

A Close Reading of Alexander Slawik's Kulturschichten in Altkorea (1936): Korean Ethnogenesis and Ancient History under the Influence of Japanese Imperialism

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Abstract

Alexander Slawik (1900-1998), head of the Japanese Studies department at Vienna University from 1965 on, modelled his PhD thesis, *Kulturschichten in Altkorea* (Cultural Strata in Ancient Korea, 1936), closely after that of his friend and colleague Oka Masao (1898-1982), who dealt with the same questions concerning Japan.

This paper provides a close reading and analysis of Slawik's unpublished thesis, analysing and contextualizing his sources, outlining issues of interpretation, and delineating how Korea became an academic tool to deconstruct and objectify Japan. Asking how Slawik positions himself in the academic discourse, the paper scrutinizes the political inclinations of Slawik and his stance on imperialism. Korea became a significant "other" in Slawik's understanding of Japan and was key in his understanding of area studies in general. Finally, the paper traces Slawik's legacy in Korea. Even though Slawik had educated a handful of Korean students in Vienna, his work never received translation into Korean. Still, traces of his research and teaching can be found.

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Introduction

1

About the political use of research on common ancestry and how its scholars were affected by the political constraints of their time, see Tobias Scholl, *Die Konstruktion von Gleichheit und Differenz: Der Kolonialdiskurs einer gemeinsamen Abstammung von Japanern und Koreanern, 1910–1945* (Munich: Iudicium, 2017), 43-47. Mitsui Takashi, "Kindai akademizumu shigaku no naka no 'Nissen dōsorōn': Kankoku heigō o chūshin ni," *Chōsenshi kenkyūkai ronbunshū* 42 (October 2004): 45-76; Mitsui Takashi, "Meiji-ki ni okeru kindai rekishigaku no seiritsu to 'Nissen dōsorōn': Rekishika no hidarite o tou," *Ritsumeikan shigaku* 35 (2014): 31-59.

2

Compare Mark Hudson, *Ruins of Identity. Ethnogenesis in the Japanese Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999). The author is not aware of any research concerning Korea's ethnogenesis that mentions Slawik.

During the modern period, Japan emerged as a new empire, taking Taiwan (1895) and Korea (1910) as colonies. In due course, it attempted to reduce the gap to the Western powers and to be perceived as one of them. The so-called "common ancestor theories" between Japan, Korea, and Manchuria that had sprung up in academia proved useful to legitimize Japan's colonial efforts as a late-coming empire.¹ Images of Japan and its East Asian neighbours created by such theories were also received in Western academia, for instance by Alexander Slawik (1900–1998), a student of East Asian languages at the University of Vienna who later became the first head of an independent Japanese studies department there. Slawik was also introduced to *Völkerkunde* (ethnology/anthropology) by his friend and colleague Oka Masao (1898-1982). Oka wrote his doctoral dissertation about Japan's ethnogenesis and earliest ethnological questions, which aimed at a complete survey of the material and immaterial culture of proto-, pre-, and early historic Japan. Due to constraints of time and space—his manuscript was already 1,453 typewritten pages—he mentioned links between Japan, China, and Korea only in passing. Slawik made it his task to cover Korea, at that point in time already part of the Japanese Empire for more than 20 years. His dissertation closely followed the model of Oka's, but stopped at 282 typewritten pages. It was accepted as a PhD thesis, but never saw a proper publication. Slawik planned to continue writing, aiming at an enlarged version comparable to Oka's, but this project was never realized due to limited access to sources, the upheaval of Austria's annexation to Germany (1938), and the subsequent war. Thus, works dealing with Japanese or Korean ethnogenesis at best mention Slawik's unpublished dissertation without knowing its contents, and only rarely consider his very limited later works on the topic.²

This paper analyses Slawik's dissertation, *Kulturschichten in Altkorea* (Cultural Strata in Ancient Korea, 1936), including the context of Japanese imperialism at the time it was written. After an explanation of Slawik's biographical background, his work is discussed in terms of the following questions: Was Slawik influenced by ideas of a common Japanese-Korean ancestry? What was his perception of the relation between Korea and Manchuria, to which early Korean kingships had extended? Did he mention, acknowledge, or judge the political use of such works? Was he himself influenced by the politics of imperialism? Finally, this paper seeks to outline whether his research and teachings were received in Korea.

3

Alexander Slawik, "Watashi no Nihon kenkyū 50nen," in *Nihon bunka no kosō*, ed. and transl. Sumiya Kazuhiko and Josef Kreiner (Tōkyō: Miraisha, 1984), 21-42. *Nihon bunka no kosō* is a collection of Slawik's later papers.

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Josef Kreiner et al., *Japanforschung in Österreich* (Vienna: Institute for Japanese Studies, 1976), 83.

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Kreiner et al., *Japanforschung in Österreich*, vii; Josef Kreiner, "Nachruf für Alexander Slawik," *Japanforschung. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Japanforschung e.V.* 1 (Jahrgang 1997).

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Josef Kreiner, "Betrachtungen zu 60 Jahren japanischer Völkerkunde in Memoriam Masao Oka," *Anthropos* 1/3, no. 79 (Autumn 1984): 67-68; Bernhard Scheid, "Das Erbe der Wiener Kulturkreislehre: Oka Masao als Schüler Wilhelm Schmidts," *MINIKOMI, Austrian Journal of Japanese Studies* 83 (2014): 9-10; Oka Masao, *Kulturschichten in Alt-Japan* (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2012), xviii-xix.

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Kreiner, "Betrachtungen zu 60 Jahren japanischer Völkerkunde in Memoriam Masao Oka," 2-3; Kreiner et al., *Japanforschung in Österreich*, 845; Hans Dieter Ölschleger, "Ethnology and the Study of Japan: A Short Overview of German-Speaking Scholarship," *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology* 5 (2004): 127; Josef Kreiner, "Masao Oka 1898-1982," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 109, no. 1 (1984): 3-6.

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Kreiner, "Betrachtungen zu 60 Jahren japanischer Völkerkunde in Memoriam Masao Oka," 69-70.

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Kreiner, "Betrachtungen zu 60 Jahren japanischer Völkerkunde in Memoriam Masao Oka," 70.

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Kreiner, "Nachruf für Alexander Slawik"; Scheid, "Das Erbe der Wiener Kulturkreislehre," 15; Kreiner et al., *Japanforschung in Österreich*, vii; Oka, *Kulturschichten in Alt-Japan*, xxv.

Slawik's Life and Academic Environment

The following outline of Slawik's life and academic environment is based on biographical sketches and obituary notes left by his former students such as Josef Kreiner, as well as from his own reflections. All in all, Slawik's biography is well recorded, with his most acclaimed writings also made available to a Japanese readership.³

Slawik was born in Budweis on December 27, 1900. Since his father worked in the military, he spent his childhood and youth in the main garrison cities of the Austrian Empire. Following his father's advice, he first trained as a machinist before studying law. His interest in Japan and East Asia had already been sparked in early childhood by news of the Russo-Japanese war. Thus, he began to study the Japanese classics while still at school. Yet it was not until his thirties that Slawik was able to devote himself seriously to the study of Japan. In Vienna, this was possible under the sinologist Arthur von Rosthorn (1862-1935). However, Rosthorn had only guest status at Vienna University and was unable to confer degrees.⁴ Under the influence of Oka Masao, Slawik finally decided to continue the study of Japan and East Asia within the framework of *Völkerkunde*, with his main focus on early contacts between Japan, Korea, and China.⁵

Oka's stay in Vienna from 1929 to 1935 was initially financed by Shibuzawa Keizō (1896-1963), a banker and politician with high interest in folklore, who planned to accelerate the development of ethnology in Japan.⁶ Fascinated by the work of Wilhelm Schmidt (1868-1954), Oka embarked on a PhD course under Schmidt and his student Wilhelm Koppers (1886-1961), also taking classes with the Southeast Asia specialist Robert von Heine-Geldern (1885-1968), who was already at that time voicing criticism toward Schmidt's teaching of culture circles (*Kulturkreislehre*).

