

# Improvements in Dutch Language Skills and the Russian Question in Japan: 1739–1805

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## Introduction

The major aim of this paper is to examine the role played by the Dutch Factory in Japan in relation to the various incidents involving Russia during the sixty-year period between the arrival of the Russian expeditionary vessels captained by Martin P. Shpanberg's in 1739 (Genbun 元文 4) and Japan's refusal of the commercial treaty proposed by Russian envoy Nikolai P. Rezanov in 1805 (Bunka 文化 2). On the occasion of each incident that occurred, the Tokugawa Bakufu 徳川幕府 consulted with the director of the Dutch Factory at Nagasaki 長崎, presented the related documentary evidence, asked that it be translated, and sought further information. The information provided to the Japanese by foreigners was therefore not limited to the yearly reports, called *fūsetsu-gaki* 風説書, that were submitted to the Bakufu 幕府 through its Nagasaki magistrate.

This period was a time during which the study of Dutch learning became very popular in the capital of Edo 江戸 and the knowledge of the Dutch language among Japanese intellectuals improved tremendously. Such educated Dutch residents of Japan as factory directors Izaak Titsingh, Hendrick Doeff and Germain F. Meijlan praised these achievements, as the thirst for knowledge and continuing efforts of intellectuals at the center made it possible for not only Dutch language interpreters but also students of Dutch learning to read Dutch books by the end of the eighteenth century. As to writing skills, despite numerous grammatical and orthographical errors, they could convey their thoughts and intentions in the language so as to be just barely legible to visitors from the Netherlands.

During this time, as well, the Bakufu's Senior Councilors, the *Rōjū* 老中, also took a particular interest in understanding world geography and the international situation of the time. This paper will also show that such interest was prompted in part by Japanese contact with Russia.

A large body of excellent research already exists on foreign diplomacy, western learning, philology, and geography during the period, and a lot of related source materials have also been published. This paper is an attempt to add to the field a new vantage point from which to view Japan's international relations at this point in time.

## 1. The Appearance of Russian Vessels and the Rise of Interest in World Geography

Russian plans to explore the Pacific Ocean were first outlined during the final years of the reign of Alekssevich Pyotr (1682–1725); however, the first expeditionary vessel did not reach Japan until 1739 (Genbun 4). The previous year three vessels captained by Shpanberg entered the Sea of Okhotsk and sailed south along the Kurile (Chishima 千島) island chain. After wintering in such places as the mouth of Bolshaya River, the fleet continued southward, and one vessel dropped anchor off the shore of the village of Amatsu 天津 in Awa 安房 Province for the purpose of sending a delegation of eight persons in search of drinking water. On the 26th day of the 10th month, another vessel anchored off the shore of Tashirojima 田代島, Ojika-gun 牡鹿郡, in Rikuzen 陸前 Province, and the crew was able to mix freely with Japanese residents there. The Russians sent tobacco and silver coins to a Japanese fishing boat and invited the local feudal administrator, village head and temple abbot, a man by the name of Ryūmon 龍門, to the ship. Upon hearing of this contact, the lord of the fief, Date Shigemune 伊達重宗, who was in Edo, reported the incident to the Bakufu's *rōjū* on duty, Honda Tadayoshi 本田忠良, and sent a messenger to the Edo residence of Nagasaki magistrate, Hagiwara Hōki-no-Kami Yoshimasa 萩原伯耆守美雅, with a report and the items given to the villagers by the Russians.<sup>1)</sup>

These items were delivered to Nagasaki on the 22nd day of the 6th month. On this same day the Dutch interpreters visited Gerardus B. Visscher, the director of the Dutch Factory in Nagasaki, and a very nervous Namura Gohei 名村五兵衛, interpreter and inspector in charge of the shōgun's purchases (Tsūji-Metsuke 通詞目付), showed to Visscher two silver coins and a playing card, the nine of clubs, telling him that five foreign ships had been spotted off the coast of northern Honshu 本州. When the interpreter asked Visscher from where he thought these ships had come, the factory director first consulted with his newly appointed successor and assistant director, who advised him that the visitors were probably from "Muscovy." A Dutch sailor also identified the silver coins as Russian kopecks.

The following day Namura came again to Dejima 出島 with a list of ten questions issued in the name of the shōgun Tokugawa Yoshimune 將軍德川吉宗. Visscher replied to them in the following manner.

1. What is the approximate size of "Muscovy" and the country to which it is a part?  
Visscher: It is 1350 miles long and 550 miles wide.
2. What is the distance by sea between Batavia and Muscovy?  
Visscher: 4200 miles.
3. What is the distance between Batavia and Muscovy as the crow flies?

- Visscher: 930 miles.
4. What is the distance between Muscovy and Japan?  
Visscher: 270 miles.
5. In what direction is Muscovy located?  
Visscher: North by northwest.
6. What does a Muscovite ship look like?  
Visscher: It looks like a typical Dutch ship.
7. With which countries does Muscovy trade and what countries have trading operations in Muscovy?  
Visscher: The people of Muscovy carry on very limited foreign trade. There are merchants from Holland, England and Hamburg active in Muscovy.
8. What do people from Muscovy look like? What kind of clothes do they wear?  
Visscher: They are a strong and healthy people who wear long robes and tall hats.
9. Do the people from Muscovy speak Dutch, English, French or Portuguese?  
Visscher: They have a language of their own, which is very different from the other languages of Western Europe.
10. Does Muscovy have churches? Are there statues in the churches? Does the Pope rules over these churches?  
Visscher: They have Greek Orthodox religious statues in their churches. They have their own church head.

It was ordered that Visscher's replies be copied down in detail, and the factory director was warned that there would be very damaging consequences if his words proved not to be truthful.<sup>2)</sup>

The above ten inquiries by the shogun concerning "Muscovy" and Russia can be divided into two types: Questions 1 through 5 concerning geographical details, and questions 6 through 10 concerning Russian sailing ships, how to tell them apart from other foreigners, their language and religion, for the purpose of deciding what to do if they return to Japan. When the British vessel, "Return," arrived in Japan in 1673 requesting that trade relations be reopened, the Dutch interpreters interrogated the English captain and confirmed Dutch *fūetsu-gaki* of 1662, which informed the Bakufu 幕府 that the king of England had in fact married a Portuguese princess.<sup>3)</sup> A similar investigation was probably done also concerning the possible appearance of Russian ships.

The questions concerning geography dealt with the size of Russia, the distance from Batavia to Moscow, how far from Russia to Japan, and where Russia is located in relation to Japan. The 1708 (Hōei 寶永 5) edition of Nishikawa Joken' 西川如見's *Zōho Kai Tsūshō-Kō* 增補華夷通商考 (On commercial relations with China and Europe, enlarged) is widely known as Japan's first text on world geography and was in fact revised based on the book, *Zhifang Waiji* 職方外紀 written during the late Ming period by Italian missionary Ai Ru-lüe 艾儒略; however, it is thought that revisions were also made based on what the interpreters had learned from the

Dutch in Nagasaki.<sup>4)</sup> These interpreters asked about the distance from Nagasaki to various points around the globe from as early as 1658.<sup>5)</sup> Furthermore, in the journal kept by the Dutch Factory we find an item dated 12 June 1684, according to which senior interpreter, Kafuku Kichizaemon 加福吉左衛門, brought to the Factory an old memorandum compiled by a group of interpreters containing the names of the countries with which they traded and the distance between Japan and these countries.<sup>6)</sup> This fact is indicative of just how often such questions were repeated by the Japanese in hope of gaining a basic knowledge of world geography. When the Russian ships landed in Japan, it was only natural that a geographical survey would first be carried out.

