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Author(s)	Yamashita, Noboru
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A Short Introduction to the History of Dutch Studies in Japan

Noboru YAMASHITA
Center for Language Studies, Nagasaki University

蘭学の歴史と発展の概要

山下 龍
長崎大学言語教育研究センター

アブストラクト

1600年にオランダのリーフデ号が日本の臼杵の海岸に着き、この出来事は、現在まで続いている、414年の日蘭交流の始まりである。出島のオランダ商館は、江戸初期の鎖国令から幕末の開国まで、日本の唯一の欧州への扉であった。欧州についての情報、医学などの科学的知識などは、すべてオランダを通して日本に紹介され、「蘭学」と呼ばれるようになった。この論文は、蘭学の歴史的発展と幕末の没落に関して論ずる。

Abstract

In 1600, a Dutch vessel named 'Liefde' arrived at the shores of Usuki, Japan. This event marks the start of the relationships between Japan and the Netherlands. The relations between the countries continued when Japan started its policy of isolation, and have lasted for 414 years until the present day. For over 200 years, the Dutch at the island of Dejima in Nagasaki, were the only gateway to the West. All knowledge from and about Europe was introduced to the country via the Dutch and hence became known as 'Dutch Studies' or '*Rangaku*'. This article will discuss the development of *Rangaku* and its ultimate abandonment at the beginning of the 19th century when the country was forcibly opened to the outside world.

*Keywords: Dutch Studies, Rangaku, Rangakusha,
Dutch-Japanese relations*

1. Introduction

In the year 1600, a Dutch vessel named ‘Liefde’¹ arrived at Usuki, in present Oita prefecture, Japan. The Dutch arrived in Japan at the end of the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1573-1603),² at a time when the Spanish and in particular the Portuguese had already established strong relationships with Japan. However, at the beginning of the Edo period (1603-1868),³ the Spanish and Portuguese were banned from the country because of their inextricable ties with the Christian mission, regarded by the central government as a liability to their rule. Japan was gradually closed off from the outside world and a self-imposed period of isolation began.

From 1639, the Netherlands was the only Western country that was allowed access to Japan. As the Dutch settlement at Nagasaki was the only gateway to the West, the Dutch subsequently played an essential role in the introduction of Western medicine and technology during the Edo period and the beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1912).

In April of 2014, the School of Global Humanities and Social Studies was established at Nagasaki University offering a the Dutch Studies Course オランダ特別コース. This article will, because of restrictions concerning its length, not focus on all the historical events concerning the Dutch-Japanese relationship, but will give a short history of the development and meaning of Dutch Studies in Japan showing the historical significance of the establishment of a Dutch Study Course in Nagasaki.

2. Start of Dutch-Japanese Relations

From the late 16th century to the middle of the 17th century, the Dutch were fighting their independence war (1568-1648) also known as the ‘Eighty Years’ War’, against the Spanish. When in 1580, the king of Portugal died without a legal heir, Philip II of Spain (1556-1598) claimed the Portuguese throne, invaded the country and became king of Portugal. Although officially an autonomous state, the country was in fact under Spanish rule, deriving Portugal from a separate foreign policy. Spain’s enemies became Portugal’s enemies and consequently the Dutch were denied access to the Portuguese trading ports.

Portugal was at that time the center of trade with Asia, and the ban on trade

seriously harmed Dutch interests as this meant they lost access to the lucrative spices that were brought to Europe by the Portuguese. The Netherlands were forced to reconsider their position as an inter-European trading nation and to shift their focus on trade with Asia.

Many small trading companies were founded for the purpose of trade with Asia and in 1598, five vessels including 'Liefde'⁴ owned by the Rotterdamse Compagnie, left Rotterdam to find a route to the Far East through the Straits of Magellan. Of the five vessels that left Rotterdam, only Liefde arrived in Japan.

Interestingly, the records of the Matsura family, lords of Hirado, have an entry for 1598 of the arrival of a Dutch ship in their port.⁵ Although the possible arrival of a Dutch ship (or a chartered Chinese ship under Dutch flag) cannot be ruled out completely, there is no other proof supporting the appearance of a Dutch ship in Hirado as early as 1598, and therefore the Liefde is generally regarded as the first Dutch vessel to have reached Japanese shores.

William Adams (1564-1620), the pilot of the Liefde and second mate Jan Joosten van Lodensteijn (1556-1623), gained the trust of Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543-1616), the most powerful member of the Council of Five Elders 五大老⁶ that controlled Japan at the end of 16th century. In 1603, Ieyasu became shogun⁷ and the de facto leader of Japan. Adams, who became a personal advisor to Ieyasu, was granted an estate, a stipend of 250 koku⁸ and the status of '*hatamoto*', a samurai in direct service of the Tokugawa family. He also received a Japanese name and is known as Miura Anjin 三浦按針⁹ in Japanese. Jan Joosten van Lodensteijn received a stipend of 100 koku, but did not receive the status of *hatamoto*. Both men learned Japanese and became fluent speakers of the language. Adams instructed officials of the shogunate in, among others, shipbuilding, astronomy and navigation.

It is most likely because of the efforts of these men to understand the Japanese language and culture that the Dutch were treated favorably by the shogunate, notwithstanding the fact that at first they had to communicate with the Japanese through their enemies, the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries who acted as translators for the shogunate. The Portuguese had arrived in Japan as early as 1543, acted as advisors to the shogun and the Portuguese Jesuit mission had converted, according to their own records, about 30,000 Japanese to the Catholic faith.¹⁰

3. The First Trading Post at Hirado and the Transfer to Dejima

In 1609, Ieyasu granted the Dutch permission to trade with Japan and in the same

year, the first Dutch trading post was opened in Hirado, present Nagasaki prefecture. The Dutch remained here until 1641 and enjoyed relative freedom; they could walk around the port town without restrictions and even married Japanese women.