In 1933, Oka handed in his dissertation, but kept working on further volumes. Slawik had been involved in Oka's work as an assistant. Both shared their collected materials with each other. Slawik in turn finished his dissertation in 1936. He certainly profited from Oka's materials given the fact that it was impossible for him to travel to East Asia at that point in time.⁷ Oka, on the other hand, is said to have benefitted from the materials that Slawik had collected when preparing his first dissertation under Rosthorn.⁸

In 1935, Oka left Vienna in order to assist Wilhelm Schmidt on his travels in Japan, Korea, and China while also trying to gain funds to establish a chair for himself in Vienna.⁹ For Slawik, a post was planned at Fujên University in Beijing, a Catholic University run by Wilhelm Schmidt's order, the Society of the Divine Word (SVD), even though it usually employed only missionaries. However, after Slawik finished his doctorate in 1936, the war between Japan and China thwarted this plan. In early 1938, Oka arrived back in Vienna to establish a Japan Institute and a library funded by Baron Mitsui Takaharu. Only a short while later, the *Anschluss* of Austria to Nazi Germany forced many scholars, including Schmidt, Koppers, and Heine-Geldern, into exile. The foundation of the Japan Institute had to wait another year and was put under the control of the Oriental Institute, yet Oka could stay in Vienna as a guest professor and Slawik became his assistant. Slawik soon had to take over, for Oka returned to Japan in the late 1940s.¹⁰

As an SA member, Slawik stayed in Vienna as lecturer until he was summoned to join the war as a Wehrmacht soldier in 1940, serving as Japanese translator

11

Günther Haasch, *Die Deutsch-Japanischen Gesellschaften von 1888 bis 1996* (Berlin: Edition Colloquium, 1996), 314; Kreiner et al., *Japanforschung in Österreich*, 112-14; Josef Kreiner, *Nihon minzokugaku no senzen to sengo. Oka Masao to Nihon Minzokugaku no kusawake* (Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 2013), 12-13. Slawik is considered as an “early, illegal Nazi,” meaning that he had sympathies for the National Socialists long before the *Anschluss*. Bernhard Scheid, “Der Ethnologe als Geburtshelfer nationaler Identität: Oka Masao und seine Netzwerke 1935–1945,” in *Völkerkunde zur NS-Zeit aus Wien (1938-1945)*, ed. Andre Gingrich and Peter Rohrbacher (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2021), 212; Brigitte Steger, “The Strangers and Others: The Life and Legacy of the Japanese Ethnologist Oka Masao,” *Vienna Journal of East Asian Studies* 11 (December 2019): 76, 83. After the war, his talent in Japanese was recommended, as becomes evident in Target Intelligence Committee, “Report by Uffz, Hein W. Beyreuther on the Organisation of OKW/CHI,” *TICOM Report* no. 1-150 (October 1945). The complete TICOM archive is available at www.archive.org.

12

Kreiner et al., *Japanforschung in Österreich*, vii.

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Kreiner et al., *Japanforschung in Österreich*, vii-viii.

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Sepp Linhart, *Japan. Sprache, Kultur, Gesellschaft. Festschrift zum 85. Geburtstag von Univ. Prof. Dr. Alexander Slawik und zum 20-jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Japanologie der Universität Wien* (Vienna: Literas Universitätsverlag, 1985), 3; Kreiner et al., *Japanforschung in Österreich*, viii, 114.

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Kreiner, “Nachruf für Alexander Slawik”; Kreiner et al., *Japanforschung in Österreich*, 85.

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Alexander Slawik, “Kulturschichten in Altkorea” (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 1936), viii.

in Berlin’s Upper Army Command.¹¹ After the war, he returned to Austria from confinement as a prisoner of war, but was for some time dismissed from public service due to his Nazi past. In 1948, however, he was able to return to academia at the Institut für Völkerkunde, where he habilitated in 1952, pursuing research on the Ainu.¹²

From then on, he strove to establish the study of Japan as an independent field. It was not until 1956 that he was able to set foot on Japanese soil for the first time to conduct research there. In 1958, he became head of the Japan section within the Vienna ethnology department, and in 1965, he finally realized his aim to establish the Institute for Japanese Studies. Until his retirement, he and his students conducted the so-called Aso Project, a full-fledged survey of Kyūshū’s Aso region.¹³ Overall, Slawik’s research activities covered the fields of early contacts between China, Korea, and Japan, the Ainu, the origins of the Japanese language, as well as Shintō and folk beliefs. In pursuing these studies, he advocated a holistic study of Japan as “Japanology,” not only in the limited framework of philology but rather as part of cultural studies and the social sciences.¹⁴ It is often mentioned that he took Japan as “one among many,” in a way free of exoticism or orientalism.¹⁵ In the following paragraphs we will see which role Korea had in the formation of such perceptions.

A Close Reading of *Kulturschichten in Altkorea* (1936)

About the Book overall and its Introduction

Slawik’s *Kulturschichten in Altkorea* follows the same structure as Oka’s dissertation, *Kulturschichten in Alt-Japan*. However, Slawik’s book already ends with the description of material culture, while Oka’s work continues with chapters on spiritual culture, society, and a concluding evaluation. As stated in the introduction, Slawik intended to write five subsequent volumes. Volume Two was to deal with mythology and religion; Volume Three with shamanism, magic, sacrifice, and burial; Volume Four with society; and Volume Five with linguistics. A last, sixth volume entitled “cultural-historical connections” was apparently to be a summary of the results and a conclusory assessment. If Oka’s work was already monumental, Slawik had even more ambitious plans, but they never came to fruition. It is most disappointing that the one volume Slawik wrote ends abruptly and without any conclusion. Still, his work contains his assessment of prior research by Japanese, a few Korean, and a few Western scholars, making it possible to outline his personal convictions.¹⁶

The book starts out with an introduction to the old Chinese and Korean literature on Korea and Manchuria’s earliest times. This introduction features suitable source criticism and is followed by a review of the major secondary literature. In the next section, Slawik sets out to describe in a strictly descriptive way the various items and artifacts of the different ages (stone age, neolithic age, proto-history, and periods of transition), also touching upon topics reserved for a later volume, such as burial and grave-related practices. He continues with descriptions of the different ethnicities that lived on the Korean peninsula and in Manchuria, before finally dealing with ergology (the study of human activity),

17

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," iv.

18Such as Torii Ryūzō and Shiratori Kurakichi, as introduced below. Scholl, *Die Konstruktion von Gleichheit und Differenz*, 197-99.**19**

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," iv.

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Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," iv.

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Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," v-vi.

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Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," vi.

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Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 7.

24For example, his discussion of the Susanoo myth or concerning political systems, showing familiarities between the *kolpum* system in Silla and the Japanese *kabane* system. See Oka, *Kulturschichten in Alt-Japan*, 96-98, 769-71.**25**Alexander Slawik, "Die Susanowos: Vielerlei Gestalten unter einem Namen, ihre Mythen, Sagen und die ältesten chinesischen Japanberichte," *Festgabe für Nelly Naumann*, ed. Klaus Antoni (Hamburg: Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1993), 341-51.

mostly concerning labour but to a degree encompassing all aspects of material culture. The book's appendix features handwritten tables, maps, and illustrations of the artifacts described by Slawik. There is no photographic material.

Given the fact that the book lacks a conclusion, Slawik's motivations and expectations for his work can only be inferred from the introduction. He opens by explaining the sheer impossibility to delimit Korean antiquity spatially and temporally. As the last part of Korean antiquity, he gives Korea's unification by Silla forces in 668. Spatially, the early people settling on the Korean peninsula, the Mo and the Han, extended their spheres of livelihood into Manchuria.¹⁷ Thus, from his first page of writing it becomes evident that Manchuria will be an intrinsic part of his work, which often appeals to ideas of the unity and inseparability of Korea from the continent. Slawik thus shared the ideas of Japanese scholars who "saw the history of Manchuria and Korea as one" (Jp. *Man-Sen-shikan*).¹⁸ To him, the dwelling place of later "Koreans" was the area from the peninsula up to at least Changchun in Manchuria.