The fact that the Shpanberg fleet was dispatched in the direction of Japan and Dattan 韃靼 was soon reported to the Dutch in Japan from their home office, and two years later the information found its way into the *fūsetsu-gaki* of 1781 (Kanpo 寛保 1). However, since the information was not very detailed, the purpose of the Russian fleet was still unclear.<sup>7)</sup>

## 2. The Request for *Zeogarahî* and Improvements in Dutch Language Skills

During the Edo period, the word “zeogarahî” did not stand for a books on geography in general, but rather referred to the book entitled *Zeogarahî* written by Johan Hübner (1668–1731). Hübner, who studied theology and history in addition to geography at Leipzig University, was 36 years old when he wrote his first book, *Kurtz Fragen aus der neuen und alten Geographie bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit*, known in Japan as *Kokon Chirigaku Mondō* 古今地理學問答 (Catechism on geography in past and present). It went through 26 editions, amounting to hundreds of thousands of volumes. Since the book was not an attempt to offer new theories on the subject of geography, it was very well suited as a teaching tool, given its easy to understand question and answer format concerning the location, size, people, customs, bodies of water and products of the countries of the world. In Europe, *Zeogarahî*, which was read by school students, merchants, and housewives alike, was translated into English, French, Italian, Russian, Swedish and Dutch.<sup>8)</sup> In other words, *Zeogarahî* was not an obscure work of scholarship, but an easy to read and understand general work. Therefore, there is no doubt that the Dutch versions of *Zeogarahî*<sup>9)</sup> that found their way to Nagasaki were at first for the personal use of the Dutch residents.

It was in 1762 that two copies of *Geographie, Beschrijving van de geheele wereld in groot quartz* written by Hübner was to our knowledge first requested by the interpreters. The order form also adds that one copy was received.<sup>10)</sup> Because this title is not dealt with in the detailed philological notes of Iwasaki Katsumi 岩崎克己 or Ishiyama Hiroshi 石山 洋, it is difficult to identify the exact Dutch language version of the copy. Also, a cargo list dated 1763 contains two copies of Hübner’s work designated as “items purchased from a retail store for the interpreters;” and

an additional copy was entered in the inventory list for the following year.<sup>11)</sup> Neither listing is detailed enough to tell us exactly which edition of Hübner's work was purchased; however, they do tell us that this work could be easily obtained from a bookstore in Batavia, indicating that it was widely read in the Netherlands. The request for Hübner's book submitted by the interpreters in 1765 specified the long title, *Kort begryp der oude en nieuwe geographie van Johan Hübner*, which corresponds to the volume personally signed by interpreter Nishi Zenzaburō 西善三郎 and now preserved in the archives of the National Diet Library.<sup>12)</sup>

Given that 1) almost all the yearly requests written by the interpreters exist from 1729 on and 2) cargo lists contain detailed titles of books loaded on board, an exceptional listing practice, we can conclude that the import of Hübner's work into Japan was concentrated during the 1760s.

All of these books probably remained in the hands of the Nagasaki interpreters. From the signed copy in the Diet Library, we do know that Nishi had a copy of the *Zeogarahî* in his possession at the time of his death in 1778. Also, the first translator of the work, Motoki Ryōei 本木良永, was the most talented interpreter at the time, being the student of such Shizuki Tadao 志筑忠雄 and Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄澤. His translation was finished in 1787 (Tenmei 天明 7) as *Oranda Chizu Ryakusetsu* 和蘭地圖略説 (A brief explanation of Dutch maps), but did not contain all of Hübner's *Zeogarahî*, just the section on how to use maps.<sup>13)</sup>

Since the Nagasaki interpreters had contact with the Dutch residents on a daily basis, we can assume that their language skills were fairly well developed. There was probably no one other than the Dutch, who after all had sailed from Europe to the Far East via the Cape of Good Hope better qualified to instruct them or answer any questions that they might have had about *Zeogarahî*. Moreover, this straight forward, easy to read treatise on geography was an excellent textbook for these interpreters, who had just begun the serious study of reading and writing Dutch in the midst of the increasing interest in Dutch learning.

Nishi Zenzaburo began a translation of Pieter P. Marin's Dutch-French dictionaries, but he died before it could be completed.<sup>14)</sup> Requests by the interpreters for Marin's Dutch-French and French-Dutch dictionaries began in 1755. In the "request list" submitted by the interpreters in 1758, we find four sets of Marin's dictionaries. It seems that Marin's Dutch-German dictionary was also requested in 1763, but the related cargo list states, "there is no doubt Marin's Dutch-German dictionary does exist, but we were unable to obtain it."<sup>15)</sup> It seems that while Marin's Dutch-French dictionaries could be purchased in any bookstore, the Dutch-German edition was not readily available on a retail basis, probably due to a lack of demand from Batavian readers.

The French-Dutch dictionary was used in eighteenth century Japan as a Dutch dictionary, not as a tool for studying French. In Ōtsuki Gentaku's *Rangaku Kaitei* 蘭學階梯 (Dutch learning primer), it is stated that Marin's dictionary was similar to Chinese dictionaries in giving detailed definitions using Dutch words that students have already learned.<sup>16)</sup> As soon as the interpreters became able to

use this dictionary without any trouble, their Dutch reading skills must have improved by leaps and bounds.

In 1784 the board of directors 十七人會, known as the Heeren XVII, of VOC headquarters in the Netherlands inquired of the Batavia-based East India governor-general:

We have heard that when Dutch visitors arrive in Japan, the Japanese are waiting for further information about what they have learned from books and have heard about events in Europe. Is knowledge of Dutch limited only to Japanese interpreters? Please inform us as to how Dutch is being currently used in Japan.

This excerpt from the Heeren XVII's inquiry arrived in Nagasaki in 1786. Johan F. van Rheede tot de Parkeleer, the Dutch factory director at the time, wrote the following reply in the margin of this communiqué:

“Although knowledge of Dutch is mainly limited to the interpreters, we also find among Dutch speakers the most distinguished people in Edo who apply their utmost diligence in the study of Dutch. Factory Director Isaac Titsingh on the off-season during 1782–3 sent monthly letters to Edo with the tacit compliance of a brave magistrate of Nagasaki, Kuze Tango-no-Kami 久世丹後守, asking for questions on all kinds of subjects about which he was eager to receive detailed information. The replies to his letters were handed to him unopened. Although the answers were written in imperfect Dutch, they served his purpose. He would correct the errors and send them back with his next letter, in order that the correspondence would mutually benefit both parties.”<sup>17)</sup>

Unfortunately, early correspondence between Titsingh and his friends in Edo has not been found; however, attached to a letter written in 1789 to Titsingh, then director of the Bengal-Chinsura Dutch Factory, by the Daimyō 大名 of Fukuchiyama 福知山 fief in Tanba 丹波 Province, Kutsuki Masatsuna 朽木昌綱, there were additional pages with replies to Titsingh's inquiries concerning the origins of the Japanese, Japan's relations with China, Chinese characters, and the year of the former shogun's death. A postscript was also added, saying in very polite language, “I would be very grateful if you would correct this letter and send it back to me.”<sup>18)</sup> Here we observe the well-known scholar of Dutch learning, Kutsuki, ambitiously involved in improving his Dutch by carrying on correspondence “mutually beneficial to both parties.”

