meigi kō” (1942), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 695.

⁷⁸¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kodai kōsen gu meishō kō” (1944), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 597-614.

word “origins,” he meant borrowings from the vocabulary of Southeast Asian languages to the ancient Japanese and Chinese languages.

In summary, the significance of Matsumoto’s work in linguistic studies for Southeast Asian studies lied in propagating the study of Southeast Asian languages and in research of Southeast Asian languages. He namely contributed to the study of Southeast Asian languages at Keio University. However, Matsumoto did not put effort in acquiring knowledge of these contemporary forms of languages, although he claimed that contemporary relations of Japan with Southeast Asia required specialists with this knowledge. Instead of learning modern Southeast Asian languages, he conducted linguistic comparison of Southeast Asian languages (the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages) and claimed the similarity of these languages with ancient Japanese and Chinese languages. Finally, he surmised that the similarity is the result of Southeast Asian influence on the ancient Japanese and Chinese languages.

3. Matsumoto Nobuhiro’s ethnological ideas on Southeast Asian peoples

Matsumoto’s ethnological ideas on Southeast Asian peoples during the period 1940-1945 remained partially same with the previous period. Matsumoto still used both terms Southeast Asia and the South Seas. He also retained Orientalism and the Climate Theory based on social Darwinism. This is also aparent from the fact that he published collection of his papers of French Indochina written in the 1930s as the book *The Peoples and Cultures of Indochina* (1942) only

with few changes.⁷⁸² Furthermore, he still argued that non-Han peoples originally residing in the territory of contemporary China were expelled by the Chinese expansion to South, but invaded Southeast Asia, and drove out the original inhabitants of Southeast Asia to the mountains or to the islands of Southeast Asia and the Southern Pacific.⁷⁸³ Hence, Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asian peoples in 1940-1945 were still based on the diffusionist ideas of Western scholars, such as Robert Heine-Geldern,⁷⁸⁴ as it was argued in the previous chapter.

However, he also presented some new opinions due to the progress in his research of Southeast Asia. While Matsumoto introduced about Southeast Asian peoples in general in the period 1933-1939, in the period 1940-1945 he looked closely into peoples who were Southeast Asian peoples' ancestors in China and their descendants who migrated to Japan. Therefore, this section will discuss Matsumoto's ideas on Indochina peoples' origins in China and on Southeast Asian peoples' relation to Japan.

3.1. Matsumoto's ideas on Indochina peoples' origins in China

The previous chapter revealed that Matsumoto noted closely Indochina peoples' origins in China due to influence of Western diffusionist theories in the 1930s. In his paper "The

⁷⁸² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Yūken sekifu no shomondai," *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, pp. 189-223.

⁷⁸³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nihon shinwa ni okeru Nampōkei," *Risō*, jūyonen sansatsu sangatsu gō, Risōsha, 1940, pp. 279-280.

⁷⁸⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, pp. 265. "Shina Nampō kodai bunka no keitō," *Nihon shogaku shinkō iinkai kenkyū hōkoku*, dai jū ichi hen (rekishi gaku) kyōgakukyoku, 1941, p. 204. "Nampō chiiki," *Tōa sekaishi* (2), *Sekaishi kōza* (4), *Kōbundō shobō*, 1944, pp. 6-7.

Genealogy of Ancient Southern Culture of China” from 1943, Matsumoto wrote: “...researching Southern China that was the residence area of these Indochina peoples has great importance for clarifying the origins of cultures in Indochina and the South Seas, as well as for examining characteristics of ancient cultures in Northern China, Manchuria, Korea, and Japan.”⁷⁸⁵ Since Matsumoto wrote about Indochina peoples’ residence area as different from Indochina, it means that he did not make clear difference between Indochina peoples in Indochina and their ancestors in Southern China. It is because he believed in the theory of remnants according to which some elements of ancestors’ culture were preserved in the culture of the next generations. In this way, Matsumoto emphasized culture of Indochina peoples’ ancestors in China in several writings in the first half of the 1940s.⁷⁸⁶

However, he discussed more about the peoples than about the culture. In his paper “The Ancient Culture of Jiangnan,” he theorized that Chinese people originally only resided in the region of the middle stream of Huanghe River and the valleys of its branches, and the other territory of contemporary China was occupied by peoples called “barbarians” who were different from Chinese, but similar to the contemporary peoples Meo, Man and Lolo.⁷⁸⁷ Matsumoto knew

⁷⁸⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Shina Nampō kodai bunka no keitō,” *Nihon shogaku shinkō iinkai kenkyū hōkoku*, dai jū ichi hen (rekishi gaku) kyōgakukyoku, 1941, p. 209.

⁷⁸⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nampō san dōshokubutsu honpōmei no kenkyū,” *Shigaku*, Mita shigakkai, dai 18 kan, dai 1 gō, 1940, pp. 165-166. “Futsuryō Indoshina no minzoku,” *Nan’yō*, dai 27 kan, dai 7 gō, 1940, p. 26. “Oobu to iu moji ni tsuite” (1941), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 771. “Kōnan no kobunka” (1941), pp. 295-296. *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942. “Shina Nampō kodai bunka no keitō,” *Nihon shogaku shinkō iinkai kenkyū hōkoku*, dai jū ichi hen (rekishi gaku) kyōgakukyoku, 1941, pp. 203-204. “Ban meigi kō” (1944), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 1.

⁷⁸⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Kōnan no kobunka” (1941), pp. 295-296. *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, pp. 295-296.

that Meo, Man and Lolo lived in China and Indochina. Thus, Matsumoto imagined that the territory of China used to be occupied by various peoples who were different from Han people and who were similar to the contemporary Indochina peoples, such as Meo, Man and Lolo.

From these points, Matsumoto thought that Indochina peoples' ancestors were among the peoples called "barbarians" by Chinese. In his paper "Peoples and Cultures of French Indochina," Matsumoto assumed that Meo, Man and Khmer peoples' ancestors used to live in Southern China, had common origin with Mongoloid people, separated from the mainstream of Mongoloid people in the ancient times, and thus their Mongoloid features were not so distinctive; that Meo, Man and Khmer peoples' ancestors migrated to Southeast Asia and to Oceania, and their power reached to Asam in India.⁷⁸⁸ Austro-Asiatic speakers currently live in Southeast Asia and India, and Austronesian speakers are dispersed in Oceania. Therefore, Matsumoto argument reveals that he did not make difference between Austro-Asiatic speakers in Southeast Asia and Austronesian speakers in Oceania. Moreover, he also associated these peoples with Mongoloid peoples in China. Shortly said, Matsumoto ascribed origins in China to many contemporary peoples living in Southeast Asia, Oceania and India and surmised that these peoples were Mongoloid people's relatives.

In addition, he developed a hypothesis that some of Indochina peoples' ancestors were known as "the Hundred Yue" (Bai Yue, 百越) which is the term generally used for Vietnamese

⁷⁸⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Futsuryō Indoshina no minzoku to bunka," *Sosei futsuryō indoshina no zenbō*, Aikoku shinbunsha shuppanbu, 1941, pp. 59-60.

ancestors.⁷⁸⁹ In his paper “Theories of Annamese People,” Matsumoto argued: “I think that peoples like Yue [越] were a tribe stream called the Hundred Yue, thus, there also were [peoples of] Thai genealogy, Mon-Khmer genealogy and Tibeto-Burmese genealogy, Lolo genealogy among them; these went south, and exerted important influence especially on the creation of the Annamese people.”⁷⁹⁰ Shortly said, Matsumoto imagined that various Indochina peoples’ ancestors including Austro-Asiatic speakers were among peoples called “the Hundred Yue.” This idea probably came from his study of Vietnamese people’s origins in China that he presented in papers “A Study on Yue,”⁷⁹¹ “Theories of Annamese People”⁷⁹² and “The Origin of Annamese People”⁷⁹³ where he wrote about the Hundred Yue as Vietnamese ancestors in China.

Although Matsumoto often did not mention source of his arguments, it seems that Matsumoto’s ideas on Indochina peoples’ origins were combination of various scholars’ arguments. Migration of Southeast Asian peoples was described by Robert Heine-Geldern in his paper “A Contribution to the Chronology of the Neolithic Age in Southeast Asia”⁷⁹⁴ as it was mentioned in the previous chapter. Origins of Vietnamese peoples were discussed by Léonard

⁷⁸⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan minzoku ron,” *Dai Nihon takushoku gakkai nenpō*, dai 1 gō, Nihon hyōronsha, 1943, pp. 281-282. “Annanjin no kigen,” *Taiheiyō ken*, jōkan, Kawade shobō, 1944, p. 16.

⁷⁹⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan minzoku ron,” *Dai Nihon takushoku gakkai nenpō*, dai 1 gō, Nihon hyōronsha, 1943, pp. 281-282.

⁷⁹¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Etsujin kō,” *Shigaku zasshi*, dai 53 kan, dai 7 gō, 1942, p. 7/133 (887).

⁷⁹² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan minzoku ron,” *Dai Nippon takushoku gakkai nempō*, Nippon hyōronsha, dai 1 gō, 1943, pp. 279-285.

⁷⁹³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annanjin no kigen,” *Taiheiyōken*, jōkan, Kawade shobō, 1945, pp. 3-23 (321-341).

⁷⁹⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Yūken sekifu no shomondai,” *Shigaku*, dai 18 kan, dai 2/3 gō, Mitashigakkai, 1939, p. 298. Heine-Geldern, Robert, *Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie des Neolithikums in Südostasien*, St. Gabriel-Mödling bei Wien: “Anthropos”-Administration, [ca. 1924], pp. 809-843.

Aurousseau,⁷⁹⁵ Cl. Madrolle,⁷⁹⁶ Henri Maspero,⁷⁹⁷ and Sugimoto Naojiro.⁷⁹⁸ Therefore, Matsumoto only presented a patchwork of other scholars' ideas with focus on Indochina peoples' ancestors and did not bring up any original opinion.

Nonetheless, by paying attention to Indochina peoples' ancestors, Matsumoto opposed to the Northern Theory that argued North Asian peoples' significance. In his paper "The Ethnic-Historical Meaning of the Greater East Asian War," Matsumoto emphasized that the connection between Japanese and North Asian languages could not explain how rice cultivation was introduced to Japan across the sea from Asian continent because North Asian peoples did not cultivate rice and had nomadic culture in contrast with South Asian peoples.⁷⁹⁹ Thus, despite touching upon China, Matsumoto advocated the significance of Southern peoples by concentrating on Indochina peoples' ancestors who had origins in China, lived close to sea and cultivated rice.

In conclusion, Matsumoto paid attention to Indochina peoples' origins in China. However, his ideas on Indochina peoples' ancestors were confusing because he did not make difference

⁷⁹⁵ Aurousseau, Léonard, "La première conquête chinoise des pays annamites (III^e siècle avant notre ère), Apendice, Note sur les origins due people annamite, *BEFEO*, XXIII. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annanjin no kigen," *Taiheiyō ken*, jōkan, Kawade shōbō, 1944, p. 321.

⁷⁹⁶ Madrolle, Cl., "Le Tonkin ancien, Lei-leu et les district chinois de l'époque des Han. La population. Yue-chang," *BEFEO*, XXXVII, Fasc.2. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annanjin no kigen," *Taiheiyō ken*, jōkan, Kawade shōbō, 1944, pp. 335, 341.

⁷⁹⁷ Maspero, Henri, "Etudes d'histoire d'Annam, IV, Le royaume de Van-lang," *BEFEO*, XVIII, IV, pp. 1-10. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annanjin no kigen," *Taiheiyō ken*, jōkan, Kawade shōbō, 1944, pp. 337, 341.

⁷⁹⁸ Sugimoto, Naojiro, "Annan no rekishi (II)," *Rekishi kyōiku*, dai 14 satsu, dai 1 gō, pp. 47-52. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annanjin no kigen," *Taiheiyō ken*, jōkan, Kawade shōbō, 1944, pp. 337, 341.