As a motivation for his work, he mentions that a methodologically consistent, secure cultural-historical reconstruction of Korean culture was still missing, even if Japanese as well as European and American scholars had dealt with the subject. Here, he explains that due to its geographical position in pre- and proto-history, Korea was a "transit area and refuge for many cultures and peoples, which left sometimes stronger, sometimes weaker cultural and ethnic layers on the peninsula."¹⁹ This is an important addition to the common image of Korea as a "bridge" between China and Japan. The image of Korea as a bridge usually obscures the fact that it is migrating people that enable cultural transfer, but Slawik emphasizes the human being as an agent of transfer. He further stated that being situated next to a high culture such as China, Korea had difficulties in developing independently. Here he avoids talking about the fact that Korea was a part of Japan at the time of writing. He does not comment on the cultural level of Japan, while at least in Japanese academia at that time it was normal to always highlight Japan's higher level of civilization (*mindō*) compared to Korea as well as to China.²⁰

Slawik describes China's "occupation" of southern Manchuria and Korea as "fascinating" because the small Chinese commanderies were able to develop centres of high (Chinese) culture among such (rather barbarian) neighbours. This meant to Slawik that Korea could not prevent coming under Chinese influence: Chinese high culture was carried heavily into the ruling elite of Korea. He assumes that Korean, "pre-Chinese elements" were at least partially destroyed.²¹ In this respect, Slawik praised the efforts of contemporary "Korean and Japanese scholars," who collected as much folkloristic material as possible. The only mention of Japan's colonialization occurs in a statement that Koreans did not understand the importance of ethnological research and methodology prior to "the occupation": since then, Japanese scholars had made this their task, and now young Koreans were eager to learn from them.²²

Nonetheless, a lack of "clear and unified results" indicated methodological weaknesses among Japanese researchers. Slawik hoped to improve this state of affairs by applying Oka's methodology.²³ While Oka in his own dissertation deals with immaterial culture, Slawik never came as far.²⁴ He made only one comment on the immaterial culture of Korea that can be traced today, which states that heaven and ancestor worship were a common factor of the diverse peoples on the Korean peninsula. This was, however, not part of his thesis.²⁵

26

Slawik relied on a translation of parts of these two books dealing with Korea made by the sinologist Edward H. Parker, "On Race Struggles in Korea," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 18 (1889-1890): 157-228.

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The memorial stele for the 19th king of the Koguryō period, Kwanggaet'o (374-413), was discovered in the 1870s and attracted immense scholarly attention in East Asia. It is located in what is now Jilin province, China, and inscribed with about 1,800 characters, some of which are illegible due to damage to the stele. There is also debate about the correct interpretation of its contents. The stele gives important information on the war campaigns of this time, including campaigns against the Wa. Much information could be corroborated with *Samguk sagi*. For a summary of the issues with the stele in the past and its (geo)political implications today, see Amrita Mukunda, "The Kwanggaeto Stele: Reviving the Past," *The John Hopkins University East Asian Studies Forum and Review* (Fall 2022): 4-18.

28

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 1-5, 7, 9.

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Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 9-11.

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Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," v-vi.

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Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 14-15.

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Fukuda Tokuzō, *Die gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung in Japan* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1900).

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See Pang Kie-Chung, "Paek Nam-un and Marxist Scholarship during the Colonial Period," in *Landlords, Peasants and Intellectuals in Modern Korea*, ed. Pang Kie-Chung and Michael D. Shin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005); Pang, Pang Kie-Chung, *Hanguk kunhyōndaesa sasang yōn'gu: 1930-40nyōndaek Paek Nam-unŭi hangmungwa chōngch'i kyōngje sasang* (Seoul: Yōksa pip'yōngsa, 1992).

Primary and Secondary Sources used by Slawik

Among the Chinese primary literature, Slawik used the *Qianhanshu* 前漢書 (*Book of Han*, 111), the *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (*Book of the Later Han*, compilation finished in the 6th century),²⁶ and the *Weizhi* 魏志 (*Chronicles of Wei*) from the *Sanguozhi* 三國志 (*Records of the Three Kingdoms*, late 3rd century). The *Shiji* 史記 (*Records of the Grand Historian*, 91 BC), the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 (*Classic of Mountain and Seas*, 400 BC), the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注 (*Commentary on the Water Classic*, compiled during the Wei Dynasty, 386-534), as well as the chronicles of all following dynasties up to Tang are cited by Slawik a few times. Due to its many illustrations, the *Gaolidujing* 高麗圖經 (*Illustrations from Koryō*, 1167), a book of the Song Dynasty (960-1279) dealing exclusively with Koryō, was especially valuable to Slawik.

Primary Korean sources are the Korean classics *Samguk sagi* (1145) and *Samguk yusa* (1281). The *Tongguk yochi sŏngnam* 東國輿地勝覽 (*Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*, 1611) and the *Koryō-sa* 高麗史 (*History of Koryō*, 1451) are cited as well. It is surprising that Slawik makes extensive use of the text on the Kwanggaet'o Stele,²⁷ which at the time of his writing was still a rather "new" discovery. He takes the stele as proof that Koguryō had used Chinese characters before Paekche and Silla, but does not comment on the stele's content about Imna/Kaya and its relations to the other kingdoms or Japan.²⁸

His remarks on *Samguk sagi* and *Samguk yusa* are in line with present-day source criticism toward them. He writes that for both books a "thorough textual criticism" has yet to be made, reiterating the influence of Chinese ideology and phraseology in their composition. Both books refer to unknown Chinese sources and now extinct Korean sources. Slawik suspects that some of these sources were also employed in the *Nihon shoki*, but considers all these books to be more valuable for history, geography, and linguistics than for ethnography.²⁹ In Slawik's verdict, old Korean literature was lacking in folkloristic material: both books, he argued, showed a strong Chinese and Buddhist influence.³⁰ The only exception was the *Tongguk yochi sŏngnam*, which complemented *Samguk Sagi* with records of local manners and customs from all over Korea. In his source criticism, we see again a bias in favour of Japan: compared to Japanese works such as *Kojiki* (712), *Nihon shoki* (720), and other records, the Korean materials are considered meagre.³¹

In his bibliography of secondary literature, he applies less scrutiny than to his primary sources, listing all his sources in order of appearance without distinguishing them according to their origin. We therefore do not know how much he knew about the background of these scholars. In the following, I characterize the scholars and their work that were central to Slawik in his thesis, considering background information and ideological leanings. However, it cannot be supposed that Slawik was aware of all this.

First of all, Paek Nam-un's *The Socio-Economic History of Korea* (朝鮮社会経済史, 1933) is the result of Paek's time at Waseda University, where he studied under Fukuda Tokuzō (福田徳三, 1874-1930). Fukuda himself had studied in Munich, where he wrote *The History of the Socio-Economic Development of Japan*.³² Paek chose a similar title and approach for his work, which takes up the task of counter-arguing Fukuda's so-called stagnation theory. Fukuda had previously claimed that Korea had not been developing and was still in a state akin to Japan in the Heian period (794-1185). Certainly, reading Paek's work must have helped Slawik to gain some understanding of Korean views on Japanese superiority discourses.³³

34

Only in later years would he argue for a more open-minded, inclusive Korean nationalism. Such views are evident in his later, more historiographical than ethnographical works. See Chŏn Kyŏng-su, *Son Chin-t'ae ūi munhwa illyuhak* (Seoul: Minsokwŏn, 2022).

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About Song, see Lim Jae-Hae [Im Jae-hae], "Chosŏn minsokhakhoe ch'angnipŭi sanp'a Song Sŏk-hwa Hanguk minsokhakŭi kil," *Hanguk minsokhak* 57 (2013): 7-62.

36

Cho Han-sŏk, "Yi Nŭng-hwaŭi chŏnt'ong sasang yŏn'guwa kŭ ūimi" *Hanguk ch'ŏlhak nonmunjip* 52 (2017): 185-211.