However, after the Shimabara Rebellion in 1637 the situation changed. The rebellion was caused by the misrule and cruelty of the lord of the area, Matsukura Katsuie 松倉勝家 (1598-1638),¹¹ but trying to avoid responsibility, he blamed it on the many Christians in the area. Shimabara was at that time known for its large number of Christians and many of them were involved in the uprising. The shogunate suspected the Portuguese of assisting and spreading the rebellion and as a consequence they were banned from Japan in 1639, making the Netherlands the only western nation allowed access to the country.

In 1640, Inoue Masashige 井上政重 (1585-1671), one of the officials of the shogunate in charge of the suppression of the Christian faith, ordered the Dutch to demolish all the buildings of their trading post. The official reason for this order was that on the façade of a warehouse built in 1639, the year was written using the Gregorian calendar, which was regarded as a violation of the prohibition against Christianity.

The head of the trading post at that time was François Caron (1600-1673) a man with profound knowledge of the Japanese culture. Caron himself was married to a woman from Hirado and in this time-period, in which the study of Japanese was not yet thwarted by the authorities, fully engaged in study of the language and culture. He understood the possible consequences of these accusations and had the concerned buildings demolished immediately, this way ultimately saving the Dutch merchants from banishment from Japan.

Proof of Caron's wide interest in and knowledge of Japanese culture can be found in his work '*Beschrijvinghe van het Machtigh Coninckrycke Japan*', 'Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Japan', published in 1646 and the first study of Japanese culture in Dutch.

The usage of the Gregorian calendar was not the only cause that led to the resettlement of the Dutch to Dejima. Three other factors that should be kept in mind are: 1) the role the merchants of Nagasaki played; 2) the fact that Nagasaki-city was an area directly under control of the shogunate; and 3) the position of the Matura family, lords of Hirado, within the shogunate.

Because of the presence of the Portuguese, Nagasaki had become an international trade port and had prospered accordingly. The expulsion of the Portuguese meant the

abolishment of international trade, obviously causing the strong displeasure of the wealthy and powerful merchants of the city. In 1636, a group of 25 of these merchants financed the construction of the artificial island of Dejima, built to house the Portuguese, and the expulsion of the Portuguese obviously meant they would have no revenues on their investment which certainly provoked their strong dissatisfaction.

Not only the merchants were directly affected by the loss of trade with the Portuguese. In 1588, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1527-1598) put the area under direct control of the central government. The Tokugawa continued this policy, this way being able to profit from trade with the Portuguese on one hand, and control the Jesuit mission on the other. The shogunate itself therefore also lost an important source of income.

The last cause can be found in the position of the Matsura family, who were so-called '*tozama daimyô*' 外様大名, lords that did not belong to the inner circle of direct vassals of the Tokugawa family.¹² To leave foreigner nationals under the supervision of a *tozama daiymô* went against the policy of shogunate to disclose and control the country.

As can be seen from the above, the decision to have the Dutch transferred from Hirado to Tokugawa controlled Dejima benefited the shogunate itself and the influential merchants of Nagasaki.

In 1639, two years before the Dutch were confined to Dejima, their Japanese wives and children had already been deported to Batavia. The Dutch were not allowed to live at Dejima with their families, and including their servants from the Dutch East Indies, there were usually no more than ten to twenty people living on the island. For most of the time, they were not allowed to leave the 1.3 acre island, and they were strictly guarded day and night, under constant observation by the Japanese working on the island.

They were only allowed to leave the island for the '*Hofreis*' or '*Edo-sanpu*' 江戸参府. The *Edo-sanpu* was a visit to the capital Edo, to pay homage to the shogun. Until 1790 this visit took place every year and from 1790 once every four or five years.¹³ The *Edo-sanpu* has been described by some of the Dutchmen who will be introduced later in this article and give us vivid information about Japan during the Edo period. Only four or five members of the trading post usually joined this visit, which was led by the chief merchant known as '*opperhoofd*' by the Dutch and '*Kapitan*' カピタン¹⁴ by the Japanese.

4. The ‘Oranda-Tsûji’, Translators of Dutch

As mentioned above, the forced transfer of the Dutch was part of the policy of the Tokugawa government to close off the country from interference from foreign nations. Like the Chinese, who were also allowed to trade through Nagasaki, the Dutch were strictly guarded, and were constantly spied on by the Japanese that worked for them.

Every time a vessel entered the port of Nagasaki, detailed records would be written of the ships’ name, its captain and other things important for the administration. Bibles, other prohibited books and even the ammunition and weapons of the Dutch vessels were sealed up until their departure.

Contact between the Dutch and the Japanese government was controlled by the ‘Oranda-tsûji’ オランダ通詞 or ‘translators of Dutch’. Whereas the translators for the Chinese known as ‘Kara-tsûji’ 唐通詞, consisted of nine families of translators originally from China, all the translators of Dutch were Japanese.

There were more than 100 people involved in translating for the Dutch at the time: 4 head translators, 4 assistant translators, 20 to 30 translator trainees and around 80 to 100 general translators.¹⁵

The profession of translating had, as so many professions in Japan, become hereditary and after the Dutch trading post was moved from Hirado to Dejima, many of the families of translators moved to Nagasaki with the Dutch, among them the Shizuki 志筑 and Motoki 本木, families that would play an important part in the development of Dutch Studies in Japan. Families from Nagasaki also became *tsûji*, among them some that would play an important role in the translation of Dutch texts like the Yoshio 吉雄, Narabayashi 榎林 and Nakayama 中山 families.

As for the duties of these *tsûji*, they were not just translators but also functioned as intermediaries for trade and as representatives of the government, to some extent being entrusted with what was regarded as the safety of the country.

Some of the more talented *tsûji* became scholars of medicine and other sciences that were introduced to Japan through the Dutch.