Behind the rapid improvement in Dutch language skills among the top scholars in Edo was the step taken from the Tanuma 田沼 era to allow these scholars to visit the Dutch who were in attendance at Edo at their Nagasakiya quarters. Such figures as Katsuragawa Hosan Kuninori 桂川甫三國訓, the

shōgun's personal physician, his son Hoshū Kuniakira 甫周國瑞, Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良澤 (蘭化), Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白, Aoki Konyō 青木昆陽 and Hiraga Gennai 平賀源内 were thus given the opportunity to meet and converse with the Dutch in Edo.<sup>19)</sup> It is said that when Titsingh attended in Edo twice during his career, Kutsuki Masatsuna visited him daily and would not leave until 12 o'clock in the evening.<sup>20)</sup>

The genuine efforts by Japanese to read and write Dutch, marked by the import of Hübner's *Zeogarahi* and Marin's dictionaries, suddenly spread from the interpreters in Nagasaki to students of Dutch learning in Edo. Within a very short interval of time, the language skill differences that had existed between the two groups disappeared. The Dutch written by the Japanese was apparently of such a bold and reckless style that Titsingh took steps to warn his successor Petrus T. Chassé in private correspondence, "it is not worth making a fuss over the ghastly, error-filled translations prepared by the Japanese."<sup>21)</sup>

### 3. The Origins and Development of the Russian Question

Probably the best known incident in Japan-Russian relations during the latter half of the eighteenth century occurred in 1771 (Meiwa 明和 8), when Hungarian adventurer Baron Mórítz Aladár von Benyovszky entered Japanese waters and attempted to correspond with the director of the Dutch Factory.<sup>22)</sup>

The six letters sent to the factory director by Benyovszky were written in very difficult to understand German. When asked for translations of the letters, the director had his German assistant, Ernst R. C. Bekstein render them into Dutch. The last letter informed that two galliots and a frigate from Kamchatka sailed around Japan and set down all their findings in a plan, in which an attack on Matsumae 松前 and neighboring islands has been fixed for the next year. For this purpose a fortress has been built on the Chishima 千島 (Kurile) island nearest to Kamchatka, and ammunition, artillery, and a magazine have been readied. The Director attached to this translation a personal letter addressed to the Nagasaki magistrate saying that the person who had signed the translated letter, "Bengoro" (Benyovszky), was a complete foreigner to the Dutch, and the content of the letter should not be necessarily taken as the truth.<sup>23)</sup> Actually, both the former and newly appointed factory directors at the time, Daniel Armenault and Arend W. Feith, had absolutely no interest in Russian affairs and did not consider using these letters to urge the Japanese to be on their guard concerning the Russians.

The reason why Benyovszky reported such false information remains unclear; however, the Japanese intellectuals who visited Nagasaki at the time did not dismiss the warning as empty rumor. Hirasawa Genkai 平澤元愷 jotted the information down in 1774 (An'ei 安永 3) when he was told of the warning by interpreter Matsumura Kiminori 松村君紀. Also, Miura Baien 三浦梅園 was told by interpreter Yoshio Kōgyū 吉雄耕牛 that the northern portion of the land of the Ezo 蝦夷 (Ezochi 蝦夷地: present day Hokkaidō 北海道, the Chishima islands and

the southern half of Sahalin) had already been captured by westerners.<sup>24)</sup>

As the result of this incident and the importance given to the Russian question by the Bakufu leaders, Kudō Heisuke 工藤平助's *Akaezo Fūsetsu-Kō* 赤蝦夷風説考 (Reports on the "Red Barbarians") became a far more influential piece of research than it would have become otherwise. Kudō, the son of a physician in Sendai 仙臺, had from early on become interested in the land of the Ezo. He was in frequent correspondence with Matsumae clan officials and had an excellent grasp of what was going on in the region. He was also a close friend of Maeno Ryōtaku, kin to Ōtsuki Gentaku, and on friendly terms with Katsuragawa Hoshū and Nakagawa Jun'an 中川淳庵. *Akaezo Fūsetsu-Kō* consists of two volumes, the first of which, written in 1783 (Tenmei 3), describes the present situation of the southern advance being made by the Russians and discusses what to do about it. Volume 2 is a treatment of the history and contemporary situation of Russia and Kamchatka based on knowledge contained in Dutch language sources. It was written in 1781 (Tenmei 1). The Dutch sources that Kudō used in writing volume two were Hübner's *Zeogarahî* and a gazetteer of Russia entitled *Beschrijving van Rusland* published in Utrecht in 1744. This latter work consists of four parts bound in two volumes, the first of which is a topographical treatment followed by a description of Russian history and current events. This work was first obtained in Japan by the interpreter Yoshio Kōsaku (Kōgyū) 吉雄幸作, who brought it with him when he accompanied the Dutch contingent to Edo in 1781 and sold it Kutsuki Masatsuna. Kutsuki then gave it to Maeno Ryōtaku. Since Kudō could not read Dutch, he must have obtained the translation and commentary of *Beschrijving van Rusland* done by Yoshio. Kudō presents in the second volume of his book a competent treatment of the history of Russia's interest in the Far East and the geographical relationships among Russia, Kamchatka, the Chishima islands, and the Ezo mainland. He then presents a summary of general Russian history, its attempts to expand its territory, and Shpanberg's expedition to Japan. In conclusion Kudō comments, "Given these facts, we now face a formidable foe of irresistible force." In the first volume of his work, which was written later, Kudō takes up the information provided in the Benyovszky letters, and states that it was all fabricated by the Dutch out of fear of the possibility that the Russians would try to infringe on their monopoly over foreign trade with Japan. Kudō's work was presented to Rōjū Tanuma Okitsugu 田沼意次 in 1783. Matsudaira Sadanobu 松平定信 was already in possession of a copied manuscript of the work entitled *Kamushikatoka-Ki* 加模西葛杜加記 (Gazetteer of Kamchatka), which had inserted between volumes one and two, a map of the land of Ezo and one of the Eurasian continent, including Russia.<sup>25)</sup> The fact that both the progressive Tanuma and the conservative Sadanobu had obtained copies of this manuscript, thus gaining access to the most accurate information on Russian available in Japan at the time, would have a great affect on the policy adopted by the Tokugawa Bakufu concerning Ezochi.

The Bakufu began surveying Ezochi in 1785 (Tenmei 5). It sent two expeditionary groups to Matsumae on the southern tip of Ezochi. The first group



headed east through Ezochi to Kunashiri 國後 Island, while the second headed northwest to Point Sōya 宗谷 and on to Karafuto 樺太 Island (Sahalin). The following year Mogami Tokunai 最上徳内 led another expedition to mainly the Chishima islands and Karafuto (Sahalin). This series of expeditions was the first time the Japanese had attempted to clarify in detail the geography and present situation of Ezochi territories. The survey results were compiled into *Ezo Shūi* 蝦夷拾遺 (Discoveries among the Ezo) in 1786 by Yamaguchi Genrokurō 山口玄六郎 and *Ezo Zōshi* 蝦夷草子 (Tales of the Ezo) by Mogami in 1791. Both works described the geography, customs, and products of the Ezo mainland and the Chishima islands, and also reported the comings and goings of Russian vessels in the area.<sup>26)</sup>

On the other hand, the Dutch had been informing the Bakufu in their *fūsetsu-gaki* about the Russian advance into Kamchatka. For example, in 1765 (Meiwa 2) the Dutch reported, “Armies numbering in the tens of thousands have engaged in battle in the territory of Siberia between Kamchatka and Moscow.” Then for two consecutive years, the Dutch reported that the fighting still had not ceased.<sup>27)</sup> Not much attention was given to these reports, mainly due the lack of any maps that could help link Moscow, Kamchatka and Siberia together geographically. In the *fūsetsu-gaki* of 1772, it was reported that Batavia had received information to the effect that Benyovszky had been taken prisoner in Poland and sent to Siberia, but managed to escape in Kamchatka by stealing a sailing vessel. He landed in Macao in 1770, then continued on to Luzon, where he boarded a French ship on its way back to France.<sup>28)</sup>