37

Kim Tae-hwan, "Chosŏn ch'ongdokbu kojŏkjosa saŏbeso Fujita Ryŏsakuŭi yŏkhal," *Hanguksa kosahakbo* 91 (2016), 121-41; Fujita Ryŏsaku et al., *Taishō 11nendo Kofun chōsa hōkoku: Minami Chōsen ni okeru Kandai no iseki* (Seoul: Chōsen sŏtokufu, 1925).

38

Miyamoto Kazuo, "The Beginnings of Modern Archaeology in Japan and Japanese Archeology before World War II," *Japanese Journal of Archaeology* 4 (2017): 160.

39

Yi Gŭn-u, "Shiratori Kurakichiŭi Ilbon sinhwawa Tangun sinhwa ihae e taehayŏ," *Hanguk kodaesa tamgu* 40 (2022): 207-56.

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Kanazawa Shōzaburō, *Nikkan ryōkokugo dōkeiron* (Tōkyō: Sansēidō, 1910).

Son Chin-t'ae (1900-?), the author of various books on Korean folklore and collections of old Korean songs, had studied history at Waseda University. His interests reached into ethnology, sociology, and cultural studies in general. In Korea, he was a lecturer at what now are Yonsei University and Korea University. After liberation, he became professor in Korean history, later of history didactics, at Seoul National University. During the Korean War, he was abducted to North Korea. What happened to him afterwards remains unknown. At first, in times of national distress, he sided with nationalist historians, but mainly engaged himself in ethnological studies. Son also collaborated with Japanese scholars and published partly in Japanese, thus his research was readily available to Slawik, although the latter only used a minor paper of Son's.³⁴

Together with Son, Song Sŏk-ha (宋錫夏, 1904-1948) formed the Korean Association for Folklore Studies (朝鮮民俗學會) in 1933, the first of its kind in Korea. Here, Japanese anthropologists from Keijō Imperial University were also active, and their journal was also available to Slawik. Song Sŏk-ha studied at Tōkyō Imperial University. After the war he became professor at Seoul National University and is remembered for establishing the National Folklore Museum of Korea (*Illyuhak pangmulgwan*). He was less of a theorist than a man of the field, gathering much ethnographic material, which was exactly what Slawik needed to complement the classic literature.³⁵

The fourth Korean scholar that Slawik was highly indebted to was Yi Nŭng-hwa (李能和, 1869-1943). Among the above authors, he is most severely criticized for his collaboration with Japan. He undertook studies on Korean Buddhism and was involved in the compilation of the *Hanguksa* series about Korean history commissioned by the Governor-General of Korea.³⁶

In comparison to these few Korean scholars, Slawik referred more often to research by Japanese scholars. He benefitted most from a project ordered by the Governor-General and led by Umehara Sueji (梅原末治, 1893-1983), a Kyōto University Professor working first on Chinese archaeology, then crossing into the study of Korea with a focus on Manchuria. Fujita Ryōsaku (藤田亮策, 1862-1960), an archaeologist with a background in medical science at Keijō Imperial University, had also taken part in it, later collaborating with Yi on the above-mentioned compilation of the *Korean History* series.³⁷ Hailing from Kyōto Imperial University, Hamada Kōsaku, also known as Hamada Seiryō (濱田耕作/青陵, 1881-1938) and often cited as one of those who established archaeology in Japan, offered Slawik detailed descriptions of pottery from the Silla dynasty.³⁸

Slawik also makes use of studies of scholars that proposed a common ancestry between the Koreans and the Japanese or even beyond. But while central scholars of this set of topics, such as Shiratori Kurakichi, Kanazawa Shōzaburō, and Torii Ryūzō, are well represented in his work, the work of Kita Sadakichi (喜田貞吉, 1871-1939) is missing. Shiratori Kurakichi (白鳥庫吉, 1865-1942), professor at Tōkyō Imperial University, studied history and mythology and made a name for himself with his theory that the Yamatai state was originally located in Kyūshū. He studied Asia in a vast geographic sense and was keen to explain common ancestry not only between the Koreans and Japanese but also between the Japanese and Chinese, becoming one of the central proponents of oriental history.³⁹ Kanazawa Shōzaburō (金沢庄三郎, 1872-1967) first attempted to explain a common ancestry between the Koreans and Japanese from a historical-linguistic perspective.⁴⁰ From then on, he also conducted fieldwork on the Mongolian and Manchurian language(s). After becoming professor at Kokugakuin University, he continued to

41

Yet in his later years, he stopped his research because his findings rather tended to point to Korean superiority in ancient times. This stance already becomes evident from his foreword, but especially the introduction. Kanazawa Shōzaburō, *Nissen dōsoron* (Tōkyō: Tōkō shoin, 1929), 7. About his research and his perception see Ishikawa Ryōko, *Kanazawa Shōzaburō: Chi to tami to go to wa aivakatsubekarazu* (Kyōto: Minerva shobō, 2014).

42

About Torii see Torii Ryūzō o kataru kai, ed., *Torii Ryūzō no gakumon to sekai* (Kyōto: Shibunkaku, 2020); Sekine Hideyuki, "Torii Ryūzō Ilbon minjok kiwonnonēsōūi nambanggye minjok," *Ilbon munhwa yōn'gu* 40 (2011): 257-79. The lifelong appreciation Slawik held for Torii is also evident in how Slawik continuously benefitted from Torii's research when working on the Ainu after the war.

43

Oka, Kulturschichten in Alt-Japan, passim; Chōin Sang-u, "1910-1920nyōndae ilje kwanhakjaūi hanguk yōn'gu: Kuroita Katsumi, Torii Ryūzō, Imanishi Ryūūi chungsimūro," *Hanguk yōn'gu sentō yōnbo* 8 (2008): 9-25. A minor paper of Kita is cited only once as op. cit. from Oka, spelling Kita's name as Kida (Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 87). Imanishi Ryū, another central scholar, is only cited very rarely and not given any prominence in his overview of literature. For more details on Kita, see the paper of Sekine Hideyuki in this issue.

44

Yi Kye-hyōng, "Iljeūi dae-Han 'Pohogukhwa' ch'ujingwa Hakjongch'amyōgwan Shidehara Tairaūi singmin kyoyuk jōngch'aek," *Sūngsil sahak* 49 (2021): 91-112.

45

Tsukiyama Jisaburō, *Mitake Yonekichi. Sono hito to gakumon* (Tōkyō: Tosho bunkasha, 1983).

46

Petra Karlova, "Orientalism in Pre-War Japanese Ethnology: The Case of Matsumoto Nobuhiro's Writings on Southeast Asia between 1933-1939," *Ajia taiheiyō kenkyūka ronshū* 29 (2015): 1-19.

write about common ancestry, also partly detached from linguistics. It is striking that this study was neither mentioned nor cited by Slawik. Was Slawik aware that Kanazawa was considered an apologist of Japanese imperialism?⁴¹ Torii Ryūzō (鳥居龍藏, 1870-1953) was one of the most proficient Japanese anthropologists, his work encompassing ethnology-ethnography, archaeology, and folklore. He began writing articles in his youth, outside academia, before becoming a student at Tōkyō Imperial University. Torii was less of a theorist than a man of fieldwork. Shortly after the annexation of Korea, he was invited to do research there. This led to his corrections of earlier assumptions about Koguryō when he was able to show that most artifacts attributed to that culture had a Chinese origin. It is from Torii that Slawik formed his conviction of Koguryō's Chinese roots, even going beyond a Korean-Japanese common ancestry.⁴² It must have been this mindset that made Slawik ignore other work, like that of Kita Sadakichi, that was based more closely on the Korean-Japanese link. Although Kita also believed in strong connections to Manchuria, it is puzzling why Slawik referred to Kita Sadakichi only in a sidenote and indirectly via Oka. This is also true for Slawik's treatment of the extensive descriptive work of Japanese and Korean artifacts provided by Kuroita Katsumi (黒板勝美, 1874-1946), who as professor and museum curator spent most of his life collecting written sources and curating artifacts about Japan's old history.⁴³