⁷⁹⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Daitōa sensō no minzoku shitekina igi, *Gaikō jihō*, dai 893 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.02.1942, p. 54.

between contemporary Indochina peoples and their ancestors residing in China, Austro-Asiatic speakers and Austroneasian speakers, and tried to connect Austro-Asiatic and Austonesian speakers with Mongoloid peoples in China. Ultimately, he attempted to present a combination of other scholars' arguments on non-Han peoples in China, on migration of Indochina peoples' ancestors and on Vietnamese people's origins. His resulting ideas represented the Southern Theory because he argued significance of Southeast Asian peoples' ancestors in China in contrast with the Northern Theory advocating importance of North Asian peoples.

Moreover, by claiming the origins of Southeast Asian peoples in China, Matsumoto contributed to the legitimization of Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere because he argued the existence of relations between the peoples of Southern genealogy with the peoples of Northern genealogy in the ancient times. In the 1930s, Matsumoto did not present a research of Southeast Asian peoples' origins in China despite doing field research both in Southeast Asia and China and despite learning about Southeast Asian peoples' origins in China from Heine-Geldern. This suggests that incorporation of Southern Regions into the Japanese state policy instigated Matsumoto to bring up this topic in the period 1940-1945. Thus, Matsumoto's ethnological theories had political significance.

3.2. Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asian peoples' relation to Japan

Previous section pointed out that Matsumoto discussed Indochina peoples' origins in

China because he considered Indochina peoples' culture to be important for understanding the Japanese history. In his writings in the period 1940-1945, Matsumoto presented two hypotheses of Japan's relations with Southeast Asia. First, he assumed the influence of Indochina peoples' ancestors from China on the Japanese culture. Second, he surmised that culture of ancient Southeast Asian peoples was imported by the sea to Japan.

First, Matsumoto argued that Southern culture of Southeast Asian peoples's ancestors in China spread to Japan. This is revealed in his paper "The Genealogy of Ancient Southern Culture of China": "...we can think that Indochina peoples clearly used to live in more Northern region than now, they had close relation with Chinese people, and the influence of their culture extended across the coast to Korea and Japan."⁸⁰⁰ Again, Matsumoto's words show that Matsumoto did not distinguish between Indochina peoples and their ancestors as different peoples.

Second, Matsumoto imagined Southeast Asian culture imported to Japan as maritime culture, and therefore he surmised that water animals played important role in this culture. In the early 1930s, he touched upon water animals, such as snake, dragon and fish, in his research of the Japanese legends in which he pointed out the Southern influence. Moreover, he encouraged scholars to compare the Japanese myths with the tales of Austro-Asiatic peoples in order to find

⁸⁰⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Shina Nampō kodai bunka no keitō," *Nihon shogaku shinkō iinkai kenkyū hōkoku*, dai jū ichi hen (rekishi gaku) kyōgakukyoku, 1941, pp. 203-204.

out the original source of legends on dragons and snakes.⁸⁰¹

Matsumoto's interest in water animals also appears in his writings in 1940-1945. For example, Matsumoto discussed the presence of water animals in Southeast Asian and Japanese tradition on seven pages in his writing "Southern Genealogy in the Japanese Myths."⁸⁰² In the same paper, Matsumoto connected the tales of water animals with the migration of Southeast Asian peoples: "This kind of myths just fits the races who live in the places where the highland region and delta region meet each other ... who were gradually pushed out of the highlands in central Asia and lived like peasants of paddy fields in lowland delta area; or these myth were originally developed among the tribes living similar life like them. It is told that the races living in Oceania now [originally] resided in Southeast part of Asian continent and that they gradually migrated on the sea."⁸⁰³ Here again, Matsumoto did not make difference between contemporary Southeast Asian peoples and ancient Southeast Asian peoples who migrated from Southeast Asia to Oceania. Nonetheless, Matsumoto assumed that the water animals in the Southeast Asian and Japanese myths suggested the migration of ancient Southeast Asian peoples across the ocean to Japan.

Matsumoto had two diffusionist hypotheses on this maritime migration from Southeast Asia – the first, the migration of the Austro-Asiatic speakers who were surmised to originate in

⁸⁰¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Kodai bunkaron," *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 119.

⁸⁰² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nihon shinwa ni okeru Nampōkei," *Risō*, jūyonen sansatsu sangatsu gō, Risōsha, 1940, pp. 271-277.

⁸⁰³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nihon shinwa ni okeru Nampōkei," *Risō*, jūyonen sansatsu sangatsu gō, Risōsha, 1940, pp. 279-280.

China, and the second, the migration of the Austronesian speakers who were supposed to originate in continental Southeast Asia. However, he perceived these hypotheses as one because he confused Austro-Asiatic speakers with Austronesian speakers. His mistake is obvious in his paper “Southern Elements in the Japanese Language”: “The specificity of this Austric language family [Wilhelm Schmidt’s common name for Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages] is its distribution in unparallelly wide area. Especially, the Austronesian languages are distributed from Madagascar Island in the Far West up to the eastward of Africa, and to the Far East on the Easter Island close to American Continent. This vast area of the distribution cannot be possibly attained by other language families, and it tells us that the races using these languages were sailing peoples which were rare in the world.”⁸⁰⁴ Shortly said, Matsumoto considered ancient Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian speakers to be sailing peoples since he imagined their transoceanic migration.

Furthermore, Matsumoto’s belief in transoceanic journey of ancient Southeast Asian peoples to Japan is apparent in his book *Peoples and Cultures of Indochina*: “...these [islands] are connected by the tidal currents, thus, when we surmise from the history of the long-distance migrations that the South Seas peoples had migrated [from Southeast Asia] to the Pacific islands, it is not difficult to see the great number of migrations of the Southward people to the Japanese

⁸⁰⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Wagago ni okeru Nampō yōso” (1943), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 539-540.

islands.”⁸⁰⁵ Thus, Matsumoto surmised migration of ancient Southeast Asian peoples, Austro-Asiatic and Austroneasian speakers from Southeast Asia to Southern Pacific and to Japan.

In accordance with this idea of Southeast Asian influence on Japan, Matsumoto claimed in his paper “Peoples of French Indochina”: “I think that we can back to Thai contacts with the ancient Japanese people if we will do research about ancient Thai people.”⁸⁰⁶ He expressed the same opinion also in his paper “Aspects of French Indochina People”⁸⁰⁷ where he mentioned the similarity of Japanese and Thai people. Thus, concordance between Japanese and Thai people invoked in Matsumoto an idea that Thai people’s ancestors had contacts with Japanese people’s ancestors in ancient times. However, he did not propose a hypothesis if these contacts were with Thai people’s ancestors from China or with Thai peoples from Southeast Asia.

In this way, Matsumoto argued migration of ancient Southeast Asian peoples to Japan while he also suggested contacts of ancient Thai and Japanese peoples. This can be interpreted as Matsumoto’s belief in Southeast Asian influence on the ancient Japanese culture because Matsumoto refused to determine the origins of the Japanese nation in Southeast Asia. He wrote in his book *Peoples and Cultures of Indochina*: “...the influence on Japan from the South Seas was not probably only once, these groups that arrived from Southern direction and several

⁸⁰⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Indoshina minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, p. 316.

⁸⁰⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina no minzoku,” *Nan’yō*, dai 27 kan, dai 7 gō, 1940, p. 31.

⁸⁰⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina jin no shosō,” *Gaikō jihō*, Gaikō jihōsha, dai 850 gō, 1940nen 5 gatsu, p. 143.

groups that arrived from Northern direction mixed with the local inhabitants, and the Yamato people and their culture, as we can see now, were created here; from this point the Japanese are extremely mixed race, hence, I do not conclude at all, as it is commonly thought, that there exists a central birthplace on a land outside Japan, from which large groups migrated to the Japanese islands and formed the Yamato people.”⁸⁰⁸ This opinion was similar to his argument that Vietnamese people were born by mixing of various peoples on the Vietnamese territory and not in China where he supposed homeland of the Vietnamese ancestors.⁸⁰⁹ Hence, Matsumoto considered origins of the Japanese and Vietnamese peoples within the territory of Japan and Vietnam respectively.

The above mentioned proclamation shows that Matsumoto shared Yanagita Kunio’s rule “One-Country Folklore Studies” excluding foreign origins from the discussion on the Japanese origins.⁸¹⁰ The quotation demonstrates that Matsumoto did not wish to be identified with scholars of Southern genealogy arguing Japanese origins in South.

In summary, Matsumoto surmised that Southern culture was imported to Japan by ancient Southeast Asian peoples, but he still advocated the Japanese origins in Japan. First, Matsumoto argued that contemporary Indochina peoples’ ancestors, including Austro-Asiatic and

⁸⁰⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Indoshina minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, pp. 316-317.

⁸⁰⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annanjin no kigen,” *Taiheiyō ken*, jōkan, Kawade shōbō, 1944, p. 21-22 (339-340).

⁸¹⁰ *Ikkoku minzokugaku* (一国民俗学) Yanagita, Kunio, “Ikkoku minzokugaku,” *Teihon Yanagita Kunioshū*, dai 25-kan, Chikumashobō, 1964, pp. 339-357. Yanagita, Kunio, “Kigenron kentō,” *Minkan denshōron*, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1934, pp. 69-73.

Austronesian speakers, transmitted their culture to Japan from China. Second, he assumed Southeast Asian cultural influence on Japan by the migration of ancient Southeast Asian peoples from Southeast Asia across the sea to Japan. However, Matsumoto did not discuss this Southern culture in details. He pointed out only some elements of this culture, such as water animals in the Japanese and Southeast Asian myths. In other words, Matsumoto argued the diffusion of the Southern culture and migration of ancient Southeast Asian peoples to Japan, but his hypothesis was Southern influence on the ancient Japanese culture, and not the Japanese origins in Southeast Asia because he believed in the Japanese origins in Japan like Yanagita.

4. Influence of Pan-Asianism on Matsumoto's research of Southeast Asia

It is generally known that Pan-Asianism became dominant in Japan during the Asia-Pacific War. Pan-Asianism had impact on many Japanese scholars including Matsumoto Nobuhiro in this period because it penetrated all spheres of the social life.

Matsumoto preached importance of ethnology for the Japanese government which also included Pan-Asianist government during the period 1940-1945. He presented his idea of this ethnological support to Pan-Asianist policy especially in his paper "Southern Cultural Policy and Ethnology." He appealed to the Japanese government that it should establish an ethnological institute and a museum to support the formation of cultural policy.⁸¹¹ It is because he believed

⁸¹¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nampō bunka seisaku to minzokugaku," *Gaikō jihō*, dai 885 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.10.1941, pp. 76, 78.

that ethnologists who conduct research on the local culture could mediate true understanding of the local people: “The most necessary thing for the propagation work is to understand the other party; from this point of view, to think that the partner will immediately follow us just when we say that the partner is of the same race like us, that we are ‘Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,’ that we are ‘Eight Corners of One Universe,’ without preparing anything more, that is a big mistake.”⁸¹² Shortly said, Matsumoto believed that Pan-Asianist policy towards Southeast Asia could not be successful without ethnologists’ assistance.

This belief came from his experience with French ethnology in the 1920s. During his studies at Sorbonne University in Paris, Matsumoto witnessed the establishment of the Institute of Ethnology with the support of the Ministry of Colonies in 1925.⁸¹³ In his writing “From Paris,” Matsumoto mentioned “the necessity of ethnology for the colonial administration.”⁸¹⁴ Therefore, following the model of the French ethnology, Matsumoto thought that it was his duty as an ethnologist to support the Japanese policy towards Southeast Asia in the era of Pan-Asianism. However, as Sakurai Yumio pointed out, Matsumoto showed a complete different stance in 1971 when he defined Southeast Asian studies as antithesis of colonialism and Oriental studies based on ancient documents.⁸¹⁵ This means that Matsumoto abandoned his advocacy of ethnology for the colonial policy in the postwar period. This is because he became

⁸¹² Ibid, p. 77.

⁸¹³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Pari yori,” *Minzoku*, da 2 kan, dai 1 gō, Minzoku hakkōjo, 1926, p. 141.

⁸¹⁴ Ibid, p. 141.