The Dutch also reported in the late eighteenth century on the two wars between Russia and Turkey (1768–1774 and 1787–1791), which had broken out over Russia’s attempt to obtain access to the Black Sea; however, the *fūsetsu-gaki* merely stated that “fighting between the two countries has broken out,” not elaborating on why. Meanwhile, the Bakufu and its functionaries were becoming more and more interested in world geography and events during this time, as can be seen in the Nagasaki magistrate’s request to the Dutch Factory on January 6th, 1791 (Kansei 寛政 4) for a copy of Hübner’s *Zeogarahî*, which he received, and the request by the shogun through an interpreter for a copy of Hübner’s work on current events, *Kouranten-tolk* コウランテントルコ (時事解説辭典), which the factory director was not in possession of.<sup>29)</sup>

On June 12th, 1792, the Nagasaki interpreters brought to the Dutch Factory eight letters written in Russian in 1788 and signed “Koks.” This correspondence was brought back by functionaries of finance and public works dispatched to the Ezo mainland and Chishima islands in order to ascertain if settlers from Kamchatka and Russian soldiers were present there. However, the Factory could not help them since there was no one there who could read Russian; and when the interpreters requested a dictionary of foreign terms, they were also politely refused.<sup>30)</sup>

The year 1792 (Kansei 4) was also the year when the Russian envoy Adam K.

Laksman sent back to Nemuro 根室 a group of shipwrecked sailors from Ise 伊勢 Province under the command of Captain Daikokuya Kōdayū 大黒屋光太夫, taking the opportunity to request permission to trade. The Dutch Factory had not been informed of this event, and did not know beforehand about the dispatch of a Russian envoy. As soon as Rōjū Matsudaira Sadanobu received the news of this incident from the lord of Matsumae fief, Matsumae Akihiro 松前章廣, he sent functionaries to the Ezo mainland to negotiate with the Russians.

Sadanobu had decided to deal with Laksman on the basis of courtesy and Japanese law. After all, the foreign books had written that Russian was country of formidable size and strength and did not wage war without sufficient reason. Moreover, Laksman's reason for coming to Japan was apparently to return a group of castaways to their homeland. Sadanobu's representatives told Laksman that Japanese law at the time required that any foreign vessel of a country with no official diplomatic status entering Japanese waters will be either captured or driven away at sea. Furthermore, the place designated for diplomatic negotiations was Nagasaki, not Edo; therefore, any request for trade with Japan must be submitted at Nagasaki. However, Nagasaki was not a free port; in order to enter Nagasaki it was necessary to have an entry permit called *shinpai* 信牌, which Laksman duly received.<sup>31)</sup> The fact that the Russian envoy was dealt with in as calm a manner as possible and successfully sent on his way is due to Sadanobu's recognition of Russia as a powerful force to be reckoned with.

As for Captain Daikokuya, Katsuragawa Hoshū wrote down his recollections of the ten years during which he traveled from Kamchatka to St. Petersburg and compiled them with references to Hübner's *Zeogarahi* in a work entitled *Hokusa Bunryaku* 北槎聞略 (Account of a northern voyage). Addenda to the work include a collection of ten maps, that seem to be of Russian origin, and a picture scroll.<sup>32)</sup> The main body of the work was completed in 1794 (Kansei 6), the year after Hoshū translated the items in Hübner's *Zeogarahi* pertaining to Russia as *Roshia-shi* 魯西亞志 (Gazetteer of Russia). There is no doubt that both of these works contributed greatly to the Japanese understanding of its neighbor to the north.

It was some four months later, on February 2nd, 1793, that information first reached Nagasaki concerning the Russian arrival at Matsumae and the subsequent dispatch of a team from Edo to investigate the situation. The interpreters who informed the Dutch Factory of these events were certain that the visitors were of Russian origin, but they seriously doubted whether permission to trade would be granted and that the Bakufu would accept any gifts from them. They also requested Russian maps and a copy of *Beschrijving van Rusland* for the Nagasaki magistrates. The Factory was in possession of neither. On April 29th the interpreters requested a German-Dutch dictionary (which the Factory did not have) in the name of the shogun. The Factory director was certain that the Japanese had received documents written in German from the Russian envoy, and said that he would do all that he could to help translate them, if necessary. On August 15th, a financial functionary in special favor with Sadanobu suddenly

appeared at Dejima. On that occasion Director Gijsbert Hemmij assured his visitor that the Dutch East India Company would continue to act as a trusted ally of Japan in connection with the Russian question.<sup>33)</sup>

Hemmij traveled to Edo in 1794 (Kansei 6); and in a meeting with Tokugawa Harumori 徳川治保, the old lord of Mito 水戸 fief, treated him cordially, asking why he had decided to leave Europe and if life in Japan was boring for him. Hemmij, who was standing near Harumori in the great audience hall, spoke through the interpreter who was kneeling prostrate before them, saying, “I have spent ten years in the East Indies. It is unfortunate that we have had to be received by the Shogun under such circumstances of declining trade.” And when Hemmij asked Harumori for his intercession with the shogun on behalf of the Dutch, the lord of Mito agreed. Such an exchange was unheard of. Hemmij also relates that the lord of Mito did not speak with the other lords in attendance, since his words were thought to be sacred and only worthy of the shogun’s ears. He talks of a young lord of Satsuma 薩摩 fief, Shimazu Narinobu 島津齋宣, who in the antechamber greeted him. A functionary then gave permission to tour the castle. He was then shown through over 120 rooms including the chambers of the successor to the shogunate.<sup>34)</sup> It is well known that Tokugawa Harumori was deeply interested in learning and foreign affairs, including the Russian situation. And as that situation grew more and more tense, the director of the factory no doubt became treated with closer attention in Edo.

That same year during March and April, Takahoko 高鉾 Island (Papenberg) off the coast of Nagasaki was thrice used as a target in practicing the art of firing canon. The director of the factory was present as one of the observers. It was rumored that these practice sessions were carried out in anticipation of a Russian arrival and that canon fire would be Japan’s response in such an event.<sup>35)</sup>

When Kondō Jūzō 近藤重藏 was dispatched in 1793 to Nagasaki as a secretary to the Nagasaki magistrates there, he asked the factory director about Russia. The director replied that he had traveled to Russia in his younger days, that Russia was a prosperous land well-informed about Japan, and was probably Japan’s most fearsome enemy. In the maritime defense strategy proposal that he submitted to the Bakufu through Hayashi Daigaku-no-Kami 林大學頭, Kondō quoted from the letters written by Benyovszky and argued that his warnings should not be ignored. He also cited two facts from the current Dutch *fūsetsu-gaki* concerning the recent death of Catherine II and the conflict with Turkey. He concludes that due to these two facts, the Russians were not likely to launch a sudden attack on the Ezo mainland thousands of miles away. Nonetheless, he seemed to regard Russia as a potential thorn in the side of Japan.<sup>36)</sup>

During the twenty years that had passed since Benyovszky had issued his warning, great strides had been taken in Japan concerning its knowledge of Russian geography, history, customs and Far East strategy, thanks to the books and oral information provided by the Dutch and the record of Captain Daikokuya’s travels. Preparations were being completed for the time when

Russian ships carrying *shinpai* would enter Nagasaki harbor.

#### 4. The Arrival of Ambassador Rezanov

The secret diary kept by Dutch Factory director Hendrick Doeff records the events from the arrival of the Russian ship “Nadezhda” on October 9th, 1804 until its departure on April 19th the following year.<sup>37)</sup> This diary is, together with the materials contained in the widely used *Tsūkō Ichiran* 通航一覽 (Handbook of Foreign Relations of the Tokugawa Bakufu), an excellent source for studying the arrival in Japan of Russian Ambassador Nicolai P. Rezanov. Here I will utilize it in examining the Dutch involvement in this incident.