It is not certain how well the *tsûji* actually mastered the Dutch language. Sugita Genpaku 杉田玄白 (1733-1817) a famous Japanese scholar, complains about their low level of comprehension and mentions that they received permission to study Dutch letters, implying that at least some of them were not able to do so at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. This could be seen as an attempt by Sugita to discredit the *tsûji* and marginalize the important role they played, as Honma Sadao shows in his article on Dutch Studies and School Textbooks (Honma 2004).¹⁶

However, Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716), a German physician working for the Dutch, writes in the preface of his book '*Beschryving van Japan*', 'Descriptions of Japan' published in 1727, how he taught his Japanese assistant Dutch and mentions that after one year of study he could read and write the language better than any of the interpreters.¹⁷ Although it is very well possible that Kaempfer exaggerates his achievements somewhat, it does imply that the level of the translators was not as high as one might expect for professionals of this trade.

The Dutch themselves did not study Japanese much, as the shogunate basically would not let them. Carl Peter Thunberg, a Swedish naturalist who stayed at Dejima from 1775 to 1776 mentions this in his diary.¹⁸ However, Thunberg also strongly criticized the lack of interest the Dutch had in learning the language and culture of the country.¹⁹ He unfavorably compares them to the Portuguese missionary João Rodriguez (1561/62-1633), who wrote extensively on both subjects.

Although, indeed, most of the Dutch did not seem to have had much interest in Japan, Thunberg overlooks the fact that unlike Rodriguez, most of the Dutch only stayed in Japan for a limited time, and because of their isolated position at Dejima did not have the same means of learning the language that Rodriguez had. As the Dutch were not involved in missionary activities, and on the contrary were hardly allowed to engage in direct contact with the Japanese, they did not have the same need for an understanding of the language as the Jesuit fathers did.

5. The Beginning of '*Rangaku*' or Dutch Studies

From the second half of the 17th century, the Dutch were Japan's only window to the Western world. All knowledge of Western science, technology and medicine was introduced to the country through the Dutch at Dejima, usually in the Dutch language and hence this knowledge came to be known as '*Rangaku*' 蘭学 or 'Dutch Studies'. The term *Rangaku* therefore does not refer to fact that what was introduced was Dutch, but rather that it was introduced *through* the Dutch. It should be noted, though, that the Netherlands played an important role in the development of sciences in Europe at that time.

After the shogunate began its policy of suppression of Christianity, it became close to impossible to import western books. Third shogun Iemitsu 徳川家光 (1604-1651), had forbidden the import of Christian books in 1630 and the control of the import of foreign books became even stricter under fifth shogun Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉 (1646-1709). Even the import of books that did not deal with religion but that contained

words or names that might refer to Christianity were prohibited. The shogunate employed officials for the purpose of checking books known as ‘*Shomotsukaieki*’ 書物改役 at Nagasaki.

Even though the import of foreign books had become virtually impossible, the Japanese were still very much interested in the study of medicine and the Dutch being aware of this took great care in employing the doctors that served at Dejima. Contrary to the merchants that worked at the trading post and whom Thunberg complains had a lack of interest in the Japanese language and culture, many of the doctors living at Dejima did study the language and published their own records of their experiences in Japan.

Unlike the other officials of the trading post who had hardly any chance of getting into contact with the Japanese, (that is except for the ladies of pleasure that regularly visited the island) the interest the Japanese had in Western medicine offered the residing physicians ample opportunities for exchanges with Japanese scholars, albeit strictly controlled by the *tsûji* and other government officials. They also had the chance to leave the island once a year when they joined the *Edo-sanpu* to the court in Edo. This gave them the opportunity to see the country with their own eyes and to experience Japanese culture and customs directly by engaging with the Japanese they met.

During these visits they became acquainted with many of the Japanese scholars interested in Dutch medicine and sciences, who would come to visit them where they stayed. These exchanges proved beneficial to both parties and the collaboration between these physicians and Japanese scholars led to growing interest in Western medicine and the first translations of books from Dutch to Japanese on one hand, and a better understanding of Japanese culture on the other.

Caspar Schamberger (1623-1706),²⁰ a German physician with a French background who came to Nagasaki in 1649, stayed behind on the court journey and for some time instructed the court physicians. His teachings were known as ‘*Kasparu-ryu*’ カスパル流, the ‘Caspar school of Surgery’, which survived until the end of the Edo period.

Willem ten Rhijne (1647-1700) a graduate of Leiden University who stayed in Japan from 1674 to 1676, is another example of a medical doctor of the trading post that had a keen interest in Japan. He assisted *tsûji*, Motoki (Shôdayû) Ryôji 本木(庄太夫) 良意 (1628-1697) with the translation of ‘*Pinax Microcosmographicus*’ by Johannes Remmelin (1563- 1632), from a Dutch translation. This was the first Japanese translation of a Western anatomy book. Based on his translations, Motoki

published ‘Treatise on the Internal (Organs)’ 詳解内景鈔 in 1681 and ‘Dutch Illustrations of the Meridians, Muscles, Artery and Viscera’ 阿蘭陀經絡筋脈臟腑図解 in 1682.

Motoki’s pioneering work, however, did not reach wide recognition until Suzuki Shûn 鈴木宗云 (?-?) reintroduced it in an anatomy publication in 1772.

With help of the *tsûji*, Ten Rhijne himself translated a work on acupuncture to Dutch which he published as ‘*Dissertatio de Arthritide*’ in 1683 (London, the Hague, Leipzig), making him the first scholar to introduce acupuncture and moxibustion to Europe.

Motoki was not the only translator to translate a Dutch medical textbook. Narabayashi Chinzan 榎林鎮山 (1648-1711) published ‘Transmission of the Surgical School of the Red-haired Barbarians’ 江夷外科宗伝 in 1706, a Japanese translation of what again was a Dutch translation of a work by Ambroise Paré (1510?-1590) on surgery.

As can be seen from the above examples, many of the works that caught the interest of the Japanese were not ‘Dutch’ but were Dutch translations of important books of that time.