⁸¹⁵ Sakurai, Yumio, “Tōnan Ajia shi no yonjūnen,” *Tōnan Ajia shi. Kenkyū no hatten*, Tōnan Ajia gakkai 40 shūnen, Kinen jigyō iinkai, Yamakawa shuppansha, 2009, pp. 12-13.

aware that the world opinion disagreed with the ethnologists' connection with colonialism especially when he witnessed that one of his close fellow researchers, Pan-Asianist Ōkawa Shūmei, was prosecuted as a class-A war criminal by Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal after the war.⁸¹⁶

Matsumoto's advocacy of using ethnological research for the Japanese policy in the pre-war period was argued by mythologist Hirafuji Kikuko⁸¹⁷ and ethnoarchaeologist Chikamori Masashi.⁸¹⁸ In particular, Hirafuji Kikuko pointed it out in the book *Religion and Fascism*: "Matsumoto mentioned this episode as an example of that the mythological research was oppressed by political influence, however, when seeing Matsumoto's research presented from the 1930s to 1940s, we can see that he actively argued the use of the research for colonial policy."⁸¹⁹ Furthermore, Hirafuji argued that Matsumoto legitimized the policy of Southern Advance by arguing the similarity between the Japanese and Southern myths and by claiming the blood mixing between the Japanese and the South Seas peoples.⁸²⁰ Thus, Hirafuji singled out Matsumoto's support of Japan's Southern Advance also under the Pan-Asianist government.

Nonetheless, Hirafuji focused on connection of Matsumoto's arguments on Southern

⁸¹⁶ Chikamori said that Matsumoto appreciated Ōkawa Shūmei as a researcher in Islam and therefore he was strongly affected by Ōkawa's persecution and worried about his own life. Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 October 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

⁸¹⁷ Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no shinwagaku," *Shūkyō to fashizumu*, Suiseisha, 2010, pp. 326-327.

⁸¹⁸ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

⁸¹⁹ Hirafuji, Kikuko, "Shokuminchi teikoku Nihon no shinwagaku," *Shūkyō to fashizumu*, Suiseisha, 2010, pp. 326-327.

⁸²⁰ Ibid, p. 324.

origins with the Japanese policy of the Southern Advance. Therefore, she did not discuss Matsumoto's support of the Japanese government in relation to Pan-Asianism specifically. Hence, this section will examine Matsumoto's support of the Japanese Pan-Asianist policy by the analysis of his writings on Indochina during the period 1940-1945. First, this section will discuss the concept of Pan-Asianism. Second, it will examine how Matsumoto incorporated Pan-Asianist propaganda towards Japanese people preaching the Japanese leadership to his ethnological writings on Indochina peoples. Third, it will investigate Matsumoto's opinion of Japan's civilizing mission that was an important aspect of Pan-Asianism. Fourth, this section will explore Matsumoto's opinion on the Japanese uniqueness in relation to his adoption of Pan-Asianism. Fifth, this section will explore Matsumoto's works on contemporary Indochina which were useful for the Pan-Asianist policy towards Southeast Asia.

In contradiction with Hirafuji's study, this section will not touch upon Matsumoto's research of similarities between Japan and Southeast Asia because this subject was discussed in Chapter 4 Section 3.2.3. (Exotism and similarity in Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asian and Southern Pacific peoples). This thesis has already demonstrated that Matsumoto emphasized resemblances between Japan and Southeast Asia before adoption of Pan-Asianism due to application of ethnological method of comparison from the early 1920s. Thus, Matsumoto's attention to these similarities was not result of the Pan-Asianist influence. Nonetheless, it is a fact that Matsumoto's ethnological discussion of these resemblances supported Pan-Asianist

construction of common Oriental identity.

4.1. Concept of Pan-Asianism

The term Pan-Asianism was coined by Takeuchi Yoshimi (1910-1977) in his work *Asianism* (1963).⁸²¹ However, Takeuchi himself was reluctant to define it and chose to discuss its historical development starting from Meiji Period. He traced history of Pan-Asianism from Meiji Period when Asianism was born from the Japanese reaction to the encounter with the Western civilization. Takeuchi pointed out especially Okakura Tenshin's ideas of the Japanese culture as the best of the Asian cultures and Japan as a leader and savior of unified Asia from the West. Furthermore, Takeuchi argued that Asianism developed into Pan-Asianism when the concept of common identity of Asian (Oriental) people and the concept of Japan's civilizing mission were adopted by the Japanese rightwing as an ideational background for the political concept of Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Thus, Takeuchi discussed Pan-Asianist aspects of the Japanese uniqueness, common Asian identity, and the Japanese civilizing mission in Asia.

After publication of Takeuchi's *Asianism*, many scholars examined this problem. Generally, two aspects of Pan-Asianism were pointed out: first, Japanese nationalism based on the idea of national polity (*kokutai*, 国体), and second, Japanese regionalism based on the idea of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. The first aspect preached Japanese uniqueness

⁸²¹ Takeuchi, Yoshimi, *Ajiashugi*, Chikuma shobō, 1963.

coming from the sacred origin of the Japanese nation that legitimized the Japanese leadership of Asian nations. The second aspect emphasized similarities of Japanese with Asian nations by which Japanese constructed common Asian identity in contrast to the West. From these points, many scholars, such as historians Yamamuro Shin'ichi, Sven Saaler, Christopher W. A. Szpilman, Kimitada Miwa, etc., argued that Pan-Asianism was extension of the Japanese nationalism on Asia-Pacific region.⁸²²

These previous researchers on Pan-Asianism explored the Japanese people's ideas on the region of Asia as a whole. However, they did not investigate Pan-Asianism of the scholars who were representatives of the Southern Theory including Matsumoto Nobuhiro. Scholars like Matsumoto wrote mainly about Southeast Asia or about the Southern Pacific, that is the region of the South Seas. Therefore, the examination of Matsumoto's adoption of Pan-Asianism can contribute to understanding how the advocates of the Southern Theory adapted their discussion on the South Seas to the context of Pan-Asianism.

4.2. Matsumoto's adoption of the Pan-Asianist propaganda in relation to Indochina peoples

Since Pan-Asianism penetrated all the spheres of the Japanese society, Matsumoto

⁸²² Yamamuro, Shin'ichi, *Shisō kadai to shitenō Ajia: kijiku rensa tōki*, Iwanami shoten, 2001, p. 630. *Pan-Asianism in Modern Japanese History: Colonialism, regionalism and borders*, ed. by Saaler, Sven and Koschmann, Victor J., Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, London, 2007. *Pan-Asianism*, Vol. 1 & Vol. 2, ed. by Saaler, Sven and Szpilman, Christopher W. A., Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., New York, 2011.

adopted its propaganda in his ethnological writings on Indochina peoples. This section will examine how he combined Pan-Asianist propaganda towards Japanese people preaching the Japanese leadership of Asian peoples with his ideas on Indochina peoples.

Matsumoto connected the ethnological data with Pan-Asianist rhetoric of educating and leading primitive peoples in his paper “French Indochina Peoples”: “Moi people residing in Southern mountains of Indochina are Austro-Asiatic people; they are not Indianized like residents of plains; they continue protecting primitive culture. ... I met Moi people who came from mountains of Hue; they were naked with red loincloth, they were completely primitive children. ... They are people completely outside the political authority; thus their education and leading must be regarded as very problematic at first.”⁸²³ Or, he mentioned possible contribution of Burmese to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in his paper “Rise and Fall of the Ethnic in Indochina”: “Burmese are people, 1m 62-63 high, of robust constitution, middle headed with docile character; they are a promising nation: if they received good leadership as soldiers, they become the first-class soldiers; we can expect much of them in the future.”⁸²⁴ In other words, by presenting ethnological data in the Pan-Asianist context, Matsumoto promoted Pan-Asianist propaganda of the Japanese leadership over Indochina peoples.

Sometimes Matsumoto kept his arguments from the 1930s, and just replaced the propaganda of the Japanese economic advance to Indochina from the 1930s with the

⁸²³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina no minzoku,” *Nan'yō*, dai 27 kan, dai 7 gō, 1940, p. 33.

⁸²⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina ni okeru minzoku no kōbō,” *Shin Ajia*, Mantetsu Tōa keizai chōsakyoku, Nampō bunka tokugō, 1940, 1gatsu, p. 67.

Pan-Asianist propaganda of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. For example, he emphasized the suffering and inferior condition of Vietnamese peoples under the French rule in his paper “Rise and Fall of the Ethnic in Indochina”: “In the present situation, France stands between them [Vietnamese] and the outside world, so they are cut off; therefore the level of their knowledge is extremely low. The cities, where the main transport mean is rickshaw, are not different from our cities in early Meiji Period. As for the situation of the peasants living at the fields, it is not probably different from our countryside during Tokugawa Period. ... This country needs education so that ... it enables the economic and political building of an independent state.”⁸²⁵ This quotation is very similar to his Orientalist opinions arguing Vietnamese backwardness in his writings in the 1930s. It is because Pan-Asianist propaganda also used evolutionist argument that Southeast Asian peoples were backward.

Naturally, adoption of Pan-Asianist rhetoric brought contradictions in Matsumoto’s ideas on Indochina. For example, Matsumoto advocated Vietnam’s integration to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as a solution to the Vietnamese suffering in his paper “The Southward Areas Culture Policy and Ethnology”: “When I looked at the textbooks which they, the Annamese, use, I was surprised that their political conscience is completely removed and their national feeling is castrated. Therefore, it is only natural that the Annamese do not understand what is to love homeland and they are apathetic and blind. ...thus, the plan should be considered

⁸²⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina ni okeru minzoku no kōbō,” *Shin Ajia*, Mantetsu Tōa keizai chōsakyoku, Nampō bunka tokugō, 1940, 1gatsu, p. 65.

to make them flourish in the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.”⁸²⁶ However, this Matsumoto’s opinion collides with his knowledge of the Vietnamese patriotic movements led by nationalist leaders, such as Phan Bội Châu, or Communist leaders, such as Nguyễn Ái Quốc that he mentioned in his papers “Peoples and Cultures of French Indochina”⁸²⁷ and “Ethnic Issues of French Indochina.”⁸²⁸ In this light, adoption of Pan-Asianist rhetoric made Matsumoto compromise with his ideas on Indochina.

In summary, during the period 1940-1945, Matsumoto contributed to Pan-Asianist propaganda by publishing his ideas on Indochina in combination with Pan-Asianist rhetorics. Namely, he supported the concept of the Japanese leadership over Indochina peoples. In some cases, he chose to give priority to Pan-Asianist arguments which resulted in contradictions between his ideas presented in his papers on Indochina.

4.3. Matsumoto’s ideas on Japan’s civilizing mission towards Indochina

Matsumoto shared the opinion of Japan’s civilizing mission with Pan-Asianism to some extent. Pan-Asianism preached Japan’s civilizing mission as the duty of the Japanese leadership

⁸²⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nampō bunka seisaku to minzokugaku,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 885 gō, Gaikō jihōsha, 15.10.1941, p. 79.

⁸²⁷ “Confucianist Phan Bội Châu came to Japan, met with interested figures outside the government in order to gathered like-minded persons, learn progress from Japan and ask for [Japanese] help for attaining Annam’s independence.” Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina no minzoku to bunka,” *Sosei futsuryō indoshina no zenbō*, Aikoku shinbunsha shuppanbu, 1941, p. 45.

⁸²⁸ “When talking about the Communist movement, we must not forget Nguyễn Ái Quốc. He became sailor in 18, went to France, became communist revolutionary, his famous petition that is requirement of Annamese people [for the independence] was distributed to Lloyd George, Wilson, Clemenceau, etc.” Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuin no minzoku mondai,” *Shin Ajia*, Mantetsu Tōa keizai chōsakyoku, 1940, 8gatsu, p. 35.

towards Asian peoples (*meishuron*, 盟主論). This Japanese leadership was legitimized by the belief in the superiority of the Japanese people because of their sacred origin. Thus, the Pan-Asianist idea of the Japanese leadership in Asia combined the idea of the Japanese superiority with the concept of civilizing quest. Matsumoto did not believe in the Pan-Asianist interpretation of the Japanese superiority as it will be argued in Section 4.4. (Matsumoto's ideas on the Japanese uniqueness). However, he still preached that Japan should transmit its civilization to Southeast Asian peoples. Therefore, this section will examine which part of Pan-Asianist discourse of Japan's civilizing mission appeared in Matsumoto's writings.