Historical Stories from Korea (*Chōsen shiwa*, 朝鮮史話) by Shidehara Taira (幣原平, 1870-1953), whom Slawik cited as Shidehara Tan, is one of Slawik's main sources for understanding historical relations between Korea and Japan. Shidehara was working at the Japanese language school and served as an advisor on educational issues to the Governor-General of Korea. The book has been criticized for evidently pressing an imperial view of history (in Korea usually called a colonialist view of history, *singminji sagwan*) onto Korea. Slawik did not comment on any perceived ideological leanings but filtered out facts as needed.⁴⁴ Miyake Yonekichi (三宅米吉, 1860-1929), cited as Komekichi by Slawik, was the main curator at the Imperial Museum of Tōkyō. His descriptions of artifacts and collection overviews were helpful material for Slawik.⁴⁵

Tsuboi Kumezō (坪井九馬三, 1859-1936) was a historian at Tōkyō Imperial University who worked on the theory of history and historical geography. Slawik cites his *Waga kokumin, kokugo no akebono* (1927), which dealt with Japanese ethnogenesis and also included linguistic studies and the etymology of placenames for Japan as well as Korea up to the Three Kingdoms period. Although the introduction of the book is geared to the national agenda of the time, Slawik obviously did not heed such political inclinations. Matsumoto Nobuhiro (松本信廣, 1897-1981) held a degree in oriental history from Sorbonne University and studied anthropology and mythology with close links to Yanagita Kunio. He believed in a southern origin of the Japanese, which is why he embarked on studies of Indochina and Vietnam.⁴⁶ Another Tōkyō Imperial University professor Slawik was indebted to was Ikeuchi Hiroshi (池内宏, 1878-1952), a historian who was also employed in the historical investigation department of the South Manchurian Railway Company. Kiyono Kenji (清野謙次, 1885-1955) was a pathologist who became interested in archaeology and ethnology after a prolonged stay in Germany and France. He left behind numerous works on anthropological bone analysis, especially of the Ainu. On the invitation of the Governor-General of Korea, he also entered the historical investigation department of the South Manchurian Railway Company. Together with Ikeuchi he dealt with Chinese influences on both Manchuria and Korea, arguing that Manchuria and Korea were an inseparable

47

Ikeuchi Hiroshi, *Mansenshi kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1951-1979).

48

Pak Han-min, "Inaba Iwakichi (1876-1940) ūi Chosōnsa insik" (MA thesis, Korea National University of Education, 2010).

49

On March 1, 1919, an independence movement unfolded in Seoul, spreading quickly to all regions of Korea. A group of 33 Korean religious leaders had had an independence declaration drafted by Ch'oe Nam-sōn (1890-1957), which they signed and declared that day in the seclusion of a restaurant before turning themselves in to the police. Copies of the declaration spread through the city, circulated by students. Ensuing demonstrations took the government and military by surprise. People of all social ranks joined the movement, and it took months for the military and police to subdue it. After the movement, news of the movement and bloody clashes between Koreans and the Japanese police and military spread outside the country by the influence of foreign missionaries in Korea. For more information see Frank Prentiss Baldwin, "The March First Movement. Korean Challenge and Japanese Response" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1969).

50

Asakura Toshio, "Maruyama Chijunshi no naso (shiryō to jōhō)," *Minpaku tsūshin* 79 (1997): 104-11.

51

Ch'oe Kil-sōng, "Akiba Takashi ūi singminju ūi Chosōngwan," *Hanguk minsokhak* 40, no. 1 (2004): 509-36.

52

Ch'oe Sōng-uk, "Ogura Shinpei no Kankokugo kenkyū. Nittei kanseni no Kankokujin kenkyūsha tonō hikaku o chūshin ni" (PhD diss., Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, 2009).

53

Wilhelm Koppers and Wilhelm Schmidt, *Völker und Kulturen* (Regensburg: Habel, 1924); Oswald Menghin, *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1931); Robert Heine-Geldern, "Urheimat und früheste Wanderungen der Austronesier," *Anthropos* 27 (Autumn 1932): 543-619. Koppers was responsible for evaluating the PhD thesis of Slawik.

54

Frank Käser, *Zur Begründung der japanischen Schulmedizin im Japan der Meiji-Zeit. Vorgeschichte, Entscheidung, Folgen* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag, 2008); Erwin Tokū Bälz, ed., *Das Leben eines deutschen Arztes im erwachenden Japan. Tagebücher, Briefe, Berichte* (Stuttgart: J. Engelhorns, 1930).

unity.⁴⁷ Inaba Iwakichi (稲葉岩吉, 1876-1940), a historian of Korean and Chinese history trained in Beijing, entered the above-mentioned investigation department in 1909 and later became part of the compilation committee for Korean history of the Governor-General in 1922. He was also a staunch supporter of the theory of Manchurian-Korean unity.⁴⁸

An important figure of the Governor-General's department of anthropological investigation was Maruyama Chijun (村山智順, 1891-1968). He had studied at Tōkyō Imperial University. After graduation in 1919, he went to Korea, where he investigated the Korean sentiments after the March First Movement.⁴⁹ As the Governor-General perceived the necessity to do anthropological and ethnological work to better understand Korea, Maruyama was continuously employed and left more than ten volumes about Korean manners and customs, folk religion, shamanism, geomancy, and festivals in rural areas. He worked closely with Yi Nūng-hwa and Akiba Takashi (秋葉隆, 1888-1954).⁵⁰ Akiba was an anthropologist. He studied in England, Paris, and Germany before becoming a professor at the newly founded Keijō Imperial University in 1924, where he did much fieldwork, including collaborations with Son Chin-t'ae and Song Sōk-ha.⁵¹ Lastly, Ogura Shinpei (小倉 進平, 1882-1944), who worked for the Governor-General starting in 1911 and became a Keijō Imperial University professor in 1926, was a leading expert in old Japanese and old Korean, working extensively on Korean grammar as well as dialects before he left for a post at Tōkyō Imperial University in 1933.⁵²

Concerning Slawik's Western sources, his starting point is the work of the Vienna School of Historical Ethnology, on the one hand, and its critic Heine-Geldern's work on the other.⁵³ Regarding Korea he preferred the ethnographical work of Erwin Bälz and the less scientific Ernst Oppert. Erwin Bälz (1849-1914) was a German doctor and served as personal physician to the Japanese Emperor. Being interested in anthropology, he also travelled Korea extensively.⁵⁴ Entrepreneur Ernst Oppert (1832-1903), notorious for his attempt to kidnap the remains of Regent Taewon'gūn's father in 1867, left an account of his time in Korea.⁵⁵ Slawik was also aware of the studies by Maurice Courant (1865-1935), who is often cited as the founder of Korean studies in Europe. In addition, Slawik used language-related works and dictionaries by French missionaries in Korea.

Among Anglophone authors, Slawik referred to the American Presbyterian missionary Charles Allen Clark (1878-1961), who wrote extensively on missionary work in Korea, studying Korean Christianity and folklore. His *Religions of Old Korea* provided an overview of Buddhism, Confucianism, and even Ch'ōndo-kyo and several other "cults" to Slawik, including early accounts of Japanese Shintō in Korea.⁵⁶

In terms of linguistics and etymology, Slawik applied linguistic findings from Walter Simon (1893-1981) and Peter Schmidt (1869-1938).⁵⁷ Simon, a Jewish scholar in Berlin, dealt with the history of the Tibetan and Chinese languages. Schmidt, one of the founders of the Vladivostok Far East Institute in 1899, was regarded as the leading authority in Altaic languages such as Manchu and Mongolian.⁵⁸

Concerning the political situation of Korea in his time, Slawik learned about Korea's political issues from the works of Homer Hulbert (1863-1949), a doctor and friend of King Kojong, who came to Korea in 1886. After Korea was turned into a Japanese protectorate, he criticized Japan in his *The Passing of Korea* and was expelled from the country in 1907.⁵⁹ In the years before, he published in monthly magazines such as the *Korean Review and Korean Repository* and

55

Ernst Oppert, *Ein verschlossenes Land. Reisen nach Corea* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1880).