Engelbert Kaempfer is an example of a physician with a keen interest in Japan, who used all the opportunities he had to study the land and its culture to the fullest. Kaempfer, yet another German physician working for the Dutch East Indian company, lived in Japan from 1690 to 1692 and joined the *Edo-sanpu* twice, even being allowed an audience with shogun Tsunayoshi. Only after his death, his records of Japan were published as ‘History of Japan’ (London, 1727) and became an immediate best-seller.²¹ As Bodart-Bailey, translator and editor of the work to modern English notices, in the two hundred years after its publication, the European image of Japan was almost entirely based on his work.²²

Although the Japanese showed great interest in Western medicine, only a few translations of Western books were made before the beginning of the 18th century. The reason for this can mainly be found in the ban on foreign books and the fact that most *tsûji* were not scholars by profession. Not all of them possessed the knowledge needed for the translation of books on Western science and as the ban on books also caused a lack of practical experience, they might not have had enough comprehension of the Dutch language to be able to translate and publish these kinds of works as can be judged from the comments by both Sugita and Kaempfer.

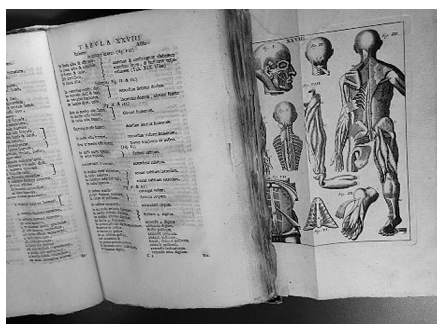
Sugita also mentions that the knowledge of the *tsûji* that had become physicians

was merely practical medical knowledge and that they were not educated as scholars.²³

Although, as mentioned above, *tsûji* like Motoki and Narabayashi did have the scholarly interest and ability to translate medical works to Japanese more than 50 years before Sugita himself would, they might have been an exception to the rule.



Sugita's '*Tabulae Anatomicae*'



The original '*Tabulae Anatomicae*'²⁴

6. The Development of '*Rangaku*'

In 1720, the eighth Tokugawa Shogun, Yoshimune (1684-1751), lifted the ban on the import of non-Christian books as a part of the Kyôhō reforms 享保の改革.²⁵ However, this development did not, as is sometimes thought, directly lead to an increase in the number of imported Western books. As Honma points out, the lifting of the ban was more about allowing Chinese books than Western books (Honma 2007).

Two forerunners for Dutch Studies did, however, appear in this time period, namely Aoki Konyô 青木昆陽 (1668-1769) and Noro Genjô 野呂元杖 (1696-1761). Aoki was originally educated as a Confucianist scholar and worked in various positions for the administration of the shogunate. In 1739, he was entrusted with the management of the book stock of the shogunate. He set out to make records and copies of all books that he found of interest around the present Kantô area, most of which can now be found in the national library. In 1767, he was appointed Commissioner of Books of the shogunate 書物奉行.

Noro Genjô 野呂元杖 (1696-1761) was a specialist of herbal medicine and was ordered in 1720 to do a study of medicinal plants in Japan.

On orders of the shogunate, Aoki and Noro started studying Dutch together. Aoki later worked on books on the Dutch language and Noro, among others, translated '*Cruydt-Boeck*' by Rembert Dodoens (1517-1585), the first study of Natural History translated to Japanese. He was assisted in his effort by some *tsûji* from Nagasaki and

visited the Dutch physicians who came to Edo on the court journey to ask them for advice. This work was published between 1742 and 1750 as a ‘Japanese Translation of Dutch Herbalism’ 阿蘭陀本草和解.

However, like the works of Motoki and Narabayashi, the works of Noro and Aoki did not lead to an increase in the number of translations of Western books and it was not until the second half of the 18th century that we can see a serious increase in the interest in *Rangaku*. It was the publication in 1774, of the translation of ‘*Tabulae Anatomicae*’ a work on anatomy by Johan Adam Kulmus (1689- 1745) that aroused the interest of the Japanese scholars, leading to a sudden interest in western science and technology in a wide range of disciplines such as medicine, astronomy, mathematics, botany, physics, geography, geodesy and with the increasing pressure by foreign nations to open up the country for trade, an increase in interest in the military sciences, especially ballistics. Note that little attention was paid to art and culture.

‘*Tabulae Anatomicae*’ was translated under the supervision of Sugita Genpaku, a scholar and physician from the Obama domain in present Fukui. *Tabulae Anatomicae* was a Dutch translation of the German original by Kulmus and was published under Sugita’s name in 1774 as ‘New Treatise on Anatomy’ 解体新書. Sugita did not perform the translation of this work alone, but supervised the translation and was assisted by Maeno Ryōtaku 前野良沢 (1723-1803) doctor of the Nakatsu domain in present Oita, and Nakagawa Junan (Junnan) 中川淳庵 (1739-1786), a junior of Genpaku from the Obama domain.²⁶ Nakagawa seems to have had a particularly good comprehension of Dutch. In 1776, Nakagawa and another *Rangaku* scholar named Katsuragawa Hoshū 桂川甫周 (1751-1809) visited Thunberg when the latter came to Edo, to be taught medicine and botany. Thunberg, who was so critical about the Dutch lack of interest in the Japanese language, remarked that Nakagawa spoke the Dutch language rather well.²⁷

The publication of ‘New treatise on Anatomy’ caused a stir in the world of medical scholarship and caused a strong increase in the interest in Dutch language textbooks.

However, it is not as many textbook mention, the oldest book on Western anatomy. That honor goes to Motoki’s ‘Treatise on the Internal (Organs)’ that was published as early as 1681 and its better known edition published by Suzuki is from 1772, still two years before the publication of the translation by Sugita.