The concept of Japan's civilizing mission appeared in Matsumoto's writings in 1934 after his trip to Indochina. In the previous chapter (Section 3.3.2.2. Matsumoto's application of Climate Theory and the nationalist propaganda), it was mentioned that Matsumoto suggested adoption of the modern Japanese civilization for the revival of the Vietnamese people in his paper "I Have Seen Indochina": "What the Annamese need ... further they need a nation that they should imitate and that would supply them the model of civilization and production."⁸²⁹ Matsumoto adopted this argument from the propaganda of the Japanese advance to Indochina. He did so although he knew about Vietnamese westernization by French because he came in touch with the Vietnamese who received French education. Despite it, in the 1930s, he argued that Japan should transmit its modern culture to Vietnam because he wanted to support the

⁸²⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina wo mite," *Gaikō jihō*, dai 703 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.03.1934, p. 135.

Japanese policy of Southern Advance to Indochina.

In 1940, Matsumoto's rhetoric of Japan's civilizing mission was changed by adding the Pan-Asianist propagation of the Sinicized culture. In his paper "The Problem of Peoples in French Indochina," Matsumoto wrote: "It is necessary to say that if Annamese shall truly extend their individuality, they need to learn from Japan that is of the same culture and same race, and adopted Chinese culture like them."⁸³⁰ Therefore, Matsumoto suggested that Vietnamese should learn Sinicized civilization from Japan. He interpreted this Sinicized culture in the Pan-Asianist way as Oriental spirit which formed the core of the common Asian identity.

He wrote in his paper "The Annamese and Mon-Khmer languages": "For the revival of the Annamese people as a part of the East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, Annamese should learn the Chinese writing again to some extent, understand the political perspective, the attitude to the life from the Oriental morality...."⁸³¹ Matsumoto mentioned a similar opinion in his paper "The Annamese Language": "Furthermore, we who can read Chinese texts are in the position that we can teach them what this Oriental spirit is, and thus, we Japanese are in the position to lead the Annamese people."⁸³² Matsumoto's arguments show that he borrowed Pan-Asianist idea of the common Oriental civilization which was basically defined as Sinicized civilization. Shortly said,

⁸³⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Futsuin no minzoku mondai," *Shin Ajia*, Mantetsu Tōa keizai chōsakyoku, 1940, 8gatsu, p. 37.

⁸³¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annan go to Mon-Kumeru go," *Nihongo*, 2-5, Nampō kensetsu to Nihongo, Nihongo kyōiku shinkōkai, dai 5 gō, 1942, pp. 38-44.

⁸³² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annan go," *Sekai no kotoba*, Keiō gijuku daigaku gogaku kenkyūjohen, Keiō shuppansha, 1943, p. 79.

in the early 1940, Matsumoto shifted to the Pan-Asianist rhetoric propagating the transmission of Sinicized civilization from Japan to Vietnam.

This Pan-Asianist argument is not logical because Matsumoto knew from his trip in Indochina (1933) that the majority of the Vietnamese people still kept their traditional Sinicized culture. Moreover, he knew that only a minority of Vietnamese who received French education is westernized as it can be seen from his argument in his paper “French Indochina Peoples” (1940): “...such Asian intelligentsia broke up with the Asian tradition, was educated according to the European thinking and feeling and gave a weak feeling of being out of their environment.”⁸³³ Therefore, it is clear that Matsumoto argued the transmission of the Sinicized culture from Japan to Vietnam because he wanted to put his discussion on Vietnam to the Pan-Asianist context.

The reason why Matsumoto recommended learning of Chinese writings to the Vietnamese people from the Japanese people is that he knew about the significance of the Chinese writing in the Vietnamese history.⁸³⁴ He thought that the Vietnamese should be able to read Chinese writing in order to connect with their roots: “Now the Annamese newspapers, journals, paper backs, and all the Annamese books are recorded in quốc ngữ.”⁸³⁵ But, stopping the use of the Chinese characters is definitely not a good thing for the Annamese; all kinds of literature and arts, such as important history, geography, politics, law in their past documents,

⁸³³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina no minzoku,” *Nan'yō*, dai 27 kan, dai 7 gō, 1940, p. 29.

⁸³⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan go,” *Sekai no kotoba*, Keiō gijuku daigaku gogaku kenkyūjohen, Keiō shuppansha, 1943, pp. 74, 78.

⁸³⁵ Quốc ngữ = Latinized Vietnamese writing.

were recorded in the Chinese characters; the young Annamese who cannot read them are completely cut off from their past and sadly lost their cultural tradition.”⁸³⁶

Furthermore, Matsumoto presented the revival of the Oriental civilization that is Sinicized civilization, as a first step in the development of the Asian nations. He suggested that “Orientals first must awaken to their own tradition before they adopt the products of the Western civilization”⁸³⁷, that they must “based themselves on the Asian tradition” and then “input the Western European culture.”⁸³⁸ This argument contradicts the logic of evolutionism in which Matsumoto believed. He considered the Western civilization to be the highest stage of the cultural evolution. Therefore, he should not feel the need to revive the Oriental civilization because it should have been replaced by superior Western civilization. In addition, the argument of the revival of the Oriental civilization was not present in Matsumoto’s writings in the 1930s, which means that he borrowed it from Pan-Asiniasm in the first half of the 1940s.

On the other hand, Matsumoto also criticized the diffusion of the Japanese civilization to Asian-Pacific peoples. This Matsumoto’s opinion appeared in his writings in 1937. It came from his experience of the Japanization of aborigine peoples in the Southern Pacific that he could observe during his trip to Saipan in 1937. He learnt that Japanized islanders of Palau could not show their traditional dance any more.⁸³⁹ In his paper “Seeing Our South Seas”: “...they [the

⁸³⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Annan go,” *Sekai no kotoba*, Keiō gijuku daigaku gogaku kenkyūjohen, Keiō shuppansha, 1943, p. 78.

⁸³⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina no minzoku,” *Nan’yō*, dai 27 kan, dai 7 gō, 1940, p. 52.

⁸³⁸ Ibid, pp. 29-30.

⁸³⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Waga Nan’yō wo miru,” *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, p.

Japanese in Palau] continue painful effort to teach them [the Southern Pacific peoples] the Japanese language; but when I think that the islanders will forget their tradition as a result of this complete assimilative education, and that this will accelerate the disassemblment of the social structure, it makes me sad.”⁸⁴⁰ Therefore, Matsumoto began criticizing Japan’s civilizing mission in the Southern Pacific because he was against disappearance of the islanders’ local tradition.

Matsumoto’s wish for the preservation of the local culture was visible also in his paper “Travel Diary to Southern Islands (Saipan, Yap, Palau, New Guinea)”: “I have heard in Tokyo that Abai⁸⁴¹ of all the Palau Island are protected as monuments by the South Sea Office, but in reality, only Abai in Koror island is protected, I am truly sorry that the other places are disregarded. ...I really want to ask the South Sea Office to keep in mind the protection of the monuments of local culture.”⁸⁴²

As a result of his experience in the Southern Pacific in 1937, Matsumoto criticized the forced transmission of the Japanese civilization to the Southeast Asian peoples in the first half of the 1940s. In his writing “The Southern Cultural Policy and Ethnology,” he disagreed with the existing Japanese way of civilizing indigenous peoples: “... I truly regret to hear about the

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⁸⁴⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Waga Nan’yō wo miru,” *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, p.

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⁸⁴¹ Abai is meeting house where people join to talk internal affairs and lodge visitors.

⁸⁴² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Waga Nan’yō wo miru,” *Mita hyōron*, dai 483 gō, Mita hyōron hakkōjo, 1937, pp. 6-12. “Nan'yō guntō ryokō nisshi,” *Shigaku*, dai 16 kan, dai 3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1937, pp. 77.

tragedy that sanctuaries from ancient times have been recently destroyed in our colonies under the name ‘Movement of the Imperial Nationalization’ [皇民化運動], ... please let them [local people] to have at least what they have been worshipping as aborigines for centuries; this sympathizing complaint is heard in the classrooms of ethnology at universities.”⁸⁴³ Furthermore, he wrote in the same paper: “The harmony of the ruler and the ruled ones is possible only if the customs of the [ruled] nation are respected and if the sufficient consideration is paid to its habits and thinking.”⁸⁴⁴ From these quotations, it is obvious that Matsumoto thought that the transmission of the Japanese culture to the Southeast Asian people was undesirable.

In this light, Matsumoto’s writings in the 1930s and 1940s reveal that Matsumoto had different opinions on the Japanese civilizing mission towards the Vietnamese peoples and towards the Southern Pacific islanders. From the evolutionist perspective, the Vietnamese were semi-civilized peoples and the Southern Pacific islanders were barbarians. These islanders were holders of the primitive culture that Matsumoto researched as an ethnologist. Matsumoto’s writing in 1937 demonstrates Matsumoto’s attitude to the local peoples in the Southern Pacific as his research objects. He called the Southern Pacific islands “a treasury for racial and ethnological studies.”⁸⁴⁵ Apparently, he strongly wished the preservation of the living culture of the primitive peoples for the research purpose while he advocated Japan’s civilizing mission to semi-civilized

⁸⁴³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nampō bunka seisaku to minzokugaku,” *Gaikō jihō*, dai 885 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.10.1941, p. 75.

⁸⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 75.

⁸⁴⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nan’yō guntō ryokō nisshi,” *Shigaku*, dai 16 kan, dai 3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1937, p. 77.

peoples whose culture was not target of his ethnological interest.

However, Matsumoto was aware of this dilemma between the preservation of tradition and the import of new civilization. This dilemma is expressed in his paper “Travel Diary to Southern Islands (Saipan, Yap, Palau, New Guinea)”: “My idea is that it is necessary to keep their tradition for them to some extent, but when speaking from experience of the practical person, it does not go according the simple logic, it seems that we cannot clearly attain the both limits of the keeping the old habits and of improvement.”⁸⁴⁶ Thus, Matsumoto had doubts concerning the transmission of the Japanese culture only in relation to the primitive peoples.

In summary, Matsumoto advocated Japan’s civilizing mission towards semi-civilized people, but as an ethnologist, he rejected it towards the primitive peoples. For the semi-civilized people, Matsumoto adopted Pan-Asianist rhetoric recommending the adoption of the Oriental (Sinicized) civilization, although he knew that Vietnamese people were already Sinicized. Furthermore, he advised the adoption of the Western civilization because he was believer in evolutionism according to which the Oriental civilization was inferior to the Western civilization. At the same time, he was against the transmission of the Japanese civilization to the primitive people because he needed preservation of their living culture for his ethnological research. Shortly said, although Matsumoto’s revised his argument of Japan’s civilizing mission so that it corresponded to Pan-Asianist propaganda, he also presented his opinion contradicting

⁸⁴⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nan’yō guntō ryokō nisshi,” *Shigaku*, dai 16 kan, dai 3 gō, Mita shigakkai, 1937, p. 108.

Pan-Asianist propaganda.

4.4. Matsumoto's ideas on the Japanese uniqueness

The argument of the Japanese uniqueness (superiority) supported the Japanese claim of Japan's civilizing mission in Asia-Pacific. It was based on the idea of national polity and formed an essential part of Pan-Asianist discourse. It was developed from the belief in the sacred origin of the Japanese Emperor from the Sun Goddess (Amaterasu Ōmikami) which was extended into an argument of superiority of the Japanese nation. This Pan-Asianist discourse claimed its credibility by referring to the Japanese annals *Kojiki* (古事記) and *Nihonshoki* (日本書紀) from the eighth century. This section will examine Matsumoto's opinion on the Japanese uniqueness in relation to this Pan-Asianist discourse. It will show that Matsumoto did not believe in the sacred origin of the Japanese nation for three reasons, and it will explore Matsumoto's opinion on the Japanese uniqueness.

First, Matsumoto could not agree with the Japanese sacred origin as the Japanese uniqueness because he adopted the evolutionist theory for the explanation of the human origins. As an ethnologist, he researched about the belief in god as a part of primitive culture as it has been shown in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. This Matsumoto's approach is clear from his argument in his work "Theories of Ancient Culture": "In the usual perspective, we have thinking that myths were born because man has fear of the natural forces and personifies the nature, that an

interpretation of natural phenomena is the basis of myths; and there is also an idea that man believes in immortal soul, therefore he worships great men after their death as gods; thus, we can divide persons in myths to natural gods and human gods.”⁸⁴⁷ For this reason, as an evolutionist ethnologist, Matsumoto did not believe in gods. Consequently, he could not believe in the sacred origin of the Japanese imperial family and the Japanese nation as descendants of the Sun Goddess.

