

# Shaping his View of Japan : The Education of Engelbert Kaempfer

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# Shaping his View of Japan: The Education of Engelbert Kaempfer

Beatrice M. Bodart-Bailey

## Abstract

Engelbert Kaempfer left his native Lemgo at the age of sixteen after two of his uncles had fallen victim to the witch hunt of that town. He financed his studies by performing in boys' choirs that were much in demand in Lutheran church services at the time. His graduation thesis was written at a high-school in Gdansk, some 900 km from home at the late age of twenty-two on a hotly debated political topic. This essay examines how these circumstances of his early life shaped his view of Japan.

## Introduction

The German scholar Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) resided two years in Japan as physician to the trading settlement of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) at Nagasaki. Japan had been closed to foreign intercourse earlier in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. With the exception of a few Korean congratulatory delegations, only the Dutch and Chinese, or rather those perceived by the Japanese as Dutch and Chinese, were permitted to set foot on Japanese soil, living in strictly guarded trading settlements in the harbour of Nagasaki. While the Chinese had to return to the Chinese mainland after the trading season, a handful of Dutch, usually some seven people, were permitted to reside on the man-made island of Deshima in the harbour of Nagasaki throughout the year. A narrow passage joined the island to the city, and few were the occasions when the members of the trading settlement were permitted to cross the strictly guarded bridge. For the Dutch, the most important occasion was the annual journey to Edo to the seat of the government of Japan, the bakufu, to pay their respects to the military ruler, the shogun. Engelbert Kaempfer joined this delegation twice, namely in 1691 and 1692.

With the help of a dedicated Japanese student and using various tricks to fool his supervisors – such as hiding a compass under plants while travelling on horseback, pretending to sketch the plants, but recording the environment instead – he managed to put together a detailed description of the isolated country.

The period Engelbert Kaempfer visited Japan was the Genroku period (1688-1704), still famed today for its cultural flowering. For the first time in Japanese history the commoners – making up over 90% of the population – had the finance and leisure to obtain education and enjoy the arts and entertainment. It was the period when the haiku poet Matsuo Bashō (1644-1694) could make a living simply as a poet, and the novelist Ihara Saikaku (1642-1693) financed himself by the sale of his novels depicting the mores of the rapidly increasing city population. It was a period where

Kabuki performances drew large audiences, and actors and female entertainers were feted in colourful woodblock prints. But it was also the period of the government of the fifth Tokugawa Shogun Tsunayoshi (1646-1709), nicknamed the Dog Shogun since he was accused of valuing the lives of dogs more highly than those of men. Attacking the privileges of the samurai class, the authors of the historical record, generally members of this class, have often referred to him as the worst ruler of the fifteen shoguns of the Tokugawa line.<sup>1</sup>

Engelbert Kaempfer's view of this ruler was a very different one. He described him as "a great and excellent lord" and added: "Having inherited the virtues of his father, he is both a strict custodian of the law and very compassionate. From early in life he has been imbued with Confucianism, and governs his land and people how they ought to be."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, one of Kaempfer's most carefully executed drawings shows him dancing and singing for the shogun.

Previously the audience of the Dutch with the shogun had been a brief affair in which only the so-called Kapitan, the head of the VOC's trading settlement appeared on his knees crouched on the floor in front of the shogun without lifting his eyes and then retreated backwards.<sup>3</sup> But the fifth shogun decided that for the education and entertainment of his young son there should be a second informal audience where also the remaining members of the Dutch delegation took part and where the foreigners were requested to demonstrate Western behaviour, down to the embraces of husband and wife on departure. These "monkey tricks" as Engelbert Kaempfer called them<sup>4</sup> were much condemned in the Western world, being regarded as shameful submission to the whims of a heathen ruler, all for the sake of the privilege of trade. Here again, Engelbert Kaempfer's attitude was different; his performance recorded in his finely executed drawing and a song composed for the audience demonstrating that for him this was an occasion of great pride.

Engelbert Kaempfer's work on Japan was published only posthumously, but immediately gained wide popularity.<sup>5</sup> Even after the opening of the country in the second half of the nineteenth century it was considered a valuable source on Japan. Today both Japanese and Western historians

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1 For details see B.M. Bodart-Bailey, *The Dog Shogun: The Personality and Policies of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2006. (犬將軍：綱吉は名君か暴君か。柏書房、2015.2.)

2 E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitates Exoticae*, Lemgo, 1712, p. 502. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

3 Engelbert Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*, ann. & trans. B.M. Bodart-Bailey, University of Hawai'i Press, 1999, p. 361.