56

Charles Allan Clark, *The Religions of Old Korea* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1932). Ch'ondo-kyo, "The Teaching of the Heavenly Way," is a Korean religion based on the Tonghak movement at the end of the 19th century. The first leader of this religion got involved in the independence movement under Japanese rule.

57

Walter Simon, *Tibetisch-chinesische Wortgleichungen* (Den Haag: De Gruyter, 1930). Peter Schmidt, "Der Lautwandel im Mandschu und Mongolischen," in *Journal of the Peking Oriental Society* (April 1898): 29-78.

58

Also, Slawik used a Japanese-language study on Korean vocabulary by Gustaf John Ramstedt (1873-1950), a Finnish specialist on Altaic languages who conducted extensive fieldwork in Mongolia. Nicholas Poppe, "Obituary: Gustaf John Ramstedt 1873-1950" in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14, no. 1/2 (1951): 315-322.

59

Homer Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (New York: Doubleday, 1906).

60

Isabella Bird Bishop, *Korea and her Neighbours. A narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and present position of the Country* (London: Murray, 1898). Her work is mentioned only in Slawik's bibliography.

61

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 15-19, passim.

62

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 28-30. For example, a remark that with the annexation (*Angliederung*) of Korea to Japan in 1910, archaeological research on the shell middens close to Pyöngyang passed firmly into Japanese hands. Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 26-27.

63

As is true for Oka. See the paper of David Weiss in this issue.

also wrote a detailed history of Korea from the ancient period to recent times. Moreover, he dealt with anthropological questions and proposed that the origins of Korea were closer to China than to Japan. *The Passing of Korea*, the only book of Hulbert's mentioned by Slawik, does not deal with such questions but is nevertheless very political and critical of Japan. Here again, it is puzzling why Slawik would cite this political work instead of the summaries on Korean history that Hulbert had produced in his monthlies and later also published as monographs. In the same vein, his choice to rely on the adventurous and opportunistic Ernst Oppert rather than Isabella Bird Bishop, despite the plentiful folkloristic information her travelogue offers, is questionable.⁶⁰

A Review of the Central Contents

Slawik's dissertation was in essence a synopsis of contemporary research on Manchuria and Korea. It gives a survey of the material culture of that region to the end of the Silla period (935), but fails to give a clear line of argumentation, only evoking the impression that both areas are historically linked to each other. Slawik gives no clear verdict on the ethnogenesis of the Korean people, but surveys progenitor ethnicities and their respective cultures and artifacts. The book is interspersed with phrases such as "unfortunately I am lacking material" (*leider fehlt es an Material*) or "unfortunately, I could not access the works of these scholars" (*leider sind mir die Arbeiten dieser Forscher unzugänglich gewesen*). This not only shows the limitations of his research but also serves as a hint that he may have ignored some of the prior research that did not fit his own convictions. Given the fact that he worked in close cooperation with Oka, who had far-reaching contacts and a solid overview of the field at his command, such phrases should not be read as mere excuses for lack of sources or inability to conduct fieldwork; rather, they indicate a conscious exclusion of sources and opinions that did not conform to his own convictions.⁶¹ Furthermore, Slawik's ubiquitous use of "perhaps" (*vielleicht*) and "it is questionable" (*es ist fraglich*) does not correspond to the standards of present-day scientific writing, but reflects the circumstances of the time of his writing. Most of the questions he is tackling in his dissertation were unresolved, and most of the evidence at his disposal was fragmentary.

The main contents of his dissertation are divided into physical anthropology, research concerning the paleo-archaeological metal culture and the ceramics used in that age, and finally ethnological research. In these summaries of prior scholarly work, he is not shy to criticize Japanese scholarship as faulty and insufficient (*mangelhaft*), but at times also finds praise for the work of Japanese scholars due to the fact that Koreans themselves had not yet attempted such tasks.⁶² Concretely, Slawik praised the South Manchurian Railway Company for preserving archaeological material that was found during construction work. It was thanks to Japanese scholars, mainly Torii Ryüzō, that the found materials came under scientific scrutiny. In the same vein, Slawik applauded the Japanese army, which, in the Russo-Japanese war, made excavations and preserved artifacts upon building fortifications. He further thanked the Kwantung Army for similar exploits in Manchuria.

In terms of his methodology and indebtedness toward the Vienna School, it is to be noted that Slawik avoided using the jargon of Wilhelm Schmidt's *Kulturkreislehre*.⁶³ Opting for the description of cultural layers (*Kulturschichten*),

[64](#)

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 20-24.

[65](#)

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 31-35.

[66](#)

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 50-75; see also hand-drawn material in the appendix.

[67](#)

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 76.

[68](#)Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 77; see also Bruno Lewin, *Der Koreanische Anteil am Werden Japans* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976), 8-30.[69](#)

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 79-80.

[70](#)

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 82.

[71](#)

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 92-101.

[72](#)Hong Wontack, *Ancient Korea-Japan Relations. Paekche and the Origin of the Yamato Dynasty* (Seoul: Kudara International, 2010), 142-43.

it is surprising to see that Slawik uses the word only in the title and uses the term layers (*Schichten*) in only ten instances throughout the whole book.

In his assessment of physical anthropology, Slawik focuses on the skeletons found in excavations on the site of the former Chinese colony Lo-Lang. He considered these skeletons, featuring Tungus, Turk-Mongolic, and proto-Chinese elements, to hardly differ from those of modern Koreans.⁶⁴ In his review of paleo-archaeological research, Slawik, in line with Oka, criticized the typologies of Japanese scholars concerning ceramics, since they only distinguished between ornamented and non-ornamented ceramics and thickness. Slawik offered his own typology, paying attention to differences in ornamental techniques. He pointed out the uniqueness of Manchurian tripods, which he considered non-existent in Korea. Other ornamented ceramics were common in southern Manchuria as well as northern and western Korea, while non-ornamented ones were common in southern Korea and the inland areas, which to Slawik suggested two distinct cultures.⁶⁵

In his review of stone artifacts, he takes over the typology established by Fujita Ryōsaku and Torii Ryūzō. Typology aside, Slawik sides with the opinions of Son Chin-t'ae and Torii, who regarded dolmens as gravesites predating the Koguryō period. Different from the tumulus graves in Manchuria, Korea, and Japan, the proximity of the singular stones made it highly unlikely that tumuli had been built above them.⁶⁶

Scrutinizing Korean metal culture, Slawik followed the general opinion that it originated from the Chinese commanderies situated in northern Korea around 100 BC, and that it arrived in southern Korea around the beginning of our era.⁶⁷ Descriptions of bronze and iron artifacts are shorter than the descriptions of ceramics of that age. Slawik is content with a small summary that reveals that these items were not distributed evenly: in some areas, bronze and iron items coexisted, while in others, iron was available before bronze.⁶⁸ Slawik concluded from a synopsis of Torii and Fujita that the iron slag found in the middens of southern Korea indicated that the Koreans forged iron on their own, though he still found it impossible to give a final verdict on whether Koreans discovered this technology by themselves or were introduced to it by the Chinese. Still, he closes with Torii's opinion that iron culture was common in Korea and Manchuria before it arrived in China.⁶⁹ In his discussion of ceramics and stone artifacts of the metal age, he notes a high level of similarity between items from the Chinese commanderies and those of Japan.⁷⁰ Even though he discusses stone artifacts found in graves, he does not cover the tumulus graves of Korea and Japan and the similarities between them. The questions posed by the particular similarity of Silla and Japanese graves are ignored, and the role of S-shaped *magatama* stones are only briefly considered without a verdict.⁷¹ In his discussion of metal culture and the ceramics of the time, he duly mentions the graves, but does not go into a comparison of the obvious similarities of graves in the Silla era and Japanese grave tumuli. Furthermore, his discussion of weaponry falls short of the comparatively similarly shaped swords or the existence of the seven-branched sword (*Nanatsuya no tachi*) that was handed from Paekche to the Wa people in honour of their good relations.⁷²

In terms of length, the chapter on ethnological research constitutes the main part of the thesis. Providing a hand-drawn map, Slawik summarized about the proto-Korean peoples to an extent that can be called baseline, common knowledge today:

73

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 102. Chinese characters added by the author for clarification.