Second, Matsumoto considered the stories of gods in the old annals *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* myths (*shinwa*, 神話). This is visible from his discussion on the Japanese myths in his doctoral thesis *The Essay on the Japanese Myths*: “Moreover, the Japanese myths show that a rivalry existed between gods of Izumo and the descendants of the Great Goddess Amaterasu, and that the former submitted to the latter while keeping their powers over the ‘dark world.’ These myths reflect without doubt a historical fact.”⁸⁴⁸ Shortly said, although Matsumoto did not believe in gods, he admitted that there are some historical facts in the myths recorded in *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki*.

Third, Matsumoto compared the Japanese myths including those on the imperial ancestors with the myths of other nations. For example in his book *The Research of the Japanese Myths*, he pointed out the similarity between the Japanese and Korean myths on a Sun Deity and claimed the origin of the Japanese myth in Korea: “From the above mentioned legend, we can

⁸⁴⁷ Nobuhiro Matsumoto, “Kodai bunkaron,” *Gendai shigaku taikei*, Vol. 10, Kyōritsusha shoten, 1932, p. 148.

⁸⁴⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Essai sur la mythologie Japonaise*, P. Geuthner, Paris, 1928, p. 37.

judge that the origin of Amanohiboko [a Japanese Sun Deity] is in Korea. In Korea, there are many legends where a king was miraculously born due to an influence of the sun, and the tale of Amanohiboko is one of them.”⁸⁴⁹ In this case, Matsumoto argued Korean cultural influence on the Japanese myth. However, in general, Matsumoto interpreted the resemblances as a result of the Southern influence or universal primitive culture. Therefore, by emphasizing the similarities between the Japanese and non-Japanese myths, Matsumoto showed that the story of imperial ancestors’ sacred origin from the sun is not specific for Japanese, but a common myth distributed among many peoples.

Matsumoto published his last papers on the Japanese imperial myths in the pre-war period in 1934. The papers were entitled “An Opinion on the Japanese Myths”⁸⁵⁰ and “On the Japanese Myths.”⁸⁵¹ In this writing “An Opinion on the Japanese Myths”, Matsumoto criticized the decline of the Japanese religious feeling and presented a study emphasizing the significance of the belief in the Sun Goddess as a unificator of the Japanese nation: “Japan’s unification as well as caring feeling towards foreign states was practiced mainly due to the belief in Amaterasu Goddess, the virtue of this Goddess must not be forgotten by the people forever as its spiritual virtue shines everywhere in our country.”⁸⁵² In this way, Matsumoto recognized the significance

⁸⁴⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Nihon shinwa no kenkyū*, Dōbunka, 1931, p. 258.

⁸⁵⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nihon shinwa no kanken” (1934), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, pp. 311-319.

⁸⁵¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nihon shinwa ni tsuite,” *Iwanami kōza Nihon rekishi*, Iwanami shoten, 1934, pp. 1-44.

⁸⁵² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Nihon shinwa no kanken” (1934), *Tōa minzoku bunkaronkō*, Seibundō shinkōsha, 1968, p. 319.

of Sun Goddess for Japan and its foreign policy.

However, Matsumoto gradually understood that even this kind of supporting statement was regarded undesirable for the preachers of the national polity. Matsumoto could observe their growing aversion against the academic discussion on the Japanese myths that undermined the belief in the Japanese people's sacred origin on the case of so-called Tsuda Incident. In 1940, historian Tsuda Sokichi (1873-1961) was criticized and even imprisoned for denying the credibility of the chronicles *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* containing the myths of imperial ancestors.⁸⁵³ This incident had a strong impact on Matsumoto because Matsumoto's teacher Yanagita Kunio maintained a close relationship with Tsuda from the 1910s when they started research of the Japanese tradition.⁸⁵⁴ Therefore, it is easy to understand why Matsumoto chose not to present his opinions regarding the imperial origins and avoided the discussion on the Japanese imperial myths in the 1940s.

For this reason, he came up with a different argument of the Japanese uniqueness that seemed scientific. In his paper "The Ethnic-Historical Meaning of the Greater East Asian War," he claimed: "There is no doubt that there was a peculiar ethnic group (*koyū minzoku*, 固有民族) residing in our Yamato Shimane from prehistory, two elements of Southern and Northern Asia

⁸⁵³ Yusa, Michiko, *Zen and Philosophy: An Intellectual Biography of Nishida Kitarō*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2002, p. 305.

⁸⁵⁴ Yusa, Michiko, *Zen and Philosophy: An Intellectual Biography of Nishida Kitarō*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 2002, p. 305.

⁸⁵⁴ Masuo, Shinichirō, "Reimei-ki no Kiki shinwa kenkyū o meguru dōkō : Tsuda Sōkichi to Takagi Toshio, Yanagita Kunio wo chūshin ni," *Shiryō to shite no "Nihonshoki"*: Tsuda Sōkichi o yomi naosu, Bensei shuppan, 2011, pp. 406-422.

arrived to this [ethnic group], and formed here our nation. In short, both from the cultural perspective and from the constitution, our nation contain both elements of Southern and Northern Asia together, so it has sufficient adaptability to develop northward and southward.”⁸⁵⁵ Therefore, Matsumoto provided the legitimization for the Japanese expansion in Asia-Pacific by an ethnological interpretation of the foreign influence on the Japanese nation instead of the legitimizing it by the Japanese sacred origin based on the belief in the Sun Goddess.

This Matsumoto’s ethnological interpretation of the Japanese origins reflected the Pan-Asianist concept of common Asian identity because it argued the inclusion of South Asian and North Asian elements. However, since Matsumoto did not explain about the peculiar ethnic group residing in Yamato Shimane, the above mentioned quotation in “The Ethnic-Historical Meaning of the Greater East Asian War” does not contain Matsumoto’s opinion on the Japanese uniqueness. In general, he rarely discussed contemporary Japan in his writings and he mainly looked into the similarities of Japan with other regions, especially with Indochina. Therefore, Matsumoto’s writings reveal about Japan’s similarities with Indochina, but they lack information about the Japanese uniqueness. This implies that the only Matsumoto’s idea of the Japanese uniqueness is his idea of the Japanese superiority based on Orientalism (social Darwinism and cultural evolutionism) that the Japanese are the most westernized Asian nation (See Chapter 4, Section 3.2.2. Matsumoto’s hierarchy in Indochina based on dichotomy of the civilized and the

⁸⁵⁵ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Daitōa sensō no minzoku shitekina igi, *Gaikō jihō*, dai 893 gō, *Gaikō jihōsha*, 15.02.1942, p. 55-56.

primitive.) In other words, Matsumoto's belief in this Japanese uniqueness as the most westernized Asian nation was in the background in his support of Japan's civilizing mission in Indochina.

To sum it up, as an evolutionist ethnologist, Matsumoto disagreed with Pan-Asianist interpretation of the Japanese uniqueness based on the belief in the Japanese sacred origin. It is because he, as an ethnologist, believed in evolution from the human origins, not origins of gods. Therefore, he considered the stories on imperial gods in the Japanese annals to be myths. In addition, Matsumoto paid attention to the similarities of the Japanese and non-Japanese myths, hence he knew that the tale of sacred origin is not specific for Japan. However, he decided not to publish his opinions on the Japanese imperial origin because it became risky with the growing influence of Pan-Asianism from the mid-1930s. Instead of the idea of the Japanese sacred origin, Matsumoto presented an ethnological theory of the Japanese origins consisting of Yamato element and elements from the Northern Asia and Southern Asia. Although he did not explain the Japanese uniqueness during the period 1940-1945, his writings in the 1930s suggest that he believed in the Japanese uniqueness from Orientalist perspective: that the Japanese were superior as the most westernized (civilized) nation among Asian nations.

4.5. Matsumoto's contribution to the Pan-Asianist policy towards Southeast Asia by his research on contemporary Indochina

Matsumoto was among the Japanese scholars who were mobilized by the Japanese Pan-Asianist government. Yatsugi Kazuo who examined history of research activities for the state policy listed Matsumoto among scholars in the Committee for Ethnic Issues (*Minzoku mondai iinkai*, 民族問題委員会) collecting information especially on contemporary situation in Southeast Asia and discussing Japanese measures towards it.⁸⁵⁶ This section will explore which Matsumoto's works were useful for the Japanese policy towards Southeast Asia.

Section 2. (Matsumoto Nobuhiro's formation as the founder of Southeast Asian studies in linguistics) in this chapter demonstrated that Matsumoto propagated the study of Southeast Asian languages for the building of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. He presented papers introducing Southeast Asian languages to the Japanese readers. In particular, his book *Introduction to the Annamese Language* was significant because it was the first Japanese textbook of the Vietnamese language.⁸⁵⁷ Matsumoto's linguistical writings on Southeast Asian languages were useful for the Pan-Asianist policy because they provided the knowledge of these languages in the situation when Japan gradually took control over Southeast Asia.

In addition, Matsumoto contributed to the Japanese policy by presenting papers on

⁸⁵⁶ Yatsugi, Kazuo, *Shōwa dōran shishi*, chū, Keizai ōraisha, 1971, p. 207.

⁸⁵⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Annango nyūmon. Bunpōhen*, Indoshina kenkyūkai, 1942, p. 2. *Annango nyūmon. Kaiwahan*, Indoshina kenkyūkai, 1942.

contemporary Indochina in three papers: “Aspects of Indochina Peoples,”⁸⁵⁸ “The Problem of Peoples of French Indochina,”⁸⁵⁹ and “Peoples and Cultures of French Indochina.”⁸⁶⁰ This is a small number in comparison with his publications on linguistic and ethnological research. This reflects that Matsumoto lacked enthusiasm to deal with contemporary issues which were priority for Pan-Asianist government. It is because Matsumoto was a researcher focusing on primitive peoples. Also, his wife Matsumoto Chie wrote in her commemorial essay on Matsumoto that Matsumoto was “born scholar” and disinterested in worldly affairs.⁸⁶¹ Thus, Matsumoto contribution to the Japanese policy towards Indochina was relatively small in comparison with his academic works.

In his papers on contemporary Indochina, Matsumoto focused on the Vietnamese people’s situation. He paid attention namely to the connection of the Vietnamese peasants’ problems with the growing influence of Communism. He discussed the topic in his paper “Aspects of Indochina Peoples”: “... the gap between the poor peasants and rich people promotes the encroachment of Communism. In early 1929, the Communist Party secretly instigated the inequality of Indochina people and plotted the revolution movement.”⁸⁶² He also

⁸⁵⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina jin no shosō,” *Gaikō jihō*, Gaikō jihōsha, dai 850 gō, May 1940.

⁸⁵⁹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuin no minzoku mondai,” *Shin Ajia*, Mantetsu Tōa keizai chōsakyoku, 1940, 8gatsu.

⁸⁶⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina no minzoku to bunka,” *Sosei futsuryō Indoshina no zenbō*, Aikoku shinbunsha shuppanbu, 1941, pp. 64-67.

⁸⁶¹ *Matsumoto Nobuhiro shinpen zakki*, Matsumoto Chie, 1982, p. 50.

⁸⁶² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina jin no shosō,” *Gaikō jihō*, Gaikō jihōsha, dai 850 gō, May 1940, p. 138.

described the spreading of Communism in Vietnam in his paper “The Problem of Peoples of French Indochina”: “Annamese village is a kind of autonomy, the village administrative is managed by the elderly class called notables, and many of leaders are nationalists so they retained neutrality towards Communist movement. The Communist Party capitalizes on it, provides dissatisfied elements in the countryside with the propaganda documents in the Romanized writing Quốc Ngữ which is now used in Annam...”⁸⁶³

Furthermore, Matsumoto also wrote an article on the new Vietnamese religion Caodaism. He discussed Caodaism on four pages in his paper “Peoples and Cultures of French Indochina.”⁸⁶⁴ After summarizing the growing popularity of Cao Đài sect in Vietnam, Matsumoto expressed sympathy for this new religion: “In this vibrant time when trying to understand the society and the form of government of one country and make them reform, this kind of the religion always flourish in the Oriental state, if those things [like Caodaism] are not used, it is impossible to make the ignorant masses to move. In this point, Caodaism is a religious movement which surely cannot be disregarded in present French Indochina; we can say that it has revolutionary significance.”⁸⁶⁵ In this way, Matsumoto presented new Vietnamese religion of Caodaism as beneficial tool of Japanese control over the Vietnamese people.