Sugita also published ‘The Beginning of Dutch Studies’ 蘭学事始 in 1815, in which he explains the history and development of *Rangaku*.²⁸ There are some doubts about the reliability of this work and as Honma (2004) states, the work is clearly focused on

the development of *Rangaku* in Edo, while the developments in Nagasaki and the work of the *tsûji* are not just forgotten but are largely ignored.²⁹ Modern researchers challenge Sugita's knowledge of the Dutch language and his lack of proficiency might be an explanation for his critical and possibly somewhat jealous view of the translators of Dutch in Nagasaki.³⁰

One of the few *tsûji* that Sugita does mention and actually praises is Shizuki (Nakano) Tadao 志筑忠雄 (1760-1806). Shizuki, however, retired from his work as a translator because of his weak health and afterwards mainly worked on the translation of book, a fact that is mentioned by Sugita who for that reason makes a clear distinction between Shizuki and other translators.³¹

Shizuki needs special mention as a translator of over 50 works on various topics like the Dutch language, astronomy, physics, geography, etc. In 1801, while translating a work by Kaempfer, he also invented the word '*sakoku*' 鎖国 which since has become the official Japanese word for the period of closure of the country.

A person on the Dutch side that needs mentioning is Isaac Titsingh (1740-1812). Titsingh stayed at Dejima as '*kapitan*' from 1779 to 1780, 1781 to 1783, and in 1784. He established amicable relations with many Japanese, some of them court nobles. Because of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch war (1780-1784) there were no ships from Batavia in 1782 and he occupied himself mainly with his study of Japanese culture and customs. He wrote several treatises on Japan like his 'Illustrations of Japan' (London, 1822).

7. *Rangaku* at the end of the 18th beginning of the 19th century

As mentioned in the above, the publication of 'New Treatise on Anatomy' was the beginning of an increased interest in the study and subsequent translation of Dutch language works.

50 years after Yoshimune abolished the ban on foreign books, private Dutch schools were established in Edo, Osaka and Nagasaki for the study of Dutch and in particular medicine. In Edo, Sugita Genpaku founded Tenshinrô 天真楼 and Otsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827) founded Shirandô 芝蘭堂, after studying with both Maeno Ryôtaku and Sugita Genpaku. In Osaka, Ogata Kôan 緒方洪庵 (1810-1863) founded Tekijuku 適塾 and in Nagasaki, Yoshio Kôgyû, who was a *tsûji* as well as a physician, opened Seishûkan 成秀館.

The increase of interest in the Dutch language also led to the publication of the first Dutch-Japanese dictionaries. *Rangaku* scholar, Inamura Sanpaku 稲村三伯 (1758-

1811) worked on a dictionary with the assistance of *tsûji* Ishi Tuskaemon 石井恒右衛門 (1743-?), his fellow *Rangaku* scholar Udagawa Genshin 宇田川玄真 (1770-1835) and Katsuragawa Hoshû 桂川甫周 (1751-1809), third generation of a family of physicians to the shogun and the same person who together with Nakagawa Junan had been taught by Thunberg in Edo. They used François Halma's 'Dictionary of the Dutch and French language', 'Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Taalen' and hence their dictionary became known as the 'Halma Dictionary' or '*Haruma-Wage*' 波留麻和解. It was published in 1796.

In 1833 the 'Doeff-Halma Dictionary' or '*Zûfu Haruma*' ズーフ・ハルマ also known as '*Dôyaku Halma*' 道訳ハルマ was published. This dictionary was compiled by the '*kapitan*' of Dejima, Hendrik Doeff (1777-1835), with the help of *tsûji* Yoshio Gonnosuke 吉雄権之助 (1785-1831), who had studied with Shizuki Tadao and eleven other translators.

Because of the Napoleonic Wars (1801-1815), during which the Netherlands were occupied by the French and Dutch East India was controlled by the British Empire, Doeff could not return to the Netherlands or Batavia. He would remain on Dejima from 1803 to 1817 and was appointed head of the trading post in 1805. Like the 'Haruma Dictionary' his dictionary was also based on Halma's French-Dutch dictionary. It was originally completed in 1816 but after Doeff's departure from Japan the work was continued and in 1833 it was finally published. Only few copies of it were made and it was regarded as extremely valuable.

Next to the work on this dictionary, Doeff also personally instructed the *tsûji* in the Dutch language. The officials of the shogunate seemed to have been satisfied with his work as later on he was also asked to teach French to six of the *tsûji*.

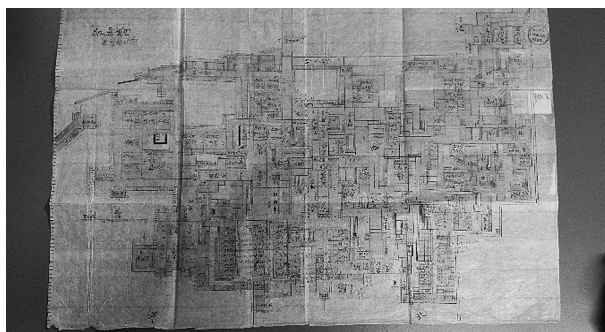
As mentioned before, the British Empire had taken control over the Dutch East Indies during the Napoleonic Wars and in 1809, the HMS Phaeton entered Nagasaki's harbor to ambush Dutch trading ships that they mistakenly expected to arrive. They took some Dutch officials as hostages, but after they learned that there were no Dutch ships arriving that year, left the harbor again. This event is known as the Nagasaki Harbor or Phaeton Incident and is one of a number of incidents that occurred at the end of the 18th, beginning of the 19th century, when Russian, British, French and American ships came to Japan to force it to open for trade. After the incident with the Phaeton, the Dutch at Dejima were also asked to teach the Japanese English and it is clear that the Japanese, feeling the weakness of their coastal defenses, started to look at other countries than the Netherlands.