4 *Kaempfer's Japan*, p. 365.

5 For details on the publication see Derek Massarella, "The History of The History: The Purchase and Publication of Engelbert Kaempfer's The History of Japan" in B.M. Bodart-Bailey and Derek Massarella, eds., *The Furthest Goal: Engelbert Kaempfer's Encounter with Tokugawa Japan*, Japan Library, Folkestone, Kent, 1995, pp. 96-131.

frequently rely on Kaempfer's work for a description on how the commoners lived, a topic generally ignored by the samurai responsible for the historical record.<sup>6</sup> With the work having gained such wide circulation, it is therefore important to examine how Kaempfer's portrayal of Japan was shaped by his education and earlier environment.

### **Singing for His Supper: Engelbert Kaempfer's Musical Accomplishments**

Already during his youth Kaempfer was seen as "wonderfully gifted" and consequently particularly loved by his parents and his teachers, or so it was said in his funeral speech. Maybe that was more than just the usual praise in honour of the deceased.<sup>7</sup> The father financed part of his education, but Kaempfer wrote that his studies were not supported with large sums from home, and he had to rely on his "own talents".<sup>8</sup> These "talents" apparently were, at least in the early period of his life, his musical accomplishments.

Music came to play an important role in the Protestant church service since for Luther it was "a wonderful gift from God", nearly as important as theology. Music was also considered essential in education, for Luther believed that its practice turned students "into good, talented people".<sup>9</sup> Hence music was an essential subject in Protestant schools and also at Kaempfer's first Latin school in his native Lemgo a cantor was especially employed for it: his unfortunate uncle Bernhard Grabbe who was executed accused of practicing witchcraft.<sup>10</sup> It was the duty of students to sing at funerals and other religious occasions for which they and the cantor were paid.<sup>11</sup> Kaempfer would have practiced and performed under the direction of Grabbe, and the latter's death sentence must therefore have been all the more painful.

When Kaempfer left Lemgo as a sixteen-year old, he first moved to Hameln, some 40 kilometres from Lemgo, most likely living with relatives of his deceased mother, such as her cousin Johann Drepper, who had been appointed second vicar in Hameln in 1661 and died

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6 B. M. Bodart-Bailey, "Publication of The History of Japan", *Kaempfer's Japan*, pp. 7-10.

7 Funeral speech by Johann Berthold Haccius. Archive Lemgo, LP 6942/28, p. 46.

8 *Kaempfer's Japan*, p. 27.

9 August Gebauer, Hrsg., *D. Martin Luther und seine Zeitgenossen als Kirchenliederdichter, nebst Luthers Gedanken über die Musik und einigen poetischen Reliquien*, Verlag von Ernst Klein's literarischen Comptoir, Leipzig 1828, p.196.

10 For details see B.M. Bodart-Bailey, "Engelbert Kaempfer, the Witch Hunt and Japan", *Otsuma Journal of Comparative Culture*, Vol. 16, 2015, p. 56.

11 Karl Meier-Lemgo, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Lemgo*, Lemgo, 1962, p. 187.

there in 1670.<sup>12</sup> Student numbers at the Hameln high school had already twenty years earlier increased to the extent that classes could no longer be held in the homes of teachers and new school buildings were provided, and consequently Kaempfer would have been able to continue his Latin education there.<sup>13</sup> But already the next year he left Hameln for the Gymnasium Johanneum of Lüneburg, moving some 200 kilometres from home.

The Johanneum was the first high school to teach theory of music and was known for its “*chorus symphonicus*”. Half the year, from Michaelis at the end of September till Easter, the boys’ choir performed pieces for several voices on Wednesday and Sunday afternoons for some five hours, in addition to concerts on special occasions. Thanks to these performances “the choir boys earned so much that they flocked to the school from distant parts of the country.”<sup>14</sup> Engelbert Kaempfer was one of them, and his acceptance at the school shows that his musical talent was recognized.