74

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 103-04.

75

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 105-06.

76

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 107-08.

77

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 109-11.

78

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 111. Usually called Mimana in Japanese. In Korea, the existence of this polity is often negated or attributed only a minor influence on the history of the peninsula. Seldomly it is interpreted as the base for a strong Korean influence on Japan. Hong, *Ancient Korea-Japan Relations*, 143-46; Song-nai Rhee et al., *Archaeology and History of the Toraijin. Human, Technological, and Cultural Flow from the Korean Peninsula to the Japanese Archipelago c. 800 BC-AD 600* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2022), 187-88; Pankaj Mohan, "The Controversy over the Ancient Korean State of Gaya: A Fresh Look at the Korea-Japan History war," in *"History Wars" and Reconciliation in Japan and Korea. The Roles of Historians, Artists and Activists*, ed. Michael Lewis (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 107-24. See also the contribution of Sekine Hideyuki in this issue.

79

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 115-28. Information on the Cheju people he only draws from ethnographic works by Torii Ryūzō. About the issues of Chinese immigration to Korea, namely the cases of Kija and Wiman, he only introduces Shiratori Kurakichi's ideas (Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 130-32).

- 1) The Mo [貊] people: the Puyō [夫餘] people of northwestern Manchuria, the Koguryō [高句麗] people in southeastern Manchuria and northern Korea, the Wei-Mo [濊貊] of eastern-middle Korea, the Wo-tsu [沃沮] to their north
- 2) The Yi-lou [挹婁]: eastern Manchuria, northern Korea
- 3) The Han [韓]: southern Korea, north of the Han-River
- 4) Chinese immigrants
- 5) The Chou-hu [州胡] (Quelpart): Cheju island people
- 6) Sien-peï [鮮卑/Xianbei]: western border to Manchuria, parts of eastern Mongolia⁷³

Slawik infers from Chinese sources that the Yi-lou, the Han, and the Chou-hu were autochthonous tribes with only minimal ethnic migration and very limited relations to other tribes. Long movements of the Mo and the Sien-peï are obvious to him. Ignoring the work of Kita Sadakichi, Slawik first introduced the opinion of three Westerners who cannot be considered as experts of the field of ethnology but rather as onlookers. Bälz, Oppert, and Hulbert all state that there was a Mongolian type and a Malayan type of Korean, both connected to the Yamato of Japan. The Mongolian type established a unified dynasty north of the Han River; the latter developed into Silla in southern Korea.⁷⁴ Then, Slawik continues with Kanazawa Shōzaburō, who tried to prove linguistically that Silla was of Han descent while Paekche and Koguryō were of Mo descent, stemming originally from northern China. This he complemented with the opinion of Tsuboi Kumezō that the Han were of Tungusic origin. This he called a biased opinion, without further explaining why.⁷⁵

The closest Slawik comes to actual debates in his field of research is when he raises the question whether the Wei-Mo (Kor. Yemaek) is just another name for the Mo, who not only established Puyō but could have established all of the Three Kingdoms.⁷⁶ Torii Ryūzō and Shiratori Kurakichi regarded the Mo as the progenitors of Koguryō. To Slawik, these two scholars' arguments were more plausible than Haloun's conviction that the Mo were an interpolation of later times. The question Slawik deemed central was whether the Mo and Wei-Mo were two different peoples or only a merger, but he could not give an answer.⁷⁷

Imna/Kaya is only mentioned vaguely by Slawik and only when discussing ethnological findings. He states that the founders of the "State of Karak" were "possibly of Silla origin" without offering any citation. Karak, which is another name for Imna/Kaya, a territory that is said to have come into existence between Paekche and Silla during the Three Kingdoms period, had strong links to the Japanese archipelago. Although there is still debate about its existence and the link to Japan, it is often considered a Japanese (Wa) outpost, or sometimes even a colony. Considering that the Wa are not mentioned in his dissertation, Slawik might have opted to completely put this outside the scope of his Korea-centred research. This would mean that he accepted the fact that Kaya was controlled by the Wa. It might have been also due to the ongoing debates which continue to this day. Indeed, Japanese scholars during the colonial period could find only very limited archaeological evidence of it. Slawik's thesis mainly deals with material culture, which can also explain the omission. But considering the textual evidence about Imna/Kaya in *Nihon shoki* and *Samguk sagi*, especially the central role it plays in the inscription of the Kwanggaet'o Stele, which received Slawik's full attention, the omission seems to have been made on purpose.⁷⁸ He continues with short descriptions of the various peoples, identifying many common elements between them.⁷⁹ He concludes the overview after a lengthy excursus on the

80

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 122-25.

81

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," 133-37.

82

Slawik, "Kulturschichten in Altkorea," Chapter 4. Ergology starts from p. 142. Of interest are dogmeat consumption (152) and claims that the Korean word for alcohol/alcoholic beverages (*su*) goes back to the Japanese verb *shiboru* (to squeeze) (156). Anyways, a proper linguistic reduction is missing.

83

Tong'a ilbo, July 11, 1934.

84

To stayed as lecturer in Vienna until 1939. During the war years, he collaborated with Oka in Tōkyō, translating Menghin's *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (1931). Shortly after the war he became a member of the Communist Party and, after repression by the American forces in Korea, decided to leave to North Korea, where he continued his research. See Yi Kwang-rin, "Pukhanūi kogohak – t'ūkhi To Yu-ho rūl chungsimūro," *Tong'a yōn'gu* 20 (1990): 105-36. For more information see the paper of Bernhard Scheid in this issue and Andreas Schirmer, ed., *Koreans in Central Europe. To Yu-ho, Han Hūng-su, and Others* (Vienna: Praesens, 2018).

85

Yi Pyōng-do, "Sullabik-ssiege dabham," *Chindan hakbo* 2 (1935): 150-62; *Tonga Ilbo*, May 14, 1935. For information about Yi see Ueyama Yurika, "Yi Pyōng-doūi Hanguksawa kyoyuk: 1915-1954nyōn hwaldongūl chungsimūro" (PhD diss., Sōnggyungwan University, 2017).

86

Tong'a ilbo, December 25, 1975.

Samhan states, professing his conviction that the demise of the Four Chinese Commanderies brought vast cultural changes, but the ties between China and Korea remained stronger than those between Korea and Japan.⁸⁰ Slawik finishes his review with the verdict that the Chinese cultural influence on Manchuria "possibly" extended to northern Korea.⁸¹

The last chapter of his thesis deals with ergology. It describes food, methods of fire-making, states of economy, habitation, clothing and bijouterie, body deformation and tattooing, weapons, means of transport, and art and trade. Unfortunately, Slawik does not discuss possible meanings of the elements he describes and does not draw any conclusions.⁸²

Tracing Slawik's Impact in Korea

Since Slawik's work was never translated into Korean, direct traces of his influence in Korea are impossible to assess in terms of the number of citations. Also, the author is not aware of any Korean scholar that directly cited any of Slawik's work from the original language. Given the fact that Korean researchers interested in the issues Slawik wrote about had easier access to Slawik's sources than he himself, this is no surprise. Still, there was Korean interest in him and his work at the time when he was writing his dissertation. In July 1934, an article about Slawik in the daily newspaper *Tong'a ilbo* introduced a young scholar from Vienna interested in Korean history, expecting him to have a huge impact on Western scholarship about East Asia. It proudly cites Slawik's remark that the study of ancient Japanese was impossible without the study of Korea. The article further mentions that both Oka and Rosthorn were full of praise for Slawik, that Korean ethnology was still lacking research, and that obtaining source material was an arduous task for scholars in the West.⁸³ About one year later, *Tong'a ilbo* again mentioned Slawik, reporting that he had sent a commentary to the academic circle Chindan hakhoe (震檀學會) thanks to the help of To Yu-ho (都有浩, 1905-1982), a fellow student at Vienna University who graduated in 1935.⁸⁴ Slawik's comments related to the *Book of Han* and its interpretation in a paper by Yi Pyōng-do (李丙燾, 1896-1989), a member of the compilation committee for Korean history commissioned by the Governor-General. Yi in turn published a cordial reply to Slawik, thanking him for his useful insights and expressing surprise that his research was considered in faraway Vienna.⁸⁵