When the Dutch ship “Maria Susanna” docked at Nagasaki on August 8th, 1804, Doeff consulted with senior interpreters Nakayama Sakusaburō 中山作三郎 and Ishibashi Sukezaemon 石橋助左衛門, and told them that the Netherlands and France had once again joined forces against the English, and that two Russian ships had set out on an around-the-world voyage carrying an ambassador, who is expected to land in Japan on the way. Doeff was concerned about whether he should include this information in the current *fūsetsu-gaki*. After a long conversation with the interpreters, it was proposed that nothing be mentioned about the Dutch-British war. Doeff hesitated out of concern that rumors about the war would soon spread, but the interpreters assured him that if nothing were written in the *fūsetsu-gaki*, any other source of the information would not be taken seriously. Concerning the Russian envoy, Doeff was told that the shogun had issued an order that he be informed immediately of any country planning to send a mission to Japan. The shogun would no doubt be very pleased to receive such information about the Russian mission and be well disposed towards the Dutch for providing it. That evening around ten all the Nagasaki interpreters gathered in Dejima to write a *fūsetsu-gaki* about the Russian mission and other ordinary matters to be reported.<sup>38)</sup>

However, this *fūsetsu-gaki*, and the following one written on the occasion of the arrival of the Dutch ship “Gesina Antoinette” found in the compilation *Oranda Fūsetsu-gaki Shūsei* 和蘭風說書集成, contain nothing about a Russian ambassador. Therefore, we can only conclude that this information was contained in special reports known as *betsudan fūsetsu-gaki* 別段風說書, which were secret documents, copies of probably did not exist.

In a letter sent to Doeff from East Indies Governor-General Johannes van Siberg concerning the Russian world voyage, the governor-general said that the Japanese would probably not be displeased to know about European news about Japan and our opinion of it. He reported briefly that two Russian ships, with an ambassador on board, would arrive soon in Japan, and included a clipping from the *Haarlemsche Courant* dated September 6th, 1803. This article, datelined St. Petersburg, August 11th, said that two ships under orders from the Russian emperor to sail around the world were launched from Kronstadt by Commerce

Minister Rumyanzov and Naval Minister Tschitschagof. The ships were scheduled to sail to Portsmouth, the Canary Islands, and Brazil, then onto the Pacific Ocean. In 1804 they planned to travel to Japan, Kamchatka, Canton, Java, and Sumatra, then return to Russia via the Cape of Good Hope. Heading the expedition was Chamberlain Rezanov, who would also act as ambassador to Japan. Van Siberg concluded his letter, saying that the purpose of the voyage was to open Japanese ports.<sup>39)</sup>

It was on October 9th that the “Nadezhda” arrived off the shore of Nagasaki, anchoring at 高鋒 Takahoko Island (Papenberg). Dutch Factory director Doeff was requested by functionaries from Edo and the interpreters to ascertain the nationality of the ship and the purpose for its arrival. Doeff boarded the ship along with the functionaries and met Rezanov, who was dressed in full diplomatic regalia. Doeff asked Rezanov in French about the ship’s nationality, his intentions, etc., to which Rezanov replied, “I bring gifts to the shogun in the name of the emperor of Russia and have come to express my gratitude for receiving permission (*shinpai*) for free entry to and departure from port of Nagasaki.” To the inquiry about any intention to seek trade with the Japanese, Rezanov replied that trade was not his present mission, but rather to find out whether or not there some basis on which trade could be carried out sometime in the future. At this point Rezanov directed his remarks especially to Doeff. After handing him in secret a letter addressed to him by the Dutch ambassador to Russia, Dirk van Hogendorp, Rezanov then read aloud a letter sent to the East Indies governor-general and his council from the directors of the East India Company, which formed the board of trustees for all the Dutch colonies in Asia, and a circular letter of introduction from Hogendorp to the Dutch directors and commanders stationed at each port of embarkation.<sup>40)</sup> Then Doeff, fully aware that the home government had anticipated the arrival of the Russian mission and fully informed of his intentions, told Rezanov, “ I will do all that I can to assist your excellency, but now all matters are in the hands of the Nagasaki magistrates; so I think that this will probably be the last time that I will be honored to speak with you.” Doeff was making clear from the start that he could not help the Russian envoy in any active manner. Then Doeff translated the Russian envoys request to dock the vessel in port and visit the Nagasaki magistrates. Finally, when the functionary asked Doeff if he had anything to say personally to Rezanov, Doeff said no and requested to be excused at the earliest possible opportunity.

The next day, Doeff was asked to return to the ship to question the Russian ambassador concerning the letter he brought addressed to the shōgun. Doeff replied that since everyone now knows the nationality of the ship and intentions of the envoy, he wished to be excused from this duty. After all, the ship’s captain and physician spoke Dutch fairly well. However, he was finally persuaded to go by the interpreters, after he was assured that this would be the last time. The conversation between Doeff and Rezanov ascertained that the Russian ambassador had been given full authority to conclude a trade agreement with the Japanese,

but similar to the previous day Doeff was unable to find out the content of the Russian emperor's letter to the shogun.

As the result of his careful examination of the three pieces of correspondence he had been given, Doeff concluded that his involvement in the various Russian demands would no doubt lead the Japanese to think that the Dutch and the Russians were on friendly terms corresponding for the purpose of some conspiracy. Nevertheless, in accordance with Hogendorp's circular letter of introduction, Doeff decided to cooperate with the ambassador's request to supply the Russians with food and normal necessities. He sent to the ship sugar, tea, and tobacco stored at the Factory and vegetables, like cabbage and parsley, grown on Dejima. He also tried to maintain friendly relations with the Russians by exchanging small gifts with Rezanov. In addition, after obtaining permission from the Bakufu functionary, the two Dutch ships that left Nagasaki on November 5th took with them two copies of a letter written by Rezanov to the Russian emperor. Each ship carried one copy to be transmitted from Batavia through Ambassador Hogendorp in St. Petersburg. Due to a ban issued by the Bakufu functionary, these ships could not return the signal from the Russian vessels when leaving port, but the sailors waved their hats in response. Upon hearing of this incident, Doeff sent a letter to Rezanov explaining why the ships could not respond to the Russian farewell signal. When Rezanov was permitted to land and approached the shore, Doeff raised the flag on Dejima in deference to the Russians. While Doeff showed the Russians all the proper diplomatic courtesies required, he was determined to block them from obtaining a trade agreement, as can be seen in a memorandum he wrote to the two Nagasaki magistrates, Naruse Inaba-no-Kami 成瀬因幡守 and Hida Bungo-no-Kami 肥田豊後守, dated October 15th:

Two hundred years ago we were granted free trade with the Japanese in a license sealed in vermilion by Shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康. For the almost 160 years during which we have been the only European nation to trade with Japan, we have continued to obey all of the regulations imposed upon us. The fact that last year the Japanese turned away two foreign ships<sup>41)</sup> that came and requested to trade is ample proof of your affection for the Dutch over the years. With regard to the arrival of the present Russian vessels, we duly reported their intentions in the *fūsetsu-gaki* that we are required to submit to the Bakufu every year. Since the Russian envoy certainly intends to demand trade with Japan, I hereby make the following request. I hope that your excellencies will not forget the above-mentioned privileges we have enjoyed for the past 160 years. During the five years I have spent here in Nagasaki, I have come to recognize the sincerity of the Japanese people and thus believe that your excellencies have no intention to revoke any of the privileges that the Dutch people have held for such a long time.