It is perhaps not surprising that with all those musical performances there were complaints that students attended their classes rather irregularly.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, pastor Haccius stated in his funeral speech that Kaempfer made great progress in this school in his studies of philology, history and geography under the learned headmaster Johann Georg Kettenbeil (1624-1675). But in addition he became so advanced in the practice of vocal and instrumental music that he soon received an even better offer from the high-school of the much larger city of Hamburg.<sup>16</sup> Here the school’s rules stipulated that students who regularly performed in church with the cantor on Sundays and religious holidays also receive free board.<sup>17</sup>

From Hamburg Kaempfer moved still further north-east to Lübeck, nearly 300 kilometres from his native Lemgo to study under Hermann Nottelmann (1626-1674) who headed the high school

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12 Fr. Sprenger, Hrsg., *Geschichte der Stadt Hameln*, Helwige Buchhandlung, Hannover, 1826, p. 319. Gisela Wilbertz, “Handwerker, Hexen und Gelehrte: Studien zur Familie Kemper/Kaempfer in Lemgo”, in *Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716) und die kulturelle Begegnung zwischen Europa und Asien*, Sabine Klocke-Daffa, Jürgen Scheffler, Gisela Wilbertz, eds., Lemgo, 2003, p. 58.

13 Friedrich Sprenger, *Geschichte der Stadt Hameln*, Hannover, 1826, p. 348.

14 Ludwig Adolph Wiese, *Das höhere Schulwesen in Preussen*, Berlin, 1864, II:402, footnote 3; Gerhard Bonn, Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), *Der Reisende und sein Einfluß auf die europäische Bewußtseinsbildung über Asien*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt a.M., 2003, pp. 12-13.

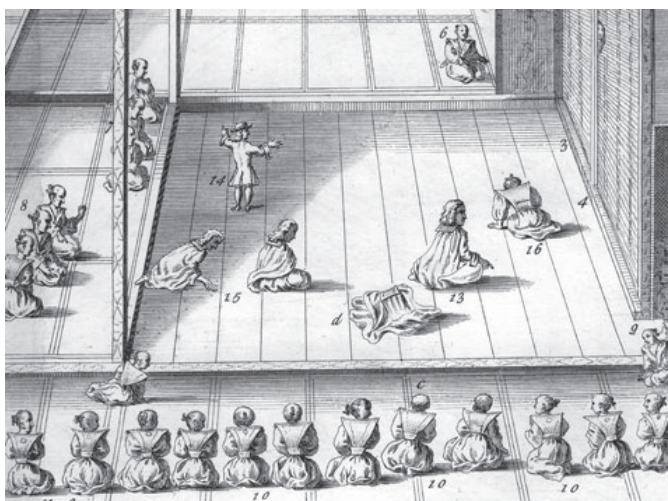
15 Wiese, *Das höhere Schulwesen in Preussen*, Band II:402, footnote 3.

16 Haccius, 1716, p. 47.

17 *Ordnung des Gymnasii* of 1652, in Johann Klefeker, *Johann Klefekers Sammlung der Hamburgischen Gesetze und Verfassungen, Der Achte Theil*, Hamburg 1770, p. 485.

since 1666.<sup>18</sup> Later he would gratefully acknowledge the teaching of Nottelmann together with that of Kettenbeil, but here again it appears to have been the attraction of monetary rewards which made him accept an offer from this school. For a student who visited the Lübeck school one year after Engelbert Kaempfer wrote that by teaching and practicing music, he earned so much that he could finance not only his living costs, but also all the outfits and equipment a student required.<sup>19</sup> Kaempfer did not graduate from the high school at Lübeck, and in 1672 moved still further east to Gdansk, at the time known as the free city of Danzig, like Lübeck a member of the Hanseatic League. Here, too, he was apparently able to earn money with his musical talents.<sup>20</sup>

Engelbert Kaempfer did not refer to his musical accomplishments in his writings. However, when in Japan he took the unprecedented step of composing a song and presenting it during the audience with the shogun. He recorded the words in his manuscript for publication. The performance of the Dutch in front of the shogun he describes somewhat derogatively as “monkey tricks”, yet his best executed drawing depicts the audience.<sup>21</sup> It shows him in the centre, delivering



Engelbert Kaempfer dancing and singing for the shogun. Adapted from his original drawing for the publication of *The History of Japan* of 1727. (Engelbert Kaempfer, *The History of Japan*, London, 1906, III:96.)

18 Haccius, 1716, p. 47.

19 Ernst Heinrich Zober, *Die Geschichte des Stralsunder Gymnasiums*, Stralsund, 1839, p. 58. The author of the words quoted, M. Jacob Wolf (1654-1723), was director of the high school of Stralsund 1697-1723.

20 Danuta Popinigis, “In Zusammenarbeit mit dem Rektor – Musik von Thomas Strutius für das Danziger Gymnasium” in Ekkehard Ochs, Peter Tenhaef, Walter Werbeck, Lutz Winkler, eds., *Universität und Musik im Ostseeraum*, Frank & Timme, Berlin, 2009, pp. 47, 49.