From these writings, it is aparent that Matsumoto followed the news of the contemporary

⁸⁶³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuin no minzoku mondai,” *Shin Ajia*, Mantetsu Tōa keizai chōsakyoku, 1940nen 8gatsu, pp. 35-36.

⁸⁶⁴ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Futsuryō Indoshina no minzoku to bunka,” *Sosei futsuryō Indoshina no zenbō*, Aikoku shinbunsha shuppanbu, 1941, pp. 64-67.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 67.

situation in Indochina. He had access to the news from French Indochina most likely because of his relations with the EFEO and his knowledge of the French language. The choice of Communism and Caodaism suggests that Matsumoto discussed topics which were in the center of the Japanese attention in relation to Indochina. It is because the Communist movement hindered the Japanese interests. On the contrary, Caodaism was regarded positively because its followers cooperated with the Japanese Army. Hence, Matsumoto discussed contemporary problems of Indochina that were most attractive from the perspective of the Japanese official policy in Indochina.

Within this context of the Japanese interest in Indochina, Matsumoto touched upon contemporary China and Manchuria. For example, he pointed out the threat of Chinese Communism for Indochina in his paper “Rise and Fall of Peoples in Indochina”: “Also the Chinese themselves will probably enter Indochina if they are pushed from north. In particular, if they follow the Kublai route, the power of the Communist Party may infiltrate Indochina. I remember that French publicists at the time of Manchurian Incident discussed the spread of Communism in Asia and said that the Japan’s activity in Manchuria was against the Red imperialism, and thus defended Asia.”⁸⁶⁶ Except from this opinion, there is basically no mention of contemporary China and Manchuria in Matsumoto’s writings. Thus, as a representative of the Southward Theory, Matsumoto rarely discussed China and Manchuria although they formed the

⁸⁶⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, “Indoshina ni okeru minzoku no kōbō,” *Shin Ajia*, Mantetsu Tōa keizai chōsakyoku, Nampō bunka tokugō, 1940, 1gatsu, p. 68.

core of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere together with Japan.

In summary, during the period 1940-1945, Matsumoto bestowed to the Pan-Asianist policy with information on two issues of contemporary Indochina in addition to his works on Southeast Asian languages. He wrote papers on Communism and Caodaism which were attractive topics related to the Japanese interests in Indochina. However, the volume of Matsumoto's discussion of contemporary Indochina appears insignificant in comparison with the volume of his academic research. In addition, as an advocator of the Southward Theory, Matsumoto remained almost silent about contemporary China and Manchuria which were the most important for Pan-Asianists because of their role in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

5. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the progress of Matsumoto as a founder of Southeast Asian studies and the formation of Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia during the period 1940-1945 when the concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere became state policy and Pan-Asianism affected all aspects of the Japanese society. This chapter showed that Matsumoto advanced his activities for Southeast Asian studies and presented his ideas on Southeast Asia in this new political context of Pan-Asianism.

First, he used the occasion provided by the incorporation of Southeast Asia into the

national policy of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity sphere for boosting Southeast Asian studies. Not only he joined the research groups studying Southeast Asia under the governmental auspice, but he also worked intensively on the development of Southeast Asian studies at Keio University. He especially contributed to the study of Southeast Asian languages. However, although he encouraged the Japanese people to learn modern Southeast Asian languages, he himself was interested in the research of the historical significance of Southeast Asian languages. Thus, Matsumoto tried to put Southeast Asian studies to the contemporary context by propagation of Southeast Asian languages for the building of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere while he also engaged in his ethnological-historical research of Southeast Asian languages.

Matsumoto's research of Southeast Asian languages used method of vocabulary comparison that he learned from Jean Przyluski at Sorbonne University. Also during the period 1940-1945, Matsumoto retained Przyluski's hypothesis that the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages played important role in the formation of ancient Japanese language. In his linguistic research, Matsumoto compared archaic Japanese words and Chinese words with vocabulary of the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages and emphasized the similarities between these languages. However, Matsumoto's research consisted only of matching similar words in these vocabularies. Moreover, Matsumoto did not interpret these linguistic concordances as the Japanese and Chinese origins in Southeast Asia, and he only suggested Southeast Asian influence

on the ancient Japanese and Chinese languages.

In his ethnological research, Matsumoto presented theories claiming the origins of Southeast Asian peoples' ancestors in China, and emphasizing Southeast Asian peoples' connection with Japan in 1940-1945. He assumed that in ancient times the Chinese territory was occupied not only by Han people, but also by various different peoples including speakers of Austro-Asiatic languages who influenced the Japanese ancestors. This argument contributed to the legitimization of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere because it connected Han people of Northern genealogy with Southeast Asian peoples of Southern genealogy.

In addition, Matsumoto surmised that the Southern culture was brought from Southeast Asia to Japan by migration of Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian speakers who were maritime peoples. For this reason, Matsumoto paid attention to the water animals in the Southeast Asian and the Japanese myths since he most likely thought that they were evidences of this maritime culture. However, Matsumoto's arguments are confusing because he did not distinguish between Southeast Asian peoples, their ancestors in China and their descendants who migrated from Southeast Asia. Moreover, he assumed the Japanese origins on the Japanese islands. In this way, Matsumoto did not state conclusion of the Japanese origins in Southeast Asia in his ethnological research although he argued migration of Southeast Asian peoples to Japan.

In his ethnological writings, Matsumoto chose to follow the official Pan-Asianist context. He also decided to support the Japanese policy by his academic writings in the era of

Pan-Asianism because he agreed with the French model of ethnology which developed as a science in service of the French colonial policy. For this reason, he incorporated Pan-Asianist rhetoric to his writings. Furthermore, like Pan-Asianists, he preached Japan's civilizing mission towards semi-civilized people in Indochina. He advocated this mission because he was a believer in cultural evolution. Namely, he preached the adoption of westernized culture which was in accord with cultural evolutionist belief in superiority of Western civilization. However, in the early 1940s, he adopted Pan-Asianist rhetoric of Japan's civilizing mission recommending the adoption of the Sinicized civilization as Oriental civilization. Obviously, he borrowed this Pan-Asianist argument for fitting his writings on Indochina to the official context because the adoption of the Oriental civilization was in contradiction with his belief in cultural evolution and with his knowledge of Vietnam. At the same time, as an ethnologist, he criticized Japan's civilizing mission towards the primitive people of Southeast Asia and the Southern Pacific and argued the necessity of the preservation of the primitive cultures for the scientific purpose. Thus, Matsumoto's argument partially overlapped with Pan-Asianism. He advocated Japan's civilizing mission towards semi-civilized people as an evolutionist while arguing the protection of the primitive culture as an ethnologist.

Matsumoto's advocacy of Japan's civilizing mission was based on the Orientalist belief of the Japanese uniqueness as the most civilized nation of Asia, not on the idea of the sacred origin of the Japanese nation. First of all, Matsumoto did not believe in gods since he studied

evolutionist ethnology. Consequently, he interpreted the stories on imperial gods in the Japanese annals as myths. Moreover, owing to ethnology, he learnt that the tale of the sacred origin exists among many nations. However, he could not publish these arguments because the official policy regarded them undesirable. Shortly said, Matsumoto did not adopt the idea of Japan's uniqueness based on sacred origin because it was in contradiction with his education and the fundamentals of ethnology.

As for the real use of Matsumoto's works for Japanese policy towards Southeast Asia in 1940-1945, Matsumoto contributed by writings on Southeast Asian languages and on problems of contemporary Indochina. He paid attention only to two contemporary issues: Communism and Caodaism in Vietnam. Therefore, the volume of his discourse on contemporary Southeast Asia was small in comparison with his linguistic and ethnological research.

In conclusion, Matsumoto's writings in 1940-1945 show that Matsumoto used the new political context for propagation and development of Southeast Asian studies. He was aware that Pan-Asianism did not correspond to his ideas and thus he compromised between his ideas and the official propaganda in order to continue his research of Southeast Asia.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter presents a conclusion to the previous chapters. It contains the summary of previous chapters and concluding remarks. Its goal is to summarize the answers to the research question of this thesis which is to clarify the formation and development of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ideas on Southeast Asia from Matsumoto's writings during the period 1919-1945 and to investigate the formation of Matsumoto Nobuhiro as the founder of Southeast Asian studies. Finally, this chapter also brings up other possible topics for future research.

1. Summary of previous chapters

1.1. Summary of Chapter 1

Chapter 1 served as an introduction to this study. It presented the background of the study with an emphasis on the significance of Matsumoto Nobuhiro whose writings during the period 1919-1945 were analyzed. Furthermore, Chapter 1 provided a summary of previous researches on which the basis of the research objectives were established; and introduced the theoretical framework and methodology for this study.

First, Matsumoto Nobuhiro was a Japanese ethnologist conducting research on Southeast Asia and became known as one of the two founders of Southeast Asian studies in Japan. Matsumoto's works gained the appreciation of many scholars in various disciplines.

Second, Chapter 1 presented an overview of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's life history to shed

light on the story of Matsumoto's academic career. Matsumoto studied history and ethnology at Keio University, became a student of Yanagita Kunio, received a doctorate in Oriental Studies from Sorbonne University and began his work on establishing Southeast Asian studies in Japan in the 1930s.

Third, Chapter 1 looked at two groups of previous research: first, previous research on the history of various disciplines related to Matsumoto Nobuhiro, and second, previous research on Matsumoto Nobuhiro's academic contribution. Many previous researchers claimed that Matsumoto was an advocator of Southern Theory, or the Japanese origins in South. However, they did not examine Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia from his writings.

Fourth, on the basis of this previous research, Chapter 1 stated the research objectives as follows: to clarify the formation and development of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ideas on Southeast Asia from Matsumoto's writings during the period 1919-1945, and to investigate the formation of Matsumoto Nobuhiro as the founder of Southeast Asian studies.

Fifth, for the purpose of achieving the above mentioned objectives, a theoretical framework was constructed using concepts from Southeast Asian studies, South Seas studies and ethnology. From the concept of ethnology, this thesis employed evolutionist, sociologist and diffusionist ethnology for classifying Matsumoto's work on Southeast Asia. Finally, Chapter 1 mentioned the scope and limitations of the study.

1.2. Summary of Chapter 2

Chapter 2 examined the beginning of the formation of Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia in 1919-1923. Since Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia were based on ethnology, Chapter 2, clarified the influence of Matsumoto's teachers on his ethnological research. Next, this chapter investigated Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia from his writings published in 1919-1923.

First, Matsumoto studied evolutionist ethnology based on unilinear evolutionism from educator Kawai Teichi and folklorist Yanagita Kunio at Keio University. He learnt ethnology of Western scholars including the theory of remnants and comparative methods. He incorporated them in his research of ancient Japanese and Chinese culture which he compared with the culture of contemporary primitive peoples including Southeast Asian peoples. Thus, as a result of his interest in ethnology, Matsumoto began studying the culture of Southeast Asian peoples as primitive peoples. Also Matsumoto's teachers in history Hashimoto Masukichi and Kato Shigeshi contributed to Matsumoto's study of ethnology because they taught him the history of China from a cultural evolutionist perspective and provided him with material on ancient China.

Second, Chapter 2 explored Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia in 1919-1923. In this period, Matsumoto did not use any geographical concepts related to Southeast Asia because in Japan, little attention was paid to the region of the South Seas encompassing Southeast Asia. As a result, Matsumoto studied about Southeast Asian peoples as one among the many primitive

peoples. He considered Southeast Asian peoples to be naïve. To scientifically explain Southeast Asian culture, he employed ethnological theories from Frazer and Wundt.

1.3. Summary of Chapter 3

Chapter 3 discussed the formation of Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia in 1924-1932.

In this period, Matsumoto gained access to a huge amount of data on Southeast Asia owing to his study at Sorbonne University in Paris (1924-1928). Furthermore, he adopted the Japanese and Chinese concepts of the South Seas due to Japan's attention on this areas. Chapter 3 examined the influence of sociological, evolutionist and diffusionist ethnology on the formation of Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia during the period 1924-1932.