In his memorandum to the magistrates petitioning for the continuation of the

privileges which the Dutch had been granted, Doeff enumerates the license sealed by Tokugawa Ieyasu, the long standing practice of allowing only the Dutch to trade with Japan from among the European countries, faithful observance of the shōgun's orders, the good offices shown to the Dutch, who first reported the arrival of foreign ships in 1804 and informed the authorities of the coming of the Russian vessels. Doeff first showed this memorandum to the interpreters, who then showed it to the secretary of the Nagasaki magistrates, in order that no objections would be taken to the officially submitted version. The secretary was of the opinion that since the Russians were still anchored at Takahoko Island, it would be best to wait until it was clear about their intention to enter the port of Nagasaki, and the functionaries concurred that this was the best way to proceed. When Doeff asked the interpreters whether rights to trade would be granted to the Russians, they could only reply that it was up to the Bakufu. However, an interpreter, Ishibashi Sukezaemon 石橋助左衛門, informed Doeff in private that the secretary had told him that the magistrates were very satisfied with the Dutch for reporting the possible arrival of the Russians, and since the prediction came true, there was probably no way that the Bakufu would take any action damaging to Dutch interests.

The Russians were finally allowed to dock safely within the port of Nagasaki on November 10th, and the Rezanov contingent was allowed to disembark on November 18th, 40 days after their arrival. Their lodgings had formerly been used as a storage shed for dried sea slugs, and they were forbidden to kindle fire. As a result Rezanov caught a bad cold, and Doeff had to intercede with the Japanese to make an overcoat for the ambassador. A bamboo fence was constructed around the lodgings with a 1000 by 30 pace promenade (also fenced in) that could be used only during daytime. The Russians were not allowed outside of this area until March 30th of the following year, when the shogun's courier, Inspector Tōyama Kinshirō 遠山金四郎, arrived from Edo with the Bakufu's official reply: "We have long allowed the Chinese, Koreans, Ryūkyū 琉球 people and the "red hairs" (Dutch) to come to our shores, and we do not intend to establish any new diplomatic relations."<sup>42)</sup>

Since orders issued by the shogun and Nagasaki magistrates, as well as the announcement of the shogun's courier, were all written in Japanese, Rezanov requested that they be translated into Dutch. The interpreters were ordered by the functionaries to take their translations of these documents to Doeff for proofreading. They hoped that the Dutch Factory director would cooperate with the interpreters, who were told not to change the meaning of the shogun's order and leave as much of it as possible in the Japanese writing style. Since this request was made by the magistrates themselves to test the loyalty of the Dutch, they knew that Doeff could not refuse to cooperate and would comply with an additional request that he keep the matter secret. Doeff agreed to comply with the requests on the conditions that 1) after the interpreters were thoroughly aware of the words in their translations that he did not understand, he would then try to correct them to

the satisfaction of the interpreters, and 2) he be given proof that the resulting Dutch translations were accurate renderings of the original Japanese versions. The work continued until two o'clock in the morning and required four hours to complete. The translations prepared by the interpreters were so full of mistakes that only someone, like Doeff, who was used to working with them could have understood what they were trying to say.

The following day at ten o'clock in the evening, the same interpreters Doeff had worked with on the translations arrived and they carefully went over his corrections once again, confirming that the meaning of the Japanese versions had been accurately expressed. The final versions were to be taken to the office of the magistrates where four copies would be made, one each for the Russian ambassador, the office of the magistrates, the Dutch Factory, and the shōgun's courier. However, because the shogun's copy would be handed over to some physicians in the Bakufu administration who were acquainted with Dutch for re-translation into Japanese, if this version were written in too pure a Dutch style, the physicians would not be able to make sense of its content, and probably err in their interpretation of it. So the interpreters had asked Doeff to allow this version to retain a little more of its Japanese style, while making it understandable to any native Dutch reader.

On the following day, the interpreters returned to the Dutch Factory with the final version and asked that Doeff proofread it for the last time. When the work was completed, they handed him a copy of the final version of the orders and the following certificate as ordered by the magistrates:

We the senior and junior interpreters hereby verify that Mr. Doeff, in response to a fervent request by the Nagasaki magistrates, clearly explained to the Russian ambassador the orders sent to him by the shogun and the Nagasaki magistrates in helping us to prepare the Dutch versions of these documents and the statements made by the shogun's courier to the Russian ambassador. We are completely satisfied with the work done by Mr. Doeff and hereby state that the resulting translations exactly match the original Japanese.<sup>43)</sup>

There is no doubt that relations of trust built up between Doeff and the interpreters had a lot to do with the ability of the Russian ambassador to understand accurately the replies to his demands by the Japanese. They had approached the work with the sincerity that its importance deserved, to the extent that even if the translation were re-examined by such people as Katsuragawa Hoshū in Edo, it would be found that nothing had been left out of the orders that had been originally issued, while at the same time the content had been made understandable to the Dutch reader, despite retaining a Japanese style. After the departure of the Russian ships, on the Japanese holiday known as *hassaku* 八朔 (the first day of the 8th month) when Doeff was granted an audience with Nagasaki



magistrate, Hida Bungo-no-Kami, he was congratulated for the help he gave in translating the documents for the Russian ambassador and was told that everyone involved was very satisfied. From that time on, the above-mentioned Dutch versions and certificate were to be preserved as all the most important documents for the factory in the camphor wood box containing the vermilion sealed licenses issued by Tokugawa Ieyasu and Hidetada 秀忠 that guaranteed them access to Nagasaki.<sup>44)</sup>

Upon the Russians' departure, Doeff was allowed to write to Hogendorp. He told the ambassador to Russia that he had done all that he could to make the Russian ambassador comfortable, briefly noted that the Russian mission had been a failure, and concluded his letter with the words: "We can therefore be certain that the Japanese refusal to the demands of the Russians means that the Japanese will not allow anyone European but us into their country."<sup>45)</sup> Doeff's diplomatic style was remarkable, the governor-general in Batavia agreed with all of his actions.<sup>46)</sup>

As a result of a refusal to give to Rezanov any of diplomatic courtesies that Matsudaira Sadanobu had given to Laksman, the island of Sahalin was attacked by Russian ships, to which the Bakufu responded with an order in 1807 to drive them away. In 1807 the director of the Dutch Factory was requested to conduct a secret investigation concerning whether the Russian Emperor had declared war on Japan, but the only reply received was that Batavia would have to take the next opportunity to investigate.<sup>47)</sup>

It was on the 10th of August, 1818 that the results of the inquiry were handed over to Nagasaki magistrate, Tsutsui Izumi-no-Kami 筒井和泉守, by the Dutch Factory director, Jan Cock-Blomhoff.

It was ordered by the shōgun that a secret investigation be carried out to ascertain if the infringement of sovereignty by the Russians on Japan's northern coast was ordered by the Emperor of Russia or was brought about by the military action of the islanders themselves. According to rumors from the Netherlands, this infringement of sovereignty was not ordered by the Emperor of Russia, but occurred as the result of misunderstanding on the part of the ship's captain. This is the reply that was sent from the Netherlands to my superior officer in Batavia.<sup>48)</sup>

Here we see that the Bakufu was not content to wait for news from the Netherlands, but actively requested that this investigation be carried out.