21 *Kaempfer's Japan*, pp. 364-5.

his song with theatrical aplomb. For him this was obviously not a demeaning performance for a foreign potentate as it was often interpreted, but an accomplished musical recital in front of the ruler, a performance considered an honour also at the courts of Europe. The drawing was to be included in the publication of his work on Japan, where this musical presentation would be recorded publicly for posterity.

### **The Graduation Thesis.**

Engelbert Kaempfer obviously chose schools that permitted him to earn his keep with his musical accomplishments. However, such schools could also be found closer to home, and it cannot be ignored that he continually moved further from home until he finally submitted his high school graduation thesis at Gdansk, present-day Poland, nearly 900 kilometres away from Lemgo. One may argue that this school, the Athenaeum, was known as academic high school or academy with a particularly high educational standard.<sup>22</sup> Yet Engelbert Kaempfer was now twenty-two, while his elder brother Joachim had submitted his thesis at nineteen and then commenced his university studies. Why did he move further and further from home to places where visits to his family required much time and travelling costs – and hence rarely took place – to finally submit his thesis late?

Considering the fact that his father had apprenticed him to a pharmacist already as a young boy to prepare him for the study of medicine,<sup>23</sup> which he later pursued, also the subject of the thesis is something of a mystery. For he chose not a scientific one in preparation for his studies, but a political subject, namely “The Division of the Authority of the Ruler into Personal and Real Authority” (*Majestatis Divisione in Realem et Personalem*).<sup>24</sup> It was a subject which was causing fierce debates in political and academic circles at the time.

The theory of the Division of the Authority of the Ruler reflected the realities of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation where the *majestatis realis* (real authority) belonged to the mostly hereditary estates and territorial princes of the empire and only the *majestatis personalis* (personal authority) was exercised by the emperor. With the Peace of Westphalia that ended the

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22 The difference between high school and university was not clearly drawn. Even in today’s German the term *Hochschule*, lit. “high school”, is used by some universities with the meaning of college or academy, while the English high school (or grammar school) is referred to as *höhere Schule*, lit.: “higher school.”

23 Letter to Andreas Cleyer, Bandar Abbas, 26th November 1687 in Engelbert Kaempfer, *Briefe 1683-1715*, Detlef Haberland, Wolfgang Michel, Elisabeth Gössmann, eds. Munich, 2001, p. 283. The Latin *puer* in this letter denotes a boy under 17.

24 Translation R. Müller-König, “Valedictio über die zwiefache Majestät, Gottesgnadentum und Teilung der Majestät“, in *Engelbert Kaempfer zum 330. Geburtstag*, pp. 15-29.

Thirty Year's War in 1648, the states within the Holy Roman Empire strengthened their independence and the imperial title held by the house of Habsburg in Vienna further declined in significance.<sup>25</sup> The division of authority among the members of the Holy Roman Empire stood in stark contrast to the autocracy of the ruler of France, and France's successes challenged the usefulness of the political system of the Empire. In his work *De statu Imperii Germanici* of 1667 Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694) sharply criticized the state of this empire without imperial authority and poured oil on the debate by calling it a monster (*monstrum*). How politically explosive and dangerous this debate was, can be seen from the fact that Pufendorf did not publish the work under his own name but in the guise of an Italian with the tongue-in-cheek pseudonym Severini de Monzambano.<sup>26</sup>

Later Engelbert Kaempfer was to meet Samuel Pufendorf in Sweden, but his graduation thesis does not mention Monzambano. Otherwise, however, he demonstrates his familiarity with publications on the subject, carefully analyzing the arguments of both sides. He himself firmly comes down in favour of the autocratic ruler. Today this might well be considered reactionary and out of tune with the image of the otherwise enlightened scholar. Consequently authors have argued that Kaempfer was simply rehashing the conservative views of his teacher, making little effort to form his own opinion.<sup>27</sup>

The three odd circumstances surrounding this thesis, namely the location it was submitted, the subject being an explosive political topic rather than a scientific one, and its apparently reactionary content can be explained if the circumstances of Kaempfer's life are considered.