In 1823, Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) came to Dejima. Von Siebold was born in Bavaria, present Germany and came from a prominent family of scholars and physicians. He entered the service of the Dutch East Indian army and was dispatched to Dejima as an army doctor in 1823. Von Siebold began giving lectures on medicine, zoology and botany, and learned Japanese from Yoshio Gonnosuke, one of the *tsûji* who helped Hendrik Doeff with the ‘Doeff-Halma Dictionary’. In 1824, he was allowed to open his own school of study in Nagasaki, the ‘Narutaki-juku’ 鳴滝塾. Von Siebold was the first physician to be allowed to examine his patients personally.

Rangaku scholars from all over Japan came to his school and through them and his participation in the court journey, he acquired a wide knowledge of the country and its culture. Sadly enough, he was expelled from Japan, in 1829 after it was found that he was in the possession of maps of Japan, which was prohibited by law. His banishment put great pressure on the Dutch-Japanese relationships, and had a negative influence on the study of *Rangaku*.

Von Siebold had a daughter with a Japanese woman Kusumoto Otaki (1807-1865), named Ine (Oine) (1827-1903). She would become the first female doctor in Japan. After his return to Europe Von Siebold published a number of works on Japan of which ‘Nippon, an Archive for the Description of Japan’, ‘*Nippon, Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan*’, first published in Leiden in 1832 had a significant influence on Japanese Studies all over the world. Even though his banishment harmed Dutch-Japanese relations for some time, Von Siebold played a significant role in stimulating the relationship between The Netherlands and Japan, introducing modern knowledge to Japan on one hand and introducing Japan to Europe on the other.

Von Siebold was also the first teacher of Johann Joseph Hoffmann (1805-1878) who in 1855 was appointed the first titular professor of Chinese and Japanese languages at Leiden University and as such in Europe.



One of the maps that caused Von Siebold's banishment from Japan³²

8. From Dutch Studies to Western Studies at the end of the Edo period

From the end of the 18th century, French, Russian, British and American ships had visited Japan in an attempt to negotiate trade relationships. During the Napoleonic Wars the Dutch were in conflict with Britain and were not capable of sending ships to Dejima. American ships under Dutch flag had, under the request of the Dutch, frequented Nagasaki and had become acquainted with the country.

In 1849, Captain James Glynn (1800-1871) sailed for Japan to negotiate trade relationships between the countries and to demand the release of 15 American sailors who were imprisoned after they were shipwrecked off the coast off Yeso in the north of Japan. He successfully negotiated with Japan and on return to the US he recommended the US Congress to back up future negotiations with a demonstration of force.³³

The Congress followed his recommendations and in 1852, Commodore Matthew C. Perry (1794-1858) arrived in Japan. After handing over his demands for the opening of the country for trade relationships, he left Japan to return in 1854. Japan, in no position to withstand the American navy, signed the 'Treaty of Peace and Amity'. In the years following this treaty Japan also signed treaties with Russia, France, Britain and the Netherlands, thus ending Japan's policy of seclusion.

At the end of the Edo period, Japan was in a state of shock, being shown the weakness of its defenses and its backwardness in the technical field compared to the developments of other countries. Political unrest ultimately led to the Meiji Restoration, the downfall of the Tokugawa shogunate and the establishment of a political system under the emperor of Japan.³⁴

Trying to withstand the foreign forces, Japan started studying Western sciences as never before and in 1855, the Nagasaki Naval Training Center 長崎海軍伝習所 was established by the shogunate. The government also ordered modern steam warships from the Dutch in an attempt to modernize its defenses and to meet the threat posed by Western nations.

The Dutch tried to maintain a difficult balance by not offending other nations with their support of the development of Japan while at the same time trying to maintain their position as one of the country's closest trading partners.

At the request of the Japanese government, a large number of Royal Dutch Navy officers were put in charge of education at the Nagasaki Naval Training Center, amongst others for the study of naval matters, Pels Rijcken (1810-1889) who would later become Dutch Minister of the Navy, Willem Huyssen van Kattendijke (1816-

1866), who would become Minister of the Navy and of Foreign Affairs. Medical science was taught by J.L.C. Pompe van Meerdervoort (1829-1908) who founded a medical school that would develop into the present Medical Faculty of Nagasaki University and Jan Karel van den Broek (1814-1865) a medical doctor, helped the Japanese construction of iron foundries, steam engines, etc.

Van den Broek was actually dispatched as a medical doctor. However, he had a wide knowledge of chemistry and other sciences and as there was a strong shift in focus from medicine to modern technology in the interest of the Japanese, that is what mainly occupied him.

In 1857, the shogunate founded the ‘Language Training Center’ 語学伝習所 in Nagasaki, which in 1858, was renamed Saibikan 済美館. This was originally an English school for the *tsûji*; later, French, Russian, Chinese and Dutch were also taught. Although Dutch was taught at this school it was no longer the first foreign language of Japan, a clear reflection of the fact that ‘*Rangaku*’ or ‘Dutch Studies’ had become ‘Western Studies’.

In 1858, Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901), who had studied *Rangaku* at the Tekijuku School in Osaka, opened a Dutch Studies school, Keiogijuku 慶應義塾,³⁵ at the manor of the lord of the Nakatsu domain on the latter’s request. The samurai of the Nakatsu domain were mostly interested in Dutch gunnery techniques and naval sciences. Because of the new presence of foreigners other than the Dutch in and around Edo, Fukuzawa, soon found out that the Netherlands were only a small player in world politics and he was one of the first to seriously start learning English.