In 1827 (Bunsei 文政 10), Dutch Factory director G. F. Meijlan wrote:

Dutch writing and instruments have for the past forty or fifty years been able to satisfy the healthy appetite of intellectuals in Japan for art and learning, but their thirst for knowledge has now gone beyond the imagination. In comparison with progress in art and learning attained in other countries of the

orient, even China, one can say that the Japanese could probably get along without the woolen cloth and other daily necessities brought to them by Dutch ships, but it is certain that their passion for learning is the one thing they cannot do without. They cannot exist without it; it is the irresistible force behind why they want to continue diplomatic relations with a European country. If the Dutch were to leave, the Japanese would probably turn to Great Britain or Russia. Today, these are the two countries Japan fears most, and its leaders believe that the timely information supplied by the Dutch has protected them from attack by these countries. The shogun himself believes that maintaining strong ties with the Dutch is worth any price.<sup>49)</sup>

Meijlan wrote these words in a report of an investigation requested by the governor-general of the Dutch East Indies concerning trade with Japan. Although the report was written during the same year that Meijlan was appointed director of the Dutch Factory, it was very well done, and in 1833 was published by the Bataviaasch Genootschap as *Verhandelingen no. 14: Geschiedkundig Overzicht van den Handel der Europezen op Japan* (Historical survey of European trade in Japan). The Dutch people were therefore well aware of Japan's dependency on the Netherlands for materials enabling them to keep up with European arts and sciences and for prompt information helping to protect Japan against British or Russian attack. The above quote, which is from the last chapter of Meijlan's book, is ample proof of the transition that took place in the content of Dutch-Japanese trade from commercial to cultural transactions.

The actions of factory director Doeff in dealing with the Rezanov affair occurred in response to the trust that had been built between the Dutch and Japanese intellectuals. In his dedication to producing an accurate interpretation and translation for the Russian ambassador, Doeff made no attempt to distort the facts to his country's own advantage. Both the interpreters in Nagasaki and the Bakufu physicians in Edo had improved their Dutch language skills to a level enabling them to cross check translations written in simple Dutch. The achievement of such a level in reading and writing was invaluable preparation for the rising international tension that would mark the last years of the Tokugawa regime. This improvement in language skills also produced various translations of Hübner's *Geographie, Beschrijving van de geheele wereld in groot quartz*, which was quoted numerous times in treatises by Japanese writers on geography and international affairs. The challenge from the north certainly worked to quicken the improvement of Dutch language skills and enhance the understanding of world events in Japan.

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## Notes

- 1) Tabohashi Kiyoshi 田保橋潔 *Zōtei Kindai Nihon Gaikoku Kankei-Shi* 『増訂近代日本外國關係史』 (History of Modern Japanese Foreign Relations, enlarged and revised; Tōkō Shoin 刀江書院, 1943), pp. 31–59. *idem* “Jūnana-Hasseiki ni watareru Rokoku no Taihei-yō Hatten to Tainichi Kankei (Ge)” 「十七八世紀に互れる露國の太平洋發展と対日關係(下)」 (Russia’s advance into the Pacific during the 17th and 18th centuries and its relations with Japan, Part 2), *Rekishi Chiri* 『歴史地理』 No. 43–6 (1924), pp. 3–6.
- 2) Blussé, J. L. & Rimmelinck, W. G. J. (eds.) *The Deshima Diaries. Marginalia 1700–1740*, The Japan-Netherlands Institute, Tokyo, 1992, p. 492 ff. 162–168. Kondō Morishige, “Henyō Bunkai Zu-Kō (Maki-no-Nana)” 「邊要分界圖考」 卷之七 (On the cartography of Japan’s borderlands, Vol. 7), *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 『近藤正齋全集』, Volume 1, 1905, pp. 139–140.
- 3) Nagazumi Yōko 永積洋子, “Jūnana-seiki Kōhan no Jōhō to Tsūji” 「十七世紀後半の情報と通詞」 (Information gathering and Dutch interpreters during the latter half of the 17th century), *Shigaku* 『史學』, No. 60–4 (1991), pp. 60–64.
- 4) Ayusawa Shintarō 鮎澤信太郎, *Sakoku Jidai no Sekai Chirigaku* 『鎖國時代の世界地理學』 (World geographical study during Japan’s era of isolation), Nichidaidō Shoten 日大堂書店, 1943, pp. 1–32.
- 5) Dagregister van de Factorij Nagasaki, 10 November 1653—31 October 1654. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 67. 11 November 1653.
- 6) Dagregister van de Factorij Nagasaki, 8 November 1683—28 October 1684. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 97.
- 7) Hōsei Rangaku Kenkyūkai (ed.) 法政蘭學研究會, *Oranda Fūsetsu-Gaki Shūsei* 『和蘭風說書集成』 上卷 (Collected Dutch reports submitted to the Tokugawa Bakufu, Vol. 1), Nichiran Gakkai 日蘭學會, 1976, p. 306.
- 8) Ishiyama Hiroshi 石山 洋, “Daichiri-shi Hyubuneru wo Megutte”, 「大地理師ヒュブネルをめぐる」 (On the great geographer Johan Hübner), *Ueno Toshokan Kiyō* 『上野國書館紀要』 No. 3 (1956), pp. 33–66. Iwasaki Katsumi 岩崎克己, “Zeogarahii no Torai to Sono Eikyō” 「ゼオガラヒーの渡來とその影響」 (The Coming of Hübner’s *Zeogarahii* and its Influence on Japan), *Shomotsu Tenbō* 『書物展望』, Vol. 10, No. 12 (1915), pp. 22–30.
- 9) There were several Dutch translations, but the Diet Library is presently in possession of the fifth printing entitled *Kort Begryp der oude en nieuwe Geographie*, Utrecht, 1736.
- 10) Eisch van koopmanschappen. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 1368.
- 11) Facturen. 1746–1769. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 796.
- 12) Refer to previous notes 8 and 9.
- 13) Ayusawa Shintarō 鮎澤信太郎, “Yōsho kara Hōyaku saretā Sekai Chiri-sho” 「洋書から邦譯された世界地理書」 (Works of world geography that were translated from western books into Japanese); in Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunkajigyō-Kai (ed.) 開國百年記念文化事業會編, *Sakoku Jidai Nihonjin no Kaigai Chishiki* 『鎖國時代日本人の海外知識』 (Knowledge about foreign countries in Japan during its period of isolation), Kangensha 乾元社, 1953, p. 85.
- 14) Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄澤, “Rangaku Kaitei” 「蘭學階梯」 (A Dutch learning primer) in Numata Jirō et al. (eds.) 沼田次郎他編, *Nihon Shisōshi Taikei: Yōgaku Vol. 1* 『日本思想史大系・洋學 上』, Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1976, p. 335.
- 15) Eisch van koopmanschappen. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 1361, 1367. Ingekomen Brieven 1759. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 380.
- 16) Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄澤, “Rangaku Kaitei” 「蘭學階梯」, *op. cit.*, p. 360. Iwasaki Katsumi 岩崎克己, *Maeno Ranka* 『前野蘭化』, Volume 1, Heibonsha 平凡社, 1996, pp. 280–281.
- 17) Extract uit de patriasche generale missive geschreven door de Edele Hoog agtbare Heeren gecommiteerde bewindhebbers van 17en aan Hun Hoog Edelen den Gouverneur Generaal en de Raden van Indië, gedateerd in Middelburg, 18 November 1784. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 499.
- 18) Lequin, F. (ed.), *The Private Correspondence of Isaac Titsingh*, Vol. 1, J. C. Gieben, Amsterdam, 1990, pp. 101–106.