Lemgo was a town with a largely autonomous government and unusual constitutionally enshrined rights. It was part of the territory of the Count of Lippe, but in protracted disputes with the latter, the town had not only succeeded early in the seventeenth century to remain Lutheran while the count attempted to establish the Calvinist Reformed Church in his dominions, but also obtained the right to impose capital punishment. The mayor and the town council were elected by representatives of the citizenry. Yet this at first sight democratic procedure resulted in a group of well-connected men seizing power and using the witch hunt to eliminate anybody who criticized or opposed their rule. The Count of Lippe was not inclined to oppose the unusually large number of death sentences pronounced by the town, for his clemency turning the painful death on the pyre to

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25 Peter Claus Hartmann, *Das Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation in der Neuzeit 1486-1806*, Reclam, Stuttgart, pp. 40, 45, 163.

26 Severini de Monzambano Veronensis, *De statu Imperii Germanici*, 1668 edition, p. 195.

27 Bonn, p. 14.



execution by the sword had to be handsomely rewarded.<sup>28</sup>

Later, in his work *Amoenitates*, Kaempfer pointed out that trial by water – which was also used in Lemgo to establish guilt or innocence – was in violation of the laws of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>29</sup> The emperor, however, lacked the authority to enforce these laws. The situation was very different in German territories occupied by Sweden. Here the witch hunt could not take place for Christina, Queen of Sweden, had outlawed it. Consequently the pastor Johann Matthäus Meyfarth (1590-1642), who had criticized the witch hunt in his publication, managed to escape punishment by seeking refuge in territory under the Swedish crown.<sup>30</sup>

For Engelbert Kaempfer the majesty with autocratic powers was no ordinary human being, but someone endowed with dignity and authority based on superior spiritual and physical development leading to the admiration and respect as well as the submission of the people. “Such rulers can banish all evil with a mere blinking of the eye” he notes, and makes it obvious that his own lord, the Count of Lippe, who profited from the many death sentences of the witch hunt, was not included in this category.<sup>31</sup> It comes as no surprise then that in the second part of the thesis Engelbert Kaempfer denies the citizens the right to share the government’s authority with the ruler. His experience had taught him that innocent people were condemned to death by the people’s government in the absence of an impartial autocratic ruler. It is interesting to note that in German folklore one frequently encounters the plot where the hero oppressed by a local ruler is saved by the arrival of a higher, impartial authority, such as for instance in the story on which Beethoven’s opera *Fidelio* is based.

Already much earlier the pioneer of the natural rights theory and international lawyer Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) had argued, like Engelbert Kaempfer, that the seat of authority should be the ruler and not the people, for Grotius too had fallen victim to local rule.<sup>32</sup> Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) has been accused of insincerity when he argues both for the rights of the individual and the

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28 Nicolas Rügge, “Hermann Cothmann, Annäherung an die historische Person des Hexenbürgermeisters von Lemgo.”, in *Biographieforschung und Stadtgeschichte*, pp. 216-217, 227, 229.

29 *Amoenitates*, pp. 456-7. According to Jacob Grimm the prohibition of trial by water (*examen aquae frijidae*) was decreed by Louis the Pious in 829. Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche rechts alterthümer*, Göttingen, Dieterichsche Buchhandlung, 1828, p. 923. For the trial by water in Lemgo see *Lippisches Magazin für vaterländische Cultur und Gemeinwohl*, (Author anonymous, Christian Antze?), Lemgo, 1836, p. 694. B.M. Bodart-Bailey, “Engelbert Kaempfer, the Witch Hunt and Japan”, p. 59.

30 Walter Rummel, Rita Voltmer, *Hexen und Hexenverfolgung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Darmstadt, 2008, p. 69.

31 “Valedictio” in *Engelbert Kaempfer zum 330. Geburtstag*, p. 20.

32 Christoph Link, *Hugo Grotius als Staatsdenker*, Mohr Siebeck, 1983, pp. 29-30.

authority of the ruler, and similar “inconsistencies” can be found in the political writings of G.W. Leibniz.<sup>33</sup> What was at stake at the time was the elimination of local power groups arbitrarily imposing their rule, in favour of laws of universal, impartial application. As Max Weber has shown, it was the autocratic state providing equal treatment for all citizens and not that of decentralized authority that lead to the formation of the modern state.<sup>34</sup> Consequently Engelbert Kaempfer’s support of autocratic rule must be seen as advanced, if not enlightened, rather than reactionary.