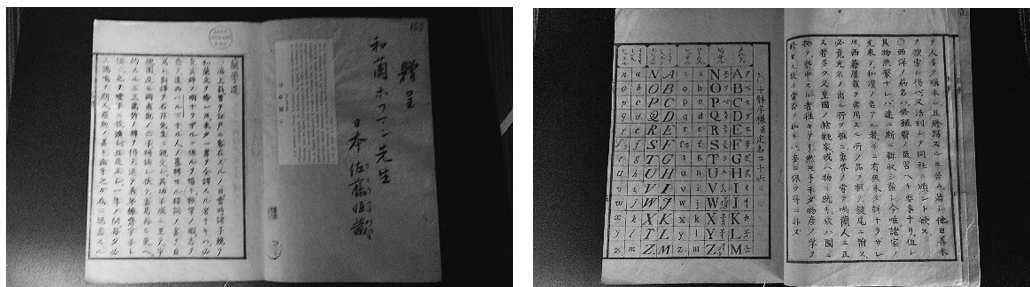
In 1860, Japan sent its first mission to the US and Fukuzawa was one of its members. In 1862 and 1863 two other missions followed to Europe, the first of which Fukuzawa joined. Also in 1862, a group of men was sent to the Netherlands to study a variety of subjects, from technical matters and medicine, to law and social studies. Among them were Enomoto Takeaki 榎本武揚 (1836-1908), one of the founders of the Imperial Navy and Akamatsu Noriyoshi 赤松則良 (1841-1897) nicknamed the father of Japanese shipbuilding.

The establishment of the Naval Training Center and the fact that Japanese officials were sent to the Netherlands by their government to study modern Western technology and sciences can be regarded as the peak of Japanese interest in the Netherlands. It was however, also the beginning of a new area in which *Rangaku* lost its meaning and changed to ‘Western learning’.

While the Netherlands and with it the importance of the Dutch language, slowly but

surely lost their importance within, Johann Joseph Hoffmann at Leiden University became the first professor of Japanese and Chinese in Europe. In 1867, he published ‘Japanese Language Study’, ‘*Japansche Spraakleer*’, the first work of its kind in Europe.

Hoffmann is usually regarded as the person that institutionalized Japanese Studies in Europe.



Japanese books used by J.J. Hoffmann³⁶

9. Dutch Language and Culture Education from the Meiji period to the Present

In 1868, the first year of the Meiji period, four imperial universities and eight schools for higher education were established. At these schools French, English and German were taught but Dutch was not.³⁷

In 1916, the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages started classes of Dutch. However, these classes were not part of a Dutch language and culture program but were started to support the study of Malay. In 1917, the Nagasaki Higher Commercial School 長崎高等商業学校 also started classes of Dutch. This school was established in 1905 and taught various foreign languages, including Chinese and Korean. Dutch was at first only taught as a subject in its International Trade department.³⁸ In 1923, however, Dutch became a full second language elective subject.

As the department policies state, the goal of this school was to educate human resources that could work in China, Korea and the South Pacific, showing Japan’s focus on this area in that time period.³⁹ The study of French and Dutch seem to have been important for the Japanese because of the presence of the French in French Indochina and the Dutch in the Dutch East Indies.

In 1949, the Japanese school system was reformed and the Nagasaki Higher Commercial School became the Economics Department of Nagasaki University. With this reform Dutch Language education was taken from its curriculum.

From the 1970s on various private and national universities opened courses for

Dutch. The Tokyo University for Foreign Languages had a course that mainly focused on the study of the Indonesian language and culture and because of the historical background also offered Dutch. The Universities of Hokkaido and Kyushu also offered courses but all of these were eventually dissolved.

In 2007 Nagasaki University received a grant for a project for the education of global human resources which has as its theme Dejima and Dutch Studies.⁴⁰ A class on Dutch language as well as one on Dutch culture and history became part of the official curriculum of the University. Dr. Jaap Grave was invited from the Netherlands to teach half a year at a time as visiting professor at Nagasaki. In 2010, Grave was succeeded by Yamashita Noboru, who was appointed full time assistant Professor in 2013.

In April 2014, the Nagasaki University School of Global Humanities and Social Studies opened its doors. It has a course of Dutch Studies for 10 students a year, who will also be enabled to study at Leiden University, opening a new page in the history of Dutch-Japanese relations.

10. In Conclusion, the Future of Dutch Studies in Japan

This article has given a short history of the development of Dutch Studies, since the arrival 414 years ago of ‘Liefde’, the first Dutch vessel to reach the shores of Japan.

After the Portuguese were expelled from the country in 1639 and Japan started a self-imposed period of seclusion, the Dutch became the only Western nation with access to Japan and hence it became Japan's only gateway to Western knowledge. As this knowledge was brought to Japan through the Dutch, it became known as ‘Dutch Studies’ or ‘*Rangaku*’.

From the beginning of the 18th century there was an increase in the interest in *Rangaku* that was in particular aroused by the translation under supervision of Sugita Genpaku of ‘*Tabulae Anatomicae*’, a work on anatomy. The Japanese were mainly interested in medical sciences and the Dutch took great care in choosing capable physicians to work at their trading post at Dejima. Many of these physicians also engaged in the study of the Japanese language and culture, and men like Kaempfer and Von Siebold have left significant works in these fields.

The pressure of foreign nations to have Japan open itself for trade at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century led to a strong interest among the Japanese in Western science and technology in a wide range of disciplines. The shogunate established a Naval Training Institute in Nagasaki at which the Japanese were taught

by officers of the Royal Dutch Navy. This may be viewed as the peak of Japanese interest in Dutch Studies.

However, at the end of the Edo period Japan sent missions to America and Europe and slowly but surely the Netherlands lost their position as the primary international partner of Japan. Dutch Studies became Western Studies and the Dutch language disappeared from the curriculum of Japanese institutes of education.

In the 1970s some private and national universities ran Dutch courses again but all of them have since been dissolved.

In 2007, Nagasaki University started a new program offering a Dutch language and a Dutch culture and history course. In 2014, Nagasaki University established its School of Global Humanities and Social Sciences, which offers a fulltime Dutch Studies course, the first and only one of its kind in Japan today.

The Netherlands are no longer Japan's only window to the West, but with this course Nagasaki University has opened a new gateway to Europe that is founded on a long tradition of Dutch Studies. The students of today will visit the Netherlands like their countrymen did in 1862, starting a new era of Dutch Studies from Nagasaki: a significant new chapter in the long history of Dutch-Japanese relations.