First, Matsumoto adopted theories of the scholars of the French School of Sociology, namely of Marcel Mauss and Marcel Granet. However, from all these theories, Matsumoto discussed only the theory of the seasonal festivals in relation to Southeast Asia. Second, Matsumoto also discussed theories of evolutionist ethnology. It is because his French teachers adopted many of Frazer's ideas. He discussed Southeast Asian culture in relation to totemism like in the previous period. Thus, Matsumoto was interested in Southeast Asia as a result of the combined sociologist-evolutionist influence.

Third, under the influence of diffusionist ethnology, Masumoto began focusing on Southeast Asia especially because he adopted Jean Przyluski's interpretation of Wilhelm

Schmidt's theory of the Austro-Asiatic languages. Consequently, Matsumoto claimed the influence of Southeast Asian and Southern Pacific languages on the formation of the Japanese language in the ancient times. Furthermore, he borrowed arguments of other Western diffusionists. Finally, he was influenced also by Yanagita's ideas of the Southern culture that spread from the Southern parts of Japan.

As a result of these multiple influences, Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia contained contradictions. This is because Matsumoto interpreted similarities between Japan and Southeast Asia both from the evolutionist and sociologist perspectives based on unilinear evolutionism, and from the diffusionist perspective based on multilinear evolutionism.

1.4. Summary of Chapter 4

Chapter 5 explored the development of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's ideas on Southeast Asian in 1933-1939. In this period, Matsumoto conducted research trips to French Indochina, Southern Pacific islands and China. Chapter 5 discussed the significance of Matsumoto's research trips for the establishment of Southeast Asian studies in Japan first. Then, the chapter examined Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia by analyzing Orientalism and climate theory in Matsumoto's writings on Southeast Asia.

First, Chapter 5 demonstrated that Matsumoto's research trip to French Indochina in 1933 was most significant for Matsumoto as the founder of Southeast Asian studies. Owing to his

friendship with French scholars of the EFEO, Matsumoto collected Western works on Southeast Asia, precious Vietnamese books written in classic Chinese and Vietnamese excavation artifacts and brought them back to Japan. Furthermore, Matsumoto presented his research on Indochina and published his travel accounts from Indochina. In addition, under the influence of collected Western works, Matsumoto began using the Western geographical concept of Southeast Asia in addition to the Japanese and Chinese geographical concepts of the South Seas. His contribution to the Japanese academic circles made him the founder of Southeast Asian studies.

Second, Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia in 1933-1939 were affected by diffusionism which prevailed in Japanese ethnology. Due to this influence, Matsumoto perceived Southeast Asian peoples from the Orientalist perspective that included the social Darwinist dichotomies. His evaluation criterion of all the peoples were the degree of their westernization and Sinicization. He thought that Southeast Asian peoples were weak and primitive in comparison with Japanese people which reflected the Japanese superiority complex towards Asian peoples and the inferiority complex towards Western peoples.

Despite this, he considered Southeast Asian peoples to be similar to Japanese peoples because some of the Southeast Asian cultural phenomena reminded him of old Japan. Yamashita interpreted this as Matsumoto's search for Japan's homeland in Southeast Asia. However, Matsumoto's diffusionist argument was only the claim of the Southern influence on the ancient Japanese culture.

Moreover, Matsumoto adopted Watsuji Tetsuro's climate theory for the interpretation of the Southeast Asian peoples' weakness. As a result, Matsumoto assumed that Southeast Asian peoples lost their fight against peoples coming from colder climates in the North because Southeast Asian peoples were weak due to the negative effects of the monsoon climate. However, his application of the climate theory had many contradictions with his ideas based on evolutionism and with arguments that he borrowed from nationalist propaganda.

1.4. Summary of Chapter 5

Chapter 5 discussed the development of Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia in 1940-1945. In this period, Matsumoto received much support in his effort to develop Southeast Asian studies in Japan because Southeast Asia was incorporated in the state policy of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. First, Chapter 5 examined Matsumoto's contribution to the foundation of Southeast Asian studies in linguistics. Second, Chapter 5 inquired about Matsumoto's ethnological ideas on Southeast Asia. Third, Chapter 5 discussed the influence of Pan-Asianism on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia.

First, during the period 1940-1945, Matsumoto contributed to the formation of Southeast Asian studies by propagating the study of Southeast Asian languages and by presenting his research of Southeast Asian languages. Matsumoto's research of Southeast Asian languages emphasized the historical importance of these languages in the formation of the Japanese

language.

Second, Matsumoto presented ethnological research which discussed China as the homeland of Indochina peoples and argued the Japanese connection with Southeast Asia from the diffusionist perspective. In this way, Matsumoto supported the idea of the Greater East Co-Prosperity because he established a link between Han people of Northern genealogy and Southeast Asian peoples of Southern genealogy.

Third, in 1940-1945, Matsumoto adopted some Pan-Asianist arguments to his ideas on Southeast Asia. He presented only three papers related to contemporary Indochina issues. Furthermore, he contributed to Pan-Asianist propaganda by combining his ethnological arguments with Pan-Asianist rhetoric. Namely, he adopted the Pan-Asianist slogan of Japan's civilizing mission to the semi-civilized peoples. However, he also mentioned that Japan's quest to civilize primitive peoples destroyed native culture which was precious material for his ethnological research.

Nevertheless, Matsumoto did not adopt the Pan-Asianist mythical argument claiming Japan's uniqueness on the basis of the belief in the sacred origin. This is because, as an ethnologist, Matsumoto did not believe in gods and perceived the tales of the imperial gods as myths. However, he preferred not to present his ideas on the Japanese imperial myths in relation to Southeast Asia because it was dangerous.

2. Concluding remarks

Table 3: Summary of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's development and formation as the founder of Southeast Asian studies in 1919-1945

Period, location	Theories in Matsumoto's writings	Geographical names related to Southeast Asia
1919-1923, Japan, China, Korea, Manchuria	unilinear evolutionism based on universalism, animism, totemism, theory of magic	No geographical name (only names of Southeast Asian peoples)
1924-1932, Japan, France	multilinear evolutionism, unilinear evolutionism based on universalism, sociology (theory of gift and potlatch, etc.), totemism, diffusionism	The South Seas
1933-1939, Japan, Indochina, the Southern Pacific islands, China	multilinear evolutionism, social Darwinism, diffusionism, Orientalism, Climate Theory	The South Seas, Southeast Asia,
1940-1945, Japan	multilinear evolutionism, social Darwinism, diffusionism, Orientalism, Climate Theory, Pan-Asianism	The South Seas, Southeast Asia

The overview of Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia in 1919-1945 is shown in Table 3.

The table indicates that Matsumoto started studying Southeast Asian peoples as a result of his study of ethnology in the early 1920s, and began focusing on Southeast Asia as a part of the Japanese geographical concept of the South Seas in the second half of the 1920s owing to his study in France. Upon his return to Japan, he became the founder of Southeast Asian studies in the 1930s when he adopted the Western geographical concept of Southeast Asia from Western research materials that he brought from French Indochina in 1933, when he presented many

papers on Southeast Asia, and when he taught on Southeast Asian peoples in his classes of ethnology at Keio University. He further developed Southeast Asian studies especially at Keio University under the influence of Pan-Asianism in the first half of the 1940s.

Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia were formed by influences from various schools of ethnology – evolutionist, sociologist and diffusionist ethnology. Table 3 shows that Matsumoto was an evolutionist ethnologist in the beginning before adopting sociologist and diffusionist theories from 1924, but he transformed somewhat into a diffusionist ethnologist during the period 1924-1945 since diffusionism prevailed in Japanese ethnology. This finding is in contradiction with previous research (namely Hirafuji) that characterized Matsumoto mainly as a representative of sociologist ethnology in Japan. Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia did not exhibit a sufficient sociologist approach because Matsumoto did not focus on Southeast Asian society, but on Southeast Asian culture.

Matsumoto chose to follow diffusionist ethnology because he wanted to join the discourse on Southeast Asia which was developed by Western diffusionist ethnologists, and because diffusionist ethnology became mainstream in Japanese ethnology in the 1930s and the 1940s. This enabled Matsumoto to become the founder of Southeast Asian studies in Japan. The significance of diffusionism based on multilinear evolutionism and social Darwinism for Matsumoto's establishment of Southeast Asian studies is apparent also from Table 3 where evolutionist and sociological theories (totemism, theory of the gift, etc.) disappeared from

Matsumoto's writings in the period 1933-1945 when Matsumoto concentrated on Southeast Asia under the diffusionist influence.

The diffusionist approach to Southeast Asia made Matsumoto an advocator of Southern Theory that preached the significance of the South Seas for Japan. Under inspiration by Western and Japanese scholars (Przyluski, Rivet, Yanagita, etc.), Matsumoto sometimes argued the Southern influence on the Japanese culture. Previous researchers interpreted this as Matsumoto's search for the Japanese origins in Southeast Asia or Matsumoto's advocacy of Southern genealogy in the Japanese culture. This thesis demonstrated that Matsumoto did not argue the Japanese origins in the South and claimed mainly close relations between Japan and Southeast Asia. Moreover, this thesis showed that Matsumoto's argument of Japan's connection with Southeast Asia was the result of the diffusionist influence.

Despite this importance of diffusionism, Matsumoto's conclusion on Japan's relation with Southeast Asia was not the Japanese origins in Southeast Asia because he shared Yanagita's argument that similarities between two cultures do not mean foreign origins for one of the compared cultures. Moreover, Matsumoto did not always argue Southern influence on the Japanese culture when pointing out similarities between Japan and Southeast Asia. This reveals that, although Matsumoto began focusing on Southeast Asia as a result of diffusionist influence and adopted diffusionist theories on Southeast Asia, Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia were not purely diffusionist. He reached a compromise between diffusionist, evolutionist and

sociologist approaches which was conducting the comparison of the similarities between Japan and Southeast Asia without drawing a conclusion on their meaning.

Matsumoto paid attention to the similarities of Japan and Southeast Asia from the very beginning when he started his academic career as an evolutionist ethnologist. Although his interpretations of these similarities were ambiguous, it seems clear that he believed in the deep significance of these similarities. This belief drove his effort to develop Southeast Asian studies also in the post-war period when he urged his students to do research on Southeast Asia. His students, such as Kawamoto or Chikamori, did not conduct their research of Southeast Asia based on Matsumoto's findings, but rather on his direct instigation. According to Roustan, Kawamoto admitted that Matsumoto's recommendation to study about Southeast Asia played an important role in his decision to specialize on Vietnam.⁸⁶⁷ Furthermore, Matsumoto provided Kawamoto with sufficient conditions for his Vietnamese study by inviting him to become a full-time researcher at the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies.⁸⁶⁸

Also, Chikamori said that Matsumoto asked him to do research on Cambodian culture.⁸⁶⁹ For example, Chikamori examined the ritual in which a shaman presents mountain products to the Cambodian king Sihanouk.⁸⁷⁰ Matsumoto was keen to know about this ritual because he learnt about it from Frazer's book *The Golden Bough* where Frazer described the shaman as

⁸⁶⁷ Roustan, Frédéric, "From Oriental Studies to South Pacific Studies: The Multiple Origins of Vietnamese Studies," *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, Vol. 6, Issue 1, 2011, p. 20.

⁸⁶⁸ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

⁸⁶⁹ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

⁸⁷⁰ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

king-magician which has a similar religious-political role like priests in ancient Japan.⁸⁷¹

Furthermore, Matsumoto observed the progress of the excavation of the ancient boats in Japan which he considered to be important for his theories on the sea route connection between Japan and Southeast Asia.⁸⁷² Chikamori recollected about the time Matsumoto asked him during the excavation works of the boats that if they had found a boat similar to the boats engraved on Đông Sơn drums in Vietnam.⁸⁷³

Matsumoto delegated research tasks to his students since he himself did not do field work. According to Chikamori, Matsumoto did not know how to conduct ethnological field work or archaeological excavations and was not willing to learn it.⁸⁷⁴ Matsumoto preferred to keep a distance and stay in the observer's position although he advocated the preservation of the native culture of primitive peoples. For example, he refused to greet Polynesians by their custom of rubbing the noses when he visited Chikamori doing an ethnoarchaeological research on Rennel Island.⁸⁷⁵ Hence, Matsumoto's efforts to collect evidence for his hypotheses of Japan's connection with Southeast Asia from his students' field research resulted in the development of Southeast Asian studies. In this sense, Matsumoto is rightfully remembered as an initiator of

⁸⁷¹ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Annan shiryō ni arawareru Indoshina sanchi minzoku," *Andō kyōju kanreki Shukuga kinenronbunshū*, Andō kyōju kanreki Shukuga kinenkaihen, Sanseidō, 1940, p. 1010.