For Engelbert Kaempfer this thesis is more than an exercise to qualify for university entry. In his opening statement he declares that “the difficult subject” he had chosen was one “of great political importance”, establishing a connection between the contents of the thesis and the political events of his times. For his contemporaries the implied criticism of his own local ruler would have been obvious, and it is not surprising that he did not dare to publish this thesis closer to home. But he was determined to publish his criticism and had his thesis printed, even though this incurred considerable costs and it was not the norm at the time to publish the full text of a high school graduation thesis.<sup>35</sup>

Also the fact that he does so in Gdansk was perhaps no co-incidence. At the time the school stood under the direction of the famous, controversial theologian Aegidius Strauch (1632-1682) from Wittenberg. Just a few months after Engelbert Kaempfer submitted his thesis in the summer of 1673, Strauch was removed from his position as pastor of Gdansk’s Trinitatis church on the order of the city council because of his critical pronouncements and publications. An armed uprising of his parishioners forced the council to re-instate him. When, however, Strauch also angered the Elector of Brandenburg by his fearless criticism, the latter had him caught on a trip through his territory in 1675 and imprisoned him. His supporters finally managed to bring him back to Gdansk three years later where he continued his duties of head of the academic high school.<sup>36</sup> When Engelbert Kaempfer passed through Gdansk in 1676 to have his former teachers sign the autograph book he had set up in the meantime, Strauch was still imprisoned. But Engelbert Kaempfer made a point of calling on Strauch and asking for his autograph before leaving for Sweden in 1681. “To err is human nature, but not to correct one’s errors is devilish” wrote the man who suffered years of imprisonment for the free expression of his criticism.<sup>37</sup>

In view of the above it is difficult to believe that in his graduation thesis Engelbert Kaempfer

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33 See for instance G.W. Leibniz, *Politische Schriften*, edited by H.H. Holz, Frankfurt, 1966, pp. 15, 18-21, 26, 27 29.

34 Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, J.C.B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, Tübingen, 1976, pp. 815-837.

35 Bonn, p. 124, footnote 255.

36 Eduard Schnaase, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche Danzigs*, Danzig, 1863, pp. 320-332.

37 Meier-Lemgo, “Stammbuch,” p. 162.

merely tacitly expressed the opinion of a conservative teacher. It appears rather that he waited with the submission of his thesis until he found an environment where the expression of political criticism was tolerated and perhaps even encouraged.

When Engelbert Kaempfer much later arrived in Japan under the authoritarian government of the fifth shogun, he saw in the shogun his vision of the ideal ruler. Describing Japan, he asserted that the country had never been in a happier state than now, “governed by the highest authority of its ruler.”<sup>38</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Like any author, Kaempfer saw the world through the lens of his earlier experience. His musical accomplishments had earned him a living early in life, and this success gave him the confidence to take the unusual step of volunteering to compose and sing a song for the shogun. He was proud of his vocal performance, and as a result posterity has inherited the depiction of the rather curious scene of Kaempfer in theatrical pose in the inner chambers of Edo castle, surrounded by Japanese courtiers and the shogun and his entourage watching from behind a bamboo blind.

The witch hunt in his native Lemgo and the execution of two innocent uncles taught Kaempfer that not government by the citizenry, but by a central authority with universal laws was desirable. This experience not only caused him to praise the autocratic fifth shogun, a ruler whom he saw patronizing the arts and learning in the best Western tradition, but also to look at Japan without the bias with which his Western contemporaries judged so-called heathen nations. The witch hunt had taught him that the Christian church was not infallible. He remained a devout Christian till the end of his life, but was able to accept what many Christians still don't accept today, namely that the religious practices of other cultures similarly worship the divine, and hence ought to be respected.<sup>39</sup>

By a quirk of fate, life conditioned the pastor's son from the small Westphalian merchant town of Lemgo in such a way that his description of Japan, penned some three hundred years ago, has not lost its relevance and has been able to gain acceptance not only in the West but also in Japan.

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38 *Amoenitates*, p. 502

39 For details see B.M. Bodart-Bailey, “Engelbert Kaempfer, the Witch Hunt and Japan” , *Otsuma Journal of Comparative Culture*, Vol. 16, 2015, p. 48.

## 日本観の形成——エンゲルベルト・ケンペルの教育

ベアトリス・M・ボダルト＝ベイリー

エンゲルベルト・ケンペルは二人の伯父が魔女狩りの犠牲になり処刑され、16歳で故郷レムゴーを去った。ケンペルは当時需要があったルター派教会での少年聖歌隊員としての活動で学費を蓄え、卒業論文は故郷を900キロ離れたグダニスクの高校で、当時議論が白熱していた政治的な問題について書かれた。本論文ではケンペルのこのような少年時代の環境がその日本観を形成した過程を考察する。