Notes:

- 1 'Liefde' (Love).
- 2 1573 is the year that Oda Nobunaga took direct control over Japan.
- 3 Some historians have the Edo-period start in 1600, after Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory at the battle of Sekigahara. However, 1603 is the year that Ieyasu was officially appointed shōgun 征夷大將軍 and therefore seems to be more appropriate.
- 4 Hoope (Hope), 't Gelooue (Faith), Trouwe (Loyalty), Blijde Booschap (Good Tiding, referring to the Gospels).
- 5 Kaseden 家世伝, unpublished document in possession of the Matsura Historical Museum in Hirado, Nagasaki prefecture.
- 6 Council created by Toyotomi Hideyoshi to rule Japan until his son Hideyori 秀頼 (1593-1615) would come of age.
- 7 Military governors in name appointed by the emperor but from 1192 to 1868, the de facto rulers of Japan.
- 8 A koku 石 is historically defined as the amount of rice to feed one person (man) for one year; 250 koku made Adams a fairly well-to-do man.
- 9 Miura 三浦 is the area the estate of Adams was located in and Anjin 按針 stands for steersman, his profession.

- 10 Matsuda Kiichi 松田毅一 (1998), *Jūroku/Jūnanaseiki Iesuzukai Nihonhōkokushū* 十六・七世紀イエズス会日本報告集, Dōhōsha 同朋舎, Part III, Book 4, p. 125-154
- 11 Katsuie was stripped of his domain in 1638 and after further investigation was beheaded in the same year for his misrule and cruelty.
- 12 Tozama daimyō are a group of feudal lords that became vassals of the Tokugawa family just before or after the battle at Sekigahara. For most of the Edo period they were not appointed to any position of importance within the shogunate. The hereditary vassals of the Tokugawa are known as fudai daimyō 譜代大名.
- 13 Katagiri Kazuo 片桐一男 (2000), *Edo no orandajin kapitan no edosanpu* 江戸のオランダ人カピタンの江戸参府, Chūkōshinsho 中公新書
- 14 from the Portuguese ‘capitão’
- 15 Iwaki Taichi 岩木太一 (2013), Nagasaki Rangaku lecture handout, May 9, 2013.
- 16 Honma Sadao 本間貞夫 (2007), *Nagasaki rangaku to rekishikyōkasho, Rangaku no furonteia sizuki tadao no sekai* 長崎蘭学と歴史教科書、蘭学のフロンティア志筑忠雄の世界, Nagasaki Bunkensha, 長崎文献社
- 17 Kaempfer Engelbert, edited by Bartice M. Bodart-Bailey (1999), *Kaempfer's Japan, Tokugawa Culture Observed*, University of Hawai'i Press, p. 28-30
- 18 Michel Wolfgang, Torii Yūmiko 鳥井裕美子, Kawashima Mahito 川島真人 (2009), *Kyūshū no rangaku, ekyō to kōryū*, 九州の蘭学、越境と交流, Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, p.79-86.
- 19 Thunberg Carl Peter (1796), *Voyage de C.P. Thunberg, au Japon*, Paris.
- 20 Michel Wolfgang (1999), *Von Leipzig nach Japan, Der Chirurg und Handelsman Caspar Schamberger*, Ludicium
- 21 Kaempfer, p.7
- 22 Idem.
- 23 Katagiri Kazuo 片桐一男 (2007), *Rangaku kotohajime* 蘭学事始, Kōdansha gakujutu bunko 講談学術文庫、p.156
- 24 Taken by N.Yamashita (2013). All books are in possession of Leiden University Library, Scaliger Institute.
- 25 A collective name for the reforms of the government in the period of Yoshimune, 1716-1745.
- 26 Aoyanagi Seiichi 青柳精一 (1996), *Shinryōhōshū no rekishi* 診療報酬の歴史, Shinbunkaku shuppan 思文閣出版, p.155-160.
- 27 Idem.
- 28 Katagiri Kazuo (1996)
- 29 Honma Sadao (2007)
- 30 Sugimoto Tsutomu 杉本つとも (1994), *Chi no bōkensha tachi. Rangaku kotohajime wo yomu* 智の冒険者たち、蘭学事始を読む, Yassaka Shobō 八坂書房
- 31 Katagiri Kazuo (2007, p.67-68.
- 32 Map of Edo Castle. Taken by N.Yamashita (2013). All books are in possession of Leiden University Library, Scaliger Institute.
- 33 Arnold Bruce Makoto (2005), *Diplomacy Far Removed: A Reinterpretation of the U.S. Decision to Open Diplomatic Relations with Japan*, University of Arizona

- 34 One can discuss if the power of the emperor was actual ‘restored’ as it is doubtful any emperor in history had full political power.
- 35 Present, Keiô (Gijuku) University.
- 36 Taken by N.Yamashita (2013). All books are in possession of Leiden University Library, Scaliger Institute.
- 37 Shimizu Taku 嶋津拓 (2009), *Nihon no orandagokyôiku to oranda no nihongo kyôiku no henshen ni kansuru ichikôsatsu* 日本のオランダ語教育とオランダの日本語教育の変遷に関する一考察, Nagasaki Ryûgakusei sentaa kiyô dai 17 gô 長崎大学留学生センター紀要第 17 号.
- 38 Keirin Kai 瓊林会 (1975), *Nagasaki kôtôshôgyôgakkô/Nagasaki daiigaku keizaigakubu 70 nenshi* 長崎高等商業学校・長崎大学経済学部 70 年史 Keirinkai hen 瓊林会編.
- 39 Idem
- 40 現代『出島』初の国際人養成と長崎蘭学事始、現代教育ニーズ取り組み支援プログラム

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7. Aikawa Tadaomi 相川忠臣 (2012), *Dejima no igaku* 出島の医学, Nagasaki Bunkensha 長崎文献社