⁸⁷² Shimizu, Junzō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen II: Ancient Boats*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 403-408.

Mabuchi, Tōichi, "Odayaka de fukutsu no daisempai," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen*, dai 2 kan, geppō dai 2 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 3.

⁸⁷³ Chikamori, Masashi, "Minzokugaku kōkogaku kenkyūshitsu no Kujūkuri chōsa," *Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyū kiyō. Ningen to shakai no tankyū. Kujūkuri chōsa*, Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyūka, 2013, p. 236.

⁸⁷⁴ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 13 October 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid.

many projects at Keio University.

Another feature of Matsumoto's research on Southeast Asia is that he almost remained silent about Islam. He mentioned it only in a few cases: when he pointed out the adoption of Islam by Cham people,⁸⁷⁶ Islamic influence in Malaysia,⁸⁷⁷ or when he wrote about Arabic influence and struggles between Muslims and Portuguese in the trade in Southeast Asia.⁸⁷⁸ It is because Islam was speciality of Izutsu Toshikiho (1914-1993) who worked in the same department at Keio University with Matsumoto.⁸⁷⁹ Therefore, Matsumoto was reluctant to interfere in the sphere of Izutsu's interest.

In the post-war period, Matsumoto continued to focus on Japan's connection with Southeast Asia in cooperation with Yanagita Kunio. As Chikamori emphasized, Matsumoto's opinion that: "Ancient Japanese culture resembles the cultural sphere of the Austro-Asiatic languages," boded well with Yanagita's hypothesis: "The Japanese brought rice from the South."⁸⁸⁰ Due to their hypothesis of migration from the South, Matsumoto and Yanagita were interested in boats excavated in Chiba Prefecture in 1947 which practically coincided with the

⁸⁷⁶ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina minzoku," *Iwanami kōza Tōyō shichō*, I (Tōyō no minzoku, Tōyō no shakai), Iwanami shoten, 1935, p. 10. "Indoshina go," *Ajia mondai kōza*, dai 8 kan, Sōgensha, 1939, p. 398. *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka*, Iwanami shoten, 1942, p. 10. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nampō chiiki," *Tōa sekaishi* (2), Sekaishi kōza (4), Kōbundō shobō, 1944, p. 28 (136).

⁸⁷⁷ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Marai go," *Sekai no kotoba*, Keiō gijuku daigaku gogaku kenkyūjohen, Keiō shuppansha, 1943, p. 86.

⁸⁷⁸ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Nampō chiiki," *Tōa sekaishi* (2), Sekaishi kōza (4), Kōbundō shobō, 1944, pp. 28-30 (136-138), 25 (143).

⁸⁷⁹ Interview with Chikamori Masashi, 23 August 2012, Keio University, Tokyo.

⁸⁸⁰ Chikamori, Masashi, "Minzokugaku kōkogaku kenkyūshitsu no Kujūkuri chōsa," *Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyū kiyō. Ningen to shakai no tankyū. Kujūkuri chōsa*, Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyūka, 2013, p. 232.

time Heyerdahl set sail on his famed expedition from America to the Pacific islands.⁸⁸¹ In the 1950s, Matsumoto was an active member of Yanagita's New Harvest Research Society (*Niname kenkyūkai*, 新嘗研究会) exploring agricultural rituals.⁸⁸² Inspired by the society's activities, Matsumoto led a research mission to Indochina Peninsula with the purpose of conducting a comprehensive survey of rice-cultivation culture of Southeast Asian peoples in 1956-1957.⁸⁸³ Obviously, both Matsumoto and Yanagita conjectured about the migration (diffusion) of Southeast Asian peoples to Japan in the ancient times, and therefore, they hoped to find similarities between the Japanese and Southeast Asian boats and between rice in Japan and Southeast Asia.

Matsumoto discussed these diffusionist ideas on Southeast Asia in the theoretical framework borrowed from Yanagita and from Marcel Mauss' student André Varagnac. From Yanagita, Matsumoto adopted the theory of Basic Culture (*kisō bunka*, 基層文化)⁸⁸⁴ and he combined it with Varagnac's concept of archeo-civilization.⁸⁸⁵ On this basis, Matsumoto

⁸⁸¹ Ishii, Kenji, "Kodai suitei fune yasei gō no omoide," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen*, dai 2 kan, geppō dai 2 gō, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 3-6.

⁸⁸² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Yanagita Kunio 'Kainan shōki' to 'Kaijō no michi' – minzoku to minzoku ni tsuite" *Nihonminzokubunka no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 339. Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Indoshina no nōkō girei," *Niname no kenkyū*, I., Sōgensha, 1953, pp. 156-163.

⁸⁸³ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Tōnan Ajia no inasaku bunka no sōgō chōsa shuisho*, Nihon minzoku kyōkai, 1957. Iwata, Keiji, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen: Tōnan Ajia bunka to Nihon*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 447-454.

⁸⁸⁴ "In the popular tradition [studies], there are people arguing for cultural sedimentation (gesunkene Kultur) that was proposed by Germen Naumann etc. Namely, that the culture of the upper class gradually sunk into the layer of common people and is spread among the entire people of the country. This fact surely exists. On the contrary, basic culture is taken in consideration; in fact the flows of these two cultures are constantly negotiating with each other." Yanagita, Kunio, "Minkan denshō," *Minzokugaku jiten*, 1969 (first edition 1951), p. 579. Itō, Seiji, "Hito to gakumon, Matsumoto Nobuhiro," *Shakai jinruigaku nenpō*, Tōkyō toritsu daigaku shakai jinrui gakkai, dai 12 kan, 1986, p. 13. Ōbayashi, Taryō, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzokugaku no kigen I: shinwa-densetsu*, Kōdansha, 1978, p. 402.

⁸⁸⁵ "At present, the people of the new generation are active in the Parisian academic circles. For example, the

developed his hypothesis of Rice-Cultivation Culture (*Inasaku bunka*, 稲作文化) encompassing cultures of Japan, Southeast Asia and Southern China. According to Ito Seiji, Matsumoto's concept received attention as an argument competing with the theory of Laurel-Forest Culture (Shōyō jurin bunkaron, 照葉樹林文化論) among Japanese cultural anthropologists and ethnologists in the 1970s.⁸⁸⁶ Thus, Matsumoto's arguments on Southeast Asia received a certain amount of recognition among researchers of the common culture in Japan.

However, from the standards of academic research, it is necessary to notify the reader that Matsumoto's research did not produce findings supported by clear evidence. As Ito Seiji has pointed out, Matsumoto's writing style was "literature style" inspired by Yanagita and the French School of Sociology.⁸⁸⁷ Ito said: "...he did not hasten to reach a conclusion, thus his approach probably lost the quality of being based on evidence."⁸⁸⁸ In short, although Matsumoto was an ethnologist investigating Southeast Asia, many of his writings might not be regarded as academic, but closer to literature due to the literary flourish of his pen and more importantly, the lack of evidence in supporting his arguments.

Matsumoto's interest in Southeast Asia led him to his sympathy with the Vietnamese

people who listened to Mauss's lectures, such as Varagnac, etc., they advocate a new academic discipline "archeo-civilization," indicating the direction where the folkloristic should advance." Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, "Hashigaki," *Nihon no shinwa*, Ibundō, 1956.

⁸⁸⁶ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 238. Iwata, Keiji, "Kaisetsu," *Nihon minzoku bunka no kigen: Tōnan Ajia bunka to Nihon*, Kōdansha, 1978, pp. 447-454.

⁸⁸⁷ Itō, Seiji, "Matsumoto Nobuhiro – 'Nampōsetsu' no kaitakusha," *Bunka jinruigaku gunzō*, Nihonhen (3), Akademia shuppankai, Kyōto, 1988, p. 240.

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 234.

people in their war with the United States of America. Chikamori mentioned that Matsumoto disliked America.⁸⁸⁹ During the Vietnam War, Matsumoto wrote the book *Small History of the Vietnamese People*.⁸⁹⁰ He also contributed to the publication of several Vietnamese annals written in Chinese characters which became a precious research material because all the Vietnamese documents were inaccessible due to the war in Vietnam.⁸⁹¹ Despite this effort, Matsumoto believed in the superiority of the Western culture since he claimed: “The Vietnamese are a very proud nation, they do not submit although they are beaten; they are similar to us, the Japanese, in the point they are quick in imitating and responding. Under the French rule, they have well adopted the French culture; their elites have acquired the French education. Today, they feel strong rivalry against America, but we expect that they will be active as transmitters of the European culture in Southeast Asia in the distant future.”⁸⁹² This quotation is in contrast with his opinions in the early 1940s when he criticized Vietnamese insufficient westernization under the influence of Pan-Asianism. However, Matsumoto’s evolutionist attitude to see the Vietnamese traditional culture as inferior to the Western culture did not change.

⁸⁸⁹ Chikamori, Masashi, “Matsumoto Nobuhiro no ‘Genmin no kenkyū’,” *Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyū kiyō. Ningen to shakai no tankyū. Kujūkuri chōsa*, Keiō gijuku daigaku daigakuin shakaigaku kenkyūka, 2013, pp. 236.

⁸⁹⁰ Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Betonamu minzoku shōshi*, Iwanami shinsho, 1973 (1st ed. 1969).

⁸⁹¹ Chin, Kei Wa, “Maegaki,” *Daietsu shiki zensho: kōgōbon*, jō, Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo fuzoku Tōyōgaku bunken sentā kankō iinkai, 1984, p. 1.

⁸⁹² Matsumoto, Nobuhiro, *Betonamu minzoku shōshi*, Iwanami shinsho, 1973 (1st ed. 1969), pp. 206-207.

3. Possible future topics

This thesis focused on the formation and development of Matsumoto Nobuhiro as the founder of Southeast Asian studies during the period 1919-1945. However, there are other perspectives on Matsumoto's research which can be brought up for possible future inquiry.

First, this thesis did not sufficiently explore the question of Yanagita's influence on Matsumoto's research due to its focus on Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia. For a better understanding of Yanagita's importance for Matsumoto, it is necessary to conduct a comparative research of Matsumoto's and Yanagita's writings to identify more accurately of which ideas developed by Yanagita were inspirational for Matsumoto in his research. In particular, examining the application of Yanagita's theory of Basic Culture on Matsumoto's research of Southeast Asia can bring many insights to Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asian in the post-war period.

Second, for a further evaluation of Matsumoto's contribution to the establishment of Southeast Asian studies in Japan, it is useful to compare Matsumoto's research of Southeast Asia with the works of Yamamoto Tatsuro who is also known as the founder of Southeast Asian studies in Japan. This can be followed by a study of Matsumoto's cooperation with Yamamoto and other scholars of Southeast Asian studies can contribute to the knowledge on how Southeast Asian studies in Japan were developed through the ties that researchers had with each other.

Third, it is possible to compare Matsumoto's research with the works of Mabuchi Tōichi in order to clarify the development and formation of ethnological studies on Southeast Asia in

Japan.

Fourth, since Matsumoto's ideas on Southeast Asia were strongly influenced by Western diffusionist ethnologists, the detailed comparative research with the works of these scholars is suggested. Likewise, since sociological influence on Matsumoto's academic work was emphasized by many previous researchers, it might be interesting to examine Matsumoto's inspiration by sociological ideas in the post-war period.

Finally, previous research singled out Matsumoto's support of the Japanese colonial policy. This thesis also argued that Matsumoto borrowed the rhetoric of Southern Advance Theory and Pan-Asianism for the presentation of his research in the contemporary political context. Therefore, future research can focus on the political aspect of Matsumoto's writings on Southeast Asia in relation to the Japanese propaganda in the 1930s and 1940s.

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