- 19) Numata Jirō, (R. C. J. Bachofner, trans.), *Western Learning*, the Japanese-Netherlands Institute, Tokyo, 1992, pp. 59–60.
- 20) Lequin, F. (ed.), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 557.
- 21) *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 557.
- 22) Mizuguchi Shigeo and Numata Jirō (comp. & trans.) 水口志計夫・沼田次郎編譯, *Benyofusukii Kōkaiki* 『ベニヨフスキー航海記』 (The Voyages of Móric A. Aladár Benyovszky), Heibonsha 平凡社, 1970. This work is not only a diary of Captain Benyovszky's world voyages, but also contains source materials from where he landed in Japan, and oral records of these arrivals, making the volume the best authority on this incident.
- 23) *ibid.*, pp. 330–331. Keene, Donald, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720–1830*, revised edition, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1969, pp. 31–35.
- 24) Mizuguchi Shigeo and Numata Jirō, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–237.
- 25) Satō Shōsuke 佐藤昌介, *Yōgaku-shi no Kenkyū* 『洋學史の研究』 (Studies in the History of Western Learning in Japan), Chūō Kōronsha 中央公論社, 1980, pp. 120–130. The title *Beschrijving van Rusland* was what the interpreters and Dutch learning scholars in Japan used to call this work. Its official title goes something like this: *Oude en nieuwe staat van't Russische of Moskovische keizerryk, behelzende eene uitvoerige historie van Rusland en deszelfs groot-vorsten . . .* For a detailed examination of the work, see Iwasaki Katsumi 岩崎克己, *Beshikereihingu han Ryusurando no Ruden to Honyaku* 『ベシケレイヒング・ハン・リュスランドの流傳と翻譯』 (The circulation and translation of *Beschrijving van Rusland*), Part 1 and 2, *Shomotsu Tenbō* 『書物展望』 Vol. 2, No. 2, No. 3 (1932).
- 26) Tabohashi, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–135. The works *Ezo Shūi* and *Ezo Zōshi* were originally printed in Ōtomo Kisaku (ed.) 大友喜作編, *Hokumon Sōsho* 北門叢書 (Writings on the Northern Territories), Vol. 1, Hokkō Shobō 北光書房, 1943.
- 27) *Oranda Fūsetsu-Gaki Shūsei*, Vol. 2, pp. 41–46.
- 28) *ibid.*, p. 55.
- 29) Dagregister van de Factorij Nagasaki. 1 November 1791–13 November, 1792. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 203. *Kouranten-tolk* is the Dutch version of an encyclopedia compiled by Hübner that went through several editions. The copy containing the seal of a bureau for translation of western books (Bansho Shirabesho) in the National Diet Library is *De nieuwe, vermeerde en verbeterde kouranten-tolk, of zakelyk, historisch en staatkundig woordenboek*, Leiden, 1748. At the beginning of the 18th century, when newspapers began to be published and popularized, it became necessary for a concise dictionary to explain to readers, both well-educated and not so, what the articles were all about. Hübner's dictionary was ideal for this purpose and was translated into many languages. In Japan, this reference work was one of the most widely used books at the time. See Ishiyama, *op. cit.* .
- 30) Dagregister van de Factorij Nagasaki. 1 November 1791–13 November 1792. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 203. The dictionary of foreign terms referred to here is *Bastaard-woorden*, volume one of Meyer, Lodewijk, *Woordenschat* (Treasury of words).
- 31) Fujita Satoru 藤田寛, *Matsudaira Sadanobu* 『松平定信』 (The life and times of Matsudaira Sadanobu), Chūō Kōron-sha 中央公論社, 1993, pp. 173–182.
- 32) Captain Diakokuya's memoirs of his travels can be found in Kamei Takayoshi and Murayama Shichirō (eds.) 龜井高孝・村山七郎編, *Hokusa Bunryaku* 『北槎聞略』, Yoshikawa Kōbun-kan 吉川弘文館, 1965.
- 33) Dagregister van de Factorij Nagasaki, 13 November 1792–6 November 1793. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 204.
- 34) Dagregister van de Factorij Nagasaki, 7 November 1793–14 November 1794. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 205. 27 Mei 1794.
- 35) Dagregister van de Factorij Nagasaki, 20, 25 Maart & 4 April 1794. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 205.
- 36) Dai Nihon Kinsei Shiryō: Kondō Jūzō Ezo-chi Kankei Shiryō Ichi, 『大日本近世史料・近藤重藏蝦夷地關係史料一』 (Source Materials on Late Premodern Japan: Kondō Jūzō's Source Materials pertaining to the Land of the Ezo, Volume 1), Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryōhensan-jo 東京大學史料編纂所, 1984, pp. 1–2.
- 37) Secrete dagregister van de Factorij Nagasaki 9 October 1804–19 April 1805. Ms. ARA. 254.
- 38) Dagregister van de Factorij Nagasaki 14 November 1803–5 November 1804. Ms. ARA. 217. 8

- Augustus 1804.
- 39) Missive van Johannes Siberg aan Hendrik Doeff, 5 Junij 1804. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 430.
  - 40) These three letters are contained in Veenhoven, Adriaan, *Strijd om Deshima, een onderzoek naar de aanslagen van Amerikaanse, Engelse en Russische zijde op het Nederlandse handelsmonopolie in Japan gedurende de periode 1800–1817* (Proefschrift ter verkrijging van den graad van Doctor in de letteren en wijsbegeerte aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden), Bijlage, 1, 2, 3, (pp. I–III).
  - 41) In 1803, an American by the name of William Robert Stuart sailed into Nagasaki as captain of a ship called the “Nagasaki” with a crew of 10 Europeans and 2 negroes. Stuart, who had been in Nagasaki previously, tried to let on that he had come from the United States to trade on a private basis. However, the captain of the “Rebecca,” which was docked in port, testified that the “Nagasaki” had come from Calcutta, forcing Stuart to sail away without being allowed to trade. Immediately after this incident, a British vessel called the “Frederick” sailed into Nagasaki from Calcutta captained by James Torray, who said that he had come at his own risk and reckoning. The director of the Dutch Factory at the time, Willem Wardenaar was accompanied by inspectors to the ship, and in the questioning that followed, the interpreters left the geographical names that came up, such as Bengal, Calcutta and England out of their translations, and used “Frenchman” for “Englishman.” Wardenaar writes, “The inspectors understood places like England and France as the same as mine; but I think they were being compassionate in not trying to ascertain the correct meaning.” Finally, the interpreters and the inspectors decided that “although this ship comes from Bengal in the territory of the Netherlands, it is still from a region that has not been granted permission to trade.” In this way a great deal of trouble and confusion was avoided. (Secrete dagregister van de Factorij Nagasaki 24 Augustus–12 September 1803. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 252.)
  - 42) In his reply to Laksman, Matsudaira Sadanobu said that “national law” prohibited foreign vessels of countries with no diplomatic relations for entering Japanese waters. In the reply given to Rezanov, “ancestral law” was cited as the basis for determining whether not a country had diplomatic relations with Japan. See Fujita, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–195 for a clear analysis of how “national law” was raised in status to “ancestral law.”
  - 43) Aangekomen secrete missive van de factorij Nagasaki. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 586.
  - 44) Memoire voor Heer de Sturler door Jan Cock Blomhoff, 20 November 1823. Ms. ARA. Ministerie van Koloniën 3214.
  - 45) Aangekomen secrete missive van de factorij Nagasaki. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 586.
  - 46) Secrete missive van Siberg aan Hendrik Doeff, 11 Junij 1805. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 586.
  - 47) Den Kommandeur van de Koninklijke Order van Holland en Directeur Generaal van zijne Majesteits Finantiën en Domeinen in Aziën, Wouter Hendrik van Ysseldijk aan afgaande en aankomende opperhoofden Hendrik Doeff en Hendrik Filenius Kruithoff, Batavia, 16 Junij 1809. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 435.
  - 48) Afgegane Stukken 1818, Bilage 6. Ms. ARA. NFJ. 546.
  - 49) Meijlan, G. F., *Geschiedkundig Overzicht van den Handel der Europezen op Japan* (Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap 14, 1833), pp. 311–312.