In 1975, *Tong'a ilbo* mentioned Slawik a last time in an article about the state of Korean studies in Europe. Together with Bruno Lewin, Werner Sasse, and Josef Kreiner, Slawik is referred to as a scholar who originated from Japanese studies but came to understand the necessity to study Korea. The article even introduces Slawik as the founder of Korean studies in Vienna, tacitly ignoring any colonial connection.⁸⁶

Among Korean scholars, two are explicitly indebted to the work of Slawik: Yi Kwang-gyu and Chōn Kyōng-su. Yi Kwang-gyu (李光奎, 1932-2013) first studied at Seoul National University's department of history education, then under Slawik in Vienna from 1960 to 1966, graduating with a thesis on marriage customs in Mongolia. After returning to Korea, Yi became professor of anthropology at Seoul National University. In 1996, taking part in the KBS documentary series "My

87

A VHS containing this video is available at the National Library of Korea.

88

Yi Kwang-gyu, "Minjokhakeso pon Hanguk munhwaüi kiwon," *Hanmunin* 2 (1969): 8; Yi Kwang-gyu, "Hanguk illyuhaküi kwajewa chönmang," *Hanmunin* 10 (1978): 3-4.

89

There is no article by Yi up to the anniversary publication in honour of Slawik's 95th birthday. Josef Kreiner, *Nihon minzokugaku no genzai. 1980nendai kara 90nendai e* (Tökyö: Shinyösha, 1996).

90

Kreiner, *Nihon minzokugaku no senzen to sengo*, 257. Chön Kyöng-su, "Chindo Hasamiüi üirye saenghwal. Sosangsüngbae üi saengtaejök kinüngül chungsimüro" (MA thesis, Seoul National University, 1977).

91

Of course, criticism toward Schmidt and Koppers started during their lifetimes at the hands of Heine-Geldern and others, with students also often critical of the strong Christian implications inherent in the *Kulturkreislehre* (culture circles theory), and thus rather referring to *Kulturschichten* (cultural layers).

92

Chön Kyöng-su, *Kankoku jinruigaku no hyakunen* (Tökyö: Fukyösha, 2004), 45, 180, chapters 3 and 4.

93

Especially when compared to To Yu-ho, see Schirmer, *Koreans in Central Europe. To Yu-ho, Han Hüng-su, and Others*, 49.

Study Abroad" (*Naüi yuhak sich'öl*), Yi Kwang-gyu visited Vienna again 30 years later. During this trip he visited Slawik in his retirement home, styling himself as Slawik's most loyal student in heartwarming scenes.⁸⁷ His later research centred around the Korean family system and its matriarchal origins and problems, citing Slawik and Heine-Geldern. In papers concerning the state of anthropology in Korea, he explains the Vienna School to his readers, but overall shows an indebtedness to Slawik when explaining the necessities of Korean studies in Korea much in the same vein as Slawik had explained it for Japanese studies in Vienna.⁸⁸

The question remains why Yi never approached Josef Kreiner or tried to contribute to the diverse anniversary publications in honour of Slawik or the department of Japanese studies.⁸⁹ His colleague and fellow professor at Seoul National University, Chön Kyöng-su (全京秀, *1949), however, did contribute. In his bid for a critical assessment of the shortcomings and ideological caveats in the history of anthropology in East Asia, Chön was interested in Slawik's and Oka's work. With an initial interest in the differences in ancestor worship in East Asia, Chön had studied anthropology at Seoul National University and received his PhD from the University of Minnesota. After returning to Korea, he established himself as a productive theorizer, aiming to critically overcome earlier generations of scholars and to promote an understanding for the "study of life" (*saengtae illyuhak*) as a subfield of anthropology.⁹⁰ Criticizing the Eurocentrism in the ethnology during Japan's rule over Korea, he further negates the work of Slawik's teachers and is sceptical of Slawik's intake from Japanese scholars.⁹¹ He remains less critical of Japanese scholars, who in a sense had no choice but to take part in the "mobilization of knowledge," as it was the policy of the empire, while Slawik obviously had a choice.⁹²

Conclusion

Slawik's *Kulturschichten* stays very descriptive and only rarely gives verdicts on prior research or the facts it describes. As it was impossible for Slawik to conduct fieldwork on his own, it is not surprising that his dissertation lacks original research. Ordering and introducing literature remained the main task of his thesis, judging the credibility of sources and pointing out shortcomings at times. The synopsis of the texts available to him brings order into fragments but cannot offer an accurate overview of the contemporary state of research. For a work of the 1930s, his dissertation is nevertheless of considerable value, since it makes previously unknown information available to a German readership: the transfer of knowledge from and about East Asia to Europe is not insignificant. However, it becomes evident from reading his thesis that he was a young, prudent scholar, lacking the self-confidence and knowledge to be more critical toward his sources and their contents.⁹³

Even though many of the Japanese scholars introduced in his work were committed to proving a common ancestry between Korea and Japan, Slawik did not concede to the ideological dictates of Japanese policy in Korea but rather used his materials to emphasize Korean continental origins, linking Manchuria closely to Korea. Thus, his thesis corresponded with Japan's heightened interest in northern China at the time of writing, just a few years after the Manchurian

94

In 1959 he criticizes that Egami Namio's "horse-rider theory" was not well received because Japan nowadays only dealt with itself, ignoring all others. Alexander Slawik, "Theorie und Praxis der Zusammenarbeit zwischen den anthropologischen Wissenschaften von Ostasien aus gesehen", in *Theorie und Praxis der Zusammenarbeit zwischen den anthropologischen Disziplinen*, ed. Emil Breitinger (Horn-Vienna: Berger, 1959), 243-44; Sumiya Kazuhiko, *Rekishi minzokugaku nōto* (Tōkyō: Miraisha, 1996), 142.

95

Most of his further research he published in Vienna's own *Beiträge zur Japanologie* journal. Alexander Slawik, "Dolmen, Menhire und Cairns in Korea," *Beiträge zur Japanologie* 1, no. 1 (1955): 4-12.

incident. This differs greatly from what was reported about him in *Tong'a ilbo*. In this sense, a political dimension can be attributed to his work as well, but it cannot be concluded that he had given in to Japanese imperialism but only followed his academic convictions at a time in which Korea was considered as part of Japan, neither acknowledging nor rejecting links between Korea and Japan.

Still, it is evident that Slawik did not make full use of the whole spectrum of literature available at his time. The hardship of obtaining sources aside, the choices he made about the incorporation of prior research can be considered well chosen to give the picture he intended. Did he consciously not review other studies, since they put forth ideas that did not fit into his sketch of a Manchurian-Korean unity? In this study, no reason could be found for why Slawik should have been afraid of imperialism or a pro-Japanese stance. Nevertheless, to be fully answered, the questions raised in this paper need further studies to scrutinize the *oeuvre* of these scholars in their entirety and compare their findings to Slawik's narrative.

As Josef Kreiner pointed out, Slawik and Oka always considered Korea, China, and Japan as equivalent peers, and both believed in a genetic relation between Korea and Japan. This serves as an indicator for a certain immunity toward political questions. After the war, when Slawik worked on establishing Japanese studies as a subject independent from *Völkerkunde*, he opened possibilities for the inquiry into Japan from many disciplines, but personally never intended to leave *Völkerkunde* behind.⁹⁴ Having found Japan's "outer" other in Korea and Manchuria, he dedicated his life from then on to the study of Japan's "inner" others—the Ainu and the Hayabito.⁹⁵ This was also motivated by the research he knew from writing his *Kulturschichten*, for most of it had dealt with the Ainu as well.

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